The Text of Marcion’s Gospel

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The Text of Marcion's Gospel
New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents

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The Text of Marcion’s Gospel

By

Dieter T. Roth
To Colleen, Christian, and Michael
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Preface

This monograph is a revision and significant expansion of my 2009 Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Edinburgh entitled “Towards a New Reconstruction of the Text of Marcion’s Gospel: History of Research, Sources, Methodology, and the Testimony of Tertullian.” I would like to express appreciation, especially to my primary supervisor Larry Hurtado and my secondary supervisor Paul Foster, but also to my internal examiner Paul Parvis and external examiner Ulrich Schmid, for the way in which they shaped and honed my initial work on the text of Marcion’s Gospel. I am also thankful for my fellow Ph.D. students in Edinburgh, in particular my NT colleague Chris Keith and church history colleague Sebastian Moll, for their stimulating conversations about early Christianity and their encouragement of this project. Finally, I am grateful to Bart D. Ehrman and Eldon Jay Epp for accepting this work in their series New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents and to E.J. Brill for publishing it.
Abbreviations

This volume uses the standard abbreviations found in Patrick H. Alexander et al., *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), supplemented by Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (2d ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992). In addition, the following abbreviations are employed:

*Adam.* Pseudo-Origen *Adamantius Dialogue* (*ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ*).

*ANatG* Aus Natur und Geisteswelt

*CCERChs* Cahiers du Cercle Ernest-Renan [Cahier hors-série]

*CEA* Collection des études Augustiniennes

*ECTT* Eastern Christian Texts in Translation

*FN* *Filologia Neotestamentaria*

*FR* *Fortnightly Review*


*JSSSup* Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement

*OECS* Oxford Early Christian Studies

*NTTRU* *New Testament Textual Research Update*

*STA* Studia et Testimonia Antiqua

The following sigla, employed by Sources chrétiennes for the manuscripts and editions of Tertullian’s *Adversus Marcionem*, are also utilized:

*M* Codex Montepessulanus

*F* Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus

*X* Codex Luxemburgensis

*G* Codex Gorziensis

*R1* *Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1521*

*R2* *Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1528*

*R3* *Beati Rhenani edition princeps, Basileae, 1539*

*θ* consensus codicum *M F X* et Rhenani editionum

*β* consensus codicum *F X* et Rhenani editionum

*γ* consensus codicum *F X*
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Any serious study of the NT text and canon in the second century must at some point interact with Marcion’s Scriptures, i.e., his ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ and ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΝ, his one Gospel and ten Pauline letters.1 More specifically, Marcion’s Gospel plays an especially important role in the discussions concerning the state, use, transmission, and collection of the canonical Gospels in the second century.2 As such, there are several elements of contemporary research that are directly dependent upon our knowledge of Marcion’s Gospel text. First, and most obviously, the on-going debate concerning the relationship between and relative priority of Marcion’s Gospel and Luke can only take place based on some conception of the Gospel that Marcion utilized.3 Second, the related question of the existence of redactional stages of Luke, including debates about the existence of some type of Ur-Lukas, is also directly related to scholarly knowledge of Marcion’s text. Third, since Marcion’s Gospel represents a text that is clearly in some manner related to Luke and prior to the middle of the second century, Marcion’s Gospel figures prominently within

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3 In this work, whenever reference is made to “Luke” without qualification it refers to canonical Luke. At the same time, however, references to passages in Marcion’s Gospel or the attestation to a passage in Marcion’s Gospel in a source are made in the form, e.g., “Luke 3:1.” This nomenclature is used out of convenience in order to indicate “the verse in Marcion’s Gospel that corresponds to the verse in Luke 3:1” and does not presuppose either that the reading of canonical Luke 3:1 was that of Marcion’s Gospel or that the reading in Marcion’s Gospel is necessarily derived from the reading in Luke’s Gospel. In addition, out of convenience language of the “omission” of a passage in Marcion’s Gospel is occasionally used; however, this is to be understood as synonymous with the passage “being attested as not present” and not necessarily reflecting the view that Marcion excised something from Luke.
scholarly inquiries into the textual history of Luke. Finally, understanding Marcion's place and role in the history of the formation of the Fourfold Gospel could be advanced with a firmer basis for evaluating whether the content and readings of his text reflect a historical context prior or subsequent to the existence of this collection.

Over the past ninety years the trajectory of most scholarly work on Marcion and Marcion's texts has been set by the monumental work of Adolf von Harnack. Despite its tremendous value, shortcomings in Harnack's reconstructed text of the Marcionite Scriptures, as well as advances in critical methodology, textual criticism, and patristic studies have led to the recognition that new reconstructions of Marcion's Scriptures are a scholarly desideratum. For example, Barbara

4 J.K. Elliott advocates that “we ought to work more systematically on the writings of Marcion and Irenaeus to learn what they can reveal about the Biblical texts and specifically the New Testament text-types which they were using and quoting” (“The New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Challenge for the Twenty-First Century,” *NTT* 8 [2000]: 12). The necessity for further work on this question can clearly be seen in the varied, if not diametrically opposed opinions, expressed, e.g., by Adolf von Harnack, who concluded that apart from tendentious alterations Marcion's Gospel was “ein reiner W [Western] Text” (*Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche* [2d ed.; TU 45; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1924], 242*) and Barbara Aland, who more recently stated: “Certainly the basic text was not the ‘Western’” ("Marcion-Marcionites-Marcionism" in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, [ed. by Angelo Di Berardino; trans. Adrian Walford; 2 vols.; Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1992], 1:523). I have reflected further on this question in Roth, “Marcion and the Early Text,” 302–12.

Aland expresses the sentiment, “Wichtiges Forschungsdesiderat ist eine neue Gesamtrekonstruktion der marcionitischen Bibel.”6 Confirming Aland’s view is Gerhard May’s comment “die Aufgabe der Rekonstruktion von Markions Bibel [ist] bis heute nicht befriedigend gelöst”7 as well as Karlmann Beyschlag’s contention that the reconstruction of Marcion’s Scriptures “die Hauptaufgabe der heutigen Marcionforschung bildet.”8

In recognition of this lacuna, recent monographs arising from doctoral dissertations have focused on critically establishing Marcion’s Apostolikon and have brought much light to this “half” of Marcion’s canon.9 Unfortunately, the most recent works engaging the text of Marcion’s Euangelion by David S. Williams and Kenji Tsutsui, and to some extent Joseph B. Tyson and Matthias Klinghardt, have not been nearly as helpful and are quite limited in their usefulness for critically reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel text or drawing any firm conclusions


concerning that text. This regrettable reality is due either to the works ultimately focusing on issues other than the reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel text or to problematic approaches employed in their studies when they do consider elements related to such a reconstruction. Thus, a need for a new, critically and methodologically controlled reconstruction of Marcion’s Euangelion remains.

Before offering an actual reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel, several preliminary issues must be addressed. First, it is important to bear in mind what, precisely, is being attempted in this study. Drawing upon recent developments in NT textual criticism, there is no attempt here to reconstruct any supposed “original text” of Marcion’s Gospel. Rather, I am attempting to provide the most accurate possible reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel based upon the attestation of the sources that contain the evidence for readings found in it. In other words, this reconstruction seeks to offer the best attainable text for Marcion’s Gospel according to the sources. For this reason, before actually attempting to reconstruct this attested text, it is necessary to consider the sources themselves and especially the methodology employed in utilizing those sources. These important issues are initially addressed in chapter three, where an overview of the data found in the sources is provided along with the methodology used in this study, and continued in the introductory sections to the chapters devoted to (a) particular source(s).


Second, this overview of the sources reveals the large amount of data that must be analyzed for a full reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel text. The data include 438 verses referenced by Tertullian; 114 verses for which readings are attested, along with pericopes and verses attested as omitted, in Epiphanius’s Panarion; 75 verses to be considered in the Pseudo-Origen Adamantius Dialogue (also referred to as Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὑπερθείς πίστεως or De recta in deum fide); and 33 verses from ten other sources. The rather large size of this data set perhaps can be best appreciated by means of a comparison with the data available for Marcion’s Apostolikon. Ulrich Schmid’s work on the epistles revealed the need to analyze 260 citations and allusions in Tertullian, 40 scholia in Epiphanius, 35 citations in the Adamantius Dialogue, 9 citations in Origen, and 7 citations in Jerome in order to offer a reconstruction of those texts. Thus, there are nearly twice as many data for Marcion’s Gospel text that must be sifted before a new reconstruction of this document can be attempted, a task to which chapters three through eight are devoted.

Third, before either of the above two issues can be discussed, a consideration of the history of previous studies of Marcion’s Gospel is, from several vantage points, absolutely essential.

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weaknesses, of the methods employed in previous attempts to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel must be highlighted as part of the rationale for attempting a new reconstruction. Further, an accurate overview of the full range of prior work has become particularly necessary since there has been no extensive history of research in works dealing with Marcion's Gospel in nearly 150 years.\footnote{In many ways Harnack's recently rediscovered \textit{Dorpater Preisschrift} (1870) was the last work to provide extensive interaction with previous scholarship on Marcion’s Gospel, even if brief summaries have occasionally appeared more recently (cf. Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," in \textit{New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in honour of Christopher M. Tuckett} [ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, et al.; BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 741–44). Significant, though not exhaustive, bibliographies of works dealing with Marcion more generally can be found in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), \textit{Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung}, 313–22 and especially Harnack, \textit{Marcion: L’évangile du Dieu étranger: Contribution à l’histoire de la foundation de l’Église catholique} (trans. Bernard Lauret; Patrimoines christianisme; Paris: Cerf, 2003), 488–561.}

Finally, since several flaws in earlier studies are due to a lack of an accurate understanding of the \textit{status quaestionis} at various points in the history of research on Marcion’s Gospel, it is only by engaging previous scholarship on Marcion’s Gospel that one can hope to avoid such errors.\footnote{Perhaps the most obvious example of this phenomenon are the several significant omissions, misunderstandings, and mischaracterizations of the mid-nineteenth century research in Germany as presented in recent, shorter discussions of the history of research on Marcion’s Gospel. On this issue in particular cf. Dieter T. Roth, “Marcion’s Gospel and Luke: The History of Research in Current Debate,” \textit{JBL} 127 (2008): 513–27. In addition, problems with Tsutsui’s methodology (discussed below in chapter 2.8) are directly related to his lack of engagement with the most recent works dealing with the reconstruction of Marcion’s Scriptures.} Therefore, the ensuing chapter is devoted to the history of research, not only to make available a comprehensive survey for contemporary scholarship engaged in various questions relating to Marcion and to his Gospel, but also to provide the proper context in which a new reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel must be undertaken. 

CHAPTER 2

History of Research

2.1 Ancient Witnesses

As background to the following discussion it is important to note that there are no extant manuscripts of any of Marcion's works and all that is known about his Gospel is found in the writings of his adversaries. The church fathers agreed that Marcion's Gospel was simply a mutilated version of Luke;\(^1\) however, none of these fathers had an interest in merely compiling or setting forth the differences between the texts.\(^2\) For example, Tertullian and Epiphanius both indicated that they were interacting with Marcion's Gospel in order to refute him on the basis of his own scripture, and were therefore primarily interested in the content of Marcion's text to the extent that it could be used against him.\(^3\) Similarly, in the *Adamantius Dialogue* the claims and comments of the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus, including “citations” from their Gospel, are presented in the context of being refuted by their orthodox opponent.\(^4\)

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1 This fact has been recognized throughout the history of research. Cf., among the more prominent of Marcion's opponents: Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2 (similarly, 1.27.4, 3.11.7, 3.12.12, and 3.14.4); Tertullian, *Marc.* 1.1.4–5 and 4.2–6, *Praescr.* 38; and Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.9.1 (similarly, 42.10.2 and 42.11.3). Hippolytus’s comment apparently calling Marcion's Gospel “Mark” in *Haer.* 7.30.1 is generally recognized as an error (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 240*n1*). It should be noted, however, that Tertullian, e.g., also attested that Marcion’s disciples continually reshaped their Gospel, which would mean that it was not a static text (cf. *Marc.* 4.5.7). The same claim is made in the *Adamantius Dialogue* concerning ongoing alterations in the *Apostolikon* (cf. *Adam.* 96,4–8 [2.18]). For references to the critical editions of ancient sources used in this work, cf. the notes in chapter 3.

2 Tertullian only rarely made explicit reference to variations in Marcion’s Gospel from Luke (cf., e.g., *Marc.* 4.22.16; 4.25.14; 4.29.13; and 4.38.7), though Epiphanius’s list of 78 scholia on Marcion’s Gospel do sometimes explicitly comment on what Marcion παρέκοψε or ἀπέκοψε (cf. *Pan.* 42.11.6). In these, and all such statements, however, it is important to remember, as Lieu helpfully puts it, “the New Testament that provides a context for Marcion’s activity is the New Testament as they [Marcion’s opponents] knew it” (“Marcion and the New Testament,” in *Method & Meaning: Essays on New Testament Interpretation in Honor of Harold W. Attridge* [ed. Andrew B. McGowan and Kent Harold Richards; SBLRBS 67; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 402).


4 Cf., e.g., *Adam.* 22.5–8 (1.10); 26.20–21 (1.12); 32.5–6 (1.15); and 36.14 (1.17).
2.2 Questioning the Ancient Consensus

The first attempts to reassemble Marcion's text came in the context of challenges to the traditional view that Marcion had edited Luke to create his Gospel. As early as 1689 Richard Simon raised questions about the reliability of some elements in Tertullian's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel, though it is generally agreed that J.S. Semler was the first scholar to question the consensus of the early church that Marcion had mutilated Luke. He initially did so in the notes to his 1776 German translation of Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, but addressed the issue more expansively several years later in the preface of another translated volume. Following Semler, J.F.C. Loeffler and Heinrich Corrodi supported the rejection of the traditional position, and in the ensuing decades several other scholars, with their own nuances, followed this new line of thinking. At the beginning of the nine-

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teenth century J.G. Eichhorn provided an extended discussion on the issue and a summary of the various objections that had been entered against the traditional viewpoint.\textsuperscript{8}

\section*{2.3 Reaffirming the Traditional Position}

Although some scholars had previously objected to the conclusions of these critics,\textsuperscript{9} it was the studies by August Hahn and Hermann Olshausen that, for a few decades at least, reestablished the traditional position that Marcion had in fact edited Luke to create his Gospel.\textsuperscript{10} Hahn's work was particularly important in that he provided the first attempt to present comprehensively Marcion's Gospel as reconstructed from the available sources. Even those who disagreed with his conclusions recognized his important contribution

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
in correcting Eichhorn's over-reliance on Epiphanius\(^\text{11}\) and for the first time more sufficiently compiling the data for reconstructing Marcion's Gospel.\(^\text{12}\) Nevertheless, David Schulz’s critical review revealed the major problems with the text offered by Hahn: (1) The citations found embedded in the discourses of the sources were usually assumed to be completely accurate quotations, and (2) Passages of Luke over which Tertullian passes in silence were considered present or absent in Marcion’s text based on assumptions of whether the passage would have agreed with or contradicted Marcion’s teaching.\(^\text{13}\) These problems played a prominent role in the 1840s when the debate about Marcion’s Gospel was reignited and then raged with considerable furor into the 1850s.

### 2.4 The Prolific (and Problematic) Period of the 1840s and 1850s\(^\text{14}\)

#### 2.4.1 F.C. Albert Schwegler (1843)
Schwegler’s 1843 review of the 4th edition of W.M.L. de Wette’s *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Neuen*

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12 Albrecht Ritschl, who in 1846 strongly argued against Hahn’s conclusions, stated that it is he “deren Verdienst es ist, auf eine vollständig genügende Art die Data zur Herstellung des Marcionitischen Textes zusammengestellt zu haben” (Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 15–16). Hahn provided a continuous Greek text of Marcion’s Gospel in Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti: e libris editis et manuscriptis, maxime gallicanis, germanicis et italicis, collectus, recensitus notisque et prolegomenis illustratus* (Leipzig: Frid. Christ. Guilielmi Vogel, 1832), 1:401–86 [though printed as vol. 1, it appears that it was the only volume published]. Cf. James Hamlyn Hill, *The Gospel of the Lord: An Early Version which was Circulated by Marcion of Sinope as the Original Gospel* (Guernsey: John Whitehead/T.M. Bichard, 1891; repr. New York: AMS, 1980) for an English translation based primarily on this text.


14 The work on Marcion’s Gospel during this time period is also discussed in Roth, “Marcion’s Gospel and Luke,” 514–21. Though there is overlap with this article in both the material and discussion, certain details provided in my article are not repeated here, and some of the focus on methodology here does not appear in my article. Many of the following debates were located within a larger discussion concerning the Synoptic Problem as discussed in, e.g., R.H. Fuller, “Baur versus Hilgenfeld: A Forgotten Chapter in the Debate on the Synoptic Problem,” *NTS* 24 (1978): 355–70.
Testaments marked the beginning of the most intense period of investigation of Marcion’s Gospel in the modern era.\textsuperscript{15} Schwegler believed that the theory that Marcion had edited Luke based on his theological proclivities was completely untenable.\textsuperscript{16} Therefore, Schwegler concluded that Marcion’s Gospel was “eine ältere, unabhängige, in paulinischen Kreisen fortgepflanzte Evangelienschrift,” because even though such a text is not attested by any other ancient witnesses it “verwickelt sich aber wenigstens nicht in so zahlreiche, unauflosliche Widersprüche und Schwierigkeiten, wie die Hypothese vom verstümmelten Lukas.”\textsuperscript{17}

2.4.2 \textit{Albrecht Ritschl (1846)}

Albrecht Ritschl advanced this line of thought in his 1846 work \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas}.\textsuperscript{18} In the preface he set forth the thesis of his monograph: “dass das Evangelium Marcions nicht eine Verstümmlung des Evangeliums des Lucas, sondern der Grundstamm desselben ist.”\textsuperscript{19} Therefore, Ritschl contended that one ultimately should conclude that Luke has \textit{added} that which was missing in Marcion’s Gospel rather than conclude that Marcion \textit{excised} anything from Luke.\textsuperscript{20}

Methodologically, Ritschl proposed that the evaluation of Marcion’s Gospel be based upon a criterion of connection (\textit{Zusammenhang}), which assumed that redactional activity, because it introduces foreign material, can be recognized as destructive of the original connection in or between pericopes.\textsuperscript{21} Though the other scholars involved in the debates during this era expressed some reservations about this criterion, overall they tended to be disposed favorably to Ritschl’s approach and continued to invoke it in the discussions.\textsuperscript{22}

Despite the support of other scholars, however, Ritschl’s criterion must ultimately be viewed as a failed attempt for objectivity in reconstructing


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 577.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 590.

\textsuperscript{18} Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

\textsuperscript{19} Ritschl, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, v.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. ibid., 73–130. The final sections of the work contain a comparison of Marcion’s text with that of Justin Martyr (pp. 130–51) and deal with Marcion’s \textit{Apostolikon} (pp. 151–71).

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., vi, 56.

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. the discussions below of Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volckmar.
Marcion’s Gospel. First, in his 1846 work Ritschl offered two examples from the Synoptic Gospels of how his criterion provided objective and assured results. The only problem is that the examples were used to prove that Mark was written subsequent to Matthew and Luke, a position that Ritschl embraced at the time, but had rejected by 1851.23 Given that Ritschl himself no longer would have been convinced by his own examples a few years later, one may rightly question just how useful or objective Ritschl’s criterion really was. Second, in 1855, G.Fr. Franck published a particularly devastating critique in which he observed that not only is the criterion rather subjective, but also that the idea underlying it is fundamentally flawed. A lack of connection would more likely be the case in an original text rather than a text that had been redacted, precisely because a redactor often smoothes and improves the flow and connection of pericopes in a work.24

2.4.3 F.C. Baur (1846–1847)
Shortly after Ritschl’s work appeared, F.C. Baur built on Ritschl’s thesis in comments on Marcion that were printed in identical form in two publications, an article and a book.25 Despite the occasional critical remark concerning the manner in which Ritschl had applied his methodology,26 Baur generally

23 Ritschl’s examples were Mark 9:5–6 where Peter’s response is said to have come from Matt 17:6 and Mark 12:34 where Jesus’ words are thought to have been inserted into Luke 20:20–39 before v. 40 (Das Evangelium Marcions, 57–58). Ritschl embraced Markan priority in his article “Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synoptischen Evangelien,” ThJb(T) 10 (1851): 480–538. In the fifth of seven observations on the debates concerning Marcion’s Gospel Eduard Reuss stated “Das System von einem vor-marcionitischen Ur-Lucas und nach-marcionitischen kanonischen steht und fällt mit der Behauptung dass Marcus den letztern ausgeschrieben habe” (Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments [4th ed.; Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn (M. Bruhn), 1864], 245). Although he may have overstated the point, it is true that the view of the order of and relationship between the Synoptic Gospels is not unrelated to the debates concerning Marcion’s Gospel.

24 Franck, “Ueber das Evangelium Marcion’s,” 305–6, 311, and 351. This point was already made in a general way by Volckmar, “Ueber das Lukas-Evangelium nach seinem Verhältnis zu Marcion und seinem dogmatischen Charakter, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die kritischen Untersuchungen F. Ch. Baur’s und A. Ritschl’s,” ThJb(T) 9 (1850): 123 and was reiterated by Theodor Zahn in Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons (2 vols. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1888–1892), 1:683.


embraced Ritschl's work and agreed that Ritschl's criterion demonstrated that Marcion's text was original and Luke's text secondary. In fact, Baur concluded that Marcion's Gospel was merely the text Marcion had at hand and that all the differences between it and Luke can only be seen as interpolations by a later hand.\(^{27}\)

### Gustav Volckmar and Adolf Hilgenfeld (1850)

The position of Ritschl and Baur was challenged in 1850 by Gustav Volckmar and Adolf Hilgenfeld.\(^{28}\) The thesis of Volckmar's article was that Schwegler, Ritschl, and Baur, despite rightly criticizing the erroneous and prejudicial elements in earlier studies, were wrong in their view that Luke is "eine vermehrte und corrupte oder vielmehr 'katholisirte' Ausgabe" of Marcion's Gospel.\(^{29}\) In part one of his article Volckmar gave attention to the opening sections to Marcion's Gospel and concluded "dass der Text des Marcion weit entfernt die Grundlage für unser Lukas-Evangelium zu sein, gerade von der Eigenthümlichkeit dieses abhängig ist."\(^{30}\) Though Volckmar believed that based on this section alone the fundamental relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke had been revealed,\(^{31}\) he continued in part two of his article to discuss additional passages that he believed essentially, though with a few exceptions, served to confirm his point.\(^{32}\)

At the same time, though disagreeing with Ritschl's conclusions on the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke and noting potential pitfalls in

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\(^{27}\) Ibid., 404, 424.  
\(^{29}\) Ibid., 116.  
\(^{30}\) Ibid., 138.  
\(^{31}\) Ibid.  
the application of Ritschl’s method, Volckmar nevertheless was largely sympathetic with Ritschl’s methodology.\textsuperscript{33} Volckmar was aware of the way in which the arguments concerning the inclusion or omission of a passage in Marcion’s text often invoked problematic or circular reasoning,\textsuperscript{34} and so he commended Ritschl by stating that it is to his credit that

\begin{quote}
er [Ritschl] zum ersten Mal den Marciontext nicht blos nach den angegebenen Lücken, sondern nach dem, was er [Marcion] stehen gelassen hat, in seinem Zusammenhang betrachtet hat.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{quote}

Hilgenfeld entered the debate concerning Marcion’s Gospel in the third section of his larger work on Justin and Clement. He began by working through a new reconstruction of Marcion’s text since he was dissatisfied with the efforts of both Hahn and Ritschl. He rightly criticized those texts as having been significantly influenced by preconceived notions of the relationship between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke, particularly as it related to passages concerning which the sources are silent.\textsuperscript{36} Despite this recognition and his attempts to avoid the same pitfalls, Hilgenfeld nevertheless was not able completely to steer clear of the same types of problems.\textsuperscript{37} Hilgenfeld ultimately came to the conclusion that though Marcion did edit and omit elements of Luke, and that in general, therefore, Luke is to be seen as the original document, there nevertheless original elements in Marcion’s Gospel.\textsuperscript{38} Hilgenfeld thus set forth the view that Marcion knew and edited the Gospel according to Luke, but also that Luke received its present form after an additional, though minimal, redaction.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 123–24.
\textsuperscript{34} Cf. the critical comments in ibid., 121.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 124.
\textsuperscript{36} Hilgenfeld observed that whether a passage on which the sources were silent was viewed as present or absent in Marcion’s text was strongly influenced by whether one held the “mutilation” or “Ur-Lukas” hypothesis concerning Marcion’s Gospel (\textit{Kritische Untersuchungen}, 394). Hilgenfeld’s reconstruction with comments is found on pp. 398–442.
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. the criticisms in Volckmar, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, 20–21.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 474.
2.4.5  **F.C. Baur and Albrecht Ritschl (1851)**

The impact of the work of Hilgenfeld and Volckmar was felt immediately, evidenced by two facts in particular. First, both Baur and Ritschl promptly revisited the issue of Marcion's Gospel in 1851. Second, and more importantly, in these publications both scholars altered their previous position, Baur through revision and Ritschl through retraction.

Baur now admitted that Marcion, because of his theological system, altered numerous passages in the Gospel that he had before him in order to create the text we now call Marcion's Gospel. He was also convinced, however, that this reality could not account for all the differences one sees between Marcion's Gospel and Luke and that Marcion's Gospel often preserved original readings, either in the absence of verses or in the wording of verses. Most significant among these was Baur's new contention that Luke 4:16–30 and the entirety of chapters 1 and 2 were not originally part of Luke but only added after Marcion. Thus, Baur's conclusion now became that Marcion's Gospel was an older version of Luke from which Marcion excised and to which Luke added.

Ritschl's reaction to the works of Hilgenfeld and Volckmar was rather different. At the outset of the section on Luke in his article addressing the current state of Synoptic Gospels scholarship, Ritschl wrote,

Die von mir vorgetragene Hypothese, dass nicht Marcion das Evangelium Lukas geändert habe, sondern dass sein Evangelium eine Vorstufe des kanonischen Lukas sei, sehe ich als durch Volckmar und Hilgenfeld widerlegt an.

Ritschl continued by observing that Hilgenfeld's arguments had not returned the discussion to the traditional view since Hilgenfeld had argued that Luke received its present form after Marcion, and Baur's arguments carried

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42 Ibid., 212–14, 219.

43 Ibid., 225.

44 Ibid., 224.

Hilgenfeld's work further by positing a more radical revision by the same author who wrote the book of Acts. Ritschl himself, however, was not convinced by either of these positions, and explicitly disagreed with Baur's new analysis of Luke 4 in Marcion's Gospel and with Baur's contention that the first two chapters of Luke were added to Luke after Marcion by the final redactor of the canonical Gospel. A letter from Baur to Ritschl dated 1. February 1851 highlighted the irony of these now divergent opinions, as Baur wrote, "Ich bin, wie Sie [Ritschl] sehen, ein weit treuerer Anhänger Ihrer Ansicht [from 1846], als Sie selbst."

2.4.6 Gustav Volckmar (1852)

With Baur and Ritschl having altered their previous views, albeit in different ways, Volckmar decided to devote a book-length study to Marcion's Gospel, which appeared in 1852. In the preface Volckmar indicated that his views had in no small way diverged from earlier perspectives, including his own, and at the end of his work he came to the conclusion that both the earlier views of Ritschl and Baur, as well as Hilgenfeld's and his own "mediating position" were to be rejected. In fact, Volckmar concluded that not only is "our" Luke historically to be seen as the one used by Marcion and only shortened and changed by his particular Tendenz, but also that

Die geschichtliche Ansicht also kann, was die Integrität oder Vollständigkeit unseres Lucas-Evangeliums betrifft, nicht mehr von Vermittlung reden sondern so weit die ältere Ansicht, die der Kirchenväter und der Apologetik als völlig bestätigt erklären [emphasis original].

46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 529–33.
48 Quoted in Otto Ritschl, Albrecht Ritschls Leben (2 vols.; Freiburg: Mohr [Siebeck], 1892), 1:181.
49 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.
50 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, vi.
51 Ibid., 255–56.
52 Volckmar reaffirmed this view in Die Evangelien: Oder Marcus und die Synopsis der kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien nach dem ältesten Text mit historisch-exegetischem Commentar (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Resiland], 1870). In this work he dated Luke to 95–105 c.e. and explicitly stated, "Dem Markion von 138 ist er vorangegangen" (ibid., 653). In addition he referred to Marcionites excising chapters 1 and 2 from Luke because they were deemed to be unacceptable (ibid., 8–9).
53 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 255–56. Karl Reinhold Köstlin came to a similar conclusion in 1853 when he argued that though there may be some instances where Marcion's
Perhaps most telling is Volckmar’s comment that he now believed the view of the church fathers to have been confirmed in its entirety.\textsuperscript{54}

Once again, however, Volckmar in his analysis remained sympathetic to Ritschl’s criterion, stating “\textit{der innere Zusammenhang allein} ist es, der die Haupt-Entscheidung darüber geben kann, welches dieser beiden Lucas-Evangelien dem andern zu Grunde liegt”\textsuperscript{55} In addition, Volckmar did not hesitate, in certain instances, to make definite decisions concerning the presence or absence of passages on which the sources are silent.\textsuperscript{56} On the other hand, and more positively, it is worth noting that in this volume Volckmar paid greater attention to the qualities and characteristics of the sources involved in reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel, even if Volckmar’s analysis did not extend beyond those works or chapters of works by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the \textit{Adamantius Dialogue} that are directed against Marcion.\textsuperscript{57}

\subsection*{2.4.7 Adolf Hilgenfeld (1853)}

In 1853 Hilgenfeld offered a second contribution to the discussion in an article interacting primarily, though not exclusively, with Volckmar’s 1852 work.\textsuperscript{58} Hilgenfeld makes no new contribution to issues of methodology, though he did recognize the value of Volckmar’s consideration of the sources involved in

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\textsuperscript{54} Volckmar went on to explain that he wrote “so weit” as it relates to the view of the church fathers because in the codices of Luke corrupt readings are present and that from a text-critical standpoint Marcion’s text provides original readings in Luke 10:21, 22; 11:2; 12:38; 17:2; and 18:18. It is also possible that Marcion’s text has variant readings in Luke 6:17; 12:32; 17:12; and 23:2 (Volckmar, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, 256–57). Yet, Volckmar explained these variants in Luke as harmonizing moves towards Matthew or the \textit{ot} and stated, “Eine spezifisch anti-\textit{marcionitische} Tendenz zeigt sich dabei nirgends ausschliesslich” (ibid., 257). A few years later Franck argued that even these readings in Marcion’s Gospel were not original (“\textit{Ueber das Evangelium Marcion’s},” 353–59).

\textsuperscript{55} Cf. ibid., 28–54.

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. ibid., 113–21.

\textsuperscript{57} Adolf Hilgenfeld, “Das Marcionitische Evangelium und seine neueste Bearbeitung,” \textit{ThJb(T)} 12 (1853): 192–244.
The thrust of the article, however, is found elsewhere. Hilgenfeld began by making a few observations on the recent publications of Baur, Ritschl, and Volckmar as well as summarizing his own 1850 position. As Hilgenfeld re-engaged numerous arguments in the section “Die ursprüngliche Elemente des marcionitischen Evangeliums,” he concluded that concerning the originality of Marcion’s text

Mit voller Sicherheit rechne ich hierher das fehlen von v, 39, die Textform x, 21. 22. in allem Wesentlichen, ferner xiii, 28. xvi, 17., auch trage ich kein Bedenken, xviii, 19 unter diesen Gesichtspunkt zu stellen.

Clearly such a minimal conception of originality in Marcion’s Gospel would lead to a quite different understanding of the source text of Marcion’s Gospel than the perspective held by Baur where, for example, the entirety of Luke 1 and 2 was believed to have been missing.

It is important to recognize that in the midst of this fascinating and complex discussion an incredible amount was written about the text of Marcion’s Gospel and its relationship to Luke, while comparatively little attention was devoted to the lingering methodological problems with Ritschl’s criterion of Zusammenhang, scholarly discussions’ continued use of assumptions about Marcion’s theological tendency when reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel, and the questionable practice of drawing conclusions based on the silence of the sources. For this reason, despite the voluminous output of publications during the span of slightly more than a decade, significant shortcomings still existed in the quest to establish the text of Marcion’s Gospel along critical lines.

### 2.5 The Latter Half of the 19th Century

Three scholars in particular were important in the continuing discussion of Marcion and his Gospel following the intense debates discussed above: William Sanday, Hajo Uden Meyboom, and Theodor Zahn. Sanday first addressed the issue of Marcion’s Gospel as a rejoinder to the view advanced in Walter Richard Cassels’s anonymously published Supernatural Religion in an article

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59 Ibid., 196–97.
60 Ibid., 192–95.
61 Ibid., 211–43.
62 Ibid., 242. A few sentences later Hilgenfeld adds, “Möglich is es, dass hierher auch xxiii, 2. zu rechnen ist” (ibid.).
that appeared in *Fortnightly Review*, an article which he subsequently revised and included in his *The Gospels in the Second Century*. Specifically, Sanday sought to refute the idea that Marcion’s Gospel was not based on Luke and observed that much of the controversy in Germany revolved around whether Marcion’s text could or could not be explained as arising out of his dogmatic system. Sanday went on to state that though he believed the dogmatic argument points to the traditional view, this argument should not be pressed too far for he

should be tempted to say that the almost exclusive and certainly excessive use of arguments derived from the history of dogma was the prime fallacy which lies at the root of the Tübingen criticism.

Thus, Sanday offered a new methodological approach based on style and diction through which he clearly demonstrated that the style and vocabulary of the passages omitted by Marcion matched the style and vocabulary of

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65 Ibid., 221.
the passages that Marcion retained. On the basis of this argument, Sanday concluded,

We may assume, then, that there is definite proof that the Gospel used by Marcion presupposes our present St. Luke, in its complete form, as it has been handed down to us.

Sanday’s argument largely held sway in English-speaking scholarship until the work of John Knox, who rightly pointed out that Sanday’s entire examination was made without reference to Marcion’s actual text and seems to have assumed that pericopes in Marcion’s Gospel and Luke appeared in the same form. Therefore, all Sanday really proved was the “linguistic homogeneity of our Gospel of Luke, a matter which has never been in doubt, and the evidence has no necessary relevance for Marcion’s Gospel.” Nevertheless, Sanday did point out to subsequent scholarship the importance of moving beyond a purely theological evaluation of Marcion’s Gospel.

In his *Marcion en de Marcioniten*, Meyboom devoted one heading of his section on Marcion’s canon to a discussion of Marcion’s Gospel. Here Meyboom

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66 Cf. ibid., 223–30.
67 Ibid., 230.
68 Indicative are the comments of F. Crawford Burkitt who commented that a discussion of Marcion’s Bible would, thirty or forty years ago, have been at the center of interest in a lecture on Marcion as at that time a general belief was current in critical circles that Marcion’s Gospel might be the original and Luke a later interpolated version. With reference to the linguistic evidence marshaled by Sanday, among other points, Burkitt stated “The assertions of Tertullian and Epiphanius have been fully vindicated, and Marcion’s Gospel has sunk into a mere curiosity of literature” (*The Gospel History and its Transmission* [3d ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1911], 314).
70 Unfortunately, however, as will become apparent in the following discussion, it would take another century for the first reconstruction of Marcion’s Scriptures consciously seeking to avoid theologically justified readings to appear.
summarized the evidence of Epiphanius and provided a list of the sections of Luke that Tertullian passed over in silence in his refutation of Marcion. Zahn, however, correctly observed that Meyboom, in his interaction with Marcion’s Scriptures, essentially relied on Hilgenfeld’s work on the *Apostolikon* and Volckmar’s work on the *Euangelion* without attempting to evaluate or advance their results. In fact, Meyboom justified his not delving more deeply into the text of Marcion’s Gospel because “We are not here dealing with textual criticism, but with the character and history of Marcionism.”

Zahn, on the other hand, devoted large sections of his *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* to Marcion and the reconstruction of Marcion’s Scriptures. A key motivation for his work is found in that after briefly summarizing the debate between Ritschl, Baur, Volckmar, and Hilgenfeld, Zahn observed that a clear and complete presentation of Marcion’s Scriptures was still lacking. He therefore offered a new reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel (as well as his *Apostolikon*) along with an analysis of Marcion and his Scriptures. Zahn not only concluded that Marcion possessed and edited Luke and that the conclusion of the church fathers “sich allseitig bestätigt [hat],” but also that Marcion knew and interacted with all four of the canonical Gospels.

For his reconstructions, Zahn embraced a rather positive evaluation of the reliability of the sources for reconstructing Marcion’s text. He observed that it was not simply his use and understanding of the sources that commended his reconstruction; rather, he stated that it is above all that he, in his own words, “eine grundsätzlich andere Stellung zu den Quellen einnehme, als meine Vorgänger.” First, Zahn wished to avoid, and rightly so, the endless previous debates about passages supposedly missing in Marcion based on the silence of Tertullian or Epiphanius. Zahn commented that this type of discussion is “eine divinatorische Kritik ohne alle historische Unterlage, solange

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74 Meyboom, *Marcion*, 150 [my translation].
77 Cf. especially ibid., 1:664, 673–78, 681, and 713. The citation is from 1:717.
78 For Zahn’s discussion of the sources cf. ibid., 1:599–613 and 2:409–49.
79 That Zahn felt that previous scholars had not fully or properly used the sources, nor yet had access to critical and corrected editions of the sources is clear from his comments in *Geschichte*, 2:450–51.
80 Ibid., 2:451.
nicht bewiesen ist, daß das betreffende wirklich bei Mrc. fehlte hat.”81 Second, Zahn provided a series of examples demonstrating that previous scholars far too often allowed a bias in favor of the canonical text, as opposed to the attestation of the sources, to govern the reconstruction of Marcion’s text, an error Zahn desired to avoid.82

Nevertheless, as helpful as these methodological observations are, some ambiguity remains when one compares Zahn’s discussion of Marcion’s Gospel in the first volume of his Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons with the actual reconstruction of Marcion’s text in the second volume. In the reconstructed text of Marcion’s Gospel that he offered, Zahn, to his great credit, sought to differentiate between unattested passages and passages attested as omitted in the sources.83 At the same time, when Zahn discussed Marcion’s Gospel and its relationship to the canonical Gospels, he argued that, given the weaknesses of Ritschl’s criterion of connection, a more certain proof is provided by the examination of whether the differences between Marcion’s text and Luke are better explained as a result of Marcion’s or a Catholic redactor’s theological proclivities.84 Even though Zahn went on to employ this criterion primarily for readings or omissions attested in the sources85 and recognized that not all differences between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke can or should be explained on the basis of Marcion’s theology,86 he also inappropriately used the criterion to “create evidence” for alterations or omissions in Marcion’s Gospel.87

Therefore, despite Harnack’s evaluation that Zahn had not only set the proper principles in place for research of Marcion’s Gospel, but also completed the work with such diligence and care that every subsequent examination can only revise and extend his conclusions,88 a methodological problem

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid., 2:451–54.
84 Ibid., 1:684.
85 Ibid., 1:684–704.
86 Zahn clearly denied the idea that “alle nachweisbaren oder wahrscheinlichen Unterschiede zwischen beiden Büchern in der Dogmatik begründet sind” (ibid., 1:704).
87 Cf., e.g., his discussion of Luke 22:39–46 (ibid., 1:686–87). Further examples are found on pp. 706–7. The problematic nature of such arguments is discussed further in the evaluation of Harnack’s methodology below.
88 Harnack, Marcion, 41*. 
remained. Harnack's contention that it is primarily because Zahn's format left much to be desired, and that advances in textual criticism and knowledge of the sources necessitated a revisiting the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel, did not yet address the more serious issue concerning the continued use of Marcion's theology in approaching the readings or omission in his texts. Nevertheless, two points are quite clear: (1) Zahn, as May observed, “[hat] mit seiner Wiederherstellung des markionitischen Kanons die ältere Forschung auf diesem Gebiet überholt” and (2) Zahn robustly reaffirmed the traditional position of the church fathers concerning the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and Luke.

2.6 The Early 20th Century and Adolf von Harnack

Zahn's reconstruction was employed by Hermann Freiherr von Soden in his text-critical work on the NT. Von Soden viewed Marcion's Gospel as without doubt a mutilated copy of Luke and concluded that Marcion's text “als Ganzes bezeugt . . . daß schon um 140 in Kleinasien oder Rom Lukas im I-H-K-Text gelesen wurde.” This second conclusion was contested by August Pott who contended that Marcion actually had a “Western” text before him and that many of the readings previously considered as tendentious were in reality merely “Western” readings. Pott's view was supported a few years later by Harnack's work on Marcion.

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89 Ibid., 41*-42*. Harnack's discussion of Zahn's problematic evaluation of the Adamantius Dialogue as a source is found in ibid., 56*-63*.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid., 1:2.1629.
95 Pott and Harnack, however, did not come to the same conclusion concerning the “Western” text and which readings in Marcion's text were reflecting original “Western” readings and which were reflecting harmonizations to Mark/Matthew. Cf. August Pott, “Marcions Evangelientext,” ZKG 42 (1923): 202–23 and Harnack, Marcion, v, 243*. Also, Heinrich Vogels remained unconvinced that Marcion had a “Western” text or that Marcion was not responsible for numerous stylistic changes and alterations now attested.
Zahn's work remained the benchmark for Marcion's Gospel only until Harnack's *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* appeared, which eclipsed all previous work on Marcion's texts. The text of Marcion's Gospel as reconstructed by Harnack, with its continuous text and copious documentation, quickly became the standard reference for subsequent scholarship. Before commenting on Harnack's reconstruction, it is worth noting that he made several points concerning the text of Marcion's Gospel. First, in the comments following his reconstructions, Harnack stated

> Daß das Evangelium Marcions nichts anderes ist als was das altkirchliche Urteil von ihm behauptet hat, nämlich ein verfälschter Lukas, darüber braucht kein Wort mehr verloren zu werden.  

Second, Marcion's Greek and Latin text of Luke is a "pure" "Western" text when considered apart from Marcion's alterations. Third, Marcion's Gospel text reveals a strong influence of Matthew and Mark, both in readings that are elsewhere attested in the "Western" textual tradition and in otherwise unattested readings. Following this observation Harnack noted that he considered it highly unlikely that Marcion himself was responsible for these harmonizations and that therefore Marcion possessed a text that had already been harmonized to Matthew and Mark. Yet, he did not pursue the import of this fact other than simply to observe in a footnote that it is of great significance for the history of the canon. Fourth, Harnack saw very minimal influence of Marcion's text on the Catholic text. And finally, Harnack agreed that Marcion knew Matthew, Mark, and John; consciously rejected them; and provided a rationale for that rejection in his *Antitheses.*

As has already been noted, Harnack's entire work on Marcion exerted a tremendous influence on subsequent scholarship and the same is true for his

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96 For Harnack's discussion of the omissions, corrections, possible additions, and method employed by Marcion cf. *Marcion,* 52–73. For his reconstructed text of Marcion's *Euangelion* cf. ibid., 183*-240*.

97 Ibid., 240*.

98 Ibid., 242* (cf. p. 73).

99 Ibid., 243*.

100 Ibid. (cf. p. 43).

101 Ibid., 243*n2.

102 Ibid., 247*.

103 Ibid., 40–42, 249*.
The reliability of a source or reading, however, is often merely asserted rather than demonstrated. For example, Harnack simply averred that nearly every page of Tertullian’s work reveals that his reproduction of Marcion’s text is reliable and that in nearly every instance it is possible to identify precise quotations from mere references to Marcion’s text. Yet, at no point are any arguments advanced for how one can know that these assertions, apparently self-evident to Harnack, are correct. Even if these assertions are granted, a more important question remained unanswered, namely, how is one to evaluate just how accurate a “reliable” citation or allusion is? Despite these issues, it cannot be denied that Harnack utilized nearly every available source in his offered reconstruction.

Also important in Harnack’s methodological contribution is his observation that it is rather unfortunate that for a large number of passages it remains unclear whether Marcion excised them or whether they were simply passed over by his opponents. Harnack indicated that he, apart from a few instances, avoided the types of extended considerations and speculations on this issue characteristic of previous scholars. Related to the shift away from speculating concerning Marcion’s omissions is Harnack’s argument that for understanding Marcion’s thought and theology what he left in the text is much more important than his omissions and corrections. Harnack was absolutely right that focus must first and foremost be placed upon attested readings of Marcion’s text, and that only on the basis of that text can an understanding of Marcion and his theology be advanced. Unfortunately, when one turns to Harnack’s reconstructed text, there is evidence that, on occasion, Marcion’s perceived theology was still affecting the reading offered.

Therefore, the tremendous value of Harnack’s work notwithstanding, it is important to note that two major methodological weaknesses limit the ultimate value of Harnack’s reconstruction. First, despite his cautioning about applying the criterion of “Marcionite tendency” in reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel, Harnack could not quite bring himself to embrace a consistent critical posture towards the sources. Thus, he did not fully recognize, as Schmid puts it, “When one of our sources doesn’t cite or evoke [sic] a passage or a phrase,

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104 The sources are discussed in ibid., 41*–67*, 177*–83*.
105 Ibid., 45*.
106 Ibid., 65n1.
107 Ibid., 66.
it simply means that it doesn't cite or evoke \textit{sic} it."\textsuperscript{108} Schmid's observation rightly leads to the conclusion,

Arguments \textit{e silentio}, creating positive evidence out of a lack of evidence, should not be allowed, even if the alleged omission would match supposed theological preferences of Marcion.\textsuperscript{109}

And yet, at several points Harnack is guilty of precisely such a “creation of evidence.”\textsuperscript{110} Several examples illustrating this problem can be found in Harnack’s reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel, including his discussion of Luke 5:39, 9:56, 22:43, 24:12, and 24:40. Luke 5:39, 22:43, 24:12, and 24:40 all involve instances where the Marcionite text is unattested in the sources, but Harnack believed Marcion excised the passages for dogmatic reasons.\textsuperscript{111} Although Schmid discussed only Luke 5:39 in his article, his evaluation of Harnack’s view is applicable to all four of these verses: “This is simply creating positive evidence (in this very case positive negative evidence) out of no evidence at all.”\textsuperscript{112}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 142. Several decades earlier, Leon E. Wright had already noted that concerning allusions or omissions in the sources for Marcion’s Gospel, “the argument from silence is precariously invoked under such circumstances of transmission” (\textit{Alterations of the Words of Jesus: As Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century} [Harvard Historical Monographs 25; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952], 128). Ekkehard Muehlenberg similarly noted, “We are not furnished any list of omissions [by Tertullian] so that the argumentum \textit{e silentio} cannot be admitted” (“Marcion’s Jealous God,” in \textit{Disciplina Nostra: Essays in Memory of Robert F. Evans} [PatMS 6; Cambridge, Mass.; Philadelphia Patristic Foundation, 1979], 98).
\item \textsuperscript{110} In addition, a related problem is the application of the criterion as an explanation for the motivation of attested Marcionite readings, especially in discussions concerning “original” readings. This point was already made by G. Zuntz in critical comments concerning some of the passages in First Corinthians where Harnack posited a \textit{tendenziöse Zufügung} or a \textit{Tendenzänderung} (\textit{The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946} [London: Oxford University Press, 1953], 229, 233).
\item \textsuperscript{111} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 190*, 234*, 238*, 239*, and the summary comments on 247*. Luke 9:56 involves an unattested element that Harnack believed was added to the text by Marcion (\textit{Marcion}, 190*; cf. the discussion in chapter 5.41).
\item \textsuperscript{112} Schmid, “How Can We Access?,” 143. The problematic nature of invoking Marcion’s Gospel as attesting the omission of Luke 24:12 was already noted by Frans Neirynck, “Lc. xxiv
A second methodological problem arises out of the realization that although Harnack had a tremendous knowledge of the sources for the text of Marcion’s Gospel, he did not give enough attention to the use of Scripture in those sources more broadly. In order to avoid repetition of analysis provided in later chapters, no examples of this problem will be provided here. At numerous points in the ensuing analysis, however, it will be seen that Harnack’s lack of interaction with multiple citations of a text casts doubt upon his reconstruction.

Finally, in addition to these methodological problems, there is also a problem related to textual criticism that affected Harnack’s reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel. In both the first and second editions of *Marcion*, Harnack indicated that he used Tischendorf’s text and apparatus for the comparison of Marcion’s reconstructed text with the manuscript tradition. Concerning this reference point, Pott observed,

> V. Harnack hat leider das ganze Material von Sodens ignoriert; hätte er es beachtet, so würde er an sehr vielen Stellen nicht geurteilt haben, daß die Lesart “unbezeugt” oder “allein” stehend sei.

Harnack granted Pott’s point and admitted that the Tischendorf apparatus was insufficient; however, he stated that he “aus verschiedenen Gründen mit dem Soden’schen Apparat nicht zu arbeiten vermag.” Though Harnack contended that not much was lost as a result of his exclusive use of Tischendorf, it seems quite evident that the most precise knowledge of Marcion’s text would seek to utilize all available data in the manuscript tradition.

Thus, despite the tremendous contributions by Zahn and Harnack, it is clear that May rightly observed, “Die Wiederherstellungsversuche von Theodor Zahn (1892) und Harnack sind nicht kritisch und nicht methodisch streng genug.” C.S.C. Williams correctly noted,

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113 Harnack, *Marcion*¹, 223* and *Marcion*, 243*.
114 Pott, “Marcions Evangelientext,” 204.
The difficulty... remains of determining how far we have the exact words of Marcion preserved in the Latin or Greek quotations of Tertullian or Epiphanius, which they cited in evidence against him,

but not quite accurately stated, “Harnack's reconstructed text of Marcion is probably as accurate a text as modern scholarship can provide.”

2.7 Post-Harnack Studies up to 1980

Even though it would be seventy years before another complete reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel was attempted, numerous elements addressed in other studies on Marcion and his Gospel after Harnack bear some significance for reconstructing Marcion's text. Certain of these studies are particularly relevant for methodological issues in approaching Marcion's Gospel. Almost a decade after Harnack's monumental monograph, Robert Smith Wilson published, to my knowledge, the first full-length treatment of Marcion in English entitled *Marcion: A Study of a Second-Century Heretic*. Wilson discussed some of the characteristics of Marcion's Gospel concluding “the tendency of Marcion's Gospel is to omit, and the omissions are more frequent in the late parts than in...”

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the early.” Nevertheless, Wilson also stated that even when every difference between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke that can be ascribed to Marcion’s theology is so ascribed, a “residuum” remains that is difficult to explain and suggests that Marcion’s text contained variant readings. In addition, although noting that to attempt to answer the question of the type of text that Marcion had was beyond the scope of his work, Wilson did reiterate several of Harnack’s conclusions. Wilson agreed that Marcion’s text evidenced a “Western” character and that it had some influence on both this and the general textual tradition. In addition, he stated “It is not improbable that Marcion was using a text of Luke that had been corrupted by assimilation to Matthew and Mark,” and was more explicit in the implication of this fact than Harnack was, concluding,

By the time of Marcion the three Gospels had already circulated so long together that scribes had begun to be influenced in their copying of one by their habitual use of the others.

In 1936, Paul-Louis Couchoud reasserted Baur’s 1847 position in an article entitled “Is Marcion’s Gospel One of the Synoptics?” He recognized the merits of Harnack’s work on Marcion’s Gospel, though also pointing out that it was “not perfect” and was influenced by Harnack’s own convictions. Couchoud concluded that Marcion’s Gospel was very similar to Streeter’s and Taylor’s Proto-Luke and that a methodical comparison of the Gospels of Marcion and Luke would reveal the former as original, and the latter as corrected and

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122 Ibid., 141.
123 Ibid., 144–49. Wilson noted, however, that simply because Marcion’s text is of a “Western” character it does not mean that Marcion prepared his text in Rome, as Harnack concluded. “The type of text does not decide the place, and we must be content to admit that we do not know where Marcion prepared his New Testament” (ibid., 150).
124 Ibid., 142.
126 Ibid., 265.
considerably amplified. An immediate response to Couchoud’s article was offered by Alfred Loisy who resoundingly criticized Couchoud’s assumptions and reasserted the dependence of Marcion on Luke.129

As the subtitle to John Knox’s work *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* indicates, he was primarily concerned with Marcion and the NT canon and not with the text of Marcion’s Gospel. Even the chapters focusing specifically on Marcion’s Gospel and its relationship to Luke are said to be “particularly tentative in character and presume only to reopen a question which, in my judgment, has been prematurely closed.”131 That question is the relationship of Marcion’s Gospel to Luke, which Knox answered in sharp contrast to Sanday, Zahn, and Harnack. Knox advocated a position almost identical to that of the later Baur in arguing that a separate Gospel—the Gospel which was the basis of both Marcion’s Gospel and the later canonical Gospel of Luke—preceded the making of Luke-Acts [emphasis

128 Couchoud, “Is Marcion’s Gospel,” 271. Couchoud believed that all three Synoptic Gospels were composed in the middle of the second century, stating that they were composed “roughly between A.D. 135 and 145” (ibid., 276). In 1931, Couchoud, in a paper at a conference of *Un’Union Rationaliste*, had already argued that the Synoptics were written after Marcion (cf. Georges Ory, “Paul-Louis Couchoud,” *ccer* 112 [1979]: 161–63). In another work on Christian origins, Couchoud provided a translation of Marcion’s Gospel, along with notes designed to function as a Marcionite commentary to the text (*The Creation of Christ: An Outline of the Beginnings of Christianity* [trans. C. Bradlaugh Bonner; 2 vols.; London: Watts & Co., 1939], 2:321–423). This translation, however, did not advance the scholarly discussion. For example, for details concerning Marcion’s text Couchoud simply referred the reader to Harnack (ibid., 319). In addition, Couchoud’s text is marked by some idiosyncrasies as he uncritically incorporated testimony from every source, listed by Couchoud “in order of importance” as Tertullian, the Dialogue of Adamantios (Greek), Rufinus’ Latin translation of the dialogues, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Hegemonius, Ephrem, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Eznik of Kolb, and Jerome (ibid., 319–20). The curious placement of the “Dialogue of Adamantios” and its translation as second and third in the list may be explained by Couchoud’s belief that “the Dialogue of Adamantios alone gives direct Marcionite matter” (ibid., 321). Georges Ory continued arguing along the lines of Couchoud’s theses concerning Marcion and his Gospel in “Marcion et Luc: Interpolés par des Esséniens?,” *ccer* 50 (1966): 56–66 and *Marcion* (CCERChs; Paris: Cercle Ernest-Renan, 1986).


130 Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.

Concerning the text of Marcion’s Gospel, Knox provided a table of Marcionite, non-Marcionite, and uncertain passages as compared to Luke, though he admitted that his classification, and indeed any such list, could claim only approximate correctness. Nevertheless, Knox used the classification of this table for his arguments against the view that Marcion mutilated Luke to create his Gospel. In fact, although the grouping of verses into these categories provided a helpful overview of the broad shape of Marcion’s Gospels, all of Knox’s specific discussion of verses and vocabulary in the text was, by his own admission, completely reliant upon Harnack’s reconstruction.

Important for methodological considerations is that after correctly noting the problematic manner in which Sanday had advanced his argument based on vocabulary and style, Knox presented his own arguments that Marcion’s Gospel, in fact, contains minimal Lukan vocabulary and style. Some forty

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132 Ibid., 130. Knox also believed that the Gospel from which Marcion derived his Gospel "almost certainly" did not contain the first two chapters of canonical Luke (ibid., 111).

133 Ibid., 85n23. The reason for this conclusion is that "Although the verses known to have been missing from Marcion's Gospel ('B' in the table) can be designated with considerable precision, it is often not possible to know whether other pericopes should be classified under 'A' [Marcionite] or 'C' [uncertain]. Only when we are explicitly told by an ancient writer that Marcion did not have a pericope or a verse have we included it under 'B'. When all our sources are silent about a pericope, we have included it under 'C'. But when an ancient witness, presumably with a copy of Marcion's Gospel open before him, quotes the text of a Lukan pericope, even though only a few words of it, we have assumed that the whole pericope was there is some form. But obviously it is precarious to count verses on the basis of such an assumption. There is no doubt that many verses I have placed under 'A' should fall under 'C'." (ibid.).

134 Ibid., 48. Cf. ibid., 94 where Knox stated that he drew the data for his arguments from “the recovered text of Marcion’s Gospel as Harnack has assembled it.”

135 Cf. the discussion above under 2.5.

years later, however, Knox, though reaffirming his view that the author of Luke enlarged Marcion’s Gospel or one very similar to it,\footnote{Knox, “Marcion’s Gospel,” 26.} admitted that in his earlier discussion of the vocabulary and style of Marcion’s Gospel he may have pushed the point too far. He stated,

> I think now that I should have been content with this demonstration [that Sanday’s proof was inadequate] and should not have attempted to build any positive argument for Marcion’s priority on so meager and uncertain a basis as the recoverable text of his Gospel provides (that is, in its detail).\footnote{Ibid., 27–28n6. With this statement it appears that Knox, at least at this point, had recognized the validity of objections raised by E.C. Blackman, \textit{Marcion and His Influence} (London: S.P.C.K., 1948; repr., Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf & Stock, 2004), 38–41 and Leland Edward Wilshire, “Was Canonical Luke Written in the Second Century?—A Continuing Discussion,” \textit{NTS} 20 (1974): 246–53.}

Given Knox’s distancing himself from his own argument, the specifics will not be discussed here, though it is important to note that the argument from style and vocabulary, until Marcion’s text is more critically established, had been shown to be of minimal usefulness.

Knox also argued that the possibility of the final author of Luke adding to a shorter Gospel quite similar to Marcion’s,

> assumes something of the aspect of likelihood, however, when we observe the relation of the Gospel of Marcion to the peculiarly Lukan elements in Luke, on the one hand, and to the common Synoptic elements, on the other.\footnote{Knox, \textit{Marcion and the New Testament}, 106.}

Based on his table of Marcionite, non-Marcionite, and uncertain readings,\footnote{Cf. n. 133.} Knox observed,

> Of the verses which [sic] there is positive evidence to show did \textit{not} belong to Marcion, 79.7 per cent are peculiar to Luke. Of all the verses

still finds it “unlikely” that Marcion relied on an earlier document that he happened to discover and is at a loss to explain how such “certainty” could have arisen on the part of many “modern scholars to reject the unanimous consensus of early patristic writers that Marcion edited the Gospel of Luke” for “there is nothing irrational about either the editorial process or the patristic claim” (\textit{Heresy and Criticism}, 34, 46).
of Luke which are peculiar to Luke, 39 per cent are known to be missing in Marcion, whereas of verses of Luke paralleled in Matthew or Mark or both, only 10 per cent are known to be missing from Marcion [emphasis original].\textsuperscript{141}

Much more recently Tyson also employed this argument in his recent attempt to revitalize Knox’s views, once again relying on Harnack’s reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel and creating tables like those of Knox.\textsuperscript{142} Although there are slight differences in the numbers due to Tyson’s occasionally different evaluation about certain Lukan pericopes, the results are quite similar.\textsuperscript{143} Tyson states, “About 12 percent of Lukan material with synoptic parallels is probably absent from Marcion’s Gospel. But 41–43 percent of Lukan Sondergut material is omitted.”\textsuperscript{144} Tyson continues his argument with a discussion of the reasons why he believes the infancy narratives were later additions as was most of Luke 24.\textsuperscript{145} He then recalculates the statistics in the comparison of Marcion’s Gospel and Luke using only Luke 3–23. In this comparison

the rate of omission, although still about 12 percent for material with synoptic parallels, is only about 22 percent for material peculiar to Luke. Although there is still a difference to be noted, the difference is about half of what we saw in tables 1 and 2 [using Luke 1–24 as a comparison].\textsuperscript{146}

Even though Tyson does not wish to press the point too far,\textsuperscript{147} he does stress the conclusion:

\begin{quote}
Whatever text lies behind the Gospel of Marcion and canonical Luke, it almost certainly did not contain the birth narratives or the preface, and it
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{142} Tyson, \textit{Marcion and Luke-Acts}, 86. Tyson’s tables are provided on p. 87.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., 86. Tyson, unlike Knox, also provides a second table based on the number of words in the verses and not only the verses themselves. In an appendix containing Knox’s data, Tyson reiterates the occasional variance in classifying material (ibid., 133).
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., 87.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., 90, 101. The entire discussion is found on pp. 90–109. On pp. 109–16 Tyson discusses the Lukan preface arguing that it “may plausibly be read as introducing a text that responds to ‘heretical’ challenges, especially those of the Marcionites” (ibid., 116).
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 117.
\textsuperscript{147} Tyson notes, “None of these observations is sufficient to compel the conclusion that Luke 3–23 was the exact text that Marcion and the author of canonical Luke used” (ibid., 119).
probably had only a trace of the resurrection account that now appears in canonical Luke [emphasis original].

Of course, if one holds this view, the fact that a comparison of Marcion's Gospel with Luke 3–23 yields a less radical re-working of Lukan material may seem impressive. Tyson seems to have overlooked, however, that his analysis may just as easily be used for the contrary position. If the content of the opening chapters of Luke could especially be used against Marcion, the content of these chapters would necessarily have been inimical to Marcion if initially present. In fact, Tyson has shown that the majority of Lukan Sondergut material omitted by Marcion is found at the beginning and the end of Luke, and one could contend that there is no easier place to omit material than in the opening or closing of the Gospel. With two “strokes” Marcion may have eliminated a vast amount of material offensive to him and peculiar to Luke and then re-worked Luke 3–23 where, incidentally, Tyson believes, “it is not difficult to account for his [Marcion’s] omissions from the text.” Ironically therefore, Tyson’s figures could serve to weaken Knox’s initial argument if one does not hold to the idea that Luke 1–2 and 24 were later additions to the Gospel. Regardless of these issues, the point to be emphasized is that the significance of Marcion’s exclusion of Lukan Sondergut is largely determined by an a priori view of the extent of Marcion’s source text. In other words, the significance of the statistics offered by Knox and Tyson are dependent on factors external to the readings found in Marcion’s Gospel. Thus, it seems that Knox and Tyson have engaged in an interesting exercise, but one that ultimately does not serve to advance the understanding of Marcion’s Gospel text or its relationship to Luke.

Despite Knox and Tyson’s arguments based on vocabulary, style, and “general content” ultimately not providing a better understanding of the text of Marcion’s Gospel, Knox did emphasize an important methodological point made above in the criticism of Harnack’s methodology. Knox noted that concerning the verses he classified as “uncertain,” i.e., verses concerning which the sources are silent, it is precarious to contend that the verses either belonged or did not belong to Marcion’s text based on doctrinal considerations: “The argu-

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148 Ibid.
149 Ibid., 117. From a slightly different perspective Grant questioned Knox’s statistics by arguing “if we count sections rather than verses the figure is reduced to fifty per cent [from nearly eighty per cent of verses not found in Marcion being Lukan Sondergut]. Was Marcion concerned with words and phrases or with ideas?” (The Letter and the Spirit, 116). Of course, though Grant apparently intends his question to be rhetorical, the answer to it actually determines whether his percentage or that of Knox is viewed as more convincing.
ment from the silence of Epiphanius and Tertullian is . . . unreliable.”\textsuperscript{150} On this
to point Knox was absolutely correct.

In 1948 E.C. Blackman’s work on Marcion appeared,\textsuperscript{151} which Knox, though
not agreeing with all of Blackman’s conclusions, noted was “the most valuable
book on Marcion since the appearance of Harnack’s work a quarter of a cen-
tury ago.”\textsuperscript{152} Although the work was at numerous points critical of Harnack’s
study because of what Blackman perceived was an overestimation of Marcion’s
religious significance and impact on catholic Christianity,\textsuperscript{153} Blackman fully
agreed with and followed Harnack’s reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel.
Blackman also agreed with Harnack’s conclusions that Marcion altered Luke
and that the copy of Luke that he possessed was a “Western text.”\textsuperscript{154} Although
he simply utilized Harnack’s reconstructed text, Blackman’s helpful con-
tribution to the discussion was his examination of the influence of Marcion’s
Gospel on the Old Latin versions.\textsuperscript{155} His conclusion, based on the evidence as
marshaled by Harnack, was,

\begin{quote}
The influence of Marcion on Catholic texts was on the whole greater than
Harnack allowed, but it was nevertheless, very limited. The more palpa-
ble Marcionite alterations did not insinuate themselves.\textsuperscript{156}
\end{quote}

In his discussion of Marcion’s Scriptures, Blackman indicated “The Marcionite
Gospel and Apostle have been carefully restored by Harnack. . . . Nothing more

\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{151}] Reference to this work was made in n. 138.
\item[\textsuperscript{153}] Blackman ventured “to protest that Harnack estimated too highly the significance
of the great second-century nonconformist” (*Marcion and His Influence*, x). The issue of
Marcion’s determinative influence on the canon was taken up especially by Hans von
The Canon in Early Christianity* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 35–62 and
idem, “Marcion Revisited” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A.
\item[\textsuperscript{154}] Cf. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 45–52.
\item[\textsuperscript{155}] Cf. especially the discussion in appendix 7 “Did Marcion’s Text Influence the Old Latin?”
in ibid., 128–68.
\item[\textsuperscript{156}] Ibid., 6o. The passages where Blackman saw Marcion’s influence in the ol. tradition are
23:34a; and 24:6 (ibid.).
\end{enumerate}
remains to be done except a revision of the critical apparatus.”

Despite recognizing that one often cannot draw a firm conclusion concerning Marcion’s text from Tertullian’s silence and reminding the reader that Marcion was not completely consistent in his alterations of his texts, this evaluation of Harnack’s text is too naïve. In Blackman’s discussion of the texts that evidence “the most striking of Marcion’s omissions and alterations” it should first be noted that he included comments on nine verses from Marcion’s *Apostolikon* that Schmid has shown to be somewhat dubiously attributed to Marcion. Since Blackman discussed only twenty examples from Paul’s letters, questionable examples encompass nearly half of the total number. It is noteworthy that in each of these cases Blackman focused on the theological reason for the change or omission, which may well have led him to agree prematurely with Harnack’s readings.

Second, in his discussion of readings in Marcion’s Gospel the same problem is evidenced. For example, Blackman stated,

Luke 22:20 lacked καινή before διαθήκη. The ‘old’ covenant was made by the God of the Old Testament, whereas Marcion’s God had made no previous covenant with men.

This reading is based entirely on an allusion by Tertullian, and it appears that a theological consideration is the primary motivation in accepting this reading. Apparently, the weaknesses of Harnack’s methodology were here perpetuated. Blackman nevertheless made a crucial observation noting,

it is difficult always to be certain that the variant reading really stood in Marcion’s text; the sources, Tertullian, *Adamantius*, or Epiphanius may have quoted incorrectly.

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157 Ibid., 43–44.
158 Ibid., 47.
159 Ibid.
160 Included are 1 Cor 3:17, 15:3; Rom 1:18, 11:33; and Phil 2:7 (cf., respectively, Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 80–81; 193–94; 63; 64; 76). Blackman also commented on readings attested solely in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, which Schmid argues cannot be used as a reliable independent source for Marcion’s text (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 236). These verses are 1 Cor 15:20, 2 Cor 2:15; Rom 6:9; and Eph [Laodiceans] 4:6 (cf. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 44–45).
161 Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 46.
162 See the discussion in chapter 5.90.
He did not, however, suggest any methodological steps that could be taken to aid in evaluating the accuracy of the sources. That step was left for a later generation of scholars to take.

2.8 1980 to Present

In 1982, David Salter Williams submitted an M.A. thesis at the University of Georgia entitled “Marcion’s Gospel: Reconsidered.”\(^{164}\) In his thesis Williams did not seek to reconstruct Marcion’s Gospel, a point that has been subsequently overlooked, but rather to challenge the view that Marcion used Luke as the text base for his Gospel.\(^{165}\) Williams points out that his examination of the question and advocating the “non-traditional” position differs from other studies claiming the independence of Marcion’s Gospel in that they were “largely concerned with theological issues, while we will be involved almost exclusively with textual considerations.”\(^{166}\) For this emphasis Williams is to be commended, as well as for his attempt to develop a rigorous methodology in approaching the sources for readings in Marcion’s Gospel.

At the same time, however, his method must ultimately be regarded as too restrictive and geared towards negative results, for his work is designed to negate a view of Marcion’s text, not to reconstruct Marcion’s text. Although such an approach to Marcion’s Gospel is not inherently invalid, and Williams

\(^{164}\) Both the thesis and subsequent \textit{jbl} article were referenced in chapter 1, n. 10.

\(^{165}\) In his M.A. thesis Williams writes, “It is not our intention to attempt to reconstruct the original text of \textit{mg}. We seek only to question the traditional view’s strict identification of Marcion’s text base with the canonical Gospel of Luke” (“Marcion’s Gospel: Reconsidered,” 24). Both Schmid and Andrew Gregory, however, appear to classify Williams’s work as a “reconstruction.” On the one hand, Schmid groups Williams’s and Tsutsui’s work together under the heading “Rekonstruktionsversuche der marcinistischen Evangelienchrift” (\textit{Marcion und sein Apostolos}, 23). On the other hand, Gregory states, “Williams’ reconstruction is methodologically much more rigorous and its results much more radical [emphasis added]” (\textit{The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus} [WUNT 2:169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 178). Schmid admits he was not able to consult Williams’s M.A. thesis, and Gregory does not mention it, but even so, in Williams’s \textit{jbl} article, which Schmid and Gregory do cite, Williams nowhere indicates his objective is to reconstruct Marcion’s Gospel. In fact, Williams only writes that he intends to call into question the position that Marcion’s Gospel “represents simply a systematic abbreviation of the canonical Gospel of Luke,” and that “the safest and surest procedure in approaching Marcion’s Gospel is to limit study to what I shall call ‘explicit correlated readings’” (“Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 478, 481).

is rightly skeptical about the validity of invoking Marcion's theology in considering readings in Marcion's text, there are, nevertheless, several difficulties in the method Williams employed in his work. The methodological problems begin with Williams restricting his examination to what he calls “explicit correlated readings,” i.e., readings attested in both Tertullian and Epiphanius as a “direct quote.” Schmid points out that although Williams employs a “methodisch kontrollierbarer Ausgangspunkt,” he also observes,

Diese methodisch sehr restriktive Rekonstruktion erlaubt fast nur negative Schlußfolgerungen im Blick auf die Vorlage des marcionitischen Evangeliums und auch im Blick auf die anzunehmende marcionitische Bearbeitung desselben.

Two specific questions Schmid sets forth highlighting the weakness of such a restrictive methodology are “ob es nicht noch andere methodisch kontrollierbare Verfahren gibt, die auch die Zeugnisse, die nur eine der Quellen bietet, erschließen helfen” and “ob die etwas mechanisch anmutende Identifizierung von direkten Zitaten durch ein einleitendes Verbum dicendi wirklich zuverlässige Resultate ermöglicht.”

Furthermore, Williams has chosen to consider only the evidence provided by Tertullian and Epiphanius, thus completely ignoring the Adamantius Dialogue and any other sources. In his M.A. thesis Williams simply states,

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167 Williams states that though theologically based alteration by Marcion is possible, his study suggests “that we are either less familiar with Marcion's theology and/or editorial goals than has been previously thought, or he may have transmitted his text with greater fidelity than has been supposed” (“Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel,” 483).

168 Ibid., 481. Williams offers this criterion because of six challenges he perceives in examining Marcion's Gospel (listed in ibid., 478–80) and provides a list of these readings in an appendix to the article (ibid., 483–96; see also Williams, “Marcion's Gospel: Reconsidered,” 25–60).

169 Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 24.

170 Ibid., 23. See the comments above concerning the significance of Williams's concern only to disprove a position for issues pertaining to methodology. Tyson, though agreeing with Williams's conclusion, also notes, “Williams's appendix may be useful as a kind of check list, but it cannot be regarded as an adequate reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel” (Marcion and Luke-Acts, 42). Lieu is more dismissive, stating that Williams's approach is “too niggardly . . . , yielding little of substantive value” (“Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem,” 735).

171 Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 24.
Because of the doubts which surround the *Dialogue* and our need to use only the surest readings possible, we shall exclude this work from further consideration here.\footnote{Williams, “Marcion’s Gospel: Reconsidered,” 16.}

Though Williams is absolutely correct in pointing out doubts and challenges concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it is problematic to draw definitive conclusions concerning Marcion’s Gospel while entirely excluding some sources from the discussion.\footnote{It is one thing to offer tentative conclusions pending further research on other sources and quite another to embrace a methodology that *a priori* excludes sources. Concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*, its problematic nature as a source has also been highlighted by others, a fact clearly demonstrated in summary form by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 236. At the same time, however, the final element in Schmid’s seven-point summary evaluation of the dialogue on this page should not be overlooked, namely, that the *Adamantius Dialogue* can be utilized as a source when it agrees with Tertullian and/or Epiphanius. In this way the *Adamantius Dialogue*, for all its problems as a source, can still provide possible corroborative evidence for readings and thus cannot simply be ignored. These issues are discussed further below in the introduction to chapter 7.} In addition, when Williams interacts with the two sources he does consult, he simply compares the readings as found in the text, making no attempt to examine the citations within the context of the citation tendencies or proclivities of either Tertullian or Epiphanius, to determine whether a difference in the citation could be explained or even resolved by what may be termed a “characteristic change” by either writer.\footnote{Clabeaux observes, “In the discussion of these criteria [used to reconstruct pre-Marcionite readings] it should have become clear how important a knowledge of the style and tendencies of a church father is for evaluating the reliability of biblical citations” (*A Lost Edition*, 39). This point is valid not only in considering Marcion’s text but also in comparing readings between church fathers. Peter Head criticizes Williams for exaggerating “the problems associated with the evidence of Epiphanius and Tertullian, since variations in patristic quotations occur regularly, for example in gospel citations: this does mean care must be exercised, but it doesn’t mean that the testimony of ancient authors can be disregarded” (“The Foreign God and the Sudden Christ: Theology and Christology in Marcion’s Gospel Redaction,” *TynBul* 44 [1993]: 316n40).} Of course, the possibility remains that differences in a given citation cannot be explained along these lines, but without considering this option, any conclusion, such as the idea that of the twenty-three “explicit correlated readings” only five “allow us to be reasonably sure of the wording of Marcion’s Gospel,”\footnote{Williams, “Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 481.} seems to be premature. At the same time, however, Tyson highlights the importance of Williams’s work by stating,
Critiques by Williams and others remind us that an examination of Harnack's suggestions about the actual wording of individual verses requires special caution. Each case should be questioned, and the basis of his suggested wording reexamined.\textsuperscript{176}

I would simply add that this re-examination should and must begin with a comprehensive examination of the sources and the citation habits of the church fathers who provided them.

Hoffmann's 1984 study on Marcion,\textsuperscript{177} in which he states that he “tried to avoid approaching Marcion on the basis of Harnack's conclusions,” took a very skeptical stance over and against the patristic sources, and he therefore notes

the amount of patristic evidence that I have felt able to credit is much less than Harnack put forward; accordingly, there has been no attempt to reproduce the text of Marcion's Gospel.\textsuperscript{178}

Nevertheless, this fact does not keep Hoffmann from using his thesis of a significantly earlier date for Marcion and his conviction of the relative lateness of the Lukan corpus to argue that because of these points it “makes it probable that Marcion's evangelion was an Urlukas, and without question an abbreviated version of the Third Gospel.”\textsuperscript{179} Hoffmann's study appears to be another case where a particular conviction arises from historical assumptions external to Marcion's Gospel itself.

In 1992, Kenji Tsutsui offered a new reconstruction of the entirety of Marcion's Gospel, the first to appear since Harnack.\textsuperscript{180} Tsutsui notes, “Wenn auch Harnacks Name ewig leben wird, so ist seine Rekonstruktion des Textes Marcions doch kein Heiligtum.”\textsuperscript{181} Regardless of how one is inclined to evaluate his first assertion, he is certainly correct in his second. Tsutsui provides the text in three rows: the top row is Tertullian's Latin text, the second row contains the references of Epiphanius and the Adamantius Dialogue, and the third row contains text-critical comments and discussion of the contents of the first

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{176} Tyson, \textit{Marcion and Luke-Acts}, 43.
\item \textsuperscript{177} Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{178} Hoffmann, \textit{Marcion}, xv.
\item \textsuperscript{179} Ibid., 133–34. Hoffmann's attempt to revise the dates, understanding, and context of Marcion has generally been met with skepticism or outright rejection. See the particularly critical reviews by C.P. Bammel; \textit{jts} 39 (1988): 227–32 and Gerhard May, "Ein neues Markionbild?,” \textit{tru} 51 (1986): 405–13.
\item \textsuperscript{180} Reference to this work was made in chapter 1, n. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{181} Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 68.
\end{itemize}
two rows.\textsuperscript{182} Tsutsui’s reconstructed text does differ from that of Harnack’s in several places;\textsuperscript{183} however, because of methodological shortcomings, Tsutsui’s offered text cannot be said to have advanced scholarly knowledge of Marcion’s text significantly beyond Harnack. Although Tsutsui, unlike Williams, seeks to incorporate multiple witnesses in a complete reconstruction of Marcion’s \textit{Euangelion}, Schmid rightly points out, “Eine ausgeführte Quellenkritik oder Überlegungen zum Charakter der Quellen und zur methodisch kontrollierten Rückgewinnung des marcionitischen Textes wird allerdings kaum vorgenommen.”\textsuperscript{184} For example, Tsutsui simply asserts

\begin{quote}
In bezug [\textit{sic}] auf Tertullian ist es ferner beachtenswert, daß er oft den Text Marcions in direkter Rede (z.B. “dicit, . . .”, “dicens, . . .”, “adicit, . . .”, “inquit, . . .”) oder in einem unabhängigen Satz (worin oft das Subjekt bzw., das Verb in 1./2. Person beibehalten ist) wiedergibt. Dieser Bericht, der im folgenden ‘direktes Zitat’ genannt und in der Textangabe fett gedruckt (wie: \textit{fett}) wird, ist von besonderer Zuverlässigkeit und kann ausführlicher als die sonstigen behandelt werden.\textsuperscript{185}
\end{quote}

Schmid observes that this rather unsophisticated approach to Tertullian’s citations “muß in methodischer Hinsicht als ein Zurückgehen hinter ein schon erreichtes Problembewußtsein gewertet werden.”\textsuperscript{186} That this evaluation of Tsutsui’s methodology is not unfairly leveled was already confirmed before

\textsuperscript{182} Ibid., 70.
\textsuperscript{183} Tsutsui helpfully summarizes the verses where his text differs from that of Harnack’s (ibid., 68n4).
\textsuperscript{186} Schmid, \textit{Marcion und sein Apostolos}, 25. Lieu also laments that Tsutsui’s article “unfortunately is not easily accessible and is marred by the lack of clear methodology” (“Marcion’s Gospel and the Synoptic Problem,” 732).
Schmid's study by the work of Clabeaux in his examination of Tertullian as a witness to the text of Marcion's Pauline corpus. It is unfortunate that Tsutsui makes no reference to Clabeaux's study, and therefore, may not even have been aware of the problematic nature of his assertion.

Since the work of Tsutsui, Ulrich Schmid has published two articles dealing with Marcion's Gospel. In the first he addresses the questions of whether Marcion knew the Fourfold Gospel collection and why Marcion chose Luke as the foundation for his text. In the second he addresses methodological issues in reconstructing Marcion's Gospel text that have already been seen to figure importantly in one of the above discussions concerning methodology.

Interestingly, however, several recent studies have once again challenged the view that Marcion's Gospel is a reworking of Luke. Tyson's work, which appeared in 2006, was already discussed in some detail in conjunction with Knox's study above, and it simply can be noted here that Tyson has drawn on both Hoffmann's earlier dating of Marcion's life and work and Knox's theories to argue that Luke is “the end of a rather long process of composition.”

A pre-Marcionite Gospel (beginning with Luke 3:1, already containing material from Mark and Q, containing a brief resurrection narrative, and dating to 70–90 C.E.) was re-worked by Marcion around 115–120 C.E., and again reworked by the author of Luke, who had as one of his purposes the refutation of Marcionism, around 120–125 C.E.

Matthias Klinghardt, in a publication which appeared in 2006 as well, also relies heavily on Knox's work, and he explicitly states that in his article he will renew Knox's thesis. Klinghardt's recognition of the inadequacy of Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel and the challenges that confront any new attempt to reconstruct this text leads him to focus on the general scope (Umfang) of Marcion's Gospel. He directs most of his attention to the beginning of Marcion's Gospel and of Luke as he formulates his

192 Klinghardt, “Markion vs. Lukas,” 491.
193 For Klinghardt's criticism of Harnack's text see n. 117. The entirety of Klinghardt's discussion is found in ibid., 491–94.
argument that Luke’s opening chapters are secondary and that the author of Luke, for his chapter four, has re-worked the Marcionite text. In addition, Klinghardt interprets the Lukan prologue as “antimarkionitisch.” Not surprisingly, Klinghardt concludes “Markion hat das kanonische Lk-Evangelium nicht verstümmelt. Vielmehr stellt Lk eine redaktionelle Erweiterung des älteren Evangeliums dar, das auch Markion benutzt hatte.”

Most recently, Jason David Beduhn has entered the discussion concerning the relationship between canonical Luke and Marcion’s Gospel with his own set of arguments for Marcion not having redacted Luke. He rightly notes

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194 Ibid., 499.
195 Ibid., 508. The entire discussion of the prologue is found on pp. 500–508.
197 Cf. Jason David Beduhn, “The Myth of Marcion as Redactor: The Evidence of ‘Marcion’s’ Gospel Against an Assumed Marcionite Redaction,” ASES 29 (2012): 21–48. In this article, Beduhn refers to a forthcoming monograph entitled The First New Testament: Marcion’s Second Century Scriptural Canon which appeared at the end of 2013 as The First New Testament: Marcion’s Scriptural Canon (Salem, Oreg.: Polebridge, 2013). Unfortunately, this book appeared as the present volume was essentially already in press. For this reason, though occasional reference to the book in a few instances was still possible, extensive interaction was precluded. Beduhn offers an English text of Marcion’s Gospel on pp. 99–127 with notes to the text found on pp. 128–200. The notes provide opportunity for future discussion and comparison with my own work; however, the reconstruction is rather less helpful. Despite a large-print, bold proclamation at the top of the rear cover, “The earliest version of the New Testament now in English for the first time!” and a similar statement in the introduction, “this First New Testament has never been published in English, nor for that matter in any modern language” (First New Testament, 4), this claim is untrue for Marcion’s Gospel as at least five previous English versions are known to me (cf. nn. 12, 63, and 128 above). In fact, Hill’s extensive English translation of Marcion’s Gospel, published in 1891 (cf. above n. 12), has been available for nearly 125 years. In addition, BeDuhn rightly notes the challenges of the precise reconstruction of Marcion’s texts, but this leads him to state that the goal of his work is to offer an opportunity “to read this first Christian Bible as a whole in its general sweep of themes and teachings, and in this way appreciate its distinctive message and its place in the early development of Christianity, while the challenge of pursuing the exact Greek text continues into the future” (First New Testament, 9). It seems to me, however, that most of this “general
many of the challenges discussed above concerning the evidence for Marcion’s Gospel and recognizes the problems with both “maximalist” and “minimalist” reconstructions of Marcion’s Gospel text. Ultimately, Beduhn finds the position contending for “an independent derivation of Marcion’s text and canonical Luke from a common proto-gospel” to best account for the evidence as he sees it.

At this point it is clear that a long, complex, and at times convoluted history of research has attended the scholarship on Marcion’s Gospel. As was mentioned prior to this survey, the only way truly to move forward in the discussion is to revisit the content and readings of Marcion’s Gospel. Knox appropriately noted,

sweep” has been available for a long time. Though Beduhn’s English text rightly avoids reconstructing unattested pericopes often found in Hill’s text, most of these passages are also listed as “doubtful” or “not cited in Fathers” in a table at the end of Hill’s translation (Hill, Gospel of the Lord, 62–63). Though Beduhn helpfully uses ellipses within verses and does not include unattested verses within attested pericopes and thus most certainly is an improvement upon previous English texts, in my estimation it is precisely the more detailed reconstruction as attempted here that is the necessary work at present, even though such work may well continue into the future.


Beduhn, “The Myth of Marcion as Redactor,” 35. Prior to Beduhn’s work, an even more provocative and radical thesis had been advanced by Markus Vinzent in his recent monograph Christ’s Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). In this work Vinzent not only affirms that “Marcion neither found, nor used, nor edited the Gospel, but produced it in his Roman classroom” (p. 86) but also that Marcion’s Gospel “was rewritten and broadened, published in versions to which were attached the names Mark, Matthew, John and Luke” (p. 4). To my knowledge, no scholar has yet followed Vinzent in this view and his work has elicited critical review articles by James Carleton Paget, “Marcion and the Resurrection: Some Thoughts on a Recent Book,” JSNT 35 (2012): 74–102 and Judith Lieu, “The Enduring Legacy of Pan-Marcionism,” JEH 64 (2013): 557–61.

It is also worth noting, that scholarship on Marcion and his Gospel is ongoing as Matthias Klinghardt plans to publish a monograph length study of Marcion, as does Judith Lieu. The latter, as already mentioned in several notes above, has briefly addressed various elements of scholarship on Marcion and his texts in “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 731–51 and “Marcion and the New Testament,” 399–416. Markus Vinzent has indicated that he intends to offer a volume entitled Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels on the relationship of Marcion’s Gospel to the canonical Gospels.
The raising of that question...confronts us with one of the most intricate problems of the whole intricate field of the textual criticism of the New Testament.201

Indeed, the challenges to reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel have often been noted.202 Therefore, any renewed attempt to reconstruct Marcion's Gospel from the sources is inextricably linked with methodological questions concerning one's approach to the sources. Up to this point, the discussion has largely focused on the shortcomings of previous studies, even if areas where scholarship has advanced have also been noted. At the same time, the crucial need for providing a positive contribution to the understanding of the sources for Marcion's Gospel and to methodological considerations has become evident. It is to that endeavor that the following chapters are devoted.

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CHAPTER 3

Sources and Methodology

3.1 The Extant Sources

It is an unfortunate reality that no new source texts for the reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel have come to light since Harnack’s tome on Marcion.1 The most important sources remain Tertullian’s Adversus Marcionem, especially book four; the Panarion (Adversus haereses) of Epiphanius, especially section forty-two and the seventy-eight σχόλια and ἐλεγχοι concerning Marcion’s Gospel; and the Pseudo-Origen Adamantius Dialogue, especially books one and two, where Adamantius debates the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus.2 Apart from these sources, Harnack rightly noted, “Die Ausbeute, welche die Angaben anderer Zeugen gewähren (von Hippolyt und Origenes an bis zum Armenier Esnik), ist nicht groß.”3 It is important, however, not to confuse having no new sources with having no new knowledge of the sources, even if the limitations of working with ancient texts will never be completely overcome.4 For instance, it is undeniable that since Harnack’s work, important new editions and studies of the sources relevant for reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel

1 Claire Clivaz, “The Angel and the Sweat Like ‘Drops of Blood’ (Lk 22:43–44): P69 and f13,” HTR 98 (2005): 429–32 has cautiously suggested that P69 is a fragment of Marcion’s redaction of Luke. In my estimation, however, this view cannot be accepted as it rests entirely on an argument from silence; the verses Clivaz considers are unattested for Marcion’s Gospel.


3 Harnack, Marcion, 177”. At the same time, however, even if these sources provide minimal insight into the text of Marcion’s Gospel, some of these sources are valuable for the history of Marcionism and its opponents. For instance, Han J.W. Drijvers has noted, “Polemic with Marcion is . . . a distinguishing mark of all Syrian theology in its different forms from the very beginning of Syriac literature forward” (“Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity,” SecCent 2 [1982]: 174).

4 Thus, Lieu is, on the one hand, correct in noting, e.g., “unfortunately, the value of Epiphanius’s evidence for a detailed reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel and Apostolikon is vitiating by the corrupt state of the text transmitted; indeed, some of these problems may already have been present when he incorporated it into his account of the Marcionites” (“Marcion and the New Testament,” 401). At the same time, there is still a place, as discussed in chapter one, for reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel on the basis of the evidence found in the sources that we have, in the state in which we have them.
have appeared. These advances are noted and briefly discussed in the respective ensuing chapters devoted to analyzing the data found in the various sources.\footnote{It can already be highlighted here that Schmid’s study of the citation habits found in the three primary sources for Marcion’s texts (Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the Adamantius Dialogue) comprises the majority of his work on Marcion’s Apostolikon. He has identified numerous trends in citations of Marcion’s text that also must be considered when reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel. (cf. Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 35–235). The examinations of Clabeaux, though smaller in scope, are also helpful (cf. A Lost Edition, 40–49, 57–69).}

### 3.2 The Attestation of Marcion’s Gospel

A significant challenge in attempting to gain an overview of Marcion’s Gospel as attested in the extant sources is that to my knowledge no comprehensive list of the verses \textit{and} the reference(s) in the sources has even been compiled.\footnote{This is not to say that no resource exists for finding sources that provide testimony concerning a particular verse since Harnack provided an apparatus to his reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel that contains references to nearly all the relevant sources (cf. Marcion, 183*-240*). It is difficult, however, to gain an overview of the whole of Marcion’s Gospel and the testimony concerning it by perusing the apparatus.} This observation remains true even for the list of passages in Knox’s work, which provides an often helpful general overview.\footnote{Knox’s list contains only references to the verses with no mention of the sources.} It is important to remember that Knox’s list of Lukan verses present, absent, or unattested in Marcion’s text is based on Harnack’s reconstruction and not the sources, and that Knox allowed the mention of only a few words of a Lukan pericope in a source to lead to the inclusion of the entire pericope in the “attested” list.\footnote{Knox himself was aware of this latter weakness (cf. chapter 2, n. 133).}

In order to provide a more detailed picture of Marcion’s Gospel, the following tables apply a rigorous standard: only the specific verses whose content is at least partially mentioned by a source are included in the list of attested passages. Of course, there are occasions when a source, particularly Epiphanius, provides a reference apparently intended to indicate that a pericope was present in Marcion’s text through a general reference including \textit{καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς} or by referring to an opening, medial, and closing verse.\footnote{Cf. Pan. 42.11.4, 42.11.5, and 42.11.6 in scholia 5, 59, 64, and probably 38.} It may well be that in such cases Marcion’s text included the entire pericope; yet, the reality remains that not every verse of the pericope is attested.\footnote{Slightly different is the case when an omission is noted in this manner, since even though an attestation of the \textit{presence} of a pericope does not necessarily attest to the presence,
passages with the greatest likelihood of having come from Marcion’s text are included. For example, concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue* Harnack recognized that it remains unclear at numerous points whether citations arose from Marcion’s text.\textsuperscript{11} Though Marcionite readings may appear in citations not identified as arising from Marcion’s text or not made by Megethius or Marcus, they can be identified as such only if they corroborate an already established Marcionite reading from another source.\textsuperscript{12} Thus, I have chosen to err on the side of caution concerning the citations included in the table below and have placed questionable citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* in square brackets. Overall, the data are intended, as much as possible, to reveal not simply the broad strokes, but the specific verses on which the sources comment or are silent.

Concerning the tables themselves, the first two, respectively, list verses that are attested in one of two ways: (1) the content, or part of the content, of a verse is attested as present or (2) the content of a verse is attested as not present. The latter phenomenon appears almost exclusively in the testimony of Epiphanius; however, in nearly every instance, Epiphanius’s explicit indication of an omission in Marcion’s text corresponds with the silence of Tertullian. Thus, the Tertullian column of table two contains references in brackets with

\begin{itemize}
\item and certainly not to the wording, of every verse in the pericope, a reference to the *omission* of a passage from one verse up to another necessarily indicates that the intervening verses were absent.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{11} Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, 181*. Kenji Tsutsui is of the opinion, “Es ist…davon auszugehen, daß die antimarkionitische Auseinandersetzung über das Evangelium im Adamantiosdialog ursprünglich auf der Basis des markionitischen Textes geführt wurde” (*Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Markioniten im Adamantios-Dialog: Ein Kommentar zu den Büchern 1–II* [FTS 55; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004], 93). This claim, however, is based on Tsutsui’s view that the first two books of the *Adamantius Dialogue* draw from one source dating to the second century (cf. the discussion in the introduction to chapter 6 below). When considering the content of the dialogue itself, in a later discussion concerning whether the words οἶδας ὅτι ἐπηγγείλω ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου εὐαγγελίου δεικνύναι are spoken in the *Adamantius Dialogue* by either Megethius or Adamantius, Tsutsui admits that having Megethius utter them (the position taken by Tsutsui) creates an inconsistency since “Adamantios eigentlich nicht versprochen hat, seine Behauptung aus den Schriften des Megethios…zu begründen” (ibid., 179), even if Adamantius does at times indicate that he is using Marcion’s Scriptures. In general, a statement such as that of Tim Carter that “it is apparent that Adamantius was comparing his own Gospel text with that of Marcion” assumes far too much (“Marcion’s Christology and its Possible Influence on Codex Bezae,” *JTS* 61 [2010]: 554).

\textsuperscript{12} For further discussion concerning the testimony of the *Adamantius Dialogue* to Marcion’s Gospel, cf. chapter 7.
the indication “tacitus” in order to indicate those instances when Tertullian silently passes over verses that Epiphanius states were missing. The third table lists the “unattested” verses, in other words, the verses concerning which all sources are silent. Finally, for ease of reference the chapter and verse numbers are taken from Luke. As noted in the opening chapter of this monograph, this is a heuristic utilization of the Lukan chapter and verse divisions that is not intended to express any definitive view on the relationship between Luke and Marcion’s Gospel.

### 3.2.1 Attested Verses (Present)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse in Luke</th>
<th>Tertullian(^{13})</th>
<th>Epiphanius(^{14})</th>
<th>Adamantius Dialogue(^{15})</th>
<th>Other(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:1</td>
<td>Marc. 4.7.1</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.5</td>
<td>Adam. 64.14–15</td>
<td>Irenaeus, Haer. 1.27.2; 4.6.2(^{16})</td>
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<td>(2.3); 98,2–3</td>
<td>(2.18); 102,22–23</td>
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<td>(2.19)</td>
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\(^{13}\) Section numbers are taken from *Contre Marcion* (critical text by Claudio Moreschini; trans. René Braun; 5 vols.; *SC* 365, 368, 399, 456, 483; Paris: Cerf, 1990–2004).

\(^{14}\) Section numbers are taken from *Epiphanius* (ed. Karl Holl; 3 vols.; *GCS* 25, 31, 37; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1915–1933; 2d ed. of vol. 2, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980 and 2d ed. of vol. 3, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985). In the references to *Pan. 42.11.6*, the number in parentheses refers to the scholia. The scholia are repeated in the same order in *Pan. 42.11.17*, each followed by an elenchus. When, in an elenchus (ἔλ.), a reference is made to a verse other than the one(s) found in the corresponding scholia, it is noted in the table.

\(^{15}\) References to the *Adamantius Dialogue* give both the page and line number from the W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen edition of the Greek text in Pseudo-Origen, *Der Dialog des Adamantius: ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ* (*GCS* 4; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901) and the divisions in C.P. Caspari’s edition of Rufinus’s Latin translation of the text in *Kirchenhistorische Anecdote: Nebst neuen Ausgaben patristischer und kirchlich-mittelalterlicher Schriften: I. Lateinische Schriften: Die Texte und die Anmerkungen* (*Oslo: Malling*, 1883), 1–129. Caspari’s divisions are given in parentheses. Not included in this table are the questionable instances when the Marcionites cite verses not found in Luke: in the case of Markus, the altered version of Matt 5:17 in *Adam*. 88,33 (2.15), John 13:34 in 90,4 (2.16), and John 15:19 in 108,32 (2.20), and in the case of Megethius, Matt 12:29 in 124,2–4 (3.7).

Section numbers are taken from the George A. Egan edition *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* (cSCO 291; Leuven: Peeters, 1968). For an overview of the debate concerning the authorship and unity of this work cf. David D. Bundy, “Criteria for Being in Communione in the Early Syrian Church,” *Aug* 25 (1985): 602–3; idem, “Marcion and the Marcionites in Early Syriac Apologetics,” *Mus* 101 (1988): 26–27; and idem, “The Anti-Marcionite Commentary on the Lucan Parables (Pseudo-Ephrem A): Images in Tension,” *Mus* 103 (1990): 112–14. Egan maintains that the work is by Ephrem (cf. George A. Egan, “A Re-consideration of the Authenticity of Ephrem’s ‘An Exposition of the Gospel,'” in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* [ed. Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann; 2 vols.; Münster: Aschendorff, 1970], 1:128–34), but even if this likely is not the case (cf. B. Outtier, “Une explication de l’évangile attribuée à Saint Ephrem. À propos d’une édition récente,” *ParOr* 1 [1970]: 397–401), Egan is absolutely correct in noting that the author makes no statement that he intends to use Marcion’s text in his refutation and in only two places makes any comment about the relationship between a citation and Marcion’s Gospel (*An Analysis of the Biblical Quotations of Ephrem in “An Exposition of the Gospel” (Armenian Version)* [cSCO 443; Leuven: Peeters, 1983], 42). Only one of these statements involves a passage from Luke (Luke 5:34), which is also the only other place evidence from *An Exposition of the Gospel* is listed in this table. Beduhn has once again taken up the position that the first section of the treatise (“Pseudo-Ephrem A,” i.e., *An Exposition of the Gospel* 1–76) is using Marcion’s own Gospel in its refutation of Marcion’s teaching and “thus offers a potentially valuable check on our sources for the Evangelion, both as regards the inclusion or exclusion of certain passages known from Luke, and for their particular wording” (*The First New Testament*, 40). I am not persuaded, however, of this view. The opening sections of the treatise are concerned with refuting Marcion’s view that the gospel/faith “is not manifested, nor are there thoughts concerning it, nor does it resemble anything” (the translation is that of George A. Egan in *Saint Ephrem: An Exposition of the Gospel* [cSCO 292; Leuven: Peeters, 1968], 1). The text continues, “How much Marcion lied I will show, for he speaks not from the true foundation. The Lord says in his Gospels, that faith in various matters is like everything whatever is of this world. He says in this manner

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<tr>
<th>Verse in Luke</th>
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<td>Hippolytus, <em>Haer.</em> 7.31.517</td>
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<td>(Pseudo-)Ephrem, <em>An Exposition of the Gospel</em> 118</td>
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that it is like a building, wine, a garment, fire, seeds, a kingdom, silver, a talent, a plant, a grain of mustard-seed, and leaven" (ibid., 1–2; for the author's approach and argument, cf. also E. Preuschen, "Eine altkirchliche antimarcionistische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephräms," ZNW 12 [1911]: 246, 268). In sections 1–51, these elements are illustrated through parables or teachings from the Gospel (though in a variant order as "mustard-seed" and "leaven" are found between "kingdom" and "silver"). Though Beduhn insists that these illustrations "are drawn exclusively from Luke," the citation of the "leaven" is clearly the reading of Matt 13:33 and "plant" is illustrated with a citation of Mark 12:1. Though there are Lukan parallels for these verses, the wording is not Lukan. In addition, though in sections 52–67, where the church as sheep is discussed, Luke 15:4; 12:32; and 10:3 are cited, in the final sections 68–76, in the discussion of the church as a bridge, no Gospel citation is offered. Furthermore, Beduhn's statement "Ps.-Ephrem A never cites a passage from Luke known from other witnesses to have been absent from the Evangelion" (The First Gospel, 340n69) is problematic given that the "plant" illustration cites the Markan parallel to Luke 20:9, which is part of a parable explicitly stated as omitted by Epiphanius. In addition, "Pseudo-Ephrem A" illustrates "building" (Luke 6:47–48) and "seeds" (Luke 8:5–8a, 12–15) with entire passages elsewhere unattested for Marcion's text, and refers to otherwise unattested verses in "mustard-seed" (Luke 13:18), "silver" (Luke 19:12), and "talent" (Luke 19:16–18). The view, therefore, that this treatise does not simply evidence knowledge of the Marcionite teaching but is actually based on Marcion's Gospel text seems unlikely.

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<td>Hippolytus, Haer. 7.31.6</td>
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<td>[An anonymous Syriac manuscript preserved in the British Museum (cod. Add. 17215 fol. 30)]²⁴</td>
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²⁰ Both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the presence of this verse in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19).

²¹ Section numbers are taken from the J.-L. Feiertag edition S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera: Opera iii, Opera Polemica 2: Contra Iohannem (CCSL 79a; Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

²² On the basis of the order in which Tertullian addressed the elements in Marcion’s Gospel (cf. on this point, chapter 5, n. 2) and as an implication of the statement in the Adamantius Dialogue, it would appear that 4:31–35 preceded the pericope found in 4:16–30.

²³ This reference is found in Origenes opera omnia (ed. Carol Henric Eduard Lommatzsch; 25 vols.; Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1831–1848), 5:286.

In Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 5.21, after commenting on Jesus’ statement “your sins are forgiven you,” Ephrem references a Marcionite view that since the paralytic committed sin through his body he was punished through the body. It is difficult to know what, if any, particular verse is being referenced.

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<sup>27</sup> Section numbers are taken from the Edmund Beck edition and translation *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen Contra Haereses* (cSCO 169, 170; Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1957).

<sup>28</sup> Luke 5:36–37 are referenced in Epiphanius's introductory material to Marcion as Marcion's confrontation with the elders in Rome. It is not entirely clear whether one is to understand Marcion having phrased the question based on his own Gospel text.

<sup>29</sup> Section numbers are taken from the Friderich Marx edition *Sancti Filastrii Episcopi Brixiiensis: Diversarum Hereseon Liber* (cSEL 38; Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1898).

<sup>30</sup> The precise location of this verse in Marcion's Gospel is uncertain. Cf. the discussion in chapter 4, n. 61.
The comments by Robert A. Pretty in his translation of the *Adamantius Dialogue* imply that Megethius’s statement in *Adamantius: Dialogue on the True Faith in God* ([De Recta in Deum](https://www.dbol.org/Peeters/Adamantius/1997/)) does not support the view that Luke 6:14–16 was not present in Marcion’s Gospel. This view, however, seems to misunderstand the reference to τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα that are not written in the Gospel as referring to the twelve apostles rather than to Mark and Luke as indicated by the context. The Latin makes the point explicit with the statement nomina ista inter discipulos Christi scripta non sunt.

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Section numbers are taken from the Paul Koetschau edition Origenes Werke: Fünfter Band: De principiis (GCS 22; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913).

Section numbers are taken from the E. Kroymann edition in Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera (2 vols.; CCSL 1, 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 2:399–410.
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<sup>36</sup> This text is found in vol. 2 of S. Ephraim’s Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (ed. and trans. C. W. Mitchell, A. A. Bevan, and F. C. Burkitt; 2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1912–1921). Roman numerals refer to the page number of the English translation and Arabic numerals to the Syriac text.
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37 Epiphanius referenced Luke 8:21 in *Pan. 42.11.17 (Di. 12)*; however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion’s Gospel.

38 Epiphanius referenced Luke 8:27–33 in *Pan. 42.11.17 (Di. 24)*; however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion’s Gospel. Epiphanius incorporated the reference into his argument against Marcion’s view of the soul, an argument introduced by Marcion’s supposed teaching that those who eat flesh are subject to judgment, as they also would be for eating souls. After referring to Luke 8, Epiphanius offered a hypothetical answer that Marcion could make, an answer that Epiphanius refuted with a reference to the raising of Lazarus in John 11. The entire discussion seems to be a construction by Epiphanius without reference to Marcion’s Gospel text.

39 The conflated citation of Matt 8:29 and Luke 8:28 by Adamantius in *Adam. 34,20–21 (1.16)* has no claim to reflecting Marcion’s Gospel.
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40 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:466, Harnack, Marcion, 200*, and IGNTP refer to the Adamantius Dialogue passage as reflecting (a version of) Marcion’s Gospel. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 90, however, lists only the Epiphanius reference.
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41 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:466 rejected this verse as having been drawn from Marcion’s Gospel. Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*–2* noted Zahn’s rejection but remained noncommittal. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 92 seems to assume the citation is attesting Marcion’s text.

42 Though it is not entirely clear that Marcion’s text is in view, Epiphanius makes reference to this and several following verses in elenchus 63. Cf. also n. 66 below.
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Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:469; Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*; and BDF §64(3) all refer to a citation of Luke 10:21 in the Pseudo-Clementine Hom. 18.15.1 as evidencing Marcionite readings. James R. Royse, however, rightly notes “the quotation there can hardly be genuinely Marcion, since we also find καὶ τῆς γῆς, which Marcion omitted” (Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri [NTTSd 36; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2008], 128). Referring to the text as a “Marcionitisch-katholischen Mischtext” (Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*) reveals just how tenuous any data drawn from the passage is. For further comment on the homilies more generally, cf. n. 55 below.

Though there is no attestation of Marcion’s text, John Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 38 referred to and rejected Marcion’s interpretation of no one knowing the Father except the Son.

The number of this fragment is taken from Origenes Werke: Neunter Band: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars (ed. Max Rauer; 2d ed.; GCS 49; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), 302.

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\(^{48}\) In the notes to the series of "Woes" in Luke 11, Harnack commented "Auf das ‘Wehe’ im Ev. M.s spielt auch Ephraem an (51. Lied gegen die Ketzer c. 3)” (Marcion, 211*). In Hymn 51, however, Ephrem makes a reference to “blessed” and “woe,” indicating that the passage in view is more likely Luke 6:20–26 (cf. also Beck, Hymnen Contra Haereses, 174n1 of the translation). In either case no element of the text, apart from the “woe” is attested in the Hymn.
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\(^{49}\) On Tertullian's allusion to Luke 12:28a in *Marc. 4.29.1* and Epiphanius attesting its omission, cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.64.
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50 The citations of either the parallel Matt 8:12; 22:13; or 25:30 by Adamantius in *Adam.* 28,26–27 (1.13) and *Adam.* 112,19–21 (2.21) do not offer an attestation of Marcion’s Gospel.

51 In this elenchus Epiphanius cites part of 13:28 but also implies that the entire parable in vv. 25–28 was present in Marcion’s text.
Even if Adamantius’s allusion to Matt 18:12–14//Luke 15:4–7 in Adam. 4.11 in his reply to Droserius (presenting the teaching of Valentinus) is original to the dialogue, it is clearly not a reference to Marcion’s Gospel. Uncertainty concerning the passage’s originality is due to it only appearing in the Latin text. Cf. the comments of Bakhuyzen (ed.), Dialog, 167 and Pretty (trans.), Adamantius, 141n68.

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52 Even if Adamantius’s allusion to Matt 18:12–14//Luke 15:4–7 in Adam. 4.11 in his reply to Droserius (presenting the teaching of Valentinus) is original to the dialogue, it is clearly not a reference to Marcion’s Gospel. Uncertainty concerning the passage’s originality is due to it only appearing in the Latin text. Cf. the comments of Bakhuyzen (ed.), Dialog, 167 and Pretty (trans.), Adamantius, 141n68.
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53 Epiphanius refers to this verse specifically in an elenchus in which he probably also implies that the entirety of 16:19–31 was present in Marcion's text.
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<sup>54</sup> It is unlikely that the reference in Adam. 34.4–7 (1.16), rightly labeled "ein sehr freies Mischzitat aus Mt 26,24 par. und Mt 18,6 par." by Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 174, is attesting Marcion's Gospel.
Along with these other sources, Harnack also noted, "Vielleicht gehört auch Clem. hom. xviii, 1 hierher, wo wohl Marcion als Simon Magus spricht: μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθός εἷς ἐστιν, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς." (Marcion, 225*; cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:469). In addition, igntp attests the reading as Marcion ap Clementina. It is entirely possible that Marcionite and anti-Marcionite material appears in the Homilies, as M. J. Edwards observes “Simon is a composite intellectual of that era—a Simon, a Valentinus and a Marcion” (“The Clementina: A Christian Response to the Pagan Novel,” cq 42 [1992]: 462; for further discussion cf. A. Salles, “Simon le Magicien ou Marcion?,” vc 12 (1958): 197–224; Dominique Côté, “La fonction littéraire de Simon le Magicien dans les Pseudo-Clémentines,” ltp 57 [2001]: 513–23; and Annette Yoshiko Reed, “Heresiology in the (Jewish-)Christian Novel: Narrativized Polemics in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies,” in Heresy and Self-Definition in Late Antiquity [ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin; tsaj 119; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 273–98). It is a bit tenuous, however, to posit that here Marcion speaks as Simon and that in so doing attests Marcion’s text.
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56 In Marc. 4.37.4 Tertullian also makes the barest of allusions to the contents of vv. 16–24.
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<sup>57</sup> Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 287 sees a reference to both vv. 17 and 19 in this passage, but does not comment on whether or not it is attesting Marcion’s Gospel. Harnack stated “Aus Dial. 11, 20 läßt sich nichts Sicheres schließen” but sees vv. 17–18 as unattested and probably deleted by Marcion (*Marcion, 233*). In his earlier work Tsutsui agreed with Harnack that the verses were probably omitted (“Evangelium,” 123). Though assuming an omission is problematic, it is not entirely clear that Marcion’s text is in view in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

<sup>58</sup> Epiphanius referenced Luke 22:20 in *Pan. 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 61)*; however, it is not clear that he is here referring to Marcion’s Gospel. Even if he were, however, his reference to “the truth” saying μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν τάδε καὶ τάδε, [καὶ] εἶπεν, τούτο ἐστι τάδε καὶ τάδε is clearly an imprecise rendering of the content of the verse.

<sup>59</sup> Concerning the reference in *Adam. 34.4–7 (1.6)*, cf. n. 54 above.
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<sup>60</sup>  Tertullian attests the omission of v. 34b (cf. n. 68 below).
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<td>Pan. 42.11.6(77)</td>
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<td>24:37</td>
<td>Marc. 4.43.6</td>
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<td>[Adam. 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]</td>
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<td>24:38</td>
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<td>Pan. 42.11.6(78)</td>
<td>[Adam. 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]</td>
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<td>Marc. 4.43.6, 7, 8</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(78)</td>
<td>[Adam. 178,4–7 (5.3); 198,17–21 (5.12)]</td>
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<td>Marc. 4.43.8</td>
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<td>24:42</td>
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<td>Eznik, De deo 407</td>
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<td>Eznik, De deo 407</td>
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<td>24:47</td>
<td>Marc. 4.43.9</td>
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### Attested Verses (Not Present)

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<th>Verse(s) in Luke</th>
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<th>Adam.</th>
<th>Other(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1:1–2:52^[61]</td>
<td>Marc. 4.7.11 [Marc. 4.7.1 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.9.1; 42.11.4–5</td>
<td>Origen, <em>Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum</em></td>
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<td>Hippolytus, <em>Haer.</em> 7.31.5</td>
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<td>3:21–38</td>
<td>[Marc.4.7.1–6 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.4–5</td>
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<td>Jerome, <em>Jo. hier.</em> 34</td>
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<td>4:1–13</td>
<td>Marc. 5.6.[62]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(25)</td>
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<td>8:19</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.19.6–7 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(12)</td>
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<td>9:31b</td>
<td>Marc. 4.22.16</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(29)</td>
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<td>11:30–32</td>
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<td>[Marc. 4.27.8 tacitus]</td>
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<td>12:6</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.28.3 tacitus]</td>
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<td>13:1–9</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.30.1 tacitus]</td>
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<td>[Marc. 4.35.4 tacitus]</td>
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<td>17:12c–13^[64]</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.35.4 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(48)</td>
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<td>[Marc. 4.36.8 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(52)</td>
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<td>[Marc. 4.38.1 tacitus]</td>
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<td>20:9–17</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.38.3 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(55)</td>
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</tbody>
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62 This passage, though found in Tertullian’s discussion of 1 Cor, clearly reveals that these verses were not in Marcion’s Gospel.

63 Cf. n. 49 above.

64 The inclusion here of Luke 17:12c–13 arises out of a comparison of Tertullian’s and Epiphanius’s testimony. For discussion cf. chapter 6.4.49.
Table (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse(s) in Luke</th>
<th>Tertullian</th>
<th>Epiphanius</th>
<th>Adam.</th>
<th>Other(s)</th>
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<td>[Marc. 4.39.8 tacitus]</td>
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<td>21:21–22</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.39.9 tacitus]</td>
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<td>22:16</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.40.3 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(63)66</td>
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<td>22:35–38</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.41.2 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(64)67</td>
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<td>22:50–51</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.41.3 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(67)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23:34b68</td>
<td>Marc. 4.41.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>23:43</td>
<td>[Marc. 4.42.5 tacitus]</td>
<td>Pan. 42.11.6(72)</td>
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3.2.3  Unattested Verses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse(s) in Luke</th>
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<tr>
<td>4:33</td>
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</table>

65 Epiphanius also states that these verses were missing in *Pan. 42.11.6(57)* apparently based on a belief that Jesus made the statement twice (cf. *Pan. 42.11.17[ἔλ. 57]*).

66 In *Pan. 42.11.17 (ἔλ. 63)* Epiphanius referenced Luke 22:30, elsewhere unattested for Marcion’s Gospel; however, it is not entirely clear that Epiphanius is here drawing from Marcion’s Gospel, nor that Epiphanius here indicated that Marcion omitted this verse, as contended by Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 32–33n4.

67 Though Epiphanius cites the beginning of v. 35 followed by *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς* before referencing v. 37, the context strongly suggests that v. 36 was also missing.

68 Though Tertullian explicitly notes the excision of v. 34b and includes a discussion that assumes its omission throughout, Epiphanius references it in *Pan. 42.11.6(71)*. For a discussion of this issue, cf. chapter 6.4.70.

69 Even though there is no direct attestation of the omission of these verses, there is an indirect indication that 3:2–22 was missing as an implication of Tertullian’s comments in *Marc. 4.11.4*. 
70 The comment by Harnack, *Marcion*, 194* in his apparatus that an allusion to these verses “ist vielleicht in IV,16 (’denique hac inconvenientia voluntatis et facti agunt ethnici nondum a deo instructi’ [ethnici=ἁμαρτωλοί] [zu finden]” is contextually unlikely. Harnack is surely right when in the main text of his reconstruction he indicated that vv. 32–33 are “unbezeugt.”


72 The citation of Luke 10:18 by Marinus, a Bardasenite, in *Adam.* 134,5-6 (3.12) has no claim to having been drawn from Marcion’s Gospel.

73 In *Pan.* 42.3.9-10, Epiphanius indicated that Marcion used a text to justify multiple baptisms and to argue that he had been cleansed again after his transgression. Epiphanius then refers to a baptism with which Jesus is to be baptized and a cup which Jesus is to drink. Though the first reference is found in Luke 12:50, the mentioning of the cup reveals that Mark 10:38 is more likely in view. It is doubtful that Epiphanius here is accurately representing an argument by Marcion drawn from Mark.

74 Epiphanius referenced Luke 14:26 in *Pan.* 42.11.17 (Ελ. 70); however, it is not clear that he is here drawing from Marcion’s Gospel.

75 The citation of the parallel Matt 24:27 in *Adam.* 50,1-3 (1.25) is not an attestation of Marcion’s Gospel. Though Adamantius introduces the reference with λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, the previous reference to Matt 21:7 as a statement found in “the Gospel,” reveals that, in context, Matthew is in view.
3.3 The Methodology Employed in this Study

The tables above have attempted to offer a precise and nuanced overview of the verses or parts of verses that the sources for Marcion’s Gospel attest. At the same time, however, this insight is not particularly beneficial if, when one actually begins to attempt to reconstruct Marcion’s Gospel, the methodology governing the use of any of these sources is not also precise and nuanced.

3.3.1 Multiple Citations

In setting forth a methodology for reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel, it is important to recognize that the usefulness of the sources, and in this case particularly of hostile sources, is limited and that the era of the second century is notoriously difficult for questions relating to the text of the NT or Marcion’s Gospel (with its close affinity to Luke). May’s observation that it is difficult to claim that the attested text in a source was actually the “original” reading in Marcion’s Gospel. To reiterate points made earlier in this chapter.

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76 In Adam. 210,26-27 (5,18), Adamantius comments that the Savior states τὰ παρ’ ἀλθρώποις ἀδύνατα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ δυνατά (ea, quae apud homines impossibilia sunt, apud deum possibili sunt) (v. 70). Harnack, Marcion, 226* however, pointed out that it is “unwahrscheinlich” that this statement arose from Marcion’s text. Cf. also chapter 7.4.17.

77 Concerning this verse, cf. chapter 2, n. 112.

78 A further challenge is that there is no guarantee that the attested text in a source was actually the “original” reading in Marcion’s Gospel. To reiterate points made earlier in this chapter.
detect Marcion’s textual corrections because of the loose citations found in the sources and the fluid nature of the Gospels’ text in the second century clearly has validity. Nevertheless, a significantly better understanding of Marcion’s text than is currently available is possible.

In the light of the history of research presented in chapter two, it may be observed that despite their value, previous attempts to reconstruct Marcion’s Gospel ultimately fell short of offering a critically established text. The way forward has already been shown by Schmid’s work on Marcion’s *Apostolikon*, and in many ways the present work embraces his methodology and applies it to Marcion’s *Euangelion*. The foundational principle of Schmid’s work, and of the current work, is the recognition that if readings found in Marcion’s Gospel are to be gleaned from the “citations” offered from it by his adversaries “müssen wir das Zitierverhalten unserer Quellen möglichst präzise beschreiben, und das geschieht am überzeugendsten, indem man sämtliche Bibelzitate in allen Schriften eines Kirchenvaters untersucht.” In other words, in order to be able to evaluate the testimony that the church fathers offer for readings found in Marcion’s Gospel, their general handling of texts throughout their corpus, based on multiple citations, must be understood as precisely as possible. As Barbara Aland has pointed out, such an understanding entails: (1) examining

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work, Tertullian, *Marc. 4.5.7* and *Adam. 96,6–8 (2.18)*, e.g., both indicate that followers of Marcion continued to alter his *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon*. For this reason, it is obvious that the only text that can be reconstructed is the text attested in the sources, which can heuristically be called “Marcion’s Gospel” even if there is no absolute certainty that all the readings can be traced back to the version of the Gospel that Marcion held in his hand. Harnack made a similar point in the introductory sections to his reconstructions of Marcion’s canon (cf. *Marcion, 46* and 183*).

81 Schmid rightly observes, “Wenn die antimarcionitischen Polemiker versuchen, den Häretiker *ex his revinci, quae servavit* [Tertullian, *Marc. 5.4.2*], dann muß dies nicht notwendigerweise bedeuten daß sie seinen Text auch in jedem Fall wörtlich zitieren” (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 26).
82 Ibid.
83 The beginnings of the recognition of the importance of understanding the manner in which a church father quotes Marcion’s texts can be found in Wright, *Alterations*, 128–34 where he discussed eleven readings found in Marcion’s Gospel as reconstructed by Harnack.
how a particular author understood a particular passage through studying the parallel usage of the passage in the author’s corpus, (2) considering how the author incorporates the citation into his own language and style, and (3) understanding citations by Christian writers in their historical contexts and against the background of contemporary non-Christian stylistic sensibilities, because influence from that background always remains possible.84 Many helpful insights concerning the citation habits of the church fathers interacting with Marcion have already been gained through the work of Clabeaux and Schmid, and it remains here to build on their work by, whenever possible, examining every reference from the Gospel according to Luke in the work of a church father that also appears in his work against Marcion.85 Only after collecting and comparing the data—with special attention given to “stereotype, geprägte Wendungen ein und desselben Textstückes über mehrere Zitate hinweg und in unterschiedlichen Kontexten (und Schriften) des Kirchenvaters”—can the value and accuracy of his testimony to Marcion’s Gospel text be assessed and evaluated.86 Two assumptions underlie the ultimate validity of this approach,


85 Although allusions to Luke will not be ignored, in order to evaluate citation habits primary emphasis will fall on citations and adaptations. For the purposes of this study “citation” and “adaptation” are understood as defined by Carroll D. Osburn: “Citation. A verbally exact quotation, whether it corresponds entirely (for very brief instances) or largely (for longer instances) and whether made from a text or from memory, often having an introductory formula and always having an explicit or implicit que [sic] to the reader that it is intended as a deliberate citation. Adaptation. A quotation from a recognizable text, without an introductory formula, in which much of the lexical and syntactical structure of the text is preserved and woven unobtrusively into the patristic context, reflecting intent to cite, but which is adapted to the patristic context and/or syntax [emphasis original]” (The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis [SBLNTGS 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004], 28). For these definitions Osburn is summarizing the progression of Fee’s categories and thought (cf. Gordon D. Fee, “The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations,” Bib 52 [1971]: 357–94 as compared to Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee, and Michael W. Holmes, The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen [SBLNTGF 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992]). A comprehensive examination of the citation habits of Tertullian is, of course, beyond the scope of a work focusing on Marcion’s Gospel. Therefore, in addition to the results of previous studies, I am using the texts most immediately relevant for reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel as a “control group” for examining Tertullian’s citation habits.

86 Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 27.
namely that a church father’s citation habits remain essentially constant, in
the sense that he does not approach citing Marcion’s text radically differently
than his own text, and that Marcion’s text is not the text the church father usu-
ally utilized, and therefore he would not have been influenced by its particular
form in his other writings.\footnote{Once again, these points were already made by Schmid (ibid., 27–28). This study, however, has the benefit of Schmid already having demonstrated that, e.g., numerous citation habits for Tertullian are found throughout his corpus (cf. chapter 4, n. 22).}

It is crucial to recognize that in this approach to reconstructing Marcion’s
Gospel text, Marcion’s theological tendencies will not be invoked in the eval-
uation of a source’s testimony.\footnote{A necessary consequence of this approach is that there is also next to no discussion of passages which are passed over in silence. Concretely stated, an initial reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel must resist the temptation to draw firm conclusions concerning the unattested passages listed in table three.} Thus, I am consciously embracing and agreeing with Schmid’s perspective when he wrote,

I would prefer to see appeals to Marcionite tendency banned from any
serious reconstruction of the Marcionite text. We need to first of all
screen our sources for the Marcionite text against themselves in order
to better understand their theological agendas and rhetorical strategies.\footnote{Schmid, “How Can We Access?,” 149. Klinghardt also laments the use of “Marcion’s theological tendency” from Tertullian to Harnack in discussions of Marcion’s Gospel (“Markion vs. Lukas,” 496).}

The following chapters, therefore, devote significant space to “screening a
source against himself” in his use of Luke in order to attempt to ascertain the
reliability of his testimony concerning Marcion’s text.\footnote{At relevant points questions relating to the manuscript evidence for a church father’s works will also be considered, though for extended discussion the interested reader is referred to the critical editions.}

3.3.2 Textual Criticism

It was noted in the history of research that in addition to methodological
problems in Harnack’s reconstruction, he did not avail himself of all the data
available concerning attested readings in the manuscript tradition. In the pres-
et work, however, every attempt will be made to overcome this weakness.
Attested readings for Marcion’s Gospel will be compared with the manuscript
tradition of Luke and the relevant synoptic parallels as found in the apparatus
of Tischendorf,\(^{91}\) von Soden,\(^{92}\) NA\(^{28}\), and the two Luke volumes edited by the
American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament
Project.\(^{93}\) In addition, attention will be given not only to whether other manu-
scripts or how many other manuscripts attest a particular reading, but also to
which manuscripts attest the reading.\(^{94}\) In this way, as a particular source’s
testimony is evaluated, evidence in the manuscript tradition, which may at
times increase or decrease the likelihood of a reading in Marcion’s text, will be
kept in view.

\(^{91}\) Constantin Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece: Volumen I* (8th ed.; Leipzig:
Giesecke & Devrient, 1869).

\(^{92}\) Von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments: II. Teil: Text mit Apparat*.

1984–1987). The present study provides an opportunity to observe both of the following
comments by François Bovon: “the two volumes are a welcome tool, providing a handy
and comprehensive view of the manuscript evidence for the Gospel of Luke” and “the
apparatus, for all practical purposes, is a permanent source of mistakes for both the author
and the reader” (*Studies in Early Christianity* [wunt 161; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003],
25). Cf. also Carroll D. Osburn’s comment, “For whatever reasons, it is disappointing that
the apparatus, though largely comprehensive and accurate, contains a higher incidence
of inexactitude than is tolerable in a research tool and cannot be trusted, requiring veri-
ification at each point” (review of American and British Committees of the International
to St. Luke, sjt 43* [1990]: 525–26). One can only hope that the Luke volume of the *Editio
Critica Maior* will appear sooner rather than later.

\(^{94}\) The principle espoused by Westcott and Hort, “Knowledge of documents should precede
final judgement upon readings” (*The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction,
Appendix* [2d ed. London: MacMillan & Co., 1896], 31) is also valuable when considering
points of contact, or the lack thereof, between Marcion’s Gospel and the textual tradi-
tion. Thus, I am consciously adopting “reasoned,” sometimes called “rational,” eclecti-
cism when considering the evidence from the NT textual tradition. For discussion of this
method cf. Gordon D. Fee, “Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism—Which?,” in *Studies in New
Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion
Gordon D. Fee; Studies and Documents 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 124–40. For an
example of how this principle can affect the evaluation of Marcion’s Gospel, cf. below in
chapter 9, n. 3.
CHAPTER 4

Tertullian as a Source: Multiple Citations

This chapter is the first of several dealing concretely with the various sources attesting verses in Marcion's Gospel. In the following, a discussion of Tertullian as a source, including an initial analysis of the testimony that Tertullian provides for Marcion's text, precedes the consideration of all those verses found in Tertullian that are multiply cited by him. In other words, the verses considered in this chapter allow for comparison and potential elucidation of Tertullian's citation habits when evaluating his attestation of readings in Marcion's Gospel in that in nearly every instance they are cited in *Adversus Marcionem* and elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus.

4.1 Advances in Understanding Tertullian and *Adversus Marcionem*

Since the publication of Francis Oehler's 1851–1854 edition of Tertullian's works1 and the 1906 Emil Kroymann edition of *Adversus Marcionem*,2 a revised edition of the Kroymann text by Eligius Dekkers3 and a new edition by Claudio Moreschini4 have been published. In addition, a text and English translation of *Adversus Marcionem* by Ernest Evans5 and a French translation by René Braun

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based on an updated critical text by Moreschini have become available. More significantly, several new scriptural indices to Tertullian's works have improved on Hermann Roensch's study of Tertullian's NT. In particular, studies devoted exclusively to examining the text of Luke in Tertullian, including several articles and a doctoral dissertation by Merrill Chapin Tenney, are valuable aids in evaluating the citations of Luke by Tertullian, even if they all must be used with caution due to both incomplete and inaccurate data.

Whenever one begins to study Tertullian's testimony concerning Marcion's texts, the question of the language in which he knew the Marcionite Scriptures immediately arises. Significant scholarly discussion has occurred since Harnack first proposed that Tertullian was working from a Latin translation of Marcion's Apostolikon and Evangelion. In a 2009 article, and in agreement with those who have returned to the view that Tertullian used a Greek

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6  *Contre Marcion* (cf. chapter 2, n. 184 and chapter 3, n. 13).

7  Helpful overviews of the manuscripts and editions of *Adversus Marcionem* are found in Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion*, 19–30 and Volker Lukas, *Rhetorik und literarischer ‘Kampf‘: Tertullian’s Streitschrift gegen Marcion als Paradigma der Selbstvergewisserung der Orthodoxie gegenüber der Häresie: Eine philologisch-theologische Analyse* (EHS.T 859; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008), 33–35.


10 For Harnack's view and arguments, cf. *Marcion, 178*–181*. Ulrich Schmid comments that Harnack was also the first to posit that Tertullian used a Latin translation of Marcion's Apostolikon (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 40). In 1914 Harnack still believed that Tertullian had Greek copies of Marcion’s works (cf. “Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften,” *Spaw* [1914]: 324). In the following years Harnack's examination of the issue apparently led him to contend that Tertullian not only had Marcion's biblical text in Latin translation, but that he knew it exclusively in Latin translation (cf. *Marcion, 77*, 49*n2*).
copy of Marcion's *Apostolikon*, 11 I have defended the view that Tertullian had a Greek copy and not a Latin translation of Marcion's Gospel when writing *Adversus Marcionem*. 12 In that article, I argued that in considering this issue it is important not only to consider the differences in the Latin terms found in the attested texts for Marcion's Gospel and the citation of those same texts elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus, but also the similarities. 13 Both these similarities and differences must then be compared with readings in extant Old Latin witnesses. On the one hand, the agreement of Latin terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text against the attested readings in Old Latin witnesses becomes an argument against Tertullian working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel, and, on the other hand, differences in the terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text, where neither reading is attested in the extant witnesses, may also confirm that the variation is due to Tertullian’s own translations rather than his working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel. An examination of the 87 Greek terms rendered in verses attested both for Marcion's Gospel and elsewhere in Tertullian's corpus reveals that Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian’s text agree in their Latin renderings on 51 occasions, or 59% of the time. Of these 51 agreements, in about one-third of them the agreement is in renderings that are completely unique or rather uncommon in the extant Latin textual tradition for that verse. In addition, when Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text disagree, 69% of the time one of their respective renderings is not found within, or only at the periphery of, the surviving Old Latin textual tradition. It is surely simpler to explain these phenomena from the perspective that Tertullian himself is largely responsible for the Latin of Marcion's text as he translated it *ad hoc* from the Greek than to persist in Harnack’s view that Tertullian had a Latin translation of Marcion’s


13 This point was also made by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 46.
Gospel when he wrote *Adversus Marcionem*.\(^{14}\) Undoubtedly, the view that Tertullian is translating from the Greek rather than copying from a Latin Vorlage will lead one to view his testimony to Marcion’s Gospel somewhat differently than Harnack.\(^{15}\)

4.2 Tertullian’s Testimony Concerning Marcion’s Gospel

4.2.1 *Statistical Analysis of Tertullian’s Testimony*

Even a cursory glance at the tables in chapter three reveals that Tertullian’s testimony is crucial for our knowledge of the text of Marcion’s Gospel. As already mentioned in the introduction, Tertullian makes reference to 438 verses in Marcion’s Gospel. It is striking that of the 486 verses attested as present in this text, 90% of them are attested by Tertullian. When one also takes into account that Tertullian is the sole witness for 328 verses, comprising 67% of the total verses attested as present in Marcion’s Gospel, his vital importance in any attempt to reconstruct Marcion’s text is evident.\(^{16}\) Therefore, even though the reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel ultimately requires bringing together the entire extant testimony from all the sources, the obvious first step is critically establishing Tertullian’s testimony.

4.2.2 *Book Four of Adversus Marcionem*

The tables in the previous chapter also reveal the rather systematic way in which Tertullian’s testimony to Marcion’s text is set forth in book 4 of *Adversus Marcionem*. In this book, Tertullian continues his refutation of Marcion by working through Marcion’s Gospel, though also having Marcion’s Antitheses in view (*Marc. 4.1.1–2, 4.6*), in order to refute Marcion on the basis of his own text.\(^{17}\) With very few exceptions, Tertullian appears to be commenting on the

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14 For the full argument cf. the article referenced in n. 12.

15 Cf. also the observations by Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 40 and 40131.

16 David C. Parker, e.g., has recently reiterated that Tertullian is “our chief source for recovering Marcion’s text” (*The Living Text of the Gospels* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997], 66).

17 For background information and discussion of the entirety of *Adversus Marcionem* cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion I*, 7–80; *III*, 7–39; *IV*, 17–49; and *V*, 15–65; Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 35–39; and now especially Lukas, *Rhetorik*. Prior to Hahn it was occasionally questioned whether Tertullian actually had Marcion’s text in hand; however, Hahn effectively refuted the notion and convincingly demonstrated that Tertullian was, as he claimed, refuting Marcion from “the heretic’s” own Gospel (cf. Hahn, *Evangelium Marcions*, 91–105). To my knowledge no persuasive challenge to this view arose in any of
verses in Marcion’s Gospel in the order in which he found them. Even more significantly, as Tertullian works his way through Marcion’s text there are indications that he does so without referring to his own text of Luke. Perhaps the clearest example of this fact is when Tertullian accuses Marcion of having changed μάχαιραν to διαμερισμόν in Luke 12:51. The difficulty is that μάχαιραν is the reading of Matt 10:34 and, according to IGNTP, never, apart from the 13th-century minuscule 1242, appears in Luke 12:51. If Tertullian were consistently checking his own text of Luke, it is difficult to imagine how such an error could have occurred. Tertullian apparently did not consult his own copy of Luke even when accusing Marcion of making an alteration.

Finally, as Tertullian draws closer to the conclusion of his work against Marcion, he discusses fewer pericopes and often employs more general references to Marcion’s Gospel. This observation has often been made in scholarly works and is undoubtedly relevant when attempting to reconstruct readings in Marcion’s text as the precision with which Tertullian is working clearly declines towards the end of book four of *Adversus Marcionem.*

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19 In Roth, “Marcion’s Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction,” 293 an error led to the statement that it was “the corrector of the 13th-century minuscule 1242” and not the original hand which had this reading.

20 Volckmar noted this example to support his contentions that Tertullian not only did not consult his own text of Luke, but also was most familiar with Matthew, a point to which I return below (*Evangelium Marcions*, 30–31). Along similar lines Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:471 took issue with the statement of Westcott and Hort in their appendix when they noted, concerning Tertullian’s comments on the Lord’s Prayer in *Adversus Marcionem*, “whether according to his own text, or Marcion’s, or both, is as usual uncertain” (*New Testament: Introduction, Appendix*, 60). Cf. also Zahn’s discussion of Luke 12:51 along with Luke 23:34 where he thinks Tertullian is remembering John 19:23 (*Geschichte*, 1:604).

21 For Tertullian’s “hastening towards the conclusion,” cf., e.g., Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1604–5 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 320, 322. Lieu observes that Tertullian’s “attention to detail decreases rapidly as the Book progresses” (“Marcion’s Gospel and the Synoptic Problem,” 734). Concretely, Lieu notes that by the time Tertullian reaches the end of Marcion’s Gospel “he is becoming increasingly summary, spending less than 150 lines of a recent critical edition
4.3 Tertullian's Citation Habits

As already noted, Schmid's work on Marcion's *Apostolikon* has helpfully identified and established numerous citation habits of Tertullian related to the shortening of verses, content-created alterations, rhetorical changes, translational variants, and changes due to the flow of argument. Many of these tendencies also appear in Tertullian's references to Marcion's *Euangelion*, though just as some citation habits noted by Schmid are more relevant for the epistles, the issue of the presence or absence of influence from synoptic parallels, irrelevant in Schmid's study, factors significantly in Tertullian's citations from Marcion's Gospel.

Though Schmid organized his analysis under the various identified citation habits, for two reasons I have elected to present the verses in canonical order. First, in this way the layout largely follows the order in which the elements appear in Tertullian's work and there is greater ease of reference to the significant number of attested verses. Second, and more significantly, numerous passages evidence several different citation habits shaping the reference, and the organization of the data by verse rather than by citation habit allows multiple habits to be discussed simultaneously. One drawback of this approach, however, is that all the evidence for a particular citation habit is not gathered together under one heading. For this reason, an overview of a few citation habits, additional to those demonstrated by Schmid, will be provided in the following pages. In this way, an awareness of the significant issues in evaluating Tertullian's testimony can be provided before attention is given to the individual verses.

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[Notes:
  22 Cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 62–105. Schmid also offered sub-categories for numerous of these headings including, (1) simple omissions, (2) shortening of citations with multiple elements, (3) omissions in christological titles, (4) simplification of expression, (5) improvement/non-improvement of readings, (6) *Vetus Testamentum* in *Novo*, (7) alterations due to particular interpretations, (8) rhetorical questions, (9) rearranging sentences in parallel construction, and (10) verb voice. In addition, Schmid also considered explicit comments on readings in Marcion's text and glosses implying readings in Marcion's text (cf. ibid., 105–21).

23 Examples are often provided for each identified citation habit, though the full data set is found only by working through the actual analysis of every verse in this and the following chapter.]
4.3.1 Variations in Conjunctions

Tertullian exhibits significant variation in his use of conjunctions in passages he is citing. The tendency alternately to omit, include, or change a conjunction is evident in numerous multiply-cited texts. For example, in Luke 6:27 *enim* is variously attested and unattested, and Tertullian seems to be adding *et* into the verse; in Luke 8:18 the almost universally attested *καί* may twice be rendered with *autem*; in Luke 9:24 he may have used *et* for *δέ* in *Adversus Marcionem* (though the parallel Matt 10:39 reads *καί*), but no conjunction appears in the citation in *Scorp. 11.1*; in Luke 9:26 Tertullian omits the nearly uniformly attested opening *γάρ* in every citation and appears to add a medial *et*; in Luke 12:2 Tertullian includes the opening *autem* in *Adversus Marcionem*, though twice when he elsewhere cites the parallel Matt 10:26 he does not render the opening *γάρ*; and in Luke 20:36 Tertullian offers the reference to being like angels both with and without *enim*. Therefore, great care needs to be taken before drawing conclusions concerning conjunctions in Marcion’s text.

4.3.2 Word Order and Altering the Position of Pronouns

Tertullian’s citations exhibit considerable variation in the rendering of the word order in biblical citations. For example, Tertullian attests three different word orders in his three citations of the phrase “Are you the Son of God?” attested for Luke 22:70 (*Marc. 4.41.4–5*). In addition, a particularly prominent tendency is the fluidity evidenced by Tertullian in his placement of pronouns in his citations. It is therefore problematic to invest too much confidence in Tertullian’s word order reflecting that of Marcion’s text. Thus, concerning Tertullian’s testimony to Marcion’s text, regardless of whether Tertullian was working with a Greek copy or Latin translation of that text, significant caution needs to be employed before attributing any significance to variant word order, especially when it involves pronouns. On this point Schmid rightly observes:

> Wortstellungsvarianten beim Zeugen Tertullian gelten für sich betrachtet grundsätzlich als nicht signifikant. Lediglich in Verbindung mit weit¬eren charakteristischen Lesarten in einem Vers können sie bedeutsam werden.26

24 The following discussion reveals just how often Harnack, and to some extent Tsutsui, derived conclusions concerning Marcion’s text from the conjunction attested by Tertullian in a certain verse.

25 Once again, it is noteworthy how often Harnack relies on Tertullian’s testimony for the specific ordering of elements in Marcion’s text.

4.3.3 Use of Future Tense
It also appears that Tertullian is at times inclined to use the future tense when interacting with and citing the biblical text. Some examples of this phenomenon can be found in Luke 6:22, 10:19, 12:20, and 20:35. The same phenomenon is attested in Tertullian’s citation of the LXX of Isa 63:9 in Marc. 4.22.11 where Braun notes, “Le futur ici utilisé permet d’intégrer la citation dans la perspective qui est celle de T[ertullian]” and Lukas comments “Das Vergangenheitstempus des Originaltextes wurde hier von Tertullian in ein ‘passenderes’ Futur übergeführt.”

4.3.4 General Inclination to Matthean Accounts
For those passages in Luke that have Matthean parallels, Tertullian demonstrates a general tendency to cite or refer to the Matthean version. This tendency is exhibited in two ways. First, Tertullian reveals his greater familiarity with Matthew through errors that he commits. Luke 12:51 was already discussed above, and Tertullian’s memory error there is attributable to his familiarity with the Matthean phrasing. Another telling error occurs in Tertullian’s discussion of the beatitude found in Luke 6:20. Though Tertullian in his first citation correctly writes *dei regnum* (Marc. 4.14.1) when he shortly thereafter interpolates Isa 61:1–3 with Luke 6:20–22 he slips into the Matthean *regnum caelorum* (Marc. 4.14.13). Second, apart from errors, in multiply-cited passages numerous instances reveal Tertullian’s tendency to offer the Matthean passage in references outside of *Adversus Marcionem*. A few examples of this occurrence are found in Luke 6:20 (Matt 5:3), 6:22 (Matt 5:11), and 12:8 (Matt 10:32).

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27 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion*, 286n4 and Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 274n1291.
28 This point was already noted and discussed, though in less detail than here, by Volckmar, *Evangelium Markions*, 30–31. Of course, this is not to say that Tertullian is never influenced by the Lukan version of an account. Examples of this phenomenon can be found in Luke 8:18; 12:24, and 21:25–26. One of Aalders’s conclusions in his study on Tertullian’s quotations from Luke stated “Ter. often quotes from memory and by doing so mixes up the synoptic gospels” (“Tertullian’s Quotations,” 282). I would simply add that this “mixing up” often inclines to the Matthean reading, and Aalders himself makes reference to at least eight instances where Tertullian’s citations of Luke may have come under Matthean influence (ibid., 260–79).
29 For further comments on this memory slip cf. Roth, “Matthean Texts,” 596–97.
30 A similar phenomenon occurs with Luke 11:35, where in Marc. 4.26.11 Tertullian cites it in its Lukan form, but when he references the passage again in Marc. 4.28.2 he offers it in one of its Matthean forms (Matt 12:24). It is also possible that when Tertullian provides a second reference to Luke 11:32, the use of *nec alios sineret* reveals the influence of Matt 23:13.
The custom of citing from Matthew affects the analysis of Tertullian’s testimony to Marcion’s text in two ways. First, when Tertullian incontrovertibly attests a Lukan reading, there is a greater likelihood, though far from certainty, that the phrasing is arising from Marcion’s text. Conversely, when Tertullian attests a Matthean reading for Marcion’s text, though a harmonization to Matthew’s Gospel may have been present in Marcion’s text, the possibility of the phrasing being due to Tertullian’s greater familiarity with Matthew must always be kept in mind.31

4.4 Tertullian as a Source: Multiple Citations

The remainder of this chapter begins the analysis of Tertullian’s testimony concerning the text of Marcion’s Gospel by considering all of the texts with multiple citations in the works of Tertullian. The vast majority of these multiple citations involve the citation of the verse in a work other than Adversus Marcionem; however, at times a multiple citation within the latter also provides insight into Tertullian’s attestation of Marcion’s text and is therefore included here. The analysis of readings is conducted with the reconstructions of Marcion’s Gospel by Harnack and Tsutsui consistently in view.32 At times the works and views of other scholars who have studied Marcion’s text will also be referenced.33 The following multiply-cited passages in Tertullian’s corpus formed the basis for establishing the characteristic elements of his citation habits mentioned above, and the insights gained from these passages subsequently undergird the following chapter’s analysis of passages that are not multiply cited outside of Adversus Marcionem and where multiple references within Adversus Marcionem do not provide insight into citation habits.

31 It is particularly the occurrence of “unconscious influence” errors, as in the second citation of Luke 6:20, that belies Zahn’s contention that it is “eine willkürliche Annahme, er [Tertullian] habe in seine Übersetzungen und freie Reproduktionen des vor ihm liegenden marcionitischen Textes Erinnerungen an den katholischen Text sei es des Lucas oder des Matthäus einfließen lassen” (Geschichte, 2:453).

32 Focusing on these two works is fairly self-evident since the former is the current, standard scholarly text for Marcion and the latter is the most recent attempt to reconstruct the text.

33 The next most frequently invoked work is that of Zahn, who, as noted in chapter 2, provided the most important reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel before Harnack. Earlier works will not be entirely ignored, though the reader interested in details is referred to the respective works, as well as to the helpful overview found in Harnack, Adolf Harnack: Marcion: die Dorpater Preisschrift (1879), 146–53.
4.4.1  Luke 4:32

4.7.7—Stupebant autem omnes ad doctrinam eius. Plane. Quoniam, inquit, in potestate erat sermo eius, . . . | 4.7.8—Alioquin non stuperent, sed horrerent, nec mirarentur, sed statim aversarentur [if teaching had been against the law and the prophets] . . . | 4.13.1—Adhuc in vigore obstupescabant in doctrina eius; erat enim docens tamquam virtutem habens.

Though Luke 4:32 is not multiply cited outside of Adversus Marcionem, the citations in two different contexts provide insight into Marcion’s Gospel. From Tertullian’s quotation in 4.7.7, Harnack reconstructed Marcion’s text as ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἢν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ. According to IGNTP this verse is quite uniform in the manuscript tradition, though two readings require comment. First, ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ is elsewhere attested only in ff2, and even Harnack recognized that δέ instead of καί is “nicht sicher.” In addition, πάντες is attested elsewhere only in r1, sa, and Vaticani Syriaci 268. Since there is no compelling reason in Tertullian’s argument for him to have added the term, however, it may have been present in Marcion’s text. A confirmation of the overall accuracy of Tertullian’s citation here is that in 4.13.1, when Tertullian glosses a quotation of Isa 40:9, his recollection of the content of this passage follows the phrasing of the parallel Matt 7:28–29//Mark 1:22. Therefore, it seems that Tertullian’s interaction with Marcion’s Gospel in 4.7.7 may well be governed by the reading in Marcion’s text.

4.4.2  Luke 4:34

4.7.9—Exclamat ibidem spiritus daemonis: Quid nobis et tibi est Iesu? venisti perdere nos. Scio qui sis, sanctus dei. | 4.7.10—. . . at nunc discepto, quomodo hoc eum vocari cognoverit daemon . . . | 4.7.12—Nam et praemisit: Quid nobis et tibi? . . . Nec enim dixit: Quid tibi et nobis? sed: Quid nobis et tibi? . . . quam iam videns adicit: Venisti perdere nos. | 5.6.7—. . . Iesum autem et secundum nostrum evangelium diabolus quoque in temptatione cognovit, et secundum commune instrumentum spiritus nequam sciebat eum sanctum dei esse et Iesum vocari et

References without the title of a work are to Adversus Marcionem. The divisions and Latin text are those found in the SC volumes referenced in chapter 3, n. 13.

34 Harnack, Marcion, 184*.

35 Ibid., 185*.

36 The sigla employed for referencing manuscripts are those found in NA28, pp. 23*–34* (67*–78*), 792–819. The only additional siglum used is “01.” for the Old Latin version.

37 In the NT πάντες occurs with ἐκπλήσσω only in Luke 9:43.
in perditionem eorum venisse. | Carn. Chr. 22.1^38—Deleant igitur et testimonia daemonum filium David proclamantium ad Iesum, . . . | Prax. 26.8—. . . hoc [that he who was born of the virgin is the Son of God] et satanas eum in temptationibus novit: Si Filius Dei es; hoc et exinde daemonia confitentur: Scimus qui sis, Filius Dei.^39

4.7.9 contains a quotation of Luke 4:34, and Tertullian’s argument in 4.7.12 reveals that the word order in the question was τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί. Tertullian also attests est before Iesu, though the opening interjection ἔα and Ναζαρηνέ after Ἰησοῦ are not attested. Harnack believed the interjection to be missing, but apparently did not believe ἐστίν to be present.^40 The interjection is not attested in D or any ofl manuscript, and it may have been absent in Marcion’s text.^41 It is also possible, however, that Tertullian simply omitted the interjection at the outset of his citation. ἐστίν is attested in c and r1, and after nobis in a. Tertullian does not use est in 4.7.12, and it is unlikely that its presence in 4.7.9 is because Tertullian saw it in Marcion’s text. Concerning Ναζαρηνέ, Harnack succinctly stated “Ναζαρηνέ tendenziös gestrichen.”^42 Even though Harnack could be right, when Tertullian referred to this passage in 5.6.7 he stated that the evil spirit knew that Jesus simply Iesum vocari.^43 It is noteworthy that immediately prior to this statement Tertullian refers to the temptation account in Luke 4:1–13 as “according to our Gospel” (secundum nostrum evangelium) but references the account of the evil spirit as “according to [our] common document” (secundum commune instrumentum). Tertullian is apparently content to name Jesus as “Jesus” and to ascribe this simple designation to both the church’s own and Marcion’s text. On the other hand, the fact that in 4.8.1–2 (the beginning of the section discussing Luke 4:16–30) Tertullian states that Marcion’s Christ ought to have rejected with horror any interaction with Nazareth since it was associated with the Creator’s Christ may lead one to expect Tertullian to have made some comment here if Marcion’s text had read Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ.

Tertullian twice (4.7.9, 12) cites the unproblematic ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς. For the final element of the verse Harnack reconstructed οἶδα τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ

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^38 References to Tertullian’s works other than *Adversus Marcionem* follow the divisions and Latin text found in the ccsL volumes referenced in chapter 3, n. 34.


^41 IGNTP indicates that it is also missing in 33, 2766^*^, several versions, and a few church fathers. The interjection does not appear in the parallel Mark 1:24.


^43 Tertullian here is in the midst of an argument against Marcion’s interpretation of 1 Cor 2:8.
Tertullian’s curious reference in *Prax*. 26.8 to a phrase that does not appear in the Gospels (*Scimus qui sis, Filius Dei*), and his inaccurate reference to the devils crying out *filius David* in *Carn. Chr*. 22.1 lends credence to the view that here the Lukan *scio* and *sanctus dei* accurately reflect Marcion’s text. On the other hand, Harnack appealed to the passage in *Adversus Praxean* to support the absence of *σε* in Marcion’s text. Here, however, precisely the opposite conclusion should be reached. Tertullian’s citation without the pronoun when he is not following Marcion’s text may reveal that Tertullian himself is responsible for its omission.

4.4.3  

*Luke 5:n*

4.9.2—Denique relictis nauclis secuti sunt eum, ipsum intellegentes, qui coeperat facere quod edixerat. | Bapt. 12.9—... patrem [et] navem et artem qua vitam sustentabat deservit...

Tertullian argues that Jesus’ words in Luke 5:10 were intended to make Peter and the sons of Zebedee realize that he was fulfilling Jer 16:16, to which Tertullian then adds the statement from 4.9.2 cited above. That Luke 5:11b lies behind Tertullian’s comment is clear from the plural *nauclis* as opposed to the singular *navem*, which Tertullian uses in *Bapt. 12.9*, rendering πλοῖον in Matt 4:22. Tertullian’s focus upon fishermen, and possibly the statement in Matt 4:22, could explain why, in his allusion here, Tertullian stated that they left their boats (mentioned in Luke 5:11a) instead of simply πάντα (as found in...

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44 Harnack, *Marcion*, 185*.
45 Aalders, “Tertullian’s Quotations,” 262 refers to *filius dei* as “a licence” of Tertullian’s “possibly under the influence of Lk. 4,41.”
46 In *Prax*. 26.8 it appears as though Tertullian has conflated elements of Luke 5:34//Mark 1:24 and Matt 8:29, using the plural verb of Mark 1:24 (plural pronouns are used in all three passages) and the address of Jesus from Matt 8:29. In *Carn. Chr*. 22.1 Tertullian has placed the words of the blind men (Matt 9:27; 20:30) into the mouth of the demons (Matt 8:29).
47 One could contend that both Marcion’s and Tertullian’s texts did not contain the pronoun; however, given the fact that in Luke 4:34 only 1654, r*, and references by Augustine, Hilary, and Quodvultdeus (according to IGNTP) and in Mark 1:24 no manuscripts (according to Tischendorf and von Soden) attest its absence, this view is less likely.
48 For this reading, following M and F against X and R and understood as a doubly apocopated form of *navicula*, cf. Braun’s comments in *Contre Marcion iv*, 11412.
49 τὸ πλοῖον is read in Luke 5:31 in only two minuscules (472, 1009), along with a few Armenian and Georgian manuscripts.
50 The use of *navicula* and *navis* in these allusions to Luke 5:31 and Matt 4:22 are simply variant translations of πλοῖον. *Navis* is significantly more common in Tertullian, as *navicula* is used only here and twice in the singular in *Bapt. 12.6–7* in reference to the πλοῖον in Matt 8:24.
Luke 5:11b). Harnack offered only ἀφέντες ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ for Marcion’s text of Luke 5:11, though πλοῖα should also be considered as attested in 5:11a.

4.4.4 Luke 5:20–21

4.10.1—... qui dicturi erant: Quis dimittet peccata nisi solus deus? | 4.10.13—Nam cum Iudaei, solummodo hominem eius intuentes, ... merito retractarent non posse hominem delicta dimittere, sed deum solum, ... | 4.10.14—[the Son of Man] consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta—qui enim iudicat, et absolvit—, ut scandalo isto discusso per scripturae recordationem facilius eum agnoscerent ipsum esse filium hominis ex ipsa peccatorum remissione. Denique nusquam adhuc professus est se filium hominis quam in isto loco primum in quo primum peccata dimisit, id est in quo primum iudicavit, dum absolvit. | Bapt. 10.3—Sed neque peccata dimittit neque spiritum indulget nisi solus deus. | Bapt. 12.8—... remittuntur tibi peccata ... | Pud. 21.2—Quis enim dimittit delicta, ni solus Deus?

Tertullian’s comments in 4.10.13, 14 seem to require Jesus’ words in v. 20, though no reading can be reconstructed. The brief reference in Bapt. 12.8 that appears to refer to Luke 5:20//Matt 9:2//Mark 2:5 also provides no real point of comparison for Marcion’s text. Tertullian’s testimony to the final element in Luke 5:21 occurs twice in 4.10. It is worth noting that in the citation in 4.10.1 there is no reference to the ability (δύναται) to forgive sins; however, in 4.10.13 this element is attested. Its absence in the former citation should not be used to posit an omission in Marcion’s text as neither the citation of Luke 5:21//Mark 2:7 in Pud. 21.2, nor the apparent allusion to this verse in Bapt. 10.3 contains a direct reference to the ability or power to forgive sins. In addition, the use of the future dimittet in 4.10.1 could be due to Tertullian’s citation habit, in spite of his writing dimittit in Pud. 21.2 and Bapt. 10.3. Thus, Harnack is probably generally correct in reconstructing δύναται ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεός. It should be noted, though, that the reading ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας is elsewhere unattested. B, D, and Ξ read ἁμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι and all other witnesses read ἀφεῖναι ἁμαρτίας, as in Mark 2:7. Tertullian also varies the word order in his citations, and thus no firm decision can be made on whether Marcion read an aorist or present infinitive or on the order of the elements in his text. In addition, the

51 Thus, Tsutsui’s suggestion that Tertullian is attesting a Marcionite alteration, though perhaps possible, is unnecessary (“Evangelium,” 78–79).
52 Harnack, Marcion, 188⁷.
53 It is therefore not quite correct when IGNTP states *‘will forgive’ Marcion ap TE.”
54 Harnack, Marcion, 189⁷.
omission of the nearly uniformly attested τίς must have been an oversight by Harnack as Tertullian cites it (quís).

4.4.5  **Luke 5:31**

4.11.1—Atquin [Christ] probavit potius Iudaeos, dicendo medicum sanis non esse necessarium, sed male habentibus. | Pud. 9.12—Venerat Dominus utique, ut quod perierat salvm faceret, medicus languentibus magis quam sanis necessarius. | Res. 9.4—...etsi inbecillam [the flesh], sed Medicum non desiderant nisi male habentes;...

That Tertullian likely provides an accurate adaptation of Luke 5:31 can be seen in the phrase male habentibus, reflecting the Greek οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες. The same adverb plus participle construction is used in Res. 9.4 where Tertullian cites Luke 5:31//Matt 9:12//Mark 2:17 in the midst of a series of biblical citations. When Tertullian’s argument remains close to the wording of the biblical text he continues to use male or malus; however, when he is simply referring to the concept of the text he avoids this rendering, and may be “improving” the reading, as seen in Pud. 9.12 or in the conclusion to the argument in 4.11.3 (Hoc similitudo praeiudicat, ab eo magis praestari medicum ad quem pertinent qui languent).

4.4.6  **Luke 5:36–37**

3.15.5—Quomodo denique docet novam plagulam non adsui veteri vestimento, nec vinum novum veteribus utribus credi, ... | 4.11.9—Errasti in illa etiam domini pronuntiatione qua videtur nova et vetera discernere. Inflatus es utribus veteribus et excerebratus es novo vino, atque ita veteri, id est priori evangelio, pannum haereticae novitatis adsuisti. | 4.11.10—Nam et vinum novum is non committit in veteres utres qui et veteres utres habuerit, et novum additamentum nemo inicit veteri vestimento nisi cui non defuerit et vetus vestimentum. | Or. 1.1—Oportebat enim in hac quoque specie novum vinum novis utribus recondi et novam plagulam

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56 Tertullian uses this adverb/adjective twice as he continues his argument in 4.11.2.

57 Tertullian also uses langueo to speak of illness in 1.2.2, 4.14.13; An. 24.5; Cor. 8.2; and Res. 42.14. On male habere and bene habere being the revival of an old literary form cf. Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language* (OeCS; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 132–33.
Multiple Citations

“Res. 44.3 — Perituris enim peritura creduntur, sicut veteribus utribus novum vinum.”

Harnack recognized that this parable “im Wortlaut genau nicht mehr festzustellen [ist],” an assessment with which Tsutsui agrees. The parable is also attested by Epiphanius, Ephrem, Philastrius, and in the Adamantius Dialogue, which means that here, and whenever there are multiple witnesses to Marcion’s text, no final conclusion concerning readings in that text can be made without considering the testimony of those witnesses. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, first, in 4.11.9–10, Tertullian twice makes reference to the wine and then to the patch, which is the order found in Gos. Thom. 47. This is different from Tertullian’s order in 3.15.5, where the reverse order, found in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 9:16–17//Mark 2:21–22//Luke 5:36–37), is followed. When considering only Tertullian’s testimony, some hesitancy about concluding that Tertullian definitively attests the reverse order of the elements for Marcion’s Gospel arises as Tertullian himself chose the variant order — wine then patch — in Or. 1.1. Second, Tertullian employed a word-play in his accusations leveled against Marcion in 4.11.9 that is suggestive of the underlying reading. The phrase pannum haereticae novitatis seems to play on ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου (as in Matt 9:16//Mark 2:21) and not on the Lukan ἐπίβλημα ἀπὸ ἰματίου καινοῦ (Luke 5:36).

4.4.7 Luke 6:5

4.12.11—... dominus sabbati dictus... | 4.16.5—... dominus et sabbati et legis et omnium paternarum dispositionum Christus... | Carn. Chr. 15.1—... Dominus est sabbati filius hominis.

58 Harnack, Marcion, 189* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 79.
59 There is no real significance in the various renderings of ἐπίβλημα (plagula, additamentum, and probably pannus) and ἐπιβάλλω (inicere and adsuere) in Tertullian’s allusions as they are indicative of not only his own vocabulary variation, but also the large amount of variation in the Ol manuscripts for Matt 9:16–17//Mark 2:21–22//Luke 5:36–37 (cf. Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?” 447–48).
60 Tsutsui also notes Tertullian’s word-play (“Evangelium,” 80).
61 Tertullian makes reference to this verse after citing Luke 6:9. Both Harnack, Marcion, 190* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 81 posit that Luke 6:5 came at this point and not after Luke 6:4 in Marcion’s text. Given that 6:5 follows 6:10 in D and d, this view is possible. Heinrich Joseph Vogels argued not only that Marcion was responsible for this relocation but also that Marcion is responsible for the saying uniquely attested in Luke 6:4 of D, even if that saying was not present in Tertullian’s and Epiphanius’s copies of Marcion’s Gospel (Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung [NTA 12.3; Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926], 97–98; Hugo Grotius,
This verse is also cited by Epiphanius. Tertullian twice makes a passing allusion to Christ being “Lord of the Sabbath,” with the emphasis falling on Christ being the protector of the Sabbath that belonged to him (4.12.11) or on Christ being the interpreter of the Sabbath (4.16.5). In *Carn. Chr.* 15.1, when Tertullian cites the entire statement, Tertullian is responding to Valentinus’s docetism as he cites numerous passages where Jesus refers to himself as “man” or “Son of Man.” As the shorter and longer citation are easily explainable due to the course of Tertullian’s argument, his truncated reference to Luke 6:5 cannot be used to posit an omission in Marcion’s text.

*Annotationes in libros evangeliorum: cum tribus tractatibus & appendice eo spectantibus* [Amsterdam: Ioh. & Cornelium Bleuv, 1641], 674 appears to have been the first to suggest that a Marcionite was responsible for this short pericope. The relevant statement by Grotius can also be found in J. Duncan M. Derrett, “Luke 6:3D Reexamined,” *NovT* 37 (1995): 233n5. Alternatively, Christian-B. Amphoux contended that Marcion evidences a text that is an intermediary between that of D and the rest of the textual tradition, with Marcion having omitted the saying in Luke 6:4 of D (“La révision marcionite du ‘Notre Père’ de Luc (11, 2–4) et sa place dans l’histoire du texte,” in *Recherches sur l’histoire de la Bible latine: Colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve pour la promotion de H.J. Frede au doctorat honoris causa en théologie le 18 avril 1986* [ed. R. Gryson and P. Bogaert; CRTL 19; Louvain-la-Neuve: la Faculté de Théologie, 1987], 113–14). Delobel, however, argues that Tertullian’s text does not permit any of these conclusions and contends that Tertullian himself is responsible for the delayed allusion to Christ as “Lord of the Sabbath.” Delobel notes that Tertullian makes reference to *dominum sabbati* in 4.12.1 and 4.12.11, thus forming an inclusio (“Extra-Canonical Sayings,” 107–8; cf. idem, “Luke 6, 5 in Codex Bezae: The Man who Worked on Sabbath,” in *À cause de l’évangile: Études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: Offerts au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l’occasion de son 70e anniversaire* [LD 123; Paris: Cerf, 1985], 469–70). Yet, Delobel does not mention that editors of *Adversus Marcionem* are not agreed as to whether the reading in 4.12.1 should be *deum sabbati* or *dominum sabbati* (cf. Braun [trans.], *Contre Marcion iv*, 152), though conceptually his argument could be valid on either reading. It is also noteworthy that just before stating that Christ called himself “Lord of the Sabbath” (4.12.11) Tertullian is speaking of divine works done for the soul (drawn from Luke 6:9). In 4.12.14, referring back to Luke 6:1–4, he speaks of Christ performing a work *pro anima* of the disciples in feeding them, revealing that Tertullian has linked the two accounts dealing with the Sabbath and at least raising the possibility that Tertullian withholds the reference to Christ as “Lord of the Sabbath” for the culmination of his argument. Finally, this is not the only instance where Tertullian alters the order in which he discusses verses as part of his argument. Overall, therefore, Tertullian’s testimony is too ambiguous for a definitive linking of Marcion’s text with the reading of D in these verses.
4.4.8 Luke 6:20

4.14.1—Beati mendici—sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli, quod in Graeco est—quoniam illorum est dei regnum.⁶² | 4.14.13—... beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum;... | Fug. 12.5—Felices itaque pauperes, quia illorum, inquit, est regnum caelorum, qui animam solam in confiscato habent. | Idol. 12.2—Egebo. Sed felices egenos dominus appellat. | Pat. 11.6—... Beati pauperes spiritu, illorum est enim regnum caelorum. | Ux. 2.8.5—Nam si pauperum sunt regna caelorum, divitum non sunt,...⁶³

Luke 6:20 is also attested by Epiphanius and Eznik. Several arguments point to Tertullian providing an accurate quotation of Marcion’s text of Luke 6:20b in 4.14.1. First, beati mendici supports the view that Marcion’s text read μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, because even though Tertullian often simply makes reference to “the poor,” when he clearly cites the Matthean text in Pat. 11.6 he writes beatis pauperes spiritu.⁶⁴ Second, that Marcion also read ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is confirmed through the recognition that the Matthean reading (Matt 5:3) is the one toward which Tertullian naturally, and probably unconsciously, inclines. In fact, when Tertullian interpolates Isa 61:1–3 with Luke 6:20–22 in 4.14.13, he slips back into his regular pattern and writes beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum. Finally, the accuracy in these two points would tend to indicate that

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⁶² Moreschini follows the reading of M and Kroymann. β and the other editors, except Pamelius and Rigaltus (who read regnum coelorum), read regnum dei.


⁶⁴ Tertullian’s gloss—sic enim exigit interpretatio vocabuli, quod in Graeco est—in 4.14.1 on the word mendici led Harnack to contend “Hieraus folgt, daß Tert. einen Bibeltext, der ‘mendici’ bot, nicht kannte (‘pauperes’ hieß es allgemein), daß er aber (s. seine Ausführung im folgenden) auf das präzise ‘mendici’ Gewicht legte (um der Weissagung willen) und es daher hier einführete” (Marcion, 191*). The second half of Harnack’s statement is undoubtedly true; yet, Harnack’s belief that Tertullian’s gloss is due to his knowledge, or lack thereof, of readings in Latin texts is suspect. The gloss is not a justification for one Latin term as opposed to another, but is used to argue that the Greek requires a term that links the words of Christ to a litany of Psalms cited in 4.14.3–5. Variation of vocabulary in different contexts is commonplace in Tertullian. In fact, in addition to the lemma mendicus offered in Adversus Marcionem, Tertullian uses pauper (Fug. 12.8; Pat. 11.6; Ux. 2.8.5) and egenus (Idol. 12.2) to render the Greek πτωχός. Additionally, Harnack’s attempt to assign beati to a Latin text of Marcion, a term with which Tertullian is supposedly uncomfortable and which he replaces with felices in his own comments, founders on Tertullian’s own variation between felix (Fug. 12.8; Idol. 12.2) and beatus (Pat. 11.6) in citations of this verse. This same variation in Tertullian’s works is found for several other beatitudes as well (cf. Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?,” 448, 450).
_illorum_ reveals the presence of the Matthean αὐτῶν and not the Lukan ὑμετέρα in Marcion’s text. Nevertheless, Tertullian’s citations always offering _illorum_ means that an unconscious Matthean influence cannot be ruled out entirely.

### 4.4.9 Luke 6:21
4.14.9—Beati esurientes, quoniam saturabuntur.66 | 4.14.11—Beati plorantes, quia ridebunt. | 4.14.13—... beati qui esuriunt, quoniam saturabuntur;... beati qui plorant, quoniam ridebunt;... | Jejun. 15.6—...qui beatos non saturatos, sed esurientes et sitientes pronuntiari, ... | Pat. 11.7—Beati, inquit, flentes atque lugentes. ... Itaque talibus et advocatio et risus promittitur.67

In _Marc_ 4.14.9, 11 Tertullian cites the two sayings of Luke 6:21. As was the case in Luke 6:20, the sayings are not in the Lukan second person, but rather in third person address (saturabuntur, ridebunt). These third person readings are also attested in numerous manuscripts, and it is possible that Marcion’s text contained this textual variant. Once again, however, Matthean influence on Tertullian cannot be completely excluded from consideration. Secondly, the νῦν in both sayings of the verse in the Greek text is unattested. It may be that Tertullian has simply omitted this adverb as his argument focuses on the presence of these promises before the coming of Christ.68 In the reference to Luke 6:25, however, where Tertullian is equally concerned with the teaching of the Creator before the coming of Christ, Tertullian does include _nunc_. It is possible, therefore, that νῦν was missing in both sayings in Marcion’s text of Luke 6:21, but once again the evidence is not conclusive and Harnack’s “auch hier fehlt νῦν” is overstated.69 At the same time, the overall accuracy of the citation is confirmed by the absence of elements from Matthean beatitudes as the allusion in _Jejun._ 15.6 appears to also have Matt 5:6 in the background, and the allusion in _Pat._ 11.7 conflates elements of Luke 6:21 and Matt 5:4. Finally, the participial forms esurientes and plorantes reflect the Greek participles since when Isa 61:1–3 is interpolated with Luke 6:21 (4.14.13) Tertullian appears to

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65 Harnack, _Marcion_, 191* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 82 both believe that the Matthean reading was present in Marcion’s text.

66 Moreschini’s text reads _quoniam_, rejecting the readings _qui_ in F and _quia_ in X. Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read _ipse saturabuntur._


68 According to _IGNTTP_ no other witnesses attest the omission of the first νῦν and very few attest the omission of the second.

69 Harnack, _Marcion_, 191*. 
be citing from memory and renders the meaning of the participles with *qui esuriunt* and *qui plorant*.

### 4.4.10 Luke 6:22

4.14.14—*Beati eritis, cum vos odio habebunt homines et exprobrabunt, et eicient nomen vestrum velut nequam*\(^{70}\) propter filium hominis. | Fug. 7.1—*Felices qui persecutionem passi fuerint causa nominis mei.* | Pat. 8.3—*Si linguae amaritudo maledicto sive convicio eruperit, respice dictum: Cum vos maledixerint gaudete.* | Pat. 11.9—*Cum vero: Gaudete et exultate dicit quotiens vos maledicent et persecutur: merces enim vestra plurima in caelo,*… | Scorp. 9.2—*… beati eritis, cum vos dedecoraverint et persecuti fuerint et dixerint adversus vos omnia mala propter me.*…

Apart from the reference in *Adversus Marcionem*, Tertullian always refers to this saying in its Matthean form. Given the absence of the Matthean elements in the citation of Luke 6:22 here, it is likely that Tertullian reflects the wording of Marcion’s text. Nevertheless, the quotation in 4.14.14 contains several notable elements. First, Tertullian begins the citation with *beati eritis*. Harnack therefore reconstructed Marcion’s text as reading ἔσεσθε instead of ἔστε, and noted that the future form is “sonst unbezeugt.”\(^{71}\) This claim, however, is erroneous.\(^{72}\) According to IGNT, the future appears in β, most OL manuscripts, the Vulgate, Ambrose, and Cyprian. At the same time it is notable that in Tertullian’s citation of Matt 5:11 in Scorp. 9.2, he also writes *beati eritis*, which, once again, is attested by a handful of OL manuscripts.\(^{73}\) It is possible that both Marcion’s Gospel and Tertullian’s copy of Matthew contained ἔσεσθε, but it may also be that Tertullian simply chose to translate ἔστε with a Latin future as he interpreted the meaning of the verb “to be” in the only beatitude that has a verb after μακάριοι. Given that Tertullian elsewhere reveals a propensity to use the future tense, ἔσεσθε may not be the reading of Marcion’s text. In addition, the fact that Tertullian continues with simple futures in 4.14.14 does not necessarily mean that Marcion’s text read futures in Greek, even if there is some manuscript evidence for this reading. Though the future perfect often renders

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70 Moreschini’s text reads *nequam* with M, Rigalti, and Kroymann, rejecting *malum* in β and the other editors.
71 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*.
72 D. Plooij also noted the error (A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1925], 78n1).
73 b, f, q, and k, according to *Itala*.
aorist subjunctives (as in Scorp. 9.2, Pat. 8.3, and Fug. 7.1), a simple future can be used, and in any case Tertullian does use simple futures in Pat. 11.9.74

Second, Harnack also believed that Marcion's text read ὑμᾶς before the verb μισέω because of the placement of vos in Tertullian's citation, again wrongly stating the reading to be unattested elsewhere.75 It is true that Tertullian follows the Greek word order very closely for the remainder of the citation;76 however, Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns. It is telling in this case that Tertullian also places vos before the verb in Pat. 8.3, 11.9 and Scorp. 9.2.77 Thus, Tertullian's own tendency may be at work, which would preclude confidently moving ὑμᾶς forward in Marcion's text.

Finally, Tertullian's quotation does not attest the second of the four phrases in Luke 6:22, namely καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς. It is possible that the phrase was missing in Marcion's text; yet, given that Tertullian could have simply omitted the phrase or the omission could have come about through parablepsis as a scribe (or Tertullian) skipped from one καὶ to the next καὶ, it should be considered “unattested” and not “missing,” as is assumed by Harnack.78

4.4.11 Luke 6:23

4.15.1—Secundum haec, inquit, faciebant prophetis patres eorum. | Scorp. 9.2—. . . gaudete et exultate, quoniam merces vestra plurima in caelo: sic enim faciebant et prophetis patres illorum: . . .

74 John Thorley, in a comment on the difference between the aorist and present subjunctive in Greek, notes “The distinction is well drawn out by the Vulgate translation, which in most instances translates aorist subjunctives in clauses with ἄν, ἐαν, and ὅταν by a future perfect and present subjunctives by a present or a simple future. (Latin future perfect usage was itself not entirely consistent, in that a simple future was often regarded as sufficient, and this doubtless explains the few cases where a simple future is used for the aorist subjunctive)” (“Subjunctive Aktionsart in New Testament Greek: A Reassessment,” NovT 30 [1988]: 201).

75 Harnack, Marcion, 192*. Again the error was noted by Plooij, Further Study, 78n1 who pointed out that it is the reading found in the Vulgate. It is also found in numerous ol manuscripts, Ambrose, and Cyprian.

76 Note the order of the verbs, ὀνειδίζω and then ἐκβάλλω, against the reverse order in D, many ol manuscripts, and Cyprian.

77 In Matt 5:11 vos precedes different verbs in a b c (maledicere), g1 ( odio habere), and h (persequer). Tertullian’s dedecorare in Scorp. 9.2 is unattested in the ol manuscripts.

78 Harnack, Marcion, 192*. As noted by Schmid (cf. n. 22 above), it is not at all uncommon for Tertullian to omit individual elements in multi-element lists. It is interesting that the related Matthean form contains only three phrases, as opposed to Luke’s four, which could also have influenced Tertullian’s citation of Luke 6:22.
Luke 6:23b is also attested by Epiphanius. Both Harnack and Tsutsui posited the omission of Luke 6:23a by Marcion, but again Tertullian’s silence simply means that half of the verse is unattested.\(^{79}\) The second half of the verse is multiply cited, though in Scorp. 9.2 the citation is a conflation of Matt 5:12 and Luke 6:23.\(^{80}\) There, sic enim appears to attest the influence of Matt 5:12b (οὕτως γάρ), which would increase the likelihood that secundum haec in 4.15.1 reveals the presence of the Lukan reading of numerous manuscripts, κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ, in Marcion’s text. In addition, Tertullian including enim in Scorp. 9.2 may indicate that Harnack’s question “Ob γάρ mit D a ff2 l Ambros. gefehlt hat?” could be answered in the affirmative.\(^{81}\) On the other hand, a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out. The inclusion of et in Scorp. 9.2,\(^{82}\) but not in the citation of Marcion’s text, may reinforce that the remainder of the verse in Marcion’s text read as Harnack reconstructed: ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.\(^{83}\)

4.4.12 Luke 6:25


79 Harnack stated “Da Tert. hier genau dem Texte folgt, aber 23a ausläßt, fehlte es, und das folgt auch aus der Tendenz Marcions” (Marcion, 192*). However, Harnack did not explain how he determined Tertullian’s accuracy, why such accuracy means Tertullian cannot skip over elements in Marcion’s text, or what supposed Marcionite tendency is at work in the omission. Equally unpersuasive is Tsutsui’s impression “Das Fehlen des Satzes scheint mir an sich wahrscheinlich, und dafür spricht auch der Parallelismus zwischen vv.22f. und v.26, der sich durch die Auslassung von v.23a noch deutlicher hervorheben läßt” (“Evangelium,” 82–83).

80 It is possible that this conflation was present in Tertullian’s text of Matthew. However, though U, b, and c add οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν at the end of the verse (cf. NA\(^{28}\)), k adds fratres eorum, and sy\(^{a}\) replaces τοὺς πρὸ ύμων with οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν (cf. von Soden), none of these witnesses reads the Lukan verb ποιέω instead of the Matthean διώκω. For this reason it seems more likely that the conflation is due to Tertullian himself.

81 Harnack, Marcion, 192*. A few additional witnesses to the omission are provided in \(\text{IGNTP}\). Tsutsui agrees that the conjunction was absent in Marcion’s text, but also notes that its omission was not due to Marcion (“Evangelium,” 83).

82 Attested elsewhere for Luke 6:23 only in the OL manuscripts b, f, and q.

83 Harnack, Marcion\(^{1}\), 173*. In the second edition Harnack placed ύμων in parentheses after αὐτῶν because of the testimony of Epiphanius (Marcion, 192*).
Harnack reconstructed this verse οὐαὶ οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι, ὅτι πεινάσετε, οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε. Three issues need to be discussed. First, Harnack did not comment on the absence of ὑμῖν after both occurrences of οὐαί, but it is tenuous to assert its absence in Marcion’s text. Second, the absence of the first νῦν is likely since it is omitted in numerous manuscripts, including A, D, and all OL manuscripts, and the second νῦν is included. Finally, both Harnack and Tsutsui noted the omission of καὶ κλαύσετε at the end of Tertullian’s adaptation. Neither of them noticed, however, that as Tertullian continues his argument he connects the Gospel text to two OT citations (Is 65:13 and LXX Ps 125:5), the second of which clearly includes a reference to this final element. Thus, whether intentionally or unintentionally, it appears as though Tertullian withheld reference to weeping/tears in the first instance, but then drew an explicit parallel involving tears between LXX Ps 125:5 and the Gospel (4.15.13). Unfortunately, since Tertullian’s allusion in Jejun. 15.6 seems to have harmonized elements of Luke 6:25 with Matt 5:6 and possibly Luke 6:21, no further insight into Marcion’s text can be gained on any of these points.


4.16.1—Sed vobis dico, inquit, qui auditis... Diligite inimicos vestros, et benedicite eos qui vos oderunt, et orate pro eis qui vos calumniatur... Si enim qui inimici sunt et oderunt et maledicunt et calumniatur fratres appellandi sunt, utique et benedici odientes et orari pro calumniatoribus iussit qui eos fratres deputari praecepit. | 4.16.6—... et non modo non remaledicendi sed etiam benedicendi, ... | 4.27.1... vetat remaledicere, multo magis utique maledicere, ... | An. 35.2—... diligite enim inimicos vestros, inquit, et orate pro maledicentibus vos ... | Pat. 6.5 [sic, 6.6]—... Diligite inimicos vestros et maledicentibus benedicite et orate pro persecutoribus vestris ut filii sitis patris vestri caelestis.

Luke 6:27–28 is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. The reading of these verses in Tertullian’s citation in 4.16.1 is unattested in the extant evidence
for the NT text. The opening of the verse and the first and last commands are relatively unproblematic as Harnack reconstructed Ἀλλὰ υἱῶν λέγω, τοῖς ἀκούωσιν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν (v. 27) and καὶ προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων υμᾶς (v. 28).90 NA28 and the Textus Receptus (TR) read identically here apart from the absence of καί before προσεύχεσθε.91 Tertullian's lack of consistency regarding conjunctions means that it ultimately cannot be determined whether he saw it in Marcion's text or not.

The second command, as attested by Tertullian in 4.16.1, however, creates difficulties in that it is a conflated form of the second and third element in Luke 6:27–28. Since both the initial citation and a second reference attest the conflation, Harnack stated “also war wirklich Glied zwei und drei (so Lukas) in eines zusammengezogen;”92 yet, there are several problems with this view. First, in between these two attestations to a shortened form, Tertullian makes reference to those who curse, which is an element omitted in the references immediately preceding and following this comment. Harnack argued that Tertullian inserted maledicunt here due to his remembering the Catholic text, though this would require Tertullian, in the space of a few short lines, to have alternated between Marcion's text, the Catholic text, and then back to Marcion's text. Though not impossible, such rapid alteration should at least raise the question of probability, particularly when attention is given to the next points.

Though Harnack mentioned the reference to cursing in 4.27.1, where Tertullian explicitly says that Christ forbade “cursing in reply,” as further evidence of the influence of the Catholic text, Harnack did not mention that the much closer occurrence in 4.16.6, where the same point is made. In addition, and perhaps most significantly, two other references to Luke 6:27–28 or its parallel in Matt 5:44 reveal how “imprecise” Tertullian is in his references to this passage. In An. 35.2 Tertullian reproduces the Matthean text, though instead of praying for those who persecute you, he has praying for those who curse you, a reading otherwise unattested.93 It is the citation in Pat. 6.6, however, that is most telling. Here Tertullian has either conflated Luke 6:27–28 and Matt 5:44–45 or is following the “Western” text of Matt 5:44–45. In either scenario, Tertullian has omitted an element in the list: the command to do good to those who hate you. Of course, it could be argued that simply omitting an item is different from

90 Harnack, Marcion, 192*–93*.
91 The readings of the TR are taken from IGNTP. For an explanation of that text cf. the introduction to vol. 1 of IGNTP, vi–vii.
92 Harnack, Marcion, 193*.
93 There are also various forms in Tertullian's allusions to this text listed in n. 89.
conflating the two items, which is what has occurred in 4.16.1. Nevertheless, Tertullian’s habit of generally citing these verses rather freely lends credence to the view already expressed by Pamelius in his 1583–1584 edition of Tertullian’s works that the form of the text in Adversus Marcionem is due to Tertullian himself.

At the very least, the confidence with which Harnack offered the reading εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας υμᾶς for the Marcionite text must be questioned. One final observation is that Tsutsui’s inclusion of oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente from Matt 5:38 at this point in Marcion’s text must be rejected as it is based on a misunderstanding of both Tertullian and Harnack.

4.4.14  Luke 6:29

4.16.2—… alteram amplius maxillam offerri iubens, et super tunicam pallio quoque cedi. | 4.16.6—Alioquin si tantum patientiae pondus non modo non repercuiendi sed et aliam maxillam praebendi, … et non modo non retinendi tunicam, sed et amplius et pallium concedendi, … | Fug. 13.1—Proinde inquit: qui tibi tunicam sustulerit, vel etiam pallium concede. | Pat. 7.10—. . . nisi idem sit qui auferenti tunicam etiam pallium offerre possit? | Pat. 8.2—. . . Verberanti te, inquit, in faciem etiam alteram genam obverte.

This verse is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony to the second half of Luke 6:29a in 4.16.2 could be rendering the Lukan πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. That the Matthean στρέψον, found in several minuscules, is not in the Marcionite text is confirmed by Tertullian’s use of obvertere in the citation of Matt 5:39 in Pat. 8.2, as opposed to offerre/praebere in 4.16.2, 6.

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94 Cf. Braun’s note in Contre Marcion iv, 20112.
95 In Matt 5:38–39 a reference to the lex talionis precedes the teaching on “turning the other cheek.” In 4.16.1, however, Tertullian gives no indication that an element from Matt 5:38 was in Marcion’s Gospel text. Rather, he appears to be referring back to one of Marcion’s antitheses in which the lex talionis was discussed (cf. 2.28.1–2; cf. 2.18.1), an antithesis which Harnack (Marcion, 193*) and Braun (Contre Marcion ii, 220) think may be cited here. In addition, when Tsutsui at this point in Luke 6:28 quotes Harnack’s comment “Dann aber ist die Annahme unvermeidlich, daß M. einen aus Luk. und Matth. gemischten Text befolgt hat,” Tsutsui erroneously thinks that Harnack was referring to the presence of Matt 5:38 in Luke 6:28. In reality, Harnack was speaking of the conflation of Luke 6:29 with Matt 5:39 as found in the Greek text of Adam. 32.5–6 (1.15).
96 Additional allusions to Luke 6:29a/Matt 5:39 occur in 4.16.5 and Spect. 23.3.
97 Though obverte is not found in the ol manuscripts, the reading of d and k in Matt 5:39 is converte. In addition, it must be admitted that the citation here is not precise as there is a general reference to striking faciem. Harnack’s positing πρόσθες from the attestation of 6:29b in the Adamantius Dialogue with the comment “denn Tert. schreibt: ‘amplius offeri
Luke 6:29b is much more difficult to decipher. The main question concerns the order of the elements of clothing in the Marcionite text. Luke has the order ἱματίον then χιτών, whereas Tertullian appears to attest the Matthean order χιτών then ἱματίον. According to IGNTP, in the manuscript tradition of Luke this reversed order is attested in 1542*, b, ff², g¹, l, r¹, and Irenaeus. At the same time, since Tertullian always offers the items in this order one cannot rule out the influence of the Matthean text on Tertullian’s rendering. In addition, it would appear that Tertullian’s use of the verbs cedere/concedere are closer to the sense of the Matthean reading than to the Lukan reading where the text states τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσῃς. In general, Tertullian’s testimony does not allow for any definitive conclusions.

4.4.15  Luke 6:30

Tertullian appears to attest Luke 6:30a in its Lukan form (παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου), though the Latin is unable to indicate whether the definite article, attested in numerous Greek manuscripts before αἰτοῦντι, was present in Marcion’s text. In addition, the Majority Text, along with several other manuscripts including A, D, and several ol manuscripts, reads δὲ τῷ after παντί. Again, the Latin cannot indicate the presence or absence of the article, but the absence of the conjunction in Tertullian’s testimony could be due to a simple omission and cannot definitively be attributed to the reading in Marcion’s text. Finally, only manuscript 33 attests the Matthean δός here, and there is no good reason to

98 For comments on the grammatical construction in 4.16.2 cf. Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 202n2.
99 Cf. also the comments of Braun, ibid.
100 An additional allusion to Luke 6:30a occurs in 4.16.10.
101 In his reconstructed text Harnack wrote (τῷ?) (Marcion, 193*). It is not always clear what Harnack intended to communicate through the use of parentheses (with or without a question mark).
102 The term “Majority Text” is here used in the sense employed by NA²⁸ in its explanation of the Gothic “M” as a siglum in the apparatus (cf. the introduction to NA²⁸, 15*–16*, 59*–60*).
doubt that Tertullian’s future imperative is rendering δίδου. It is interesting to note that though Tertullian quotes 6:30a several times, 6:30b is never included in those citations. Thus, it is here particularly evident how precarious it is to posit omissions in Marcion’s text based solely on Tertullian’s silence.

4.4.16  Luke 6:31
4.16.13—Et sicut vobis fieri vultis ab hominibus, ita et vos facite illis. | 4.16.16—Satis ergo iam tunc me docuit ea [the Creator] facere alii quae mihi velim fieri. | Scorp. 10.3—Quomodo vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:31 καὶ καθὼς ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι θέλετε παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς. Tertullian’s attestation of the Lukan opening to the verse is unproblematic, and it is interesting that quomodo in the citation of Matt 7:12 in Scorp. 10.3 may have arisen out of the Lukan phrasing. It is also possible that ὑμῖν followed next in the text, though as already noted, Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns in verses that he cites. Overall, however, both Harnack and Tsutsui rightly commented on the singular nature of the reading attested in 4.16.13. But, neither of them commented on the interesting points of contact with the readings of Matt 7:12 in k and h, where k reads volueritis ut fiant vobis homines bona ita et vos facite illis and h reads volueritis bona vobis fieri ab hominibus simuliter et vos illis facite. Though, according to the apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden, γίνομαι instead of ποιέω is unattested in the Greek manuscript tradition of Matthew, that the former underlies fiant/fieri in k and h is almost certain. That Marcion’s text read γίνεσθαι is likely, not only because of the double attestation of fieri (4.16.13, 16), but also because in Scorp. 10.3 Tertullian writes faciant. It is also probable that

103 Note also the use of the future imperative in Bapt. 18.1 and a future indicative in Mon. 11.2, where Aalders referred to dabis as “a licence taken by Tert.” (“Tertullian’s Quotations,” 262). dato is not used in the OL manuscripts in either Luke 6:30 or Matt 5:42. Also worth noting is that Tertullian always includes the Lukan omni in his citations, though several OL manuscripts include it in Matt 5:42.
104 Harnack, Marcion, 193°–94°.
105 The apparatus of Tischendorf and von Soden list no attestation for καθὼς appearing in the Matthean text.
107 Of the other 85 occurrences of ποιέω in Matthew, no OL manuscript ever renders it with fieri. In addition, the vast majority of the 75 occurrences of γίνομαι in Matthew are rendered by fieri in the OL, even if, unsurprisingly, on occasion verbs like esse, efficere, or contingere are employed.
Marcion’s text read the indicative θέλετε and that the use of the subjunctive velim in 4.16.16 is due to Tertullian’s argument.108

If the reading with a deponent infinitive is correct, regardless of the mood of θέλω, then Harnack is also likely correct in rendering ab with παρά, though ἀνθρώπων could have appeared with or without the article in Marcion’s text. Once again, that Tertullian attests the expected homines in Scorp. 10.3 would tend to confirm Tertullian’s attesting a different Greek text for Marcion than that of Luke.109

Tertullian’s witness to the second half of the verse corresponds to the Matthean word order verbatim. Since Tertullian is actually citing from Matthew in Scorp. 10.3 the comparison does not help at this point, though it reveals the possibility that Tertullian slipped into the Matthean version of the saying as he finished the verse. It cannot be ruled out, however, that Marcion’s text read the Matthean οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.

4.4.17 Luke 6:37
4.17.9—Nolite iudicare, ne iudicemini; nolite condemnare, ne condemnemini; dimittite et dimittetemini; . . . | Or. 7.3—Iam et alibi ex hac specie orationis: Remittite, inquit, et remittetur vobis. | Pat. 10.7—Cum enim dicit: Nolite iudicare ne iudicemini, nonne patientiam flagitat? | Pat. 12.3—Quomodo remittes et remittetur tibi si tenax iniuriae per absentiam patientiae fueris? | Pud. 2.2—. . . non iudicantes, ne iudicemur . . . Dimitte, et dimittetur tibi.

Harnack reconstructed this verse μὴ χρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ χριθήτε· μὴ καταδικάζετε, ἵνα μὴ καταδικασθῆτε· ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθήσετε [sic].110 The first element is also referenced in Pat. 10.7 and Pud. 2.2, though apparently influenced by the parallel in Matt 7:1 (μὴ χρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ χριθήτε). Given that numerous witnesses, including D, attest the Matthean reading in Luke 6:37, Tertullian’s rendering in 4.17.9 may be reflecting a harmonization already in Marcion’s text and not Tertullian’s tendency to offer the Matthean form of a saying.111 Since Tertullian also offers the second non-Matthean element with the same construction, a reading that is also attested in the manuscript tradition, it becomes more

108 Note also that Tertullian uses an indicative instead of the Matthean subjunctive in Scorp. 10.3.
109 Matthew and Luke are verbatim in ἵνα ποιῶσιν ύμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Interestingly, at this point the Latin of Tertullian’s attestation of Marcion’s Luke 6:31 and the reading in h at Matt 7:12 both have vobis fieri ab hominibus.
110 Harnack, Marcion, 194*.
111 Tertullian’s own text of Luke could also have contained the Matthean reading. The clause initial καί and the καί before μὴ καταδικάζετε are also omitted in numerous witnesses.
probable that Harnack’s reconstruction is basically correct.\textsuperscript{112} The third element concerning forgiveness is elsewhere always offered with a third person verb and pronoun (either \textit{vobis} or \textit{tibi}) by Tertullian, which increases the likelihood that the wording in 4.17.9 is being governed by the reading in Marcion’s text: \textit{ἀπολύετε καὶ ἀπολυθήσεσθε}.

**4.4.18 Luke 6:39**

3.7.1—... caecus a caeco in eandem decidit foveam. | 4.17.12—Sed caecus caecum ducit in foveam. | 4.36.12—Sic enim caecus caecum deducere solet. | Praescr. 14.8—... caecus a caecis in foveam deducaris necesse est.

In 4.17.12, Tertullian abruptly launches into the series of parables in Luke 6:39–45. Though there are several allusions to Luke 6:39//Matt 15:14 in Tertullian, and it is clear that the text was present in Marcion’s text, no definite insight into the wording of that text can be gained.\textsuperscript{113} Braun contends that in Tertullian’s concluding comment in 4.17.12 (\textit{Multo enim haec congruentius in ipsos interpretabimur quae Christus in homines allegorizavit, non in duos deos secundum scandalum Marcionis}) there is “without a doubt” an allusion to Luke 6:39a (\textit{εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς})\textsuperscript{114} Even if Braun is correct, once again the allusion does not provide any grounds for positing the precise wording of Marcion’s text.

**4.4.19 Luke 6:40**

1.14.4—At tu si super magistrum discipulus et servus super dominum,... | 4.4.5—... cum et si discipulus Marcion, non tamen super magistrum... | 4.17.12—Sed non est discipulus super magistrum. | An. 55.2—... servi super dominum et discipuli super magistrum,... | Praescr. 34.5—... ipse [Valentinus] faceret discipulos super magistrum. | Scorp. 9.6—... non est discipulus super magistrum... nec servus super dominum suum,... | Val. 33.1—Extiterunt enim de schola ipsius [Valentinus] discipuli super magistrum,...\textsuperscript{115}

The citation of Luke 6:40a is fairly straightforward: \textit{οὐκ ἔστιν μαθητὴς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον}.\textsuperscript{116} Reinforcing its origin in the Lukan text is the absence of the

\textsuperscript{112} In addition to several church fathers and numerous versions, D and the OL manuscripts e, a, c, d attest the same text Tertullian offers for Marcion’s Gospel.

\textsuperscript{113} Both Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 194* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 85 indicate that there is only an allusion to the text.

\textsuperscript{114} Braun (trans.), \textit{Contre Marcion IV}, 222n5.

\textsuperscript{115} An additional allusion to this theme as it relates to Marcion and his followers occurs in \textit{Carn. Chr.} 6.1.

\textsuperscript{116} The absence of \textit{αὐτοῦ} at the end of the phrase, with P\textsuperscript{75}, \textit{N}, B, D, and many other manuscripts is likely. Some manuscripts include \textit{αὐτοῦ} after the first element, and in Matt 10:24 it is nearly uniformly present after the second (cf. \textit{Scorp.} 9.6).
mention of the servant and the master found in the Matthean text (cf. 1.14.4, An. 55.2, and Scorp. 9.6), even though it should be noted that Tertullian omits reference to the servant/master pairing at other points as well. Tsutsui rightly questions Harnack’s rendering ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδασκάλου (with the genitive instead of the accusative), as it is incorrect. It is interesting that Tertullian never shows any interest in Luke 6:40b in conjunction with this saying, which reveals that he may be more familiar with the saying in its Matthean context or that it does not lend itself to Tertullian’s preferred use of the passage in reference to “heretics.” Harnack’s following Luke 6:40a with “(sonst nichts)” probably meant that Harnack viewed the remainder of the verse as missing in Marcion’s text; yet, this conclusion is unwarranted as Luke 6:40b is simply unattested.

4.4.20  Luke 6:43

This verse is also attested by Hippolytus, Origen, Pseudo-Tertullian, Philastrius, and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony three observations are important. First, in 4.17.12 Tertullian attests the order in the saying as “good tree” followed by “bad tree” as it is found in canonical Luke. Second, Tertullian attests the singular καρπόν, and not the plural καρπούς. Third, concerning the verb in the verse, Harnack observed “nicht ποιεῖν, sondern πρενέγκειν und πρενέγκαι im Text, der Tert. und

117 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 85. Braun, Chronica Tertullianea, 491 agrees. Harnack’s text is found in Marcion, 194*.
118 This preferred usage by Tertullian is also mentioned by Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion 1, 166n6 [sic n1].
119 One would expect “unbezeugt” if Harnack meant that the remainder of the verse was unattested.
120 Harnack, Marcion, 194* apparently made an incorrect reference to this passage being found in “11, 27.”
121 Harnack does not provide a word for word reconstruction of Luke 6:43 (cf. Marcion, 195*) and Tsutsui refers to it as an “im Wortlaut nicht mehr genau festzustellendem Vers” (“Evangelium,” 85).
Adamantius vorlag. But it is not at all clear that Tertullian read προφέρω in Marcion’s text. A brief glance at the other references to this verse reveals a tremendous amount of vocabulary variation as Tertullian attests proferre, producere, ferre, dare, and edare in his Latin renderings. It would be unlikely in the extreme that Tertullian was in each case rendering a different Greek lemma, especially since the Greek manuscript tradition does not attest any other verbs for Luke 6:43.

4.4.21 Luke 7:2, 9

4.18.1—Proinde extollenda fide centurionis increibile, si is professus est talem se fidem nec in Israele invenisse ad quem non pertinebat fides Israhel<is>... ‘Sed cur non licuerit illi alienae fidei exemplo uti?’ [a supposed argument against Tertullian’s interpretation] Quoniam si ita esset, talem fidem nec in Israele unquam fuisse. Ceterum dicens talem fidem debuisse inveniri in Israele, ... | Idol. 19.3...si etiam centurio crediderat,... | Val. 28.1...ubi adventum Soteris [the Demiurge] accepit, propere et ovanter accurrit cum omnibus suis viribus—centurio de evangelio—... Luke 7:9 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian begins 4.18.1 with a general reference to the account in Luke 7:1–10; however, only 7:9 is given in any detail. After stating that the account concerns a centurion (v. 2), Tertullian’s adaptation of v. 9 at the outset of 4.18.1 attests that Jesus said τοιαύτην (or τοσαύτην) πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ εὗρον, with elements repeated in the subsequent discussion. Harnack stated that Tertullian definitely read talem (which one more likely would consider to be rendering τοιαύτην) in Marcion’s text as Tertullian repeated it three times. This view is possible, though the repetition in and of itself does not guarantee the reading. In addition, Harnack stated that the reading was otherwise unattested when, in fact, both e and r¹ read talem.

122 Marcion, 195*. The same point is made by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463. Though the evidence from the Adamantius Dialogue is discussed later, it is worth pointing out that the Adamantius Dialogue attests both ἐνεγκειν/ἐνεγκαι and προενεγκεῖν/προενέγκαι (though, n.b., the Greek archetype manuscript B reads προσενεγκειν/προσενέγκαι). Harnack pointed out this fact in his apparatus, but not in the reconstruction of Marcion’s text in which the above citation is found.

123 Possible, though not provable, is that Tertullian is familiar with the variant reading ἔνεγκειν found in Matt 7:18 in B for the first instance and N* in the second. Origen offers this reading in some of his references to the passage. Even if this were the case, the variation in Tertullian’s vocabulary renders the Greek verb behind the Latin, in any particular instance, unclear.

124 Harnack, Marcion, 196*.

125 IGNTP states that the reading is also attested in sy².
It does not seem to be completely outside the realm of possibility that *talem* is rendering τοσαύτην instead of τοιαύτην, which is not attested in any Greek manuscript. If Tertullian was familiar with the reading *talem*, present in the African OL tradition, its use here may be due to Tertullian himself and not the reading τοιαύτην in Marcion’s text. More significantly, Harnack stated that Marcion’s text read οὐδέποτε, a reading also found in D, “denn bei einer Wiederholung schreibt er [Tertullian]: ‘talem fidem nec in Israele umquam fuisse.’” Yet, Harnack overlooked that this phrase occurs when Tertullian is stating what Christ would have said if Marcion’s interpretation were correct, but actually did *not* say. Finally, unfortunately the general allusions to Luke 7:1–10//Matt 8:5–13 in *Idol*. 19.3 and *Val*. 28.1 do not provide further insight into Marcion’s text.

4.4.22  **Luke 7:18–20, 22–23**

4.18.4—... scandalizatur Iohannes auditis virtutibus Christi, ... | 4.18.5—Hoc igitur metu et Iohannes: Tu es, inquit, qui venis, an alium expectamus? | 4.18.6—Tu es, qui venis, id est qui venturus es, an alium expectamus? ... ut dominus per easdem operationes agnoscoendum se nuntiaverit Iohanni. | 4.18.7—... interrogationis illius: Tu es, qui venis, an alium expectamus? | 4.18.8—... et qui sit maior tanto propheta, qui non fuerit scandalizatus in Christum, quod tunc Iohannem minuit. | Bapt. 10.5—... cum ipsum quod caeleste in Iohanne fuerat, spiritus [et] prophetiae, post totius spiritus in dominum translationem usque adeo defecerit ut quem praeedicaverat, quem advenientem designaverat, postmodum, an ipse esset, miserit sciscitatum. | Carn. Chr. 4.4—... carnem ab omni vexatione restituuit, leprosam emaculat, caecam reluminat, paralyticam redintegrat, daemoniam expiat, mortuam resuscitat, ...

For Luke 7:18–23, v. 19 is attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, v. 22 by Eznik, and v. 23 by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian begins his discussion with a comment attributed to Marcion that John was offended when he heard of Christ’s miracles (4.18.4). The comment seems to refer to the report given to John in v. 18 (with apparent reference to v. 23), though no insight into the reading of the verse can be gained. The three citations of v. 19 reflect σὺ εἶ ὁ ἄνδρα μετασφαλίζων.

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126 Evans consistently translates *talem* here as “so great.”
128 Braun rightly notes that Tertullian’s argument here rests on the precise sense of the verb ἐὗρον (*Contre Marcion IV*, 229n4).
129 Additional references to John being offended occur in 4.18.5–6.
The reference of a reply given to John by the two disciples (4.18.6) assumes vv. 20 and 22, though once again the allusion does not reveal anything about the text itself. Finally, the comment in 4.18.8, though coming after Tertullian’s discussion of vv. 24–28, appears to attest the concluding words by Jesus in v. 23: ὅς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί. Unfortunately, the allusions to Luke 7:19–23//Matt 11:2–6 in Bapt. 10.5 and Carn. Chr. 4.4 do not provide further insight on any of these points.

4.4.23 Luke 7:26
4.18.7—Multo perversius, si et testimonium Iohanni perhibet non Iohannis Christus, propheten eum confirmans, immo et supra ut angelum, . . . | Mon. 8.1—. . . in Ioanne antecursore, . . . alia plus praeferen quam propheten, . . .

In 4.18.7, Tertullian introduces the quotation of Luke 7:27 with an allusion to Luke 7:26. Tertullian attests the presence of the words προφήτην and probably ναὶ . . . καὶ περισσότερον. The allusion in Mon. 8.1 also does not contribute to our knowledge of Marcion’s text.

4.4.24 Luke 7:27
4.18.4—. . . spiritus sancti, quae ex forma prophetici moduli in Iohanne egerat praeparaturam viarum dominicarum,. . . | 4.18.7—. . . ingerens etiam scriptum super illo: Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praepararet viam tuam,. . . | 4.18.8—Praecursore enim iam functo officium, praeparata via domini,. . . | 4.33.8—. . . si et Iohannes antecursor et praeparator ostenditur viarum domini,. . . | Adv. Jud. 9.23—Ecce ego mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, id est Christi, qui praeparabit viam tuam ante te,. . .

Luke 7:27 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, first, the phrasing of the opening of the verse in the quotation in 4.18.7 does not allow a precise reconstruction of

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130 The only variant in the manuscript tradition of this phrase is the Matthean ἕτερον instead of ἄλλον. qui venis is the reading of e, whereas Tertullian’s gloss in 4.18.6 (qui venturus es) is the reading of a, aur, b, c, d, f, and l.

131 Harnack’s reconstruction προφήτην, ναὶ καὶ περισσότερον (Marcion, 197*) is slightly misleading in that it could imply that Marcion’s text did not have λέγω υμῖν after ναὶ (the phrase appears in every extant witness). Matt 11:9 reads identical to Luke.

132 Moreschini’s text reads praeparet with β, Gelenius, and Kroymann, rejecting the readings praeparat in M and praeparabit in Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans. There is no need to posit any difference in the Greek text in following Moreschini’s reading (In his citation of the passage from Tertullian, Harnack rightly noted “praeparet (= ‘praeparabit’) [Marcion, 196*]).

133 Possible additional allusions to Luke 7:27//Matt 11:10//Mark 1:2 occur in Bapt. 6.1, 10.6.
Marcion’s text. Second, it is possible that ἐγὼ was present in Marcion’s text as the TR reads ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω; however, it is also possible that the presence of ego is due to the influence of Matt 11:10 or LXX Mal 3:1. The pronoun is included in the only other explicit quotation of the passage in Adv. Jud. 9.23. Third, the accuracy of the wording of 7:27b (ὁς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν σου) is reinforced by Tertullian’s propensity to use the phrasing via domini in the allusions to the passage. Fourth, even though ἐμπροσθέν σου is unattested and could be a simple omission by Tertullian, the possibility of its absence must be entertained because it is present in Tertullian’s citation in Adv. Jud. 9.23 and is also absent in D, a, aur d, l, and r.135

4.4.25 Luke 7:28

4.18.8—Praecursore…maior quidem omnibus natis mulierum, sed non ideo subiectus ei qui minor fuerit in regno dei quasi alterius sit dei regnum in quo modicus quis maior erit Iohanne, alterius Iohannes qui omnibus natis mulierum maior sit….creatori competit, et Iohannem ipsius esse, maiorem natis mulierum, et Christum vel quemque modicum, qui maior Iohanne futurus sit in regno aequae creatoris, et qui sit maior tanto prophetæ,…| Bap. 12.5—. . .Nemo dicens maior inter natos feminarum Iohanne baptizatore.

Harnack reconstructed this verse μείζων πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν γυναικῶν προφήτης Ἰωάννης ἐστίν· ὁ (δὲ) μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ (ob τοῦ θεοῦ?) μείζων συτού ἐστιν. Tsutsui comments “Die Wiederherstellung (und Auslegung) dieses Verses von Harnack, ist nicht einleuchtend. Es ist hier besser, auf die genaue Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Marcion-Textes zu verzichten.”137 There is considerable truth in Tsutsui’s objection. First, though Tertullian does not include omnibus in Bap. 12.5, it is also not included in the third reference in 4.18.8, and was not necessarily present in Marcion’s Gospel.138 In addition, though Tertullian writes inter natos in Bap. 12.5, since he is discussing the general meaning of Luke 7:28 in 4.18.8, it is not necessary to view natis as rendering a different Greek reading. Finally, the reference to John as a prophet at the end of the discussion in 4.18.8 does not require προφήτης to have been present in Marcion’s text, even if it is the reading of the Majority Text and

134 Harnack placed the Greek pronoun in parentheses in his reconstructed text (cf. Marcion, 197*). The pronoun is omitted in numerous witnesses including P75vid, 8, B, D, L, and W.
135 Cf. also Harnack, Marcion, 196*.
136 Ibid., 197*.
138 Cf. also Wright, Alterations, 129.
several other witnesses. On the other hand, the fact that Tertullian includes *baptizatore* in *Bapt. 12.5* and makes no mention of this designation in *4.18.8* may reveal that it was not present in Marcion’s text. Luke 7:28b is not multiply attested and it is precarious to attempt to determine the precise wording from Tertullian’s discussion.

4.4.26 Luke 8:37

4.19.5—... omnia de occulto in apertum repromittit, ... | Paen. 6.10—Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur ... | Virg. 14.3—Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur ...

Harnack rightly noted that Tertullian provides only an allusion to this verse in 4.19.5, and his reconstruction offered *κρυπτὸν φανερῶν γενήσεται*. That these Lukan words were probably in Marcion’s text is revealed by the observation that in *Paen. 6.10* and *Virg. 14.3* Tertullian prefers wording influenced by Matt 10:26. At the same time, since Tertullian has omitted the verb, the reading ἔσται, found in D, cannot be excluded.

4.4.27 Luke 8:18

2.2.6—... ideoque non habendo fidem etiam quod videbatur habere ademptum est illi, ... | 4.19.3—Et ideo per Christum adicit: Videte quomodo audiatis ... etiam dicendo: Videte, quomodo audiatis, ... | 4.19.4—Hoc probat etiam subiacens sensus: Ei qui habet dabitur, ab eo autem qui non habet etiam quod habere se putat auferetur ei. | Fug. 11.2—Etenim qui habet, dabitur ei; ab eo autem, qui non habet, etiam quod videtur habere auferetur.

In 4.19.3 Tertullian twice attests Luke 8:18a without οὖν. Both Harnack and Tsutsui argued that the particle was absent in Marcion’s text, though Harnack believed it was absent in the text received by Marcion, whereas Tsutsui believed it was deleted by Marcion for stylistic reasons. If the particle was absent, Harnack’s view, supported by the reading of a handful of

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139 The reference could easily have come from Luke 7:26, which Tertullian discusses in 4.18.7.
140 *Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ* is the reading of numerous “Western” witnesses, the Majority Text, and the reading in Matt 11:33.
141 Harnack, *Marcion*, 198*.
142 *φανερωθήσεται* is found in several witnesses, including many OL manuscripts and Syriac versions, but Tertullian’s allusion implies that the adjective was found in the verse.
143 In 4.19.3–5 Tertullian comments on Luke 8:18 before referring to Luke 8:16–17. This fact leads Tsutsui to posit that Marcion moved v. 18 in his text (“Evangelium,” 88). Harnack, however, kept vv. 16–17 before v. 18 in his reconstruction (*Marcion*, 198*). This view is more likely as it appears that Tertullian discusses v. 18 in conjunction with v. 8 in the light of the similar content before briefly alluding to vv. 16–17 (vv. 9–15 are unattested).
Manuscripts is more likely, since Tsutsui’s is dependent on his unlikely contention that Marcion relocated v. 18. It is difficult to be certain that the conjunction was missing as there was no need for Tertullian to include it for his argument in which he linked the thought of Luke 8:18a with Luke 8:8b and Isa 6:9.

In 4.19.4 Tertullian attests the opening of Luke 8:18b without γάρ. Once again Tsutsui believes Marcion deleted the conjunction. This supposition, though, is not certain, for, despite its presence in Fug. 11.2, Tertullian may have simply omitted it at the outset of his citation here. Once again Tertullian’s freedom with pronouns can be observed as ei is at the outset of the 4.19.4 citation and after dabitur in Fug. 11.2. As the manuscript tradition is nearly uniform here, αὐτῷ was almost certainly present after δοθῆσεται.

For 8:18c Harnack reconstructed ὃς δ᾽ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ, καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Harnack here has a curious combination of following and altering Tertullian’s testimony and in his apparatus simply commented “Man braucht nicht anzunehmen, daß Tert. anders gelesen hat als oben steht; nur sein ‘autem’ ist sonst unbezeugt.” Given that Tertullian writes ab eo autem at the outset of both 4.19.4 and Fug. 11.2, however, the wording could be attributable to Tertullian and does not necessitate either δέ or the preposition and pronoun here in Marcion’s text. In addition, though Tertullian writes videtur habere in Fug. 11.2, his habere se putat does not necessitate a word order change in

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145 IGlNT lists 343, 716, 1229, several OL manuscripts, syc, szy, syo, bo, and the Persian Diatessaron as attesting the omission.

146 Cf. n. 143.


148 According to IGlNT only the Persian Diatessaron, geo, and aeth omit γάρ. In addition, it is not clear whether γάρ would have preceded or followed ἄν. According to IGlNT, the former is the reading of N, B, L, Ξ, 0202, and 157.

149 Harnack, Marcion, 198* places αὐτῷ in this position but in parentheses.

150 Ibid.

151 Harnack provides no rationale for including δέ but leaving out ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ at the beginning of the phrase. Tertullian places ei at the end of the phrase, and though ultimately not provable, it could be that Tertullian wrote ab eo autem from memory at the beginning of the phrase and then saw ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ at the conclusion of the verse leading to a redundant ei (auferetur ei is the reading of e in Matt 13:12). According to IGlNT there is one OL manuscript, I, and two manuscripts of sa that attest autem. καὶ ὃς is attested in the remainder of the manuscript tradition. Worth noting are the readings of e, auferetur ab eo, quod videtur habere, along with D (also d), ἀρθήσεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ δ δοξεῖ ἔχειν. Tertullian may have been familiar with a similar reading.
Marcion’s text, a change that Harnack also did not make. Finally, despite the attestation of ἔχει (cf. Matt 13:12//Mark 4:25) in later manuscripts, Harnack was right to view Tertullian’s habet as likely rendering the subjunctive.

4.4.28  Luke 8:20

4.19.7—Nos contrario dicimus primo non potuisse illi adnuntiari quod mater et frates eius foris starent quaerentes videre eum, si nulla illi mater et fratres nulli fuissent, quos utique norat qui adnuntiарат, . . .

Carn. Chr. 7.2—Primo quidem numquam quisquam adnuntiasset illi matrem et fratres eius foris stantes, qui non certus esset et habere illum matrem et fratres et ipsos esse, quos tunc nuntiabat, vel retro cognitos vel tunc ibidem compertos, . . .

Luke 8:20 is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. From Tertullian’s allusion in 4.19.7 it is clear that the verse contained a reference to the announcement of the presence of Jesus’ mother and brothers standing outside. The allusion in Carn. Chr. 7.2 reveals that the use of a single possessive pronoun for both mother and brothers may not require the conclusion that only one possessive pronoun appeared in Marcion’s Greek text (cf. Luke 8:19//Matt 12:46). In addition, Tertullian’s placement of foris before the verb stare in both of these references shows that that was not necessarily the word order in Marcion’s text. Nevertheless, ἔξω ἐστήκασιν is the reading of D, several ol manuscripts, and a handful of other manuscripts and could have been Marcion’s reading. In addition, the placement of illi before the verb adnuntiare in 4.19.7, but after the verb in Carn. Chr. 7.2, reinforces the necessity for caution in attempting to determine the Greek word order from Tertullian’s testimony not only for these readings but also for quaerentes videre eum.

The final element of Luke 8:20 unfortunately does not appear in Carn. Chr. 7.2, and therefore must be considered solely based on Tertullian’s wording in 4.19.7. Tertullian’s phrasing quaerentes videre eum, conflates Luke 8:20 and Matt

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152 Even the altered word order in the readings of D, d, and e cited in the previous note retain the otherwise uniformly attested order of these two words.

153 Every ol manuscript (except a, which reads habuerit) here reads habet. IGNTMP does not interpret these readings as evidence for Greek present indicatives. Alternatively, Tertullian may have been influenced by the reading in the Matthean parallel.

154 Additional allusions to Luke 8:20 occur in 3.11.3; 4.19.10; and 4.36.9.

155 Additional allusions to (contextually) Matt 12:47 occur in Carn. Chr. 7.3, 5, 7–8.

156 According to IGNTMP, the omission of the first possessive pronoun is attested in the manuscripts P75, N, 579, and 1220.

157 Thus, the indication by IGNTMP in its apparatus that Marcion attests the order θέλοντες ἰδεῖν σε at the close of the verse, apparently dependent on Tertullian’s word order quaerentes videre eum, should be questioned.
12:46, as in Luke Jesus’ mother and brothers are standing outside ἰδεῖν θέλοντες σε, but in Matthew ζητούντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι. D and d read ζητούντες σε in Luke, though it is likely that the Matthean quaerentes is due to Tertullian slipping into Matthean wording. At the same time, simply assuming that Marcion’s text read θέλοντες does not seem to be warranted.158

4.4.29 Luke 8:21


Luke 8:21, most clearly attested in 4.19.11, contains a curious combination of Matthean/Markan and Lukan elements. The question with which the verse appears to open is found in Matt 12:48//Mark 3:33, though Tertullian’s phrasing does not follow either text precisely.162 The closing element of the verse is clearly dependent on Luke 8:21. That the Matthean/Markan question appeared in Marcion’s text is confirmed not only by Tertullian’s numerous references to it in 4.19, but also by his refutation of Apelles and Marcion in Carn. Chr. 7, where Tertullian refers back to his discussion in Marc.163 It is worth noting Tertullian’s

158 Thus, in addition to the problematic word order in IGNTP (cf. n. 157), it should not be assumed that θέλοντες is the attested reading. Though Harnack placed ἐστήκασιν ἐξω ἰδεῖν θέλοντες in parentheses, it is curious that he did not mention that Tertullian’s testimony provides no direct warrant for θέλοντες.
159 Moreschini’s text reads mater with β rejecting the certainly erroneous reading pater found in M.
160 Pamellus, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read quae.
161 Only one manuscript, codex Trecensis, includes mihi. Every other manuscript and editor simply reads qui fratres, which likely is correct.
162 Geoffrey G. Dunn points out that the non-Lukan opening was missed by Aalders, Higgins, and O’Malley in their word studies (“Mary’s Virginity in partu and Tertullian’s Anti-Docetism in De Carne Christi Reconsidered,” JTS 58 [2007]: 473n32).
163 In Carn. Chr. 7.1 Tertullian, after the question as cited above, continues audiat igitur et Apelles quid iam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni eo libello quo ad evangelium ipsius
varying inclusion of *mihi* in his citations. In addition, that Marcion’s text read τοὺς λόγους μου and not the canonical τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ is unintentionally confirmed by Tertullian’s later reference back to this passage in 4.26.13. It seems that the wording of Luke 11:28 reminded Tertullian of the canonical wording of Luke 8:21, though he apparently forgot that Marcion’s text did not refer to the *auditores et obsecutores dei*. In addition, though not certain, the absence of a pronoun in the latter instance may indicate that *ea* in the former is reflecting a pronoun in Marcion’s text. Therefore, though the precise wording of some elements is unclear, Harnack was generally correct in his reconstruction τίς μοι μήτηρ καὶ τίνες μοι ἀδελφοί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τοὺς λόγους μου ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτούς.

4.4.30 *Luke 9:22*

4.21.7—... *quia oporteret filium hominis multa pati, et reprobari a presbyteris et scribis et sacerdotibus, et interfici, et post tertium diem resurgere.* | Carn. Chr. 9.8—Sed quomodo, inquitis, contemnere et pati posset, ...

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, the allusion in *Carn. Chr.* 9.8 likely reveals that *patti* and *reprobare* in 4.21.7 are being controlled by Marcion’s text. The use of *contemnere* in the former demonstrates that Tertullian is giving the general sense of the verse without using its actual wording as “despise” does not occur in Luke 9:22 or its parallels in Matt 16:21//Mark 8:31.

provocavimus, considerandum scilicet materiam pronuntiationis istius. Harnack observed, “Die Umgestaltung des 20 f. Verses ergibt sich sicher aus den Wiederholungen Tert.s hier und in de carne 7” (*Marcion, 198*). Wright, however, argued that the use of the Matthean question in *Carn. Chr.* “gives rise to doubt concerning whose preference is involved” (*Alterations, 129*). The use of *subiuungens* in 4.19.11 and the reference to Marcion’s Gospel in *Carn. Chr.* strongly connect the question to Marcion’s text and not to Tertullian’s own preference. It is also interesting to note how closely the wording of the citations (4.19.6 and *Carn. Chr.* 7.1) and the subsequent references (4.19.10 and *Carn. Chr.* 7.10) agree with each other. Tsutsui writes concerning the Latin rendering of the verse, “Singulär ist der Dative ‘mihi’ (bis), der uns wohl darauf aufmerksam machen will, daß ‘mater’ und ‘fratres’ hier im übertragenen Sinn verstanden werden müssen” (“Evangelium,” 89). This interpretation is problematic, however, as *mihi* is attested in the ol manuscript b (for the first occurrence) and is often used by Ambrose in his commentary on Luke (cf., e.g., *Exp. Luc.* 8.73 and 10.25). It is not even entirely certain that Marcion’s text read datives.

This point is not taken into consideration by Wright when he suggested that the reading may be attributed to Tertullian (*Alterations, 130*).

Harnack, *Marcion*, 198*. Jerome, in the comments on Matt 12:49 in his *Commentariorum in Matthaeum*, makes a reference to Jesus not having denied his mother as is thought by Marcion, who thought that Jesus was born of a phantom.
The opening words of Tertullian’s reference to v. 22 are unproblematic, though when Tertullian lists those who will reject Jesus, he lists them in the order πρεσβύτεροι, γραμματεῖς, ἀρχιερεῖς. This order is elsewhere attested only in syc. After referring to ἄποκτανθῆναι, Tertullian attests the reading μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, which is the reading of Mark 8:31 (cf. Mark 9:31 and 10:34; Matt 27:63) but is also attested for Luke in several OL manuscripts and the related reading in D and b. Finally, the verb used by Tertullian at the conclusion of the verse is resurgere. In his apparatus, Harnack stated “ἀναστῆναι mit Tert. und Mark. ACD ßSW.” Harnack’s view apparently influenced Tsutsui and IGNT, where it is also explicitly indicated that Tertullian attests ἀναστῆναι. Such certainty, however, does not appear warranted. Though ἀναστῆναι is the reading in Mark 8:31 and in Luke 9:22 in D, resurgere could be rendering either the Greek ἀνίστημι or ἐγείρω. The Greek verb behind Tertullian’s Latin, therefore, is not clearly evident and NA27 and NA28 are, in my estimation, correct in not listing Tertullian as a witness for the reading ἀναστῆναι.

4.4.31 Luke 9:24

4.21.9—Qui voluerit, inquit, animam suam salvam facere, perdet illam, et qui perdiderit eam propter me, salvam faciet eam. | 4.21.10—... sed illa [death] insignis et pro fide militaris, in qua qui animam suam propter deum perdit, servat...
illam,... | Scorp. 11.1—. . . qui animam suam invenerit, perdet illam qui vero perdiderit mei causa, inveniet illam.172

Luke 9:24 appears to be the verse driving the citation in 4.21.9, and it is worth noting that in Scorp. 11.1 Tertullian cites Matt 10:39.173 For Luke 9:24 Tertullian does not attest the presence of γάρ at the beginning of the verse. Harnack placed the conjunction in parentheses;174 however, Tsutsui argues that Marcion deleted it and uses its absence to argue that Marcion also deleted Luke 9:23.175 It is true that Tertullian does not make any direct reference to v. 23, but using the absence of a conjunction, even if it were not a common occurrence in Tertullian’s writings, is a speculative basis upon which to construct the argument for the absence of v. 23. Its absence could very well be a simple omission or the result of influence from Matt 10:39 where no conjunction occurs. Second, Harnack also noted the omission of οὗτος before σώσει. Though this omission occurs in numerous OL manuscripts, other versions, and church fathers, once again its absence may be a simple omission or due to Matthean influence as the demonstrative pronoun does not appear in Matt 10:39, 16:25//Mark 8:35.

Third, Harnack rendered et qui as καὶ ὃς, though incorrectly considering it otherwise unattested as it is also the reading of a and geo. It would appear, however, that without the assumption that Tertullian is following the text precisely there is no good reason why et qui cannot be his rendering of ὃς δὲ. Furthermore, though Tertullian reads perdiderit eam propter me where Luke has ἀπολέσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ, Harnack perhaps incorrectly reconstructed ἀπολέσῃ αὐτὴν ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ.176 Though this reading may be reflected in e, reading illam instead of eam, it is interesting that in the allusion back to the verse in 4.21.10 Tertullian has qui animam suam propter deum perdit and in Scorp. 11.1 Tertullian simply leaves the noun to be understood despite the fact that Matt 10:39 has an overt reference to τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ. In other words, in three attestations to this element common to both Luke and Matthew, Tertullian once offers a pronoun, once the entire phrase, and once nothing at all. Thus, it is difficult to know how accurately Tertullian is representing the actual reading of Marcion’s text at this point. Finally, Tertullian’s reference to

172 An additional allusion to Luke 9:24 occurs in Cor. 11.5 and to Matt 10:39 in Pat. 7.11.
173 Matt 16:25 reads slightly differently from both the Lukian and the other Matthean occurrence, with σώζω as the first verb and εὑρίσκω as the second.
174 Harnack, Marcion, 201*.
176 Harnack, Marcion, 201*.
an otherwise unattested *propter deum* in 4.21.10 makes it more likely that *propter me* in 4.21.9 has arisen out of Marcion's text.

### 4.4.32 Luke 9:26


Based on Tertullian's citation in 4.21.12 Harnack stated “Dieser Vers ist nicht nur verkürzt, sondern auch verändert, und 26b und 27 fehlen ganz.”<sup>180</sup> Once again, it is very difficult to determine whether γάρ was missing in Marcion's text at the outset of the verse.<sup>181</sup> Harnack has it in parentheses and Tsutsui, as in Luke 9:24, speculatively argues that Marcion deleted it because he had deleted the previous verse (v. 25).<sup>182</sup>

Second, for the first half of 9:26a, apart from the absent conjunction, Tertullian appears to follow Marcion's text closely, attesting δς ἀν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με. In every other reference to the verse, apart from the conflated citation in *Idol.* 13.6 where Tertullian employs the preposition *super*, Tertullian places the pronoun (*mei/me*) before the verb, thus increasing the likelihood that 4.21.10 is reflecting the word order in Marcion's text. The converse, however, is true for the second half of v. 26a, for which Harnack offered καγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι αὐτόν.<sup>183</sup> If Tertullian is rendering Marcion's wording, that Tertullian tends to prefer placing *et ego* before the verb in this verse (only in *Carn. Chr.* 5.3 does it follow the verb) may mean that it is just as likely that the order was that of Matt 10:33 (ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτόν), though with the Lukan verb. More important,

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<sup>177</sup> *Mei* is the reading in Ursinus's note, Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans. *Me* is the reading in θ, Gelenius, and Pamelius.

<sup>178</sup> Pamelius's edition reads *eum*.

<sup>179</sup> Pamelius's edition reads *me confuses*.

<sup>180</sup> Harnack, *Marcion*, 202*. The statement is followed by Harnack's argument concerning the theological reason for the omission by Marcion, namely that v. 27 would imply that some among the original apostles would experience the parousia, which is a recognition of Jewish Christians that Marcion could not allow.

<sup>181</sup> *IGNTTP* indicates that its absence is elsewhere only attested in one manuscript of bo.


<sup>183</sup> Harnack, *Marcion*, 201*. 
however, is the observation that it is not clear that either of these otherwise unattested readings was found in Marcion’s text instead of the Lukan τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ανθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται. In Tertullian’s second citation of the passage in 4.21.12, he cites only the first half of v. 26a, indicating that his primary interest and focus in this section is on someone being ashamed of Christ. In the immediate context of 4.21.10, Tertullian introduces the citation with sed et zeloten deum mihi exhibit, malum malo reddentum, a point which can be made with any number of phrasings of the second half of v. 26a. Since Tertullian in his other writings reveals the strong influence of Matt 10:33 on his reproduction of this saying, it is at least possible that Tertullian sees the verse in Marcion’s text, begins to cite it accurately, and then slips into a rendering of the verse influenced by Matthew. This possibility is further confirmed when Tertullian cites the verse in a nearly identical manner in Carn. Chr. 5.3, where there is no indication that he would be utilizing Marcion’s text. Therefore, hesitancy concerning Tertullian’s testimony at this point is necessary.

Finally, even though v. 26b is technically unattested, that it was not present is possible. It is interesting to note that in Carn. Chr. 5.3, where Tertullian is also arguing against Marcion, once again only Luke 9:26a is referenced. In both cases Tertullian focuses, though with slightly different emphases, on “shame” in his argument, which may indicate that v. 26b simply is not of interest to him. At the same time, however, it is noteworthy that in the references to this verse in Fug. 7.1, Idol. 13.6, and Scorp. 9.13, in every case the citation has some additional element as Tertullian apparently conflates Luke 9:26a and Matt 10:33b. Tsutsui argues, “Die unbezeugte zweite Hälfte des Verses... scheint gestrichen worden zu sein, da Marcion aus 12,8f. ‘die Engel’ und aus 21,27 ‘die Herrlichkeit’ ausgestoßen hat.” Tsutsui may be right; yet, the argument ultimately must interpret the silence of Tertullian, which remains methodologically problematic.

184 Cf. below and the comments in n. 186.
185 This point was also recognized by Wright, Alterations, 130.
186 Tertullian’s interest in the issue of “shame” (it appears in every one of the contexts and concludes Scorp. 9 where Tertullian also focuses on the issue of “denying”) apparently leads him to use the Lukan ἐπαισχύνομαι and not the Matthean ἀρνόμαι in these citations. According to Tischendorf and von Soden, ἐπαισχύνομαι does not appear in the manuscript tradition for Matt 10:33. That Tertullian is aware of the Matthean reading is evidenced by the citations below in this chapter under 4.4.60. Despite using the verb from Luke 9:26//Mark 8:38 Tertullian uses elements from the conclusion to Matt 10:33 (ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν [τοῖς] οὐρανοῖς) to complete these three citations.
4.4.33  Luke 9:28

4.22.1—...quod illum [Christ] cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspicui paters, ... | 4.22.7—Tres de discentibus arbitros futurae visionis et vocis adsumit ... In montem secedit. | Carn. Chr. 24.3—...alium in secessu montis in ambitu nubis sub tribus arbitris clarum ... | Prax. 14.7—...[Jesus] est in montis secessu, ... | Prax. 15.8—...neque Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus sine rationis et amentia, qui, si non passuri Filii gloriam sed Patrem vidissent, credo, morituri ibidem. | Res. 55.10—Dominus ... in secessu montis ...

A passing reference to Luke 9:28 is found in Epiphanius and Ephrem, and Tertullian only alludes to the content of this verse in Adversus Marcionem. It is not unusual for him generally to mention the “three” as only in Prax. 15.8 does he actually name them. In addition, there is no need to posit that Marcion’s text had a Greek equivalent of *secedere*, as the idea of having withdrawn to the mountain is Tertullian’s preferred way of describing Jesus’ going up on the mountain (cf. Carn. Chr. 24.3; Prax. 14.7; Res. 55.10). Therefore, it appears that the only certain reading of Marcion’s text is εἰς τὸ ὄρος; the *in montem* in 4.22.7 seems to be governed by the precise wording of Marcion’s gospel since in every other reference Tertullian writes *in secessu montis* or *in montis secessu*.

4.4.34  Luke 9:29

4.22.13—...et splendor eius ut lux erit [Hab 3:4], utique qua etiam vestitus eius [Jesus] refulsit. | Res. 55.10—Dominus quoque in secessu montis etiam vestimenta luce mutaverat, sed liamenta Petro agnoscibilia servaverat; ubi etiam Moyses et Helias, alter in imagine carnis nondum receptae, alter in veritate nondum defunctae, eandem tamen habitudinem corporis etiam in gloria perseverare docuerant.

Based on Tertullian’s allusion in 4.22.13, Harnack reconstructed the end of this verse καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ ἐξαστράπτων. The reference in Res. 55.10 seems to draw from the wording of Matt 17:2 where Jesus’ clothes become white as light (ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς). Though Hab 3:4 contains a clear reference to “light,” Tertullian does not offer the Matthean wording, but the Lukan *refulsit* (ἐξαστράπτων). Therefore, in all likelihood, the wording is here being controlled by Marcion’s text. At the same time, however, the omission of λευκός before the participle in Marcion’s text is likely a simple omission by Tertullian as it is nearly universally attested in the manuscript tradition and is also missing in Res. 55.10.

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188 Harnack placed ἀν έβη in parentheses (*Marcion, 202*), likely intending to indicate a mere supposition on Harnack’s part.
189 Harnack, *Marcion, 202*. 
Luke 9:30–32

4.22.1—... quod illum cum Moyse et Helia in secessu montis conspici pateris, ... | 4.22.2—Nunc et si præsentia illorum fuit necessaria, non utique in conloquio ostenderentur ... nec in consortio claritatis ... | 4.22.3—cum illis loqui qui eum fuerant locuti? cum eis gloriam suam communicare ... | 4.22.4—Petrus ... contubernium Christi ... agnoscens ... | 4.22.12—... ostensis prius cum illo Moyse et Helia in claritatis praerogativa, ... societatem esse etiam claritatis Christi cum Moyse et Helia. | 4.22.16—Nam et si Marcion noluit eum conloquentem domino ostensum, sed stantem, tamen et stans os ad os stabat et faciem ad faciem—cum illo, inquit, non extra illum—, in gloria[m] ipsius, nedum in conspectu. | Praescr. 22.6—Quid eos [Peter and John] ignorasse voluit quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Helian [sic] et insuper de caelo patris vocem? | Prax. 14.7—Igitur cum Moysi servat conspectum suum et colloquium facie ad faciem in futurum, nam hoc postea adimpletum est in montis secessu, sicut legitimus in evangelio visum cum illo Moysen colloquentem ... | Prax. 15.8—... neque Petrus et Iohannes et Iacobus sine ratione et amentia, qui, si non passuri Filii gloriam sed Patrem vidissent, credo, morituri ibidem. | Res. 55.10—Dominus quoque in secessu montis etiam vestimenta luce mutaverat, sed liniamenta Petro agnoscebilia servavera; ubi etiam Moyses et Helias, ...

Luke 9:30–31a is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. From Tertullian’s testimony throughout 4.22 it is clear that Moses and Elijah were on the mountain, and that they appeared with Christ “in glory.” Tertullian, however, appears to provide contradictory evidence concerning whether Moses and Elijah were conversing with Jesus (4.22.2, 3) or simply standing there (4.22.16). Harnack contended that Marcion’s Gospel read καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄνδρες συνέλαλουν αὐτῷ in v. 30, and that the initial references by Tertullian were due to an erroneous recollection of his own text of Luke. Tsutsui argues that one should consider the possibility that there was no change in Marcion’s text and that Tertullian’s error is found in the second reference. Though a final decision would need to incorporate the evidence of other sources, a third possibility, already hinted at by Evans, should be considered. It could be that v. 30 did read συνελάλουν, and that in 4.22.16 Tertullian is no longer discussing v. 30, but

190 References to “Moses and Elijah,” in this order, also occur in Praescr. 22.6 and Res. 55.10.
191 Tertullian also refers to Moses speaking with Jesus in Prax. 14.7.
192 Harnack, Marcion, 202°–3°. Agreeing with Harnack is Braun, who suggests that Marcion, after deleting the second half of v. 31, harmonized the verb of v. 30 with the verb of v. 32 (Contre Marcion IV, 291n4).
193 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 93–94. This was also the position of Zahn, Geschichte, 2:466–67.
vv. 31–32. On this understanding nam et si Marcion noluit eum conloquentem domino ostensum would refer to Marcion having omitted v. 31b (which includes ἐλεγον τὴν ἐξοδον αὐτοῦ),\(^{194}\) and sed stantem would refer to v. 32 where Peter and the other two disciples ἔδοξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας τοὺς συνεστώτας αὐτῷ. Further confirmation of the view that v. 32 is in view when Tertullian speaks of the “standing” is that he concludes 4.22.16 with references to cum illo and in gloriam ipsius sedum in conspectu. Though vv. 30–31 also contain references to “with him” and “in glory,” only in v. 32 is the reference to “his glory.”\(^{195}\) In addition, Tertullian’s reference to sedum in conspectu may be referring to v. 32 where the three disciples are said to have seen his glory. If this whole line of thought is correct, then Tertullian perhaps provided unclear, but not erroneous, testimony to Marcion’s text in 4.22.2, 3, and 16.

4.4.36 Luke 9:35

4.22.1—. . . vox illa de caelo: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite, . . . | 4.22.8—Itaque nec nunc muta nubes fuit, sed vox solita de caelo, et patris novum testimonium super filio, . . . | 4.22.10—Hunc igitur audite . . . dicendo scilicet: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite. | 4.22.12—Quem magis quam vocis caelestis illius: Hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite? | Praescr. 22.6—Quid eos [Peter and John] ignorasse voluit quibus etiam gloriam suam exhibuit, et Moysen et Helian [sic] et insuper de caelo patris vocem? | Prax. 19.4—. . . Hic est Filius meus dilectus, hunc audite. | Prax. 23.3—. . . Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo bene sensi, audite illum; . . .\(^{196}\)

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian’s testimony to what the voice said attests the reading of several witnesses and the Majority Text: οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.\(^{197}\) The likelihood of this

\(^{194}\) In a note to Tertullian’s comment Evans wrote “Marcion excised the second half of Luke 9:31” (Adversus Marcionem, 2:385n3). Harnack viewed the entire verse as “unannehmbar” for and therefore omitted by Marcion, though also argued that ἐν δόξῃ was “herübergenommen” from v. 31 (Marcion, 203*).

\(^{195}\) Harnack reconstructed ἐν δόξῃ αὐτῶ at the end of Luke 9:30 (Marcion, 202*), an otherwise unattested reading.

\(^{196}\) Additional allusions to Luke 9:35//Matt 17:5//Mark 9:7 occur in 4.22.9, 13; 4.34.15; An. 17.14; and Prax. 24.3.

\(^{197}\) Williams states that Tertullian read hic est filius meus dilectus, hunc audite and comments “Epiphanius in reading 7 [this number refers to the list of readings at the end of the article] has ἀγαπητὸς, ‘beloved,’ with D W lat and sy compel for Luke against Tertullian’s delineas, which corresponds to ἐκλελεγμένος, ‘chosen,’ in the majority text of Luke” (“Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel, 486, 481n13). Apart from the Majority Text of Luke not
citation accurately reflecting Marcion’s text is increased by both the numerous repetitions of the wording (cf. 4.22.1, 10, 12) and the absence of influence of the Matthean in quo bene sensi as found in Prax. 23.3. Luke 9:35a, however, has engendered a bit of discussion as Tertullian states that the voice came de caelo. Harnack reconstructed φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης wahrscheinlicher) and then observed in the apparatus, “Dem ‘de caelo’ Tert.s ist nicht zu trauen, da er hier referiert.” Similarly, Tsutsui notes Tertullian’s allusion and indicates that caelo is an unlikely reading by placing it in brackets. Harnack and Tsutsui are correct in their assessment, though neither mentioned that 4.22.8, 13 clearly indicate that the voice did come from the cloud and that Praescr. 22.6 confirms Tertullian’s inclination to refer to the “customary voice” (4.22.8) coming de caelo.


4.23.9—At enim humanissimus deus cur recusat eum qui se tam individuum illi comitem offert? Si quia superbe vel ex hypocrisi dixerat: Sequar te quocumque ieres. | 4.23.10—Illi autem causato patris sepulturam cum respondet: Sine mortui sepeliant mortuos suos, tu autem vade et adnuntia regnum dei, . . . | 4.23.11—Cum vero et tertium illum prius suis valedicere parantem prohibet retro respectare, . . . | Bapt. 12.9—. . . patris exequias despexit; . . . | Idol. 12.3—. . . cum etiam sepelire patrem tardum fuit fidei. | Mon. 7.8—Nam et illum adolescentem festinantem ad exsequias patris ideo revocat, . . .

In the series of exchanges in Luke 9:57–62, v. 60 is also attested by Clement of Alexandria. Tertullian’s testimony to these verses begins in 4.23.9 with a general reference to Jesus not accepting (presumably alluding to v. 58) a man who had said ἀκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ (v. 57). In 4.23.10 Tertullian adapts the almost uniformly attested θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου (v. 59), and follows it with a citation of Jesus’ response. Harnack reconstructed v. 60 ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς reading ἐκλελεγμένος, which also does not correspond to the Latin delictus, Williams has unfortunately followed a misprint of 4.22.10 in CCSL. Also considering 4.22.1 and 4.22.12, where CCSL rightly reads dilectus, may have allowed Williams to avoid this error. For further comments cf. the discussion in Roth, “Marcion and the Early Text,” 308–9229.

This does not render Aalders’s observation “it is very possible that the words of Mt. 17,5 are running through Tert.’s mind” (“Tertullian’s Quotations,” 264) impossible; however, it does make it less likely.

Harnack did not reconstruct the λέγουσα that may be attested by Tertullian’s dicendo. IGNTP stating that Marcion attests the omission of the participle is an overstatement.

198 Harnack, Marcion, 202*–3*.
199 Harnack, Marcion, 202*–3*.
201 Marcion’s text possibly could have read ἔκα.
θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἑαυτῶν, σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὲ καὶ διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.203

Most of the verse is unproblematic; however, it is not clear that Marcion’s text did not read the much more common τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς and ἀπελθῶν. For the word order in the former, IGNTTP lists only W, 349, and 1195 as attesting Harnack’s reconstructed order, and it is worth noting that mortuos suos is the reading of all OL manuscripts and the Vulgate. The possibility of the Latin rendering simply not placing suos in an emphatic position must be considered. The imperative rather than the participle and the addition of καί could also be a stylistic choice by Tertullian.204 The allusions in Bapt. 12.9, Idol. 12.3, and Mon. 7.8 unfortunately do not provide further insight into vv. 59–60. In 4.23.11 the adaptation attests ἀποτάξασθαι and implies something like τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου (v. 61) and the prohibition of βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω (v. 62).

4.4.38  Luke 10:5

4.24.4—Sic et dominus ut in quam introissent domum <praescribat>205 pacem ei dicere,…206 | Or. 26.2—Aut quomodo secundum praeceptum pax huic domui dices,…

Harnack reconstructed this verse εἰς ἣν (δ᾽) ἂν εἰσέλθῃ τοίχιαν …(λέγετε)-εἰρήνη (τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ).207 Such a reconstruction is possible, though Tertullian’s allusion to the opening elements of the verse does not allow a definite decision concerning the presence or absence of δέ, and, given Tertullian’s occasional change of word order and shift of tenses, no great amount of confidence can be given to Harnack’s reconstruction of 10:5a. Nevertheless, Marcion’s text may have read εἰσέλθητε τοίχιαν with several early witnesses, including P75, Θ, and B, instead of τοίχιαν εἰσέρχησθε. In the apparatus Harnack stated that Marcion’s text read τοίχιαν and not τοίχιαν πρῶτον, citing a few of the handful of witnesses in which the adverb is missing. The absence of the adverb, however, may be a simple omission as Tertullian is not handling the verse with any particular precision. This fact is clearly seen in the wording pacem ei, where Tertullian has replaced the reference to the house with a pronoun. That Tertullian knows the canonical reading is evident from Or. 26.2, and Harnack rightly does not contend that Marcion’s text read εἰρήνη αὐτῇ or αὐτῷ. Tertullian’s argument is

203 Harnack, Marcion, 204*.
204 The IGNTTP apparatus curiously lists only certain Ethiopic manuscripts as attesting this reading, when it is also the reading of aur, d, and e. In fact, Tertullian’s entire citation corresponds to the reading in e verbatim.
205 Praescribat is indicated as supplied by Braun (Contre Marcion IV, 306).
206 Ursinus’s note and Kroymann’s edition read dicerent.
207 Harnack, Marcion, 205*.
concerned with the “peace” element of the pronouncement, and it is therefore not really possible to determine the precise reading of Marcion’s text in v. 5b.208

### 4.4.39  Luke 10:19

4.24.9—Quis nunc dabit potestatem calcandi super colubros et scorpios?  |  
4.24.12—...tunc et scorpios et serpentes sanctis suis [the Creator God’s] subdidit, ...209

Tertullian adapts Luke 10:19 in the question he poses in 4.24.9, which attests the reading δίδωμι/δέδωκα...τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων.210 It is not clear whether the present or perfect form underlies Tertullian’s dabit, though in either case Tertullian has altered the tense to the future. In addition, calcandi renders the Greek infinitive in numerous Ol manuscripts. Finally, though the verse is not multiply cited outside of Adversus Marcionem, that the adaptation is following the word order in Marcion’s text appears to be confirmed by the alteration of the order of numerous elements in the allusion back to the verse in 4.24.12.

### 4.4.40  Luke 10:21

4.25.1—Quis dominus caeli invocabitur qui non prius factor ostenditur? Gratias enim, inquit, ago, et confiteor, domine caeli, quod ea quae erant abscondita sapientibus et prudentibus, revelaveris211 parvulis. Quae ista? et cuius? et a quo abscondita? et a quo revelata? | 4.25.3—...ita nec dominus caeli nec pater Christi... | Prax. 26.8—...Confiteor, inquit, tibi, Pater, quod absconderis haec a sapientibus.212

Luke 10:21 is also attested by Epiphanius. Focusing simply on Tertullian’s testimony, a first observation is that prior to citing the verse, Tertullian mentions dominus caeli and sets up his argument concerning this Lord being the Creator. The canonical text indicates that this Lord is not only Lord of Heaven but also καὶ τῆς γῆς, and the fact that neither Tertullian’s introductory question nor the citation of the verse has this element increases the likelihood of its absence in Marcion’s text. Second, the unexpected gratias ago at the beginning

208 Tertullian focuses on the pronunciation of “peace” to connect Christ with Elisha as he follows the reference to Luke 10:5 with a loose citation of 2 Kgs 4:26.

209 There is a reference to Luke 10:20 in 4.7.13; however, Tertullian gives no indication that he is drawing the allusion from Marcion’s text.

210 Tertullian’s Latin cannot reveal whether τῶν was present before ὄφεων as attested in P45, D, and a few other witnesses.

211 Moroschini’s text reads revelaveris with R2 and R3, rejecting revelaverit in M, γ, and R1.

of the citation is not present in *Prax.* 26.8, once again increasing the likelihood that it has come from Marcion's text.\textsuperscript{213} Third, the presence of *tibi* in *Prax.* 26.8 could increase the probability that the otherwise universally attested *σοί* was not present in Marcion's text as it does not appear after *gratias ago* or after *confiteor,* but it may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian.\textsuperscript{214} Fourth, the absence of *πάτερ* in Marcion's text may gain some credence through its presence in *Prax.* 26.8, though it should be noted that Tertullian omits "Lord of heaven and the earth" in the latter reference, once more revealing that Tertullian can easily omit elements in his citations.\textsuperscript{215} For each of these points the testimony of Epiphanius is necessary before coming to conclusions.

\footnotesize\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{213} *Gratias ago* (ἐυχαριστῶ), according to \textsuperscript{1}gntp, is not attested for either Luke 10:21 or, according to Tischendorf and von Soden, Matt 11:25. A.F.J. Klijn, however, provides evidence from several church fathers and witnesses to the diatessaron for this reading ("Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21" in \textit{New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger} [ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Oxford: Clarendon, 1981], 6–9). Though the evidence of other witnesses is necessary before coming to a conclusion, Klijn states that the addition of *confiteor* after *gratias ago* "is possibly from the hand of Tertullian, which means that Marcion's text probably read ἐυχαριστῶ" (ibid., 9). In support of this view Klijn cites Plooij, who argued "'Confiteor' is the common Latin version. Accordingly the addition of 'et confiteor' by Tertullian appears rather one of his frequent remarks in which he explains or corrects a reading divergent from the Greek Text he is acquainted with; he seems to regard 'gratias ago' as an incorrect rendering of ἐξομολογοῦμαι" (\textit{Further Study}, 82). It should be noted that Plooij's view requires Tertullian to have been reading Marcion's Gospel in Latin. In addition, it is not clear how a simple *et* before Tertullian's supposed clarification functions as a signal for a gloss. That Tertullian glosses citations is clear, though he often is quite transparent in indicating that he is doing so by using *id est* (cf., e.g., Luke 11:39–40 in 4.27.2 and Luke 18:20 in 4.36.4) or *utique* (cf. the comments in chapter 5, n. 361). Klijn seems to have changed his position a little over a decade later when he implied that the whole phrase appeared in Marcion's text as he commented on "the use of Gratias . . . ago et confiteor in Marcion, according to Tertullian" (A.F.J. Klijn, \textit{Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition} [svigchr 17; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992], 111). Harnack's explanation was that ἐυχαριστῶ καὶ was "der Deutlichkeit wegen hinzugesetzt," presumably by Marcion (\textit{Marcion}, 206*).
\item \textsuperscript{214} Harnack noted that the omission is "sonst unbezeugt; vielleicht zufällig bei Tert." (\textit{Marcion}, 206*).
\item \textsuperscript{215} In addition, Harnack, based on the allusion in 4.25.3, believed that *πάτερ* was present in Marcion's text in the final clause of Luke 10:21 where he reconstructed νοι ὁ πατήρ (ὅτι σύνως ἐγένετο ἐὐδοκία ἐμπροσθέν σου) (\textit{Marcion}, 206*). Braun also contends that the final element, though not cited by Tertullian, was present in Marcion's text (\textit{Contre Marcion IV}, 315n2, 317n5).
\end{itemize}
Fifth, Tsutsui notes that in Tertullian’s citation God is the subject of the “revealing” but not of the “hiding.” Harnack, who reconstructed the text as ὅτι ἅτινα ἦν κρυπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς ἀπεκάλυψας νηπίοις, contended that this wording was a tendentious alteration. Tsutsui agrees, noting “Hier liegt wohl ein merkwürdiger Querschnitt der Gottes- bzw. der Erlösungslehre Marcions vor.” Braun, on the other hand, observes that the statement ea quae ... parvulis “paraît avoir été remodelée par le citateur [Tertullian].” Indeed, Harnack’s attempt to support this formulation and its passive voice with “in der Auslegung bezeugt Tert. das Passiv” is not persuasive. The primary reason for this shortcoming is that, as seen in the citation of 4.25.1 above, Tertullian attests both abscondere and revelare in the passive as he continues the argument. In fact, Tertullian begins his refutation Si a deo Marcionis abscondita et revelata ... satis inique (4.25.1), and concludes that it is easier to believe that the same God who revealed things to babes kept them hidden before. If this were all that Tertullian had said, Braun’s position would appear more tenable; yet, Tertullian makes a final point, which reveals that Harnack and Tsutsui may be right after all, even if they themselves did not mention the strongest point in favor of their view. Tertullian’s closing thoughts deal with the proposition that if Marcion’s god revealed the things previously kept hidden by the Creator, then the former would have done a service for the latter. Interestingly, Tertullian then states Sed in destructionem, inquis [Marcion], uti traduceret eas (4.25.6). Of course, one cannot be certain that Tertullian actually knows the argument Marcion made concerning the interpretation of this verse, but the presence of this statement at least increases the likelihood that Tertullian is reflecting the wording of Marcion’s text in his original citation. Otherwise, since this final argument is only possible if the subject of the two verbs is different in the text, one would have to posit that Tertullian created a reading, then created a Marcionite interpretation of that reading, only to create a reply to that interpretation.

217 Harnack, Marcion, 206*.
219 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 315n2. Cf. also Wright, Alterations, 131–32.
220 Cf. Harnack, Marcion, 206*.
221 Tertullian makes this point in 4.25.5.
222 Cf. 4.25.5.
Luke 10:22

2.27.4—Ceterum quia Patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangeliun, dicente Christo: Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius. | 4.25.7—Omnia sibi tradita dicit a patre. | 4.25.10—Sed nemo scit qui sit pater, nisi filius, et qui sit filius, nisi pater [nemo enim scit patrem nisi filius et filium nisi pater]223 et cuicumque filius revelaverit . . . | Praescr. 21.2—. . . quia nec alius patrem novit nisi filius et cui filius revelavit, . . . | Prax. 8.3—Apud nos autem solus Filius Patrem novit, . . . | Prax. 24.4 [sic, 24.5]—. . . Omnia mihi Pater tradidit . . . | Prax. 26.9—Hic quoque Patrem nemini notum nisi Filio adfirmat.224

Luke 10:22 is attested by Eznik, in the Adamantius Dialogue, and possibly by Irenaeus. Before addressing specifics of Tertullian’s testimony to the verse, a few comments first need to be made concerning the bracketed reading in 4.25.10. Braun rightly agrees with previous editors that these words, which agree with the reading of Matt 11:27, do not come from the hand of Tertullian but are an interpolation by a later copyist.225 Gilles Quispel’s attempt to explain the reference as it stands, by seeing Tertullian first cite the orthodox text of Luke and then the Marcionite text, is unpersuasive, primarily because it must read far too much into the conjunction enim and it overlooks the Matthean character of the bracketed text.226

The citation of Luke 10:22a here attests πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός for Marcion’s text.227 Given Tertullian’s propensity to move pronouns, however, the TR reading παρεδόθη μοι, though unlikely, cannot be ruled out completely. In addition, the absence of μου, though supported by the readings in D and several Ol manuscripts,228 may be a simple omission in that Tertullian’s citation in Prax. 24.5 also refers only to “the Father” and not “my Father.”

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223 Pamelius, Rigalti, Kroymann, and Evans viewed the elements in brackets as unoriginal and arising from a copyist’s interpolation.

224 An additional allusion to Luke 10:22 occurs in 4.25.11.

225 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 322n2. Cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:470.

226 Gilles Quispel, De Bronnen van Tertullianus’ Adversus Marcionem (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans Templum Salomonis, 1943), 117. On his interpretation he notes “De beteekenis van ‘enim’ is dan: deze tekst mag wel aldus worden weergegeven, want in den marcionitischen Bijbel staat juist als in onzen Bijbel: οὐδεὶς ἐγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός” (Bronnen, 117n3). Braun rightly states that Quispel’s contention is not convincing (Contre Marcion IV, 322n2).

227 This is also Harnack’s reconstruction (Marcion, 206*).

228 1GNTP also lists certain Vulgate manuscripts, sy4, the Persian Diatessaron, and Eusebius as omitting the possessive pronoun.
In Luke 10:22b, three points must be made. First, the absence of καί at the outset is almost certainly a simple omission by Tertullian.\textsuperscript{229} Second, though Harnack, with a view towards the other witnesses, reconstructed οὐδεὶς γινώσκει (ἔγνω?),\textsuperscript{230} the present tense reading is clearly attested by Tertullian as he uses the perfect indicative in 2.27.4, \textit{Praescr.} 21.2, and \textit{Prax.} 8.3 and a perfect passive participle in \textit{Prax.} 26.9.\textsuperscript{231} Third, the inversion of “father” and “son” in Marcion’s text so that it read τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, an inversion also attested in the manuscript tradition and church fathers, may be supported by Tertullian citing the Matthean/Lukan order in \textit{Praescr.} 21.2.\textsuperscript{232}

Finally, Harnack reconstructed Luke 10:22c καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.\textsuperscript{233} The absence of βούληται is attested by several other church fathers, but Harnack’s belief that it was absent in Marcion’s text could be questioned since Tertullian omits the verb in \textit{Praescr.} 21.2 as well.\textsuperscript{234} On the other hand, though the subjunctive ἀποκαλύψῃ is attested in several church fathers for Luke 10:22//Matt 11:27 and could have been found in Marcion’s text, Tertullian wrote \textit{revelavit} in \textit{Praescr.} 21.2 revealing that he may again be taking liberty with verb tense and mood when referring to the conclusion of this verse.\textsuperscript{235}

4.4.42 \textbf{Luke 10:25}

4.19.7—. . . Ecce legis doctor adsurrexit temptans eum; . . . | 4.25.15—In evangelio veritatis legis doctor dominum adgressus: Quid faciens, inquit, vitam aeternam consequar? In haeretico ‘vita’ solummodo posita est, sine ‘aeternae’

\textsuperscript{229} Harnack placed the conjunction in parentheses (\textit{Marcion}, 206*).

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{231} It is interesting that Tertullian attests the present tense for Marcion and the perfect tense for his own text when Irenaeus, \textit{Haer.} 4.6.1 takes pains to argue for the present tense against the perfect tense preferred by the heretics (cf. Braun [trans.], \textit{Contre Marcion} ii, 163n8).

\textsuperscript{232} Tertullian only cites part of the verse here, though that he has the “father” before the “son” leading into the final element of the verse reveals the Matthean/Lukan order. 2.27.4 and \textit{Prax.} 26.9 reveal that Tertullian prefers simply to speak of no one knowing the Father except the Son, but this preference in a general allusion does not bear on the issue of the reversal of the elements when Tertullian cites the entire verse. Tsutsui reads great theological and christological significance into the change of word order (cf. “Evangelium,” 97), a significance which is possible, but not necessarily required.

\textsuperscript{233} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 206*.

\textsuperscript{234} It is also omitted in the allusion in 4.25.11 (cf. n. 224)

\textsuperscript{235} Nearly all witnesses read ἀποκαλύψῃ in Luke 10:22//Matt 11:27, though the 01 manuscript a reads \textit{revelavit}.
Luke 10:25–28 is also attested by Epiphanius. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, first, he does not provide any insight into the precise wording of 10:25a, though it is clear that a νομικός approached Jesus. Second, Harnack contended that, with D, Marcion’s text did not read διδάσκαλε at the outset of the question. There is, however, no way to know if this was indeed the case as its absence may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian. Third, one finds here one of the few places where Tertullian explicitly notes an omission in Marcion’s text. In addition, Tertullian not only notes that the “heretical Gospel” does not contain αἰώνιον, in 4.25.18 he indicates that the Marcionite view would be that the “orthodox” have added the word to the text. As no other extant manuscript attests this omission, Harnack and Tsutsui concluded that Marcion removed the adjective from his text.

4.4.43  Luke 10:27

4.25.15—. . . ut doctor de ea vita videatur consuluisse quae in lege promittitur a creator longaeva [aeterna], et dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse: Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et totis viribus tuis, quoniam de lege vitae sciscitabatur. | 4.27.4—. . . dicenti: Diliges dominum deum tuum, ex toto corde et ex tota anima tua et ex totis viribus tuis, qui te vocavit ex Aegypto. [Deut 6:5, 12] | 5.4.11—. . . et hoc Creatoris est: Diliges Deum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex totis viribus tuis [Deut 6:5], sive quae in proximum, et: Proximum tuum tamquam te Creatoris est. [Lev 19:38] | 5.8.9—Apostolum instruxerit principali praecepto quod probavit et Christus: Diliges Dominum de totis praecordiis et totis viribus et tota anima et proximum tibi tamquam te. | Scorpi. 6.11—. . . quae deum scilicet diligens ex totis viribus suis, . . . ex tota anima qua, . . .

Continuing to focus only on Tertullian’s testimony, several issues arise out of his comments on Luke 10:27. First, Tertullian’s statement dominus ideo illi secundum legem responsum dedisse in 4.25.15 led Harnack to conclude that

236  Harnack reconstructed νομικός (τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν), but there is no good reason for suggesting the omission of ἐνέστη or the absence of καὶ ἰδοὺ at the outset of the verse.

237  Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. d and the Arabic Diatessaron also attest the absence of the vocative. In addition, it seems unnecessary to follow IGNTP in assuming that Tertullian here attests κτήσομαι for Marcion’s text.


239  Additional allusions to Luke 10:27//Matt 22:37//Mark 12:30 or Deut 6:5 occur in 2.13.5; *Jejun.* 2.8; and *Res.* 9.3.
Marcion put the following words into Jesus’ mouth. Harnack combined the omission of ἀιῶνιον in v. 25 and this form of the text to contend that one should not even consider Zahn’s view that the truncated references are due to Tertullian himself.

The logic of this argument, however, is not at all clear. Why does Tertullian’s explicit reference to a missing element of the verse mean that he must copy all the elements present in the text? Braun also doubts the certainty of Harnack’s assertion and rightly notes, “Même si celle-ci [the words of the reply] est énoncée par le légiste, elle est assumée par le Christ comme réponse à la consultation [emphasis original].” Thus, Harnack’s reconstruction (ὁ δὲ) κύριος ἀποκριθέντις (εἶπεν)· ἐν τῷ νόμῳ (γέγραπται) should be questioned.

Second, in the citation of how one is to love the Lord your God, Harnack reconstructed the text with the preposition ἔκ for the first two elements, and ἐν for the third element. Both prepositions are found in the manuscript tradition for each element, but it is not entirely clear why Harnack opted for the latter preposition in the third element. Though it is possible that Tertullian’s ἐξ attests the Greek ἔκ for the first two elements, it is worth noting that, apart from 5.8.9., whenever Tertullian uses a preposition in quoting this passage from either testament, he always uses ἐξ. Therefore, the use of ἐξ may be due to Tertullian’s own proclivity and it therefore does not allow a definite conclusion concerning the precise reading of these otherwise unproblematic elements in Marcion’s text.

Finally, Tsutsui is convinced that the final element of loving your neighbor was deleted by Marcion, and that therefore, because of the loss of the link to

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240 Harnack, *Marcion*, 207*. Tsutsui agrees (“Evangelium,” 98). An additional implication of this view is that Marcion would have excised the questions in Luke 10:26. Braun questions Harnack’s view and Lukas questions the relevance of either position stating, “Ob Dtn 6,5 gemäß Marcions Evangelium von Jesus selbst zitiert wird (so HARNACK, Marcion, 206*) oder ob Jesus den Gesetzeslehre zur Zitation anleitet (so BRAUN, Contre Marcion 4, 327 Anm. 2), ist nicht entscheidbar und auch nicht so wichtig” (*Rhetorik*, 283n320).


242 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 327n2. The same point can be made concerning Tertullian’s comments in 4.25.16.
“neighbor,” the parable of the Good Samaritan was also deleted.243 Tsutsui’s reasoning, however, is not convincing and he makes no mention of the fact that Tertullian also does not cite the fourth element in the series: καὶ ἐν δικαία τῇ διανοίᾳ σου. Though this fourth element is also missing in D, several OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses, given Tertullian’s propensity to omit elements in a list, the possibility that he simply breaks off the citation, means that the remainder of v. 27 should be considered unattested, and not omitted.

4.4.44 Luke 11:44

4.26.1—Cum in quodam loco orasset... adgressus eum [Jesus] ex discipulis quidam: Domine, inquit, doce nos orare, sicut et244 Iohannes discipulos suos docuit. | Or. 1.3—Docuerat et Iohannes discipulos suos adorare;... Ideo nec extat, in quae verba docuerit Iohannes adorare,....245

The reading of Marcion’s text in the opening of Luke 11:1 cannot be constructed from Tertullian’s allusion, though the cum may be representing ἐν τῷ εἶναι.246 It is interesting that Harnack reconstructed the first two clearly attested elements of the verse as ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον and (εἶπέν) τις τῶν μαθητῶν (πρὸς αὐτόν), in neither case inverting the Greek word order according to Tertullian’s Latin. Given the extremely weak or nonexistent manuscript evidence for Tertullian’s order, Harnack was probably correct in these decisions;247 however, under the influence of Tertullian placing docuit at the end of the clause, Harnack placed ἐδίδαξεν at the very end of the verse, noting that this position is otherwise unattested.248 Apart from Harnack’s haphazard derivation of Greek word order from the Latin, it is worth noting that Tertullian twice puts the “teaching” verb before his reference to John in two allusions to this verse in Or. 1.3. According to IGNTP, only l and one Georgian manuscript attest this position for the verb, and it is highly unlikely that Tertullian’s phrasing

243 Concerning “love your neighbor as yourself,” Tsutsui speculates “Marcion sympathisiert mit diesem Gebot und hat es in Gal 5,14 und Rom 13,9b stehen lassen. Ebendeshalb paßt es in diesen Zusammenhang, wobei vom irdischen Leben die Rede ist, nicht hinein” ("Evangelium," 98). Harnack stated that the words “haben vielleicht gefehlt” (Marcion, 206*), though he also speculated that “es mag eine Tendenz dahinter stecken [i.e., behind the omission]” (Marcion, 207*).

244 R3 and Gelenius read sicut and sicut et was restored by Pamelius.

245 An additional reference to Christ teaching the disciples how to pray occurs in 4.36.2.

246 Placed by Harnack in parentheses (Marcion, 207*).

247 According to IGNTP, the order τινὶ τῶπῳ is attested in several OL manuscripts and the 13th century minuscule 2766 and the order τῶν μαθητῶν τις is otherwise unattested.

248 Harnack reconstructed the remainder of Luke 11:44, διδαξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξεν (Marcion, 207*).
here is being influenced by the actual word order of the verse as known to him. Thus, it is much more likely that in all these cases the word order is due to Tertullian, and in 4.26.1 is not reflecting Marcion's text. Second, though apart from the word order most of the verse is relatively unproblematic, the conflicting testimony in the manuscript tradition of Tertullian's works probably means that no firm decision is possible on whether Marcion's text read καθὼς καί or simply καθὼς, with several 01 and other manuscripts. Of course, if Moreschini's reconstruction is correct, and it likely is, the presence of the conjunction becomes more likely.

4.4.45  Luke 11:2

4.26.3—Cui dicam 'pater'? | 4.26.4—A quo spiritum sanctum postulem? . . . Eius regnum optabo venire . . . | Fug. 2.5—Sed in legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem . . . | Or. 2.1—. . . Pater qui in caelis es. | Or. 3.2—Id [the Father's name] ergo ut sanctificetur postulamus . . . | Or. 3.4—. . . sanctificetur nomen tuum, . . . | Or. 5.1—Veniat quoque regnum tuum . . . | Prax. 23.4—. . . et nos erectos docebat orare: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, . . .

An important initial observation concerning Tertullian’s attestation of the Lord’s Prayer in Marcion’s text is that he has rephrased the petitions as questions, which clearly creates additional challenges for reconstructing Marcion’s wording.249 Nevertheless, some insight can be gained from Tertullian’s questions. The first question asks about the identity of the one addressed as pater (4.26.3). Though the remainder of the verse is unattested, in the other two instances where Tertullian cites the opening address he includes elements, albeit not in an identical manner, from the Matthean form of the prayer (Or. 2.1 and Prax. 23.4). Though Tertullian does not include any of the Matthean elements in the allusion in Fug. 2.5, their presence in the citations could lend credence to Marcion’s text reading simply πάτερ, with P75, א, and B.

Tertullian’s second question is the curious A quo spiritum sanctum postulem? (4.26.4), which implies that the first supplication in the form of the prayer in Marcion’s text was for the Holy Spirit. In Or. 3.2, 4 Tertullian reveals that his text read the expected petition for the name of the Father to be sanctified, and

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249 An extensive discussion of Marcion’s text of the Lord’s Prayer can be found in Dieter T. Roth, “The Text of the Lord’s Prayer in Marcion’s Gospel,” ZNW 103 (2012): 47–63. Though the following comments on the prayer are drawn from that article, only the central issues related to the readings are presented here and references to secondary literature are kept to a minimum. The challenges of reconstructing Marcion’s text at this point were also noted by T. Baarda, “De korte tekst van het Onze Vader in Lucas 11:2–4: een Marcionitische corruptie?,” NedTT 44 (1990): 277–78.
gives no indication of a petition for the Holy Spirit. Some later textual evidence for a petition for the Holy Spirit, though in an expanded form, led Harnack to reconstruct Marcion’s text as (ἐλθάτω) τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (σου ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς). Though some have followed Harnack in viewing this reading as that of Marcion’s text, Delobel is right in noting that there are several reasons for questioning this reconstruction. First, in all the other witnesses, this phrase replaces the second petition (“thy kingdom come”) and not the first petition. Second, as will be seen, in all the other questions Tertullian poses concerning the elements of the prayer, he appears to preserve the original verb. Though not necessarily proving that the same is the case for postulem here, as Delobel correctly notes, it is “at least hypothetical to suppose a verb like ‘advenire’ (ἔλθέτω).” Finally, there is no hint in Tertullian’s argument of any of the elements placed in parentheses in Harnack’s reconstruction. Thus, Harnack’s reconstruction rightly recognizes that Marcion’s text had some sort of request for the Spirit in place of the first petition, but may be wrong as to the wording.


251 Harnack, Marcion, 207*. Though Harnack placed some elements in parentheses, in the apparatus he stated that because Tertullian’s testimony establishes that the first petition was for the Holy Spirit, Marcion’s text would have read the way he reconstructed it, consonant with other sources. Harnack’s conclusion may have been influenced by his belief that the original reading of Luke was πάτερ, ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου [ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς] καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς followed by the petition for daily bread (“Über einige Worte Jesu, die nicht in den kanonischen Evangelien stehen, nebst einem Anhang über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vater-Unsers,” SPAW [1904]: 200 and idem, “Der ursprüngliche Text des Vater-Unsers und seine älteste Geschichte,” in Erforschtes und Erlebtes [Reden und Aufsätze 4; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1923], 28). Zahn, however, though reconstructing the text very similarly to Harnack, stated that the reading has no claim to originality (Das Evangelium des Lucas [4th ed., Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 3; Leipzig: Deichert, 1913], 767).


of that request.\footnote{Cf. also Andrew J. Bandstra, “The Lord’s Prayer and Textual Criticism: A Response,” \textit{CTJ} 17 [1982]: 92\textit{n}8 and Delobel, “Lord’s Prayer,” 296–97.} The unfortunate reality, as Chase had already observed at the end of the nineteenth century, is that “Tertullian gives no evidence as to the precise wording of the clause.”\footnote{Frederic Henry Chase, \textit{The Lord’s Prayer in the Early Church} (TS 1.3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), 26–27.}

The opening to the third question contains a reference to both \textit{βασιλεία} and the verb \textit{ἔρχομαι}; therefore, Harnack reconstructed \textit{ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.}\footnote{Harnack’s view of the original form of the Lord’s Prayer in Luke (cf. n. 251) led him to posit that the presence of this petition was a pre-Marcionite intrusion from Matthew into the text used by Marcion (\textit{Marcion}, 208* and idem, “Der ursprüngliche Text,” 28). Harnack without comment offered the spelling \textit{ἔλθατω} as found in \textit{N} and several other manuscripts, instead of \textit{ἔλθέτω}.} Since Tertullian has constructed his argument with references to the Father in the third person, and \textit{IGNTP} lists only 565 as omitting \textit{σου}, there is no reason to assume that the second person possessive pronoun was not present in Marcion’s text.

\subsection*{4.4.46 \textit{Luke 11:3}}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

This petition is also attested by Origen. Tertullian’s question reflects both \textit{ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος} and the verb \textit{δίδωμι}. In \textit{Or.} 6.2, 4 Tertullian includes \textit{nobis} in his citation, though once again, given the manner in which Tertullian frames his discussion there is no reason to posit anything in Marcion’s text corresponding to Tertullian’s \textit{mihi}.

\subsection*{4.4.47 \textit{Luke 11:4}}

\begin{quote}
4.26.4—\textit{Quis mihi delicta dimittet? … Quis non sit nos deduci in temptationem? | Fug. 2.5—Sed in legitima oratione, cum dicimus ad patrem: ne nos inducas in temptationem… ab eo tollam profitebor accusare a quo veniam eius deprecancer. Hoc enim quod sequitur: sed erve nos a maligno, id est: ne nos inducisceris in temptationem permittendo nos maligno. Tunc enim eruemur diaboli manibus, cum illi non tradimir in temptationem. | Or. 7.1—Docet itaque petamus dimitti nobis debita nostra. | Or. 7.2—}…\textit{quod remittere nos quoque profitemur debitoribus nostris. | Or. 8.1—}…\textit{Ne nos induciscas in temptationem, id est ne nos patiaris induci, ab eo utique qui temptat. Ceterum absit ut Dominus temptare…}
\end{quote}
videatur, quasi aut ignoret fidem cuiusque aut deicere <sit> [ge]stiens. Diaboli est et infirmitas et malitia... | Or. 8.6—Eo respondit clausula, interpretans quid sit: ne nos deducas in temptationem; hoc est enim: sed devehe nos a malo. | Pud. 2.10—Debitoribus denique dimissuros nos in oratione profitemur,...

The question alluding to Luke 11:4a refers to ἁμαρτίαι and the verb ἀφίημι. The other references by Tertullian to this petition in Or. 7.1, 2 and Pud. 2.10 reflect the Matthean wording (debitum rendering ὀφείλημα), likely supporting the view that Marcion’s text contained the Lukan wording. As above, mihi does not reflect an element in Marcion’s form of the petition. Thus, Harnack’s reconstruction, (καὶ) ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας (ἡμῶν), is generally acceptable, even if it would be more accurate to avoid referring to the unattested ἡμῶν. Somewhat curiously, in the running text of his reconstruction Harnack followed this phrase with an ellipsis, but in the apparatus he stated that it is “wahrscheinlich” that Marcion’s text continued with καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν. Nevertheless, the second half of the phrase is unattested and further speculation is unadvisable.

Tertullian’s final question concerning the Lord’s Prayer attests πειρασμός and a passive form of the verb εἰσφέρω. In addition, only in this final petition does Tertullian use the pronoun nos. Harnack was convinced that Marcion had tendentiously altered the passage to read (καὶ) μὴ ἄφες ἡμᾶς εἰσενεχθῆναι εἰς πειρασμόν. This reading has often been cited as the reading of Marcion’s text, but Schmid has recently questioned the validity of this view. Schmid points out, as also noted above, that Tertullian did not cite this, or any, petition from the Lord’s Prayer but remodeled Marcion’s text into questions. In addition, in Fug. 2.5 and Or. 8.1–3, Tertullian glosses the active reading of this petition with a passive explanation. In other words, Tertullian himself has a theological tendency to avoid the impression that the Lord was the tempter. Schmid correctly concludes that because the form of Tertullian’s question reflects his own theological concerns serious doubts must be raised as to the

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260 Harnack, Marcion, 207*.
261 Elements of the following discussion also appeared in summary form in Roth, “Marcion’s Gospel: Relevance, Contested Issues, and Reconstruction,” 292.
262 Harnack, Marcion, 207*–8*.
263 Cf. the references in Roth “Text of the Lord’s Prayer,” 61.
264 Schmid, “How Can We Access?,” 143–44 discusses the petition in the light of Or. 8.1–3. The additional evidence from Fug. 2.5 presented here only serves to confirm his view.
265 Ibid., 143.
validity of Harnack’s reconstruction and the positing of a Marcionite textual emendation.266

4.4.48  **Luke 11:5**

4.26.8—Sic et praemissa similidudo nocturnum panis petitorem amicum facit, non alienum, et ad amicum pulsantem, non ad ignotum….ad eum pulsat ad quem ius illi erat, cuius ianuam norat, quem habere panes sciebat,…| 4.26.9—…sero pulsatur,…| Or. 6.3—Sed et nocturnus ille pulsator panem pulsabat. | Praescr. 11.5—Panem vicinus non habebat et ideo pulsabat: ubi aper- tum est ei et acceptit, pulsare cessavit. | Praescr. 12.3—…etiam pulsator ille vicini ianuam tundebat,…

Luke 11:5 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s allusion in 4.26.8 provides only a few hints concerning the wording in Marcion’s text. The use of a general time frame (nocturnum) is also found in Or. 6.3 and the mention of panis without an indication of the number of loaves appears in both Or. 6.3 and Praescr. 11.5, indicating that these phrasings are likely due to Tertullian’s own hand. In addition, it is noteworthy that in every reference to Luke 11:5 Tertullian uses the verb pulsare even though “knocking” is not explicitly mentioned in Luke’s text. Thus, κρούω did not appear at this point in Marcion’s Gospel.

4.4.49  **Luke 11:9**

4.26.5—Proinde a quo petam, ut accipiam? apud quem quaeram, ut inveniam?
ad quem pulsabo, ut aperiat mihi? quis habet petenti dare,…| 4.26.6—Denique si[c] accipere et invenire et admirari laboris et instantiae fructus est illi qui petiit267 et quaesivit et pulsavit,…| Bapts. 20.5—Petite et accipietis inquit: quaesitis enim et invenistis, pulsastis et apertum est vobis. | Or. 10—…Dominus…seor-sum post traditam orandi disciplinam, petite, inquit, et accipietis,…| Praescr. 11.7–10—Adeo finis est et quaerendi et pulsandi et petendi. Petenti enim dabitur, inquit, et pulsante aperietur et quaerenti invenietur. Viderit qui quaerit semper quia non invenit; illic enim quaerit ubi non invenietur. Viderit qui sem-per pulsat quia numquam aperietur: illuc enim pulsat ubi nemo est. Viderit qui sem-per petit quia numquam audietur; ab eo enim petit qui non audit.268

266 Schmid, “How Can We Access?,” 144.

267 Moreschini’s text reads petiit with R3 (paralleling the perfect tense of quaesivit and pulsavit), rejecting petit in M, γ, R1, and R2.

268 Additional allusions to Luke 11:9//Matt 7:7 occur throughout De praescriptione haereticorum: petite et accipietis (8.11), quaerite et invenietis (8.2, 4, 15; 9.1; 10.7, 9; 43.2), and pulsate et aperietur vobis (8.7).
Luke 11:9 is also partially attested by Epiphanius. Curiously, though Harnack reconstructed the phrasing of the Lord’s Prayer in Marcion’s text based on Tertullian’s questions, he did not do so for Luke 11:9. The imperative verb in each of the elements remains constant throughout Tertullian’s references to this verse, and there appears to be no good reason to doubt that Marcion’s text read αἰτεῖτε, ζητεῖτε, and κρούετε. The situation is different, however, for the second verb in each element. Only invenire (attesting εὑρίσκω) remains constant in Tertullian’s citations, though the reformulation into a question in 4.26.5 does not allow a definitive decision on whether Marcion’s text read εὑρήσετε or εὑρήσεται. That the counterpart to κρούετε was ἀνοιγήσεται also appears established, not only because the manuscript tradition here attests no lemma other than ἀνοίγω, but also because admittere in 4.26.6 is rather obviously Tertullian’s own word. The counterpart to αἰτεῖτε in Tertullian’s testimony is slightly less certain. In 4.26.5 he first uses accipere, though immediately after the three questions he uses dare. Tertullian’s other attestations also vary as he uses accipere in 4.26.6, Bapt. 20.5, and Or. 10; dare in Praescr. 11.7; and audire in Praescr. 11.10. Given the variation and that IGNTP indicates that only a handful of church fathers attest λήψεσθε, it may well be that this reading is due to Tertullian and was not the reading of Marcion’s text.

4.4.50 Luke 11:11–13

4.26.10—Ipse [the Creator] est qui scit quid filii postulent. Nam et panem petentibus de caelo dedit manna, et carnem desiderantibus emisit ortygometram, non serpentem pro pisce nec scorpium pro ovo. . . . Ita et spiritum sanctum is dabit . . . | Or. 6.3—. . . Numer quid filio panem poscenti lapidem tradit?

Luke 11:11–13 are also attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony alludes to the presence of ὁ υἱός asking and the phrases dealing with “instead of a fish giving a serpent” (v. 11) and “instead of an egg giving a scorpion” (v. 12). In Or. 6.3 Tertullian refers to the giving of the stone stone.

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269 Cf. Harnack, Marcion, 208*.
270 Tertullian also cites the elements in this order in Bapt. 20.5. It is interesting that in Praescr. 11.7–10 Tertullian introduces the quotation with the order “seek, knock, ask;” has the order “ask, knock, seek” for the quotation itself, and, following the quotation, discusses the elements in the order “seek, knock, ask.”
271 Numerous witnesses, including א and D, read the latter.
272 The form could also be ἀνοιγήσεται: as in D and numerous other witnesses.
273 Aperire is used in all of Tertullian’s other citations and allusions.
274 λαμβάνω appears in v. 10, which may have influenced the rendering of v. 9. The same phenomenon occurs in the Matthean version. Von Soden lists sy* and syε as reading λήψεσθε in Matt 7:7, noting the influence from v. 8.
instead of bread as found only in Matt 7:9,\textsuperscript{275} which may increase the likel-
hood that in 4.26.10 the reference is being governed by Marcion’s text. For v. 13
Tertullian alludes to the statement δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

\section*{4.4.51 \textit{Luke} \textit{n} 11:15}

\textit{4.26.11—}\ldots\textit{in Belzebule}\textsuperscript{276} \textit{dictus eicere daemonia: \ldots\textit{\ldots scilicet super ipso dicentes: Hic non expellit daemonia nisi in Belzebule \ldots}}

In 4.26.11 Tertullian adapts Luke 11:15 and the accusation of the Pharisees ἐν βεελζεβούλ\textsuperscript{277} \ldots ἐχθράλλει τὰ δαιμόνια (v. 15). The verse is not cited outside of \textit{Adversus Marcionem}, but when Tertullian makes a reference back to this accusation in 4.28.2 he cites it in one of its Matthean forms (Matt 12:24).\textsuperscript{278} Thus, the likelihood that Tertullian’s adaptation is following Marcion’s text in 4.26.11 is increased. Also, Tertullian’s omission of the description of Beelzebul as ἄρχοντι τῶν δαίμονιῶν in both references perhaps reveals that the descriptor is not important for him.\textsuperscript{279}

\section*{4.4.52 \textit{Luke} \textit{n} 11:21–22}

\textit{4.26.12—Merito igitur adplicuit ad parabolam fortis illius armati, quem validior alius oppressit, \ldots\textit{\ldots\textit{\ldots Etiam parabola fortis illius armati, quem alius validior oppressit et vasa eius occupavit, \ldots}}}

Luke 11:21–22 is also not multiply cited outside of \textit{Adversus Marcionem}, but Tertullian does reference the text in 4.26.12 and then again in 5.6.7. The Lukan provenance of the saying is confirmed by the description of the strong man as \textit{armati} (καθωπλισμένος), as it is not found in the parallel Matt 12:29//Mark 3:27. Though none of the Synoptics explicitly identify the illustration as a parable, Tertullian twice cites it as such. The \textit{illius} appearing in both adaptations is clearly Tertullian’s own addition, as is \textit{alius}, which Tertullian inserts in two different places. For Marcion’s text, Tertullian therefore attests ὁ ἰσχυρὸς

\textsuperscript{275} It should be noted, however, that the Matthean reading also appears in most manuscripts of Luke.

\textsuperscript{276} In the interaction with Luke 11:14–22, the manuscripts and editions of Tertullian offer vari-
ant spellings of Beelzebul. Moreschini follows the spelling found in Gelenius, Pamelius, and Kroymann. The Greek rendering here will follow the spelling found in the Majority Text without implying that this definitely was the orthography in Marcion’s text.

\textsuperscript{277} On the spelling of Beelzebul, cf. n. 276.

\textsuperscript{278} The reading in Matt 9:34 is much closer to Luke 11:15.

\textsuperscript{279} In 4.26.12 Tertullian does mention that Jesus connected \textit{principem daemoniorum, quem Beelzebub et satanam supra dixerat} with the parable of the strong man, but it is not entirely clear from where Tertullian draws the term and the fact remains that he does not refer to the “prince of demons” in his other references.
καθωπλισμένος (v. 21) and ἰσχυρότερος... νικήση [νικήσει is attested in several manuscripts, but is less likely] (v. 22).280


3.11.3—Nam et mulier quaedam exclamaverat: Beatus venter qui te portavit, et ubera quae hausisti. | 4.26.13—Exclamat mulier de turba, beatum uterum qui illum portasset, et ubera quae illum educassent. Et dominus: Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt, ... | Carn. Chr. 7.13—Eodem sensu denique et illi exclamationi respondit, non matris uterum et ubera negans, sed feliciores designans, qui verbum dei adiunt [sic].

V. 27 is also attested by Ephrem. Tertullian’s testimony to v. 27 in 3.11.3 and 4.26.13 indicates that his use of exclamare does not appear to render a single Greek verb, but the idea expressed by “a woman from the crowd” ἐπάρασα φωνήν. There is also a rather unproblematic reference to the womb that bore Jesus and the breasts that nursed him being called blessed (μακαρία ἡ κολία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὗς ἐθήλασας).281

Harnack believed Tertullian’s testimony to reveal two specific readings in v. 28: (1) ἀκούοντες after τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ instead of before it and (2) ποιοῦντες instead of φυλάσσοντες.282 The first reading is suspect because in Carn. Chr. 7.13 Tertullian also places audiunt after the reference to the word of God, revealing that this otherwise unattested order is most likely due to Tertullian’s own hand. Concerning the second point, IGNTP does reveal slight manuscript evidence for this reading; however, as was seen in the discussion above of Luke 8:21, Tertullian immediately refers back to 8:21 after citing Luke 11:28. It is worth noting that Luke 8:21 concludes with a reference to “hearing” and “doing” the word of God. Therefore, it is possible that the connection between Luke 8:21 and 11:28 in Tertullian’s argument has led him to write audiunt et faciunt, thus rendering it unclear whether Marcion’s text really read as Harnack thought.283

280 Though Harnack, Marcion, 209* cited Tertullian’s allusions to these verses he provided no reconstruction of them. In addition, though Aalders wrote that there is “no doubt” that Tertullian wanted to translate the two actions in the Greek text (ἐπελθὼν νικήση) with oppressit (“Tertullian’s Quotations,” 267), it is not clear that this is the case.

281 Harnack offered the same reconstruction, though placing οὗς ἐθήλασας in parentheses. The ol manuscripts render the Greek with both sugere and lactare, and there is no reason to posit that Tertullian’s rendering reflects any other Greek text, particularly as the Greek is almost uniform in the manuscript tradition. Both the ol and Vulgate also place the pronouns prior to the verb, as does Tertullian (te portavit, illum portasset).

282 Harnack, Marcion, 209*. Plooij, Further Study, 84 also assumes the latter reading in Marcion’s text.

283 In Carn. Chr. 7.13 Tertullian makes no reference to the second element.
4.4.54  **Luke 11:29**

4.27.1—... *iubet omni petenti dare, et ipse signum petentibus non dat;...* | Fug. 13.2—*Atque adeo omni petenti dari iubet, ipse signum petentibus non dat.*

Luke 11:29 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony in 4.27.1 indicates a reference to the phrase σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται. That there is no need to posit a direct reference in the text of someone “asking” for a sign is clear from Tertullian's use of *petere* in Fug. 13.2 as well.

4.4.55  **Luke 11:33**

4.27.1—... *negat lucernam abstru< <d>endam, sed confirmat super candelabrum proponendam, ut omnibus luceat;...* | Cult. fém. 2.13.2—*Si lucernam tuam sub modio abstruseris,...* | Praescr. 26.4—*Ipse docebat lucernam non sub modium abstrudi solere sed in candelabrum constituui ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.*

Tertullian's use of this verse in his argument provides little insight into the actual wording of Marcion's Gospel. That it included some mention of hiding a λυχνός and the idea of ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν is obvious; however, Harnack also believed that the end of the verse in Marcion's text was Matthean.284 Once again it may simply be that Tertullian slipped into the, for him, more familiar Matthean wording (he cites Matt 5:15 in Praescr. 26.4), which works equally well for the purposes of Tertullian's argument: Marcion's Christ hid his light from men for ages even though he commanded a lamp not to be hidden but placed on a lampstand in order to give light to all.

4.4.56  **Luke 11:52**

4.27.9—*Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores nisi interpretationem legis? ad cuius intellectum neque ipsi adibant, non credentes scilicet—nisi enim credideritis, non intellegetis [*Isa 7:9*]—, neque alios admittebant:...* | 4.28.2—... *quae clavem agnitionis habens nec [in] ipsa[m] introiret nec alios sineret,...*

Though not multiply cited outside of *Adversus Marcionem*, a second allusion to v. 52 in 4.28.2 provides some insight into Tertullian's testimony. In 4.27.9 Tertullian makes reference to τοῖς νομικοῖς and 4.28.2 reveals that not only τὴν κλεῖδα, but probably also τῆς γνώσεως were present in the verse.285 The phrasing

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284  Harnack, *Marcion*, 209*. It is not clear why Harnack included the unattested ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον in his reconstruction, but not the attested ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν.

285  In 4.28.2 Tertullian applies the words spoken to the lawyers to the Pharisees (Luke 12:1). Tsutsui rightly notes *“Das Wort ‘agnitionis’ das Tertullian in dem Zitat bezeugt, ist nicht das genaue Äquivalent des griechischen ‘γνώσις’, das gewöhnlich mit ‘scientia’ übersetzt wird”* (*Evangelium,* 102). However, his conclusion that Marcion may have replaced the Greek word in his text is problematic. First, his argument by analogy *“Aus Röm 11,33 hat Marcion...*
of Tertullian's reference to v. 52 in 4.27.9 has been shaped by the citation of LXX Isa 7:9, with which Tertullian glossed the verse, and there is no reason to posit that Marcion read a Greek term more closely approximating the Latin adjective *intellectus* (4.27.9). In addition, a comparison of the references also reveals the fluidity with which Tertullian renders v. 52b, making its reconstruction with any degree of certainty impossible. Finally, *neq alios sineret* in 4.28.2 may well have arisen from the parallel in Matt 23:13.

4.4.57 *Luke 12:2*

4.28.2—... adicit: *Nihil autem opertum, quod non patefiet, et nihil absconditum, quod non dinosetetur,*...287 | Paen. 6.10—*Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur:*... | Virg. 14.3—...Nihil occultum quod non revelabitur,...

Harnack reconstructed this verse οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον, ὃ σύκ ἀποκαλυφθῆσεται, καὶ οὐδὲν κρυπτὸν, ὃ σύγνωσθῆσεται.288 This reconstruction reads as the text of NA28 with two exceptions. First, ἐστίν after συγκεκαλυμμένον has been omitted.289 It is not clear, however, that this omission should be posited for Marcion's text because in both Luke 12:2 and Matt 10:26 ἐστίν appears in

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"γνώσις" gestrichen (s. Harnack109* [sic])" is questionable as Harnack simply assumed that the unattested elements in Tertullian's citation of the verse were deleted by Marcion. Second, the assumption that because Tertullian deviated from "normal" translation words a different Greek text was present is hazardous precisely because Tertullian constantly varies the vocabulary he employs in biblical citations (for further discussion on this point cf. Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?,” 439).

286 After the reference to the lawyers, Harnack reconstructed τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως κτλ. It is not entirely clear what Harnack meant to indicate with his κτλ.; however, the most straight-forward implication that the remainder of the verse read as canonical Luke is not provable. In addition, this fluidity, along with what may be a generic reference to the scribes “having” the keys without any clear intention of rendering the verb found in Marcion’s text seems to preclude the somewhat incautious conclusion: “Marcion... read ἔχετε” (Gilles Quispel, “The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament,” vc 11 [1957]: 202).

Tertullian’s question and passing comment does not necessarily reveal what verb Marcion read.

287 Moreschini’s text reads *dinosetetur* with Rhenanus’s editions, rejecting *dinosceretur* in M and γ.

288 Harnack, *Marcion*, 211*.

289 ΙΓΝΠ lists a few manuscripts that attest ἐστίν before συγκεκαλυμμένον. In addition, a variant spelling συγκεκαλυμμένον is attested in P75, D, W, Θ, and 2766, whereas κεκαλυμμένον is attested in P45, Ν, C*, and 1241. For this reason the precise rendering of opertum is uncertain.
the text, and yet Tertullian does not offer it in either of his other two citations. Second, an additional οὐδὲν has been inserted before χρυπτῶν. Unfortunately, this element of the verse is not multiply cited, but its complete absence in the textual tradition of both Matthew and Luke may lend some credence to the supposition that the repetition is due to Tertullian himself.

4.4.58  **Luke 12:3**

4.28.2—...cum subiciat etiam quae inter se mussitarent vel inter se tractarent...in apertum processura et in ore hominum futura ex evangelii promulgatione. | Praescr. 26.2—...ipse praeceperat si quid in tenebris et in abscondito audissent, in luce et in tectis praedicarent.

Luke 12:3 is another case where little concerning the precise wording of Marcion’s text can be gleaned from Tertullian’s allusion. Apart from the likely presence of κηρυχθήσεται, the only insight is that the use of mussitare in 4.28.2 may have arisen from a closer rendering of the text (πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλαλήσατε) than offered in the general audire in Praescr. 26.2.

4.4.59  **Luke 12:4–5**

4.28.3—Deinde conversus ad discipulos: Dico autem, inquit, vobis amicis, nolite terreri ab eis qui vos solummodo occidere possunt, nec post hoc ullam in vobis habent potestatem...demonstrabo autem vobis quem timeatis: timete eum qui postquam occiderit potestatem habeat mittendi in gehennam—creatorem

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290  Though Harnack believed the textual tradition to unanimously include ἔστιν in Luke, IGNT lists two minuscules, one lectionary, and Hilary as omitting it, along with Tertullian and Marcion. In any case, the evidence is scant.

291  According to IGNT, numerous OL manuscripts, and manuscripts of other ancient versions, attest οὐδὲν instead of καί. It is curious, however, to find Marcion also listed as a witness for this reading as one would not expect neque of the OL manuscripts and et nihil to be listed as evidence for the same Greek reading.

292  Plooij, *Further Study*, 82 argued that mussitarent was rendering a different text than that found in any general tradition and that the in apertum reflects the same reading behind the Liége Diatessaron’soppelbare. This suggestion is interesting, though to posit the language here as further evidence for a close relation between Tatian’s and Marcion’s text of the Gospel seems slightly tenuous. Cf., however, William L. Petersen’s assessment that this is one of two “of the most convincing” examples of readings common to Tatian and Marcion (*Tatian’s Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* [Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 25; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994], 192–93).

293  Moreschini’s text reads the subjunctive habeat against the indicative habet in X, Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.
utique significans—itaque dico vobis, hunc timete. | 4.28.4—Hi ergo erunt quos supra praemonet ne timeant tantummodo occidi, ideo praemittens non timendam occasionem, . . . | Fug. 7.2—Nolite timere eos, inquit qui occidunt corpus, animae autem nihil valent facere, sed timete eum, qui et corpus et animam perdere potest in gehennam. | Pud. 2.7—. . . non solum corpus, verum et animas occidens in gehennam. | Res. 35.1—Sed et praecipit eum potius timendum, qui et corpus et animam occidat in gehennam, . . . non qui corpus occidunt, animae autem nihil nocere possint, . . . | Scorp. 9.6—. . . non eos timendos, qui solum corpus occidunt, animam autem interficere non valeant, sed illi potius metum consecrundum, qui et corpus et animam occidere et perdere possit in gehennam. | Scorp. 10.8—. . . timorem eorum, qui solum corpus occidunt, animae autem nihil faciunt: . . . | Scorp. 12.5—Qua poena timorem puniat, nisi quam negator relaturus est cum corpore et anima occidendus in gehenna?

These verses are also attested by Epiphanius. Since Tertullian’s citations of this saying in his other works are all based on the parallel in Matt 10:28, several Lukan elements are not multiply cited. Among them is the opening phrase in 4.28.3, dico autem vobis amicis, rendering λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις (Luke 12:4a). At the end of the phrase Harnack placed the canonical μου in parentheses with a question mark, but contended that Marcion removed the pronoun purposely to negate the thought that Jesus considered the twelve disciples to be friends. Tsutsui, however, rightly responds “ob ‘μου’ hier steht oder fehlt, die Anrede verändert sich inhaltlich nicht.” Once again, however, μου is simply unattested.

The remainder of Luke 12:4 presents numerous challenges in interpreting Tertullian’s testimony. Following the Latin of Tertullian’s citation given above, Harnack reconstructed μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμᾶς μόνον ἀποκτέννειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδεμίαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν. The first four words follow the nearly universally attested Lukan text, but then the reading diverges rather radically, following no known Lukan reading. Harnack rightly saw no advantage for Marcion’s interests in this wording, but also contended that one

294 R2 and R3 read itaque, whereas R1, M, γ, and Latinius’s note read ita.
295 Additional allusions to Luke 12:4–5 occur in 4.28.5 and An. 13.3.
296 Harnack’s placement of ὑμῖν in parentheses with a question mark is due to Epiphanius’s testimony (Marcion, 21*).
297 Ibid. This comment was an addition to the second edition. In Marcion1, 193* Harnack did not question the presence of μου.
298 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 102. According to IGNTP, μου is omitted in X, 131, 213, and 1242*.
299 Harnack, Marcion, 211*.
could not assume that Tertullian arbitrarily changed the text. Yet, one finds several indications pointing to a possible argument for the view that Tertullian is largely responsible for this unique text.

First, the addition of the adverb *solummodo* clearly reflects a common addition by Tertullian to the idea of Luke 12:4//Matt 10:28, as *solum* appears in *Pud.* 2.7 and *Scorp.* 9.6; 10.8. Second, the idea of *possunt occidere* is easily explained as a Matthean influence on Tertullian’s rendering, as it has already been noted that Tertullian elsewhere always references Matt 10:28 (cf. *Fug.* 7.2; *Res.* 35:1; and *Scorp.* 9.6). Third, Braun notes that the omission of *corpus* (*τὸ σῶμα*) is not significant, as Tertullian has used the expression of Luke 12:5, where the canonical text also simply mentions killing without the verb having an object. It is possible, though not provable, that Tertullian replaced *corpus* with *vos*. Finally, though *nec post hoc* could be rendering the Lukan *καὶ μετὰ τὰ* *ταύτα*, Tertullian again may well have inserted a second person plural pronoun and drawn the idea of *protestas* from Luke 12:5. For these reasons it is at least open to question whether or not Marcion’s text read in the manner presented by Tertullian, and more likely that Tertullian began by rendering the verse more accurately and then simply referred to the concepts of Luke 12:4 influenced by his own emphases, Matt 10:28, and the following verse.

For v. 5, once again the opening element is not multiply cited since Tertullian elsewhere references Matt 10:28; however, he attests the relatively unproblematic *ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα φοβηθῆτε*. Most of the remainder of the verse does not present significant challenges, though it is worth noting that Tertullian attests the order *ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα* and could be attesting *βάλεῖν*, found in P45, W, and a few other witnesses, instead of *ἐμβάλεῖν*. Further comment on this verse, however, requires incorporating the testimony of Epiphanius.

### 4.4.60 Luke 12:8–9

4.28.4— *Sed habeo et de sequentibus sumere: Dico enim vobis, omnis qui confitebitur *<in>* me*302* coram hominibus, confitebor in illo coram deo... Et omnis qui negavit me coram hominibus, denegabitur coram deo,... | *Cor.* 11.5—... *Iesus negaturus omnem negatorem et confessurus omnem confessorem... | *Fug.*

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300 Ibid. Tsutsui apparently believes that Marcion was responsible for this form of the text contending that the key to the changes is the idea that “der nicht zu fürchtende (V. 4a) und der zu fürchtende (V. 5) bezeichnen nach Marcions Auffassung denselben, nämlich den Schöpfergott” (“Evangelium,” 103). Apart from this view not explaining all the variants, it requires the plural subject of v. 4 and the singular subject of v. 5 to be identical.

301 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 357n6.

302 R3 reads *in me*, whereas R1, R2, M, and γ read *me*. 
7.1—Qui confessus fuerit me et ego confitebor illum coram patre meo. | Idol. 13.6—Quique autem confusus super me fuerit penes homines, et ego confundar super illo, inquit, penes patrem meum, qui est in caelis. | Prax. 26.9—Est Patris Filius confessurus confessores et negaturus negatores suos apud Patrem,... | Scorp. 9.8—Omnis igitur, qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confitebor in illo coram patre meo, qui in caelis est. Et omnis, qui me negaverit coram hominibus, et ego negabo illum coram patre meo, qui in caelis est. [in 9.9 Tertullian makes the point that Christ did not say qui me confessus fuerit and in 9.11 that Christ did say qui me negaverit and not qui in me] | Scorp. 9.13—Plus est autem quod et confusioni confusionem comminatur: qui me confusus fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confundar eum coram patre meo, qui est in caelis. | Scorp. 10.4—[Jesus did not say] qui in me confessus fuerit coram hominibus in caelis, et ego in illo confitebor coram patre meo, qui in caelis est.303

Luke 12:8 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s other citations appear to be drawn from Matt 10:32, so once again the opening words in Luke are not multiply cited. Harnack reconstructed λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν and contended that Marcion replaced δέ with γάρ because he had omitted vv. 6–7.304 Braun rightly points out, however, that Epiphanius’s testimony explicitly indicates only that v. 6 was omitted, and Braun even argues that the manner in which Tertullian introduces his citation of v. 8 may reveal that it did not follow directly after v. 5 in Marcion’s Gospel.305 In any case, since Luke 12:7 is unattested it is precarious to build an argument for a textual emendation based on its omission.

Numerous difficulties also arise in the elements of Luke 12:8 that are multiply cited. First, the disagreement in the editions concerning whether Tertullian wrote in me or me means that Harnack’s insistent, though unclear, “der Unterschied von μέ und ἐν αὐτῷ ist beabsichtigt” cannot be accepted.306 Second, Harnack reconstructed πᾶς δς ὁμολογήσει, which certainly is possible.307 Tertullian’s use of the future perfect in other citations tends to confirm Harnack’s reconstruction, though a possible influence due to the Matthean future cannot be entirely ruled out. Third, Harnack believed Marcion’s text

304 Harnack, Marcion, 212*. Similar comments are found in Zahn, Geschichte, 2:474 and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 103.
305 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 359n4.
306 Harnack, Marcion, 212*.
307 A, B*, D, Γ, Δ, and numerous minuscules read the future active indicative of Matt 10:32 instead of the Lukan aorist active subjunctive.
twice employed the preposition ἐνώπιον in v. 8.  

Although Epiphanius attests ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ for the end of the verse, Tertullian’s testimony cannot be used to posit the prior reading ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, for this would require the assumption that coram renders ἐνώπιον in the second instance (if Epiphanius can be trusted) and therefore must do so in the first. Apart from the fact that there is no other manuscript evidence for ἐνώπιον appearing in Luke 12:8, in Scor. 9.8 coram renders ἐμπροσθεν. Additionally, Tertullian apparently has no problem rendering the same Greek preposition with penes (Idol. 13.6) or apud (Prax. 26.9). Fourth, in the discussion above on Luke 9:26 it was already noted that Tertullian’s phrasing of the concept of confessing and being ashamed/denying is strongly shaped by Matt 10:32–33. Therefore, once again it is possible that the attested δημολογήσω does not actually reflect Marcion’s text, but Tertullian’s proclivities. Finally, Tertullian does not attest τῶν ἄγγελων at the end of v. 8. That Tertullian is following Marcion’s text to some degree is evident by the presence of deus and not pater, as found in Matt 10:32 and Tertullian’s other citations. The evidence of Epiphanius, however, must be included before drawing a final conclusion.

Harnack reconstructed Marcion’s text of 12:9 as καὶ πᾶς δς ἣρνησατό με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπαρνηθήσεται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. First, Harnack noted that καὶ instead of δέ, and πᾶς ὃς ἠρνήσατό instead of ὁ ἀρνησάμενος are otherwise unattested. Even if et attests καὶ and not δέ, Tertullian uses et in Prax. 26.9, Scor. 9.8, and, though with the elements in reverse order, in Cor. 11.5. In addition, Tertullian, apart from the placement of me, renders the opening in essentially

308 Harnack, Marcion, 212*.
309 Thus it is at best questionable for IGNTP to state “Marcion ap TE” as attesting the reading ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Petersen called the IGNTP apparatus here “misleading and confused” (William L. Petersen, “Patristic Biblical Quotations and Method: Four Changes to Lightfoot’s Edition of Second Clement,” VC 60 [2006]: 397n38).
310 Tischendorf, von Soden, and NA28 attest no manuscript variation for the preposition in Matt 10:32.
311 Harnack recognized that it is the Matthean reading, yet also placed it in his reconstruction of Marcion’s text (Marcion, 212*). IGNTP indicates that though no other witnesses attest this precise reading, the minuscules 1338 and 2757, along with aeth attest δημολογήσω κάγω.
312 Tischendorf, von Soden, and NA37 indicate that ἁρνήσαμεν also omits these words; however, IGNTP indicates that τῶν ἄγγελων was present and that τοῦ θεοῦ was omitted. All references to an omission have been removed from NA28 and from the on-line images at www.codexsinaiticus.org it can be seen that the entire phrase τῶν ἄγγελων τοῦ θεοῦ has been written by a corrector and that the original wording is illegible.
313 Harnack, Marcion, 212*.
the same way in *Scorp*. 9.8, and he also uses the adjective *omnis* in *Cor*. 11.5. Therefore, the entire opening seems to be reflecting Tertullian's own manner of citation rather than elements in Marcion's text.\(^{314}\) Second, concerning the conclusion of the verse, as above, *deus* instead of *pater* (Matt 10:33), reveals a likely point of contact with Marcion's text, though the omission of τῶν ἁγγέλων is in some ways dependent upon the decision concerning its omission at the end of Luke 12:8. Finally, the same uncertainty of whether *coram* is rendering ἐνώπιον or ἔμπροσθεν in Luke 12:8 also occurs in 12:9.\(^{315}\)

4.4.61 *Luke 12:10*

4.28.6—... *Qui dixerit in filium hominis, remittetur illi, qui autem*\(^{316}\) *dixerit in spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei.* | *Pud.* 13.19—*Hymenaei autem et Alexandri [1 Tim 1:20] crimen si et in isto et in futuro aëvo inremissibile est, blasphemia scilicet, ...*

Tertullian's testimony in 4.28.6, as already noted by Harnack,\(^{317}\) renders a text that has elements of both Luke 12:10 and Matt 12:32. The fact that such harmonization is attested in the manuscript tradition, reveals that harmonization could have been present in Marcion’s Gospel. Further confirmation for this view may be found in the observation that there is no mention of the clearly Matthean *in futuro aëvo* in Tertullian's work against Marcion, which Tertullian highlighted in *Pud.* 13.19.\(^{318}\) Nevertheless, there are numerous challenges to unraveling the precise reading of Marcion’s text and the possibility of Matthean readings arising from Tertullian cannot be excluded completely.

Harnack reconstructed this verse (καὶ ὁς ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, ὃς δ᾽ ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.\(^{319}\) First, Harnack contended that, as in Matthew, πᾶς at the sentence opening was missing. IGNTP lists only Marcion and Pacianus as attesting this omission, and since Tertullian begins his citation with *qui*, it is precarious to conclude, as

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\(^{314}\) In addition, it is worth noting that the entire Ol manuscript tradition offers *qui* ... *negaverit* (abnegaverit in r) for the opening of Luke 12:9. The rendering can easily be understood as a translation of an articular participle. IGNTP does not view Marcion or the Ol manuscripts as attesting a Greek finite verb.

\(^{315}\) Both prepositions are attested in both occurrences in the Greek manuscript tradition.

\(^{316}\) Some disagreement exists among the manuscripts and editors of Tertullian as Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans read *qui autem* but ὃ, Gelenius, and Pamelius read *autem qui*.

\(^{317}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*.

\(^{318}\) According to IGNTP this Matthean element is found in D, c, d, e, 827 and some Ethiopic manuscripts.

\(^{319}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 212*–13*. 
Harnack apparently does, that καί may have been present but πᾶς was not. Both words are simply unattested.

Second, dixerit is likely a future perfect indicative, which Harnack understood as rendering a Greek aorist subjunctive (ἐἴπῃ). IGNTTP, however, interprets the OL manuscripts in which it appears as rendering a Greek future.320 Further complicating the issue is that Matt 12:32 twice reads δς ἔδωκεν ἐἴπῃ and D, in the first occurrence in Luke 12:10, reads δς ἂν ἔφεσί. Given that the OL manuscript tradition uniformly offers qui dixerit for both occurrences in Matt 12:32, Harnack’s view, reading Greek subjunctives, may be more likely.

Third, Harnack’s reconstruction omits λόγον after the first εἴπῃ, even though it is never absent in any of the extant evidence of Luke 12:10. It is more likely that this omission is due to Tertullian himself, an omission that creates a perfect parallel between the two elements of the verse.

Fourth, Luke speaks of “blaspheming” the Holy Spirit where Tertullian’s quote repeats the idea of “speaking against.” Once again, it is true that this reading creates a better parallel, and it is also the reading of Matthew; however, it is also attested in numerous OL manuscripts. In addition, Tertullian mentions blasphemy/blaspheming six times in the immediate context of the quote and it is unlikely that he would have avoided a reference to a term factoring so prominently in his discussion. Thus, this reading may have been that of Marcion’s text.

Fifth, with D and numerous other manuscripts it is possible that Marcion’s text read τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον instead of τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, though Tertullian’s own proclivity of altering the word order must also be taken into account. Finally, though αὐτῷ at the conclusion of the verse again creates a perfect parallel, its presence in numerous manuscripts reveals that Tertullian could have read it in Marcion’s text.


4.28.11—Ab eo ergo erit et parabola divitis blandientis sibi de proventu agrorum suorum, cui deus dicit: Stulte, hac nocte animam tuam reposcent; quae autem parasti, cuius erunt?

| Or. 6.4—Cui rei parabolam quoque accommodavit illius hominis, qui provenientibus fructibus ampliationem horreorum et longae securitatis spatia cogitavit ea ipsa nocte moriturus.

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320 IGNTTP lists only Marcion, Athanasius, and l70 as attesting εἴπῃ. It should be noted, however, that the IGNTTP apparatus for this verse is problematic. It views a, c, d, r1, and e (all reading dixerit) as attesting ἔφεσί at the beginning of the verse and for the second occurrence sees b, ff1, i, q, r1, and e (again all reading dixerit) as attesting ἔφοροντε, (instead of τῷ βλασφημήσαντι). IGNTTP lists these OL manuscripts, in the latter instance, as attesting ἔφοροντε λόγον, when none of them, according to Itala, here uses verbum or sermo.
In 4.28.11 Tertullian makes a reference to Luke 12:16 that seems to require the unproblematic words παραβολήν and [ἀνθρώπου τινὸς implied] πλουσίου. Harnack apparently believed that de proventu agrorum suorum was referring to εὐφόρησεν ἡ χώρα (v. 16), though Tertullian introducing the phrase with blandientis sibi more likely points to v. 19 being in view. Even if this suggestion is correct, the precise wording remains elusive. Based on the citation of v. 20 Harnack reconstructed εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν (ἀπὸ σοῦ). ἀ ἐκ δὲ ήτοίμασας, τίνος ἐσται; Tertullian provides a nearly verbatim rendering of the Greek text, here identical in the Majority Text and NA, though a few points warrant mention. First, the omission of δὲ is almost certainly due to Tertullian. Second, his use of a future (reposcent) once again is attributable to his citation habit and therefore does not necessitate a future in Marcion’s text. Third, Harnack placed ἀπὸ σοῦ in parentheses, and though it is absent in a few other witnesses, it may well have been a simple omission by Tertullian. Finally, τίνος is attested by D, most OL manuscripts, and numerous church fathers, and likely was Marcion’s reading. Though Tertullian has an allusion to this parable in Or. 6.4, it unfortunately does not provide insight into the phrasing of Marcion’s text on any of these points.

4.4.63 Luke 12:24

Dans tout ce passage, T. ne s’astreint pas à une fidélité littérale: il récrit le texte évangelique en lui imprimant un certain rythme rhétorique (triple anaphore de cuius, parallélismes).

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321 In v. 19 the rich man addresses his own soul telling it ἔχεις πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κείμενα εἰς ἔτη πολλά· ἀναπαύου, φάγε, πίε, εὐφραίνου. It would also make sense contextually for Tertullian to be referring to this statement right before citing God’s response.

322 Harnack, Marcion, 213*.

323 Thus, IGNT questionably lists Marcion along with gat and Irenaeus as reading ἀπατήσουσιν.

324 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 367n4. Lukas refers to a “Stück kunstvoller Prosa” (Rhetorik, 293n146). Harnack, Marcion, 214* rightly rejected the contention of Zahn, Geschichte, 2:473 that vv. 24, 27–28 were excised from Marcion’s text.
Though this observation is correct, some insight into Marcion’s text can still be gained. First, *corvi* attests the Lukan *χόρακας*, which likely was the reading in Marcion’s text even if elsewhere Tertullian makes reference to both *corvus* (4.21.1, *Mon. 16.2*) and *volatilia caeli* (*Ux. 1.4.7*; cf. Matt 6:26). Second, Tertullian’s allusion to the words *σπείρουσιν* and *θερίζουσιν* is unproblematic. Third, Harnack notes that *nec in apothecas condunt* is Matthean and then leaves unanswered the question of whether Tertullian’s memory of Matt 6:26 has influenced the wording or whether Marcion’s text had been harmonized to Matthew. The fact that, according to IGNTP, only 903 attests this harmonization may make the former view more likely. Finally, there is also an allusion to the phrase *καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς*. Harnack’s contention that this final phrase was not present in Marcion’s Gospel despite Tertullian’s testimony, and Tsutsui’s suggestion that it was present, but in an altered and passive form, can be considered only once Luke 12:27–28 has also been discussed.

4.4.64  **Luke 12:27–28**


That Luke 12:28a was not present is attested by Epiphanius. Here, several points concerning Tertullian’s testimony need to be made. First, that Tertullian is to some extent following Marcion’s text in 4.29.1 is supported by the absence of the Matthean *agri* (cf. Matt 6:28) found in 4.21.1 and *Ux. 1.4.7*. Second, Tertullian’s allusion to Luke 12:27 attests not only *χρίνα*, but also the verbs *ὑφαίνει* and *νήθει*. Unfortunately these elements are not multiply cited, but that this may have been the reading in Marcion’s Gospel is confirmed by these verbs also appearing in D, d, Clement of Alexandria, sy<sup>s</sup>, and sy<sup>c</sup>. Harnack believed that Marcion’s text read οὐχ *ὑφαίνει* οὔτε *νήθει*, though the fact that these other witnesses attest οὔτε *νήθει* οὔτε *ὑφαίνει* may mean that the slightly

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325 Only a few witnesses, though they include D and a handful of 01 manuscripts, attest the Matthean τά πετεινά τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Luke 12:24.
326 The negation of the action by Tertullian (*non . . . nec*) does not definitively reveal whether the Greek read οὐ . . . οὔτε (with P<sup>45</sup>, P<sup>73</sup>, A, B, W, and most other manuscripts) or οὔτε . . . οὔτε (with R, D, L, Q, 579, 892, and e).
328 Luke reads οὐ *χοπτεῖ* οὔτε *νήθει*. “Toll” and “spin” is also the reading in Matt 6:28.
329 Harnack, *Marcion*, 214<sup>a</sup>.
different phrasing, possibly under the influence of 12:24 and νῆθει being the second action in both Matthew and Luke, is due to Tertullian.

Third, Harnack attempted to support his view that Tertullian committed an error due to his remembering the canonical text in the reference to “feeding” in Luke 12:24 noted above, stating

Dies [an error] ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als er gleich darauf [4.29.1] ein sicher inkorrekt es Referat bringt, sofern bei Luk. von den Lilien nicht gesagt wird, daß Gott sie bekleidet, sondern nur vom Gras. 330

It is worth noting that not only does Luke not make the statement that the lilies are clothed, neither does Matthew (cf. Matt 6:28–30); yet, in both Idol. 12.2 and Ux. 1.4.7 Tertullian speaks of the clothing of the lilies. Therefore, it does seem that Tertullian tends to collapse the reference to the lilies with the opening phrase of Luke 12:28//Matt 6:30 (εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ τὸν χόρτον ἀμφιέζει τὸν θεός ἀμφιέζει) 331 and it is likely that Tertullian’s general references to vv. 24 and 27 include elements not arising from Marcion’s text, but rather from how Tertullian remembers and tends to cite this pericope. 332 Fourth, Tertullian’s reference to Solomon attests the final phrase of v. 27, though the allusion does not offer the precise wording. Finally, in 4.29.3 Tertullian’s argument requires the presence of ὀλιγόπιστοι at the end of Luke 12:28.

4.4.65 Luke 12:31

3.24.8—Et evangelium vestrum quoque habet: Quaerite primum regnum Dei, et haec adicientur vobis. | 4.29.5—Quaerite enim, inquit, regnum dei, et haec vobis adicientur, . . . | Or. 6.1—Nam et edixerat Dominus: Quaerite prius regnum et tunc vobis etiam haec adicientur.

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius. Concerning Tertullian’s testimony, first, in both 3.24.8 and 4.29.5 Tertullian appears to be interacting with Marcion’s text. It is interesting to note, therefore, that enim is not present in the

330 Ibid.
331 The multiple citations reveal that one should most certainly question Volckmar’s strenuous denial that Matthew influenced Tertullian here (Das Evangelium Marcions, 47).
332 Therefore, though the charts in chapter 3 reveal that Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:28 in 4.29.1 and Epiphanius attests its omission, Tertullian may have created the allusion due to the manner in which he tends to refer to the passage rather than by seeing v. 28a in Marcion’s text. It is not necessary to follow Hahn in the supposition that Tertullian was reading a verse in Marcion’s Gospel that later Marcionites removed (Das Evangelium Marcions, 169).
former, the Matthean *primum* is not present in the latter, and, once again revealing Tertullian’s tendency to move pronouns, *vobis* follows the verb in the former but precedes the verb in the latter. Second, in *Or.* 6.1, Tertullian does not use a conjunction at the opening of the citation raising the possibility that *enim*, like *nam* in *Or.* 6.1, is not part of the citation in 4.29.5, but part of the flow of Tertullian’s argument. Third, the absence of *dei* in *Or.* 6.1, possibly under the influence of Matt 6:33, increases the likelihood of the reading ἐδόθη τῷ θεῷ in Marcion’s text. A final observation is that in all of these citations Tertullian writes *haec*, never including the πάντα found in Matt 6:33.

4.4.66 *Luke 12:57*

4.29.15—*Merito exprobrat etiam quod iustum non a semetipsis iudicarent.* |
4.29.16—*... mandaret iuste iudicare ...| Cor. 4.5—*... dicente domino: cur autem non et a vobis ipsis quod iustum iudicatis?*

Harnack contended that due to the wording of Tertullian’s reference to Luke 12:57 in 4.29.15 the unattested τί δὲ was missing in Marcion’s text. Even though D, b, d, and syc omit these words, and they are attested in Tertullian’s citation in *Cor.* 4.5, the omission could easily have occurred due to the flow of Tertullian’s argument. Also, Harnack offered καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε for Marcion’s text, noting “die Wortstellung sonst: ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον.” Tertullian, however, always places the reference to that which is “just” before the verb (cf. 4.29.16 and *Cor.* 4.5). Thus, Harnack’s inversion of the elements based on the allusion to Marcion’s text is questionable.

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333 It is curious, therefore, that Williams, “Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 492 notes both of Tertullian’s attested readings, but earlier in his article offers no nuance to his assertion “Tertullian has *primum*” against Epiphanius and Luke (ibid., 481n14).

334 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476 and Evans (trans.), *Adversus Marcionem*, 2:427 also viewed *enim* as part of Tertullian’s argument. The Moreschini/Braun text has *enim* in italics, indicating that they consider it part of the citation (*Contre Marcion IV*, 370–71).

335 NA places τὸ δίκαιον in brackets in Matt 6:33.

336 This reading is also attested by P45, A, D1, many 01 manuscripts, along with numerous other manuscripts (cf. NA).


338 Thus, Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:477 correctly noted that it is unclear whether τί δὲ was present or absent.


340 According to IGNT P Hillary is the only other witness for a change of order to τὸ δίκαιον κρίνετε.

4.29.16—Nam et iudicem, qui mittit in carcerem nec ducit inde nisi soluto etiam novissimo quadrante, . . . | An. 35.1—exsolvat novissimum quadrantem . . . | An. 35.2—ne aliquo commercio negotiorum iniuria provocatus abstrahat te ad suum iudicem, et ad custodiam delegatus ad exsolutionem totius debiti arteris.

Part of Luke 12:58 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s testimony to v. 58 attests κριτής and the words βαλεῖ εἰς φυλακήν. For v. 59 Tertullian attests οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἐως καί and the Matthean τὸν ἐσχατὸν κοδράντην, which may be due to Tertullian’s own familiarity with the Matthean phrasing (cf. An. 35.1). According to IGNTP, the reading also occurs in D and, in a slightly different order, in nearly every OL manuscript, Irenaeus, and Ambrose. ἀποδῷς is also attested and may have preceded the phrase, as in D (cf. Matt 5:26); however, Tertullian’s proclivity to Matthew’s reading may once again be the reason for the phrasing here (cf. An. 35.1).

4.4.68 Luke 13:28

1.27.2—cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris: . . . | 4.30.4—illic erit fletus et dentium frendor. | 4.30.5—Ergo erit poena a quo fit exclusio in poenam, cum videbunt iustos introeuntes in regnum dei, se vero detineri foris. | Res. 35.12—Ceterum unde erit fletus et dentium frendor, nisi ex oculis et ex dentibus?

Luke 13:28 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian multiply cites the elements of v. 28a attested in 4.30.4: ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. The adaptations in 1.27.2 and Res. 35.12 reveal that the word order dentium frendor is due to Tertullian and does not reflect a change of order in Marcion’s text. The remainder of the verse is not multiply cited, and Tertullian’s adaptation reflects the reading ὅταν ὄψεσθε τοὺς δικαίους εἰσερχομένους εἰς τὴν

341 Tertullian’s comment in the present tense (mittit) cannot reveal whether Marcion’s text read βαλεῖ (attested by P75, N, B, D, and other manuscripts) or βάλλῃ.
342 D also reads the irregular form of the subjunctive (ἀποδῶς).
343 This is another instance where Harnack did not follow Tertullian’s word order as he reconstructed τὸν ἐσχατὸν κοδράντην ἀποδῶς (Marcion, 217*).
344 Moreschini follows the reading of M and Kroymann. F, R, and the other editors read frendor dentium, and X reads stridor dentium.
345 Every occurrence of the phrase ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων in the Gospels is identical (cf. Matt 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:33; 24:51; 25:30; and Luke 13:28). Thus, though the reference to in exterioribus tenebris reveals that Matt 8:12; 22:33; or 25:30 has influenced the reference in 1.27.2, the wording of the phrase in question remains identical. IGNTP’s statement that “Marcion ap τῇ” attests a variant word order is, in the light of the evidence that the variation is due to Tertullian’s own hand, problematic.
Luke 14:14

4.31.1—[Answering the question “what sort of people must be invited?”] …qui scilicet [et] humanitatis

It is likely that non possint renders οὐκ ἔχουσιν, though all OL manuscripts read non habent, and it is clear that retribuere is rendering ἀνταποδοούναι. Tertullian’s allusion to 14:14b reflects the universally attested ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει. Though Tertullian includes iustorum in his citation of this verse in Res. 33.7, this fact does not increase the likelihood of its omission in Marcion’s text as Tertullian not attesting the genitive can easily be explained as a simple omission due to the general allusion to the verse in 4.31.1. In addition, merely mentioning the resurrection suffices for Tertullian’s argument.

Luke 15:3–10

4.32.1—Ovem et dracmam perditam quis requirit? …is perdidit qui habuit, is requisivit qui perdidit, is invenit qui quaesivit, is exultavit qui invenit. | 4.32.2— utriusque parabolae …Atque adeo exultare illius est de paenitentia peccatoris, id est de perditi recuperatione, …| Pud. 9.4—Et duo utique filii illuc spectabunt, quo et drachma et ovis | Pud. 9.20—…ovem et drachmam …
In 4.32 Tertullian alludes to the two parables found in Luke 15:3–10. Only a handful of words from these verses are attested: παραβολήν (v. 3); πρόβατα and δραχμάς (vv. 4, 8); and the series of verbs ἀπόλλυμι (vv. 4, 8), ζητέω (v. 8), εὑρίσκω (vv. 5, 9), and συγχαίρω (vv. 6, 9). In addition there is a reference to the idea of χαρά...ἐπί...ἀμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι (vv. 7, 10) in 4.32.2. The fact that Tertullian refers to the Creator himself rejoicing may reveal that τῶν ἀγγέλων was missing in v. 10. Unfortunately, Tertullian’s allusions to Luke 15:3–10 in Pud. 9.4, 20 are even more general than in Adversus Marcionem and cannot provide further insight into Marcion’s text.

4.4.71 Luke 16:9

4.33.1—Admonens enim nos de saecularibus suffragia nobis prospicere amici-tiarum...Et ego, inquit, dico vobis, facite vobis amicos de mamona iniusitiae,... | Fug. 13.2—Facite autem vobis amicos de mammona: quomodo intellegendum sit,... | Pat. 7.10—Quomodo amicos de mammona fabricabimus nobis si eum in tantum amaverimus ut amissum non sufferamus?

Only Luke 16:9a is attested for Marcion’s text and Harnack reconstructed καὶ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε υμῖν φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας. The likelihood that the citation in 4.33.1 is generally following Marcion’s text is increased by the more abbreviated citation in Fug. 13.2 and the allusion in Pat. 7.10 where Tertullian twice reveals that his primary interest in the verse is restricted to the main idea of making friends through mammon. Though Marcion’s text may have read λέγω ὑμῖν, Tertullian’s propensity to alter the position of pronouns makes the order no more than possible. The same point is relevant for the placement of the pronoun associated with ποιήσατε in Marcion’s text, particularly as it follows the verb in A, D, and several other witnesses along with the Majority Text but precedes it in NA. In addition to the question regarding the position of the second pronoun, Harnack himself observed that this ὑμῖν is...
“nicht sicher.”354 Given that Tertullian writes *vobis* in *Fug.* 13.2 and *nobis* in *Pat.* 7.10, it seems more likely that Tertullian is rendering ἑαυτοῖς with datives whose person is being governed by the main verb.355

4.4.72  **Luke 16:13**

4.33.1—Quibus duobus dominis neget posse serviri, quia356 alterum offendi sit necesse, alterum defendi, ipse declarat, deum proponens et mamonam.  | 4.33.2—…[Christ] ammentavit hanc sententiam: Non potestis deo servire et mamonae.…denique non potestis deo servire…et mamonae,… |  An. 16.7—…non potestis duobus dominis servire,… |  Cor. 12.4—…hoc erit non potestis deo servire et mamonae [sic],… |  Idol. 12.2—…nemo duobus dominis servire potest. |  Spect. 26.4—Nemo enim potest duobus dominis servire.357

This verse is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. According to 4.33.1, the opening of the verse had some negation of the idea δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, but no further insight into the wording of Marcion’s text can be gained. The fact that in *An.* 16.7, *Idol.* 12.2, and *Spect.* 26.4 Tertullian cites the Matthean parallel (Matt 6:24) means that the omission of οἰκέτης may very well be a simple omission by Tertullian. Though Harnack did not offer the phrase for Marcion’s text, he did wonder whether τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἑτερον ἀγαπήσει was omitted by chance.358 Regardless of whether it was or not, the phrase is simply unattested for Marcion’s text by Tertullian. Based on Tertullian’s testimony, Harnack reconstructed the remainder of the verse as ἕνὸς γὰρ (καταφρονήσει) καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀνθέξεται· οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ, though again wondering if ἢ was really missing and whether Marcion had a word other than καταφρονήσει.359 Three points must be made here. First, surely the omission of the disjunctive particle cannot be determined from Tertullian’s allusion, but it is also not possible to establish the presence of γάρ from Tertullian’s *quia*. Second, Harnack argued, “ἀνθέξεται und καταφρονήσει hier umgestellt,”360 but this is reading too much into Tertullian’s allusion. In addition, Braun rightly observes that the use of *offendere* and *defendere* is

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355 Additionally, all 01 witnesses read *facite vobis* here and *IGNTP* lists 1215 and 1295 as the only Greek manuscripts attesting ὑμῖν instead of ἑαυτοῖς (230, 348, 477, 1216, and 1579 apparently have both pronouns).

356 Moreschini’s text reads *quia* with Rhenanus’s editions, rejecting the reading *qui* in *M* and γ.

357 Additional allusions to Luke 16:13//Matt 6:24 occur in *Cor.* 1.1, 12.5; *Fug.* 12.6; *Idol.* 19.2; and *Ux.* 2.3-4.


359 Ibid.

360 Ibid. The reversed order of the verbs is also listed as Marcion’s reading in *IGNTP*. 

due to Tertullian using etymologically related words in his antithesis, rendering Harnack’s question about a different word in Marcion’s text unnecessary.\textsuperscript{361}

Third, the final element of the verse is quoted in 4.33.2. The Greek of Luke and Matthew are identical, and Tertullian cites the verse with the same word order in Cor. 12.4 confirming that Harnack’s reconstruction is correct at this point.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Luke 16:16}  
\textbf{4.4-73}  
4.33.7—. . . dicens: Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem, ex quo regnum dei adnuntiatur. | 5.2.1—. . . Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem . . . | 5.8.4—. . . Lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem . . . | Adv. Jud. 8.14—. . . lex et prophetae, inquit, usque ad Iohannem baptistam. | Adv. Jud. 13.26—. . . lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem fuerunt, . . . | Jejun. 2.2—. . . lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem. | Jejun. 11.6—. . . lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem. | Prax. 31.1—Quod opus evangelii, quae est substantia novi testamenti statuens legem et prophetas usque ad Iohannem, si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, tres crediti, unum deum sistunt? | Pud. 6.2—. . . lex et prophetae usque ad Iohannem . . . \textsuperscript{362}

Elements of Luke 16:16 are also attested by Epiphanius. As is evident from the numerous citations of this verse in Tertullian, he is usually exclusively interested in the first element of the verse, which is also the element paralleled, though with differences in word order and the verb, in Matt 11:13. It is notable that Tertullian is extremely consistent in his citation of this element with each occurrence appearing practically verbatim.\textsuperscript{363} Harnack reconstructed ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου, though whether Marcion’s text read ἕως or μέχρι cannot definitively be determined from Tertullian’s Latin alone.\textsuperscript{364} Luke 16:16b is not multiply cited, and Luke 16:16c is unattested for Marcion’s text by Tertullian. For v. 16b Harnack wrote ἐξ (ἀφ᾽) οὗ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται, and he is right to note the challenge of attempting to determine which Greek preposition stood in Marcion’s text.\textsuperscript{365} It is worth noting, however, that the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{361} Braun (trans.), \textit{Contre Marcion IV}, 401n3.
\item \textsuperscript{362} An additional allusion to Luke 16:16 occurs in 3.23.3.
\item \textsuperscript{363} The only differences among the 10 citations/allusions are the addition of baptistam in Adv. Jud. 8.14 and fuerunt in Adv. Jud. 13.26.
\item \textsuperscript{364} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 220*. The 01 witnesses all read usque ad in Luke 16:16. μέχρι only occurs elsewhere in the Gospels in Matt 11:23 and Matt 28:15, where most 01 witnesses render it usque in. However, Matt 11:23 is particularly interesting in that earlier in the verse ἕως occurs where aur, b, d, f, ff2, h, l, and q render it \textit{usque ad} and a, c, ff1, and g1 render it \textit{usque in} (k reads quomodo in).
\item \textsuperscript{365} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 220*; cf. also Zahn, \textit{Geschichte}, 2:479. \textsc{IgnTn} states that Marcion, along with a, b, c, d, ff2, gat, i, l, r1, Ambrosiaster, and Rufinus attest ἐξ ἐπού. Though \textit{quo} could be understood in this way, the meaning in context seems to make Harnack’s ἐξ ὧν preferable.
\end{itemize}
clearly Lukan ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται, which, given Tertullian usually being interested only in v. 16a, has probably arisen out of Marcion’s text.

4.4.74  Luke 16:22

3.24.1—... apud inferos in sinu Abrahae refrigerium. | 4.34.10—... subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis. | 4.34.11—... sinum et portum. ... Abrahae sinum pauperi... Abrahae sinus. | An. 7.4—... in sinu Abrahae, ... | An. 55.2—... in Abrahae sinu...

Luke 16:22 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s allusion in 4.34.10, 11 includes a reference to ὁ πτωχός and to εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. The references in 3.24.1 and An. 7.4, 55.2 once again reveal Tertullian’s own proclivity to vary word order, which indicates that Abrahae sinum and Abrahae sinus in 4.34.11 should not be used to determine the word order in Marcion’s Gospel.

| 366 During the workshop at the XVI International Conference on Patristics Studies (Oxford) on Marcion organized by Markus Vinzent and me, Matthias Klinghardt stated that Marcion’s Gospel did not read εὐαγγελίζεται based on Tertullian’s use of the verb adnuntiare. This argument, however, fails to convince. First, according to IGNTP, apart from 179c (179* omitted the verb) and 544 where βιάζεται is read, the manuscript tradition universally attests εὐαγγελίζεται. Second, though in the Vulgate adnuntiare usually renders words built off of the root ἀγγέλλω and εὐαγγελίζω is most often rendered with evangelizare, εὐαγγελίζω is translated with adnuntiare in Acts 10:36; 11:20; 13:32; 14:15; 17:18; 1 Thess 3:6; and Heb 4:6 (in addition praedicare [evangelium] is used in Rom 15:20; 1 Cor 9:18; and 15:32; and nuntiare in Heb 4:2). Finally, the most significant argument against Klinghardt’s position is based on Tertullian’s own vocabulary. According to Gösta Claesson, Index Tertullianus (3 vols.; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1974–1975), s.v., Tertullian uses forms of adnuntiare 95 times in his works (21 times in Marc.4) and forms of evangelizare 28 times (8 times in Marc. 4). Thus, Tertullian has a clear, general preference for the verb adnuntiare. In addition, Tertullian also employed adnuntiare in Luke 4:43 (cf. chapter 5.6) where εὐαγγελίζω is, according to IGNTP, universally attested. Taken together, these points should lead to significant caution concerning a posited, otherwise unattested Greek reading behind Tertullian’s attestation of Marcion’s Gospel in Luke 16:22 (and 4:43).

| 367 This reading is quite significant for the discussion concerning the relationship between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke. Concerning the presence of Lukán redactional material in Marcion’s text Wolter notes “Ein besonders augenfälliges Beispiel dafür ist das typisch lukanische Syntagma βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρύσσειν/εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (Lk. 4,43; 8,1; 16,16; Apg 20,25; 28,23,31; sonst nirgends im Neuen Testament), das nach Tertullian, Adv. Marc. 4,8,9; 33,7 bei Lk 4,43; 16,16 auch im ‘Evangelium’ Markions stand” (Lukasevangelium, 3). The point is important, though Acts 28:23 employs the verbs ἐκτίθημι and διαμαρτύρομαι.

| 368 Luke 16:23, which is not multiply cited and therefore discussed in the next chapter, also seems to be in view in the references in 4.34.10, 11.
4.4.75  

**Luke 16:29**

4.34.10—...Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant. | 4.34.14—[Abraham’s bosom] admonens quoque vos haereticos, dum in vita estis, Moysen et prophetas unum deum praedicantes, creatorem, et unum Christum praedicantes eis,... | 4.34.17—Apud inferos autem de eis dictum est: Habent illic Moysen et prophetas, illos audiant,... | Praescr. 8.6—Habent, inquit, Moysen et Heliam, id est legem et prophetas Christum praedicantes...

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Assuming that Moreschini’s text is correct, Tertullian provides two identical citations from Marcion’s text in 4.34.10, 17. Even if the alternate word order in 4.34.17 is accepted, the only difference becomes the position of a pronoun, which is unremarkable given how often it has been noticed that Tertullian alters the position of pronouns in his citations. Along the same lines, despite Tertullian twice writing illos audiant, one must be cautious in concluding that Marcion’s text read αὐτῶν ἀκουσάτωσαν, as Harnack did, based on Tertullian’s testimony alone. Noteworthy, however, is the presence of illic, which would appear to have been in Marcion’s text as attested by Tertullian, not only because of the repeated citation, but also because it is absent in Praescr. 8.6 and therefore less likely to have come from Tertullian’s own hand.

4.4.76  

**Luke 17:4**

4.35.3—Sed et veniam des fratri in te delinquenti iubet, etiam septies. | Or. 7.3—Et cum interrogasset Petrus, si septies remittendum esset fratri, Immo, inquit, septuagies septies,...

Tertullian’s allusion to Luke 17:4 in 4.35.3 attests...ἐὰν ἑπτάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἴς σε and ἀφήσεις. IGNTN lists only a few witnesses omitting τῆς ἡμέρας, and it could be a simple omission by Tertullian. Though the reference is quite general, that the allusion likely arises from Marcion’s text may be confirmed by the observation that Tertullian’s reference in Or. 7.3 is clearly drawn from the loosely parallel Matt 18:21–22.

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369 Moreschini’s text follows the order illos audiant attested in M and Kroymann’s edition, rejecting the reading audiant illos in β and the other editors. This latter reading may have been influenced by the word order in the canonical text.

370 Cf. the reconstruction in Harnack, Marcion, 222*.

371 Harnack’s reconstruction...(ἐὰν) ἑπτάκις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἴς σε, ἀφήσεις...once again could cause confusion by implying that the phrase appeared in this manner.
4.4.77 Luke 18:10–14

4.36.2—Et tamen cum templum creatoris inducit, et duos adorantes diversa mente describit, Pharisaenum in superbia, publicanum in humilitate, ideoque alterum reprobatum, alterum iustificatum descendisse, . . . | Or. 17.2—Nam et ille publicanus, qui non tantum prece, sed et vultu humilliatus atque deiectus orabat, iustificator pharisaeo procacissimo discisset.

Harnack rightly noted that Tertullian only alludes to the content of this parable; yet, he nevertheless offered a reconstruction of elements of vv. 10 and 14.372 Tertullian refers to two men, a Pharisee and a tax collector, in the temple praying (v. 10). The Pharisee is presented “in arrogance” (vv. 11–12) and the publican “in humility” (v. 13), with the conclusion that one went down condemned and the other justified (v. 14). Thus, though Tertullian clearly does attest the presence of the key ideas of the parable, and the reference in Or. 17.2 also simply contains adjectives to describe the men, overall no definitive decisions can be made concerning the actual wording of Marcion’s Gospel.373

4.4.78 Luke 18:22

4.36.4—... Unum, inquit, tibi deest: omnia, quaecumque habes, vende et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in caelo, et veni, sequere me. | 4.36.7—... Vende, inquit, quae habes ... Et da, inquit, egenis ... Et veni, inquit, sequere me. | Idol. 12.2—... atquin omnia vendenda sunt et egentibus dividenda.374

Luke 18:22 is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian attests the verse twice, once as a citation (4.36.4) and once as glosses on Mic 6:8 (4.36.7). In Harnack’s reconstruction it is curious to note that he breaks off the reconstruction with κτλ. shortly after the point where Tertullian’s testimony to this verse begins.375 Once again, the opening words are not multiply attested in Tertullian, though it should be noted that Tertullian omits the adverb ἐτι at the opening of his citation (cf. Mark 10:21). Whether this is a simple omission or a reflection of Marcion’s text can be considered only in conjunction with the evidence in the Adamantius Dialogue. The following two elements in the verse are multiply attested by the allusion in Idol. 12.2. First, the omission of omnia in the gloss in 4.36.7 (it is present in 4.36.4) cannot be used to argue

372 Harnack, Marcion, 225*.
373 For example, Harnack reconstructed the opening of v. 10 as ἄνθρωποι δύο. However, D, every OL manuscript except e, and several of the versions attest the order δύο ἄνθρωποι. Tertullian’s testimony cannot reveal which reading was in Marcion’s text.
374 An allusion to Luke 18:22 also occurs in 4.36.6.
375 Harnack wrote ἐν σει λείπει κτλ. From the apparatus it is apparent that Harnack primarily had the text of the Adamantius Dialogue in view (Marcion, 226*).
against the presence of πάντα in Marcion’s text as the omission is either due to Tertullian simply shortening the reference or being influenced by Matt 19:21. Along the same lines, the alteration of the word order in the gloss (vende quae habes) is easily understood as a change due to Tertullian wishing to begin each of the glosses with a verb. Second, Marcion’s text may have read δός, as in Matt 19:21, as Tertullian writes da in both the citation and the allusion in Adversus Marcionem but uses the verb dividere in Idol. 12.2, possibly due to an unusual influence of a Lukan reading (διαδίδωμι) rather than a Matthean one. It may preliminarily be noted that Tertullian attests ἐν οὐρανῷ, the reading of W, Θ, Ψ, 078, f1, f13, and the Majority Text, for Marcion.

4.4.79 Luke 18:38

4.36.9—... [the blind man] exclamavit: Iesu, fili David, miserere mei!... [referring to the rebuke of the blind man to keep quiet] Merito, quoniam quidem vociferabatur, non quia de David filio mentiebatur. | 4.36.11—... crediderit in voce: Iesu fili David. | 4.37.1—... vox illa caeci: Miserere mei, Iesu, fili David... | 4.38.10—Nam qui olim a caeco illo filius David fuerat invocatus, ...

Luke 18:38 is also attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Though the verse is not multiply cited outside of Adversus Marcionem, the citations in two different places provide insight into Tertullian’s testimony to Marcion’s text. In 4.36.9 Tertullian renders the generally attested text Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ Δαυίδ, ἐλέησόν με. In 4.37.1, however, Tertullian renders a word order closer to Matt 20:30 ἐλέησόν με, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυίδ. This observation increases the likelihood that the former citation is controlled by Marcion’s reading. In addition, the presence of Ἰησοῦ, omitted by A, E, K, Π, and numerous other manuscripts, is confirmed by its multiple citation by Tertullian. Finally, Tertullian once again reveals how easily he can adjust the word order in his references to biblical texts as immediately following the citation in 4.36.9 he refers to David filio, whereas in all the other instances he writes fili[us] David.

376 The ΟL witnesses all read da (a may read dando) in Luke 18:22, apparently attesting the Matthean reading as they use either the verb distribuere or dividere in Luke 11:22, the only other place where διαδίδωμι appears in the Synoptic Gospels.

377 Mei, possibly on account of a scribal error, is omitted in M.

378 In Matt 20:30 there are two blind men crying out and the text states ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς [κύριε,] υἱὸς Δαυίδ. According to IGNTP a Catenae in evangelia Lucae et Ioannis, Augustine, Origen, and Rufinus attest the reading Ἰησοῦ, ἐλέησον με, υἱὸς Δαυίδ, in Luke 18:38.

379 Tertullian indicates that the pericope Luke 18:35–43 was interpreted as an antithesis to 2 Sam 5:6–8 (Marc. 4.36.13; cf. also Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 117).
4.4.80 Luke 18:42


The entirety of this verse is attested in the Adamantius Dialogue and the final element is attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s testimony to Jesus’ final words is unproblematic in rendering ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. Not only the near unanimity of the manuscript tradition is noteworthy, but also the fact that in all of Tertullian’s citations he renders the phrase with the same Latin words and always places te before the verb.381

4.4.81 Luke 19:10

4.37.2—Cum vero dicit: Venit enim filius hominis salvum facere quod perit,382 . . . | Pud. 9.12—Venerat Dominus utique, ut quod perierat salvum faceret, . . . | Res. 9.4—. . . Ego, inquit, veni, ut quod perii salvum faciam; . . . | Res. 34.1—In primis cum ad hoc venisse se dicit, ut quod perii salvum faciat, . . .383

Tertullian’s citation of this verse attests ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός for Marcion’s text, which is also Harnack’s reconstruction.384 The only problematic element involves the omission of ζητῆσαι καί before σῶσαι. Harnack, Tsutsui, and Braun are certain that this phrase was not present in Marcion’s text, with the possibility that the omission was due to Marcion himself.385 Whether omitted by Marcion or not, it is certainly possible that “seeking” was not in Marcion’s text and it is worth noting that in numerous manuscripts where this verse appears as Matt 18:11, ζητῆσαι is also missing.386 At the same time, however, it is important to notice that Tertullian never mentions “seeking” in his other references to this verse as he always focuses on “saving.” Therefore, it is also possible that once again a simple omission has occurred on the part of Tertullian.

381 For discussion of this phrase and how Tertullian’s witness to Marcion’s text and the OL manuscripts are interpreted by IGNTP, cf. chapter 5, n. 106.
382 Moreschini’s text reads perii, and simply notes the reading perit, presumably created by a copy error, in M.
384 Harnack, Marcion, 227°.
386 According to the NA28 apparatus these manuscripts include D, K, N, W, Θc, 078vid, 565, 700, 1241, 1424, the Majority Text, nearly all OL manuscripts, and syk, p. In Luke 19:10 IGNTP lists 1187, 2757, and Ambrose as omitting the phrase.
4.4.82  Luke 20:7, 4

4.38.1—Sciebat Christus baptisma Iohannis unde esset. Et cur quasi nesciens interrogabat? Sciebat non responsum sibi Pharisaeos. . . . Puta illos renuntiasse humanum Iohannis baptisma: . . . | 4.38.2—Sed caelis fuit baptisma Iohannis. | Bapt. 10.1—Baptismus a Iohanne denuntiatus iam tunc habuit quaestionem ab ipso quidem domino propositam ad pharisaeos caelestisne is baptismus esset an vero terrenus, . . .

For Luke 20:4 Harnack reconstructed τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ Ἰωάννου.387 Though the second τὸ is attested in 8, D, and a handful of other manuscripts, Harnack provides no rationale for its inclusion here and Tertullian’s testimony cannot reveal its presence or absence. In addition, that Christ’s question included ἐξ οὐρανοῦ and ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, is confirmed by Tertullian’s references to cælus and humanus in 4.38.1, 2. That the terms arise from the text is supported by Tertullian’s paraphrase in Bapt. 10.1 where the contrast is made between cælus and terrenus. It should also be noted that Tertullian’s use of cælus does not warrant the supposition that Marcion read an otherwise unattested ἐξ οὐρανῶν given the same use of the plural in Bapt. 10.1.388 Finally, Bapt. 10.1 reveals the same curious reference found in 4.38.1 that the Pharisees asked this question (v. 1).389 Therefore, it is unlikely that Marcion’s text read an otherwise unattested οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, as posited by Harnack,390 and rather more likely that the reference to Pharisaeos is due to Tertullian.

4.4.83  Luke 20:25


387 Harnack, Marcion, 228*.
388 Though the parallels in Matt 21:25//Mark 11:30 also read the singular ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, it is worth noting that in Matt the plural occurs twice as often as the singular (55 vs. 27 times). In Luke the singular occurs 31 times and the plural only 4 times. It is quite possible that the frequency of the occurrence of the plural in Matthew has influenced the way Tertullian refers to “heaven(s).”
389 Luke 20:1//Mark 11:27 indicate that it was “chief priests, scribes, and elders” and Matt 21:23 that it was “chief priests and elders.”
390 Harnack, Marcion, 228*.
Harnack reconstructed this verse ἀπόδοτε τὰ Κάσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.\(^{392}\) Harnack rightly resisted representing *sunt* in the Greek text as Tertullian’s other references evidence an inclination to insert the verb “to be” in various places in the verse. In addition, Tertullian never includes an introductory conjunction when referring to Luke 20:25, so it is not surprising that it is unattested in the citation of Marcion’s text, though ultimately one cannot be sure of its presence or placement in the verse.\(^{393}\)

### 4.4.84 Luke 20:35–36

3.9.4—*Et utique, si deus tuus veram quandoque substantiam angelorum hominibus pollicetur (erunt enim, inquit, sicut angeli)\(^{394}\)* cur non et deus meus veram substantiam hominum angelis accommodarit unde sumptam? | 4.38.5—*… quos vero dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione a mortuis neque nubere neque nubi, quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similis angelorum sint dei\(^{395}\)* resurrectionis filii facti.\(^{396}\) | 4.38.7—*Nacti enim scripturae textum ita in legendo decucurrerunt: Quos autem dignatus est deus illius aevi, <ut illius aevi> deo adiungant,\(^{397}\) quo alium deum faciant illius aevi, cum sic legi oportet: Quos*

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\(^{392}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*. D reads articles before the two forms of “Caesar,” and a handful of other witnesses read only the second article. These articles are also attested in various witnesses in the Matthean and Markan parallels.

\(^{393}\) In the Majority Text τοίνυν follows ἀπόδοτε whereas in *NA\(^{28}\)* it precedes the verb. Numerous other manuscripts read ὅπως under the influence of Matt 22:21. D, most OL witnesses, and many church fathers omit the conjunction.

\(^{394}\) Moreschini rejects the addition of *dei* after *angeli* attested only in *X*.

\(^{395}\) The main text and apparatus in the SC edition are problematic, and apparently erroneous, on two accounts. The text reads *… quia nec morituri iam sint, cum similis angelorum sunt dei, …* and the apparatus provides data for the variant reading *fiant* for *sint*. The problem, however, is that the variant occurs not at *morituri iam sint* (the only occurrence of *sint* in the SC text), but at *sint dei*, which for some reason, and apparently without manuscript attestation, here reads *sunt dei*. For the correct text and variant cf. the apparatus in Moreschini’s text found in his *Tertulliani Adversus Marcionem*, 307–8 and in Kroymann’s edition in CCSL 1:649. Nevertheless, the SC apparatus, though placing the variant at the incorrect place in the manuscript, correctly records the witnesses noting that *sint* (actually before *dei*) is found in *M, γ*, Rigalti, and Kroymann and *fiant* (again before *dei*) in *R, Gelenius, Pamelius, Oehler, and Evans*.

\(^{396}\) Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read *et resurrectionis filii* so that the passage is read “… since they are like the angels, being made the sons of God and of the resurrection” instead of “… seeing that they might be like the angels of God, being made sons of the resurrection.”

\(^{397}\) There are several text critical issues here. *illius aevi* is read twice in *R3* and all editors attest *illius aevi* twice, but it is attested only once in *M, γ, R1*, and *R2. adiungant* is the reading
autem dignatus est deus, ut facta hic distinctione post deum ad sequentia pertineat illius aevi, id est: Quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione. | 4.38.8—fili huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur... quos deus illius aevi, alter scilicet, dignatus sit resurrectione,... | 4.39.11—...quia nec morientur in illo, nec nubent, sed erunt sicut angeli. | 5.10.14—...erimus enim sicut angeli. | Mon. 10.5—Si autem in illo aevi neque nubent neque nubentur, sed erunt aequales angelis,... | Res. 36.4–5—Neque enim, si nupturos tunc negavit, ideo nec resurrecturos demonstravit, atquin filios resurrectionis appellant per eam quodammodo nasci habentes, post quam non nubent, sed resuscitati. Similes enim erunt angelis, qua non nupturi, quia nec morituri,... | Res. 62.1—Sed huic disceptationi finem dominica pronuntiatio imponet: Erunt, inquit, tanquam angeli, si non nubendo, quia nec moriendo,... | Res. 62.4—Denique non dixit: Erunt angelii, ne homines negaret, sed tanguam angeli, ut homines conservaret;...398

Tsutsui refers to v. 35a as "eine der unklarsten Stellen im Evangelium Marcions."399 The significant challenges lie not only in attempting to work back to the Greek from Tertullian's Latin, but also in attempting to understand the interpretation that Tertullian attributes to Marcion in 4.38.7. Harnack reconstructed οὓς δὲ κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν (καὶ?) τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν.400 Braun and Tsutsui both note the key difficulty surrounding how possessione is to be understood in the sentence.401 I would suggest that Tsutsui is correct in noting the problem with τυχεῖν in Harnack's text, though I am not persuaded that the answer to the difficulty of the verse is to affirm the wording of Tertullian's citation while questioning the interpretation that Tertullian attributes to Marcion.402 Rather, a different approach seems to be in

398 Additional allusions to Luke 20:35–36//Matt 22:30//Mark 12:25 occur in 3.9.7; An. 56.7; and Cult. fem. 1.2.5.
399 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120.
400 Harnack, Marcion, 229*.
401 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 471n5 and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120.
402 Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 120. Though Zahn, Geschichte, 2:487 rightly criticized the view of Ritschl, Hilgenfeld, and Volckmar, who viewed the text as simply containing the canonical reading with the addition ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, he also appeared simply to assume that possessione is rendering τυχεῖν. In addition, Zahn understood καὶ as "also," rather than questioning its presence, as Harnack did. Though Zahn's interpretation is not impossible, possessione et
order. First, although Tertullian does not elsewhere cite Luke 20:35a he repeats the citation of it several times in Adversus Marcionem. In 4.38.5 he uses vero in his citation, in 4.38.7 he twice uses autem and once no conjunction at all, and in 4.38.8 once again no conjunction. It is likely that Marcion read δὲ in his text and that this alteration is due to Tertullian’s own tendency to omit and change introductory conjunctions. On the other hand, Tertullian consistently using dignatus sit/est deus would seem to indicate that Marcion did not read the substantive passive participle of Luke, and indeed the interpretation that Tertullian ascribes to Marcion requires ὁ θεός to be an external subject.403 A construction of the sentence that may allow both Marcion’s and Tertullian’s interpretation is precisely the Latin reading that Tertullian gives in both 4.38.5 and 4.38.7: quos dignatus sit deus illius aevi possessione et resurrectione.404 In Greek one could posit οὗς [δὲ] κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκεῖνον τῆς κληρονομίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως,405 in all likelihood followed by τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν as attested in 4.38.5. Thus, in 4.38.7–8 Tertullian, consonant with established citation habits, simply shortens the reference and mentions only being considered worthy of the resurrection by the God of that world.

Luke 20:35b is multiply cited. IGNTP lists several witnesses attesting future forms of γαμέω, and it is interesting that in every reference other than 4.38.8 Tertullian uses a future form of the verb.406 This fact presents strong evidence that Marcion’s text read the present tenses of Luke. Harnack reconstructed οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται, though, it should be noted that the Latin does

resurrectione do strongly give the appearance of being two things of which some are considered worthy (cf. also nn. 404 and 405).

403 As in Luke 10:21 above, it seems unlikely that Tertullian created a reading, then created a Marcionite interpretation requiring that reading, only to refute the interpretation.

404 Interpreting dignari with an accusative object (quos) and two ablatives of respect (possessione and resurrectione) along with an external subject (deus). The genitive phrase (illius aevi) is then taken either with deus or possessione.

405 Tsutsui, with reference to Luke 18:18 and 1 Cor 15:50, also suggests that if possessione is understood in an absolute sense, as the interpretation attributed to Marcion requires, the Greek behind it cannot be τυχεῖν but rather κληρονομία/κληρονομῆσαι. At the same time he also notes that the sentence structure remains unusual (“Evangelium,” 120). τυχεῖν is not attested in numerous OL manuscripts, the Vulgate, sy⁵, and sy⁶, the Arabic Diatessaron, and several other witnesses; however, Tertullian’s use of possessione seems to indicate that more than simply τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκεῖνον preceded καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως in Marcion’s text.

406 In 4.39.11 and Mon. 10.5 he uses future indicatives, in Res. 36.4–5 a future indicative and a future participle, and in Res. 62.1 a future participle.
not allow for a definitive decision on the Greek lemma used for the final term of the verse.\textsuperscript{407}

Harnack reconstructed Luke 20:36 as οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι μέλλουσιν, ἵσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσίν, κἀκεῖ ὕσιν, vormarcionitischer Defekt τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ἀναστάσεως υἱοί (γεγονότες?).\textsuperscript{408} Several points merit discussion. First, Harnack posited that Marcion's text read μέλλουσιν with D, W, Θ, and a handful of other witnesses, which certainly is possible.\textsuperscript{409} In his other references, however, Tertullian never uses posse and always seems primarily to have the state of “not dying” in view instead of the absence of the ability to die (cf. 4.39.11; Res. 36.5 and 62.1). Therefore, it is possible that the morituri sint in 4.38.5 is due to Tertullian’s own conception and not the reading of Marcion’s text. Second, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσίν for Marcion’s text is confirmed by Tertullian’s persistent use of the future tense elsewhere (cf. 3.9.4, 4.39.11, 5.10.14; Mon. 10.5; Res. 36.4–5, 62.1, 62.4). Third, Harnack believed that κἀκεῖ ὕσιν εἰσίν was not present in Marcion’s text due to a pre-Marcion scribal error caused by homoeoteleuton.\textsuperscript{410} Once again, this view is possible, though Tertullian nowhere else includes this element in his references to this Lukan element, possibly due to the influence of Matt 22:30//Mark 12:25. It may be a simple omission or an imprecise reference by Tertullian. In either case, the words are unattested for Marcion. Fourth, Tertullian’s Latin cannot reveal whether the article preceded θεοῦ. Finally, Harnack wondered if Marcion’s text read γεγονότες, apparently due to Tertullian’s use of facere. According to IGNTMP, this reading is attested elsewhere only in the Arabic Diatessaron, which makes it rather more likely that Tertullian is offering a loose rendering of ἔντες.

\textbf{4.4.85 Luke 21:7}

4.39.13—Ipsum decursum scripturae evangelicae ab interrogatione discipulorum usque ad parabolam fici . . . | Res. 22.3—Interrogatus a discipulis, quando eventura essent . . .


\textsuperscript{407} ἐκγαμίζω, ἐκγαμίσκω, γαμίζω, and γαμίσκω are all attested in the Greek manuscript tradition.

\textsuperscript{408} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 229*.

\textsuperscript{409} D. Plooij also posited this reading for Marcion’s text (“Eine enkratische Glosse im Diatessaron,” \textit{ZNW} 22 [1923]: 15).

\textsuperscript{410} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 229*. The phrase is also not in D, several OL manuscripts, and sy*. 
with D, d, and geo.⁴¹¹ Though possible, it is not at all clear that this reading is required for Marcion’s text. The context of the statement allows that Tertullian may simply be clarifying who the “they” of the verb are. This view becomes more likely when one notices that in Res. 22.3 Tertullian similarly refers to the disciples when discussing Luke 21.⁴¹² In addition, Harnack omits δέ in his reconstruction; however, Tertullian’s allusion cannot validate the view that the conjunction, omitted in only a few manuscripts, was absent in Marcion’s text.

4.4.86  Luke 21:8

4.39.1—...multos dicat venturos in nomine ipsius...prohibeat eos recipi...
4.39.2—Venient denique illi dicentes: Ego sum Christus...
5.1.3—Praeter haec utique legisti multos venturos, qui dicant: Ego sum Christus.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 21:8 πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (μου), λέγοντες: έγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός....⁴¹³ Several observations are in order. First, once again, given Tertullian’s habitual omission of conjunctions, it is not clear that γάρ after πολλοὶ was absent in Marcion’s text.⁴¹⁴ Second, IGNTP lists no witnesses omitting μου, making it rather likely that ipsius is reflecting an adaptation of the pronoun. Third, the omission of ὅτι after λέγοντες is possible as it is also omitted by 8, B, L, X, and numerous other manuscripts, though a simple omission on the part of Tertullian cannot be ruled out. Fourth, such a simple omission may become more probable when one considers the attested reading ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, which is the reading of the parallel Matt 24:5.⁴¹⁵ Harnack believed that Marcion’s text had been influenced by the text of Matthew, which is indeed possible.⁴¹⁶ At the same time, however, in 5.1.3 Tertullian cites the pithy statement in its Matthean form. Therefore, it is possible that the phrasing is due to Tertullian himself as he is being influenced by the wording of Matthew. Finally, prohibeat eos recipi (4.39.1) appears to allude to the final element in v. 8, though the precise wording is unclear, as Harnack apparently also recognized.

⁴¹¹ Harnack, Marcion, 230*.
⁴¹² Of course, it cannot be ruled out entirely that Tertullian’s own text of Luke had the reading found in D.
⁴¹³ Harnack, Marcion, 230*.
⁴¹⁴ IGNTP lists only one manuscript of bo attesting the omission of γάρ. IGNTP goes on to state that Marcion’s text attested ἐλεύσονται ψευδοπροφήται. It is unclear to me on what basis this claim is made.
⁴¹⁵ ὅτι is also not present in Matt 24:5.
⁴¹⁶ Braun indicates his agreement with Harnack’s interpretation (Contre Marcion IV, 475R5). IGNTP lists several manuscripts, including 157, most of the OL manuscripts, syp, and a few other witnesses as attesting the Matthean reading in Luke 21:8.
4.4.87 Luke 21:9–11


Tertullian attests various elements in Luke 21:9–11 in this allusion. At the outset and closing of the section from 4.39.3 cited above, Tertullian attests two elements of v. 9 which Harnack reconstructed as πολέμους . . . δεῖ ταῦτα γενέσθαι.418 Even though there is some evidence in Latin manuscripts for the omission of γάρ after δεῖ, once again the omission cannot be demonstrated for Marcion’s text based on Tertullian’s testimony. For v. 10 Harnack posited the otherwise unattested order βασιλείαν [sic] ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἐθνὸς ἐπ’ ἔθνος,419 and for v. 11 λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ σεισμοί τε, φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεῖα ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ.420 Harnack rightly noted that the order λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ is attested by B, several ol manuscripts, and syc; yet, he did not mention that σεισμοί following this pair is otherwise unattested. When one adds the observation that in Res. 22.2 Tertullian has the conflict between nations, one of the first elements in the list, at the end of his statement, it becomes questionable to posit that Marcion’s text contained this highly unique order of elements rather than Tertullian simply having written an “unordered” list.421 That Marcion’s text contained the elements listed by Tertullian appears quite certain; however, the order in which they appeared cannot be determined with any precision.


. . . signa iam ultimi finis enarrat, solis et lunae siderumque prodigia, et in terra422 angustias nationum obstupescantium velut a sonitu maris fluctuantis pro expectatione imminentium orbi malorum. Quod et ipsae vires caelorum

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418 Harnack, Marcion, 230°.
419 Braun notes the use of super for contra based on the influence of ἐπί (Braun [trans.], Contre Marcion IV, 477n2). The ol manuscripts for Luke 21:10 offer contra (d, ff², i, l, q, r¹), adversus (f), and super (a, c, e). Even greater variation is found in the parallels in Matt 24:7 and Mark 13:8.
420 Harnack, Marcion, 230°.
421 Note also that the necessity of the events occurring, appearing in v. 9, is not mentioned until the various signs, including those in vv. 10–11, have been enumerated.
422 Moreschini’s text follows the reading in terra of Gelenius and the other editors, rejecting inter in § and interim as inferred in R².
concuti habeant, . . . | Res. 22.5–6—. . . futura signa in sole et luna et [in] stellis, conclusionem nationum, cum stupore sonitus maris et motus refrigescentiæ hominum præ metu et expectatione eorum, quae immineant orbì terræ. Virtutes enim, inquit, caelorum commovebuntur . . .

Even though Harnack recognized that Tertullian renders these verses rather freely, he still reconstructed a text that read like Luke except for ως ἡχους θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης (ἡχους θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου in Luke) at the end of v. 25 and αὐταὶ γὰρ δυνάμεις (αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις in Luke) in v. 26.423 Despite knowing that the loose nature of the allusion meant that one cannot prove that Marcion made any changes, Harnack believed that the latter reading should be accepted.424 Though the reference to these verses in Res. 22.5–6 is formulated differently at these two points, a similar free citation style is evident (e.g., the omission of et in terra, the use of refrigescere, and the addition of eorum). Therefore, the citation in Res. 22 would tend to confirm both that the order of the signs in Marcion’s Gospel was the same as in Luke and, at the same time, that the precise wording of parts of the verses cannot be established from 4.39.9.


Tertullian attests Luke 21:27 as reconstructed by Harnack: καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς.426

423 Harnack, Marcion, 231*. Once again, Harnack reflected some of the reading attested by Tertullian, but also did not follow some changes in word order and the addition of κακῶν (attested in one lectionary witness, l524), for example.
424 Ibid.
425 Moreschini rejects the reading adpropinquavit of Pamelian, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.
426 Harnack, Marcion, 231*.
Two differences from Luke are immediately evident. First, instead of ἐν νεφέλῃ Tertullian renders ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Harnack sees this as a tendentious correction because “mit irdischem Nebel sollte Christus nichts zu tun haben.”\footnote{Ibid.} Tsutsui connects the wording to that of the first appearance of Marcion’s Jesus in Luke 4:31.\footnote{Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 122.} The citation in Res. 22.6 reads in nubibus caeli as in Matt 24:30 (ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), which, along with Prax. 30.5 where the additional influence of Acts 1:11 is present, reveals that if Tertullian were being influenced by the synoptic parallel we would expect both “clouds” and “heaven” to be mentioned, and not simply “heaven.”\footnote{In addition, it is interesting that as Tertullian continues his argument he makes reference to the day of the Lord venientis de caelis filii hominis and then quotes Dan 7:13 where the Son of Man is described as coming cum caeli nubibus (4.39.11). Since Tertullian presumably knew he would employ Daniel in his argument, it would be strange for him purposely to omit reference to the “clouds.”} Therefore, it seems likely that Marcion’s text here did read ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Second, at the conclusion of the verse Luke reads μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Once again, Res. 22.6 contains reference to both elements, increasing the likelihood that Marcion’s text referred only to δύναμις.\footnote{According to IGNTp no other witness attests this omission.} At the same time, however, a simple omission by Tertullian is possible.\footnote{As mentioned in n. 429, Tertullian continues his argument with a reference to Dan 7:13. He concludes that citation with data est illi [the Son of Man] regia potestas, and here the omission of “glory” would create a closer parallel with the ὑμῶν verse.}

Several readings also merit attention in Luke 21:28. Harnack reconstructed τούτων δὲ γινομένων ἀνακύψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλὰς, διότι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν.\footnote{Several ol manuscripts attest the reading τούτων δὲ γίνεσθαι ἀρχομένων, which reveals that Tertullian could have begun the verse as found in Marcion’s text and then offered a paraphrase of the concept of the verb.} First, though Tertullian may simply be offering a loose translation of the Lukan opening ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γίνεσθαι,\footnote{Several ol manuscripts attest the reading τούτων δὲ γίνεσθαι ἀρχομένων, which reveals that Tertullian could have begun the verse as found in Marcion’s text and then offered a paraphrase of the concept of the verb.} once again the citation in Res. 22.6 would tend to confirm that Tertullian would not be inclined to introduce the verse in this manner under his own initiative. Nevertheless, Res. 22.7 reveals that Tertullian is paying particular attention to the tense in this discussion, which may have led to a more precise rendering. Second, the omission of the possessive ὑμῶν after κεφαλάς becomes slightly
more likely for Marcion's text because Tertullian includes it in Res. 22.6.\textsuperscript{434} Finally, though all the manuscripts of Tertullian's works attest adpropinquabit, numerous editors of Tertullian's works have posited adpropinquavit.\textsuperscript{435} Harnack stated "appropinquabit schwerlich richtig," without any further explanation.\textsuperscript{436} Even though ἤγγικεν is attested in some manuscripts, it may be that this is another case where Tertullian is rendering the Greek verb in the present tense (ἐγγίζει) with a Latin future,\textsuperscript{437} and therefore there is no need to posit an error in the manuscript tradition of Tertullian's works.

\textbf{4.4.90 Luke 21:31}

4.39.10—. . . in tempore scilicet regni, de quo subiecta erit ipsa parabola. Sic et vos, cum videritis omnia haec fieri, scitote adpropinquasse regnum dei. |

4.39.16—. . . sic et vos, cum videritis haec fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei. | Res. 22.8—Cuius etiam parabola subtexitur tenerescentium arborum in caulem, floris et dehinc frugis antecursorem. Ita et vos, cum videritis omnia ista fieri, scitote in proximo esse regnum dei.

The first question concerning Luke 21:31 is whether the citation in 4.39.10 or 4.39.16 more closely represents Marcion’s text. Harnack reconstructed vv. 29–31 from the latter, though Braun contends that in 4.39.16 Tertullian is reproducing the text rather freely and that, in v. 30 at least, Harnack "a tort d’y voir donné le texte même de Marcion."\textsuperscript{438} Since vv. 29–30 are not multiply cited they will not be discussed here, but rather in the ensuing chapter. Concerning v. 31, however, it appears that the latter quotation may be accurate. First, the citation in 4.39.10 is only of v. 31, whereas three verses are cited in 4.39.16. Though not definitive in and of itself, in general there is a greater likelihood that a longer citation will be made with reference to the text. Second, the quotation in 4.39.10 includes the Matthean omnia (Matt 24:33), which Res. 22.8 reveals may be the more familiar form for Tertullian. Of course, it is also possible that both Tertullian’s

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\textsuperscript{434} The possessive pronoun is also omitted in D, d, and in one manuscript of the Georgian Version.

\textsuperscript{435} Zahn, Geschichte, 2:488 did not distinguish between the text attested by the manuscripts and the readings posited by editors when he commented on Tertullian’s “schwankende[r] Text.”

\textsuperscript{436} Harnack, Marcion, 231*.

\textsuperscript{437} Notice also that Tertullian begins the citation in 4.39.10 with the future fient, and renders the imperatives with Latin futures (erigetis, levabitis). Notice also the use of the future in Res. 22.6 (emergetis et elevabitis).

\textsuperscript{438} Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 491n3.
text of Luke and Marcion’s Gospel contained this harmonization; yet, then one would have to explain why Tertullian omitted *omnia* in 4.39.16. Finally, and perhaps most tellingly, in 4.39.10 Tertullian uses *adpropinquare* instead of *in proximo esse* as in 4.39.16 and *Res*. 22.8. Apart from the fact that the latter is a more literal rendering of ἐγγύς ἐστιν and thus more likely to arise from a text, the former is never here attested in any OL witnesses. Thus, it would seem that at least as far as v. 31 is concerned, 4.39.16 more closely follows Marcion’s text, which means that here Marcion’s text read the same as Luke 21:31.

4.4.91 Luke 21:33

4.39.18—Adhuc ingerit non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia perangentur. . . . Transeat age nunc caelum et terra—sic enim dominus eorum destinavit—, dum verbum eius maneat in aevum—sic enim et Esaias pronuntiavit. | Herm. 34.1—. . . caelum et terra praeteribunt, inquit; . . .

This verse is confusingly reconstructed by Harnack ἡ (δὴ?) γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς παρελεύσονται, ὁ δὲ λόγος μου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. First, there is no good reason to suppose that *age* is anything other than Tertullian’s own exclamation as he advances his argument. Second, in his apparatus Harnack gave Kroymann’s text (*transeat age nunc caelum et terra*), though in his Greek reconstruction he changed the order without any rationale for apparently following a different reading. Ultimately, though earlier in 4.39.18 and in *Herm*. 34.1 Tertullian uses the order “heaven and earth,” the variation in the manuscripts of Tertullian’s works makes a definitive decision on Marcion’s reading impossible. Third, despite Tertullian’s singular verb (*transeat*), attested in numerous manuscripts, Harnack reconstructed παρελεύσονται. Harnack’s reconstruction could be right, and no definitive decision can be made either way, but the plural is not what Tertullian attests. Fourth, though Harnack recognized *dum* and the subjunctive as created by Tertullian’s argument, he did not realize that

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439 IGNTP lists numerous manuscripts with this harmonization including the OL manuscripts e, gat, and r1 along with Cyprian and other church fathers.
440 Cf. the data for this verse in the chart in Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?,” 464.
441 Moreschini’s text reads *caelum et terra* with M and Kroymann, rejecting *terra et caelum* read in β and the other editors.
443 It is quite possible that Harnack is here influenced by Zahn’s reconstruction as Zahn’s text of Tertullian read *terra et caelum* (*Geschichte*, 2:489). Tsutsui’s text for Tertullian is also confusing as it reads *terra et caelum transit*, *verbum autem meum manet in aevum*, stated as coming from 4.39.18 (“Evangelium,” 122). In his bibliography Tsutsui lists both Kroymann’s and Evans’s editions of *Adversus Marcionem*; however, neither of those editions offers this reading.
the singular *verbum* may very well have come from the wording of Isa 40:8, to which Tertullian makes reference at the end of his allusion.\(^{444}\) This possible influence of Isaiah in the second half of the verse renders its precise wording unclear.

4.4.92 **Luke 22:15**

4.40.1—*Ideo et adfectum suum ostendit: Concupiscientia concupiit pascha edere vobiscum, antequam patiar.*\(^{445}\) | 4.40.3—*Professus itaque se concupiscientia concupisse edere pascha . . . | An. 16.4—. . . et concupiscientivum, quo pascha cum discipulis suis edere concupiscit.*

Luke 22:15 is also attested by Epiphanius and Eznik. Tertullian’s three citations of the passage reveal the fluidity with which he can make reference to the verse. The citation in 4.40.1 attests ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν, which corresponds to Luke except for the absence of τοῦτο before τὸ πάσχα.\(^{446}\) Neither of the other references in 4.40.3 or An. 16.4 contain the demonstrative pronoun, so it may very well be an omission by Tertullian.

4.4.93 **Luke 22:19**

4.40.3—. . . *acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, . . . Aut si propterea panem corpus sibi finxit, quia corporis carebat veritate, ergo panem debuit tradere pro nobis | 4.40.4—. . . corpus suum vocans panem.* | Or. 6.2—. . . tunc quod et corpus eius in pane censetur: hoc est corpus meum.*\(^{447}\)

Luke 22:19 may also be attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian’s allusion to the opening of the verse includes a reference to the verbs λαμβάνω and ἔδωκα. Tertullian clarifying to whom the bread is given does not require Marcion’s text to have read τοῖς μαθηταῖς, as supposed by Harnack.\(^{448}\) The omission of εὐχαριστέω and κλαῖω may be attributed to Tertullian, whose argument focuses on the bread as a substance requiring Jesus’ body to be a true body (*veritatis corpus*). For this reason Tertullian’s primary interest in the verse is in

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\(^{444}\) Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 493n3 rightly notes that Tertullian made the same type of reference to Isa 40:8 in 4.33.9.

\(^{445}\) Braun notes that Tertullian has brought this verse forward in his discussion of chapter 22 for emphasis in the course of his argument (*Contre Marcion IV*, 496n1).

\(^{446}\) This verse is also noted by Wolter as evidence for Lukan redaction being present in Marcion’s Gospel (*Lukasevangelium*, 3).


\(^{448}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 233\(^{\circ}\). *IGNTP* notes that Cyril in *Contra Nestorium* reads τοῖς μαθηταῖς and f reads τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.
Jesus’ statement τὸῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, the direct citation of which is unproblematic (cf. Or. 6.2). Finally, as Tertullian continues his argument he alludes that Jesus’ statement is followed by τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, stating that if Jesus did not have a true body then it is the bread itself that should have been delivered up for us.

4.4.94  Luke 22:69

4.41.4—Abhinc, inquit, erit filius hominis sedens ad dexteram virtutis dei. | 4.42.1—sine dubio dei filium, sessurum ad dei dexteram. | Carn. Chr. 16.1—cum illam [the flesh of Christ] et ad dexteram patris in caelis praesidere…

The citation of Luke 22:69 in 4.41.4 is largely unproblematic as it renders ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ, which is also the reconstruction of Harnack.449 Numerous manuscripts, including P75, א, A, B, D, and many oL manuscripts attest δέ after νῦν, and the conjunction could have been present in Marcion’s text and simply omitted by Tertullian. That Tertullian is largely following the precise wording of Marcion’s text may have slight confirmation by comparing the loose phrasing of the reference in Carn. Chr. 16.1. More significant is the confirmation that in the quotation Tertullian is following the word order of Marcion’s text as he alters the order in the allusion in 4.42.1.

4.4.95  Luke 23:44–45


These verses are also attested by Eznik, and v. 45 by Epiphanius and Ephrem. Tertullian’s citation of Amos 8:9 indicates that a reference to the darkness/the sun’s light failing super terram was present in Marcion’s Gospel, and the gloss in the citation connects the OT prophecy specifically to the ὑφα ἐκτη. 4.42.5 also attests ἐσχίσθε τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ for v. 45, though the precise conjunction (καί or δέ) and its placement at the outset of the phrase are not certain.450 Some confirmation for the Lukan word order comes from Adv. Jud. 13.14 where,

449 Harnack, Marcion, 234*. δέ δεξιῶν in Harnack’s reconstruction is presumably a typographical error.

450 Harnack reconstructed the opening of the verse as ἐσχισθή [καί], though this reading is not attested in any manuscript. ἐσχισθε δέ is found in P75, א, and several other manuscripts and the Majority Text reads καί ἐσχισθε.
in the reference to Matt 27:51, Tertullian places the verb after the velum templi.\textsuperscript{451} At the same time, it should be noted that the order templi velum in 4.42.5 is not found in any of the Synoptics.

\textbf{4.4.96  Luke 23:46}

\textit{Vociferatur ad patrem, ut et moriens ultima voce prophetas adimpleret. Hoc dicto expiravit. | Apol. 21.19—Nam spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit, prae-}
\textit{vento carnificis officio. | Prax. 25.2—...Pater, in tuis manibus depono spiritum}
\textit{meum, ... | Prax. 26.9—...in Patris manibus spiritum ponens ... | Prax. 30.4—}
\textit{Ceterum non reliquit Pater Filium in cuius manibus Filius spiritum suum posuit.}

Luke 23:46 is also attested by Epiphanius and possibly in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony makes reference to Jesus crying out to the Father; however, unlike the three references in Adversus Praxean, Tertullian here does not further cite what Jesus said to the Father, though perhaps alluding to it with the reference to the fulfillment of the prophets (Jesus’ words are taken from Ps 31:5/ LXX 30:6/ MT 31:6). That it is Luke’s account which Tertullian has in mind is apparent not only because the cry is addressed to the Father, but also because Tertullian does not speak of Jesus yielding up his spirit (cf. Apol. 21.19 referring to Matt 27:50); rather, hoc dicto expiravit is rendering τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν, though without reference to the conjunction.\textsuperscript{452}


\textit{cum haesitantibus eis ne phantasma esset, immo phantasma credenti-
bus: Quid turbati estis?\textsuperscript{453} et quid cogitationes subeunt in corda vestra? Videte}
\textit{manus meas et pedes, quia ipse ego\textsuperscript{454} sum, quoniam spiritus ossa non habet,}
\textit{sicut me habentem videtis. | 4.43.7—...Spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me videt-
\textit{is habentem, quasi ad spiritum referatur sicut me videtis habentem, id est non}
\textit{habentem ossa sicut et spiritus. | 4.43.8—Cur autem inspectui eorum manus}
\textit{et pedes suos offert, ...\textsuperscript{455} Cur adicit: Et scitote quia ego sum, ... | Carn. Chr.}
\textit{5.9—...fuit itaque phantasma etiam post resurrectionem, cum manus et pedes

\textsuperscript{451} That Tertullian is citing Matt 27:51 in Adv. Jud. 13.14 is confirmed by the reference to the tombs being opened (v. 52) immediately following the reference to the veil being torn.
\textsuperscript{452} Harnack, Marcion, 236\textsuperscript{\textdegree} reconstructed the text with the conjunction.
\textsuperscript{453} Moreschini does not add \textit{inquit} after \textit{estis} as do Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, Kroymann, and Evans.
\textsuperscript{454} Moreschini’s text reads \textit{ipse ego} with \textit{M} and Kroymann, and not the order \textit{ego ipse} of \textit{\&} and the other editors.
\textsuperscript{455} Braun references Luke 24:40 for this phrase (Contre Marcion IV, 526); however, the fact that Tertullian continues with \textit{adicit} followed by v. 39b reveals that it is Luke 24:39 that is in view here.
suos discipulis inspiciendos offert adspicite, dicens, quod ego sum, quia spiritus ossa non habet, sicut me habentem videtis? [Si] sine dubio manus et pedes et ossa, quae spiritus non habet, sed caro, . . .

Vv. 38–39 are also attested by Epiphanius and all three verses possibly in the Adamantius Dialogue. For v. 37 Harnack appears to have been influenced by the reading in Adam. 198,17–18 (5.12); however, as discussed in chapter 7.4.35 it is difficult to ascertain whether the Adamantius Dialogue is interacting with Marcion’s text here and even more difficult to determine the fidelity of the rendering in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony may reflect the reading φάντασμα in Marcion’s text of Luke 24:37, which is also found in D and d. At the same time, however, some caution needs to be exercised since Tertullian also uses both phantasma and spiritus in Carn. Chr. 5–9, where it is not certain that phantasma is only a “loanword” from Marcion. In v. 38 Tertullian attests Jesus’ two-part question to the disciples as τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστὲ καὶ [διὰ] τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας υμῶν. This reading, however, which has points of contact with other manuscripts and church fathers, cannot be compared with any other citation by Tertullian. V. 39 is again multiply cited and several points need to be made. First, Tertullian’s manus meas et pedes in 4.43.6 should not be used to determine definitively the placement or number of possessive pronouns in Marcion’s text. Variation in phrasing involving pronouns is once again evidenced, as in 4.43.8 and Carn. Chr. 5–9 Tertullian wrote manus et pedes suos and in 4.43.8 eorum manus et pedes.456 Second, Jesus’ statement identifying himself is rendered in several different ways by Tertullian: quia ipse ego sum or the variant quia ego ipse sum (4.43.6); scitote quia ego sum (4.43.8); and quod ego sum (Carn. Chr. 5–9).457 Third, though Tertullian does not attest

456 Carter, “Marcion’s Christology,” 556, in my estimation, claims with far too much certainty that Tertullian is accurately reflecting Marcion’s text here and that Marcion thus “reflects the early reading of P75.”

457 Tsutsui argues that et scitote quia ego sum (4.43.8) should be added to the end of v. 39, accusing Harnack of an oversight (“Evangelium,” 130). However, apart from the dubious methodology employed by Tsutsui (he states concerning the reference “also ein direktes Zitat = sicher ‘καὶ γινώσκετε δτὶ ἐγὼ εἰμί’ “), it is Tsutsui who has overlooked the context of the statement. Tertullian mentions that Jesus offered his hands and feet for an inspection, and it is to this offering that the statement is added. In other words, et scitote quia ego sum appears to be Tertullian’s rephrasing of quia ipse ego sum, not an addition at the end of v. 39 (cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:494 who recognized that et scitote was added by Tertullian for clarity). Curiously, though Amphoux in his analysis of the textual tradition of Luke 24 elsewhere always follows Harnack’s reconstruction when offering Marcion’s text, here Amphoux contends that Marcion’s text omitted δτὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτὸς along with ψηλαφήσατε μὲ καὶ ἵδετε (“Le chapitre 24 de Luc et l’origine de la tradition textuelle du
ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε for Marcion’s text, Tertullian also omits reference to this element in *Carn. Chr*. 5.9. Fourth, in both 4.43.6 and 7, Tertullian makes reference only to a spirit having bones, without referring to σάρξ as well. Yet, once again, in the citation of v. 39 in *Carn. Chr*. 5.9 Tertullian also mentions only the bones, indicating that it could be a simple omission on Tertullian’s part. Finally, Tertullian’s alternating between the word order *habentem videtis* (4.43.6; *Carn. Chr*. 5.9) and *videtis habentem* (4.43.7) reveals how precarious it would be to view him as attesting either order.

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*Codex de Bèze (D.05 du NT),” FN 4 [1991]: 36*. Though both elements are unattested by Epiphanius, Tertullian clearly references the first phrase. Since Amphoux provides no rationale for his view, it may simply be an oversight.

458 *Zahn, Geschichte, 2:494* also referred to the *De carne Christi* passage, noting that Tertullian there abbreviated his citation; however, he does not appear to have entertained that possibility for the reference in *Adversus Marcionem*. 
CHAPTER 5

Tertullian as a Source: Citations only in *Adversus Marcionem*

Whereas the previous chapter considered the multiply cited texts in Tertullian, and a few citations within *Adversus Marcionem* where comparison provided insight into citation habits, the texts examined in this chapter, though at times multiply attested in the sources, are not multiply cited by Tertullian outside of *Adversus Marcionem*. The inability to compare citations directly results in much more of the following discussion remaining very cautious in its conclusions in that fewer definitive decisions can be made concerning specific readings in Marcion’s text than was the case in chapter 4. Nevertheless, evidence from the textual tradition of Luke and tendencies in Tertullian’s citation habits identified by Schmid and in the previous chapter do, at times, allow tentative conclusions regarding possible readings.

5.1  Luke 3:1

1.15.1—*At nunc quale est, ut dominus anno quinto decimo Tiberii Caesaris revelatus sit,...* | 1.15.6—*His cum accedunt et sui Christi, alter qui apparuit sub Tiberio...* | 1.19.2—*Anno quinto decimo Tiberii Christus Iesus de caelo manare dignatus est,...* | 1.22.10—*...si ab aevo Deus et non a Tiberio,...* | 4.6.3—*Constituit Marcion alium esse Christum, qui Tiberianis temporibus a deo quondam ignoto revelatus sit in salutem omnium gentium,...* | 4.7.1—*Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberii proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum,...*

Elements of Luke 3:1, the opening of Marcion’s Gospel, are attested by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Origen, (Pseudo-)Ephrem, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian’s testimony in his numerous allusions in *Adversus Marcionem* appears to attest that Marcion’s text included a reference to ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ and Τιβερίου, with Τιβερίου Καίσαρος attested in the allusion in 1.15.1.

4.8.2—Et tamen apud Nazareth quoque nihil novi notatur praedicasse, dum alio, merito unus proverbii, eictus refertur... manus ei iniectas... detentus et captus et ad praecipitium usque protractus... 4.8.3—per medios evasit... 4.35.6—Nunc etsi praefatus est multos tunc fuisses leprosos apud Israele in diebus Helisaei prophetae et neminem eorum purgatum nisi Neman Syrum,...

Elements of this pericope are also attested by Epiphanius, Ephrem, and Jerome. According to the order in which Tertullian comments on Marcion’s Gospel, a shortened form of Luke 4:16–30 followed Luke 4:31–35.² In addition, though Luke 4:27 is discussed here, both Epiphanius and Tertullian attest its presence in Marcion’s Gospel in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19). For Luke 4:27 Tertullian, in 4.35.6, attests πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ ἐν [ταῖς?] ἡμέραις Ἐλισαίου τοῦ προφήτου, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. The allusion to the entire pericope in 4.8.2–3, as recognized by Harnack, references only a few elements of the passage: Ναζαρέθ (v. 16, Harnack reproduced most of the reading in D in parentheses);³ unus

1 The words unius proverbii were omitted by Kroymann in his edition. On understanding the phrase here as if Tertullian had written propter alid, propter unum proverbium cf. Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion iv, 107n.4.

2 Cf. 4.7.1–4.8.3. Braun raises the possibility that the order of pericopes in Marcion’s text was Luke 4:31–32; 4:16–30 [shortened]; 4:33–34 [sic]; 4:40; and 4:41 (Contre Marcion iv, 104–51n). To support this view Braun offers the following comment on Tertullian’s question Quorsum hunc locum praemisimus (4.7.13 in the discussion of Luke 4:33–35): “Par cette remarque, T. veut sans doute justifier le rédacteur évangélique d’avoir mis en premier un épisode permettant d’affirmer les attaches du Christ avec l’A.T. Mais on pourrait aussi penser que notre auteur a inversé l’ordre suivi par Marcion (Lc 4,16–30 en version abrégée aurait précédé Lc 4, 33–35)” (ibid., 103n4). A major difficulty, however, is that Tertullian introduces his discussion of Luke 4:33–35 with the words exclaimat ibidem spiritus daemonis (4.7.9). Having just discussed Luke 4:31–32, this ibidem could only refer to the synagogue in Capernaum; yet, if these verses followed the account of the events at Nazareth it becomes very difficult to understand how Tertullian could have introduced vv. 33–35 in this way.

3 D reads ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Ναζαρέθ διὸ τὸ ἐπί της ἡμέρας τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγνώσει. J. Rendel Harris, positing that οὗ ἦν τεθραμμένος and κατὰ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῷ were omitted by Marcion, argued that the reading in D had been influenced by Marcion’s text (Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891], 232–33; cf. also Vogels, Evangelium Palatinum, 98–99). Alfred Plummer, with reference to Harris, more cautiously stated that the omissions were “perhaps due to Marcionite influence” (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke [5th ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901], 119). Harnack contended “in D ist hier ein Teil des Textes M.s erhalten” (Marcion, 186*).
proverbium (most probably the ἱατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν in v. 23);⁴ ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν and ἤγαγον αὐτόν ἐξ ὁφρύς τοῦ ὄρους (v. 29); and διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο (v. 30).⁵ Though the other verses in the pericope are technically unattested, Harnack may be correct in his view, “M. [hat] den Inhalt der Predigt nicht angegeben, sondern seinerseits aus dem üblen Erfolg geschlossen, daß sie sich gegen den Judengott gerichtet haben müsse.”⁶

5.3 Luke 4:31

4.7.1—… [Marcion] proponit eum⁷ descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris,… | 4.7.2—Nunc autem et reliquum ordinem descensionis expostulo, tenens descendisse illum. Viderit enim, sicubi ‘apparuisse’ positum est,… descendisse … | 4.7.4—Bene autem quod et deus Marcionis inluminator vindicatur nationum, quo magis debuerit vel de caelo descendere, et, si utique, in Pontum potius descendere quam in Galilaeam. | 4.7.5—De caelo statim ad synagogam:… | 4.7.6—Ecce venit in synagogam:… Ecce doctrinae suae panem prioribus offert Israhelitis:… | 4.7.7—Et tamen quomodo in synagogam potuit admitteri… Sed etsi passim synagoga adiretur, non tamen ad docendum…

Elements of Luke 4:31 are also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue, Irenaeus, Origen, Hippolytus, and possibly an anonymous Syriac manuscript. Tertullian’s testimony in 4.7.1 attests κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.⁸ κατῆλθεν is attested numerous times, though interestingly Tertullian indicates that appareuisse (ἐφάνη) was elsewhere used to describe Jesus’ appearance. Harnack may well be correct when he posited that this term was used in the Antitheses.⁹ Less clear is whether de caelo, also repeated numerous times, is attested by Tertullian for Marcion’s Gospel. Tsutsui apparently thought it was,

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⁴ Lukas more forcefully states that these words are “certainly” those to which Tertullian refers (Rhetorik, 232).
⁵ For Harnack’s discussion cf. Marcion, 185*–86*.
⁶ Harnack, Marcion, 186*.
⁷ Moreschini’s text reads eum with all manuscripts and most editors, though Gelenius and Pamelaeus read deum.
⁸ Assuming the reading in Moreschini (eum descendisse) is correct one would expect an explicit external subject; however, it remains unclear if it was ὁ Ἰησοῦς or ὁ Χριστός (cf. 1.15.6; 1.19.2).
and Harnack, in his reconstruction, wrote (ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ?).\textsuperscript{10} Braun rightly notes, however, “la place de utique [in 4.7.1] amène à admettre que c’est tout le groupe de mots qui appartient au commentaire de T.”\textsuperscript{11} Therefore, the de caelo throughout should be seen as Tertullian’s own, and polemically employed, description for the “coming down” of Jesus.\textsuperscript{12} Finally, in 4.7.5, 6, 7 Tertullian seems to reflect a text closer to that of Mark 1:21 (εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν) than Luke 4:31 (ἡν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν); however, even though the testimony of other witnesses still needs to be considered, there is no evidence for the Markan reading in Luke 4:31 in the extant manuscript tradition.

5.4 Luke 4:35

4.7.13—Atquin, [Marcion] inquis, increpuit illum [the demon] Jesus.\textsuperscript{13} Tertullian presents the opening words of Luke 4:35 as Marcion’s response to Tertullian’s contention that 4:34 reveals the demon’s knowledge of Jesus as the Son of the Creator. According to IGNTP, the extant witnesses to the text are nearly uniform, and there is no difficulty in positing that Marcion’s text read ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

5.5 Luke 4:40–41

4.8.4—Ad summam, et ipse mox tetigit alios, quibus manus imponens, . . . beneficia medicinarum conferebat, . . . quodcumque curaverit Iesus, meus est. | 4.8.5—Ceterum et a daemoniis liberare curatio est valitudinis. Itaque spiritus nequam . . . cum testimonio excedebant vociferantes: Tu es filius dei. Cuïus dei, . . . Sed proinde increpabantur et tutebantur tacere. Prouinde enim Christus ab hominibus, non ab spiritibus inmundis, volebat se filium dei agnosci, . . .

\textsuperscript{10} Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 77 and Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 183*.

\textsuperscript{11} Braun (trans.), \textit{Contre Marcion IV}, 93n1 (cont.). Immediately prior to this comment Braun observes that Harnack “serait porté à penser que ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ figurait dans la texte de Marcion, utique portent uniquement sur Creatoris.” Harnack stated that these words were “wahrscheinlich” present in Marcion’s text (\textit{Marcion}, 185*). Further down in the same note, however, Harnack states that it “muß offen bleiben, ob ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ im Eingang des E.v.s gestanden hat,” which would explain the question mark in the reconstructed text.

\textsuperscript{12} Cf. Tertullian’s argument in 3.23.7, referenced in 4.7.1.

\textsuperscript{13} Several additional references to the rebuke by Jesus occur in 4.7.14–15.
Curiously, though Harnack cites the allusion in 4.8.4 he offers no reconstruction of any elements of Luke 4:40, and Tsutsui erroneously indicates that the verse is unattested. Yet, Tertullian makes reference to τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτούς. That Tertullian drew his allusion from Marcion’s text may receive confirmation by the fact that the laying on of hands is not mentioned in the parallel passages in Matt 8:16//Mark 1:34. If correct, then some confidence in Tertullian’s attestation to the following verse is also warranted.

Harnack offered ἐξήρχετο δαιμόνια κράζοντα· Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἶα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν as a reconstruction for 4:41. His contention that ὅτι before σὺ was absent with “zahlreichen Lateinern” cannot be accepted with certainty as the entire phrase καὶ λέγοντα ὅτι is unattested by Tertullian. The final phrase of 4:41 is simply unattested, and therefore Zahn’s view that it was absent is questionable. In addition, the unattested conjunctions, though absent in a few witnesses, may well have been present in Marcion’s text and omitted by Tertullian.

5.6 Luke 4:42–43

4.8.9—In solitudinem procedit. | 4.8.10—Detentus a turbis: Oportet me, inquit, et aliis civitatisbus adnuntiare regnum dei.

Without any real transition from his previous discussion, Tertullian begins 4.8.9 with a reference to Jesus going into a wilderness (Luke 4:42). Harnack offered ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἔρημον; yet, it cannot be ascertained whether Marcion’s text...


15 Numerous manuscripts read ἐπιτιθεὶς and ἐθεράπευσεν, making the precise reading in Marcion unclear.

16 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*. It is worth noting that Harnack reconstructed the plural *excedebant* with a singular. Several manuscripts attest the plural (including K, C, Θ, f1, and 33), and Marcion’s reading cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Similarly Tertullian’s Latin cannot reveal whether the reading was κράζοντα or κραυγάζοντα. With all OL manuscripts (except f and q), P75, K, B, D, and numerous other witnesses, Marcion’s text does not attest ὁ Χριστὸς before ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. An allusion to this verse in 4.8.7, with its reference to *dei filium*, once again reveals Tertullian’s freedom with word order.

17 Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*. According to IGNTP, καὶ λέγοντα is almost uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition, and is present in all OL witnesses.

read ἐπορεύθη or ἐπορεύετο. In 4.8.10 there is a reference to οἱ ὄχλοι κατεῖχον αὐτὸν, which is largely unproblematic. Tertullian’s citation of Luke 4:43 in 4.8.10 presents a few challenges. Harnack reconstructed Δεῖ μὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις (ἐτέραις?) πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. First, Harnack wrongly stated that δεῖ μὲ is never clause initial, as this is precisely the position in D, d, and e. It is possible that Tertullian is here reflecting Marcion’s word order, even if Tertullian himself changing the order cannot be ruled out. Second, though the reference to εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ is straightforward, deciphering et aliis civitatibus is a bit more difficult. καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν is read almost uniformly in the manuscript tradition and is rendered et aliis civitatibus in every ol manuscript reflecting this Greek text. D reads καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, which corresponds to the reading et in alias civitates in d and e. Thus, Harnack’s suggested reading is rather unlikely, and Tertullian is either reflecting the reading καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις, or he is loosely rendering the reading of D, d, and e. If δεῖ μὲ was indeed clause initial then the latter may be more likely, though a definite conclusion is not possible.

5.7 Luke 5:2, 9–10

Concerning chapter 5, Harnack rightly noted that according to our sources Marcion’s Gospel “bot alle Erzählungen dieses Kapitels; aber im einzelnen ist nur weniges bekannt.” In the first pericope (Luke 5:1–11), Tertullian makes reference to fishermen, the astonishment at the abundant catch of fish, and

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19 Harnack, Marcion, 187*. IGNTP states that the latter reading is attested by several witnesses including most ol manuscripts.
20 Harnack offered only the latter, apparently overlooking the reference to the crowd (turbis).
21 Harnack, Marcion, 187*.
22 Ibid.
23 According to IGNTP δεῖ μὲ is attested by the remaining ol witnesses and numerous versions and church fathers before εὐαγγελίσασθαι, and is attested after the verb in B, W, and 892.
24 The reading and its significance for the question of the relationship between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke was noted in the discussion in chapter 4, nn. 366 and 367.
25 Harnack, Marcion, 187*.
Simon and the sons of Zebedee (vv. 2, 9, 10). For Jesus’ words in v. 10 Tertullian attests, as Harnack reconstructed, μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἐσῃ ζωγρῶν. The general accuracy of the citation is confirmed by the lack of influence from the rather differently worded synoptic parallels (Matt 4:19//Mark 1:17) and the literal rendering of the Greek. Only the γὰρ is problematic; yet, given Tertullian’s propensity alternately to exclude, include, or add conjunctions, it may not have been present in Marcion’s text.

5.8 Luke 5:12–14

4.9.3—...in leprosi purgationem...in exemplo leprosi non contingendi,... | 4.9.4—...tetigit leprosum,... | 4.9.7—...[as compared to Elisha in 2 Kgs 5] Christum verbo vero solo, et hoc semel functo, curationem statim repraesentasse. | 4.9.9—...vetuit eum [the healed leper] divulgar...iusit ordinem implieri: Vade, ostende te sacerdoti, et offer munus quod pracepit Moyses. | 4.9.10—Itaque adiectit: Ut sit vobis in testimonium,...

If one includes both the first scholion and the first elenchus in Pan. 42.11.17, all three of these verses are also attested by Epiphanius. Harnack, based on 4.9.3, thought that Marcion’s text read ἀνὴρ λεπρός with D (vir leprosus in d) in v. 12. Since Tertullian refers only to the cleansing leprosi, however, the Greek could just as easily have been ἀνὴρ πλήρης λέπρας. In fact, since the parallels in Matt 8:2//Mark 1:40 speak only of a λέπρος, it is not surprising that Tertullian, in a passing reference, would not employ either of the longer descriptions attested for Luke. The exact reading of Marcion’s text remains unknown.

26 Harnack did not reconstruct οἱ ἁλιεῖς in v. 2 and viewed Σίμων as attested for v. 3; however, since Simon is mentioned with the Sons of Zebedee, it is more likely that the reference is to v. 10. In addition, εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα is also not reconstructed by Harnack, though Amphoux is probably correct to see dicens Petro as a reference to this phrase ("Les premières éditions de Luc I. Le texte de Luc 5." ETL 67 [1991]: 322).

27 Harnack, Marcion, 188*.

28 Tsutsui simply notes that Tertullian attests γὰρ ("Evangelium," 78), but Harnack stated that Marcion’s text here reads with D and e (Marcion, 188*). Harnack’s claim is rather problematic because those manuscripts, along with d, offer a completely different reading of Jesus’ statement (cf. IGNTP or NA28) that does indeed include γὰρ, though in a significantly different context. The attempt by Amphoux to use the γὰρ as key in positing the text of D being Marcion’s model is speculative ("Luc 5," 323–24).

29 Harnack, Marcion, 188*.

30 Note also the simple reference to a leprosus in 4.9.4 and to a paralyticus in 4.10.1 in the next pericope (cf. n. 34).
For v. 13, 4.9.4 attests ἢψατο, and 4.9.7 alludes to the word of Christ and the healing, revealing that the entire verse was present even if its wording is unrecoverable.

Tertullian’s citations in 4.9.9, 10 attest ἄπελθε (though vade could also be rendering the imperative sense of ἀπελθών) δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ἃ ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον. The Matthean reading (καὶ … Μωϋσῆς in Matt 8:4), ἵνα ἃ, and ὑμῖν are all worth noting.

5.9 Luke 5:17–18, 24, 26

4.10.1—Curatur et paralyticus, et quidem in coetu, spectante populo…. Exurge, et tollæ grabattum tuum, … | 4.10.2—… et dimissorem delictorum Christum recognoscœ … | 4.10.8—Qua igitur ratione admittas filium hominis,33 Marcion, circumspicere non possum. | 4.10.13—… cur non secundum intentionem eorum [the Jews] de homine eis respondit habere eum potestatem dimittendi delicta, quando et filium hominis nominans hominem nominaret,… | 4.10.14—[Son of Man] consecutum iudicandi potestatem, ac per eam utique et dimittendi delicta—quì enim iudicat, et absolut,—, ut scandalo isto discusso per scripturae recordationem facilius eum agnoscerent ipsum esse filium hominis ex ipsa peccatorum remissione. Denique nusquam adhuc professus est se filium hominis quam in isto loco primum in quo primum peccata dimisit, id est in quo primum iudicavit, dum absolut.

In Luke 5:17–26, vv. 20–21 are multiply cited. 4.10.1 contains an allusion to vv. 17, 18, and possibly 26 with the mention of a paralytic, an assembly, and the people looking on.34 For v. 24, part of which is also attested by Epiphanius, Tertullian’s statements do allow for insight into Marcion’s Gospel. From the extended discussion in 4.10.6–16 it is obvious that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was present.35 4.10.13 attests ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας,36 and 4.10.1 ἔγειρε καὶ ἀρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου. The final element is attested only by Tertullian, and it is

31 It is not clear why IGNTTP states that Marcion apud Tertullian attests ἵνα ἃ εἰς μαρτύριον υμῖν.
32 According to IGNTTP these last elements, though in different orders, are attested in D, numerous ol manuscripts, and Ambrose. sy⁹ attests ἵνα ἃ with αὐτοῖς.
33 Evans here adds in brackets “into the text of your gospel” (Adversus Marcionem, 2:299).
34 Tertullian’s simple reference to a paralyticus (cf. also 4.12.15) instead of to an ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος (Luke 5:18) supports the point made above in 5.8 concerning leprosus.
35 Tertullian explicitly states that this is the first occurrence of “Son of Man” in the Gospel (4.10.14).
36 IGNTTP indicates that Athanasius also reads ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.
possible that *tolle* is rendering the imperatival sense of the participle ἄρας; however, given the fact that κ and numerous other manuscripts attest ἄρον, several other manuscripts read τὸν χράβαττον, and the verbatim reading of Tertullian’s testimony is found in D, d, and r¹, Marcion’s text most likely read as above.37

5.10 Luke 5:27, 30

4.11.1—Publicanum adlectum a domino… | 4.11.2—[Following a reference to Luke 5:31] Si enim male valentes voluit intellegi ethnicos et publicanos, quos adlegebat,…

In Tertullian’s interaction with Luke 5:27–32, in addition to the multiply cited v. 31 discussed in the previous chapter, 4.11.1 has a reference to the τελώνης and that he is called by “the Lord” (v. 27). 4.11.2 alludes to Jesus sitting μετὰ τῶν τελώνων (v. 30). The reference to *ethnici* in 4.11.2 does not arise directly out of Marcion’s text, though it could be a loose rendering of ἁμαρτωλοί.38 Its use may be due to Tertullian’s sarcastic statement that Marcion nusquam legerat lumen et spem et <ex>spectationem nationum praedicari Christum (4.11.1).


4.11.4—Unde autem et Iohannes venit in medium? Subito Christus, subito et Iohannes. | 4.11.5—… si non etiam ipsum inter ceteros tinxisset, nemo discipulos Christi manducantes et bibentes ad formam discipolorum Iohannis adsidue ieiunantium et orantium provocasset,… | 4.11.6—At nunc humiliter reddens rationem quod non possent ieiunare filii sponsi quamdiu cum eis esset sponsus, postea vero ieiunaturos promittens cum ablatus ab eis sponsus esset,…

Allusions to Luke 5:33–34 are also found in Ephrem and v. 34 is attested by (Pseudo-)Ephrem. Tertullian’s comments in 4.11.4 indicate that this is the first mention of John the Baptist in Marcion’s Gospel.39 In 4.11.5, v. 33 is attested, which Harnack reconstructed оἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου πυκνὰ νηστεύουσιν καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται. (Christi Jünger) ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν.40 That Tertullian is following Marcion’s Gospel may be supported by the presence of Lukan elements not

37 This is also the reconstruction of the final element by Harnack, *Marcion*, 189*.
38 καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν is omitted in C*, D, 265, and d.
39 Cf. also Harnack, *Marcion*, 187*.
40 Ibid., 189*. 
found in the parallel Matt 9:14//Mark 2:18. In addition, this reconstruction is largely unproblematic as the manuscript tradition is quite uniform; however, the otherwise unattested order πυκνὰ νηστεύουσιν is probably due to Tertullian. 4.11.6 attests vv. 34–35, which Harnack reconstructed μὴ δύνανται νηστεύειν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἐφ᾽ ὧν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ νύμφιος. ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ νύμφιος . . . νηστεύσουσιν. 41 The Lukan text has been influenced by Matthew in several manuscripts, and it is possible to view Marcion’s text, as Harnack did, as also containing harmonization with Matthew. 42 Harnack, however, apparently did not consider the possibility that Tertullian created the closer affinity with Matt 9:15. 43 Therefore, it may be that Tertullian is not following Marcion’s text, but rather providing the sense of the verses, which is all his argument required, closer to their Matthean form. Thus, the actual wording of Marcion’s text here, apart from where Luke and Matthew are verbatim, remains elusive.

5.12 Luke 6:1–4

4.12.1—De sabbato . . . Nec enim disciparetur cur destrueret sabbatum, si destruerere debet.| 4.12.5—Esurierant discipuli ea die; spicas decerptas manibus efflexerant, cibum operati ferias rupserant. . . . accusant Pharisaei, . . . de exemplo David introgressi sabbatis templum et operati cibum audenter fractis panibus propositionis.| 4.12.14—Ita nec Christus omnino sabbatum rescindit, cuius legem tenuit et supra, in causa discipulorum pro anima operatus—esurientibus enim solacium cibi indulsit—, et nunc manum aridam curans, . . .

In the two pericopes concerning the Sabbath (Luke 6:1–11), 6:5 is multiply cited, and vv. 3–4 are also attested by Epiphanius. 44 For v. 1, Tertullian alludes to ἐν σαββάτῳ (4.12.1) and then to the actions of the disciples (4.12.5). Harnack reconstructed v. 1b ἐπείνασαν οἱ μαθηταί, ἔτιλλον τοὺς στάχυας ταῖς χερσι (εἰργάσαντο βρῶσιν;). 45 This reconstruction is problematic for several reasons. 46 First, ἐπείνασαν appears only in the parallel Matt 12:1, a fact that Harnack also

41 Ibid.
42 Cf. IGNTTP for complete data on the readings and Harnack’s apparatus for his evidence for Marcion’s Lukan text containing Matthean readings (Marcion, 189*).
43 Though Matthew reads πενθεῖν in the question, D, W, 1424, and many of the versions read νηστεύειν.
44 For discussion concerning the position of v. 5 cf. chapter 4, n. 61.
45 Harnack, Marcion, 190*.
46 Cf. also the disagreement with Harnack’s reconstruction by Tsutsui (“Evangelium,” 80–81).
recognized but which did not keep him from including the term in Marcion’s text. Yet, several factors argue against Harnack’s conclusion: though present in Matthew, the term appears in no witness to Luke 6:1; it is also used in a general reference to this account in 4.12.14; and it creates a closer parallel to David’s hunger in Luke 6:3. Thus, the term is almost certainly due to Tertullian’s tendency and argument.47 Second, since ἐπείνασαν was not in Marcion’s text the word order proposed by Harnack becomes unnecessary. The uniquely Lukan reference to ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσίν may indicate that Tertullian is paying some attention to Marcion’s text, but the allusion simply does not reveal the precise wording of the verse.48 Finally, Harnack, in his apparatus, stated that εἰργάσατο βρῶσιν appeared to have been present in Marcion’s Gospel due to Tertullian’s operati cibum, even though he placed a question mark in the main text.49 This phrase, however, simply seems to be Tertullian’s description of the actions undertaken by the disciple, and the activity to which objection was raised.50 For v. 2, it is evident that the Pharisees were mentioned, and that they objected to what they had witnessed (4.12.1, 5), but nothing further is revealed about the wording of Marcion’s text.

For vv. 3–4, Tertullian, in 4.12.5, attests the reference to David in v. 3, and alludes to εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ and τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως in v. 4.51 Harnack viewed Tertullian’s use of sabbatis as an easily understandable oversight, though Tsutsui viewed it as a tendentious statement to link David more closely with the activities of Jesus’ disciples.52 In either case, it was not in Marcion’s text. In addition, the renewed use of operati cibum is a link created by Tertullian and does not reflect a reading in Marcion’s Gospel.53

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47 This conclusion is significantly more likely than Zahn’s contention that Marcion himself intermingled Matt 12:1 and Luke 6:1 (Geschichte, 2:459).
48 Note also the simple omission of καὶ ἤσθιον by Tertullian.
49 Harnack, Marcion, 190*.
51 Harnack rather questionably reads Ὅχριστός for Marcion’s text in v. 3, apparently due to Tertullian’s statement in 4.12.5 (excusat illos Christus). In his first edition Harnack stated that Χριστός instead of Ἰησοῦς was unattested elsewhere (Marcion1, 171*); however, in the second edition he apparently erroneously, according to IGNTP, wrote “mit Codd. Afric.” (Marcion, 190*). In addition, Harnack also reconstructed ἔλαβεν καὶ ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔδωκεν in v. 4, though none of these verbs are attested in Tertullian’s allusion.
52 Harnack, Marcion, 190* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 81.
53 As in v. 1, Harnack wrote (εἰργάσατο βρῶσιν?) in v. 4 (Marcion, 190*).


In the pericope concerning the man with the withered hand (Luke 6:6–11), Tertullian attests elements of vv. 6, 7, and 9. In v. 6 he alludes to χεὶρ ξηρά (4.12.11, 14) and for v. 7 the general content of the verse is attested in 4.12.9, even if the precise wording is not recoverable. Tertullian’s reference, however, both omits elements in and compresses the content of the verse. This observation is particularly relevant when considering Tertullian’s citation of v. 9 in 4.12.11, from which Harnack reconstructed (ἐπερωτῶ) εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν (τῷ σαββάτῳ?) ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ μή; ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι; Given the observation just made about v. 7, it would appear that Harnack’s question, concerning the reading μή instead of κακοποιῆσαι, “ob Tert. nicht willkürlich verkürzt hat?” should be answered in the affirmative. In addition, it is unclear whether Marcion read εἰ, though Harnack rightly notes that it is also unclear whether Marcion had “Sabbath” in the singular or plural (cf. Matt 12:12).

5.14 Luke 6:12–14, 16

4.13.1—certe ascendit in montem et illic pernoctat in oratione et utique audiatur a patre. | 4.13.4—Cur autem duodecim apostolos elegit,… | 4.13.6—Mutat et Petro nomen de Simone,…

Several elements in Luke 6:12–16 are attested by Tertullian, though once again specific details remain elusive. V. 16 is also attested by Epiphanius. In v. 12 Harnack reconstructed εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι…διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ}

54 Harnack, who normally tended to reconstruct as many words as possible, here was content to write “παρετηροῦντο…Φαρισαῖοι (das Folgende wesentlich identisch)” (Marcion, 190*).
55 For example, there is no mention of οἱ γραμματεῖς, and Tertullian expresses the idea of ἵνα εὑρὼσιν κατηγορεῖν with ut accusarent.
56 Harnack, Marcion, 190*.
57 Given the loose nature of the allusion it is unnecessary to posit, with IGNTP, an otherwise unattested λῶσαι (from Tertullian’s liberare) for Marcion’s text.
58 The same uncertainty concerning the latter point was expressed by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:460.
προσευχῇ τοῦ πατρός (τοῦ θεοῦ?). Yet, in 4.13.1 προσεύξασθαι is not attested, and τοῦ πατρός almost certainly was not in Marcion’s text. Harnack recognized that τοῦ θεοῦ is universally attested, and therefore considered that reading as possible since “Tert. mag hier nur referieren.” That Tertullian is imprecisely alluding to the verse, despite reference to obviously Lukan elements, is clear by his stating *ascendit in montem*, reflecting the more common ἀνέβη eἰς τὸ ὄρος (cf. Matt 5:1; 14:23; 15:29) rather than ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄρος. That τοῦ πατρός is wording created by Tertullian is revealed by the fact that he does not mention simply “the Father” but writes *auditur a patre*, which he uses to create a direct connection to an altered reading of Ps 22:2 (4.13.2) and the prophets generally (4.13.3).

Tertullian attests the words ἐκλεξάμενος, δώδεκα, and ἀποστόλους from v. 13; yet, greater precision, beyond the basic recognition that the words come from the Lukan account (cf. Matt 10:2//Mark 3:14), cannot be gained from the question in 4.13.4. In v. 14, Tertullian refers to Jesus changing Simon’s name (4.13.6), which once again points to the Lukan Σίμωνα ἤφορον πέτρον. Although Tertullian does not refer to v. 16 (attested by Epiphanius) in Marc 4, he does refer to *Iudam traditorem* in 2.28.2. There the reference is used in a series of “anti-antitheses” created by Tertullian to counter accusations leveled by Marcion against the creator, where Tertullian contends that the charge against “our God” (the Creator) is also true of “your God” (the God revealed by Jesus). Thus, Tertullian may also attest the presence of the reference to Judas as the betrayer in Marcion’s Gospel.

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59 Harnack, *Marcion*, 191*.
60 Ibid.
63 Harnack’s reconstruction ἐκλεξάμενος δώδεκα . . . ἀποστόλους is a bit misleading in that it cannot be determined whether Marcion’s text read ἐκλεξάμενος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δώδεκα with most witnesses or ἐκλεξάμενος δώδεκα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν with numerous ol, and a handful of other, witnesses (*Marcion*, 191*).
64 Mark 3:16 also refers to the agency of Jesus (ἐπέθηκεν δόμα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον), though according to IGNT this reading does not appear in the Lukan manuscript tradition. Matt 10:2 simply states Σίμων δ λεγόμενος Πέτρος.
65 On the reading in 2.28.2 cf. Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion II*, 210. Tertullian also refers to *Iudam . . . traditorem* in An. 11.5 and to Judas as *traditor Christi* in Praescr. 3.11.
5.15 Luke 6:17

4.13.7—Conveniunt a Tyro et ex aliis regionibus multitudo, etiam transmarina.

This verse is also attested by Epiphanius. The textual evidence for Luke 6:17b, alluded to by Tertullian in 4.13.7, is quite complicated and Harnack’s reconstruction, πλῆθος (πολὺ) ἀπὸ τῆς (παραλίου?) Τύρου καὶ ἄλλων τε χωρῶν (πόλεων?) καὶ τῆς περαιᾶς ἔληλυθότων, is unconvincing.66 The allusion does contain a reference to πλῆθος and to ἀπὸ Τύρου, though this is probably the only place name mentioned in order to strengthen the connection to Ps 86:4–5 quoted immediately subsequently.67 Thus, ex aliis regionibus could be referring to the other locales mentioned in the verse. Harnack, along with Braun, also saw the reference to etiam transmarine reflecting the textual variant καὶ τῆς περαιᾶς (et trans fretum) found after ᾽Ιερουσαλήμ in ℵ*, W, and several OL manuscripts.68 Though this view is possible, it is also possible that Tertullian uses the term to create a link with those who are described veniunt ab aquiline et mari in the citation of Isa 49:12 (4.13.7).

5.16 Luke 6:24

4.15.3—Ecce enim demutat in maledictionem,…Vae enim dicit. | 4.15.9—Sed accidentia vitia divitiis illa in evangelio quoque ‘vae’ divitibus adscribunt: Quoniam, inquit, recepistis advocationem vestram,…69

Luke 6:24 is also attested by Eznik. Tertullian’s citation of the verse in 4.15.9 attests the unproblematic οὐαὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.70 It is worth noting concerning the two “omissions” that Harnack cautioned “Ob πλὴν und ὑμῖν gefehlt haben bleibt ungewiß.”71 As is often the case, the conjunction may well have been omitted by Tertullian.72 Also, since ὑμῖν is not included in the allusion to Luke 6:25 and is elsewhere omitted only by Eutropius the Presbyter it is, in all likelihood, a simple omission by Tertullian.

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67 The citation begins et ecce allophyli et Tyrus et populus Aethiopum (4.13.7).
68 Harnack, Marcion, 191* and Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 172n3. Lukas, Rhetorik, 248n1201 follows Braun.
69 Additional allusions to Luke 6:24 occur in 4.15.6–8, 10–11.
70 This is also the reconstruction of Harnack, Marcion, 192*. The manuscript tradition for this verse is relatively uniform.
72 According to IGNTP πλήν is only omitted in Α, 716, 1187*, and the Persian Diatessaron.
5.17 Luke 6:26

4.15.14—Vae, cum vobis benedixerint homines! Secundum haec faciebant et pseudoprophetis patres illorum.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:26 οὐαὶ ὅταν υμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποικατὰ ταὐτα ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν. Several elements, however, should be questioned. First, as noted above, the omission of υμῖν in 6:24, 25 reveals that it could have been present after οὐαί here as it is in D, W*, sy*, syP, co, and several other witnesses. Second, though υμᾶς is set before καλῶς in P75, B, e, g1, and q, Tertullian’s propensity to move pronouns does not necessarily mean this was the reading of Marcion’s text. Third, πάντες before οἱ ἄνθρωποι, with D and numerous others witnesses, may have been missing, though a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out. Fourth and finally, the omission of γάρ before and the addition of καί after ἐποίουν are not certain.

5.18 Luke 6:34

4.17.1—... Et si feneraveritis a quibus speratis vos recepturos, quae gratia est vobis?

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:34α καὶ ἐὰν δανίσητε παρ᾽ ων ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία χάρις εστὶν υμῖν. That Marcion’s text read ἀπολαβεῖν may be confirmed not only by the fact that it is read in many manuscripts, but also because one would expect Tertullian to have used accipere in rendering λαμβάνω, as he does in 13:19 (4.30.1) and 22:15 (4.40.3). Also, given the various readings in the

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73 Harnack, *Marcion*, 192*.
74 Manuscripts omitting υμῖν include P75, Α, B, and numerous others.
75 Cf. NA28 for the various orders in which υμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν is found in the manuscript tradition.
76 The omission of γάρ is also found in D, 1319, several lectionaries, most ob manuscripts, and the Persian Diatessaron. The addition of καί is found in b, f, q, and in Irenaeus.
77 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.
78 NA28 reads λαβεῖν on the strength of the testimony from P75vid, Β, L, W, and a few other witnesses.
79 Tsutsui questionably states “Das Futur ‘recepturos’ entspricht wohl der Lesart von EvThom 95” (“Evangelium,” 84). Apart from saying 95 of Gospel of Thomas being only loosely parallel to Luke 6:34, even if the parallel were closer, Tertullian’s use of the future to render the sense of a verb in another tense has already been seen to be part of Tertullian’s citation habit. The use of a different mood by Tertullian here, especially when the manuscript tradition attests no other mood than the infinitive, seems more likely.
manuscripts, it is possible, though not certain, that Tertullian's future perfect attests δανίσητε in Marcion's text. In addition, though ὑμῖν is attested at the end of the phrase in D and numerous OL manuscripts, Tertullian's inclination to move pronouns renders its position in Marcion's text uncertain. Finally, it is curious that Harnack included no mention of Tertullian's attesting ὑμεῖς after ἐλπίζετε. The pronoun is read in b, q, and r^1, though it may have been added here by Tertullian.

5.19 Luke 6:35

4.17.5—Et eritis filii dei. | 4.17.6—Quia ipse, inquit, suavis est adversus ingrates et malos. . . . Sed quis iste suavis, . . . ?

Without any transition from the previous discussion, in 4.17.5 Tertullian cites part of Luke 6:35b. He attests καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ θεοῦ, and Harnack rightly noted that no other witness attests θεοῦ instead of ψιστοῦ. Yet, Harnack did not mention that e reads fili Altissimi Dei. It is not probable, however, that either υἱοὶ ψιστοῦ θεοῦ or υἱοὶ θεοῦ was the reading of Marcion's text. The reading may be due to Tertullian himself as υἱοὶ ψιστοῦ occurs only here in the NT, whereas υἱοὶ θεοῦ occurs in Matt 5:9, Rom 8:14, Rom 9:26, and Gal 3:26. Also relevant is that in the following discussion Tertullian focuses exclusively on the absurdity of being made "sons" by Marcion's god who forbade marriage. Forms of filius occur throughout 4.17.5, but no element of the discussion would be affected by the question of whether the sons were called "sons of God" or "sons of the most high." Therefore, with his thoughts on the "sons" element Tertullian may have unconsciously written the more common fili dei. Tertullian continues the citation in 4.17.6 attesting the nearly uniform reading ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστὸς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀχαρίστους καὶ πονηροὺς.

80 Though D and d also omit ἐστίν making their reading different in respects other than simply word order.
81 Harnack, *Marcion*, 194*.
82 Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:462 overstated the case when he called Tertullian's citation "genau."
83 It is worth noting that Marcion's text read υἱοὶ ἐστε (τῆς) πίστεως in Gal 3:26, but was not an alteration by Marcion himself (cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 114–16, 346). Also, Tertullian makes reference to filios Dei from Matt 5:9 in Pat. 11.8 and Pud. 2.2.
84 Cf. Wright, *Alterations*, 128 for a similar view.
85 Thus, contra Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:452, there may indeed be an "erdenklicher Grund" for the possibility that Tertullian has provided an inexact citation.
5.20  Luke 6:36

4.17.8—Estote, inquit, misericordes, sicut pater vester86 misertus est vestri. . . . Aut si alius nunc misericordiam praecipit, quia et ipse misericors sit, . . .

Harnack reconstructed this verse γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὠκτειρεν ὑμᾶς (οἰκτίρμων ἐστιν;).87 The most obvious question relates to the conclusion of the verse as Harnack noted, “Hier ist die Entscheidung schwierig; die erste Fassung ist sonst unbezeugt; die zweite ist die Lukanische.”88 The context gives no further clues and with the absence of multiple citation or multiple attestation no firm conclusion can be reached as to whether the citation or the allusion renders Marcion’s text. The absence of οὖν after γίνεσθε and καί after καθὼς in Tertullian’s citation is not definitive, though the strong textual evidence for their omission may make their absence in Marcion’s text slightly more likely.89 Finally, though there is some question in the textual tradition of Tertullian’s works concerning vester, it most likely was present here and in Marcion’s text.90

5.21  Luke 6:38

4.17.9—. . . date et dabitur vobis. Mensuram bonam, pressam ac fluentem dabant in sinum vestrum. Eadem, qua mensi eritis, mensura remetietur vobis.

The final element of this verse is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. In 4.17.9 Tertullian quotes Luke 6:37 and 38 together, though only 6:37 is multiply cited. For v. 38 he attests δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται υμῖν· μέτρον καλόν, πεπιεσμένον καὶ ύπερεκχυννόμενον δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον υμῶν. τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ ᾧ μετρεῖτε91 ἀντιμετρηθήσεται υμῖν.92 Apart from πεπιεσμένον καὶ ύπερεκχυννόμενον, most

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86  Vester is omitted by β and Gelenius, but attested by M and retained by all the other editors.
87  Harnack, Marcion, 194*.
88  Ibid.
89  Cf. IGNT for the data.
90  IGNT lists Marcion as the only witness omitting υμῶν. However, even if one concludes that vester was not present in Tertullian’s work, his inconsistent rendering of pronouns makes a definitive verdict concerning the absence of the pronoun in Marcion’s text questionable.
91  IGNT interprets the mensi eritis here and mensi eritis, mensi fueritis, metieritis, and mensuraveritis in the ol manuscripts as attesting a Greek future (μετρήσετε). Though possible, in the absence of any Greek attestation for this reading the future perfect plus perfect construction may simply reflect a Latin stylistic choice.
92  This is also Harnack’s reconstruction (Marcion, 194*).
of 6:38a, b is unproblematic. IGNTP lists numerous variants for the one problematic phrase. Though the reading attested by Tertullian (πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπερεκχυννόμενον) is found in a few manuscripts, the omission of σεσαλευμένον could be due to Tertullian’s omitting an element from a multiple-element phrase.

Discussion of v. 38c must also take the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue into account, though it may here be noted that the omission of the conjunction γάρ, though also attested in other manuscripts, may be due to Tertullian. With many manuscripts, though not 8 and D, among several others, Tertullian attests τῷ αὐτῷ, though Tertullian’s word order (τῷ αὐτῷ ᾧ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ) is elsewhere unattested for either Luke 6:38 or the parallel in Matt 7:2. This order may be due to his own hand. The future form mensi eritis is also likely due to Tertullian’s propensity, at times, to use the future tense.

5.22 Luke 6:41–42

4.17.12—Eximat et de oculo suo trabem haereticus, tunc in oculo Christiani si quam putat stipulam revincat.

In the allusion to Luke 6:41–42 in 4.17.12, Tertullian clearly attests the presence and general teaching of the verses even if no insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion’s text.

5.23 Luke 6:45

4.17.12—. . . sic nec Marcion aliquid boni de thesaurō Cerdonis malo protulit, nec Appelles de Marcionis.

Luke 6:45 is also attested by Origen, with a reference in the Adamantius Dialogue likely not attesting Marcion’s text. Tertullian, following the reference to the multiply-cited Luke 6:43, merely alludes to Luke 6:45 and the issue of good and evil proceeding from good or evil treasure. No insight into the precise wording of the verse in Marcion’s Gospel can be gained from Tertullian.

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93 IGNTP lists 71*, 828*, l48, gat, and a few witnesses to geo.
94 The parallel in Matt 7:2 contains a καὶ and in Mark 4:24 no conjunction is present.
95 Harnack simply noted “Anspielung” and offered no reconstruction (Marcion, 194*).
96 Once again, Harnack simply noted “Anspielung” and offered no reconstruction (ibid., 195*).
5.24 Luke 6:46

4.17.13—Si ita est, quis videbitur dixisse: Quid voca<ti>s,97 domine, domine? | 4.17.14—Quis item adieciisse potuisse: Et non facitis quae dico?

Harnack reconstructed Luke 6:46 τί με (unsicher) καλείτε (καλείς?) κυρίε, κυρίε, καὶ οὐ ποιείτε (ποιείς?) ἄ λέγω.98 It is curious that in the reconstruction of the second edition Harnack indicated his uncertainty about several readings when his comment in the apparatus remained essentially the same: “Daß Tert. ‘me’ gelesen hat, zeigt die folgende Ausführung; daß ‘vocatis’ zu lesen ist, folgt mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit aus ‘facitis’.”99 The omission of the pronoun με could well be due to Tertullian, and, though several manuscripts also omit τί after τί, Tertullian may also be responsible for the absence of the conjunction. Finally, the attestation of vocas and facitis in the manuscript tradition of Adversus Marcionem is confusing, and the reading vocatis is warranted even if not completely secure.100

5.25 Luke 7:12, 14–16

4.18.2—Resuscitavit et mortuum filium viduae. . . . ut omnes illic creatori gloriam retulerint, dicentes: Magnus prophetes prodīit in nobis, et respexit deus populum suum.101

In 4.18.2 Tertullian makes a general reference to the pericope in Luke 7:11–17, though once again elements from only one verse can be reconstructed. After stating that Jesus raised a widow’s dead son (vv. 12, 14–15), Tertullian cites v. 16. Harnack reconstructed this verse ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν . . . μέγας προφήτης προῆλθεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.102 According to IGNTP the order μέγας προφήτης is attested only by Chrysostem and Origen, and it cannot be ruled out that it is here due to Tertullian. In addition, Harnack believed that

97 Vocatis is read by Pamelius, Rigalti, and Kroymann whereas § and the other editors read vocas.
98 Harnack, Marcion, 195*.
99 Ibid. “Mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit” did not appear in the note of the first edition, and the text was reconstructed without any of the elements in parentheses (Harnack, Marcion1, 177*).
100 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463, however, makes reference to Junius’s conjecture facis provided in his annotations on Pamelius’s text. According to IGNTP no other witness attests καλείς, and only Clementina reads ποιείς.
102 Harnack, Marcion, 196*.
Tertullian’s _prodiit_ revealed Marcion having changed his text to read προῆλθεν instead of ἠγέρθη, thus avoiding a passive form.103 The Οl manuscripts, however, all also read an active form here (surrexit). Furthermore, though the use of the verb _prodire_ to render ἐγείρω would be somewhat unusual, Harnack did not find it problematic to posit the verb ἐπισκέπτομαι behind the perhaps only slightly less unusual _respicere_.104 Thus, Harnack’s argument appears less than persuasive, though it still remains unclear whether Marcion’s text read ἠγέρθη or ἐγήγερται. Finally, the omission of ὅτι after καί may very well be a simple omission by Tertullian as he did not include it at the beginning of the clause either.

5.26 Luke 7:24

4.18.7—... _si et testimonium Iohanni perhibet_ ... | 4.18.8—... _Quid existis videre in solitudinem?_ ...

Harnack reconstructed Luke 7:24 (ἤρξατο λέγειν) περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί ἐξεληλύθατε θεάσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον;105 Concerning this reconstruction, first, the majority reading is ἐξεληλύθατε, but P75, ι, B, D, L, W and numerous other manuscripts read ἐξήλθατε. The Latin perfect, _existis_, could render either form so it is not entirely clear that Harnack’s reading is correct. In addition, IGNTP gives no other witness for εἰς τὴν ἔρημον following instead of preceding the infinitive. That Tertullian is responsible for the word order cannot be ruled out.

5.27 Luke 7:37–38, 47–48, 50

4.18.9—_Diximus de remissa peccatorum. Illius autem peccatricis feminae argumentum eo pertinebit, ut cum pedes domini osculis figeret, lacrimis inundaret, crinibus detergeret, unguento perduceret, ... et ut peccatricis paenitentia_...

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103 Ibid. Harnack provided only ἠγέρθη as the Lukan reading and did not mention ἐγήγερται, the reading of most manuscripts, including D. He rightly stated that προῆλθεν is otherwise unattested.

104 In the Gospels, ἐπισκέπτομαι is used five times (Matt 25:36, 43; Luke 1:68, 78; Luke 7:16). For the occurrences, nearly the entire Οl manuscript tradition uniformly renders the verb with _visitare_, the only exceptions being the use of _venire_ in ff1, ff2, and q in Matt 25:43 and _prospicere_ in e in Luke 1:68.

105 Harnack, _Marcion_, 197*. 
merverit veniam,... [the woman] per paenitentiam ex fide iustificatam ab eo [Jesus] audit: Fides tua te salvam fecit,...

Tertullian's statement “we have already spoken of the forgiveness of sins” (4.18.9) prefaces, and provides the reason for, a cursory reference to the pericope in Luke 7:36–50. In this passage vv. 36–38, and 44–46 are attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian makes reference to the γυνὴ described as ἁμαρτωλός (v. 37), what she did (v. 38), her repentance and pardon (vv. 47–48), and then quotes Jesus' words ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (v. 50).106 The listing of the woman’s actions (v. 38) has clearly been adapted by Tertullian as seen by his placing the verb at the end of each element. Thus, no significance should be attributed to the word order of each element, and perhaps no significance should be read into the order of the elements themselves, though it is worth noting that Tertullian lists the actions of the woman in the order τοὺς πόδας κατεφίλει, τοῖς δάκρυσι ἔβρεξε, ταῖς θριξὶν ἐξέμασσεν, and τῷ μύρῳ ἰέλεισεν.

5.28 Luke 8:2–3

4.19.1—Quod divites Christo mulieres adhaerebant, quae et de facultatibus suis ministrabant ei, inter quas et uxor regis procuratoris, de prophetia est.

In 4.19.1 Tertullian alludes to certain elements in Luke 8:2–3 that he argues are in accordance with prophecy. For these verses Harnack reconstructed γυναῖκες... γυνὴ ἐπιτρόπου Ηρώδου, αἵτινες καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν.107 Though Harnack rightly recognized that “auf seine [Tertullian’s] Wortstellung ist hier kein Gewicht zu legen,” he nevertheless questionably placed considerable weight on individual elements found in Tertullian’s adaptation of this verse.108

106 IGNTP lists Marcion apud Tertullian as attesting the reading σε σέσωκεν, along with the OL manuscripts and several Latin church fathers. However, Tertullian in every instance cites this phrase as fides tua te salvam fecit (cf. Luke 8:48; 17:19; and the multiply cited 18:42) and the OL manuscripts almost uniformly place te before the verb in every occurrence of the phrase in the Gospels (Matt 9:22; Mark 5:34, 10:52; Luke 7:50, 8:48, 17:19, 18:42). The only exceptions are d in Luke 17:19 and d, e in Luke 18:42. Thus, it is not clear that these OL witnesses, and certainly not Tertullian, can be used as evidence for a variant word order in the Greek. In addition, IGNTP is curiously inconsistent in that it attributes the variant reading σε σέσωκεν to Marcion and the OL witnesses in Luke 7:50, 8:48, and 17:19, but lists no variants in Luke 18:42.

107 Harnack, Marcion, 197*.

108 Ibid.
First, though καί is attested in several manuscripts, including D and numerous OL manuscripts, and may have been in Marcion’s text, its presence is far from certain. Apart from the usual difficulty of evaluating Tertullian’s testimony involving conjunctions, here Tertullian lifts three elements from v. 3 that are “from prophecy” and joins them with et. Thus, the flow of Tertullian’s thought can easily account for the conjunction.

Second, the reading αὐτῷ is attested by numerous manuscripts, including 8, A, and L, making its presence here possible. Since it is also the reading of Matt 27:55//Mark 15:41, however, it is conceivable that Tertullian has been influenced by the wording in the other Synoptics. In addition, Tertullian follows the reference to Luke 8:2–3 with a citation of Isa 32:9–10, which he applies to Christ. Thus αὐτῷ instead of αὐτοῖς fits naturally into Tertullian’s argument.

Third, suis should probably be read as rendering αὐτοῖς and not αὐτῶν. Though the latter is read in a handful of manuscripts, including 8* and D, every OL manuscript, except d, renders the verse de facultatibus suis.109 It is worth noting that IGNTP does not consider the OL manuscripts to be attesting αὐτῶν.

Finally, Harnack was probably right in seeing regis as a reference to Ἡρώδου, though it would be more accurate to place ellipses before and after γυνή, as the impression should not be given that the unattested names Joanna and Chuza were absent in Marcion’s Gospel.

5.29 Luke 8:4, 8

4.19.2—Aeque de parabolis… dedit Christo frequenter inculcare: Qui habet aures, audiat.… Qui habet aures, audiat.

In 4.19.2 Tertullian appears to allude to παραβολή in v. 4, and then twice quotes the conclusion of the parable in v. 8 in the form ὁ ἔχων ὄτα ἀκούετω. Harnack, who also reconstructed the text in this manner, rightly noted that this is not the Lukan, but rather the Matthean reading.110 Yet, the fact that Tertullian introduces the citation with the idea that Christ frequently spoke these words, that this is the form always found in Matthew and only in Matthew (cf. Matt 11:5, 13:9, and 13:43), and that it is essentially unattested for Luke makes it quite likely that this form is due to Tertullian and not the reading of Marcion’s Gospel.

109 d reads de substantia sua. Also, it is not entirely clear whether de is rendering ἀπό or ἐκ, though the former is more likely.

110 Harnack stated it was a “bei Luk. völlig unbezeugte Fassung” (Marcion, 198*). IGNTP states that 2643 also omits ἀκούειν.
5.30 Luke 8:16

4.19.5—.. luscarnam negat abscondi solere,..

Tertullian makes a passing allusion to Luke 8:16 in 4.19.5 where the general content of the verse of no one hiding (καλύπτει) a lamp (λύχνον) is evident; yet, no further insight into the reading of the text can be gained.

5.31 Luke 8:22–25

4.20.1—Quis autem iste est qui ventis111 et mari imperat?.. sed agnorant substantiae auctorem suum, quae famulis quoque eius obaudire consueverant. | 4.20.2—.. praedicatio marinae istius expeditionis... | 4.20.3—Nam cum transfretat... Cum undas freti discutit, ... Cum ad minas eius eliditur mare, ... utique cum ventis, quibus inquietabatur.

Vv. 23–24 in this pericope are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian begins his testimony to the passage with a reference to v. 25b, which Harnack reconstructed τίς (ἄρα) οὗτός ἐστιν, δς τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτάσσει καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ;112 It is interesting to note that here Harnack observed “Tert. ‘autem’, aber das ist unerheblich (ebenso die Wortstellung gleich darauf),” and one can only speculate as to why Harnack was not able to recognize these points more often.113 In addition, though δς and the omission of καί after it does have some attestation in the manuscript tradition, Tertullian may simply be providing a loose phrasing focusing on the identity and activity of the “who” in the question, namely, Christ. The reading τῇ θαλάσσῃ found in the synoptic parallels (cf. Matt 8:27//Mark 4:41) is also noteworthy.114 It is found in numerous OL manuscripts and several versions in Luke, but the possibility of Tertullian being influenced by the parallel accounts must be taken into account.115

In 4.20.3, the verb transfretare seems to refer to διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν of v. 22, where numerous OL manuscripts also use this verb to render the phrase.116

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111 Moreschini rejects the reading et ventis found in R3, Gelenius, Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.
112 Harnack, Marcion, 199*.
113 Ibid., 198*.
114 Concerning word order, it is also worth noting that Matt and Mark speak of οἱ ἄνεμοι (Mark: ὁ ἄνεμος) καὶ η ἡθάλασσα obeying Jesus.
115 Harnack incorrectly stated that this reading is unattested in Luke (Marcion, 198*).
116 It is not clear why Harnack inserted an ellipsis after διέλθωμεν (ibid.). Also, Braun notes that transfretare is used in the Vulgate, though there is an apparent misprint in placing LXX before the citation of the Greek of Luke 8:22 (Contre Marcion IV, 251n7).
The “windstorm” in v. 23 (λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου) may lie behind the comment about the wind having disquieted (inquietabatur) the sea in 4.20.3. 117 In the same section, Tertullian’s testimony to v. 24 attests the “scattering” of the waves (the wording has been influenced by dispargo in the quotation from Hab 3:9), the rebuke of the sea (again the reading of the parallels in Matt 8:26//Mark 4:39), and the rebuke of the wind. Here, however, in addition to the possible influence from the Gospel parallels, Tertullian also cites from Nahum 1:4 where the sea (mare) is rebuked.

5.32 Luke 8:27–28, 30–32

4.20.4—... cum invenis in uno homine multitudinem daemonum, legionem se professam, ... atque ita ipsum esse qui cum legione quoque daemonum erat dimicaturus, ... | 4.20.5—Cuius autem dei filium legeo qui legio testatus est? Sine dubio cuius tormenta et abyssum noverant et timebant. | 4.20.6—Non enim depetunt [the demons] ab alio quod meminissent petendum sibi a creatore, veniam scilicet abyssi creatoris. | 4.20.7—Denique impetraverunt.... deum abyssi...

In the pericope of the demoniac and the swine (Luke 8:26–39), v. 30 is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony renders numerous elements in multiple verses, though not all in order. In 4.20.4 Tertullian refers to one demon-possessed ἀνήρ (v. 27)118 and δαιμόνια πολλά calling themselves λεγεών (v. 30).119 v. 28 is attested in 4.20.5, and Harnack reconstructed Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ (wahrscheinlich fehlte τοῦ ὑψίστου) μή με βασανίσῃς.120 Harnack argued “τοῦ ὑψίστου fehlte wahrscheinlich, weil Tert. sonst nicht so fragen konnte [in 4.20.5].”121 At the same time, the rhetorical purpose for this question, namely setting up a specific answer highlighting the God of the “known and feared torment and abyss,” may allow for the possibility that Tertullian omitted the descriptor and made a generic reference to the deity.122

117 Though it is not reflected in his reconstruction, Harnack, Marcion, 198* viewed undae freti as referring to v. 23. It is difficult, however, to agree with Harnack’s assessment given that the terms are found in the phrase cum undas freti discutit. In context it seems clear that these words refer to v. 24.
118 That Tertullian draws this element from Luke 8:27 is likely due to his emphasis on one man. Matt 8:28 speaks of δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι.
119 Tertullian’s allusion cannot reveal the word order for the phrase δαιμόνια πολλά.
120 Harnack, Marcion, 199*.
121 Ibid. The same point was made by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:452.
122 Tsutsui states that the words may have been omitted, but remains uncommitted to Marcionite redactional activity (“Evangelium,” 89).
reference is made to παρεκάλουν and the request not to send the demons εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον (v. 31).123

Greater uncertainty surrounds vv. 32–37, and Harnack contended that the verses were omitted by Marcion and that his text only had “Sie erlangten es.”124 Braun rightly notes the problem with this view, responding

Ce n’est pas sûr et impetrauerunt [4.20.7] peut fort bien renvoyer à ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς (permissit illis) du v. 32. L’adverbe denique indique clairement que le récit est abrégé.125

Thus, v. 32 seems to be attested with vv. 33–37 unattested.

5.33 Luke 8:43–46, 48

4.20.8—...tangitur a femina, quae sanguine fluitabat, et nescivit a qua. Quis me, inquit, tetigit? Etiam excusantibus discipulis perseverat in ignorantiae voce: Tetigit me aliquis, idque de argumento adfirmat: Sensi enim virtutem ex me profectam.126 | 4.20.9—...dixit: Fides tua te salvam fecit. | 4.20.13—Nec illud omissum, quod, dum tangitur vestimentum eius, ...127

In this account, vv. 44–46 are also attested by Epiphanius.128 Tertullian’s testimony begins with a general reference to the pericope (4.20.8), as he notes
that a woman with an issue of blood touched Jesus (vv. 43–44). This general reference is followed by citations of several verses. For v. 45 Tertullian attests the Markan form of the question τίς μου ἥψατο (Mark 5:31)\(^{129}\) followed by a reference to the Markan οἱ μαθηταὶ and alluding to their comment that Jesus is surrounded by a crowd.\(^{130}\) In reply, Tertullian attests Jesus' words ἥψατό μού τις and... γὰρ ἔγνω δύναμιν ἐξεληλυθυῖαν ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ (v. 46), though once again with a variant word order.\(^{131}\) In 4.20.9 Jesus' words ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε (v. 48) are attested.\(^{132}\) At the conclusion of the discussion Tertullian, in order to demonstrate that Jesus had a body, makes a further reference to v. 44 (ἡψατο... τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ).

Though the evidence from Epiphanius must also be taken into account, it is worth noting that the Markan form of the question in v. 45 is also attested by D and several OL manuscripts. In addition, Harnack believed the, for Luke, otherwise unattested οἱ μαθηταὶ to be the reading of Marcion's text;\(^{133}\) yet, many manuscripts read Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ (μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ in a few witnesses), and, if this was the reading in Marcion's text, Tertullian could be simplifying the expression. Finally, though D and a handful of OL witnesses omit τοῦ κραπέδου in v. 44, Tertullian's passing comment is rather slight evidence upon which to base a supposed omission in Marcion's text as is done by Harnack, *Marcion*, 199* and found in the apparatus of IGNTP and NA\(^{26}\). The term is simply unattested and starting with the 27th ed., the Nestle-Aland apparatus rightly removed the reference to an omission by Marcion.

5.34 Luke 9:2–3, 5

4.21.1—Dimittit discipulos ad praedicandum dei regnum. . . . Prohibet eos victui aut vestitui quid in viam ferre. . . . At cum iubet pulverem excutere de pedibus in eos a quibus excepti non fuissent, et hoc in testimonium mandat fieri.

Luke 9:2–3 is also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian alludes to the disciples (in v. 1 there is a reference to Jesus calling together τοὺς δώδεκα)

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129 This is the form when the disciples restate Jesus's question. In Mark 5:30 Jesus says τίς μου ἥψατο τῶν ἵματιων.

130 Cf. n. 126.

131 Concerning this word order Harnack is likely correct in noting “die Wortstellung bei Tert. hier und in v. 48 ist ohne Bedeutung” (*Marcion*, 200*).

132 Concerning the word order cf. n. 106.

133 Harnack, *Marcion*, 199*.
whom Jesus ἀπέστειλεν...κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. There is a clear allusion to v. 3 and the prohibition to take bread and (two) tunics, among other items, though based on Tertullian’s testimony no reconstruction of the text is possible. Tertullian’s adaptation of v. 5 seems to attest μὴ δέξωνται [ὑμᾶς] and τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν [ὑμῶν] ἀποτινάξατε εἰς μαρτύριον. Though the precise readings of Marcion’s text are not clearly evident, the strongly Lukan tenor of the references is obvious.

5.35 Luke 9:7–8

4.21.2—Nullum deum novum a Christo probatum illa etiam opinio omnium declaravit, quia Christum Iesum alii Iohannem, alii Heliam, alii unum aliquem ex veteribus prophetis Herodi adseverabant. Ex quibus quicumque fuisset, non utique hoc est suscitatit ut alium deum post resurrectionem praedicaret.

In Tertullian’s adaptation of Luke 9:7–8, there are references to Ἡρῴδης and ύπὸ τινων [ὁτι] Ἰωάννης [ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν] (v. 7), as well as to ύπὸ τινων... Ἡλίας and ἄλλων προφήτης εἰς τῶν ἄρχαιων [ἀνέστη] (v. 8). That some reference to John, Elijah, or one of the prophets rising from the dead was in the verses is clear; yet, given the various readings in the manuscript tradition the exact wording is not. In v. 7 Harnack commented “‘omnium’ ist auffallend (Luk. τινων)”; however, he appears to have misunderstood Tertullian’s statement. Tertullian does attest the τινων (alii) in v. 7, and opinion omnium is a reference to the sum of what the different groups were saying. In v. 8 Harnack reconstructed εἰς τις τῶν ἄρχαιων προφητῶν (oder προφήτης τῶν ἄρχαιων). Given that Tertullian is...
making a general reference to the content of the verses, the former, otherwise unattested, reading is unlikely and unnecessary to posit. Finally, unum probably attests εἶς, though, with numerous manuscripts, τις is not impossible.

5.36 Luke 9:12–14, 17

4.21.3—Pascit populum in solitudine,... panis et piscis... quinque circiter... milia hominum... | 4.21.4—... pabuli exiguitatem non tantum sufficere, verum etiam exuberare...

In the pericope of the feeding of the five thousand (Luke 9:10–17), Tertullian alludes to ἐν ἐρήμῳ (v. 12), ἄρτοι... καὶ ἰχθύες (v. 13), πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες (v. 14), and that there was an overabundance of food (τὸ περισσεῦσαν in v. 17). Beyond these few words and the basic attestation of the pericope’s presence in Marcion’s Gospel, none of these references provides any particular insight into Marcion’s text.

5.37 Luke 9:20–21

4.21.6—... interroganti domino quisnam illis videretur, cum pro omnibus [Peter] responderet: Tu es Christus,140... silentium indicens. ... ille autem praecepit ne cui hoc dicerent, ...141

In Luke 9:20–21, v. 20 is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony to this verse begins with a reference to Jesus’ question to the disciples concerning his identity followed by a citation of Peter’s response in the form of the parallel Mark 8:29, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός (cf. also Matt 16:16, which also begins with these words but continues with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος). Whether this phrasing is due to Tertullian being influenced by a synoptic parallel or his following the reading in Marcion’s Gospel is unclear. Tertullian’s adaptation of v. 21 offers the final element, which Harnack reconstructed παρήγγειλεν μηδενὶ φαγεῖν...
λέγειν τοῦτο. As λέγειν is the reading of numerous manuscripts, including P75, θ, A, B, and D, it is likely for Marcion's text, though the Latin cannot rule out the reading εἰπεῖν in the TR.


4.22.4—... eius [Peter] suggerit consilium: Bonum est hic nos esse—bonum plane, ubi Moyses scilicet et Helias—, et: Faciamus hic tria tabernacula, unum tibi, et Moysi unum, et Heliae unum. Sed nesciens quid diceret. For v. 33 Harnack reconstructed ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι... ὁ Πέτρος... καλὸν ἔστω ἡμᾶς εἶναι καὶ ποιῆσομεν ὡδὲ σημαίνας τρεῖς, μίαν σοί καὶ Μωσεῖ [sic] μίαν καὶ Ἡλίᾳ [sic] μίαν, μή εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει. First, Harnack stated that the order ὡδὲ ἡμᾶς is “sonst fast unbezeugt,” though igntp lists no other witnesses. Even if the manuscripts of Adversus Marcionem reading hic nos reflect what Tertullian wrote, the order could be due to Tertullian. Second, Harnack wrote that the second ὡδὲ is otherwise unattested, when in fact it is attested by D*, d, l, r1, and numerous versions. Third, Harnack apparently made an error in his reconstruction, because in the apparatus he stated that Marcion read τρεῖς σκηνὰς with D, most ol manuscripts, and many other witnesses, which may well be correct. Finally, the placement of μίαν in each reference is variably attested in the manuscript tradition. According to igntp, only 700, l056, and ff2 attest this particular combination of μίαν before σοί and then following Moses and Elijah. It is possible that Marcion’s text read this way, though Tertullian’s influence is also possible.

In 4.22.7, 13 Tertullian alludes to the cloud that overshadowed the group on the mountain (v. 34), though no further insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion’s text.

143 Moreschini’s text reads hic nos with M and Kroymann, though β and the other editors read nos hic.
145 Harnack, Marcion, 202*.
146 Ibid., 203*.
147 It is interesting that Tertullian’s testimony twice has the numeral before the noun (tria tabernacula, unum tibi) and then twice after the noun (Moysi unum, Heliae unum).
5.39 Luke 9:41

4.23.1—Stet Christus Marcionis et exclamet: O genitura incredula, quousque ero apud vos? Quousque sustinebo vos?248 | 4.23.2—Suscipio adhuc et personam discipulorum, in quos insillit: O natio incredula, quamdiu ero vobiscum, quamdiu vos sustinebo?

Luke 9:41 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian twice cites the verse, though not in the same Latin form.149 Nevertheless, the citations could render essentially the same Greek text, with only the placement of vos being different. Since Tertullian has been shown to change the position of pronouns often, both quotations could attest a reading ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος . . . ἕως πότε ἐσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; ἕως πότε ἀνεξομαι ὑμῶν. The unattested καὶ διεστραμμένη may be a simple omission by Tertullian.150 Also, the repeated quousque/quamdiu appears to attest ἕως πότε appearing twice, as in numerous other manuscripts.151 Also worth noting is that Tertullian, in 4.23.2, seems to imply that the phrase was addressed to the disciples in Marcion’s text.

5.40 Luke 9:46–48

4.23.4—Sed ecce Christus diligit parvulos, tales docens esse debere qui semper maiores velint esse, . . .

In an antithesis in 4.23.4, Tertullian alludes to Luke 9:46–48. Though the words μείζων and παιδίον appear to be attested, this brief reference provides no basis upon which to reconstruct any longer readings in Marcion’s text.

5.41 Luke 9:54–55

4.23.7—Repraesentat creator ignium plagam Helia postulante in illo pseudopropheta. Agnosco iudicis severitatem, e contrario Christi <lenitatem, increpan-

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248 The second question is omitted by γ, R1, and R2.
149 This verse is one of the passages upon which Harnack leaned heavily for his contention that Tertullian was using a Latin translation of Marcion’s text (cf. Harnack, Marcion, 180*, 203*). On this point cf. Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?,” 432–339. Braun observes “... contrairement à ce qu’affirme Harnack, p. 203*, la seconde formulation n’est pas en ‘meilleur latin’ que la première” (Contre Marcion IV, 295n2 [cont.]; also Lukas, Rhetorik, 275).
150 Mark 9:19 has only one adjective describing the generation (ὁ γενεὰ ἄπιστος).
151 The long list of manuscripts attesting this reading in IGNTb reveals that Harnack’s comment “ἕως πότε secundum mit wenigen Zeugen” is a significant understatement (Marcion, 203*).
Harnack stated that here Tertullian is interacting with another of Marcion’s antitheses.\textsuperscript{153} Braun, however, responds that the comparison could have arisen out of the statement ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν found at the end of v. 54 in numerous manuscripts, which Harnack also believed was present in Marcion’s text. Regardless of whether or not an antithesis was involved, the confident assertion by both Harnack and Braun that these words were present in Marcion’s text is overstated.\textsuperscript{154} Even more problematic are Harnack’s assertions that the additions in vv. 55–56, though unattested by Tertullian, were not only in Marcion’s Gospel but also from Marcion’s hand.\textsuperscript{155} Tsutsui is rightly much more cautious stating that the additions “können, mindestens zum Teil, marcionitisch sein. Aber m.E. darf man nicht aus dem Tertullians Bericht folgern, daß sie auch im von ihm benutzten Marcion-Text gestanden haben.”\textsuperscript{156}

5.42 Luke 10:1, 4, 7–11

4.24.1—Adlegit et alios septuaginta apostolos super duodecim. | 4.24.2—…Christus autem nec virgam discipulis in viam ferre praescripsit…. hi autem in civitates mittebantur. | 4.24.3—Etiam calciamenta portare vetuit illos…. Neminem, inquit, in via\textsuperscript{157} salutaveritis. | 4.24.5—Dignus\textsuperscript{158} autem operarius

\textsuperscript{153} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 204*.
\textsuperscript{154} Harnack writes they were “gewiß” present (ibid.) and Braun “sans doute” present (\textit{Contre Marcion iv}, 299n6). Cf. also Zahn, \textit{Geschichte}, 2:468. Zahn, however, viewed the longer readings as original and therefore did not view Marcion as their creator (cf. especially \textit{Evangelium des Lucass}, 399–402, 764–67). On the other hand, Harris, at the end of the nineteenth century, wrote concerning the additions in vv. 54–55: “Dr. Hort says that both these passages are Western; we add that if so they are probably Marcionite” (\textit{Codex Bezae}, 233). Against the Marcionite origin of the sayings is J.M. Ross, “The Rejected Words in Luke 9:54–56,” \textit{ExpTim} 84 (1972): 85–88. An excellent refutation of the view that these readings were found in Marcion’s text is found in Delobel, “Extra-Canonical Sayings,” 115–16.
\textsuperscript{155} Concerning v. 56 Harnack stated, “leider fehlt uns hier der Marcion-Text; aber angesichts der überwältigenden Zahl von Zeugen gegen den Vers, kann er nicht ursprünglich sein. Wer aber sollte ihn hinzugefügt haben, wenn nicht M.?“ (\textit{Marcion}, 248*). Such an argument is tenuous at best.
\textsuperscript{156} Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 94.
\textsuperscript{157} Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans read per viam. According to IGNTp the Greek text uniformly attests κατὰ τὴν δρόμον. The OL attests per viam, circa viam, and in viam.
\textsuperscript{158} Moreschini rejects the reading \textit{dignus est} in Pamelius, Rigalti, Oehler, and Evans.
mercede sua,... | 4.24.6—Regnum dei... [Christ] iubet adnuntiari adpropinquasse. | 4.24.7—Etiam adicit ut eis qui illos non recepissent dicerent: Scitote tamen adpropinquasse regnum dei... in salutem scilicet eorum qui adnuntiatiensonem recepissent?... Sic et pulverem iubet excuti in illos, in testificationem...

In this pericope, v. 5 is multiply cited. Tertullian attests two elements of v. 1: ἀνέδειξεν [or ἀπέδειξεν]... ἕτερους ἑβδομήκοντα (4.24.1) and ἀπέστειλεν... εἰς... πόλιν (4.24.2).160 As is well known, the manuscript tradition is divided between the reading “seventy” and “seventy-two.” Tertullian here attests the former as Marcion’s reading.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 10:4 μήτε ῥαβδὸν (?), μὴ ὑποδήματα... μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.161 The question mark is due to Harnack not being sure if the reference to a virga was due to Marcion’s text or due to Tertullian importing an element from the mission of the 12 (Luke 9:3).162 Since IGNTP indicates that no manuscript and only Didymus the Blind and Epiphanius attest ῥαβδὸν in this verse, and since virga creates a point of contact with bacillus mentioned in the citation of 2 Kgs 4:29 (4.24.3), the latter is more likely the case.

In 4.24.5 Tertullian attests the phrase ἄξιος... ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ from Luke 10:7. The use of autem here can be understood as due to the flow of Tertullian’s argument, and should not be construed to attest either the

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159 The following phrase reads eieratae etiam terrae eorum, neden communicationis reliquae in Moreschini’s text, which is also the reading of Kroymann. However, the first element is attested in numerous forms in the manuscripts and edited editions of Tertullian. M reads ei; haeret etiam; R3, B, and Gelenius read adhaerentiam; Pamelius, based on the conjecture of R3, reads ad horrentiam; Rigalti reads et haerentiam; and Oehler and Evans read et haerentia. Though some of these readings render the idea of wiping off the dust κολληθέντα to them, the great uncertainty here does not allow this idea to be posited for Marcion’s text.

160 Harnack thought that adlegit was rendering ἀπέδειξεν. This reading is possible, and is found in D. IGNTP also states that e and a (both elegit), c (probavit), d (ostendit), and b and l (designavit) attest this reading. Given that ἀναδείκνυμι occurs only here and in Acts 1:24, it is difficult to evaluate the OL readings. However, Tischendorf and Von Soden list no variants for Acts 1:24, and here gig, which has an OL text in Acts, reads ostende as does the Vulgate. It is hardly inconceivable that some of the OL evidence for Luke 10:1 reveals the challenge of rendering ἀνεδείξεν, and is not attesting ἀπέδειξεν. Tsutsui’s contention that ἀποστόλους in Marcion’s text is “ganz sicher” and that ἐπὶ τοῖς δώδεκα probably appeared is questionable. Indeed, his view seems to be influenced by his belief that the antithesis discussed by Tertullian is between the 70 and the 12. This view is strongly and rightly criticized by Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 304n1, 305n3.

161 Harnack, Marcion, 205*.

reading δέ, or the absence of γάρ in Marcion's text. In 4.24.6, Tertullian adapts the phrase concerning the nearness of the kingdom of God (Luke 10:9), and in 4.24.7 there is an allusion to δέχωνται (v. 8). Finally, in 4.24.7 Tertullian offers a reference to v. 10 (μὴ δέχωνται ύμᾶς) followed by a citation and adaptation of elements in v. 11. Tertullian quotes πλὴν... γινώσκετε [ὅτι] ἦγγυσεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ and concludes with a reference to τὸν κοινοτόν [ἀπομασσόμεθα].

The reference to excuti and in testificationem are again taken by Tertullian from the mission of the 12 (Luke 9:5).

5.43 Luke 10:16

4.24.8—... Qui vos spernet, me spernet.

It is interesting that although Harnack quotes the reading spernet he was content to reconstruct Luke 10:16 with the Greek present tense: ὁ ἀθετῶν ύμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ. Also noteworthy is that Harnack did not feel compelled to place ύμᾶς before the verb in this case. The use of the future and the change of position of vos, though the reading ύμᾶς ἀθετῶν is attested by P45 and numerous ol manuscripts, can be explained by Tertullian's citation habit. Thus, Harnack's reconstruction is probable, even if not certain.

5.44 Luke 10:23–24

4.25.12—Si et sequentia inspicias: Beati oculi qui vident quae videtis: dico enim vobis quia prophetae non viderunt quae vos videtis.

Harnack reconstructed these verses μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι προφῆται οὐκ ἴδαν [sic], ἃ υμεῖς βλέπετε. The final element in v. 23 and the opening to v. 24 are unproblematic and exhibit little variation in the manuscript tradition. The remainder of v. 24, however, renders

163 Once again, the lack of an ellipsis in Harnack, Marcion, 205* could be misleading.
164 Harnack thought that Marcion's text, along with a handful of manuscripts, omitted ἔφ' ύμᾶς in v. 9 (ibid.). Its absence, however, could also be a simple omission by Tertullian.
165 It is unclear why Harnack reconstructed an otherwise unattested γινώσκεσθε (ibid.).
166 For εἰς μαρτύριον cf. Harnack's comments in the apparatus (ibid.). Cf. also Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion iv, 309n3.
167 Moreschini's text reads spernet (bis) with M and Kroymann, whereas β and the other editors read spernit (bis).
168 Harnack, Marcion, 205*.
169 Ibid., 206*.
an otherwise unattested text. The omission of πολλοί is elsewhere attested only in 12.41, though καὶ βασιλεῖς is also omitted in D and several other manuscripts. The placement of ἃ ύμεις βλέπετε in Tertullian’s citation is elsewhere unattested. One cannot be certain if Tertullian or Marcion is responsible for the phrasing, or to what extent elements of the reading were present in Marcion’s source text.

5.45 Luke 11:7–8


In Luke 11:5–8, v. 5 is multiply cited. The allusion in 4.26.8 reveals the presence of the statement of the man being in bed with his children (v. 7), though the precise wording of Marcion’s text remains elusive. In v. 8, the allusion similarly reveals the main ideas of the verse even if the precise wording of the Greek cannot be reconstructed.

5.46 Luke 11:14, 18–20

4.26.11—Cum surdum daemonium expulisset... Si ego, inquit, in Belzebule eicio daemonia, filii vestri in quo eiciunt?... Si ego in Belzebule, filii vestri in quo?... non posse satanan dividí adversus semetipsum. ... subiungit: Quodsi ego in digito dei expello daemonia, ergone adpropinquavit in vos regnum dei?

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171 Harnack, Marcion, 206ª; Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 97; and Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion iv, 325n3 all see redaction by Marcion in the verse.
172 Harnack stated that, with several manuscripts, Marcion read τὰ παιδία and not τὰ παιδία μου; however, Tertullian’s discussion would not allow the use of a first-person pronoun, and Tertullian may well have simply omitted the pronoun.
173 Harnack attempted to reconstruct the verse, and his reconstruction is plausible, though based largely on inference (Marcion, 208ª).
174 On the spelling of Beelzebul here in both the Latin and Greek cf. chapter 4, nn. 276 and 277.
175 Moreschini’s text reads adpropinquavit with R2 and R3, rejecting adpropinquabat read by M, γ, and R1. The difference may simply be orthographic; however, given Tertullian’s propensity to use the future, the reading of M et al. could be attesting a future. IGNTP lists no variants for the reading ἔφθασεν.
For Luke 11:14–20, v. 15 is multiply cited. In 4.26.11, Tertullian makes a general reference to Jesus having cast out a “deaf devil” (v. 14). An allusion to Jesus’ question involving a reference to Satan being divided against himself (v. 18) follows a citation of v. 19, which Harnack reconstructed εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβούλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ υμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβαλλοῦσιν; The omission of δὲ after εἰ posited by Harnack and attested by b and a handful of versions, may be a simple omission by Tertullian.

Harnack reconstructed v. 20 εἰ δ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐν δακτυλῷ [sic] θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἀρα ἐφάσαν εἰς υμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, and only noted the otherwise unattested reading εἰς υμᾶς. It is not certain, however, that ἐν vos is not rendering the nearly uniformly attested ἐφ᾽ υμᾶς. Tsutsui disagreed with Harnack’s reconstructing ἐφάσαν, contending that adpropinquavit rendered ἐγγυνεκ. Tsutsui rightly notes that only d, which also reads adpropinquavit, might support this reading. In addition, though not mentioned by Tsutsui, Tertullian elsewhere in Adversus Marcionem uses adpropinquare to render the verb ἐγγύζω or the phrase ἐγγὺς ἐστίν. At the same time, however, the OL manuscripts do reveal some variation in their renderings of v. 20, and Tertullian may have been influenced by the readings of the recently cited Luke 10:9 (4.24.6) or Luke 21:31 where the reference is to the kingdom of God drawing near. Therefore, it is possible that Tertullian more loosely rendered the end of the citation rather than having found either of these readings in Marcion’s text, but one cannot be sure. Finally, ἐγὼ in v. 20 is also worth noting, as it may have been in Marcion’s text since it is attested by D and numerous other manuscripts, several versions, and multiple church fathers. At the same time, an unconscious influence on Tertullian by Matt 12:27 cannot be ruled out.

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176 Braun rightly notes that Tertullian renders κωφός with surdus instead of mutus to create a closer correspondence to his reference to Isa 29:18 (Contre Marcion IV, 339n5). In addition, the allusion cannot reveal whether καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν was present in Marcion’s text or not (set in brackets in NA28).

177 Harnack, Marcion, 209*.

178 Ibid.

179 Every ol manuscript except c, reads in vos, which IGNTP does not interpret as evidence for the reading εἰς υμᾶς.

180 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 100.


182 The ol manuscripts attest the verbs praevenire (b, f, q, r1), provenire (ff2, i), pervenire (aur, c, l), anticipare (a2), and adpropinquare (d).

183 A similar possibility was suggested for Luke 11:33 in chapter 4.4.55.

184 P75, ε1, B, D, f13, and several other witnesses have ἐγὼ before ἐκβάλλω.
For Luke 11:37–43, v. 42 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s testimony in 4.27.1 begins with a general reference to the οὐαί spoken against the Pharisees (vv. 42–43) and the doctors of the law (vv. 46–47, 52 discussed below). In 4.27.2 Tertullian adapts v. 37, making reference to the invitation extended to Jesus by the Pharisee to dine with him and Jesus’ reclining at the table. Notably, Tertullian’s reference to v. 38 attests Marcion’s text as having read similarly to D and d concerning the Pharisee: ἤρξατο διακρινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν διά τι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη. The precise wording and word order, however, are not entirely certain as most other Ol manuscripts attest ἤρξατο ἐν ἑαυτῷ διακρεινόμενος. Tertullian concludes the thought with a reference back to the “reclining” of v. 37.  

185 Moreschini’s text reads emundastis with M9, F, and Kroymann, rejecting the reading emundatis in M, R, and the other editors as well as mundatis in X.

186 Tertullian’s use of the pluperfect (vocarat) cannot reveal whether a historical present was in Marcion’s text or not.

187 The phrase ἤρξατο διακρεινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν διὰ τι is also attested in 343, 716, 1229, and a.

188 Harnack noted the point of contact with the reading in D, but did not note the variant word order (Marcion, 210*). Curiously, IGNTP lists Marcion as reading the latter word order. syc attests a similar reading.

189 Harnack inquired “Las M. πρὸ τοῦ ἀναπεσεῖν ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἁρπάστοι [in v. 38]?” (Marcion, 210*). Though the question legitimately arises out of Tertullian’s phrasing, the free form of the reference does not offer grounds to entertain seriously this otherwise unattested reading.
Tertullian continues in 4.27.2 with an adaptation and then a citation of Jesus’ reply to the Pharisee (v. 39). Tertullian’s testimony is curious here in that in the space of a few lines he offers divergent wordings for the verse. In the adaptation Tertullian appears to attest the reading οἱ Φαρισαῖοι τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ πίνακος τὸ ἔξωθεν καθαρίζετε, τὸ δὲ ἐσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας. A few lines later, however, Tertullian quotes a rather more truncated text τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καθαρίζετε (or νίπτετε) τὸ δὲ ἐσωθεν ὑμῶν οὐ καθαρίζετε. The key to understanding Tertullian’s testimony is found in the manner in which Tertullian links vv. 39 and 40, most clearly evidenced by the glosses id est animam and id est carnem made to both verses. Immediately after citing v. 39, Tertullian quotes v. 40, attesting the relatively unproblematic οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἐσωθεν ἐποίησεν. It would appear that Tertullian abbreviated the elements in the citation of v. 39 to create closer parallels with v. 40, and that therefore his earlier adaptation of the text more closely reflects Marcion’s reading.

In 4.27.3 Tertullian quotes v. 41 in a slightly curious form. Only one manuscript attests anything similar to quae habetis, and it is possible that Tertullian is unconsciously being influenced by the similarly themed Luke 18:22 (ὅσα ἔχεις) or Matt 19:21 (τὰ ὑπάρχοντα). In any case, Tertullian does attest the words δότε and ἐλεημοσύνην in v. 41a, as well as πάντα καθαρὰ ἔσται

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190 This is another rare occasion in Harnack’s otherwise maximalist reconstructed text in that he provides no reconstruction for Luke 11:39–40 (cf. ibid.).

191 Tsutsui overlooks this fact and only notes the phrasing of the citation of v. 39. In the notes he states “Im Vergleich mit dem Lk-Text ist der Satz nach dem direkten Zitat von Tertullian ziemlich vereinfacht” (“Evangelium,” 101). As seen in the discussion above, this evaluation should be rejected when all the data are considered.

192 The textual tradition here is fairly uniform. Even though a few words appear in a slightly different place in Tertullian’s Latin (e.g., the position of exteriora), and Tertullian has obviously changed the verbs to infinitives due to his introducing the adaptation with dicens, the adaptation closely follows the Greek text in Luke (cf. the slight differences in Matt 23:25).

193 Once again exteriora is in a different place in Tertullian’s Latin (cf. n. 192). Several texts, including P45 and D invert the order of ἔξωθεν and ἐσωθεν. Though the opening word of v. 30 is unattested, Harnack noted “Fehlte ἄφρονες bei M? Schwerlich” (Marcion, 210*).

194 Another slightly different reference to v. 39 occurs in 4.27.6 where Tertullian simply refers back to munditias catinorum.

195 The ol manuscript f reads ex his que habetis.

ὑμῖν in v. 41b.197 The latter could have been the reading in Marcion's text as it is also found in D;198 yet, Tertullian's own propensity to use the future and alter the position of pronouns means that one cannot be certain.

Tertullian adapts v. 42 in 4.27.4, where he attests part of the verse, though with an altered text. Tertullian references tithing herbs but passing over τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ.199 τὴν κλῆσιν is otherwise unattested;200 however, the likelihood of it being the reading of Marcion's text is further increased by Tertullian again referencing the vocationem et dilectionem dei in 4.27.6 when he refers back to this passage. The final phrase of this verse is not attested; however, both Harnack and Tsutsui contend that Marcion deleted it.201 Yet, even if it was missing in Marcion's text, it is also absent in D and d, revealing that its omission may not have been due to an alteration by Marcion.

Finally, in 4.27.5 Tertullian alludes to v. 43. That a reference to πρωτοκαθεδρία and ἀσπασμός occurred in the verse is clear; yet, no further insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion's text.

5.48 Luke 11:46–48

4.27.6—Invehitur et in doctores ipsos legis, quod onerarent alios importabilibus oneribus, quae ipsi ne digito quidem adgredi auderent, ... 4.27.8—Cur autem ‘vae’ audient etiam quod aedificarent prophetis monimenta interemptis a patribus eorum, laude potius digni, qui ex isto opere pietatis testabantur se non consentire factis patrum, ...

In the series of “woes” spoken against the lawyers, v. 47 is attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian adapts v. 46 in 4.27.6, beginning with the observation that Jesus also pronounces οὐαί against the νομικοί. The adaptation attests the loading with φορτία δυσβάστακτα,202 and it is clear that Marcion's text also mentioned the lawyers not using a finger to help with those burdens, even if

197 Harnack only provided a reconstruction of the latter element (Marcion, 210*).
198 The reading ἐστιν ύμῖν is attested by numerous O1 manuscripts and church fathers, and ύμῖν ἔσται is attested in many manuscripts, including P45.
199 IGNTP wrongly states that Marcion omitted καί ... θεοῦ.
200 IGNTP lists only Marcion for this reading. Both Harnack, Marcion, 210* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 101 view it as a tendentious alteration.
202 Braun notes that importabilis occurs only in ecclesiastical Latin and strengthens the translation of δυσβάστακτος (Contre Marcion IV, 351m).
much of the precise wording cannot be recovered. Tertullian has adapted v. 47, though his testimony seems to point to οὐαί ... δι' οίκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν. The participial phrase interemptis a patribus eorum attests a statement similar to οἱ δὲ πατέρες υμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτοὺς, even if the precise wording is not clear from Tertullian's adaptation. The allusion to v. 48 is noteworthy in that it appears to render a reading similar to D and d, μαρτυρεῖτε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πατέρων υμῶν.

5.49 Luke 12:1

4.28.1—Cavete, inquit discipulis, a fermento Pharisaorum, quod est hypocrisis, ... Harnack reconstructed Luke 12:1 ... (ἠρξατο λέγειν) πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς· [πρῶτον?] προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις. In the apparatus Harnack indicated that he was inclined to see πρῶτον as missing, and he highlights the omission of ἑαυτοῖς after προσέχετε. Though a handful of manuscripts, including several OL manuscripts, omit one or both of these elements, a simple omission by Tertullian is possible. Harnack made no mention of the omission of αὐτοῦ after μαθητάς, or the placement of τῶν Φαρισαίων after ζύμης instead of at the end of the sentence. The former omission is attested by D, several OL manuscripts, and bo. The latter word order is that of numerous manuscripts, including P45, 8, A, C, D, and W. Once again, though these readings are possible for Marcion, another simple omission by Tertullian and the influence of the loosely parallel Matt 16:6//Mark 8:15 (ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων) remains possible.

203 Harnack only reconstructed υδὲ τῷ δακτύλῳ (Marcion, 21*). Though it is true that there is some manuscript evidence for the dative here, Tertullian may also have been influenced by Matt 23:4 or simply have written digito because of the structure of the sentence in which he embeds the verse.

204 Though the reading τὰ μνήματα attested once by Epiphanius must be taken into account, this reading, according to IGNTp, is elsewhere only attested in h056 and Chrysostom. No manuscript evidence exists for "prophets" in the dative, and the phrase aedificarent prophetis monumenta should be attributed to Tertullian.

205 Harnack reconstructed v. 48 (ἄρα) μαρτυρές ἐστε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν (Marcion, 21*). It is not clear why he chose to render testabantur with μάρτυρες ἐστε (this is the reading of NA28 following 8, B, and a few other manuscripts), nor is it evident why he neglected to render factis partum. The readings of a, b, q (non consentientes) and e (non placere vobis) express a similar sentiment to the reading found in D, d.

206 Ibid.
5.50 Luke 12:11–12

4.28.8—Perductos ad potestates prohibet ad interrogationem cogitare de responsione. Sanctus enim, inquit, spiritus docebit vos ipsa hora quid eloqui debeatis.

In 4.28.8 Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:11 and then cites v. 12. Harnack reconstructed the words προσφέρωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς in v. 11, and then noted that Tertullian merely alludes to the remainder of the verse. That perductos renders the TR reading προσφέρωσιν is possible. On the other hand, the conclusion that either ὑμᾶς, τὰς συναγωγάς, or τὰς ἐξουσίας was omitted would be unwarranted.

Based on the citation of v.12 Harnack reconstructed τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἁρχῇ, τί δεῖ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς.207 Tertullian’s word order sanctus enim spiritus is different from nearly the entire extant OL tradition and the Vulgate, which read spiritus enim sanctus.208 According to IGNT the entire Greek manuscript tradition attests ἅγιον πνεῦμα, and it is likely that Tertullian’s word order is following the word order of Marcion’s text.209 The remainder of the verse, up until the final element, is unproblematic as the manuscripts are nearly uniform. Two points, however, need to be made concerning τί δεῖ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς. First, ff², gat, and Heracleon attest τί instead of ἅ, though it is not clear that Tertullian’s use of quid necessitates this reading in Marcion’s text. Second, though he gave no indication in his reconstructed text, Harnack in his apparatus admitted that the second ὑμᾶς is “nicht sicher” and “sonst unbezeugt.”210 There is no compelling reason to posit the presence of this pronoun for Marcion’s text.

5.51 Luke 12:13–14

4.28.9—Christus vero postulatus a quodam ut inter illum et fratrem ipsius <de> dividenda hereditate componeret, operam suam, et quidem tam probae causae, denegavit. | 4.28.10—Quis me, inquit, iudicem constituit super vos?

In 4.28.9 Tertullian alludes to Luke 12:13–14, and then provides a citation from v. 14 in 4.28.10. For v. 13 Tertullian alludes to τις… εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου μερίσασθαι

207 Ibid., 213*.
208 Only a reads sanctus enim spiritus.
209 Tertullian also generally writes spiritus followed by sanctus as can be seen in his references to Luke 7:27 (4.18.4); 11:2 (4.26.4); 11:13 (4.26.10); and 12:10 (4.28.6). In fact, of all the references to the Holy Spirit in Adversus Marcionem, as far as I know, 2.24.2 is the only other occurrence where sanctus precedes spiritus.
210 Harnack, Marcion, 213*. 
μετ’ ἐμοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν. 211 Though the precise wording is not clear, the minimal manuscript variation makes this reading rather likely. 212 Tertullian’s allusion continues with the statement that Christ refused to assist (4.28.9) and then cites his response. Harnack reconstructed τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς. 213 Interestingly, Harnack once again did not change the Greek word order to match the order of Tertullian’s Latin. That the word order is due to Tertullian is highly likely as there is no manuscript evidence for κριτὴν ever preceding κατέστησεν. κριτὴν is the reading of several manuscripts, including P75, ℵ, B, D, and L, though it is possible that ἰοδίκαιος is rendering the reading δικαστήν. 214 Finally, it is also possible that with D, 28, a, b, d, and the Persian Diatessaron, ἡ μεριστήν was omitted in Marcion’s text. 215 As has often been the case, however, a simple omission by Tertullian cannot be ruled out completely. 216

5.52 Luke 12:22–23

4.29.1—Quis nollet curam nos agere animae de victu et corpore de vesitu… qui et substantiam ipsius animae accommodavit potiorem esca, et materiam ipsius corporis figuravit potiorem tunica,… .

Harnack places his reconstruction of these verses in parentheses and reconstructed the text verbatim to the reading in ΝΑ 28 (starting with μὴ μερισμᾶτε in v. 22), except for the omission of γάρ in v. 23. 217 It is not entirely clear what Harnack wanted to denote with the use of parentheses, and he did not preface the offered text with “Anspielung” as he often did elsewhere when discussing allusions. For v. 22, τῇ ψυχῇ and τῷ σώματι are clearly attested, and some mention of not worrying about them in regards to food or clothing must have been present. No further insight into the precise wording of the verse can be

211 Harnack reconstructed very similarly though excluding εἰπέ and μου (ibid.).
212 Several minuscules and lectionaries read τὴν κληρονομίαν μετ’ ἐμοῦ.
213 Harnack, Marcion, 213*.
214 The ΝΑ 27 apparatus recognizes this point noting “κριτὴν τί δικαστήν Μιοιον.” ΝΑ 28 simply notes “ἰδικαστήν Μιοιον.”
215 Harnack believed that Marcion’s text did omit the phrase (Marcion, 213*).
216 Thus, the certainty of the omission cannot be assumed and Baarda’s positing a “doctrinal and deliberate correction of the original text” should be stated more cautiously (”Luke 12, 13–14 Text and Transmission: From Marcion to Augustine,” in Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty [ed. Jacob Neusner; 4 vols.; SJLA 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975], 1118).
217 Harnack, Marcion, 213*. γάρ is present in many manuscripts, including P75, 8, B, and D, but absent in numerous others, including P45, A, K, Q, and W.
gained, however, particularly as the wording of v. 23, with its mention of life being more than τροφὴ and the body being more than ἔνδυμα, seems to have influenced Tertullian’s phrasing.\textsuperscript{218} Similarly, the allusion to v. 23 implies the presence of the ψυχή/τροφή and σῶμα/ἔνδυμα comments, without revealing further insight into the phrasing of the verse.

\textbf{5.53} Luke 12:30

4.29.3—\textit{Nam et cum subicit: Haec enim nationes mundi quaerunt, \ldots Porro cum et adicit: Scit autem pater opus esse haec vobis, \ldots}

The second half of Luke 12:30 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s citation of v. 30a attests ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου ἐπιζητοῦσιν (or possibly ἐπιζητεῖ/ζητεῖ).\textsuperscript{219} Though according to IG\textsuperscript{NT}P πάντα after γὰρ is omitted in b, ff\textsuperscript{2}, i, l, q, r\textsuperscript{1} and by Pseudo-Firmicus, it may be a simple omission by Tertullian. For v. 30b Tertullian attests οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ,\textsuperscript{220} which has points of contact with the reading of D and several OL manuscripts. It is worth noting, though, that in these witnesses ύμῶν after πατήρ is nowhere else omitted.\textsuperscript{221} The question arises whether the possessive pronoun was missing in Marcion’s text or is a simple omission on the part of Tertullian.\textsuperscript{222} The Latin \textit{opus esse haec vobis} does not reveal the exact reading of the Greek for the final phrase, though it may have been ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων.

\textsuperscript{218} Thus, for v. 22 it is not clear whether ύμῶν was present with either ψυχῇ or σώματι, or both. In addition, no insight into the form of the verbs ἐσθίω and ἐνδύω, assuming they were present, can be gained.

\textsuperscript{219} Harnack reconstructed v. 30a with ἐπιζητεῖ (\textit{Marcion}, 214\textsuperscript{a}). All three forms of the verb are attested in the manuscript tradition, though the only Greek manuscript reading ζητεῖ is D. The Latin \textit{quaerunt} does not definitively reveal the underlying Greek.

\textsuperscript{220} Given Tertullian’s altering of prepositions, his use of autem does not necessarily rule out that the Greek read γὰρ; however, in this case the reading is confirmed by Epiphanius.

\textsuperscript{221} D, e, a, c, d, and I attest οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ύμῶν. b, f, ff\textsuperscript{2}, i, q, and r\textsuperscript{1} attest οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ ύμῶν. IG\textsuperscript{NT}P erroneously groups “Marcion ap TE” with the latter witnesses and thus fails to indicate that Tertullian does not attest ύμῶν.

\textsuperscript{222} Zahn, referring to the continuation of the sentence in \textit{Marc.} 4.29.3, contended “Das ο πατὴρ ohne υμων bestätigt Tr. nochmals \textit{prius quaeram, quem patrem intellegi velit Christus}” (\textit{Geschichte}, 2:476); however, he may have read too much into a general comment that Tertullian utilized as a transition in his argument.
Tertullian weaves allusions to Luke 12:35–37 into his discussion of the parables as they relate to the Creator and his promises or his Christ. Tertullian begins with a reference to the δοῦλοι and the κύριος mentioned in v. 37. He then alludes to the phrases αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι and οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι (v. 35) followed by an allusion to προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον...ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων (v. 36).223 The precise wording, however, cannot be recovered for any of these verses.

In this set of parables, Luke 12:46 is also attested by Epiphanius, and vv. 46–48a in the Adamantius Dialogue. As Tertullian interacts with Marcion’s interpretation of the text he alludes to numerous elements in the account. Harnack recognized that these verses are largely attested through “Anspielungen.”226 Nevertheless, for the parable in vv. 39–40, Harnack reconstructed v. 39... ei ἤθει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ ὁ κλέπτης (ἔρχεται), οὐκ ἂν ἀφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι.

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223 Harnack’s reconstructed elements are nearly identical to the above, though his lack of ellipses within the reconstruction again problematically could imply that unattested elements are absent (Marcion, 215*).

224 Additional allusions to these verses occur in 4.29.10–11.

225 Moreschini’s text reads caedentem with M, R2, and R3, rejecting cedentem in γ and R1.

226 Harnack, Marcion, 215*. 
τὸν ὦκον αὐτοῦ. No manuscript attests ποίᾳ ὥρᾳ as clause initial, and Harnack here rightly does not follow Tertullian’s word order. Unmentioned by Harnack is the omission of the phrase ἔγρηγόρησεν ἃν καὶ after ἔρχεται, found in most manuscripts, but not in P75, 8*, D, and several versions. As this reading appears to have arisen through the influence of the parallel Matt 24:43, and since Tertullian often inclines to Matthean wording, the fact that Tertullian does not allude to it here may indicate that it was not present in Marcion’s text. For v. 40 Harnack reconstructed only ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, apparently due to an oversight of the reference to the verse in 4.29.7, which is not included in Harnack’s apparatus. Tertullian clearly also attests γίνεσθε ἕτοιμαι, ὅτι ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται. Once again one should not attempt to follow Tertullian’s word order slavishly or his use of the future (adveniet), and the reconstruction should be viewed as only generally representative of Marcion’s text.

Tertullian then renders Peter’s response in v. 41 to Jesus’ words (4.29.9), reconstructed by Harnack as ὁ Πέτρος· πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὴν παραβολὴν λέγεις. Harnack commented in his apparatus “Wortstellung belanglos,” though it is not clear whether Harnack thereby intended to indicate that he did not consider his reconstruction necessarily to be reflecting Marcion’s text. In any case, given that Tertullian has constantly, and even in the previous two verses, shown great freedom with his word order, the here otherwise unattested order should not be followed. In addition, the omission of ταύτην may be a simple omission by Tertullian.

For the parable in vv. 42–48, Tertullian’s general reference to the characters (actorum and conservos) does not reveal the Greek terms used in vv. 42–43. It is clear that a master leaves and returns (ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος) and that the steward who treats his fellow slaves well will be rewarded, which Harnack reconstructed ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς υπάρχουσιν καταστήσει αὐτὸν (v. 44). Despite Tertullian’s paraphrase (omnibus bonis praeponetur), due to the near uniformity of the manuscript tradition, this reconstruction is probable; however, one would also expect a pronoun to have been present after υπάρχουσιν. Also, Harnack rightly

227 Ibid.
228 Cf. the comments in Metzger, Textual Commentary, 136.
229 Harnack, Marcion, 215*.
230 Ibid.
231 It appears that it is Tertullian himself who selects the verb revertere to speak of the master’s coming as he uses it here in v. 43 and also for v. 46.
232 No extant text omits the pronoun entirely, with αὐτῷ strongly attested and αὐτῷ attested by P45, the 01 manuscripts e and c, and several other manuscripts. Whether Marcion’s
considered the passive *praeponetur* to be rendering the active *καταστήσει*, thus viewing the voice as due to Tertullian and not reflecting Marcion's text. This observation becomes particularly relevant when considering vv. 45–46.

Tertullian alludes to v. 45 with a reference to the steward who has acted “otherwise” (i.e., not having treated his fellow servants well), and then delineates the consequence. Though Epiphanius's and the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s testimony must also be taken into account for v. 46, Tertullian attests the return of the master ἐν ἡμέρᾳ οὐ προσδοκᾷ καὶ ἐν ἥρᾳ οὐ γινώσκει; yet, the compact nature of Tertullian’s testimony does not allow the exact wording to be reconstructed. More significantly, Harnack reconstructed the final element of the verse ἀποχωρίσει αὐτόν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων τεθήσεται, appealing to Marcion’s theological views as the basis for positing the otherwise unattested readings ἀποχωρίσει and τεθήσεται. Though the use of *segregare* is curious and Tertullian’s argument in 4.29.10 might, though probably ultimately does not, suggest a term other than διχοτομεῖ, it is certainly unpersuasive that Harnack suddenly sees Tertullian’s passive *ponetur* rendering a passive verb in Marcion’s text when Tertullian has been utilizing the passive throughout.

For vv. 47–48 Tertullian once again provides only general allusions that must be compared with the data from the *Adamantius Dialogue*. There is a reference to the idea of the servant who will receive many or few beatings (δαρήσεται πολλάς [v. 47], δαρήσεται ὀλίγας [v. 48]), and to the principle of requiring in proportion to what has been given in v. 48b. Tertullian, however, provides no clear insight into the wording of these two verses.

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4.29.12—Proclamat Christus tuus: Ignem veni mittere in terram, …

4.29.14—Ipse melius interpretabitur ignis istius qualitatem, adiciens: Putatis venisse me pacem mittere in terram? non, dico vobis, sed separationem. ‘Machaeram’

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234 Tsutsui is also unconvinced on these two points stating that Harnack’s view “bedarf m.E. noch hinreichender Begründung, um völlig glaubwürdig zu sein” (“Evangelium,” 106). Zahn stated, “wenn Tr. 6mal διχοτομεῖ durch *segregare* wiedergibt, so setzt das wohl keinen anderen Text voraus, entsprach aber der dort bestrittenen marcionitischen Deutung” (Geschichte, 2:476).

quidem scriptum est sed Marcion emendat: quasi non et separatio opus sit machaeae. . . . Denique, dividetur, inquit, pater in filium et filius in patrem, et mater in filiam et filia in matrem, et nurus in socrum et socrus in nurum.

In these statements, vvs. 49 and 51 are also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian cites the first half of Luke 12:49, rendering πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν.236 A clear indication of Tertullian working from Marcion’s text is found in 4.29.14 where Tertullian confuses the reading of Matt 10:34 (μάχαιραν) with the reading in Luke 12:51 (διαμερισμὸν) and accuses Marcion of having altered the former to the latter.237 Harnack reconstructed v. 51 δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον εἰρήνην βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; οὐχὶ, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμερισμὸν (ἀποχώρισιν?).238 The reading is possible, but at many points uncertain. First, Tertullian does not render δι, but Harnack is likely correct in considering it present in Marcion’s text.239 Second, εἰρήνην between the verbs is nowhere attested in the extant manuscript tradition, and Matt 10:34, which Harnack believed had influenced the reading in Marcion’s text, reads ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην. Therefore, the order here may be due to Tertullian. Third, it is not clear that venisse me is rendering ἦλθον and not παρεγενόμην.240 Fourth, according to IGNTP βαλεῖν instead of δοῦναι is attested in several OL manuscripts, sy*, syP, the Arabic Diatessaron, bo, sa, and Petrus Chrysologus. Thus, it could have been the reading in Marcion’s text, though Tertullian could also have been unconsciously influenced by the Matthean phrasing or by having written mittere in terram shortly before (4.29.12). This fact also means that it is not certain that the preposition ἐπί plus the accusative was in Marcion’s text. Fifth, Marcion’s text could have read ἀλλὰ instead of ἀλλ’ ἤ with P45, D, and several other manuscripts, but again, all OL manuscripts read sed, which IGNTP does not take as evidence for the reading ἀλλὰ. Finally, though raising the questions “Hat aber M. διαμερισμὸν gelesen? Las er nicht

236 Harnack offered the preposition ἐπί (apparently following the reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue*) instead of εἰς. This reading is possible, though the latter preposition appearing in P45, D, and probably underlying the uniform in terram in the OL manuscripts, may make εἰς more likely.

237 Cf. chapter 4, n. 29. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:476–77 and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 106–7 argue that the statement Ipse melius interpretabitur ignis istius qualitatem, adiciens reveals that 12:49b–50 were omitted by Marcion. Harnack rightly noted “allein ausreichend ist dieses Argument nicht” and then added “und man sieht auch nicht ein, warum M. diese Worte getilgt haben soll” (*Marcion*, 216*). That Tertullian simply did not refer to the intervening material is entirely possible.

238 Ibid.

239 According to IGNTP ἐπί is only omitted in 1210.

240 The entire extant OL manuscript tradition employs veni here (venim in e is corrected to veni), and IGNTP lists only Cyril and one other witness as reading ἦλθον.
ἀποχώρισιν oder ähnlich?,” Harnack provided no rationale for Marcion’s text reading anything other than διαμερισμόν.\textsuperscript{241}

Tertullian’s testimony to v. 53 is largely unproblematic and Harnack reconstructed διαμερισθήσεται πατήρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ υἱός ἐπὶ πατρί, καὶ μήτηρ ἐπὶ θυγατρί καὶ θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ μητρί, καὶ πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην καὶ νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν.\textsuperscript{242} A few observations include, first, that Tertullian attests the TR reading διαμερισθήσεται, even though many witnesses, including P\textsuperscript{45}, P\textsuperscript{75}, \textupsilon, B, D, and the OL manuscripts read διαμερισθήσονται. Second, Harnack stated that the second and fourth καί are otherwise unattested,\textsuperscript{243} though IGNTP indicates that there is some evidence for their presence.\textsuperscript{244} Nevertheless, it is not certain whether they were present in Marcion’s text or due to Tertullian. Finally, though Tertullian attests no pronouns after socrum and nurum, a simple omission in one or both cases by Tertullian cannot be ruled out.\textsuperscript{245}

5.57  Luke 12:56

4.29.15—Et ideo hypocritas pronuntiabat, caeli quidem et terrae faciem probantes, tempus vero illud non dinoscentes, …

On the basis of Tertullian’s adaptation in 4.29.15, Harnack reconstructed Luke 12:56 ὑποκριταί, τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκιμάζετε, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν τούτον οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν.\textsuperscript{246} Harnack rightly placed τὸ πρόσωπον after ὑποκριταί, its universally attested position, and not later in the phrase based on Tertullian’s placement of faciem. In addition, Harnack did not render quidem in his reconstruction, though it is worth noting that D, a, d, q, and a few other

\textsuperscript{241} Harnack, Marcion, 216*. No Greek manuscript, apart from 1242* which reads μάχαιραν, reads anything other than διαμερισμόν. In addition, with Tertullian the OL manuscripts aur, f, i, l and q render διαμερισμόν with separationem.

\textsuperscript{242} Harnack, Marcion, 216*. The Latin, of course, cannot reveal whether the Greek read ἐπὶ υἱῷ or ἐφ᾽ υἱῷ. In addition, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether ἐπὶ plus dative or accusative is being attested by Tertullian’s in plus accusative. Both the Greek and OL manuscript tradition exhibit considerable variation, though it appears that no Greek manuscript utilizes the dative or accusative throughout.

\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{244} The Persian Diatessaron and the Adiš manuscript of geo attest καί in both instances, and c and e attest the latter instance. A few additional witnesses for the presence of one or the other καί are also listed in IGNTP.

\textsuperscript{245} Only a very few manuscripts omit the first αὐτῆς; however, the second is omitted by P\textsuperscript{45}, P\textsuperscript{75}, \textupsilon*, B, D, and several other manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{246} Harnack, Marcion, 216*. 
witnesses read τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον (cf. Matt 16:3). Whether quidem is representing a particle in Marcion’s text or is Tertullian’s own addition is not certain. Third, it is quite likely that Marcion’s Gospel read “heaven” followed by “earth,” as this is the order attested by P45, P75, ν, D, numerous other manuscripts, and many versions. Finally, since D, along with several OL, sy, and, according to IGNTP, three Coptic manuscripts omit πῶς after τοῦτον, it is possible that the interrogative adverb was not in Marcion’s text; however, a simple omission by Tertullian is also possible. On the other hand it is not certain that Marcion’s text read τὸν δὲ καιρόν (P75, B, and 892 read τὸν καιρὸν δὲ), and Harnack’s reconstruction of the verbs is speculative. It could be that probantes is rendering an otherwise unattested δοκιμάζετε, and dinoscentes reflecting οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν, though it also could be that Tertullian’s parallel construction reflects a parallel construction of οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν in Marcion’s text.


4.30.1—Quaestionem rursus de curacione sabbati<ś> facta quomodo discus-sit? Unusquisque vestrum sabbatis non solvit asinum aut bovem suum a praesepti et ducit ad potum?

Harnack viewed the opening question in 4.30.1 as attesting ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν in Luke 13:10; however, that a “question” or “objection” concerning a healing on the Sabbath is mentioned, along with v. 15 immediately following, makes it more likely that v. 14 is in view. Though the idea of healing on Sabbath days is present, no insight can be gained into the actual wording of the verse. The citation of v. 15 has several interesting elements and Harnack reconstructed

247 For the former reading IGNTP lists only Marcion as a witness, and concerning the latter rendering Harnack simply stated “so ist ‘dinoscentes’ zu verstehen” (Marcion, 217*).
248 As already noted οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν is universally attested in the first phrase, and it is the reading of P75, A, B, and several other manuscripts and versions in the second phrase (the other witnesses attest δοκιμάζετε). The fact that Tertullian uses different Latin verbs is not problematic as he is notorious for his vocabulary variation (cf. Roth, “Did Tertullian Possess?,” passim). Alternatively, Tertullian could be highlighting different elements of the phrase.
249 Moreschini follows the emendation of Kroymann (sabbati<ś>) as M, γ, R1, and R2 read sabbati, and R3, along with the other editors, reads sabbato. Braun calls the correction by Kroymann “pleinement justifiée” (Contra Marcion IV, 381n6).
250 Moreschini reads solvit with R3, apparently viewing solvet in M, γ, R1, and R2 as erroneous. However, given Tertullian’s inclination at times to use the future in his citations, he may well have written solvet.
ἕκαστος υμῶν τοῖς σάββασι [sic] (τ. σαββάτω?) οὐ λύει τὸν ὄνον αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει; 251 The otherwise unattested plural sabbatis probably should be attributed to Tertullian. 252 Given Tertullian’s word order, it is not clear why Harnack placed αὐτοῦ after “donkey” and not after “ox.” IGNTP lists Marcion as being the only witness for the reading τὸν ὄνον ἢ τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ; whereas, 69 reads as Harnack reconstructed. 253 69 is also the only witness to attest “donkey” before “ox” in this verse and it ultimately cannot be determined if this order was found in Marcion’s text or if the elements were inverted in Tertullian’s citation. 254 Finally, ἀπαγαγὼν ποτίζει may very well be correct as ἀπάγει τῷ ὕδατι (rendering ducit ad potum) is not attested in any Greek manuscript, and, according to IGNTP, is witnessed only in l, r1, geo, and Ambrose.

5.59 Luke 13:19

4.30.1—Simile est regnum dei, inquit, grano sinapis, quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo. 255

Tertullian cites Luke 13:19a in 4.30.1 and Harnack reconstructed ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ (ἐν τ. ἑαυτοῦ κήπῳ?). 256 Though IGNTP views regnum dei as part of Marcion’s text, 257 given that Tertullian makes no mention of the questions in Luke 13:18 it is probably

251 Harnack, Marcion, 217*.
252 According to IGNTP Irenaeus attests τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, but that reading also could be due to Irenaeus himself and not a reading actually found in a manuscript. It is worth remembering that in 4.12.10 in the citation of Luke 6:9 Tertullian also wrote sabbatis, though in that case there is manuscript evidence for the plural. Tertullian’s ability to alternate between the singular and plural is particularly clear in a few examples from 2.21 (singular in 2.21.1 and plural in 2.21.2) and 4.12 (singular in 4.12.1, 3, 6, 7, 14 and plural in 4.12.5, 9, 13, 15).
253 Harnack, however, was unaware of the testimony of this manuscript as he believed that the order attested by Tertullian was unattested elsewhere (Marcion, 217*).
254 The only other occurrence of asinus and bos together in Adversus Marcionem is in 3.6.7 in the citation of Isa 1:3 where the order is agnovit bos possessroem suum et asinus praepe domini sui. The terms do not occur together anywhere else in the NT.
256 Harnack, Marcion1, 199*. The reconstruction in Marcion, 217* is identical except that the final element simply reads εἰς κήπον, where it appears that ἑαυτοῦ was erroneously omitted.
257 The same position is taken by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:477.
Tertullian’s addition in order to clarify what v. 19 was about. Up until the final element in the verse, the manuscript tradition is fairly uniform and Tertullian’s testimony unproblematic. The same cannot be said for *seminavit in horto suo.* Harnack noted “ἐσπειρεῖν allein [IGNTP indicates that it is also the reading of aeth], aber nach Matt. 13, 31” and his reconstruction reveals his uncertainty concerning the prepositional phrase. It is possible that Matt 13:31 can shed light on more than simply the verb. The entire phrase in Matthew reads ἐσπειρεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ. If Tertullian has greater familiarity with the Matthean text, he may have begun harmonizing elements from Marcion’s Gospel and the Matthean reading at the end of the citation. This suggestion would explain the Matthean verb and prepositional phrase as well as the Lukan *horto.* If this supposition is correct, it is also possible that the addition of *regnum dei* is partially due to the influence of Matt 13:31. Ultimately, however, in the absence of multiple citation or multiple attestation Marcion’s reading remains obscure.

5.60  Luke 13:20–21

4.30.3—De sequenti plane similitudine vereor ne forte alterius dei regno portendat. Fermento enim comparavit illud, . . .

Tertullian’s testimony reveals that the parable in Luke 13:20–21 was present in Marcion’s text, though very little insight into the exact wording can be gained. Nothing beyond the nearly universally attested τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 20) and ὁμοία ἐστίν ζύμῃ (v. 21) can be reconstructed.258


Tertullian cites several elements from Luke 13:25, which Harnack reconstructed ἐὰν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν . . . κρούειν . . . ἀποκριθεὶς (ἐρεῖ)· οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἔστε.259 Most of this reconstruction is unproblematic, though two elements should be noted. First, Harnack viewed the opening ἐὰν as attested by the Vulgate and “Itala” (reading *cum*); however,

258 Harnack also offered no further reconstructed elements (*Marcion*, 217*).
259 Ibid., 217*–18*. 
IGNTP does not interpret the evidence from these Latin witnesses as rendering a Greek text different from the almost uniformly attested ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἄν.\textsuperscript{260} Insisting that cum renders ἐὰν over-reads the Latin. Second, Harnack viewed ὑμᾶς after σῶα as absent from Marcion’s text.\textsuperscript{261} The omission of the pronoun, though, may very well be due to Tertullian. It is worth noting that Tertullian not mentioning “the door” again after pulsantibus did not lead Harnack to conclude that it was absent in Marcion’s text,\textsuperscript{262} but merely that the word was unattested (note Harnack’s two dots after κρούειν).

The adaptation of v. 26 attests the largely unproblematic phrase ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας. No witness attests ἐνώπιον before ἐφάγομεν, revealing that Tertullian’s word order is almost certainly not arising from Marcion’s text. Elsewhere only a few witnesses exhibit minor variation.

The citation of v. 27 attests the reply of the master of the house to the man knocking: ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀνομίας/ἀδικίας. Concerning the final word, Harnack reconstructed Marcion’s text with the former. He rightly noted that ἀνομίας (cf. Matt 7:23 and Ps 6:9) is attested by a few witnesses, including D.\textsuperscript{264} Braun, however, states, “Le text de Luc, conservé par Marcion, se sert de l’expression ‘ouvriers d’iniquité’ (ἐργάται ἀδικίας).”\textsuperscript{265} Part of the problem is that iniquitas could render either term.\textsuperscript{266} Even if Harnack is right, and the general pattern of Tertullian’s Latin leans in that direction,\textsuperscript{267} it still may not have been the reading of Marcion’s text as Tertullian could have been influenced by the Matthean wording or the Psalm.

\begin{itemize}
  \item 260 Ibid., 218*. ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἄν occurs only here in the NT. According to IGNTP the first two words (ἀφ᾽ οὗ) are almost universally attested, though several manuscripts then read ἔαν instead of ἄν.
  \item 261 Harnack stated the omission was otherwise unattested (Marcion, 218*); however, c and possibly r also omit it.
  \item 262 It is absent in D, several OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses.
  \item 263 Operarii could be either vocative or nominative and therefore cannot distinguish between οἱ ἐργάται and ἐργάται. The latter, which is the reading of many manuscripts including P\textsuperscript{75}, Ν, B, and D is more likely.
  \item 264 Harnack, Marcion, 218*.
  \item 265 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 386m1.
  \item 266 The OL witnesses and the Vulgate employ iniquitas in both Matt 7:23 and Luke 13:27.
  \item 267 Tertullian cites 6 of the 24 NT verses with ἀδικία, and only in 5,16,5 (2 Thess 2:12) does he use iniquitas. In every other instance he employs inustitia (4,33,1 [Luke 16:9], 5,13,2 [Rom 13:8], Pud. 19.14 [1 John 19], Pud. 19.28 [1 John 5:17], Res. 25.19 [2 Thess 2:10]). He cites only 2 of the 13 verses with ἀνομία, using iniquitas in Pud. 15.11 (2 Cor 6:14) and delictum in 5,16,4 (2 Thess 2:3).
\end{itemize}
5.62 Luke 14:12

4.31.1—Ad prandium vel ad cenam quales vocari iubet?

Very little insight into the wording of Luke 14:12 in Marcion's text can be gained from the brief allusion in Tertullian's question, though it is clear that it contained a reference to ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον and the verb φώνει.

5.63 Luke 14:16–24

4.31.2—...Homo quidam fecit cenan et vocavit multos. | 4.31.3—Dehinc si is mittit ad convivas qui cenan paravit, ... | 4.31.4—Excusant se invitati. ... Agrum emi, et boves mercatus sum, et uxorem duxi. | 4.31.5—Hoc ut patri familiae renuntiatum est, motus tunc—bene quod et motus, negat enim Marcion moveri deum suum: ita et hoc meus est—mandat de plateis et vicis civitatis facere sublectionem. | 4.31.6—Itaque misit ad alios vocandos ex eadem adhuc civitate. Dehinc loco abundante praecepit etiam de viis et sepibus colligi, ... spem ... de qua illos gustaturos negat dominus, ...

Tertullian attests numerous elements in the parable found in Luke 14:16–24, and its Lukan character (cf. the parallel in Matt 22:2–14) reveals its general reflection of Marcion's text. Based on the citation of v. 16 Harnack reconstructed ἄνθρωπός τις ἐποίει δεῖπνον καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς.269 It is possible, however, that fecit is rendering ἐποίησε, which NA28 indicates is the reading of the Majority Text and of A, D, L, W, Θ, Ψ, and f13 among others.270 In addition, though Harnack believed Marcion's text did not read δεῖπνον μέγα, the absence of μέγα could be a simple omission by Tertullian.271 For v. 17, Tertullian's general reference in 4.31.3 reflects only the universally attested ἀπέστειλεν. In 4.31.4, the allusion to vv. 18–20 uses an extreme economy of words attesting the unproblematic elements [ἤρξαντο] παραιτεῖσθαι ... ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα (v. 18), [ζεύγη] βοῶν ἠγόρασα (v. 19), and γυναῖκα ἔγημα (v. 20).272

From Tertullian's testimony in 4.31.6, for v. 21, Harnack reconstructed ἀπήγγειλεν ... τότε ἐπαρθεὶς273 ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ... ἐπικοδεσπότης ... eis tacs πλατείας και ρύμας τῆς

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268 An additional allusion to this parable occurs in 4.31.7.
269 Harnack, Marcion, 218*.
270 ἐποίησε is the reading of P75, B, and B.
271 According to IGNTP μέγα is absent in X, 213, 1080, e, sy0, one manuscript of bo, and arm.
272 D, sy1, sy2, and the Persian Diatessaron read γυναῖκα ἔλαβον.
273 Though Harnack wrote ἐπαρθείς in his text, in the apparatus he noted "ἐπαρθείς oder κινηθείς oder ähnlich" (Marcion, 219*). κινηθείς was the reading suggested by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:478.
πόλεως...\(^{274}\) Again, nearly all of the elements are unproblematic, though the otherwise unattested ἐπαρθεὶς, from Tertullian’s use of movere, merits brief comment. According to IGNTT, apart from 1654 (ἐγερθείς) and D* (ὁργεῖς), the entire extant manuscript tradition here reads ὀργισθείς. Zahn is probably right when he argued it to be unlikely that Tertullian would have translated ὀργισθείς with motus, and it is probable that Marcion’s text read another Greek verb; however, precisely what that verb was remains obscure.\(^{275}\) Finally, Tertullian attests only a few unproblematic elements from vv. 22–24: ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν (v. 22), εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ φραγμοὺς (v. 23), and οὐδεὶς...γεύσεται (v. 24).

5.64 Luke 16:2, 4–7

4.33.1—...secundum servi illius exemplum qui ab actu summotus dominicos debitores diminuit cautibis relevat in subsidium sibi:...

In the parable in Luke 16:1–9, v. 9 is multiply cited. In 4.33.1 Tertullian alludes to the servant having been removed from his office (v. 2) and to his creating security for himself by reducing the obligations of his master’s debtors (vv. 4–7). For none of these verses, however, can any specific reading of Marcion’s text be reconstructed.

5.65 Luke 16:11–12

4.33.4—...quomodo dictum: Si[t] in mamona inustō fideles non extitistis, quod verum est quis vobis credet?...Et: Si in alieno fideles inventi non estis, meum quis dabit vobis?...Quis vobis credet quod verius est? et: Quis vobis dabit quod meum est?

In 4.33.4 Tertullian cites the two questions found in Luke 16:11–12. Harnack reconstructed v. 11 ei ἐν τῷ ἄδικῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν

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\(^{274}\) Harnack, Marcion, 219*. Based on 4.31.6 ἔξελθε should also be included in the reconstruction.

\(^{275}\) Harris attempted to argue that motus was rendering ὀργισθείς here (Codex Bezae, 187), though Plooij correctly points out “it seems a little doubtful whether the word motus taken by itself and not...defined by the context, could be used simply as an equivalent for iratus” (A Further Study, 75). In personal conversation Paul Parvis made the intriguing suggestion that Marcion replaced ὀργισθείς with ὀρμηθείς, which employs a verb not elsewhere found in the manuscript tradition here and not present in the NT, but similar in orthography to the reading of Luke 14:21.
Most of the verse is unproblematic, though the omission of the conjunction οὖν, also absent in a few other manuscripts and versions, could very well have been due to Tertullian. It is also worth noting that Harnack did not follow Tertullian’s word order for *mamona iniusto* or consider the altered order in Tertullian’s second citation of the final element of the question. Harnack was probably correct on both counts as *μαμωνᾷ ἀδίκῳ* is virtually unattested in the manuscript tradition and the second citation, including the otherwise unattested *verius*, seems altered by Tertullian’s own hand.

Concerning v. 12, Harnack reconstructed εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐχ εὑρέθητε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς δώσει ὑμῖν. First, once again, the otherwise unattested omission of the conjunction καὶ is due to Tertullian having linked his thoughts with *et*. Second, given that Tertullian wrote *fideles non extitistis* in v. 11 and *fideles inventi non estis* here, it is likely that Marcion’s text read εὑρέθητε, also attested in sy⁵, sy⁷, and the Arabic Diatessaron. Third, e, i, and l, along with manuscript 157 read ἐμὸν, and it is possible that Tertullian’s *meum* is reflecting the reading in Marcion’s text. Finally, though numerous manuscripts and witnesses, including ι and D, read δώσει ὑμῖν, the fact that Tertullian often alters the position of pronouns and in the second citation writes *vobis dabit* reveals that once again it is possible, though not certain, that Harnack’s reconstruction is reflecting Marcion’s text.

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277 IGNTP lists Marcion as a witness for the omission.  
278 Braun comments “A si proche distance T. ne reprend pas le fragment de verset sous sa forme exacte (*serum* > *serius*)” (Contre Marcion IV, 405n5). It therefore seems unnecessary to consider the two wordings as “variant quotations” of Marcion’s text as Williams, “Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 479n7 does. In addition, providing only this example, where Tertullian’s own hand appears rather easily discernible, of a “variant quotation” of a verse in Marcion’s Gospel simply cannot bear the weight of the sweeping conclusion “not only is it impossible to establish the genuine reading from Marcion’s Gospel in the case of a variant quotation, but this situation casts doubt on the wording of all the quotations in *Adv. Marc.*” (ibid., 479).  
279 Harnack, *Marcion*, 219*.  
280 The same point is made by Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:479.  
281 Unless it is Marcion’s reading that appears elsewhere in the manuscript tradition, the presence of some other manuscript evidence for the reading means that Harnack’s assumption that the reading reflects a tendentious alteration by Marcion and Evans’s comment that the reading was “Marcion’s invention” (Adversus Marcionem, 445n3) may not be correct. Braun simply observes that Marcion reads τὸ ἐμὸν with other witnesses and does not speculate as to the origin of the reading (Contre Marcion IV, 404n4).
5.66 Luke 16:14–15

4.33.2—Cui famulatam videns Pharisaeorum cupiditatem... Inridebant denique Pharisaei pecuniae cupid, | 4.33.6—Si autem et iustificantes se coram hominis Pharisaei... adicit: Scit autem deus corda vestra,... Quod elatum est apud homines, perosum est deo,...

In 4.33.2 Tertullian makes a reference to two elements in Luke 16:14: οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι and ἐξεμυκτήριζον, neither of which presents any difficulties. In 4.33.6 Tertullian alludes to the nearly uniformly attested ύμεις ἐστὲ οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων in v. 15 and then quotes γινώσκει δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὰς καρδίας ύμων, where once again the otherwise unattested order is likely due to Tertullian. The final element in v. 15 is rendered more loosely as Tertullian attests τὸ υψηλὸν ἐστὶν παρὰ ἀνθρώπως βδέλυγμα ἐστὶν τῷ θεῷ.282 Given that the word order υψηλὸν παρὰ ἀνθρώπως is weakly attested, with παρὰ instead of ἐν virtually unattested;283 the absence of ἐνώπιον before “God” is unattested; and ἐστὶν is placed either before ἐνώπιον or omitted altogether;284 it is possible that Tertullian has here been influenced by the wording of Luke 18:27 (τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώπως δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶν). In any case, the precise reading of Marcion’s text remains obscure.

5.67 Luke 16:17

4.33.9—Transeat igitur caelum et terra citius, sicut et lex et prophetae, quam unus, apex verborum domini.

Harnack reconstructed Luke 16:17 εὐκοπώτερον (δέ ἐστιν) τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρελθεῖν ἢ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν (πεσεῖν), again apparently assuming that the otherwise unattested word order is due to Tertullian.285 Noteworthy is the otherwise unattested reading τῶν λόγων instead of the canonical τοῦ νόμου, which Harnack attributed to a tendentious alteration by Marcion.286 Wright,

282 Harnack stated that the final element of this verse was unattested (Marcion, 220*).

Tsutsui rightly noted that Harnack’s statement appears to have been due to an oversight (“Evangelium,” 111).

283 579 and three church fathers read παρὰ.

284 The former is the case for several manuscripts including most ΟL witnesses and the omission is attested in numerous manuscripts, including P75, Υ, A, B, and D.

285 Harnack, Marcion, 220*.

however, notices that Tertullian follows this reference with *Verbum, enim inquit Esaias, dei nostri manet in aevum* (Isa 40:8), and contends that the tendency and reading are "with difficulty" attributed to Marcion as Tertullian’s argument may be responsible for the wording.\(^{287}\) In addition, though Harnack and Tsutsui noted the point of contact with Luke 21:33, they did not consider the possibility that Tertullian, rather than Marcion’s text, was being influenced by Matt 24:35//Mark 13:31//Luke 21:33. Related to this point is the reading πεσεῖν, which Harnack considered uncertain,\(^{288}\) as Tertullian implies that *transeat* governs both elements of the verse. This construction is, in fact, found in Matt 24:35 and parallels and thus may be a further indication of the influence of that passage on the wording in 4.33.9.\(^{289}\) Thus, Marcion’s precise wording cannot be established with certainty.

5.68 Luke 16:18

4.34.1—*Sed Christus divortium prohibet dicens: Qui dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit, adulterium committet; qui dimissam a viro duxerit, aequè adulter est:*... | 4.34.4—*Qui dimiserit, inquit, uxorem, et aliam duxerit, adulterium commisit, et qui a marito dimissam duxerit, aequè adulter est.*\(^{290}\) | 4.34.9—... inlicitorum matrimoniorum et adulterii figuras iaculatus est in Herodem, adulterum pronuntians etiam qui dimissam a viro duxerit,...\(^{291}\)

Tertullian makes several references to Luke 16:18, two of which are quotations. Harnack privileged the first citation and reconstructed ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν\(^{292}\) μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς γαμῶν ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν.\(^{293}\) The omission of πᾶς at the outset of the verse is otherwise unattested, and it may be a simple omission on the part of Tertullian, possibly due to the influence of the synoptic parallels as Matt 19:9//Mark 10:11

\(^{287}\) Wright, *Alterations*, 133. The potential influence of Isa 40:8 was also considered with regard to Luke 21:33, discussed in chapter 4.4.91.

\(^{288}\) Cf. Harnack’s comment in the apparatus (*Marcion, 220*).


\(^{290}\) Moreschini’s text reads *adulter est* with M, X, and R₃, rejecting *adulter* in R₁ and R₂ and *est* in F.

\(^{291}\) An additional allusion to Luke 16:18 occurs in 5.7.6.

\(^{292}\) IGNTP interprets *aliam* in several OL manuscripts as rendering ἄλλην instead of ἑτέραν. This interpretation, however, seems unnecessary.

\(^{293}\) Harnack, *Marcion, 220*.
do not use the adjective. Thus, the omission of the second πᾶς, though attested in the manuscript tradition, may also be a simple omission. In addition, Tertullian’s use of finite verbs was rightly not retained by Harnack, as Tertullian is using them to render the Greek participles. Once again, Tertullian’s inclination to alter word order (qui dimissam a viro duxerit in 4.34.1, 9 and qui a marito dimissam duxerit in 4.34.4), inconsistently render pronouns (suam present in 4.34.1 and absent in 4.34.4), and alter vocabulary (a viro and a marito) are evident. Finally, Harnack’s interpretation of the conclusion of the verse (aeque adulter est) results in the otherwise unattested ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστιν, and it may be the case that Tertullian is paraphrasing.

5.69 Luke 16:23, 26

4.34.10—... subsequens argumentum divitis apud inferos dolentis et pauperis in sinu Abrahae requiescentis. | 4.34.11–12—... sive tormenti sive refrigerii apud inferos... Respondebimus et <ad> haec [Marcion’s interpretation], ipsa scriptura revincente oculos eius, qui ad inferos discernit Abrahae sinum pauperi. ... Nam et magnum ait intercidere regiones istas profundum et transitum utrimque prohibere. Sed nec adlevasset dives oculos, et quidem de longinquo,... These two verses out of the account of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) are also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s testimony to v. 23 attests ἐν τῷ ἀδῃ, ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, [ὑπάρχων] ἐν βασάνοις, [Αβραὰμ] ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, and ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ [αὐτοῦ]. In v. 26 the allusion in 4.34.11, though the statement of the prohibition to pass from one side to the other clearly arises from the verse, directly attests only the words χάσμα μέγα.
Luke 17:1–3

4.35.1—Conversus ibidem ad discipulos, Vae, dicit, auctori scandalorum: expede
disse ei, si natus non fuisset, aut si molino\(^{299}\) saxo ad collum delicato praecipi
tatus esset in profundum, quam unum ex illis modicis utique discipulis eius
scandalizasset. | 4.35.2—Peccantem fratribus iubet corripi; …

Luke 17:1 is also attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. For vv. 1 and 3 Tertullian’s testimony provides minimal insight. 4.35.1 attests the unproblematic οὐαί and τὰ σκάνδαλα for v. 1, but the precise reading, and the Greek behind auctori scandalorum, cannot be determined.\(^{300}\) 4.35.2 alludes to v. 3, but given the significant variation in the manuscript tradition, minimal insight can be gained into Marcion’s reading. That the verb ἁμαρτάνω appeared is clear, but its precise form cannot be determined. The only other elements attested are the unproblematic ὁ ἀδελφός and ἐπιτίμησον.

Luke 17:2 is attested in greater detail and Harnack reconstructed συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ἢ εἰ μυλικὸς λίθος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ περιέκειτο καὶ ἔρριπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων σκανδαλίσῃ.\(^{301}\) First, though the attestation of συνέφερεν in d (συνφέρει in D and e) makes it possible that Marcion’s text read as Harnack reconstructed, the influence of Matt 18:6 (συμφέρει) on Tertullian cannot be excluded. In addition, the tenses reconstructed by Harnack may be reflecting Marcion’s text; however, despite some attestation in the manuscript tradition, they also may be due to Tertullian’s adaptation.\(^{302}\) Third, Harnack noted that εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη comes from Matt 26:24,\(^{303}\) and most Ol manuscripts (but not e) also attest this reading along with Rufinus’s translation of Origen’s homilies in Numbers. The possibility that Marcion’s text contained the phrase cannot be excluded.\(^{304}\) Finally, Harnack


\(^{300}\) It is also unclear whether Tertullian’s rendering reveals the influence of Matt 18:7 on either Marcion’s text or the reference to it as there, unlike in Luke, τὸ σκάνδαλον is repeated after the “woe.”

\(^{301}\) Harnack, Marcion, 222*-23*.

\(^{302}\) According to IGNT, in addition to συνέφερεν, discussed above, περιέκειτο and ἔρριπτο are attested by D, a, d, r, e, and Basil of Caesarea. For these verbs Luke reads a present followed by a perfect.

\(^{303}\) Harnack, Marcion, 222*. Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 429n4 concurs.

is inclined to follow Tertullian's word order, though the otherwise unat-
tested μυλικὸς λίθος, περιέκειτο following the περί prepositional phrase, and
σκανδαλίσῃ occurring at the end of the verse cannot definitively be ascribed
to Marcion's text.

5.71 Luke 17:11–12a, 14–19

4.35.4—...Christum...praeventientem sollemniam legis etiam in curatione decem
leprosorum, quos tantummodo ire iussos ut se ostenderent sacerdotibus, in iti-
nere purgavit, sine tactu iam et sine verbo, tacita potestate et sola voluntate.305 |
4.35.7—Sed et quod in manifesto fuit legis praecepit: Ite, ostendite vos sacerdoti-
bus.306 | 4.35.9—In Samariae regionibus res agebatur, unde erat et unus interim
ex leprosis. | 4.35.11—Unde et unum illum solutum ex decem memorem divinae
gratiae Samariten miratus non mandat offerre munus ex lege, quia satis iam
obtulerat gloriam deo reddens,... Fides tua te salvum fecit...

As mentioned above in the discussion of Luke 4:27, both Tertullian and
Epiphanius attest that verse's presence in this pericope.307 For Luke 17:11–12,
14–19, vv. 12 and 14 are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian's testimony to
v. 12 attests δέκα λεπροί, though whether ἄνδρες was present, and if so, where it
occurred in the phrase is not clear. Tertullian makes several references, includ-
ing one citation in 4.35.7, to v. 14 attesting πορευθέντες ἐπιδείξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς
ἱερεῦσιν... ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν.308 The final elements of the verse,
which are not attested by Epiphanius, are largely unproblematic.

305 In 4.35.6, 10 Tertullian again makes reference to these “ten.”
306 An additional allusion to Luke 17:14 occurs in 4.35.10. In 4.35.8 Tertullian makes the con-
fusing statement Sed cur pristine leproso nihil tale praecepit? Both Evans (trans.), Adversus
Marcionem, 461m and Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 436m1 point out that this original
leper cannot be the leper in Luke 5:12–16 because he did receive such an order. An over-
sight on the part of Tertullian seems likely.
307 Harnack contended that it was inserted before πορευθέντες in v. 14, which, in the light of
how Tertullian introduces the material in 4.35.6 (Nunc etsi praefatus est) and Epiphanius's
testimony in Pan. 42.11.6 (48), is probably correct (Marcion, 223*; Tsutsui, “Evangelium,”
114 concurs; this was also the probable position according to Hilgenfeld, Kritische
rightly criticized the views of Hahn, Evangelium Marcions, 189 (insertion after v. 14) and
Volckmar, Evangelium Marcions, 83, 151 (insertion in v. 18), though he admitted that
Hilgenfeld may have been right (Geschichte, 2:483).
308 Tertullian's use of ostendere cannot provide definitive insight into whether Marcion's text
employed ἐπιδείκνυμι or δείκνυμι. This point is confirmed by the OL using ostendere to
For the verses attested only by Tertullian, in 4.35.9 he alludes to Σαμαρείας in v. 11 and [αὐτὸς ἦν] Σαμαρίτης in v. 16. In 4.35.11 Tertullian attests εἰς . . . ἕξ αὐτῶν in v. 15; however, though Jesus’ questions in vv. 17 and 18 seem to be assumed, only δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ can be reconstructed. Near the end of the section, Tertullian cites the final element of v. 19: ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.

5.72  Luke 17:20–21

4.35.12—Sed nec Pharisaei possunt videri de alterius dei regno consuluisse domi-
num, quando venturum sit, . . . Non venit, inquit, regnnum dei cum observatione,
nec dicunt: Ecce hic, ecce illic; ecce enim regnum dei intra vos est. . . . intra vos
est, . . . | 4.35.13—Hoc erit: non hic nec illic; ecce enim intra vos est regnum dei.

Though Tertullian alludes only to the first half of Luke 17:20, since the manuscript attestation is fairly uniform, the reconstruction ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is unproblematic. The citation of v. 20b straightforwardly attests the reply οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως. V. 21, as cited in 4.35.12 is also relatively unproblematic, though there are slight differences in the repetition in 4.35.13. Harnack and Braun rightly see the second instance as having been altered by Tertullian and it is worth noting once again the ease with which Tertullian changes the wording of a verse (non instead of ecce) and alters the position of elements (intra vos est) in a citation. Harnack reconstructed οὐδὲ ἐροῦσιν· ἰδοὺ ὧδε, ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν, concerning which three comments need to be made. First, Tsutsui draws attention to Tertullian’s dicunt render both terms. According to IGNTP, 157, 1424, and 1675 are the only manuscripts reading deiūke, which is why, without bringing Epiphanius’s testimony into the discussion, I here write ἐπείδεικτε. Tertullian apparently used the reference to giving glory to God (v. 18) to also reconstruct δοξάζων τὸν θεόν for v. 15; however, the phrase is actually unattested for v. 15, and the reference to v. 18 should not be used to reconstruct v. 15. Concerning the word order cf. n. 106. Tertullian apparently believed that miratus also reflected an element in Marcion’s text and therefore wrote (καὶ) θαυμάσας αὐτόν (εἶπεν αὐτῷ) at the beginning of v. 19 (Marcion, 224*). The supposition of the presence of such an otherwise unattested element, however, is unnecessary as miratus could be Tertullian’s interpretation of the sentiment behind the questions in vv. 17–18.

Harnack, Marcion, 224* reconstructed the verse the same way. Ibid. and Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 441n4.

Harnack, Marcion, 224*.
(present instead of future) and notes “Wenn das direkte Zitat Tertullians zuverlässig ist, dann darf man wohl daraus folgern, daß Marcion hier die Gegenwart des Gottesreichs hervorheben wollte.”

Tsutsui recognizes that the future is prevalent in the manuscript tradition with only l and s reading dicunt. Regardless of whether one finds Tsutsui’s suggested reason for a theologically driven alteration by Marcion convincing, it seems more likely that Tertullian may, in this case, have rendered a future with the present. This view becomes even more likely when it is recognized that the immediately preceding verb venit (present) may have influenced Tertullian and that the focus of Tertullian’s argument is on the final words of v. 21. Second, NA does not include the second ἰδού, noting however that ἤ ἰδού ἐκεῖ is the reading of several manuscripts including A, D, W, Ψ, ḥ. Finally, though numerous late witnesses omit ἤ before this second ἰδού, the conjunction may have been omitted by Tertullian.

5.73 Luke 17:25–26, 28, 32

4.35.14—Dicens enim filium hominis ante multa pati et reprobari oportere, ante adventum suum, …

4.35.16—Sed si de suo loquitur adventu, cur eum diebus Noe et Loth comparat tetris et atrocibus, deus et lenis et mitis? Cur admonet meminisse uxoris Loth, …

In 4.35.16 Tertullian adapts Luke 17:25, reconstructed by Harnack πρῶτον δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου (αὐτόν?) πολλά παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι… There are several difficulties with following Harnack’s suggested reading. First, though δέ after πρῶτον is omitted by a handful of manuscripts, it may here be a simple omission by Tertullian. Second, it is highly doubtful that the otherwise unattested τὸν υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου appeared in Marcion’s text. Though vv. 22–24 are unattested in Tertullian, Epiphanius attests v. 22 and in all likelihood

315 e reads dicens, and according to IGNTP all other witnesses attest the future.
316 It appears that this is an instance where Tsutsui’s giving undue weight to a “direct quote” by Tertullian has led him to offer an unlikely reconstruction of Marcion’s reading.
317 Harnack, Marcion, 224*. In Marcion!, 206* Harnack wrote “Ob ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης gefehlt hat? Wahrscheinlich.” In the second edition, however, he removed “Wahrscheinlich.” The element is unattested, and since Tertullian focuses simply on the idea of “rejection” and “honored” in the following argument and citation of Ps 118:22, the omission could well be due to him. In any case, the comment by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:483 that the omission appears certain is overstated.
Tertullian replaced αὐτόν with “Son of Man,” taken from the context, in order to clarify the reference. On the other hand, Harnack rightly did not rearrange the words in the verse based on Tertullian’s word order.

In 4.35.16 Tertullian refers to [ἐν] ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε (v. 26) and [ἐν] ταῖς ἡμέραις Λώτ (v. 28); however, nothing else from these verses can be reconstructed. For Luke 17:32, Tertullian’s question references the unproblematic μνημονεύετε τῆς γυναικὸς Λώτ.

5-74  

Luke 18:1–3, 5, 7

4.36.1—Nam et orandi perseverantiam et instantiam mandans parabolam iudicis ponit coacti audire viduam instantia et perseverantia interpellationum eius. . . . Sed subiunxit facturum deum vindictam electorum suorum. . . . quem electorum suorum clamantium ad eum die et nocte vindicem ostendit.

As was the case with Luke 18:9–14 discussed in the previous chapter, Harnack recognized that Tertullian only alludes to elements of the parable in vv. 1–8. Once again, however, Harnack did not allow this fact to dissuade him from offering a reconstruction of the opening verses. Though there is a clear allusion to a parable concerning perseverance and persistence in prayer (v. 1), a judge (v. 2), a widow (v. 3), and her persistence leading to a hearing (v. 5), specific readings remain elusive. Harnack reconstructed ὁ θεός . . . ποιήσει τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ, where his overlooking Tertullian’s reference to τῶν βοώντων πρὸς αὐτόν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός is only one of several problems. The otherwise unattested omission of ἕξ has all the hallmarks of a simple omission by Tertullian. In addition, though the TR and most OL manuscripts attest ποιήσει, P75, N, B, D, and many other manuscripts read ποιήσῃ. Tertullian’s use of a future participle facturum may not be due to an underlying Greek future indicative. Finally, in the element not reconstructed by Harnack, Tertullian’s ad eum may reflect the reading of d and the TR (πρὸς αὐτόν).

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319 Tertullian’s admonet meminisce, however, could be rendering μνημονεύεται found in N, A, N, R, W, and several other manuscripts.
320 Harnack, Marcion, 224*.  
321 For example, Harnack reconstructed προσεύχεσθαι αὐτούς, though many manuscripts, including D, omit αὐτούς. Harnack also placed παραβολήν in an otherwise unattested position at the end of v. 1. Decisions such as these simply are not warranted based on Tertullian’s allusion.
322 Harnack, Marcion, 224*–25*.
4.36.3—Sed quis optimus, nisi unus, inquit, deus? | 4.36.4—Denique interrogatus ab illo quodam: Praeceptor optime, quid faciens vitam aeternam possidebo?323 de praeceptis creatoris an ea sciret, id est faceret, expostulavit, ad contestandum praec[or]is creatoris vitam acquiri sempiternam. Cumque ille principaliora quaeque adfirmasset observasse se ab adulescentia:…. | 4.36.5—Resciditne Christus priora praecepta non occidendi, non adulterandi, non furandi, non falsum testandi, diligendi patrem et matrem,…uti gloriosissimus ille observator praeceptorum pecuniam multo cariorem habiturus traduceretur? | 4.36.7—…Praecepta, inquit, scis;…

In Jesus’ encounter with the rich ruler in Luke 18:18–23, v. 22 is multiply cited, v. 19 is also attested by Origen and Hippolytus, vv. 18–21 by Epiphanius, and vv. 18–22 in the Adamantius Dialogue. In 4.36.4 Tertullian cites v. 18 attesting διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω.324 In 4.36.3 his citation of v. 19, rephrased as a question, attests [ὁ] ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός.325 Even apart from the evidence of the other sources, since Tertullian concludes his previous discussion with a reference to deus optimus et ultro bonus (4.36.2) and then uses the superlative optimus six times in 4.36.3–4 it is more likely that the superlative in both verses is due to Tertullian and not to an otherwise unattested reading in Marcion's text. For v. 20 Tertullian attests τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας (4.36.4, 7) and μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα (4.36.5), though Tertullian’s gerundives could also render the Matthean οὐ plus future tense of the verbs. In addition, the order μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς is that of Matt 19:18 and Exod 20:13–14/Deut 5:17–18 in the HB, though it is also attested for Luke in nearly every extant OL manuscript and numerous versions.326 The barely otherwise attested omission of σου after πατέρα can easily be explained as a simple omission by Tertullian.327 Finally,

324 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:483 rightly connected Tertullian’s use of optime here to his frequent references to Marcion’s God as deus optimus. 
325 It seems to me that Tertullian is responsible for the reference to v. 19 in the form of a question and that it should not be assumed that Tertullian is attesting Marcion’s Gospel as reading a question beginning with sed quis, as is done by Williams, “Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 481–82n14, 494 following Harnack, Marcion, 226*. Cf. also n. 326. 
326 Concerning vv. 18–20 Lieu comments “Tertullian, characteristically, is concerned to paraphrase the text and to use it to demonstrate Jesus’ compliance with prophetic demands” (“Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 735). 
327 Not reading σου after μητέρα is widely attested in the manuscripts and the possessive pronoun is not included here in critical editions of the NT. Since Epiphanius does not attest
Tertullian’s allusion to v. 21 in 4.36.4 attests [ταῦτα πάντα] ἐφύλαξα/ἐφυλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητος.

Tertullian is the only witness for v. 23, and it should be noted that Harnack’s comments here are confusing. In his reconstruction, for vv. 23–30 he wrote “unbezeugt?”328 In his apparatus, however, he stated that v. 23 is attested only by Tertullian’s allusion. Harnack then stated that Zahn’s attempt to demonstrate that vv. 23–30 were not missing in Marcion’s text was not successful and that a reference in the Adamantius Dialogue to vv. 24–30 did not arise out of Marcion’s text.329 Tertullian’s allusion is not discussed in this context. Yet, the reference to a demonstration of the greater love for wealth on the part of the “boastful keeper of the commandments” (shortly after the citation of v. 22 in 4.36.5) seems to require the presence of v. 23 even if the precise wording of the text cannot be reconstructed.330

5.76 Luke 18:35, 37, 39, 43

4.36.9—Cum igitur praetereuntem illum caecus audisset,… Sed antecedentes increpabant caecum, uti taceret. | 4.36.12—… exteriore quoque visione donavit,… | 4.37.1—… et omnis populus laudes referebant deo,…

For the pericope in Luke 18:35–43, vv. 38 and 42 are multiply cited. Of the verses discussed here, vv. 35 and 43 are also attested by Epiphanius, and vv. 35, 37, and 43 in the Adamantius Dialogue. Tertullian’s allusion in 4.36.9 attests only τυφλός (v. 35) and that Jesus παρέρχεται (v. 37). The adaptation of v. 39, a verse for which Tertullian is the only witness, led Harnack to reconstruct οἱ δὲ προάγοντες ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ.331 οἱ δὲ is attested by D, e, d, r1, sa, geo,

these commands, presumably IGNTP erroneously stated “Marcion apud Epiph” bis when “Marcion apud TE” was meant.

328 Harnack, *Marcion*, 226*.


330 Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion iv*, 448 also recognizes the allusion to v. 23.

331 Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*. In his first edition, Harnack stated that v. 39 had been omitted in Marcion’s Gospel, as is the case in several other manuscripts, due to homoeoteleuton (*Marcion*1, 208*–9*). In the second edition, however, Harnack stated “von Adamant. durch Homöotel. ausgelassen,” thus accepting Tertullian’s testimony concerning its presence in Marcion’s Gospel. Harnack also placed the remainder of the verse in parentheses, though it is unattested by Tertullian. Finally, unlike in Luke 17:25, e.g., Harnack did not have any difficulty assuming Tertullian had replaced a pronoun with its antecedent (here caecum).
and Epiphanius Latinus and could also have been the reading in Marcion’s text; however, given Tertullian’s loose handling of conjunctions the reading καὶ οἱ remains possible. Also, taceret could be rendering either σιωπήσῃ or σιγήσῃ, the reading in B, D, L, P, and several other manuscripts. For v. 43 there is an allusion to the healing (4.36.12), and as Tertullian begins his discussion of Zacchaeus in 4.37.1 he makes a reference back to the final element of the verse: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς…αἶνον ἔδωκεν τῷ θεῷ. According to IGNTP, the order αἶνον ἔδωκεν is elsewhere attested only in gat, thus it may be due to Tertullian.

Luke 19:2, 6, 8–9

4.37.1—Consequitur et Zacchaei domus salutem…. exceptum domo sua pascens dominum…. hoc cum maxime promittebat, in omnia misericordiae opera dimidium substantiae offerens,… dicendo: Et si cui quid per calumniam eripui, quadruplum reddo…. Itaque dominus: Hodie, inquit, salus huic domui.

For the encounter with Zacchaeus, the final verse (v. 10) is multiply cited. Tertullian’s opening words attest Ζακχαῖος (v. 2),332 and shortly thereafter allude to the fact that Zacchaeus ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν [Jesus] (v. 6). The allusion to, followed by citation of, v. 8 led Harnack to reconstruct τὰ ἡμίσεια τῶν ὑπαρχόντων…δίδωμι, καὶ εἰ τινὸς τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι.333 Tertullian’s reference to omnia misericordiae opera could reveal that τοῖς πτωχοῖς was present in the verse, though its position in relation to δίδωμι is unclear.334 Also, the order τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι is attested in several witnesses, including e and f, and might reflect the order in Marcion’s text. The citation of v. 9 attests σήμερον σωτηρία τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ. The order τούτῳ τῷ οἴκῳ is attested by a few witnesses, including ff² and gat, though again it is not certain that this was the reading of Marcion’s text. Harnack’s and Tsutsui’s confident assertion that the unattested v. 9b was excised because Tertullian, earlier in 4.37.1, refers to Zacchaeus as an allophylus is speculative.335

332 Harnack, Marcion, 227* erroneously indicated that the name appears in v. 1.
333 Ibid.
334 In δ, and several other witnesses it precedes the verb, though elsewhere it follows.
335 Harnack, Marcion, 227* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 118. Again, the same view was held by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485. Braun notes that when Tertullian makes that off-hand remark he “ne fait aucune remarque sur le texte de Marcion et semble tenir pour allant de soi la non judéité de ce publicain” (Contre Marcion IV, 457n5).
4.37.4—Servorum quoque parabola, qui secundum rationem feneratae pecuniae dominicae diiudicantur, ... etiam ex parte severitatis non tantum onerantem, verum et auferentem quod quis videatur habuisse. Aut si et haec creatorem finxerit austerum, tollentem quod non posuerit et metentem quod non severit, hic quoque me ille instruit cuius pecuniam ut fenerem edocet.337

Harnack rightly noted that there are only brief allusions to elements in the parable of the ten minas.338 In 4.37.4 there appear to be allusions to παραβολήν (v. 11) and δοῦλους ... ἠδοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ... μνᾶς (v. 13). The comment that the servants are judged according to their account of their master's money reveals that further elements in the parable are present, though few specifics are attested. Tertullian then alludes to v. 26, which Harnack reconstructed (ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος) καὶ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται.339 A few witnesses, including Θ, 69, and syc, attest δοκεῖ ἔχειν; however, Tertullian may have been influenced by Luke 8:18 in his wording here.340 4.37.4 concludes with an adaptation of αὐστηρός ... ἄιρων/ἄιρω ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζω/θερίζω ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα (v. 22) and possibly an allusion to τόκος (v. 23). The lack of influence from the differently worded Matt 19:22 increases the likelihood that Marcion's text is in view; however, given that Tertullian has already used participles in rendering the sense of the universally attested finite verbs in v. 26, it is not certain whether the participles here reflect Greek participles or finite verbs.341

5.79    Luke 20:5–8

4.38.1—Puta illos renuntiasse humanum Ioannis baptisma: statim lapidibus elisi fuissent. | 4.38.2—Sed de caelis fuit baptisma Iohannis. Et quare, inquit Christus, non credidistis ei? ... Certe nolentibus renuntiare quid saperent cum et ipse vicem opponit: Et ego non dico vobis in qua virtute haec facio, ...
In Tertullian’s interaction with the pericope in Luke 20:1–8, vv. 1 and 4 are multiply cited. In 4.38.1, Tertullian’s allusion to v. 6 reveals the presence of ἀνθρώπων, even if the preceding preposition remains unclear. In addition, the reference indicates that the Lukan καταλιθάσει ἡμᾶς was present in the text. There are two citations in 4.38.2, one of v. 5 and the other of v. 8. In v. 5, Harnack first offered an otherwise unattested ἐξ οὐρανῶν. The unlikelihood of the plural was already discussed in the previous chapter as it related to v. 4. His reconstruction of the quoted element of v. 5, διατί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ, is essentially unproblematic; yet, the absence of οὖν after διὰ τί could be a simple omission by Tertullian. Prior to the citation of v. 8, Tertullian’s comment on “refusing to respond” alludes to the content of v. 7, though no specific element is attested. The quotation then references the nearly uniformly attested οὐδὲ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ.

5.80 Luke 20:24

4.38.3—Quae erunt dei, quae similia sint denario Caesaris?

For the discussion in Luke 20:20–26 Harnack reconstructed only v. 25, discussed in the previous chapter. Tertullian’s question immediately following the citation of v. 25, however, reveals that δηνάριον and Καίσαρος must have been mentioned in v. 24. Unfortunately, no further insight into Marcion’s text is possible.


4.38.4—Sadducae, resurrectionis negatores, de ea habentes interrogationem, proposuerant domino ex lege materiam mulieris quae septem fratribus ex ordine defunctis secundum praeceptum legale nupsisset, cuius viri deputanda esset in resurrectione. | 4.38.5—Respondit igitur huius quidem aevi filios nubere… |

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342 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228* reconstructed ἐξ, which is attested in nearly all manuscripts; however, D, along with a, c, d, ff2, and e, read ἀπό.
343 Cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.82 and n. 388 there.
344 Harnack, *Marcion*, 228*.
345 Many manuscripts, including K and B, omit the conjunction, though it is attested in A, D, and numerous ot manuscripts.
346 Though *virtute* would normally render δυνάμει and not ἐξουσία, it is likely that its use here is attributable to Tertullian and not to an otherwise unattested occurrence of δυνάμει. The reconstruction above is also the one offered by Harnack, *Marcion*, 228* and it is interesting that here he did not insist that *et* be rendering χαί.
4.38.8—... filii huius aevi nubunt et nubuntur\textsuperscript{347} ... | 4.38.9—Atque adeo scribae: Magister, inquiunt, bene dixisti.

In the account of Jesus’ dispute with the Sadducees concerning the resurrection (Luke 20:27–40), vv. 35 and 36 are multiply cited. In 4.38.4 Tertullian offers an overview of the initial encounter alluding to various elements in vv. 27–31 and v. 33. First, there is an allusion to [τινες τῶν] Σαδδουκαίων, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες/λέγοντες ἀναστασιν [μὴ εἶναι] (v. 27).\textsuperscript{348} Second, ex lege probably arises due to Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν in v. 28. Third, there is a clear reference to ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοί and [λαβὼν] γυναῖκα (v. 29a), and it is also apparent that all seven brothers dying (vv. 29b–31) was present in the text, though the precise wording is not given. Finally, for v. 33 Harnack reconstructed τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει.\textsuperscript{349} γυνή, however, is unattested here and it does not seem warranted to place ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει in an otherwise unattested position based on Tertullian’s allusion.

Tertullian adapts v. 34 in 4.38.5 and then cites it in 4.38.8. The adaptation attests the ἀποκριθείς found in several witnesses and the citation attests οἱ υἱοί τούτου τοῦ αἰῶνος γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίσκονται.\textsuperscript{350} Curiously, Harnack did not follow Tertullian’s word order, reconstructing τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ τούτου.\textsuperscript{351} The different word order in the adaptation again reveals that the reordering of elements here may well be due to Tertullian; yet, most ol witnesses offer the variant order attested by Tertullian. The final citation in 4.38.9 of v. 39 is unproblematic, attesting the Lukan [τινες τῶν] γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας.\textsuperscript{352}

\textsuperscript{347} Moreschini follows the reading of R₃, though M, γ, R₁, and R₂ read nubentur. Given Tertullian’s propensity to use the future tense, the stronger manuscript evidence for a more difficult reading may well be correct; however, even if Tertullian wrote nubentur it should be considered due to his own proclivity. No witness to the biblical text attests a future tense.

\textsuperscript{348} Tertullian’s allusion does not reveal the precise reading or word order of Marcion’s text and therefore cannot disclose which of the various readings attested in the manuscript tradition appeared in Marcion’s text.

\textsuperscript{349} Harnack, *Marcion*, 229\textsuperscript{°}.

\textsuperscript{350} IGNTPR reveals the considerable variety of forms attested for the final verb in this phrase. Tertullian’s Latin cannot reveal the precise reading and I have here simply adopted the reading of NA\textsuperscript{28} out of convenience.

\textsuperscript{351} Harnack, *Marcion*, 229\textsuperscript{°}.

\textsuperscript{352} Harnack placed γραμματέων in parentheses and commented “γραμματέων ergibt sich aus dem folgenden Zitat Tert.s” (ibid.). Though the following reference to 20:41 in 4.38.10 does refer to the scribes, the comment here can only be due to an oversight of Tertullian’s direct attribution of the statement to scribae in 4.38.9. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 120 makes the same oversight, presumably under the influence of Harnack.
5.82 Luke 20:41, 44

4.38.10—Si autem scribae Christum filium David existimabant, ipse autem David dominum eum appellat, quid hoc ad Christum?

Harnack recognized that Tertullian only alludes to vv. 41–44, though he was convinced that v. 41 had been influenced by Matt 22:42. He therefore reconstructed (τί υμῖν) δοκεῖ (περὶ τοῦ) Χριστοῦ; (τίνος) υἱός (ἔστιν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ) Δαυεὶδ [sic].\(^{353}\) Harnack argued that this influence is revealed in the fact that existimabant (δοκεῖ) is only found in Matthew and that only there do the Scribes, though in Matthew it is actually the Pharisees, say that the Christ is David’s son.\(^{354}\) The fact that e contains this harmonization to Matthew makes Harnack’s view at least possible; however, his reasoning here does not appear persuasive. Luke reads πῶς λέγουσιν τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι Δαυὶδ υἱόν; and it is worth noting that the question itself assumes that the Scribes say that the Christ is David’s son. It may simply be that Tertullian is here expressing the reality behind Jesus’ question, perhaps under the influence of the wording of the Matthean account.\(^{355}\) Tertullian’s allusion cannot support the view of a clear harmonization being present in Marcion’s text. V. 44 is far less problematic as Harnack reconstructed Δαυεὶδ κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ.\(^{356}\) Though the οὖν after David is omitted in D, several o.I. manuscripts, and a few other witnesses, the context in Tertullian does not lend itself to the inclusion of this conjunction. Therefore, its absence is uncertain in Marcion’s text.

5.83 Luke 21:12–17, 19

4.39.4—Ante haec autem persecutiones eis praedicat et passiones eventuras, in martyrium utique et in salutem. | 4.39.6—Et hic igitur ipse cogitari vetat quid responderi oporteat apud tribunalia,… Et sapientiam ipsam, cui nemo resistet,… | 4.39.7—Quid enim sapientius et incontradicibilius\(^{357}\)… Nec mirum

\(^{353}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

\(^{354}\) Ibid., 230*.

\(^{355}\) It is possible, though not necessary, that existimabant came from the Matthean δοκεῖ. Of course, even if it did, it could simply be Tertullian using the Matthean encounter to express the assumption behind the question in Luke.

\(^{356}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 229*.

\(^{357}\) Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 48on3 observes that incontradicibilius, restored by Rigalti, is a neologism resulting from the biblical text where ἀντειπεῖν = contradicere follows ἀντιστῆναι = resistere.
si is cohibuit praecogitationem... | 4.39.8—A proximis quoque persecutiones et nominis, ex odio utique, blasphemiam praedicatam... Sed per tolerantiam, inquit, salvos facietis vosmetipso,...

After the multiply cited Luke 21:9–11, Tertullian references several of the following verses. In 4.39.4, the allusion to vv. 12–13 attests πρὸ δὲ τούτων and διώξουσιν, along with “sufferings,” for v. 12.358 Significantly more problematic is the reference to v. 13, reconstructed by Harnack (ἀποβήσεται ύμιν) εἰς μαρτύριον καὶ σωτηρίαν.359 Harnack recognized that καὶ σωτηρίαν is unattested elsewhere and contended that therefore it was an addition by Marcion.360 Braun, however, rightly questions this view by noting

L’insertion de utique, habituel pour les commentaries de T., éveille des doutes. On pourrait tout aussi bien penser à une explication donné par notre auteur, d’après les v. 13 (‘témoignage’) et v. 18–19 [sic] (‘salut’) conservés par Marcion.361

In 4.39.6, 7 the allusions to v. 14 attest μὴ προμελετᾶν362 ἀπολογηθῆναι and those to v. 15 attest σοφίαν, ἢ οὐ δυνήσονται ἀντιστήναι οὐδὲ/ἢ ἀντειπεῖν [πάντες].363

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358 The reference to apud tribunalia in 4.39.6 could be referring to being brought ἐπὶ βασιλείς καὶ ἡγεμόνας at the end of v. 12.
359 Harnack, Marcion, 230*.
360 Ibid. Tsutsui, “Evangelium," 121 agrees, and the same view was held by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:488.
361 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 477n13. The reference to vv. 18–19, instead of only v. 19, is erroneous as Tertullian does not attest v. 18 and Epiphanius explicitly notes its omission. For a few examples of utique used in glosses by Tertullian, cf. the discussion of Luke 12:5 (4.28.3) in chapter 4.4.59, and the discussions of Luke 4:31 (4.7.1), 6:12 (4.13.1), and 17:2 (4.35.1) above in 5.3, 5.14, and 5.70, respectively. Tsutsui argues that the addition is certain “weil Tertullian gleich darauf Sach 9,15f., wo nicht von ‘salus’, sondern nur von ‘martyrium’ die Rede ist, zitiert” (“Evangelium,” 121). This claim is quite strange in that the citation obviously refers to martyrdom, but also contains the phrase et salvos eos faciet dominus illo die velut oves (4.39.4).
362 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 481n5 notes that the hapax praecogitatio (4.39.7) once again arises from the biblical text.
363 Harnack, Marcion, 230* overlooked cui nemo resistet (4.39.6) and therefore only reconstructed (ἐγὼ δῶσω ύμῖν... σοφίαν. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 121 included this allusion, but Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 480n3 rightly notes that both Harnack and Tsutsui overlooked the allusion to v. 15 in 4.39.7 and the unique Latin term arising from the biblical text (cf. n. 357).
In 4.39.8 Tertullian, with the comments about persecution from near kindred, makes reference to the contents of v. 16, though no text can be reconstructed. In v. 17, however, the allusion reveals the presence of μισούμενοι and διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου. Finally, the citation of v. 19 attests a singular reading reconstructed by Harnack ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ σώσετε ἑαυτούς. Concerning this reading, though δέ is attested in some of the Syriac versions, it is here most likely due to Tertullian’s flow of argument and not part of the citation. In addition, it is difficult to determine whether salvos facietis vosmetipsos corresponds to a supposed σώσετε ἑαυτούς in Marcion’s text. Harnack raises the possible influence of Matt 24:13 for the reading, but in that case it is not clear if the influence was on Marcion’s text or on Tertullian when he cited it. Tsutsui’s contention that a “Textänderung stilistischer Art” occurred here is quite speculative and is largely based on the questionable view, discussed above, that v. 13 had been altered. The likelihood that Tertullian is providing a very inaccurate rendering of the final element in v. 19 is also increased by the fact that his interest in the verse is focused on per tolerantiam (ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ). It is this word that Tertullian connects to the citations of Ps 9:19 (LXX) and Zech 6:14 (LXX) immediately following. Thus, Marcion’s text at this point appears unrecoverable.

5.84 **Luke 21:20**

4.39.9—Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidii, <cum> coepisse<τ> vallari exercitibus Hierusalem, …

The allusion to Luke 21:20 attests κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ and ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς. Harnack reconstructed only the first element, though the time excidii would seem also to attest the presence of the second.

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364 Harnack, Marcion, 231*.
365 Evans (trans.), Adversus Marcionem, 485 has “but” in italics indicating it is part of the citation, but in Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 482–3 it is kept outside of the citation.
366 Harnack, Marcion, 231*.
367 Moreschini follows the reading of R3, M, γ, R1, and R2 read an almost impossible Sed monstrato dehinc tempore excidium coepisse vallari exercitibus Hierusalem,… One could imagine that EXCIDIIICUM was erroneously copied as EXCIDIUM, thus partially explaining the origin of the reading.
368 Harnack, Marcion, 231*.

4.39.16—In summa ipsius parabolae considera exemplum: Adspice figum et arbores omnes; cum fructum protulerint, intellegunt homines aestatem adpropinquasses;... 4.39.18—Adhuc ingerit non transiturum caelum ac terram, nisi omnia peragantur.

In Luke 21:29–33, vv. 31 and 33 are multiply cited. In 4.39.16 the citation is introduced with a reference to παραβολήν and continues with a rendering of the nearly universally attested ἴδετε τὴν συκῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ δένδρα (v. 29). Braun observes that adspice already hints at a loose citation by Tertullian, and it is also likely that the otherwise unattested word order (arbores omnes) is due to Tertullian. v. 30 presents considerable challenges, and it was already noted in the previous chapter that Braun argued that Harnack was wrong to have seen Marcion's text represented accurately in the citation. Harnack reconstructed ὅταν προβάλωσιν τὸν καρπὸν (αὐτῶν), γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι τὸ θέρος ἤγγικεν. The opening words in Harnack's reconstruction follow the reading of D and d, though numerous other potential witnesses to the "Western" text, including Ol manuscripts and Syriac witnesses, also explicitly state that "fruit" is brought forth. The precise readings attested, however, vary, as aptly demonstrated by the apparatus in IGNTP. Tertullian's wording may attest the reading in D, though notice again his unique word order fructum protulerint; yet, it is not certain that this was the reading of Marcion's text. γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι is unattested elsewhere and Braun calls intellegunt homines a "tournoure générale" that shows "qu'il s'agit d'une citation très libre." Harnack noted that the final phrase was unattested, though it should be noted that IGNTP lists several witnesses for the very similar τὸ θέρος ἐγγὺς ἐστίν. At the same time, however, if the reasoning in the previous chapter in the discussion of

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369 Kroymann corrected the reading to aspicite, a correction for which Braun contends there is no reason (Contre Marcion IV, 491n3).

370 Moreschini follows the reading of M, γ, Pamelius, and the subsequent editors. R and Gelenius read intellegent.

371 Moreschini rightly does not follow M in omitting homines as it is likely due to an attempt to bring the citation into closer conformity with the biblical text.


373 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 491n3. Harnack, Marcion, 231* reconstructed the text as above, thus also not following Tertullian's word order.

374 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.90.

375 Harnack, Marcion, 231*.32*.

376 Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 491n3.

377 Harnack, Marcion, 232*.
Luke 21:31 was correct, the _adpropinquasse_ here, as in 4.39.10 may be due to Tertullian’s own turn of phrase. Overall, it appears that Braun’s assessment is correct and it should not be assumed that Tertullian is providing considerable, or even modest, accuracy in this citation.\(^{378}\)

V. 32 presents another significant difficulty in that it is not clear whether 4.39.18 should be understood as an adaptation of only v. 32, or if Tertullian has conflated elements from v. 33 with v. 32. Harnack, following Zahn, believed the former and that Marcion had tendentiously replaced ἡ γενεὰ ἅυτη with ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ.\(^{379}\) This view, however, though possible cannot be proved with certainty.\(^{380}\) Therefore, it is also not possible to know how closely _nisi omnia peragantur_ is rendering Marcion’s text.\(^{381}\)

5.86 Luke 21:34–35a

4.39.18—_Admoneantur et discipuli, ne quando graventur corda eorum crapula et ebrietate et saecularibus curis, et insistat eis repentinus dies ille velut laqueus,..._

Based on Tertullian’s adaptation in 4.39.18 Harnack reconstructed (προσέχετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς), μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν ὑμῶν αἱ καρδίαι (ἐν) κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ βιωτικαίς μερίμναις, καὶ ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη ὡς παγίς.\(^{382}\) It is curious that Harnack followed Tertullian’s word order for _saecularibus curis_ (βιωτικαίς μερίμναις), which Harnack stated was otherwise unattested and _ignot_ indicates is attested only in the Armenian translation of Irenaeus, but not for _corda eorum_ (αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν), which is attested by many witnesses including A, B, W,

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\(^{378}\) It may be observed that in chapter 4.4.90 I argued that Luke 21:31 was an accurate citation, though here v. 29 is seen as basically accurate and v. 30 as considerably less so. This phenomenon does pose some difficulties, but it may be that Tertullian read all three verses in Marcion’s text, began writing the citation and then re-checked the text for v. 31. This supposition, though not provable, at least explains a fairly accurate opening verse that quickly deteriorates into only providing the general sense of the second verse and then suddenly offers a precisely verbatim quotation of the final verse.


\(^{380}\) Braun (trans.), _Contre Marcion IV_, 492 refers to both vv. 32 and 33 in the note at the end of Tertullian’s statement. Ritschl, _Das Evangelium Marcions_, 44 and Hilgenfeld, _Kritische Untersuchungen_, 431 also thought Tertullian had conflated the verses and that Marcion’s text read as Luke does. Also, it is worth noting the reading _transiet caelum istut_ in e.

\(^{381}\) Harnack reconstructed εἰ μὴ πάντα γένηται (?) (Marcion, 232*).

\(^{382}\) Ibid.
and most OT manuscripts. In addition, though Tertullian attests the order ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος, given that Tertullian, throughout this citation, may not be reflecting the precise reading of Marcion's text, the reading αἰφνίδιος ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐπιστῇ, attested by numerous manuscripts, cannot be ruled out. Two final, minor points are that Tertullian's Latin cannot reveal whether Marcion's text read βαρηθῶσιν or βαρυνθῶσιν with D and the TR, among others, or whether the definite article appeared before ἡμέρα.\textsuperscript{383}


4.39.19—Sed enim per diem in templo docebat, … Ad noctem vero in Elaeonem secedebat; … Erant horae quoque auditorio competentes. Diluculo conveniendum erat, …

Tertullian’s references to Luke 21:37–38 are tied to his citations of Hos 12:5 (LXX), Zech 14:4, and Isa 50:4, and therefore focus on elements that can be connected to those OT passages. For v. 37 Tertullian attests τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων and τὰς [δὲ] νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος … εἰς … Ἐλαιών. Once again, however, the word order is not certain as Tertullian has rendered the participles as finite verbs and has placed them at the end of the phrases. For v. 37b it is unlikely that the participle was in an otherwise unattested position after Ἐλαιών; however, for v. 37a, though most manuscripts have the participle at the end of the phrase, B, K, most OT manuscripts, and several other witnesses attest διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. This order remains possible for Marcion’s text. The allusion to v. 38 is less precise, though Tertullian does attest the essentially unproblematic ὄρθηριζεν and ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ.

5.88 Luke 22:1

4.40.1—Nam e[t] tot festis Iudaeorum paschae diem <el>egit.

As Tertullian begins his discussion of several passages from Luke 22 he alludes to v. 1, though only πάσχα is definitively referenced.\textsuperscript{384}

\textsuperscript{383} The article is absent in D, K, V, and several other manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{384} Harnack, Marcion, 232\textsuperscript{a} also reconstructed ἑορτή; however, is not clear that the festis in Tertullian’s phrase is referring to ἑορτή in the phrase ἡ ἑορτή τῶν ἀζύμων.

4.40.2—Poterat et ab extraneo quolibet tradi, . . . Poterat et sine praemio tradi.385 | 5.6.7—. . . scriptum est enim apud me Satanan in Iudam introisse.

In the account of Judas’s intention to betray Jesus, v. 4 is also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s reference in 5.6.7 reveals that the statement concerning Satan’s entering into Judas was not in Marcion’s Gospel.386 Tsutsui argues that on the one hand one may surmise that the verse was omitted, but that on the other hand the name “Judas,” as required by the context of Tertullian’s discussion, somehow appeared in the text.387 This view, however, does not take into account that Tertullian’s reference to an extraneus and the citation of Ps 41:9 (Qui mecum panem edit, levavit in me plantam) seem to have the final element of v. 3 (ὀντα ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα) in view, even if the precise wording is unrecoverable.388 For v. 4, Tertullian attests only παραδῷ and for v. 5 that there was a reference to ἀργύριον.

5.90  Luke 22:20, 22

4.40.4—Sic et in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum substantiam corporis confirmavit.389 | 4.41.1—Vae, ait, per quem traditur filius hominis.

In Tertullian’s discussion of the Lord’s Supper, v. 19 is multiply cited. Based on the allusion to v. 20 in 4.40.4 Harnack reconstructed καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως . . . (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον) ἡ (καινὴ gestrichen! διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου.390 Several problems with this reconstruction need to be addressed. First, it is not entirely clear that sic et in calicis mentione refers to v. 20a, as opposed to the words of Jesus τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον; yet, even if it does, it is not clear that ὡσαύτως followed ποτήριον in Marcion’s text instead of being clause initial.391

385  An additional allusion to Luke 22:5 occurs in 3.23.5.
386  Also noted by Harnack, Marcion, 232* and Zahn, Geschichte, 2:490.
388  Harnack’s “Wahrscheinlich άπελθὼν δε Ἰούδας ὁ καλούμενος Ἰσκαριώτης, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα” (Marcion, 232*) assumes too much.
391  The former is the reading of P75, N, B, L, and a few other witnesses.
Second, Harnack contended that Marcion omitted καινή in the verse based on Tertullian’s silence. Tsutsui cautiously agrees, though he notes that in 2 Cor 3:6 Marcion retained “new testament” revealing that the reason for the omission here is not obvious.\footnote{Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 123. Blackman simply stated “lacked καινή [sic] before διαθήκη” (Marcion and His Influence, 46).} Given this fact, and that the Matthean and Markan parallels do not contain καινή, it should perhaps be queried how certain the omission really is.\footnote{Williams observes that the reading, even if present in Marcion’s text, may not have been a theological omission by Marcion, but could have arisen through prior Matthean and/or Markan influence on his text (“Reconsidering Marcion’s Gospel,” 483).} Not only is it based on Tertullian’s silence, but, as Braun also notes, Tertullian adds the word obsignatum to the reference.\footnote{Braun (trans.), Contre Marcion IV, 500n3.} Thus, it is possible that Tertullian is both omitting and adding words.

In 4.41.1 Tertullian quotes v. 22 and Harnack reconstructed quite literally οὐαὶ δι’ ὰριστεῖν τὸ ἄνθρωπον.\footnote{Harnack, Marcion, 233*.} Tsutsui contends that v. 22a must have been excised by Marcion because of the κατὰ τὸ ἄξιον, an omission confirmed by the introduction of an explicit subject in v. 22b.\footnote{Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 123–24.} Though possible, Tertullian’s silence does not necessitate the excision, and filius homines could be Tertullian’s own clarification of the subject of traditur or due to the influence of Matt 26:24.\footnote{Harnack, Marcion, 233* noted the possible Matthean influence, but did not note the presence of “the Son of Man” in a handful of witnesses, including the 01 manuscript b. Zahn considered the words to be added due to Tertullian’s desire to clarify (Geschichte, 2:491). This same phenomenon has already been observed in previous passages (cf., e.g., Luke 17:25 in 5.73 above).} Finally, Harnack believed that Marcion’s text read “mit D e syr\textsuperscript{cu}”; however, D and e actually attest οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ. Based on the likelihood that Tertullian’s citation here is not particularly precise, what followed immediately after οὐαὶ in Marcion’s text remains unclear.


4.41.2—Nam et Petrum praesumptorie aliquid elocutum negationi potius destinando zeloten deum tibi ostendit.

Tertullian’s allusion to the conversation between Jesus and Peter attests the presence of Peter’s statement in v. 33 without revealing any specifics con-
cerning its wording. For v. 34 the reference to “denial” attests the presence of ἀπαρνήσῃ. 398

5.92 Luke 22:48

4.41.2—Debuit etiam osculo tradi . . .

In Tertullian’s passing reference to Luke 22:48, the only words attested are the unproblematic φιλήματι and παραδίδως.


In the account of Jesus before τὸ συνέδριον, v. 69 is multiply cited. Tertullian’s opening reference in 4.41.3 attests ἀπήγαγον 400 εἰς τὸ συνέδριον (v. 66) and σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός (v. 67a). It is not entirely clear if the words from v. 67a are part of the generally attested εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός, εἰπὸν ἡμῖν, as Harnack apparently believed, 401 or if Marcion’s text simply read the four words as a question as in D and d. The fact that Tertullian writes interrogatur certainly makes the latter possible. The citation of v. 67b attests ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε; 402 however, though the order εἴπω ὑμῖν is attested by a few late manuscripts, Tertullian’s propensity to alter the position of pronouns means that Marcion’s text may well have read ὑμῖν εἴπω.

In 4.41.4–5 Tertullian makes three references to v. 70a, and it is noteworthy that in each instance the word order is different. Harnack reconstructed this

398 This word is also the only one reconstructed by Harnack, Marcion, 233*.
399 Though ḍ and Gelanius read creditis, Moreschini follows Pamélius and the other editors in reading credetis.
400 The reading ἀνήγαγον, attested in manuscripts including A, L, W, and the Majority Text is less likely but cannot be ruled out entirely.
401 Harnack, Marcion, 234* reconstructed εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός . . .
402 Harnack omits σῦ, but this may simply have been an oversight as it is attested in the entire manuscript tradition (ibid.).
element according to the order in the first citation (placing the verb at the end of the phrase), but since IGNT lists Marcion as the only witness for the variant order, it is far more likely that in each instance Tertullian is responsible for the word order and that Marcion’s text read σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. v. 70b also presents difficulties in that Tertullian three times makes reference only to vos dicitis. This fact led Harnack to reconstruct ὑμεῖς λέγετε (ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, gestrichen).\(^{403}\) This view is possible, though ultimately not provable.\(^{404}\) Some element of ambiguity is present in Jesus’ reply and the presence of the last three words would not necessarily negate Marcion’s interpretation.\(^{405}\) In addition, Tertullian stating only vos dicitis may have been influenced by Luke 23:3 (tu dicis) as in 4.42.1 both references occur in close proximity.

Finally, though Harnack and Tsutsui view v. 71 as unattested,\(^{406}\) Braun argues that the final statement of 4.41.5 reveals the response of the Sanhedrin, which interpreted Jesus’ reply as an affirmation.\(^{407}\) Braun may be correct, though the faint allusion obviously does not reveal any specifics about the verse.

\(^{403}\) Ibid. Lukas, *Rhetorik*, 323 agrees, writing “Bei der postwendend erfolgenden Antwort Jesu änderte Marcion entscheidend den biblischen Text ab. Er las einzig: vos dicitis und ließ die ursprüngliche Ergänzung ὅτι εγώ εἰμι außen vor.” Braun incorrectly states that Harnack “pense que le texte marcionite était ici: ‘Vos dicitis, non ego’ (p. 305*)” (Contre Marcion IV, 508n2). Harnack’s reconstructed text does not render non ego, and on the page cited by Braun, Harnack simply stated “M. faßte die Antwort Jesu so: ‘Vos dicitis, non ego,’” which is the very point Braun goes on to make in his note.

\(^{404}\) It is worth noting that i also omits these words.


\(^{407}\) Braun (trans.), *Contre Marcion IV*, 509n6.
5.94 Luke 23:1–3

4.42.1—Perductum enim illum ad Pilatum onerare coeperunt quod se regem dicere Christum: ... Pilatoque interroganti: Tu es Christus? proinde: Tu dicis, ...

In the opening encounter between Jesus and Pilate, v. 2 is also attested by Epiphanius. In 4.42.1, Tertullian alludes to ἠγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον (v. 1) and to the fact that ἔρξαντο κατηγορεῖν. He then makes reference to the final accusation of v. 2, which Harnack reconstructed λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Χριστὸν.408 Again, however, it is not clear from Tertullian’s testimony that Marcion’s text actually had the otherwise unattested order βασιλέα χριστόν or that it omitted εἶναι.

The introduction to the citation from Luke 23:3 attests ὁ Πιλᾶτος [ἐπ]ηρώτησεν.409 Pilate’s question as represented here is noteworthy as in Luke it is σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Harnack believed that Tertullian accurately represents Marcion’s text as reading σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, arguing that this is the case “da Jesus diese Frage des Pilatus bejaht.”410 This argument is not particularly persuasive given that Tertullian had just shown that Marcion interpreted vos dicitis as a negation of the question by the Sanhedrin, and therefore one would expect that the answer tu dicis (σὺ λέγεις) could also be understood as a negation.411 On the other hand, Tsutsui’s contention that Marcion altered the text in order to highlight his doctrine of the two “Christs” may be possible, but remains speculative.412 Marcion may have altered his text here; yet, it cannot be ruled out that Tertullian has provided an inaccurate citation. It is worth considering that Tertullian had already mentioned the accusation of Jesus saying he was “Christ a King,” and continues his argument with a citation from Ps 2, including the gathering adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius.413

408 Harnack, Marcion, 235*

409 Since only one Coptic manuscript attests the omission of δὲ it was probably present in Marcion’s text. Tertullian’s Latin also cannot reveal whether Marcion read ἡρώτησεν or ἐπηρώτησεν. The former is the reading of ΝΑ, though the latter is supported by Α, Δ, and the Majority Text, among other manuscripts.

410 Harnack, Marcion, 60.

411 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 125 also questions Harnack’s view.

412 Ibid., 72–73, 125.

413 In addition, though it is slightly further removed (4.41.2), Tertullian’s comments, discussed above, on the Sanhedrin asking Jesus whether he was the Christ may also be relevant.
5.95  Luke 23:7–9

4.42.3—Nam et Herodi velut munus a Pilato missus... Delectatus est denique Herodes viso Iesu, nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit.

Tertullian’s allusion in 4.42.3 begins by attesting the unproblematic ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρῴδην (v. 7).414 In v. 8 Tertullian alludes to the opening phrase, nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition, ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν.415 Finally, though Tertullian’s comment nec vocem ullam ab eo audivit reveals the presence of the end of v. 9 no insight can be gained into the reading of Marcion’s text.


4.42.4—Et Barrabas quidem nocentissimus vita ut bonus donatur, Christus vero iustissimus ut homicida morti expostulatur.

Tertullian devotes only one sentence to the account involving Barabbas in Luke 23:18–25. It is clear that Marcion’s text contained a reference to Βαραββᾶν (v. 18) and probably to the crimes of insurrection and murder (v. 19).416 The reference to Christ being iustissimus appears to have Pilate’s protestations of his innocence in view (v. 22) and the demand for Christ’s death, the cries for crucifixion (v. 23); yet, in neither case can any text be reconstructed. In addition, the outcome in v. 25 is also in view, though nothing more than the verb ἀπέλυσεν is clearly attested.


4.42.4—Sed et duo scelesti circumfiguntur illi, ... Vestitum plane eius a militibus divisum, partim sorti concessum, Marcion abstulit, ...

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414 Harnack, Marcion, 235* noted that v. 6 is indirectly attested by Tertullian’s discussion, but since the allusion does not overtly make reference to it, v. 6 is here considered unattested. Also, Harnack reconstructed an explicit external subject (Πειλᾶτος) for ἀνέπεμψεν in v. 7, which is not required by Tertullian’s comment and is otherwise unattested.

415 Harnack, Marcion, 235* reconstructed the text without the δὲ, though once again its omission is likely due to Tertullian. According to IGNTP it is elsewhere absent only in Ε, the Persian Diatessaron, and three manuscripts of sa.

416 διὰ στάσην and φόνον are nearly universally attested in the manuscript tradition with the latter only absent in a and the Persian Diatessaron.
Luke 23:33–34 is also attested by Epiphanius, with v. 34a attested by Ephrem. Tertullian’s allusion to vv. 32–33 attests the “two criminals” (v. 32)\(^\text{417}\) and the *circumfiguntur* probably refers to the criminals being crucified on either side of Jesus (v. 33), even if the precise wording cannot be reconstructed. In addition, Tertullian overtly states that Marcion excised διαμεριζόμενοι ἐβαλον κλήρου (v. 34).\(^\text{418}\)


4.42.7—... *nihil de Pilato postulatum, nihil de patibulo detractum, nihil sindone involutum, nihil sepulcro novo conditum.* | 4.42.8—*Sed si et Ioseph corpus fuisse noverat, quod tota pietate tractavit? ille Ioseph, qui non consensererat in scelere Iudaes?* | 4.43.1—*Oportuerat etiam sepultorem domini prophetari* [Tertullian had cited Ps 11] *ac iam tunc merito benedici, si nec mulierum illarum officium praeterit prophetia quae ante lucem convenerunt ad sepulcrum cum odorum paratura* [Tertullian goes on to cite Hos 5:15–6:2].

In this passage, vv. 50 and 53 are also attested by Epiphanius and vv. 50, 52–53 possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Tertullian’s argument against Marcion’s Docetic view leading up to the above-cited portion of 4.42.7 has concluded that if Christ as a phantasm/spirit gave up his spirit (v. 46), then nothing remained on the cross. Tertullian then draws a series of conclusions related to the content of vv. 52–53 for which he attests τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἐκείνῳ τὸ σῶμα (v. 52) and καθελὼν ἐνετύλιξεν [αὐτὸ] σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν [αὐτὸ] ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ (v. 53). It is not entirely clear whether Tertullian’s *novo* arises from the statement that no one had yet been laid in the tomb or from Matt 27:60 where the adjective actually occurs.

Tertullian then makes reference to Joseph being the actor in caring for the body (v. 50) and attests that this Joseph οὐκ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (v. 51). In addition, the *in scelere* seems to allude to τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν to which Joseph did not consent. Both of the references in v. 51 are relatively unproblematic even if the reconstruction of the second phrase must remain tentative. Finally, as Tertullian begins to discuss Luke 24, he indicates that it is with the actions of αἱ γυναῖκες (v. 55) with whom the account continues.

\(^\text{417}\) The allusion cannot determine whether the order was κακούργοι δυά, with P\(^75\), B, and B, or δυά κακούργοι.

5.99 Luke 24:1, 3–4, 6–7, 9, 11

4.43.2—Quis enim haec [the words of Hos 5:15–6:2] non credat in recogitatu mulierum illarum volutata inter dolorem præsentis destitutionis, qua percessae sibi videbantur a domino, et spem resurrectionis ipsius, qua restitui rite arbitra<ba>ntur? Corpore autem non invento…Sed et duo ibidem angeli apparuerunt,…Revertentes quoque a sepulcro mulieres et ab illa angelerum visione…ad renuntiandam scilicet domini resurrectionem. | 4.43.3—Bene autem quod incredulitas discipulorum perseverabat,

In Luke 24:1–12, vv. 4–7 are also attested by Epiphanius. Tertullian’s adaptation of v. 1 in 4.43.1 was already cited in the discussion of Luke 23:55 due to the explicit mentioning of the “women.” Based on Tertullian’s comment Harnack reconstructed (ὄρθρου βαθέως) ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα (φέρουσαι) ἄγγελον ἄρωματα. Most of this reconstruction is unproblematic, though Tertullian’s reference to ante luceum seems quite clearly to refer to ὄρθρου βαθέως and the precise position of ἦλθον in the sentence remains obscure.

In 4.43.2 Tertullian may first allude to ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτὰς περὶ τούτου (v. 4a) and then provide the reason by referencing the unproblematic οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα in v. 3. Tertullian continues by mentioning the “two [men]” in v. 4b, where Harnack rightly noted that angeli is likely due to Tertullian. Tertullian then skips to the conclusion of this pericope before later quoting the words.

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419 Moreschini follows the reading of R2 and R3. M, γ, and R1 read tamen figi, though in his first edition Rhenanus also conjectured carnem figi as the reading.

420 In the apparatus Harnack, Marcion, 237* wrote “(c.23, 56)” after cum odorum paratura; however, in context it seems readily apparent that Tertullian is here referring to 24a.

421 Harnack, Marcion, 237*. Harnack’s recognition of this point makes his reconstruction ἄγγελοι (ἄνδρες?) curious. Tertullian’s use of angeli either arose from the description of the men wearing gleaming clothing or from Matt 28 where an ἄγγελος is expressly identified. Epiphanius, in elenchus 76 in Pan. 42.11.17 also interpreted οἱ ἐν ἐσθήτι λαμπρᾷ as referring to οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι.
of the “angels” in vv. 6–7.\textsuperscript{426} For v. 9 he attests ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἄπηγγειλαν ταῦτα πάντα,\textsuperscript{427} and in 4.43.3 the persistence of unbelief alludes to καὶ ἠπίστους αὐταῖς (v. 11). Tertullian’s testimony to the words of the men to the women attests μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν.\textsuperscript{428} ὅτι δεὶ παραδοθηναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστηθηναι (v. 7). The word order tradi filium hominis, however, may be due to Tertullian as IGNTP lists no other witnesses for the verb before “Son of Man.”

4.5.100 Luke 24:13, 15–16, 19, 21a, 25

4.43.3—Nam cum duo ex illis iter agerent et dominus eis adhaesisset, non comparans quod ipse esset, etiam dissimulans de conscientia rei gestae, Nos autem putabamus, inquiunt, ipsum esse redemptorem Israelis,… | 4.43.4—Plane invectus est in illos: O insensati et tardi corde in non credendo omnibus, quae locutus est ad vos.

In the encounter between Jesus and the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, vv. 13, 15 and 25 are also attested by Epiphanius and v. 25 possibly in the Adamantius Dialogue. In 4.43.3 Tertullian alludes to several elements in the account. δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν (v. 13) and Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας (v. 15) can be reconstructed, though there is also a reference to their traveling (v. 13), the fact that they did not recognize him (v. 16), and Jesus’ question concerning the things they were discussing (v. 19). Tertullian then cites v. 21a, based upon which Harnack reconstructed ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνομίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.\textsuperscript{429} Harnack believed ἐνομίζομεν to be unattested otherwise, but IGNTP indicates that it is also attested by the Arabic and Persian Diatessaron, as well as Ambrosiaster. At the same time, it is not impossible for Tertullian to have

\textsuperscript{426} Here Harnack apparently thought that Tertullian became slightly confused. His view, however, that “Tert. v. 26 (weil er aus Versehen v. 25 mit v. 6 vertauscht) indirekt [bezeugt]” is unlikely (Harnack, Marcion, 239*; cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:494). Lieu states, “Tertullian makes no reference to the following words, ‘must not the Christ suffer…?’” Luke 24:26) [sic] (“Marcion and the New Testament,” 413n19).

\textsuperscript{427} The order πάντα ταῦτα found in \textit{n}, \textit{D}, and numerous other manuscripts is also possible. The “possible Western non-interpolation” (i.e., placed in single brackets by Westcott and Hort) ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου is attested as present by Tertullian.

\textsuperscript{428} Harnack, Marcion, 238* rightly observed “Das bei Tert. fehlende ἐτι ὄν nach ὑμῖν ist vielleicht zufällig von ihm übergangen.” IGNTP lists only lectionary 184 as also attesting the omission. Tsutsui’s statement in no uncertain terms that we here find “eine absichtliche Textänderung von Marcion” is overstated (“Evangelium,” 127).

\textsuperscript{429} Harnack, Marcion, 238*.
rendered ἠ[or ἐ]λπίζομεν with putabamus. In addition, Lukas observes “Wohl von Tertullian selbst, nicht von Marcion, wird hier der Infinitiv λυτροῦσθαι zum Substantiv redemptor umgewandelt,” and he may well be right concerning this otherwise unattested reading. Tertullian’s testimony to v. 25 is found in the quotation in 4.43.4, which attests ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλαλήθη πρὸς υμᾶς. Zahn thought that Tertullian’s passive is here a “freie Übersetzung,” contending that Marcion read ἐλάλσεν. The precise reading attested here is unclear. Though the testimony of other sources must also be taken into account before a final verdict on the wording can be made, it is worth noting the clearly different conclusion to the verse in Luke (οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται).

5.101 Luke 24:41

4.43.8—Atquin adhuc eis non credentibus propterea cibum desideravit, ut se ostenderet etiam dentes habere.

Based on Tertullian’s allusion Harnack reconstructed ἔτι δὲ ἀπιστοῦντων αὐτῶν... τι βρώσιμον. Once again Harnack did not follow Tertullian’s word order (eis non credentibus), which is attested by 1675 and a few Ol manuscripts. Harnack’s reconstruction may well reflect Marcion’s order, but certainty is not possible.

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430 Braun states that ἔνομίζομεν was “sans doute” the reading of Marcion as the idea of “thinking” is the basis for Tertullian’s subsequent argument in 4.43.4 (though there he uses the verb existimare). This observation, however, could be interpreted differently in that Tertullian may have rendered the wording of the verse more loosely along the lines of his intended argument.

431 Lukas, Rhetorik, 326n1465. Harnack had considered the reading “nur wahrscheinlich” and considered the possibility that the canonical reading was present (Marcion, 238*). Braun, similarly to Lukas, states “La liberté de notre auteur dans sa façon de citer peut être ici en cause [for the reading]” (Contre Marcion IV, 522m).

432 Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:494. Harnack, Marcion, 239* offered this as Marcion’s reading without further comment.

433 Lieu more accurately renders Tertullian’s text “what was spoken to you” (“Marcion and the New Testament,” 413m9), though also contended that this reading “by implication” supports the first person singular reading attested by Epiphanius and in the Adamantius Dialogue (ibid., 413). This implication is not obvious to me.

434 It may already be noted, however, that v. 25 is also marshaled by Wolter as evidence for Lukan redaction being present in Marcion’s Gospel (Lukasevangelium, 3).

435 Harnack, Marcion, 239*–40*.
5.102  Luke 24:47

4.43.9—...siquidem et apostolos mittens ad praedicandum universis nationibus...

The final verse attested in Marcion’s Gospel is Luke 24:47. Tertullian’s allusion attests κηρυχθῆναι...εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.⁴³⁶

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⁴³⁶ Harnack provides the same reconstruction, though without the ellipses (ibid., 240*).
CHAPTER 6

Epiphanius as a Source

Having devoted two chapters to the numerous verses attested for Marcion’s Gospel in Tertullian, this chapter turns to the second major source, Epiphanius. Before considering the specific attestation of Marcion’s text offered by Epiphanius, however, a variety of introductory issues need to be discussed at the outset.

6.1 Advances in Understanding Epiphanius and His Works

In the works of Epiphanius, the vast majority of his biblical quotations are found in the Ancoratus (Ἀγκυρωτός) and the Panarion haeresis (Πανάριον).1 The critical text of these two works remains the edition by Karl Holl,2 though the second and third volumes have been corrected and supplemented in second editions by Jürgen Dummer.3 An index volume to the Holl and Holl/Dummer volumes has also now been published,4 which, together with the Biblia Patristica index,5 greatly facilitates the study of Epiphanius’s references to biblical texts. In addition, Frank Williams has provided an English translation, with helpful notes, of the Panarion.6 Other, including incompletely

3 Epiphanius, Ἐπιφανιοῦς II (ed. Jürgen Dummer; 2d ed.; GCS 31; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980) and Ἐπιφανιοῦς III (ed. Jürgen Dummer; 2d ed.; GCS 37; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985).
preserved, works of Epiphanius are only occasionally relevant for the present study, though the continued work on *De mensuris et ponderibus* (Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν) due to the discovery of new fragments of the text should be noted.7

Concerning Epiphanius’s own biblical text, Carroll D. Osburn has offered a new and expanded study of the topic of his Ph.D. dissertation, namely, the *Apostolos* in Epiphanius, which also offers helpful discussion of both Epiphanius’s citation habits and methodological issues involved in using the church fathers for textual criticism of the NT.8 For the Gospels’ text used by Epiphanius, the study by Lawrence Allen Eldridge9 is unfortunately rather significantly flawed in both data and methodology,10 and therefore of limited value for evaluating Epiphanius’s text in this section of the NT canon.

6.2  Epiphanius’s Testimony Concerning Marcion’s Gospel

6.2.1  Statistical Analysis of Epiphanius’s Testimony

After Tertullian, Epiphanius is the second most important source for Marcion’s Gospel. As already noted at the outset of this study, Epiphanius provides data

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8 Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 85. Osburn’s Ph.D. dissertation is “The Text of the Pauline Epistles in Epiphanius of Salamis” (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 1974).


concerning readings for 114 verses in *Pan.* 42 and numerous passages not present in Marcion’s Gospel, almost entirely, though not exclusively, in 78 scholia and elenchi.\(^{11}\) It is also worth noting that in comparison with Tertullian, Epiphanius makes far more direct references to variant readings in Marcion’s Gospel.\(^{12}\) In 23 scholia Epiphanius refers to elements “excised” by Marcion and in 14 made explicit reference to Marcion’s text reading differently than the text of Epiphanius.\(^{13}\)

### 6.2.2 Panarion Haereses 42

In book 42 of the *Panarion*, Epiphanius devotes the first eight chapters to a discussion of Marcion’s life and a refutation of Marcion’s teachings. Chapters nine through twelve then contain extensive interaction with Marcion’s Scriptures.\(^{14}\) Epiphanius concludes with chapters thirteen through sixteen, which once again interact with Marcion’s teachings and beliefs. Though the number of

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11 Specific details of Epiphanius’s presentation of the data are discussed below. In the second listing of the material which Epiphanius addresses in Marcion’s Gospel, he first makes reference to a verse as a note (σχόλιον) and then offers a refutation (ἔλενγχος). Eric Scherbenske has observed: “This style of refutation, unique amongst the heresies treated in Epiphanius’s *Panarion* and utilized extensively in his polemic against Marcion, closely resembles the content and argumentative strategy of Tertullian’s and Adamantius’s discussions of Marcion’s tenets and may perhaps be traced to the *Antitheses*” ("Marcion’s *Antitheses* and the Isagogic Genre," *vc* 64 [2010]: 271).

12 Harnack highlighted the value of Epiphanius’s testimony, particular in complementing the testimony of Tertullian, by observing, “Da Tert. beim Evang. sehr viel seltener als beim Apostol. Auslassungen vermerkt hat, so sind diese Angaben des Epiph. von unschätzbarem Wert; ohne sie wäre unsere Kenntnis des Marcionitischen Verfahrens sehr viel dürftiger” (*Marcion*, 182*). In addition, it was pointed out in chapter 4, n. 21 that Tertullian devoted far less attention to the conclusion of Marcion’s Gospel than he did to the beginning. Epiphanius, however, has far more scholia dealing with the concluding two chapters than the opening chapters (cf. also Lieu, “Marcion and the New Testament,” 411).

13 “Excisions” (cf. Epiphanius’s use of οὐκ ἔχειν, παρακόπτω, etc.) are mentioned in σχ. 12, 22, 25, 28, 29, 31, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 67, 72, and 77. Some type of variant reading (cf. Epiphanius’s use of ἀντί, παραλλάσσω, etc.) are mentioned in σχ. 1, 4, 8, 19, 26, 30, 34, 35, 40, 48, 50, 69, 70, and 77. Harnack simply summarized the data writing “Von diese 78 Stellen [the scholia] enthalten 35 Angaben über Änderungen M.s am Text, sei es durch Auslassungen, sei es durch Korrekturen” (*Marcion*, 182*).

14 Though Epiphanius does offer insight into numerous verses in Marcion’s Scriptures and remains the second most important source after Tertullian, Zahn rightly observed, “In der That hat er [Epiphanius] sich recht wenig Mühe kosten lassen, sich und den Lesern ein Bild von Mrc.’s NT zu verschaffen. Die Citate bestehen zum großen Theil aus wenigen Worten; ziemlich selten wird von größeren Abschitten angegeben, daß sie bei Mrc. Fehlten” (*Geschichte*, 2:412).
chapters devoted to Marcion’s Scriptures are less than those devoted to his life and teaching, chapters nine through twelve are significantly longer than the others so that the vast majority of the book against Marcion is comprised of Epiphanius’s discussion of Marcion’s *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon*. In the ninth chapter of *Pan. 42*, Epiphanius notes that Marcion used only Luke as a Gospel, though in a version that was mutilated (περικεκομμένον) not only at the beginning, but also at the end and in the middle. After also making reference to Marcion’s *Apostolikon*, Epiphanius states that he is able to refute Marcion from the very texts retained in the Marcionite church. It is at this point that the book becomes curious and somewhat convoluted in its structure. At the beginning of chapter ten, Epiphanius indicates that he had previously written a treatise (πραγματεία) against Marcion, which he would present (παρατίθημι) in his present work. He describes his procedure for preparing this treatise in the following manner: (1) quite a few years ago (ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἰκανῶν) he took up Marcion’s *Euangelion* and *Apostolikon* and selected material out of these books that would serve to refute Marcion; (2) he wrote something of an outline for a text in which he ordered the points and numbered them. Epiphanius indicates that this “outline” contained both passages that Marcion had falsified and passages that were unchanged but capable of refuting him. This selection of passages is then presented in *Pan. 42.11.1–8*, a section which Epiphanius entitles προοίμιον τῆς περὶ τῶν Μαρκίωνος βιβλίων ὑποθέσεώς τε καὶ ἐλέγχου. The “outline” contains 78 excerpts from Marcion’s Gospel, followed by 40 excerpts from seven Pauline epistles. In *Pan. 42.11.9–14* Epiphanius concludes that he has now presented Marcion’s falsified compilation (ἡ νενοθευμένη σύνταξις) containing a version of Luke and an incomplete collection of Paul’s epistles and that he has toiled over and investigated these texts so that it might be understood that the altered sayings had been fraudulently inserted (τὰ μὲν παρηλλαγμένα ρήματα κατὰ ῥᾳδιουργίαν ἐντέτακται).

In *Pan. 42.11.15* Epiphanius begins describing a third part of his scholarship (τρίτον τῆς φιλοκαλίας) where he contends that texts which he and Marcion had

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16 *Pan. 42.9.1–2*.
17 Cf. *Pan. 42.9.6–7* for the list of theological points that Epiphanius believed he could make from the Marcionite Scriptures that contradicted Marcionite beliefs.
18 *Pan. 42.10.2*.
19 *Pan. 42.10.4–5*. It certainly appears that Epiphanius is attempting to secure the authenticity of his source (i.e., Marcion’s own texts) and therefore the reliability of his discussion through these references to his “earlier work” on Marcion’s text. So also Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 153.
in common could be used to prove theological points contrary to Marcion's beliefs. In *Pan. 42.11.16* Epiphanius goes on to state,

And here is the brief arrangement of that work of mine, transcribed word for word by myself from copies of Marcion in the form of scholia with exegetical comments, to serve as an outline.\(^{20}\)

In *Pan. 42.11.17*, Epiphanius adds that in order for the difficult things not to be obscure, he would now explain every entry, offering a reason for why each saying was chosen and transferred here to the *Panarion*.\(^{21}\) Epiphanius then lists the 118 passages a second time, this time as scholia, each of which is followed by an elenchus.\(^{22}\) Though some scholars previously had given attention to Epiphanius as a source,\(^{23}\) Zahn appears to have been the first to devote attention to the question of how *Pan. 42* came to have this rather unusual structure.\(^{24}\)

Zahn's position was that the earlier work against Marcion, a work which previously had not been completed or published, was taken up again and included without alteration (*unverändert*) in the *Panarion*.\(^{25}\) The beginning and conclusion of this previous work is, according to Zahn, clearly designated in *Pan. 42.11.1* and *Pan. 42.11.16*, respectively. The work thus contained a chapter one (the excerpts from the Gospel) and a chapter two (the excerpts from the Pauline epistles); however, Epiphanius at the time did not get further than the introduction to chapter 3, a chapter that Zahn characterized as having

\(^{20}\) *Pan. 42.11.16* (Williams).

\(^{21}\) Williams interprets Epiphanius's statement in his note: "I.e., in what follows the quotations from Marcion with Epiph's occasional comments on the text, were the 'scholia and notes.' These were collected for the benefit of anyone who wanted to write a full dress refutation of Marcion. The elenchi which accompany them are being written by Epiph now, as part of his *Panarion*" (*The Panarion Book i*, 351n54). It is not, however, entirely clear that this interpretation is correct (cf. the discussion below).

\(^{22}\) For the ordering and numbering of the 40 passages taken from the *Apostolikon* cf. the discussion in Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 151–53.

\(^{23}\) Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 31–45, e.g., offered numerous observations on Epiphanius's citation habits in *Pan.42*; however, he did not discuss the question of how Epiphanius had constructed the book.

\(^{24}\) The unusual structure affects both Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel and his testimony concerning Marcion's Pauline letter collection. The issue for the latter, however, has an additional curious re-ordering of the material in the two lists (cf. n. 22 above). For discussion of Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's *Apostolikon* cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 150–75. Elements of Schmid’s conclusions are also mentioned below.

been intended to contain “die Vertheidigung der kirchlichen Lehre gegenüber
der marcionitsichen.”26 It is only when Epiphanius took up this older work into
*Pan.* 42 that it was completed by the addition of the refutations of Marcion’s
texts. When writing the second listing comprised of scholia and elenchi, Zahn
argued that Epiphanius did not once again take up Marcion’s text, but simply
recopied the list of citations, i.e., the list in the original work that is the first list-
ing in *Pan.* 42. For this reason Zahn concluded that the second listing has value
only for the textual criticism of Epiphanius, and that

die zweiten Anführungen marcionitischer Texte bei Ep. als bloße
Abschrift der ersten und die in den Widerlegungen, wovon jene beglei-
tet sind, vorgetragenen Erwägungen in keinem Betracht den Werth einer
Geschichtsquelle [haben].27

Zahn’s views were accepted by Harnack, who in his own consideration of
Epiphanius as a source referred the reader to Zahn’s discussion.28 Schmid, how-
ever, argues against Zahn’s perspective and contends that for the *Apostolikon*
the second listing actually contains more original readings and that the first
listing is often secondary.29 At the same time, Schmid demonstrates that
the second listing also has some secondary elements or readings, ultimately
concluding that there was an *Ur-Exzerptsammlung* that was then copied in
different ways at least twice, with the second listing in Epiphanius’s book, at
least for the *Apostolikon*, being closer to the original.30 Several observations
seem to confirm Schmid’s rejection of Zahn’s position and that it is also not
the case for Marcion’s Gospel that the first list is the “original” list taken from
Marcion’s text.

Before actually considering a few examples, it is important to note that in
the Holl/Dummer edition, the main text evidences only a bare minimum of
differences between the two lists of scholia. In fact, only 12 scholia reflect any

26 Ibid., 2:410.
27 Ibid., 2:418.
29 Schmid’s argument is based on the order in which the Pauline epistles are addressed,
Epiphanius’s two discussions of 1 Cor 9:8–9, the fact that a whole series of passages in the
first listing appear to have omissions, and that numerous minor differences in the first
listing create readings that are closer to the readings of the major stream of NT textual
30 Schmid sees evidence of secondary elements in the second listing in the discussion of
Eph 2:11 and 1 Cor 1:31. Schmid’s conclusions are found in *Marcion und sein Apostolos*,
167–68.
variation at all, including such minor differences as spelling variation or the
presence or absence of a movable nu.31 When one looks at the apparatus, how-
ever, in 57 scholia the manuscripts offer differing texts for the two lists, often
with both Codex Vaticanus 503 (=V) and Codex Marcianus 125 (=M) attesting
the same variant reading.32 Schmid observed a similar phenomenon for the
Apostolikon where 22 of the 40 scholia reflect differences when the reading in
the apparatus, and not the one in the main text, is considered.33 Apparently,
Holl believed that essentially all of these differences crept into the manu-
scripts through the transmission process; however, Schmid demonstrated
that because of clearly identifiable tendencies in the variant readings found
in the two lists, most of these differences actually stem from the time of the
composition of the Panarion.34 Thus, it is imperative always to have the text of
Epiphanius as attested in the manuscripts in view, and not simply the text as
reconstructed by Holl. When this is done, several important observations can
be made.

First, as part of the argument that the first listing is less reliable for the scho-
lia from the Apostolikon, Schmid points out five instances where the first list
offers less text, sometimes considerably less, than the second listing.35 There
are also several instances where this is the case for the first listing of the scholia
dealing with Marcion's Gospel (Pan.42.11.6). In scholion 5, the first list does not
include Epiphanius's καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς; in scholion 32 it omits the final particle δή; in
scholion 42 it does not include καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος; in scholion 50 it omits
ὁ θεός; in scholion 51 it omits the external subject of the infinitive, αὐτόν; in
scholion 53 it omits τὸ περί; in scholion 66 it omits the external subject Ἰούδας;
in scholion 67 it omits that Peter cut off the ear τοῦ δοῦλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως;
in scholion 75 it omits the external subject αἱ γυναῖkes; and in scholion 77 it
omits Epiphanius’s observation ἐποίησεν along with the pronouns αὐτῶν and
αὐτόν. Though both lists contain omissions of individual words in numerous
places, the vast majority of them are clearly mechanical errors; however, though
the omission in scholion 42 mentioned above could have been the result of

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31 These scholia are numbers 7, 11, 15, 27, 29, 38, 50, 53, 69, 77, and 78.
32 V and M are the two, independent manuscripts attesting book 42 of the Panarion.
Holl published a separate study of the manuscript tradition for the Panarion and
Ancoratus entitled Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Epiphanius (Panarion
und Ancoratus) (TU 36.2; Leipzig: Hinrich’s, 1910). An English overview of Holl’s conclu-
sions is found in Williams (trans.), The Panarion, xii.
33 Cf. Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 158.
34 Ibid., 159. Cf. also n. 29 above.
35 The passages discussed are 1 Cor 10:1–4, 11, 19–20; Gal 5:21; and Eph 5:14 (ibid., 161–64).
parablepsis as the copyist skipped from one καί to the next and the omission in 50 could have occurred due to homoeoteleuton, the other omissions cannot be explained as merely copy errors. It is telling in this regard that while the first listing exhibits several, often longer omissions, the second listing exhibits only a few such omissions, namely at the end of scholion 1 and in scholia 10 and 30 (Pan. 42.11.17).⁴⁶ Though the data are perhaps not quite as clear as in the Apostolikon, the material from Marcion’s Gospel provides at least some further support for Schmid’s conclusion, who, on the basis of his analysis of the omissions in the first list of the Apostolikon, notes

Aufs Ganze gesehen ergeben sie [the omissions] das eindeutige Bild, daß die erste Anführung deutlich weniger Text bietet, also unvollständiger ist als die zweite Anführung. Gleichzeitig verstärkt sich der Eindruck, daß der Text der ersten Anführung eine schnell und schludrig durchgeführte Abschrift des Textes der zweiten Anführung ist.⁴⁷

Second, Schmid also considers several scholia where the listings for the Apostolikon contained different readings concluding that “Der Text der ersten Anführung hat eine deutlich größere Affinität zum Hauptstrom der ntl. Textüberlieferung als der Text der zweiten Anführung.”⁴⁸ In addition,

textliche Differenzen zwischen den beiden Anführungen lassen auf eine gewisse Nachlässigkeit bei der Anfertigung der beiden Anführungen schließen. Die Lapsus der zweiten Anführung sind jedoch in der Überzahl.⁴⁹

A comparison of several variant readings for the two listings in Epiphanius’s discussion of Marcion’s Gospel, presented in the following table, allows for some further conclusions concerning the two lists of scholia.⁴⁰

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⁴⁶ At the end of scholion 1, the second list omits Epiphanius’s comment on the cited reading: ἀνθ᾽ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. Curiously, in Schmid’s discussion of the first scholion on 1 Cor 10:19, he references this omission, but states that it “fehlt in der ersten Anführung” (ibid., 163n47). Apparently some type of error occurred in his reading of the apparatus. In scholion 10 the second τοὺς πόδας is missing and in scholion 30 the first τοῦ θεοῦ is omitted.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁸ Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 166.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Passages listed are readings where comparison with the manuscript tradition is possible and fruitful. It is important to note that these readings are not in every case attested
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First List (Pan. 42.11.6)</th>
<th>Second List (Pan.42.11.17)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke 6:16 (σχ. 4)</td>
<td>Ἰσκαριώθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 7:9 (σχ. 7)</td>
<td>λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 7:23 (σχ. 8)</td>
<td>…έαν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 7:44 (σχ. 11)</td>
<td>…ἐβρεξεν μου τοὺς πόδας…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 8:42 (σχ. 14)</td>
<td>ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν,…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 9:16 (σχ. 15)</td>
<td>ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 9:30 (σχ. 17)</td>
<td>καὶ ίδον δύο ἄνδρες…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 11:11, 12 (σχ. 24)</td>
<td>…αἴτησε ἵχθυν… ἡ ἀντὶ φῶ…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 11:47 (σχ. 27)</td>
<td>…οἰκοδομεῖται τὸ μνήματα…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 12:4, 6 (σχ. 29)</td>
<td>λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 12:31 (σχ. 33)</td>
<td>ζητεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 12:38 (σχ. 35)</td>
<td>…εἶχεν ἐπιτρεπόν την φυλακήν.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 16:29 (σχ. 46)</td>
<td>…ἐκ νεκρῶν…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 17:10 (σχ. 47)</td>
<td>λέγετε ὅτι ἄρχειοι δοῦλοι ἔσμεν…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 17:22 (σχ. 49)</td>
<td>…ἐκ τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 20:37 (σχ. 56)</td>
<td>…περὶ τῆς βάτου…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

for Marcion’s Gospel as at times Epiphanius is making reference to a section missing from Marcion’s text. Thus, the purpose here is to consider variant readings as related to the two listings of scholia. The question of the reading of Marcion’s text is a subsequent question and is discussed below.
In a series of readings, the first listing has a greater affinity to the primary stream of transmission in the manuscripts. This seems to be the case in, e.g., Luke 7:23, 44; once in 9:16; 11:11; 16:29; 17:10; 18:33; 21:22; 22:16, 64; and 23:50. It is also noteworthy that in several instances the first list aligns with the reading of certain “Western” witnesses, e.g., once in Luke 9:16; 9:30; 11:12; and 12:31. On the other hand, even though it occurs more often in the first list, there are also instances where the second list aligns with the primary stream, e.g., Luke 6:16; 7:9; 11:47; 12:4; 13:16, 28; 17:22 (if one views the citation as breaking off before

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42 According to IGNTCP, the witnesses attesting the first reading are as follow: Luke 9:16 the plural τῶν οὐρανοῦ is a singular reading; Luke 11:12 ἤ is the reading of 700, aur, b, c, f, ff2, g1, gat, l, q, r1, Vulgate, geo (the reading καί in the second list is the reading of 700, aur, b, c, f, ff2, g1, gat, i, l, q, r1, Vulgate, geo (the reading καί in the second list is the reading of 726, 1220, 1579, l1231, d, sy c,p, the Arabic and Persian diatessaron); and Luke 12:31 ζητεῖτε δὲ is the reading of D, a, d.
In two other instances, namely Luke 8:42 and 24:38, the readings are difficult to evaluate. Furthermore, there is a curious shift in numbering in the first list when σχ. θ (9) is split in two and σχ. λγ and λε (33 and 34) are collapsed together leading to the scholia being numbered differently in between. Finally, both lists evidence singular readings and a certain carelessness in copying even if, once again, the first list has more clearly identifiable errors.

Overall, the two sets of above findings correspond, at least to some extent, with what Schmid discovered for the two lists of the Apostolikon. Therefore, Schmid’s conclusion concerning the material attesting Marcion’s Apostolikon likely also applies to the material attesting Marcion’s Gospel: “Wir müssen daher eine Art ‘Ur-Exzerptsammlung’ postulieren, die mindestens zweimal auf unterschiedliche Weise ausgeschrieben wurde.” In other words, it is likely that for the lists from both “halves” of Marcion’s Scriptures a similar copying process occurred, and that in both instances an Ur-Exzerptsammlung was copied twice, resulting in the two listings in Pan. 42. At the same time, however, even if one rejects this view and is inclined towards Zahn’s view of the relationship between the two lists (i.e., the priority of the first listing over the second), the fact that corruption undoubtedly affected the text in the

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43 According to IGNTP, the witnesses attesting the first reading are as follow: Luke 6:16 P⁴, P⁷⁵, *, B, L, 33, 579, and Marcion (sic—the manner in which the manuscript tradition for Epiphanius creates problems can clearly be seen in IGNTP listing Marcion as a witness for the reading Ἰσκαριώθ whereas NA²⁸ lists MCion as attesting the reading Ἰσκαριώτην); Luke 7:9 is a singular reading; Luke 11:47 the plural τὰ μνήματα is the reading in 1056 and Chrysostom; Luke 12:4 ἐδὲ is only omitted by 0211, 074, a, sa; Luke 13:16 omission of ἦν is a singular reading; Luke 13:28 is a singular reading; Luke 17:22 several ol witnesses have ἔδειν in this position; Luke 20:37 περὶ is a singular reading; Luke 23:34 omission of αὐτοῦ is a singular reading; and Luke 23:53 the omission of συνδέει (in second list M and V*) is singular.

44 In Luke 8:42 καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι occurs in C⁴, D, P, 1071, a, aur, b, c, d, ff², g¹, gat, I, q, r¹ and καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν occurs in 343, 716, 1229, 2487. Though both lists read αὐτόν the elenchus begins ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, . . . revealing that the scholion in both list may have been conformed to the nearly unanimously attested third person singular pronoun (According to IGNTP, 5 ol manuscripts read τὸν ἰησοῦν). In Luke 24:38 the omission of both possessive pronouns is practically a singular reading; however, the second one is often omitted. It is difficult to tell if an omission has taken place in first list or if they were added in the second list.

45 For example, omissions in the first list that could be due to homoeoteleuton can be found in σχ. 29 and 76, and possibly in 50.

46 Cf. ibid., 167–68.

47 Ibid., 168.
process of the transmission of the *Panarion* means that, on occasion, the second list may preserve a more accurate reading and therefore cannot be systematically relegated to insignificance. The significance of these observations is that *both* listings of readings from Marcion’s texts as found in the Holl/Dummer *apparatus* must be taken into consideration when evaluating Epiphanius’s testimony of Marcion’s Gospel. A final point to be made here is that the apparent double copying of excerpts from Marcion’s Gospel out of Epiphanius’s *Zettelkasten* and Epiphanius’s lack of access to Marcion’s Gospel text at the time of the composition of *Pan*. 42 lead to the same result for Marcion’s Gospel that Schmid notes for Marcion’s *Apostolikon*: “das Zeugnis des Epiphanius *cum grano salis* [ist] nicht so zuverlässig wie das des Tertullians.”

In addition to the two listings of the scholia, there is also the question of the elenchi. Zahn contended that the entirety of all the elenchi appear to be secondary additions. Even if this were the case, it would not necessarily mean that no memory of the content of Marcion’s text can be found there. At the same time, however, it is not entirely clear that everything in the elenchi is secondary. As noted above, Zahn viewed the “third part” of Epiphanius’s scholarship (*Pan*. 42.11.15) as a third chapter of Epiphanius’s planned work against Marcion that was never written; yet, there are two problems with this view. First, there is no explicit reference to a “first” or “second” section, and, second, the “third” element is said only to address material Epiphanius and Marcion have in common. Therefore, it is possible that this “third” element

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48 Thus, comments such as Zahn’s reference to “die fehlerhafter und wie immer secundäre zweite Anführung [emphasis added]” (*Geschichte*, 2:507), even if he recognized the value of the second list as being able to function as a “zweite Handschrift” (ibid., 2:418), are highly problematic.

49 Schmid rightly notes that this lack of access could have arisen due to circumstantial (he no longer had physical access to the text) or temporal (he did not have the time to double-check his excerpts against Marcion’s text) reasons (*Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 196). In either case, Epiphanius is entirely dependent on a previous interaction with Marcion’s Gospel.


51 This position is also advanced by Williams (cf. n. 21 above).

52 For example, in Luke 10:25 (discussed below in 6.4.26), the elenchus appears to attest the same omission of *aiònivou* found in Tertullian’s testimony. Though this is rather slim evidence upon which to build the view that in writing all the elenchi Epiphanius had Marcion’s Gospel and not his own copy of Luke before him as is done by Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 45 (though n.b. that Volckmar incorrectly refers to the verse in question as 10:26), it may reveal that there are points of contact between readings in the elenchi and readings found in Marcion’s text.

refers, not to a “chapter” as assumed by Zahn, but to a type of refutation of Marcion. Interestingly, immediately prior to Pan. 42.11.15, Epiphanius seems to make reference to two other types of material. The first is where Marcion altered sayings (Pan. 42.11.13) and the second is where Marcion omitted sayings (Pan. 42.11.14).\(^{54}\) If these are the first two elements of Epiphanius’s scholarship the reference to a “third” element involving material that he and Marcion had in common becomes clear. Furthermore, Epiphanius reveals that he has specific types of material of agreement in view, namely texts related to the Savior’s incarnation, the agreement of the NT with the OT, and the demonstration that the same God who spoke the Law is the Savior’s Father. These three sub-headings utilize keywords (παρουσία, συμφονία, ὁμολογία) that had already been used by Epiphanius in a similar discussion in Pan. 42.10.4–7.\(^{55}\)

It appears, therefore, that when Epiphanius first excerpted material from Marcion’s Gospel he already had concrete criteria in mind for the material he was selecting. That this material was organized under various headings, and that the material was already, at least to some extent, commented upon (Pan. 42.11.16), is entirely possible.\(^{56}\) Therefore, it is not impossible that the second listing with the refutations is actually reflecting some original material, though now organized not according to topic, but according to the order of the material in the Gospel.\(^{57}\) For this reason, though the elenchi must be used with caution, their contents also must, at the very least, be considered when attempting to reconstruct Marcion’s text from the sources.\(^{58}\)

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\(^{54}\) Schmid speaks of two groups of excerpts from Marcion’s Gospel, one dealing with ῥᾳδιουργία and the other with material held in common with Epiphanius (Marcion und sein Apostolos, 169–70). Though much of his analysis of Epiphanius is very helpful, it is not clear how the division into two groups of excerpts helps elucidate why Epiphanius refers to a third element in his scholarship.

\(^{55}\) Cf. also Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 170.

\(^{56}\) Schmid suggests possible headings such as παλαιὰ διαθήκη, νόμος, ἐνσαρκὸς παρουσία, ῥᾳδιουργία, ὁμολογία, and ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (ibid., 171). The possibility of commentary appearing with the excerpts before the writing of the Panarion is suggested in ibid., 173–74.

\(^{57}\) So also Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 174 for the Apostolikon.

\(^{58}\) For example, in scholion 44 Epiphanius simply makes reference to “the material” concerning the rich man, Lazarus, and the latter being carried by angels to Abraham’s bosom. In elenchus 44, Epiphanius only focuses on the apparent difficulty for Marcion’s theology created by Abraham being among those who live and are blessed. In elenchus 56, however, Epiphanius invokes, in a completely different context, the presence of a specific element from this account, namely the dipping of a finger in water to cool the tongue (Luke 16:24), in a manner that implies its presence in Marcion’s text. It is possible that
The clear conclusion at this point is that the relatively simplistic picture of Epiphanius's production of *Pan. 42* by Zahn and Harnack cannot be embraced. There are overt indications that Epiphanius's excerpts from Marcion's Gospel did not always have the form found in the first listing in *Pan. 42*. In addition, not all of the material in the elenchi can be discarded out of hand and be evaluated as late and historically worthless. At the very least, the convoluted stages of production of *Pan. 42* and the relatively poor transmission of Epiphanius's work require a careful evaluation of all the material found in both listings of scholia and the elenchi relating to Marcion's Gospel.

### 6.3 Epiphanius's Citation Habits

In an article dealing with the use of the Greek church fathers for NT textual criticism, Gordon Fee makes a reference to the citing habits of Epiphanius being “notoriously slovenly.”\(^{59}\) In addition, he notes that there are a significant number of singular readings in Epiphanius's *Panarion*.\(^{60}\) Though these observations are undoubtedly true, Osburn points out that Epiphanius is also capable of reproducing verses with remarkable fidelity.\(^{61}\) Therefore, when considering Epiphanius's testimony concerning Marcion's Gospel text one cannot hastily conclude either for or against its accuracy. It is worth noting that in the middle of the nineteenth century, Volckmar had already made several important observations concerning the manner in which Epiphanius executes his discussion of Marcion's Gospel. For example, Volckmar noted,

> Wo nur kürze Sätze vorkommen, citirt er freilich, namentlich beim Beginn seiner Scholien, wörtlich gleich mit unserem Lucas-Text, … Mehrfach aber erlaubt er sich dabei schon kleine Änderungen, wenn sie den Sinn nicht berühren, ohne dass wir desshalb berechtigt wären, abweichende Lesarten bei Marcion anzunehmen.\(^{62}\)

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60 Ibid., 204.


In addition, he stated,

Sobald... die ihm nothwendigen Anführungen etwas umfanglicher werden, so bald sucht er abzukürzen. ... Sobald aber grössere Abschnitte folgen, wird er in dem Versuch möglichst abgekürzt zu citiren, mannichfaltiger, je nachdem die Natur derselben ist.\(^63\)

Indeed, though there clearly are instances where Epiphanius carefully notes the wording, especially when accusing Marcion of making an alteration, when general reference to the content of Marcion’s Gospel is made not only is there a marked tendency to abbreviate the reference, Epiphanius often also evidences a very loose manner of citation.\(^64\) To cite only one example, in the curious double citation of Luke 20:37–38a in scholia 56 and 57\(^65\) Epiphanius twice notes that Marcion excised/did not have these verses; however, his “citation” of the same text twice in a row shows numerous, marked differences. Even a cursory reading of the scholia and elenchi reveal the number of instances in which Epiphanius uses summary keywords, omits elements, or simply cuts off a citation with καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς (cf. scholia 5, 59, 64 and elenchi 29, 70). For these reasons, one must be particularly aware of the possibility of omissions and alterations due to the hand of Epiphanius, especially in contexts where Epiphanius is not highlighting a difference between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke.\(^66\)

In addition, Lieu has recently rightly noted:

There is a marked tendency in patristic citation for Matthew to influence quotations of Luke (or Mark), and this is more generally evident in both Epiphanius and Adamantius.\(^67\)

\(^{63}\) Ibid., 34. Volckmar repeats the point concerning Epiphanius’s tendency to abbreviate his citations on pp. 38, 39.

\(^{64}\) So also Ibid., 43–44 and Zahn, Geschichte, 2:411–12. Volckmar also provided a helpful overview of the differing manner in which Epiphanius gave attention to different chapters of Marcion’s Gospel and Luke ultimately correctly concluding “Auf Vollständigkeit in seinen Angaben der Marcion scheinbar widrigen Stellen ist also be Epiph. auch nicht zu rechnen, wenn er sie auch beabsichtigt hat” (Das Evangelium Marcions, 43).

\(^{65}\) Cf. the discussion below under 6.4.57.

\(^{66}\) Volckmar had already recognized the difficulties in these passages, ultimately, and rightly, concluding “Auf die Genauigkeit seiner Angaben in Betreff dessen, was Marcion mit Lucas gemeinsam hatte, werden wir uns ... überhaupt nicht verlassen können” (Das Evangelium Marcions, 45).

\(^{67}\) Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 737.
Indeed, in the index volume to Epiphanius’s works noted above (*Epiphanius IV: Register zu den Bänden I–III*), there are 9.5 columns of verses cited from Matthew, 1.5 columns of verses cited from Mark, and 8.5 columns of verses cited from Luke, though here one needs to take into account that many of the verses are cited only in Epiphanius’s refutation of Marcion. Thus, the tendency already seen in Tertullian once again must be taken into account for Epiphanius.

### 6.4 Epiphanius as a Source

As attention is now given to the passages attested by Epiphanius it is vitally important, as argued above, to keep the manuscript tradition and not simply Holl’s text in view. For this reason, though Holl’s critical text is used, whenever V and/or M attest a different reading it is noted in the cited text. In addition, as was the case in the discussion of Tertullian’s testimony, whenever there are other witnesses for the text they are mentioned here. Since the analysis of Tertullian’s testimony was undertaken in the previous two chapters, whenever Tertullian and Epiphanius are the only sources for a verse, a comparison of their testimony is presented.

#### 6.4.1 Luke 1–2; 3:1, 21–38

42.9.168—... οὗτος [Marcion] γὰρ ἔχει εὐαγγέλιον μόνον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, περικεκομμένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν ἐνσαρκών αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν. | 42.11.4–5—εὕρετος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ πάντα τὰ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τῷ Λουκᾶ προπαγματευμένα τουτέστιν ὡς λέγει ἐπειδήπερ πόλλοι ἐπεσείδησαν καὶ τὰ ἔξοδα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐλισάβετ καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου εὐαγγελιζομένου Μαρίαν τὴν παρθένον, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Ζαχαρίου καὶ τῆς ἐν Βηθλεέμ γεννήσεως, γενεαλογίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑποθέσεως—ταῦτα πάντα περικόψας ἀπεπήδησεν καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔταξε ταύτην ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ἔξοδα. | 51.6.12—ἀρχεῖν δὲ νῦν τὰς δὲ παρεκκλεσίας τὴν ἀρχὴν τάττων ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἑτῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος. | 51.19.2—Μάρκος δὲ ἀρχεῖν ἀπὸ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἑτῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, μεσότητα τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο. | 66.50.5—ἡ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσία ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἑτῶν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἀπὸ τότε γὰρ ἤρχετο τῷ πνεύματι. | 66.78.1—Εἶτα ἔφη ὅτι τὰ παλαιὰ ἐτης οὐδέσεις ἐσώθη, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἑτῶν Ἰησοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχει τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων.

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68 References without the title of a work are to the *Panarion*. The divisions and Greek text are those found in the Holl/Dummer volumes referenced in nn. 2 and 3 above.
In 42.9.1 Epiphanius makes a reference to the beginning of Luke’s Gospel being omitted in Marcion’s Gospel, with the reference to διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος σύλληψιν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν likely offering a broad summary of the contents of Luke 1–2. In 42.11.4, Epiphanius makes specific reference to the opening words of Luke and then to several elements in these first two chapters, indicating that indeed 1:1–2:52 were omitted in Marcion’s text. This omission is also attested by many other sources. Furthermore, Epiphanius also goes on to note the omission of γενεαλογίας καὶ τῆς βαπτίσματος ὑποθέσεως, which makes reference, in the reverse order, to the content of Luke 3:21–38 not being present.

Epiphanius also provides a citation of the “beginning of the Gospel” of Marcion, where he writes the opening words from Luke 3:1 before unfortunately breaking off with καὶ τὰ ἔξεχαν. Elements of this verse are also attested by several other witnesses (Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, [Pseudo-]Ephrem, and in the Adamantius Dialogue) and when considering Epiphanius’s testimony it is important to note the other instances where he cites from this verse. Two significant observations are that in every instance Epiphanius places the numeral before the year, an otherwise unattested word order in the manuscripts according to igntp, and that τῷ is also inserted after the preposition in 66.50.5. This word order, also different from the order attested by Tertullian, and wording may therefore be due to Epiphanius’s own hand.69

6.4.2 Luke 4:27

42.11.6 μη (48)—πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μη (48)—. . . πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. μη (48)—. . . Ἐλ. ἔλεγε μη (48)—. . . Ἐλ. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. | 42.11.17 ‘Ἐλ. μη (48)—Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος. . .’

As already noted in the discussion of this verse in Tertullian, both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the presence of this verse in the pericope of the cleansing of the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19).70 In the elenchus Epiphanius focuses on this statement highlighting that the Lord calls Elisha “a prophet” and is accomplishing things previously done by Elisha. The verse was reconstructed by Harnack as πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἱσρα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ προφήτου καὶ οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη εἰ μὴ Νεεμὰν ὁ Σύρος.71 Taking both the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius into account, this reconstruction is for the most part

69 Harnack reconstructed the opening of the verse according to Epiphanius’s word order and wording (Marcion, 183*).
70 Cf. also the discussion below in 6.4.49.
71 Harnack, Marcion, 223*. 
unproblematic. If no sayings material preceded 4:27, one would expect the opening copulative καί not to be present and for the statement to begin with πολλοί, as is the case here and also in Tertullian. Both sources also attest the unproblematic opening words πολλοὶ λεπροὶ ἦσαν; however, Epiphanius has no reference to ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ attested by Tertullian. Since the omission of this phrase, according to IGNTP, is elsewhere found only in 579, Origen, and Ambrose, it could be a simple omission by Epiphanius. Interestingly, both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest the reading ἐν ἡμέραις Ἐλισσαίου which is elsewhere found only in Origen and Hillary. At the same time the OL e reads tempore Elie, which may be related to the reading attested here. Curious, however, is Harnack offering the singular reading attested by Epiphanius for Marcion’s text (οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθη) as it is more likely that this reading is due to Epiphanius. Finally, due to Tertullian’s testimony being in Latin it is not certain whether Marcion’s text spelled Ἐλισσαίου with one or two sigmas and Νεεμάν with one or two epsilons.

6.4.3 Luke 5:12–14

42.11.6 α (1)—Ἀπελθὼν δείξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ιερεί καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, καθὼς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς. ίνα ἢ μαρτύριον τούτο ύμίν ἀνθ’ οὐ εἰπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. <α> (1)—Ἀπελθὼν δείξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ιερεί καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, καθώς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς; ίνα ἢ μαρτύριον τούτο ύμίν ἀνθ’ οὐ εἰπεν ὁ σωτήρ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς [ἀνθ’ . . . αὐτοῖς omitted by V M] | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. α (1)—Πῶς ἠδυνατο ὁ κύριος . . . λέγειν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ θεραπευομένοις, φημὶ δὲ τῷ λεπρῷ . . . καὶ προσένεγκε περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου κἂν τε ἀποκόψῃ τὸ δῶρον, φανήσεται ἐκ τοῦ προσένεγκε ὅτι περὶ δῶρου λέγει· | 66.57.2—. . . ἀπελθὼν προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον σου, τῷ καθαρισθέντι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λεπρῷ λέγων καθὼς προσέταξε Μωυσῆς.

In the elenchus Epiphanius attests that the healing of a leper took place (Luke 5:12–13), though no further insight is possible than that already gained from Tertullian’s attestation of these two verses. Several other elements from the scholion are repeated verbatim in the elenchus and thus not cited above, though the claim of the omission of τὸ δῶρον is discussed further below. Harnack reconstructed v. 14: ἄπελθε δείξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ιερεί καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον (περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου;) ὁ προσέταξεν Μωυσῆς, ίνα ἢ ύμίν <τοῦτο> μαρτύριον. Though several aspects of this reconstruction are unproblematic,

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72 Tertullian reads the universally attested οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη.
73 Both spellings, among others, are attested in the manuscript tradition.
74 In the Holl/Dummer volume Μωυσῆς is consistently spelled without a diaeresis over the upsilon.
differences between Tertullian and Epiphanius's testimony to v. 14, as well as a somewhat complicated transmission in the manuscript tradition, create difficulties at some points.

First, though ἄπελθε is attested by D, the reading vade is essentially limited to the Latin tradition and could be rendering the imperatival sense of the participle ἀπελθών attested in most of the manuscript tradition and by Epiphanius for Marcion. Second, Tertullian attests τὸ δῶρον, which is not only unattested by Epiphanius but is indicated to have been omitted by Marcion in the elenchus. Harnack noted “es ist wohl ein nachträgliches Versehen des Epiph. anzunehmen,” which is possible. At the same time, however, since it is the Matthean reading, though also attested in a few manuscripts of Luke, it is also possible that Tertullian slipped into the Matthean wording when referencing the verse. It is also interesting to note that Epiphanius includes a reference to τὸ δῶρον σου in his citation in 66.57.2, where he largely follows the Lukan wording. Perhaps then, since Tertullian may have added the term along the lines of a citation habit, and Epiphanius may have omitted it against the wording of his other citations of this passage, Epiphanius’s comment in the elenchus may be correct as to the term not being present. Third, Epiphanius attests περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ σου, a phrase that is not attested by Tertullian. Since Tertullian’s reading is essentially a singular reading, it is likely that the phrase is not present due to a simple omission by Tertullian. Finally, the concluding elements to the verse present a significant challenge. Tertullian attests ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, ἵνα ᾖ ὑμῖν εἰς μαρτύριον whereas Epiphanius attests καθὼς προσέταξε Μωϋσῆς ἵνα ᾖ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῖν. Tertullian attests the Matthean ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, which once again may be due to Tertullian’s own hand. That Marcion’s text read similarly to D and several OL manuscripts is clear, though the precise reading can no longer be reconstructed. Since all other witnesses with this reading attest εἰς and only e among these witnesses does not include τοῦτο, it is possible that both words were present and a simple omission took place by Epiphanius and Tertullian, respectively.

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75 The full reading ἄπελθε δὲ καὶ is unique to D, d.
76 Harnack, Marcion, 188*.
77 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 46 stated that Epiphanius’s referring to an excision of τὸ δῶρον arose due to Epiphanius recalling the Matthean version of the phrase, a view that may be correct.
78 The reading is attested for Luke, according to IGNTP, only in e, a few Armenian manuscripts, and Augustine.
6.4.4 Luke 5:24

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius cites the opening element to Luke 5:24 in his excerpts from Marcion’s text and makes a further reference to the “Son of Man” and having “authority upon the earth” in the elenchus. Both Epiphanius and Tertullian attest the unproblematic ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and agree that the claim to “have authority to forgive sins” was made.79 At the same time, however, though the manuscript tradition essentially unanimously offers the words attested by Epiphanius (and Tertullian), it also reveals a variety of different orderings of the words. Noteworthy is that IGNT only lists reading the same word order as that attested in Epiphanius. Therefore, though the words in the reading are quite certain, some hesitancy in ascribing Epiphanius’s word order to Marcion is appropriate.80

6.4.5 Luke 5:36–37

In his discussion of Marcion prior to his direct interaction with Marcion’s texts, Epiphanius refers to the parable found in Luke 5:36–37 within the context of his account of Marcion’s “debate” with the elders in Rome.81 The verses are attested for Marcion in Tertullian, Philastrius, Ephrem, and in the Adamantius Dialogue, though here in Epiphanius, it is not entirely clear whether in this introductory material Marcion’s own text is in view. It is interesting, however, that when comparing Epiphanius’s reference to the verse here with the testimony of Tertullian, Epiphanius attests the order “wine” then “patch” as also

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79 Though Tertullian attests the word order ἔχει ἐξουσίαν.
80 Harnack, Marcion, 189* offers Epiphanius’s word order without comment.
81 The note in Williams (trans.), The Panarion, 295n6 to the reference in Epiphanius is somewhat confusing. He rightly observes that Pseudo-Tertullian 6.2 makes reference to Matt 7:17, but then continues “Fil. 45.2 gives both citations, opening the possibility that this author knew Epiph as well as Hipp. Synt. Matt. 7:17 is referred to at Hipp. Refut. 10.19.3.” Philastrius, however, clearly cites Luke 6:43 and Hippolytus Haer. refers to Matt 7:18. Gerd Lüdemann argues for several blocks of tradition being utilized by Epiphanius in these opening sections and sees this account of the “debate” as containing old and valuable material (“Zur Geschichte des ältesten Christentums in Rom: I. Valentin und Marcion II. Ptolemäus und Justin,” ZNW 70 [1979]: 96n28).
found in Tertullian’s references to the verses. In addition, Epiphanius attests the reading ἐπίβλημα ράκους ἀγνάφου (Matt 9:16//Mark 2:21), which may be underlyng a play on words in Tertullian. Overall, Epiphanius begins with the Matthean wording from Matt 9:17a and 9:16, continues with a completely singular reading and sense, and concludes with wording similar to Matt 9:16c though with a future tense form of γίνομαι and referring to a σχίσμα that is μεῖζον rather than χεῖρον.

6.4.6 Luke 6:3–4

42.11.6 κα (21)—Οὐδὲ τούτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυὶδ· εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κα (21)—Οὐδὲ τούτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυὶδ; εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κα (21)—Εἰ οἶκον θεοῦ φάσκει τὸν οἶκον τῆς παρὰ Μωυσέως γενομένης σκηνοπηγίας . . . θεὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν φάσκει, ὃς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, . . .

The reference to Luke 6:3–4 occurs, somewhat curiously, between references to Luke 9:44 and 10:21. Apart from Luke 4:27, which is explicitly stated to have occurred in a different location in Marcion’s Gospel, this is the only verse that appears out of canonical order in Epiphanius’s list. Epiphanius makes no indication that the verse appeared at an alternate location and it may simply have been placed out of order when Epiphanius compiled his list.82 Tertullian alluded to the reference to “David” in v. 3. Epiphanius’s citation of this verse is essentially unproblematic and there are only a few variants in the manuscript tradition. IGNTP indicates that the reading τί instead of ὅ is found in a few witnesses, including numerous OL manuscripts. The remainder of v. 3 is unattested by Epiphanius and it is problematic for IGNTP to state that Marcion omitted these words.

In v. 4, Epiphanius focuses on only the first phrase of the verse, and the elenchus presents arguments drawn exclusively from this part of the verse. The wording here corresponds with that of the allusion in Tertullian, and the manuscript tradition essentially unanimously attests the reading as cited by Epiphanius. The only significant question is whether an opening conjunction, ὡς, or an opening interrogative particle, πῶς, was present, or if the clause began with εἰσῆλθεν. Harnack and IGNTP claim that Marcion, along with other witnesses such as P4, B, and D attests the omission of ὡς/πῶς,83 though NA28 rightly refrains from including Marcion in its apparatus. Since Epiphanius

82 Zahn offered the example of this misplacement of Luke 6:3 as support for his suggestion that Epiphanius had perhaps compiled his list of verses “auf einzelnen losen Zetteln” (Geschichte, 2:414).

83 Harnack stated that ὡς “scheint mit DB gefehlt zu haben” (Marcion, 190*).
seems to break off in v. 3 and then pick up one element from v. 4 no insight can be gained into the precise reading of the opening to v. 4 in Marcion's text.

6.4.7  **Luke 6:5**

30.32.9—οὗτος γὰρ εἶπεν ὃτι κύριος ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.6 γ (3)—Κύριος ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. γ (3)—Κύριος ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. γ (3)—Δύο εὐθὺς ἐν ταύτῃ, καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ κύριον σαββάτου ἑαυτὸν ὁ σωτήρ ὀμολογεῖ διδάσκων, . . .

In 30.32.9, Epiphanius introduces the words from Matt 12:8/Luke 6:5 with a phrase found in neither Gospel. Though Harnack included καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι within parentheses in his reconstruction, no introductory element to the saying is attested. The question surrounding the location of this verse in Marcion's Gospel was discussed when considering Tertullian's testimony and Epiphanius's reference offers no further insight on this point. Tertullian's allusions could allow for the word order cited here by Epiphanius, an order also attested in a variety of other manuscripts including A, D, L, f1,13, and numerous versions. It could very well be, therefore, that Epiphanius is attesting the order in Marcion's text, which is also the order offered in Harnack's reconstruction.84

6.4.8  **Luke 6:16–17**

42.11.6 δ (4)—Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην, [V M read Ἰσκαριώθ] δς ἐγένετο προδότης, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ [V M read ἀντὶ τοῦ δὲ] κατέβη μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔχει κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. δ (4)—Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην, δς ἐγένετο προδότης, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ κατέβη μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔχει [ἔχει omitted by V M] κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. δ (4)—Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, δς ἐγένετο προδότης. . . ἐλεγχθήσεται δὲ ἡ υπόνοια σου ἀπὸ τοῦ γεγράφθαι Ἰούδαν προδότην. προέδωκε γὰρ καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην. οὐδὲν δὲ σε ἄνησε τὸ κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς λέγειν αὐτὸ τοῦ μετ’ αὐτῶν.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian, though Luke 6:16 only in an allusion in *Marc. 2.28.2*. Epiphanius's testimony is very difficult to evaluate since the manuscript tradition of the *Panarion* attests variant spellings of Judas Iscariot, with the elenchus even reading Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, which prompted Holl/Dummer to note “lies Ἰούδαν Ἰσκαριώτην?”85 Though Harnack reconstructed Ἰσκαριώτης, and NA28 lists this as Marcion's reading according to Epiphanius, the variation in the witnesses to the *Panarion* prohibit a definitive


85  Holl/Dummer (eds.), *Epiphanius II*, 126. In a claimed citation from the “Gospel of the Ebionites,” Epiphanius wrote of Jesus choosing Ἰούδαν τὸν Ἰσκαριώτην (30.13.3), though this name is omitted in M.
In addition, Epiphanius attests the reading without καὶ after ὃς. καὶ is read in the Majority Text, D, and most other manuscripts, though it is omitted by P75 vid, 8, B, the OL, and numerous versions, among others. The reference in the elenchus to Jesus having been delivered into the hands of men was certainly not found in this verse, but was drawn by Epiphanius from other synoptic passages (cf. Matt 17:22; Mark 9:31; Luke 9:44; 24:7). In v. 17, Tertullian attests the second half of the verse, whereas Epiphanius makes an explicit reference to a variant reading in Marcion’s text at the outset of the verse. Harnack simply reproduced Epiphanius’s attested reading, though even if one is inclined to accept Epiphanius’s testimony concerning the singular reading ἐν αὐτοῖς, it is highly problematic to accept κατέβη. The reason for this is that Epiphanius offers the otherwise unattested aorist indicative for both the “canonical” text and Marcion’s Gospel, which seems to reveal that he has employed this form instead of the elsewhere universally attested participle.

6.4.9  Luke 6:19–20

42.11.6 ε (5)—Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὀψίλος ἐζήτει ἂπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. [the next heading, i.e., scholion 6, begins here in V M] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. [καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς omitted by V M] | 42.11.17 Σχ. ε (5)—Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὀψίλος ἐζήτει ἂπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ε (5)—Πῶς πάλιν ὁ ὀψίλος ἠδύνατο ἂψασθαι τοῦ ἁφῆν μὴ ἔχοντο; ποίους δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπῆρεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ὁ ἐκ σαρκὸς μὴ ἡρμοσμένος;

Regardless of whether καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς was part of the scholion or not, it is clear that Epiphanius is selectively citing from Marcion’s text. Luke 6:19 is attested only by Epiphanius, though, once again, Tertullian and Epiphanius attest different parts of v. 20. Most of v. 19 is unproblematic, though it is worth noting that Epiphanius attests the singular imperfect and not the plural imperfect as found in P75 vid, 8, B, several OL manuscripts, and several versions, among others. Curiously, neither Zahn nor Harnack included v. 20a in their actual reconstructions, though they both make mention of the reference in their apparatus. Zahn stated, “Ep. sch. 5 schließt an 19a ohne Unterbrechung 20a, also fehlte 19b,” but Harnack rightly countered “Daraus, daß Epiphanius

86 IGNTP rightly notes the variation in the manuscripts of Epiphanius.
87 Though not reflected in his reconstruction, in the apparatus Harnack did state, “auf die altlateinisch bezeugte la κατέβη ist vielleicht kein Gewicht zu legen” (Marcion, 191*). That Harnack believed that the OL attests this reading is interesting, as neither Tischendorf, von Soden, nor IGNTP list any OL witnesses for this reading.
88 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:460.
sofort 20a folgen läßt, folgt nicht, daß 19b gefehlt hat.\textsuperscript{89} In any case, the reference is unproblematic and nearly uniformly attested.\textsuperscript{90}

6.4.10 Luke 6:23

\textsuperscript{89} Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 191*. Tsutsui provides the citation from Epiphanius in his second row of text and offers a note on v. 19b agreeing with Harnack’s assessment (“Evangelium,” 82).

\textsuperscript{90} Perhaps worth noting is that Epiphanius does attest the \textit{αὐτός} omitted in D, d, e, and sy\textit{p} and the \textit{αὐτοῦ} omitted by numerous ol manuscripts and a few other witnesses.

\textsuperscript{91} As noted in chapter 4.4.11, this omission is also attested by a few other manuscripts. IG\textit{NTP} confusingly indicates Marcion having omitted the \textit{γάρ} in the first half of the verse; however, no source attests any of v. 23a.

Luke 6:23 is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius’s testimony both affirms and contradicts Tertullian’s at a few points. First, Epiphanius attests the reading \textit{τὰ αὐτά}, whereas Tertullian attested, with some confirmation of the reading based on multiple attestation, \textit{ταῦτα}. In 66.42.9 Epiphanius seems to have been influenced by the wording in Matt 5:12 (\textit{οὕτως}), which on the one hand shows how the wording in Epiphanius’s citations can vary, but may also support the accuracy of the citation of Marcion’s text. It is possible that the copies of Marcion’s Gospel available to Tertullian and Epiphanius may have offered variant readings at this point. Secondly, like Tertullian, Epiphanius attests the omission of \textit{γάρ} before \textit{ἐποίουν}.\textsuperscript{91} Finally, Epiphanius attests the reading \textit{ὑμῶν} instead of \textit{αὐτῶν}, attested by Tertullian, at the end of the verse. It is noteworthy that according to IG\textit{NTP} only four other witnesses for this reading exist and that Epiphanius again uses the second person pronoun in 66.42.9. Therefore, it seems more likely that this reading is due to Epiphanius than that it was found in Marcion’s text.

6.4.11 Luke 7:9

Luke 7:9 is also attested by Tertullian and, once again, there are both similarities and differences. In the first list, Epiphanius reads an otherwise unattested
δέ after λέγω. Harnack is likely correct in seeing this conjunction as erroneously inserted here,92 either by Epiphanius or a copyist. Second, and significantly, both Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in the word order with the statement concerning “faith” preceding the reference to “in Israel.”93 Third, in the scholia Epiphanius attests τοσαύτην whereas in the elenchus he attests τοιαύτην. Both Zahn and Tsutsui viewed τοσαύτην as an assimilation to the canonical text and not the reading of Marcion’s text. Tsutsui further places emphasis on the reading in the elenchus, disagreeing with Harnack’s assessment that this is “zufällig” in its agreement with Tertullian’s talem.94 Yet, Harnack is absolutely right in having noted that Epiphanius’s argument in the elenchus requires the use of τοιαύτην, and it is for this reason that Harnack did not see it as confirming a supposed variant attested by Tertullian, an opinion that appears to be correct.95 Finally, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ εὗρον agrees with Tertullian’s testimony and the variant spelling of εὗρον/ηὗρον in the two scholia is insignificant.

6.4.12  Luke 7:23
42.11.6 η (8)—Παρηλλαγμένον τό μακάριος δς οὐ μη [V M read έαν μη] σκανδαλισθή ἐν έμοι· εἴχε γάρ ώς πρός Ἰωάννην. | 42.11.17 Σχ. η (8)—Παρηλλαγμένον τό μακάριος δς οὐ μη σκανδαλισθή ἐν έμοι· εἴχε γάρ ώς πρός Ἰωάννην. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. η (8)—Κάν τε πρός Ἰωάννην ἔχωι, κάν τε πρός αὐτόν τόν σωτῆρα, μακαρίζει τούς μή σκανδαλιζόμενος, ἢτοι ἐν αὐτῷ ἢτοι ἐν Ἰωάννην, . . . ἴνα μή τις τὸν μείζονα ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ταχθέντα Ἰωάννην, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος μείζονα νομίσῃ διὰ τό καί αὐτόν ἐκ γυναικὸς γεγεννήσθαι, ἀσφαλίζεται καί λέγει τό καί μακάριος δς έαν μή σκανδαλισθή ἐν έμοι.

Luke 7:23 is also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius’s testimony is confusing since it is unclear what his meaning is in the scholion and it appears that he himself may no longer have understood it in the elenchus.96 It is possible, however, that Zahn was correct in seeing Epiphanius making some reference to an alteration in Marcion’s text that resulted in v. 23 being explicitly

92  Harnack, Marcion, 196*.
93  This agreement is noted by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463 and Harnack, Marcion, 196* (who rather speculatively suggests that the element concerning Israel may even have been read after εὗρον by Tertullian); however, IGNTP curiously makes no reference to the variant word order in Marcion, listing only the variations in OL manuscripts and in Ambrose.
94  Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 86.
95  Harnack, Marcion, 195*.
96  On the latter point, cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463; Holl’s comment on 42.11.5(8); and Harnack, Marcion, 196*. 
related to John the Baptist being scandalized. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to know precisely what this altered reading was. Nevertheless, it does appear that the almost universally attested canonical text of 7:23 is indicated as being present in Marcion's Gospel, with the omission of ἐστιν (in both scholia and the elenchus) being due to Epiphanius, and οὐ μή, attested elsewhere only in 2643 according to IGNTP, only possibly reflecting Marcion's text.

6.4.13 Luke 7:27

42.11.6 θ (9)—Αὐτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται: ἰδού, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου.99 | 42.11.17 Σχ. θ (9)—Αὐτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται: ἰδού, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. θ (9)—... prohynwskon [Jesus foreknowing John] ἐποδείκνυσι τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅτι οὗτος ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ἄρα ὁ γράφας καὶ εἰπών ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου,100 ὁ θεὸς ἁιώνιος, ἀποστέλλει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄγγελον πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ... οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστελε τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελον ἄλλοτρῳ ἀξιωθεῖσον, ...

Luke 7:27 is also attested by Tertullian and in the Adamantius Dialogue. The section of the verse attested by Epiphanius is essentially unproblematic. Apart from the otherwise unattested αὐτός, likely due to Epiphanius's own hand, there is only one significant variant in the manuscript tradition of the passage surrounding the presence or absence of ἐγώ after ἀποστέλλω. Epiphanius does not attest the pronoun, thus agreeing with numerous witnesses, including Α, B, D, f13, and numerous versions.

6.4.14 Luke 7:36–38

42.11.6 ι (10)—Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρίσαου κατεκλίθη. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσω ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς πόδας καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ι (10)—Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρίσαου κατεκλίθη. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ στᾶσα ὀπίσω ἡ ἁμαρτωλὸς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ἔβρεξε τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς δάκρυς τοὺς

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97 Cf. the discussion in Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463–64. Holl contended that Epiphanius is simply making a reference to an erroneous interpretation by Marcion (Epiphanius ii, 108), an opinion that was followed by Harnack, Marcion, 196* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 87. It is unclear, however, how Marcion's Gospel itself would have indicated this variant interpretation without a textual alteration.

98 Cf. Harnack's comment on v. 23, that “im Text selbst von M. auf den Täufer gedeutet, aber wie?” (Marcion, 197*).

99 As noted in the discussion above, in this scholion the numbering of the first list diverges from the second. Here, V and M label ἰδού, ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου as heading 1 (10).

100 ἄρα ὁ γράφας καὶ εἰπών ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου is omitted by M.
πόδας, τοὺς πόδας omitted by V M] καὶ ἤλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. ι

(10)—Τό εἰσελθὼν [V M read εἰσελθόν; Vcorr εἰσελθών] σῶμα δείκνυσιν· . . . καὶ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι οὐδενός ἐστιν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ σῶμα <ἔχοντο> . . . καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα βρέξαι τοῖς δάκρυσι τοὺς πόδας οὐ φαντασίας πόδας, οὐδὲ δοκήσεως· ἤλειψε γὰρ καὶ ἔβρεξε καὶ κατεφίλει, τῆς ἁφῆς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθανομένη. | 42.16.2—. . . καὶ πόρνην ἀλείψουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ἰάσασθαι ἀπὸ πορνείας . . . | 77.28.1—. . . τῆς πόρνης ἁψαί; . . .

Though vv. 37 and 38 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius is the sole witness for Luke 7:36. He attests only the second half of the verse, where two readings are worth noting. First, Epiphanius attests the reading τὸν οἶκον, with REDENTIAL, B, D, L, W, and numerous other manuscripts, and not τὴν οἰκίαν, as in the TR. Second, the use of the verb κατακλίνω and not ἀνακλίνω agrees with witnesses such as REDENTIAL, B, D, L, Ξ, and f1. In v. 37 Epiphanius attests only that the pericope involves a γυνὴ ἁμαρτωλός, which is also the only element from the verse attested in Tertullian’s allusion to the verse. That these words are arising from Marcion’s text are confirmed by Epiphanius elsewhere referring to a πόρνη.

V. 38 is slightly more challenging in that Epiphanius simply summarizes the actions of the woman,101 which is also the case for Tertullian.102 After beginning with a reference to the position of the woman that follows the word order in many manuscripts including REDENTIAL, B, and D, Epiphanius lists the actions in a different order from the canonical account, an order that is also different from the variant order in Tertullian. In addition, he omits reference to the “drying” of Jesus’ feet.103 Concerning the ordering of the elements, Tsutsui summarizes the differing orders found in Luke, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, noting “daß es hier einzig und allein um die Stelle von ‘καταφιλεῖν’ geht—da die sonstigen drei Handlungen sich aus sachlichen Gründen nicht umstellen lassen” and then concludes “ob hierin etwas Absichtliches liegt, ist unklar.”104 The likely insignificance of Tertullian’s order of the elements was already discussed in chapter 5.27, and here it should be observed that though Tsutsui rightly notes the order that Epiphanius employs for the elements in scholia 10 and 11 (cf. below), he did not note that in the elenchus Epiphanius changes the order

101 Zahn spoke of an “abkürzende Zusammenfassung” (Geschichte, 2:464).
102 Tertullian and Epiphanius also employ the verse in the same argumentative strategy, namely, to highlight that these actions can only be performed on a true body and not a phantom.
103 Williams’s translation “wiped and kissed” is not particularly helpful in that it allows for confusion as to whether the “wiping” is with reference to drying (several English Bible, including the NIV and NASB render ἐκμάσσω with “wipe dry”) or to anointing.
once more (ἠλειψε γὰρ καὶ ἔβρεξε καὶ κατεφίλει), which demonstrates that the reference to the three grouped actions can indeed be altered. Therefore, as was the case for Tertullian no significance should be read into the change of order. Furthermore, in elenchus 11 (cf. below), Epiphanius concludes with a reference to Jesus’ comments that abbreviates the actions even further (αὕτη τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἠλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει), so the lack of reference to certain actions should also be seen as insignificant. Unfortunately, very little insight can be gained into the exact wording of Marcion’s text in much of this verse. Though Epiphanius attests the “Western” reading ἔβρεξε, whether this was the reading of Marcion’s text is ultimately unclear due to the summary nature of the reference. Similarly, the otherwise unattested aorist ἤλειψεν also seems due to Epiphanius’s reference. Both verbs are also used in scholion 11 (cf. below).

6.4.15 Luke 7:44–46

42.11.6 1a (11)—Καὶ πάλιν αὕτη τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου [V M read μου τοὺς πόδας] καὶ ἠλειψεν καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. 1α (11)—Καὶ πάλιν· αὕτη τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἔβρεξε τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἠλειψε καὶ κατεφίλει. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. 1α (11)—Ἰνα μὴ νομίσῃς, ὦ Μαρκιών, μόνον νομίζεσθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἁμαρτωλὸν γυναῖκα τοὺς πόδας τοῦ σωτῆρος βρέξαι τε καὶ ἀλεύψαι καὶ καταφιληκέναι, αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπιβεβαιοῖ, οὐ κατὰ δόκησιν ταῦτα γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκων, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἔλεγχον τοῦ Φαρισαίου... διασχυριζόμενος καὶ λέγων αὕτη τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ ἠλείψε καὶ κατεφίλει.

For Luke 7:44–46 Epiphanius once again summarizes the words of Jesus concerning what the woman mentioned in 7:37 has done. In v. 44 Epiphanius attests ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου, with the first list of scholia placing μου before τοὺς πόδας. The latter reading is found in most manuscripts with the former confined to the versions, including several ot manuscripts. The change to the more common reading in the copying of the original excerpts from Marcion’s Gospel is more likely and the reading of the second list of scholia may have been Marcion’s order. For vv. 45 and 46 only the verbs καταφιλέω and ἀλείφω are attested.105

6.4.16 Luke 8:19–20

30.14.5—... ἵδον, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἅδελφοι σου ἐξω ἐστηκασιν... | 42.11.6 1β (12)—Οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἅδελφοι αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα μόνον ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἅδελφοι σου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. 1β (12)—Οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἅδελφοι αὐτοῦ, ἄλλα μόνον ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἅδελφοι σου. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. 1β (12)—Κἂν τε ἀνωτέρω

105 Harnack only wrote v. 44 before citing Epiphanius here (Marcion, 197*); however, Tsutsui more accurately wrote 44–46 ("Evangelium," 87).
παρακόψῃς, ὦ Μαρκίων, τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν μὴ συντιθέμενον τῇ ὑπὸ τινῶν ῥήθεισι λέξει ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου, οὐ δύνασαι ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν...καὶ μὴ σε πλανᾶτω ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἔδεσαν ὁ κύριος τίς μου ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί;...| 78.9.2—...ιδοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου εξώ ἔστηκαν ζητούντες σε. | 78.9.4—...ιδοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου εξώ ἔστηκασι ζητούντες σε... | 78.10.7—...ιδοῦ, ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου εξώ ἔστηκασιν.

Epiphanius clearly attests the omission of Luke 8:19, both in the scholion and in the discussion in the elenchus, where Epiphanius indicates that Marcion “falsified” the passage in order to avoid the Gospel writer making the statement that the Christ had a mother. Luke 8:20 is also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius’s testimony makes reference only to the opening words of what Jesus was told: ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου. This reading is essentially unproblematic, even if there are a few witnesses, including P75 and ε, that attest the omission of the first pronoun.106 In his other four citations of this verse, Epiphanius appears to cite Matt 12:47; however, the opening of the statement appears verbatim in Matthew and Luke. In his reconstruction, Harnack offered the wording attested by Epiphanius without parentheses and included the additional elements to which Tertullian alluded in parentheses.

6.4.17  Luke 8:23–24

Ancor. Prooemium—...τὴν φωνὴν ταῦτην εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀφιέντες· ἐπιστάται, σώσον. | Ancor. 31.2—[Ps 120:4 precedes] ...ὑπνώσε δὲ, φησίν, ὁ κύριος ἐν τῇ νη. | 42.11.6 ιγ (13)—Πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν· ὃ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπιτίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. | 42.11.7 Σχ. ιγ (13)—Πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν· ὃ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπιτίμησε τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιγ (13)—Τίς ὑπνώσεν, λέγε...οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν διυπνίσαντες οὐ δόκησιν εἶδον, ἀλλὰ ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀληθινήν. ἀμέλει χερσὶ κινοῦντες καὶ φωνήσαντες μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι ἤγειραν. ἀναστὰς γάρ, φησίν, ἦγερθη μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐπετίμησε δὲ ὡς θεὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐποίησεν <γαλήνην>. | 76.39.7—...ἐπιτίμησε δὲ ὡς θεὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐποίησεν <γαλήνην>. | 77.28.4—...ἐπιτίμησε δὲ ὡς θεὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ... | 78.24.4—...ἐπιτίμησε...οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν διυπνίσαντες οὐ δόκησιν εἶδον.

Luke 8:23–24 are also attested by Tertullian. For these verses, Epiphanius attests the opening words of v. 23 immediately followed by a phrase from near the conclusion of v. 24. It is most likely that Epiphanius has simply abbreviated his citation of the verses,107 and indeed the elenchus assumes the presence in Marcion’s text of several elements not mentioned in the scholion. For v. 23,

106  Cf. chapter 4, n. 156. In chapter 4.4.28 I argued that Tertullian’s testimony does not require the conclusion that only one possessive pronoun appeared in Marcion’s text.
107  Cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:464.
the wording πλεόντων αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν is unproblematic, and it is almost certain that Epiphanius simply omitted the otherwise universally attested δέ after the genitive participle. v. 24 presents two challenges in terms of the text that Epiphanius attests. First, ἐγερθείς is the reading of Matt 8:26, though it is also found in many Lukan manuscripts (including A, D, and the τR). It may have been the reading in Marcion’s Gospel, though Epiphanius inclining to the Matthean reading is also possible. Second, the rebuking of the wind καὶ τῇ βαλάσσῃ also reflects the reading from Matthew. It is interesting to note that Epiphanius often conflates elements from Matthew and Luke in this account, with the “sea” also appearing in 76.39.7 and 77.28.4. Though Tertullian also attested τῇ βαλάσσῃ for v. 24, it may very well be that both these witnesses are independently being influenced by Matthew (or, in Tertullian’s case, a citation from Nahum) in their discussions of this passage and are not reflecting Marcion’s Gospel.

6.4.18 Luke 8:42–46

Ancor. 31.4—... καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀιμορροούσης τις μου ἥψατο; ... | Ancor. 38.1—... ἀνθρωποπαθῶς <λέγων> καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀιμορροούσης τις μου ἥψατο; ... | Ancor. 38.6—... καὶ τίς μου ἥψατο; ... | Ancor. 108.2—... καὶ τίς μου ἥψατο; ... | Ancor. 108.5—... τίς μου ἥψατο; ... | 31.14.10—... ἀψιμένην τοῦ κρασπέδου αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τούτο εἰρήκεναι τὸν σωτήρα τις μου ἥψατο; ... | 42.11.6 ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, [V M read αὐτόν] συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι. καὶ γυνὴ ἁψιμένη αὐτοῦ ἀδηθή τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τίς μου ἥψατο; καὶ πάλιν ἥψατό μου τις. καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ἐγένετο δὲ [V M omit δέ] ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, [V M read αὐτόν] συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι. καὶ γυνὴ ἁψιμένη αὐτοῦ ἀδηθή τοῦ αἵματος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, τίς μου ἥψατο; καὶ πάλιν ἥψατό μου τις. καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ. | 42.11.17 ἐλ. ἐγένετο δὲ [V M read δέ] ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ ἑτέρως αὐτὸν σχηματίσῃ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ὁδοιποροῦντων ἀκολουθίαν. τὸ δὲ συνέπνιγον [V M read συνεπνίγειν] αὐτόν οἱ ὄχλοι, πνεῦμα οὐκ ἠδύναντο συμπνίγειν οἱ ὄχλοι. γυνὴ δὲ ἁψιμένη καὶ ἱαθεῖσα οὐκ ἀέρος ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ ἁφῆς ἀνθρωπείας. ἵνα γὰρ δείξῃ ὅτι αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ἱερὸν καὶ διδάσκει λέγων τις μου ἥψατο; καὶ γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.

Epiphanius begins this scholion with a reference to Luke 8:42 where his opening words present two significant challenges for a reconstruction. First, Epiphanius appears to attest v. 42b as beginning with an ἐγένετο δέ. Though

108 ἀφύπνωσεν arising from Marcion’s text is also confirmed by Epiphanius utilizing the verb ὑπνόω in both the elenchus and in Ancor. 31.2.

109 According to IGNTP it also appears in Syriac and a few OL manuscripts.
C*, D, most Latin and a few other witnesses read καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι, Epiphanius’s opening for this verse is otherwise unattested. v. 40, however, opens with ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν, which led Zahn to posit that Marcion combined the opening of v. 40 with 42b. Zahn therefore reconstructed ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν…. It is worth noting that Zahn appears to ignore the pronoun that follows the infinitive. Turning to Harnack one discovers that, rather curiously, he offered no discussion of the opening words and focused exclusively on the pronoun ignored by Zahn. This second issue arises only because of Epiphanius’s comments in the elenchus. Both V and M read the universally attested αὐτόν; yet, Epiphanius’s first statement in the elenchus makes no sense if this was originally the reading in the scholion. Concerning Epiphanius’s statement in the elenchus, Harnack rightly noted “die Stelle is nicht ganz deutlich,” though he went on to contend “wahrscheinlich hat M. das hier singuläre αὐτούς geboten und nicht αὐτόν.” It seems to me, however, that both Zahn and Harnack may be incorrect in positing these singular readings for Marcion’s text. First, the elenchus makes it clear that Epiphanius’s primary interest in this verse arises from the references to people “pressing against” or “touching” Jesus. Indeed, the “Who touched me?” question is also referenced several times in Ancor. Second, in Matt 9:19, the disciples are said to accompany Jesus, which raises the possibility that Epiphanius is simply providing a generic introduction to the account along the Matthean lines of having Jesus go and being followed by his disciples. Thus, it is not entirely clear that Epiphanius’s citation of v. 42 actually begins with ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτούς and may rather begin with the reference to the crowds. Apart from the word order, which may well be due to Epiphanius, συνέπνιγον αὐτόν οἱ ὀχλοὶ is essentially unproblematic.

Verses 43–46 are also attested by Tertullian. Similar to Tertullian, Epiphanius makes a summary reference to vv. 43–44, indicating that a woman touched Jesus. Epiphanius, however, also makes reference to her being healed of her hemorrhages and thus indirectly relates her condition. Thus, γυνὴ in v. 43 and ἥψατο in v. 44 are securely attested, with other elements in the verse being alluded to. For v. 45, Epiphanius confirms Tertullian’s testimony to τίς μου ἥψατο as the wording of Jesus’ question, though κύριος in καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος may be due to Epiphanius. Both Tertullian and Epiphanius attest Jesus’ statement in v. 46. Epiphanius’s καὶ is unlikely to have been in Marcion’s text, though it is

110 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:466.
111 Harnack, Marcion, 199*.
112 IGNTP lists only two lectionaries and syrς as attesting κύριος.
113 In the elenchus Epiphanius appears to have conflated Jesus’ two responses.
possible that Marcion read ἐξελθοῦσαν with numerous other witnesses including A, C, D, W, f¹,¹³, and the majority text among others.¹¹⁴

6.4.19  **Luke 9:16**

42.11.6 ιε (15)—Ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιε (15)—Ἀναβλέψας εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἡμιλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ [ἐπ᾽ omitted by V M] αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιε (15)—Εἰ ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἡμιλόγησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, . . .

Luke 9:16 is perhaps also attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The attestation to Luke 9:16 by Epiphanius varies in the two versions of this scholion. The omission of ἐπ᾽ in the second listing is best understood as an assimilation to the predominant reading as ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς is attested only by D, several OL manuscripts, and syc. Also, as noted above, according to IGNTp the plural τοὺς οὐρανοὺς is a singular reading and though one cannot be completely certain, it may well be an error in the second listing that is repeated in the elenchus.¹¹⁵ There is also no real significance to be drawn from the variant spelling of the aorist of εὐλογέω. In sum, the reading in the first listing more likely reflects Marcion’s text, which is also the reconstruction of this part of the verse by Harnack.¹¹⁶

6.4.20  **Luke 9:22**

42.11.6 ιϛ (16)—Λέγων, δεῖ [V reads λέγω δή] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιϛ (16)—Λέγων, δεῖ [V reads λέγω δή] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιϛ (16)—Εἰ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ παθεῖν καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι <μέλλοντα> ἐστιννό ὁμολογεῖ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, . . . καὶ γάρ φησι πάλιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγερθῆναι.

Luke 9:22 is also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. A comparison of Tertullian and Epiphanius here reveals both similarities and differences. Though they both attest the same opening words,

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¹¹⁴ Tertullian’s *profectam*, on the other hand, seems to attest the reading ἐξελθοῦσαν.

¹¹⁵ The plural “heavens” occurs only 4 times in Luke compared to 31 occurrences of the singular. In Matthew, however, the plural occurs 55 times and the singular 27 times. It is possible that familiarity with the Matthean plural influenced the reference here.

¹¹⁶ Harnack, *Marcion*, 200*. Tsutsui sees the insertion of ἐπ᾽ as an intentional Marcionite change so that the bread is not blessed directly, but rather could be paraphrased as “und er segnete (d.i. den Gott?) ‘über’ die Brote (so daß sie aufhören, Geschöpf zu sein, und durch die erfreuliche Kraft Gottes in etwas den Marcioniten Annehmbares verändert werden)” (“Evangelium,” 90–91). Tsutsui goes on to propose that the construction may have been a *terminus technicus* in the cultic meal of the Marcionite church. Though possible, these suggestions seem somewhat speculative.
Epiphanius makes no reference to the second element involving the rejection of Jesus, continuing immediately with reference to Jesus' death and resurrection. Since Epiphanius appears to be focusing on the body that suffered and died being the body that was raised (cf. the elenchus), the omission is likely due to Epiphanius himself.\(^{117}\) Epiphanius agrees with Tertullian in the wording καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας,\(^ {118}\) with ἐγερθῆναι also being possible as the reading attested by Tertullian.\(^ {119}\) Whether the opening λέγων, according to \textsc{igntp} attested elsewhere only in sy\(^ b\), arose out of Marcion's text is unclear. Harnack therefore rightly noted “vielleicht ist darauf nichts zu geben” and placed the word in parentheses in his reconstruction.\(^ {120}\)

\section*{6.4.21 Luke 9:28, 30–31}

\begin{itemize}
\item 23.6.2—... ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν μὴ υποδείξαντα ἀλλὰ ἢ ἄνα μέσον Ἡλίου καὶ Μωυσέως τῶν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἠδικ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑφθέντων; | 42.11.6 ἦς (17)—Καὶ ἴδοι δύο ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, Ἡλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ἦς (17)—Καὶ ἴδοι, δύο [δύο omitted by V M]\(^{121}\) ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῷ, Ἡλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν δόξῃ. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. ἦς (17)—... ἀμφιτέρως ἦγαγεν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἠδίκ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ καὶ ἠδείξε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ,... | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. ἦς (63)—. . . πάθεν σοῦ Ἡλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς ὑφθέγασαν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐν δόξῃ;... | 64.14.9—... ὡσπέρ ἦν τὸ Ἡσυχοῦ εἴδος καὶ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἡλίου οὐχ ἦτερον ἐν τῇ μεταμορφώσει παρ᾽ ἑν. | 64.17.10—... ὡστε τὸ ὄρος ἀνέβη καὶ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἡλίου τῶν ὑφθέντων αὐτῶν. | 64.44.5—. . . καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν πλούσιον καὶ τὸν πενητὸν φόρασε καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέα καὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν ὀρίσσα. ... ἠδείκνυεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τὸν Ἡλίαν καὶ τὸν Μωυσέα, ἀλλ᾽ ὃς ἦσαν ἀψευδῶς.
\end{itemize}

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and Ephrem. Epiphanius refers only to the location where Elijah and Moses appeared in elenchus 63 (ἐν τῷ ὄρει). It is not entirely clear whether Epiphanius is here referring to Marcion's text; however, the reference to the location of the appearance (Luke 9:28) also appears in Tertullian's allusion to the verse. For vv. 30–31 Epiphanius, in the scholia, attests καὶ ἴδοι δύο ἄνδρες συνελάλουν αὐτῶν, followed by what appear to be truncated references: Ἡλίας καὶ Μωυσῆς and ἐν δόξῃ. The order

\begin{itemize}
\item 117 So also Zahn, \textit{Geschichte}, 2:466.
\item 118 Due to the agreement with Tertullian, Volckmar would appear to be incorrect in attributing the wording here to Epiphanius (Das \textit{Evangelium Marcions}, 33; n.b. that Volckmar incorrectly refers to the verse as \textit{viii}, 22).
\item 119 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.30
\item 120 Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 201*.
\item 121 This omission could have occurred through a scribal error in copying \textsc{IDOUΔYO}. According to \textsc{igntp} only 174 also contains the omission.
\end{itemize}
The parallel in Matt 17:3 also reads Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας; however, in Mark 9:4 Elijah is mentioned before Moses in the phrase καὶ ὄφθη αὐτοῖς Ἠλίας σὺν Μωϋσεῖ.

Epiphanius once makes reference to the voice coming from heaven (cf. his citation in 57.3.8, likely conflated with Matt 3:17/Luke 3:22)

As mentioned in the previous note, the likely influence from Matt 3:17/Luke 3:22 also leads to the voice being mentioned before the locale in 57.3.8. Curiously, IGNTP lists Epiphanius’s word order as the reading of “Marcion.”

IGNTP lists only K as attesting the first omission, though several manuscripts and versions, including P45, attest the second.

Thus already Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 34 concerning the omission of λέγουσα. In the elenchus Epiphanius makes an explicit reference to the Father λαλεῖ.
voice confirm the testimony of Tertullian, including the reading ὁ ἀγαπητός,127 before breaking off and leaving the final phrase of the verse unattested.

6.4.23 **Luke 9:40–41**

42.11.6 Ἑ (19)—Ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου. εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τὸ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁ γενέα ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; | 42.11.17 Σχ. ιθ (19)—Ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου. εἶχε δὲ παρὰ τὸ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁ γενέα ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ιθ (19)—Τό ἔως πότε ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας χρόνου ἐστὶν σημαντικὸν καὶ τὸ ὃ γενέα ἄπιστος, ὡς τῶν προφητῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑνόματι αὐτοῦ θεοσήμεια ἐργασαμένων καὶ πεπιστευκότων, . . .

Luke 9:40 is attested only by Epiphanius, and whereas the opening words are unproblematic and almost uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition,128 οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό is a singular reading. By reconstructing Marcion’s text in this way, and judging by the references in his apparatus, Harnack appears to have thought that this Lukan reading had been influenced by the syntax of Matt 17:16; however, since Epiphanius focuses exclusively on elements from v. 41 in the elenchus, it is also possible that the phrasing is due to carelessness on the part of Epiphanius.

Concerning v. 41, first, πρὸς αὐτούς is a singular reading that Harnack contended was “tendenziös von M. hinzugesetzt.”129 Though Harnack posed the question “ob es Tert. gelesen hat?”,130 Tsutsui rightly observes that “Tertullian (4,23,2) und Epiphanius stimmen darin überein, daß Jesus sein Wort nach Marcions Auffassung auf die Jünger gerichtet hat,”131 which, at least indirectly, means that the reading is attested in both sources. Second, though in the analysis of Tertullian’s testimony it was noted that καὶ διεστραμμένη could have been a simple omission by Tertullian, Epiphanius confirms its absence. Finally, Tertullian, in his two citations for v. 41, attests both of the final elements of the Lukan question whereas Epiphanius attests only ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν. Harnack argued that the absence of ἕως πότε ἔσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς in Epiphanius

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127 The double attestation by Tertullian and Epiphanius weigh more strongly than the fact that Epiphanius always refers to a υἱός ἀγαπητός in his other citations of this and related passages.

128 The opening καί is here unattested and should be marked with ellipses (IGNTP states that two mss. of syc omit the conjunction). Harnack simply began the verse with ἐδεήθην.


130 Ibid.

131 Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 94.
“ist nichts zu geben,” and both sources do attest ἕως πότε immediately before ἀνέξομαι along with numerous other manuscripts and lectionaries.  

6.4.24 Luke 9:44

42.11.6 κ (20)—Ο γὰρ υἱός του ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χείρας ἀνθρώπων. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κ (20)—Ο γὰρ υἱός του ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χείρας ἀνθρώπων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κ (20)—Τίνος ἀνθρώπου καὶ παραδοθησομένου εἰς χείρας ἀνθρώπων οὐ δοκήσεως ή ἐμφασις οὐδὲ φαντασίας.

Epiphanius’s citation of the second half of 9:44 is unproblematic and reproduces the essentially unanimously attested reading of the verse.

6.4.25 Luke 10:21

21.6.2—... τό εὐαγγελίῳ φησίν ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἰδιον πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς. | 40.7.9—... εὐχαριστῶ σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,... | 42.11.6 κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐτε πάτερ εἶχεν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ· κάτω γὰρ οὐ εἶχεν ναὶ, ὁ πατήρ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὐκ εἶχε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε πάτερ εἶχεν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ· κάτω γὰρ οὐ εἶχεν ναί, ὁ πατήρ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κβ (22)—Εὐχαριστεῖ κυρίῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κἂν περιέλῃς <τό> <καὶ> τῆς γῆς κἂν <τε> παρακώψῃ τό πάτερ, ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν λειψάνῳ κατὰ λήθην εἶασας, ὦ Μαρκίων, τό ναί, ὁ πατήρ, ἀποδέδεικται τοῖνος ἐξ ἀπαντος τῷ ἰδιῳ πατρί εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ οὐρανοῦ κύριον αὐτὸν ὄνομάζειν.

Epiphanius here attested several readings also found in Tertullian. First, εὐχαριστῶ confirms the reading in Tertullian, and the presence of σοι here tends to support the possibility that the absence of tibi in Tertullian was due to a simple omission on his part. Epiphanius does not attest the καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι found in Tertullian, and though Harnack was convinced that Epiphanius here abbreviated the citation, it is also possible that the extra words were inserted by Tertullian. Second, Epiphanius explicitly notes the omission of καὶ τῆς γῆς, confirming that Tertullian’s silence is due to the absence of this element. Harnack viewed the omission as tendentious, and Marcion may have had theological reason for doing so; yet, the words are also missing in P45.

132 Reference to this reading is also made by Williams, “Reconsidering Marcion's Gospel,” 482n14 [cont.].  
133 Since only Tertullian and Epiphanius attest this verse, Braun presumably meant to write “Epiphanius” in his statement “Gratias ago (εὐχαριστῶ) est confirmé par Adamantius” (Contre Marcion IV, 315n2). Interestingly, however, Epiphanius also attests this verb in 40.7.9.  
134 Harnack, Marcion, 204*.
and the 10th century minuscule 27*. Gregory, following Klijn, rightly notes “although the omission of καὶ τῆς γῆς can be explained as the result of a particular Marcionite tendency, nevertheless this is not a necessary explanation.” Third, Epiphanius also confirms that πάτερ was not present in Marcion’s text. Here again Harnack saw a tendentious omission on Marcion’s part, but it is difficult to find a rationale for this view. Tsutsui rightly asks what tendency necessitated the deletion of πάτερ, and his question is particularly poignant because Harnack himself, as seen in the discussion of Tertullian, believed that both Tertullian and Epiphanius rightly attested πατήρ as present in Marcion’s text in the final clause of Luke 10:21. Therefore, the possibility must be entertained that if the word was absent it was not due to an excision by Marcion and could have already been absent in his exemplar. Ultimately, Klijn is likely

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135 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 46 also saw a tendentious omission. Of course, Harnack did not have access to P45 when he wrote his work on Marcion. It is curious, however, that Tsutsui offers a theological rationale for Marcion’s omission (the earth symbolizes all of creation and the Creator God), but does not mention the reading of P45. Williams simply writes “In x, 21 together with the Chester Beatty papyrus, P45, he [Marcion] omitted καὶ τῆς γῆς” (*Alterations*, 14). It is also worth remembering, however, as E.C. Colwell noted, “As an editor the scribe of P45 wielded a sharp axe… He frequently omits phrases and clauses… He shortens the text in at least fifty places in singular readings alone” (“Scribal Habits in Early Papyri: A Study in the Corruption of the Text,” in *The Bible in Modern Scholarship: Papers Read at the 100th Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, December 28–30, 1964* [ed. J. Philip Hyatt; Nashville: Abingdon, 1965], 383; cf. also the extensive discussion of the scribe of P45 in Royse, *Scribal Habits*, 103–97).


137 Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*.


139 Cf. chapter 4.4.40, in particular n. 215.

140 IGNTP notes that it may possibly have been omitted by the OL manuscript a, with Athanasius being the only other witness omitting it. Tsutsui offers the rather weak argument that Marcion may have deleted the first reference to “father” out of stylistic reasons because he did not want to keep two terms of address in the text (“Evangelium,” 96). Braun, on the other hand, argues it was Tertullian “qui a supprimé aussi l’apostrophe (πάτερ)” (*Contre Marcion IV*, 315n2).
correct in his conclusion: “It appears impossible to give a definite answer to this question.”

6.4.26 *Luke 10:25–28*

42.11.6 κγ (23)—Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετά τὴν ἀπάκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν ὅρθως εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ. | 42.11.7 Σχ. κγ (23)—Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετά τὴν ἀπάκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν ὅρθως εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ. | 42.11.17 "Εἶπεν τῷ νομικῷ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται; καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ νομικοῦ εἶπεν ὅρθως εἶπες. τοῦτο ποίει, καὶ ζήσῃ."

In this passage, vv. 25 and 27 are also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius’s only reference in the scholion to v. 25 is the indication that the pericope involves a νομικός. In the elenchus, given Tertullian’s testimony that αἰώνιον was not present in Marcion’s text, it is interesting that Epiphanius states only that the Son of God was asked περὶ ζωῆς and not περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Though it is difficult to ascertain how much significance should be read into this formulation, if it was influenced by the wording of Marcion’s Gospel it would support Tertullian’s testimony. For v. 26, Epiphanius attests that Jesus asked the νομικός a question, the wording of which is essentially unproblematic. Since Harnack’s view that this verse was definitely missing in Tertullian’s copy of Marcion’s text has already been questioned, it is possible that Epiphanius is not merely attesting a later, altered version of Marcion’s Gospel. Following a mere allusion to the scribe’s answer (v. 27), Epiphanius attests Jesus’ reply in v. 28. The only difference here from the nearly universally attested text is εἶπες instead of ἀπεκρίθης, which does not necessarily reflect the reading of Marcion’s Gospel.

6.4.27 *Luke 11:5, 9, 11–13*

Anchor. 18.4—... εἰ ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν περὶ ἰχθύος καὶ ἄρτου λέγων. | 42.11.6 κδ (24)—Καὶ εἶπεν τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου, αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους; καὶ λοιπὸν

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\[141\] Klijn, “Matthew 11:25 // Luke 10:21,” 13. Klijn continues “The presence of the omission in Codex F, Pseudo-Clement, and Augustine, and in addition to this the omission of the word in similar expressions in the LXX, make it clear that the omission could have been brought about in more than one way.” Blackman, however, contends that οἱ αἵτων τρεῖς ἄρτους; καὶ λοιπὸν πάτερ due to Marcionite influence (*Marcion and His Influence*, 136, 157).

\[142\] Cf. chapter 4.4.43 and n. 240 there.

\[143\] This is the position taken by Harnack, *Marcion*, 206*-207* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 98, who explicitly refers to “einen von den Schülern revidierten Text.”

\[144\] **IGNTP** offers only aeth and geo as supporting this reading. In addition, ὅτως in the elenchus is certainly due to Epiphanius altering the wording.
Epiphanius’s citation from Luke 11:5, a verse to which Tertullian alludes, references essentially unproblematic readings, though the quotation is quite clearly abbreviated. The most obvious abbreviation occurs with the summary comment αἰτῶν τρεῖς ἄρτους alluding to the conclusion of the verse. Harnack thought that Marcion’s text omitted πρὸς αὐτούς, an omission that is also found in D and d; however, it is not clear that Epiphanius began his citation at the beginning of v. 5. He may rather have simply used a brief introduction to the citation of Jesus’ words, similar to his shortly thereafter introducing the second quote with καὶ λοιπὸν.

Epiphanius continues the scholion with elements from vv. 9 and 11–13, verses also attested by Tertullian, with vv. 11–13 additionally attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. In v. 9, Epiphanius cites αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται. The first verb is confirmed by Tertullian, and the latter may be the reading of Marcion’s text. For v. 11, Epiphanius attests τίνα γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸν πατέρα υἱὸς αἰτήσει ἰχθύν καὶ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ. Numerous readings need to be discussed here. First, τινα is attested, and not τις, as read in several manuscripts, including ℵ and D. Second, γάρ is only rarely found in the manuscript tradition, though it is the reading in P45. Third, εἶ is attested with numerous manuscripts against the TR. Fourth, the article before πατέρα is attested (it is omitted in several

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145 Cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:473 and Harnack, Marcion, 208*.
146 Harnack, Marcion, 208*.
147 Cf. the discussion in chapter 4.4.49.
148 IGNTP erroneously lists P75 instead of P45 as attesting γάρ. Also, it is unclear to me why NA28 chose to list (McionE Epiph) as evidence for the critical text τίνα δὲ εἴ μον τὸν πατέρα αἰτήσει ὁ υἱὸς when the reading attested by Epiphanius could just as easily, and perhaps more accurately, be listed as slightly varying from the reading of P45 (τίνα γάρ εἴ μον πατέρα αἰτήσει υἱὸς).
manuscripts, including P\textsuperscript{45} and P\textsuperscript{75}) but no article is present before υἱός, at least in the scholion (it is also absent in P\textsuperscript{45} and a few other manuscripts). Fifth, according to \textit{IGNTP}, the word order υἱός αἰτήσει is also found in D, d, W, and a few additional manuscripts. Sixth, like Tertullian, Epiphanius does not mention the pair “bread and stone” (cf. Matt 7:9 and the presence of the element in most manuscripts of Luke).\textsuperscript{149} Finally, the scholion attests ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ, though in the elenchus, in an abbreviated reference to v. 11, Epiphanius writes αὐτῷ ἐπιδώσει.\textsuperscript{150} In all of this it is very difficult to decipher that which is drawn from Marcion’s text and that which is due to Epiphanius’s own hand.

The references to vv. 12 and 13 are more cursory, with Epiphanius attesting ἢ ἀντὶ ψωδο κορβίπιον for v. 12 and εἰ οὖν ύμεῖς πονηροί οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθά, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ for v. 13. The content of the former verse is simply summarized by Epiphanius. The latter verse reproduces several unproblematic phrases from the verse, though Epiphanius has clearly omitted some elements. V. 13 is attested, however, in a longer form in the elenchus. There Epiphanius may simply be referring to the verse in the longer form, or perhaps the verse was expanded in the process of copying. In any case, it is difficult to attribute the expanded citation to Marcion’s Gospel with any degree of certainty and therefore one should view elements of v. 13 not present in the scholion as unattested by Epiphanius.\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{149} Zahn, \textit{Geschichte}, 2:473 stated that Epiphanius “übergeht” this element and Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 208\textsuperscript{a} viewed the omission here, as well as in sy\textsuperscript{a}, as “ein Zufall” (Harnack did not mention that B and several ol manuscripts also omit the phrase). Of course, both scholars were, however, working prior to the discovery of P\textsuperscript{45} and P\textsuperscript{75}, neither of which contain this element.

\textsuperscript{150} The former reading is that of the TR, though also supported by P\textsuperscript{45}, N, A, C, W, F\textsuperscript{13}, and other manuscripts. Important witnesses for the reading of the elenchus (also the reading of NA\textsuperscript{28}) include P\textsuperscript{75} and D.

\textsuperscript{151} Though Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 208\textsuperscript{a} did include a question mark, there is no source supporting the insertion of “(ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ;)” in Marcion’s Gospel. It should, therefore, also be recognized that Adalbert Merx’s suggestion that the reading ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ “aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach zu den marcionitischen Änderungen gehört” (\textit{Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas nach der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift} [vol. 2.2 of \textit{Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte: Übersetzung und Erläuterung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift}; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1905], 287), an idea for which T.W. Manson stated “there is something to be said” (T.W. Manson, \textit{The Sayings of Jesus} [London: SCM, 1949], 82), is based upon the speculation that a reading that is not attested for Marcion’s Gospel is a Marcionite interpolation.
Luke 11:29–32

42.11.6 κε (25)—Παρακέκοπται [V M read περικέκοπται] τὸ περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου, εἶχεν γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ περὶ Νινευῆ καὶ βασιλίσσης νότου καὶ Σαλομώνος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κε (25)—Παρακέκοπται τὸ περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου, εἶχεν γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ. οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ περὶ Νινευῆ καὶ [Νινευῆ καὶ omitted by V M] βασιλίσσης νότου καὶ Σαλομώνος. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κε (25)—Καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς δοκεῖς παρακόπτειν οὐ δύνασαι, ὦ Μαρκίων, λαθεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. κἂν ἀφέλῃς γὰρ <τὸ> περὶ Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου, . . . ἀφέλῃς δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης τοῦ νότου καὶ Σαλομώνος καὶ τῆς Νινευῆ τὴν σωτηριώδη ύπόθεσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ τὸ κήρυγμα, αὐτὸς ὁ προκείμενος λόγος τοῦ σωτῆρός <σε> ἐλέγχει. λέγει γάρ ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη σημείον αἰτεῖ, καὶ σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ, . . .

Luke 11:29 is also attested by Tertullian where his reference to σημείον οὐ δοθήσεται confirms this element in Epiphanius’s reference. It seems quite likely that Epiphanius has abbreviated the citation, making IGNTP’s reference to Marcion’s Gospel attesting an omission of γενεὰ πονεηρά ἐστιν· σημεῖον ζητεῖ, καί problematic. In any case, the intervening words are simply unattested, and the attested elements are nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition. The additional elements added by Epiphanius in the elenchus are likely a paraphrase of the intervening words based on memory. The remainder of the scholion and the elenchus reveal that Marcion’s Gospel did not contain vv. 30–32.

6.4.29 Luke 11:42

42.11.6 κς (26)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ [Vcorr added θεοῦ] εἶχεν παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κς (26)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶχεν παρέρχεσθε [V and M read παρέρχεσθαι] τὴν κλῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κς (26)—ἐὰν γὰρ εἴπῃ κατέχετε τὰς παραδόσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὑμῶν καὶ παρέρχεσθε [V read παρέρχεσθαι, Vcorr παρέρχεσθαι] τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, . . .

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, and Epiphanius’s explicit statement concerning the reading confirms Tertullian’s attestation of the reading τὴν κλῆσιν. Though the Holl/Dummer edition altered the reading of the Epiphanius manuscripts from παρέρχεσθαι to παρέρχεσθε, regardless of the original reading of the scholion, Marcion’s Gospel almost certainly did not read the otherwise

152 Harnack, Marcion, 209* placed these words in brackets.
153 The idea of paraphrasing the verse with the verb “ask” was already seen in Tertullian.
154 The omission of Νινευῆ καὶ in the second list of scholia could be a result of homoeoteleuton.
unattested middle infinitive. The remainder of the verse is unattested, and it is evident that the elenchus is loosely reflecting the entire verse based on Epiphanius's (faulty) memory.

6.4.30  

Luke 11:47

33.10.4—δήν καὶ ο ἱερός, ἐπαινών τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ τούς αὐτῆς διαχίους, ἔλεγεν κοσμεῖτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.6 κζ (27)—Οὐαὶ υμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἱ πατέρες υμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κζ (27)—Οὐαὶ υμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ οἱ πατέρες υμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. κζ (27)—Εἰ τῶν προφητῶν ποιεῖται τὴν φροντίδα, τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας ὀνειδιζων, οὐκ άλλότριοι αὐτοῦ ἦσαν οἱ προφῆται, . . . [a series of citations from the OT and one from John follows]

Epiphanius provides a citation of Luke 11:47, where Tertullian offers only an allusion. Most of the reading is unproblematic, though discussion concerning two points is necessary. First, in 42.11.6 Epiphanius attests the reading τὰ μνήματα, whereas in 42.11.17 the scholion reads τὰ μνημεῖα. As mentioned in chapter 5 (5.48), Tertullian’s use of monimentum may point towards the reading τὰ μνημεῖα; however, this is not certain.155 In 33.10.4, Epiphanius offers the latter reading, and one would expect that in the process of the production or copying of the Panarion it is more likely that a change to a far more common reading was made as opposed to τὰ μνημεῖα being replaced with the almost singular reading τὰ μνήματα. Much more than Marcion’s Gospel possibly containing this reading, however, cannot be said.

Second, Epiphanius attests καὶ οἱ πατέρες instead of the far more common οἱ δὲ πατέρες. Volckmar had already made reference to this reading, commenting that it is an example of a place where Epiphanius “sich . . . kleine Änderungen [erlaubt], wenn sie den Sinn nicht berühren, ohne dass wir deshalb berechtigt wären, abweichende Lesarten bei Marcion anzunehmen.”156 At the same time, however, the original hand of ℵ (corrected to οἱ δὲ) and C also read καὶ οἱ revealing that Epiphanius’s reading is not completely beyond the realm of possibility. The elenchus, unfortunately, cannot help further with either of these two issues.

155 All ol manuscripts render the Greek here with monumentum, though this lemma is generally used in the ol to render both μνημεῖον and μνήμα. According to Itala, in only two instances in the Synoptic Gospels does an ol manuscript use monimentum, in both instances rendering μνημεῖον (a in Mark 6:29 and k in Mark 15:46).

156 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 33–34.
6.4.31 **Luke 11:49–51**

42.11.6 κη (28)—Οὐκ ἐξήκοντα διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀποστέλλω εἰς αὐτούς προφήτας καὶ περὶ [V correct crossed out and wrote ἀποκτεῖναι in the margin] ἔχοντα ἔξουσιαν [V reads τὴν ἔξουσιαν] βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλοῦνται καὶ έν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κη (28)—Λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε δὲ τὸν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλοῦνται, καὶ έν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. κη (28)—Τό λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν ἀναγκάζει σε, θεωρήσεις τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται, κἂν ἀπάρῃς τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων. ἀπολόγησαι οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δὲ ἐκαθιστάτης καὶ ἀπόκριναι ἡμῖν τί διανοήσητε, ἀνέπειδη ἔχει τὴν ἔξουσιαν, δέδωκας αὐτὸν κριτὴ ὁμολογῆσαι. ἂν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδέν γίνεται, κἂν ἀπάρῃς τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων. ἀπολόγησαι οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δὲ ἐκαθιστάτης καὶ ἀπόκριναι ἡμῖν τί διανοήσητε, ἀνέπειδη ἔχει τὴν ἔξουσιαν, δέδωκας αὐτὸν κριτῆν ὡς διακομένος. Εἰς τὸν δὲ θεοῦ διανοήσητε, ἀνέπειδη ἔχει τὴν ἔξουσιαν, δέδωκας αὐτὸν κριτῆν ὡς διακομένος. 

Epiphanius here indicates the omission of Luke 11:49–51 in Marcion's text through summary references to the content of these verses.157

6.4.32 **Luke 12:4–6**

42.11.6 κθ (29)—Λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου· μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία ἀσσαρίων δύο πωλοῦνται καὶ έν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. κθ (29)—Λέγω τοῖς φίλοις μου, μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ σῶμα τὴν ψυχὴν βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν ἀναγκάζει σε, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ τὸ ἔξουσια τῆς παραβολῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ἄνευ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται, κἂν ἀπάρῃς τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων. ἀπολόγησαι οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ ἀπόκριναι ἡμῖν τί διανοήσητε, ἀνέπειδη ἔχει τὴν ἔξουσιαν. If Epiphanius provides an accurate citation of the opening to v. 4, he attests a slightly different reading than Tertullian (who included δὲ υἱόν).158 If, however,

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157 Epiphanius also makes reference to Luke 11:49–51 or the Matthean parallel in Matt 23:24–26 in 38.5.5 and 66.42.11. Though the question of the wording of the verse is not relevant for an omission from Marcion's Gospel, the different wording of all these citations is another example of Epiphanius's habit of varying his references and quotations.

158 The inclusion of δὲ in the manuscript tradition in the scholion in 42.11.17 is likely an assimilation to the nearly unanimously attested Lukan reading.
one views Epiphanius as simply abbreviating the introduction to the verse,\footnote{Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:474 who commented that Epiphanius’s testimony here is “sichtlich abkürzend.”} there is no need to posit the possible omission of ὑμῖν, as is done by Harnack. Epiphanius’s attestation to the ensuing element is unproblematic, though shortened. If the argument in chapter 4.4.59 is valid, namely that Tertullian’s testimony is largely due to his own and not Marcion’s text, there is no difficulty in positing that Marcion’s Gospel likely read as Luke does.\footnote{The reference in \textit{IGNTP} to Marcion reading τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ in v. 4 is completely erroneous. The only place where the soul is mentioned is in the elenchus, and there it is referring to v. 5 (under the influence of Matt 10:28).}

Epiphanius also offers an abbreviated citation of v. 5. The δὲ after φοβήθητε is clearly due to Epiphanius’s own hand and provides the transition to the segment of v. 5 that he references. For the remainder of the verse, the elements that Epiphanius attests in the scholion overlap with Tertullian’s testimony, apart from the differing word order ἐξοντα ἐξοσίαν.\footnote{In the elenchus, however, Epiphanius offered a variant word order when referring to these words in the context of his refutation.} Notably, Epiphanius affirms the reading βαλεῖν for Marcion’s text. In the elenchus Epiphanius is apparently citing from memory and “fills in the gaps” of his citation in the scholion with elements from Matt 10:28. Finally, Epiphanius concludes the scholion with a reference to the omission of v. 6. Though it has often been contended that v. 7 was therefore also necessarily not present in Marcion’s text,\footnote{Cf., e.g., Hahn, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, 167; Ritschl, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, 91; Volckmar, \textit{Das Evangelium Marcions}, 94–95; Zahn, Geschichte, 2:474; Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 212*; and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 103. Hilgenfeld, however, drawing attention to the fact that only v. 6 is explicitly attested as omitted, entertained the possibility that v. 7 was present in Marcion’ Gospel (\textit{Kritische Untersuchungen}, 465). Cf. also the comments in chapter 4.4.60.} it is more precise, from a methodological standpoint, simply to view v. 7 as unattested.\footnote{Perhaps one could understand Epiphanius’s comment in the elenchus (κἂν ἀπάρῃς τὸ περὶ τῶν στρουθίων) as including v. 7; yet, even here the statement could have only v. 6 in view.}

\textbf{6.4.33 Luke 12:8}

42.11.6 λ (30)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογῆσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἄγγελων τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λ (30)—Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁμολογῆσει ἐνώπιον τῶν ἄγγελων τοῦ θεοῦ [V M omit τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐνώπιον [V M read ἐκεῖνος] τοῦ θεοῦ λέγει. | 54.2.7—... ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ, ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. | 65.2.3—... πάς ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου.
Luke 12:8 is also attested by Tertullian. Epiphanius's comments here focus upon the reading ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ instead of ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ. The explicitly noted omission of τῶν ἀγγέλων confirms that Tertullian's silence concerning this element is due to its absence in Marcion's text. The otherwise unattested preposition ἐνώπιον, which both Zahn and Harnack confidently assumed to be the reading of Marcion's text, is far from secure as the reading for Marcion's Gospel. First of all, the manuscript tradition of Epiphanius's text offers two different readings in the two listings of the scholion as it relates to the element actually attested for Marcion's text (ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ and ἐκεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ). More significant, however, is the fact that in 54.2.7 Epiphanius also writes ἐνώπιον. The use of this preposition may therefore be due to Epiphanius's own hand. One final observation concerning Epiphanius's testimony is that though Harnack appeared to assume that Epiphanius also attested ὁμολογήσει, this is not clearly the case. The phrase following Epiphanius's ἀντί in the scholion is not necessarily drawn from Marcion's text.

6.4.34 Luke 12:28

Epiphanius, in summary fashion, attests to the absence of most of Luke 12:28. As usual, such cursory references do not provide much insight concerning the precise extent of the omission, though it does appear that the statement is in conflict with Tertullian's allusions. As argued in chapter 4.4.64, however, Tertullian's allusion to the elements that Epiphanius attests as absent are likely due to Tertullian himself, and not to Marcion's Gospel.

6.4.35 Luke 12:30

Epiphanius's testimony, as noted in chapter 4.4.60, reconstructed the verse with the Matthean ὁμολογήσω. In his apparatus he noted the Lukan reading and commented "so hat Epiph. bereits wieder gelesen falls er sich nicht bei der Wiedergabe geirrt hat" (Marcion, 212*).
τῶν σαρκικῶν δή. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λβ (32)—Οἶδεν ὁ πατήρ ὅτι χρῄζουσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν σαρκικῶν χρειῶν καὶ προνοεῖ τῶν τοιούτων.

Epiphanius attests the second half of Luke 12:30 in the form in which it is found in nearly all of the manuscript tradition. The wording is, however, different in two important ways from Tertullian’s testimony. First, Tertullian does not attest the presence of ὑμῶν and second, Tertullian attests the word order οἶδεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ. It is not entirely clear how to evaluate Epiphanius’s testimony at this point; however, it is interesting to note that in scholion 34 Epiphanius attests that Marcion’s text did not read ὑμῶν in Luke 12:32. It would be curious if Marcion read the possessive pronoun here but not two verses later. Furthermore, given that Tertullian attested v. 30 without the possessive pronoun it may be that Epiphanius is here interested only in the statement that God knows and supplies the disciples’ needs (cf. the elenchus) and simply refers to the canonical wording of the verse. If this is the case, then Tertullian’s word order may also be closer to Marcion’s reading.

6.4.36  Luke 12:31
42.11.6 λγ (33)—Ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταύτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λγ (33)—Ζητεῖτε δὲ [V M omit δέ] τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λγ (33)—. . . ἢ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὰ ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία· διὸ προστίθησι πάντα τὰ ἐνταῦθα, ὅτα αὐτοῦ, . . .

Epiphanius’s citation in the first listing of this scholion begins with ζητεῖτε δέ, a reading also attested by D, d, and a. Both listings of the scholion also read πάντα, the reading of Matt 9:33 but also of many (mostly later) Lukan manuscripts. It is difficult to evaluate whether Epiphanius is offering readings from Marcion’s text corresponding to the text attested in D, for example, or is being influenced by the Matthean version. For this reason, the view of Zahn and Harnack that Marcion definitely read ζητεῖτε δέ should be viewed with the same caution when considering whether πάντα was Marcion’s reading. Both readings are simply not secure for Marcion. The comparison with Tertullian also does not allow for further insight as Tertullian did not include any conjunctions in his citations and never includes πάντα in his citations, even when

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169  This is the view advocated by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:476 and apparently Harnack, Marcion, 214*.

170  Volckmar’s statement that Epiphanius here cited the verse “nur ohne πλὴν [sic]” (Das Evangelium Marcions, 34) may apply to 42.11.17, but overlooks the δέ in 42.11.6.

171  Zahn, Geschichte, 2:476 and Harnack, Marcion, 214*. Interestingly, IGNTTP does not list “Marcion ap Epiph” for the reading ζητεῖτε δέ, and it is not clear to me whether this was intentional or an oversight.
revealing the influence of Matthew by writing primus/prius. Apart from these two issues, however, the remainder of the verse is essentially unproblematic.

6.4.37  Luke 12:32
42.11.6 λδ (34)—Αντὶ τοῦ ὁ πατήρ ύμῶν ὁ πατήρ εἶχεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λδ (34)—Αντὶ τοῦ ὁ πατήρ ύμῶν ὁ πατήρ εἶχεν.

Epiphanius here makes the simple observation that Marcion’s text did not contain ύμῶν. IGNTP indicates that 1247, l524, aeth, and a few church fathers also attest this reading. Though Epiphanius is the only witness for this verse, as discussed above, there may be indirect evidence from Tertullian concerning Luke 12:30 supporting that the possessive pronoun was missing both there and in the present verse in Marcion’s Gospel.

6.4.38  Luke 12:38
42.11.6 λε [V M omit the numeral] (35)—Αντὶ τοῦ δευτέρα ἢ τρίτη φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἑσπερινή φυλακῇ [V M read ἑσπερινή φυλακῆν]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λε (35)—Αντὶ τοῦ δευτέρα ἢ τρίτη φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἑσπερινή φυλακῇ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λε (35)—Ἐλήλεγκται ὁ κτηνώδης μεταστρέψας τοὺς θείους λόγους ἀνοήτως πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἠμεριναί γίνονται φυλακαί ἀλλὰ νυκτεριναί, ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας εἰς τὴν πρώτην τὴν προκοπὴν [φυλακῆν] τῆς ἑπεκτάσεως ἔχουσαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν, ὡς οὗτος ἐλίσκεται ῥᾳδιουργῆς.

For this otherwise unattested verse, Epiphanius notes that Marcion read ἑσπερινή φυλακῇ. Though Epiphanius accuses Marcion of altering his text, D and several ol manuscripts (d e b ff2 i l1) also attest this reading. All but b, however, have both a reference to the evening watch and the second and third watch.172

6.4.39  Luke 12:46
33.11.8—…ὅτι ἔλευσεται ὁ αὐτοῦ δεσπότης …καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν τὸν δοῦλον καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.6 λς (36)—“Ἡξεῖ ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λς (36)—“Ἡξεῖ ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. λς (36)—Τίς ὁ διχοτόμων τὸν δοῦλον; λέγε. | 69.44.2—[context of being prepared]… ἦν οὐκ οἴδασιν ἡμέρα καὶ η ὧ οὐ προσδοκῶσιν ὃ ρ ο δεσπότης αὐτῶν παραγίνεται,…

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and in the Adamantius Dialogue. The elenchus reveals that Epiphanius is focused upon the cleaving in two of the servant, which also explains his offering the opening words of the verse

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172  Also noted by Zahn, Geschichte, 2:476 and Harnack, Marcion, 215*. 
and then skipping to the section of interest to him. The omitted section is, however, referenced by Tertullian. That the precise wording of the opening to the verse is following Marcion's text receives support from Epiphanius's other references to the verse where he twice refers to the master as a δεσπότης and employs the verb ἔρχομαι. The remaining elements attested by Epiphanius are unproblematic and often confirmed by Tertullian. As already discussed in chapter 5.55 on Tertullian's attestation of this verse, Harnack's view that Tertullian and Epiphanius are attesting different readings in Marcion's texts is questionable.\(^{173}\)

6.4.40  **Luke 12:58**

27.5.3—[what Gnostics mean by this parable]...μή πως ὁ ἀντίδικος παραδῷ σε τῷ κριτῇ καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ, καὶ ὁ ὑπηρέτης βάλῃ σε εἰς φυλακήν... | 42.11.6 λξ (37)—Μή ποτε κατασάρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν καὶ ὁ κριτής παραδώσῃ σε τῷ πράκτορι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. λξ (37)—Μή ποτε κατασάρῃ σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν καὶ ὁ κριτής παραδώσῃ σε τῷ πράκτορι.

Epiphanius's citation of the second half of v. 58 is for the most part unproblematic. Worth noting is the attested reading παραδώσει also found in P45, D, d, 157, and 1241.\(^{174}\) The reference to the, for Epiphanius, more familiar Matthean wording in 27.5.3 increase the likelihood that he is here following Marcion's text. Tertullian's testimony overlaps only in the mentioning of the κριτής as Epiphanius does not refer to the final comment in the verse mentioned by Tertullian, namely, the reference to being thrown in prison. Epiphanius's attestation of the future, rather than subjunctive, tense does, however, make the reading βαλεῖ more likely.

6.4.41  **Luke 13:1–9**

42.11.6 η (38)—Ἡν παρακεκομμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠλθόν τινες ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὥν τὸ αἷμα συνέμιξε Πιλᾶτος μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν ἕως ὅπου λέγει περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Σιλωὰμ δεκαοκτὼ ἀποθανόντων ἐν τῷ πύργῳ, καὶ τό [V M add ὅτι] ἐάν μὴ μετανοήσῃτε καὶ <τα ἐξής> ἕως τῆς παραβολῆς τῆς συκῆς, περὶ ἦς ἐπεν ὁ γεωργὸς ὅτι [V M add καὶ] σκάπτω καὶ βάλω κόπρια καὶ ἐάν μὴ ποιήσῃ, ἐκκόψον.

\(^{173}\) Thus, it is also not necessary to posit that the canonical reading attested by Epiphanius "war im Exemplar des Epiph. wiederhergestellt" (Harnack, *Marcion*, 215*-16*).

\(^{174}\) σε παραδώσει is attested in several other manuscripts, including P\(^{75}\), 8, and B. This is one of numerous examples where advances in textual criticism have aided scholarship on Marcion's Gospel. Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, 34 offered the example of the reading παραδώσει instead of παραδῷ as an instance where Epiphanius made a minor change that does not justify positing a variant reading in Marcion's text. In fact, παραδώσει is an earlier reading and likely reflects the reading in Marcion's Gospel.
Epiphanius indicates the omission of Luke 13:1–9 by mentioning the “falsification” of v.1 to v. 2 and v. 3 to v. 9. Once again, the references to the content of the passages are simply summary in nature.175

6.4.42 Luke 13:16
42.11.6 λθ (40)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό τότε Ὀψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐποίησεν ὅτε πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους—ἐποίησε δὲ κρατουμένους—ἔξω, ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μ (40)—. . . οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν Ὀψεσθε δικαίους εἰσερχομένους καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ εἰσερχομένους, ἀλλὰ Ὀψε 

6.4.43 Luke 13:28
42.11.6 μ (40)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τό τότε Ὀψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ἐποίησεν ὅτε πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους—ἐποίησε δὲ κρατουμένους—ἔξω, ἐκεῖ ἐστιν ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μ (40)—. . . οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν Ὀψεσθε δικαίους εἰσερχομένους καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ εἰσερχομένους, ἀλλὰ Ὀψε 

175 Epiphanius makes a passing reference to the parable in 31.34.4, here also simply referring to it as the parable of the fig tree.
ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐκβαλλομένους μελλητικῶς ἀπεφήνατο, ... 42.11.17 Ἐλ. νς (56)—ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνη καταλέλοιπεν τὸ ἔκει ἐσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

Epiphanius apparently first comments on the altered section of this verse before appending the verse opening which, according to Tertullian, was found at the outset of v. 38.176 The likely original καὶ should thus be understood as indicating a retrospective addition and not as attesting a reading καὶ ἐκεῖ (as presented in IGNTP). Taking this final element first, Epiphanius confirms that the variant word order in Tertullian was due to his own hand, and Tertullian confirms that an otherwise unattested ἐστιν in the first listing of the scholion was due to some sort of error (both the second listing and the reference in elenchus 56 read ἐσται).

There are also two significant elements in the sections Epiphanius attests as altered that are confirmed by Tertullian, namely the readings τοὺς δικαίους and ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω. Other aspects are more difficult to evaluate. First, though both Zahn and Harnack reconstructed Marcion's text with the otherwise unattested ὅτε, V and M actually attest ὅτι. Given that Epiphanius offers the canonical text with an otherwise unattested τότε it is unclear, even if Epiphanius were attesting an opening adverb, how accurate his citation is. Second, Epiphanius attests different wordings in the scholion and the elenchus: the verb ἴδητε in the scholion, but ὄψεσθε in the elenchus; the presence of πάντας in the scholion but not in the elenchus; and the replacement of ἐκβαλλομένους in the scholion, but its presence in the elenchus.177 Finally, Epiphanius writes ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ whereas Tertullian attested εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, and Tertullian included εἰσερχομένους whereas Epiphanius does not. The precise reading in these instances appears unrecoverable.

42.11.6 μα (41)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τὸ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ [M reads βασιλείᾳ μου] καὶ τὸ οὐ ἐσχάτως ἕσονται πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ προσήλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες, ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου, ὅτι Ἡρῴδης σε θέλει ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὸ εἶπεν· πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταύτῃ ἕως ὅπου [V M read ὅτου] εἴπαν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἐξ Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸ

176 Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:478 who stated that Epiphanius “nachträglich ein für die Polemik nutzbringendes Textelement [bringt].”
177 It is quite possible that Zahn, Geschichte, 2:413, 478 was correct in contending that the variant προσέθηκεν in the second listing of the scholion arose due to confusion surrounding the parenthetical comment and that this confusion carried into the comments found in the elenchus.
Ιερουσαλήμ, Ιερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτένουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ τὸ πολλάκις ἥθελησα ἐπισυνάξαι ώς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τὸ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με, ἕως οὗ εἴπητε· εὐλογημένος. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μα (41)—Παρέκοψε πάλιν τὸ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τὸ οὐκ ἔσχατοι ἔσονται πρῶτοι καὶ τὸ προσῆλθον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι λέγοντες, ἔξελθε καὶ πορεύου, ὅτι Ἡρώδης σε θέλει ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὸ εἶπεν· πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι τάυτῃ ἕως ὅπου εἶπεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προφήτην ἀπολέσθαι ἔξω Ιερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ, Ιερουσαλήμ, ἡ ἀποκτένουσα τοὺς προφήτας καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους καὶ τὸ πολλάκις ἥθελησα ἐπισυνάξαι ώς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ τὸ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ οὐ μὴ ἴδητέ με, ἕως οὗ εἴπητε πάλιν εὐλογημένος. | 42.11.17 μβ (42)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δύο υἱῶν, τοῦ εἰληφότος τὸ μέρος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μγ (43)—Οὐδὲν διοίσει τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ῥᾳδιουργίας ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἐστι τετολμημένων. Ἐπιφανιαίος αιτούσα την ῥᾳδιουργίαν τοῦ ἀκολούθου ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἐστι τετολμημένων. Ἐπιφανιαίος αιτούσα την ῥᾳδιουργίαν τοῦ ἀκολούθου ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἐστι τετολμημένων.

Epiphanius attests the omission of Luke 13:29–35 with references to individual elements from each of these verses. Though the readings here are not relevant for Marcion's Gospel, they do provide some insight into Epiphanius's citation habits and the freedom with which he often provides "citations." For example, in the reference to Luke 13:34 Epiphanius offers an otherwise unattested word order (ὡς ὄρνις τὰ τέκνα σου) and in the citation of the same verse (Matt 23:37) in 66.42.9 he simply omits the reference to the ὄρνις. 178

6.4.45 Luke 15:11–32

42.11.6 µβ (42)—Πάλιν παρέκοψε τὴν παραβολὴν τῶν δύο υἱῶν, τοῦ εἰληφότος τὸ μέρος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ἀσώτως δαπανήσαντος καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. µγ (43)—Οὐδὲν διοίσει τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῆς ῥᾳδιουργίας ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον ἐστι τετολμημένων.

Epiphanius attests that the Parable of the “two sons” was not present with a reference to both the prodigal and his brother.

6.4.46 Luke 16:16

42.11.6 µγ (43)—Ο νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται ἔως Ἰωάννου καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. | 42.11.17 Σχ. µγ (43)—Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται ἔως Ἰωάννου καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. | 42.11.17 "Ελ. µγ (43)—Εἰ νόμον τάσσει καὶ προφήτας ἀποκαλεῖ... σαφῶς

178 In addition, this scholion provides several examples of variation in the manuscript transmission of the Panarion.
ὁμολογεῖται μεμαρτυρηκέναι τὸν σωτῆρα τοῖς προφήταις . . . | 66.75.1—. . . ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται ἐως Ἰωάννου. | 66.75.5—. . . ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται ἄχρις Ἰωάννου.

Epiphanius here provides a citation of the opening and final element of Luke 16:16. The elenchus reveals that he is primarily interested in the mentioning of “the law and the prophets,” which likely explains his truncated reference. Tertullian confirms the opening words, and if Epiphanius is citing accurately, he would provide evidence for Tertullian’s usque ad rendering ἕως. Epiphanius, however, also writes ἕως in 66.75.1 and, only a few lines later, ἄχρις. The variation in adverbs reveals that Epiphanius was not always concerned with providing the exact wording and may not be doing so for Marcion’s text. Turning to the final words of the verse, they are essentially unproblematic and have very little variation in the manuscript tradition.

42.11.6 μδ (44)—Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὃτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μδ (44)—Περὶ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ, ὃτι ἀπηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.| 42.11.17 Ἐλ. μδ (44)—Ἰδον, καὶ ἐν ζῶσι καὶ μακαριζομένοις καὶ ἐν κληρονομίᾳ ἀναπαύσεως ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἐγκατελέχθη καὶ Λάζαρος ἐν κόλποις αὐτοῦ κατηξίωται. . . | 42.11.6 με (45)—Νῦν δὲ ὅδε [V M read ὅδε] παρακαλεῖται ὁ αὐτὸς Λάζαρος. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. με (45)—Εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν, ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀκούσουσιν [V M read ἀκούουσιν]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μδ (46)—Εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν, ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀκούουσιν [V M read ἀκούσουσιν]. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. νδ (56)—. . . πῶς οὐχὶ νοεῖ ὅτι ἴση ἡ μαρτυρία τυγχάνει τῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ . . . ALCHEMY  όνομα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ γλώσσης καταψυχομένης ὡς ὁ πλούσιος ἔφη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ διὰ τὸν Λάζαρον, . . . | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. νδ (59)—. . . ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν. . . . . . . . . 179

Epiphanius’s attestation of this pericope is spread out over several scholia and elenchi. Of the verses attested by Epiphanius, the Adamantius Dialogue attests all of them and vv. 22 and 29 are also attested by Tertullian. In scholion 44, the scholion introducing this pericope, Epiphanius references or alludes to the presence of ἄνθρωπος . . . τις ἦν πλούσιος from v. 19, πτωχὸς… Λάζαρος

179 Summary references and allusions to this pericope are also found in 59.10.4 and 64.44.1.
from v. 20, and Lazarus being carried ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ from v. 22. The fact, however, that Epiphanius introduces the scholion with περὶ raises the question of the extent to which the wording used to summarize the contents of the opening verses arose directly out of Marcion’s Gospel. Epiphanius may have phrased the scholion in his own words as he led up to the mentioning of Abraham, the individual in whom he was interested here (cf. elenchus 44). In scholion 45, Epiphanius quotes νῦν δὲ ὅδε παρακαλεῖται from v. 25. In scholion 46, Epiphanius cites two elements taken from Abraham’s words in the final three verses of the pericope. The quotation of ἔχουσι Μωυσέα καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν from v. 29 is largely unproblematic, though it does not contain the ἐκεῖ attested by Tertullian. For v. 31, however, the wording ἐπει οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐγειρομένου ἀκούσουσιν seems to reflect a different reading from the one generally found in the manuscripts. In order to evaluate this verse further, however, the Adamantius Dialogue must also be considered. Finally, in elenchus 56 Epiphanius implies that though he had previously mentioned only excerpts from the parable, the entire passage was present in Marcion’s Gospel. In this elenchus he also alludes to τέμψον Λάζαρον ἵνα βάψῃ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ ὑδατος καὶ καταψύξῃ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου from v. 24.

6.4.48  Luke 17:10b

42.11.6 μζ (47)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγετε ὅτι ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοι ἐσμεν· ὃ ὥφείλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. | 42.11.7 Σχ. μζ (47)—Παρέκοψε τό λέγετε ὅτι [V M omit ὅτι] ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοι ἐσμεν· ὃ [V reads ὃ] ὥφειλομεν ποιῆσαι πεποιήκαμεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. μζ (47)—. . . [Marcion] οὐ παραδέχεται . . .

180 τοῦ Ἀβραάμ is the reading in the TR; however, the definite article is omitted in many manuscripts.

181 Holl/Dummer (eds.), Epiphanius ii, 113 amended the reading to δε with reference to Zahn. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:486, who clearly was influenced by his reading of the Adamantius Dialogue, had stated “Auch Ep. sch. 45 bestätigt δε, obwohl es dort nicht überliefert ist; denn wozu sonst hätte Ep. geschrieben δε (lies δε) παρακαλεῖται, ο αυτος Λαζαρος, als um das aus dem Zusammenhang gerissene δε zu deuten?” Though Harnack, Marcion, 221* also wrote “(lies δε)” in his apparatus, Zahn’s argument is problematic as the reading δε is not absolutely necessary to explain Epiphanius’s remark. The lack of an external subject for the verb could just as easily have led to the clarification. In addition, the ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ in elenchus 45 is not necessarily picking up wording from the previous scholion and elenchus, but may be specifying the ὅδε of scholion 45.

182 Epiphanius quoted these words verbatim in elenchus 59. IGNTP apparently viewed the introductory words of scholion 46 also attesting Marcion’s text; however, this is likely simply Epiphanius’s introduction to the citation.
Luke 17:10a is unattested, but Epiphanius attests that v. 10b was not present. Harnack observed

Ob diese Bemerkung so verstanden werden muß, daß 7–10 ganz fehlten (Zahn), ist nicht sicher; es ist doch möglich, daß M. nur 10 b gestrichen hat, weil ihn die Härte befremdete; der sinaitische Syrer läßt ἀχρεῖοι fort. Hat Epip. Vielleicht auch nur sagen wollen, daß ἀχρεῖοι gefehlt hat und lautete sein Text ursprünglich: Παρέκοψε τὸ ἀχρεῖοι ἐν τῷ λέγετε κτλ.? Die Refutatio steht dieser Hypothese nicht entgegen.183

The observation that Epiphanius’s testimony does not require the omission of the entire pericope is certainly correct; however, the emendation to the scholia appears somewhat strained.184 It seems best to view Epiphanius as attesting that the entirety of v. 10b was not present and to view the remainder of the pericope as unattested.

6.4.49 Luke 17:12–14

Elements of Luke 17:12–14 are also attested by Tertullian and it is admittedly difficult, at first glance, to reconcile elements of his testimony with that of Epiphanius. Harnack stated “Nach Epiph. [war] einiges in der Perikope gestrichen, aber was? Alle Hauptsachen müssen nach Tertullians Bericht vorhanden gewesen sein.”185 Noteworthy, however, is that Epiphanius mentions

183 Harnack, Marcion, 223*.
184 Tsutsui also rejects the contention that only ἀχρεῖοι was missing, but not on the basis of the problematic emendation; rather, he contends that “eine Absicht, mit der man nur das Adjektiv streichen würde, kaum vorstellbar ist” (“Evangelium,” 114). Curiously, Tsutsui appears to have misread Harnack in that he speaks of Harnack having offered “zweierlei Vermutungen.” Tsutsui also rejects that the entire pericope was omitted as this idea is difficult “befriedigend zu begründen”, but never interacts with the third possibility that Harnack mentioned, namely, that only v. 10b was omitted.
185 Harnack, Marcion, 223*.
that Jesus met ten lepers (δέκα λεπροί in 17:12), then states ἀπέκοψε δὲ πολλά καὶ ἐποίησεν followed by the citation of 17:14. Harnack rightly noted the problem if Epiphanius is referring to elements “cut out” of the remainder of the pericope (vv. 15–19), for they are all attested by Tertullian; yet, if Epiphanius is referring to vv. 12c-13, these elements are not attested by Tertullian. Of course, the question arises as to whether Epiphanius would refer to one and a half verses as πολλά. If Epiphanius has the whole pericope in mind that may indeed be unlikely; yet, if he is considering only vv. 12–14, the only verses to which he makes reference, the excision of half the material may indeed be seen as omitting “much.”

If this argument is correct, then it would also be possible to understand Epiphanius’s words καὶ ἄλλα ἀντὶ ἄλλων ἐποίησε followed by the citation of Luke 4:27 as indicating that in Marcion’s text Luke 4:27 replaced the material in Luke 17:12c–13.

The citation of v. 14 contains an otherwise unattested opening, which is likely due to Epiphanius. He goes on to attest the verb δείξατε, found in only a few other manuscripts, followed by the essentially unproblematic ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, an element also attested by Tertullian.

6.4.50 Luke 17:22

42.11.6 μθ (49)—Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τοὺς ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. | 42.11.17 Σχ. μθ (49)—Ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τοὺς ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Epiphanius is the only source for Luke 17:22 and there are two elements of the attested reading that should be noted. First, though IGNT records a few manuscripts reading ὅταν and several manuscripts reading ἐπιθυμήσῃ, 0211 is the only manuscript listed as reading ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃ. Second, the location of ἰδεῖν is also attested in numerous 01 manuscripts. Whether Epiphanius is accurately reproducing Marcion’s text in these two instances is difficult to ascertain.

6.4.51 Luke 18:18–20

Ancor. 18.1—…οὐδεὶς ἁγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός… | Ancor. 18.3—…εἰς ἐστὶν ἁγαθὸς ὁ θεός. | 33.7.5—… ἕνα γὰρ μόνον εἶναι ἁγαθὸν θεον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ὁ σωτήρ ἡμῶν

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188 Tertullian here read the almost universally attested περευβέντες.
189 Cf. above in chapter 5, n. 308.
190 This comment obviously only applies to the first listing of the scholion as ἰδεῖν is omitted in the second.
These three verses are also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, with Origen and Hippolytus attesting v. 19. Considering Epiphanius’s testimony, after the introductory *εἶπέν τις πρὸς αὐτὸν*, likely from Epiphanius’s own hand,191 he attests *διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω* from v. 18.192 This is the unproblematic Lukan reading (cf. Matt 19:16 and Mark 10:17) and it is interesting that it is this wording to which Epiphanius appeals in 66.69.5 and 69.57.3. More problematic and confusing are Epiphanius’s references to v. 19, which also differ from the wording attested by Tertullian. First, there are the differences between the two scholia. In the unexpected citation of a negative imperative, does Epiphanius attest λέγετε or λέγε?193 The only other witness for an imperative here is the Pseudo-Clementine *Hom. 18.1*, which reads μὴ μέ λέγε ἄγαθὸν.194 Although it is somewhat tenuous to view this Pseudo-Clementine passage as attesting Marcion’s text,195 it may support the Holl/Dummer view that the reading should be λέγε. Also, does Epiphanius attest the presence or the absence of ὁ θεός? It is

191 Cf. also Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:483. It is thus problematic for Harnack, *Marcion*, 227*–28* to have reconstructed Marcion’s opening following Epiphanius’s wording and based on it apparently to have assumed that Marcion’s text did not read ἄρχων. Cf. also chapter 7, n. 164.

192 This is the only instance in these verses where Epiphanius mirrors the testimony of Tertullian.

193 In the bracketed reconstruction by Harnack, apparently intended to offer an attested variant, he offered only λέγετε (*Marcion, 226*).


195 Cf. chapter 3, n. 55.
included in all of Epiphanius’s other citations of the verse and seems to be assumed by the elenchus. It is possible that it was omitted in the first scholion due to homoeoteleuton. Finally, Epiphanius notes that Marcion added ὁ πατήρ after ὁ θεός. The rather different texts attested by Epiphanius and Tertullian for this verse may very well point to their respective copies of Marcion’s Gospel containing variant readings. For v. 20, Epiphanius observes that Marcion read τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδα instead of τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας. The question arising here is whether the questioner or Jesus spoke these words. Zahn contended that it was the former, and much more recently Lieu wrote,

although he does not indicate the speaker, it would make best sense on the mouth of the questioner, thus relieving Jesus of any direct appeal to the law.

Though the testimony of other witnesses must still be considered, once again, it is noteworthy that the reading οἶδα is different than the one attested by Tertullian.

6.4.52  Luke 18:31–33

42.11.6 νβ (52)—Παρέκοψε το παραλαβὼν τοὺς δώδεκα ἔλεγεν· ἰδοὺ, ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παραδοθήσεται γὰρ καὶ [V M omit γὰρ καὶ] ἀποκτανθήσεται καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται·  ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψε. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νβ (52)—Παρέκοψε το παραλαβὼν τοὺς δώδεκα ἔλεγεν· ἰδοὺ, ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς προφήταις περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παραδοθήσεται γὰρ καὶ ἀποκτανθήσεται καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται· [V M read

196 Lieu notes that “a form of the pericope with ‘father’ is also to be found in some OL witnesses to Matt 19,17, as well as in other accounts of the exchange in early Christian traditions” (“Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 736–37).

197 Cf. Harnack, Marcion, 225* who referred to some “in den Marcionit. Codd. selbst schwankenden Abweichungen.”


199 Lieu also notes, “Only Epiphanius explicitly claims to identify distinctive Marcionite readings whereas Tertullian, characteristically, is concerned to paraphrase the text and to use it to demonstrate Jesus’ compliance with prophetic demands. Thus Epiphanius alone reports the reading ‘I know’…” (“Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 736). Though it is not explicitly stated, it appears as though she views Tertullian’s paraphrasing as explaining the differences between his attestation and Epiphanius’s; however, it does not seem clear to me that the text attested by Epiphanius was the one Tertullian had at hand. In addition, as was seen in chapter 5, Tertullian explicitly attests the reading οἶδας.
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Epiphanius attests that Luke 18:31–33 was not present, once again revealing the summary nature of many of his “citations” as Epiphanius himself omits numerous elements in his reference to the verses.200 It is, nevertheless, clear that Epiphanius notes that the entirety of vv. 31–33 was not present (ὅλα ταῦτα παρέκοψε).201

6.4.53 Luke 18:35, 38, 42–43

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and the Adamantius Dialogue. Epiphanius refers to three verses in the pericope involving the blind man outside of Jericho. The attestation of v. 35 is mostly unproblematic with only the reading τῇ Ἰεριχώ presenting a challenge. IGNT අ lists 13, 124, 346, 788, 826, and 983 as also attesting this reading, though Harnack opined that Epiphanius “hier nicht zu trauen ist.”203 For v. 38 Epiphanius writes an otherwise unattested imperfect ἐβόα, almost certainly due to his own hand, before offering the words of the blind man in the form attested throughout most of the manuscript tradition. In v. 42 Epiphanius cites the final words spoken by Jesus in v. 42, after alluding to the healing effected by Jesus’ words and narrated in v. 43.

200 Zahn’s comment that Epiphanius’s citation here does not employ an “Abkürzungsformel” and is “verhältnismäßig sehr genau” (Geschichte, 2:485) might be true as far as it goes; however, the question remains as to what, precisely, is the point of comparison? Compared to the canonical text, which Epiphanius presumably is “quoting,” the citation is not particularly “genau.”

201 The omission of these verses has also elicited discussion concerning the unattested verses surrounding 18:31–33 (cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485; Harnack, Marcion, 56, 226*; and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 116–17), verses concerning which their presence or absence is, for methodological reasons, not speculated upon here.

202 This omission could possibly have occurred through homoeoteleuton during the production of the Panarion, even though this would only be on the basis of the final nu.

203 Harnack, Marcion, 226*. Cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485.

Epiphanius attests that Luke 19:29–46 was not present with summary references to pericopes contained therein. In the elenchus the explicit statement is made that the “whole” (ὅλα) of these passages to which Epiphanius had made reference had been “jumped over” (ἀνεπήδησε).204

Luke 20:9–17

Epiphanius attests that the parable in Luke 20:9–16 was not present, referring to it as the pericope περὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος τοῦ ἐκδεδομένου γεωργοῖς. He follows this by a reference to the omission of v. 17 by making an abbreviated reference to the verse. Though v. 18, which concludes the thought begun in v. 17, is therefore also likely to have not been present,205 it is not directly attested as such.

Luke 20:19

Epiphanius attests that the scholion at tests an omission, Epiphanius's citation of or allusion to these verses elsewhere in his corpus (e.g., Ancor. 31.4; Pan. 34.18.14; 66.43.3) are not relevant for Marcion's text, and in this case do not provide further insight into his citation habit.

204 Since this scholion attests an omission, Epiphanius's citation of or allusion to these verses elsewhere in his corpus (e.g., Ancor. 31.4; Pan. 34.18.14; 66.43.3) are not relevant for Marcion's text, and in this case do not provide further insight into his citation habit.

205 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:486; Harnack, Marcion, 229*; and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 119 all simply list vv. 9–18 as omitted without any further comment.
Luke 20:19 presents a somewhat curious case in that elenchus 53 provides a citation from Marcion’s text followed by a reference to the following scholion 54. The scholion, however, provides less text than what was written in the elenchus. Harnack and Tsutsui did not mention this state of affairs and Zahn, as always, is completely dismissive of any readings found in an elenchus.206 Though one cannot be certain, it may very well have been the case that Epiphanius essentially invented a supposed reading for Marcion’s Gospel in order to provide a transition to the elements attested in scholion 54; however, ultimately one cannot provide any definitive evidence for or against this view. Concerning the reading of the scholion itself, Zahn simply asserted “es besteht kein Grund, dieses Citat für ungenau zu halten,”207 which is not quite the same thing as having a reason to view it as accurate. Even Harnack’s attempts to explain the omission of all the unattested elements on account of the reading Φαρισαίοι in Luke 19:1 and the omission of the parable is not fully convincing.208 Unfortunately, therefore, it is difficult to gain any clear insight into the reading of this verse beyond the elements in agreement with most of the manuscript tradition.

6.4.57 Luke 20:37–38a

42.11.6 νς (56)—Ἀπέκοψε τό ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί Μωυσῆς [M reads ὁ Μωυσῆς] ἐμήνυσε ἐπὶ [V M read περί] τῆς βάτου, καθὼς λέγει κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. θεὸς δὲ ἐστι ζώντων καὶ οὐχὶ νεκρῶν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νς (56)—Ἀπέκοψε τό ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε ἐπὶ [V M read περί] τῆς βάτου, καθὼς [V M read ὡς] λέγει κύριον [V M read ὁ κύριος] τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. θεὸς δὲ ἐστι ζώντων καὶ οὐχὶ νεκρῶν. | 42.11.17 Ὑλ. νς (56)—Θαυμάσαι ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος, πῶς οὐχὶ νοεῖ ὅτι ἴση ἡ μαρτυρία τυγχάνει τῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου τοῦ πτωχοῦ καὶ τῇ παραβολῇ τῶν μὴ συγχωρουμένων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν... | 42.11.6 νς (57)—Οὐκ εἶχε ταῦτα ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε λέγων θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ θεὸν ζώντων [V M read θεὸς ζώντων]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. νς (57)—Οὐκ εἶχε ταῦτα ὅτι δὲ ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐμήνυσε λέγων θεὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸν Ἰακώβ θεὸν ζώντων.

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206 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:486 referred to the references as “ebenso bedeutungslos für uns wie alle anderen Irrtümer in den Refutationen.”

207 Ibid.

208 Harnack, Marcion, 228*. For example, how do either of these points explain the omission of τὸν λαόν as the object of their fear?
That Luke 20:37–38a was not present is, rather curiously, attested twice by Epiphanius. The reason that he gives for this in elenchus 57 is that the Savior stated the parable twice and therefore he wrote it twice. Precisely how Epiphanius came to commit this error is unclear; Harnack was right to note “irrtümlich zweimal geschrieben.” It is interesting, however, to note the differences in the two “citations” of the omitted passage and once again notice the variant and imprecise manner in which Epiphanius refers to biblical verses. Though Harnack wrote “37. 38 getilgt,” Tsutsui rightly notes that it is actually only vv. 37–38a that are attested as omitted. v. 38b is simply unattested.

Luke 21:18

Epiphanius attests that Luke 21:18 was not present, citing the entirety of the verse except for the opening conjunction καί.


Epiphanius attests that Luke 21:21–22 was not present by beginning with a citation of the opening words of v. 21 and then making reference to “the ensuing (in the stated)” (τά ἐπιφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ῥητῷ or τά ἐπιφερόμενον) element in

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210 Ibid.

211 Tsutsui, “Marcions Evangelium,” 120.

212 Tsutsui does posit, however, that v. 38b was omitted “da er mit vv. 37–38a inhaltlich eng verbunden ist und sich nicht leicht auf v. 36 beziehen läßt” (ibid.).
v. 22. It seems, therefore, that Epiphanius’s καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς here does not extend beyond these two verses. Vv. 23–24 are therefore unattested.213

6.4.60 Luke 22:4

42.11.6 ξ (60)—Συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ [V M read καὶ τό] πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξ (60)—Συνελάλησε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ πῶς αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξ (60)—. . . συνελάλησεν, τίς ἀλλ᾽ ἢ Ἰούδας; τὸ τί ποιῆσαι ἄλλ᾽ ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν σωτῆρα; . . .

Though Tertullian also referred to this verse, he only attested παραδῷ. Epiphanius attests only some elements in the verse and it is not particularly helpful to speculate concerning the presence or absence of unattested elements.214 The first listing of the scholion attests the reading καὶ τό, which Zahn believed was the reading of Marcion’s text. Zahn supported this contention by arguing

Da jenes καὶ zwischen Worten steht, welche im katholischen Text durch nichts getrennt sind, so wird es auch nicht wie sonst oft zwei bei Mrc. getrennte Stücke, welche Ep. besonders hervorheben will, an einander reihen.215

Since, however, Epiphanius addresses the two actions in the verse (discussing and betraying) in two separate statements at the outset of the elenchus, it is not certain that Zahn’s argument holds.216 At the end of the verse, Epiphanius attests the word order found in many manuscripts: αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.

213 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 166 viewed vv. 23–24 as present in Marcion’s Gospel, a position rejected by Zahn, Geschichte, 2.488. Both Zahn and Harnack, Marcion, 231* recognized that Epiphanius does not clearly attest the omission of all four verses and therefore appealed to Tertullian’s continuing with v. 25 immediately after v. 20, and thus his silence regarding vv. 21–24, as evidence for the omission of the entire passage. Tsutsui problematically lists an “Auslassungsangabe bei Epiph Schol 59” for vv. 21–24.

214 E.g., Zahn, Geschichte, 2.490 asserted “es wird ἀρχιερεύσειν nicht gefehlt haben” whereas Harnack, Marcion, 232* stated “τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν fehlt vor τοῖς στρατηγοῖς” (IGNTP also lists an omission for Marcion). Volckmar apparently made some type of error when he wrote that Epiphanius attested “καὶ τὸς στρατηγοῦ” (Das Evangelium Marcions, 34). I tend to view Osburn’s contention that the quotation here is “a verbally precise citation” as somewhat problematic given Osburn’s own qualification that immediately follows, namely, “with the exception of the omission of τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσι καὶ and the addition of καὶ after στρατηγοῦ” (review of New Testament in Greek, 525).

215 Zahn, Geschichte, 2.490.

216 Harnack, Marcion, 232* reconstructed the text without καὶ.
6.4.61 Luke 22:8

42.11.6 ξα (61)—Καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ Πάσχα. | 42.11.17 "Ελ. ξα (61)—... ei γὰρ προστάσσει ἐτοιμάξεσθαι αὐτῷ φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα, ...

Epiphanius is the only source attesting this verse and Luke 22:8 is here rendered in an almost completely unique manner.217 The only point of contact with the manuscript tradition is in the placement of τὸ Πάσχα, also attested in a handful of minuscules.218 Though Zahn strongly asserted that Epiphanius gave no indication of having shortened or altered the text and therefore concluded “jede hiervon abweichende Wiederherstellung des marcionitischen Textes [ist] Willkür,” such a view simply ignores that Epiphanius often varies the wording of his “citations” from those of his source considerably. For this reason, no certainty can be ascribed to this reading actually representing the wording of Marcion’s text.


30.22.3—πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος λέγει ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν· καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν ἁπλῶς Πάσχα, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό τὸ Πάσχα, ... | 42.11.6 ξβ (62)—Καὶ ἀνέπεσε, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν ... | 42.11.17 "Ελ. ξβ (62)—... καὶ μὴ λέγε ὅτι ὅ ἔμελλε μυστήριον ἐπιτελεῖν, τοῦτο προωνόμαζε λέγων· θέλω μεθ’ ὑμῶν φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα. ... | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξβ (62)—Καὶ ἀνέπεσε καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξβ (62)—Ἀνέπεσεν ὁ σωτήρ, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. εἰ ἀνέπεσε καὶ συνανέπεσον, ..., καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησε φήσας ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησε φήσας τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν, ...

For Luke 22:14–15, though v. 15 is also attested by Tertullian and Eznik, Epiphanius is the only source for v. 14. V. 15 is cited in several other locations in the Panarion; however, it is only in scholion 62 that Epiphanius refers to v. 14. He cites most of the verse here, though does not mention the opening ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὑρα. Harnack stated that Marcion apparently did not read these

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217 Harnack rightly stated “Die Fassung ist selbständig” (Marcion, 232*).
218 IGNTP lists 13, 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, and 983.
words and Zahn thought that the omission was not accidental. Volckmar, though, contended that this was simply one of numerous examples were Epiphanius abbreviated his citation and ignored something not relevant for the argument. Once again, it is best not to speculate concerning a phrase that is simply unattested. The remainder of the verse is essentially unproblematic, though it should be noted that Epiphanius attests δώδεκα, found in Matt 26:20 and many manuscripts of Luke (but not in P75, B, D, and several other manuscripts, among others). It is possible that the numeral was present in Marcion’s text; however, it cannot be ruled out completely that Epiphanius is being influenced by the Matthean wording.

For v. 15, Epiphanius attests καὶ εἶπεν· ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τὸ τάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ’ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν. In the opening words, once again, the omission of πρὸς αὐτοῦς after εἶπεν is the reading of the Matthean parallel (Matt 26:21) and should not be viewed as evidence for an omission in Marcion’s text. Epiphanius is very consistent in his citation of the words of Jesus in this verse, though his apparent lack of interest in the final phrase elsewhere lends credence to the view that here it arose from Marcion’s Gospel. Furthermore, apart from the inclusion of the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο, the citation of what Jesus said corresponds precisely to the reading attested by Tertullian.

6.4.63 Luke 22:76

42.11.6 ξυ (63)—Παρέκοψε τὸ λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἀπάρτι, ἐως ἄν [V M omit ἄν] πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.7 ξυ (63)—Παρέκοψε τὸ λέγω γὰρ [V M omit γὰρ] ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἀπάρτι, ἐως ἄν πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξα (63)—Τοῦτο περιεῖλεν καὶ ἐρρᾳδιούργησεν, ἵνα δῆσεν μὴ ποιήσῃ ἐν βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ βρωτὰ ἢ ποτά...

Epiphanius here attests that Luke 22:16 was not present.
With a reference to the opening and closing words of Jesus’ question in Luke 22:35, Epiphanius indicates that this verse καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς was not present. As already noted by Zahn, “Die Grenze wird nicht näher angegeben, nur hervorgehoben, daß in v. 37 der Grund der Tilgung gelegen habe.” Since, vv. 35–38 are clearly interrelated, it is most likely that the entire pericope is in view in Epiphanius’s comment.

Epiphanius here attests an essentially unproblematic text, in which the “kneeling” is of particular interest for him. The far more imprecise citation of the verse in 69.60.1 may also support the sense that the wording is here being governed by Marcion’s text.

Epiphanius here attests an essentially unproblematic text, in which the “kneeling” is of particular interest for him. The far more imprecise citation of the verse in 69.60.1 may also support the sense that the wording is here being governed by Marcion’s text.
Epiphanius as a Source

Epiphanius is the only source for Luke 22:47, and it is obvious that he has offers an abbreviated reference to the verse as he is interested in making the point that one can kiss only a corporeal body. In addition, it may be that Epiphanius initially did not include the explicit reference to Judas, as it is not found in the manuscript tradition for the first scholion. That which is quoted in both scholia, as already noted by both Zahn and Harnack, has points of contact with Matt 26:49. Both also apparently believed, however, that Epiphanius accurately reflected Marcion's text. Zahn reconstructed καὶ ἠγγίσε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν... and went so far as to state "Das καὶ εἶπεν beweist, daß Mrc. die bei Lc. fehlende Anrede des Judas aus Mt. 26, 49 oder die kürzere aus Mc. 14, 45 herübergenommen hatte." Harnack reconstructed Ίουδας... καὶ ἠγγίσε καταφιλῆσαι αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν (χαίρε ῥαββεί [sic]). It seems that both Zahn and Harnack may have been too hasty in their assessment. First, there is no manuscript evidence for Luke ever containing the reading καταφιλῆσαι. Second, Epiphanius seems to have omitted the universally attested τῷ Ἰησοῦ after ἤγγισε. Third, in both Matthew and Mark, the reference to Judas saying something precedes the kiss. Finally, and most significantly, in Epiphanius's two other references to this scene in 38.4.13 and 66.63.9–10, he clearly draws from Matt 26:48–50 and in both instances cites Judas's words. It seems quite possible that Epiphanius may have seen this verse in Marcion's text, but then simply jotted down the gist of the verse under the influence of Matthew's version.

6.4.67 Luke 22:50–51

42.11.6 ξζ (67)—Παρέκοψεν δ [V M read τό] ἐποίησε Πέτρος, ὅτε ἐπάταξε καὶ ἀφείλετο τὸ οὖς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [V M omit τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως]. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξζ (67)—Παρέκοψεν δ ἐποίησε Πέτρος, ὅτε ἐπάταξε καὶ ἀφείλετο [M reads ἀφεῖλε] τὸ οὖς τοῦ δούλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξζ (67)—Δοκῶν εἰς τιμὴν Πέτρου ὁ ἀπατεών κρύπτειν τὸ ῥητὸν τεμών, ἀπέκρυψεν. ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν ὡφελήσει· κἂν τε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀποκόψῃ, ἡμεῖς οἴδαμεν τὰ θεοσήμεια. μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀποκόψῃ τὸ ὦτον ὁ κύριος πάλιν λαβὼν ἰάσατο, ἵνα ἀποδειχθῇ ὁτι θεός ἐστι καὶ θεοῦ ἔργον ἐπετέλεσεν.

In scholion 67 Epiphanius attests that Luke 22:50 was not present, referring to what Peter (cf. John 18:10) did in cutting off the ear ("of the high priest" is

225 Cf. Harnack, Marcion, 234* and Zahn, Geschichte, 2:491.
226 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:491.
227 Harnack, Marcion, 234*.
228 Also noted by Harnack, Marcion, 234*. Zahn stated that it was also drawn from either Matthew or Mark (Geschichte, 2:491).
found only in the second listing). The elenchus reveals that v. 51 was also not present in Marcion's text. V. 49, present in some reconstructions but listed as omitted in others, is actually unattested.229


42.11.6 ξη (68)—Οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιξον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες καὶ [V M omit καί] λέγοντες· προφήτευσον τις ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξη (68)—Οἱ συνέχοντες ἐνέπαιξον δέροντες καὶ τύπτοντες καὶ λέγοντες· προφήτευσον, τις ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξη (68)—Ὅτι το συνέχοντες καὶ τὸ ἐνέπαιξον καὶ τὸ δεῖραι καὶ τὸ τύψαι καὶ τὸ προφήτευσον τις ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε, τούτο οὐ δόκησις ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἀφής ἦστι σωματικῆς καὶ ἐνσάρκου ὑποστάσεως δηλωτικῶν, . . .

For the obviously abbreviated references to these verses, Epiphanius highlighted only those elements relevant for his refutation of Marcion relating to the bodily reality of Jesus. For v. 63 the attested elements are unproblematic, as is the citation of what those smiting Jesus said at the end of v. 64. It is worth noting, however, that Epiphanius attests the phrase with the verb τύπτω in v. 24, against P75, B, among others.

6.4.69 Luke 23:2

42.11.6 ξθ (69)—Προσέθετο μετὰ τό [V M read τοῦτο] τοῦτον εὑρόμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ξθ (69)—Προσέθετο μετὰ τό [V M read τοῦτο] τοῦτον ηὐραμεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ξθ (69)—. . . .ὅταν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα προσθείης τὸ μὴ γεγραμμένον, συκοφαντῶν σεαυτὸν. . . . λέγων ὅτι τοῦτον ἡμαν τοῦτον διαστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν, λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν Χριστὸν βασιλέα. | 42.11.6 ο (70)—Προσθήκη μετὰ τό κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναικάς καὶ τὰ τέκνα. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ο (70)—Προσθήκη μετὰ [V M omit μετὰ] τό κελεύοντα φόρους μὴ δοῦναι καὶ [Vcorr M insert τό] ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναικάς καὶ τὰ τέκνα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ο (70)—. . . .οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστρεψεν Ἰησοῦς γυναίκας ἢ τέκνα; . . .

229 Once again, Volckmar, Evangelium Marcions, 167 listed v. 49 as present in Marcion's Gospel; whereas, Zahn, Geschichte, 2:491; Harnack, Marcion, 234*; and Tsutsui, "Evangelium," 124 assume that Epiphanius's testimony here included the omission of v. 49. Parker, Living Text, 159 cautiously suggests that Marcion's omission here may have left a trace in the manuscript tradition in v. 51 being omitted in 0171.
Though Tertullian also attests Luke 23:2, his testimony does not overlap with that offered by Epiphanius. In the scholia 69 and 70 Epiphanius refers to two additions in Marcion’s text of this verse. Holl’s emendation in scholion 69 sought to clarify Epiphanius’s meaning, but it is clear from the elenchus that Epiphanius does not view the entire statement as a Marcionite addition, but only the reference to destroying the Law and the prophets. In the text that Marcion’s Gospel shares with Luke the υμῶν after τὸ ἔθνος is omitted, and though this is the reading of the majority text, it may be a simple omission by Epiphanius. The added phrase is found, in slightly different forms, in the OL manuscripts e, b, c, ff², gat, and i (and also in a few Vulgate manuscripts). It appears, therefore, that there is some point of contact between the readings preserved in these manuscripts and the reading in Marcion’s Gospel. Concerning the second addition involving the turning away of wives and children mentioned in scholion 70, though it is not elsewhere attested in v. 2, c and e contain a similar statement in v. 5. Once again there seem to be points of contact. Here also Epiphanius’s reference to the text Marcion’s Gospel had in common with Luke seems to be summary in nature and little weight should be given to the Epiphanius’s formulation.

6.4.70 Luke 23:33–34, 45

For these verses the testimony of Tertullian also must be considered and for vv. 34 and 45 the testimony of Ephrem and Eznik, respectively. As Zahn already noted, Epiphanius “gibt kein Citat, sondern faßt 33a, 34b, 44a [sic]
ungenau zusammen.” For v. 33 Epiphanius attests a text very similar to Matt 27:33, where for Luke, ἐλθόντες, εἰς, λεγόμενον, and Κρανίον τόπος are all singular readings. This wording is almost certainly due to Epiphanius. Tertullian’s allusion cannot help us further concerning most of these readings and therefore much of the precise reading of Marcion’s text remains unclear. For v. 34, only v. 34b is attested by Epiphanius. The major problem here is that Tertullian explicitly indicated that this element of the verse was not present in Marcion’s Gospel. Volckmar concluded that “Epiph. hier ungenau über den Text des Marcion berichtet” and that “er [Epiphanius] beim Zusammenfassen der ganzen Kreuzigungs-Geschichte mehr das allgemeine Ev. als das spezielle Marcion’s im Auge oder Sinn gehabt hat.” Supporting Volckmar’s point is the fact that in the elenchus, Epiphanius seems to have only the crucifixion itself in view, not the details surrounding the event. Finally, Epiphanius refers to v. 45, which, interestingly, is two verses subsequent to the verse discussed in the following scholion. Here he simply makes reference to ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος, in agreement with the majority reading in Luke. In sum, given that Epiphanius is likely simply summarizing elements of the entire account as evidenced, in particular, by the Matthean wording in v. 33; skipping to a verse beyond the one he discussed in the following scholion; and the elenchus revealing that it was only the fact of the crucifixion in which he is interested, it may very well be the case that these elements did not arise directly from the wording of Marcion’s Gospel.

233 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:492.
234 Harnack, Marcion, 235*–236* somewhat confusingly reconstructs vv.32–33 based on Tertullian’s allusion, followed by v. 33a based on Epiphanius’s scholion.
235 I am not sure to what Nathan Eubank, ”A Disconcerting Prayer: On the Originality of Luke 23:34a,” JBL 129 (2010): 523 is referring when he writes that the prayer in Luke 23:34a is “apparently [cited] by Marcion (in Epiphanius, Pan. 42.11.6) in the second century,” as there is no reference to the prayer in Epiphanius’s interaction with Marcion’s text.
236 Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 48. Cf. also Zahn, Geschichte, 2:492 who agreed with this analysis. Harnack, Marcion, 236* stated in his reconstruction ”Verteilung der Kleider, von M. gestrichen (aber Epiph. las es wieder” and in his apparatus “Epiph. hat in seinem Exemplar gelesen.” He, however, gave no explanation for how he envisioned this state of affairs coming about. Tsutsui, ”Evangelium,” 126 also simply observes the difference and comments: ”Wie man diese Tatsache beurteilen soll, ist unklar.” It should also be noted, however, that a few pages later in his monograph, Volckmar recognized, ”Da aber endlich nichts hindert, dass auch im Exemplar des Tert. zufällige Lücken gewesen sein, so muss immerhin die Möglichkeit hiervon in Betreff der von Tert. angegebenen Auslassung der Kleider-Vertheilung (23. 34) im Auge behalten werden, wenn auch die abweichende Angabe des Andern gerade hier völlig erklärlich ist” (Das Evangelium Marcions, 51).
237 Volckmar himself also makes this point (Das Evangelium Marcions, 47–48).
6.4.71  Luke 23:43

42.11.6 οβ (72)—Παρέκοψε τὸ σήμερον μετ’ ἕμοι ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οβ (72)—Παρέκοψε τὸ σήμερον μετ’ ἕμοι ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. οβ (72)—Καλῶς τούτο καὶ ἁρμοδίως παρέκοψας, ὦ Μαρκίων· ἀπήρες [V M read ἐπῆρες] γὰρ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ παραδείσου.

Epiphanius here attests that Luke 23:43 was not present. Though Zahn also viewed vv. 37–42, and Harnack and Tsutsui vv. 35–42, as omitted, Epiphanius's testimony simply leaves these verses unattested.

6.4.72  Luke 23:46

42.11.6 ογ (73)—Καὶ φωνῆσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξέπνευσεν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ογ (73)—Καὶ φωνῆσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἐξέπνευσεν. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ογ (73)—Εἰ ἐξέπνευσεν, ὦ Μαρκίων, καὶ φωνὴν μεγάλην ἀπέδωκεν, πόθεν ἐξέπνεεν ἢ τί τὸ ἐκπνέον; | 69.49.5–7—...ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐλεγε τῷ πατρὶ εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμά μου...[references/citations drawn from John 19:33 and Matt 27:46]...καὶ ἐξέπνευσε φησί τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. τὸ δὲ ἐξέπνευσε καὶ εἰς χεῖράς σου καὶ τὸ ἡ ψυχή μου τετάρακται [John 12:27] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀληθείας λεγούσης,...

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the Adamantius Dialogue. As was the case in Tertullian's testimony, at the outset of the verse Epiphanius does not make reference to what Jesus said, but only to his having cried out. He then immediately attests the final element of the verse referring to Jesus expiring. The wording attested by Epiphanius is essentially unproblematic with very little variation in the manuscript tradition.

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238 The verbatim wording for this verse is also found in Ancor. 54.7 and in Pan. 66.40.3, though also with the introductory ἄμην λέγω σοι in the latter reference.

239 Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:492 who stated that it is “sehr zweifelhaft” that vv. 37–43 were in Marcion’s text. Harnack, Marcion, 236* expressed the opinion that vv. 35–43 “scheint vollständig gefehlt zu haben,” a sentiment followed by Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 126. Regarding 23:35–36, Ps 22:16, 7 in Marc.4.42.4 is not clearly a reference to these verses being in Marcion’s text (cf. Harnack, Marcion, 236* contra Zahn, Geschichte, 2:492).

240 The only point of contact with Marcion’s text here is ἐξέπνευσε. In Ancor. 69.8 and Pan. 74.6.8 Epiphanius cited πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου from Luke 23:46. Since he did not attest these words for Marcion’s text no relevant insight can be gained from these two passages.

241 Harnack’s comment, “Das kann eine Verkürzung sein, aber es ist auch sehr wohl möglich, daß spätere Marcioniten das Wort Jesu ausgelassen haben, weil es ihnen unbequem wurde” refers to a theoretical possibility but remains speculative (Marcion, 236*). Zahn’s assertion that Epiphanius has “willkürlich contrahiert” (Geschichte, 2:493) is also possible; however, the fact remains that Epiphanius simply leaves Jesus’ words unattested.
6.4.73 Luke 23:50, 53

42.11.6 oδ (74)—Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι [V M omit σινδόνι] καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ. | 42.11.17 Σχ. oδ (74)—Καὶ [V M omit καὶ] ἰδοὺ, ἄνηρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε σινδόνι [Vcorr inserted σινδόνι in margin] καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ. | 44.3.7—. . . .ὅτε ἐθάπτετο τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα κατηξιοῦτο Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας ἐντυλίξαι αὐτὸ ἐν σινδόνι καὶ ἀποθέσθαι ἐν μνήματι. . . . | 64.67.17—. . . .τὸ διὰ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ κεκηδευμένον ἐν σινδόνι καὶ ἐν μνήματι καινῷ τεθέν ἀνέστη, πάντως οὐκ ἀρνήσῃ. | 77.8.2—. . . .τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰλήσας Ἰωσὴφ σινδόνι ἀπέθετο . . . | 77.28.1—. . . .σινδὼν γὰρ εἰλήσας τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐ περιεγένετο ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγίστης δυνάμεως.

These verses are also attested by Tertullian and possibly in the Adamantius Dialogue. For v. 50, Tertullian only alluded to the fact that Joseph was the individual caring for the body, whereas Epiphanius offers a fuller phrase. The second listing of the scholion does not read the opening καὶ, and it may have been added to the first listing under the influence of the canonical text. Though the conjunction is almost universally present in the manuscripts, it may simply be unattested for Marcion's Gospel. The rest of the phrase is unproblematic.

For v. 53, Epiphanius quotes more of the verse, though it is still obvious that he has abbreviated his reference. Once again the two listings reveal a difference concerning the presence or absence of a word, in this case σινδόνι, where only M originally contained the word and then only in the second listing. Here also, Epiphanius may not have originally included the term, though it is attested by Tertullian. Furthermore, it is probable that the skip from v. 50 to v. 53 led to the clarifying τὸ σῶμα, and it is not certain that it was present in Marcion's text instead of the otherwise attested pronoun. In addition, the omission of the pronouns with the ensuing verbs may again be due to Epiphanius's shortened reference. At the same time, that Epiphanius did have Marcion's Gospel in view, at least to a certain extent, may be supported by the actual verbs that he uses to describe the actions. Elsewhere when he speaks of “wrapping” the body he uses the verb ἑλίσσω or εἰλέω, whereas here he writes ἐνετύλιξε. Similarly, in other instances when he references the “placing” of the body in the tomb he utilizes various forms of ἀποτίθημι or τίθημι, whereas here he writes ἔθηκεν. Finally, Epiphanius concludes the citation with a brief description of where the body was laid: ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ.

242 Harnack, Marcion, 237* followed Epiphanius in his reconstruction. His comment in the apparatus, “τὸ σῶμα mit D (add. τ. Ἰησοῦ) > αὐτό, desen [sic] Stellung vor oder nach (ἐνετύλιξε) schwankend” is a rather convoluted indication of just how different D’s reading is from the one attested by Epiphanius.
6.4.74  **Luke 23:56**

42.11.6 oe (75)—Kaĩ ὑποστρέψασαι αἱ γυναῖκες [V M omit αἱ γυναῖκες] ἦσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. | 42.11.17 Σχ. oe (75)—Kaĩ ὑποστρέψασαι αἱ γυναῖκες ἦσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. | 42.11.17 "Ελ. oe (75)—Πάθεν ὑπέστρεψαν αἱ γυναῖκες; διὰ τι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἦσύχασαν γέγραπται, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα δειξῇ ἡ γραφή τὴν αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν, ἐλέγχουσα καὶ ἀνήκοι καὶ Ἰωσήφ, ὁ ψηλαφητὸν ὄντως σῶμα καθελὼν καὶ ἐνειλήσας. | 44.3.8—ἀμα δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες εἶχον ἰδεῖν ποῦ κατελείφθη τὰ λείψανα, ἵνα αὐτὰ τιμήσωσι διὰ μύρων καὶ ἀρωμάτων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον. | 56.2.7—καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μέν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, μαρτυροῦσι καὶ αἱ φέρουσαι μύρα εἰς τὸ μνῆμα καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν τῆς ἀλόης ὀλιγή, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν δόκησις οὐδὲ δόξης οὐδὲ φαντασία.

The reference to Luke 23:56 once again evidences Epiphanius offering an abbreviated citation. The opening καὶ is, according to IGNT, attestated in other versions; however, it is difficult to ascertain whether Epiphanius is here accurately reflecting Marcion's text. The first scholion does not attest αἱ γυναῖκες, and the subject of the verb was likely added for clarity in the second scholion. Epiphanius then references the final element of the verse, writing an otherwise unattested word order ἦσύχασαν τὸ σάββατον followed by the otherwise unattested κατὰ τὸν νόμον. The other interactions with this verse or its parallels by Epiphanius do not offer any insight; yet, it is difficult to attribute either of these readings to Marcion with any degree of certainty.

6.4.75  **Luke 24:4–7**

Anchor. 34.6—...ὅτι μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοσθαι καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι... | 42.11.6 ος (76)—Εἶπαν οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ· τί ζητεῖτε; ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ἔτι μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παθεῖν καὶ παραδοθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Σχ. ος (76)—Εἶπαν οἱ ἐν ἐσθῆτι λαμπρᾷ· τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν; ἠγέρθη, μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ἔτι μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παθεῖν καὶ παραδοθῆναι. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. ος (76)—Οὐδὲ οὗτοί σέ

243 Chapter 5, n. 420 indicates the reason why, contra Harnack, I see only Epiphanius attesting this verse. For this reason, I also view ἥτοιμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα (reconstructed by Harnack) as unattested in this verse.

244 Curiously, Harnack, *Marcion*, 237* reconstructed the opening without either καὶ or δέ.

245 In response to Harnack's comment concerning κατὰ τὸν νόμον "wahrscheinlich absichtliche Korrektur, um ein Mißverständnis zu verhüten" (*Marcion*, 237*), Tsutsui queries "Was für ein Mißverständnis?" (*Evangelium,* 126).
For these verses, though vv. 4, 6–7 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius is the only witness for v. 5. Epiphanius’s only reference to v. 4 is the allusion to the men in shining garments at the conclusion of the verse. The rather clearly summary and imprecise nature of Epiphanius’s introduction to scholion 76 makes any reconstruction of precise wording tenuous and speculative. The first quoted element is the phrase τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν from v. 5, an unproblematic phrase that is nearly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition.

In v. 6, the verb ἠγέρθη is certainly drawn from Marcion’s text as in every other allusion to or citation of this verse, including the elenchus, Epiphanius uses the verb ἀνίστημι (all three synoptic passages utilize ηγέρθη). Since Epiphanius has obviously abbreviated his reference, it is problematic to assert, as Harnack did, that Marcion did not read οὐκ ἔστιν ὑδε, even if the omission is also found in D and numerous OL witnesses. The following three words (μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν) correspond to Tertullian’s testimony; however, then the two witnesses diverge. Epiphanius attests the ἔτι ὅν that may have been a simply omission by Tertullian but does not attest the ύμῖν or ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ found in Tertullian. Here, however, the μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν, assumed to be Epiphanius’s reading by Holl and followed by Harnack and Tsutsui, creates challenges.

246 Harnack, Marcion, 238*, however, did follow Epiphanius’s testimony, though with at least some uncertainty, when he reconstructed ἐν ἑσθητὶ λαμπρῇ (ἀστραπτούσῃ?) for the conclusion of 24:4.

247 Harnack, Marcion, 238*. It is also interesting that whenever Epiphanius quoted the full phrase including “he is not here,” he utilized the order found in Mark 16:6, where ἠγέρθη is written first, and not that of Matt 28:6 or Luke 24:6, where ἠγέρθη follows.

248 ὅσα is the reading of D and, according to igntp, the Syriac versions and the Persian diatessaron.

249 Harnack, Marcion, 237*–98* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 127. Tsutsui views the reading attested by Epiphanius as the literal reading of later Marcionites, a position that seems rather questionable.
It is originally found only in the second listing of the scholion in M, where it was also added by the corrector of v. It is possible that the omission occurred through homeoteleuton, though the omission of ὑμῖν could have led to the phrase being added for clarity. It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions, but it should be noted that it is possible to reconstruct the almost universally attested Lukan text from a combination of Tertullian's and Epiphanius's testimony.

For v. 7 there are, once again, differences from Tertullian. ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου are found in both witnesses, as is the verb παραδοθῆναι. Epiphanius, however, also writes that it was necessary for the Son of Man to suffer (in the first listing of the scholion) or to suffer many things (in the second listing of the scholion). This wording is found in Matt 16:21//Mark 8:31//Luke 9:22 and is also the wording Epiphanius repeats in the elenchus. Harnack, therefore, correctly noted that Epiphanius is here “unzuverlässig.” Finally, both Tertullian and Epiphanius are simply silent concerning the phrase εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν, and to view the unattested element as “wohl keine zufällige Auslassung” is speculative.


23.6.5—καὶ ὡς ὁ Λουκᾶς διαβεβαιοῦται αὐτὸν τὸν σωτῆρα μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ὥφθην ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ναθαναήλ καὶ τὸν Κλεόπαν καὶ τούτους νευ̣νο̣θησθήναι ἀπὸ τῶν ψαλμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ὃτι οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. | 42.11.6 οζ (77)—Παρέκοψε τὸ εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, ὃτε συνήνητησαν αὐτοῖς, τὸ ὃ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν [M omits πᾶσιν], οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται· ὦ ἀνόητοι ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν; καὶ ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται ἐποίησεν [V M omit ἐποίησεν] ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν υμῖν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὃτε ἔκλασε τὸν ψαλτήριον [77 ζ η οῖς] οὐχὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν. | 42.11.17 Σχ. οζ (77)—Παρέκοψε τὸ εἰρημένον πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον, ὃτε συνήνητησαν αὐτοῖς, τὸ ὃ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται· οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν; καὶ ἀντὶ δὲ [V M omit δὲ] τοῦ ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται ἐποίησεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐλάλησαν υμῖν. ἐλέγχεται δὲ ὃτε ἔκλασε τὸν ψαλτήριον, ηὐοικήθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν. | 42.11.17 Ἐλ. οζ (77)—Πόθεν

250 Cf. Zahn, Geschicht, 2:493, who viewed the phrase as “zur Vervollständigung erfunden.”
251 In the discussion of Tertullian's testimony his word order was questioned as unlikely. According to IGNT only P75, N*, B, C*, and L attest the reading τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὃτι δὲι of NA28.
252 Harnack, Marcion, 238*.
ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου ἐγένετο; λέγε, ὦ Μαρκίων. ἐποίησα δὲ, ὦ Μαρκίων, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὗ ταύτα ἐστὶν ἡ ἑλάλησαν οἱ προφήται; οὗ ταύτα ἐστὶν ἡ ἑλάλησα ύμῖν; εἰ δὲ εἰπεν αὐτοῖς ἑλάλησα ύμῖν, πάντῃ ἐγίνωσκον αὐτὸν ἀν ἀπό τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἑλάλησα ύμῖν. πῶς οὖν ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου λέγει ἡ νοιχθήσαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφαντοῦσαν ἂν ἐγίνωσκον αὐτὸν; ἔπρεπεν γὰρ αὐτῷ δεῖ καὶ μεταβάλλοντι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα εἰς πνευματικὸν δεικνύναι μὲν αὐτὸ σῶμα ἀληθινόν, ἀφαντοῦσθαι δὲ ὅτε ἐβούλετο, ὅτι πάντῃ αὐτῷ δυνατὰ. . . . οὐχ ὑπολείπεται δὲ σοι ἀντιλογία οὐδεμία. ἔκλασε γὰρ τὸν ἄρτον σαφῶς καὶ διέδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς.

For these verses, Epiphanius is the only witness for vv. 18, 30–31; Tertullian also attests vv. 13, 15 and 25 and the Adamantius Dialogue possibly attests vv. 25–26. In the opening comments to the scholion, Epiphanius alludes to Jesus meeting (v. 15) two disciples (v. 13) and indicates that one of them was named Cleopas (v. 18). Though some confirmation of Tertullian’s equally brief comments can be found here, only the mention of the proper name adds anything further to our knowledge of Marcion’s text, assuming that these introductory words were actually drawn from Marcion’s Gospel and are not simply Epiphanius’s own words. Epiphanius’s use of παρέκοψε initially gives the impression that the following statement was omitted in Marcion’s Gospel; however, the ensuing clarification reveals that what Epiphanius actually attested is the reading ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τοῦ πιστεύειν πάσιν οἷς ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν· οὐχ ὑπολείπεται δὲ σοι ἀντιλογία οὐδεμία. ἔκλασε γὰρ τὸν ἄρτον σαφῶς καὶ διέδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς.

254 Williams’s translation of πρὸς Κλεόπαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον as “to Cleopas and the other disciples” wrongly renders the singular τὸν ἄλλον as a plural and thus would imply that more than two individuals were addressed by Jesus’ words (The Panarion, 313).
255 In the elenchus Epiphanius offered a free adaptation of this reading.
256 Cf. Hahn, Das Evangelium Marcions, 217; Ritschl, Das Evangelium Marcions, 127n1; Hilgenfeld, Kritische Untersuchungen, 439n2; and Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions, 46.
258 In 23.6.5 Epiphanius offered a slightly different wording and conflated v. 26 with 24.7. The reading here appears to follow the text more closely. It is not clear to me why Lieu contends
Epiphanius concludes scholion 77 with a reference to vv. 30–31. Without a doubt, he simply alludes to elements in v. 30 and then provides an imprecise “citation” of v. 31. Here, first of all, there are once again differences in the manuscript traditions of the first and second listing of the scholion. The omission of the pronouns in the first listing could possibly have arisen through copying errors; however, it is more likely that they were added for reason of clarity in the second listing. The only wording that actually could be considered to be reflecting Marcion's text is οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν.


Ancor. 91.6—... ἰδέτε με, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. πνεῦμα γὰρ ὡστέα καὶ σάρκα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | Pan. De incarnatione 3.4—μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν (John 20:19) ἐδειξε τὴν σχέσιν καὶ πόδας καὶ πλευράν νευμένην, ὡς μὴ εἶναι θατρικά τὸ ὄρφανον. | 42.11.6 οη (78)—Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἰδέτε τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου [V M omit μου] καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἥλων καὶ τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὃτι πνεῦμα ὡστά οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 42.11.7 Σχ. οη (78)—Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἰδέτε τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὃτι πνεῦμα ὡστά οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 42.11.17 Ἔλ. οη (78)—Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ; ἰδέτε τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου, ὃτι πνεῦμα ὡστά οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 64.64.7—... ἰδέτε τινὰς τῶν ἅλων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἅλων, ὃτι ἰδέτε τινὰς τῶν ἅλων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἅλων, ὃτι οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. | 69.67.3—καίπερ μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν δεικνύων ὡστά καὶ σάρκα εἶπεν, ὡς αὐτός ἐμαρτύρησε λέγων ὡς ἐμὲ ὁρᾶτε ἔχοντα. | 77.9.5—... ἰδέτε τὰς χεῖρας μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἅλων, ὃτι οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὑπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας.

In Epiphanius's final scholion he interacts with Luke 24:38–39, two verses that are also attested by Tertullian and possibly the *Adamantius Dialogue*. The brief citation of the question τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ from v. 38 corresponds to Tertullian's testimony and is unproblematic. v. 39, however, presents several challenges. First, yet again, the first and second listing of the scholion differ

259  *No other manuscripts attest their omission.*

260  *The variant spellings of the aorist passive of ἀνοίγω (apart from a passage in Severin of Gabala, according to *IGNTP*, the use of this verb is a singular reading) in the two listings of the scholion are insignificant.*

261  *It appears that Epiphanius himself expanded the reference in the elenchus to include a reference to Christ vanishing in order to continue his refutation.*
with the first listing omitting both possessive pronouns. It is difficult to posit a mechanical error for the omissions, and the second listing may reflect a clarifying expansion and harmonization with the most common canonical text, a reading that Epiphanius himself attests in 77.9.5. Second, Epiphanius skips directly from the opening element in v. 39 to the final element. Thus, though in Tertullian ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε is unattested, in Epiphanius ὅτι εἰμι αὐτός· ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε is unattested. Just as the omission in Tertullian may have been due to his own hand, the omission here could also be due to Epiphanius's abbreviated reference. It is slightly problematic therefore, to make a statement contending that “both witnesses agree that Marcion’s text omits the invitation to touch Jesus and see” or that Epiphanius’s version of Marcion’s Gospel definitely did not have the phrase ὅτι εἰμι αὐτός. The element is simply unattested, as is much of vv. 38–39. Third, though Epiphanius does not mention “flesh” in the scholion, the term is present in the elenches. Furthermore, Epiphanius also makes reference only to “bones” in Pan. De incarnatione 3.4. Once again, though a possible correspondence with Tertullian means that σάρξ may have been omitted in Marcion’s Gospel, overlapping simple omissions cannot be ruled out entirely. Despite these difficulties, that the final phrase (καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα) arose from Marcion’s text is potentially confirmed by Epiphanius slipping into an otherwise essentially unattested wording ὡς ἐμὲ ὁρᾶτε ἔχοντα in the elenches, which he also uses in 64.64.7.

262 The variant spellings for the accusative plural of ὀστέον are insignificant.
263 As was the case for Tertullian’s attestation (cf. chapter 4, n. 456), Carter again too quickly concludes “Epiphanius’s version has Jesus refer to his hand and his feet here, duplicating the possessive pronoun” (“Marcion’s Christology,” 556).
264 Carter, “Marcion’s Christology,” 556. Part of the problem impacting Carter’s conclusions may be found in the rather curious conviction expressed on the previous page: “Tertullian’s approach thus lacks the accuracy that Epiphanius brings to his record of Marcion’s text” (ibid., 555). On the one hand, such a statement simply betrays a certain lack of familiarity with the sources, and on the other hand, even if one were convinced that Epiphanius brings “accuracy” to his attestation, no reference to “omissions” occur in either the scholion or the elenches here. Based simply on the attestation of Tertullian and Epiphanius greater nuance is required concerning the reading of Luke 24:39 in Marcion’s text.
265 Though in context Epiphanius had just referred to John 20:19, there is no mention of either “bones” or “flesh” in John 20:20. The point is that when Epiphanius imports elements from the Lukan account, he only mentions the bones.
266 In Ancor. 91.6 and Pan. 77.9.5, however, Epiphanius also wrote the Lukan phrase.
CHAPTER 7

The Adamantius Dialogue as a Source

The previous three chapters have considered the testimony of the two most important sources for Marcion’s Gospel, Tertullian and Epiphanius. As already noted in chapter 3, the third major source for this text is the Adamantius Dialogue. In the ensuing chapter a variety of issues related to this text are first considered, followed by a discussion of the verses relevant for the reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel found in the Adamantius Dialogue.

7.1 Advances in Understanding the Adamantius Dialogue

The so-called Adamantius Dialogue (Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως or De recta in deum fide)\(^1\) is a five-part dialogue between the “orthodox” Adamantius and several opponents (the first two, Megethius and Marcus, are Marcionites),\(^2\) with the debate adjudicated by the “impartial” pagan Eutropius, who, unsurprisingly, declares Adamantius the winner of each individual debate and at the conclusion of the text declares Adamantius the champion. In his final speech, Eutropius affirms that all those who have turned away from the ecclesia catholica have turned away from the truth.\(^3\) Many of the most relevant issues related to this text are helpfully discussed in the recent monograph by Kenji Tsutsui. In this work he provides an outstanding introduction to the history of research,

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\(^1\) Though the original title of this document is unknown, the text appears to have been handed down initially as a writing of Origen (Adamantius). Pretty mentions three Greek manuscripts of the text (D, E, and G) with the title “A Dialogue of Origin against the Marcionites” and notes that the Latin translation by Rufinus, whether by his own hand or a later copyist, is introduced by Incipiunt libri Adamantii Orijenis adversus haereticos numero quinque translati Rufino presbytero et missi Paulo (Adamantius, 1–2). Cf. also Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 197.

\(^2\) In Books 3–5 the opponents are a Bardesanite and Valentinians. For a brief overview of the opponents in the dialogue, cf. Pretty (trans.), Adamantius, 6–8.

\(^3\) Though this conclusion is readily predictable, throughout the entire course of the dialogue Eutropius reveals himself to be anything but an impartial observer. As Pretty observed, “time and again the adjudicator seems to be partial to the Catholic debater” (Adamantius, 56n87). Even the text itself recognizes this point as, in the very first debate, Adamantius’s opponent Megethius scornfully comments to Eutropius ώς φαίνεται, οὐ δικαστῆς εἰ, ἀλλ´ ἀντίδικος (Adam. 30.13 [1.13]).
sources, structure, and evaluation of the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Several of the most important conclusions found therein, along with those found in Schmid’s work, will be highlighted below.\(^4\)

For the critical text of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, when considering all five books contained in this work, one must still rely on the 1901 edition by W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen.\(^5\) For the text of books one and two, however, Tsutsui has offered a new edition of the text.\(^6\) For the Latin translation by Rufinus, a complete new critical edition has been provided by Vinzenz Buchheit.\(^7\) Recent commentaries providing helpful discussion of the text, or parts thereof, can be found in English (Pretty) and German (Tsutsui).\(^8\)

When considering the *Adamantius Dialogue* as a source for Marcion’s Gospel, two issues are particularly important. First, the question of the relative value of the Greek and Latin textual tradition is vital. With C.P. Caspari’s discovery of the Latin translation of the dialogue in the Bibliothek zu Schlettstadt in 1876 and its publication in 1883,\(^9\) the differences between it and the previously known Greek text led to discussion concerning the original form, date, and wording of the text. Caspari argued that the Latin translation demonstrated that the extant Greek text had become disordered, with part of book 2 having been shifted to book 5, and also that the original form of the Greek text could be found behind the Latin translation. A corollary of this view was that the original version of the dialogue should be dated to the beginning and not to the end of the fourth century c.e.\(^10\) Zahn took up Caspari’s views and provided a significantly more in-depth consideration of the issue, ultimately

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\(^5\) Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 15.

\(^6\) Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 295–345. Though not providing a detailed proof that the Greek manuscript B (Codex Venetus Marcianus gr. 496 [soll. 843]) is the archetype for all the other extant Greek manuscripts of the dialogue, Tsutsui did provide a few helpful thoughts concerning this position that is “längst bekannt und heute von niemandem ernsthaft angezweifelt” (*Auseinandersetzung*, 24, cf. 15, 23–26). Citations of the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* are taken from the Tsutsui edition for books one and two and the Bakhuyzen edition for books three through five.

\(^7\) Vinzenz Buchheit, *Tyranni Rufini librorum Adamantii Origenis Adversus haereticos interpretatio* (STa 1; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1966). Citations of the Latin text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* are taken from this edition.


\(^9\) Reference to this work was made in chapter 3, n. 15. Tsutsui incorrectly lists the title as “Kirchengeschichtliche Anecdota,” both in his footnote reference and the bibliography (*Auseinandersetzung*, 215, 359).

concluding that the Latin text more faithfully preserves an original text that was written ca. 310 C.E. and that the Greek text had undergone a revision between 330 and 337 C.E. Zahn retained this view in his discussion of the Adamantius Dialogue as a source for Marcion’s Gospel. Over the ensuing decades, though some individual elements of Zahn’s analysis were questioned, the basic conviction concerning the relationship between the Greek and Latin versions of the dialogue remained essentially unchanged. This view, however, was turned on its head by Buchheit with an article published in 1958. In it, he convincingly argued that it is not the Greek text that has undergone a revision, but rather that Rufinus is responsible for the changes. Buchheit argued that Rufinus, desiring to provide further support for Origen’s orthodoxy in the argument with Jerome concerning this point, took advantage of the tradition concerning the authorship of the dialogue by Origen and undertook the attempt “den Dialog in die Zeit der Verfolgungen, eben in die Zeit des Origenes, zurückzudatieren.” Thus, the dialogue does not belong in the age of the persecutions by the Empire, but to the post-Nicene age, and the Greek textual tradition must be taken far more seriously than the Latin. Buchheit’s view quickly persuaded the majority of scholars. An exception is found in Timothy D. Barnes, “Methodius, Maximus, and Valentinus,” *JTS* 30 (1979): 47–55 who argued that the dialogue was written by Maximus (also the “guess” of Pretty [trans.], *Adamantius*, 18–20) and “long before A.D. 300, probably close to the

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15 Buchheit, “Rufinus als Fälscher,” 326. Cf. also the brief comment by Bart D. Ehrman, “Rufinus reworked the dialogue by altering the places that showed it was written after Origen’s day in order to use it to vindicate Origen’s orthodoxy” (*Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013], 49).
16 This is not to say, however, that Rufinus’s Latin text is irrelevant or worthless. As Tsutsui observed, “Es steht fest, daß Rufinus ein besseres griechisches Exemplar vor sich hatte als wir heute, was allein schon aus Zeitgründen naheliegt [emphasis added]” (*Auseinandersetzung*, 26). This is in part evidenced through the absence of the displaced section of text, as already mentioned above. The problem remains, however, that Rufinus took great liberties with the text that he had, as well as with its translation. The Latin text, therefore, must be used with great caution, particularly concerning precise wording or textual reconstruction questions.
17 An exception is found in Timothy D. Barnes, “Methodius, Maximus, and Valentinus,” *JTS* 30 (1979): 47–55 who argued that the dialogue was written by Maximus (also the “guess” of Pretty [trans.], *Adamantius*, 18–20) and “long before A.D. 300, probably close to the
pointed out, “die jüngste Phase der Untersuchung zum Adamantiosdialog hat sich aus der Beschäftigung mit dem Bibeltext Markions entwickelt.” This fact creates the transition to the second major issue involved in considering the Adamantius Dialogue as a source for Marcion’s Gospel. Given the priority of the Greek textual tradition of the dialogue over the Latin, the obvious question still remains concerning the sources utilized by the Adamantius Dialogue, along with the related question of the extent to which biblical citations in the text reflect the text of Marcion’s Gospel. Concerning the sources for the Adamantius Dialogue, as noted below, the text at some points clearly claims to be citing verses from Marcion’s Scriptures, including his Gospel. Zahn stated,

Marcions Evangelium und Apostolikum versichert Adamantius wiederholt zu kennen, in der Hand zu haben und daraus vorzulesen. Er könnte ebenso gut die Antithesen vor sich gehabt haben.

Harnack, however, questioned these views, contending

Die Mitteilung vieler Antithesen Marcions, ohne daß doch jemals das Werk der Antithesen selbst genannt wird, macht es gewiß, daß er dieses Werk aus eigener Wissenschaft überhaupt nicht gekannt, ja wie es scheint, von seiner Existenz gar nichts gewußt hat…. seine Unkenntnis des Werks der Antithesen [wirft] ein schlimmes Licht auf seine Kenntnis der Marcionitischen Werke überhaupt.

middle of the third century” (Barnes, “Methodius,” 53). This view has been effectively refuted by Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 203–5 and Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 47. Moll also makes reference to Barnes rejecting Buchheit’s view, though precedes it with the comment “this [Buchheit’s] insight has been accepted by many scholars since,… with the exception of Robert Pretty, who, in his English translation of the Dialogue… did not even mention this important article” (Arch-Heretic, 53n36). Moll is technically correct, however, he does not relate that Pretty’s translation and commentary, which appeared posthumously in 1997, was actually completed in the early 1960s as a doctoral dissertation (Pretty [trans.], Adamantius, xi, xx). Though Buchheit’s work did appear just prior to Pretty’s work and should therefore perhaps have been considered in it, a project completed in the early 1960s as opposed to the late 1990s does provide some context for the work reflecting an earlier stage in scholarship on this text.

18 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 19.
20 Harnack, Marcion, 59*.
Schmid approaches the issue from a slightly different angle. Given the later dating for the dialogue and the significant amount of material in books three through five that is nearly verbatim or actually verbatim with Methodius’s περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου (De autexusio) and περὶ ἀναστάσεως (De resurrectione), Schmid sees an “umfängliche Abhängigkeit des Verfassers von Methodius’ Schriften.” He then argues by analogy:

Dieser Umstand wirft nun aber auch ein bezeichendes Licht auf den Quellenwert der Schrift insgesamt, denn es steht zu vermuten, daß der Verfasser auch für den ersten Teil des Dial., in dem sich ja die Diskussion mit den Marcioniten findet, eine durch andere Quellen vermittelte Kenntnis der marcionistischen Argumente und Bibelstellen hatte. Ist diese Annahme richtig, dann hatte der Verfasser trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen vermutlich keine marcionitische Bibel in Händen.

Tsutsui provided several text internal arguments for seeing source material used in books one and two of the Adamantius Dialogue and concludes that the author used one source for both books. This one source, though having been modified and expanded in the early third century, ultimately dates to “die Zeit von Irenäus und Tertullianus, spätestens von Origenes.” There has, thus, been a clear shift away from seeing the Adamantius Dialogue as directly interacting with Marcion’s biblical texts and towards the view that he is solely dependent on (an) anti-Marcionite source(s). Though I am skeptical that the precise identification or even the number of sources can definitively be identified, the question of greater interest and relevance here concerns the extent to which

22 Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 207.
23 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 91–92.
biblical citations in the Adamantius Dialogue, regardless of their source or sources, reflect Marcion’s Gospel. This question is best addressed through specific considerations under the following headings and sub-headings.

7.2 The Adamantius Dialogue’s Testimony Concerning Marcion’s Gospel

Before considering actual citations in the Adamantius Dialogue it is important to note the insights provided by recent scholarship on this text concerning its usefulness as a source for Marcion’s Gospel. It must be admitted that the general trend is not encouraging in terms of this text as a source for the actual readings found in Marcion’s Scriptures. First, there are the observations of those who have worked on critical editions of the text. In his introduction to the Latin critical edition, Buchheit drew attention to “ein bisher ungeklärtes, aber für die Herstellung und Beurteilung der Markion-Bible sehr wichtiges Problem: Welche Glaubwürdigkeit verdient Rufin als Übersetzer der Bibelzitate in unserem Dialog?”

25 Buchheit, Tyranni Rufini, xii.

26 These books were chosen because of the availability of data concerning Latin readings from Vetus Latina volumes or the preparation thereof. His analysis of citations drawn from these three books is found in Buchheit, Tyranni Rufini, xiv–xxvii. In his earlier article, after highlighting multiple problems with the manner in which Rufinus translated the dialogue in general, Buchheit specifically pointed out “Selbst beim Übersetzen der Schriftzitate ist Rufin nicht anders verfahren” and provided the summary analysis: “Von den 178 im griechischen Text verwendeten Zitaten aus dem nt sind von Rufin 42 stark erweitert, 7 erheblich gekürzt, 40 leicht verändert, 5 durch Paraphrase wiedergeben, 18 ausgelassen und nur 66 wörtlich übertragen, bzw. aus bereits vorhandenen Übersetzungen übernommen worden. Von diesen 66 Zitaten sind aber 41 von so geringem Text, daß ihre wörtliche Übertragung selbstverständlich ist” (“Rufinus als Fälscher,” 326.).
As it relates to the question of reconstructing Marcion’s text, therefore, “scheidet Ruf. von vornherein für die Rekonstruktion der Markionbibel aus.”

In his above-mentioned work containing a new edition of the Greek text of the first two books of the dialogue, Tsutsui writes that he is under the impression that the views and exegesis attributed to the Marcionites in the Adamantius Dialogue are “echt” in the sense that they can be traced back to the original underlying source. At the same time, however, he is quick to add “Der Adamantiosdialog ist allerdings kein zuverlässiger Zeuge für den Text der Bibel Marcions. Der Umgang mit dem Bibel text ist sehr frei.”

A second avenue for insight into the question surrounding the Adamantius Dialogue as a source for Marcionite readings is through the work that has been done on Marcion’s Pauline texts. Here, Clabeaux, with specific reference to the citation of 1 Cor 15:29–42 in book 5 of the dialogue, argues

The disagreement between the Latin and Greek versions of Dial. Adam. in this citation serves as a stern warning to those who would accept uncritically the testimony of Adamantius. The text of the Dialogue is so unsettled that conclusions about Marcionite variants which are based on this evidence alone are unsound.

Schmid, for his part, refers to a “desaströse Quellenkenntnis, die der Dial. spiegelt.” After examining 34 Pauline citations, Schmid summarizes that

27 Buchheit, Tyranni Rufini, xxviii–xxix.
28 Ibid. After considering further citations purportedly from Marcion’s text of Galatians, Ephesians (sic), and Romans, Buchheit reiterated, “Ruf. hat bei der Übersetzung des Dialogs keine lat. Bibel Markions verwendet. Er scheidet daher als Zeuge für die Rekonstruktion dieser Bibel aus” (ibid., xxxv).
29 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 92.
30 Cf. Clabeaux, Lost Edition, 58–59. Here Clabeaux notes that there are 13 variants from the Nestle(-Aland) text in the Greek, all of which are singular readings. The Latin reflects only three of these variants and also extends the citation through v. 44a instead of ending at 42a.
32 Schmid, Marcion und sein Apostolos, 209.
der Vergleich der Dial.-Zitate mit den Zeugnissen von Tertullian und Epiphanius [zeigt], daß die Pauluszitate des Dial. aufs Ganze gesehen eine relativ große Ferne zum marcionitischen Text aufweisen.  

Furthermore, apart from the comparison with Tertullian and Epiphanius, he was not able to find any other positive criteria for distinguishing between Marcionite and non-Marcionite readings in the Adamantius Dialogue; discovered multiple readings evidencing omissions, rearranging, and combining multiple passages; saw indications that in general the precise wording was irrelevant with some indication that the author, whether consciously or unconsciously, shaped some verses in a Marcionite direction; and noted that these phenomena, with only a few exceptions, are found throughout the dialogue. Schmid's final statement is


It is abundantly clear that on the basis of the examinations undertaken by these four scholars, the Adamantius Dialogue must be viewed rather skeptically concerning its value as a source for Marcion's Gospel. Nevertheless, the issue, on the one hand, cannot be settled simply through an argument by analogy and, on the other hand, the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue must in any case be compared with that of the other sources. For this reason, attention must now be given to the specific issue of the Adamantius Dialogue's attestation of Marcion's Gospel.

7.2.1 References to “Gospel(s)” in the Adamantius Dialogue  
A difficulty merely on the terminological level is that the text of the Adamantius Dialogue includes a variety of referents for the term εὐαγγέλιον. For example, the plural “Gospels” is used in contexts where the multiple Gospels used by Adamantius and his church are contested by the Marcionite Megethius (cf. Adam. 8,23.25.33 [1.5]; 10,34 [1.6]; 14,2 [1.7]). When a single “Gospel” is mentioned, at times it is explicitly identified. For instance, in response to

34 Ibid., 236.  
35 Ibid.  
36 Ibid.  
37 Cf. also Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 128.
Adamantius citing a passage from John to make a point, where Megethius protests that this is not written ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρω εὐαγγελίῳ (Adam. 36,17 [1.17]). Adamantius then offers a quotation from Luke noting that the point in contention can also be established with a passage κατὰ σέ (Adam. 36,21 [1.17]). Here, clearly, the “Gospel” in question is Marcion’s Gospel. In Adam. 200,21–22 (5.14), Adamantius states that since Megethius is present he will read from “the Gospel” accepted by the Marcionites. There are also clear instances where “the Gospel” is Matthew, as in the reference to the fulfillment of Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:7 (Adam. 48,21 [1.25]) or John, as when Adamantius petitions Eutropius to request the Gospel to be read leading to a reading of John 13:34. At the same time, however, there are passages that are less clear as when Adamantius refers to a citation from Luke 11:11–13///Matt 7:9–11 as ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ (Adam. 110,3–6 [2.20]). Though, as discussed below, this may indicate an intention to cite from Marcion’s Gospel, certainty is not possible. In sum, Tsutsui rightly notes the terminological ambiguity with the observation:

Der Singular τὸ εὐαγγέλιον kann sowohl das ‘eine’ Evangelium Markions wie auch das Evangelium im allgemein üblichen Sinne entweder der ‘frohen Botschaft’ oder der Schrift, die diese beinhaltet, bedeuten.

This ambiguity often results in some level of uncertainty concerning whether or not the text is claiming to offer a reading from Marcion’s Gospel.

7.2.2 Statistical Analysis of the Adamantius Dialogue’s Testimony

By my count there are 75 verses in the Adamantius Dialogue that need to be considered as possibly witnessing Marcion’s Gospel, with most, but not all, of these verses being found in contexts where the debate is explicitly taking place with Marcionites. In the ensuing analysis these verses are discussed and

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38 Exchanges also take place concerning the Apostolikon. Adamantius and Megethius have an interaction in which Megethius indicates that he does not believe in Adamantius’s φάλας ἀποστολικῶς to which Adamantius replies προένεγκε τὸ ἀποστολικόν σου, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα περικεκομμένον ἐστι (Adam. 10,19–21 [1.5]). In book 2 Adamantius and Markus have a discussion concerning the “legitimate” scriptural basis for arguments from the Pauline letter collection. Adamantius asks Markus τῷ ἀποστόλῳ πείθη; to which Markus replies τῷ ἐμῷ ἀποστολικῷ πείθομαι. Adamantius then states ἔχω τὸ ἀποστολικόν σου καὶ ἴνα ἱκανωθῶσθαι (Adam. 66,8–10 [2.5]).


40 The difficulty of ascertaining whether a citation arose from Marcion’s Gospel was noted above and the challenges of evaluating a citation of a synoptic passage were already noted by Harnack, Marcion, 181*.
considered specifically in terms of their value in the endeavor to reconstruct the text and readings of Marcion's Gospel.

7.3 The *Adamantius Dialogue*'s Citations and Citation Habits

Harnack's skepticism concerning the *Adamantius Dialogue*'s knowledge of the actual Marcionite biblical text, along with his skepticism of other elements in Zahn's view of the dialogue, were already noted above. Concerning Marcion's Gospel in particular, Harnack noted,

> Daß sein [the *Dialogue*'s] Zeugnis in der Regel von geringerem Belang ist als das des Tert. und Epiphanius, gilt auch hier [concerning Marcion's Gospel], da er nicht aus M. selbst, sondern aus Gegenschriften geschöpft hat; auch bleibt es an mehreren Stellen unsicher, ob sie überhaupt aus M.s Evang. stammen.... Daß der Grundtext und die lateinische Übersetzung Rufins öfters erheblich auseinandergehen, erhöht noch die Schwierigkeiten der Verwertung.41

At points he expressed a similar sentiment in the apparatus to the reconstructed text as in, e.g., his comments on Luke 9:18–21: “Im allgemeinen muß man sich aber auch erinnern, daß dei Zitate im Dial. nicht dieselbe Sicherheit bieten wie die bei Tert. und auch bei Epiphan.”42 At the same time, however, there is some evidence that a particularly critical assessment of the dialogue did not carry over into Harnack's actual use of the text in his reconstruction as evidenced by his tending to include, rather liberally, data from the Dialogue in his reconstruction.43 The inconsistency concerning the use of Rufinus's Latin text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* was also observed by Buchheit who, after citing Harnack's observations concerning the necessity of carefully considering whether or not a citation in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is drawn from the Marcionite bible or not, observed,

> Das Erstaunliche ist nun, daß Harnack trotz dieser methodisch guten Ausgangsbasis bei der Rekonstruktion der Markionbibel sich der

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41 Harnack, *Marcion*, 181*.
42 Ibid., 201*.
43 To take simply one example, Harnack reconstructed Luke 24:37 based on the citation by Adamantius in *Adam.* 198,17–18 (5,12) in a discussion with Marinus (identified as a follower of Bardesanes). Adamantius simply gives no indication that he is using Marcion's text here.
Übersetzung Rufins in einer so großzügigen Weise bediente, daß ernsteste Bendenken an seiner Methode auftreten.\textsuperscript{44}

In addition, Tsutsui’s statement concerning the immense freedom that the Adamantius Dialogue takes when referring to biblical passages was already cited above and Clabeaux makes essentially the same observation: “Another severe drawback of Dial. Adam. is a general tendency for looseness in New Testament citations.”\textsuperscript{45} This freedom or looseness is demonstrated in a number of passages to which Tsutsui makes reference,\textsuperscript{46} and can also be seen at several points in the discussion below.\textsuperscript{47}

Finally, it is important to point out that all of the problematic elements observed by Schmid in his study of Marcion’s Apostolikon involving omissions, rearrangement of verse elements, amalgamating elements from multiple verses, and at times revealing general disinterest in the precise wording of “quotations” can also be found in the citations involving Gospel texts. An additional challenge here, however, is that the tendency towards or harmonizing influence of Matthean readings is also readily apparent. Indeed, Tsutsui points out, “Daß die Markioniten häufiger aus dem Matthäusevangelium zitieren als aus dem Lukasevangelium, spricht ebenfalls gegen die Zuverlässigkeit des Dialogs.”\textsuperscript{48} Regardless of whether the inclination to Matthean readings is due to the author of the Adamantius Dialogue or involved harmonizations that had already taken place in his source,\textsuperscript{49} the end result is that the citations in the Adamantius Dialogue are often some distance removed from the wording of Marcion’s Gospel. Lieu’s statement already quoted in regards to Epiphanius can be repeated here as it relates to this problem in the Adamantius Dialogue:

\textsuperscript{44} Buchheit, Tyranni Rufini, X11.
\textsuperscript{45} Clabeaux, Lost Edition, 58. Even Zahn, though placing significant confidence in the longer citations in book two of the Adamantius Dialogue, recognized that shorter passages may have been cited by memory and that the possibility must be kept in mind that “der Verfasser der Dialoge…manchmal seine Erinnerung an den katholischen Test auf die Citate auch des 2. Buchs hat einwirken lassen” (Geschichte, 2:425).
\textsuperscript{46} Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 92. 92n28 refers the reader to the following examples: Adam. 38,13–15 (1.18); 48,16–28 (1.25); 22,6 (1.10); 24,2 (1.10); 26,28 (1.12); 28, 6–8–10.22.30 (1.12–13); 32,24–26 (1.16); 38,10–12 (1.18); 40,5–7–10.27 (1.20–21); 44,18–19 (1.23); 50,20–21 (1.26); 66,31–32 (2.5); 94,6 (2.18); 102,6–11 (2.19).
\textsuperscript{47} Cf., as one of several examples, 6.4.2 below.
\textsuperscript{48} Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 92.
\textsuperscript{49} The latter position is embraced by Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 92 who refers to “a ‘Matthäisierung’ der Grund-Quellenschrift…die im Laufe der Überlieferungs- und Überarbeitungsgeschichte statiﬀgefunden haben dürfte.”
There is a marked tendency in patristic citation for Matthew to influence quotations of Luke (or Mark), and this is more generally evident in both Epiphanius and Adamantius.\textsuperscript{50}

In my view, therefore, Schmid’s view concerning the Adamantius Dialogue as a source for readings in Marcion’s Pauline letter collection holds true for the Adamantius Dialogue as a source for readings in Marcion’s Gospel, i.e., the Adamantius Dialogue can only function as a secured source for Marcion’s Gospel in conjunction with the evidence from other sources. In other instances readings can be assigned only the possibility, or at most a slight probability, of reflecting Marcion’s Gospel.

7.4 The Adamantius Dialogue as a Source

In the ensuing analysis of the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue, as has been the case in chapters 4–6, other sources for passages are mentioned at relevant points. Comparison is also made with the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius as analyzed in the foregoing chapters.

7.4.1 Luke 3:1; 4:31

Elements of Luke 3:1 are also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen, and (Pseudo-)Ephrem and of 4:31 by Tertullian, Irenaeus, Origen, Hippolytus, and possibly an anonymous Syriac manuscript. For 3:1, in response to the query by Adamantius concerning when Christ descended to save humanity, Markus responded with a reference to the statement in “the Gospel” ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. The statement confirms

\textsuperscript{50} Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 737.

\textsuperscript{51} For the references to the Adamantius Dialogue, Adam. is not repeated in front of references to the relevant locations in the editions of Bakhuyzen and Caspari (cf. chapter 3, n. 15).
the reference to the rule of Τιβερίου Καίσαρος by Tertullian and Epiphanius, though only Rufinus's Latin also provides the year, an element likely here drawn from the canonical text. Markus also adds a reference to ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου. In 98,2–3 (2.18) Adamantius speaks of the “time” of Tiberius Caesar, revealing that the language including a reference to the χρόνος of a ruler may be due to the author of the dialogue. Finally, in 102,22–23 (2.19), and with reference to a Marcionite claim (ὡς φασίν), Adamantius once again refers to Christ coming down and appearing under Tiberius in Capernaum.

With this statement, the Adamantius Dialogue seems to confirm Tertullian's order (3:1 followed by 4:31) and also attests the verb κατῆλθεν and the location Καφαρναοὺμ found in Tertullian for v. 31. In addition, the ἐφάνη that Tertullian attested as a verb used “at another place” also appears in this context in the Adamantius Dialogue.

7.4.2 Luke 5:36, 38
90,5–9 (2.16)—[Mark.] [follows citation of John 13:34]...λέγει γάρ πάλιν ὁ σωτήρ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται... πάλιν γάρ λέγει ὁ σωτήρ συντηρεῖ οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει ἐπί βάλλει διὰ τῶν ἀνήφορων ἱμάτιων παλαιών... | ...Dicit enim salvator quia Si mittatur vinum novum in utres novos, utraque conservabuntur... Et iterum: Nemo assuit assummentum panni rudis ad vestimentum vetus... | 90,22–23 (2.16)—[Mark.]...οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησίν, ἐπιβάλλει ἀπὸ ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ. | ...Nemo enim, inquit, assuit pannum rudem ad vestimentum vetus.

The parable found in 5:36–38 is also attested in Tertullian, Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Ephrem. In the Adamantius Dialogue, the comments by Markus in which the first citations of verses from this parable are found is rather curiously introduced with a citation from John 13:34, which immediately places the fidelity with which Markus is presenting texts from Marcion's Scripture in question. At the same time, however, the parable that follows clearly factored prominently in Marcion's text and thought. The order of the

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52 Contra Zahn, Geschichte, 2:422n4, 455 who, not surprisingly in the light of his esteem for the translation by Rufinus, saw greater precision in the Latin text.

53 It is worth noting that the reconstructions of Zahn, Harnack, and Tsutsui do not mention this passage in the Adamantius Dialogue.

54 Concerning the use of this verse, Tsutsui observes, “Eine häretisch-polemische Interpretation von John 13,34 ist sonst m.W. weder bei Markioniten noch bei anderen Sekten belegt” (Auseinandersetzung, 256)

55 Harnack referred to the parable as one of the “vier Haupstellen für Marcions Lehre” (Marcion, 261*).
elements as presented here is once again “wine” and then “patch,” reflecting the order already seen in Tertullian and Epiphanius. Yet, the references are clearly related to the Matthean wording in Matt 9:16–17, and the parallel to the elements from Matt 9:17 cited here (βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἄσκοις νέους καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται) is not found in Luke 5:37 (attested in Tertullian and Epiphanius), but rather in 5:38.Positing this reading for Marcion’s Gospel would be tenuous. Furthermore, Markus twice refers to Luke 5:36, again drawing heavily on the Matthean wording (9:16). The differences between these two “citations” are a clear indication of the imprecise nature of the references in the Adamantius Dialogue. Though both of these references also contain the phrase ἐπίβλημα ράκους ἀγνάφου likely attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, it is difficult to see corroborating evidence in the Adamantius Dialogue as the citations here are essentially reproducing Matthean wording.

7.4.3 Luke 6:8

In an antithesis introduced with a reference to Gen 3:9, Megethius makes reference to Christ knowing the thoughts of men. Tsutsui notes that the wording here is closest to Luke 6:8; however, also rightly observes that there are several other instances where a similar sentiment can be found (cf., e.g., Luke 5:22; 9:47).56 Neither Zahn nor Harnack make reference to this passage in the Adamantius Dialogue in their discussions of 6:8,57 and Tsutsui, in his reconstruction, explicitly indicated that the verse was “unattested.” In any case, its attestation is clearly uncertain.

7.4.4 Luke 6:27–28

Luke 6:27–28 is also attested by Tertullian. For these verses, Megethius once again brings them up in an antithesis. The citation is drawn from Matt 5:44 (cf. εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς), though both Luke 6:27 and Matt 5:44 contain the phrase ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. This latter element is also the only element repeated by Adamantius at two later points in the dialogue. It is not

56 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 178.
57 Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:460 and Harnack, Marcion, 190*. 
surprising that this pithy statement appears verbatim in all three instances. The offering of prayer for those who persecute you (Matt 5:44) contradicts Tertullian’s attestation of the Lukan prayer for those who abuse you. The Matthean reading here should be rejected for Marcion’s text.58

7.4.5 **Luke 6:29**

Luke 6:29 is also attested by Tertullian. In the *Adamantius Dialogue*, v. 29a and v. 29b are attested in two antitheses. In the first of these, Megethius cites Luke 6:29a, though heavily influenced by Matt 5:39. This influence is even more apparent in the Latin where Rufinus added *dexteram* to the citation, essentially simply quoting the Matthean text. In the final element of 6:29a, an element to which Tertullian alluded, the *Adamantius Dialogue’s* use of παράθες is unattested for either Luke or Matthew and likely is due to the author of the dialogue.59 Having already seen the influence of Matthew in only the few texts from the *Adamantius Dialogue* considered thus far, and given the general inaccuracy of citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, significant hesitation concerning the accuracy of the *Adamantius Dialogue’s* reading is called for and Harnack’s reconstruction ἐάν τίς σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες (πρόσθες?) αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,60 following the wording here, should be questioned.

The attestation of Luke 6:29b is closer to the Lukan version in the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue* with its use of the verb αἴρω and the order ἱμάτιον/χιτῶν. Only the verb προστίθημι, used neither in Matthew nor in Luke, tends more towards the sense of Matt 5:40 (ἀφες αὐτῷ).61 Rufinus, however, is once again much closer to the Matthean version. Not only does he have the Matthean

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58 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193* simply noted that the reading here is “nach Matth.” and ignored it for his reconstruction. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:461 referred to the citations listed here as “nicht marcionitisch.”

59 No other witnesses for this reading are listed in *IGNTP* for Luke or in Tischendorf and von Soden for Matthew.

60 Harnack, *Marcion*, 193*. Concerning the suggested reading πρόσθες, cf. the comments in the discussion of Tertullian in chapter 4, n. 98.

order (tunica/pallium), the use of auffere reflects the reading in k at Matt 5:40 and the use of dare is closer to the Matthean sentiment (the OL utilizes either dimittere or remittere). Further indicating the imprecision of Rufinus as unreliable is his variant translation of the same Greek wording only a few lines later in the speech by Adamantius. Yet, because Tertullian also attested the Matthean order of the coat and cloak, Harnack believed that “der Rufintext vorzuziehen [ist].” As discussed in chapter 4.4.14, however, Tertullian’s testimony may have been influenced by his own citation habits and the Matthean inclination of Rufinus serves to place his variation from the Greek text under significant doubt concerning its attestation of Marcion’s Gospel. It is extremely difficult to envision a methodologically controlled manner in which Rufinus can be seen as supporting Tertullian. In sum, it is rather significant to note that without the clearly Matthean readings in the Adamantius Dialogue there is far less reason to see “einen aus Luk. und Matth. gemischten Text” here, even if such harmonization remains possible.

7.4.6  

**Luke 6:38**  
32,16–18 (1.15)—[Ad.]…ἀκούε τοῦ εὐαγγέλιου λέγοντος ὃ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ ἀντιμετρηθήσεται υμῖν….| …audi et in evangelio quid dicit: Qua mensura metieritis, eadem remetietur vobis.…| 66,32–33 (2.5)—[Ad.]…ὡ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται υμῖν,…|…Qua mensura mensi fueritis, eadem remetietur vobis,…  

The final words of Luke 6:38, also attested by Tertullian, are cited in two locations in the Adamantius Dialogue. As rightly noted by Tsutsui, since the comments immediately following the citation in 32,17 (1.15) refer to a clear citation of Matt 10:33 as being found in “the same Gospel,” the implication is that this citation is taken from Matt 7:2 and not Luke 6:38. Interestingly, the Lukan ἀντιμετρηθήσεται (though this verb is also attested in some manuscripts of Matthew, including N, Θ, and f13) is found here as is the same otherwise unattested word order seen in Tertullian (ὡ μετρεῖτε μέτρῳ). It is unlikely, however, that the Adamantius Dialogue is here confirming Tertullian’s word order, even if the reverse order is found in 66,32–33 (2.5).
7.4.7 Luke 6:43
56,14–16 (1.28)—[Meg.] Καθὼς λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς κακοὺς ἐνέγκᾳ,. . . | Sicut in evangelio dicit: Non potest arbor mala bonos fructus facere, neque arbor bona malos fructus facere. . . | 58,11–13 (1.28)—[Meg.] . . . οὐ δύναται δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς προενεγκεῖν,66 οὐδὲ δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς σαπροὺς προενέγκαι.67 | . . . Non potest arbor mala bonos fructus affere, neque arbor bona malos fructus afferre. | 58,15–16 (1.28)—[Ad.] . . . καὶ εἰ περὶ φύσεων ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἂν καρποὺς ὄνομασεν. . . | . . . Si enim de natura dixisset, non utique fructus nominasset . . .

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Pseudo-Tertullian, and Philastrius. The two references to this verse by Megethius are quite clearly to the parallel Matt 7:18,68 though with the ordering of the elements in an otherwise unattested order “rotten tree” and then “good tree.” In addition, the two citations differ in the verbs used to express the “bearing” of good or bad fruit (with the latter reference also having variant readings in the manuscripts of the Adamantius Dialogue) as well as different adjectives for the bad/rotten fruit (καρποὺς κακοὺς/καρποὺς σαπροὺς). Significantly, neither the variant word order or the Matthean plural καρποὺς are attested by Tertullian.69 Though Harnack recognized that the Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for this order, he nevertheless contended that this reversed order was found in Marcion’s Gospel since “die . . . Umstellung für M. verständlich [ist], weil ihm . . . der schlechte Baum das Gesetz, resp. der Weltschöpfer ist.”70 Tsutsui questioned this view on the basis of the unanimous attestation of the other sources,71 to which I would add that it is somewhat precarious to base one’s argument for Marcion’s reading on a supposed theological reordering of the elements. It seems more likely that the Adamantius Dialogue, as is so often the case, simply contains an inaccuracy.72 In addition, both Zahn and Harnack’s contention that Tertullian and the Adamantius Dialogue agree concerning the use of the verb προφέρω (προσφέρω) not only ignores the variation within the Adamantius Dialogue, but also assumes that the Greek behind Tertullian’s

66 The corrector of B and Bakhuyzen read προσενεγκεῖν. B* reads προσενεγκεῖν.
67 Bakhuyzen reads προσενέγκαι. B reads προσενέγκαι.
68 Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:463, who viewed the two citations here as irrelevant “weil dem 1. Buch angehörig” but also added that in both instances Matt 7:18 is cited.
69 The plural of “fruit” is also used in the comment by Adamantius in response to Megethius.
70 Harnack, Marcion, 195*.
72 Tsutsui offered the possible, but by no means necessary, suggestion: “Adamantius hat möglicherweise einen von Marcions Schülern revidierten Text angegeben” (ibid.).
Latin is readily apparent. Both of these positions are problematic.\(^{73}\) At this point, even without taking the additional sources into account, the uncertainty surrounding the evidence in both Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue* already begins to reveal why Tsutsui referred to “diesem im Wortlaut nicht mehr genau festzustellenden Vers.”\(^{74}\)

### 7.4.8 *Luke 6:45*

58,20–24 (1.28)—[Ad.] ... ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἁγνὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ προφέρει ἀγαθά, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἁγνὸς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ θησαυροῦ προφέρει πονηρά. ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχονται διαλογισμοὶ πονηροὶ ... | ... Bonus homo de bono thesauro profert bona, et malus homo de malo thesauro profert mala. Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur. De corde enim procedunt cogitationes malaes. ...

This verse is attested by Tertullian and Origen. The citation here is similar to the situation in Luke 6:38, in that Adamantius begins his statement with a reference to a demonstration of his point from “the Gospel” followed by a citation from Matthew (Matt 7:15). The following citations from Matt 12:35, 34; and 15:19 thus reveal their Matthean origin both through the context and their wording. Worth noting, however, is that the order of the elements cited with the wording from Matt 12:35, 34 is that found in Luke 6:45 and that the Lukan προφέρει is used.\(^{75}\) Harnack is ultimately correct in his conclusion concerning the reconstruction of Marcion’s text: “Dial. 1, 28 gehört nicht hierher, da der Spruch hier nach Matth. zitiert ist (nur προφέρει stammt aus Luk.).”\(^{76}\) At the same time, this statement reveals some of the methodological difficulty in Harnack’s approach to and use of the *Adamantius Dialogue* in that he made no such comment concerning the citation by Adamantius of Luke 6:38 where an even more explicit reference to the Matthean origin of the verse is made.

### 7.4.9 *Luke 7:19*

50,12–14 (1.26)—...[Meg.] ἀκούσας [John] γὰρ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔπεμψε τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν; ... | Cum audisset in carcere positus opera Christi, mittens duos ex discipulis suis ad eum dicens: Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus? | 50, 15–16 (1.26)—[Ad.] Εἰ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐπυνθάνετο Ἰωάννης, ἐλέειν σὺ εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς—

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\(^{73}\) Cf. the comments in chapter 4.4.20.

\(^{74}\) Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 85.

\(^{75}\) Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:463, not surprisingly, does not view the citation here as relevant.

\(^{76}\) Harnack, *Marcion*, 195*. 
The question posed by the disciples of John the Baptist in Luke 7:19 is attested by Tertullian. In the Adamantius Dialogue, Megethius once again argues with a citation essentially drawn from Matthew (Matt 11:2–3), and Adamantius repeats elements in their Matthean form (cf. ἕτερον). With regard to Marcion’s Gospel, Zahn simply noted “cf. Dl. 819” without further comment; however, Harnack offered the observation “In Dial. 1, 26 ist v. 19 nach Matth. Zitiert.” It is presumably for this reason that Harnack rightly followed the wording of Tertullian and reconstructed only the final element of Luke 7:19.

7.4.10 Luke 7:27
98,11–13 (2.18)—[Ad.]...οὗτος ἐστι περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἀγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου ἐμπροσθέν σου. | ...Hic, inquit, de quo scriptum est: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam ante te.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. In the Adamantius Dialogue the citation of Luke 7:27 is found within a long speech by Adamantius in which he is apparently intending to refute Marcion on the basis of his own text, in particular from the Apostolikon. After several quotations from Paul’s letters, he cites the words spoken by “the Savior” concerning John in support of the Law and Prophets having announced Christ. The citation does not contain ἐγώ, as found in the parallel Matt 11:10, thus supporting the citation of Epiphanius. For this reason, it is likely that Tertullian was being influenced by Matt 11:10 or LXX Mal 3:1 in his reference to the verse. In the verse opening, on the other hand, the Adamantius Dialogue reads οὗτος whereas Epiphanius reads αὐτός. Though both Zahn and Harnack reconstructed the latter reading, as noted in chapter 6.4.13, the otherwise unattested word may simply be due to imprecision on the part of Epiphanius. For the remainder of the wording cited by Epiphanius, who breaks off his citation after πρὸ προσώπου σου, the

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77 Rufinus presumably added _duos_ from the variant reading of Matthew known to him.
78 ἕτερον instead of ἄλλον is the only difference between the question in Matt 11:3 and Luke 7:19. It is not surprising that several manuscripts (including Ρ, B, L, W, among others) attest the Matthean reading; however, given that the citation in the Adamantius Dialogue is obviously from Matt 11:2–3, it is curious, and misleading, that IGNTP lists only this variant as “Marcion ap Adam” in its apparatus.
79 Zahn, _Geschichte_, 2:463.
80 Harnack, _Marcion_, 196.
Adamantius Dialogue and Epiphanius offer the same text. The Adamantius Dialogue also confirms Tertullian’s wording ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου, which was already seen to be likely for Marcion’s text due to Tertullian’s citation habit. Finally, the Adamantius Dialogue attests the final ἔμπροσθέν σου, which is unattested by Tertullian. Though Harnack reconstructed the final element based upon the Adamantius Dialogue he also stated “Ob M. ἔμπροσθέν σου gelesen hat, ist fraglich.”

Whether there is a simple omission in Tertullian or a conforming of the reading to the canonical text in the Adamantius Dialogue cannot be definitively determined.

7.4.11 Luke 8:30

36.19–22 (1.17)—[Ad.] . . . ὁ Χριστὸς83 παρὰ τοῦ αρχιδαίμονος λέγων· τί σοί ἐστὶν ὄνομα; ὁ δὲ φησίν εἶπε· Λεγεών. ἴσως οὖν κατὰ σὲ ἠγνόει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπυνθάνετο. | . . . quomodo interrogat Iesus daemonem: Quod tibi nomen est? Et ille respondit: Legio. Utique secundum te nesciebat et propterea interrogabat.

Tertullian provided a brief attestation to Luke 8:30 with a reference to the multitude of demons calling themselves λεγεών. The citation by Adamantius in the Adamantius Dialogue is considerably longer and is followed by a statement indicating that the verse is found in Marcion’s text. Zahn took the claim to be citing from Marcion’s Bible at face value and therefore identified the citation as “echt.”84 Harnack reconstructed the verse following the Adamantius Dialogue’s citation, though he added an actually unattested introduction ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων (presumably loosely based upon Rufinus’s Latin translation). Harnack also viewed Marcion’s Gospel as definitely reading ἐστιν ὄνομα; however, it is not certain that this was the case (cf. also Rufinus’s nomen est and the reverse order in several manuscripts including P75, 8, B, and D).

7.4.12 Luke 9:1–2

82,2–5 (2.12)—[Ad.] Ἀναγινώσκω ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἰᾶσθαι. . . . | Legam de evangelio: Convocans autem Iesus duodecim discipulos, dedit eis virtutem super omnia daemonia et languores curare, et misit eos praedicare regnum dei et curare....

The Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for v. 1; however, Tertullian also attests v. 2. The citation of Luke 9:1–2 is introduced with a reference to

82 Harnack, Marcion, 196*.
83 B reads θεός, which Bakhuyzen emended to Χριστός.
84 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:465.
Adamantius reading from “the Gospel,” likely intended to be a reference to Marcion’s Gospel. Harnack reconstructed this passage according to the Greek text of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, though also including ὁ Ἰησοῦς based on Rufinus’s text. This *Iesus*, however, should be viewed as due to Rufinus’s own hand, either clarifying the referent or following a reading known to him that is also attested in a few majuscules, Syriac witnesses, and the Ol manuscript c. The *Adamantius Dialogue* confirms Tertullian’s reference to Jesus having κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. The lack of Matthean influence seen so often elsewhere may support the view that here the *Adamantius Dialogue* is accurately reflecting his source and thus may be closer to the reading of Marcion’s Gospel than in other instances.

7.4.13 *Luke 9:3*

22,5–9 (1.10)—[Meg.]... ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαθός, ἀποστέλλων τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει μήτε ὑποδήματα ἐν τοῖς ποσίν ὑμῶν, μήτε πήραν, <μήτε ῥάβδον,> ὀπό τι τοῖς ποσίν ὑμῶν. μήτε χαλκὸν ἐν ταῖς ζώναις ὑμῶν. Dominus autem noster, qui bonae naturae est, mittens discipulos suos in orbem terrarum, dicit: Neque calciamentum in pedibus vestris sit, neque pera, neque virga, neque duas tunicas habeatis, neque aes in zonis vestris....

Luke 9:3 is alluded to by Tertullian. Megethius makes reference to the verse, though also clearly harmonized to Matt 10:9–10//Mark 6:8–9 (cf. also Luke 10:4). Tsutsui has helpfully noted that, on the one hand, the repetition of μήτε may point to Luke 9:3 as providing the syntactical basis for the reference, even if this is not certain. On the other hand, however, he points out that these elements are found together, even if in a different order, only in the Matthean and Markan passages. Thus, even if this antithesis were drawing from Marcion’s...
Gospel, due to the uncertain text basis of this “citation” no reconstruction can be based upon or even derived from it.89


82,5–7 (2.12)—[Ad.]. . . καὶ ὑποβὰς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον λέγει ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ. . . . | . . . Et post paucâ iterum dicit: Cum autem exissent, egrediebantur per civitates et vicos, evangelizantes et curantes ubique. . . .

The Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for this verse and the reference to it is found in the continuation of the statement cited above under Luke 9:1–2. Here Harnack once again followed the Adamantius Dialogue’s wording verbatim in reconstructing Marcion’s text, and thus also viewed Marcion as reading πόλεις καὶ κώμας.90 The elements, in this and the reversed order, are also found in some Ol and Sahidic witnesses and may have been found in the Adamantius Dialogue’s source. It is far more difficult, however, to determine whether Marcion’s Gospel also contained this reading since there are no other sources to corroborate the Adamantius Dialogue’s testimony.

7.4.15 Luke 9:16

108,23–25 (2.20)—[Ad.]. . . εὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γεγραμμένον ἀναγνῶσιν ὁ κύριος ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν εὐχαριστεῖ, . . .91 | . . . Sed et quod dixit: Dominus respiciens in coelum gratias egit, . . .

Luke 9:16 is attested in Epiphanius, and is here cited towards the conclusion of a long speech by Adamantius. Though the citation is once again found in a series of passages possibly collected in order to refute Marcion on the basis of his own Scriptures and corresponds to a certain extent with Epiphanius,92 it is not clear that the Adamantius Dialogue is here reflecting Marcion’s text. Even if the text or its source was drawing on Marcion’s Gospel, it is apparent that Marcion’s readings are not reflected throughout. The opening ο λύριος is clearly a specification of the subject by Adamantius, and the εὐχαριστεῖ is unat-

89 Though Harnack in general tended to include a maximum of source references in his reconstruction of Marcion’s text, or at the very least make reference to potential attestation of a verse, here he did not note this passage in the Adamantius Dialogue in his apparatus (cf. Harnack, Marcion, 200*). It is also not referenced by either Zahn, Geschichte, 2:465 or Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 90.
90 Cf. Harnack, Marcion, 200*.
91 The second half of the sentence in the Greek text continues a reference to Luke 22:37, 19//Matt 26:26–27 discussed below.
92 Cf. the table in Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 267–68.
tested for Luke 9:16 and the parallels in Matt 14:19 and Mark 6:41. Epiphanius attests the expected εὐλογησεν, and Zahn had already noted concerning the Adamantius Dialogue “das Citat gibt sich nicht als wörtlich genaues.”93 In addition, Tsutsui makes the important observation that in the immediately following reference to Luke 22:17, 19, where the verb εὐχαριστεῖω is used, the dialogue employs εὐλογέω. Though the latter reading is also attested for Matt 26:26, Tsutsui notes that in the reference here to Luke 9:16 and Luke 22:17, 19 “die Verben εὐλογεῖν und εὐχαριστεῖν regelrecht vertauscht [sind]” and adds “was jedoch bei einem freien Zitat unerheblich ist.”94 For this reason, it appears that this reading is due to imprecision in the Adamantius Dialogue and that there is no reason to label εὐχαριστεῖ as a “spätere LA” as is done by Harnack in his reconstruction.95 Finally, it should also be noted that though Harnack began the reconstruction of this verse with τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους κ. τ. δύο ἰχθύας placed in parentheses,96 this element is not attested by any source.

7.4.16 Luke 9:18–20


Luke 9:20 is also attested by Tertullian, but the Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for vv. 18–19. Beginning with v. 20 first, so that a point of comparison for the reference in the Adamantius Dialogue can be established, Tertullian only alludes to the question posed by Jesus and to the fact that Peter responded. The precise wording for the reconstruction remains uncertain.97 Tertullian does, however, cite Peter’s response as Tu es Christus, which is also the reading of Rufinus’s Latin, but not of the Greek. Harnack stated that the question of which reading was originally the reading of the

93 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:466.
94 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 287.
95 Harnack, Marcion, 200*.
96 Ibid.
97 The Greek and Latin text of the Adamantius Dialogue also differ in offering ύμείς δὲ τίνα; and Vos vero, quem me esse dicitis?, respectively.
Adamantius Dialogue is “nicht sicher zu entscheiden.”98 For Marcion’s text, at least, on the basis of Tertullian’s testimony, slight preference is to be given to the wording σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός. Complicating the situation, however, is the observation made in chapter 5.37 that it is not impossible for Tertullian, despite repeating this phrasing three times, to have been influenced by the synoptic parallels or for a similar influence to have occurred for Rufinus.99 It is worth noting, however, that neither Tertullian nor the Adamantius Dialogue contain a reference to the Christ being “the Son of the living God” (Matt 16:16) or “of God” (Luke 9:20). Though it is methodologically questionable to draw firm conclusions, it is possible that the response followed the wording of Mark 8:29.100

Significant questions also surround the reconstruction of vv. 18–19. For v. 18, Tsutsui observes that the reference to the Son of Man may have arisen from the parallel Matt 16:13.101 The influence from the Matthean parallel, at least at this point, may be supported by the very loose citation in 14,9 (1.7) of a conflated reference to Matt 16:13//Mark 8:27//Luke 9:18. Rufinus appeared to understand the reference as coming from these passages. Alternatively, however, the Greek text could be referring to any number of instances where Jesus referred to himself as the Son of Man (e.g., Luke 5:24).102 At the same time, it should be noted that the entire wording, and not simply the reference to the Son of Man, appears to have been drawn from Matt 16:16.103

In v. 19, the Greek and Latin text once more show variation. The reference to one of the prophets of old who has risen again reveals that Luke 9:19 is certainly influencing the citation. It is possible that the Adamantius Dialogue’s source is here reflecting elements of Marcion’s text. Yet, once again, certainty is not possible. Harnack’s reconstruction of the verse opening with an otherwise

98 Ibid., 201*.  
99 The word order ἀποκριθέοντας δὲ Πέτρος εἶπε is that of Matt 16:16 (also found in most Lukan manuscripts, but not P75, Π, B, C, and several others), and may have led Rufinus to slip into the Matthean wording.  
100 Harnack, Marcion, 201* viewed Marcion of already having a text harmonized to Matthew/Mark, whereas Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 91–92 viewed the omission as a deliberate Marcionite alteration. Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 91 also referred to the Greek text as “wohl einen von den Schülern Marcions zurückkorrigierten Text,” which is not necessarily the case. Zahn is overly certain in his statement, “von ἀποκριθεῖς an ist offenbar Mr. 8, 29 substituiert” (Geschichte, 2:466).  
101 Tsutsui, Auseinandersetzung, 244.  
102 Both options are mentioned by Pretty (trans.), Adamantius, 44.  
103 The opening ἐπηρώτησεν in Harnack’s reconstruction (Marcion, 201*) is not attested in any source.
unattested λέγουσιν (αὐτῷ) οἱ μαθηται is thus rather speculative.104 This wording is far more likely to be alluding simply to the content of the text.

One final observation to be made here is that though Harnack's reconstruction for these three verses followed Adam, in general and also specifically inclined towards the wording of Rufinus's Latin,105 he also felt compelled to include the following statement, already cited above, in his apparatus:

Im allgemeinen muß man sich aber auch hier erinnern, daß die Zitate im Dial. nicht dieselbe Sicherheit bieten wie die bei Tert. und auch bei Epiphan.106

Whether, however, this actually means that Harnack viewed his reconstruction here, or at other points where he followed the wording of Adam, as less secure is not readily apparent.

7.4.17 Luke 9:22

This verse is attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. In the Adamantius Dialogue, this is the first instance of the present study considering a verse that is attested in book 5 of the dialogue, a fact which creates even more challenges in evaluating the reference as a source for readings in Marcion's Gospel. As Lieu has noted in her comments concerning another verse cited in book 5 of the Adamantius Dialogue, Luke 23:46 (discussed below), "this part of the Dialogue is less secure evidence for the Marcionite Gospel."107 In book 5, one extended

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104 Such phrasing is unattested for Matthew, Mark, or Luke.
105 Harnack stated that "Rufin in dem ganzen Zitat der zuverlässigere Zeuge zu sein [scheint]" (Marcion, 201*).
106 Ibid.
107 Lieu, "Marcion and the New Testament," 413. This is certainly part of the reason for not including the reference to Luke 18:27 in this part of the dialogue in the reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel. Cf. chapter 3, n. 76.
citation from Luke 18 is explicitly introduced as being read from Marcion's Gospel (discussed below), and a series of citations from Paul's letters is introduced as being read from Marcion's *Apostolikon* (Adam. 222,10–12 [5.22]). Concerning the citations from the *Apostolikon*, Zahn was convinced they were drawn from Marcion's text, a position shared by Harnack. Clabeaux and Schmid, however, disagreed with this view. Tsutsui, for his part, believes that a collection of citations from Marcion's Pauline letters may well be found here. At the same time, Tsutsui also states,

Das angebliche Fehlen der eindeutigen Übereinstimmung des Wortlauts mit den übrigen, angeblich zuverlässigen Zeugnissen über die Lesart der markionitishcen Bibel bedeutet schon allein angesichts der bereits erwähnten Freiheit bzw. Unzuverlässigkeit im Umgang mit Bibelzitaten im Adamantiosdialog gar nichts.

On this view, even if the texts were collected from Marcion's Scriptures, their wording in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is, once again, potentially rather different from Marcion's readings.

The citation of Luke 9:22 occurs several sections prior to Adamantius's statement that he will read from Marcion's Gospel. As noted in the table in chapter 3.2.1, Zahn did not view the verse as being drawn from Marcion's Gospel, Harnack noted Zahn's rejection without expressing an opinion of his own, and Tsutsui, in his reconstruction, seems to view the verse as attesting Marcion's Gospel. It is, in fact, very difficult to evaluate the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s testimony here. The opening words are the same as those in Tertullian and Epiphanius. The order of those rejecting Jesus follows the canonical order, which is different from the almost singular order in Tertullian. Finally, though the *Adamantius Dialogue*, with Tertullian and Epiphanius, attests the element μετὰ τρεῖς ημέρας (though note the variant Greek word order), σταυρωθῆναι is unique among the sources here, and the reading ἀναστῆναι disagrees with

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111 Cf. chapter 3, n. 41.
112 Though Rufinus’s Latin reflects the Greek in *Adam*. 198,1–4 (5.12), the citation in *Adam*. 180,7–9 (5.4) once again reveals the apparent liberty that Rufinus took in his translation.
Epiphanius, while not necessarily agreeing with Tertullian. Harnack’s inclination towards the former with a parenthetical comment in his reconstruction, “(σταυρωθῆναι: ist wahrscheinlicher)” and acceptance of the later in his reconstruction should both be viewed with skepticism.

7.4.18  **Luke 10:22**

42,30–44, 2 (1.23)—[Meg.] ... ὁ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ ἀγνωστός ἐστιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπεφήνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπών οὔδεις ἐγώ τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὔδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.... | ...Christi autem pater nulli cognitus est, sicut ipse Christus pronuntiat, de se dicens: Nemo novit Patrem nisi solus filius, neque filium quis novit nisi pater.... | 44,14.22–23 (1.23)—[Ad.] ... οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱόν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ ... οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱόν ... | ... Nemo novit filium nisi pater ... Nemo novit filium ... | 44,29 (1.23)—[Eutr.] ... οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱόν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ ... | ... Nemo novit filium, nisi pater, ...

Luke 10:22 is also attested by Tertullian, Eznik, and possibly Irenaeus. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* the citation of part of the verse by Megethius is once again found within an antithesis. When compared with the testimony of Tertullian, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests less of the verse and has elements that both correspond to and differ from Tertullian. First of all, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the same inversion of “father” and “son” found in Tertullian. Here it is interesting that though Adamantius and Eutropius do not repeat the entire citation, that which they do restate corresponds syntactically to the first half of the phrase, but with the “son” and the “father” attested in their Matthean/Lukan order. Megethius’s order may therefore reflect the order found in the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s source and the order of Marcion’s Gospel. In addition, however, the reference here is closer to Matt 11:27 than it is to Luke 10:22, whereas Tertullian attests a text close to the latter. The inclination to Matthean phrasing in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is once again apparent. In addition, the *Adamantius Dialogue* has the curious combination of ἔγνω and γινώσκει in the Megethius citation, γινώσκει and οἶδε in the Adamantius citation, and only οἶδε in the Eutropius citation. Tertullian attests γινώσκει, which may be the reading in Marcion’s text as ἔγνω (and then οἶδε) could have arisen from

114 Cf. the discussion in chapters 4.4.30 and 6.4.20.

115 This point may also, at least to a certain extent, refute Zahn’s certainty that the correspondence in order between the *Adamantius Dialogue* and Tertullian is “zufällig und bedeutet nichts” (Geschichte, 2:470). Zahn’s perspective is, of course, shaped by his conviction that essentially no attestation of Marcion’s texts is found in book 1 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*.

116 Rufinus, however, reads novit throughout.
variant traditions in the reading of Matt 11:27. Ultimately, however, Zahn is likely correct in his observation: “Ob Mr. γινώσκει oder ἔγνω geschrieben, ist nicht mit volliger Sicherheit zu bestimmen [emphasis added].”

7.4.19  **Luke 11:11–13**

110,1–6 (2.20)—[Ad.] . . . λέγοντος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· ἐάν τινα φησίν ἐξ ὑμῶν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ ἐάν αἰτήσῃ ἰχθύν, μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ; ἢ καὶ αἰτήσῃ ὠόν, μὴ ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον; εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς, πονηροὶ ὄντες, οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν . . . | . . . dicentis in evangelio: Quem ex vobis petit filius suus panem, numquid lapidem dabit illi? aut ovum si petiet, numquid dabit ei scorpionem? Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona data dare filius vestris . . .

These three verses are also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. With Adamantius’s reference to providing a saying found “in the Gospel,” he may be indicating the intention to offer a text from Marcion’s Gospel even if, once again, one can detect Matthean influence. An immediate problem is that unlike Tertullian and Epiphanius, the *Adamantius Dialogue* begins the series of questions with one involving bread and a stone. Though both Zahn and Harnack viewed this element as present in Marcion’s text, the *Adamantius Dialogue* alone cannot secure the reading, a reading which has in any case become less likely with the discovery of P⁴⁵ and P⁷⁵. Even prior to this question, however, the opening ἐάν . . . αἰτήσῃ, found in later manuscripts of Matt 7:9, also differs from Epiphanius and seems unlikely for Marcion’s Gospel, even as the *Adamantius Dialogue* confirms the readings τινα and ἐξ ὑμῶν. The ensuing question in v. 12 agrees with the syntax of later readings in Luke 11:12 (cf. the syntax in Matt 7:10), though it is the uniquely Lukan element involving an egg and a scorpion that is attested. Thus, despite obvious Matthean influence, there is at least some reflection of Luke here. Tertullian and Epiphanius confirm the general content of the verse; however, the precise wording remains largely

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119 Concerning the omission of the question involving a fish and a serpent, Pretty observed that though it is not in Rufinus “the mention of fish further down seems to imply that it stood in the original just as it stands in the present Greek text” (*Adamantius*, 106n133). Cf. also Bakhuyzen (ed.), *Dialog*, 111.


121 Cf. also chapter 6, n. 149.

opaque. In Luke 11:13, which corresponds in many instances with the wording of Matt 7:11, the *Adamantius Dialogue* shares several readings with Epiphanius. One should, however, be extremely wary of positing the Matthean ὄντες, attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, for Marcion’s Gospel and also note that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness for διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ύμῶν. Once again, significant uncertainty surrounding the citation of these verses in the *Adamantius Dialogue* results in only minimal insight for Marcion’s Gospel.

7.4.20  ***Luke 11:32 (42? or 46?)***

68,3 (2.5)—[Ad.]...οὐαὶ ύμῖν γραμματεῖσ... | ...Vae vobis, scribae et Pharisaeei?

This verse is attested by Tertullian. Concerning the reference in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Zahn commented, “fraglich ist, ob das jedenfalls ungenauie Citat Dl. 824...auf v. 46 oder 52 sich bezieht.”123 In his apparatus, Harnack stated, “zu v. 42 oder 52 s. Dial. 11, 5.”124 Clearly, the reference in Luke, if indeed a Lukan reference was at some point in view, is not obvious. In any case, however, it is apparent that the citation is following Matthean wording (cf. Matt 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29), in both the Greek and Latin reading,125 which, at least for v. 52, contradicts the testimony of Tertullian. Ultimately, therefore, this reference is of no value in reconstructing Marcion’s text.

7.4.21  ***Luke 12:9***

32,19–21 (1.15)—[Ad.]...ἐν τῷ λέξαι ὅς ἄν με ἀρνήσηται ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.... | ...Quicunque me negaverit coram hominibus, et ego negabo eum coram patre meo, qui est in coelis.... | 66,33–35 (2.5)—[Ad.]...ὅς ἄν ἀρνήσηται με ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι κἀγὼ αὐτόν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.... | ...Qui negaverit me coram hominibus et ego negabo eum coram patre meo, qui in coelis est,....

Luke 12:9 is also attested by Tertullian. The two citations in the *Adamantius Dialogue* occur in the same context as the references to the Matthean parallel to Luke 6:38 discussed above. Here, as there, the citations are clearly rendering Matt 10:33 against the testimony of Tertullian, who follows Luke 12:9. Once

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125 The influence of Matthew is even more obvious in Rufinus’s translation.
again, the Adamantius Dialogue offers no insight here for the reconstruction of Marcion's text.126

7.4.22 Luke 12:46
24,8–12 (1.10)—[Ad.] . . . οὕτως γὰρ λέγει [the Gospel] ὅτι ἡ ἐρά λύει ὁ κύριος τοῦ κακοῦ δούλου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἣ οὐ γινώσκει καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἣ οὐ προσδοκάω καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνακάθησι τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων. . . . | . . . Denique it dicit quia: Veniet dominus servi illius in die, qua nescit, et hora, qua non sperat, et dividit eum ac partem eius cum infidelibus ponit. . . .

Luke 12:46 is also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Somewhat curiously, neither Zahn, Harnack, nor Tsutsui make any reference to this passage in the Adamantius Dialogue.127 Though one is always confronted with the challenge of whether Marcion’s Gospel is in view in the Adamantius Dialogue, the reference to “the Gospel” saying these words at least makes an intended utilization of Marcion’s Gospel possible.128 Though the citation is very close to the canonical text and to the testimony of both Tertullian and Epiphanius at relevant points, the singular reading describing the slave as κακός, as well as the inversion of the verbs προσδοκάω and γινώσκω, should not be viewed as relevant for reconstructing Marcion’s Gospel.

7.4.23 Luke 12:47–48

Luke 12:47–48 is also attested by Tertullian. In the Adamantius Dialogue it is only the Greek text that contains the citation, as the final three and a half sentences of Adamantius’s speech here are not found in Rufinus’s Latin. Both Bakhuyzen and Pretty mention the possibility, and indeed likelihood, of

126 Neither Harnack or Zahn made reference to the passage in Adam. 32,20–21 (1.15). Concerning the citation in Adam. 66,33–35 (2.5), Harnack simply observed “Dial. 11, 5 ist Matth. 10, 33 wiedergeben” (Marcion, 212*); whereas Zahn concluded, “Dl. 824 . . . gibt wörtlich Mt. 10,33, kann also nichts beweisen” (Geschichte, 2:474).
127 IGNTP, however, does reference the passage.
128 The context is the discussion following Megethius’s antithesis that the Creator God told the Israelites to plunder the Egyptians, whereas Jesus, when sending out his disciples, told them not to take shoes, tunics, etc. Adamantius takes the discussion in the direction of “just war theory” and the question of legitimate retaliation or the killing of evil men. He supports such actions with this citation of Luke 12:46.
129 This is the reading of Bcorr and Bakhuyzen. B* reads μὴ ποιήσας.
Rufinus having abbreviated the passage.\textsuperscript{130} Both verses are abbreviated with v. 47 essentially being summarized and only the first sentence of v. 48 being cited. Though Harnack simply reproduced the \textit{Adamantius Dialogue}'s text in his reconstruction, in his apparatus he noted that the omission of τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ is a “wahrscheinlich willkürliche Verkürzung,” presumably by the author of the \textit{Adamantius Dialogue}.\textsuperscript{131} Tertullian's allusions unfortunately allow for the confirmation of only very few readings and thus, though it is clear that the verses are attested for Marcion’s Gospel, little insight into precise wording can be gained.

7.4.24  \textit{Luke 12:49, 51}

66,35–68,2 (2.5)—[Ad.] ... οὐκ ἦλθον φησίν βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιρα καὶ οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλα πῦρ ... | ... Non veni, inquit, mittere pacem sed gladium, et: Ignem veni mittere super terram, ...

These two verses are also attested by Tertullian. Adamantius introduces the series of references of which these citations are a part as being τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡ φωνή. Both Zahn and Harnack noted the citations, which makes it somewhat unexpected that Tsutsui offered no explanation for not having included the reference in his reconstruction.\textsuperscript{132} Zahn had already noted, “Dl. 824 scheint ungenaue Vermischung von Mt. 10,34 u. Lc. 12,49.51.”\textsuperscript{133} Interestingly, however, for 12:49, which is cited second, it is Rufinus’s Latin, varying from the Greek text, which is essentially confirmed by Tertullian. The only difference is the preposition used in the phrase \textit{super terram}.\textsuperscript{134} Of course, it is possible that Rufinus elected to offer the Lukan phrasing instead of the harmonized Greek reading; however, it is also possible that here he better reflected the original reading and it is the Greek text that has suffered corruption. The first citation agrees with Matt 10:34 verbatim and even if the \textit{Adamantius Dialogue}'s source at some point reflected Marcion’s reading for Luke 12:51, it has been completely lost here. Tertullian’s testimony clearly reveals that Marcion’s text did not contain the reading of Matt 10:34. Though Harnack did express some

\begin{footnotes}
\item[130] Bakhuyz en stated “Wahrscheinlich hat Ruf. hier, wie an vielen anderen Stellen gekürzt” (\textit{Dialog}, 112) and Pretty expressed a similar, though slightly more guarded sentiment, concerning the passage: “Its authenticity is not established, but it contributes to the argument, and the practice of Rufinus to abbreviate must not be overlooked. This may be one of many places where he has done this” (\textit{Adamantius}, 108n142).
\item[131] Harnack, \textit{Marcion}, 216*.
\item[133] Zahn, \textit{Geschichte}, 2:476.
\item[134] On the reading \textit{super terram} versus Tertullian’s \textit{in terram}, cf. chapter 5, n. 236.
\end{footnotes}
reservation about the *Adamantius Dialogue’s* testimony, he apparently allocated too much significance to it in his statement, “M.s. Text war bereits durch Matth. 10, 34 beeinflußt (wenn auch μάχαιραν zu Unrecht vom Dialog ihm zugeschrieben wird).”

7.4.25  **Luke 13:27**

28,10–11 (1.12) — [Ad.]...länge δ’ en τῷ γράμματι τού εὐαγγελίου ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τήν ἁνομίαν....]...Et rursus in evangelio invenimus scriptum, domino Christo dicente: Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis, in tenebras exteriore! ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium, et quamplurima his similia.... | 28,18 (1.12)  [Eutr]...ἀναχωρείτε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ;...|...Discedite a me operarii iniquitatis!.... | 44,15–16 (1.23)—[Ad.]...ἀναχωρείτε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τήν ἁνομίαν, οὐδέποτε ἐγὼν ύμᾶς,....|...Discedite a me, qui operamini iniquitate, quoniam non novi vos.... | 44,30 (1.23)—[Eutr.]...οὐδέποτε ἐγὼν ύμᾶς. |...non novi vos.

Luke 13:27 is attested by Tertullian. In book 1 of the *Adamantius Dialogue*, Adamantius and Eutropius twice cite the verse with the wording of the parallel in Matt 7:23. As was the case for Luke 12:46 above, neither Zahn, Harnack, nor Tsutsui mention these passages in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Though it is again the case that no insight into Marcion’s Gospel can be gained, Adamantius’s reference to “the Gospel writing” in the context of his argument with Megethius at least makes an intended reference to something in Marcion’s Gospel possible.

7.4.26  **Luke 16:13**

56,11–12 (1.28)—[Meg.]...οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν....|...Nemo potest servire duobus dominis.... | 56,20–23 (1.28)—[Ad.]...οὐδεὶς φησίν δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν; ἡ γὰρ τὸν ἔνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἁγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει. οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ. |...Nemo potest, inquit, duobus dominis servire; aut enim unum odio habebit et

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135  Harnack, *Marcion*, 216*.

136  Worth noting is that the verb ἀναχωρέω, attested in Θ, f13, and other later manuscripts for Matt 7:23, is used in the citations. In addition, Rufinus adds further Matthean passages to the reference in *Adam*. 28,10–11 (1.12), and in the citation *Adam*. 44,15–16 (1.23) the order of the elements in Matt 7:23 is reversed.

137  Tsutsui notes that for several reasons the second citation does not fit particularly well into its present context nor make particularly good sense there. He concludes, “Es handelt sich daher wahrscheinlich um einen fremden und ungeschickten Einschub in eine zusammenhängende Argumentation, für den der Dialogverfasser verantwortlich sein wird” (Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 190). The precise source for the insertion, however, is unclear.
alterum amabit, aut, unum patietur et alterum contemned. Non potestis Deo servire et mamonae.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Concerning the references in the Adamantius Dialogue, it is not surprising that Zahn, due to the passage's location in book 1, stated that it "schon des Orts wegen nicht in Betracht [kommt]." Harnack more cautiously observed that it is "nicht sicher" whether the passage should be considered. Tsutsui, however, simply lists the reference without further comment. In any case, Megethius cites part of the verse, once again with the wording from the Matthean parallel as evidenced by the absence of the Lukan oiketes. In the discussion of Tertullian's testimony it was already noted that his own omission of oiketes may have been influenced by the Matthean version and for this reason, the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue does not aid us further in the reconstruction. Adamantius then berates Megethius for having cited only part of the verse before citing Matt 6:24 verbatim in its entirety. Given that the exchange in its extant form is clearly based on the Matthean passage, once again the Adamantius Dialogue cannot offer insight for Marcion's Gospel and only Tertullian's testimony is ultimately relevant.

7.4.27 Luke 16:19–31
76,16–78,6 (2.10) — [Ad.] … άνθρωπος τις ἦν πλούσιος καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον, εὐφραινόμενος καὶ μαμηρῶς. πτωχὸς δὲ τὸν πυλῶνα ἧλκωμένος καὶ ἐπιθυμών χορτασθῆναι ἄπο τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου ἀνατέλεται. καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἐλειχοῦν τὰ τραύματά αὐτοῦ. ἐγένετο ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ. ἀπεθάνει δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ ἄδει. ἐπάρας οὖν τους ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχοντας ἐν βασάνοις, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς φωνὴν ἐπιβλέπειν· ἐπέστρεψεν καὶ λέγει τῷ Λάζαρον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως ταύτα γράφει. διὰ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου ὃτι ὃδε ὁδυνᾶσαι ἐν τῇ φλογῇ ταύτην, ἀκοῦσάς· δεδώκαμεν συν τὰ ἁγαθά ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. τοῦτο δὲ ὅδε ὁδηγοῦσθαι συν τὰ ἐθνικὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐν τῇ φλογῇ ταύτην. ἀκοῦσάς· δεδώκαμεν συν τὰ ἁγαθά ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. τοῦτο δὲ ὅδε ὁδηγοῦσθαι συν τὰ ἐθνικὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐν τῇ φλογῇ ταύτην. ἀκοῦσάς· δεδώκαμεν συν τὰ ἁγαθά ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. τοῦτο δὲ ὅδε ὁδηγοῦσθαι συν τὰ ἐθνικὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ἐν τῇ φλογῇ ταύτην.

This passage is by far the longest citation of a Gospel text in the Adamantius Dialogue and it is not entirely clear, even within the dialogue itself, whether the reading of this passage by Adamantius is intended to be viewed as a reading of Marcion’s Gospel though apparent points of contact between the Adamantius Dialogue and other sources point in this direction. Of these verses, vv. 22–23, 26, and 29 are attested by Tertullian and vv. 19–20, 22, 24–25, 29, and 31 by Epiphanius. For v. 19, Epiphanius only alludes to the rich man. The Adamantius Dialogue’s citation, with D, X, ol manuscripts, and several other witnesses, does not include δὲ in the verse opening but otherwise attests the text of canonical Luke. In v. 20, Epiphanius again makes only a minimal reference to the poor Lazarus. In the first half of the verse the Adamantius Dialogue reads as NA₂⁸; however, the dialogue then attests εἰς with P, Γ, a few other manuscripts and church fathers. The omission of ἀυτοῦ is only found in the Greek text of the Adamantius Dialogue.¹⁴² and the dialogue offers the TR spelling of the perfect passive participle. The extent to which Marcion’s readings are reflected here is uncertain. The Adamantius Dialogue is the only

¹⁴² IGNTFP lists only Augustine and Hilary also attesting the omission of the possessive pronoun.
witness to v. 21, and once again there are variations between the Greek and Latin text. Rufinus omits the opening καὶ and inserts τῶν ψιχίων, likely under the influence of Matt 15:17, though it is also found in numerous manuscripts of Luke. Once again the Adamantius Dialogue reads as NA until the end of the verse, where εἴλειχον is read with D, numerous OL manuscripts, and a few other witnesses and τραύματα is, according to IGNTP, found only here among Greek witnesses, though possible attested in OL and Vulgate manuscripts.

V. 22 is the first verse in this passage attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius. Apart from Tertullian’s allusion to ὁ πτωχός, these two sources refer only to Lazarus’s presence in Abraham’s bosom (Tertullian) or his having been carried by the angels to Abraham’s bosom (Epiphanius). Thus, for much of the verse, the Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness to specific wording. Curiously, though Harnack essentially followed the Adamantius Dialogue’s wording for most of vv. 19–31, he here, without any other source attesting the reading, reconstructed the opening of the verse as ἐγένετο δὲ ἀποθανεῖν. Whether Marcion’s text contained the conjunction or not is unclear. Differently from Epiphanius, the Adamantius Dialogue does not include definite articles before ἀγγέλων and Ἀβραάμ. The first reading is singular, while the latter is also found in many other manuscripts including P75vid, 8, A, B, and D. Once again, Harnack’s reconstruction is confusing in that he follows the Adamantius Dialogue in the former unattested reading, but Epiphanius in the latter. The remainder of the verse is unproblematic. In v. 23, the Adamantius Dialogue does not attest the opening conjunction, thus reading ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ as linked to the burying at the conclusion of v. 22. This reading is also found in 8*, numerous OL witnesses, and several church fathers. Tertullian, unfortunately, does not reveal the syntax involving this element. The ensuing οὖν in the Greek text is elsewhere unattested, and Rufinus reads autem with several OL witnesses. The only significant reading is found in Tertullian’s confirmation of the singular τῷ κόλπῳ.

Vv. 24 and 25 are both also attested by Epiphanius, though, as noted in chapter 6.4.47, the former verse is found only in an elenchus. Epiphanius’s wording (attesting πέμψον to γλῶσσάν), is essentially verbatim to that of the Adamantius Dialogue. The only difference is that the Greek Adamantius Dialogue omits αὐτοῦ after δακτύλου (it is present in the Latin text), which is an

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143 IGNTP lists several other witnesses omitting the conjunction.
144 Harnack, Marcion, 221* included οὖν in his reconstruction without comment. Rufinus’s vidit may also be attesting a different tense than the present ὁρά.
145 Cf. chapter 5.69 and n. 297 there.
146 Rufinus also attests a few additional minor variations in the phrase in aqua, ut refrigeret.
otherwise unattested omission. The verse reads in agreement with canonical Luke nearly throughout; however, given the presence of the verse in an elencho of Epiphanius and the usual uncertainty surround the precise wording in the Adamantius Dialogue no more than the mere probability for the reading of Marcion’s text can be posited. In v. 25, Epiphanius attests only νῦν δὲ ὥδε παρακαλεῖται, and the challenges surrounding the reading ὥδε were already noted above and in the previous chapter.\textsuperscript{147} In the Adamantius Dialogue the word order Ἀβραὰμ δὲ εἶπε is, according to IGNT\textsuperscript{P}, attested only here; ἀπέλαβες σὺ is read with the majority text; and σου is not present after τὰ ἁγαθά, along with most OL manuscripts and a few other witnesses. It is unclear whether any of these readings are reflecting Marcion’s Gospel.

V. 26 is alluded to by Tertullian, and he directly attests only χάσμα μέγα. In the Adamantius Dialogue, Rufinus attests ἐν in the verse opening as opposed to the Greek text’s ἐπί. The order ύμων καὶ ἡμῶν is attested in only a few other witnesses. The reading ὅπως οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται is striking. Both Zahn and Harnack posited a tendentious, Marcionite change,\textsuperscript{148} which is possible, especially given Tertullian’s explanation of Marcion’s interpretation of this passage.\textsuperscript{149} At the same time, however, certainty is impossible. Finally, the Adamantius Dialogue, with P\textsuperscript{775}, \textsuperscript{8}, B, D, and a few other witnesses, does not read οἱ before ἐκεῖθεν and reads ὥδε with D, numerous OL manuscripts, and several patristic witnesses.

Vv. 27 and 28 are both attested only in the Adamantius Dialogue. Zahn already noted that variants here are “meist in [sic] Dl. selbst nicht sicher überliefert und zugleich nichtssagend.”\textsuperscript{150} In v. 27, the omission of εἶπε δὲ in the Greek text\textsuperscript{151} is, according to IGNT\textsuperscript{P}, elsewhere attested only in h\textsuperscript{579} and τὴν σικών is a singular reading. In v. 28, ἐκεῖ, again found only in the Greek text, is a nearly singular reading.\textsuperscript{152} Both μὴ and τοῦτον τὸν τόπον are readings shared with D, the latter also attested by many OL manuscripts and several church fathers. As has been the case throughout, these attested readings have no more than a mere probability of having been found in Marcion’s Gospel.

V. 29 is once again also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Both of these sources attest the direct speech, with only the Adamantius Dialogue attesting

\begin{footnotes}
\item[Cf. n. 141 above, and chapter 6.4.47 and n. 181 there.]
\item[Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:480 and Harnack, Marcion, 222*.]
\item[The absence of ἐνεῖεν is also attested in D, W, c, d, e, and Chrysostom.]
\item[Zahn, Geschichte, 2:480.]
\item[The Latin has inquit.]
\item[IGNT\textsuperscript{P} lists only the Armenian version, one Georgian manuscript, and Augustine as attesting this reading.]
\end{footnotes}
The introductory formula. The opening λέγει αὐτῷ is the reading of the TR,\(^{153}\) and the absence of Αβραάμ is here also attested in e, an Ethiopic manuscript, and Hillary. Harnack’s comment that the omission of Abraham here (and in v. 30) is “nicht zufällig” is a bit strange in the light of Abraham appearing in vv. 22 and 24. Simple omission on the part of the Adamantius Dialogue are quite possible. The reading of the remainder of the verse is verbatim with Epiphanius and largely confirmed by Tertullian (apart from the ἐκεῖ in his attestation, and the inversion in the order of the final two words, likely due to his own hand).

The Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for v. 30. The omission of Abraham was already mentioned above. The reading ἐκ νεκρῶν is also attested by D, F, most OL manuscripts, along with several other witnesses.\(^{154}\) The remainder of the verse reads as canonical Luke,\(^{155}\) though the reconstruction of Marcion’s text must remain tentative.

The conclusion of the final v. 31 is also attested by Epiphanius. A number of minor variants are found in the Adamantius Dialogue’s citation. According to IGNTP, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν is a singular reading\(^{156}\) and ἤκουσαν has very minimal attestation. The final phrase has points of contact with readings in “Western” witnesses, though ἀκούσουσιν αὐτοῦ is elsewhere attested only in r\(^1\) and sy\(^c\). Both Zahn and Harnack draw attention to the sense of Epiphanius’s reference agreeing with the Adamantius Dialogue’s attested text;\(^{157}\) yet, the precise reading remains uncertain.

7.4.28 Luke 17:1
88,4–5 (2.15)—[Ad.] ... οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ δι᾽ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται; ... | ... | ... Vae sit illi homini, per quem scandalum venit? ... Luke 17:1 is also attested by Tertullian, though unfortunately his phrasing offers minimal insight into the wording of the verse. Though Zahn contended, “auf die ziemlich freie Anspielung Dl.830 ... ist nicht viel zu gründen,”\(^{158}\) Harnack’s reconstruction takes up most of the Adamantius Dialogue’s

\(^{153}\) Harnack has made some type of error when he stated that this reading instead of λέγει δέ was “mit geringeren Zeugen” (Marcion, 222*).

\(^{154}\) Rufinus, however, reads a mortuis.

\(^{155}\) Rufinus reads tunc poenitetbunt at the conclusion of the verse.

\(^{156}\) Harnack stated “fast allein” without mentioning any witnesses (Marcion, 222*).

\(^{157}\) Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:480 and Harnack, Marcion, 222*.

\(^{158}\) Zahn, Geschichte, 2:481.
The problem, however, is that once again the reference by Adamantius follows the Matthean parallel in Matt 18:7, made even more explicit in Rufinus’s Latin. It is therefore quite precarious to follow Harnack’s view that Marcion’s Gospel was “dem Matth. näher” since the Adamantius Dialogue so often simply offers Matthew’s reading.

7.4.29 **Luke 18:16**

32,26–27 (1.16)—[Meg.] ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς κύριος ἀφετε φησίν τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρός με· τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστίν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν | Bonus autem dominus dicit: Sinite pueros venire ad me; talium enim est regnum coelorum.

The Adamantius Dialogue is the only witness for this verse. Luke 18:16 is cited by Megethius in an antithesis over and against the prophet of the creator God who told a bear to devour the children who met him (cf. 2 Kgs 2:23). It is to be expected that Zahn believed the verse to be unattested “denn Dl. 814 gehört nicht hieher [sic].” Harnack went to the other extreme, contending that Luke 18:16 is here attested “wörtlich in einer Marcionitischen Antithese.”

It is worth noting that though the passage reads “kingdom of heaven” as in Matt 19:14, a reading also found in a few manuscripts of Luke, ἔρχεσθαι πρός με is the wording of Luke 18:16. The Lukan passage, therefore, may very well lie behind this citation. At the same time, however, Tertullian referred to an antithesis involving the Elisha passage set against Matt 18:3–4, and not Luke 18:16 (Marc. 4.23.4) making the source of the antithesis here somewhat uncertain. This reference, once again, cannot offer anything more than a possibility for a reconstruction of Marcion’s text.

7.4.30 **Luke 18:18–22**

2,18–19 (1.1)—[Meg.]...οὔδεις ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ πατὴρ. | ...Nemo bonus, nisi unus deus pater. | 92,24–32 (2.17)—[Ad.]...προσελθόντος αὐτῷ τινος· Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας φησίν ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; εἶπε δὲ Ἰησοῦς· τί με λέγεις

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159 Harnack, *Marcion*, 222* reconstructed...σκάνδαλα...οὐαὶ ἐκείνῳ δι’ οὗ (τὸ σκάνδαλον) ἔρχεται.

160 Part of the problem here is that Harnack offered a modern, critical text of Matthew in his apparatus, namely πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, δι’ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται instead of the reading found in the TR, B, K, N, and many other manuscripts: πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι’ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται. Had he done so it perhaps would have been more apparent that in the Adamantius Dialogue even the Greek text is following Matthew, though with the omission of τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.


162 Harnack, *Marcion*, 225*.

163 Cf. also the comments of Tsutsui, *Auseinandersetzung*, 172.
ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός· ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας· μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ἁμαρτήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου. καὶ, φησίν, ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐν σοι λείπει· πάντα ὅσα ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ. | ...cum accessisset ad eum quidam, dicens ei: Magister bone, quid faciens vitam aeternam consequar? Ait ei Iesus: Quid me dicis bonum? Nemo bonus, nisi unus deus. Et adiecit dicens: Mandata nosti: Non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis, non falsum testimonium dices, honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam. At ille ait: Haec omnia servavi a inventute mea. Respondens vero Iesus dicit ei: Unum tibi restat. Vade, omnia, quae habes, vende et da pauperibus, et habebis thesaurum in coelo.

All of Luke 18:18–22 is attested by Tertullian, with vv. 18–20 also attested by Epiphanius and v. 19 additionally attested by Origen and Hippolytus. In 92,24–32 (2.17), Adamantius appeals to what the Savior said in “the Gospel,” making an appeal to Marcion’s text possible. After a generic introduction to the passage,164 the first citation offers Luke 18:18 verbatim and in precisely the same manner as attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Not only is the citation confirmed through the other witnesses, it is significant in the light of the usual inclination towards the Matthean wording that the Adamantius Dialogue here attests the phrasing of Luke. For v. 19, after once again offering a loose paraphrase of the introduction to the direct speech, Adamantius again offers the Lukan text verbatim. As such, it attests a text along the lines of the reading witnessed by Tertullian, which, as noted in the discussion of this passage in chapter 6.4.51, differs from the reading attested by Epiphanius. At the same time, however, the citation of v. 19 by Megethius in the Greek text of 2,18–19 (1.1) attests ὁ πατήρ, which Epiphanius indicated Marcion had added after ὁ θεός. Rufinus’s Latin translation reads deus pater, attesting the same reading as Epiphanius.

For v. 20, the Greek text of the Adamantius Dialogue attests a change of speaker with the phrase ὁ δὲ ἔφη (cf. the ὁ δὲ εἶπεν in 18:21 of canonical Luke). It seems, therefore, that the reference by Adamantius makes explicit what is left implicit in Epiphanius, namely that the questioner began speaking one...
verse earlier in Marcion’s text than in canonical Luke. Yet, a curiosity is that the reading οἶδας, and not οἶδα, is found here in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Lieu rightly observes,

In *Adamantius* this attribution [of the phrase involving the verb οἶδα to the questioner] is made explicit although it appears inconsistent with the retention of the second person, ‘you know’, of the manuscript tradition, hence provoking an emendation by earlier editors.165

The emendation she mentions is found in Bakhuyzen’s text, where he appealed to Zahn’s comments on the passage.166 Zahn argued that Rufinus was not able to decipher the passage as found in the Greek text, and therefore altered the introduction to v. 20 to *et adiecit dicens* and moved the change of subject to v. 21 (with *at ille ait*). Zahn’s conclusion was:

In der That ist der schon von Rufin vorgefundene Text des Dl. sinnlos, aber nur weil er einen alten kleinen Schreibfehler (οιδας statt οιδα) enthält. Ep. gibt die Aufklärung.167

Tsutsui, however, disagreed with the view that the passage as it stands is “sinnlos” stating,

Es wirkt zwar befremdend, daß der Mann Jesus fragt, ob dieser die Anordnungen kennt; aber sprachlich sowie sachlich ist das durchaus möglich (‘Du kennst ja die Anordnungen,… Und all dies habe ich befolgt…’).168

He also rightly raises the methodological question of whether Epiphanius’s testimony can be used as an argument for the reading in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.169 Thus, it appears that the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests a reading found in neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius.170 The commands, however, correspond verbatim with Tertullian’s testimony, including the order μὴ φονεύσῃς,

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165 Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 736.
169 Ibid.
170 Given variation such as this, Harnack was certainly correct to note in his apparatus that “das, was M. selbst aufgenommen hat, hier unsicher ist” (*Marcion*, 226*).
μὴ μοιχεύσῃς found in Matt 19:18 and Exod 20:13–14/Deut 5:17–18 in the HB. In addition, since this entire passage has been influenced by Matthew to a far lesser extent than most other passages in the Adamantius Dialogue, it may here be reflecting Marcion’s text. Though it was argued that the omission of (a) possessive pronoun(s) at the conclusion of the verse in Tertullian was likely a simple omission on his part, at least as far as the first possessive pronoun is concerned, one cannot use the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue to determine definitively that both pronouns were present.

Tertullian’s allusion does not offer the precise wording of v. 21, though it could have read as attested in the Adamantius Dialogue. Certainty, however, is not possible even if it is highly likely that the introductory words were not the otherwise unattested καὶ φησίν, as reconstructed by Harnack. For v. 22, only the Adamantius Dialogue attests the opening words, which, as opposed to the other instances in this reference, agrees with the Lukan wording fairly closely. It is possible that this wording is reflecting the Adamantius Dialogue’s source and Marcion’s Gospel. The direct speech is also attested by Tertullian, and the Adamantius Dialogue attests the same omission of ἔτι found there. In addition, in the later citation by Eutropius (Adam, 94.2–3 [2.17]), the adverb is present, lending further credence to its absence in Marcion’s Gospel. As already noted in the discussion of Tertullian’s testimony, Harnack curiously broke off his reconstruction here as Tertullian and the Adamantius Dialogue attest the remainder of the verse, apart from the concluding words found only in Tertullian, verbatim. It is thus possible that Marcion’s Gospel read δός and very likely that it read ἐν οὐρανῷ.

7.4.31 Luke 18:35–38, 40–43a

200,21–30 (5.14)—[Ad.] Ἐπειδὴ πάρεισιν οἱ περὶ Μεγέθιον, οἱ τοῦ δόγματος Μαρκίωνος, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν εὐαγγελίου ἀναγινώσκω· ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν Ἰεριχώ, καί τις τυφλὸς ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παρέρχεται,

Of these verses, Luke 18:35, 37–38, and 42–43 are attested by Tertullian and Luke 18:35, 38, and 42–43 are attested by Epiphanius. As already mentioned above in the discussion of Luke 9:22, these verses are introduced by Adamantius as being read from Marcion's Gospel. For this reason, though found in the more problematic book 5, the citation has generally been viewed as arising out of Marcion's Gospel.174 As was the case for Luke 18:18–22, it is worth noting that the citation here is following the Lukan version and not the Matthean or Markan parallel (cf. Matt 20:29–34 and Mark 10:46–52). For v. 35, Tertullian's allusion to a τυφλός confirms only a bare minimum of the content of the verse, namely one of the characters involved. Epiphanius attests the same opening ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτόν,175 though as already noted in the discussion in chapter 6.4.53, his τῇ Ἰεριχώ is rather questionable for Marcion's text. The remainder of the verse is attested only in the Adamantius Dialogue and two readings must be discussed. First, the καὶ in καὶ τις τυφλός is, according to IGNTP, otherwise attested only in three OL manuscripts (c, ff2, and l), Origen, and syP. The Palestinian Syriac is the only witness attesting Rufinus's καὶ ἰδοὺ. Zahn argued that the Latin reflects a reading "offenbar ursprünglicher, denn wozu sonst τις vorangestellt?"176 Though Harnack reconstructed "καὶ (‘ecce’)," in his apparatus he rightly recognized that this reading is "nach Matth. 20, 30."177 For this reason, even if Rufinus's reading is more original for the text of the Adamantius Dialogue the likelihood of Matthean influence renders the supposition that it was Marcion's reading highly tenuous. The reading

175 Rufinus's plural is likely due to the influence of Matt 20:29//Mark 10:46.
176 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485.
177 Harnack, Marcion, 226*-27*. 
ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, however, is also attested in D, d, and e rendering at least a slight possibility that this reading was in Marcion’s text.

For v. 36, the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness, making insight into Marcion’s Gospel difficult. Most of the verse, however, is fairly uniformly attested in the manuscript tradition with only the ἅν posing a challenge.178 There are many manuscripts, including D, which read the particle, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that it was present in Marcion’s text. v. 37 is another instance where Tertullian offers only an allusion to Jesus παρέρχεται. Though Harnack reconstructed with the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s aorist passive ἀπηγγέλθη,179 this otherwise unattested reading may not be reflecting Marcion’s text. The remaining attested elements are unproblematic, though it is important to note that δ Ναζωραῖος is not attested. Harnack and Tsutsui explicitly label this a tendentious omission on the part of Marcion,180 and though it may not have been in Marcion’s text, for methodological reasons I cannot follow Zahn’s certainty that the verse was “jedenfalls ohne δ Ναζωραῖος, war Tr. nicht unberührt gelassen hätte.”181

V. 38 is attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius. After the unproblematic opening words as attested in the *Adamantius Dialogue* all three sources attest Ἰησοῦ υἱέ Δαυΐδ, ἐλέησόν με.182 Vv. 40–41 are once again attested only in the *Adamantius Dialogue*.183 Both verses attest slight differences in the Greek and Latin versions, and even Zahn recognized the secondary nature of Rufinus’s text.184 Whether, however, Marcion’s text contained omissions is unclear.185

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178 Rufinus, along with many OL manuscripts, attests the wording quid hoc esset; but, one should not assume that a variant Greek word order necessarily lies behind the Latin.

179 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485 wrote the form ἀπηγγέλη.


181 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485.

182 Eutropius also refers to this verse in his response to Adamantius’s statement.

183 Both Zahn, Geschichte, 2:485 and Harnack, *Marcion*, 227* view the omission of v. 39 in the *Adamantius Dialogue* as due to a mechanical error caused by ἐλέησόν με at the conclusion of both vv. 38 and 39 (cf. also above chapter 5, n. 331). Such an error is, of course, possible; however, the words ἐλέησόν με are not attested for v. 39 in the only source referencing the verse (Tertullian).

184 Zahn wrote, “DL. lat. ergänzt den griech. Text, in welchem ὁ Ἰησοῦς und πρὸς αὐτὸν fehlt, setzt aber am Schluß ein sonst unbezeugtes dicens zu” (Geschichte, 2:485). Harnack also noted the otherwise unattested dicens, but added “also zu konservieren” (Marcion, 227*). Why the fact that the reading is otherwise unattested is viewed as support for Rufinus’s accuracy is unclear to me. Eutropius offers a verbatim citation of the final words of v. 41 in his response.

185 According to IGNTP, the omission of δ Ἰησοῦς is elsewhere only attested in A, whereas the omission of πρὸς αὐτόν is found in numerous manuscripts including D and several OL manuscripts.
Though the Greek text offers otherwise essentially unproblematic readings, the fact that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is the only witness again makes confidence concerning Marcion’s wording difficult to attain.

The final two verses of this pericope are also attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. For v. 42, both of these other witnesses cite only the final element of the direct speech, with Epiphanius also alluding to ἀνάβλεψον. All three sources thus attest ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. The words introducing Jesus’ response, however, are found here in an otherwise unattested form. Though Harnack reconstructed Marcion’s text following the *Adamantius Dialogue*, it is highly speculative to posit this reading as definitely that of Marcion’s Gospel. The healing narrated in v. 43, and cited in the *Adamantius Dialogue* (καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν) is only alluded to by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Tertullian, however, also referenced elements from the conclusion of the verse as he began his discussion of the ensuing pericope.

**7.4.32 Luke 22:17, 19**


Tertullian also attests Luke 22:19. As already noted in the table in chapter 3.2.1 and in the discussion above of Luke 9:16, it is not certain whether the *Adamantius Dialogue* is here attesting Marcion’s text. As also noted above when Luke 9:16 was considered, the verb εὐλογήσας appears to have arisen out of that verse even as the εὐχαριστεῖ there arose from Luke 22:17, 19. For this reason, Harnack’s reconstruction with εὐλογήσας in parentheses is unnecessary. If the *Adamantius Dialogue* is attesting Marcion’s text, for v. 17 there is no more than a reference to the ποτήριον. For v. 19, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests only the λαβὼν ἡρτον, which is also attested by Tertullian. In essence, therefore, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not provide additional insight even if Marcion’s Gospel were to lie behind this reference.

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186 Eutropius’s subsequent citation of the verse only includes the direct speech and not the introduction to it. According to IGNTP, the word order εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς is unique to the *Adamantius Dialogue*; ἀποκριθείς is read with D, 157, and numerous ol manuscripts; and αὐτῷ is omitted with W, Ψ*, 1200, and the Persian Diatessaron.


188 The passage is also not attested in Rufinus’s Latin translation. Though Pretty usually made reference to such differences, his translation does not note the absence here (cf. *Dialogue*, 106).

189 Harnack, *Marcion*, 233*. 
7.4.33 Luke 23:46, 50, 52–53


As already noted above in the discussion of Luke 9:22, the reference to Luke 23:46 here elicited Lieu’s comment concerning book 5 of the Adamantius Dialogue containing less secure evidence for Marcion’s Gospel. There clearly is even greater uncertainty surrounding whether the Adamantius Dialogue is here attesting Marcion’s Gospel as there is when dealing with the overtly anti-Marcionite elements of the dialogue.190 For none of these four verses, however, is the Adamantius Dialogue the only source as Tertullian attests all four of them and Epiphanius attests all but v. 52. For the beginning of v. 46 Tertullian attests only that Jesus “cried out to the father” whereas Epiphanius states καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. Both these sources then skip to the end of the verse with Tertullian attesting τοῦτο...εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν and Epiphanius only ἐξέπνευσεν. The Adamantius Dialogue, for its part, cites the entire verse. Harnack’s reconstruction of the verse is somewhat confusing. He followed the Adamantius Dialogue verbatim through τὸ πνεῦμά μου and apparently followed Tertullian for the reconstruction of the conclusion of the verse as τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν. In his apparatus, Harnack noted that in his view this verse in the Adamantius Dialogue followed a passage definitely taken from Marcion’s Gospel (Luke 24:25–26, discussed immediately below), then cited the passage from the Adamantius Dialogue (noting the two variations in the Latin),191 and concluded:

Dieser Text ist originell; denn μεγάλη φωνῇ mit D > φ. μ. und καί mit a syrc > τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν. So haben also spätere Marcioniten gelesen.192

First of all, D reads ὁ Ἰησοῦς μεγάλη φωνῇ so that there is both agreement and disagreement with the reading in this manuscript. Second, though a and sy (and sy*, according to IGNTP) are the only manuscripts that read only καί, the

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190 Zahn, Geschichte, 2:492–93 did not make mention of the passage in the Adamantius Dialogue whereas both Harnack, Marcion, 236*–37* and Tsutsui, “Evangelium,” 126 only noted the reference to v. 46.

191 I.e., the word order voce magna and the verb commendo.

192 Harnack, Marcion, 236*–37*. 
vast majority of manuscripts of Luke read καὶ ταῦτα εἶπὼν ἔξεπνευσε. A simple omission in the majority reading is not out of the question. Third, even if Harnack’s connection of these readings to the traditions he cited were correct, it is not clear to me how this is an argument for this being the reading of later Marcionites. Finally, since Harnack accepted the first reading in the Adamantius Dialogue but not the second, it remains somewhat opaque what precisely Harnack viewed as the reading of (presumably) “frühere” and “spätere” Marcionites.

Vv. 50, 52–53 are attested in a much more summary fashion in the Adamantius Dialogue. For v. 50 Tertullian alludes only to Joseph; Epiphanius cited the opening of the verse. The Adamantius Dialogue reads καὶ in the Greek text, but not in the Latin, thus resulting in the same uncertainty concerning the conjunction already seen in Epiphanius. In v. 52 it appears that Rufinus added a Pilato for clarity, and the Adamantius Dialogue’s allusion to the verse, even if it is attesting Marcion’s Gospel, does not really bring any insight beyond the generally unproblematic elements already attested by Tertullian. The final verse disagrees with Epiphanius in the presence of ἐν before σινδόνι and in the phrase ἐν καινῷ μνημείῳ. The novo attested by Tertullian is also found here; however, influence from Matt 27:60 cannot be ruled out. In sum, though some elements of the verse are essentially unproblematic, several specifics remain uncertain and must remain so in the reconstruction.

**7.4.34 Luke 24:25–26**

Luke 24:25–26 is another passage attested only in book 5 of the Adamantius Dialogue. Once again, however, the Adamantius Dialogue can be compared with other sources as Epiphanius attests both verses and Tertullian attests v. 25. As already noted in the discussion of Epiphanius’s testimony, however, Tertullian and Epiphanius do not agree in aspects of their attestation. The Adamantius Dialogue agrees with Tertullian in the entire citation, apart from the verb ἐλάλησα instead of Tertullian’s ἐλάλησεν. The Adamantius Dialogue’s verb, however, is found in Epiphanius, and it may be that these two later sources are attesting a later Marcionite reading. At the very least, the agreement with Epiphanius highlights the likelihood that the Adamantius Dialogue is here

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193 μνημείω is found in several manuscripts, including D.
194 Cf. chapter 6.4.76.
195 Also noted in chapter 6.4.76.
reflecting a Marcionite text. For v. 26, the Greek of the Adamantius Dialogue agrees with Epiphanius in the wording ἔδει ταῦτα παθεῖν, though with an otherwise essentially unattested reversing of the order of ἔδει and ταῦτα. Given the likelihood that the Adamantius Dialogue is here attesting a Marcionite text and the essentially unproblematic nature of τὸν Χριστὸν, this wording can be taken up with little hesitation in the reconstruction.


The final verses possibly attesting Marcion’s Gospel in the Adamantius Dialogue are also found in book 5 and face the same questions concerning their value for Marcion’s Gospel as the other verses from this book. Tertullian also provides attestation for these verses and Epiphanius attests vv. 38–39. For v. 37, though the Adamantius Dialogue could possibly be viewed as supported by Tertullian’s phantasma, the difficulty surrounding the wording was already discussed in chapter 4.4.97. One simply cannot be absolutely certain of the reading in Marcion’s text. v. 38 has only three words attested in Epiphanius, which agree with Tertullian’s more extensive citation. The reading in the Adamantius Dialogue agrees with much of Tertullian’s wording, though differing in the ἵνα τί and the concluding εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν. The former reading is attested in D, d, L, and l253; however, it cannot be posited with certainty for Marcion’s text. The reading with εἰς may be supported by Tertullian, though the Adamantius Dialogue here reads a singular whereas Tertullian attests a plural. Harnack commented, “ob M. καρδία im Sing. (mit BD itala) oder Plur. gelesen hat, ist fraglich.”

196 Both Zahn, Geschichte, 2:494 and Harnack, Marcion, 239*, in my estimation rightly, referred to Rufinus’s Latin translation here as “willkürlich.”

197 Harnack, Marcion, 239*. Despite this observation, Harnack reconstructed the text following the wording in the Adamantius Dialogue.
As already noted in the discussion of Tertullian and Epiphanius, v. 39 presents several challenges. In the *Adamantius Dialogue* parts of this verse are quoted in two speeches by Adamantius. The opening of the verse is attested only in the first instance, where several aspects correspond with the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius, even as the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests both possessive pronouns in their canonical location. Given the variation between the sources, the precise reading here is unclear. With Tertullian, the *Adamantius Dialogue* attests the phrase ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός, though once again the precise word order in Marcion’s text cannot be reconstructed with certainty. More significantly, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does not attest the phrase ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε, a phrase also not attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius. Though the discussion of the latter two sources revealed that some caution and nuance is necessary, the phrase may not have been present. On the other hand, the *Adamantius Dialogue* does attest σάρκα, which was not attested in Tertullian and Epiphanius. Worth noting, however, is the variation in the wording between the two citations of this part of the verse and between the Greek and the Latin.\footnote{Zahn contended “Das an sich geringere Zeugnis des Dl. für σαρκας bedeutet umsoweniger, als der griech. und lat. Text in Bezug auf Stellung und Numerus uneins sind” (Geschichte, 2:495). Carter, “Marcion’s Christology,” 554–55 refers to the presence of “flesh,” which supports the argument that Adamantius wishes to make, as resulting in the unlikelihood that the *Adamantius Dialogue* is providing accurate attestation of readings in Marcion’s Gospel.} Zahn, Harnack, and Tsutsui all make references to the omission of both ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε and σάρκα καί.\footnote{Cf. Zahn, Geschichte, 2:495; Harnack, *Marcion*, 239*; and Tsutsui, *Evangelium, 130*.} Certainly, this conviction is related to the theological assumption that Marcion’s Docetic Christology could not allow for these statements to be present in the text.\footnote{Cf., e.g., the discussion of Marcion’s “theologisch-hermeneutischen Ansatz” in these verses in Markus Vinzent, “Der Schluß des Lukasevangeliums bei Marcion,” in May, Greschat, and Meiser (eds.), *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung: Marcion and His Impact on Church History*, 84–86 (citation from p. 81).} It is important to emphasize, however, that if the theological consideration is removed, there is slightly greater uncertainty concerning the supposed omissions.\footnote{Both Zahn and Harnack may have been influenced in their views by an erroneous understanding of the reading in D. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 2:495 stated that “die größere Auslassung” (i.e., ψηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἴδετε) was also found in D and Harnack, *Marcion, 239* asserted that με καὶ ἴδετε was missing in this manuscript. In reality, however, only the pronoun με is not attested in D.} The elements may not have been present in Marcion’s Gospel, but appropriate nuance should be expressed. The final phrase in the verse is attested in two different
forms in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, once again revealing the inconsistency with which the wording of biblical passages are found in this source. As discussed in the previous chapters, Tertullian and Epiphanius also exhibit variation here so that though it is quite clear that the element appeared in Marcion’s text, the precise wording remains somewhat opaque. Given the relative consistency in the manuscript tradition and variation possibly attributable to the sources for Marcion’s Gospel, Marcion’s text may have read καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.
CHAPTER 8

Additional Sources

Having considered the testimony of Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the Adamantius Dialogue, in this final chapter of source analysis, the remaining, additional sources for Marcion's Gospel are considered. As already noted earlier in this work, these sources, though necessary to consider, in almost no instance provide significant, further insight into Marcion's text.¹ In fact, of the verses attested by these sources only Luke 24:42–43 (attested by Eznik) are not found in other sources.² For this reason, the following discussion does not provide extensive analysis of the citation habits of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Pseudo-Tertullian, (Pseudo-)Ephrem, Jerome, Philastrius, and Eznik, but rather considers their attestation of Marcion's Gospel predominantly in comparison with the primary witnesses for this text. In nearly every instance, these sources provide further confirmation of a tradition affirming a certain passage in Marcion's text without being able to provide further insight into the wording of Marcion's Gospel.³ It should also be noted that the Syriac or Armenian texts of (Pseudo-)Ephrem and Eznik are provided in modern language translations with reference to the original text reserved only for the very rare instances where such reference is necessary and significant.

8.1 Luke 1:1–2:52

Origen Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum—quiique [including Marcion] neque de virgine natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea.⁴ | Hippolytus, Haer. 7.31.5—…Μαρκίων τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν

¹ Harnack’s observation to this effect was cited at the outset of chapter 3.
² If, however, one evaluates the texts attested in (Pseudo-)Ephrem differently (cf. chapter 3, n. 18), additional otherwise unattested verses would be found in these sources.
³ Beduhn rightly notes, “All of these ‘other sources’ involve reporting the quotation and interpretation of specific biblical verses by Marcionites, and in this way suggest that the particular verse was found in the Marcionite New Testament…. Although we cannot put much stock in the exact wording of a verse in such a report, we can reasonably concludes in most cases the presence of the particular verse in some form in the Marcionite New Testament” (First New Testament, 45).
⁴ The text of Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum is that of the Lommatzsch edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 23).
παντάπας(ν) παρηγήσατο, . . . 5 | Jerome, Jo. hier. 34—Numquid iuxta Marcionem dicere possimus quod et nativitas eius in phantasmate fuerit, quia contra naturam qui tenebatur elapsus est? [preceded by comments referring to the events of Luke 4:29–30]. 6

In addition to the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius, these brief comments by Origen, Hippolytus, and Jerome confirm that the opening two chapters of Luke were not present in Marcion's Gospel.

8.2 Luke 3:1

Irenaeus, Haer. 1.27.2; 4.6.2—[Jesus] venientem in Iudaem temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, . . . Si autem Christus tunc inchoavit esse quando et secundum hominem adventum suum egit, et a tempori-bus Tiberi Caesaris commemoratus est pater providere hominibus, . . . 7 | Origen, Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum—quique [including Marcion] neque de virgine natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea. | Hippolytus, Haer. 7.31.5–6—. . . ἀλλὰ <γάρ φησι> χωρὶς γενέσεως <ἐν>8 ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κατεληλυθότα αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, . . . διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς. | (Pseudo-)Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel 1—. . . the beginning of the divinity in which they believe appeared at those times, in the years of Pontius Pilate, . . . 9

Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and (Pseudo-)Ephrem add a few further insights to the testimony of this verse provided by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and in the Adamantius Dialogue. Hippolytus seems to support Tertullian’s word order making the reconstruction ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος more likely, though his also including τῆς ἡγεμονίας may reveal that this is simply a reflection of the canonical text. Irenaeus may support the reading ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Πιλάτου attested in the Adamantius Dialogue; however, once again a later reference to temporibus Tiberii Caesaris raises the same question as in the Adamantius Dialogue concerning whether this may be an expression due to Irenaeus’s own hand. Both Irenaeus and (Pseudo-)Ephrem referred to Pontius Pilate, whereas the Adamantius Dialogue referred only to Pilate; here again

5 The text of Refutatio omnium haeresium is that of the Marcovich edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 17).
6 The text of Adversus Joannem Hierosolymitanum liber is that of the Feiertag edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 21).
7 The text of Adversus haereses is that of the Brox edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 16).
8 The apparatus reads “ἐν addidi ex ΝΤ” (Hippolytus, 313).
9 The translation is that of Egan (cf. chapter 3, n. 18).
the precise reading remains obscure. Though these passages do not explicitly state that the first two chapters of Luke were missing in Marcion's Gospel, that Luke 1–2 were not present may very well be implied.

### 8.3 Luke 4:16, 23, 29–30


Though both Ephrem and Jerome mention the contents of certain verses also attested by Tertullian in their reference to Luke 4:16–30, their comments on Marcion’s views and interpretation of these events cannot aid in the precise reconstruction of the wording of his text even as they provide further confirmation of the presence of these verses, and the possible abbreviated recounting of the passage, therein.12

### 8.4 Luke 4:31

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.27.2—[Jesus] venientem in Iudaeam… | Origen, *Ex libro Origenis in Epistolam ad Titum*—quiçe [including Marcion] neque de virgine

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10 In a note Leloir observed, “Par erreur, l’auteur parle de Bethsaïde au lieu de Nazareth” (*Commentaire de l’évangile concordant*, 208n5). Harnack, however, stated that this was a “Korrektur späterer Marcioniten, die jede Verbindung Jesu mit Nazareth abschneiden wollten” (*Marcion*, 186*). Such a view is possible, though not certain.

11 The translation is that of Leloir (cf. chapter 3, n. 19).

natum fatentur, sed triginta annorum virum eum apparuisse in Judaea. |
Hippolytus, Haer. 7.31.5–6 — ... διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς.

In conjunction with the insight into Luke 3:1 noted above, these three sources also attest 4:31. Both Irenaeus and Origen refer to Jesus appearing in Judaea, though this likely did not appear in the text here and would also differ from Tertullian’s attestation. Hippolytus may provide some confirmation of Tertullian apparently referring to the end of the verse with wording closer to Mark 1:21 than to Luke 4:31.

One final point to make here is that in the discussion of the opening of Marcion’s Gospel, Harnack also mentioned a comment found in a 7th century Syriac manuscript preserved in the British Museum (cod. Add. 17215 fol. 30):

Our Lord was not born from a woman, but stole the domain of the Creator and came down and appeared for the first time between Jerusalem and Jericho, like a human being in form and image and likeness, but without our body.¹³

It is not clear, however, that the reference is to the opening of Marcion’s Gospel. Harnack stated “Woher die Kunde stammt, Jesus sei zuerst zwischen Jerusalem und Jericho erschienen, habe ich nicht ermitteln können.”¹⁴ Roukema is probably correct in stating

Most probably this text alludes to the allegory according to which it was essentially Christ who, disguised as the Samaritan, appeared on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.¹⁵

Rather problematic, however, is the fact that this parable is elsewhere unattested for Marcion’s text. In addition, though Zahn accepted the tradition as authentic,¹⁶ there is some doubt as to whether the fragment actually preserves a statement of Marcion, and therefore should not be invoked, or at the very least invoked with extreme caution, for either the opening of Marcion’s Gospel or the parable of the good Samaritan.¹⁷

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¹³ The translation is taken from Roukema, “The Good Samaritan,” 57.
¹⁴ Harnack, Marcion, 185*.
8.5 Luke 5:33–34

(Pseudo-)Ephrem, *An Exposition of the Gospel* 64—You cannot order the bridegroom’s companions to fast, as long as the bridegroom shall be with them. | Ephrem, *Hymns Against Heresies*, 47.4—Auch der Fremde...kannte...als Bräutigam jeden Tag (Freude und) Ergötzen—während Johannes in Trauer, Entsagung und Fasten (lebte).—Nicht können die Söhne des Brautgemaches fasten. Die Leute des Schöpfers sind Faster,—der Fremde, der nicht existiert, ist ein Schlemmer.18

These two verses are also attested by Tertullian. In Ephrem’s *Hymn* there is an allusion to John’s disciples fasting, followed by a reference to v. 34 with the statement that the “sons” of the bridegroom cannot fast. (Pseudo-)Ephrem also attests this latter verse, though including the reference to the bridegroom being with them. Both references do not offer insight beyond that found in Tertullian, though they do offer additional confirmation of the presence of the passage in Marcion’s text.

8.6 Luke 5:36–37

Ephrem *Hymns against Heresies* 44.6–7—Nicht tut man neuen Wein in abgenützte Schläuche. Er gab (neue) Sinne—wie (neue) Gebote, neues Ohr—wie (neues) Gebot. Denn von einem alt gewordenen Ohr—werden neue Melodien nicht vernommen. Darüber muss man staunen, dass er (neue) Gebote gab,—nicht die alten, und dass er (die alten) Glieder gab,—nicht fremd! Die Sinne, die er heilte,—verkünden laut von ihm: Auch wenn neu sind—die Aussprüche, die er tat, ist er (dennoch) nicht der Fremde! | Philastrius, *Diversarum hereseon liber* 45.2—Quid est, inquit [Marcion], quod in evangelio dicente domino scriptum est: Nemo pannum rudem mittet in vestimentum vetus, neque vinum novum in utres veteres, alioquin rumpuntur utres, et effunditur vinum?...[Luke 6:43 follows]

This parable is also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Ephrem attests Luke 5:37 in this hymn against Marcion, though citing the text in the form of the Matthean parallel.19 Philastrius makes reference to both Luke 5:36, 37, though once again in a form strongly influenced by

18 The translation is that of Beck (cf. chapter 3, n. 27).
Matt 9:16–17. As was the case with the testimony found in the Adamantius Dialogue it is difficult to evaluate whether pannum rudem here is attesting the reading apparently found in Tertullian and Epiphanius or simply following Matthew. Though once again no significant insight can be gained concerning the wording of Marcion’s Gospel, these further references to this parable underscore its importance in Marcion’s thought noted in the previous chapter.

8.7 Luke 6:20, 24

Eznik, De deo 405—The law of the Just One is in opposition to the grace of Jesus . . . “the latter gives happiness to the poor and woe to the great.”

Luke 6:20 is attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius, with Tertullian also attesting v. 24. Eznik alludes to both verses in the context of a Marcionite antithesis contrasting what Jesus did with a reference to the Just One giving “beatitude to the great (Sir 31:8) and misery to the needy.” The reference to blessing for the aghk’atatc’ (poor) and woe to the mēcatown (“rich”; Blanchard and Young translate “great”) confirm the unproblematic testimony of Tertullian.

8.8 Luke 6:43

Origen, Princ. 2.5.4—[with reference to the Marcionites] Sed iterum ad scripturae nos revocant verba, proferentes illam suam famosissimam quaestionem. Aint namque: Scriptum est quia non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere, neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere; ex fructu enim arbor cognoscitur.

Hippolytus, Haer. 10.19.3—[with reference to the Marcionites] διὸ καὶ ταῖς παραβολαῖς ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς χρῶνται, οὕτως λέγοντες· οὐ δύναται δένδρον καλὸν καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τὰ ἔξης . . . Pseudo-Tertullian, Adversus omnes haereses, 6.2—Hic ex occasione qua dictum sit: omnis arbor bona bonos fructas


21 De Deo (trans. and cross-reference Blanchard and Young). 405.

22 The text of De principiis is that of the Koetschau edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 33).
facit, mala autem malos, . . .23 | Philastrius, Diversarum hereseon liber 45.2—
[Luke 5:36 precedes] . . . et iterum: non est arbor bona quae facit malum fructum,
neque arbor mala quae faciat bonum fructum.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian and in the Adamantius Dialogue, where the challenges of reconstructing the precise wording of Marcion’s text were already discussed. Worth noting is that in each instance here, the source offers the order “good tree” followed by “bad tree” with Tertullian and against the testimony of the Adamantius Dialogue. In addition, the influence of the Matthean parallels (Matt 7:17–18; 12:33) are readily apparent, in particular in the varying verbal constructions (e.g., potest facere, δύναται ποιεῖν, and facit). Nevertheless, none of these sources appear to support the Adamantius Dialogue’s (one) use of προφέρω.

8.9 Luke 6:45

Origen, Princ. 2.5.4— . . . bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum,
et malus de malo profert malum.

Origen, along with Tertullian, attests 6:45 for Marcion’s Gospel, as the Adamantius Dialogue is not referring to Marcion’s text. Shortly after Origen’s comments invoking the Matthean parallels to Luke 6:43 cited above, Origen refers to Luke 6:45 as evidenced by the use of cordis and the second half of the reference.24 Origen also provides a citation of the passage, as opposed to Tertullian’s allusion, even if it is clearly abbreviated. Harnack did not make reference to this passage, and it must be admitted that it is not entirely clear if Origen’s refutation here of Marcion’s interpretation of certain passages is also attesting the actual reading of Marcion’s text.

8.10 Luke 7:22

Eznik, De deo 358—“Heal,” he [the Good God and Stranger] said, “their lepers, and give life to their dead, and open their blind, and make very great healings as a gift to them, so that the Lord of creatures might see you and be jealous and raise you on a cross.”

As noted in chapter 4.4.22, Tertullian’s allusion to this verse does not offer any insight into its actual wording and the reference by Eznik provides only

23 The text of Adversus omnes haereses is that of the Kroymann edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 34).
24 The reading καρδίας αὐτοῦ is the majority reading, likely influenced by Matt 12:35.
minimal additional information. Though the words supposedly spoken by “the Good God and Stranger” make reference to a few of the specific elements of Luke 7:22, though in a variant order, a reconstruction of the verse beyond the bare mention of these elements is not possible.

8.11 Luke 7:23

Ephrem, *Against Marcion I*, xxxix/86—... Blessed is he, if he is not offended in me, ... Blessed is he if he is not offended in me ... Blessed is he if he remains steadfast and is not offended in me.²⁵

Ephrem cites Luke 7:23 three times in relatively close succession in a discussion concerning the interaction between Jesus and John, with the final reference including a singular reading of remaining steadfast. Though confirming the presence of this verse elsewhere attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, the passage does not offer insight into the wording beyond Epiphanius’s attestation.

8.12 Luke 8:20


Is his commentary on the Diatessaron, Ephrem refers to the Marcionite interpretation of Luke 8:20 as involving a “temptation” on the part of Jesus, an interpretation also referenced by Tertullian (*Marc.* 4.19.7). Since Ephrem is not providing citations of Marcion’s Gospel, he here provides further evidence for the Marcionite interpretation of this verse, but not for its precise wording.


Ephrem, *Against Marcion I* xxxix/87—But concerning Moses and Elijah who were found on the mountain in company with ISU, what do they (*i.e.* the Marcionites) say that they were doing in his presence?; xl/88–89 ... Or were they with him to say to him (*i.e.* to ISU) ...; xli/91—Was it in order to fight that

²⁵ The translation is that of Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt (cf. chapter 3, n. 36).
he went up thither?...did he make war against the Maker or...?... xlii/91
And perhaps isu too shewed them that glory on the mountain in order to incite
Moses, etc.,...; xlii/92–93...against his [the Stranger’s] disciples and against
him [who said], ‘This is my Son and my Beloved,’ [for] He [the Maker] had
sent only two against them.; xliii/94–95 Again, the Stranger who proclaimed
there, ‘This is my Son and my Beloved,’...seeing that the voice came from the
heaven of the Maker, who is to tell us that he is not the Son of the Maker, in a
case where the voice which came was coming from the heaven of the Maker,
especially when the mountain was the mountain of the Maker, and the cloud
of Moses, etc. belonged to the Maker, and the prophets likewise who were
on the mountain (were the prophets) of the Maker? | Ephrem, Commentary
on the Diatessaron 14.9—Et s’il est un Dieu étranger, comment Moïse et Élie
s’entretenaient-ils avec lui?...Et lorsqu’on a entendu la voix: Celui-ci est mon
Fils et mon bien-aimé; écoutez-le, où donc était le Dieu juste?

In both his work Against Marcion and in his Commentary on the Diatessaron
Ephrem makes reference to Jesus’ encounter with Moses and Elijah in Luke
9.26 Tertullian attests all the verses to which Ephrem refers, and Epiphanius
attests vv. 28, 30–31, and 35. Once again, even though Ephrem provides con-
firmation concerning the presence of certain verses in Marcion’s text, specific
wording is not accessible through Ephrem’s accounts. For instance, though
the references in Ephrem’s Commentary on the Diatessaron are influenced
by the wording of Matt 17:3 (Luke 9:30) and Mark 9:7 (Luke 9:35),27 the inter-
action with Marcionite interpretation of the events narrated in these verses
would require their presence in Marcion’s Gospel. The precise wording of Luke
9:35 in Against Marcion is also not reflecting Marcion’s text as the citation here,
as Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt note, is the reading “as in syr.C, and often else-
where in Ephraim.”28

Significantly, though Epiphanius also attests v. 31, Drijvers explicitly appeals
to Ephrem’s writings to argue against Harnack’s view that 9:31 was missing
in Marcion’s Gospel.29 As argued above, in my view, Ephrem thus further

26 Against Marcion contains a particularly interesting, extended interaction with a
Marcionite interpretation of the encounter involving a battle between the Stranger and
Christology,” in Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies
held in Oxford 1987: Second Century, Tertullian to Nicaea in the West, Clement of Alexandria
and Origen, Athanasius (ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone; StPatr 21; Leuven: Peeters, 1989),
73–85.

27 Also noted as such by Leloir, Commentaire de l’évangile concordant, 247n2 and n4,
respectively.

28 Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt, S. Ephraim’s Prose Refutations, xliin2.

29 Drivers, “Christ as Warrior and Merchant,” 76–77, 82.
confirms the presence of that part of the verse attested by both Tertullian and Epiphanius.\(^{30}\)

8.14 **Luke 9:60**

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.4.25.3—κἂν συγχρήσωνται [heretics, including Marcion] τῇ τοῦ κυρίου φωνῇ λέγοντος τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς, σὺ δὲ ἀκολούθει μοι, . . . \(^{31}\)

This verse is also attested by Tertullian. Clement’s reference to these words being spoken to Philip is curious as neither Luke, nor the Matthean parallel, mention Philip. It is not likely that this was drawn from Marcion’s Gospel.\(^{32}\) The citation itself has also been influenced by Matt 8:22 as the verb ἀκολούθεω is drawn from there, an influence not found in Tertullian. Up until ἀκολούθει μοι, however, the wording and syntax is that of Luke 9:60 and essentially confirms the wording of Tertullian. The only difference is the word order τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς, which was already seen possibly to be the order in Marcion’s Gospel.\(^{33}\)

8.15 **Luke 10:22**

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4.6.1—Hi [including Marcionites?] autem qui peritiores apostolis volunt esse sic describunt: Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius, nec filium nisi pater, et cui voluerit filius revelare, . . . | Eznik, *De deo* 392—So who was that one who was able to accomplish such great things, if not the Lord of all who said, “Everything was given to me by my Father”?

Luke 10:22 is also attested by Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. It is not entirely certain if Irenaeus is referring to Marcionites or Marcion’s text; however, the same inversion of “father” and “son” found in Tertullian and in the *Adamantius Dialogue* is also found here. In addition, Irenaeus’s cognovit would support the *Adamantius Dialogue*’s reading of a perfect verb rather than Tertullian’s present. It is difficult, however, to ascertain how much weight should be given to the verb tense here. Eznik attests only the verse opening,

\(^{30}\) Cf. the discussion in chapters 4.4.35 and 6.4.21.

\(^{31}\) The text of the *Stromata* is that of the Stühlin, Früchtel, and Treu edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 43).

\(^{32}\) Harnack was slightly less committal: “Ob sie [the Marcionites] ihn [the saying] an Philippus gerichtet bezeichnet haben, ist nicht sicher” (*Marcion*, 204*).

\(^{33}\) *Contra* Tertullian (cf. chapter 4.4.37).
essentially agreeing with the attestation of Tertullian, though including the possessive pronoun at the end of the phrase (hawre imme). Here also it is questionable whether Eznik can provide actual insight concerning the exact text of Marcion's Gospel and so some uncertainty concerning precise readings in this verse remains.

8.16  Luke 11:3

Origen, Fragment 180—ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος ἔχουσι τὴν λέξιν οὕτως· Τὸν ἄρτον σου τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν.34

Where Origen and Tertullian overlap in their attestation of this verse, they agree. At the same time, however, though it is possible that τὸν ἄρτον σου lies behind Tertullian's question in Marc. 4.26.4, it cannot be reconstructed from Tertullian's reference. In general, given Origen's attention to textual details, including the fact that he drew explicit attention to the two different forms of the prayer found in Matthew and Luke in his own discussion of the Lord's Prayer (Or. 18.2),35 it may very well be the case that he saw this reading in a copy of Marcion's Gospel.

8.17  Luke 11:27

Ephrem, Commentary on the Diatessaron 11.9—Bienheureux le sein qui t’a porté et les mamelles qui t’ont allaité. Marcion dit: Par ces paroles ils le tentaient, pour savoir s’il était vraiment né [a citation of Luke 8:20 follows].

Ephrem's reference to Luke 8:20 was noted above. Immediately prior to that reference he referred to Marcion's interpretation of Luke 11:27. Ephrem simply provides further attestation for Marcion’s use of part of this verse also referred to by Tertullian.

34 The text of the fragment is that of the Rauer edition (cf. chapter 3, n. 47). Elements of the following comments are also found in Roth, “Text of the Lord’s Prayer,” 60.

35 Origen explicitly noted: ἔχουσι δὲ αἰ λέξεις τοῦ μὲν Ματθαίου τὸν τρόπον τούτον· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἂφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, τοῦ δὲ Λουκᾶ οὕτως· πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν· καὶ ἂφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν παντὶ τῷ ἐνελθέταις ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν (the text is that of the Paul Koetschau edition Origenes Werke: Zweiter Band: Buch v–vii Gegen Celsus, Die Schrift vom Gebet [GCS 3; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899]).
8.18  Luke 18:19

Origen, *Princ.* 2.5.1, 4—... *nemo bonus praeter unum sit deum patrem... nemo bonus nisi unus deus pater,...* | Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7.31.6—καὶ ὁς αὐτὸς [Jesus] ὀμολογεῖ <λέγων> τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἰ<ς> ἐστιν ἀγαθός.

This verse is also attested by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*. Origen twice refers to the verse as used by heretics in an attempt to distinguish the good God and Father of Jesus from the God of the world, rather clearly a reference to Marcion’s teaching. The two citations by Origen vary slightly, though in both instances they are closer to the syntax of Tertullian and the *Adamantius Dialogue*. It is also noteworthy that *pater*, as attested in Epiphanius and in the *Adamantius Dialogue*, is also attested here. Hippolytus, on the other hand, attests a singular reading λέγετε (according to igntp), apparently influenced by Matt 19:17. It is unlikely that this wording is reflecting Marcion’s text even as a fifth attestation to the passage underscores its importance for Marcion.


Eznik, *De deo* 415—And concerning the Pasch he said to his disciples: “I desire strongly to eat this Pasch with you.”

The testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius already revealed a high verbatim agreement concerning the wording of this verse, which is further confirmed by Eznik. The inclusion of the demonstrative pronoun in “this Passover” agrees with Epiphanius. Since the omission by Tertullian may have been due to his own hand the likelihood is slightly higher that it was present in Marcion’s Gospel.

8.20  Luke 23:34a

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3—Et si l’on pretend que c’est le père du dieu étranger qui a amené les ténèbres, on peut objecter qu’elles ne sont pas de son domaine et que, si elles en étaient, il ne les aurait pas amenées,

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36 Lieu refers to the second citation, and though perhaps technically correct in stating that the passage refers “to anonymous heretics who cite the saying of Jesus” (“Marcion and the Synoptic Problem,” 736), little speculation is involved in positing that Marcion and his followers are addressed in this section of *De principiis*. 
d’abord parce qu’il est bienfaisant et ensuite parce que le Seigneur a dit: Pardonnez-leur, parce qu’ils ne savent pas ce qu’ils font.

Though elements of v. 34 are attested by Tertullian and Epiphanius, v. 34a is only alluded to here. Harnack contended that

It appears that two questionable judgments are presented here. First, as Tsutsui already noted, the suggestion that Marcion inserted this verse is unlikely. He then goes on to suggest that v. 34a was not present in the copies of Marcion’s Gospel available to Tertullian and Epiphanius, but that it later found its way into Marcion’s text through the influence of other manuscripts containing the element.38 Second, it is important to note that the element is simply unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius and that their silence is not evidence for its omission. The, according to Harnack, “unthinkable” omission of v. 34a is not actually attested by any source. It is possible that different copies of Marcion’s Gospel contained different readings, but it is also possible that Ephrem’s comment here is simply a constructed argument not actually reflecting a reading in Marcion’s text. It is perhaps best simply to note the possibility that Ephrem attests v. 34a and that it is unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius.39

37 Harnack, *Marcion*, 236*.
39 It certainly seems too bold to claim “Marcion’s Luke… include[s] the prayer in Luke’s Gospel” and to use this claim to contend that therefore a written source for the verse, “if not original to Luke must be at least early second century, prior to Marcion’s Luke (ca. 140 C.E.)” (Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 120). Haines-Eitzen’s view may, of course, ultimately be correct concerning the reading and its source; however, considerable nuance should be present if Marcion’s Gospel is to be employed as evidence in the argument. For instance, though Haines-Eitzen also refers to Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence*, 50 as support for the reading in Marcion, on this page Blackman only makes reference to Harnack’s view. Blackman himself is more cautious, listing 23:34a as a passage that should be reckoned “with less probability” to “a small class of tendentious alterations by Marcion which crept into the Old Latin tradition at certain points” (*Marcion and His Influence*, 60).
8.21 Luke 23:44–45

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 21.3—S’il [Jesus] avait été fils du dieu étranger, le soleil n’aurait pas été enténébré lorsque le Seigneur fut élevé sur sa croix, . . . | Eznik, *De deo* 358—And the Lord of creatures having become angry, in his anger he rent his robe and the curtain of his temple. And he darkened his son, and he clothed his world in umber.

Both of these verses are attested by Tertullian, and v. 45 by Epiphanius. Ephrem and Eznik interact with Marcionite interpretation of the verses and in so doing provide additional attestation for elements referenced and alluded to by Tertullian and Epiphanius, e.g., the darkness over the land, darkening of the sun, and the tearing of the temple curtain. Casey contended that Eznik, due to the reference to the tearing of “his robe [i.e., the high priest’s robe] and the curtain of his temple,” is drawing on the Diatessaron. Regardless of whether one finds this view convincing in terms of the use of the Diatessaron, it is unlikely that a reference to a robe being torn was in Marcion’s Gospel.


Eznik, *De deo* 407—. . . So too, those ones will not eat fish now, but there in the resurrection, just as he too after his resurrection ate the fish which he found among the fisherman.

The content of these verses are attested only by Eznik. In the context of a discussing involving the eating of fish by Marcionites, Eznik offers an allusion to ἰχθύος in v. 42 and ἔφαγεν in v. 43. The reference to the fish being “found among the fisherman” is unlikely to reflect any specific reading in Marcion’s Gospel.

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40 E.g., Casey already noted “Eznik’s text xawrecaw zaregakan implies the reading ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος in agreement with the Diatessaron and Marcion’s Luke” (“Armenian Marcionites,” 192n7).
41 Ibid., 192.
42 Zahn argued, “Aus dem Schweigen Tr.’s über wirkliches Essen folgt wohl, daß 42 un. 43 fehlten” (*Geschichte*, 2495). Apart from the problematic use of an argument from silence, Harnack rejected this view with the question “Aber was soll v. 41 für sich allein bedeuten?” (*Marcion*, 240*) before referring to Eznik’s attestation of the verses.
43 Interestingly, such a reference seems to fit the circumstances of John 21:12–13 better than the context of Luke 24.
CHAPTER 9

The Reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel

The preceding chapters four through eight have analyzed every verse from Marcion’s Gospel attested by the sources. In these chapters, the attempt was made to present all the relevant issues for gaining insight into Marcion’s text, though admittedly the analysis offered in these discussions has not yet been distilled into readily accessible conclusions concerning the text of Marcion’s Gospel. It is to this task that I now turn in the present chapter. Of considerable importance is the observation that numerous readings in the verses reconstructed below differ to varying degrees from Harnack’s reconstruction, and several verses for which the sources are silent and that Harnack indicated were omitted in Marcion’s Gospel are here more appropriately identified as unattested. These differences are due to my attempt to present the data found in the tables in chapter two more accurately than has been done previously and thus to reflect Marcion’s text more precisely. At the same time, however, this increased accuracy, though important, is not the most significant contribution in the following reconstruction. Rather, since perhaps the most pronounced weaknesses of all previous reconstructions, including Harnack’s, is the lack of distinction between various levels of certainty for attested readings, the following reconstruction clearly reveals the attempt to indicate what level of confidence can be assigned to any particular reading for Marcion’s text. Therefore, even when the wording of this reconstruction agrees with that of Harnack’s, the ability to see an assessment of the relative confidence that one can place in a specific reading seeks to provide significantly more helpful insight into Marcion’s Gospel. Though such assessment necessarily involves some level of subjectivity in terms of how one evaluates not only the testimony of a particular source but also the attestation of readings in the NT manuscript tradition, at the very least the more contentious elements of reconstruction should be clear. In order to accomplish the goal of greater clarity and nuance, the following markers have been used in the reconstruction:

1. Text that is set in bold reveals secure readings confirmed both by the methodological consideration of citation habit and attestation in the extant manuscript tradition. In addition, when a reading in Marcion’s

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1 Verses that Harnack indicated were omitted that are in reality unattested include Luke 5:39; 22:43; 24:12; and 24:40.
text is attested by multiple sources or is the unanimous reading of the extant manuscript tradition, it is generally treated as secure. The highest level of confidence can be ascribed to these readings or only to the words utilized, if the word order is unclear (cf. point 6).

2. Text in bold italics reveals very likely readings where an author’s citation habit provides confirmation of the reading, but either corroboratory evidence from the manuscript tradition is lacking or some uncertainty arises due to a source providing only an adaptation or allusion to the passage. Alternatively, a reading can be very likely when the manuscript tradition is essentially uniform or a group of witnesses clearly attest a reading, even if an author’s citation habits do not provide significant insight into the verse.

3. Text set in regular type reveals probable readings where citation habits, explicit statements in a source, or the manuscript tradition have provided some, but not determinative, evidence for a reading. In addition, some allusions of relatively unproblematic elements in verses are included here. Only slight confidence can be placed in these readings having been those of Marcion’s text.

4. Text set in italics reveals possible readings that are attested by a source, though ultimately no confidence can be placed in these readings being found in Marcion’s text.

5. Italic text set in (parentheses) reveals those instances where a source attests certain elements from verses, but where, despite some allusion to the reading, precise wording is not attested. Some elements that are attested with variant wording in different sources and where a decision between the two is not possible are also placed in parentheses.

6. Text set in {curly brackets} is attested text where the word order for Marcion’s text is uncertain. The words set inside these brackets, however, may reflect any of the levels of confidence discussed above. In other
words, it may be secure, very likely, probable, or possible that certain words appeared in Marcion’s text even if their order cannot be determined.

7. Ellipses are used to indicate unattested elements in the verses and comments made on readings within a verse are placed in [brackets].

In the following reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel according to the sources, as has been the case throughout this volume, the chapter and verse numbers follow that of canonical Luke. Following the reference, italicized cross-references to the chapter and section of this monograph where a verse or pericope is discussed are provided within [brackets].

1:1–2:52 [6.4.1; 8.1]—Not Present
3:1 [5.1; 6.4.1; 7.4.1; 8.2]—ἐν τῷ ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ποντίου Πιλάτου …
3:2–20—Unattested [though indirectly attested as not present]
3:21–4:13 [4.4.2; 6.4.1]—Not Present
4:14–15—Unattested
4:31 [5.3; 7.4.1; 8.4]—κατηλθέν [ἐφάνη may have appeared in the Antitheses] εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας, … ἦν διδάσκων … ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.
4:32 [4.4.1]—ἐξεπλήσσοντο δὲ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.
4:33—Unattested
4:34 [4.4.2]—τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί Ἰησοῦ [Ναζαρηνέ may not have been present]; ἦλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδα [σε likely present] τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ.
4:35 [5.4]—ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ιησοῦς …
4:41 [5.2; 8.3]—Ναζαρέθ …
4:17–22—Unattested [and possibly not present]
4:23 [5.2; 8.3]—(ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν) …
4:24–26—Unattested
[4:27 is found below before 17:14]
4:28—Unattested
4:29 [5.2; 8.3]—ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν … ἠγαγον αὐτὸν ἐως ὧφρυος τοῦ ὄρους …

4 Unattested elements within a verse include those elements that may be unattested due to simple omission by a source. Even though there may therefore be grounds for positing that some of those elements were present in Marcion’s text, doing so would involve a, in my estimation, precarious “drawing conclusions from silence”; nevertheless, citation habits and the manuscript evidence may occasionally allow a bracketed comment drawing attention to the likely presence or absence of an unattested element.

5 Cf. chapter 3, n. 67.
4:30 [5.2; 8.3]—... διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο.
4:36–39—Unattested
4:40 [5.5]—... τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτούς.
4:41 [5.5]—ἐξήρχοντο [δὲ καὶ likely present] δαιμόνια... κατείχον αὐτὸν...
4:42 [5.6]—... ἐξήρχοντο δαιμόνια... κραυγάζοντα... σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ... ἐπιτιμῶν (οὐκ εἴα αὐτὰ λαλεῖν)...
4:43 [5.6]—... {δεῖ με καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι} τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ...
4:44—Unattested
5:1—Unattested
5:2 [5.7]—... (ὁ Άλτερις)...
5:4—Unattested
5:9 [5.7]—θάμβος (γὰρ περιέσχεν) αὐτὸν... ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγρᾷ τῶν ἰχθύων...
5:10 [5.7]—... μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐσῃ ζωγρῶν).
5:11 [5.7]—... πλοῖα... ἀφεῖνες... ἡκολουθήσαν αὐτῷ.
5:12 [5.8; 6.4.3]—... ἀπερώκα... ἐπιτιμῶν (ὁ δεῖ τὸν Σίμωνα)...
5:13 [5.8; 6.4.3]—... ἐπιτιμῶν (ὁ δεῖ τὸν Σίμωνα)...
5:14 [5.8; 6.4.3]—... ἐτύμουν γενέσθαι τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον περὶ τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτοῦ.
5:15—Unattested
5:17 [5.9]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
5:18 [5.9]—... (ὁ Άλτερις ἐν παραλελυμένος)...
5:19—Unattested
5:20 [4.4.4]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
5:21 [4.4.4]—... τίς [δύναται likely present] ἀφεῖναι ἀμαρτίας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ θεὸς. 5:22–23—Unattested
5:24 [5.9; 6.4.4]—[ὁ δὲ εἶδον ὅτι ἐξοφυλάκας ἐξέχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀφεῖναι ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς]... ἐγείρε καὶ ἁρών τὸν κράβαττόν σου... 5:25—Unattested
5:26 [5.9]—... (ὁ Άλτερις ἐν παραλελυμένος).
5:27 [5.10]—... παραλελυμένος (ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν παραλελυμένοις οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες).
5:28–29—Unattested
5:30 [5.10]—... μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν (καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν)...
5:31 [4.4.5]—... ὡς καθεῖλεν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἑγαίμονες τοῖς στρατοῖς ἀλλὰ οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες. 5:32—Unattested
5:33 [5.9; 8.5]—... οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου νηστεύουσιν πικρὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται... (ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀξιολούθης καὶ πίνουσιν).
5:34 [5.11; 8.5] — μὴ δύνανται νηστεύειν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον {μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὁ νύμφιος}.


5:36–38 [4.4.6; 6.4.5; 7.4.2; 8.6] — [This parable is attested in multiple sources; however, the precise wording can no longer be reconstructed. It is likely that ὁ οἶνος was discussed before τὸ ἐπίβλημα and the Matthean ἐπίβλημα ράξους ἀγνάφου may have been present in Marcion’s text. The attestation of v. 38 is uncertain]

5:39 — Unattested


6:2 [5.12] — τῶν Φαρισαίων . . . [That the Pharisees voiced an objection is clear but no precise wording can be reconstructed].

6:3 [5.12; 6.4.6] — . . . οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀνέγνωτε, τί ἐποίησε Δαυίδ . . .

6:4 [5.12; 6.4.6] — [an opening conjunction or interrogative particle is unattested] εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ . . .

6:5 [4.4.7; 6.4.7] — [The location of this verse here or after Luke 6:9 is uncertain] . . . κύριός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου και τοῦ σαββάτου.


6:8 [7.4.3] — [Attestation uncertain]

6:9 [5.13] — . . . ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀγαθοποιῆσαι ἢ μή; ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι;

6:10–11 — Unattested


6:15 — Unattested


6:17 [5.15; 6.4.8] — . . . κατέβη ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . πλῆθος . . . ἀπὸ (πάσης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ καί τῆς περαιάς.

6:18 — Unattested


6:20 [4.4.8; 6.4.9; 8.7] — καὶ αὐτῶς ἐπάρας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ . . . μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ, ἦτι αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.


6:24 [5.16; 8.7]—[πλὴν was likely present] οὔαι [ὕμν was likely present] τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὃτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

6:25 [4.4.12]—οὔαι [ὕμν may have been present] οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ὃτι πεινάσετε. οὔαι [ὕμν may have been present] ὃτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε.

6:26 [5.17]—οὔαι [ὕμν may have been present] ὃταν {ὕμας καλῶς εἴπωσιν} πάντες may not have been present] οἱ ἀνθρώποι· κατὰ ταῦτα [γάρ may have been present] ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.

6:27 [4.4.13; 7.4.4]—[πλὴν was likely present] ὡς ὁ λέγεται τοῖς ὑμῖν ὃτι ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀνακάλησεν τοὺς ἡλίθιους ὑμῶν...

6:28 [4.4.13; 7.4.4]—IEEE πρὸς τοὺς μισὸντας ὑμᾶς καὶ προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμῶς.

6:29 [4.4.14; 7.4.5]—...(τὴν σιαγόνα) πάρχε τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τὴν ἄλλην...

6:30a [4.4.15]—παντί...[6:30b is unattested]

6:31 [4.4.16]—καὶ καθὼς {ὕμν γίνεσθαι θέλετε} παρὰ [τῶν may have been present] ἀνθρώπων ὑμῶν ὃτι οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.

6:32—33—Unattested

6:34a [5.18]—καὶ εἶναι δανίστης παρ᾽ ὧν ἔλπιζες ὑμεῖς ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία {χάρις ἐστίν ὑμῖν}...

6:35a is unattested] 6:35b [5.19]—...καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς.

6:36 [5.20]—γίνεσθε [οὖν likely not present] οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς [καὶ may not have been present] ὃ παθήσω ὑμών ὥστε πάντες

6:37 [4.4.17]—[καὶ likely not present] μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· [καὶ likely not present] μὴ καταδικάσομεν ἵνα μὴ καταδικάσωμεν ἵνα καταδικάσωμεν ἤπειρος, ὡστε καταδικάσωμεν ἵνα καταδικάσωμεν.

6:38 [5.21; 7.4.6]—δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· μέτρον καλὸν, καθὼς [καὶ may not have been present] ὃ παθήσω ὑμών ὥστε πάντες...

6:39 [4.4.18]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:40 [4.4.19]—οὐκ ἐστίν καθαρὸς ὁ χρήσιμος καὶ διδασκαλοῦν [αὐτοῦ likely not present]...

6:41 [5.22]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:42 [5.22]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

6:43 [4.4.20; 7.4.7; 8.8]—[Variously attested and thus rendering the precise wording obscure. It is likely that the order of the elements was δένδρον καλὸν followed by δένδρον σαπρὸν, and it is clear that the references to the impossibility of these trees bearing bad or good fruit, respectively, was present. The verb most likely used is ποιεῖ.]
6:44—Unattested

6:45 [5.23; 7.4.8; 8.9]—ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὕπαρκτον τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ οἱ πονηροὶ ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ προφέρει τὸ πονηρόν.

6:46 [5.24]—τί [δέ may have been present, με likely present] καλεῖτε· κύριε, κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;

7:1—Unattested

7:2 [4.4.21]—[Tertullian indicates that the account involves a centurion]

7:3—8—Unattested

7:9 [4.4.21; 6.4.11]—…λέγω [δέ likely not present] ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην πίστιν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ εὑρον.

7:10–11—Unattested

7:12 [5.25]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:13—Unattested

7:14 [5.25]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:15 [5.25]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:16 [5.25]—…ἐδόξασα τὸν θεόν… [ὁτι likely present] {μέγας προφήτης} ἐγήγερται ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ [ὁτι likely present] ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

7:17—Unattested

7:18 [4.4.22]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:19 [4.4.22; 7.4.9]—…σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἢ ἄλλον προσδοκῶμεν;

7:20 [4.4.22]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:21—Unattested

7:22 [4.4.22; 8.10]—…(τυφλοί ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν)…(νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται)…

7:23 [4.4.22; 6.4.12; 8.11]—…μακάριος [ἐστιν may have been present] ὃς οὐ μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί. [the verse may have had a textual alteration so as to make explicit that it is referring to John the Baptist being scandalized]

7:24 [5.26]—…περὶ Ἰωάννου· τί ἐξήλθατε {θεάσασθαι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον};…

7:25—Unattested

7:26 [4.4.23]—…προφήτην, ναί…καὶ περισσότερον.

7:27 [4.4.24; 6.4.13; 7.4.10]—ὁτος ἐστὶ περὶ οὗ γέγραπται ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸς προσώπου σου, ὃς κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδόν σου [ἔμπροσθέν σου is unattested by Tertullian but is attested in the Adamantius Dialogue; Marcion's reading is uncertain].

7:28 [4.4.25]—…μείζων (ἐν γεννητοῖς) γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου (οὐδείς ἐστίν). (ὁ δὲ μικρότερος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων αὐτοῦ ἐστίν).

7:29–35—Unattested

7:36 [6.4.14]—…καὶ εἰσελθών εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Φαρισαίου κατεκλύθη.

7:37 [5.27; 6.4.14]—…γυνή…ἀμαρτωλός…
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7:38 [5.27; 6.4.14] — ... στᾶσα ὀπίσω παρὰ τοὺς πόδας ... {τοῖς δάκρυσι ἔβρεξε ... ταῖς θριξὶν ... ἐξέμασσεν ... καταφίλει τοὺς πόδας ... ἥλειψεν ... }

7:39—43 — Unattested

7:44 [6.4.15] — ... ἔβρεξεν τοὺς πόδας μου ...

7:45 [6.4.15] — ... καταρφίλουσα ...

7:46 [6.4.15] — ... ἥλειψε ... 

7:47 [5.27] — [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:48 [5.27] — [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

7:49 — Unattested

7:50 [5.27] — ... ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε ...

8:1 — Unattested

8:2 [5.28] — ... γυναῖκες ...

8:3 [5.28] — ... γυνὴ ... ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρώδου ... αἵτινες καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάρχοντων αὐταῖς.

8:4 [5.29] — ... διὰ παραβολῆς.

8:5—7 — Unattested

8:8 [5.29] — ... ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκουέτω.

8:9—15 — Unattested

8:16 [5.30] — (οὐδείς) ... λύχνον ... χαλύπτει ...

8:17 [4.4.26] — ... κρυστάλλων ... θανερών γενήσται ...

8:18 [4.4.27] — βλέπετε ... πῶς ἀκούετε - ὃς { ... ἄν} ἔχει δοθήσεται αὐτῷ [δέ likely not present, though καί may have been present] ὃς ἄν μὴ ἔχει, καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀφθηγήσεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

8:19 [6.4.16] — Not Present

8:20 [4.4.28; 6.4.16; 8.12] — {ἀπηγγέλω ... αὐτῷ} ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου {ἐξω ἐστήκασιν ἰδεῖν θέλοντές σε}.

8:21 [4.4.29] — τὶς μοι μήτηρ καὶ τίνες μοι ἀδελφοί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τοὺς λόγους μου ἀκούοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς.

8:22 [5.31] — ... διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν ...

8:23 [5.31; 6.4.17] — πλεόντων [δέ likely present] αὐτῶν ἀφύπνωσεν ... (λαίλαψ ἀνέμου εἰς τὴν λίμνην) ...

8:24 [5.31; 6.4.17] — ... δὲ ἐγερθεὶς ἐπιτάσσει τῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ...

8:25 [5.31] — ... τὶς δὲ ὦτῶν ἔστιν, ὃς {καί may have been present} τοῖς ἀνέμοις {καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπιτάσσει};

8:26 — Unattested

8:27 [5.32] — ... ἀνήρ ... δαιμόνια ...

8:28 [5.32] — ... Ἡσυχού ὑεῖ τῷ θεῷ ... μὴ με βασανίσῃς.

8:29 — Unattested

8:30 [5.32; 7.4.11] — ... τί σοι {ἔστην ὄνομα}; ὃ δὲ εἶπε· λεγεῖν ... {δαιμόνια πολλά} ... 

8:31 [5.32] — ... παρεκάλουν ... εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ...
8:32 [5.32]—…(ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοῖς).
8:33–42a—Unattested
8:42b [6.4.18]—…[ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπάγειν αὐτοῦς may not have been drawn from this verse] {συνέπνιγον αὐτὸν οἱ ὄχλοι}
8:43 [5.33; 6.4.18]—…γνή τις (οὖσα ἐν ρύσει αἴματος)…
8:44 [5.33; 6.4.18]—…ἡψατο…τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ…(ἐστη ἡ ρύσις τοῦ αἴματος αὐτῆς).
8:45 [5.33; 6.4.18]—καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τις μου ἥψατο [perhaps Marcion read Πέτρος καὶ οἱ σύν αὐτῷ?] (ἐπιστάτα, οἱ ὄχλοι συνέχουσιν σε καὶ ἀποθλίβουσιν;)
8:46 [5.33; 6.4.18]—…ἡψατό μοῦ τις. καὶ {γὰρ ἔγνων δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν ἀπ᾿ ἐμοῦ}.
8:47—Unattested
8:48 [5.33]—…ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε…
8:49–56—Unattested
9:1 [7.4.12]—συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ νόσους θεραπεύειν.
9:2 [5.34; 7.4.12]—καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑῆσθαι.
9:3 [5.34; 7.4.13]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:4—Unattested
9:5 [5.34]…μη δέχωνται [ὕμας likely present]…{τὸν κυνορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν [ὕμων likely present] ἀποτινάξατε} εἰς μαρτύριον…
9:6 [7.4.14]—ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ διήρχοντο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ.
9:7 [5.35]—…Ἡρῴδης…ὑπὸ τινῶν (ὅτι) Ἰωάννης (ἠγέρθη ἐκ νεκρῶν).
9:8 [5.35]—ὑπὸ τινῶν…Ἡλίας…ἄλλων…(ὅτι) προφήτης εἷς τῶν ἀρχαίων (ἀνέστη).
9:9–11—Unattested
9:12 [5.36]—…ἐν ἐρήμω…
9:13 [5.36]—…ἄρτοι…καὶ ἰχθύες…
9:14 [5.36]—…{ἄνδρες πεντακισχίλιοι}…
9:15—Unattested
9:16 [6.4.19; 7.4.15]—…ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς…
9:17 [5.36]—…τὸ περισσεύσαν…
9:18 [7.4.16]—…τίνα μὲ λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;
9:19 [7.4.16]—(οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθέντες εἰπαν) Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἡλίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ὡς προφήτης τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνέστη.
9:20 [5.37; 7.4.16]—…οἱ μὴ δὲ τίνα…; {ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ Πέτρος} εἶπε· σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός [a reference to Christ being “of God” or “Son of the living God” may have been missing]
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9:21 [5.37]—... parēγγειλεν μηδενὶ λέγειν τούτο.
9:22 [4.4.30; 6.4.20; 7.4.17]—... δεὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ ἀπο- 

doxiaκυβήηνα ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἀποκαταθήηναι καὶ 

μετὰ τρεῖς ημέρας ἐγερθήηναι.
9:23—Unattested
9:24 [4.4.31]—δς [γὰρ ἂν likely present] θέλη τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει 

αὐτὴν καὶ δς ἀπολέση αὐτὴν ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ... σώσει αὐτὴν.
9:25—Unattested
9:26 [4.4.32]—δς [γὰρ likely present] ἐν ἐπαισχυνθήη με {καγὼ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι} 

αὐτὸν [v. 26b may not have been present but technically it is unattested]
9:27—Unattested
9:28 [4.4.33; 6.4.21; 8.13]—... (παραλαβὼν Πετρόν καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον ἀνέβη) 

eἰς τὸ ὄρος...
9:29 [4.4.34]—... καὶ ἰ ἰ ματισμός αὐτοῦ {λευκός likely present} ἐξαστράπτων.
9:30 [4.4.35; 6.4.21; 8.13]—καὶ ι ἰ δού {δού ἀνδρές} συνελάλουν αὐτῷ... 

Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας
9:31a [4.4.35; 6.4.21; 8.13]—... (οφθέντες) ἐν δόξῃ
9:31b [4.4.35]—Not Present
9:32 [4.4.35; 8.13]—... εἶδον τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ... [Moses and Elijah] συνεστῶτας 

αὐτῷ.
9:33 [5.38]—... (ἐν τῷ διαχωρίζεσθαι)... ο Πέτρος... καλὸν ἐστίν {οδε ημᾶς} εἶναι, 

καὶ ποιήσωμεν ὡδε τρεῖς σκηνὰς, {μίαν σοί καὶ Μωϋσεί μίαν καὶ Ἡλίᾳ μίαν}, μή 

eιδὼς ὃ λέγει.
9:34 [5.38]—... νεφέλη... (ἐπεσκίαζον αὐτούς)...
9:35 [4.4.36; 6.4.22; 8.13]—... φωνὴ [ἐγένετο may have been present] ἐκ τῆς 

νεφέλης αὐτὸς [λέγουσα may have been present]. ἐστίν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς 

αὐτοῦ ἀκούετη.
9:36–39—Unattested
9:40 [6.4.23; 8.14]—... ἐδεήθην τῶν μαθητῶν σου... οὐκ ἤδυνηθησαν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό.
9:41 [5.39; 6.4.23]—... πρὸς αὐτούς... ὁ γενεὰ ἀπίστος ἐστίν ὄς ἐσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς; 

ἐστίν ἡ ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν...
9:42–43—Unattested
9:44 [6.4.24]—... ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χείρας 

ἀνθρώπων.
9:45—Unattested

6 Cf. the following n. 7.
7 If the argument that Tertullian is referring to v. 32 in Marc. 4.22.16 is valid (cf. the discussion 

in chapter 4.4.35), then perhaps greater certainty could be assigned to συνελάλουν αὐτῷ in 

v. 30 and to the reading here.
9:46 [5.40]—...μειζων...
9:47 [5.40]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:48 [5.40]—[Attested but no insight into wording beyond παιδίον can be gained]
9:49–53—Unattested
9:54 [5.40]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:55 [5.40]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:56—Unattested
9:57 [4.4.37]—...ἄκολουθήσω σοι ὅπου ἂν ἀπέρχῃ.
9:58 [4.4.37]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
9:59 [4.4.37]—...θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου.
9:60 [4.4.37; 8.14]—...μὴς τούς νεκρούς θάψαι τούς {νεκρούς ἑαυτῶν}, σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὲ καὶ διάγγελε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
9:61 [4.4.37]—...ἀποτάξασθαι (τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκον μου).
9:62 [4.4.37]—...βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω...
10:1 [5.42]—...ἐπέστειλεν ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα...ἀνέδειξεν...ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα...ἀπέστειλεν...εἰς...πόλιν...
10:2–3—Unattested
10:4 [5.42]—...μήδε ῥαβδον, μὴ ὑποδήματα...μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.
10:5 [4.4.38]—εἰς ἥν...ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν...λέγετε· εἰρήνη (τῷ οἰκίῳ τούτῳ).
10:6—Unattested
10:7 [5.42]—...ἄξιος [γάρ may have been present] ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ...
10:8 [5.42]—...δέχωνται...
10:9 [5.42]—...(λέγετε αὐτοῖς) {ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ...ήγγικεν}
10:10 [5.42]—...μὴ δέχωνται ύμᾶς...(εἴπατε).
10:11 [5.42]—...τὸν κονιορτόν...{ἀπομασσόμεθα}...πλήν...γινώσκετε [.toggle likely present] ήγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
10:12–15—Unattested
10:16 [5.43]—...ό {ἀθετῶν ύμᾶς} ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ...
10:17–18—Unattested
10:19 [4.4.39]—...(δίδωμι ου δέδωκα)...τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπάνω...ἀφεων καὶ σκορπίων...
10:20—Unattested
10:21 [4.4.40; 6.4.25]—...εὐχαριστῶ σοι καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι ἰδία τήν κρυπτὰ σοφοῖς καὶ συνετοῖς ἀπεκάλυψας νηπίοις· ναί, ὁ πατὴρ...
10:22 [4.4.41; 7.4.18; 8.15]—πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός...οὔδεις γινώσκετε τίς ἔστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὃ ἐάν...ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.
10:23 [5.44]—...μακάριοι οἱ ὁρθᾶλμοι οἱ βλέποντες ἡ βλέπετε.
10:24 [5.44]—λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι προφήται οὐκ εἶδαν, ἡ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε.
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10:25 [4.4.42; 6.4.26]—...νομικὸς... (τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτὸν)...τί ποιήσας ζωὴν κληρονομήσως;

10:26 [6.4.26]—...εἶπεν... ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται... τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν)... τίς ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν)

10:28 [4.4.26]—...οἴκησῃ... ἔσται εἰς τὸν νόμον τί γέγραπται... ἐς τὸν νόμον τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν)

10:29—42—Unattested

11:1 [4.4.44]—... ἐν τῷ εἶναι... ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τί γέγραπται... ἐς τὸν νόμον τις ἐκπειράζων αὐτόν)

11:2 [4.4.45]—...Αὐτὸς ἡμῶν... εἶπέν (καὶ may have been present) Ἰωάννης εἶπέν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.

11:3 [4.4.46; 8.16]—... τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ; πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου, (καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρῆσόν μοι... τρεῖς ἄρτους).

11:4—Unattested

11:5 [4.4.49; 6.4.27]—... τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἕξει φίλον, καὶ πορεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν μεσονυκτίου, (καὶ εἴπῃ αὐτῷ· φίλε, χρῆσόν μοι)...
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11:27 [4.4.53; 8.17]—... (ἐπάρασα... φωνήν) γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου... μακαρία ἡ κολία ἡ βαστάσασα σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὕς ἐθήλασας.

11:28 [4.4.53]—... μενοῦ... μακάριοι οἱ άκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιοῦντες...

11:29 [4.4.54; 6.4.28]—... ἣ γενέα αὐτὴ... σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ...

11:30–32 [6.4.28]—Not Present

11:33 [4.4.55]—... λύχνον... (εἰς κρύπτην)... ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν...

11:34–36—Unattested

11:37 [5.47]—... ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνήματα τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς.

11:38 [5.47]—... ὅτι φορτίζετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία δυσβάστακτα... ὑμῖν...
12:8 [4.4.60; 6.4.33]—λέγω γὰρ ύμῖν πᾶς ὃς ὁμολογήσει [uncertainty in the manuscript tradition of Adversus Marcionem renders a decision between the reading μέ and ἐν ἐμοί impossible] [Tertullian's coram does not reveal the preposition used] τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμολογήσου ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

12:9 [4.4.60; 7.4.21]—ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενος με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀφεθήσεται ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

12:10 [4.4.61]—καὶ πᾶς may have been present] ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ [λόγον likely present] ἐνάθρωποι, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, ὃς δ᾽ ἂν εἴπῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.

12:11 [5.50]—προσφέρωσιν...ἐπὶ...τὰς ἁρχὰς...(μὴ μεριμνήσητε πῶς ἢ τί ἀπολογήσησθε)

12:12 [5.50]—τὸ γὰρ ἄγιον πνεῦμα διδάξει ὑμᾶς τῇ ὥρᾳ, ἃ δεῖ εἰπεῖν.

12:13 [5.51]—τίς...εἰπὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου καθευδῶν κρίθην [ἡ μεριστήν may not have been present] ἐφ' ὑμῖν.

12:14 [5.51]—τίς με κατέστησην κρίθην.

12:15—Unattested

12:16 [4.4.62]—παραβολὴν...[ἀνθρώπου τινὸς] πλουσίου...

12:17—Unattested

12:18—Unattested

12:19 [4.4.62]—Attested but no insight into wording can be gained

12:20 [4.4.62]—εἰπεῖν [δὲ likely present] αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς...[ἵνα θεοὶ κατεστηθήσιταν...]

12:21—Unattested

12:22 [5.52]—...[μὴ μεριμνάτε] τῇ ψυχῇ (τί φάγητε, μηδὲ) τῷ σώματι (τὶ ἐνδύσησθε).

12:23 [5.52]—...[ψυχῇ (πλεῖστον ἐστὶ)] τῆς μετοχῆς...τὸ σώμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος.

12:24 [4.4.63]—...[κάρακας...οὐ σπείρουσιν] οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας...[καὶ ὁ θεὸς τρέφει αὐτούς attested though likely not present]...οὐχ ὑφαίνει ὡδὲ Σολομῶν (ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων).

12:25—26—Unattested

12:27 [4.4.64]—...τὰ δριάν...{ού} ψαίνει...οὐδὲ Σολομῶν...οὐ[δὲ Σολομῶν (ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ...)]

12:28 [4.4.64; 6.4.34]—...[τὸν χόρτον...ο θεὸς...[προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν]...

12:29—Unattested

12:30 [5.53; 6.4.35]—καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ [πάντα may not have been present] τὰ ἔθνη...[θεοῦ καὶ ταῦτα...[πάντα is attested by Epiphanius, but may not have been present]...
12:33–34—Unattested
12:35 [5.54]—... ai ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι... ii λύγνοι καιάμενοι.
12:36 [5.54]—... προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον... ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων... 
12:37 [5.54]—... δυόλοι... κύριος...
12:38 [6.4.38]—... ἐσπερινῆ φυλακῆ... 
12:39 [5.55]—... ei ἤδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποία ὀρφα... ὁ κλέπτης (ἔρχεται), [ἐγρηγόρησεν
ἂν καί possibly not present] ὃν ἀφῆκεν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ.
12:40 [5.55]—... γίνεσθε ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ὁ κλέπτης ἐδόθη... ὅτι οὐκ ἄρα τὴν ὄρφανα τὴν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἔκαψεν. ὁ κύριος ἐν αὐτῷ ἐρχόμενος ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐγρηγόρησε... ἀναλύσῃ ἐκ τῶν γάμων... 
12:41 [5.55]—... ὁ Πέτρος... πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔμεινε... ὁ Πέτρος... 
12:42 [5.55]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
12:43 [5.55]—... ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος...
12:44 [5.55]—... ἐπὶ πάσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχονταίν [αὐτοῦ likely present] καταστήσει αὐτόν.
12:45 [5.55]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
12:46 [5.55; 6.4.39; 7.4.22]—... ἤδει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου... ἡμέρα... ὅτι προσδεχομένοι τὸν κύριον... ἔρχεται. ὁ δε μὴ γνώσας δὲ ἀξία πληγών... ὀρφατ... ἡμέρα... ὅτι γινώσκει... καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων δήσει. [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
12:47 [5.55; 7.4.23]—... δυόλος ὁ γνώσας... καὶ μὴ ποιήσας... δαρήστεται πολλά,
12:48 [5.55; 7.4.23]—... ὁ δὲ γνώσας... δαρήστεται πολλά (παντὶ Δὲ ὁ ἐκδόθη... ὡς τὴν ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ... ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ... παρέδεχτον πολλά παρεπέμενεν αὐτόν).
12:49a [5.56; 7.4.24]—... ἡμέρα ἐλθοῦν βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν... [12:49b is unattested]
12:50—Unattested
12:51 [5.56; 7.4.24]—... δαρήσεται [ὅτι likely present] ἐν τὴν γῆν... μὴ εἰρήνην ἔρχεται...
12:52—Unattested
12:53 [5.56]—... δαρήστεται πατὴρ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν... μὴ εἰρήνην ἔρχεται...
12:54—55—Unattested
12:56 [5.57]—... δαρήστεται... τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκιμάζετε... τὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸν κριτήν... τὸν κριτὴν... μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερήν... καὶ πενθερή... ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην...
12:55—55—Unattested
12:56 [5.57]—... ὡποκριταί, τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δοκιμάζετε... τὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸν κριτήν... μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερήν... καὶ πενθερή... ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην...
12:57 [4.4.66]—... καὶ ἀρ᾽ ἐκαβύνων ὁ κριτής... τὸν κριτήν... μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως καὶ ἀποδῶς τὸν οὐρανόν... 
12:58 [4.4.67; 6.4.40]—... ἐκαβύνων κατακύρη... σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν... καὶ ὁ κριτής... κατακύρη... σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν... 
12:59 [4.4.67]—... καὶ ἀρ᾽ ἐκαβύνων ὁ κριτής... σε πρὸς τὸν κριτήν... 
13:1–9 [6.4.41]—Not Present
13:10–13—Unattested
13:14 [5.58]—... (τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐθεράπευσεν)
13:15 [5.58]—... ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν τοῖς σάββασιν οὐ λύει {τὸν ὄνον ἢ τὸν βοῦν αὐτοῦ} ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης καὶ ἀπαγογῶν ποτίζει;

13:16 [6.4.42]—ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραάμ... ἐδήσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς...

13:17—18—Unattested

13:19 [5.59]—ἄμωμα ἐστίν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἐσπέιρεν ἐν τῷ κηπῷ ἑαυτοῦ.

13:20 [5.60]—... ταύτην δὲ θυγατέρα Ἀβραάμ...

13:13:17–18—Unattested

13:21 [5.60]—ἄμωμα ἐστίν ζύμῃ...

13:22—24—Unattested

13:25 [5.61]—ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης καὶ ἀποκλείσῃ τὴν θύραν... κρούειν...

13:26 [5.61]—... ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας.

13:27 [5.61; 7.4.25]—... ἀπόστητε ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάντες ἐργάται ἀνομίας.

13:28 [4.4.68; 6.4.43]—εἰκεὶ ἦστατο ὁ θεός καὶ ὁ θρήνος τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ἔψευσθε πάντας τούς δικαιούς εἰσερχομένους (ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ κρατουμένους ἔξω.

13:29–35 [6.4.44]—Not Present

14:1–11—Unattested

14:12 [5.62]—... ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον... φώνει...  

14:13—Unattested

14:14 [4.4.69]—... οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνταποδοῦναι...

14:15—Unattested

14:16 [5.63]—... ἀνθρωπός τις ἐποίησε δεῖπνον [μέγα may have been present] καὶ ἐκάλεσε πολλούς.

14:17 [5.63]—... ἀπέστειλεν...

14:18 [5.63]—... ἧρξαντο... καὶ ἄγρον ἡγόρασα...

14:19 [5.63]—... ἡμεῖς βροῦν ἡγόρασα...

14:20 [5.63]—... γυναῖκα ἐγόρασα...

14:21 [5.63]—... ἀπήγγειλεν... τότε ἐμπορεύεται ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης... ἔξω... ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πόλεως...

14:22 [5.63]—... ἐτι τόπος ἐστίν.

14:23 [5.63]—... εἰς τὰς ὀδοὺς καὶ φραγμοὺς...

14:24 [5.63]—... ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει...

14:25—35—Unattested [concerning 14:26 cf. chapter 3, n. 74]

15:1–2—Unattested

15:3 [4.4.70]—... παραβολὴν...

15:4 [4.4.70]—... πράβατα... ἀπολέσας...

15:5 [4.4.70]—... εὐρόν...

15:6 [4.4.70]—... συγχάρητε...
15:7 [4.4.70]—[the allusion to χαρά...έπι...άμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι may have come from this verse]
15:8 [4.4.70]—...δραχμάς...ἀπολέσῃ...ζητεῖ...
15:9 [4.4.70]—...εὐρούσα...συγχάρητε...
15:10 [4.4.70]—[the allusion to χαρά...έπι...άμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι may have come from this verse; τῶν ἀγγέλων may not have been present]
15:11–32 [6.4.45]—Not Present
16:1—Unattested
16:2 [5.64]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
16:3—Unattested
16:4 [5.64]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
16:5 [5.64]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
16:6 [5.64]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
16:7—Unattested
16:9a [4.4.71]—(καὶ ἐγὼ or κἀγὼ) {λέγω ὑμῖν...[16:9b is unattested]}
16:10—Unattested
16:11 [5.65]—εἰ [οὖν may have been present] ἐν τῷ {μαμωνᾷ ἀδίκῳ} πιστοὶ σύχ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει;
16:12 [5.65]—[καί likely present] ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐχ εὑρέθητε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς {δώσει ὑμῖν};
16:13 [4.4.72; 7.4.26]—οὐδεὶς...δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν...{ἐνὸς καταφρονήσει καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀνθέξεται}; οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.
16:14 [5.66]—...οἱ Φαρισαῖοι φιλάργυροι...ἐξεμυκτήριζον...
16:15 [5.66]—...ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ δικαιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων...ὁ δὲ θεὸς γινώσκει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, τὸ ψήφιον ἐστίν παρὰ θεῷ ἀνθρώπων βδέλυγμα ἐστίν τῷ θεῷ.
16:16 [4.4.73; 6.4.46]—ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἐξ Ἰωάννου- (ἐξ ἢ ἀφ’) οὐ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσχημονίζεται καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται.
16:17 [5.67]—ἐὐκοπώτερον...τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν παρέλθειν ἡ τῶν λόγων μου μίαν κεραίαν παρέλθειν.
16:18 [5.68]—[πᾶς likely present] ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ [πᾶς may have been present] γαμῶν ἐτέραν μοιχεύει, καὶ...ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς γαμῶν ὁμοίως μοιχός ἐστίν.
16:19 [6.4.47; 7.4.27]—ἀνθρωπῶς τις ἦν πλούσιος καὶ ἐνεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον, εὑρανάμενος καθ’ ἱμέραν λαμπρός.
16:20 [6.4.47; 7.4.27]—πτωχὸς δὲ τις ὁνόματι Λάζαρος ἐβέβλητο εἰς τὸν πυλῶνα...ἡλκωμένος.
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16:21 [7.4.27]—καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἔλειχον τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ.

16:22 [4.4.74; 6.4.47; 7.4.27]—ἐγένετο . . . ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Λαζάρου. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ ἐτάφη.

16:23 [5.69; 7.4.27]—. . . ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐπάρας οὖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις, ὁρᾷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ.

16:24 [5.69; 7.4.27]—καὶ ἀπεθάνε καὶ ἐτάφη. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ἐτάφη.

16:25 [6.4.47; 7.4.27]—{Ἀβραὰμ δὲ εἶπεν·} τέκνον, μνήσθητι ὅτι ἀπέλαβες σὺ τὰ ἀγαθά . . . ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά. νῦν δὲ ὡδε παρακαλεῖται, σὺ δὲ ὀδυνᾶσαι.

16:26 [5.69; 7.4.27]—καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις μεταξὺ {ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν} χάσμα μέγα ἐστήρικται, ὅπως οἱ ἐνταῦθα διαβῆναι . . . πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὡδε διαπερῶσιν.

16:27 [7.4.27]—. . . ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε, πάτερ, ἵνα πέμψῃς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

16:28 [7.4.27]—εἶχον γὰρ εἶχεν πέντε ἀδελφοὺς· ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς . . . μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεήσωσι εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

16:29 [4.4.75; 6.4.47; 7.4.27]—λέγει αὐτῷ . . . ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

16:30 [7.4.27]—οὗτος δὲ εἶπεν· οὐχί, πάτερ . . . ἀλλὰ ἐὰν τις ἐκ νεκρῶν πορευθῇ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀκουσάτωσαν αὐτῶν.

16:31 [6.4.47; 7.4.27]—εἰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπέλθῃ ἀκούσουσιν αὐτοῦ.

17:1 [5.70; 7.4.28]—. . . τὰ σκάνδαλα . . . οὐαὶ . . .

17:2 [5.70]—συνέφερεν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἤκουσαν δὲ εἰ {μυλικὸς λίθος} {περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ περιέκειτο} καὶ ἔρριπτο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ {ἵνα ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων σκανδάλησῃ}.

17:3 [5.70]—. . . ἀμαρτησάτων. . . ἀδελφὸς. . . ἐπιτίμησον . . .

17:4 [4.4.76]—. . . εἰ ἐπέταξας [τῆς ἡμέρας likely present] ἀμαρτησάτως ἐλεήσῃ ἐς . . . (ἀφήσεις or ἀφες) . . .

17:5–10a—Unattested

17:10b [6.4.48]—Not Present

17:11 [5.71]—. . . Σαμαρείας . . .

17:12 [5.71; 6.4.49]—. . . δέκα λεπροὶ . . . [the final phrase of v. 12 is not present]

17:13 [6.4.49]—Not Present
4:27 [5.2; 6.4.2]—[ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς λέγων from Luke 17:14 perhaps stood here]

17:14 [5.71; 6.4.49]—... poruevthenes deixate eautous tois iereusin... en tw upayegov ekatharisthsan.

17:15 [5.71]—eis [de likely present] eix autwn...

17:16 [5.71]—...(autos hyn) Samarihtes.

17:17 [5.71]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

17:18 [5.71]—... douvai doxan tw theo...

17:19 [5.71]—... h pistei sou sestwken se.

17:20 [5.72]—eporwthieis de upo twv Farsiawv pote erxetai h baasilieia tou theou... ouk erxetai h baasilieia tou theou metap parathrhetewos.

17:21 [5.72]—oude legovsin- idou odes... idou ekhe- idou gar h baasilieia tou theou entos ymwn estin.

17:22 [6.4.50]—... eleusontai hemerai, othan epithymhseste {idein} mian twv hemerwn tou uioi tou andriveron...

17:23—24—Unattested

17:25 [5.73]—prwtov [de may have been present] dei twv uion andriverou polla paidein kai apodokimasei...

17:26 [5.73]—... (en) taiz hemerowv Nive...

17:27—Unattested

17:28 [5.73]—... (en) taiz hemerowv Lwt...

17:29—31—Unattested

17:32 [5.73]—mnenonueute tis zynaikos Lwt.

17:33—37—Unattested

18:1 [5.74]—... parakeleihn...(pros to dein pantote prosseikhsethai autous kai h egnakein)

18:2 [5.74]—... xristis...

18:3 [5.74]—Xhra...

18:4—Unattested

18:5 [5.74]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

18:6—Unattested

18:7 [5.74]—o [de likely present] theos... poihssei thn exdikhsin twv eklektwv autou twn boawton pros auton hemeras kai nuxtos...

18:8—9—Unattested

18:10 [4.4.77]—{anvrwpoi duo}...eis to ieron prosseuxasthai...Farsiados... telwnis.

18:11 [4.4.77]—[An arrogant prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:12 [4.4.77]—[An arrogant prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:13 [4.4.77]—[A humble prayer attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:14 [4.4.77]—κατέβη (οὗτος) δεδικαιωμένος ... (παρ᾽ ἐκείνων) ... [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:15—Unattested
18:16 [7.4.29]—... ἀφετε τὰ παιδία ἐρχεσθαι πρός με ... τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
18:17—Unattested
18:18 [5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30]—(... τις αὐτόν ... λέγων) διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ἔρχεσθαι πρός με; [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:19 [5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30; 8.18]—(εἶπεν ... Ἰησοῦς) τί με λέγεις [Epiphanius attests μή με λέγει/λέγετε] ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός εἰ μή εἰς [Epiphanius attests εἰς ἐστιν ἀγαθός] ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ [Tertullian may have read only ὁ θεός in Marcion's Gospel. The differences may be due to variation in copies of Marcion's Gospel].
18:20 [5.75; 6.4.51; 7.4.30]—[Various openings to the verse are attested: Tertullian attests τάς ἐντολὰς οἶδας; Epiphanius attests τάς ἐντολὰς οἶδα; and the Adamantius Dialogue attests ὁ δὲ ἔφη· τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας. The differences may have resulted from variation in copies of Marcion's Gospel.] μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μηδὲ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου.
18:21 [5.75; 7.4.30]—... ταῦτα πάντα ἐφύλαξα ἐκ νεότητος.
18:22 [4.4.78; 7.4.30]—according to Tertullian [Rufinus reads ὁ Ἰησοῦς] παρέρχεται. [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:23 [5.75]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
18:24–30—Unattested
18:31–33 [6.4.52]—Not Present
18:34—Unattested
18:35 [5.76; 6.4.53; 7.4.31]—ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ, καὶ [Rufinus reads ἦν] τις τυφλὸς ἐπαιτῶν ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν οὐράνιον ὁδόν.
18:36 [7.4.31]—... ὁ δὲ ὁχλος διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο.
18:37 [5.76; 7.4.31]—... ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος παρέρχεται. [likely αὐτῷ]
18:38 [4.4.79; 6.4.53; 7.4.31]—καὶ ἐβόησεν λέγων. Ἰησοῦς ὁ δὲ Ἀναχαῖος ἔλεγεν με.
18:39 [5.76]—οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτόν ἐπαίσχυντο τῷ τυφλῷ [likely αὐτῷ] ἤνα στιγμὴν ... [Rufinus reads ἤναι στιγμὴ]...
18:40 [7.4.31]—... διδάσκαλε τί ποιήσας ἐρχεσθαι πρός με; [Epiphanius attests μή με λέγετε] ἀγαθός εἰς ἐστιν ἀγαθός ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ [likely αὐτῷ] ἀγαθός ἢ ἄχθηναι ἢ ἦγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν.
43:41 [7.4.31]—τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ο δὲ εἶπεν· κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω.
43:42 [4.4.80; 6.4.53; 7.4.31]—καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἀναβλέψων· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.
43:43 [5.76; 6.4.53; 7.4.31]—καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς... {αἶνον ἔδωκεν} τῷ θεῷ.
43:1—Unattested
43:2 [5.77]—... Ζακχαῖος...
43:3–5—Unattested
43:6 [5.77]—... ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν...
43:7—Unattested
43:8 [5.77]—... τὰ ἡμίσια... τῶν ὑπαρχόντων... {(τοῖς πτωχοῖς} δίδωμι}, καὶ εἰ τίνος τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, {τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι}.
43:9 [5.77]—... σήμερον σωτηρία...
43:10 [4.4.81]—... οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα.
43:11 [5.78]—... ὑπεξερχόμενον ἀρχάγγελον πάντων... {τοῖς πτωχοῖς} δίδωμι}, καὶ εἴ τινος τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, {τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι}.
43:12—Unattested
43:13 [5.78]—... δούλους... ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς... μνᾶς...
43:14–21—Unattested
43:15 [5.78]—... αὐστηρός... ἄιρων ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκα καὶ θερίζων ὃ οὐκ ἔσπειρα...
43:16 [5.78]—... (σὺν τόκῳ)...
43:17–25—Unattested
43:18 [5.78]—... καὶ ὃ δοκεῖ ἔχειν ἀρθήσεται...
20:25 [4.4.83] — ἀπόδοτε [τοῖνν may have been present here or before the verb] τά [the presence or absence of τοῦ cannot be determined] Κάσαρος [the presence or absence of τοῦ cannot be determined] Καίσαρι καὶ τά τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

20:26—Unattested


20:29 [5.81] — (ἔπτα . . . ἀδέλφοι) . . . (λαβὸν) γυναῖκα . . .

20:30 [5.81] — [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

20:31 [5.81] — [Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

20:32—Unattested

20:33 [5.81] — {ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει (τίνος αὐτῶν γίνεται γυνῆ)} . . .

20:34 [5.81] — ἀποκριθέντωσι τοῦ τοῦ αἰῶνος γαμοῦσιν καὶ γαμίζονται.

20:35 [4.4.84] — οὗς [δέ likely present] κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τῆς κληρονομίας καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται.

20:36 [4.4.84] — οὐδὲ γάρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐτί μέλλουσιν, ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν καὶ υἱοὶ εἰσιν may have been present) [καὶ υἱοὶ εἰσιν] . . .

20:37–38a [6.4.57] — Not Present

20:38b—Unattested

20:39 [5.81] — {τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας} . . .

20:40—Unattested

20:41 [5.82] — (πῶς λέγουσιν τὸν χριστὸν εἶναι Δαυὶδ υἱόν;)

20:42—Unattested

20:44 [5.82] — Δαυὶδ . . . κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ . . .

20:45–47—Unattested

21:1–6—Unattested


21:8 [4.4.86] — . . . πολλοὶ [γάρ likely present] ἐξεύρονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί [μου likely present], λέγοντες [ὅτι may have been present]. ἐγὼ εἰμί ὁ Χριστός . . . [the final element in the verse may be attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

21:9 [4.4.87] — . . . πολέμους . . . δεῖ [γάρ likely present] {ταύτα γενέσθαι} . . .

21:10 [4.4.87] — . . . {βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν καὶ ἠθνὸς ἐπὶ ἠθνὸς} . . .

21:11 [4.4.87] — {λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ σεισμοί τε} . . . {φόβητρά τε καὶ σημεία ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ} . . .


21:16 [5.83]—(παραδοθήσεσθε δὲ καὶ ύπὸ γονέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων)…
21:17 [5.83]—… μισούμενοι… διὰ τὸ ὑνομά μου.
21:18 [6.4.58]—Not Present
21:19 [5.83]—ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ σώστε ἑαυτοὺς.
21:20 [5.84]—… κυκλουμένην ύπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἱερουσαλήμ… ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.
21:21–22 [6.4.59]—Not Present
21:23–24—Unattested
21:25 [4.4.88]—… ἕν ἡλιοῦ καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστράς σημεῖα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἐδών ἐν ἀπορία ὡς ἡμέραι σφυγμαίον ὡς ἠχοὺς θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης
21:26 [4.4.88]—… προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ κακῶν· {αὐταὶ γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται}
21:27 [4.4.89]—καὶ τότε ὤψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν ἡλιοῦ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστράς σημεῖα, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ σώσετε ἑαυτούς.
21:29 [5.85]—οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
21:30 [4.4.90]—ὅταν προβάλωσιν τὸν καρπὸν, γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι τὸ θέρος ἠγγίκεν. οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
21:31 [4.4.90]—οὕτως καὶ ύμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστίν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
21:32 [5.85]—οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ εἰ μὴ πάντα γένηται…
22:1 [5.86]—(προσεχέτε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς, μήποτε βαρηθῶσιν {αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν} (ἐν κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ καὶ {βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις} καὶ {ἐπιστῇ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος} [ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη]
22:6–7—Unattested
22:8 [6.4.61]—καὶ εἶπεν τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς· ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσατε {ἵνα φάγωμεν τὸ Πάσχα}.
22:9–13—Unattested
22:14 [6.4.62]—καὶ ἀνέπεσε καὶ οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τὸν αὐτὸν
22:15 [4.4.92; 6.4.62; 8.19]—καὶ εἶπεν ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τούτῳ τὸ πάσχα
φαγεῖν μεθ᾿ ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν.
22:16 [6.4.63]—Not Present
22:17 [7.4.32]—[If the Adamantius Dialogue is attesting Marcion's Gospel,
potήριον is attested]
22:18—Unattested
22:19 [4.4.93; 7.4.32]—ἀπεσπάσθη ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ λίθου βολὴν καὶ θεὶς τὰ γόνατα
22:20 [5.90]—τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου
22:21—Unattested
22:23–32—Unattested
22:33 [5.91]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
22:34 [5.91]—ἀπαρνήσῃ...
22:35–38 [6.4.64]—Not Present
22:39–40—Unattested
22:41 [6.4.65]—...ὑμεῖς λέγετε...
22:42–46—Unattested
22:47 [6.4.66]—(Ἰούδας)...καὶ ἤγαγαν...καταφιλῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν
22:48 [5.92]—φιλήματι...παραδίδως
22:49—Unattested
22:50–51 [6.4.67]—Not Present
22:52–62—Unattested
22:63 [6.4.68]—...οἱ συνέχοντες...ἐνέπαιξαν...δέροντες
22:64 [6.4.68]—...ἐπτυπτον)...λέγοντες...προφήτευσον, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖς σε;
22:65—Unattested
22:66 [5.93]—...ἀπήγαγον...εἰς τὸ συνέδριον...
22:67 [5.93]—...σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ χριστός...
22:68—Unattested
22:69 [4.4.94]—Ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν [δὲ may have been present] ἔσται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ.
22:70 [5.93]—...σὺ οὖν εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ...ἔσται...λέγετε...
22:71 [5.93]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
23:1 [5.94]—...ἡγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον.
23:2 [5.94; 6.4.69]—ἐρξαντο...κατηγορεῖν...τοῦτον εὑρομεν διαστρέφοντα
tὸ ἔθνος...καὶ καταλύνοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας...(κωλύοντα
φόρους...διδόναι καὶ ἀποστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα...λέγοντα ἕαυτὸν {βασιλέα Χριστόν}...

23:3 [5.94]—δ [δ ίδιον] Πιλάτος ἁρώτησεν...σὺ εἰ τὸ Χριστὸς;...σὺ λέγεις.

23:4–5—Unattested

23:7 [5.95]—...ἀνέπτυχεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρῴδην...

23:8 [5.95]—δ άλλοι Ἡρῴδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν...

23:9 [5.95]—...[αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ].

23:10–17—Unattested

23:18 [5.96]—...βαραββᾶν.

23:19 [5.96]—...{διὰ στάσιν...καὶ φόνον βληθεὶς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ}.

23:20–21—Unattested

23:22 [5.96]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

23:23 [5.96]—[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]

23:24—Unattested

23:25 [5.96]—ἀπέλυσεν...

23:26–31—Unattested

23:32 [5.97]—...{κακοῦργοι δυὸ}...

23:33 [5.97; 6.4.70]—καὶ ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν κρανίον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν (ὅτι μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν ὄν ἐς ἔξι ἁριστερῶν)

23:34a [8.20]—[Attested by Ephrem and unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius]

23:34b [5.97; 6.4.70]—[Attested as not present by Tertullian but present by Epiphanius]

23:35–42 Unattested

23:43 [6.4.71]—Not Present

23:44 [4.4.95; 8.21]—...ἀρα ἔκτη, καὶ σκότως...ἐφ᾽...τὴν γῆν...

23:45 [4.4.95; 6.4.70; 8.21]—...ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος...{καὶ ἐσχίσθε} τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ...

23:46 [4.4.96; 6.4.72; 7.4.33; 8.21]—καὶ φωνῆσας {φωνῇ μεγάλῃ} ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε...καὶ ἐξέπνευσεν.

23:47–49—Unattested

23:50 [5.98; 6.4.73; 7.4.33]—καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνήρ ὄνοματι Ἰωσήφ...

23:51 [5.98]—...οὐχ ἦν συγκατατεθειμένος (τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν)...

23:52 [5.98; 7.4.33]—...τῷ Πιλάτῳ ἠγίστατο τὸ σῶμα...

23:53 [5.98; 6.4.73; 7.4.33]—...καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνέτυλξε...ἐν σινδόν καὶ ἐξήρκεν...ἐν καινῷ μνήματι λαξευτῷ...

23:54—Unattested

23:55 [5.98]—...αἱ γυναῖκες...

23:56 [6.4.74]—Ὑποστρέψασι...{ἥσυχασαν τὸ...σάββατον} κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

24:1 [5.99]—...{δρόφου βαθέως ήλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα} (φέρουσαι ἅ) ἢτοίμασαν ἄρωματα.
24:2—Unattested
24:3 [5.99]—...οὐχ εὗρον τὸ σῶμα...
24:4 [5.99; 6.4.75]—...(ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσθαι αὐτῶς περὶ τοῦτο)...{δύο ἄγγελοι [the reading was likely ἄνδρες]}...(ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ)
24:5 [6.4.75]—...τί ζητείτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν.
24:6 [5.99; 6.4.75]—...ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν (ταῦτα πάντα)...24:7 [5.99; 6.4.75]—...τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν.
24:8—Unattested
24:9 [5.99]—...ὑποστρέψασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγειλαν (ταῦτα πάντα)...24:10—Unattested
24:12—Unattested
24:13 [5.100; 6.4.76]—...δύο ἄγγελοι...[Their travelling attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
24:14 [5.100; 6.4.76]—...Ἰησοῦς ἐγγίσας...
24:15 [5.100; 6.4.76]—...οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν...
24:16—Unattested
24:17 [5.100]—...Ησσοῦς ἐγγίσας...
24:18 [6.4.76]—...Κλεοπᾶς...
24:19 [5.100]—...[Attested but no insight into wording can be gained]
24:20—Unattested
24:21a [5.100]—...ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐνομίζομεν, [ὅτι likely present] αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ...[24:21b is unattested]
24:22—24—Unattested
24:25 [5.100; 6.4.76; 7.4.34]—...ὦ ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ πάσιν ὁι ἐλάληθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς [for this final element Epiphanius (ἐλάλησα ὑμῖν) and the Adamantius Dialogue (ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς) may attest other Marcionite readings].
24:26 [6.4.76; 7.4.34]—...καὶ ἠπίστουν αὐτὰς...
24:27—29—Unattested
24:30 [6.4.76]—...(τὸν ἄρτον)...(κλάσας)...
24:31 [6.4.76]—...(αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν (αὐτόν)...24:32—36—Unattested
24:37 [4.4.97; 7.4.35]—...(ἐδόκουν) πάντα μεν (Θεωρεῖν).
24:38 [4.4.97; 6.4.77; 7.4.35]—...τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστε καὶ...τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.
24:39 [4.4.97; 6.4.77; 7.4.35]—...τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστε καὶ...τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.
24:40—Unattested
24:41 [5.101]—ἐτι [δὲ likely present] ἀπιστούντων αὐτῶν} . . . τι βρώσιμον . . .
24:42 [8.22]—. . . (ἵθυος) . . .
24:44–46—Unattested
24:47 [5.102]—. . . κηρυχθῆναι . . . εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη . . .
24:48–53—Unattested
CHAPTER 10

Initial Conclusions and Avenues for Future Research

As noted in the opening pages of this monograph, a significant number of NT scholars and textual critics had expressed the view that a new and more precise reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel was an important scholarly desideratum. The reconstruction presented here has sought to make this important contribution to scholarship by offering a significantly more rigorous and methodologically controlled reconstruction of the text of Marcion’s Gospel. Despite the tremendously valuable contributions of previous scholars working on this text, the discussion in the previous chapters has revealed how, at nearly every point, greater precision resulting in more nuanced insight into Marcion’s readings was possible. At the same time, the text reconstructed here is by no means considered to be the “last word” in reconstructions of Marcion’s Gospel; rather, it is an attempt to move scholarly debate and discussion forward on firmer ground in the hopes that it may engender further consideration of the readings of this text. At the same time, however, the attempt was made to offer a reconstructed text with varying levels of certainty so as to provide the basis for considering the implications of the text of Marcion’s Gospels for other areas of NT textual and canonical studies. The introduction mentioned several such areas where it is not simply the text of Marcion’s Gospel, but its significance for gaining further insight into early Christianity that has kept this text at the crossroads of scholarly interest. Various issues discussed only in nuce in the course of this volume deserve their own book-length treatment in the light of this new reconstruction, and the following observations and examples are intended to highlight both a few initial conclusions and their impact upon possible avenues of further research.

First, concerning the renewed interest in the question concerning the relative priority of Luke or Marcion’s Gospel, one example of verses relevant for the discussion is Luke 4:43 and 16:16. In both instances I have argued that it is very likely that Marcion read ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται.1 As Michael Wolter also noted in his commentary on Luke, this turn of phrase appears only in Luke-Acts and thus may be an example of a redactional phrase attributable

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1 Cf. the reconstruction of these verses in the previous chapter and the discussions in chapter 4.4.73 and chapter 5.6.
to the author of Luke-Acts being found in the text Marcion used. If further comparison of the reconstructed text of Marcion with Luke reveals additional examples of apparent Lukan style or redaction present in the text that formed the basis for Marcion’s Gospel, this would indeed be a vital and important piece of evidence for the likely priority of a text very similar to our canonical Luke.

Second, the above reconstruction has shed further light on the question of points of contact between readings in Marcion’s Gospel and “Western” readings. Though striking instances of similarities between the readings were often already noted by Harnack, e.g., in Luke 11:38 where the “Western” reading is ἠρξατο διακρεινόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγειν διά τι, there are also notable divergences. For example, though the precise wording is only probable, Marcion’s text clearly included Luke 22:20, part of the famous “Western non-interpolation” in vv. 19b–20. In addition, there are omissions attested by some witnesses to the “Western” text in, e.g., 8:28, 24:1, and 24:9, of elements very likely to be present in Marcion’s text. Such observations confirm the potential complexity of understanding Marcion’s Gospel within the “Western” textual tradition and highlight the need to consider this relationship anew.

Third, concerning the question of Marcion and the fourfold Gospel, it has often been noted that one of the primary ways in which the emerging fourfold Gospel began influencing the text of the Synoptic Gospels is through harmonization. In regards to Marcion’s Gospel, Harnack stated that the “two to three hundred variants” which Marcion’s Gospel has in common with the “Western” text, reveal a strong influence of the Matthean or Markan texts. In a footnote, Harnack then made a one-sentence statement recognizing that though one could debate individual such instances of harmonization, the secure harmonizations are of great significance for the history of the canon. Following Harnack’s reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel, A.J.B. Higgins furthered the

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2 Cf. chapter 4, n. 367.
3 Cf. the comments in chapter 1, n. 4.
4 Harnack, *Marcion*, 243*. Of course, the variants thus evaluated by Harnack are the variants as he reconstructed them.
5 See Harnack, *Marcion*, 243* n. 2 where he writes, “In einzelnen Fällen kann man streiten, ob überhaupt eine Konformierung vorliegt (s. Pott, Zeitschr. f. K.Gesch. S. 208f.)—in zahlreichen Fällen aber stehen Konformierungen fest. Für die Kanongeschichte ist die Beobachtung von großer Bedeutung: der in Rom um die Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts gültige Text des Lukas war schon mit Matth. (Mark.) konformiert.—Die Konformationen sind gewiß mit vollem Bedacht unternommen.” Though Harnack believed that Marcion’s version of the Gospel of Luke had been selected out of the four handed down to him (*Marcion*, 40–2) and that the fourfold Gospel thus existed before Marcion, he did not argue extensively how Marcion’s text might provide evidence for these views.
argument that “the Western text of Lk. which was known to Marcion had already been influenced by Mt. and Mk.” With a point of contact to the above-noted question concerning the relationship between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke, Leland Wilshire picked up on, in his view, thirty such harmonizations and referred to them in his critique of John Knox’s arguments that the canonical Gospel of Luke reached its final form after Marcion. David S. Williams stated that “scholars have often failed to take note of the high incidence of Matthean and/or Marcan readings in Marcion’s Gospel,” using this contention to argue that many assumptions about Marcion’s theology or editorial goals may be incorrect because of the positing of “omissions” that may be better explained as textual corruptions influenced by Matthew or Mark. Though the sources for Marcion’s Gospel do indeed attest Matthean readings in multiple places, it has been seen that a significant challenge in evaluating such readings is the possibility that the author of a source himself is responsible for the harmonization. Revisiting the issue of the extent to which Marcion’s Gospel contained harmonized readings based on the here offered reconstruction may be able to shed additional light upon the weight that this argument has, or does not have, for questions surrounding the formation of the fourfold Gospel.

Finally, it is interesting to consider the apparatus for Luke in NA in the light of the findings of this study and to note where some references to readings in Marcion’s Gospel are misleading, or at least potentially problematic. To highlight simply a few examples involving different sources: (1) in Luke 5:38, readings in the Adamantius Dialogue that face multiple difficulties of both context and content as related to readings in Marcion’s Gospel are listed as McionA; (2) in Luke 6:16, McionE is listed as attesting the reading Ισκαριωτην; however, the variation within the manuscript tradition of Epiphanius reveals this reference as perhaps overly dependent on Harnack’s reconstruction; and (3) in the Lord’s Prayer (Luke 11:2), there are several difficulties with the manner in which McionT is listed as supporting the reading of 700 and GrNy and the related reading in 162.

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9 Cf. the comments in chapter 4.3.5; chapter 6.3; and chapter 7.3.
10 Cf. the discussion in chapter 7.4.2.
11 Cf. the comments in chapter 6.4.8.
Undoubtedly, the text of Marcion’s Gospel remains crucial for scholarly knowledge and insight into Luke and the Gospels during the second century. In laying the groundwork for future work on the relationship between Marcion’s Gospel and Luke, the text of Luke and its transmission in the second century, and the developing fourfold Gospel collection, the results of this volume contribute to the possibility of more precisely considering the full scope of the contribution of Marcion’s Gospel to our knowledge of second century Christianity. Thus, it is hoped that this monograph may have provided not only a new reconstruction of Marcion’s Gospel, but also the encouragement for future work on this Gospel text and its place in multiple areas of NT research.
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