THE PAULINE CORPUS WHICH
MARCION USED: THE TEXT OF THE
LETTERS OF PAUL IN THE EARLY
SECOND CENTURY

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THE PAULINE CORPUS WHICH MARCION USED

The Text of the Letters of Paul
in the Early Second Century

A thesis presented

by

John James Clabeaux

to

The Committee on the Study of Religion

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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ABSTRACT

In studies of Marcion and the Pauline Corpus, Marcion's role as an editor and innovator has usually been emphasized. However, in the last decade it has been demonstrated that certain peculiarities of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus were not the work of Marcion himself, but were features of the text available to him. This text was a ten-letter Pauline Corpus which began with Galatians. It was ultimately displaced by the fourteen-letter Corpus generally attested today. The focus of this thesis is Marcion's role as a transmitter of that early Pauline Corpus.

The first part of this thesis is a presentation of the methodology for securely establishing the readings which came from the text available to Marcion. The sources for these readings are the citations from the Marcionite text in Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, the *Dialogue of Adamantius,* and Epiphanius' *Panarion*.

The second part of this thesis is an assessment of the securely established pre-Marcionite readings. Three tasks are undertaken here:

1) A reassessment of particular contested readings in the light of the pre-Marcionite evidence. In nearly every case, the pre-Marcionite evidence is the earliest textual evidence available. The application of the pre-Marcionite evidence to textual problems in the Pauline Corpus is the most important contribution of this thesis to the study of the text of Paul's letters.

2) An examination of the character of the pre-Marcionite text itself. This involves a discussion of the types of errors most frequently made and the remarkable freedom of early second-century scribes to adapt the Pauline text.

3) An examination of the agreements of the pre-Marcionite text with extant MSS and citations of the letters. Certain Western witnesses attest this pre-Marcionite text. A strikingly high proportion of agreement between the pre-Marcionite text and the Old Latin "I-type" indicates the likelihood of conflation at some point of the OL:I-type with a text like that was used by Marcion. This coincides with the fact that the "Marcionite Prologues" are attested in the OL:I-type.

The high proportion of agreement between the Old Syriac and the pre-Marcionite text suggests Syria as the provenance of the ten-letter collection used by Marcion.

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Abbreviations Frequently Used

Primary Sources:

Dial. Adam.   The *Dialogue of Adamantius*
Adam./Greek   The *Dialogue of Adamantius* Greek text only
Adam./Rufinus Rufinus' Latin translation of *Dial. Adam.*
Adv. Marc.   Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem*
Pan.   Epiphanius *Panarion*

General:

LXX   Septuagint
MS   Manuscript
MSS   Manuscripts
NT   New Testament
OT   Old Testament
W   Western

Scripture:

Old Testament

Gen   Genesis
Ex   Exodus
Ps   Psalms
Isa   Isaiah

Apocryphal

Hermas   The Shepherd of
    Hermas

New Testament

Rom   Romans
1-2 Cor   1-2 Corinthians
Gal   Galatians
Eph   Ephesians
Phil   Philippians
Col   Colossians
1-2 Thess   1-2 Thessalonians
1-2 Tim   1-2 Timothy
Phlm   Philemon
Heb   Hebrews
Acts   Acts of the Apostles

Greek Manuscripts and Papyri
for the Pauline Corpus

The arrangement of the witnesses to the text of the
Pauline Corpus presented here is based on that of G. Zuntz
(*The Text of the Epistles* [London: Oxford University, 1953]).
It is oriented toward comparison with the earliest witnesses
and represents no attempt to arrive at a stemma.

The chief departure of this arrangement from most is in
the area of the Alexandrian witnesses. What Westcott and
Hort termed the "Neutral" and "Alexandrian" groups both fall
under my heading "Alexandrian." But some of the traditional
"Alexandrians" (i.e., A, C, H, and 33) have been relegated
to the rather amorphous Byzantine group, since they show
significant signs of Western and Byzantine influence.

In this arrangement P^{46}, S, B, and 1739 have been
singled out as a group in contradistinction to D, F, G, 330,
2400, and Gothic. All other Greek MSS have been placed un-
der the heading "Byzantine or Majority Text."

The Versions (with the exception of the Gothic) have
been isolated, since they do not fit neatly into the Alexan-
drian, Western, or Byzantine groups. A limited assessment
of the textual affinities of the Versions is one of the
goals of this thesis. Therefore, it would be premature to
align them now with any of the established groups of Greek
MSS.

Greek Manuscripts and Papyri Cited

	Siglum	Name	Date
Alexandrian	P^{11}	(no name)	VII
	P^{46}	Chester Beatty Papyrus 2	early III
	P^{51}	(no name)	V
	S	Sinaiticus (more frequently ℵ)	IV
	B	Vaticanus	IV
	1739	Goltz Manuscript	tenth-century minuscule from a fourth-century archetype
	6 424^{c} } related to 1739 1908		

(arabic numbers which do not begin with 0 indicate minuscule manuscripts)

Western	D	Claromontanus	VI
	(E	Sangermanensis)[1]	IX/X
	F	Augiensis	IX
	G	Boernerianus	IX
	330 2400 } minuscules which frequently attest Western readings		

Byzantine or Majority Text	A	Alexandrinus	V
	C	Ephraemi Palimpsest	V
	H	Coislinianus	VI
	K	Mosquensis	IX/X
	L	Angelicus	IX
	P	Porphyrianus	IX

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[1] E (Sangermanensis) is a copy of D (Claromontanus). E is cited only when D has been corrected.

Ψ	Athous Laurae	VIII/IX
minn	the minuscules	
minn pc	a few minuscules	
minn pl	very many minuscules	
33	"Regina Minusculorum"	IX/X
Maj	The Majority of the "Byzantine or Majority Text" manuscripts	

(arabic numbers which begin with 0 indicate numbered Majuscule manuscripts)

Superscribed Sigla (e.g., S*)

*   the original reading of a manuscript which has been corrected

c   the reading of a corrector

1 or 2 or 3   the reading of a corrector when more than one hand is recognizable

vid   *ut videtur*--the manuscript seems to read ____ .

txt   reading in the text itself which disagrees with marginal reading

lect   lectionaries

Abbreviations for the Versions of the New Testament

OL   Old Latin (pre-Vulgate)

OL:61, 75, 89   Particular OL manuscripts (see p. 13)

OL:K   Old Latin K-type (North Africa)

OL:D   Old Latin D-type (South Italy)

OL:I   Old Latin I-type (Central-North Italy)

Vg   Vulgate

Vg:A, Γ^A, L, etc.   Particular Vulgate MSS

Cop   Coptic (both Sahidic and Bohairic dialects)

Sah   Sahidic (southern Coptic dialect)

Boh   Bohairic (northern Coptic dialect)

Syr   Syriac (both the Syriac Peshitta and the Harklean
              Syriac)

Syr^P Syriac Peshitta (the Syriac "vulgate")

Syr^H Harklean Syriac

Syr^J Palestinian Syriac (fragments only)

Arm   Armenian

Eth   Ethiopic

Goth   Gothic

Superscribed Abbreviations

var   the reading is a variant within the Version indicated

txt   the reading is the dominant reading of the Version
         indicated

cod   the reading is attested in one codex of the Version
         indicated

codd   the reading is attested in more than one codex of
         the Version indicated

Church Fathers (Latin and Greek)

Abbreviation	Name	City	ob.
Ath	Athanasius	Alexandria	373
Aug	Augustine	Hippo	430
Bas	Basil	Caesarea	379
Chrys	Chrysostom	Constantinople	407
Clem	Clement of	Alexandria	212
Cyp	Cyprian	Carthage	258
Cyr	Cyril of	Alexandria	444
Cyr of Jer	Cyril of	Jerusalem	386
Dam	Damasus	Rome	384
Ephrm	Ephrem the Syrian		373
Epi	Epiphanius	Salamis	403
Eus	Eusebius of	Caesarea	340
Euthal	Euthalius		V
Hil	Hilary	Poitiers	367
Hipp	Hippolytus	Rome	235
Iren	Irenaeus	Lyons	202
Iren^{lat}	Latin trans. of Irenaeus		post 380
Jer	Jerome		420
Luc of Cag	Lucifer of	Cagliari	371
Mac	Macarius Magnes		400
Mar Vict	Marius Victorinus	Rome	post 363
Orig	Origen	Alexandria and Caesarea	254
Pel	Pelagius	Rome and Britain	419
Ruf	Rufinus	Aquileia	410
Tert	Tertullian	Carthage	ca. 220
Thdrt	Theodoret	Cyrrhus	466
Thphyl	Theophylact		1077

Superscriptions: var   The reading is a variant within the textual
tradition of the father indicated.
        B   Indicates the MS of the church father's work
which contains the reading.

Postscript: 1/3   The author reflects the variant one out of the three
times he cites the verse.

Text-Critical Terms

lectio difficilior	the reading is preferred because it is the more difficult reading
lectio brevior	the reading is preferred because it is the shorter reading
fons lectionum	the reading is a reasonable source for two or more other variants
in initio	the reading may not be a legitimate reflection of the witness cited since it appears at the very beginning of the citation
hiat	the witness is not available for this verse

Short Titles

Adamantius *Dialogue*: *Der Dialog des Adamantius:* ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ
ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ, ed. W. H. van de Sande
Bakhuyzen (GCS; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901).

Blackman, *Marcion*: Edwin Cyril Blackman, *Marcion and His
Influence* (London: SPCK, 1948).

Dahl, "Prologues": Nils Alstrup Dahl, "The Origin of the
Earliest Prologues to the Pauline Letters," *Semeia* 12
(1978) 233-77.

Ephrem *Commentarii*: *Ephrem Syrus: Commentarii in Epistolas
d. Pauli*, trans. the Mekitharist Fathers (Venice:
Sanctus Lazarus, 1893).

Frede, *Ad Ephesios*: Hermann Josef Frede, ed., *Epistula ad
Ephesios* (Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen
Bibel 24/1; Freiburg:Herder, 1962-64).

Frede, *Ad Phil et ad Col*: Hermann Josef Frede, *Epistulae
ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (Vetus Latina: Die
Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 24/2; Freiburg:
Herder, 1966-71).

Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*: Hermann Josef
Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* (Freiburg:
Herder, 1964).

Gamble, *Textual History*: Harry Gamble, Jr., *The Textual
History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual
and Literary Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1977).

Harnack, *Marcion*: Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium
vom fremden Gott* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924).

Metzger, *Textual Commentary*: Bruce Manning Metzger, *A
Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stutt-
gart: Würtemberg Bible Society for United Bible
Societies, 1971).

Nestle-Aland[26]: *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. Eberhard
Nestle and Erwin Nestle (26th ed. edited by K. Aland,
M. Black, C. Martini, B. Metzger, and A. Wikgren;
Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979).

Quispel, *Bronnen*: Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertul-
lianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Templum Salomonis:
Burgesdijk and Niermans, 1943).

Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum*: *Novum Testamentum Graece*,
ed. Constantinus Tischendorf (3 vols.; Leipzig:
Hinrichs, 1884).

Zahn, *Geschichte*:   Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutesta-*
    mentlichen Kanons (Erlangen: Deichert, 1888) 1/1, 1/2,
    2/1, and 2/2.

Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*:   G. Zuntz, *The Text of the*
    Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum
    (London: Oxford University, 1953).

The starting point for this study is the demonstration
by Nils Dahl and Hermann Josef Frede that the "Marcionite
Prologues" were not the work of Marcion or the Marcionites
at all.[1] It is unnecessary to re-present their arguments in
full here; a brief summary will suffice:

1) There is nothing exclusively Marcionite about the
content of the Prologues. The polemic against false apostles
which the Prologues contain was a commonplace of early
Christian writing. Moreover, the false apostles referred to
in the Prologues are not limited to Judaizers. If the false
apostles were regularly identified as Judaizers, the argument
that the Prologues were written by Marcionites would be
strengthened. The rather general term "false apostles" ap-
pears in all the Prologues for the community letters, but
these false apostles are identified as Judaizers only in the
Prologue to Romans. In the Prologue to 1 Corinthians, it is
stated that the Corinthians were deceived by false apostles,
"some of them [the Corinthians] by wordy eloquence of philos-
ophy and others by the sect of Jewish Law"--thus the Prologue
to 1 Corinthians refers to false apostles of two sorts.

2) There are Prologues to letters which Marcion did not
include in his Pauline Corpus (e.g., 1-2 Timothy, Titus, and
Ephesians).

3) Formal analysis reveals that six of the Prologues
follow a "common pattern."[2] These happen to be the Pro-
logues for the community letters in Marcion's Pauline Corpus:

Galatians, 1 Corinthians, Romans, 1 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Philippians. The Prologues to 2 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians, to Ephesians, and to the Pastorals are clearly secondary. Thus, the original Prologues were meant to accompany a Pauline Corpus to seven communities. This formal analysis also seems to indicate that the Prologue to Laodiceans was eliminated and a new Prologue was created for Ephesians.

4) Although it is true that the Prologues were written for a Pauline Corpus which had the letters in an order like Marcion's (i.e., Galatians, 1-2 Corinthians, Romans, etc.), the Marcionite Pauline Corpus is not the only edition of the Pauline letters which ordered the letters in this way. Two Syrian witnesses, namely, the *Catologus Sinaiticus* and Ephrem, attest orders which began with Galatians, 1-2 Corinthians, and Romans.[3] Thus the order presumed by the Prologues does not establish a Marcionite origin.

The realization that the Prologues were not of Marcionite origin has profound ramifications for the development of the text of the letters of Paul. Since the Marcionite Prologues were not Marcionite, and since they presuppose a Pauline Corpus in which the letters were in the Marcionite order, we are faced with the fact that a Pauline Corpus to Seven Churches existed as distinct from the fourteen-letter Corpus which eventually superseded it. This Pauline Corpus to Seven Churches was eventually suppressed but traces of it remain in the Prologues and in the Syriac orders of the

Pauline letters. The question arises, What other traces has this Pauline Corpus left behind?

This situation of a new understanding of the Prologues corresponds to a second circumstance which led to the present study. An evaluation of the textual variants found in the Marcionite Apostolikon reveals that the Prologues were not the only texts to be mistakenly labeled "Marcionite." Several readings which were presumed to be the work of Marcion-- because they appeared in Marcion's text and agreed in some way with Marcionite tenets--can be demonstrated to be earlier than Marcion himself. Their association with Marcion can be stripped away if (1) they can be accounted for by a simple mechanical motivation or (2) they are attested in other MSS which Marcion could not have influenced.

A good example of the first of these is var #62 Eph 2:20 from the phrase ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν.[4] The Marcionite text deletes the words καὶ προφητῶν (Adv. Marc. 5.17.16). Harnack attributes the variant to a Marcionite theological tendency.[5] He argues that Marcion could not let it be said that the church was founded on the OT prophets. Nevertheless, the deletion is more simply explained as a homoeoteleuton. In fact, it is attested in one minuscule (112*), a lectionary (l[+a]), and several OL:I witnesses.[6]

An example of the second reason for not attributing a variant to tendentious Marcionite alteration is var #10 from Gal 4:26 where the Marcionite text reported by Tertullian

(*Adv. Marc.* 5.4.8) has part of Eph 1:21 interpolated.
Harnack attributes the interpolation to the Marcionites.[7]
But the variant appears in Ephrem's commentary on the let-
ters of Paul.[8] It cannot be proven that the Marcionite text
affected the Old Syriac. Frede has demonstrated this by
searching the text of Ephrem for any of the unquestionably
Marcionite, tendentious readings. He found none.[9]

As long as variant readings found in the Marcionite
apostolikon are uncritically accepted as being the work of
Marcion himself, a proper evaluation of the text he attests
is impossible. The text attested by Marcion has not yet
been effectively used in the attempts of text critics to
solve some of the riddles of the Western text. And until it
is scrutinized by a methodology more rigorous than that of
Harnack, it will never be so used.

Readings which Marcion attests have more than once
driven scholars down blind alleys when they assumed Marcion
to be the source of these readings. The best example of
this is the investigation of the relationship between the
text of Marcion and the OL. It has long been known that
some of the striking characteristics of the Marcionite
Pauline Corpus are attested by the OL. The most significant
is the fourteen-chapter form of Romans. It can be concluded
from Tertullian's citations from the Marcionite Pauline Cor-
pus that the final two chapters of that letter were not
present in the Marcionite edition. Several OL MSS indirectly
attest to a form of Romans which ended at Rom 14:23.[10] This
indicates that a fourteen-chapter form was at least known in

the scribal tradition of the Latin West. The concurrences
between the Marcionite text and the OL are not limited to
formal characteristics, however. A strikingly high number
of Marcionite readings appear nowhere else but in the OL
witnesses. This has led many scholars to assume that the
Vorlage of the OL was a Latin translation of the Marcionite
Pauline Corpus.[11] This position still has some proponents
today but remains impossible to defend. When a rigid meth-
odology is applied to the variants in question, none of the
variants which have a clear-cut Marcionite theological ten-
dency appear in the OL.[12] Harnack himself is unwilling to
conclude that the Marcionite Pauline Corpus was the source
for the OL.[13] A study was made by E. C. Blackman entitled
"Did Marcion's Text Influence the OL?"[14] Like Harnack, he
arrives at a negative conclusion. The more the evidence is
examined the more clear it becomes that the correspondence
between the text attested by Marcion and the OL cannot be
explained as a result of dependency of the OL on the Mar-
cionite text.

When both of these circumstances are considered--namely,
the non-Marcionite origin of the Prologues and the textual
affinities of the Pauline Corpus reflected by Marcion--it
becomes far more likely that Marcion's role was not the
creation of a new text but the adaptation of an already ex-
isting Pauline Corpus which began with Galatians; it called
Ephesians "Laodiceans"; it had the fourteen-chapter form of
Romans; and it contained a great number of variants   which
scholars have wrongly assumed   were created by

Marcion himself.

The text of Marcion's Pauline Corpus which can be con-
structed from the quotations made by Tertullian, Epiphanius,
and Adamantius is the only sizeable witness to the state of
the text of the Pauline Corpus in the first half of the
second century. If the value of such a witness is to be
properly exploited, it will be necessary to be precise about
which variants were from Marcion's *Vorlage* and which were
the result of changes made by him or by those who quote him.
This is the first task of the present study: a two-stage
methodology to reduce the variants of the attested portions
of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus to those which can be cer-
tainly established as existing in the text before him.

The first stage involves a careful analysis of the
citations of Marcion's text from Tertullian, Epiphanius, and
Adamantius. Mere allusions may not be considered as valid
reflections of this text. Short citations are in most cases
not reliable. Indeed, if there is any suspicion that the
variant reading attested as part of Marcion's text by one of
those three witnesses is a result of incautious citing or
even slight variation by the quoting author, then that vari-
ant may not be considered as a sound reflection of the
Marcionite text.

The second stage involves the removal of any variant
readings which can be attributed to Marcion himself or his
followers. The criteria to be considered here are not only
tendentious theological innovations but attestation of the
variant in question in texts which are not dependent on

Marcion. Also, readings which can be explained as simple mechanical errors will have a greater likelihood of not being Marcion's work. This is not to say that Marcion could not have made his own mechanical errors. But when these errors have a widespread attestation, it is more likely that they belong to the *Vorlage* of Marcion and were not created by Marcion himself.

Harnack was a maximalist in his reconstruction of the text of Marcion, and understandably so. He was seeking to present as much of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus as possible. He often based his reconstructions on allusions and fragments. The present study will have to be minimalist. I have accepted less than half the readings which Harnack was willing to present. It would be better to err in the direction of minimalism in this work since I am seeking to reconstruct a text through two intermediate stages—i.e., the *Vorlage* of Marcion, through Marcion, and through the Fathers who cite Marcion. The margin of error in this is so great that the utmost caution is required.

I have arrived at only 83 readings which I am willing to support without reservation as representations of the text which existed before Marcion. This number of readings is not too small when one takes into account the value of Marcion's testimony. If we were speaking of a papyrus fragment from the first half of the second century, then even a few pages would be accepted as highly significant.[15] And it is not presumptuous to compare the value of the reconstructed

Marcionite *Vorlage* to an early papyrus, if the methodology
used in establishing that reconstruction is a valid one and
is rigidly applied.[16] If a papyrus of only three or four
pages were discovered with less than 60 variant readings and
the date of that papyrus could be fixed as no later than
A.D. 140, that would be greeted as a worthwhile discovery--
especially if that papyrus were the only extant witness of
the Pauline Corpus to Seven Churches which eventually dis-
appeared.

This brings us to the second task of this study. In
the light of the circumstances addressed so far in this
Introduction, the body of 83 clearly established readings
from the text available to Marcion is an invaluable window
into the state of the early second-century text of Paul's
letters. Through it one can see for oneself the fluid state
of the text of that time. But more importantly one can look
back to that second-century text to make judgments in ques-
tionable cases where later witnesses are divided. This will
be the task of the "Internal Evaluation of the Data."

The "External Evaluation of the Data" will involve a
comparison of the soundly established pre-Marcionite evidence
with the various text types (both of the Greek MSS and the
Versions) of the Pauline Corpus. In this part of the thesis
the pre-Marcionite evidence will be used as a vantage point
from which to look at the geographically widely distributed
text types from Spain to Armenia which developed in the en-
suing centuries. The question to be asked will be: How great
an impact did the early ten-letter Corpus which the pre-

Marcionite readings attest have on the text tradition of the
Pauline Corpus as a whole?

NOTES: INTRODUCTION

[1]Nils A. Dahl, "The Origin of the Earliest Prologues to
the Pauline Letters," *Semeia* 12 (1978) pt. 1, 233-77. Hermann
J. Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften* (Freiburg:
Herder, 1964) 165-78.

[2]Dahl, "Prologues," 246-47.

[3]*Studia Sinaitical,Catalogue of the Syriac MSS,* ed.
A. S. Lewis (London, 1894) 13-14; for Ephrem: Theodor Zahn,
"Das Neue Testament Theodors von Mopsuestia und der ursprüng-
liche Kanon der Syrer," *Neue kirkliche Zeitschrift* 11 (1900)
798-99. The Armenian translation of Ephrem's commentary has
the letters in the standard Athanasian order. But Zahn shows
that it was the translator who put them in this order.
Several references to letters in the text of the commentary
itself to other Pauline letters make it clear that the orig-
inal commentary of Ephrem was written in the order Galatians,
1-2 Corinthians, Romans, etc. Zahn is dependent on R. Harris,
Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament
(London, 1894) 21.

[4]This variant may be found in Appendix A: "List of
Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings." The symbol "⌗" will be
used throughout to indicate readings which can be found in
that appendix.

[5] Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (TU 45; 2d ed.; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924) 150*.

[6] H. J. Frede pointed this out in conversation, January 1981, at the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron.

[7] Harnack, *Marcion*, 76.

[8] Ephrem Syrus, *Commentarii in Epistolas d. Pauli* (Venice: Sanctus Lazarus, 1893) 135.

[9] Frede, *Altlateinische Paulus Handschriften*, 167-68.

[10] See Harry Gamble, *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1977) 15-28 for the evidence.

[11] Among them are Zahn, von Soden, Karl Schäfer, and Lietzmann.

[12] The excess of Harnack in his willingness to attribute a reading to tendentious Marcionite alteration is exemplified in his insistence that Rom 16:25-27 is a Marcionite creation. Gamble (*Textual History*, 107-11) lays this position fully to rest.

[13] Harnack, *Marcion*, 167*.

[14] Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London: SPCK, 1948) 128-68.

[15] A randomly chosen page of P^{46} (folio 49 r) contains nine variant readings. At this rate the pre-Marcionite text as securely reconstructed in this thesis could be likened to nine pages of a papyrus the size of P^{46}.
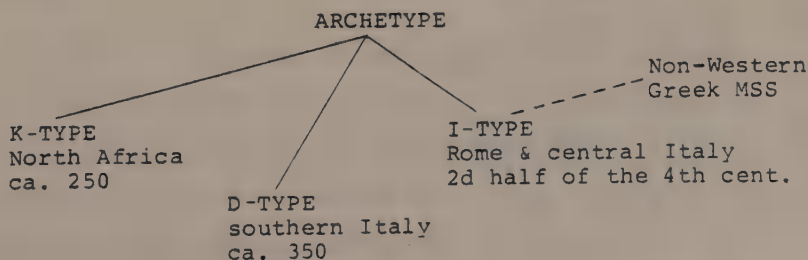
[16]Thus the presentation of the methodology which I used is crucial in establishing the value of my reconstructed pre-Marcionite text and this thesis as a whole.

EXPLANATION OF OL TEXT-TYPES[1]

Since this thesis so frequently deals with readings from the OL, it is necessary to explain briefly the analysis of the OL in its three basic text types for the Pauline Corpus. The analysis of the scholars at the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron is the basic framework for the OL which will be used throughout this thesis.[2] The research of Bonifatius Fischer and H. J. Frede at the Vetus Latina Institute indicates that it is not sufficient to refer to any Latin reading not found in the Vg as *Itala*. There is a great diversity among the various OL witnesses, but there is a noticeable order within that diversity.

The table on p. 13 is a graphic demonstration of the various groupings of MSS and Latin church fathers in the three main OL types—K, D, and I. It is important that they be seen not only in relation to one another but also to the Vg, since all Vg MSS contain some OL readings. There is a special relationship between the Vg and the OL:I-type. It is particularly difficult to assign certain MSS or church fathers to one or the other of these two groups (Vg and I).

All three OL text-types go back to a common archetype:

```
                        ARCHETYPE
                                                     Non-Western
                                               - - - Greek MSS
       K-TYPE                   I-TYPE
       North Africa            Rome & central Italy
       ca. 250                 2d half of the 4th cent.
                    D-TYPE
                    southern Italy
                    ca. 350
```

OL:D

D+K

OL:K

I+K

D+I

OL:I

LUC
PS-AU spe
PS-VIG var
75   77   (78)
89

AU
DON   PS-AU
PS-VIG   FUL
PRIM

CYP
PS-CYP

51   67
CASN   PS-AU
FAU-R   VIC-C   PROS
EUCH

Vg

AU
64   61   59   PEL   GR-M   65   HIL AMSTR
64   PAC
PAU-N
RUF
JER
(61)

MAR
AMSTR   AM   PRIS

SED-S   PEL(B)   (86)
(64)
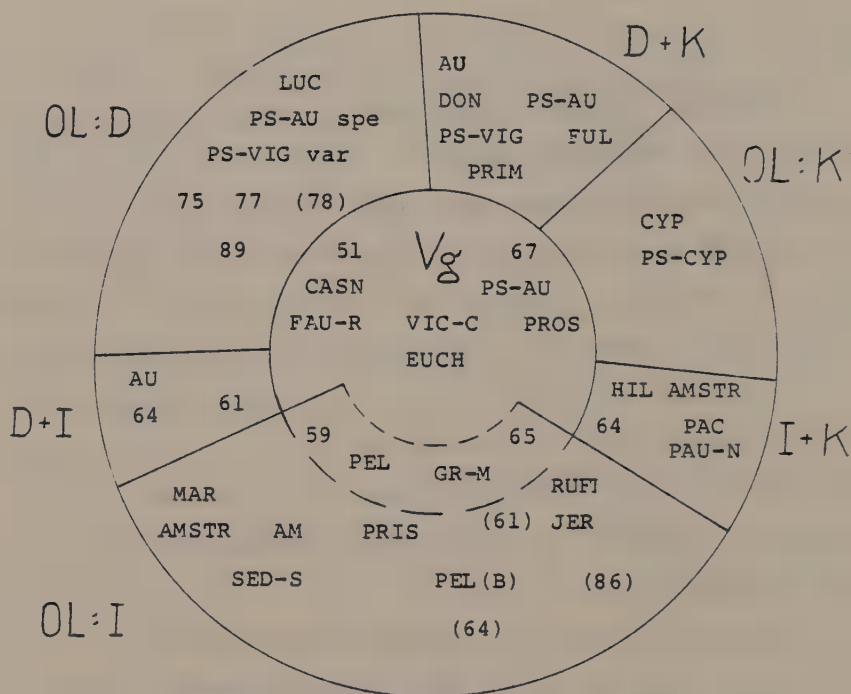
TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF OL WITNESSES

Abbreviations (includes place and approximate date):

AM   Ambrose (Milan) 397
AMSTR   Ambrosiaster (Italy) 366/84
AU   Augustine (Hippo) 430   DON indicates Donatist opponents of AU.
PS-AU   Pseudo-Augustine (spe: *Speculum* only)
CASN   Cassian (Marseille) 435
CYP   Cyprian (Carthage) 258
PS-CYP Pseudo-Cyprian
EUCH   Eucherius (Lyons) 450
FAU-R   Faustus (Reji) 490
FUL   Fulgentius (Ruspe) 527
HIL   Hilary (Poitiers) 367
JER   Jerome (Ubique) 420
LUC   Lucifer of Cagliari 371
MAR   Marius Victorinus (Rome) 363
PAC   Pacian (Barcelona) 390
PAU-N   Paulinus of Nola 431
PRIM   Primasius (Hadrumentum) 567
PRIS   Priscillian (Avila) 385
RUF   Rufinus (Aquileia) 410
VIC-C   Victor of Capua 554
PS-VIG Pseudo-Vigilius (*Contra Varimadum* only) 484

The I-type shows a certain exposure to non-"Western" Greek MSS. The editor of the Vg for the Pauline Corpus seems to have had access to all three types, but primarily to the I-type. The I-type had become a vulgate of sorts itself.[3] It was widely spread, reaching even to Spain and what is now France.

The K-Type

The primary witnesses to the K-type are Cyprian and Pseudo-Cyprian. The K-type cannot be established for the entire Pauline Corpus since not every verse of Paul's letters is cited by Cyprian.

On the fringe of the K-type, on the D side (see Table 1), are the Donatist citations from Augustine, Augustine himself, Pseudo-Augustine, Fulgentius, and Primasius. These witnesses reflect a mixture of the D-type and K-type. Thus, when they have a reading which disagrees with the prevalent D-type reading, they are probably attesting a K-type reading.

On the other fringe of the K-type, on the I side, are Hilary, Pacian, Ambrosiaster, Paulinus of Nola, and OL MS 64 (formerly referred to as *r*, r^2 and r^3 or the Freising fragments).

The D-Type

The primary witnesses to the D-type are Lucifer of Cagliari and the Latin parts of the Great Bilinguals. By their OL numbers these are 75 (d Claromontanus), 77 (g Boernerianus), and 78 (f Augiensis).[4] Also important is 89, a D-type MS from the Budapest Museum integrated into the

Vetus Latina system in the past ten years.[5] Readings from Pseudo-Vigilius' *Contra Varimadum* can be included as well as readings from Pseudo-Augustine's *Speculum*.

On the fringe of the D-type, on the I side, are Augustine (who reflects all three types), OL:64 and OL:61 (Book of Armagh). The borderline of D and K has already been presented above.

The I-Type

The best I-type witnesses are the commentaries of Marius Victorinus and Ambrosiaster; variants from Pelagius (MS B only); Ambrose, Rufinus, Hilary, Priscillian, Sedullius Scottus, and, frequently, Jerome. A good number of I-type readings can be found in OL MSS 61, 64, 86 (Monza $\frac{1-2}{3}$), and 87 (the Selestat Lectionary), but these MSS do not have the same concentration of I-type readings as the church fathers mentioned earlier.

I-type readings can be found in any Vg MS. The Vg MSS which are most frequently in agreement with the I-type are 59 (dem or Demodovianus) and 65 (Z or Harleianus). Pelagius and Gregory the Great are also basically Vg witnesses, but they attest a good number of I-type readings.

Not all of these witnesses cite every verse of the Pauline Corpus. For some of the Pauline letters, certain commentaries drop out of the picture altogether. There is even a certain amount of shifting about of the witnesses as one moves from letter to letter through the Pauline Corpus. Therefore, the diagram provided must be used with caution.

It is meant only to show the basic distribution of witnesses for each text-type in the hypothetical circumstance that all were available simultaneously.

NOTES: EXPLANATION OF OL TEXT-TYPES

[1]The information presented here is based chiefly on H. J. Frede, *Ad Ephesios*, 29*-38* and Bonafatius Fischer, "Das NT in lateinischer Sprache," in *Alte Übersetzungen Neuen Testaments* (ANTT 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972) 1-92 and conversations with H. J. Frede during January 1981 at Stiftung Vetus Latina. What is presented here is a rude simplification of a very complex subject.

[2]One takes no risk in accepting their analysis so completely. I continually tested their system in searching out the OL attestation of the variants discussed in this thesis and consistently found the alignment of witnesses to fall into the very groups which their analysis indicates. As to the Institute itself, it must be said that nowhere else in the world has the evidence relevant to the Bible in the Latin language been assembled more completely. Fischer, Frede, Thiele, Peri, and other scholars of the Institute have proceeded cautiously and meticulously. The published *Vetus Latina* editions are sufficient evidence of that.

[3]Frede, *Ad Ephesios*, 33*.

[4]76 (e Sangermanensis) has no independent value since it is demonstrably a copy of 75 (d).

[5]H. J. Frede, *Ein Neuer Paulustext und Kommentar* (Freiburg: Herder, 1973).

1 A   INTRODUCTION TO THE CHIEF WITNESSES TO THE TEXT
       OF MARCION

The chief sources for reconstructing the text of Marcion
are three:[1] Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5, the *Dialogue of Ada-
mantius*, and Epiphanius *Panarion* 42.

Tertullian

Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, written ca. A.D. 207,[2]
is the most important of the three sources since it con-
tains the greatest number of citations from the Marcionite
text of Paul's letters. Ernest Evans, in his recent edition
of the work, describes the five books of this work as "a
case argued in court (by Tertullian) against Marcion as de-
fendant . . . , as it were three speeches in presentation of
his case followed by two more in assessment and examination
of his opponent's evidence."[3] This effort by Tertullian to
battle Marcion on his own ground (i.e., his own Pauline Cor-
pus) has made *Adv. Marc.* 5 invaluable to those seeking to
reconstruct the text of Marcion. It is, therefore, this
"examination of his opponent's evidence" (namely, Marcion's
Apostolikon) in book 5 which interests us the most.

It is important to take note of the forensic character
of Tertullian's work.[4] One must never assume that Tertullian
set out to preserve with exactitude the text of the Marcionite
Apostolikon. Tertullian's objective was to destroy Marcionite
arguments. Due attention must be paid to his polemical moti-
vations. Many of the citations from Pauline letters show
signs of tampering on Tertullian's part, designed to make the

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citations more artfully fit his arguments.[5]

The *Dialogue of Adamantius*

In comparison with *Adv. Marc.*, the polemical situation
of *Dial. Adam.* is less clearly defined.[6] Even the identity
of the author is a mystery. *Dial. Adam.* was preserved under
the name of Origen, but Origen was certainly not its author.
Internal criteria set the date of composition very near A.D.
300.[7] Rufinus translated it into Latin as early as A.D. 400.
MSS of his translation have been considered by some to be
the best witnesses of an otherwise badly damaged text.[8] The
division of *Dial. Adam.* into chapters (e.g., 1.19) used
throughout this thesis derives from the Latin edition.[9]

In books 1 and 2 of *Dial. Adam.*, Adamantius argues
against Marcionite opponents (Marcus and Megethius). In
books 3-5 his opponents are Valentinians and Bardesanites.
Eutropius is the judge throughout. Adamantius, as spokesman
for orthodoxy, wins a total, though not unexpected, victory.[10]

The character of the *Dialogue* as a source for Marcionite
readings is different from *Adv. Marc.* 5. In *Dial. Adam.*
there is no systematic effort to meet the Marcionites on the
grounds of their own text. The debate involves theological
issues, namely, a three-deity system argued by Megethius,
and a two-deity structure argued by Marcus. It seems that
the nearly 100 years from the time of Tertullian to the time
when *Dial. Adam.* was written made a significant difference in
the situation of the Marcionites. By the year 300 they no
longer presented a powerful threat. Even in Tertullian's
time the movement had begun to wane. But, more importantly,

a more clearly defined Marcionism is reflected by *Dial. Adam.* (three gods as opposed to two).[11]

The *Dial. Adam.* is clearly artificial.[12] There are two claims by the title character (1.5 and 5.22) that he used a Marcionite Apostolikon.[13] These claims, in the light of the research of this thesis, are untenable. Even if the author's claims are taken seriously, they contain two major limitations: (1) they do not speak for every Pauline citation in *Dial. Adam.*; and (2) when Adamantius says "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀποστολικοῦ" (5.22), he may merely be referring to those letters of Paul which the Marcionites accepted, without implying a reference to the text that is in fact used (catholic or Marcionite).

The chief sources of citations from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus are books 1 and 2 of *Dial. Adam.*, since it is in these books that the opponents of Adamantius are Marcionite. Although some scholars have argued that every citation must be examined as potentially Marcionite, especially the large series which appears in book 5 in the Marcionite order,[14] only the citations from books 1 and 2 can be taken seriously. The reasons for this judgment will be discussed in the section of this thesis entitled "*Dial. Adam.* as a Witness."

Epiphanius

Epiphanius' discussion of Marcionism in *Panarion* 42 is very different from *Adv. Marc.* 5 and *Dial. Adam.* 1-2. After a brief introduction, presenting some of his general arguments against the Marcionites, Epiphanius catalogues lists

of verses which he claims are from the Marcionite Gospel and
Apostolikon: 78 passages from the Gospel, 8 from Romans,
3 from Ephesians, 1 from Colossians, 8 from Galatians, 16
from 1 Corinthians, 3 from 2 Corinthians, and 1 from Laodi-
ceans (which to Epiphanius is distinct from Ephesians).
After listing these citations, he repeats each one and argues
against Marcion's interpretation of them. This might seem
to be an ideal situation for someone who is seeking to recon-
struct Marcion's text. It would seem that Epiphanius has
preserved for us an abridged Marcionite Pauline Corpus
exactly, or nearly exactly, as it was. In reality, the text
presented by Epiphanius as Marcionite contains significant
disagreements with those presented in *Adv. Marc.* 5 and *Dial.
Adam.* 1 and 2.

It is also problematic that there is no discernible
explanation for Epiphanius' choice of citations or why he
chooses to end them where he does. He very often breaks a
citation off in the middle of a sense-unit. A closer examin-
ation of his discussion of the Marcionite Apostolikon cita-
tions reveals that his choice of verses is based more on
theological concerns (i.e., what they say) than textual ones
(how they say it). One gets the distinct impression that
Epiphanius has compiled his list from citations made in other
anti-Marcionite works. Specific objections to Epiphanius'
reliability will be presented in detail in the section of
this thesis entitled "Epiphanius as a Witness." It is suf-
ficient here to note that his testimony can not be relied
upon when no other witnesses are extant to verify it.

The date of the *Panarion* (A.D. 375) also presents dif-
ficulties to those wishing to establish the Marcionite text.
Epiphanius was writing more than 160 years after Tertullian's
last edition of *Adv. Marc.* The Marcionite text available to
Epiphanius (probably through other sources) was certainly not
identical to the one to which Tertullian had direct access.[15]

NOTES: THE CHIEF WITNESSES TO THE MARCIONITE TEXT

[1]Harnack (*Marcion*, 43*-67*) discusses all three fully.
My differences with Harnack will be discussed (when impor-
tant) in the individual sections of this thesis on Tertul-
lian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius as witnesses to the
Marcionite text of Paul's letters.

[2]This is the date established for the third and final
edition. Earlier editions are not extant.

[3]Ernest Evans, ed. and trans., *Tertullian, Adversus
Marcionem* (London: Oxford University, 1972) xvii.

[4]Robert D. Sider (*Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of
Tertullian* [London: Oxford University, 1971] 67-73) dis-
cusses rhetorical patterns which determine the course of the
argument in *Adv. Marc.* 4.7-10. His discussion is helpful,
but he does not treat *Adv. Marc.* 5.

[5]Evidence of such accommodation will be presented in
the section of this thesis entitled "Tertullian as a Witness."

[6] See W. H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, ed., *Der Dialog des Adamantius:* ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1901) ix-lvii for a full introduction to the work.

[7] Adamantius *Dialogue* xvi.

[8] Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1888) 2/2. 419-20.

[9] Rufinus' chapter divisions were chosen because they are clearer than the system of citation used in the Greek text. The Greek text is divided by page numbers which are not always consecutive and are, therefore, quite confusing.

[10] The question as to whether Adamantius was a real person has not been answered. Adamantius *Dialogue* xvii-xviii.

[11] This does not assume that early Marcionism was homogeneous and later Marcionism more diversified. To be sure, differences in theology probably existed in Marcionism's early decades. But no three-god theory is dealt with by Tertullian in *Adv. Marc.* If it were a prominent Marcionite position in Tertullian's time, it is rather surprising that he does not mention it. He normally makes the most of such inconsistencies on the part of his opponents. The testimony of Rhodo (Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.13) is roughly contemporary to Tertullian. Rhodo speaks of one-, two-, and three-god structures within Marcionism, but his reliability is difficult to assess. The strongest evidence that Marcionites held a three-god theology is the report of Esnik, but since Esnik's source was Epiphanius, this report can be dated no earlier than the fourth century. See Blackman, *Marcion*, 77 n. 3.

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¹²Adamantius *Dialogue* xv.

¹³Van de Sande Bakhuyzen sees a third in *Dial. Adam.*
1.9 The words he cites are "καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων γραφῶν
δείξω ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει," but these words are spoken by
Megethius, not Adamantius. They indicate that the Marcion-
ite is using, in this case, a catholic text.

¹⁴Harnack, *Marcion*, 60*-62*.

¹⁵The precise dates of Epiphanius' sources are impos-
sible to determine. This means that some of his citations
could have come from works closer in time to Tertullian.
Since Epiphanius' sources cannot be determined, nothing can
be said with specificity regarding their dates. Thus, the
only fixed date we have for Epiphanius' citations is the
date of the *Panarion* itself.

1 B   METHODOLOGY FOR EVALUATING CITATIONS FROM THE
       MARCIONITE TEXT

One of the chief contributions of this dissertation to
the study of the text of Marcion is the application of a
rigid methodology to those citations in *Adv. Marc., Dial.
Adam.,* and *Panarion* 42 that are purported to reflect the
Marcionite text. It is my contention that other studies
involving the text of Marcion have not yielded reliable re-
sults because loose citations and mere allusions in these
anti-Marcionite works were too quickly accepted as accurate
representations of Marcion's text.[1]

My study of citations in these authors from Marcion's
Galatians, 1 Corinthians, Laodiceans (Ephesians), Philip-
pians, Colossians, and 1-2 Thessalonians has produced a
total of 83 readings that can be securely established as
representations of Marcion's *Vorlage*.[2] Another 47 readings
also may have been in the pre-Marcionite text, but this
group must be regarded as questionable. This shorter list
will only be used as supplementary data in the textual
evaluation carried out in the second half of this thesis.
All conclusions of the study will be based primarily on the
83 secure readings. The criteria for placing a reading in
one list rather than the other will be discussed below.

The criteria I am about to describe have been worked
out over the lengthy period of my study of Galatians,
1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and 1-2
Thessalonians. Some of these criteria were formulated as
the study progressed (e.g., the criteria related to particular

idiosyncrasies of the citing authors). Therefore, all readings were then reassessed in the light of a more fully developed methodology.

Complete tables of the readings (secure and probable) which were accepted as a result of this study, along with the reasons for acceptance, can be found in Appendices A and B.

CRITERIA FOR ACCURATE CITATION

Positive Criteria (Favoring Accuracy)

1. Specification by citing author
2. Completeness of citation
   2.1 Preservation of original word order
   2.2 Citation from the beginning of a paragraph in *Adv. Marc.* upon which Tertullian then comments
3. Citation formula present
4. Attestation elsewhere
5. Attestation of the variant as Marcionite in more than one citing author.

Negative Criteria (Opposing Accuracy)

6. Deliberate variation by citing author detectable
7. Linguistic explanation for the creation of variant (translational)
8. Unstable text of citing author
9. Unresolvable disagreement among citing authors
10. Insecure witness (citing author not reliable alone)
11. Tendency of citing author detectable

Positive Criteria (Favoring Accuracy) 1-5

1. Specification by the Citing Author

This is the most weighty criterion favoring the accept-
ance of a reading. When the citing author makes a remark
about a specific word, phrase, or verse, one is justified in
accepting that reading as being a genuine reflection of the
text which was before the citing author. A few examples
will make this clear:

2 Thess 1:8: Delete ἐν πυρὶ φλογός. In his discussion of
this passage in *Adv. Marc.* 5.16.1, Tertullian remarks:
Sed flammam et ignem delendo haereticus extinxit, ne scilicet
nostratem deum faceret ("But the heretic has extinguished the
flame and fire by erasing them, lest, of course, he make
'god' ours"). One may challenge the validity of Tertullian's
explanation of Marcion's reason for erasing the words. One
might even question whether it was Marcion who erased them
(although here it is possible that he did). Nevertheless,
it must be accepted that Tertullian noticed the words missing
from his copy of Marcion's Apostolikon.

Eph 2:14: Delete αὐτοῦ. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.14 Tertullian
remarks: Sed Marcion abstulit "sua," ut inimicitiae daret
carnem, quasi carnali vitio, non Christo aemulae ("But
Marcion removed the word 'his' so as to connect 'flesh' with
'enmity' as though it were a carnal defect rather than jeal-
ousy against Christ"). Once again, whether one accepts Ter-
tullian's explanation or not, it is reasonable to assume that
the text upon which he is commenting had no αὐτοῦ.

One final example will demonstrate that this criterion cannot be used in an absolute fashion.

1 Cor 10:11: ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις for ταῦτα μὲν τύπος συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις. In *Dial. Adam.* 2.17 the Marcionite contestant, Marcus, objects that ταῦτα μὲν τύπος should be read as ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως. Thus, Harnack accepts ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως as the Marcionite reading for this verse. However, *Dial. Adam.* is an artificial construction, and ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως demonstrates neither a Marcionite tendency nor any sensible meaning at all. The variant can be attributed to a bit of pyrotechnics on the part of the author of *Dial. Adam.* to add color to the discussion.[3] Therefore, this variant can not be accepted, despite its apparent conformity to criterion #1.[4]

2. Completeness of Citation

In the absence of a specific remark by a citing author indicating a change in the text, the lengthiness of a citation is a factor which favors its accuracy. When only a few words of a verse are cited, there is the possibility that the citing author is only alluding to the verse. He may be recollecting the verse from a previous glance at his Marcionite Apostolikon or may be simply relying upon memory. When a citation is long, however, the likelihood is greater that the citing author had found it necessary to look directly at the Marcionite text and thus he cited with greater precision. This criterion is not absolute. Certain popular verses (such as Phil 2:6-11) could be cited *en masse* from memory by almost any author. Ordinarily, however,

length of the quotation favors the likelihood of word-for-word citation.

The question is, of course, How long is long enough? M. J. Suggs treats ten-word citations as being borderline cases.[5] This canon of ten words is helpful only in a limited way. Since the citing authors did not have a division of verses, it has been my policy to look for entire verses or partial verses which begin and end at reasonable breaks in the thought. The best cases are those citations which include three or more verses, as is the case with Eph 2:11-14 (in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.12; *Pan.* 42; and *Dial. Adam.* 2.18), Gal 5:19-21 (in *Pan.* 42), and Gal 4:22-26 (in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.8).

A more difficult case is Gal 1:8 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.2.6. Instead of Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Nestle-Aland[26]), Tertullian has: licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit anathema sit. Despite the presence of a few attractive variants, the reference falls short of being an accurate citation. It is quite possible that ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ἡμεῖς ἢ has been omitted by Tertullian so that he could move directly to his emphasis on the angel. Moreover, the relative clause παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν has been represented by *aliter*. The omission or abbreviation of a relative clause is a commonplace of loose citation.

The case just considered raises an important issue with regard to this criterion. Variants of deletion cannot be established from a quotation which is overly brief. One

would certainly not argue that in Tertullian's citation of
Gal 1:8 the absence of ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . ἡμεῖς ἢ reflects a dele-
tion in that author's Marcionite *Vorlage*.[6] This brings a
a problem to light. According to this criterion, citations
which contain deletions are removed from consideration. How
then will variants of deletion be detected if the citations
in which they occur are perfunctorily disqualified? This is
a danger. Therefore, this criterion of completeness must
not be applied in an overly rigid fashion but must always be
used in conjunction with other criteria, especially the cri-
terion of attestation in other MSS or fathers. Nonetheless,
when a verse is incomplete, deletions are highly suspicious
and cannot, without serious support from other criteria, be
accepted as secure Marcionite readings.

Two sub-criteria may be applied in response to some of
the difficulties inherent in the criterion of completeness.
When a citation is brief, the following two factors argue
for its accuracy.

2.1 Preservation of Original Word Order.

If the word order of a short citation corresponds pre-
cisely to that of an established text (i.e., the Greek or
any of the Versions) or contains words that do not bear
directly upon the point that the citing author is arguing,
then it is quite likely that the citation, although far from
complete, may still be accurate. For two reasons this ap-
plies most often to citations in Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* 5:

a) it is established that Tertullian had a Marcionite

text in front of him as he wrote;

b) word-for-word correspondences with his Greek Marcionite *Vorlage* are frequently reflected by word orders or expressions unnatura¹ in Latin.

A good example where this criterion may be applied is the citation of Gal 3:26 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.3.11: "Omnes enim filii estis fidei" is given for πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χρ. Ἰη. (Nestle). Here Tertullian has only five words, which is hardly a complete citation. There are problems even with these five words that he cites. The question remains whether *filii* actually reflects υἱοί without θεοῦ or whether Tertullian has shortened the passage. Υἱοί ἐστε πίστεως is the reading reflected from the Marcionite text. The citation, although short, has some marks of having been made carefully. The γάρ would be deleted in a loose citation. It is reflected in *Adv. Marc.* 5.3.11 by *enim* in its correct position. More importantly, the expression *filii fidei*, which Harnack and others argue is a variant which could only have originated in the Latin tradition (*filii dei fidei* becoming *filii fidei*), is split by *estis*.[7] The position of *estis* in Tertullian's *filii estis fidei* corresponds exactly to the position of ἐστε in the Greek. This application of criterion 2.1 is not sufficient in itself to guarantee that the variant is valid. It is confirmed by the presence of a citation formula and the attestation of the reading elsewhere. Criterion 2.1 could not be used to argue for the deletion of ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, however; words at the end of a clause are frequently omitted in brief citations.

2.2 Citation at the beginning of a paragraph in *Adv. Marc.*
5 upon which Tertullian subsequently comments.

This sub-criterion is limited to Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.*
5. In this work Tertullian frequently begins a paragraph
with a citation from Marcion's Apostolikon, which he follows
with comments in the paragraph itself. Since these comments
frequently involve exegesis of and remarks on certain words
and phrases, it is probable that, even when the citations
are very brief, the passages cited at the beginning of Ter-
tullian's paragraphs were taken with some degree of accuracy
from the Marcionite text before him. An example is the
citation of Eph 2:15 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.15.

Tertullian's brief citation of the first part of that
verse reflects the variant "delete ἐν." The citation does
not meet the criterion of completeness; yet the likelihood
that Tertullian is only alluding to the verse is lessened by
the fact that he proceeds to comment on it in the ensuing
lines. More importantly, in the paragraph immediately pre-
ceding, Tertullian cited Eph 2:14. Thus, it is quite likely
that he again glanced at his Marcionite *Vorlage* when he began
this paragraph with Eph 2:15.

3. Citation Formula Present

The use of citation formulae plays a lesser role in
this study than might be expected. This is due to the par-
ticular circumstances of the works in which the Marcionite
text is cited.[8] Epiphanius must be excluded from considera-
tion altogether in this regard. *Panarion* 42 contains a

catalogue of the citations that he claims are from the Mar-
cionite text. They are discussed individually afterwards.
This format rules out the use of citation formulae alto-
gether. It could be argued that the mere appearance of a
verse in the list is tantamount to the presence of a cita-
tion formula. However, since Epiphanius' citations fre-
quently diverge from the citations in *Adv. Marc.* and *Dial.*
Adam., it would be wrong to place too much weight on this
argument.

It is in Adamantius' *Dialogue* that specific citation
formulae occur. These are sometimes used to designate the
letter of Paul from which they are taken. In the list of
secure and probable readings, three types of citation for-
mulae appear:

1) Use of the participle of a verb of "telling":
   λέγων: 1 Cor 15:45 in 2.19; 1 Cor 5:3 in 2.5; 1 Thess
   4:16 in 1.25.
   προστάσσων: 1 Cor 1:11 in 1.8.
   A sub-type of this group includes the address of the
   letter (λέγων Κορινθίοις): 1 Cor 10:1-4 in 2.18.

2) Use of a finite verb of speaking:
   φησί: 1 Cor 6:16 in 5.23; Eph 4:6 in 2.19.
   λέγει: 1 Cor 15:2 in 5.6; Eph 1:6 in 5.12.
   A sub-type of this group includes the addresses of the
   letter: Ἀναγιγνώσκω ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς πρὸς Κολοσ-
   σαῖς Παύλου φησίν: Col 4:10 in 1.5. This is a citation
   formula *par excellence*. It even indicates from which

part of Colossians the citation is taken.

3) Use of a participle and a finite verb of telling:

Παῦλος . . . αὐτοῦ λέγοντος . . . φησί: 1 Cor 12:24b in 2.19.

Ἐφεσίοις δὲ ἐπιστέλλων φησί: Eph 2:11-13 in 2.18; Eph 2:17 in 2.19.

ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐμφαίνει λέγων: 1 Cor 9:1-2 in 1.2.

λέγοντος Παύλου . . . φησί: Eph 3:8-9 in 2.20.

The value of these citation formulae is limited in that the subject of the verbs is invariably Paul, not Marcion. Never is a prepositional phrase such as "in Marcion's Apostolikon" present, with the exception of 1 Cor 10:11 in *Dial. Adam*. 2.17, and here the phrase is misleading.[9] Therefore, the presence of a citation formula in *Dial. Adam*. is only an indication that the citation comes from the letters of Paul. Whether it is Marcion's Apostolikon or the catholic text is another question. To be sure, since Marcionite positions are being discussed in this work, it is likely that the Marcionite text is being used, but this is not a foregone conclusion in every case.

The value of the citation formulae is that they indicate that the passage cited is being offered as a citation, not merely as an "inspired outcry" by the author nor as a reminiscence of a few words. Whether the passage cited is from the Marcionite text or not must be established from other criteria.

The citation formulae from *Adv. Marc*. 5 fall into

groups very similar to those of *Dial. Adam.*, but Tertullian
varies his vocabulary to a greater degree:

1) Use of participles of speaking (and other):

   dicens: Gal 4:8 in 5.4.5; Col 1:5 in 5.19.1.

   adhibens et disserens: Eph 5:31 in 5.18.9.

2) Use of finite verbs of speaking:

   inquit: 1 Cor 15:49 in 5.10.10; 2 Thess 2:11 in 5.16.5;
   Gal 5:14 in 5.4.12/13; Gal 3:14 in 5.3.11; Gal 2:4 in
   5.3.3; Eph 5:32 in 5.18.10; Eph 5:29 in 5.18.9; Eph 5:23
   in 5.18.8; Eph 2:14 in 5.17.14; Eph 2:3 in 5.17.9.

   dicit (or *dixerit*): Eph 1:12 in 5.17.3; Eph 5:28b in
   5.18.8; Phil 2:7 in 5.20.3; Col 2:16-17 in 5.19.9;
   1 Cor 5:5b in 5.7.2.

3) Use of finite verbs of adding or joining:

   subjungit: 1 Cor 15:50 in 5.10.11.

   subicit: 1 Cor 2:8 in 5.6.5.

   adicit: Gal 3:26 in 5.3.11; Gal 4:31 in 5.4.8.

4) Use of finite verbs of any other kind:

   praestruit: 1 Cor 15:45 in 5.10.7.

   infert: Eph 3:10 in 5.18.2.

   refert: Eph 1:13 in 5.17.4.

   scribat: Gal 1:6 in 5.2.4.

The variety of citation formulae used by Tertullian
points up one of his chief attributes as an author, namely,
his tendency to weave citations into the discussion with

smooth transitions. Unfortunately, these transitions are
frequently so smooth that it is very difficult to tell pre-
cisely where the citation is meant to begin. One must be
particularly cautious when dealing with such formulae as
refert or *infert*. By their very meaning, such words indi-
cate the possibility of loose citation.

On the whole, the citation formulae employed by Tertul-
lian are similar in value to those in *Dial. Adam*. The
formulae do not settle the ultimate question as to whether
it is specifically Marcion's text of Paul's letters that is
being dealt with. The special situation of Tertullian is
that he systematically cites from a Marcionite Pauline Cor-
pus. For him to say "the apostle says" is tantamount to
introducing a citation from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus.
Nevertheless, one can not ignore the possibility that he
cites from memory without looking at his Marcionite text,
particularly in the case of short citations. This is espe-
cially the case when he cites a passage out of sequence--
for example, after citing a sequence of passages from
Ephesians 1 and 2 when he makes a single citation from
Colossians or 1 Corinthians as part of his argument. Cri-
terion #3 is helpful here, but far from absolute.

4. Attestation Elsewhere

When a Marcionite variant reported by a citing author
has strong attestation in NT MSS or in other citations of
the church fathers, it is less likely that the variant was
created as the result of an error by the citing author. To

argue otherwise one would have to explain how both the church fathers citing the Marcionite text and other witnesses of the Pauline Corpus happen to have the same variant.

There are some serious limitations to this criterion:

a) If the variant is a simple and common error, it becomes more likely that the author citing the Marcionite text happened to make the same easy blunder as the other MS or church father. Therefore, when the variant involves a simple change in word order or the deletion of a superfluous word, criterion #4 decreases in value. Another instance of this type would be a variant of deletion of the first or last words of a passage. Since authors sometimes begin their citations a few words into a verse, or end them a few words early, the concurrence of two witnesses in such a deletion would not be an argument in favor of accuracy.

b) In the case of Rufinus' Latin translation of *Dial. Adam.*, it appears that some of the biblical citations were adapted to the Old Latin text available to Rufinus.[10] Therefore, when Rufinus' *Dial. Adam.* has a variant strongly attested only in the OL:I-type, it is more likely that Rufinus' text has been harmonized with the Old Latin Pauline Corpus than it is that the I-type is an independent witness to the Marcionite variant.

c) This criterion could easily be abused so as to make the argumentation of this thesis circular. Two of the major tasks of this thesis are (1) the comparison of the *Vorlage* of the Marcionite text with other text traditions and (2) the examination of the distribution of those variants in

other text types. If the variants treated in this study were chosen largely because they appear in certain versions, the conclusions drawn therefrom would, of course, point to heavy attestation in those versions. Therefore, the criterion of attestation should not be given too much weight, and never should it be accepted as absolute proof of accurate citation.

Following are some examples of the application of this criterion:

Gal 2:4 (delete ʾΙησοῦ). In *Adv. Marc.* 5.3.3 Tertullian writes, Ergo propter falsos, inquit, subinterducticios fratres, qui subintraverant ad speculandam libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo, ut nos subigerent servituti. The variant "delete ʾΙησοῦ" is reflected also by Ephrem and the OL:I-type. This attestation along with the completeness of the verse and the fact that it begins a paragraph in Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* 5 (criteria #2 and #2.2 respectively) are proof that the deletion was part of Marcion's text.

Gal 4:8 (∿ θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε). In *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.5 Tertullian cites this verse: si ergo his, qui in natura sunt dei, servitis. In this case the criterion of attestation is crucial in establishing the possibility of the variant. The citation is short and the change in word order is a feature typical of Tertullian. But the fact that the same alteration of the word order also appears in OL:D, OL:I, Vg; Greek DFG, and Gothic makes it quite likely that Tertullian is not the creator of the variant. It was, quite possibly, in the

Marcionite text which Tertullian had before him.

The case in which criterion #4 has perhaps the strongest force is that of Gal 4:26, quoted in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.8. Tertullian begins the citation in the early part of Gal 4:22 and continues without deletion through to 4:26. At 4:26, however, part of Eph 1:21 is inserted. He writes, alium super omnem principatem generans vim dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur. At first glance this seems to be a comment which Tertullian has interjected, similar to his comment on the meaning of the word *allegorica* a few lines earlier. But the commentary of Ephrem on this verse reads, et eminet supra omnes potestates ac principatus.[11] It is unlikely that Tertullian and Ephrem both happened to comment on the Galatians passage by using the same verse from Ephesians. It is more likely that both represent an interpolation into the text of Paul which Marcion inherited. The fuller implications of this interpolation and possible sources for it will be discussed below in the section on pre-Marcionite variants which have been mistakenly attributed to Marcion.[12]

5. Attestation of the Variant as Marcionite in More than One Citing Author

This is one of the weightiest, though rarely applied, criteria. For example, when Tertullian cites a passage as Marcionite and it contains a variant which also appears in Epiphanius' catalogue of Marcionite verses, it is highly likely that the variant was indeed part of the Marcionite text.

It has become clear during the course of my research that Tertullian, *Dial. Adam.*, and Epiphanius are independent witnesses to the Marcionite text. Examination was made of passages appearing in *Dial. Adam.* and *Adv. Marc.* to determine whether any dependence of Adamantius on Tertullian could be demonstrated. The results were negative. In the first place, they rarely cite the same verse. Out of the 85 verses involved in the variants accepted into Appendix A ("secure") and Appendix B ("probable"), only 11 can be found in both *Adv. Marc.* and *Dial. Adam.* One of these 11 is hi· ly questionable since it appears in Rufinus' translation of the *Dial. Adam.* but not in the Greek, and one more is in the very suspicious book 5 of the *Dialogue*.[13] A comparison of these 11 citations was conducted; the full data are recorded in Table 2 below. Three of the 11 verses (Gal 1:6; Eph 2:17; and 1 Thess 4:16) are so short in *Adv. Marc.* that conclusions drawn from their comparison are far from binding. Two general observations should be made:

1) Four of the remaining eight fully cited verses are identical, or nearly so, in the two authors. In addition, Adamantius' Gal 1:8 may differ from Tertullian's only because Tertullian has shortened the citation. This agreement would be expected since both Tertullian and Adamantius are sources for reconstructing the same text, i.e., that of Marcion.

2) Some important differences in the citations of the two authors, particularly in Eph 2:11, 13, 3:9 and possibly Gal 1:8, prevent one from concluding that Adamantius' source for his Marcionite citations was Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.*

TABLE 2

Verses Cited by Tertullian and Adamantius

Verse	Adv. Marc.	Dial. Adam.	Comment
Gal 1:6	5.2.4	1.6	(only in Rufinus' translation and not complete)
Gal 1:8	5.2.6	1.6	Adamantius has ὑμῖν παρ᾽ ὁ εὐαγγελισ . . . , not ἄλλως as Tertullian.
1 Cor 15:3	3.8.5	5.6	Identical (Rufinus different).
1 Cor 15:45	10.7	2.19	Identical (Rufinus adds *autem* after *novissimus*).
1 Cor 15:47	5.10.9	2.19	Identical (Rufinus deletes Χοϊκός).
Eph 2:11	5.17.12	2.18	Adamantius adds ὅτι, Tertullian does not. Adamantius has ποτὲ ὑμεῖς, Tertullian has ὑμεῖς ποτέ. Tertullian deletes ἐν σάρκι, Adamantius does not.
Eph 2:12	5.17.12	2.18	Tertullian and Rufinus have *et promissionis* for τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, Adamantius (Greek) does not.
Eph 2:13	5.17.12	2.18	Tertullian has *at nunc*, Adamantius has νυνὶ δέ (Rufinus has *nunc autem*). Adamantius deletes ἐν Χριστῷ, Tertullian does not. Adamantius ⌐ Χριστοῦ, Tertullian reflects αὐτοῦ.
Eph 2:17	5.17.16 (incomplete)	2.19	No major differences.
Eph 3.9	5.18.1	2.10	Tertullian remarks that ἐν is missing; in Adamantius it is present.
1 Thess 4:16	5.15.4 (fragmentary)	1.25	Identical but for Tertullian ∿ πρῶτοι ἐγερθήσονται.

These divergent renderings all occur in the books of *Dial.*
Adam. which deal with Marcionites (books 1 and 2). In Eph
2:11 Adamantius' text adds ὅτι and does not reverse the order
of πότε ὑμεῖς as does Tertullian, in agreement with many
other witnesses (OL:I; Sah, Syr^H, Ephrem; and Greek S^2, D^2,
6, and Maj). In Eph 2:13 Adamantius has a pair of related
variants (- ἐν Χριστῷ and ⌐Χριστοῦ for αὐτοῦ) not found in
Tertullian's citation nor that of Epiphanius. In Eph 3:9
Adamantius maintains the word ἐν before θεῷ, but Tertullian
comments specifically on its deletion. Therefore, it is
safe to say that while both Tertullian and Adamantius cite
Marcionite readings, Tertullian was not a source which Ada-
mantius used to obtain Marcionite readings.

A study of the verses which are cited by both Tertul-
lian and Epiphanius yields similar results (see below,
Table 3). To begin with, of the 85 verses involved in
Appendices A and B, only nine verses are shared by both
Tertullian and Epiphanius. Thus at the outset it is un-
likely that *Adv. Marc.* 5 was a source for Epiphanius. If
Tertullian were his source, would Epiphanius have neglected
so much of Tertullian's material? Epiphanius cites 40 verses
from the letters dealt with in this study and only one-
fourth of these can be found in Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.*

The comparison--the full results of which can be found
in Table 3--resulted in several striking concurrences of
readings. The use of the dative ἑτέροις in 1 Cor 14:21 and
the participle μνημονεύοντες in Eph 2:11 are variants which
Tertullian and Epiphanius share in their Marcionite citations.

TABLE 3

Verses Cited by Tertullian and Epiphanius

Verse	Adv. Marc.	Panarion	Comment
Gal 5:14	5.4.12/13	42 (120)	Tertullian has *in vobis*, Epiphanius has ὑμῖν only. Tertullian has *te*, Epiphanius has σέαυτον. Otherwise strong agreement. Both have πεπλήρωται for πληροῦται. Both delete ἐν τῷ.
1 Cor 14:21	5.8.10	42 (122)	Identical but for Tertullian ∿ ἑτέροις Χείλεσιν.
Eph Title	5.17.1	42 (105)	Both are aware of Laodiceans but Epiphanius treats it as an eleventh letter and quotes Ephesians as Ephesians.
Eph 2:11	5.17.12	42 (119)	Both have μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε. Both ∿ ὑμεῖς ποτέ. Epiphanius deletes ἐν σάρκι, Tertullian does not.
Eph 2:12	5.17.12	42 (119)	Tertullian adds ἐν, Epiphanius deletes. The difference between Tertullian and Epiphanius in this case may be due to the fact that Tertullian wrote in Latin and Epiphanius in Greek. Tertullian has καί after διαθήκων, Epiphanius and Adamantius have τῆς. Tertullian adds αὐτῶν after ἐπαγγελίας, Epiphanius does not.
Eph 2:13	5.17.12	42 (119)	Epiphanius adds ᾿Ιησοῦ after Χριστῷ, Tertullian does not. Tertullian may delete ποτέ, Epiphanius does not.
Eph 2:14	5.17.12	42 (119)	No major differences.
Eph 5:31	5.18.9	42 (119)	Epiphanius has τούτου, Tertullian may have ταύτης. Tertullian lacks καί προσκολ . . . γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, Epiphanius has most of it.
Col 2:16-17	5.19.9	42 (119)	Epiphanius has ἤ, Tertullian has καί (1). Tertullian deletes ἐν, Epiphanius does not. Tertullian ⌈καί for ἤ, Epiphanius has ἤ. Tertullian ⌈καί, Epiphanius has ἤ. Tertullian and Epiphanius ⌈καί for ἤ. Tertullian σαββάτου, Epiphanius σαββατῶν. Tertullian and Epiphanius ⌈ὅ for ἅ.

This establishes that both are dealing ultimately with a common source. However, the numerous differences in Eph 2:12, 2:13, 5:31 and especially Col 2:16-17 rule out the possibility that Epiphanius used *Adv. Marc.* as a source. Moreover, Epiphanius regarded Laodiceans as an eleventh letter of the corpus.[14] Tertullian, on the other hand, reports that Laodiceans was the Marcionite title for Ephesians (*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.1). It is clear that *Adv. Marc.* was not a source for Epiphanius.

When the verses cited by Adamantius and Epiphanius are examined, it is clear that there is no direct dependence. Since *Panarion* is the later of the two works, dependence would have to be that of Epiphanius on *Dial. Adam.* If Epiphanius quoted many of the same verses, such a dependency could be argued. But of the 40 verses from the Apostolikon which appear in *Pan.* 42, only seven can be found in *Dial. Adam.* If Epiphanius, when citing several verses at once, cited the same number of verses as *Dial. Adam.*, dependence would be strongly indicated. However, in the two cases where citations from the Apostolikon of more than one verse are held in common (1 Cor 10:1-4 and Eph 4:11-13), Epiphanius carries the citation further than does *Dial. Adam.* This demonstrates that Epiphanius was certainly not dependent on *Dial. Adam.* for these multi-verse citations.

A careful examination of the text of the citations themselves also leads to a conclusion of non-dependence (see Table 4). Of the seven verses held in common, only one (Eph 6:16) is cited in the same fashion by Adamantius and

TABLE 4

Verses Cited by Adamantius and Epiphanius

1 Cor 6:16	*Dial. Adam.* 5.23	No differences.
	Pan. 42 (121)	
1 Cor 10:3	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18:	βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον
	Pan. 42 (122):	πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα
1 Cor 10:4	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18:	πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον
	Pan. 42 (122):	πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα
1 Cor 14:34	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18:	ὑποτάσσεσθαι
	Pan. 42 (123):	ὑποτασσέσθωσαν
Eph 2:11	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18	Adamantius has ὅτι,
	Pan. 42 (119) }	Epiphanius deletes it. Adamantius has ποτὲ ὑμεῖς, Epiphanius has ὑμεῖς πότε
Eph 2:12	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18:	ἐν τῷ καιρῷ
	Pan. 42 (119):	τῷ καιρῷ
Eph 2:13	*Dial. Adam.* 2.18:	νυνὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς
	Pan. 42 (119):	νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὑμεῖς
	Dial. Adam. 2.18:	αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ
	Pan. 42 (119):	αἵματι αὐτοῦ

Epiphanius. In the other six verses, there is disagreement on at least one point. In two of the verses (Eph 2:11 and 2:13), *Pan.* 42 and *Dial. Adam.* disagree in two readings. The frequency of disagreement is too high to conclude dependence of any sort by Epiphanius on the *Dial. Adam.*

Since it is certain, then, that *Adv. Marc.* 5, *Dial. Adam.*, and *Pan.* 42 are three independent witnesses to the text of Marcion, the concurrence of two or all three of them on a given reading gives that reading a high likelihood of having been in Marcion's Pauline Corpus.

The best examples for application of this criterion would be the variants in Eph 2:11 to which all three authors attest: "delete initial διό" and "substitute μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε." Other examples are Gal 5:14, "ᵋἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ," which appears in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.12/ 13 and is confirmed by Epiphanius *Pan.* 42 (120), though without ἐν. Both also delete ἐν τῷ in that same verse. The best example is the concurrence between Adamantius and Epiphanius in their text of 1 Cor 14:34. *Dial. Adam.* 2.18 and *Pan.* 42 (123) both read τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ for ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

B Negative Criteria (Opposing Accuracy) 6-11

The criteria used to reject readings as legitimate or to limit their probability require less explanation. They are less frequently designated in Appendices A and B since they rule out readings. The readings which they disqualify do not appear in either of the lists. The rejected variants are not presented in this thesis for the reader's review

since, as they outnumber the accepted readings, they would
cause the amount of data handled here to be unwieldy. Some
of them will appear in the following pages as examples.

6. Deliberate Variation by the Citing Author Detectable

From the context within which a biblical passage is
cited, it is frequently possible to detect certain efforts
on the part of the author to alter the citation in order to
sharpen polemical contrast or to make the citation fit more
smoothly into the argument being made. This often involves
the deletion of introductory particles or phrases and any
phrases or clauses which are not completely relevant to the
point which the citing author is trying to make. This occurs
most often with Tertullian, the primary witness for the
Marcionite text. A few examples will illustrate the use
of this criterion:

<div align="center">

Eph 1:20 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.6
and the Vulgate translation

</div>

Tertullian	*Vulgate*
Ille inoperatus est in Christum *valentiam suam,* suscitando eum a mortuis et collocando eum ad dexteram suam et subiciendo omnia, qui et dixit, "Sede ad dexteram meam donec . . ."	quam operatus est in Christo suscitans illum a mortuis et constituens ad dexteram suam in caelestibus (22) Et omnia subjecit sub pedibus ejus

The variant under consideration here is the addition of ἰσχύν
αὐτοῦ (*valentiam suam*) after ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ (*in Christum*). Harnack ac-
cepts this as the Marcionite reading.[15] But it is clear from the
very beginning of the citation that Tertullian has tampered

with the verse.[16] Tertullian begins with *ille* and not *quam*.
Further, the way that he ties Eph 1:22 to Eph 1:20, skipping
over 1:21 altogether, suggests that he is rather loosely
tying a few verses together.[17] Convincing proof of the fact
that Tertullian is not citing with precision is found in the
words *valentiam suam*, which are from Eph 1:19. When Tertul-
lain chose to begin Eph 1:20 with *ille* for the sake of empha-
sis (see translation below) rather than with *quam*, he was
left without a direct object for the verb *inoperatus est*.
The antecedent of *quam* is in 1:19: operationem potentiae
virtutis ejus (ἐνεργείαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ).

Once he had decided to begin the verse with *ille*, he
had no choice but to take the words *valentiam suam* from the
previous verse (which he did not cite). The emphasis of his
argument is tied up in the word *ille*. He writes,

> That very one (namely, the creator god) wrought his
> mighty power in Christ, by raising him from the dead
> and setting him at his right hand and subjecting
> everything, (He is the one) who (i.e., the creator
> god) also said "Sit at my right hand until . . ."
> (Ps 110:1 not cited in Ephesians).
> (*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.6; trans. my own)

Thus, Tertullian avoided using the relative pronoun (*quam*)
in order to identify more clearly the one who raised Christ
from the dead with the creator God who speaks in the OT
Psalm.

Another example of the application of this criterion is
the "citation" of Gal 4:6 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.4:

Tertullian	Vulgate
Adv. Marc. 5.4.4	Gal 4:6

Itaque ut certum esset nos	Quoniam autem estis
filios dei esse, misit	filii misit *Deus*
spiritum suum in	Spiritum *filii* sui in
corda nostra, clamantem	corda nostra clamantem,
'Abba, Pater!'	'Abba, Pater!'
"In novissimus" enim,	
inquit, "diebus effundam de	
meo spiritu in omnem carnem."	

The "variants" in question are the deletions of *Deus* (θεός)
and the second *filii* (υἱοῦ) by Tertullian. Θεός is deleted
in B, 1739 and Sah but never in the assembled 100 citations
of the OL tradition.[18] Τοῦ υἱοῦ is deleted by P[46] but in
the entire OL tradition only once by Augustine—here, as
often, the champion of the reading unattested elsewhere. The
question is, Did Marcion's text also delete these words? It
is clear from the start that Tertullian has taken some
liberties with this verse. He changed the person of the
first verb from 2nd pl. to 1st pl. (*estis* to *nos esse*) and
added *dei* after *filios*. The clause *ut certum esset* functions
as a smooth introduction of the scriptural passage. But
from *misit* on, the text represented is not far from the
Vulgate text, with the exceptions of the deletions of *Deus* and
filii. But a motivation is discernible for both of these
deletions. In what immediately follows in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.4,
the citation of Joel 2:28 appears. In Joel neither *Deus* nor
filii are mentioned. If Tertullian wanted to use Joel as a
proof text for his argument, it would be very much in his
interest to delete *Deus* and *filii* from the Galatians citation

to make it correspond more closely to the quotation from
Joel. The Joel citation would then illustrate his point more
clearly. Although it cannot be established with absolute
certainty that this is what Tertullian did, the possibility
certainly exists. Therefore, the deletions of *Deus* and *filii*
may not be accepted as secure Marcionite readings.[19]

7. Linguistic Explanation for Creation of a Variant (Translational)

This criterion applies solely to *Adv. Marc.*, since it
is the only Latin witness to the Marcionite text. Any
variant that can be explained as a likely or necessary result
of the process of translation from Greek to Latin must be
ruled out. Translational variations occur most frequently
as changes in the case of nouns and adjectives; alternative
prepositions; changes in the mood or tense of verbs (particu-
larly where the optative or aorist are involved, which have
no direct correspondent in Latin grammar); and alternative
word choice (synonyms). *Adv. Marc.* abounds with examples of
this phenomenon. This discussion will be limited to a few
of the less obvious examples.

In Ephesians alone there are four occasions in which
Marcion's text, according to Tertullian, seems to have
deleted the word ἐν. These are Eph 2:15 (*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.5),
Eph 3:9 (5.18.1), Eph 6:14 (3.14.4), and Eph 6:15 (3.14.4).
The first two can be found in Appendix B. The second two
were placed in neither Appendix since the citations were too
short and the deletions have no other attestation. They were
included here to demonstrate a possible linguistic pattern,

namely, that ἐν, especially when it is used instrumentally, need not be translated directly in Latin by *in* but can be reflected by the placement of the noun in the ablative case with no preposition. This is exactly what happens in three of the four cases. It is true, on the other hand, that ἐν is usually reflected by *in* in Latin MSS. A remarkable feature of the OL MS tradition is its almost slavish word-for-word correspondence to the Greek. Normal Latin word order is frequently violated, and Latin modes of expression which have no counterpart in Greek (e.g., gerunds) are avoided. A limited exception to this rule is the OL:I-type, of which certain witnesses often move more freely away from word-for-word correspondence with the Greek. One can not rule out Tertullian's having taken that same freedom with the language.[20]

The application of this criterion is complicated, however, by the fact that the deletion of *in* by Tertullian may in some cases reflect a deleted ἐν in the Greek. Such is the case in Eph 3:9 (*Adv. Marc.* 5.18.1 and *Dial. Adam.* 2.20). Here Tertullian points out specifically, Rapuit haereticus "in" praepositionem et ita legi facit: Occulti ab aevis deo qui omnia condidit ("The heretic stole the preposition 'in' and thus makes it read: hidden from ages past *from* the god who created everything"). It is clear that Tertullian is aware that the Greek which had ἐν before θεῷ would mean (hidden) *by* the god or in the god (who created). There are Greek MSS which also reflect the deletion of ἐν (S* and 2412). This attestation is the strongest argument in favor

of accepting the variant. But the deletion is challenged by the fact that *Dial. Adam.* 2.20 (Greek) maintains the ἐν (though the translation of Rufinus does not). Tertullian's specification, the supporting testimony of Rufinus, and the attestation of the deletion in the Greek MS tradition prevent the dismissal of the variant altogether. Nevertheless, the possibility that the absence of ἐν is merely a translational variation remains a nagging doubt.

One further close case will be presented here. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.19.1 Tertullian cites Col 1:5, translating προηκούσατε with *audistis*. The Vg reading is the same, but of the OL witnesses, only 78, Ambrosiaster (var), and Pelagius (in Cassiodorus) lack any reflection of προ-. Most Latin witnesses render it rather crudely with *ante*. The only support for the deletion of προ- outside of the Latin are the Sahidic and Armenian, but this may be the same linguistic phenomenon; that is, inasmuch as the verb is in the past tense, it is not necessary to translate the προ-, which can only be clumsily reflected in certain other languages. Criterion #7 prevents the variant from being held as "secure," though it must be placed in Appendix B due to favorable criteria.

8. Unstable Text of Citing Author

This criterion is obvious. Simply stated: if a variant reported in a citing author is also a variant within the textual tradition of the church father, it can not be relied upon as a secure Marcionite reading. One example is in *Adv. Marc.* 5.18.9 where Tertullian reports that Marcion's text of

Laodiceans (Ephesians) 5:31 reads ταύτης instead of τούτου
(*propter hanc* for *propter hoc*). In the textual tradition of
Adv. Marc., *hanc* is the reading of MSS M and R (the better
MSS) but not of Pamelius, who reads *hoc*.[21] It cannot be
proven, then, whether *hanc* (ταύτης) is the variant found in
the text of Marcion or whether it was created in the text
tradition of Tertullian.

There is one complicating factor here. In the case of
scriptural citations in a church father, it is more likely
that a scribe would change readings to agree with the NT
text familiar to him (in this case universally *hoc*/τούτου)
than it is that he would alter a text so that it no longer
agreed with the text known to him. Therefore it is more
likely that *hanc* is the genuine reading in *Adv. Marc.* and
that the reading *hoc* was an effort to adapt the text to the
prominent NT reading.[22] But absolute certainty is unattain-
able, since Epiphanius *Pan.* 42 has τούτου for this verse.

A clearer example is Tertullian's quotation of 1 Cor
1:21 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.5.7. There one finds *Dominum* for τὸν
θεόν (so also in OL 75). However, the reading *Dominum* is
not secure in the text tradition of *Adv. Marc.*[23] In this
case, there is no choice but to remove the variant from
consideration on the basis of criterion #8.

9. Unresolvable Disagreement among Citing Authors

In the case of certain variants, Tertullian, Adamantius,
and Epiphanius disagree with each other, that is, they have
different readings for the same Pauline verse which they

claim to be the text of Marcion. When the citing authors disagree over a given reading, the reliability of those citations as sure reflections of the text of Marcion is severely damaged. As a criterion, this is certainly not absolute. It is quite likely that Marcion's text, like any other text, underwent a certain amount of alteration over time. This might explain how Tertullian could cite a verse from Marcion one way and then, 100 years later, the verse appear in a different form in the Marcionite citations in *Pan.* 42. However, disagreement among witnesses can also be an indication of looseness or inaccuracy on the part of the citing author, especially when taken in conjunction with other negative criteria. The disagreement must be unresolvable, however. In some cases the disagreement can be accounted for as a result of certain regular tendencies of the citing author. These cases usually involve Epiphanius, who is notorious for having readings different from the otherwise clearly established Marcionite text. The text of Eph 2:13 is a good example. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.12 and *Dial. Adam.* 2.18, Ἰησοῦ is deleted,[24] but in *Pan.* 42 (119) it is not. The agreement of the more reliable Tertullian and Adamantius overrules the contrary testimony of Epiphanius.

The case of 1 Cor 10:4 is more difficult. It is cited in *Dial. Adam.* 2.18 with the words πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον, but by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 42 p. 121) in a different order, that is, the order found in all Greek MSS. The reading from *Dial. Adam.* happens to agree with the OL (types D and I) and Vg. A superior citation formula is present in *Dial. Adam.*, and

the citation is of four full verses. Therefore, the testi-
mony of *Dial. Adam.* is to be accepted over the testimony of
Epiphanius. It is quite possible that Epiphanius' text was
adapted so as to accord with dominant Greek texts. But
inasmuch as Tertullian is silent on the verse, the variant
must be relegated to Appendix B.

10. Insecure Witness (Citing Author not Reliable when Alone)

This criterion operates from the premise that certain
authors are so prone to inaccuracy in their citations that,
when a reading is attested by only that one church father,
it can not safely be considered as established. This cri-
terion applies to Epiphanius in a special way. The reason
for this will be demonstrated in the section of this thesis,
"Epiphanius as a Witness" (1 C 3). Although in some cases
he accurately reflects the text of Marcion (he agrees with
Tertullian in certain important variants), he more often
disagrees with Tertullian and *Dial. Adam.* and shows traces
of conflation with a later text. Therefore, even when other
important criteria are met, a variant reported by Epiphanius
alone must usually be relegated to the list of "Probable
Readings" (Appendix B).

Dial. Adam. 4 and 5 are also unreliable witnesses.
Whether these books contain Marcionite citations will be
discussed in detail in the section "*Dial. Adam.* as a Witness"
(1 C 2). Tests run on the large number of "citations" in
book 5 of *Dial. Adam.* show that it is unreliable. Several
of these readings were accepted into the "probable" list

(Appendix B) and will be given some consideration.

The best example for the application of this criterion
is to be found in the citation of 1 Cor 6:16 in *Pan*. 42 (121)
and *Dial. Adam*. 5.23: οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πορνῇ
ἔν σῶμά ἐστιν. In both witnesses the initial ἤ is deleted.
The deletion is sporadically attested in a wide range of MS
types (P^{46}, D, Syr, OL:pc), but there are several reasons
for deleting the ἤ. In the context of 1 Corinthians 6, the
ἤ is appropriate, but when the verse is isolated, the ἤ is
unnecessary. Even in the context of 1 Corinthians 6 it is
not essential. Therefore, the variant can not be fully ac-
cepted as accurate and must be placed in the list of merely
probable variants.

11. Tendency of the Citing Author Detectable

According to this criterion, doubt is cast on any
reading which can be attributed to a known tendency of the
citing author. Criterion #6 involved changes for the pur-
pose of argument or style. This criterion has to do more
with the mechanical tendency of a citing author to cite less
than precisely. The only discernible tendency for which
this criterion was applied is Tertullian's tendency to re-
arrange the order of words. It is always possible that
Tertullian attests a legitimate Marcionite variant of word
order. Indeed, this can be established securely in cases
where supporting evidence for the transposition is available.
Since Tertullian tampers with the word order so frequently,
however, there is an ever present suspicion that he is the

source of the changed order. This criterion was applied to such variants in Eph 2:3 (*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.9), Eph 5:29 (5.18.9), and Phil 2:7 (5.20.3), relegating them to Appendix B.

The above criteria are all a part of stage one of the methodology of this thesis. The purpose of the stage-one criteria is to arrive at an accurate reflection of the Marcionite text which the citing authors had before them.

The criteria of stage two will be used to subsequently remove any readings which can be demonstrated to have been the work of Marcion. Thus when both stages have been carried out, the result will be the text which was available to Marcion and from which he created his famous edition.

The criteria of stage two are only two:

    1' Clear Marcionite theological tendency demonstrable

    2' Lack of serious attestation elsewhere

These criteria can be applied simultaneously to a given reading. In fact, they are interrelated. A clear Marcionite tendency is proven when a reading agrees with an important Marcionite belief. But this in itself is not sufficient to prove Marcionite origin. The change should not be explainable by some simple mechanism. When the change is explainable as a simple homoeoteleuton, there is no good reason to insist that Marcion created it.

A good example of this is the citation of Eph 2:20 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.16. The words καὶ προφητῶν are missing from the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν. This was taken by Harnack to be the work of Marcion since it was

in Marcion's interest to remove a reference to the OT prophets.[25] There are two shortcomings to this argument. First, it is not the OT prophets that are being referred to here but, more likely, Christian prophets. Second, Marcion would be no more comfortable with the notion of a Church founded on apostles (plural) than he would be with one founded on prophets. Thus it remains to be explained why he would not have excised the entire phrase. Most important, however, is the fact that the deletion of καὶ προφητῶν is more simply explained as the result of a homoeoteleuton with τῶν ἀποστόλων. Therefore, the deletion of καὶ προφητῶν does not meet this criterion and may be treated as a true reflection of the text available to Marcion before he edited it.

The criterion of lack of attestation elsewhere also helps to demonstrate that a variant is the work of Marcion himself. When a variant appears in a text which the Marcionite edition could not have influenced, it is certainly not a creation of Marcion. The best example of this is the interpolation of Eph 1:21 after Gal 4:26 which is found in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.8 and Ephrem's commentary on Galatians. This criterion is very similar to criterion #4 ("attestation elsewhere") treated above. The difference is that in criterion #4 attestation elsewhere was used to bear out the fact that the author was citing accurately. Here, attestation elsewhere is used to make a judgment as to whether a reading existed before Marcion's time or was created by him.

Another example of a feature of the text reflected by Marcion which fails to meet this criterion is the short form

of Romans. One could certainly find elements in Romans 15
and 16 to which Marcion might have objected. But one can
not explain the fact that the short form of Romans is
reflected in the OL tradition if it was Marcion himself who
created it. The attestation of the short form of Romans in
the OL does not conclusively rule out a Marcionite origin,
but it does argue against it.

An example of a reading which meets both of these
criteria (1' and 2') can be found in 2 Thess 1:8 as cited
in *Adv. Marc.* 5.16.1. Tertullian states specifically that
Marcion deleted ἐν πυρὶ φλογός (in fact, he says that he
"extinguished" it). It is reasonably certain that the words
were missing in his copy of Marcion's Apostolikon. But
since no MS or church father citation can be found which
also deletes these words, and since the deletion does re-
flect the Marcionite belief that the God of Jesus and Paul
is not a punisher, it is reasonable to assume that Marcion
was the originator of this variant.

The variant then falls out of direct consideration in
this study; it is the pre-Marcionite text that is the object
of this inquiry. Therefore, a variant like this will not be
considered as when the relationship of the pre-Marcionite
text to the other Versions and MS groups is discussed.

NOTES: METHODOLOGY FOR EVALUATING CITATIONS FROM THE
        MARCIONITE TEXT

[1]It is not the purpose of this study to fault the work
of Harnack (*Marcion*) in this regard. Harnack attempted to
reconstruct as much as possible of the text of Marcion. His
reconstructions are admittedly tenuous at times, and fre-
quently they present mere possibilities. But in the works
of Blackman (*Marcion and His Influence* [London: SPCK, 1948])
and Schaefer ("Die Überlieferung des altlateinischen Galater-
briefes," *Staatliche Akademie zur Braunsberg Personal und
Vorlesungs Verzeichnis* [Gumbinnen: Krausenecks, 1939] 1-40)
nearly all of Harnack's reconstructions have been uncriti-
cally accepted and specific textual conclusions drawn there-
from. Indeed, Schaefer seeks to establish from *Adv. Marc.* 5
the exact Latin word choice of the Marcionite text.

[2]Marcionite readings which appear in Harnack's recon-
struction but rejected by me as not meeting the criteria of
accurate citation are not listed in this thesis. Less than
half of the readings which Harnack accepts meet my criteria.
Although many of these rejected readings will be discussed
in the explanation of my criteria, it is not feasible to
discuss or even list every one of them.

[3]G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Pauline Epistles* (London:
Oxford University, 1953) 23.

[4]This reading met none of the other six positive
criteria.

[5]M. J. Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for the Primary New Testament Text," *NTS* 4 (1957/58) 142.

[6]There is not the slightest possibility of this being a valid deletion. Tertullian cites the passage twice in the same paragraph, and in both instances he includes *sed et . . . nos.*

[7]This is one of the strongest arguments asserted by Harnack (*Marcion*, 72*, repeated by Schaefer, "Überlieferung," 17) that Tertullian had a Latin translation of Marcion's Apostolikon. The position of *estis* between *filii* and *fidei* makes their argument less than convincing.

[8]M. J. Suggs discusses the use of citation formulae generally in "Use of Patristic Evidence," 143.

[9]See discussion above, p. 20.

[10]In fact, this frequently seems to be the case. It will be dealt with fully in the discussion of "*Dial. Adam.* as a Witness" (1 C 2 below).

[11]S. Ephraem Syri, *Commentarii in Epistolas d. Pauli a patribus Mekitharistis translati* (Venetiis, 1893) p. 135.

[12]Section 2 A 2.4, "Variants inaccurately attributed to Marcion."

[13]The illegitimacy of *Dial. Adam.* book 5 as a source for Marcionite readings will be discussed in full below.

[14]Epiphanius, *Panarion* (Vol. 2, ed. Karl Holl; Leipzig, 1922) 120 and 182.

[15]Harnack, *Marcion*, 116*.

[16]I am in agreement here with H. J. Frede, *Vetus Latina: Epistula ad Ephesios* (Freiburg, 1962) 37. Frede does not include *valentiam suam* as part of Tertullian's text for this verse.

[17]Eph 1:21 is not elsewhere attested for Marcion's Apostolikon except for its appearance in Gal 4:26. It may not have been in Marcion's Laodiceans 1:21. But it is more likely that Tertullian deleted it here, just as he has deleted the words *in caelestibus* at the end of 1:20 and *sub pedibus* in 1:22b.

[18]I refer here to the files of citations of Latin church fathers at the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron.

[19]Due not only to the application of criterion #6 but also to the brevity of the "citation" I have not accepted these variants even for Appendix B (probable readings).

[20]This, of course, will account for a certain number of agreements between Tertullian's "citations" and the I-type readings which may have had nothing to do with Marcion. That is, they only reflect a similar tendency on the part of Tertullian and the I-type toward free translation.

[21]For a discussion of the stemma of the MSS of *Adv. Marc.*, see below section 1 C 1, "Tertullian as a Witness."

[22]*Hanc* is unattested but for Epiphanius Scholasticus of the sixth century, who reads *eam*. The feminine pronoun might also be attested indirectly by *propterea* in Jerome,

Augustine, Cassianus, Hesychius, and Tertullian.

[23]Ernest Evans accepts it, without even a note, in his edition, *Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 536. Kroymann, however, rejects it.

[24]*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.12 reads, at nunc, inquit, in Christo vos, qui eratis longe, facti estis prope in sanguine ejus. *Dial. Adam.* reads, νυνὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἵ ποτε ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This will be discussed, and examples given, in the section, "Tertullian as a Witness."

[25]Harnack, *Marcion*, 118*.

1 C 1   Tertullian as a Witness[1]

The discussion of Tertullian as a witness to the text of Marcion will be limited to four observations. The first two pertain directly to *Adv. Marc.*; the second two are drawn from an examination of Tertullian's scriptural citations in general:

1) Tertullian rather freely alters scriptural citations for rhetorical or polemical purposes.

2) In his treatment of the last letters from Marcion's Pauline Corpus, Tertullian demonstrates less care in citations of the text.

3) When citing scriptural passages, Tertullian exhibits a tendency to vary word order.

4) Tertullian is prone to frequent deletion.

1) Free Alteration for Purposes of Argumentation

When dealing with Tertullian's citations of Marcion's text, it must be remembered that Tertullian quoted from the Marcionite text in order to confute Marcion's teaching, and not in order to produce an accurate reconstruction of Marcion's text. Therefore, it is to be expected that accuracy frequently gave way to the more immediate concerns of argumentation.

Tertullian's tendency to freely use Marcion's text was mentioned in the previous section.[2] The examples of Eph 1:20 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.6 and Gal 4:6 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.4 were discussed. Further examples will be given now to illustrate the freedoms which Tertullian took in his citations

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from the Marcionite Apostolikon.

When Tertullian cites 1 Cor 3:17 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.6.12, it is clear that he invokes the passage as an argument and does not carefully cite and comment on Marcion's text. Tertullian writes, Quodsi templum dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur. This is substantially different from the Nestle text: εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός. Is it to be presumed that the order of τις τὸν ναόν was changed to τὸν ναὸν τις in the Marcionite text, that the Marcionite text had the future perfect of φθείρω instead of the simple future, and that it had the second φθείρω in the passive voice, eliminating the object (τοῦτον) and the subject (ὁ θεός)? It would be unsafe to assume so. Tertullian immediately follows the citation with *utique a deo templi* ("by the god of the temple, of course"). He makes the point, as he frequently does, that many references to the God of the Old Testament can be found in Paul's letters. In this case, this God is referred to as the "god of the temple." The citation, even in this abbreviated form, serves to make that point. But it is so short that doubt is cast on its reliability as an accurate reflection of the Marcionite text. Tertullian makes no specific comments on any variants in this passage. Furthermore, none of these so-called variants are attested elsewhere. A similar example can be found in *Adv. Marc.* 5.5.9 where Tertullian cites a portion of 1 Cor 1:25 and weaves it into his argument.

In *Adv. Marc.* 5.7.1, 1 Cor 4:5 is cited, again with more emphasis on argument than on accuracy. Tertullian

begins the section, Et occulta tenebrarum ipse illuminabit,
utique per Christum, qui Christum illuminationem repromisit.
The antecedent of *ipse* is the Creator God from the preceding
paragraph. It would seem that Tertullian has dealt freely
with this passage. The Greek text of 1 Cor 4:5 reads, ὥστε
μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει
τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ . . . (Nestle-Aland²⁶). The obvious
antecedent of ὃς is κύριος, and since that "Lord" is coming
(ἔλθῃ), the reference must be to Christ, not the Creator God.
However, Tertullian wished to emphasize by his appropriation
of the citation that it is the Creator God who is acting and
that Christ is the instrument (*utique per Christum*). This
would affirm his continuous argument for the non-opposition
between Jesus and the Creator God. No other MS or church
father reflects *ipse* (or a Greek equivalent). This is very
likely the result of Tertullian's free use of the text. The
deletion of καί, which is attested elsewhere, is a possible
variant in the Marcionite text. But since Tertullian has
taken other freedoms with this passage, it would be unwise
to insist even on that deletion.

An even clearer case of Tertullian's freedom with his
citations is that of 1 Cor 11:7 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.8.1. The
citation is short: Vir enim non debet caput velare, cum sit
dei imago. The catholic Greek text (Nestle-Aland²⁶) reads:
Ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰκὼν
καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. Tertullian's citation gives the im-
pression that the words καὶ δόξα were deleted, but neither
Epiphanius nor Adamantius, both of whom cite this verse (*Pan.*

42 [122] and *Dial. Adam.* 5.23), deletes καὶ δόξα. The case
for the legitimacy of the variant is further damaged by the
fact that here Tertullian has invoked the verse from 1 Cor-
inthians as part of his own argument. He goes on to cite
Gen 1:26 as yet another proof for his argument that Paul's
God is the Creator God. The citation from 1 Corinthians,
and the concept of δόξα is immaterial to the point he wishes
to make about Paul's God being the Creator. Therefore, it
is quite likely that it was Tertullian, and not the text of
Marcion, who deleted καὶ δόξα.

A final instance for this presentation is Col 2:8 in
Adv. Marc. 5.19.7:

Tertullian	Nestle-Aland[26]
"At cum monet cavendum	βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς ἔσται
a subtililoquentia et	ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας
philosophia, *ut inani*	καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης κατὰ τὴν
seductione	παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
quae sit secundum elementa	κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ
mundi . . ."	οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν

Harnack's reconstructed text of Marcion reads ὡς κενῆς
stead of καὶ κενῆς.[3] However, Tertullian quotes quite loosely
here. This is clear from the way he begins the citation, not
to mention the deletions in the latter half. Further, Tertul-
lian's *a subtililoquentia* is certainly not a loose represen-
tation of ὁ συλαγωγῶν but refers back to πιθανολογία from Col
2:4. The "citation" is actually a paraphrase of two different
verses. Therefore, it would have been a very small matter for
Tertullian to replace καὶ κενῆς with ὡς κενῆς, since he was

taking such freedom with the verse. Indeed, *ut inani seductione* need not be a variant at all; it could be a loose reflection of καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης.

This sort of loose citation is encountered more often in Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* than it is in the two other chief witnesses for the Marcionite text, Epiphanius and Adamantius. This is due to the nature of *Adv. Marc.* While Epiphanius has a list of Marcionite citations, and *Dial. Adam.* has sporadic citations by artificial Marcionite opponents to the catholic Adamantius, Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* is a running argument of the author himself against Marcionite positions. The arguments sometimes refer to the text itself--and these are the most reliable citation sources--and at other times have less to do with the text of a Marcionite passage than with Marcionite teachings. In these latter cases the texts are the instruments of Tertullian's arguments and not the source. These citations, which are brief and which are cited not for comment but as part of Tertullian's own arguments, may not be treated as accurate representations of the Marcionite text.

2) Fewer Careful Citations in the Last Letters

It is not surprising that Tertullian spends considerable time discussing the longer letters of Paul. Galatians, 1-2 Corinthians, and Romans are among the most fruitful scriptural sources for the discussion of Pauline theology. A rather drastic change occurs, however, in Tertullian's use and method of citing the shorter Pauline letters (1-2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, Philemon). He

cites verses from Galatians rather systematically. Each of the six chapters of that letter are represented. He spends six entire chapters in *Adv. Marc.* on 1 Corinthians, including a rather careful treatment of 1 Corinthians 15. But of the fifteen scriptural references from Philippians, the second to last letter in the Marcionite Corpus, only five can be called full citations.[4] There are no citations from Philemon.

In his treatment of Philemon, Tertullian makes a statement relevant to our discussion here.[5] He begins the section by saying, Soli huic epistulae brevitas sua profuit ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet ("Only this epistle has profited by its brevity so as to escape from the falsifying hand of Marcion"). This statement would seem to indicate that a chief concern of Tertullian was to point out those verses which did not escape the falsifying hands of Marcion. Yet it would be incorrect to say that this was his only reason for citing passages from Marcion's Pauline Corpus. It should not be assumed that the last letters in the Corpus had the fewest verses cited from them due to a paucity of Marcionite variants. A better explanation for the briefness of Tertullian's treatment of the shorter letters is found in *Adv. Marc.* 5.13.1 where, in the beginning of his discussion of Romans, Tertullian remarks:

> Quanto opusculum profligatur, breviter jam retractanda sunt quae rursus occurrunt, quaedam vero tramittenda, quae saepius occurrerunt.
>
> "The nearer this little work comes to an end the more

briefly need things be treated which occur again, in
fact, things should be passed over which have come up
rather frequently.

It is clear from this quotation that disturbing Marcionite
variants were not Tertullian's sole concern when citing the
letters. Rather, it was the issues of conflict between him
and the Marcionites which governed the frequency of his cita-
tion.[6] This observation, then, is closely akin to the first
observation of this section (Free Alteration) in that, here
too, it is seen that the controlling factor of Tertullian's
citation of verses is his argument with Marcionite positions.

Therefore, care is required when assessing the value of
variants from the shorter letters of the Corpus, since Ter-
tullian appears to have exercised less care in his quotations
from these letters, frequently merely alluding to passages.
This observation is reflected in the prime data of this
thesis (Appendix A, "Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings"). Only
ten variants (found in only seven verses) from Colossians,
1-2 Thessalonians, Philippians, or Philemon were accepted as
accurate representations of the Marcionite text.[7]

3) Transpositions

When the scriptural citations of Tertullian are compared
with the texts of the various Latin Versions, the number of
instances in which Tertullian's word order is unique is
striking. The edition of the OL text of Ephesians (by Hermann
Josef Frede[8]) provides an excellent opportunity to compare

the citations of Tertullian with those of other Latin MSS and church fathers. For this study a careful analysis was made of Ephesians 4 and 5. These chapters were chosen because Tertullian gives relatively few citations from them in *Adv. Marc.* but many in his other works. In all, 26 verses from these chapters were attested in works of Tertullian other than *Adv. Marc.* (see Table 6 for a complete list). Of the 26 verses attested, all but three are from citations of two verses or more. Particularly helpful is the citation of Eph 4:25-32, a full eight verses, in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 45.7-13. The length of these citations increases the likelihood that Tertullian cites not from memory alone but has, in most cases, a text before him--just as he did when writing *Adv. Marc.*[9]

The results of the analysis of Ephesians 4 and 5 are striking.[10] The reader is referred to Tables 5 and 6 below for the specifics of the analysis: Table 5 for transpositions and Table 6 for deletions and other variants. To briefly sum up the nature of the transpositions: in the 26 verses attested (chiefly in *De pudicitia* and *De resurrectione mortuorum*), there are twelve instances in which Tertullian's word order differs from all other Latin Versions. That is nearly one for every second verse. Seven of the twelve instances involve the moving of a verb. The usual tendency is to place the verb closer to the final position (as in five of the seven instances). But once (in Eph 4:29 in *De oratione* 23.2 and *De resurrectione mortuorum* 45.8) Tertullian moves the verb away from the final position.[11]

TABLE 5

Transpositions in Tertullian's
Citations from Ephesians 4 and 5
(outside of *Adv. Marc.*)

Ephesians verse	*In*		*Transposed to*	*Other attestation*
4:25	*Res.*	45.7	membra alterutrum/sumus	none
4:27	*Res.*	45.8	diabolo locum	none
4:29	*Res.* *Pud.*	45.10 17.16	non procedat/ex ore vestro	Lactantius? Ambrose? Rufinus
4:29	*Res.*	45.10	gratiam audientibus/praestet	Jerome
4:30	*Res.*	45.11	dei sanctum	Arnobius?
4:30	*Res.*	45.11	redemptionis diem	none
4:32	*Res.*	45.13	vobis/donavit/in Christo	none
5:5	*Pud.*	17.16	dei regnum	none
5:7	*Pud.*	18.9	participes esse	none
5:12	*Pud.*	18.10	ab eis/fiunt	Ambrosiaster Hesychius Epiphanius Scholasticus
5:25	*Pud.*	18.11	pro ea/tradidit	none
5:27	*Pud.*	18.11	ecclesiam gloriosam	Jerome (var) Augustine Primasius Gregory of Tours

Res. = *De resurrectione mortuorum*

Pud. = *De pudicitia*

Three of the twelve instances of transposition involve a
noun in the genitive case. In two of these cases, Tertullian
set the noun in the genitive before the noun related to it
(in Eph 4:30, *redemptionis diem*, and in Eph 5:5, *dei regnum*).

In six of the twelve transpositions, Tertullian is
unique. This is in itself striking. Relatively few variants
are attested in the OL tradition by only one father or MS.
In the other seven cases, where other witnesses attest the
same variant, they are few in number, and frequently there is
some doubt as to whether they represent accurate citations.
It is quite sound to conclude, therefore, that Tertullian
demonstrates a proclivity to alter word order. Thus when
this type of variant appears in *Adv. Marc.*, as it frequently
does, there is the possibility that Tertullian has freely
altered the word order of the Marcionite text and that Mar-
cion (or Marcion's *Vorlage*) need not be the source of the
variant.

4) Deletions

Another remarkable feature of Tertullian's citations
from Scripture that is illustrated by this study of Ephesians
4 and 5 is his tendency to delete words or phrases. In the
26 verses cited by Tertullian from these two chapters (see
Table 6 for details) there are thirteen deletions. Certainly
some of these can be explained as having been present in the
text with which Tertullian was familiar and need not be the
work of Tertullian himself. Only three of them have abso-
lutely no attestation outside of Tertullian. However, the

TABLE 6

Variants in Tertullian's Citations from Ephesians 4 and 5 other than Transpositions
(outside of *Adv. Marc.*)

Ephesians verse	In	Type of variant	Other attestation
4:19	*Pud.* 17.14	none	
4:20	*Pud.* 17.14	none	
4:22	*Res.* 45.1	⌐ vos to nos	none
		— secundum pristinam conversatione	none
4:23	*Res.* 45.1	— vestris	none
4:24	*Res.* 45.1	none	
4:25	*Res.* 45.7	— propter quod	86*, Lucifer
4:26	*Res.* 45.8	+ autem (after irascimini)	77, Vg(var), Augustine (var), Ansbertus(var), Marius Vict.,Defensor, Jerome, Ps-Aug
4:27	*Res.* 45.8	one transposition (see Table 5)	
4:28	*Res.* 45.9	— quod bonum	Gregory of Tours? Dionysius Exiguus? Regulae Monasticae? Ps-Basilides?, Ps-Jerome, Epiphanius Scholasticus Acta Sanctorum?
4:29	*Res.* 45.10	two transpositions (see Table 5)	
4:30	*Res.* 45.11	two transpositions (see Table 5)	
4:31	*Res.* 45.12	⌐ animi (for et animus)	none
4:32	*Res.* 45.13	one transposition (see Table 5)	
5:3	*Pud.* 17.16	— aut avaritia	Vg MSS, Nicetas, Cassian, Columbanus, Theodoret
5:5	*Pud.* 17.16	— enim	Nicetas, Epiphanius Latinus, Armenian
		— aut fraudator, quod est idolorum servitus	Nicetas(var), Caesarius of Arles
		— haereditatem in	none
		⌐ dei regnum (for regno Christi et Dei)	none

TABLE 6 (continued)

Ephesians verse	In	Type of variant	Other attestation
5:6	*Pud*. 17.16	— enim	Vg MSS, Lucifer(var), Pelagius(var)
5:7	*Pud*. 18.9	one transposition (see Table 5)	
5:뉴a	*Pud*. 18.9	none	
5:11	*Pud*. 18.10	— et	Augustine, Parmenianus, Ps-Augustine, Praedestinatus, p[46]
		+ ea (after revincite)	none
5:12	*Pud*. 18.10	one transposition (see Table 5)	
5:16	*Fug*. 9.2	none	
5:18a	*Pud*. 17.17	none	
5:25	*Pud*. 18.11	one transposition (see Table 5)	
5:26	*Pud*. 18.11	none	
5:27	*Pud*. 18.11	⌐ et (for ut) — ipse	Donatists Gregory of Illiberis Ps-Ambrose, Jerome(6x), Philippus, Donatists, Augustine(8x), Ps-Aug., Gregory the Great(4x), Acta Sanctorum, Beatus, Ps-Jerome
		— aut aliquid ejusmodi	Jerome, Julian of Eclanum, Epiphanius Latinus
		— ut (after sed)	Vg MS, Rufinus, Epiphanius, Latinus(var), Syr[p]
5:31	*An*. 11.4	none	
	An. 21.2	none	
	Virg.5.3	none	

SIGLA: — delete ⌐ substitute ___ for ___

+ add

Res. = *De resurrectione mortuorum*
Pud. = *De pudicitia*
An. = *De anima*
Virg. = *De virginibus velandis*

number of deletions, especially when compared to the rela-
tively small number of other types of variants, is strikingly
high. These deletions most frequently involve words which
are not essential to the point Tertullian is making. The
deletions of *aut avaritia* in Eph 5:3, of *aut fraudator, quod
est idolorum servus* in Eph 5:5, and of *aut aliquid ejusmodi*
are all deletions of one element of a compound subject. Ter-
tullian gets right to the point in making his citations here,
and that which is extraneous falls away. This tendency
toward economy would explain all of the deletions listed,
with the possible exceptions "delete *enim*" (Eph 5:6) "delete
et" (Eph 5:11), and "delete *ut*" (Eph 5:27), which happen to
be well attested elsewhere. Such a tendency is certainly
not unique to Tertullian. Indeed, it is a commonplace of
patristic scriptural citation. This helps to explain why so
few of the deletions have any MS support but appear sporadi-
cally in a broad range of other fathers.

Since such a great number of deletions appear in Ter-
tullian's scriptural citations outside of *Adv. Marc.*, and
since a fair number of the citations from the Marcionite
Apostolikon in that work attest deletions unattested else-
where, it is reasonable to assume that many of these dele-
tions may have resulted from Tertullian's method of citing
the passage and not from the Marcionite text or its prede-
cessor. To be sure, Marcion "used a knife" when editing his
Pauline Corpus, but it seems more likely that his excisions
were of larger passages and not of individual words.

NOTES: TERTULLIAN AS A WITNESS

[1]The discussion here is limited to those aspects of Tertullian's tendencies directly relevant to the methodology of this thesis for deciding which variant readings derive from accurate citations. For a fuller discussion of Tertullian as a witness to Marcion's text, see Harnack, *Marcion*, 43*-56*.

[2]See above, 1B, pp. 47-50.

[3]Harnack, *Marcion*, 122*.

[4]Cf. *Adv. Marc.* 5.20.1-7. Three of these cited verses are from the popular hymn in Phil 2:6-11. It would be surprising if these verses were not quoted. No citations are made from Philippians 4. The case of Colossians, the third to last letter in his Corpus, is very similar. Only six or seven can be considered full quotations. Cf. *Adv. Marc.* 5.19.1-11.

[5]*Adv. Marc.* 5.21.1.

[6]It is not accidental that, after his almost systematic treatment of 1 Corinthians in six chapters, 2 Corinthians 5-13 is dealt with in only one chapter, with nearly half of the citations being from chapter 5 and the other half from 6-13. This strengthens the argument that Tertullian's motive for citation was governed primarily by his concerns of debate with the Marcionites.

[7]Another six can be found in Appendix B.

[8] *Epistula ad Ephesios, Vetus Latina* 24/1, ed. H. J. Frede (Freiburg: Herder, 1962-64).

[9] It should also be noted that *De pudicitia* 17.14-17 deals with four different passages from Ephesians 4 and 5 (Eph 4:19-20; 5:3; 5:5-6; 5:18a), and 18.9-11 of the same work deals with three more passages from Ephesians (5:7-8a; 5:11-12; 5:25-27). It is clear that while he wrote this section of *De pudicitia*, Tertullian had a copy of Ephesians at hand and cited from it systematically.

[10] This is not meant to be a definitive exposition of Tertullian's methods of citation. What it serves to do is briefly illustrate what I have noticed about Tertullian's citations throughout the course of this study. T. P. O'Malley (*Tertullian and the Bible* [Utrecht, 1967]) has studied Tertullian's glosses and word choice. He concludes that the language of the Bible had a certain "otherness" for Tertullian. He deals hardly at all with transpositions, deletions, etc.

[11] There is no discernible tendency in the Latin tradition (OL or Vg) to place the verb at the end of the sentence.

1 C 1   "Did Tertullian Use a Marcionite Pauline Corpus
         Which Was in Latin?" (Excursus)

The Problem

An accurate assessment of the value of Tertullian as a
witness to the text of Marcion depends to a great extent on
a definite answer to the question: Was the Marcionite Pauline
Corpus which he cited in *Adv. Marc.* in Greek or in Latin?
If Tertullian used a Latin text, then it could be compared
directly with the OL text types as one Latin witness with
another. Matters of vocabulary and syntax would play a
greater role in the definition of "variant readings." If, on
the other hand, Tertullian knew the Marcionite text in a
Greek edition, then his citations would be as *ad hoc* Latin
translations from the Greek. Variation of Latin vocabulary
and certain changes in grammatical construction which could
be expected to occur in such a translation, could not be
considered "variants" in the text of Marcion but would reflect
decisions made by Tertullian while translating a Greek text.

If, on the other hand, the Pauline Corpus cited by Ter-
tullian in *Adv. Marc.* could be demonstrated to have been in
Latin, an even greater problem would surface for the argumen-
tation of this thesis. According to Frede,[1] the text of
Cyprian (ca. 250) is the earliest witness to an OL Pauline
Corpus. If Tertullian had a Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus,
this would mean that the earliest witness to the OL text was
the Marcionite Pauline Corpus as attested by Tertullian in
Adv. Marc.[2] The accuracy of Frede's analysis of the OL text
types is one of the working principles of this thesis. To

the extent that that analysis is questioned, so also is the credibility of my own argumentation in this thesis as it relates to the OL text.

However, in the discussion which follows, it will be demonstrated that the Marcionite Pauline Corpus from which Tertullian cited was a Greek text.

Theodor Zahn argued that the Marcionite Pauline Corpus which Tertullian cited was in Greek.[3] He based his argument on a few passages in *Adv. Marc.* which seem to require a Greek *Vorlage*, but primarily on the fact that Tertullian very frequently cites a New Testament passage in *Adv. Marc.* and then rephrases it or glosses certain words with an explanation. This habit of Tertullian indicates translation rather than direct citation.

Harnack opposed Zahn's arguments, claiming that Tertullian used a Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus.[4] His primary argument was that the New Testament citations in *Adv. Marc.* were lexically and stylistically different from scriptural citations in Tertullian's other works. In addition to this argument, he presented a number of citations from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus in *Adv. Marc.* which seem to reflect a Latin *Vorlage*. The more important of these will be dealt with below.

It was Harnack's position which was to dominate the field in the ensuing decades. Von Soden, thoroughly convinced by Harnack, authored a work in which he compared the vocabulary of the Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus reflected in *Adv. Marc.* with several Latin MSS.[5] Karl Schäfer, in his

work on the OL text of Galatians, also accepted Harnack's position in its entirety.[6] Heinrich Zimmermann, in his work on 2 Corinthians, presented some objections to the Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus theory, but in the end he, too, capitulated to it.[7]

Gilles Quispel severely damaged the strength of Harnack's position.[8] He confronted Harnack directly on the issue of the style and vocabulary of Tertullian's citations from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus in *Adv. Marc.* and showed that they are not nearly as different from other Tertullianic citations as Harnack would have one believe.

Bonifatius Fischer and H. J. Frede also reject Harnack's position.[9] It is unfortunate, however, that these men who would be the most capable of refuting the arguments of Harnack have written very little about them. The kernel of Fischer's position is his statement "unbewiesen ist der angeblich lateinische Apostolos des Marcion, aus dem Tertullian zitierte, und sein weitreichender Einfluss."[10]

Specific Passages

There are no specific NT citations in *Adv. Marc.* which indicate beyond a reasonable doubt that Tertullian was quoting from a Greek Marcionite text. There is one, however, which strongly suggests it. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.1 Tertullian cites the Marcionite version of Eph 1:9-10:[11]

Cui ergo competet secundum boni existimationem, quam
proposuerit in sacramento voluntatis suae, in dispen-
sationem adimpletionis temporum--ut ita dixerim, sicut
verbum illud in Graeco sonat--recapitulare--id est ad

initium redigere vel ab initio recensere--omnia in
Christum . . .

It is clear, especially from the words *ut ita dixerim, sicut*
verbum illud in Graeco sonat, that Tertullian is concerned
with expressing in Latin the sense of the Greek word ἀνακε-
φαλαιώσασθαι, which does not have a familiar Latin equivalent.
He renders it first, very literally, with *recapitulare* and
then considers it necessary to explain his literal rendering
with two alternative paraphrases: *in initium redigere* and *ab*
initio recensere. If the text he is citing were in Latin,
this passage would make no sense. Tertullian would have no
reason to approximate the Greek word with a Latin equivalent.
The passage makes much more sense if it is assumed that as
he translated from a Greek text, the word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι
caused him a difficulty which he could not eliminate with a
one-word translation, and so he communicated it to his Latin
readers in three different forms (*recapitulare; in initium*
redigere; and *ab initio recensere*). If the Marcionite text
had been in Latin, Tertullian's resorting to the Greek would
be unexplainable except as an outburst of inappropriate
pedagogy. Unfortunately, in Tertullian's case, this cannot
be ruled out.

The primary argument against a Latin Marcionite Pauline
Corpus being in Tertullian's hands is the fact that there
are strong indications in the New Testament citations in
Adv. Marc. that Tertullian translated while he quoted. This
is apparent both from Tertullian's variations in the wording
of the citations and from the glosses he makes on certain

words from the citations.

Variation by Tertullian

Tertullian is notorious for the variation of vocabulary in his scriptural citations.[12] His Latin Bible text has been impossible to characterize because of that variety. Generally, it is assumed that he knew of more than one Latin translation and was also capable of translating directly from the Greek.[13] This fact alone damages the credibility of any argument about the language of the text which Tertullian quoted in *Adv. Marc.* which is based on an analysis of "Tertullianic style" or a fixed Tertullianic word choice.[14]

Variation in the wording of NT citations occurs throughout the works of Tertullian but with particular frequency in his *Adv. Marc.* I will limit myself to only a few examples.

Eph 2:20. In *Adv. Marc.* 4.29.6 Tertullian renders ἐποικοδομηθέντες with *extructi* but in 5.17.16 he uses the more literal *superaedificati*. The possibility that he was citing from a catholic text in Book 4 and the Marcionite text in Book 5 is ruled out by the fact that the Marcionite reading, which deletes καὶ προφητῶν, is reflected in both cases.

Gal 6:2. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.13 Tertullian cites the Marcionite text of Gal 6:2 and then a few lines later alludes to the verse again. The Greek βαστάζετε is translated *sustinete* the first time and *portate* the second time.[15]

Phil 1:18. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.20.1 the words εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ are rendered *sive causatione, sive veritate* and then two lines later as *sive ex causatione, sive ex veritate.*

This is a particularly significant example of variation by
Tertullian since it is not merely a matter of vocabulary.
Rather, the two forms represent alternative translations of
the Greek dative of instrument. The first is a word-for-word
rendering of the Greek. The Greek dative is expressed by a
Latin ablative. The second is a freer translation in which
Tertullian has introduced a preposition (*ex*) in order to com-
municate the instrumental sense of the Greek dative. This is
a clear instance of an explanatory remark by Tertullian in
which he freely adapts his original translation in order to
add emphasis to his point.

2 Thess 2:11. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.16.5 Tertullian renders the
expression ἐνέργειαν πλάνης with *instinctum fallaciae*. In
5.16.6, when referring to that expression, he writes *falla-
ciae inmisio*, varying both word order and vocabulary--as is
frequently the case with Tertullian. The contention of
Harnack that *instinctum* must have been the Latin Marcionite
rendering since it is contrary to Tertullianic style[16] is
ruled out by the fact that Tertullian uses both words (*in-
stinctu* and *inmisio*) to render ἐνέργειαν in another place.[17]

These instances of variation in *Adv. Marc.* 5 are par-
ticularly significant since in that book Tertullian is care-
ful to make mention of what he considers to be variants in
the text. He makes a point of the variant φορέσωμεν for
φορέσομεν in 1 Cor 15:49 (*Adv. Marc.* 15.10.10). He notices
the deletions of αὐτοῦ from Eph 2:14 and καὶ προφητῶν from
Eph 2:20 (5.17.14 and 5.17.16 respectively). He mentions the

deletion of ἐν πυρὶ φλογός from 2 Thess 1:8 (5.16.2). But
nowhere does he comment on the word choice of the Marcionite
Pauline Corpus. Instead, he varies his own word choice in
citing Pauline passages and never explains his reasons for
so doing. This favors the likelihood that he is translating
from a Greek text.

Tertullian's Glosses

Even more important for establishing that Tertullian
was translating from a Greek Marcionite Pauline Corpus are
the glosses or comments with which he interrupts his NT ci-
tations in *Adv. Marc.* These are distinct from the examples
of "variation of wording" given above. The variations of
wording involved allusions to passages which Tertullian had
already quoted a few lines earlier. The glosses are made on
particular words or phrases.

These glosses were studied by O'Malley, but he derives
from them a conclusion different from my own.[18] A brief
sampling of these glosses will help to demonstrate that
Tertullian was actively translating from a Greek text:

Adv.Marc.	Passage	For the Greek Word	Latin Ren- dering in *Adv.Marc.*	Tertullian's gloss
3.24.3	Phil 3:20	πολίτευμα	politeuma	id est municipatum
4.11.12	Ps 77:2	παραβολήν	parabolam	id est similitudi- nem
4.11.12	Ps 77:2	φθέγξομαι προβλήματα	eloquor problemata	id est edisseram quaestiones
5.4.8	Gal 4:24	ἀλληγορούμενα	allegorica	id est aliud portendentia
5.4.8	Gal 4:24	διαθῆκαι	testamenta	sive ostensiones

5.17.1	Eph 1:9	ἀνακεφαλαιώ-σασθαι	recapitu-lare	id est ad initium redigere vel ab initio recensere
5.8.5	Eph 4:8	δόματα	data	id est donativa

In every one of these examples the rendering which Tertullian glossed is a very literal rendering or transliteration of the Greek. One need not search far for Tertullian's motive for glossing his first translation. Because these words were rigidly literal renderings, alternative translations were required for the sake of clarity. There is no reason to assume that two terminologies are being opposed here. This is certainly not the case in Eph 1:9 (5.17.1), where the literal rendering *recapitulare* is glossed with not one but two alternatives. It is far more reasonable to conclude that Tertullian translated from a Greek text. His first rendering was an attempt to approximate the Greek. His glosses, then, simply clarified his overly literal first renderings.

Specific Passages against a Greek Text Used by Tertullian

It remains now to respond to the arguments raised by those who uphold a Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus based on particular passages from *Adv. Marc.* 5 which would indicate that Tertullian was working with a Latin text. The most important of these passages are presented below.

Gal 4:22. In his citation of the Marcionite text of Gal 4:22-24, Tertullian writes:

> Si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla
> et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter
> natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem, quae

> sunt allegorica (id est aliud portendentia); haec sunt
> enim duo testamenta (sive "duae ostensiones," sicut
> invenimus interpretatum): unum a monte Sina . . . alium
> super omnem principatum generans . . .

The important words are *sicut invenimus interpretatum*. They
can be understood: "as we find it translated (here)."[19] It
would make sense for Tertullian to remark on the translation
since *ostensiones* would be a peculiar rendering of διαθῆκαι.
Thus, argues Harnack, Tertullian supplied the Latin word he
considered more appropriate first, namely, *testamenta* and
then commented to the reader that the actual word which was
before him in the Latin Marcionite text was *ostensiones*.

This line of argumentation has several shortcomings.
To begin, there is nothing in Tertullian's gloss of *testa-
menta* to indicate that he objects to the Marcionite transla-
tion. Tertullian generally pulls no punches when he dis-
agrees with the readings he finds in the Marcionite text.
If his intention was to object to the strangeness of *osten-
siones* as a translation of διαθῆκαι, we should expect him
to say something like *sicut invenimus male interpretatum*.
But the remarks he does make are made almost in passing and
never addressed more specifically in the lines which follow.
An even greater problem is in the translation of the word
interpretatum. It could mean "translated" but could just as
well mean "interpreted." If the latter is the case, Tertul-
lian would be referring to Paul's "interpretation" of Gene-
sis 14, which is, after all, the issue of Gal 4:22-24.[20]

The final objection to Harnack's understanding of

interpretatum is raised by the presence of the gloss that immediately precedes it. Tertullian glosses two words in this passage: *allegorica* (with *portendentia*) and *testamenta* (with *ostensiones*). In both cases literal translations (*allegorica* and *testamenta*) are glossed with loose renderings (*portendentia* and *ostensiones*). It is highly likely that both glosses serve the same purpose: clarification of the word which they follow. Thus the parenthesis which begins at *sive duae*. . . ends immediately after *ostensiones*. *Sicut invenimus interpretatum* is a remark not on the word *ostensiones* but on the entire verse.

Gal 3:26. Tertullian's citation of this verse in *Adv. Marc.* 5.3.11 is also considered by Harnack to be evidence of a Latin Marcionite *Vorlage*.[21] Instead of the full πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ ᾿Ιησοῦ (Nestle-Aland[26]), Tertullian quotes *omnes enim filii estis fidei*. He repeats the words *filii fidei* in later allusions to the verse. Harnack argued that the reading *filii fidei* was the result of an error which had to have taken place in the Latin tradition. It is explainable as a dittography of *filii*. A scribe who read *filii dei estis per fidem* miswrote it as *filii filii dei estis per fidem*. The next copyist read *filii filii dei* as *filii fidei* and removed the now redundant *per fidem* which followed. The argument seems strong, especially since one OL witness, Hilary, attests the reading *filii fidei* in his commentary on Psalm 91. No Greek MSS or church fathers attest υἱοὶ τῆς πίστεως. The argument fails, however, in that Tertullian does not attest *filii fidei estis*

but *filii estis fidei*. This is actually closer to the read-
ing attested by Clement of Alexandria (πάντες γάρ υἱοί ἐστε
διὰ πίστεως θεοῦ) than it is to Hilary's *filii fidei*.

1 Cor 6:20. In *Adv. Marc.* 5.7.5 Tertullian cites this verse
with one verb too many. He does not make a precise citation
of the whole verse but in a comment he attests the presence
of *tollite* after *honorate*. The addition of *tollite*, or its
equivalent *portate,* is a dominant OL and Vg reading. Thus,
Harnack assumes the Marcionite text that Tertullian was
quoting was a Latin text.[22] Harnack was not aware that the
variant also appears in the Greek. Chrysostom adds ἄρατε
after δοξάσατε. More importantly, however, Zuntz demonstrates
that the variant originated in the Greek and not in the
Latin.[23] Zuntz noticed that the reading of δή after δοξάσατε
is unstable. S*, 2495, d and Irenaeus[latin] delete it.
Pseudo-Athanasius and Epiphanius replace δή with οὖν. Syr[H]
reflects ἄρα and 1611 has ἄρα γε. This last reading, ἄρα γε,
is the *fons lectionum* of the others. In majuscules, ΑΡΑΓΕ
could be easily read as ΑΡΑΤΕ. Tertullian therefore would
not need to read a Latin text to find the additional verb
(ἄρατε/*tollite*) after δοξάσατε.

In summary, not only is it not proven that Tertullian
used a Latin translation of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus,
but the preponderance of the evidence makes it far more
likely that he was actively translating from a Greek Marcion-
ite Apostolikon. The analysis of the OL text by Fischer and
Frede need not be adjusted in this regard. The argumentation
of this thesis will not be affected on this account.

NOTES: EXCURSUS

[1] See above, Introduction, Part B "Explanation of the OL Text Types," n. 1.

[2] This opens the door for a theory of dependence of the OL text types (K D I) on a Marcionite Latin text. Indeed, Harnack (*Marcion,* 47*-48*) concludes from the two circumstances which lead to the inquiry of my thesis (namely, the presence of the Prologues in the Latin text tradition and the appearance of numerous Marcionite variants in the OL) that the catholic Latin Pauline Corpus was influenced by an early Marcionite Pauline Corpus. The primary weakness of Harnack's argument is that it is based on the false assumption that the Prologues are a product of the Marcionites.

[3] Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen/Leipzig: Deichert, 1889) 1/1. 51-60.

[4] Harnack, *Marcion*, 47*-56*.

[5] Von Soden, "Der lateinische Paulustext bei Marcion und Tertullian," in *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1927) 229-81. The value of this work for the present discussion is severely limited by two factors: (1) von Soden adds no new arguments to those of Harnack and (2) his format of vocabulary comparison is not in itself a valid approach for demonstrating the character of a text. Bonifatius Fischer ("Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," in *Die älten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments* [ed. Kurt Aland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972] 10) makes the point that word

choice cannot be the determinative factor for establishing relationships between text types since within the types themselves word choice is not always consistent.

[6]Karl Th. Schäfer, "Die Überlieferung des altlatein-ischen Galaterbriefes," in *Staatliche Akademie zur Brauns-berg: Personal- und Vorlesungs- Verzeichnis* (Gumbinnen: Krausnecks, 1939) 17.

[7]Heinrich Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Überlieferung des zweiten Korintherbriefes* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960) 127-34.

[8]Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionen* (Templum Salomonis: Burgersdijk and Niermans, 1943) 104-42 (chap. 6). It is surprising that this work has not been taken seriously enough by those who have debated this issue since 1943. T. P. O'Malley (*Tertullian and the Bible* [Utrecht: Dekkar and Van de Vegt, 1967]) presents Quispel's arguments but never refutes them. O'Malley, like von Soden, follows Harnack completely.

[9]Fischer, "NT in lateinischer Sprache," 26 and Frede, *Ad Ephesios*, 30*, and *Ad Phil et ad Col*, 9.

[10]Fischer, "NT in lateinischer Sprache," 26. Frede does cite a few particular instances of weakness in Harnack's position in *Ad Phil et ad Col*, 9, and in conversation at Beuron in January 1981, he mentioned a few more. Some of these will appear in the discussion below.

[11]Zahn cites this text as a part of his argument in *Geschichte*, 1/1. 51.

[12]For examples, see J. Schildenberger, *Die altlatein-
ischen Texte des Proverbien-Buches* (Beuron: Erzabtei Beuron,
1941) 60, 129-30; Friedrich Stummer, *Einführung in die
lateinische Bibel* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1928) 13-14;
Quispel, *Bronnen*, 196, 120, and O'Malley, *Tertullian and the
Bible*, 2.

[13]Frede, *Ad Ephesios*, 30*. Von Soden, "Lateinische
Paulustext," 262.

[14]Frede (*Ad Ephesios*, 30*) expresses this aptly when
he writes, "Auch das beliebte Argument, gewisse Formulier-
ungen bei Tertullians Bibelzitaten seien einem so virtuosen
Stilisten nicht zuzutrauen, hat doch den Nachteil, mit den
Tatsachen nicht übereinstimmen."

[15]Harnack (*Marcion*, 49*) argues that Tertullian is
opposing the Marcionite word (*sustinete*) with the word more
familiar to him (*portate*). Such an assumption is specula-
tive since Tertullian never indicates that he is seeking to
do such a thing.

[16]Harnack, *Marcion*, 48*.

[17]Quispel, *Bronnen*, 107. Tertullian uses *instinctu* in
De anima 16.1, *Adv. Marc.* 1.2.1 and *De resurrectione* 34.1.
He uses *inmisio* in *De anima* 14.2 and *Adv. Marc.* 5.16.6.
Thus in two cases (*De anima* and *Adv. Marc.* 5.16) he switches
freely from *instinctu* to *inmisio*.

[18]O'Malley (*Tertullian and the Bible*, 41-63) argues on
a general scale what Harnack argued in certain isolated

cases, namely, that Tertullian is opposing two terminologies in *Adv. Marc.* 4 and 5--one the Marcionite Latin, the other his own. He argues that the glosses reflect Tertullian's word choice as opposed to the ones he had before him in the Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus which he normally presents first. But O'Malley pushes his assumption of Tertullian's philological interests too far. In the case of Eph 1:10 (*Adv. Marc.* 5.17.1) O'Malley claims that the comment made by Tertullian on the word *recapitulare* is an attempt to defend the Marcionite Latin word choice against the catholic word choice (*initium redigere vel ab initio recensere*). But there is no reason why Tertullian, in the midst of his attack on the Marcionites, should pause to commend their Latin translators on a job well done. Tertullian's purpose is not to do the work of a twentieth-century philologist. He is seeking to destroy Marcionism.

[19]Harnack, *Marcion*, 52* and all who follow him on this point.

[20]Dieter Georgi suggested this in conversation. His suggestion was independently confirmed by H. J. Frede.

[21]Harnack, *Marcion*, 52*.

[22]Ibid., 54*.

[23]Zuntz, 169 and 190.

1 C 2   *Dial. Adam.* as a Witness

The first and largest drawback of *Dial. Adam.* as a wit-
ness to the text of Marcion is the damaged state of the
text of the *Dialogue* itself. The Greek text is represented
by ten MSS, the oldest of which is from the twelfth century.[1]
All ten MSS stand on the same side of the stemma for the text
of *Dial. Adam.*, opposite the archetype used by Rufinus for
his Latin translation.

Simplified Stemma for *Dial. Adam.*

(X) Archetype

(Y) Archetype of   (Z) Greek archetype used
    available Greek MSS   by Rufinus when he
                               made his translation.

All available Greek MSS   All available Latin MSS
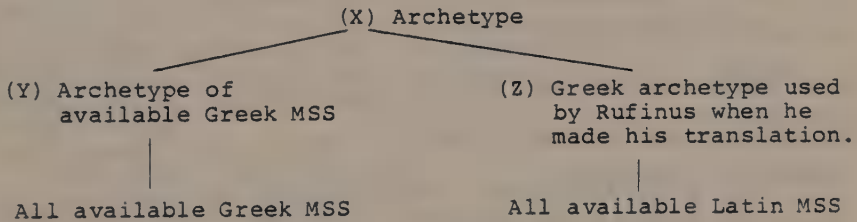
The Greek text is so corrupt that the translation by Rufinus,
despite its significant deletions, was at one time considered
a more accurate reflection of the archetype than the avail-
able Greek MSS.[2]

This dismal textual situation is reflected by numerous
disagreements of readings between the Greek MSS and the
translation by Rufinus. A good example is the citation of
1 Cor 1:11 in *Dial. Adam.* 1.8:

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1 Cor 1:11

Nestle[25]	Adam./Greek	Adam./Rufinus
ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι	ἤκούσταί μοι	perlatum est enim mihi
περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί		de vobis ab his qui
μου ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης	ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης	sunt Chloes
ὅτι ἔριδες	ὅτι ἔριδες	quia contentiones
ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν.	εἰσὶν ἐν ὑμῖν.	sunt in vobis.

Two variants appear in the Greek text of the verse in the
Dialogue which are not reflected in the Latin, namely,
ἤκούσταί for ἐδηλώθη and the omission περὶ ὑμῶν. This might
lead one to suspect that Rufinus has adapted this citation
to the OL text familiar to him. But it should also be noted
that Rufinus, like Adam./Greek, omits ἀδελφοί μου and trans-
poses the order of ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν. If he were "fixing" the
citation, one would expect him to fix all of it and not just
a part.[3] It is highly likely, then, that the difference in
reading is not attributable to Rufinus but reflects a dif-
ference between Rufinus' Greek *Vorlage* and the Greek arche-
type of the available MSS. This makes it very difficult to
judge whether variants found in NT citations in *Dial. Adam.*
are just variants within the textual tradition of *Dial. Adam.*
itself or whether they do indeed go back to the text of
Marcion.

Another severe drawback of *Dial. Adam.* is a general
tendency for looseness in NT citations. Every MS and church
father citation is expected to have its share of variants,
but an examination of the longer citations in *Dial. Adam.*

reveals an unusual concentration of variant readings. The best example of this is the citation of 1 Cor 15:29-42 in *Dial. Adam.* 5.23.[4] In the course of these fourteen verses the Greek version of *Dial. Adam.* varies from the Nestle text thirteen times. None of the thirteen variants is held by any major MS or church father citation. Rufinus' Latin translation reflects only three of these variants. Furthermore, Rufinus ends the citation at 44a instead of 42a. 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.[5]

When dealing with the testimony of Adamantius, one is also faced with the problem of deciding which books of the *Dialogue* contain citations from Marcion's Pauline Corpus. As was mentioned earlier, books 3-5 deal with Bardesanite and Valentinian opponents. Despite this fact, attempts have been made to show that even these books (3-5) contain Marcionite readings.[6] The primary objection to such arguments is the unlikelihood of an orthodox author turning to a Marcionite Pauline Corpus when attacking Valentinians and Bardesanites. The unlikelihood increases when one recalls that the author of *Dial. Adam.* did not have a Marcionite Pauline Corpus in his hands but used citations gleaned from anti-Marcionite literature.[7] It is possible that in a few cases the author may have been limited co anti-Marcionite material which

contained citations from the Pauline Corpus and so used these in arguments against Valentinian and Bardesanite arguments. The burden of proof, however, rests on the one who insists that a given scriptural passage is of Marcionite origin.[8] The three most important criteria in determining what can safely be called a Marcionite readings in books 3-5 of *Dial. Adam.* are:

1) Does the reading agree with a Marcionite citation elsewhere (e.g., in *Adv. Marc.* 5 or *Pan.* 42)?

2) Is a distinctively Marcionite theological tendency discernible?

3) Does the variant appear in the orthodox MSS or church father citations which most frequently show concurrence with Marcionite readings?

A careful examination of the citations from the letters of Paul in *Dial. Adam.* 3-5 reveals that they meet not one of these criteria. A few significant examples will be discussed (see Appendix C for more).

Rom 6:19b cited in *Dial. Adam.* 3.7 is a good illustration of a citation with several variants which do not meet the above criteria:

<div align="center">Rom 6:19b</div>

Nestle[26]	Adam./Greek	Adam./Rufinus
οὕτως νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνη εἰς ἁγιασμόν	οὕτω παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη τῷ θεῷ δοῦλα τῇ δικαιο- σύνη	ita nunc exhibete membra vestra Deo servire in justitia.

As usual, the Greek text of the *Dialogue* and its Latin
translation by Rufinus display a certain amount of disagree-
ment. The differences between the two are:

1) Adam./Greek omits νῦν, but Rufinus has it (*nunc*).
2) Adam./Greek has δοῦλα, but Rufinus seems to reflect
δουλεύειν (*servire*).

The first of these differences is of little consequence.
The deletion of νῦν is elsewhere unattested and is almost
certainly attributable to the sloppiness of the scribe who
copied the archetype of the Greek MSS of *Dial. Adam.* The
second variant (δουλεύειν for δοῦλα) may be a non-issue. It
is important to note that the only Greek NT MSS in which the
infinitive δουλεύειν appears are the bilinguals F and G. The
rest of the evidence supporting this reading comes from the
Versions. *Servire* is heavily attested in both OL and Vg. An
infinitive is reflected also by Syr[p]. It is not convincing
that the reading δουλεύειν began in the Greek textual tradi-
tion of the NT. Grammatically δοῦλα (of the Nestle) is in
the accusative case as an object complement. Latin transla-
tions do not consistently preserve the accusative form in
rendering such expressions into Latin.[9] Therefore, it is
quite possible that *servire* is simply a free rendering of
the accusative object complement δοῦλα.[10] The appearance of
δουλεύειν in F and G is quite probably a result of the not
uncommon infection of the Greek part of a bilingual MS by the
adjacent Latin. Consequently, we may accept Rufinus' *ser-
vire* as a proper reflection of the Greek δοῦλα. There may

well be no real difference of reading in this case.[11]

A more significant variant is the insertion of τῷ θεῷ
after τὰ μέλη. Rufinus also reflects it.[12] There is no
other citation of the passage by other witnesses to confirm
this reading as Marcionite. Further, contrary to the argu-
ment of Harnack, there is no clear Marcionite theological
tendency reflected by the insertion of τῷ θεῷ after παρα-
στήσατε.[13] This insertion could have been caused by several
factors. Τῷ θεῷ would be a normal indirect object to παρα-
στήσατε. In addition, a scribe copying this section of
Romans had seen παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ just six verses
earlier in Rom 6:13. Finally, there is no other attestation
of the variant in the textual traditions which frequently
reflect Marcionite readings. Indeed, the addition of τῷ θεῷ
is attested nowhere else than in *Dial. Adam.* The variant
meets none of the criteria established for Marcionite readings.

Book 5 of *Dial. Adam.* presents a greater problem. It
is in this book that Adamantius makes the statement,

᾿Αλλ᾿ ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ περὶ Μεγέθιον ἀκροαταὶ τυγχάνουσι
διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀποστολικοῦ προσφέρειν ἀναγκάζ-
ομαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον.

(*Dial. Adam.* 5.22)

Adamantius then cites passages from the Pauline Corpus in
the Marcionite order: Gal 2:20; 6:17; 1 Cor 6:15, 16; 11:7;
15:29-42; 15:51-53; 15:38, 36, 37, 53, 38, 44, 50, 51;
2 Cor 3:3, 11; 4:7, 11; (1 Cor 15:54), 2 Cor 5:4; Rom 7:25;
8:1-2; and Eph 2:17. This has led some scholars to accept

Dial. *Adam*. 5 as a source for Marcionite readings.[14]

After careful consideration and a serious testing of the Pauline citations found in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5, I have decided to reject their validity as representatives of the Marcionite text. I do this for the following reasons:

1) There are several cases of disagreement between the *Dial*. *Adam*. 5 citations and those of *Adv*. *Marc*. 5 and *Pan*. 42. If the citations in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5 were from the text of Marcion, we should expect some significant agreements of readings with other witnesses of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus. This is the case in books 1 and 2 of the *Dialogue*.[15] Except for book 5, no significant variants can be found which also appear in *Adv*. *Marc*. 5 or *Pan*. 42. In fact, there are several cases of significant disagreement of readings. The most important of these are discussed systematically in Appendix C.

2) *Dial*. *Adam*. is frequently inconsistent with itself in the citation of these Pauline passages. Not only is the persistent disagreement between the Greek text and Rufinus' translation present[16] but, even more unsettling, the text is not consistent with itself when it cites the same verse more than once.[17] Examples of this can be found in Appendix C.

3) In an overzealous attempt to preserve the fiction of participation by the Marcionites in the dialogue in book 5, the author introduces the Marcionite Marcus to correct Adamantius' reading of 1 Cor 15:38. Marcus claims (*Dial*. *Adam*. 5.24) that it reads πνεῦμα instead of σῶμα--a significant variation. The artificiality of the objection is suggested

by the fact that in Tertullian's citation of the same verse
(*Adv. Marc.* 5.10.4) the reading is σῶμα not πνεῦμα.[18] A
further indication of the artificiality of the remark in
question is the fact that Adamantius is assumed to be reading
from a Marcionite Apostolikon but then is corrected by a
Marcionite.

4) The argument from the order of the citations (i.e.,
that they appear in the order of the Marcionite Apostolikon)
is not without difficulties. To begin, there are citations
from only four of the ten Pauline letters. There are cita-
tions from Ephesians and Colossians in *Dial. Adam.* 5.28, but
these are not present in Rufinus' translation--nor do they
reflect an order peculiar to Marcion.[19] The argument based
on the order of the letters cited would be completely secure
if all ten letters were cited in the Marcionite order. It
would even be "very probable" if a majority of the letters
were cited. But the fact that there are citations from only
four letters heightens the possibility of coincidental cor-
respondence to Marcion's order of the letters of Paul.

It must also be noted that an order of the Pauline
letters other than that of Marcion can be argued from the
citations which appear in the discussion of *Dial. Adam.* 5.
The section of *Dial. Adam.* in which the Pauline citations
appear, 5.22-26, is a discussion of the resurrection of the
body. But the discussion of that issue does not begin with
the Galatians citation in *Dial. Adam.* 5.22. In fact, it
begins in 5.16. The resurrection of the body continues to
be the subject of the debate through 5.27. The passages

first discussed are from the Gospels and the OT--the bulk of
them appearing in 5.19. The first Pauline citation occurs
in 5.21, where Rom 7:24 is cited. Therefore, it is here in
5.21 that the list of Pauline citations begins for this dis-
cussion. The next Pauline citation occurs in 5.22, from
1 Corinthians 15--the fountainhead of discussions on the
resurrection of the body. After that come two more citations
from Romans (8:4-6, and 8:9, which is repeated a few lines
later along with Rom 7:5). Immediately after Rom 8:9, 1 Cor
3:2-4 is cited. Since the second Romans citation (which
comes after this) really only resumes the first, our order
thus far is:

> Rom 7:24
> (1 Cor 15:50 interjected)
> Rom 8:4-6, 9
> 1 Cor 3:2-4

Next comes a citation of 1 Cor 6:11. It is at this point
that Gal 2:20 and 6:17 are cited--and this is the beginning
of the so-called Marcionite order of citations. But the
very next citation is 1 Cor 6:15. It is likely that the
Galatians citations were merely an intrusion into the more
traditional order Romans, 1 Corinthians, etc. The Galatians
passages, after all, come between 1 Cor 6:11 and 1 Cor 6:15.
Then follows 1 Cor 6:16, 1 Cor 11:7, 1 Cor 15:29-42 and a
group of citations from 1 Corinthians 15. After these, five
passages from 2 Corinthians are introduced and after the
fifth (2 Cor 5:4), Rom 7:25-8:2 is immediately added. This
is the only citation from Romans in this chapter of *Dial. Adam*.

(5.27). Were there a few more, those who claim that a Marcionite order is being followed would have a convincing argument. But in fact, this single citation from Romans serves to bring the reader back to the start of the discussion of the Pauline material in 5.21. The first Pauline passage cited was Rom 7:24. Therefore, the citation of Rom 7:25-8:2 may well be a resumption of the argument begun in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.21 with Rom 7:24. A complete list of the Pauline citations in this section of the *Dialogue* is provided in Table 7, which should help the reader to see more clearly the progression of text for which I am arguing.

These considerations do not completely destroy the position of those who argue for the citations as being in a Marcionite order in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.22-27. Indeed, Adamantius' statement just before the Galatians citations that he is using a Marcionite Apostolikon is an embarrassing coincidence for me.[20] But those who argue that a Marcionite order was followed have two embarrassing coincidences to consider:

1) the fact that the Galatians citations are sandwiched between 1 Cor 6:11 and 6:15; and

2) the fact that the last citation from Romans (i.e., 7:25-8:2) points back to Rom 7:24, which began the discussion of the Pauline passages in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.21.

My point is that there are significant weaknesses in the argument that the passages are Marcionite because of the order in which they appear. This forces us to base our final decision on other criteria. Inasmuch as the other criteria

are not met, *Dial. Adam.* 5 may not be considered a valid source for Marcionite readings.

TABLE 7

List of Pauline Passages from *Dial. Adam.* 5 Which Demonstrate

(list 1) that a traditional   (list 2) that a Marcionite
order was followed: order was followed:

5.21*   Rom 7:24

5.22   1 Cor 15:50**
        Rom 8:4-6
        Rom 8:9
        1 Cor 3:2-4 (begins 1 Cor)
            Rom 7:5; 8:9 (restatement
            of earlier Rom passage)
        1 Cor 6:11
            Gal 2:20 ⎫ (intruded into   Gal 2:20
            Gal 6:17 ⎬ 1 Cor material)   Gal 6:17
        1 Cor 6:15   1 Cor 6:15 (begins 1 Cor)

5.23   1 Cor 6:16   1 Cor 6:16
        1 Cor 11:7   1 Cor 11:7
        1 Cor 15:29-42   1 Cor 15:29-42
        1 Cor 15:51-53   1 Cor 15:51-53

5.24   1 Cor 15:38 (restated)   1 Cor 15:38 (restated)
            1 Cor 15:37 (restated)   1 Cor 15:37 (restated)
            1 Cor 15:53 (restated)   1 Cor 15:53 (restated)
            1 Cor 15:38 (restated)   1 Cor 15:38 (restated)

5.25   1 Cor 15:44 (intruded)   1 Cor 15:44 (intruded)
            1 Cor 15:37-38 (restated)   1 Cor 15:37-38 (restated)
            1 Cor 15:50 (restated)   1 Cor 15:50 (restated)

5.27   2 Cor 3:3 (begins 2 Cor)   2 Cor 3:3 (begins 2 Cor)
        2 Cor 3:11   2 Cor 3:11
        2 Cor 4:7   2 Cor 4:7
        2 Cor. 4:11   2 Cor 4:11
            1 Cor 15:50 (restated)   1 Cor 15:50 (restated)
        2 Cor 5:4   2 Cor 5:4
            Rom 7:25-8:2 (returns   Rom 7:25-8:2 (begins Rom)
            to first citation)

*   Indicates book and chapter of *Dial. Adam.* in which the citation
        appears.

**   Indentations in these lists indicate interruptions or variations
        from the order argued in the list. Note that both lists have such
        interruptions.

NOTES: ADAMANTIUS AS A WITNESS

[1] In this section "Adam./Greek" will be used to indicate the Greek version of *Dial. Adam.* The Latin translation will be indicated by "Adam./Rufinus."

[2] Zahn, *Geschichte,* 2/2. 419. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen is to the point when he says, "Die uns bekannten Handschriften des Dialogus sind alle ohne Ausnahme schlecht" (Adamantius, *Dialogue,* xxvi).

[3] Another example of disagreement between Adam./Greek and Adam./Rufinus is found in the section entitled "Comparison of Passages from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus Cited by All Three Witness": pp. 120-22.

[4] The question of whether this reflects the Marcionite or catholic text is immaterial in this regard. The general tendency for "sloppy" citation is evident throughout the NT citations in *Dial. Adam.*

[5] One may not conclude from the numerous disagreements between Adam./Greek and Adam./Rufinus that the latter represents an attempt to adapt the citations of the text to the OL. It is just as likely that the archetype of the ten surviving Greek MSS resulted from the work of a very careless scribe.

[6] Harnack, *Marcion,* 60*-63*.

[7] Harnack himself argues this (ibid., 58*-60*).

[8] Perhaps the lost *Dialogue of Bardesanes with the Marcionites* was used, but it is impossible to establish this with any degree of certainty.

[9]The Vg translation of 1 John 4:14 (ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσταλκεν τὸν υἱὸν σωτῆρα = *Pater misit Filium Salvatorem*) preserves the accusative form. But in Acts 13:5 (εἶχον . . . Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην = *habebant . . . Iohannem in ministerio*) the Vg translator avoided the accusative form.

[10]The English translations RSV and NAB reflect similar circumlocutions for this Greek construct.

[11]The deletion of ὑμῶν by Adam./Greek is probably another example of looseness within that textual tradition. No such deletion is reported by Nestle or Tischendorf for the NT. The presence of *vestra* in Adam./Rufinus would suggest that ὑμῶν occurred in the archetype of *Dial. Adam.*, but it is not solid proof of that since μέλη could legitimately be translated *membra vestra* in Latin.

[12]This agreement as well as the deletion of εἰς ἁγιασμόν from the end of the verse by both Adam./Greek and Adam./ Rufinus prevent us from assuming that Rufinus' citation has been adapted to the text familiar to him.

[13]Harnack (*Marcion*, 61*) argues that the insertion of τῷ θεῷ is clearly of Marcionite origin since Marcion feared that without the τῷ θεῷ the verse could be read: "Offer your members in service to the righteous (God)." He therefore inserted "God" before "in service" so that the object of "offer" would clearly be "God." This would make the verse read: "Offer your members to God as slaves in righteousness." Harnack's suggestion would be sound if the text read δικαίῳ and not δικαιοσύνῃ. But it is not reasonable to assume that

Marcion feared that people would read the clause "Offer your members in service to the righteousness (God)."

[14]Harnack, *Marcion*, 60*-61*. Blackman (*Marcion,* 134), although basing his data generally on the text of Marcion as reconstructed by Harnack, does not reflect any of the *Dial. Adam.* 5 citations. Zahn (*Geschichte*, 2/2. 419ff.) also avoided this error.

[15]See the section of this thesis entitled "Comparison of Passages from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus Cited by All Three Witnesses": pp. 120-27 for some examples.

[16]The disagreements between Adam./Greek and Adam./ Rufinus are striking indeed. See especially p. 96 above. In the citation of 1 Cor 15:29-42, Adam./Greek reflects thirteen variants but Rufinus only three.

[17]This problem introduces another dimension of the argument: the text of *Dial. Adam.* is so inconsistent with itself that even if it did reflect the text of Marcion, there would be absolutely no certainty in individual cases that the variant reflected was from the Marcionite text and not simply an error of the author or the scribes of *Dial. Adam.*

[18]It is possible, of course, that πνεῦμα could have been the reading of the Marcionite text at a later period. But there is a strong probability that Markus' objections here are a theatrical ploy by the author of *Dial. Adam.* This was the case earlier (with ταῦτ' ἀτόπως) in 1 Cor 10:11

cited in *Dial. Adam.* 2.17. See the section of this thesis on methodology, p. 28.

[19]They also lie outside of the discussion of the resurrection of the body in Paul's letters in *Dial. Adam.* 5.21-27.

[20]Even this remark is not convincing proof that a Marcionite Pauline Corpus was being cited. It is quite possible that the words ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀποστολικοῦ which appear before the Galatians citations refer merely to the Pauline letters which the Marcionites accepted rather than to a Marcionite text.

1 C 3　Epiphanius as a Witness

It is clear from an examination of Epiphanius' citations
from the Marcionite Apostolikon in *Panarion* 42 that he had
no Marcionite Bible in his hands, despite his claim to the
contrary.[1] His quotations were taken from anti-Marcionite
literature which was available to him. His testimony may
never be relied on as proof that a certain variant reading
existed in the Marcionite Pauline Corpus unless it is cor-
roborated by strong evidence from other quarters. Moreover, in
dealing with Epiphanius' citations, we must consider not only
his questionable accuracy, but also that of his sources.

Two types of observations support this conclusion:
(1) General and (2) Specific.

1) General Indications of Epiphanius' Inaccuracy

It is apparent from the outset that Epiphanius' treat-
ment of the Marcionite Bible is very different from that of
Tertullian. Epiphanius' concern is much more often with the
interpretation of Pauline verses than with deletions or al-
terations in them. He lists a large number of citations
from four of the Pauline letters, namely, Romans, Galatians,
and 1-2 Corinthians.[2] Three verses are cited from Ephesians;
only one verse from Colossians; and nothing from 1-2 Thessa-
lonians, Philippians, or Philemon. He includes a single
citation from Laodiceans at the end.

Particularly significant is Epiphanius' description of
the Apostolikon.[3] His list of citations from Ephesians are

under the heading Ephesians. This is in direct conflict with the testimony of Tertullian, who has citations from Ephesians under the name Laodiceans. Epiphanius, on the other hand, treats Laodiceans as an eleventh letter. The single citation which he gives from Laodiceans is from Eph 4:5. It is conceivable that there would be differences in the Marcionite Apostolikon as reported by Epiphanius from that of Tertullian. But it would be completely unreasonable to assume that the Marcionite Apostolikon used by Epiphanius had two letters whose content was identical with our Ephesians but which differed only in title and address.[4] It is far more likely that Epiphanius drew his citations from anti-Marcionite literature available to him. Only in this way is his confusion with respect to Laodiceans and Ephesians understandable.

The date of the *Panarion* must also be taken into consideration. Epiphanius was writing more than 150 years after the time of Tertullian. In the intervening period, the Marcionite text certainly underwent the sort of alteration to which any text is prone. This problem is compounded by the fact that we do not know the dates of the anti-Marcionite sources which Epiphanius used. Some could have been contemporary to Epiphanius. Some may have pre-dated Tertullian. It is quite likely that the citations listed in *Pan*. 42 attest to several different stages of the Marcionite text. Although it would be incautious to assume that all or most of Epiphanius' sources were written much later than Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.*, that possibility does exist in each

individual instance. This would account for the many cases in which the Marcionite text reflected by Epiphanius is different from that reflected by Tertullian. Several of these will be discussed in the next section, in which passages cited simultaneously by Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius are compared.

In the light of all this, the testimony of Epiphanius can be accepted only with the utmost caution. It is the pre-Marcionite text which we are seeking, while Epiphanius presents us with citations from sources which may well be considerably later than those of Tertullian.

2) Specific Instances of Epiphanius' Deficiencies

An examination of some of the passages from 1 Corinthians cited in the *Panarion* affirms and illustrates the conclusions presented above.

When Epiphanius cites 1 Cor 9:9 he comments: Μετηλλαγμένως ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ.[5] Epiphanius is saying here that Marcion added the word Μωϋσέως before νόμῳ in order to separate (ἀπαλλοτριοῦν) the Law from the good God[6] by identifying it directly with Moses rather than God himself. The error in Epiphanius' judgment is manifest. Μωϋσέως is universally attested as the correct reading for that verse. Apparently Epiphanius was familiar with a non-Marcionite text which deleted Μωϋσέως. He therefore attributes the presence of Μωϋσέως before νόμῳ to Marcionite theological tendency. He even remarks that the so-called addition of Μωϋσέως does not achieve the end for

which Marcion intended it.

1 Cor 9:7-10 is cited in *Dial. Adam.* 1.22. The word Μωϋσέως is present in vs 9. Megethius, one of the Marcionite contestants, comments, οἶδας ὅτι Μωϋσέως νόμον εἶπεν, οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ, merely reminding Adamantius of the presence of the word. There is no indication that this is a variant in anyone's text. Rather, it is a generally accepted reading which can (in the opinion of some) be argued to favor the Marcionite separation of the OT God from the good and loving God. The origin of this reading is certainly not Marcionite. The only witnesses who do not attest Μωϋσέως for this verse are Origen and Ambrosiaster.[7] It is impossible that Μωϋσέως was first inserted by Marcion and then went on to affect all NT MSS and citations except for Origen and Ambrosiaster. One of two explanations would account for Epiphanius' remarks:

1) He found the discussion of the word Μωϋσέως in one of his anti-Marcionite sources and assumed it was a variant reading being discussed. It is even possible that it was one of the sources of *Dial. Adam.* that he used here.

2) Epiphanius' own text, like that of Origen and Ambrosiaster lacked the Μωϋσέως. When he saw the word in a Marcionite citation of the verse, he presumed that Marcion added it.[8] Therefore, we are dealing either with a misreading by Epiphanius of one of his sources or with Epiphanius' use of an inferior text of his own, thus attributing to Marcion what was a genuine reading for the verse.[9]

Epiphanius' citation of 1 Cor 11:7 also raises serious questions:[10]

1 Cor 11:7

Nestle-Aland[26]	Epiphanius Pan. 42	(allusion in) Tertullian Adv. Marc. 5.8.1
ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ	ἀνὴρ	vir enim
οὐκ ὀφείλει	οὐκ ὀφείλει	non debet
κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν	κομᾶν	caput velare
εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα	δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν	cum sit
θεοῦ ὑπάρχων	θεοῦ ὑπάρχων	dei imago

Epiphanius' discussion of the text does not even mention the
difference in reading κομᾶν for κατακαλύπτεσθαι. He merely
argues that the sense of the verse supports a connection
between the OT God and the loving God. Tertullian's citation
of the verse, though admittedly an allusion, does not reflect
κομᾶν.[11] Nor is there a single attestation of this reading
anywhere else. Therefore, either Epiphanius or his source
for this verse was quoting loosely. The word κομᾶν could
have suggested itself from its appearance in 1 Cor 11:14. The
only other possibility is that the reading κομᾶν crept into
the Marcionite text at a relatively late date.

It will be illustrated in the comparative study of
citations from Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius[12] that
there is a considerable difference in the text of Marcion
reported by Epiphanius when compared with those of the other
two. Two examples from 1 Corinthians will be treated here.
They are 1 Cor 10:3-4 in Pan. 42 (122) and Dial. Adam. 2.18;
and 1 Cor 14:34b in Pan. 42 (123) and Dial. Adam. 2.18.

<div align="center">1 Cor 10:3-4</div>

Nestle-Aland[26]	Pan. 42 (122)	Dial. Adam. 2.18
καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον	καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα	καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον
καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα	καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα	καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον

According to Adamantius, Marcion deviates from the Nestle text twice, both times with the support of OL, Vg; Greek D, E, F, G, K, and L; Syr, Cop, Arm, Goth; Origen, Theodoret, and Damasius. It would seem that the variants, as a pair, were a strongly attested Western reading. But according to Epiphanius, Marcion only deviates once from the Nestle text (in 1 Cor 10:3) with the support of A, 17, and 137 only. Although the disagreement can not be settled conclusively,[13] it would seem that, on the basis of the heavy Western attestation, it is more likely that Adamantius reflects the correct Marcionite reading.

The instance of 1 Cor 14:34b is very similar:

Nestle-Aland[26]	Pan. 42 (123)	Dial. Adam. 2.18
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν ἀλλὰ ὑποτασσέσθωσαν	ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν ἀλλ' ὑποτασσέσθωσαν	ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι

As can be seen, Epiphanius and Adamantius agree in two variants from the Nestle (ἐκκλησίᾳ for ἐκκλησίαις and ἐπιτέτραπται for ἐπιτρέπεται), but Dial. Adam. reflects a third

variant (ὑποτάσσεσθαι for ὑποτασσέσθωσαν). Adamantius'
reading must be accepted here as the Marcionite reading
because of the massive support he receives from OL, Vg;
Greek D, F, G, K, L, and Maj; Syr[p], Arm, and also because
of the general reliability of book 2 of the *Dialogue* for
Marcionite citations.[14] The reading reflected by Epiphanius
is supported by Alexandrian witnesses and a few minuscules
and versions. Since Epiphanius and *Dial. Adam.* both reflect
two of the three readings in question, it is almost certain
that both passages derive ultimately from the same source
(the Marcionite text). But in this case it is more likely
that ὑποτάσσεσθαι (the original Marcionite reading) was cor-
rected to ὑποτασσέσθωσαν some time before Epiphanius.

NOTES: EPIPHANIUS AS A WITNESS

[1]Cf. Epiphanius *Pan*. 42 (106).

[2]Harnack, *Marcion*, 64*.

[3]Ibid., 64*-65*.

[4]A comparison with our Ephesians of the large number
of citations from Laodiceans in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17-18 estab-
lishes conclusively that Marcion's Laodiceans and our
Ephesians were the same letter.

[5]Epiphanius *Pan*. 42 (121). This is the entire citation
and not just a comment on it.

[6]This is what he argues in his response to the reading; see *Pan*. 42 (162).

[7]C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Editio octava critica maior; 2 vols.; Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-72) 2. 506. The deletion of a word which is not absolutely essential to the meaning of a verse is a commonplace of loose church father citations. The deletion by Origen and Ambrosiaster may well represent a loose citing of the passage and not a legitimate variant reading.

[8]There is a third possibility, though it is rather unlikely. It depends on how one reads μετηλλαγμένως in *Pan*. 42 (162). Could Epiphanius mean "with a change of meaning" (i.e., "it makes a difference that it reads . . .") rather than "with a change of text"? If so, he is not arguing for a variant reading here at all. The substance of what follows (ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κτλ.) makes this highly unlikely.

[9]Another example of the overly zealous attribution of a variant to Marcion is the citation of 1 Cor 10:11 in *Dial. Adam*. 2.17. Cf. p. 28 of the section on methodology in this thesis.

[10]Epiphanius *Pan*. 42 (122).

[11]The citation of the verse in *Dial. Adam*. 5.23 also lacks the variant κοιμᾶν. But this citation may have nothing to do with Marcion since the validity of book 5 of the *Dialogue* as a source for Marcionite readings is highly questionable.

[12]Cf. below p. 119.

[13]For this reason, these two variants were accepted only into List B, "Probable Pre-Marcionite Readings."

[14]Admittedly this is a much closer case than 1 Cor 10:3-4. The variant was also placed on the list of "Probable Pre-Marcionite Readings" (Appendix B).

1D Comparison of Passages from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus Cited by All Three Witnesses

The purpose of this section is to assess the reliability of the three chief witnesses to the text of Marcion, i.e., Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius. There are significant differences in their citations of the same passages. This provides us with an opportunity to assess the degree of reliability of each citing author. There are sufficient instances of concurrence among the three to assure us that they all ultimately deal with the same text. Therefore, it will be important, first of all, to note these agreements and the extent to which they confirm the reliability of these three witnesses to Marcion's text.

The second and third tasks will concern the differences of reading. The second will be a search for distinguishing features or characteristics of the particular witness which might explain his disagreements with the other two.

The third task involves the application of some of the criteria of my methodology in order to decide, wherever possible in these cases of disagreement, which of the three witnesses is correct and why. The criterion of attestation elsewhere (#4) will be particularly significant for this task. This discussion will help to illustrate some of the criteria presented in the section on methodology (1B above). It will also serve to supplement the discussions of the three authors as witnesses. The complexities of the textual situation of *Dial*. *Adam*. will receive special consideration.

The largest and most informative of the scriptural pas-
sages from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus which is cited by
all three authors is Eph 2:11-13 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.12, *Dial.
Adam.* 2.18, and *Pan.* 42 (119)(see Table 8 below).

Results of the Comparison of Eph 2:11-13

Eph 2:11

1) All three authors delete the initial Διό. Being at
the very beginning of the verse, this deletion would normally
be difficult to confirm, but since all three witnesses agree
there is little doubt about its validity. It should be
pointed out that the Latin translation of Adam./Rufinus is
silent on the first two words of the verse. This does not
really throw the Greek text of the *Dialogue* into doubt,
however, since Rufinus had a tendency to shorten citations.[1]
It is far more likely that the Greek text of *Dial. Adam.*
reflects the true text of Marcion in this case. The fact
that Adam./Rufinus reflects the ὅτι of Adam./Greek with *quia*
is further confirmation of this fact.

This variant is also reflected in two Greek minuscules
(104 and 1311), but it is more heavily attested in the OL
tradition (75, Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster). Frede
accepts the deletion as the reading of the OL: D- and I-
types.[2]

2) Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius[3] all have the
verb in the participial form rather than a finite form:
μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε (Nestle). The OL attestation

TABLE 8: Eph 2:11-13 in

Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.12	Epiphanius *Pan.* 42 (119)	*Dialogue of Adamantius* Adam./Greek 2.18	Adam./Rufinus 2.18
11 Memores vos aliquando nationes in carne qui appelamini praeputium ab ea quae dicitur circumcisio in carne manufacta,	**11** Μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτὲ τὰ ἔθνη οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τᾶς λεγομένης περιτομῆς ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου	**11** Μνημονεύοντες ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου	**11** quia vos aliquando gentes qui dicebamini praeputium ab ea quae dicitur circumcisio in carne manufacta,
12 quod essetis illo in tempore sine Christo alienati a conversatione Israelis et peregrini testamentorum et promissionis eorum spem non habentes et sine deo in mundo	**12** ὅτι ἦτε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ	**12** ὅτι ἦτε ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κοσμῷ	**12** qui eratis illo tempore sine Christo alienati a conversatione Israel et peregrini testamentorum et promissionis spem non habentes et sine deo in mundo
13 At nunc in Christo vos qui eratis longe facti estis prope ir. sanguine ejus.	**13** Νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτὲ ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ	**13** Νυνὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτὲ ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ	**13** Nunc autem vos qui aliquando eratis longe facti estis prope in sanguine Christi.

for this variant is as strong as it was for the first variant. Again, the OL: D- and I-types agree (*contra* Vg).[4] The concurrence of the testimony of all three authors and the supporting attestation in the OL make it unquestionable that the variant was present in the Marcionite text of Paul.

3) Tertullian and Epiphanius reflect the deletion of ὅτι, but Adamantius does not. The OL support for the variant is almost identical to the support for the first variant. 75, 77, Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, and others (again the OL: D- and I-types) delete ὅτι. Because of the consistency of the support of the OL for the Marcionite text so far (paragraphs 1 and 2 above), as well as the agreement of Tertullian and Epiphanius, it can be concluded that Adamantius is wrong in this case.

4) Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adam./Rufinus read ὑμεῖς ποτέ against Adam./Greek ποτὲ ὑμεῖς. Yet again the OL support (D and I) is with Tertullian and Epiphanius. This and the testimony of the Latin translation of the *Dialogue* weigh in favor of Tertullian and Epiphanius. It is very likely that the Greek text of the *Dialogue* has been tampered with here.[5]

5) Adamantius and Epiphanius reflect the deletion of ἐν σαρκί after τὰ ἔθνη against Tertullian. This is a very difficult case. Harnack argues that Tertullian is right and that the ἐν σαρκί was deleted later than Tertullian but before the time of Adamantius and Epiphanius.[6] The evidence for such a conclusion is minimal. The OL attestation does not help. Only a variant in Pelagius' commentary deletes ἐν σαρκί. The

agreement of Adamantius and Epiphanius is valuable, but due to the disagreement of Tertullian and the lack of any attestation elsewhere, it cannot be accepted as a certain variant. It is likely, on the other hand, that Tertullian is wrong here, since, as was demonstrated earlier, he had a tendency to delete words.

Eph 2:12

1) Tertullian and Adamantius reflect the addition of ἐν before τῷ καιρῷ against Epiphanius and Adam./Rufinus. The Latin support is uneven.[7] In this instance the Vg and a few borderline OL:I witnesses (Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Augustine, 61, and Z^H) also add the word *in*. Better support comes from the Greek textual tradition: P^{46}, D^2, 6, and several minuscules. Also Syr^P, Sah^{cod}, and Ephrem seem to reflect its presence. This is a very difficult variant to assess since in the process of translation from the Greek the preposition could be inserted in Latin and Syriac where only the noun in the dative was present in Greek. But the agreement between Tertullian and Adamantius must be more than coincidental. The lack of *in* in Rufinus' translation of the *Dialogue* prevents even Harnack from making a final conclusion. It is likely, but not certain, that Tertullian and Adamantius reflect the Marcionite text.

2) Tertullian and Adam./Rufinus present *et* (καί) before *promissionis* (ἐπαγγελίας) instead of τῆς (or in Latin, a simple genitive). Adamantius and Epiphanius do not. Strangely, *et* is the reading of the OL:I-type (64, $Γ^{A*}$, Ambrosiaster,

Gaudentius, Jerome, and Rufinus[rom]). A complicating factor here is that Rufinus' translation of the *Dialogue*, which is a representative of the OL:I-type, could have been contaminated with the OL:I reading.[8] But since the variant is unknown in the Greek textual tradition, it is quite conceivable that the texts of Epiphanius and Adamantius were affected by the dominant Greek text.[9] Therefore, Tertullian and Rufinus probably overrule the evidence of Adamantius and Epiphanius.

3) Tertullian adds αὐτῶν after ἐπαγγελίας against Adamantius and Epiphanius. The variant is also attested as the D and I reading of the OL (75*, 76, 77, Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Gaudentius, and Greek MS G). An OL:I-type variant most probably reflecting the same source is *ejus* (78, 61, Rufinus[Rom], Origen, Pel[B]). The most reasonable source for both *eorum* and *ejus* is ΑΥΤΩΝ, which could easily be misread ΑΥΤΟΥ. This all but guarantees that the variant, though poorly attested in the Greek MS tradition, had its origin in such a scribal error. Also, the fact that Rufinus' translation of the *Dialogue* reflects neither *eorum* nor *ejus* does not support the conclusion that he adapted this passage to the local text.[10] The consistent OL support lends credibility to Tertullian as the closest to the Marcionite text. The disagreement by Adamantius and Epiphanius could again reflect a later development in the Marcionite text. Absolute certainty is not possible.

Eph 2:13

1) Adamantius reflects the deletion of ἐν Χριστῷ against Tertullian and Epiphanius. Adamantius is not to be relied on here since his citation has other difficulties. Though he deletes ἐν Χριστῷ here, he maintains τοῦ Χριστοῦ at the end of the verse (instead of the αὐτοῦ of Tertullian and Epiphanius). These two readings should be dealt with simultaneously. The probable root of the variation is the redundancy of the ἐν Χριστῷ followed by τοῦ Χριστοῦ at the end of the verse. Several variants seem to reflect attempts to eliminate this problem. p[46] and B both delete τοῦ Χριστοῦ at the end of the verse without even supplying an αὐτοῦ. The passage would still make sense, since αὐτοῦ could be assumed by the definite article in τῷ αἵματι. The readings of Tertullian and Epiphanius also eliminate the redundancy, since they keep ἐν Χριστῷ and have αὐτοῦ at the end of the verse instead of τοῦ Χριστοῦ. The readings of Adamantius would seem to attest yet another attempt to eliminate the redundancy. Here ἐν Χριστῷ, which is a little clumsy in any case, is dropped and τοῦ Χριστοῦ is left standing at the end of the verse.[11] This variant is supported by the Ethiopic version. The concurrence of Tertullian and Epiphanius is explainable only by assuming that the Marcionite text which they depended on read that way. Although the source of Adamantius' variant is difficult to explain, it is quite possible that the deletion of ἐν Χριστῷ resulted as a scribal oversight sometime after Tertullian. Therefore, Tertullian's and Epiphanius' readings

(keep ἐν Χριστῷ and read αὐτοῦ) must be accepted and Adamantius' disagreement rejected.

2) Tertullian reflects the deletion of Ἰησοῦ after Χριστῷ against Epiphanius. This variant could be removed from consideration as just another of Tertullian's deletions[12] but for the fact that it has strong support in the OL tradition. It is the reading of the OL:I-type (Irenaeus[lat], Marius Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, and Pelagius[var]). Greek MS L also deletes Ἰησοῦ. In deciding between Tertullian and Epiphanius in this case,[13] we must assume that the text was later corrected to agree with the dominant reading; it is less likely that Tertullian happened to delete the word.[14] The presence of Ἰησοῦ is so dominant--its absence outside of the OL:I-type being almost unknown--that it is probable that by the time of Epiphanius Ἰησοῦ was reinserted into the Marcionite text. Such later corrections frequently occur in Epiphanius' citations.

3) Tertullian reflects the deletion of ποτέ against Adamantius and Epiphanius. This variant cannot be accepted with any certainty. It has meager attestation (a variant in Pelagius and *in initio* in Hilary, Ambrose, Gaudentius, Arnobius, and Bede) and follows closely upon another deletion by Tertullian.[15] Further, the tense of the Greek ὄντες demands a temporal adverb (ποτέ), but Tertullian's *eratis* communicates past time clearly enough without one. Although it is true that ποτέ is usually reflected by *aliquando* in Latin witnesses which have *eratis* or *fuistis*, it is possible that we are dealing with an oversight of Tertullian here.[16]

1 Cor 1:31

ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω (Nestle[26]).

This verse is cited by all three witnesses: Tertullian in
Adv. Marc. 5.5.10, *Dial. Adam.* 1.22, and Epiphanius in *Pan.*
42 (121). There is only one possible variant among them.
For κυρίῳ some MSS of *Adv. Marc.* have *deo*. *Deo,* the reading
accepted by Kroymann and Evans in their editions of that
work, is present in MSS M and R. *Domino* is the reading of
MSS F and N and of Pamelius. At first glance it seems like
an open-and-shut case. *Deo* is represented in both branches
of the textual tradition of *Adv. Marc.* (see stemma below).
Moreover, it is easy to imagine *deo* being changed to *domino,*
which was the dominant reading for the verse. This would be
another case of Tertullian reflecting the early Marcionite
text and Adamantius and Epiphanius a later corruption of it.

However, the reading *deo* is not without difficulties.
To begin, it lacks attestation outside of *Adv. Marc.* Of the
more than 200 citations of the verse in the OL tradition, *deo*
appears only twice--both times in *Adv. Marc.* (here and in
4.15.10). Were it a part of the pre-Marcionite text, we
should expect some attestation in the NT text tradition. But
there is none. Further doubt is cast on *deo* as the reading
in Tertullian by two facts: (a) neither Adamantius nor Epi-
phanius reflect it; and (b) the reading *domino* is also re-
flected on both brances of the stemma for the text of *Adv.
Marc.*: F, N, and Pamelius.

Kroymann's Stemma for *Adv. Marc.* (simplified)[17]
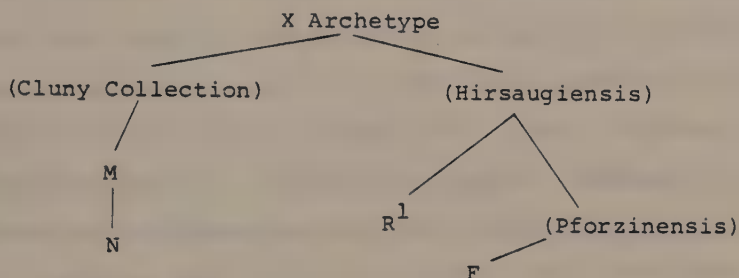
(Parentheses indicate known sources which are no longer extant.)

If abbreviations were used, the difference would be only one letter: $\overline{DNO}$ for $\overline{DO}$. Although *deo* still has the stronger case, there is sufficient doubt to justify the rejection of the variant as a "Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings."

A more informative case is the citation of 1 Cor 10:11 by Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius:

Adv. Marc. 5.7.14	*Dial. Adam.* 2.17	*Pan.* 42 (122)
Haec enim quemadmodum evenerunt illis scripta sunt ad nos commonendos, in quos fines aevorum decurrerunt.	ταῦτα μὲν τύπος συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν	ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν ἐκείνοις ἐγράφη δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

The word τυπικῶς is the point of comparison. The textual tradition of the first part of this verse is a tangle of different readings. The problem is handled brilliantly by Zuntz and therefore needs not be discussed here.[18] He accepts the reading of Adamantius as the Marcionite reading,

and with good reason. At first glance this may not seem
sound. After all, the Marcionite opponent of Adamantius in
the dialogue insists that the verse really reads ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως.
This would presume that the μέν was missing and that τύπος
was misspelled τύπως. Zuntz regards the opponent's objection
to be a theatrical ploy by the author of the *Dialogue* mainly
because ταῦτ᾽ ἀτύπως would render the passage senseless.[19]

Nonetheless, it is all based on the reading τύπος.
Epiphanius has τυπικῶς, but his passage matches the dominant
Greek text--and he draws no support from Tertullian. Epi-
phanius' use of καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς immediately indicates that we are
not dealing with a careful citation. Tertullian, on the
other hand, ultimately supports, or at least does not contest,
the reading of Adamantius. Tertullian's *quemadmodum* is cer-
tainly not to be taken as a direct translation of τυπικῶς,
which would be rendered by *in figura* or *in typo*, as it is in
the OL and Vg. I would translate Tertullian's rendering of
the verse: "For in whatever way these things happened . . ."
The text-conscious Tertullian was quite probably aware of a
disagreement of readings. He either saw a correction in the
text before him or noticed that the Marcionite reading was
different from the one familiar to him. In either case, he
did not feel it was a sufficiently important variant to com-
ment upon it more specifically. Therefore, without further
explanation he simply remarked "in whatever way these things
happened."[20]

The discussion of this passage illustrates three things:
Dial. Adam. is capable of reflecting true Marcionite readings;

Epiphanius' citation is frequently loose and based on the catholic text familiar to him;[21] and the actual text reflected by Tertullian is sometimes difficult to discern, since he allows his art as an author free rein in making citations.

The credibility of Epiphanius is dealt another blow by the comparison of the citation of 1 Cor 11:7 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.8.1 and *Dial. Adam.* 5.23 with *Pan.* 42 (122). The verse is discussed fully in the section of this thesis entitled "Epiphanius as a Witness."[22] It need only be said at this point that here, as in the previous example, Epiphanius reflects a distortion of the original text of Marcion.

The final comparison to be presented here is between Tertullian and Adamantius only. Both cite 1 Cor 15:45, 47 (*Adv. Marc.* 5.10.7-8 and *Dial. Adam.* 2.19). The verses read (Nestle-Aland[26]):

> 45 οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται· ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν·ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. . . . 47 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

In 1 Cor 15:45 Tertullian and Adamantius have ὁ ἔσχατος κύριος instead of ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ. Similarly, in 15:45 they both reflect ὁ δεύτερος κύριος instead of ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος. There is no other MS support for the variant in 15:45, but for the variant in 15:47 supporting attestation is plentiful (S[c], A, D, K, L, P, Syr, Arm, Goth, Origen, Theodoret et al., and a few in the OL). It is rather obvious that a

simple interpretational gloss on Ἀδάμ (vs 45) and ἄνθρωπος (vs 47), namely, κύριος was inserted into the text at a very early stage.[23] This would explain its appearance in all families of the NT text.

This example confirms the fact that Adamantius and Tertullian ultimately rely on the same text. Despite their many differences, there are examples like this where agreement is precise.

NOTES: COMPARISON OF PASSAGES FROM THE MARCIONITE PAULINE CORPUS CITED BY ALL THREE WITNESSES

[1] This was noted already by Harnack, *Marcion,* 58*.

[2] Frede, *Ad Ephesios*, 71.

[3] The text of Epiphanius vacilates somewhat. The MSS read μνημονεύετε in *Pan.* 42 (119) but in *Pan.* 42 (178) most of them have a participle. Holl accepts the participle in both cases. I agree with Holl, since it is quite likely that the more standard μνημονεύετε would have intruded itself into the text tradition of the *Panarion*.

[4] Also note that Adam./Rufinus is silent on the variant. Yet the same conclusion applies here as was drawn in the discussion of the deletion of Διό directly above.

[5] In all fairness, I must soften my conclusion a bit by admitting that in his translation, Rufinus could have altered the passage so as to agree with the local text familiar to him (the OL:I-type). He often reflects this tendency. But

it would be quite a coincidence that Tertullian and Epiphanius just happened to agree with the OL:I-type reading. It should further be pointed out that Rufinus does not always reflect the I-type readings in these verses.

[6]Harnack, *Marcion*, 117*. What would be needed to vindicate Adamantius and Epiphanius is a reason for or mechanism by which Tertullian could have made the addition.

[7]Of course nothing need be said about Tertullian's transposition *illo in tempore* for *in tempore illo*. It is a tendency of his, as has been discussed in the section of this thesis entitled "Tertullian as a Witness." Also, Latin translators frequently move οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος to a position before the noun which it modifies.

[8]Therefore, to accept his agreement with Tertullian and also the OL:I-type attestation chances on circularity of argument.

[9]A possible dependency of Epiphanius on Adamantius begins to suggest itself here.

[10]This was conjectured in n. 3 above. It is clear at least that Rufinus' translation was not totally adapted to the local text. All the best OL:I-type witnesses, including Rufinus himself in his commentary on Romans, had some form of the possessive pronoun.

[11]It is obvious that in the original reading both ἐν Χριστῷ and τοῦ Χριστοῦ were present, since this reading is not only the *lectio difficilior* but also explains all the other readings.

[12]Tertullian's tendency to delete words which were not essential to the meaning of the passage was discussed in the section of this thesis entitled "Tertullian as a Witness." See also n. 7 above.

[13]Adamantius falls out of consideration here since he deletes the entire phrase ἐν Χριστῷ ʼΙησοῦ. Cf. directly above.

[14]Though this is possible.

[15]One wonders whether Tertullian is not bringing the citation quickly to a close here and dropping all but the bare essentials. It should be noted in this regard that he cites Eph 2:13 separately from the other two verses a few lines later.

[16]The OL:I-type reading here is *longe eratis*. Rufinus' translation of Adamantius reads *eratis longe*. This is another instance of Rufinus diverging from his local text.

[17]Taken from A. Kroymann, ed., *Tertullianus, Adversus Marcionem* (CSEL 47) XXVII.

[18]G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition on the Corpus Paulinum* (London: Oxford University, 1953) 233-34 and 166 n. 5. His analysis is superb, but his final conclusion is rather daring. He argues that Paul wrote only ταῦτα συνέβαινεν and that the additions πάντα, δέ, τύπος, τύποι, and/or τυπικῶς all represent attempts to clarify a clause which was so stark in its simplicity that it bordered on vagueness.

[19]This argument was discussed in the section of this thesis on methodology, p. 28.

[20]It is quite likely that even the catholic text before him was vexed.

[21]Epiphanius' looseness is further demonstrated by his use of ἡμῖν for πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν.

[22]Cf. p. 114 above.

[23]Obviously, no Marcionite *Tendenz* need be hypothesized to explain its appearance. "The Lord" is the interpretation of this verse for modern commentators as well.

2   Interpretation of the Data

2A   Internal Evaluation

Thus far, the methodology has been presented by which the 83 secure pre-Marcionite readings (Appendix A) and the 47 probable pre-Marcionite readings (Appendix B) were established.   The criteria favoring and opposing each reading appear in codified form in Appendixes A and B.   The positive and negative criteria relevant to each case are indicated by the numbers assigned them at the beginning of section 1B of this thesis.

The value of this data base of 83 secure pre-Marcionite readings is difficult to overestimate.   The earliest MS evidence for establishing the text of Paul's letters is post A.D. 200.   Pauline citations by the early church fathers do not take us back much earlier than this date, since no extant second-century author cites sufficient portions of the Pauline Corpus.   Indeed, the most recent edition of the Greek NT does not claim to establish the text for a date earlier than A.D. 200.[1]   The pre-Marcionite evidence takes us back earlier than A.D. 140.   This body of the earliest evidence has not been exploited to the extent which it could.   G. Zuntz evaluated a portion of the Marcionite evidence, but his study was based on the Marcionite text as established by the less rigorous methodology of Harnack.[2]   Several of the readings which Zuntz accepts as reflections of the Marcionite text were taken from citations which were really only allusions. Thus, he dealt with fewer and less secure Marcionite readings

than are presented in this study.

Nevertheless, the work of Zuntz provides a model for this section of the thesis. What he did with P[46] and the earliest citational evidence, I wish to do with the pre-Marcionite evidence. There are many Pauline passages in which the correct reading cannot be firmly established since the MS evidence is evenly split. In many of these cases, the pre-Marcionite evidence gives sufficient weight to one reading to tip the scales of external criteria in its favor. There are several passages in which the correct reading is thought to have been established but which can be challenged when the pre-Marcionite evidence is taken into account. The existence of a reading in the pre-Marcionite text is not definitive proof of the existence of that reading in the archetypal Pauline Corpus. It is, however, proof that that reading existed at a very early stage in the development of the Pauline Corpus, i.e., perhaps a century earlier than the oldest manuscripts. Readings which appear in the best and earliest MSS must always be scrutinized on rational grounds as to whether they are explainable as an error or as a de-liberate change in the text. Thus, in all cases the final decision will only be made when rational criteria have also been considered. For the sake of presentation, I have divided the pre-Marcionite evidence into two parts:

1) Pre-Marcionite readings which are correct; and

2) Pre-Marcionite readings which are incorrect.

My decision to categorize a reading as correct or incorrect will be explained in each case. The correct readings relate

to the basic text-critical issue of establishing the arche-
type. In this section the pre-Marcionite readings will be
discussed which, in my judgment, go back to the archetypal
Pauline Corpus. Some of these readings merely confirm the
decisions of modern NT editors in establishing contested
readings. In other cases the pre-Marcionite reading can be
shown to be earlier than the readings which most NT editors
have accepted. In many cases my decision to accept the pre-
Marcionite reading goes against that of the editors of
Nestle-Aland[26]. These are marked with the symbol "+".[3]

The discussion of the incorrect pre-Marcionite readings
will address the issue of the textual character of the early
second-century Pauline Corpus of ten letters. In each case,
the reasons why the pre-Marcionite reading is incorrect will
be given.

The examination of these incorrect readings will illus-
trate what sort of changes scribes of the early second cen-
tury were capable of or willing to make. Particular attention
will be paid to any discernible grammatical or theological
tendencies.

It is not possible to discuss every pre-Marcionite
reading which falls into the correct or incorrect groups.
Only those readings which contribute the most to the ques-
tions addressed in each section will be discussed. When
analogous examples are available, they will be referred to
by the number assigned to them in Appendix A. In some cases
they will be discussed in the footnotes. Some pre-Marcionite
readings tell us little about the state of the text. These

will not be discussed here but may be examined by the more
thorough reader in Appendix A.

NOTES: 2 INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

[1]*Novum Testamentum Graece*, K. Aland, M. Black, C.
Martini, B. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, eds. (26th ed.;
Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979) 5*-6* = 43*.

[2]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 226-41.

[3]This is to avoid confusion for the reader who is using
Nestle-Aland[26] to check the readings in question.

2 A 1   Correct Pre-Marcionite Readings

Thirty of the 83 pre-Marcionite readings fall into this group. Eight of these require little comment since they are adequately discussed by Zuntz. They are important readings, so they will be discussed individually, but in each case the reader will be referred to a more complete presentation in the work of Zuntz.

Six of the 30 correct pre-Marcionite readings are of little importance. These will be listed and commented on as a group at the end of this section.

The pre-Marcionite reading and its primary attestation will be given at the beginning of each paragraph. The correct reading is always listed first. The variants and their witnesses follow.

The text critical symbols ⌐ and ∿ will be used. ⌐ indicates the substitution of one word for another. ∿ indicates a transposition. The variant number from Appendix A is indicated in parentheses with a "#", e.g., (#1).

† indicates that my decision to accept the pre-Marcionite reading as the correct reading goes against the decision of the editors of Nestle-Aland[26] of the Greek NT.

"Mcn" is used to indicate the pre-Marcionite text.

Readings are listed in the order in which they appear in the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus.

1)   † Gal 1:6 after καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς:

(#1)   - ἐν χάριτι   Mcn; P[46vid] F G H[vid] Ephrem(?)
            OL:KDI.
            - ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ   P[51] S A B Maj Syr[p] Boh
            Goth Arm Vg.
            - ἐν χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ   D 326 1241[c] minn
            pc Syr[H*].
            - ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ   Sah Jer.
            - ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ   7 327 336 Orig[lat] Thdt.

It is surprising that any modern edition of the NT would
include Χριστοῦ in this verse, even in brackets as the Nestle-
Aland[26] has it. Ἐν χάριτι with no additions is the source of
all the other readings. The various additions represent
attempts to make the phrase ἐν χάριτι more precise.[1] This
conclusion is supported further by an argument from Pauline
usage. The phrase χάρις Χριστοῦ never occurs in the letters
of Paul.[2] Therefore, even if one minuscule omitted Χριστοῦ,
it would require serious consideration. But the evidence for
the omission of Χριστοῦ is far stronger than that. P[46vid] in
combination with Marcion, the earliest witness, the entire
OL tradition, and possibly Ephrem all omit it.[3] A general
mistrust for Western readings among many of the most eminent
text critics of our time is obvious in the report of Metzger:
"A majority of the Committee was unwilling to adopt a reading
that is supported by only part of the Western tradition."[4]
That "part of the Western tradition" is supported by the two
earliest witnesses to the text of Paul: P[46] and Marcion.[5]
It is unreasonable to take the earliest evidence so lightly,
especially when it is supported by strong rational criteria.

Ἐν χάριτι should stand in Gal 1:6 with no additions.

2)   Gal 2:5a before εἴξαμεν read:

(#6)   - οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν   Mcn; all Greek MSS
                   except D*; Syr Cop Arm Ephrem Thdt Dam; Vg.
                  - πρὸς ὥραν   D* Iren Tert; OL:DI.

The pre-Marcionite reading concurs with the dominantly attested οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν and tips the scales firmly in favor of that reading. But the textual situation of this verse is complex. Another pre-Marcionite reading, #6a (Gal 2:5a delete οἷς), must be considered at the same time.[6] When these two readings (#6 and #6a) are treated in tandem, four possible readings for the beginning of Gal 2:5 appear:

1. οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν   P[46] S A B C D[C] F G K L P 33;
   Syr[H] Boh Arm Eth; OL:pc.

2. οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν   Mcn; Syr[P]; OL codd apud Marius
   Victorinus, Iren[lat].[7]

3. πρὸς ὥραν   D*; Tert; OL:DI.

4. οἷς πρὸς ὥραν   Latin codd. apud Jerome et Sedulium
   Scottum.

The only readings for which a strong argument can be made are 1 and 2. Reading 3 and reading 4 can both be ruled out since they render the passage senseless. How would Paul "preserve the truth of the gospel" by "submitting to false apostles"? The accommodating attitude of Paul in Acts (16:3 and 21:23-27) is irrelevant since there are several points in Galatians 1 which contradict information about Paul in Acts. Compare, for example, Gal 1:19 with Acts 9:26-27, and Gal

1:22 with Acts 8:3. The few scholars who argue for reading 3
as original claim that the "yielding" referred to in Gal 2:5
refers to Paul's coming to Jerusalem and setting his gospel
before the Jerusalem apostles in Gal 2:1-2.[8] But since Gal
2:1-2 is too far from Gal 2:5 to be directly connected with
it, and since Paul's actions in Gal 2:1-2 hardly amount to a
yielding of any sort, this position is completely untenable.

Reading 2 (οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν) has the earliest attestation
(the pre-Marcionite text) and when compared to reading 1
(οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν) it is the *lectio brevior*. The addition
of οἷς could have been motivated by a scribe who wished to
maintain the opposition of Paul to "false apostles" but who
did not want to rule out any yielding to the Jerusalem
apostles. The addition of οἷς, then, reflects a motivation
similar to the readings which delete οὐδέ: i.e., an attempt
to harmonize the more yielding attitude of Paul in Acts with
the more confrontative Paul in Galatians.[9] Thus, it could be
argued that the pre-Marcionite reading (οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν) was
the *fons lectionum* for the other three. If it were original,
it would be the direct predecessor of reading 3 (πρὸς ὥραν)
in which οὐδέ was simply deleted and reading 1 (οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς
ὥραν) in which οἷς was also added. Reading 4 (οἷς πρὸς ὥραν),
whose attestation is both limited and late, would be an off-
shoot of reading 1. Reading 4 would reflect an attempt to
remove οὐδέ after the οἷς had already been added.

The largest problem with this line of argument is that
since οἷς in Gal 2:5 creates an anacolouthon (the second in
the paragraph--the first being διὰ δέ in Gal 2:4), it is more

reasonable to assume that a scribe removed it than that a
scribe would have added it. Thus, while reading 2 (οὐδὲ
πρὸς ὥραν) is possible, reading 1 (οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν)is more
probable.

3)   † Gal 4:23 before ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης read:
(#9)   - ἀλλ᾽ ὁ   Mcn; P[46] B; Vg.
                - ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μέν   S A C D F G Ψ 062[vid] Maj;
                  Syr[H] Orig Epi; OL:DI.

The word μέν should be stricken from this verse in any
modern edition of the Greek NT. The reading without μέν is
the *lectio difficilior* (*sed non sine sensu*). The lack of μέν
presents a striking asyndeton, especially since δέ is present
in the second half of the verse. A *horror asyndeti* would be
the motive for the addition of μέν.[10] Further, no mechanism
or motive is to be found for dropping the μέν were it origi-
nal. Finally, one must consider the evidence for the text
without μέν. The two earliest witnesses, Marcion and P[46],
combine in this case with the celebrated Vaticanus (B). Even
the Vg carries extra weight in this case, since when Vg dis-
agrees with the bulk of the OL, invariably it is due to con-
flation with Greek MSS.

4)   † Gal 5:9 after τὸ φύραμα read:
(#13)   - δολοῖ   Mcn; D*; Goth Bas Const; OL:DI Vg.
                - ζυμοῖ   *cetera omnia*.

Metzger treats the reading δολοῖ here and in 1 Cor 5:6
as "a Western correction."[11] If it were a correction, it

would have to have been made very early to appear in the pre-Marcionite text. Zuntz argues from internal grounds that δολοῖ is original, here and in 1 Cor 5:6, and that ζυμοῖ is the correction.[12] The sense of the passage demands δολοῖ. Ζυμοῖ could have been suggested from Matt 13:33. Although I hesitate to insist, as Zuntz does, that δολοῖ was the original reading, I would certainly be willing to admit that the case for ζυμοῖ is not unshakeable.

5)   † 1 Cor 1:22 after ἐπειδή read:

(#19)   - ʼΙουδαῖοι   Mcn; P[46] F G 323; Syr[P] Clem; OL:KDI.
                - καὶ ʼΙουδαῖοι   *cetera omnia.*

This is another instance in which modern editors have chosen to overrule the earliest evidence (Mcn, P[46], and Clement) for no apparent reason but that most of the supporting evidence is Western. There are stronger arguments for accepting the pre-Marcionite reading. Zuntz points out that the addition καί results in a *lectio sine sensu* since ʼΙουδαῖοι and Ἕλληνες each have their own verb.[13] His strongest argument is the reading in P[46] for this verse:

ἐπειδή ʼΙουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν.

Particularly significant is the presence of οἱ δέ instead of καί before Ἕλληνες. The scribe of P[46] could not have written οἱ δέ before Ἕλληνες if καί were before ʼΙουδαῖοι in his exemplar. Therefore, the text without καί cannot be explained as an oversight by the scribe of P[46]. On the other

hand, the frequently occurring *horror asyndeti* is readily
available as a motive for the addition of καί. Zuntz's
reasoning is too strong to be ignored. The pre-Marcionite
support for the omission of καί, which incidentally is not
cited in the Nestle-Aland[26], tips the scales in the direction
of the text without καί.

6)   1 Cor 3:2 after ἐπότισα read:

(#21)   - οὐ βρῶμα   Mcn; P[46] S A B C P 1739 minn.;
                 Cop Syr[H] Clem Orig Eus Iren Cyrl; OL:KI Vg.
               - καί οὐ βρῶμα   D F G L Maj; Syr[P] Arm Eth
                 Thypl Caes; OL:D.

In 1 Cor 3:2 the pre-Marcionite text is in agreement
with the earliest Alexandrian witnesses (P[46], S, B, 1739,
Clement, Origen), reading simply οὐ βρῶμα.[14] The addition of
καί reflects the frequent scribal tendency to eliminate
asyndeta. Zuntz cites a perfect parallel in Heb 5:12 where
καί is not attested by the earliest evidence but added in
the Majority text.

7 and 8)   † 1 Cor 5:4a(1) after ὀνόματι τοῦ read:
(#24-25)[15]   - κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ   Mcn; P[46] D[c] F
                      G L P Maj; Syr Cop Arm Eth Goth; OL:I Vg.

                    - κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾿Ιησοῦ   B D* minn pc; OL:D.
                    - κυρίου ᾿Ιησοῦ   A; Syr[Hmg]; Luc of Cag 2/3.
                    - κυρίου ᾿Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ   S; Vg[var] Luc of Cag
                      1/3.

9)   1 Cor 5:4b after δυνάμει τοῦ read:
(#26)   - κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾿Ιησοῦ   Mcn; S A B D*; Sah
                 Ephrem; OL:D.

- κυρίου 'Ιησοῦ   P[46] P 1611; OL:I Vg.
- κυρίου 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ   F G Maj; Syr Boh
  Chrys.
- κυρίου   1739.

10) 1 Cor 5:5b after ἡμέρα τοῦ read:

(#17)   - κυρίου   Mcn; P[46] B 630 1739; OL:I(?).
                  - κυρίου 'Ιησοῦ   S Ψ Maj; Vg.
                  - κυρίου 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ   OL:I(?) OL:75.
                  - κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ   A F G P 33 104
                    365 1881; Syr Cop Arm; OL:D.

These readings must be treated together since they are
mutually dependent.[16] For the first (1 Cor 5:4a [1]) the
MS evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of the long form:
κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In 1 Cor 5:4a the lateness of
the shorter forms is betrayed by their variety of form and
the poor attestation of each. It is quite likely that the
shorter invocations in 1 Cor 5:4b and 5:5b influenced their
origin. In 1 Cor 5:4b the form κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ has the
best support (Mcn; S A B D* Sah Ephrem; OL:D) and it is un-
likely that Paul would use the full form (κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ
Χριστοῦ) twice. The shortest form (just κυρίου) is quite
appropriate in 1 Cor 5:5b, however, and is also the best at-
tested (Mcn; P[46] B 630 1739; OL:I[?]). The role that the
testimony of Marcion plays in these decisions is crucial. His
testimony alone is correct in all three instances.

The editors of the Nestle-Aland[26] follow A, B, and D*
and delete Χριστοῦ in 1 Cor 5:4a. These are formidable MSS, and
each from a different family. But the testimony of Marcion,

p[46], S, Maj, most of the Versions and Vg should not be so easily overruled. The editors were not swayed by this heavy attestation because of the well-known tendency of scribes to enlarge *nomina sacra*.[17] But Zuntz argues that when the various alternative readings for each invocation are presented side by side, efforts to make the invocations identical are clearly discernible. This is especially true when one focuses on the presence or absence of Χριστοῦ. In 1 Cor 5:4a, A, B, and D* all delete it. In 1 Cor 5:4b those omitting Χριστοῦ are Marcion, S, and more notably A, B, and D*. It would seem that A, B, and D* in particular reflect the attempt to conform the invocation in 1 Cor 5:4b to the one in 5:4a. Marcion stands alone in maintaining the correct difference. The strength of Zuntz's argument over that of the editors of Nestle-Aland[26] is that Zuntz's analysis explains the origin of the other variants. This rational criterion of *fons lectionum* should not be taken lightly.

11) 1 Cor 5:7a after ἐκκαθάρατε read:

(#28)
- τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην   Mcn; p[46] S A B D F G minn; Syr[P] Cop Goth Clem; OL:KDI Vg[txt].
- οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην   p[11vid] S[2] C Ψ 048 Maj; Syr[H] Eth Orig; Vg[codd].

The pre-Marcionite text is in agreement with the earliest MS evidence in opposing the addition of οὖν. The addition of οὖν reflects the anti-asyndetic tendency in the text tradition of the letters of Paul.[18]

12) † 1 Cor 9:7c after γάλακτος read:

(#30)   - οὐκ ἐσθίει   Mcn; P^{46} 12^{lect}.

     - τῆς ποίμνης οὐκ ἐσθίει   S A B C Maj;
     Boh; OL:DI Vg.

     - αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐσθίει   D* F G minn pc.; Sah
     Eth Chrys Epi Thphyl Aug; OL:pc.[19]

Zuntz treats this variant as a careless haplography by
a scribe of P^{46}.[20] But the concurrence of Marcion with P^{46}
suggests that the variant should be re-examined.[21] The
solution to the problem lies in the reading αὐτῆς which is
offered by several W witnesses. I suggest that both addi-
tions (αὐτῆς and τῆς ποίμνης) were alternative attempts to
clarify an originally unqualified γάλακτος. Therefore, the
reading γάλακτος οὐκ ἐσθίει not only has the earliest attes-
tation (i.e., Mcn and P^{46}), but also is the *fons lectionum*
for the other two readings.

13) 1 Cor 10:2 after εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν read:

(#32)   - ἐβαπτίσθησαν   Mcn; S A C D F G 334 minn;
     Did Bas Cyrl.

     - ἐβαπτίσαντο   P^{46c} B Maj; Orig Chrys.

     - ἐβαπτίζοντο   P^{46*}.[22]

Text critics are widely split in their conclusions on
this reading. Tischendorf, Aland, Black, and Martini favor
ἐβαπτίσθησαν.[23] The last three of these argue from Pauline
usage. Paul never uses βαπτίζω in the middle voice; but six
times he uses the passive.[24] Metzger, Wikgren, and Zuntz, on
the other hand, favor ἐβαπτίσαντο.[25] Zuntz's best argument
is that it is hard to imagine the passive voice being changed

to the middle. The middle voice expresses the sense of
"baptize oneself" which would be more appropriate for Jewish
baptism.[26] This argument is not convincing, however, since
the verse need not refer to Jewish baptism at all. Paul's
comparison is with Christian baptism. Also, the situation of
the Red Sea crossing would be aptly expressed by the passive
voice since the emphasis in Exodus is on the agency of God in
leading the people through the waters. Therefore, although a
motive for change from the passive to the middle voice is
lacking, three arguments favor ἐβαπτίσθησαν:

1. Pauline usage;
2. the spread of the supporting witnesses for this
   reading from both Alexandrian and Western families;
3. the earliest witness, Marcion, has the passive.

Complete certainty is unattainable, but the testimony of
Marcion gives ἐβαπτίσθησαν a slight edge.

14) 1 Cor 10:9 after ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν read:
(#33)   - Χριστόν   Mcn; P[46] D F G Ψ Maj; Syr Cop
                     Iren Chrys Thphyl Clem Orig; OL:DI Vg.
                   - κύριον   S B C P minn; Syr[Hmg] Arm Eth.
                   - θεόν   A 81 minn pc.

     Zuntz has already demonstrated the inferiority of the
reading κύριον in this verse.[27] When the earliest evidence
is considered, Χριστόν is supported not only by the Western
witnesses and the pre-Marcionite text but by two from the
Alexandrian camp as well (P[46] and Clement). But even without
such impressive MS support, Χριστόν is clearly the superior

reading. It is *lectio difficilior* since it places Christ in
an OT episode. Also it is *fons lectionum* for κύριον and
θεόν, both of which represent attempts to alleviate the
anachronism which the expression ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστὸν
καθώς τινες αὐτῶν can be understood to communicate.

The fact that κύριον was retained so long by NT editors
bespeaks a general bias in favor of Alexandrian readings
against Western readings.[28]

15) 1 Cor 10:11 before τυπικῶς συνέβαινεν read:

(#34)   - ταῦτα δέ   Mcn; P[46] A B 33 1175 1739; Sah
                Orig Hipp Cyril of Jer.
              - πάντα δὲ ταῦτα   S D F G 81.
              - ταῦτα δὲ πάντα   C Ψ Maj; OL:DL Vg.

In this case,[29] the pre-Marcionite text concurs with the
Alexandrian against the Western. The correctness of the pre-
Marcionite text is not in question. Πάντα is clearly an
addition. The word would have been in the scribe's mind
since it appeared four times earlier (1 Cor 10:1, 2, 3, and
4). Also, in uncials, ΠΑΝΤΑ and ΤΑΥΤΑ are visually similar.
The difference amounts to two vertical strokes. Finally, the
conflicting variants πάντα δὲ ταῦτα and ταῦτα δὲ πάντα are
alternative forms of the addition of πάντα. Thus the text
without πάντα is the *fons lectionum* of the other two.

The agreement of the pre-Marcionite evidence with the
Alexandrians confirms the text without πάντα as original.
But, more importantly, it prevents us from placing the pre-
Marcionite testimony into a tightly closed Western category.

Another instance of the pre-Marcionite text breaking
with the Western witnesses is found in Gal 5:14 (#15), which
is listed further below. In Gal 5:14 the pre-Marcionite text
is in agreement with P[46], S, A, B, and 1739, which have πε-
πλήρωται. The preponderance of Western and Byzantine MSS
(D, F, G, Maj; OL:DI Vg) read πληροῦται.

16) 1 Cor 10:20 after θύουσιν read:

(#35)   - δαιμονίοις   Mcn; B D F G; OL:DI.

                 - τὰ ἔθνη δαιμονίοις   P[46] S A C P Ψ 1739
                   Maj Syr Cop; Vg.

It is evident to any text critic who is not bound to the
MS evidence alone that the reading τὰ ἔθνη δαιμονίοις is
inferior.[30]

The addition of τὰ ἔθνη is an attempt to specify the
subject of θύουσιν, which must otherwise be inferred.[31] The
use of the third plural form of the verb in the earlier wit-
nesses (P[46], S, A, 1739) and the change to the singular in
the later ones (Maj) are clear indications of tampering. But
the MS evidence is split in a peculiar fashion. Of the
Alexandrian witnesses, only B agrees with the Western MSS in
not adding τὰ ἔθνη. Therefore, the testimony of the pre-
Marcionite text (without τὰ ἔθνη) adds external confirmation
to the already strong case built from internal arguments.

17) 1 Cor 12:24b after τὸ σῶμα read:

(#38)   - τῷ ὑστεροῦντι   Mcn; P[46] S[2] D F G Ψ Maj;
                   Orig Chrys Thdrt.

                 - τῷ ὑστερουμένῳ   S* A B C minn; Meletius
                   apud Epiphanium.

(The difference between the two readings is not reflected in
the Versions. In the OL:DI and Vg the rendering is *cui de-
erat*, which is a bit closer to ὑστερουμένῳ but not defini-
tively so.)[32]

This is a case in which a firm decision is not possible.
The earliest witnesses (Marcion, P[46], and Origen) favor the
active voice. But some very important MSS (S*, B, and 1739)
have the passive. The greatest limitation of this second
group is that it is totally Egyptian. Ὑστεροῦντι, on the
other hand, has support both within and without Egypt. Thus,
on external criteria alone, ὑστεροῦντι has the stronger case.

Rational criteria are in tension. Zuntz argues that the
active voice is required since the context demands the mean-
ing "to stand behind or be inferior."[33] But in 1 Corinthians,
Paul is concerned with checking the boasting of the enthu-
siasts. He would give too much ground to his opponents were
he to refer to less obviously gifted Christians as inferior.
His point in the Body-of-Christ discussion (1 Cor 12:12-17)
is not that some parts of the body are inferior but that they
are unattractive (ἀσχήμονα; 12:33) and, being less attrac-
tive, these are in need of greater care in decoration. It is
not a matter of intrinsic valuelessness. All the parts have
value; but not all have honor. The less attractive parts are
in need but are not inferior. Thus, Zuntz's argument for
ὑστεροῦντι is not entirely convincing. But the question re-
mains: Why would a scribe change the word from the passive to
the active voice? Would it not be more likely that a scribe
saw a contradiction in the reading ὑστεροῦντι and adjusted it

to the passive voice? The presence of ὑστερέω in the passive
in 1 Cor 8:8 adds to the likelihood that such an adjustment
could have been made.

Yet the question persists: Could Paul have written ὑσ-
τεροῦντι? After all, it is easier to attribute the resultant
contradiction to a scribe than to Paul himself. Therefore,
although a motive is not apparent, it is more likely that a
scribe, and not Paul, wrote ὑστεροῦντι.

18) † 1 Cor 15:49 (1) before ἐφορέσαμεν read:
(#45)   - καθώς   Mcn; Ephrem Orig Iren; OL:KDI.
               - ἄρα καθώς   F; Vg.
               - καὶ καθώς   *cetera omnia.*

The attestation for the text without καί seems meager.
One might argue that καί was deleted because of its similari-
ty to the beginning of the next word: καθώς (homoeoarcton).
But three factors combine to tip the scales in favor of the
originality of the text without καί. First, it is the *lectio
difficilior*. Καθώς would be a rather abrupt, though not
impossible, beginning for the verse. It is easy to imagine
an early scribe inserting the καί to make the passage flow
more smoothly. Second, the alternative reading ἄρα would
achieve the same purpose. Thus καθώς would be the *fons
lectionum* for καὶ καθώς and ἄρα καθώς. Finally, the wit-
nesses which attest καθώς (without a conjunction) may be few
but they are very early, particularly in the cases of the
pre-Marcionite text (ca. 140) and Cyprian (ca. 250--repre-
sented by OL:K). I suggest that καί and ἄρα were added at a

very early stage in the development of the text of Paul and that καί eventually predominated.

19) 1 Cor 15:49 (2) after τοῦ χοϊκοῦ read:

(#46)
- φορέσωμεν (exhortative) Mcn; P[46] S A C D
  F G Ψ Maj; Boh Clem Thdrt Orig Epi; OL:KDI Vg.
- φορέσομεν (simple future) B I 6 630 945
  1881 al. minn; Sah.

This case cannot be settled conclusively one way or the other. The difference is obviously the result of an *omega* which was heard by the scribe as an *omicron,* or *vice versa.* The difference between the two phonemes was disappearing in the early centuries of this era. In modern Greek they are indistinguishable one from the other. But the difference in meaning which results from the change is discernible. If the subjunctive form be accepted, then φορέω is used as an exhortative. This would be unlikely on internal grounds since the pericope 1 Cor 15:30-49 comprises Paul's answer to a question. His basic purpose is to provide information, not to exhort to action. But it is not impossible for Paul to move rapidly from teaching to exhortation. He does so, for example, in Rom 6:1-11. There he ends his teaching on the believer's unity with Christ's death and resurrection with a command (Rom 6:11: οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς [εἶναι] νεκροὺς μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ . . .). But the change from instruction to command is signaled by the phrase οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς. In 1 Cor 15:49 no such signal is given. A better analogue to 1 Cor 15:49 is found in Paul's answer to a question in Rom 6:15-19. The question raised is:

τί οὖν; ἁμαρτήσωμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλά
ὑπὸ χάριν;

In the conclusion of his answer in 6:19, Paul says,

ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ
. . . οὕτως νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ
δικαιοσύνῃ. . . .

This is very similar in structure to 1 Cor 15:49 if we accept
the exhortative form of φορέω in 15:49. Yet one could object
that the question asked in Rom 6:15 required a command since
it asked "What should we do?" The question in 1 Cor 15:42
asks only for information. The debate goes on. I agree that
the future indicative (φορέσομεν) would be more appropriate,
but that would make the exhortative (φορέσωμεν) the *lectio
difficilior*. Let the reader decide for him or herself. The
MS evidence is strongly in favor of the exhortative. The
earliest witnesses, Marcion, P[46], Origen, and Clement, agree
on it. If the future indicative was original, then the
change must have happened amazingly early in the text tradi-
tion of Paul's letters and gained rather wide acceptance.

20) Ephesians Superscription read:

(#49)   - Πρὸς Λαοδικέας Mcn; Marcionite Prologues.[34]
               - Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους *cetera omnia*.

21) † Eph 1:1 before καὶ πιστοῖς read:

(#50)   - τοῖς οὖσιν Mcn[35]; P[46] S* B* 6 424[c] 1739;
               Orig.
               - τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ S[2] A B[2] D F G ψ[vid]
               Maj; Syr Cop; OL:DI Vg.

These two readings will be treated together since they are interrelated. The primary issue is the text of Eph 1:1, but the key to the textual problem in that verse is provided by the variance of superscriptions.

The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ should not be printed even in brackets in a modern edition of the NT.[36] The earliest and best Alexandrian witnesses concur with the earliest citational witness (the pre-Marcionite text) in favoring the reading τοῖς οὖσιν with no place designation. This reading is also *lectio difficilior,* indeed it is far more likely that a scribe would add a place name than that he would delete it.[37] The situation is not identical with that of Rom 1:7, where only one MS witness (G) deletes ἐν Ῥώμῃ. In the case of Eph 1:1, the MS support for the lack of a place designation is far more substantial.

A major problem remains, however, for anyone who argues that the text which lacked ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was original: one must explain why this letter would have been written with no place designation when all the other letters of the Corpus had one.

The two explanations which have been offered, namely, the Encyclical Theory[38] and the *Lückenhypothese,*[39] are ultimately unsatisfying. The Encyclical Theory is based on the observation that the contents of Ephesians are rather general and that the author of that letter addresses the readers as if he did not know them personally (Eph 1:15; 3:2-4; and 4:21-22). Therefore, its proponents argue, Ephesians was a letter addressed to several communities within a certain locale. The primary problem with this theory is the existence

of several encyclical letters in the NT (James, 1-2 Peter,
Jude, and even Galatians) none of which lack an address in
the prescript.[40] Colossians, according to Col 4:16 was meant
to be read in at least one other community. But this did not
prevent the author from writing τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς.

The proponents of the *Lückenhypothese* argue that a
blank space was left into which a place name could be in-
serted. Zuntz provides examples of letters meant for several
destinations which were identical in content but for the
address.[41] While this hypothesis does provide for the pos-
sibility of different editions of Ephesians having different
addresses (e.g., to Laodicea), it is not firmly proven by
the examples cited. What would be needed to win the case for
the *Lückenhypothese* are:

1. copies of letters with blank spaces; or
2. even one MS of Ephesians that leaves a space after
   τοῖς οὖσιν.

None of the MSS which do not include the words leave such a
space.

A better explanation for the absence of the words ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ is to be found in the writing situation of the letter
itself. Ephesians was certainly not written by Paul himself.
The differences in language and theology of that letter as
compared to the genuine Pauline letters cannot be ignored.
The strongest argument in favor of pseudonymity, however, is
that Ephesians reproduces so much of Colossians. It can be
expected that Paul would repeat certain themes or teachings.
In the latter chapters of Romans, he even repeats the general

order of his presentation in 1 Corinthians 12-14 on the Body of Christ, the spiritual gifts, and community life. But it is unthinkable that Paul himself would quote so frequently from one of his own letters as the author of Ephesians does from Colossians. The best example of this is the closing instruction of Col 4:7-9 repeated in Eph 6:21. The dependence of Ephesians on Colossians is well established on many other grounds.[42] Thus the author of Ephesians had a copy of Colossians before him. He also had at least one other letter, namely, Romans. This is clear from the content of Ephesians, whose dominant theme is the spreading of the gospel from the Jews to the Gentiles, a theme which dominates the first half of Romans.[43]

The influence on Ephesians of not only Colossians but also Romans is supported in an examination of the prescript of Ephesians. The unusual τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς of Eph 1:1 is found only in Col 1:2, τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς. But this is not to say that Colossians was the only model for the prescript of Ephesians. The prescript of Colossians ends χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν. The Ephesians prescript ends with a fuller greeting: χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. This greeting is identical to the one found in Rom 1:7. To be sure, the longer greeting can be found elsewhere (1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Phil 1:2). But since it is established that the author of Ephesians had Romans before him, the possibility of dependence upon Romans is a good one.

The prescript of Rom 1:7 is important in another regard,

however. It is the only prescript in which the place desig-
nation is deleted by certain witnesses. The text attested
by MS G is not a simple deletion of ἐν Ῥώμῃ. G reads πᾶσιν
τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ θεοῦ instead of ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ. The dele-
tion of Ῥώμῃ required a further alteration in order for the
passage to maintain some semblance of grammar. The wording
of Eph 1:1 (without ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) is similar: τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς
οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. The problematic τοῖς
οὖσιν without the subsequent place designation is followed by
an adverbial phrase beginning with ἐν.

What I am suggesting is simply this: The prototypes for
the Ephesians prescript were the prescripts of Romans and
Colossians. Distinctive features of each can be found in
the Ephesians prescript. The pseudonymous author of Ephe-
sians, writing some time later than the actual writing of
Romans, could well have had a copy of that letter which was
defective--i.e., which lacked ἐν Ῥώμῃ in Rom 1:7. The author
of Ephesians, since he was writing to a general audience,
mimicked the omission of place designation which he saw in
his defective copy of Romans but also, being bound to Colos-
sians, included the expression τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ
πιστοῖς from Col 1:2. Thus in his mind the meaning of the
prescript was: "to those who are holy and faithful in Christ
Jesus."[44]

This explanation is supported by certain circumstances
regarding the shape of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus. It
has been demonstrated by Gamble[45] that the deletions of ἐν
Ῥώμῃ in Rom 1:7 and 1:15 are connected to the omission of

Romans 15 and 16. The pre-Marcionite text and 1739 which
both indicate a fourteen-chapter form of Romans also attest
to the absence of the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in Eph 1:1. This in-
creases the likelihood that a copy of Romans which deleted
ἐν Ρώμῃ in Rom 1:7 and 1:15 stood in the MS tradition of the
pre-Marcionite ten letter Pauline Corpus.

The only other question which must be answered is how
the superscription Πρὸς Λαοδικέας came to be placed on a
letter which had no designation in the prescript. This is
not a problem at all. Πρὸς Λαοδικέας came to be added for
the same reason and in the same way that Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους was.
All the other letters had place designations. Laodicea,
like Ephesus, was known as a place of Pauline activity. It
is even possible that each of those communities had a copy
of the letter. Far from creating a problem, the diversity
of superscriptions provides the key to understanding the cor-
rect text of Eph 1:1. The best explanation for the existence
of two different superscriptions is the lack of specificity
in the original prescript of Ephesians.

22) † Eph 3:10 after γνωρισθῇ read:

(#64)   - ταῖς ἀρχαῖς   Mcn; F G 629 2423*; Syr[P]
               Ephrem Orig; OL:DI Vg.
               - νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς   *cetera omnia* (P[46] hiat).

At first glance in a modern Greek NT, the support for
the reading γνωρισθῇ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς (without νῦν) seems meager.
But the evidence favoring this reading is the earliest avail-
able. The pre-Marcionite text and Origen support it.

Citations of this verse by Clement of Alexandria are only allusions. P[46] (folio 77 recto) breaks off just after γνω-ρισθ... Since several lines are missing before 3:11 begins on folio 77 (verso), it is impossible to guess at whether a word as small as νῦν was present or not.

The Latin evidence is striking in its unanimity against the addition of νῦν. Only six Latin MSS or church father citations out of 30 (75[2], 76; Vg: L[2], Γ[A], Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia) attest *nunc*. Such unanimity is rarely achieved in the OL.

On internal grounds the addition of νῦν is suspicious. The νῦν adds clarity and specificity to the sentence; but the sentence could be understood without it. In fact, the addition of νῦν in this verse would be completely unnecessary for the author of Ephesians, for whom the ἐκκλησία is a reality which transcends time (cf. Eph 2:20-22). It is very likely that νῦν was suggested by the parallel passage in Col 1:26. Thus, the earliest witnesses (Mcn; Origen) preserve the correct text: γνωρισθῇ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς.

23) † Eph 5:29 (7) after καθώς read:

(#71)   - ὁ Χριστός   Mcn; L; Sah; OL:I.
                 - καὶ ὁ Χριστός or καὶ ὁ κύριος   *cetera omnia.*

The attestation for the text without καί is limited but quite probably correct. There is no apparent reason for deleting the καί were it original. But there are very clear motives for adding it. Eph 5:23 has ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστός. Eph 5:25 has καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστός. The temptation to add καί

after καθώς in 5:29 would be almost overpowering not only
because the phrase καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστός was fresh in the
scribe's mind but also because the addition would bring about
a nice triple repetition. Eph 5:21-32 deals with the subject
of obedience. The main support for the arguments on that
subject is the unity of Christ and the Church--as Christ does,
so should the believers do. The presentation breaks down
into three parts:

1. Husband is head of wife--so also Christ is head of
   the Church;

2. Men should love wives--so also Christ loves the
   Church;

3. Men should love wives as their own bodies--so Christ
   loves His Body, the Church.

Each of the three arguments is supported by a statement
about Christ's relationship with the Church. Therefore, it
is likely that καί was added after καθώς in Eph 5:29 at a
very early stage as an effort to sharpen the rhetorical edge
of that passage.

24) † Eph 5:32 after εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ read:

(#73)   - τὴν ἐκκλησίαν   Mcn; B K minn pl.; Cop
                     Valentinians apud Irenaeum Clem Orig Epi;
                     OL:K.
                   - εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν   p[46] S A D F G Maj; Syr
                     Arm Orig Thdrt; OL:DI Vg.

Here also, the evidence for the text without εἰς de-
serves a closer look than it is usually given. Marcion, the
Valentinian opponents of Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Cyprian

(ca. 250) and many others agree with B in omitting εἰς. The addition of εἰς seems to reflect an over-compensating attempt to coordinate. Zuntz argues that the context of the passage itself demands the omission. The author's whole point is the bond which exists between Christ and the Church. He would be weakening the force of this point if he made them separate objects of separate prepositions.[47] And so here, as in the preceding example, rational criteria combine with the earliest evidence in betraying an addition. This second εἰς of the sentence does not belong to Eph 5:32.

25) Gal 2:4 (3) before ἡμᾶς read:

(#5)   - ἵνα   Mcn; all Greek MSS but F G; all Latin MSS but 77.
         - ἵνα μή   F G; OL:77.

26) Gal 4:26 after μήτηρ read:

(#11)   - ἡμῶν Mcn; P[46] S* B C D F G   633 1739; Syr[Pmg] Cop Orig Ephrem; OL:D Vg.
         - πάντων ἡμῶν   S[2] A C[3] 0261[vid] Maj; Syr[Ptxt] Arm Cyr Mac Thdrt Dam; OL:I.

27) Gal 4:31 before ἀδελφοί read:

(#12)   - διό   Mcn; S B D* H 0261 minn 1739; Arm.
         - ἄρα   P[46] D[2] Maj; Syr[H].
         - ἄρα οὖν   F G.
         - ἡμεῖς δέ   A C P minn: Boh.

28) Gal 5:14 (2) after ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ read:

(#15)   - πεπλήρωται   Mcn; P[46] S A B C 1739 minn; Cop Aug 3/9.
         - πληροῦται   D F G Ψ 0122 Maj; OL:DI Vg.
         - ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται   365 minn pc.

29) Gal 6:9 after ποιοῦντες μή read:

(#17)   - ἐγκακῶμεν   Mcn; S A B C D* 33 81 326 Maj;
                 Cop; OL:KDI Vg.
               - ἐγκακήσωμεν   F G.

30) 2 Thess 2:12 after πάντες οἱ μή read:

(#82)   - πιστεύσαντες   Mcn; S A B C D F G Ψ; Orig
                 Hipp Cyr; OL:KDI Vg^{txt}.
               - πιστεύοντες   K; Vg^{codd}.

Concluding Remarks

     Three observations can be made in reviewing this group
of correct pre-Marcionite readings.

     First, in two cases, 1 Cor 3:2 and 5:7a, the anti-
asyndetic tendency in the textual tradition of Paul's letters
came to light. The Marcionite evidence was instrumental in
establishing the asyndeta as original in both of these verses.
This is hardly a resounding confirmation of Zuntz's argument
that such a tendency was operative, but the amount of evi-
dence dealt with here was small. A more impressive number of
examples could not be expected. The anti-asyndetic tendency
will be carefully observed in the following two sections of
the thesis.

     More importantly, the examples dealt with in this sec-
tion reveal that the testimony of Marcion frequently confirms
text-critical decisions which were made by rational criteria
when conclusive MS evidence was lacking. This was the case
in 1 Cor 5:4a, 4b, and 5b where formulaic invocations of the
Lord varied in length. The MS evidence was puzzling, but

rational criteria along with the testimony of Marcion settled
the matter. The most striking example of this sort was in
1 Cor 10:9 where the reading Χριστόν, the logical choice of
anyone using rational textual criteria, was confirmed by Mar-
cion in conjunction with an impressive array of evidence,
early and late (P^{46} Clem; D F G Syr Cop OL; Ψ Maj).

1 Cor 10:11, 10:20, and Gal 4:26 all contained additions
which were suspicious on rational grounds (πάντα, τὰ ἔθνη,
and πάντων respectively). In all three cases Marcion's
testimony proved the rational suspicions to be sound ones.

In 1 Cor 10:2 ἐβαπτίσθησαν, which had better internal
support (based on Pauline usage elsewhere), was confirmed by
Marcion. Although Zuntz and Metzger have marshalled rational
criteria of their own in favor of ἐβαπτίσαντο, the testimony
of Marcion denies their claim to be supported by the earliest
witness, i.e., P^{46}. But P^{46} is not the earliest witness;
rather, this is Marcion.

Further, in the case of Gal 4:31, where one must decide
between διό and ἄρα, the testimony of Marcion combines with
rational criteria in favor of διό. Διό is the *lectio diffi-
cilior* in that verse, since the sense of the passage does
not call for the inferential conjunction διό. Ἄρα makes the
text read more smoothly, although διό is not totally out of
place. The readings ἄρα οὖν and ἡμεῖς δέ reflect other at-
tempts to remove the difficulty (albeit slight) caused by
διό. Ἄρα had been supported by what seemed to be the earli-
est witness (P^{46}), but Marcion supports διό, as do several
Alexandrian and Western witnesses (S B 1739; D* Arm).

Finally, in two cases, 1 Cor 10:11 and Gal 5:14, the testimony of Marcion concurred with the Alexandrian witnesses against heavy Western attestation. This sporadic disagreement with the traditional Western witnesses serves as a signal that the relationship between the pre-Marcionite text and the Western tradition should be more carefully examined in the external evaluation of the data to be presented later.

NOTES: 2A   CORRECT PRE-MARCIONITE READINGS

[1] Zuntz (*Text of the Epistles*, 49) points out two instances where scribes added θεοῦ to χάρις: Rom 12:3 and Gal 2:9.

[2] The nearest parallel to the phrase χάριτι Χριστοῦ is the formulaic χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη. Χρ. in 2 Cor 8:9 and the greeting χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη. Χρ. μεθ' ὑμῶν in Rom 16:20, 24; 1 Cor 16:23; 2 Cor 13:13; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; 1 Thess 5:28; and Phlm 25. But, unlike Gal 1:6, these are all formulaic blessings. Χάρις θεοῦ is more the normal Pauline usage (Rom 5:15; 1 Cor 1:4; 3:10; 15:10; 2 Cor 1:12; 6:1; 8:1; 9:14; Gal 2:21). This alone does not rule out the possibility that χάριτι Χριστοῦ is original, but it does deprive that reading of internal support based on Pauline usage.

[3] The "vid" in P^{46vid} is misleading. There is not nearly enough space for one letter, let alone two, near the

damaged right margin of P[46] folio 81 (recto).

[4]Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 589-90.

[5]The editors of the Nestle-Aland[26] do not list Marcion's
attestation of this reading.

[6]It will become clear from the discussion which follows
that this reading belongs in the section of incorrect pre-
Marcionite readings.

[7]Metzger (*Textual Commentary*, 591) adds Ephrem to the
list of those who maintain the οὐδέ but delete οἷς. This is
in contradiction to Joseph Molitor, *Der Paulustext des
heiligen Ephraem* (Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1938) 76,
and Ephrem Syrus, *Commentarii in epistolas d. Pauli a patri-
bus Mekitharsitis translati* (Venice: Sanctus Lazarus, 1893)
127, both of which attest οἷς οὐδέ.

[8]Th. Zahn (*Das Brief des Paulus an die Galater* [KNT 9;
3d ed.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1922] 289-98) argues just that.
B. W. Bacon ("The Reading οἷς οὐδέ in Gal 2:5," *JBL* 42 [1923]
69-80) is not as insistent as Zahn on the originality of πρὸς
ὥραν (*sine ceteris*) but suggests that the argument to the
contrary is not secure.

[9]Yet another attempt at such a solution is reflected in
the archetype of D*, F, G. D* deletes οἷς οὐδέ and F G have
μή before ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν. Thus, archetype Z almost
certainly read ἵνα μὴ ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν
τῇ ὑποταγῇ ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια . . . This reflects an attempt to
indicate submission to the Jerusalem Apostles while avoiding

submission to the "false apostles." The problem is that it provides the clause πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ with two ἵνα clauses, one before it and one after.

[10] Zuntz (*Text of the Epistles*, 197) explains the addition of μέν as the reflection of an atticistic tendency in certain scribes. He cites 2 Cor 4:12 and Titus 1:15 as examples. He does not discuss Gal 4:23 but clearly the same motive is operative. Other examples of anti-asynctic variants are 4 (1 Cor 1:22) and 8 (1 Cor 15:49) in this section.

[11] Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 597.

[12] Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 114.

[13] Ibid., 200.

[14] Ibid., 207. Zuntz remarks that the Marcionite evidence for this variant is insecure. The omission of the καί occurs in *Dial. Adam.* 5.22, which would be insecure, but it also appears in *Dial. Adam.* 1.9, which is a more certain reflection of the Marcionite text.

[15] The reading κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is assigned two numbers in the list of pre-Marcionite readings. #24 refers to the presence of Ἰησοῦ. #25 refers to the presence of Χριστοῦ.

[16] Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 235-36 and 183. Zuntz's arguments are totally convincing here, so I present them in only the briefest outline.

[17] This is implied in the discussion of Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 550.

[18] Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 192.

[19] The OL support for the omission is 77 (g), 78 (f), Ambrosiaster, and Augustine.

[20] Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 19. He gives a supporting example from Heb 10:37 where one of two ὅσον was deleted by the scribe of P[46]. This is not an appropriate analogue for what happens here in 1 Cor 9:7b since in Heb 10:37 it is one of two identical words which has been deleted. In 1 Cor 9:7b τῆς ποίμνης would have been deleted, despite the fact that it bears no similarity to the words directly before or after it.

[21] Zuntz was apparently unaware of Marcion's concurrence with P[46] in this case. He does not list 1 Cor 9:7b in his catalogue of what he considers to be readings reflected by Marcion (*Text of the Epistles*, 238-39).

[22] P[46*] reads ἐβαπτίζοντα. P[46c] corrects by placing "CA" over the "ZO"--thus ἐβαπτίσαντο. On close examination it is clear that P[46c] here is the same hand as P[46*]. The ink color is the same and, more importantly, the "C" and "A" are identical to the others on the page. The *sigma* of P[46] is distinctive. It has an extended upper bar and a tightly hooked lower--thus Ϭ.

[23] Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum*, 2. 512. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 559.

[24] 1 Cor 1:13; 1:15; 12:13; and Gal 3:27 all have the aorist passive. 1 Cor 15:29 has the present middle/passive,

but any middle sense is ruled out by the fact that the dead cannot possibly be baptizing themselves.

[25]Metzger, *Textual Commentary,* 559. Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 234.

[26]The middle and passive of βαπτίζω are used interchangeably according to G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 284.

[27]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 126.

[28]Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum,* 2. 514 reads κύριον, as does the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (1966). Metzger (*Textual Commentary,* 560) corrects it to Χριστόν. The Nestle-Aland[25] has κύριον. It was corrected to Χριστόν in Nestle-Aland[26].

[29]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 166 n. 5 and 233.

[30]Ibid., 102.

[31]Οἱ εἰδωλάτρεις would have been more appropriate.

[32]Actually, *cui deerat* reflects not ὑστερουμένῳ but ὑστερηθέντι (aorist). The change to a past tense in the Latin is almost certainly due to the assumption by a scribe that God arranged the body at the beginning of time. *Cui deest* (present tense) is weakly attested (OL MS 61 and Sedulius Scotus).

[33]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 128.

[34]Dahl ("Prologues," 233-77) demonstrated that the so-called "Marcionite Prologues" were not created by

Marcionites. Yet the Prologues as we have them now seem to attest to a letter to the Laodiceans. Although no prologue for Laodiceans is extant, two factors combine to convince us that one originally existed:

1) The prologue for Ephesians is secondary--a reframing of the Philippians prologue.

2) The Colossians prologue begins *Colossenses et hi sicut Laodicenses sunt Asiani*. This seems to refer to an earlier letter to the Laodiceans which stood just before Colossians. This would fit the chronological order of the Pauline Corpus attested by the Prologues. See Dahl, "Prologues," 249-50, for a clearer presentation of these facts.

[35] The testimony of Marcion is not completely clear in this case. He may attest τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς κτλ. or he may have had ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ. A. van Roon (*The Authenticity of Ephesians* [Leiden, 1974] 74-75) makes a very strong case for the second alternative. For although in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.1 Tertullian speaks of Marcion falsifying the *titulus* of Ephesians, in *Adv. Marc.* 5.11.12 he calls *ad Ephesios* a *"praescripta."* More importantly, however, in *Adv. Marc.* 5.5.1 Tertullian, in speaking of the *titulus* of 1 Corinthians, describes it as *communem scilicet et eundem in epistolis omnibus*. In this case he can not possibly mean superscription when he uses the word *titulus*, since the superscriptions of Paul's letters can not be spoken of as *communem . . . et eundem*. Tertullian is referring to the prescript here. Van Roon is aware enough, however, of Tertullian's variation of vocabulary not to insist on ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ being in the

prescript of Ephesians. But whether Marcion's text had no addition after τοῖς οὖσιν or had ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, we can be certain that it did not have ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. If he had ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ after οὖσιν, then he attests a variable address for the letter. As the argument progresses in my presentation, it will become clear that the real issue in this case is the variable address. Whether a visible blank space ever appeared on a written letter or not is immaterial.

[36]Of course, there are those who disagree. Overviews of the major positions in this debate can be found in W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. H. Kee; New York, 1975) 352-56, and Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982) 2. 267-72. More specific discussions are: Andreas Lindemann, "Bemerkungen zu den Adressaten und zum Anlass des Epheserbriefes," *ZNW* 67 (1976) 235-51; Nils Dahl, "Adresse und Proömium des Epheserbriefes," *ThZ* 7 (1959) 241-64; A. van Roon, *The Authenticity of Ephesians* (NovTSupp 39; Leiden: Brill, 1974) 2-4 and 72-82; and Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 228 n. 1 and 277-78.

[37]Lindemann ("Bemerkungen," 235--citing Blass-Debrunner #413 n.3); Gamble (*Textual History,* 119) and von Roon (*Authenticity of Ephesians,* 77) all argue that since the lack of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ renders the passage senseless, it cannot possibly be original. This objection is countered by the argument that such early and sound MSS as S* B* and 1739 would not preserve so obvious a grammatical error without strong reasons to do so.

[38]For the supporters of this thesis, see Kümmel, *Introduction*, 354-55 n. 10.

[39]J. Ussher, *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (London, 1654). He was preceded in the basic elements of this argument by Theodor Beza and Hugo Grotius. For modern supporters of the *Lückenhypothese*, see Kümmel, *Introduction*, 354 n. 9. Add to his list Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 228 n. 1 and 276-78, and J. Schmid, *Der Epheserbrief des Apostels Paulus* (Freiburg: Herder, 1927) 94-95, 117.

[40]J. Gnilka, *Epheserbrief*, 4 n. 5.

[41]Zuntz (*Text of the Epistles*, 228 n. 1) cites Hermas *Vis.* 2.4.3 and an inscription of Antiochus III found in two forms--one in Nahavend,Iran addressed to Menedemos and an- another, nearly identical, found in Durdurkar, Turkey addressed to Anaximbrotos. See Christoph Clairmont, "Ein Edikt Antiochus' III," *Museum Helveticum* 5 (1949) 218-26. The letter of Lucius to Ptolemy in 1 Macc 15:15-24 may be added to these. See Otto Roller, *Das Formular der Paulin- ischen Briefe* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933) 209.

[42]W. Oechel, "Die Annahme einer Bearbeitung des Kolos- serbriefes im Epheserbrief" (Doctoral diss., Marburg, 1934) 17. Oechel goes so far as to assert that Ephesians was a catholicization of Colossians.

[43]See Koester, *Introduction*, 2. 267.

[44]The possibility of reliance of Eph 1:1 on a defective Rom 1:7 was suggested in conversation by H. Koester. It

accords with the evidence before us.

[45]Gamble, *Textual History,* 29.

[46]Frede (*Ad Ephesios,* 117) adds Clement of Alexandria to the list. Clement cites Eph 3:10 in *Strom.* 17.3. See Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* (ed. Otto Stählin; GCS; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900) 55. But it is not a full citation of that verse. Clement omits from νῦν to ἐπουρανίοις. Therefore, the most one can say is that Clement's text may have omitted νῦν.

[47]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 221.

2 A 2   Incorrect Pre-Marcionite Readings

Out of the 83 pre-Marcionite readings which form the data base for this thesis, a total of 53 are demonstrably not original. Both external and internal textual criteria have been applied in my decisions to regard these as not original.

Many of the variants reflect simple mechanical errors or oversights by scribes. A good number reflect attempts to clarify passages or improve them stylistically. A few may be attributed to theological motives. At least two witness to an attempt to generalize the application of a passage. There are seven readings which have been understood in the past as tendentious Marcionite alterations which are demonstrably not the work of Marcion. The careful examination of these read-ings will bring the role of Marcion as an editor into sharper focus. Finally, there are a few variants which cannot be explained in terms of motivation or mechanical source.

As each of these groups of variants is discussed, one question must be repeatedly addressed: What was happening to the text of Paul's letters in those first decades of the circulation of the Corpus? The freedom which scribes took in their transcription of the text is in some cases rather startling. A few instances have no parallels in the textual history of Paul's letters. But this is not surprising, since the only period of that textual history of which we can speak with any precision is post A.D. 200. It is these unusual alterations which will provide important insights into the

state of the text of Paul's letters prior to A.D. 140.

Most of the variants presented in this section are rather common scribal errors. Occurrences of homoeoteleuton, itacism, or accommodation to familiar passages will not provide startling insights into the early state of the text. These obvious errors will be more important in the next chapter of this thesis, "The External Evaluation of the Data." When readings are clearly defined as errors, their recurrence in other MSS or citations becomes more significant. When two MSS agree in attesting correct readings, nothing can be said (based on that agreement) about the relationship between those two MSS. Both ultimately go back to a common source. But when they agree with great frequency in incorrect readings, connections between those MSS can be defined. Therefore, with regard to the common scribal errors, the purpose of this section is to establish them as being in fact errors. These common, unexciting errors will serve as a backdrop before which the more striking alterations will stand out. The significance of the more striking alterations will be discussed in this section. The significance of the commonplace errors will be addressed in the next chapter.

2 A 2.1 Borderline Cases: Readings Whose Incorrectness May Be Doubted

The purpose of this section is to discuss the significance of incorrect readings. A defense of my decisions in each of the 53 cases would be inappropriate. Most of these readings are specious errors with little or no church father

or MS support. However, a few cases come close to being possibly original readings. Arguments based on internal or external textual criteria can be marshalled in their favor. These most difficult cases will be presented here with my reasons for judging them incorrect. In the previous section the correct, i.e., pre-Marcionite, reading was listed first. In this section the incorrect reading which the pre-Marcionite text attests will be listed first.

1) Gal 3:14b before τοῦ πνεύματος read:

(#7)   - εὐλογίαν   Mcn; P[46] D* F G 88* 489;
           OL:DI.[1]
     - ἐπαγγελίαν   S A B C D[2] Ψ Maj; Syr Cop; Vg.

The agreement of the pre-Marcionite text with P[46] and the early Western witnesses requires one to consider seriously the possibility that εὐλογίαν is original. But internal criteria militate against a decision to accept εὐλογίαν. First, εὐλογίαν would have been suggested to the scribe by its appearance in Gal 3:14a, and since ἐπαγγελίαν also begins with an *epsilon*, it would have been very easy for the scribe to write down the word he had seen only a few lines earlier.[2] The issue of the preceding verses was the blessing Abraham had received. Nothing had yet been said about a promise. Second, it is a feature of Pauline style to introduce at the end of one discussion a new word or concept which has not yet been introduced in that discussion but which serves as a bridge to the discussion which follows.[3] These "bridge words" often strike one as *non sequiturs*, but Paul goes on

to make the necessary connection so quickly that the reader
is not startled for very long. It is that moment of start-
ling impact, however, that may have been at work in Gal 3:14b
when the scribe committed the error. He was simply not pre-
pared for ἐπαγγελίαν. That word becomes the center of the
discussion in Gal 3:15-18. Thus, Pauline style calls for
ἐπαγγελίαν as the correct reading.[4]

2)   1 Cor 9:7b (1) after οὐκ ἐσθίει read:

(#29)   - τίς ποιμαίνει   Mcn; B C[2] D F G Ψ minn 1739
                     Syr[H] Sah Goth Arm; OL:DI Vg.
                   - ἤ τίς ποιμαίνει   P[46] S A C* Maj Syr[P] Boh
                     Bas Cyril Dam et al.

The MS support for the first reading is formidable: the
pre-Marcionite text combined with B, D, and 1739. Zuntz
accepts the text which deletes ἤ as original but with reser-
vations.[5] But internal criteria oppose the stronger MS
support in this case. In 1 Cor 9:7 there are three clauses,
each of which begins with τίς and then a verb. As a cause
for the deletion, Zuntz invokes the anti-asyndetic tendency.
But that tendency is clearly not at work in this case. For
if the scribe found the third clause, which began with τίς
ποιμαίνει, to be an asyndeton and added the ἤ to relieve that
asyndeton, then why would he have left untouched the second
clause, which began with τίς φυτεύει (9:7b)? There is not a
single witness to the addition of ἤ before φυτεύει. A more
obvious motive was at work here, namely, that of stylistic
improvement. The original ἤ before τίς ποιμαίνει without a
similar coordinating conjunction before τίς φυτεύει is

stylistically indelicate. It is more reasonable to assume
that a scribe eliminated the ἤ so that all three clauses
began in the same way; it is unlikely that a scribe would
have added ἤ to the third clause but not the second. Zuntz
nearly admits this himself when he closes his discussion of
this variant with the remark: "To my mind the 'Western'
reading improves the stylistic effect."[6]

There is another mechanism which could account for the
deletion of ἤ in 1 Cor 9:7c. The word immediately before ἤ
is ἐσθίει. If the copying was being done as the scribe
listened to a reader, the scribe would hear three "e" sounds
in a row: ι in ἐσθίει, ει in the same word, and ἤ in the next
clause. By itacism these sounds are undistinguishable. The
deletion of ἤ would be easily made under such circumstances.
In summary, the MS attestation in favor of the deletion is
not compelling. Mcn, B D 1739 and OL are opposed by P[46] S A
Syr[P] Boh and Cyril. Two possible motives can be seen which
would cause the deletion. Finally, no motive for the addi-
tion of ἤ is discernible. The pre-Marcionite reading (delete
ἤ) is not original.

The above case serves as a reminder that even the
strongest attestation can be in error. In 1 Cor 14:21 (vari-
ant #40) the support for ἐτέροις (rather than ἐτέρων) is
strikingly similar to the support for the deletion of ἤ in
1 Cor 9:7c. The pre-Marcionite text P[46] D[2] F G Maj Syr[P] Cop
Arm Goth Eth Origen and OL:DI Vg all attest ἐτέροις.[7] Yet
not a single edition of the Greek NT accepts that reading.
Ἐτέροις is the LXX reading for Isa 24:11. Thus, there is a

discernible attempt by scribes to make Paul's quotation of Isa 24:11 in 1 Corinthians match the wording of the passage itself in LXX Isaiah.

1 Cor 9:9 (variant #31) φιμώσεις for κημώσεις is an almost identical situation. The pre-Marcionite reading, φιμώσεις, is supported by P[46] S A B[3] C D[2+3] E K L P Maj Origen Chrysostom Cyril Epiphanius et al. The LXX uses φιμώσεις in Deut 24:5. It seems that here, too, very early in the textual tradition of Paul's letters, a quotation was adapted so as to agree with the LXX text.[8] Φιμώσεις is strongly attested but not genuine. Further evidence in favor of this decision is the presence of κημώσεις in 1 Tim 5:18. The author was very likely imitating the Pauline citation in 1 Cor 9:9. Incidentally, in the case of 1 Tim 5:18, the change to φιμώσεις is almost unattested (D only).

3)   Eph 2:13 (1) after ἐν read:

(#57)   - Χριστῷ   Mcn; L Iren[lat] Orig[lat] OL:I.
               - Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ   *cetera omnia*.

This is a case in which textual criteria are in tension. The pre-Marcionite reading (Χριστῷ) is poorly attested but is the *lectio brevior*. With *nomina sacra* the scribal tendency usually is to add names, not remove them. A decision can not be made on the basis of Pauline style since ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ are both common in Paul's writings.[9] The question must be asked, Why would a scribe delete Ἰησοῦ if it were originally there? As an oversight it would be a small one--only three letters (ΙΗΥ). The fact that the

next word begins with an *upsilon* could have been instrumen-
tal. But it is more likely that the Ἰησοῦ was deleted due
to the influence of Eph 2:12a. In that verse the phrase τῷ
καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ Χριστοῦ appeared. This could have influenced
the scribe as he copied 2:13 in one of two ways. The χωρὶς
Χριστοῦ of 2:12 could have been on his mind when he saw ἐν
Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ in 2:13--thus the deletion was an oversight.
Or, he could have intentionally stylized 2:13 so that νυνὶ
δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ in 2:13 more clearly contrasted τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ
χωρὶς Χριστοῦ in 2:12. My decision that the deletion of
Ἰησοῦ is not original is based on a cumulative argument. The
deletion is poorly attested and two mechanisms for its origin
are available.[10] Admittedly, the case is a close one, but
the arguments against slightly outweigh the arguments for the
originality of Χριστῷ without Ἰησοῦ.

4) Gal 2:5 before εἴξαμεν read:

(#6a)   - οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν   Mcn; Syr[P]; OL:pc.
                Graeci pc. apud Ambrosiaster, Latini pc.
                apud Marius Victorinus.
              - πρὸς ὥραν   OL:DI Tertullian.
              - οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν   *cetera omnia.*

This case was discussed above with variant #6 (Gal 2:5
delete οὐδέ).[11] A case can be made for the originality of
οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν (without οἷς) since it is *lectio brevior* when
compared with the dominantly attested reading and since there
is a discernible motivation for the addition of οἷς.[11]
Further, the testimony of the pre-Marcionite text is the
earliest available. But since the deletion of οἷς removes an

anacolouthon, it is more likely that the οἷς was original
and that the pre-Marcionite text and Syr[p] preserve a very
early emendation.

This ends the presentation of the incorrect pre-
Marcionite readings which have any kind of case for origi-
nality. Their significance in terms of what they tell us
about the state of the text in the early second century will
be dealt with in the following divisions of this section on
"Incorrect Pre-Marcionite Readings."

The non-originality of most of the other pre-Marcionite
readings presented in this section was judged to be obvious
enough not to require individual discussion.

2 A 2.2   Discernible Mechanical Errors

Twenty of the incorrect pre-Marcionite readings are
the result of the mechanical slips and oversights which are
usual in textual transmission. Several of the most striking
will be discussed individually as samples of the discernment
process applied in assigning them to this group. The remainder
will merely be listed by variant number (i.e., as they appear
in Appendix A); chapter and verse; supporting attestation;
and, in as few words as possible, the mechanism responsible
for their origin.

1)   Gal 1:8   after ἐξ οὐρανοῦ read:

(#2)   - εὐαγγελίσηται   Mcn; S A 81 minn pc. Eus
                     Ath Cyrl Thdrt Dam Tert Orig; OL:KDI.
                   - εὐαγγελίζηται $p^{51 vid}$ B D* F G H L Ψ 6 33
                     630 1739 minn pl.; Vg.
                   - εὐαγγελίζεται   K P minn pl.
                   (P^{46} hiat.)

Before discussing this variant it is necessary to
clarify the confusing textual situation of this verse as a
whole, especially as regards the pre-Marcionite readings
which it contains. Most text-critical apparatus show the
Marcionite text as having added the word ἄλλως (before
εὐαγγελίσηται) and having deleted ἡμῖν (after εὐαγγελίσηται).
A critical reading of the citations from the Marcionite
Pauline Corpus rules out either of these readings. The
ἄλλως is reflected by Tertullian in *Adv. Marc.* 5.2.6. How-
ever, this is not an accurate citation at all, but an allu-
sion to the verse. Further, Tertullian's allusion conflicts

with the citation of Marcion's text of Gal 1:8 in *Dial. Adam.* 1.6, which attests neither the addition of ἄλλως nor the deletion of ἡμῖν. Finally, the appearance of ἄλλως in the allusion by Tertullian is very likely attributable to Tertullian himself. He cites the verse four times outside of *Adv. Marc.*, and in each case he reflects ἄλλως.[12]

The only pre-Marcionite reading of which we can speak with certainty is the one attested in *Dial. Adam.* 1.6, that is, εὐαγγελίσηται (aorist subjunctive) instead of εὐαγγελίζηται (present subjunctive).[13] The difference in meaning is slight. The aorist would suggest "a simply occurring (completed) action."[14] The present would suggest recurring action. It is unlikely that a change as slight as this would be the result of deliberate scribal alteration.

The point of confusion for the scribe who first made the error was the similarity in sound of *sigma* and *zeta*. The text with *zeta* has stronger MS support: P^{51} B D* 1739 et al. P^{46} is not available for this verse. The MS support for the *sigma* is best described as scattered and with little Western support outside of the OL. The early testimony of Cyprian (ca. 250) would be strong support for εὐαγγελίσηται, but he cites the verse another time and reflects εὐαγγελίζεται.[15] Finally, εὐαγγελίζηται is the *fons lectionum* for both εὐαγγελίσηται and εὐαγγελίζεται. This last fact lays the case completely to rest. The pre-Marcionite reading εὐαγγελίσηται was an audial error which sprung up at different times in various places.

2) 1 Cor 15:50   after βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ read:

(#48)   – οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν   Mcn; F G 1907 Boh Iren
              Ophites apud Macarius Monasticus;
              OL:I.
              – κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται   S B minn pc. Sah
              Orig.
              – κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύνανται   A C D Ψ Maj
              Clem Orig; OL:D Vg.
              (P^{46} hiat.)

The attestation against οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν is in itself
almost overwhelming. To the list of S A B C D Ψ Maj Sah
Clem Orig, who all attest κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύνα(ν)ται, Zuntz
adds a fragment attributed to Justin Martyr.[17] A mechanical
motive is discernible for the change from the verb with an
infinitive to the verb in the future. The expression βασι-
λείαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν appears in 1 Cor 6:9, 10
and Gal 5:21.[18] It is highly likely, therefore, that recol-
lection of those verses triggered the early alteration of
κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται to οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. A mechanism
for the reverse change can not be found.

3) Eph 2:11 begin the verse with:

(## 53-56)   – μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτέ   Mcn; OL:DI
               – Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς P^{46} S* A
               B C D* F; Vg.

Four variants will be treated as a unity here because
they are inter-related. The variant listing above repre-
sents two ends of a spectrum of alternatives. There is
little doubt, both from the MS attestation and from the
text-critical arguments which will be presented, that the

pre-Marcionite and OL:DI reading is not original. The four
variants reflected by Marcion are attested individually in
other MSS and citations. These are:

a) — Διό   104 1311 OL:DI.

b) μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε   G; OL:DI.

c) — ὅτι   G; OL:DI.

d) ∿ ὑμεῖς ποτέ S^2 D^2 6 Maj Sah Syr^H Chrys Thdrt
Dam Ephrem; OL:DI.

(∿ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ποτέ Syr^P Boh Arm Eth Goth.)

The agreement between the pre-Marcionite text and OL:DI
in all four variants is striking. Its significance will be
discussed in the next chapter. It is important that that
agreement be pointed out here, however, because it supports
the argument that all four variants are inter-related.

The first question which needs to be asked is, What
could have produced two so radically different versions of
the same verse? The answer lies in the word μνημονεύετε
which is followed immediately by ὅτι. It is very easy to
see in the uncials MNHMONEYETEOTI the participle MNHMONEY-
ONTEC.[19] Several features of the surrounding verses would
encourage the change to a participle. In Eph 2:11-13 the
author, speaking of the Gentiles, uses three participles.
Then, speaking of Christ in 2:14-17, he uses five more. The
structure of Eph 2:10 seems also to have had an effect. The
verse begins αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ
Ἰησοῦ . . .   Here a finite verb is followed by a participle
which modifies the subject: "We are his works, having been

created in Christ Jesus. . . ."   The scribe who wrote μνη-
μονεύοντες must have understood this participle to be sub-
ordinate to περιπατήσωμεν (in 2:10), thus: "so that we may
walk (in good works) being mindful. . . ."   In fact, the
connection of μνημονεύοντες to περιπατήσωμεν would be neces-
sitated by the fact that there is no other finite verb in
the three verses which follow.

Once the connection between μνημονεύοντες and περιπατή-
σωμεν was made, Διό would have seemed an intrusion and so was
deleted. Ὅτι would also be deleted since its initial *omicron*
was taken to be the final *sigma* of μνημονεύοντες. This would
have left the scribe with a τι, which he would easily delete,
or possibly construe as part of τίποτε, since ποτε followed
the original ὅτι. τίποτε or ποτέ would have been eventually
deleted. Although there is no direct MS attestation for such
a deletion, it is secondarily attested by the transpositions
involving ποτέ and ὑμεῖς. It is ποτέ, not ὑμεῖς, which
changes position in these transpositions. Ποτέ stands after
ὑμεῖς in the pre-Marcionite text S[2] D[2] 6 Maj Sah Syr[H] Ephrem
et al. and OL:DI; it stands before ὑμεῖς in P[46] S* A B C D* F
and Vg; and it occurs after τὰ ἔθνη in Syr[P] Boh Arm Eth and
Goth. It is possible that ποτέ was moved to a position after
ὑμεῖς in order to parallel the ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτέ in Eph 2:12,[20]
but this reasoning does not explain why ποτέ appears after τὰ
ἔθνη in Syr[P] Boh Arm Eth and Goth. A more reasonable explan-
ation is that ποτέ was deleted at a point very early in the
textual tradition and reinserted in various places.

Thus, one visual error--the mistaken reading of
MNHMONEYETEOTI as MNHMONEYONTEC--instigated at least two
other variants and quite possibly a third. The deletion of
Διό in tandem with the change to μνημονεύοντες is attested
not only by Marcion and OL:DI but also by Greek G. There-
fore, the connection between these two variants is secure.
The deletion of Διό is almost certainly also a result of the
change to μνημονεύοντες. The connection of the transposition
ὑμεῖς ποτέ to that variant is only a possibility.

Other Mechanical Errors:

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	Probable Mechanism	See also Section
3	Gal 2:4	- δέ	OL:D[var]	homoeoteleuton with διά	
4	Gal 2:4	- Ἰησοῦ	OL:I, Ephrem(?)	accommodation to an earlier vs (Gal 1:22)	
7	Gal 3:14	⌐ εὐλογίαν	P[46] D* F G OL:DI	accommodation to an earlier vs (Gal 3:14a)	2 A 2.1
39	1 Cor 14:19b	+ διὰ τὸν νόμον	OL:I	visual error caused by a misreading of τῷ νοΐ μου.[21]	
40	1 Cor 14:21	⌐ ἑτέροις	P[46] D[2] F G Syr[P] Cop Arm Goth Eth Orig OL:DI Vg	accommodation to LXX	2 A 2.1
57	Eph 2:13	- Ἰησοῦ	L OL:DI	accommodation to earlier vs (2:12)	2 A 2.1
59	Eph 2:14	- αὐτοῦ	OL:I[var]	accommodation to earlier vs (2:11)	2 A 2.4
62	Eph 2:20	- καὶ προφητῶν	112* 1+a OL pc.	homoeoteleuton with ἀποστόλων.[22]	2 A 2.4
63	Eph 3:9	- ἐν	S* 614	homoeoteleuton with αἰώνων	2 A 2.4
65	Eph 5:28b	- ὡς	OL:DI	homoeoarcton ἐαυτῶν σώματα with ἐαυτὸν ἀγαπᾶ	2 A 2.4

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	Probable Mechanism	See also Section
66	Eph 5:28b	⌐ σώμα	D* Arm[codd] OL:DI	(see #65)	2 A 2.4
67	Eph 5:28b	+ ἀγαπᾷ	OL:DI	(see #65)	2 A 2.4
79	2 Thess 1:8	- ἐν πυρὶ φλογός	none	visual error	
80	2 Thess 1:9	⌐ ὀλέθριον for ὄλεθρον	A minn Chrys Ephrem	visual error	

It is clear from this presentation of mechanical errors
that the pre-Marcionite text was not (by present standards)
a carefully controlled text. Significant errors occurred
early and often and were not discovered and eradicated. This
in itself is no new realization. The fluidity of the early
second-century text tradition is axiomatic in NT text criti-
cism. What is striking about the pre-Marcionite evidence,
however, is that it seems that not only were scribes capable
of making rather large blunders but also felt the freedom to
attempt adaptations and corrections to the text once these
blunders were made. Variants ##53-56 and 65-67 are good
examples of this. Thus, there was not only a lack of rigid
correction but also a freedom with regard to the wording of
the text that compounded the situation of variability. This
attitude of freedom toward the text is confirmed in the
following section.

2 A 2.3   Scribal Tendencies

Twenty-one of the incorrect pre-Marcionite readings can not be explained as mechanical errors. Rather, they seem to reflect conscious efforts on the parts of scribes to alter the text. Several motivations are discernible here. Two motivations occur frequently enough to be called "tendencies" of the early second-century scribal tradition which preceded the Marcionite Pauline Corpus. These are:

a) Clarification (usually by addition); and

b) Stylistic improvement.

The other discernible motivations appear in isolated instances and so can not be termed "tendencies." They will be discussed individually under the heading "Other Motivations for Alteration."

a) Clarification

The scribes of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus were rather free in altering the text in order that its meaning might become clearer to the reader. The variants in 1 Cor 15:45 and 47--κύριος for Ἀδάμ (2)(15:45) and κύριος for ἄνθρωπος (2)(15:47)--are good examples. Marcion is the only witness to the variant in 15:45 but in 15:47 his testimony is supported by 630 directly, and indirectly by S[2] A D[1] L Ψ Maj Syr Arm Goth Orig Thdrt et al., who add κύριος after ἄνθρωπος (2). This passage in 1 Cor 15:44b-49 is a puzzle in itself. No known text of Gen 2:7 has the same wording that Paul uses in 1 Cor 15:45. Outside of the Marcionite

text two interpolations are attested which represent attempts
to make the passage clearer. These are both in 1 Cor 15:47:
add κύριος after ἄνθρωπος (2)--already mentioned--and add
πνευματικός after ἄνθρωπος (2)--P[46]. The appearance of
κύριος in the pre-Marcionite text and 630 is certainly the
result of an explanatory gloss which was incorporated into
the text. The boldness of the pre-Marcionite scribes is
striking. They substituted the interpolation (κύριος) for
the original word (ἄνθρωπος). They did this in not one but
two verses.

Another example of a clarifying alteration is variant
#47 in 1 Cor 15:50, γάρ for δέ. This reading is found in
the pre-Marcionite text and also in D F G and OL:DI. The γάρ
serves to connect 15:50 more directly to the preceding dis-
cussion. The δέ would leave the connection indefinite.

Other examples of the clarification tendency are listed
below:

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	Clarification Effected
6a	Gal 2:5	- οἷς	Syr[P], OL:pc	Removes anacolouthon
60	Eph 2:25	⌐ ἐαυτῷ for αὐτῷ	D G Maj Syr[P] Arm Ephrem OL:DI Vg	Makes it more clear that Jesus is both subject and vehicle for the action of "new creation."
74	Col 4:10	⌐ ἵνα for ἐάν	OL:I	Clarifies the con- nection between ἐντολάς and the following two clauses which are otherwise disruptive.
75	Col 4:10	+ οὖν	none	Required by #74 to coordinate the clause with the preceding clause.

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	Clarification Effected
76	Col 4:11	+ μου	D* G 1898 Sah Syr Arm codd OL:DI Vg	Specification.[23]
77	Col 4:11	+ εἰσι	D* G P 330 1898 2400 Cop Syr Arm	Removes an ellipsis

b) Stylistic Improvement

There are eight cases in which efforts to improve style
are discernible. Tampering is apparent, for instance, in
Phil 2:7 (variant #83) where ἀνθρώπων was changed to ἀνθρώπου
in the pre-Marcionite text, P[46] Cop Syr[J] Orig OL:K and
several OL:K witnesses. The plural is stylistically indeli-
cate since it conflicts with the singulars of δοῦλος and
ἄνθρωπος which appear in that same verse.[24]

A nearly identical motive was at work in 1 Cor 12:9 and
10 (variants #36 and #37). 1 Cor 12:7-10 lists various
spiritual gifts. Some of the gifts are singular nouns, some
are plural. The pre-Marcionite text attests χάρισμα for
χαρίσματα in 12:9, in agreement with OL:I and Vg. In 12:10
the pre-Marcionite text, in agreement with S C D* F G P minn
pc. Syr[P] Sah Arm Clem Orig Bas OL:DI and Vg, reads διάκρισις
instead of διακρίσεις.[25] In both cases the plural form
seems peculiar. Why would Paul say "gifts of healing" and
not "the gift of healing?" and why "interpretations of
tongues" and not "the interpretation of tongues"? The
plurals here seemed out of place to the scribe, just as did
ἀνθρώπων in Phil 2:7. A very early scribe felt free to make

what he considered to be a necessary improvement.

Variant #52, Eph 1:13 (delete καί before πιστεύσαντες),
is an interesting example. A mechanical motive for that
deletion is lacking. It would seem that a problem was
caused, however, by the words ἐν ᾧ. Technically, the ante-
cedent of ᾧ is indefinite. It could be Χριστῷ from Eph 1:12
or the nearer εὐαγγέλιον from 1:13. The author certainly
intended Χριστῷ to be the antecedent. But a scribe could
have read 1:13b as "the gospel of your salvation, in which
you believed and were sealed with the Holy Spirit. . . ."
This would have been encouraged by a familiarity on the part
of the scribe with the proclamation of John the Baptist (as
in Mark 1:15: πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ). Once ᾧ was under-
stood as referring to the gospel, the καί would be superflu-
ous. This situation of a scribe's freedom to alter a text
based on misunderstanding is analogous to the changes in Eph
2:11 discussed above in the section of this chapter on
"Mechanical Errors."

Other Alterations Motivated by Stylistic Improvement:

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	Intended Stylistic Improvement
23	1 Cor 5:3a	+ ὡς after γάρ	D[1] E F G Ψ Maj Syr[H] Arm Chrys Thdrt Dam OL:DI	Balances the ὡς in 1 Cor 5:3b
61	Eph 2:17	− εἰρήνην (2)	Maj Syr Ephrem Vg[codd]	Removes redundancy
69	Eph 5:29	Γ μισεῖ for ἐμίσησεν	Syr[P] Arm[codd] OL:I	Conforms tense of μισέω to other verbs in the vs
70	Eph 5:29	+ καί after ἀλλά	none	Coordinates ἐκτρέφει and θάλπει more specifically

c) Other Motivations for Alteration

1)   Gal 5:14 before πεπλήρωται read:

(#14)   - ἐν ὑμῖν   Mcn.[26]
                 - ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ   D F G Goth; OL:DI.
                 - ἐν ὀλίγῳ   1611 2495 Syr[H] Ephrem.[27]
                 - ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ   *cetera omnia*.

and (#16) after πεπλήρωται read:

                 - ἀγαπήσεις   Mcn; D* F G; OL:DI Vg.
                 - ἐν τῷ ἀγαπήσεις   *cetera omnia*.

The pre-Marcionite text for this verse as we have it is
a problem. The sentence ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν is difficult to under-
stand. There is no introduction for the quotation if both
ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ and ἐν τῷ are lacking. One wonders whether Mar-
cion's text read ὑμῖν ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ. But this is doubtful,
since both Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in their testimony
that Marcion's text omitted ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ. The problem of the
anacolouthon remains--but this would not be the first trouble-
some anacolouthon in Galatians (cf. Gal 2:4-5).

It is undeniable that the two variants are connected.
Both are attested by D F G and OL:DI. Also, the deletion of
ἐν τῷ is explainable as a result of the disappearance of ἐν
ἐνὶ λόγῳ. D F G and OL:DI thus reflect a situation in which
the dominant text, which included ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ, was conflated
with a text like the pre-Marcionite, which had ἐν ὑμῖν and
deleted ἐν τῷ.

The question which must be answered is: How did the

pre-Marcionite scribe come to replace ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ with ἐν
ὑμῖν? The visual similarity between the two phrases in
uncials is not close enough to explain the change as a
mechanical visual error. A possible solution is suggested
by the appearance of the variant ἐν ὀλίγῳ. This reading
would seem to indicate that a scribe had difficulty with the
reading ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ. After all, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου
ὡς σεαυτόν is not one but several words.[28] The motive for the
change can be found in the meaning of the verse itself. In
his comment on Gal 5:14, Betz notes: "Surprisingly Paul re-
turns to the Law (cf. 3:19-25)."[29] After having treated the
issue of the Law for the Jews, Paul begins his discussion of
freedom in 5:13 only to return abruptly to the issue of the
Law (in 5:14). But now he speaks not of the Law in general,
nor of the Law as it relates to the Jews, but of the Law as
it relates to the Gentile Galatians, whom he addresses in the
second person plural. The pre-Marcionite reading ἐν ὑμῖν,
then, may have resulted from a scribe's surprise at Paul's
abrupt change to the topic of the Law in vs 14. The ἐν ὑμῖν
mirrors the ὑμεῖς which begins vs 13 and makes it clear that
Paul is speaking of the Law in an entirely different manner
(i.e., "the Law for you") from the way he spoke of it earlier
in the letter (chaps. 3-5). Thus, the alteration to ἐν ὑμῖν
was motivated primarily by the scribe's understanding of the
arguments presented in the letter.

2)   1 Cor 2:8   after ἔγνωσαν read:

(#20)   – οὐδέποτε   Mcn; OL:KDI Vg.

                     – οὐκ   *cetera omnia.*

The motivation for this variant seems to be an uncontrollable indignation of a scribe at the thought of the Lord's crucifixion. The reading οὐδέποτε emphasizes more dramatically the greatness of the "Lord of Glory." For the scribe responsible for this variant, it was not enough to say, "they would not have crucified. . . ." To him, it was more fitting that it should read: "they would never have crucified. . . ." This is the only pre-Marcionite variant which I would attribute to "pious indignation."

3)   1 Cor 14:34 before σιγάτωσαν read:

(#41)   - ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ   Mcn; 119 Syr^P Cop Eth;
             OL pc Vg^codd.
             - ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις   cetera omnia.

Here the change from plural to singular reflects an attempt to generalize the application of the passage. It does so only at the expense of distancing it from its context. In the immediate context, vs 34a pertains to what goes on "in all the churches" (cf. 1 Cor 14:33b). The change to the singular transforms vs 34 into a general principle: "The women should be silent in church"--not unlike the general principle which is invoked in 14:35b (αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστιν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ).

4)   1 Thess 2:15a after Ἰησοῦν read:

(#78)   - καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας   Mcn; D E* K L
             Syr Goth Chrys Thdrt.
             - καὶ τοὺς προφήτας   cetera omnia.

The reading without ἰδίους is secure not only because of
its superior attestation but also because an expression like
ἰδίους προφήτας never appears in the genuine letters of Paul.
The one time it does appear in "Pauline" literature is in
Titus 1:12 (ἴδιος προφήτης), where it refers to a Gentile.
The addition of ἰδίους was suggested by the appearance of the
phrase τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν in 1 Thess 2:14. But it is
highly likely that the growing gap between church and syna-
gogue was a contributing factor. Although the anti-Jewishness
reflected in the phrase ἰδίους προφήτας was not possible for
Paul, it was possible for a later scribe. The existence of
this variant suggests that Marcion was not the first to dis-
tance himself as a Christian from the OT prophets.[30]

2 A 2.4   Variants Inaccurately Attributed to Tendentious Marcionite Alteration

Several pre-Marcionite readings are singled out here
which significantly alter our understanding of Marcion as
an editor of the Pauline Corpus. These readings have been
identified in the past as alterations caused by Marcion him-
self, or his followers, because they agree in some way with
principal teachings of the Marcionites. However, despite
their concurrence with the Marcionite ideology, they are
demonstrably not from the hand of Marcion. This can be con-
cluded from one of two facts:

1.   they are readily explainable as simple mechanical
     errors; or

2.   they are attested in MSS or citations which can

not reasonably be placed within a Marcionite
sphere of influence.[31]

These readings will be presented below, along with the
reasons for rejecting their Marcionite origin.

1) Gal 4:26 before ἥτις ἐστίν:[32]
(#10)   - add Eph 1:21   Mcn; Ephrem.
                  - do not add Eph 1:21   *cetera omnia.*

The transposition of an entire verse from another
letter is a unique occurrence in the Marcionite Pauline Cor-
pus, and, to the best of my knowledge, in the textual history
of the letters of Paul as a whole. It is one of the most
significant variants which supports the argument echoed
throughout this thesis that Marcion has too often been
credited with the creation of variants which in fact he only
preserved.

Blackman and Harnack attribute this variant to Marcion
himself, or, more probably, to his followers.[33] Their cau-
tion in not insisting that Marcion created it is understand-
able since he nowhere else makes such a transposition. This
fact seems to have made them suspicious, but not suspicious
enough. Neither one was aware that the variant is reflected
in Ephrem's commentary, a work in which many pre-Marcionite
readings appear.[34] This, coupled with the fact that there is
nothing specifically Marcionite in such a transposition,
renders completely unnecessary Harnack's rather tenuous argu-
ment that the variant originated later than Marcion in the

Latin translation of his Pauline Corpus. The possibility
that such a Latin translation of the Marcionite Pauline Cor-
pus could have influenced Ephrem in Syria is not worth con-
sidering. Rather, both Marcion and Ephrem are witnesses to
a reading which antedated them both.

The variant originated as an explanatory gloss. Paul's
rather terse reference in Gal 4:26 to the heavenly Jerusalem
as ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ would encourage some comment or expan-
sion. As Hans Dieter Betz pointed out, "Paul introduces
without further explanation this famous Jewish concept. While
in his letters he uses it only here, it is found elsewhere
in the NT (Heb 12:22; 13:14; Rev 3:12; 21:2, 9-22:5)."[35]
Thus there are two circumstances which would encourage a
gloss after ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ:

1. Paul's lack of any explanation; and
2. the familiarity and popularity of the concept of
   the heavenly Jerusalem in early Christian literature.

A scribe before the time of Marcion must have inter-
jected the words from Eph 1:21 in an effort to clarify the
notion of heavenly Jerusalem being presented. His addition
makes it clear "how high above" is this "Jerusalem above."
A similar attempt to clarify ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ is reflected
by the variant *coelestis*, which appears in some OL witnesses
(Rufinus, Augustine, Aponius et al.), and by the Sahidic
N̄Τπε.

In the textual tradition of the Pauline letters, the
interpolation was easily identified and thus consistently

eliminated. Marcion and Ephrem are its only known witnesses.
One can only wonder what other such acts of scribal freedom
existed in the pre-Marcionite text but eluded our detection
since they were more successfully eradicated.

2) 1 Cor 15:3 before ὅτι Χριστός:

(#42)   - delete ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον   Mcn; Orig Eus (2x)
                        Chrys; OL:I OL:D[var].
                      - read ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον   cetera omnia.

This reading has been vaunted as a classic example of
an obviously Marcionite deletion which influenced the later
textual tradition, in this case, the OL.[36] It is usually
treated in tandem with the deletion of κατὰ τὰς γραφάς later
in that verse, but since there is only a slight trace of
attestation for that variant, and since it may indeed have
been the work of Marcion (no other reason is discernible),
I have not included it in my list of secure pre-Marcionite
readings.[37] Therefore, it will not be dealt with here.

The so-called Marcionite deletion of ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον
occurs also in Origen, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and OL:I. This
cannot be explained as a result of Marcionite influence.
Even if the faulty premise of a dependency of the OL:I on the
Marcionite Pauline Corpus is accepted, an even greater prob-
lem remains: it would be necessary to maintain that Origen,
Eusebius, and Chrysostom were all influenced by the Marcion-
ite text. It is far more reasonable to assume that Marcion
inherited the deletion. The clause ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον is not
essential to the meaning of the verse; one could even argue

that it is superfluous. Thus, it could have been deleted
for that reason. But a more likely possibility is that the
clause ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον could have been seen by a scribe as
a contradiction to the spirit of Gal 1:1, 17 and 2:6, where
Paul makes it very clear that he was not under the instruc-
tion of the Jerusalem apostles. Therefore, the deletion
could well be a tendentious alteration--but its attestation
in several church fathers rules out Marcion as the source of
it. After all, he was not the only one who read Galatians.

3)   Eph 2:14   after ἐν τῇ σαρκί:

(#59)   - delete αὐτοῦ   Mcn; OL:I[var] (Ambrose,
                      Jerome 3x, Quodvultdeus).
                      - read αὐτοῦ   *cetera omnia*.

Blackman follows the lead of Tertullian in assigning to
this variant a tendentiously Marcionite origin.[38] The dele-
tion of αὐτοῦ does effect a significant change in meaning.
Instead of: "dissolving enmity by means of His flesh (i.e.,
by being crucified)," the verse would end: "dissolving en-
mity in the flesh." Τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκί in Eph 2:14 would
parallel the expression τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί in Eph 2:11. The
resultant meaning would be: "Although they are Gentiles in
the flesh (i.e., humanly speaking), the barrier between them
and the Jews is broken and that enmity which resulted from
fleshly thinking is dissolved--indeed the Law itself is done
away with." There would be nothing specifically Marcionite
about this. In fact, it would be very similar to the clause
κατέκρινεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί in Rom 8:3. Finally,

the fact that the deletion is attested sporadically in-
creases the likelihood that it originated as a mere oversight
of a scribe.

4)   Eph 2:20   before ὄντος:

(#62)   - delete καὶ προφητῶν   Mcn; lect.[+a] 112*;
                         OL; Hilary Ps-Gregorius Magnus Ps-Jerome
                         Paulinus of Nola Pelagius[var].
                         - ∿ προφητῶν καὶ ἀπόστολων   Hilary Pacian
                         Ps-Vigilius Ps-Jerome.
                         - read ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν   *cetera omnia*.

Although the deletion of καὶ προφητῶν is consistent with
the Marcionite devaluation of the OT, it is also a very easy
error as homoeoteleuton.[39] The fact that the variant is
sporadically attested outside of Marcion's text makes it
highly likely that it was an error that occurred at various
times in various places. The transposition προφητῶν καὶ
ἀποστόλων in the OL could be another reflection of the dele-
tion. *Prophetarum* was then reinserted in the wrong place.
Thus, Marcion is a witness to the deletion of καὶ προφητῶν
but not its originator.

Variants such as this serve to clarify our picture of
Marcion as an editor. Apparently he was less manipulative
of the text than was once thought. But the real significance
of variants like this is that they provide us with insights
into the causes for the development of Marcion's theology.
It becomes less likely that Marcion invented a theology *ex
nihilo* and then molded the text of the Pauline letters to
suit that theology. Rather, he built his theology from his

reading of the text of Paul's letters which was available to him—some of the building had already been done for him by early scribes. That is to say, certain scribal alterations contributed to Marcion's understanding of Paul, especially with regard to the separation of the God of the OT from the God of Jesus. This is not to say that any one variant was the sole cause of a Marcionite theological tenet. Such readings contributed in a more subtle fashion by confirming ideas which Marcion was forming based on his general understanding (or misunderstanding) of the letters of Paul. The following example supports this thesis.

5) Eph 3:9 before τῷ θεῷ:

(#63)
- delete ἐν Mcn; S* 614 2412.
- read ἀπό (Latin a) Ambrosiaster[var] Augustine[var] Caesarius.
- read ἐν *cetera omnia.*

This variant was attributed in the past to Marcion because it allows the verse to be understood: "the mystery hidden from aeons past from the God who created everything."[40] But how then does one explain the deletion of ἐν in S* and two minuscules as well? It is unreasonable to assume that Marcion affected Sinaiticus. Rather, Marcion and S are witnesses of a reading which originated earlier than Marcion's editing of the Pauline Corpus. Thus in this case, as in the previous, we have an instance of a textual variant which contributed to Marcion's insistence on the separation of the OT God (ὁ κτίζων) from the God of Jesus (ὁ ἀγαπῶν). If one were the least bit disposed to such a separation, the

occurrence of this deletion in Eph 3:9 and the subsequent
wording (τῷ θεῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι) would add fuel to the
fire.

6)   Eph 5:28b after τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας read:

(## 65-68)   - τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἀγαπᾷ ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα
                   ἀγαπῶν καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
                   Mcn with partial support from OL:DI.

                 - ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα. ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
                   γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ.
                   cetera omnia.

The difference between Marcion's version of this verse
and the universally attested one is so great that it seems
reasonable to assume that Marcion rewrote the verse. This
is precisely what Harnack assumed when he argued that Mar-
cion altered the verse to make it read: "Men ought to love
their wives. He loves his own flesh who loves his wife as
Christ (loves) the church (i.e., non-sexually)."[41] This
would make Eph 5:28 a proof text for Marcion's exclusion of
sex in marriage. It would be an example of outright manipu-
lation of the text by Marcion to suit his own purpose. But
if the difference, great as it is, between Marcion's version
and the universally accepted version of Eph 5:28b can be
explained as the result of a mechanical error, and if other
MSS and citations can be found which have readings very
similar to the ones held by Marcion, then Marcion's role as
an editor in this case is in need of reassessment. Indeed,
this is precisely the case.

A close examination of the attestation for this verse
reveals that Marcion's version is not as far removed from the
original as it seems. The reading for this verse found in
Greek D and OL:DI provides the connection:

<div align="center">Eph 5:28b</div>

original wording	OL:d (75)	Marcion
(no stop) ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα (full stop) ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ.	(full stop) suum corpus diligit qui uxorem suum diligit et se ipsum diligit.	(full stop) ἑαυτὸν σάρκα ἀγαπᾷ ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα
		καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

A crucial step in the move from the original wording to the
wording reported in Marcion's text is the placing of the full
stop immediately after τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας. The change in
structure which results is great, but the change in meaning
is slight.

<div align="center">Eph 5:28 (entire verse)</div>

original wording	OL:d
Men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself.	Men ought to love their wives. He loves his own body who loves his wife as himself.

In addition to placing of a full stop after γυναῖκας, there
are six changes which are required to arrive at the version
of the verse found in the text of Marcion. Every one of
these except for the last is attested in the OL. They are:

1) delete ὡς: OL:75 86 89 Amstr Archetype of D G[42].

2) ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα for τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα: D*[43] Arm OL:75
   86 89 Marius Victorinus.

3) add ἀγαπᾷ before ὁ: Archetype of D G[42]; OL:75 86
   89 Amstr.

4) ∿ ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα / ἀγαπῶν: D Syr[P]; OL:61 75
   86 89 Marius Victorinus Amstr Jer Pelagius Vg.

5) delete final ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ: Archetype of D G[42]
   OL:87 Amstr.

6) add καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: Marcion only.

One must ask, What could possibly account for so many changes
being attested in so many witnesses? Numbers 2, 3, and 5 are
especially perplexing in that they require such a substantial
change. Yet it is these three variants which point to the
only available solution to the origin of so many variants. If
one reads folio 80 (recto) of P[46], one is struck by an unde-
niable homoeoarcton. Line 6 begins with ἑαυτῶν σώματα; line
7 begins with ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. I suggest that this similarity
in the beginning of these two lines was the cause of an
initial error which set off a chain reaction of errors,
namely, all of those reflected by Marcion and the OL except
for #6. A scribe, after writing γυναῖκας ὡς τά, glanced
momentarily one line too low and read ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. This
accounts for the deletion of ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ at the end of the
verse in OL:87 and Ambrosiaster. It also explains the dif-
ference between Marcion's σάρκα and the OL σῶμα: ἑαυτόν
demanded a singular noun; σάρκα and σῶμα were alternative
solutions. The transposition to ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀγαπῶν

is difficult to explain, but it is quite likely the result of a scribe's attempt to patch up what was by this time a badly damaged verse. The ὡς τά was rendered senseless by what followed and thus was deleted.

The only variant which may have come from Marcion himself is #6 (add καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) but even this could have been done before his time. It is easily inferred from the next verse, and it need not be understood as an anti-sexual comment. Since it is unattested elsewhere, however, certainty cannot be attained.

Even if all the details of this explanation are not accepted, it cannot be denied that all but one of the changes reflected by the Marcionite text are present in the OL and Greek D. The attestation (see Table 9 below) also proves the interrelatedness of the variants. Thus, Marcion did not create a new version of Eph 5:28. The most significant changes had already been made by the scribes of the text which he received. These variants also surfaced in the OL and Greek D.

TABLE 9: Attestation of Variants in Eph 5:28b										
Variant*	Witnesses Where Variant Occurs									
	Mcn	D	X**	75	86	89	87	Amst	Mar	Syr[P] Arm
1) - ὡς τά	x		x	x	x	x		x		
2) Γ singular noun	x	x		x	x	x			x	x
3) + ἀγαπᾷ	x		x	x	x	x		x		
4) ~	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5) - ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ	x		x				x	x		
6) + καθὼς . . . ἐκκλησίαν	x									

* For a clearer description of the variants, see the list on p. 205.
** X is the designation for the archetype of Greek D, F, and G.

7) 1 Thess 2:15 after ʼΙησοῦν read:

- καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους προφήτας   Mcn; D¹ E* K L Ψ
  Syr Goth Chrys Thdrt.
- καὶ τοὺς προφήτας   *cetera omnia.*

This variant was discussed above in Section 2 B 3.[44]
The spread of its attestation precludes a Marcionite origin.
It stands out as one more example of a reading in Marcion's
Vorlage which added fuel to the fire of his opposition to
the OT. It is particularly significant in that it may well
be the result of a theological motivation. The other vari-
ants discussed in this section originated from errors. They
resulted in expressions which sometimes agreed with Marcion-
ite teachings, but they were not motivated by a theology or
ideology. In this variant, however, we see a scribe who
was, in a limited way, a precursor of Marcion. The Marcion-
ite emphasis on separation from certain Jewish elements of
Christianity was not new with Marcion.

2 A 2.5 Enigmas: Readings With Unexplainable Origins

Five readings fall into this group. They can be referred
to as oversights or blunders, but no mechanism or motivation
for their origin was discernible. I simply list them here.
Perhaps the reader will see an explanation for them which I
could not.

Var. #	Passage	Variant	Attestation	See Discussion Elsewhere in:
8	Gal 3:26	⌐ υἱοὶ ἐστε πίστεως for υἱοὶ θεοῦ . . . διὰ πίστεως	Hilary	Part 1 C: Excursus
18	1 Cor 1:11	∿ εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν	OL:I	
22	1 Cor 3:19	∿ εἰσιν | παρὰ τῷ θεῷ	OL:KDI Vg	
51	Eph 1:12	- αὐτοῦ	D* F G OL:D	
58	Eph 2:13	⌐ αὐτοῦ for Χριστοῦ	Ephrem	Comment below

Variant #58 (Eph 2:13, αὐτοῦ for Χριστοῦ) is worthy of comment. Although a specific explanation for the origin of this variant is lacking, some contributing circumstances should be noted. The end of Eph 2:13 is troubled. Two important MSS (B and P^{46}) delete τοῦ before Χριστοῦ. More importantly, the next verse begins with αὐτός. But the possibility that the αὐτός at the beginning of 2:14 was the direct cause of the change to αὐτοῦ at the end of 2:13 is remote. This would not explain why τοῦ Χριστοῦ was deleted. A few unusual readings in 2:14 hint at a connection of Χριστοῦ in 2:13 to αὐτός in 2:14. These are:

(In Eph 2:14)

    a) add Χριστός before αὐτός   1311 and Rufinus
    b) add Χριστός after αὐτός   1319 and Eusebius of Emesa
    c) add ἀδελφοὶ Χριστός after γάρ   1799

The proximity of Χριστός in 2:13 to αὐτός in 2:14 seems to have caused some confusion. Perhaps the pre-Marcionite αὐτοῦ was a result of this confusion.

NOTES: 2B INCORRECT PRE-MARCIONITE READINGS

[1] Tertullian's citation of the Marcionite Gal 3:14 has
the words *benedictionem spiritualem* (*Adv. Marc.* 5.3.11). It
would be imprudent to assume that this reflects εὐλογία πνευ-
ματική (as in Eph 1:3) since Tertullian was free as a trans-
lator to change a noun in the genitive to an adjective.

[2] It should be noted that (ἐν)ευλογέω appears in Gal 3:8
(ἐνευλογέω) and 3:9 (εὐλογέω). This would add to the sugges-
tion of εὐλογίαν in 3:14.

[3] Some examples are σοφία in 1 Cor 1:17, which appears
for the first time in the pericope at that verse but then
becomes the center of discussion in 1 Cor 1:18-24. Similarly
the substantive τὸ ἀσθενές is introduced at the end of 1 Cor
1:18-25 and is more fully discussed in 1 Cor 1:26-30.

[4] Strangely enough, ἐπαγγελίαν is both the reading which
Pauline style demands and the *lectio difficilior*. It is *lec-
tio difficilior* not only because it is unexpected but also
because Gal 3:14b could easily be understood: "we receive the
promise of the spirit through faith," as if that Spirit were
yet to come. Paul means: "we receive the Spirit, as was
promised." See Betz, *Galatians*, 153. The change to εὐλογίαν
would eliminate the possibility of any such misunderstanding.

[5] Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 104-5. Not only does he
mark the reading with a question mark (p. 104), but, more
significantly, he does not include this variant from 1 Cor
9:7 on his list of genuine readings attested by Marcion (pp.
236-38).

[6]Ibid., 105.

[7]The only substantive difference between this list and the list of witnesses for the deletion of ἥ in 1 Cor 9:7 is that this list has P^{46} instead of B and lacks C^2 and 1739.

[8]On this reading, Zuntz (*Text of the Epistles*, 37) is in agreement with Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 558, and Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum*, 506.

[9]Ἐν Χριστῷ appears in Rom 9:1; 12:5; 16:7, 9; 1 Cor 3:1; 10:4; 15:19. Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ is used in Rom 6:11; 8:39; 1 Cor 1:2, 4; 4:15; and 15:31.

[10]A very similar case in Gal 2:4 supports my decision. In Gal 2:4 (variant #4) the pre-Marcionite text and OL:I are alone in deleting Ἰησοῦ. That attestation pattern is very similar to the one for the deletion of Ἰησοῦ in Eph 2:13 (Mcn; L Iren[lat] Orig[lat]; OL:I). In Gal 2:4, too, the deletion seems to have been suggested by the appearance of Χριστῷ (with no Ἰησοῦ) a few verses earlier (Gal 1:22).

[11]See above, Section 2 A 1, p. 142.

[12]Tertullian *De carne Christi* 6.2; 23.2; *De praescriptione haereticorum* 6.5; 29.7.

[13]Tertullian's testimony does not conflict with *Dial. Adam.* on the tense of εὐαγγελίζω. Both allusions to Gal 1:8 in *Adv. Marc.* 5.2.6 have *evangelizaverit*.

[14]Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (9th ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1974) #2325.

[15]Cyprian *Epistula* 63.10 has *evangelizaverit* but *Epistula* 27.3 has *evangelizet*.

[16]Both εὐαγγελίσηται and εὐαγγελίσεται appear in *Dial. Adam.* 1.6. Both are translated *evangelizaverit* by Rufinus. This strengthens the argument that εὐαγγελίζηται could be easily misconstrued as εὐαγγελίζεται.

[17]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 224-25.

[18]Ibid., 225.

[19]See the color facsimile of P[46] in F. G. Kenyon, ed., *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Walker, 1937) 76 (verso).

[20]This is suggested by Frede (*Ad Ephesios,* 73). I find it unlikely that a scribe would adapt an earlier verse (2:11) to a later verse (2:13). The reverse would be more probable.

[21]Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles,* 230. Harnack, *Marcion,* 90*.

[22]This was pointed out to me by H. J. Frede in conversation, January 1981, at the Vetus Latina Institute.

[23]It is possible, but unlikely, that μου was added to harmonize the verse with similar references to co-workers in the closing sections of other Pauline letters, for example: Rom 16:3; Phil 4:3; and Phlm 24. In all three of these examples, the μου follows συνεργοί. In the pre-Marcionite text of Colossians, μου precedes εἰσι συνεργοί.

[24]There is no question about the originality of

ἀνθρώπων. It is better attested and is also the *lectio difficilior*.

[25]An analogous case is the Marcionite text of Gal 5:20 attested by Epiphanius *Pan*. 42. Gal 5:19-21 is a list of vices. The first vices given are singular nouns. Then comes ἔχθραι in the plural, followed by two singulars (ἔρις and ζῆλος). Seven more vices follow--all plurals. According to Epiphanius, the Marcionite text had ἔρεις for ἔρις and ζῆλοι for ζῆλος. Thus, here in Galatians, as in 1 Cor 12:9-10, an effort was made by a scribe to keep the number of the nouns consistent.

[26]Epiphanius *Pan*. 42 attests ὑμῖν without the ἐν. Tertullian *Adv. Marc*. 5.4.12 has *in vobis*, which could be a translation of ὑμῖν or ἐν ὑμῖν. I agree with Harnack (*Marcion*, 78*) in emending the text of Epiphanius to read ἐν ὑμῖν, since it is ἐν ὑμῖν and never just ὑμῖν, which is attested outside of the Marcionite text.

[27]Ephrem *Commentarii* 137 reads: "Lex enim in quam vos curritis ad perficiendis multas ejus observationes, paucis rebus perficitur, id est 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum.'" It is always difficult to tell in a commentary citation like this one where the citation ends and where the comment begins. But the presence of ἐν ὀλίγῳ in the Greek *Vorlage* of Ephrem's text is secure since there is no suggestion of the word ἑνί. It is also quite possible that ἐν ὑμῖν was present.

[28]This would have to have been a literalistic scribe

who was insistent on a narrow definition of λόγος as "word."

[29]Betz, *Galatians*, 274.

[30]The fact that the addition appears in so many witnesses rules out the possibility that the variant originated with Marcion.

[31]It has been the contention of this thesis throughout that the Marcionite sphere of influence has been vastly overestimated. Frede (*Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften*, 166-68) long ago laid to rest the argument of Harnack (*Marcion*, 76*) that Marcion's text influenced the text of Ephrem. Even the argument that the OL was heavily influenced by Marcion has been dissolved, since it was assumed that the archetype of the OL was conflated with a Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus. This assumption remains unproven, and even the faint possibility of its validity is damaged by the demonstration in this thesis that Tertullian did not have before him a Marcionite Pauline Corpus which was in Latin. The death blow for this assumption was dealt by Dahl ("Prologues"), who showed most convincingly that the Latin "Marcionite" Prologues were not Marcionite in origin.

[32]Precisely where Eph 1:21 was added in Gal 4:26 can not be clearly ascertained from Tertullian's citation in *Adv. Marc*. 5.4.8. In his discussion of the verse, it is difficult to tell where Tertullian is interrupting with a comment and where the Marcionite text has an addition. It is not possible that Eph 1:21 was a comment by Tertullian, however, since that addition also appears in the commentary

of Ephrem.

[33]Blackman, *Marcion*, 1; Harnack, *Marcion*, 76*.

[34]Theodor Zahn (*Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* [2d ed.; Leipzig: Deichert, 1902] 298) was the first to make this known.

[35]Betz, *Galatians,* 246.

[36]Harnack, *Marcion,* 91*, and even the more critical Blackman, *Marcion,* 44, 168.

[37]See Appendix B, "List of Possible Pre-Marcionite Readings," for 1 Cor 15:3 — κατὰ τὰς γραφάς.

[38]Blackman, *Marcion*, 45. Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.14.

[39]See above, Section 2 A 2.2 of this chapter, pp. 188 and 212 n. 22.

[40]Harnack (*Marcion*, 44*) agrees with Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5.18.1 that Marcion deleted the ἐν. Even without the ἐν, the passage need not be translated "hidden . . . from God," since τῷ θεῷ could equally be a dative of instrument; thus: "hidden . . . by God."

[41]Harnack, *Marcion,* 120*.

[42]Frede (*Ad Ephesios*, 249) cites P. Corssen, *Epistularum Paulinarum Codices 2* (Kiel, 1889) 29.

[43]Tertullian in *Adv. Marc.* 5.18.8 has *carnem* and not *corpus*. *Carnem* was suggested by its appearance in Eph 5:29. It is difficult to tell whether Marcion's text actually read σάρκα or whether *carnem* was due to loose translation by

Tertullian. It is also possible that the alternatives σάρκα and σῶμα arose from an original error which read ἑαυτόν ἀγαπᾷ. Σάρκα and σῶμα were later added to ἑαυτόν to add specificity.

[44]Pp. 196-97.

2. Interpretation of the Data

B. External Evaluation

A careful examination of the attestation of the firmly established pre-Marcionite readings reveals a striking preponderance of agreement with the OL text--specifically with the OL:I-type. This suggests that there is a special relationship between the Greek pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus (pre A.D. 140) and the Greek ancestor of the OL.

The text attested by Marcion has generally been classified under the catch-all heading "Western Text." The problem with such a classification is that, practically speaking, it tells us nothing but that the Marcionite text is not Alexandrian. The assumption which the designation "Western Text" implies when used for the Eastern Versions (Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic) is that they spring from some early Greek *Vorlage* which was widespread in the Western Mediterranean.[1] That *Vorlage*--having suffered further corruptions-- was somehow exported to the far eastern reaches of the Empire. There is no evidence to support such an assumption--indeed the present evaluation of the pre-Marcionite text goes against it.

What is needed is more precision in our dealing with the non-Alexandrian witnesses which have been called the Western Text. The pre-Marcionite text provides one vantage point from which to sketch out some lines of definition for the non-Alexandrian witnesses. This analysis can not bring all the relationships of the Western witnesses into sharp

focus. But if similar efforts are made by scholars familiar
with some of the other vantage points (e.g., the Ethiopic or
Syriac), perhaps some progress to that end may be made.

This is only a beginning. The evidence examined here is
not even a totality of the pre-Marcionite evidence, since
Romans and 2 Corinthians were not included in this study.
Evidence from those letters of the Marcionite Pauline Corpus
could be added in the near future. But even a portion of
the pre-Marcionite text is a very good place to begin, since
it is so early, so clearly established (by the rigid metho-
dology of the first half of this thesis), and shows definite
connection with certain non-Alexandrian witnesses.

THE TABLE OF AGREEMENTS OF PRE-MARCIONITE READINGS WITH MSS AND VERSIONS

The Table of Agreements below is the basis for the dis-
cussion in this chapter. A brief explanation of its struc-
ture will aid the reader in interpreting it.

Reading the Table of Agreements from Top to Bottom

The groupings of witnesses are listed in order of amount
of agreement with the pre-Marcionite text. The Latin text
types are grouped together, with the Vg as an appendix to the
OL.[2] The Vg is treated separately from the OL and is not in-
cluded in the tallies when they are made of the Latin evidence
collectively.

It should also be pointed out that figures following the
OL:K-type must be heavily weighted. Whereas the D- and I-
types are attested for every verse of the Pauline Corpus,

TABLE 10					
TABLE OF AGREEMENTS OF PRE-MARCIONITE READINGS WITH MSS AND VERSIONS					
Witness (MS, Group, or Church Father)	Secure Readings (From Appendix A)		Rare (Less Than 5 Witnesses)		Probable Readings (From Appendix B)
	Correct	*Incorrect*	*Correct*	*Incorrect*	*Incorrect Only*
	30	53††	7	34	36
OL Trace*	20	48	6	28	31
K	8	(6 of 9)	(1 of 7)	(3 of 3)	(5 of 11)
D	14	22	2	11	15
I	16	32	4	20	20
OL Prevalent†	12	28	2	8	13
Vg	14	10	2	4	15
Greek and Other Western Trace*	17	23	1	9	14
D	12	13	1	5	11
F	14	13	1	4	10
G	14	17	1	6	12
Goth	3	6	0	1	4
Greek Western Prevalent†	10	14	1	4	9
Eastern Versions Trace*	15	25	2	6	22
Boh	8	8	0	1	11
Sah	10	10	1	1	11
Syr^P	8	12	0	4	13
Syr^H	6	8	0	1	12
Ephrem	5(6)	(13 of 29)	(1 of 3)	(7 of 19)	(9 of 20)
Arm	4	12	0	2	10
Eth	3	3	0	0	2
Eastern Versions Prevalent†	5	8	0	0	6
Byzantine Trace*	20	21	1	5	18
A	10	4	0	0	3
C	6	4	0	0	3
K	5	1	0	0	5
L	8	3	1	1	5
P	7	3	0	0	2
Ψ	6	5	0	0	5
Maj	3	8	0	0	6
minn	14	10	0	4	10

Witness	Secure Readings		Rare		Probable Readings
	Correct (30)	Incorrect (53)	Correct (7)	Incorrect (34)	Incorrect Only (36)
Byzantine Prevalent†	8	2	0	0	4
Alexandrian Trace*	22	9	4	2	6
P^{46}	18	4	3	0	2
S	13	4	0	1	3
B	16	1	3	0	1
1739	9	2	1	1	0
Alexandrian Prevalent†	14	2	1	0	0
Church Fathers					
Basil	0	1	0	0	2
Chrysostom	3	6	0	1	5
Clement	6	1	0	0	2
Cyril	4	1	0	0	0
Damasius	1	4	0	0	3
Eusebius	2	1	1	0	2
Irenaeus	2	1	0	2	1
Origen	10	9	0	3	8
Tertullian	2	0	0	0	0
Theodoret	2	6	0	0	5

* "Trace" indicates that a pre-Marcionite reading occurred in at least one of the witnesses of that group.

† "Prevalent" indicates that a pre-Marcionite reading was the reading dominantly attested in that group.

†† Of these 53 only 52 can be reflected in Latin.

the K-type is attested for less than one-fourth of the
Pauline Corpus. Statistics for the K-type are adjusted
(in parentheses) to compensate for its less than complete
attestation. These parenthetical equivalents are estimations
based on the frequency with which the K-type was available
for the pre-Marcionite readings in question. Still, the
size of the sample from the K-type is too small to draw
statistical conclusions of any significance.

The group with the next largest number of agreements
with the pre-Marcionite text is the Greek Western. This is
not surprising, since the OL:D-type is related to the great
bilinguals D F and G. Although the Latin halves of those
MSS reflect a text distinct from the Greek halves, a certain
amount of harmonization is in evidence. What is surprising
is that the decision to place the Greek Western group ahead
of the Eastern Versions group was a difficult one. In the
category of rare readings in agreement with the pre-Marcionite
text, the Eastern Versions are very close to the Greek West-
ern. If one goes by the supplementary evidence in the final
column, the Eastern Versions actually exceed the Greek West-
ern in the number of agreements with the pre-Marcionite text.
Also, because readings from the Eastern Versions are not as
regularly reported, my figures here for that group are prob-
ably a bit too low. Thus, although I place the Greek Western
before the Eastern Versions on this chart, the priority of
the Greek Western may be due not to its closer relationship
to the pre-Marcionite text, but rather to the two factors
mentioned above: (1) the interrelatedness of OL:D and Greek

D F G; (2) the inadequacy of figures for the Eastern Versions group. But since both of these factors are impossible to measure accurately, I am forced to give priority to the Greek Western.

The Gothic was placed among the Greek Western Witnesses because it so often attests pre-Marcionite readings in tandem with D or G.

The "Eastern Versions" are next. Although the Coptic, Syrian, Armenian, and Ethiopic were placed together, I do not intend to argue that they derive from a common ancestor, as is the case with the OL and great bilinguals. They were placed in a group here chiefly to separate them from the Greek Western and OL with which they are normally listed. Therefore, the more important statistics in this group are the ones for the individual witnesses rather than those for the group as a whole. The church father Ephrem was included in this group since he is the only sizeable witness to the Old Syriac. Also, he is given special consideration as a witness since he authored a commentary on the letters of Paul. His commentary does not cite every verse of the Pauline Corpus, but it does give a more thorough representation of the text available to him than the occasional citations made by most church fathers.

It must be pointed out in the case of the Eastern Versions that, as above in the OL:K-type, we are not dealing with complete statistics. Only in the case of Ephrem's commentary and the Coptic Versions did I   have the complete text before me. For the attestation of the other Eastern

Versions I was dependent primarily on Tischendorf,[3] who is rather thorough in his reporting of the versional and church father evidence. Still, since some of the readings of the Eastern Versions may have gone unreported, the statistics in this group must be slightly weighted.

The Byzantine Group follows. In this group, the designation "minn" must be taken with a grain of salt. It does not reflect a careful search of every MS in every case. It is totally dependent on the admittedly sporadic reporting of the NT editions of Tischendorf and Nestle-Aland[25] and Nestle-Aland[26].

The Byzantine texts are followed by the Alexandrian, which are the furthest from the pre-Marcionite text.

Finally, the only church fathers who are listed individually are those who showed any agreement with pre-Marcionite readings. Since their attestation is not nearly as consistent as a MS or commentary, their statistics must be weighted with some discretion. They are important because they can be localized to a particular city or area. Origen and Chrysostom stand out with a striking number of agreements with pre-Marcionite readings.

At the beginning and end of each Group of Witnesses, the categories "Trace" and "Prevalent" appear. These terms were used in order to assign some numerical value to the group as a whole without misrepresenting the variety within that group. "Trace" is the category for pre-Marcionite readings which occur in at least one of the witnesses of the whole group. "Prevalent" is the category for pre-Marcionite

readings which are dominantly attested in the group as a whole.

Reading the Table of Agreements from Left to Right

The vertical categories of the Table are basically three:

1) *Secure Readings* (i.e., the 83 pre-Marcionite readings which are the data base for this thesis [Appendix A]). These are divided into (a) Correct Readings and (b) Incorrect Readings. Only the second (b) is important in establishing conclusions in this chapter.   The number of correct readings attested by the witnesses on the list was included only to serve as a "control" list. It should be noticed that the concurrence of the OL with the pre-Marcionite text in "correct readings" is not particularly striking. In fact, the Alexandrian witnesses outnumber the OL in correct read-ings held in common with the pre-Marcionite text. This control statistic rules out the possibility that the high frequency of concurrence between the pre-Marcionite text and the OL is due to the large number of MSS and church fathers which the OL text comprises.

2) *Rare Readings*. These are also taken from the main data base of 83 secure pre-Marcionite readings. Because of their rarity, these readings are highly significant in showing connections between various witnesses. Any reading which is attested by five witnesses or less is included in the rare list. OL:D counts as one witness, despite the fact that it

is represented by several MSS and church fathers. The same
goes for OL:I, OL:K, and Vg. To compensate for any imbalance
that this decision might cause (e.g., by assigning an overly
large amount of variants to the OL), I have counted the Greek
MSS D, F, and G as one witness, since there is a chance that
they derive from a common archetype.

This group of Rare Readings was also divided into cor-
rect and incorrect readings. The vast majority are incor-
rect, and these are the most important. The correct readings
were listed also; since they are so rare, the reader in some
cases might have questioned my decision to accept these
poorly attested readings as genuine. If so, they can simply
be added to the list of rare, incorrect readings.

3) *Probable Readings*. This column is offered only as a
supplement to the first two. It is made up of the readings
which can be found in Appendix B. These readings are nearly
certain as true reflections of the pre-Marcionite text. I
have included only the incorrect readings from this group.
The figures in this column bear a striking resemblance in
their proportional distribution to those in the column of
secure pre-Marcionite readings which are incorrect.

The Pre-Marcionite Text and the OL

The Table of Agreements shows a striking preponderance
of agreement between the OL and the pre-Marcionite text.
Forty-eight of the 53 established pre-Marcionite readings
which are incorrect appear in the OL witnesses. That repre-
sents 90½% of the available sample. The number of agreements

in the Alexandrian Group is only 9 of 53 (17%). Even the
Greek Western, which has been traditionally viewed as the
primary source of "Marcionite" readings,[4] contains a small
number of agreements with pre-Marcionite variants when com-
pared to the OL. The Greek Western MSS agree with the pre-
Marcionite text in half as many cases (23 out of 53 "trace"
as compared to the OL 48 of 53, and 14 of 53 "prevalent" as
compared to the OL 28 of 53). But the point I wish to make
is not only that the amount of agreement between the OL and
the pre-Marcionite text is striking in comparison to other
witnesses, but also that the 53% agreement (28 of 53) between
the prevalent OL and the pre-Marcionite text is significant
in and of itself.

Yet the raw statistics themselves are never sufficient
to the work of the text critic in drawing conclusions about
the relationship between texts. In this chapter I will base
my conclusions on the consideration of variants from three
categories: (1) general statistics; (2) rare readings;
(3) *Leitfehler*. The third is the most important. It refers
to readings which are not only rare but which represent a
change in the text which two independent witnesses would not
possibly make by coincidence. These are the most effective
in establishing a connection between the pre-Marcionite text
and the OL. Each of these three categories of variants will
be dealt with in the discussions of the OL: I-, D-, and K-
types which follow.

OL:I and the Pre-Marcionite Text

The OL:I-type has the highest proportion of agreement
with the pre-Marcionite text with 60% (32 of the 53) incor-
rect readings being found there. The supplementary evidence
from Appendix B gives a broader data base of an additional 36
readings. When these are added to the 53 certain readings,
the proportion of OL agreements is stable at 58% (52 of 89).
But even these figures do not tell the whole story. In the
category of incorrect rare readings in agreement with the
pre-Marcionite text, the OL:I is again the leader with 59%
(20 of 34).

In four cases (variants ##18, 39, 68, and 74) the OL:I
is the sole witness (aside from Marcion himself) to rare
pre-Marcionite incorrect readings. In four other cases
(variants ##4, 57, 69, and 71) where there is minimal attes-
tation for pre-Marcionite readings, OL:I is in agreement with
Eastern Versions and the Byzantine L. This will be important
in establishing a link between the pre-Marcionite text and
the Eastern Versions which cannot be attributed to the influ-
ence of the Great Bilinguals.

Most significant is the presence of certain pre-Marcionite
Leitfehler in the OL:I-type. There are ten of these, but
eight can be discussed in the following two passages: (a)
Eph 2:11 and (b) Eph 5:28.

Eph 2:11. The rather unusual text of this verse which is
attested by Marcion has already been discussed.[5] It involves
four variants: (1) #53--delete διό--Marcion, OL:DI 104 1311.

(2) #54--μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε--Marcion, OL:DI Greek G. (3) #55--delete ὅτι--Marcion, OL:DI G. (4) #56--~ὑμεῖς ποτέ--Marcion, OL:DI S^2 D^2 6 Maj, Sah, Syr^H, Ephrem, Arm, Eth, Goth. Each of these is attested sporadically in various witnesses, but only in OL:DI do all four appear together, and they are more consistently attested in OL:I witnesses than in OL:D.[6]

The case of Eph 5:28b is very similar.[7] In this verse, too, all four variants reported by Marcion appear in OL:I. (1) #65--delete ὡς--Marcion, OL:DI. (2) #66--σάρκα for σώματα--Marcion, OL:DI D* Arm. (3) #67--ἀγαπᾷ after σῶμα-- Marcion, OL:DI. (4) #68--delete ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ--Marcion, OL:I. Outside of Marcion and OL:DI these variants are almost unat- tested. But all four can be found in I. This confirms what the more general statistics seem to indicate--that pre- Marcionite readings can be found in both D and I in the OL, but a greater number appear in OL:I.

This is confirmed by two other critical *Leitfehler*. The peculiar addition of διὰ τὸν νόμον in 1 Cor 14:19b (variant #39) is found only in Marcion and OL:I.[8] Finally, the cele- brated deletion of ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον from 1 Cor 15:3 (variant #42), which had been considered a tendentious Marcionite alteration, is found only in OL:I and a few church fathers.[9] This is an easier error to make than the previous case, but its absence in any other MSS is highly significant in demon- strating the special relationship between OL:I and the pre- Marcionite text.

The amount of agreement between OL:D and the pre-Marcionite text is large but not nearly as striking as that of OL:I. Twenty-two of 53 incorrect pre-Marcionite readings are found in OL:D. If the supplementary evidence is taken into account, the proportion is about the same: 41½%. This is much less than the OL:I figure (58%) for the same category. The OL:D agreement with the pre-Marcionite text seems to be closely linked with that of OL:I. Of the 22 OL:D readings which agree with the pre-Marcionite text, 19 are also found in OL:I. Seven of these come from Eph 2:11 and 5:28 where OL:D and I are practically alone in attesting the pre-Marcionite variants in those verses.[10] Since these are *Leitfehler*, they are indicative of some sort of connection between OL:D and the pre-Marcionite text. But that connnection is not nearly as strong as it is with OL:I.

OL:D has nearly half as many rare variants in common with the pre-Marcionite text as OL:I (11 out of 34 for OL:D; 20 out of 34 for OL:I). In fact, OL:D has only 3 pre-Marcionite variants not attested in other OL text-types: (1) #3 Gal 2:4--delete δέ--Marcion, OL:78, Augustine, Jerome. (2) #51 Eph 1:12--delete αύτοῦ--Marcion, OL:D; D* F G. (3) #81 2 Thess 1:9--do not add "in"--Marcion, OL:D, all Greek. None of these could be considered *Leitfehler* since they are all rather easy deletions. The first is not really the predominant OL:D reading, since it is only attested by OL:78 (against OL:75 77 89). And this, the most weakly attested of the OL:D readings, is the only one which is not attested

by a number of Greek MSS.

OL:K and the Pre-Marcionite Text

Unlike the OL:D and I, the OL:K-type is not attested for every verse of the Pauline Corpus. Therefore, the figures which follow OL:K on the Table of Agreements must be appropriately weighted. This can be done not by merely computing the number of verses in the Pauline Corpus for which the OL:K-text is attested but by ascertaining in how many of the established pre-Marcionite readings is the OL:K-text available. Of the 52 incorrect pre-Marcionite readings (from Appendix A) which can be reflected in Latin, only 9 come from verses which are attested in OL:K. Six of those 9 readings agree with the pre-Marcionite readings. The supplementary evidence is consistent with this. These 11 readings come from verses attested in the OL:K. Five of these 11 readings agree with pre-Marcionite incorrect readings. When the primary and supplementary data are combined, we have agreement with the pre-Marcionite text in 11 out of 20 instances (55%). This is much closer to the 60% of OL:I than to the 41½% of OL:D. But since the data base is so small, this evidence is not conclusive statistically.

A singling out of rare readings in the OL:K is of little help. Only three of the rare pre-Marcionite readings come from verses attested by K. In all three cases the K-text agrees with the pre-Marcionite. But to draw conclusions from so small a sample would be hazardous. The supplementary evidence contains 6 rare readings from verses for which the

K-text is available. Of these only 2 are attested by K. This changes the picture considerably--from 3 out of 3 to 5 out of 9, but, again, the sample is too small.

Leitfehler which appear in K are also few. The K-text is not attested for Eph 2:11 and 5:28b and so we have no way of knowing whether it followed D and I in their agreement with the pre-Marcionite text. The only significant variant which K holds without the support of D and I is in Eph 5:31 (delete the clause καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ). It is interesting that the only other support for that reading comes from the pre-Alexandrians, Origen, and 1739*. A few other cases of such concurrence might warrant an explanation of geographical connection between those witnesses and K by way of Africa, but no other cases are available.

Thus, from the little evidence available, the most that can be said about the correspondence of OL:K to the pre-Marcionite text is that it was probably more than that of OL:D and less than that of OL:I.

Conclusions

When one considers the development of the OL text from an early Greek original to the three distinct types (K D I) which are attested in MSS and citations available today,[11] it comes as a surprise that the OL:I is preeminent in agreement with the pre-Marcionite text. OL:K is the earliest attested (Cyprian, ca. 250), and so one might have suspected that it would be the closest to the pre-Marcionite text. Yet even

when the K statistics are proportionally weighted, this does
not seem to be the case. OL:D (attested ca. A.D. 350) would
have even better reasons for being the closest to the pre-
Marcionite text, since it is so closely linked to the Great
Bilinguals which are celebrated carriers of pre-Marcionite
readings. But the OL:I-type is the latest attested. It had
the broadest circulation and developed as a type for over
100 years. This explains its greater variety of readings as
compared to the other types. Its first witnesses are all in
the second half of the fourth century. In fact, its vari-
ance from the other OL-types had normally been attributed to
contact with non-Western Greek MSS. This being the case,
one would expect that OL:D would have the greatest correspon-
dence with the pre-Marcionite text--with correspondence due
mainly to its contact with Greek D F G. One would also
expect that pre-Marcionite readings would dwindle in the
later I-type as contact with non-Western sources increased.
But the pre-Marcionite evidence upsets such an expectation.
The fact that OL:I agrees more frequently with the pre-
Marcionite text than does OL:D proves once and for all that
the connection between the pre-Marcionite text and the OL
was not simply mediated through the immediate predecessors
of the Greek Western uncials. Greater distinctions need to
be made among the "Western" witnesses and here is a clear
example of such a distinction.

The situation before us could almost be called a "re-
gression to the pre-Marcionite text" by the OL:I. This is
almost impossible to explain without hypothesizing some sort

of direct contact between the pre-Marcionite and OL:I. Two
possibilities come to mind:

1) One of the Greek texts which affected the OL:I was
a direct ancestor of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus. In
this case there would be two points of contact between the
pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus and the OL:I: one early--which
affected the archetype of OL:K D I, and thus all the later
text-types; and one later--which affected only the OL:I. This
would explain why D and I share so many pre-Marcionite
readings and why I exceeds D in this.

2) A Pauline Corpus was in existence in Latin, distinct
from the other OL text-types. As all the OL text-types come
from a common ancestor, this one, too, was an early descen-
dent of that ancestor. It was an earlier OL-type than K D
or I, thus fewer incorrect or wild readings had been dis-
carded. It existed simultaneously, though not necessarily
in the same geographical locale, with the other OL text-
types. OL:I was conflated with this text. This early Latin
text-type--a fourth OL text-type--is lost to us.

Two circumstances favor the second hypothesis, i.e.,
that of the lost OL text-type. The first is the presence of
the so-called Marcionite Prologues in several OL witnesses
(Mar, Amstr, Pel, and even OL MSS 64, 86, and 89). All but
the last of these are I-type witnesses; 89 is a tenth-century
MS with a D-type text. Study of the prologues has led some
scholars to the conclusion that they were written by non-
Marcionite Christians for a ten-letter edition of the Pauline
Corpus in Greek. Their presence in the Latin is explained as

an appropriation and subsequent translation of the prologues
by a Latin author.[12]   The Vg has been considered the primary
Latin witness to these prologues. But they are attested
earlier than the Vg in OL MSS and commentaries almost all of
which are of the I-type. The Vg had its own prologue, the
work known as *Primuum Quaeritur,* and this is quite different
from the Marcionite Prologues. Also, it is well known that
there are no pure Vg MSS. All of them contain a certain
number of OL readings--primarily I-type. It seems quite
possible, then, that the prologues entered our attested Latin
text at the stage of the I-type. Their presence in Vg MSS
is just one more example of the mixing of OL:I and Vg. The
appearance of the prologues in the OL:D witness 89 is not
evidence to the contrary. That MS is late (tenth century)
and, according to the studies of Frede, its text shows signs
of being mixed with the I-type.[13] This MS, then, like the
Vg would have received the Prologues, which were apparently
very popular, from the OL:I.

The other circumstance which favors the existence of a
lost OL Pauline Corpus which was conflated with the OL:I is
the state of the OL:I-type itself. Very frequently there is
variance within the I-type. This variance is reflected in
the readings which, while not agreeing with the Vg, do not
agree either with the main line of I-type witnesses. I refer
to these as "OL:I variances." A good number of them attest
pre-Marcionite readings against other OL witnesses. From
the body of Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings which are incor-
rect, there are 6 instances of this (variants ≠ 8, 41, 59,

62, 63, and 83).[14] None of these were included in the 32 instances in which OL:I agreed with pre-Marcionite incorrect readings. This would raise that figure to 38 out of 52. Thus 72% of the incorrect pre-Marcionite readings can be found in OL:I when these OL:I-type variances are included. In the area of rare readings, these variances would increase the OL:I figure from 20 out of 34 to 24 out of 34 (i.e., from 59% to 70½%). From the supplementary evidence (Appendix B), 7 more examples can be found (Appendix B, ## 10, 23, 25, 30, 40, 44, and 46). Of these 7, 2 are variants which are attested elsewhere only once (#44 and #25), and 1 (#23) is attested by no witness other than Marcion.

Thus, there is a certain tension within the OL:I-type itself, and this is frequently reflected in variants which can be found in the pre-Marcionite text. The late conflation of a Pauline Corpus which was a descendant of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus could have been the cause of this situation. This would also explain the introduction of the prologues into the Latin textual tradition.

The argument presented here is not absolutely conclusive, and admittedly it involves some speculation. But the only other possible answer to the questions raised by the greater correspondence of OL:I to the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus would be to assume that OL:I preserved some old readings which went back to the archetypal Latin translation of the Pauline Corpus--the common ancestor of K D and I. In this, one would have to assume that OL:K and D eliminated many of those readings in the course of their development

completely within the Latin framework.[15] But it would be
more likely that the exposure of OL:I to Greek texts would
remove, rather than preserve, pre-Marcionite readings. This
is precisely what happens in the Vg, where exposure to Greek
MSS resulted in a sharp decline in the proportion of pre-
Marcionite readings. Vg agrees with the pre-Marcionite text
in 10 out of 52 cases of incorrect readings. OL:I is 32 out
of 52 in the same category.

Some of the particulars of my hypothesis may be in
doubt. It cannot be clearly demonstrated that the pre-
Marcionite Pauline Corpus which affected the OL:I was in
Latin rather than Greek. The former is more likely, since
the "Prologues" are never attested in a Greek MS. But the
striking degree of correspondence between the pre-Marcionite
text and the OL:I, the least likely of the three OL-types to
have such a correspondence, demands that one assume a direct
contact.

The Eastern Versions and the Pre-Marcionite Text

The general proportion of agreement with the pre-
Marcionite text is not as high for the Eastern Versions as
it is for the OL. There are traces of 25 of the 52 incorrect
pre-Marcionite readings from Appendix A in all the Eastern
Witnesses. The supplementary evidence raises that proportion
overall from 25 out of 52 (48½%) to 57 out of 88 (65%). But
the individual witnesses placed under the general heading
"Eastern Versions" hardly represent a homogeneous body.
Therefore, these "Trace" statistics are a bit misleading, and

the individual witnesses will have to be examined separately.

The highest proportion of agreement with the pre-Marcionite text is found in the Syriac Versions, particularly in the Old Syriac attested by Ephrem. Ephrem attests to 45% of the incorrect pre-Marcionite readings from both the Primary and Supplementary data groups (Appendices A and B). The other Syriac versions have proportions close to and slightly lower than those of the Greek Western witnesses. The same can be said for the Armenian and Coptic Versions. But although these figures are (with the notable exception of Ephrem) not higher than those of the Greek Western witnesses, it must be borne in mind that the Eastern Versions are not reported in every case in the critical apparatus of the New Testament editions used in this thesis;[16] therefore, figures here are a bit lower than they should be. When their proportion of agreement is close to that of the Greek Western MSS, it is quite probable that in reality they equal or surpass the proportions of agreement of the Greek Western witnesses.

This is a situation which requires some explanation. How is it that these witnesses of the Pauline Corpus from so far in the East show a similar (or perhaps greater) correspondence to the pre-Marcionite text than many of the geographically Western witnesses? Must we assume that the pre-Marcionite readings were created in the West and exported Eastward? If it could be demonstrated that the pre-Marcionite readings are attested as frequently in the East as in the West, one could just as easily assume that they originated

in the East and were exported West. The question is, What
is the provenance of the Pauline Corpus which Marcion used?
I will return to this question when the discussion of the
data from the Eastern Version in this section has been com-
pleted.

a) The Syriac Versions

The Old Syriac

The only substantial witness to the Old Syriac Version
is Ephrem. It was noticed early in this study that Ephrem's
text was frequently in agreement with the pre-Marcionite.
But, as with OL:K, not every verse of the Pauline Corpus is
attested by Ephrem. Therefore, as with OL:K, a precise count
had to be made of how many of the incorrect pre-Marcionite
readings from Appendix A were in verses attested by Ephrem.
The total was 29. Thus Ephrem's otherwise unimpressive
figure of 13 agreements becomes a substantial 45%--a propor-
tion of agreement with the pre-Marcionite text slightly
higher than that of the OL:D. This proportion is confirmed
by the supplementary evidence, which offers 20 more cases of
variants which come from verses attested by Ephrem. When
the supplementary evidence is combined with the primary
(22 of 49), the figure 45% remains. With a data base of 49,
the statistics for Ephrem are more reliable than for OL:K,
whose data base was only 20.

The proportion of agreement drops slightly in the
category of rare variants. Ephrem attests 7 out of a pos-
sible 19 rare pre-Marcionite variants (37%). It drops a bit

more (to 30%) when the supplementary evidence is considered.
There Ephrem attests 2 out of a possible 12 pre-Marcionite
variants. Ephrem is alone in agreeing with the Latin Ver-
sions on 2 pre-Marcionite variants: 1 in 1 Cor 12:9 (#36)
χαρίσμα for χαρίσματα and 1 in 1 Cor 2:8 (#20) οὐδέποτε for
οὐκ.

Ephrem is the sole witness to 2 pre-Marcionite readings.
In Eph 2:13 (#58) only Ephrem agrees with the pre-Marcionite
text in reading αὐτοῦ instead of Χριστοῦ. But most signifi-
cant is the pre-Marcionite *Leitfehler* from Gal 4:26 (#10)
into which Eph 1:21 was interpolated. Ephrem preserves this
early gloss.

It is unfortunate that Ephrem was not more thorough in
his citation of the Pauline letters, yet there is certainly
enough evidence here, both general and particular, to indi-
cate direct contact between the text available to Ephrem and
the text available to Marcion.

Syr[P] and Syr[H]

The later Syriac Versions seem to have discarded many
of the pre-Marcionite variants which the Old Syriac pre-
served. The Peshitta has a greater proportion of agreement
with the pre-Marcionite text than does the Harklean (12 of 52
as compared to 8 of 52).[17] Still, the general proportion of
agreement with the pre-Marcionite text is in both cases
rather close to that of the Greek Western witnesses. When
the supplementary evidence is taken into account, Syr[P] has
25 out of 88 readings in common with the pre-Marcionite.

This is a higher proportion of agreement than D (24 of 89) or F (23 of 89), and only slightly lower than G (29 of 89). In less than half of the cases where Syr^P or Syr^H agrees with Marcion is it also in agreement with the Greek Western. Thus the pre-Marcionite text may represent a missing link in the undefined relationship between the Syriac and the Greek Western witnesses.

Syr^P appears to be connected to Ephrem. In 6 of the 9 variants which come from verses attested by Ephrem, Syr^P agrees with Ephrem. One of the most significant of those agreements is in 1 Cor 3:19 (#22), where the transposition to ἐστὶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ is attested only by Syr^P, Ephrem, the Latin versions, and Marcion. A similar pre-Marcionite transposition from 1 Cor 1:11 (#18) is held by Syr^{PH}, the Coptic, Ephrem, and OL:I. Syr^P is the sole witness to the pre-Marcionite deletion of οἷς in Gal 2:5.

The Harklean agreements with the pre-Marcionite text include no *Leitfehler*.

The Armenian

The Armenian evidence is of little independent value. In 10 of the 12 cases in which the Armenian attests a pre-Marcionite variant, it is also found in the Syriac. The supplementary evidence supports this finding. There, 7 out of 10 Armenian agreements with pre-Marcionite variants are also found in the Syriac.[18]

No particularly significant variants are found in the Armenian cases of agreement with the pre-Marcionite readings

from the secure data (Appendix A), but from the supplementary list (Appendix B) two are notable. In the rare variant from Eph 2:15 (Appendix B, #36 — ἐν), Arm and Ephrem are in agreement with an OL:I variance. Also in Eph 5:29 (Appendix B, #40 — ποτέ), some Armenian codices (and two Greek minuscules) agree with an OL:I variance. This lends support to my argument that many of the variances within the OL:I-type seem to come from the pre-Marcionite text. It is significant that the Armenian, without the support of Syriac or Greek witnesses, attests two of these.

Overall, the Armenian evidence is very similar to the later Syriac versions. It seems to indicate a stage of development in which pre-Marcionite incorrect readings continued to be eliminated.

The Coptic

Both the Sahidic and Bohairic may be treated together here, since the cases are few in which they disagree with each other where pre-Marcionite variants are concerned. The Coptic witnesses, like the Armenian, come very close to the Greek Western in the proportion of agreement with pre-Marcionite variants. But in several important cases they attest readings found in OL:I and Vg but not in the Greek Western MSS. There are 3 cases from the secure evidence. None of the 3 could be called a *Leitfehler*, but the alignment of attestation is interesting:

#18 1 Cor 1:11 ∿ εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν Copt, Syr, Ephrem, OL:I.

#41 1 Cor 14:34 ⌐ ἐκκλησίᾳ for ἐκκλησίαις   Copt, Syr[P],
              Eth 119, OL:K[var], Vg[var].

#89 Phil 2:2   ⌐ ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπων   Copt, P[46], Syr[J],
              Orig, OL:K, OL:I[var], Vg[var].

The last of these (#83) tells the story best. There the
agreement is between Copt, P[46], Orig, and some Latin. The
geographical proximity of the first three makes it less
likely that they all chanced upon this error. It is more
likely to assume that it was a very early reading which sur-
faced in Egypt. The appearance of the variant in the Latin
does not dissolve the argument of connection. Rather, the
pre-Marcionite text seems to be the missing link between
Egypt and Western Europe.

The supplementary evidence supports such a connection.
Of the 13 pre-Marcionite variants attested by the Coptic,
10 appear in the OL:I--5 of these as OL:I variances (Appen-
dix B, ## 10, 30, 32, 39, and 40). Particularly significant
are the rare readings (## 39 and 46). In Eph 5:29 (#39) γάρ
is deleted only in Marcion, 33, Boh[cod], OL:I[var], and
Vg[var]. In Phil 2:7 (∿ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν). This reading is
attested only by the Coptic, Syr[J], and OL:I[var].

The Coptic evidence prevents us from picturing the
spread of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus in strictly
linear terms (i.e., East--West or West--East). A circular
model, the circumference of which is the shores of the
Mediterranean, with criss-crossing lines is more appropri-
ate--however unsettling.

Ethiopic

The tallies of concurrences of the Ethiopic with pre-Marcionite readings is of no independent value. In the 5 concurrences from both the secure and supplementary data, it never holds a pre-Marcionite reading without the support of Syr, OL:I, and Coptic. It serves merely to give slight support to the connection between those 3 which have been discussed.

The Alexandrian (including 1739 and Origen)

There are two reasons for presenting a special discussion of the relationship of the Alexandrian witnesses to the pre-Marcionite text. The first is that it places the rather high proportion of agreement of the other groups of witnesses--especially the OL and Eastern Version -- into relief. That is to say, in comparison to the OL's proportion of agreement with the pre-Marcionite variants (trace category) of 48 out of 52, or even the more moderate Eastern Version's 25 of 52, the Alexandrian's 9 out of 53 is strikingly low. The highest proportion of agreement in pre-Marcionite variants by an individual witness from the OL is OL:I, with 32 of 52. The highest proportion in the same category for an individual Alexandrian witness is 4 out of 53. The Table of Descending Order of Agreements below expresses this at a glance. In terms of agreement with pre-Marcionite readings which are correct, on the other hand, the Alexandrian proportions are higher than any of the other groups.

TABLE 11

Descending Order of Agreement
With the Pre-Marcionite Text

Witness	% of Agreement	Proportion (from App. A + B)
OL:I	59%	52 of 88
*(OL:K	55%	11 of 20)
Ephrem	45%	22 of 49
OL:D	42%	37 of 88
G	$32\frac{1}{2}$%	29 of 89
Syr^P	$28\frac{1}{2}$%	25 of 88
D	27%	24 of 89
F	26%	23 of 89
Armenian	25%	22 of 88
Sahidic	24%	21 of 88
Bohairic	$21\frac{1}{2}$%	19 of 88
*Origen	19%+	19 of (?)
*Chrysostom	12%+	11 of (?)
*Theodoret	12%+	11 of (?)
Ψ	11%	10 of 89
L	9%	8 of 89
*Damasius	8%+	7 of (?)
A	8%	7 of 89
C	8%	7 of 89
S (ℵ)	8%	7 of 89
P^{46}	$6\frac{1}{2}$%	6 of 89
K	$6\frac{1}{4}$%	6 of 89
P	$5\frac{1}{2}$%	5 of 89
*1739	$2\frac{1}{4}$%+	2 of (?)
B	$2\frac{1}{4}$%	2 of 89

* Incomplete sample (witness not available for every verse).
  Percentages are lowest possible.

  OL:K is within parentheses because its sample is too small.

The second reason for presenting the Alexandrian evidence here is that it brings us full circle, so to speak. It cannot be coincidental that every one of the 9 pre-Marcionite variants which appear in the Alexandrian witnesses also appears in OL. The pre-Marcionite text becomes a meeting place for the Alexandrian and a Western (in the full sense of the word) witness. The best individual example of this meeting of the Alexandrian and pre-Marcionite text is variant #72 (Eph 5:31 — καὶ προσοκολλήθησεται . . . αὐτοῦ). That deletion is found in OL:K, Greek 6, 1739*, and Origen. A very similar case is variant #83 (Phil 2:7 ⌜ ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπων). Here Origen is in agreement with the Coptic, P^{46}, OL:K, OL:I^{var}, and Vg^{var}. The meeting place would seem to have been Africa in these cases.

The testimony of Origen, a pre-Alexandrian witness, is worth considering here. Every one of the 8 pre-Marcionite variants that he reflects and that can be detected in Latin do appear in the OL witnesses. This is important because I want to argue that the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus circulated throughout the Mediterranean and left its mark long before the time of the fixing of the text-types of which we speak today. But this still leaves open the question of the geographical origin and course of that early text of Paul's letters.

There is enough evidence to advance a hypothesis with respect to the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus, how it came to influence so many different text traditions, and where it probably originated. The Prologues to the ten-letter Pauline

Corpus (formerly called the Marcionite Prologues) provide the key. The fact that these Prologues surfaced in the OL would seem to indicate that the Pauline Corpus to which they had once been attached was also available. The distinguishing feature of the Pauline Corpus presupposed by the Prologues is its order. It is the order attested by Marcion. The only other witnesses to an order of the letters which began with Galatians are found in Syria.[20] It can hardly be a coincidence that the two places where the shape of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus is attested are also the two places which attest pre-Marcionite readings with the highest concentration (i.e., the OL and the Old Syriac).

This leads us finally to the question of the provenance of the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus. When one notices how closely the pre-Marcionite text corresponds to the OL:I-type, it is tempting to conclude that the point of connection is Rome. Since the OL:I-type is a product of central and northern Italy (and quite possibly Rome itself), then it should be no surprize that Marcion, who was at one time operating in Rome, derived his text from the Greek text available in that city. But one cannot assume that the OL:I type reflects the early second-century Greek text of Rome. The OL:I-type is the latest of the OL text-types and shows contact with non-Western Greek MSS. OL:D would be a slightly better reflection of the Western text which may have been available in Rome at Marcion's time. But the correspondence of the OL:I and the text reflected in citations from Marcion does not need to be associated with Rome. Marcion began his

Christian life in Sinope--very close to Armenia and not very far from Syria. It is far more likely that he had already seen and was familiar with a Pauline Corpus before he arrived in Rome. The so-called Western text that he used as the basis of his edition of the Pauline Corpus was probably a product of the East![21] This would explain the high frequency of agreement between OL:I and some of the distant Eastern Versions.

The role of Marcion in all of this recedes further and further into the background. The text-type he used could have already enjoyed a fairly broad circulation. His journey to Rome was hardly the first time nor the only time that this text was brought to that city. The false trail that many textual critics have been following has been the attempt to explain how the Marcionite text infiltrated the OL-- especially at a time when Marcion and Marcionites were on the wane. The various hypotheses about a Latin Marcionite Pauline Corpus as the first OL Pauline Corpus are prime examples of the following of this false trail.

Removing the textual alterations made by Marcion himself and unveiling the pre-Marcionite Pauline Corpus proved to be advantageous. Just as the Prologues became more useful to scholars studying the history of the Pauline Corpus in the West once they were divested of the adjective "Marcionite," so also the variant readings reflected by Marcion and their appearance in diverse texts can be better appreciated and evaluated when they are recognized as pre-Marcionite.

The only remaining question is, Why was the pre-Marcionite ten-letter Pauline Corpus suppressed? That is really not such a difficult question to answer. It containted serious textual errors; it presented Paul's letters in an order which was later seen as obsolete; and it did not contain the Pastorals. It was simply superseded by what came to be regarded as a better model.

However, it has not been completely suppressed. It exists in the citations from Marcion found in Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius--if one only takes the time to sort them out. But more importantly, it exists in countless flashes in every text-type available--but most especially in OL:I and the text of Ephrem. It had a greater effect on the textual tradition of the New Testament than the new edition of this text made by Marcion himself.

NOTES: 2 B EXTERNAL EVALUATION

[1]The term "Western Text" is appropriate for two versions only--the Latin and the Gothic. There are not only geograph- ically Western but also show contact with the Western Bi- linguals (D, F, G).

[2]For an explanation of the OL text-types, see pp. 12-16.

[3]Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 2.

[4]Harnack, *Marcion*, 151*.

[5]See above, 2 A 2.2, pp. 185-87.

[6]Frede (*Ad Ephesios*, 71-73) accepts variants #55 (-ὅτι) and #56 (ϗὑμεῖς ποτέ) as the OL:D text. At the time of his compilation of that volume he was not using a very important OL:D-type witness, namely, 89. For variant #55 the D-type witnesses 75 and 77 delete ὅτι, but 78 and 89 do not. For #56 only 77 has the transposition ϗὑμεῖς ποτέ, while 75, 78, and 89 do not. The I-type witnesses, on the other hand, are more consistent with each other in their attestation of these two readings. One cannot deny, however, the presence of all four readings in the OL:D.

[7]See above, 2 A 2.4, pp. 204-5.

[8]See above, 2 A 2.2, p. 188, and Zuntz, *Text of the Epistles*, 230.

[9]See above, 2 A 2.4, pp. 200-201.

[10]See above, 2 B, pp. 227-28.

[11]See above, pp. 12-16.

[12]Dahl, "Prologues," 257.

[13]Frede, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar* (Freiburg: Herder, 1973) 1. 153.

[14]See Appendix A for the specific witnesses of these readings.

[15]This is exactly what H. J. Frede suggested in conversation when asked, "How would one explain a greater correspondence to the pre-Marcionite text in OL:I than K or D-- if that correspondence could be demonstrated?" His answer was not a carefully worked out, published opinion, but I wished to present it here so that the source of the alternative solution is clearly identified.

[16]See pp. 221-22.

[17]Syr[J] was not considered in this study. Since it is a relatively recently defined member of the Syriac family, its readings are only sporadically reported and these only in the *Vetus Latina* editions of Frede. The number of agreements with pre-Marcionite readings was three, but this figure is so incomplete that it is meaningless.

[18]This would seem to be a confirmation of the position that the *Vorlage* of the Armenian was in Syriac, not in Greek. But the fact is that the Armenian agrees just as frequently with the Greek Western witnesses in holding pre-Marcionite variations as it does with the Syriac. A few individual cases lean in favor of the Syriac as the *Vorlage* (Appendix A

##44, 69, 40 and especially 56), but the general statistics are not convincing.

[19]Ten of the thirteen appear in the OL:I!

[20]*Studia Sinaitica* 1, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS,* ed. A. S. Lewis (London, 1894), and Ephrem *Commentarii.*

[21]H. J. Frede (*Altlateinische Paulus-Handschriften,* 167 and 178) already concluded that the Western text of the Pauline Corpus originated in Syrian Antioch.

KEY TO APPENDICES A AND B

variant number

passage →

variant →

judgment: cor = correct
incor = incorrect

#2) Gal 1:8   εὐαγγελίσονται for εὐαγγελίζηται   incor

cited in →   *Adv. Marc.* 5.2.6 *Dial. Adam.* 1.6

attestation for reading →   S A 81 minn pc Eus Ath Cyr Thdrt Dam Tert Orig   OL:KDI

1   4   5   2?

OL and or Vg attestation

coded indication of reasons for accepting reading as accurate representation of pre-Marcionite text. See p. 26 for list of positive criteria.

coded indication of reservations against accepting reading as accurate representation of pre-Marcionite text. See p. 26 for list of negative criteria.

APPENDIX A

List of Secure Pre-Marcionite Readings

Readings are listed in the order Galatians, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1-2 Thessalonians, Philippians.
The following standard NT text-critical symbols will be used to describe variants:

  — delete   ∿ transpose

  + add   ⌐ substitute X for Y.

Correct readings must be explained verbally: e.g., "do not delete," "do not add."
For a complete list of MSS and Version abbreviations, see p. iii.

#1) Gal 1:6   — Χριστοῦ   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.2.4 Adam./Rufinus 1.6
P^{46vid} F G H^{vid} Tert.   OL:KDI
2   3

#2) Gal 1:8   ⌐ εὐαγγελίσηται for εὐαγγελίζηται   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.2.6 *Dial. Adam.* 1.6
S A 81 minn pc Eus Ath Cyr Thdrt Dam Tert Orig   OL:KDI
1   4   5 2^{no}

#3) Gal 2:4   — δέ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.3

2   2.2   3   4   OL:D^{var}

#4) Gal 2:4   — ᾿Ιησοῦ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.3

2   2.2   3   4   OL:I

#5) Gal 2:4   do not add μή   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.3
All Greek MSS but F G   OL:DI Vg
2   2.2   4

#6) Gal 2:5a   do not delete οὐδέ   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.3
All Greek MSS but D   Vg
1   2.1   2.2   4

#6a) Gal 2:5a   — οἷς   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.3
Syr^P
2   2.2   3   4

#7) Gal 3:14   ⌜ εὐλογίαν for ἐπαγγελίαν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.3.11
P^46 D* F G 88* 489 Ephrm   OL:DI
2.1   3   4

#8) Gal 3:26   ⌜ υἱοὶ ἐστε πίστεως for υἱοὶ θεοῦ   incor
                ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως
Adv. Marc. 5.3.11
                                                     OL:I^var
1   2.1   3   4   2?

#9) Gal 4:23   — μέν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.8
P^46 B   Vg
2   2.1   2.2   4

#10) Gal 4:26   + Eph 1:21   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.8
Ephrm
2   4

#11) Gal 4:26   do not add πάντων   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.8
P[46] S* B C D F G Ψ 6 33 1739 et al. Syr[P] Hmg Cop
Eth Goth
Orig Ephrm et pm.   OL:D Vg
2 4

#12) Gal 4:31   ⌐ διό (propter quod) for ἄρα   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.8
S B D* H 0261 1739 Arm
2 3 4

#13) Gal 5:9   ⌐ δολοῖ for ζυμοῖ·   cor
Pan. 42 (120)
D* Goth Bas   OL:DI Vg
1 4   10

#14) Gal 5:14   ⌐ ἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.12/13 *Pan.* 42 (120)
D F G Goth   OL:DI
2 3 4 5
Remark: Witnesses listed attest both ἐν ὑμῖν and ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ

#15) Gal 5:14   ⌐ πεπλήρωται for πληροῦται   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.12/13 *Pan.* 42 (120)
S A B C minn Euthal Dam
2 3 4 5

#16) Gal 5:14   — ἐν τῷ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.12/13 *Pan.* 42 (120)
D* F G Ephrm   OL:DI Vg
2 3 4 5

#17)   Gal 6:9   Γ ἐγκακῶμεν for ἐγκακήσωμεν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.14
S B D* minn Cop   OL:KDI Vg
2.1   4

#18)   1 Cor 1:11   ∿ εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν   incor
Dial. Adam. 1.8
Syr Ephrm Cop   OL:I
. 2   3   4

#19)   1 Cor 1:22   — καί   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.5.8
P^{46} F G 323 Syr^P OL:KDI Vg^{var}
2   4

#20)   1 Cor 2:8   Γ οὐδέποτε for οὐκ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.6.5
Ephrm   OL:KDI Vg
2   2.2   3   4

#21)   1 Cor 3:2   do not add καί   cor
Dial. Adam. 1.9
P^{46} S A B C P 1739 minn Cop Syr^H Clem Orig Eus
Iren Cyr   OL:KI Vg
2   3   4

#22)   1 Cor 3:19   ∿ ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.6.12
Syr^P Ephrm   OL:KDI Vg
2

#23) 1 Cor 5:3a   + ὡς after γάρ   incor
Dial. Adam. 2.5
D' E F G Ψ Maj Syr^H Arm Chrys Thdrt Dam   OL:DI
2   3   4

#24) 1 Cor 5:4a   + ἡμῶν after κυρίου   cor
Dial. Adam. 2.5
P⁴⁶ S D^C E F G L P Syr Cop Arm Eth Goth   OL:I Vg
2   3   4

#25) 1 Cor 5:4a   do not delete Χριστοῦ after   cor
                        Ἰησοῦ (1)
Dial. Adam. 2.5
P⁴⁶ D^C F G L P Syr   OL:I Vg
2   3   4

#26) 1 Cor 5:4b   + ἡμῶν after κυρίου (2)   cor
Dial. Adam. 2.5
S A B D* Ephrm Sah   OL:D
2   3   4

#27) 1 Cor 5:5b   no addition after κυρίου   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.7.2
P⁴⁶ B 1739   OL:I
2.1   3   4

#28) 1 Cor 5:7a   do not add οὖν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.7.3
P⁴⁶ S A B D F G minn Syr^P Clem   OL:KDI Vg
2   4

#29) 1 Cor 9:7 — ἤ   incor
Dial. Adam. 1.22
B C² D F G Ψ minn 1739 Syr^H Sah Goth Arm   OL:DI Vg
2 3 4

#30) 1 Cor 9:7b — τῆς ποίμνης   cor
Dial. Adam. 1.22
P⁴⁶ 12^lect   OL:I^var
2 3 4

#31) 1 Cor 9:9 Γ φιμώσεις for κημώσεις   incor
Dial. Adam. 1.22
P⁴⁶ S A B³ C D²⁺³ E K L P Maj Orig Chrys Euthal Cyr
Thdrt Epi Dam
2 3 4
Remark: Not reflected in Latin.

#32) 1 Cor 10:2 Γ ἐβαπτίσθησαν for ἐβαπτίσαντο   cor
Dial. Adam. 2.18
S A C D F G 33 Ψ minn Chrys¼ Cyr Thdrt½
2 3 4
Remark: Not reflected in Latin.

#33) 1 Cor 10:9 Γ Χριστόν for κυρίον   cor
Pan. 42 (121)
P⁴⁶ D E F G K L Syr Cop Iren Chrys Theophyl Clem   OL:DI Vg
Orig
1 4   2^no 10

#34) 1 Cor 10:11 — πάντα   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.7.14 *Pan.* 42 (122)
P⁴⁶ A B 33 1175 1739 Sah Iren Orig Hipp Cyr of Jer
2 4 5

#35) 1 Cor 10:20   do not add τὰ ἔθνη after θύουσιν   cor
Pan. 42 (122)
B D* F G   OL:DI
2 4   10

#36) 1 Cor 12:9   Γ χάρισμα for χαρίσματα   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.8.8
Ephrm   OL:I Vg
2.1 4

#37) 1 Cor 12:10   Γ διάκρισις for διακρίσεις   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.8.8
S C D* F G P 33 0201 1175 Syr^P Sah Arm Clem Orig
Bas Ephrm   OL:DI Vg
2.1 4

#38) 1 Cor 12:24b   Γ ὑστεροῦντι for ὑστερουμένῳ   cor
Dial. Adam. 2.19
P^46 S^2 D F G Ψ Maj Orig Chrys Thdrt
2 3 4
Remark: Not reflected in Latin.

#39) 1 Cor 14:19b   + διὰ τὸν νόμον   incor
Pan. 42 (122)

                                                             OL:I
1 2 4   10

#40) 1 Cor 14:21   Γ ἑτέροις for ἑτέρων   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.8.10   *Pan.* 42 (122)
P^46 D^2 F G Maj Syr^P Ephrm Cop Arm Goth Eth Orig   OL:DI Vg
2 4 5

#41) 1 Cor 14:34   ⌐ ἐκκλησίᾳ for ἐκκλησίαις   incor
Dial. Adam. 2.18 *Pan.* 42 (122)
119 Syr^P Cop Eth   OL:KI Vg^var
2   4   5

#42) 1 Cor 15:3   — ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον   incor
Dial. Adam. 5.6 *Adv. Marc.* 3.8.5
Orig Eus Chrys   OL:ID^var
2   3   4   5   12?

#43) 1 Cor 15:45   ⌐ κύριος for ἄνθρωπος   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.10.7-8 *Dial. Adam.* 2.19

1   2   3   5   4^no

#44) 1 Cor 15:47   ⌐ κύριος for ἄνθρωπος   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.10.7-8 *Dial. Adam.* 2.19
630 (S^c A D* Ψ Maj Syr Arm Goth Orig Thdrt et al.)
1   2   3   4   5
Remark: Only 630 agrees exactly with the pre-Marcionite
reading. The witnesses in parentheses add κύριος after
ἄνθρωπος, thus attesting the pre-Marcionite reading
indirectly.

#45) 1 Cor 15:49   — καί (1)   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.10.10
Ephrm   OL:KDI Vg
2   3   4   (in initio)

#46) 1 Cor 15:49   ⌐ φορέσωμεν for φορέσομεν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.10.10
P^46 S A C D F G K L P Maj Boh Thdrt Clem Orig Epi   OL:KDI Vg
1   2   3   4

#47) 1 Cor 15:50   Γ γάρ for δέ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.10.11
D F G   OL:DI
2 3 4

#48) 1 Cor 15:50   Γ κληρονομήσουσιν for   incor
                        κληρονομῆσαι δύναται
Adv. Marc. 5.10.11
F G 1907 Boh Ophites apud Macarius Chrys   OL:DI
2 3 4

#49) Eph/Laod Title   Γ Λαοδικέας for ᾿Εφεσίους   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.1 *Pan.* 42 (105)
"Marcionite Prologues"
1 4

#50) Eph 1:1   — ἐν ᾿Εφέσῳ (or Γ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ)   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.1
P^{46} S* B* 6 424^C 1739 (Ephrm) Orig   Vg^{var}
1 4

#51) Eph 1:12   — ἀυτοῦ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.3
D* F G   OL:D
2 3 4

#52) Eph 1:13   — καί (2)   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.4
D F G 1912 Boh Sah Arm Goth Didy   OL:DI
2 3 4

#53)   Eph 2:11   — Διό   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
104 1311
2   2.1   2.2   3   4   5   (in initio)

#54)   Eph 2:11   Γ μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
G   OL:DI
2   2.1   2.2   3   4   5

#55)   Eph 2:11   — ὅτι   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
G   OL:I
2   2.1   2.2   3   4   5
Remark: Tertullian and Epiphanius contra *Dial. Adam.*

#56)   Eph 2:11   ⌐ ὑμεῖς ποτέ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
S² D² Maj Sah Syr^H Ephrm   OL:I
2   2.1   2.2   3   4   5

Remarks: Tertullian and Epiphanius contra *Dial. Adam.*
    Note other variants: ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ποτέ Syr^P Boh
                            Arm Eth Goth.
                    ὑμεῖς οἱ ποτέ   F G.

#57)   Eph 2:13   — Ἰησοῦ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
L Iren Orig   OL:I
2   2.1   2.2   3   4

Remarks: *Dial. Adam.* 2.18 deletes the entire phrase
           ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
           Tertullian contra Epiphanius.

#58) Eph 2:13   Γ αὑτοῦ for Χριστοῦ (2)   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
Ephrm
2 2.1 2.2 3 5
Remark: Tertullian and Epiphanius contra *Dial. Adam.*

#59) Eph 2:14   — αὑτοῦ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.14
                                                  OL:I^var
1 2 3

#60) Eph 2:15   Γ ἑαυτῷ for αὑτῷ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.15
D G Maj Syr^P Ephrm Arm   OL:DI Vg
2 2.2 4 5

#61) Eph 2:17   — εἰρήνην (2)   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.16 *Dial. Adam.* 2.19
Ψ Maj Syr Ephrm   Vg^var
2 3 4 5

#62) Eph 2:20   — καὶ προφητῶν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.16
112* 1^{+a}   OL:I^var Vg^var
1 4

#63) Eph 3:9   — ἑν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.1 *Dial. Adam.* 2.20
S* 614 2412   OL:I^var
1 4   7?
Remark: Tertullian contra *Dial. Adam.* (Greek only)

#64) Eph 3:10 — νῦν cor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.2
F G minn Syr^P Ephrm Clem Orig OL:DI Vg
2 2.1 2.2 3 4

#65) Eph 5:28b — ὡς incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.8
archetype of D G OL:DI
2 3 4

#66) Eph 5:28b ⌐ σάρκα for σῶματα incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.8
D* Arm^{codd} OL:DI
2 3 4
Remark: The witnesses listed attest σῶμα and not σάρκα.

#67) Eph 5:28b + ἀγαπᾷ after σῶμα incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.8
archetype of D G OL:DI
2 3 4

#68) Eph 5:28b — ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.8
OL:I
3 4

#69) Eph 5:29 ⌐ μίσει for ἐμίσησεν incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
Syr^P Arm^{codd} OL:I
2 3 4

#70)   Eph 5:29   + καί after ἀλλά   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9

2   3

#71)   Eph 5:29   — καί after κάθως   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
L Sah   OL:I
2   3   4

#72)   Eph 5:31   — καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς   incor
                     τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9   *Pan.* 42 (119)
6 1739* Orig   OL:K
2   2.1   3   4

#73)   Eph 5:32   — εἰς (2)   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.10
B K Cop Clem Orig Epi   OL:K
2   3   4

#74)   Col 4:10   ⌐ ἵνα for ἐάν   incor
Dial. Adam. 1.5
                                                       OL:I
2   3   4

#75)   Col 4:10   + οὖν   incor
Dial. Adam. 1.5

2   3

#76)   Col 4:11   + μου after μόνοι   incor

Dial. Adam. 1.5

D* F G 1898 Sah Syr Arm   OL:DI Vg^var

2   3   4

#77)   Col 4:11   + εἰσι after μόνοι μου   incor

Dial. Adam. 1.5

D* G P 330 1898 2400 Syr^J Cop Arm

2   3   4

#78)   1 Thess 2:15a   + ἰδίους before προφῆτας   incor

Adv. Marc. 5.15.1

D^1 E* K L Ψ Syr Goth Chrys Thdrt

1   2.1   4

#79)   2 Thess 1:8   — ἐν πυρὶ φλογός   incor

Adv. Marc. 5.16.2

1   1'? 2'

Remark: The order of the words ἐν πυρὶ φλογός varies
        in Syr, Ephrm, and Arm. This is indirect
        attestation of a possible deletion.

#80)   2 Thess 1:9   ⌜ ὀλέθριον for ὄλεθρον   incor

Adv. Marc. 5.16.2

A 17 73 330 1611 Chrys Euth

2   2.1   3   4

#81)   2 Thess 1:9   do not add *in* after *dabunt*   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.16.2
All Greek   OL:D
2   2.1   3   4   7
Remarks: This reading has no value independent of
         the preceding reading. It seems to be the
         result of translation from Greek to Latin.
         For this reason it is given in Latin. It
         is not one of the 83 secure variants but is
         presented in connection with #79.

#82)   2 Thess 2:12   Γ πιστεύσαντες for πιστεύοντες   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.16.5
All Greek but K   OL:KDI Vg
2   2.2   3   4

#83)   Phil 2:7   Γ ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπων   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.20.3
P^{46} Syr^{J} Cop Orig   OL:KI^{var} Vg^{var}
2   3   4

APPENDIX B

List of Probable Pre-Marcionite Readings
(Not Completely Secure)

#1) Gal 1:1 — καὶ θεοῦ πατρός   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.1.3 Orig (see remark)

1 5   10
Remark: Origen apud Jerome *Commentary on Galatians*

#2) Gal 1:8 ⌐ ἄλλως for παρ᾽ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα   incor
                    ὑμῖν
Adv. Marc. 5.2.6 *Dial. Adam.* 1.6
                                                         OL:K
1 2^{no} 9

#3) Gal 4:8 do not delete φύσει   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.5
All Greek but K   OL:DI^{var} Vg
3 4   2?

#4) Gal 4:8 ∿ θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.5
D F G Goth   OL:DI Vg
3 4   2?

#5) Gal 5:1 ⌐ ᾗ for τῇ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.4.9
F G   OL:DI Vg
3 4 2^{no}

#6) Gal 5:19   do not add μοιχεία   cor
Pan. 42 (120)
S A B C P minn Syr^P Cop Clem   OL:KI Vg
2 4   10

#7) Gal 5:20   Γ ἔρεις for ἔρις   incor
Pan. 42 (120)
C D^2 F G Ψ Maj Syr^H Cop   OL:KDI Vg
2 4   10

#8) Gal 5:20   Γ ζῆλοι for ζῆλος   incor
Pan. 42 (120)
S C D^2 Ψ Maj Syr^H Cop Clem   OL:KDI Vg
2 4   10

#9) Gal 5:21   do not add φόνοι after φθόνοι   cor
Pan. 42 (120)
P^{46} S B minn Sah Clem   OL:KI
2 4   10

#10) Gal 5:21   + καί after καθώς   incor
Pan. 42 (120)
S^2 A C D Ψ Maj Syr^P Boh Clem   OL:I^{var} Vg^{var}
2 4   10

#11) Gal 6:13 Γ περιτεμνόμενοι for περιτετμημένοι cor
Pan. 42 (121, 159)
P^{46} B F G L Ψ minn Cop   Vg
2 4   10

#12) 1 Cor 6:14   ⌈ ἐξεγερεῖ for ἐξήγειρεν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.7.4
P⁴⁶ S C Ψ Maj Syrᴴ Ephrm Cop   OL:I Vg
3 4

#13) 1 Cor 6:16   — ἤ   incor
Pan. 42 (121) *Dial. Adam.* 5.23
P⁴⁶ D K L Ψ 6 Syr Ephrm   OL:I
2 3 4 5   (in initio), 10

#14) 1 Cor 6:20   + ἄρατε (αρα γε) after δοξάσατε incor
Adv. Marc. 5.7.4-5
1611 Chrys   OL:KDI Vg
4   2ⁿᵒ

#15) 1 Cor 7:29   + ὅτι   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.8.7
D F G Ψ 319 642 Syr Cop Arm Dam   OL:D
4   2ⁿᵒ

#16) 1 Cor 10:3   ∿ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον for incor
                     πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον
Dial. Adam. 2.18 *Pan.* 42 (121)
Sᶜ D F G K L Syr Ephrm Cop Arm Goth Iren Orig   OL:DI Vg
Chrys Thdrt Dam
2 3 4   9 (contra
                                                   Epiphanius)

#17) 1 Cor 10:4   ∿ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον for   incor
                    πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα
Dial. Adam. 2.18 *Pan.* 42 (121)
D F G K L Maj Syr Ephrm Cop Arm Goth Orig Chrys
Thdrt Dam   OL:DI Vg
2 3 4   9 (contra
                                                   Epiphanius)

#18) 1 Cor 11:10   ⌐ ἐξουσίαν for κάλυμμα   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.8.2
All witnesses but Boh Iren Epi   OL:DI Vg
4   2no

#19) 1 Cor 14:33   — ὁ θεός   cor
Adv. Marc. 4.4.5
                                                             OL:I
2   2.1   2.2   3   4   10

#20) 1 Cor 14:34   ⌐ ὑποτάσσεσθαι for   incor
                    ὑποτάσσέσθωσαν
Dial. Adam. 2.18 *Pan.* 42 (123)
D F G K L Ψ Maj Syr^P Arm Chrys Thdrt   OL:DI Vg
2   4

#21) 1 Cor 15:2   ⌐ εἰ κατέχετε for   cor
                    ὀφείλετε κατέχειν
Dial. Adam. 5.6
All MSS but D F G   Vg
2   3   4   10

#22) 1 Cor 15:3   — κατὰ τὰς γραφάς   incor
Adv. Marc. 3.8.5 *Dial. Adam.* 5.6

2   3   4   5   1'

#23) 1 Cor 15:21   — γάρ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.9.5
                                                             OL:I^{var}
2.2   4   2? 6

#24) 1 Thess 4:16 ⌐ πρῶτοι for πρῶτον   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.15.4 *Dial. Adam.* 1.25
D* F G Syr Eus Bas Thdrt   OL:DI Vg
3   4   5   2^{no}

Remark: The citation is too brief in *Adv. Marc.*
        Thus *Dial. Adam.* is being relied on solely.

#25) 2 Thess 2:4 ⌐ καί for ἤ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.16.4
Syr^{P}   OL:I^{var}
4   2^{no}

#26) 2 Thess 2:11 ⌐ πέμψει for πέμπει   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.16.4-5
S^{c} D^{c} K L P Syr Cop Arm Eth Orig Hipp Thdrt Chrys   OL:DI
Cyr
2   2.2   3   4

#27) Eph 1:6 + υἱῷ αὐτοῦ after ἠγαπημένῳ   incor
Dial. Adam. 5.12
D* E* F G 330 Syr^{H} Ephrm Cop Goth Orig   OL:DI
2   3   4   10

#28) Eph 1:10 — ἐν αὐτῷ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.1
Syr^{P} Chrys^{var}   OL:I^{var}
2   2.1   4   6

#29) Eph 1:20 ⌐ καθίσας for ἐκάθισεν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.6
S A B   OL:I Vg
2?   4   6

#30) Eph 1:20   + αὐτόν after καθίσας   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.6
S A minn Syr Ephrm Cop Eth Orig Eus Euthal   OL:I^{var}
4   6 2no

#31) Eph 2:3   ∼ φύσει τέκνα   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.9
A D G L P 69 Cop Syr^{HJ} Ephrm Arm Orig   OL:DI Vg
3 4   11

#32) Eph 2:12   + ἐν after ἦτε   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
P^{46} D^{c} 6 Maj Syr^{P} Ephrm Sah^{codd} OL:I^{var} Vg
2 2.1 2.2 3 4 5   7, 9
                                           (contra Epiphanius)

#33) Eph 2:12   ⌐ καί for τῆς (2) or   incor
                 + καί before def. art.
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
Orig   OL:I
2 2.1 2.2 3 4   9 (contra
                                           Epiphanius and *Dial. Adam.*)

#34) Eph 2:12   + αὐτῶν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.12 *Pan.* 42 (119) *Dial. Adam.* 2.18
F G   OL:DI
2 2.1 2.2 3 4   9 (contra
                                           Epiphanius and *Dial. Adam.*)

#35) Eph 2:14   — γάρ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.14 *Pan.* 42 (119)

                                                   Vg^{var}
2 3 4   9 (contra
                                           Epiphanius)

#36)   Eph 2:15   — ἐν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.17.15
Arm Ephrm   OL:I^{var} Vg
2.2   4   2? 7?

#37)   Eph 4:6   + ἡμῖν   incor
Dial. Adam. 2.19
D G Maj Syr Arm Ephrm   OL:KDI Vg
3   4   2no

#38)   Eph 5:23   ∿ κεφαλή ἐστιν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.8
B minn Bas Orig   OL:I Vg
3   4   2? 7

#39)   Eph 5:29   — γάρ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
33 Boh^{codd} Vg^{var} OL:I^{var}
2   3   4   6? in initio

#40)   Eph 5:29   — ποτέ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
241 2147 Arm^{codd} OL:I^{var}
2   3   4   6 in initio

#41)   Eph 5:29   ∿ τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
S*   OL:I Vg
2   3   4   11

#42)   Eph 5:29   ∿ καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9
All Greek MSS but D F G   OL:I Vg
2 3 4   11

#43)   Eph 5:31   Γ ταύτης for τούτου   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.9 *Pan.* 42 (119)

2 3   8 9
                                              (contra Epiphanius)

#44)   Eph 6:2   — σου (1)   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.18.11
330   OL:I^{var}
2.2 4 2^{no}

#45)   Col 1:5   Γ ἠκούσατε for προηκούσατε   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.19.1
Sah Arm   Vg
2.2 3 4   2? 7?

#46) Phil 2:7   ∿ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν   incor
Adv. Marc. 5.20.3
Cop Syr^{J} OL:I^{var}
2 3 4   11

#47)   Phil 3:21 — εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτό   cor
Adv. Marc. 5.20.7
S A B D* F G minn Cop Goth Arm Eth Iren Orig Eus
Ath Euthal Cyr   OL:KDI^{var} Vg
2.1 4   2?

APPENDIX C

Evaluation of Passages from *Dial. Adam.* 5: Significant Problems

In this appendix, Pauline passages from *Dial. Adam.* 5 will be discussed which can be evaluated fruitfully according to three criteria (presented in the section of this thesis on Adamantius as a Witness, p. 97):

1) Does the reading agree with a Marcionite reading reported elsewhere?
2) Is a distinctively Marcionite tendency discernible?
3) Does the variant appear in non-Marcionite MSS or church father citations which most frequently show concurrence with Marcionite readings?

Gal 2:20 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.22)

The variant ἀγοράσαντος for ἀγαπήσαντος is taken by many to be the Marcionite reading for this verse. It is reported as such by Aland in the 26th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Harnack also accepts it.[1] But there is no attestation of this variant in Tertullian or Epiphanius, or anywhere else for that matter. It is even questionable whether this is truly the reading in the text of the *Dialogue*. *Redemit* (ἀγοράσαντος) appears in Rufinus' translation of *Dial. Adam.*, but all the Greek MSS for that work have ἀγαπήσαντος. The variant is a simple enough visual error--a matter of only three letters (ΑΙ ΑΠΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ/ΑΓΟΡΑΣΑΝ-ΤΟΣ). Also, the concept of Jesus as "buyer" of the believers

is familiar enough to anyone who has read Paul's letters. The very word ἀγοράζω appears in 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23; and 7:30. The notion of buying is even suggested by the final part of Gal 2:20--in particular the words καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. The point is this: the change from ἀγαπήσαντος to ἀγοράσαντος is a simple enough error. It could have happened within the text of *Dial. Adam.* itself. There is absolutely no Marcionite *Tendenz* discernible. Therefore, there is no impelling reason to accept it as a Marcionite variant.

Gal 6:17 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.22) τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν for τοῦ λοιποῦ.

There is no convincing confirmation of the variant in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 5.4.15. It is even questionable whether τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν is a legitimate reading of *Dial. Adam.* Rufinus has *de cetero* (reflecting τοῦ λοιποῦ) in his translation. The variant is attested in no other MS or church father. It could well be yet another result of the badly damaged text of *Dial. Adam.*

1 Cor 15:29 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.23)

Dial. Adam. (Greek and Latin) agrees with Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 5.10.1) in omitting the initial ἐπεί. This is the first example to favor the position that *Dial. Adam.* 5 contains readings from the text of Marcion. It is reminiscent of the case of Eph 2:11 where the initial διό was omitted by Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius.[2] I

accepted that deletion in Eph 2:11 as a Marcionite reading.
But that case was significantly different from the deletion
here in 1 Cor 15:29. In the case of Eph 2:11, there was MS
support for the variant. For 1 Cor 15:29 there is no MS
support for the deletion. The concurrence of Tertullian and
Adamantius here is very likely a coincidence. The word ἐπεί
is superfluous when the verse is cited out of context. Such
initial adverbs are often dropped in citations, especially
loose ones. Tertullian's citation of the verse in *Adv.*
Marc. 5.10.1 shows signs of abbreviation elsewhere as well.

1 Cor 15:38 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.23) Adam./Greek has the variants:

1) ἕκαστον for ἑκάστῳ
2) δέ for καί
3) + ἀπολαμβάνει at the end.

The translation by Rufinus reflects none of these variants.
Also, when 1 Cor 15:38 is cited again (*Dial. Adam.* 5.24--
though loosely), only the second variant is maintained in
the Greek text of *Dial. Adam.* It is impossible to determine
with accuracy whether any of these variants are from the
text of Marcion.

1 Cor 15:39 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.23)

Here is an example which reflects the dismal state of the
text of *Dial. Adam.* It also provides an opportunity to
compare Adamantius' and Tertullian's citations of the same
verse from Marcion's text. The verse provides a short list

of different types of flesh. In Nestle-Aland[26] we find:
ἀνθρώπων, κτηνῶν, πτηνῶν and ἰχθύων. We should expect some
variations in the textual tradition of Paul's letters here
because of the similarity of κτηνῶν to πτηνῶν. Indeed, in
Dial. Adam. and *Adv. Marc.* we see variants--but not what we
would expect:

Adam./Greek (5.23)	ἀνθρώπου	κτηνῶν	ἰχθύων
Adam./Rufinus (5.23)	hominum	volucrum	piscium
Adv. Marc. (5.10.4)	hominum	pecudum	volucrum

It is difficult enough to establish clearly the correct
reading of *Dial. Adam.* We can probably attribute the
singular ἀνθρώπου to looseness by a scribe of the Greek text
of the *Dialogue*. But it is difficult to decide whether
κτηνῶν or πτηνῶν (or both) was the correct reading for the
second type of flesh. In either case it would not be in
agreement with Tertullian's *hominum, pecudum, volucrum*
(ἀνθρώπων, κτηνῶν, πτηνῶν), though (I must admit) Tertul-
lian's citation is a rather loose one. It is possible that
the text before all three authors (Adam./Greek, Rufinus,
and Tertullian) had all four words (ἀνθρώπων, κτηνῶν, πτη-
νῶν, ἰχθύων), but to arrive at this conclusion we would have
to add a word to each of them. It is far more likely that
Tertullian and Adamantius disagree here. Therefore, the
variant cannot be accepted as a secure reflection of the
Marcionite text.

1 Cor 15:53 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.24)

Adam./Greek and Adam./Rufinus both cite this verse with no

variants. But when the verse is cited again on the very
same page, Adam./Greek (but not Adam./Rufinus) has reversed
the order of φθαρτόν and θνητόν. The Greek text of *Dial.*
Adam. here is simply not stable enough to be trusted as a
source for Marcionite variants.

1 Cor 15:50 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.26)

Those who argue that book 5 of *Dial. Adam.* reflects the
text of Marcion have their best argument in the citation of
this verse. Unfortunately, it occurs in a section of the
Dialogue which is missing in the Greek tradition of that
work. But in Rufinus' translation, 1 Cor 15:50a appears
thus: Caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt. The
variant to be noticed is *possidebunt* (κληρονομήσουσιν)
instead of κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται.[3] Tertullian cites the
verse carefully in *Adv. Marc.* 5.10.11. He too has *posside-*
bunt (κληρονομήσουσιν). The use of the future tense (*pos-*
sidebunt) instead of the verb *posse* followed by *possidere*
is the reading of the OL:I-type. It would seem that this
citation meets two of the three criteria: it is corrobo-
rated by Tertullian and attested in MSS which frequently
reflect Marcionite readings. But in this case the evidence
could well be circumstantial. It is possible that Rufinus'
translation was effected here by the OL:I-type. This could
be ruled out if the Greek text for the *Dialogue* were present
here and if it read κληρονομήσουσιν. But it is not. The
verse is present in the Greek tradition of the *Dialogue*

earlier--with interesting differences. The textual situa-
tion of *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.22, where 1 Cor 15:50 is also cited,
suggests that in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.26 the translation by Rufinus
has been affected by the OL:I-type text. In *Dial*. *Adam*.
5.22, before the barrage of Pauline citations which are in
the Marcionite order, 1 Cor 15:50 is cited, Adam./Greek
reads κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται. Rufinus' translation has *non*
possidebunt! Rufinus reflects the OL:I-type reading; the
Greek has no variants. It is quite possible, therefore,
that were the Greek text present in *Dial*. *Adam*. 5.26, it
would read κληρονομῆσαι οὐ δύναται and not οὐ κληρονομήσου-
σιν. In this case we have reason to believe that Adam./
Rufinus can not be trusted. We can be no more certain about
the precise reading of the citation of 1 Cor 15:50 here in
Dial. *Adam*. 5.26 than we are in 5.22. To be sure, Tertul-
lain reflects the Marcionite reading, but we can say nothing
more with certainty about its appearance in Rufinus' trans-
lation of the *Dialogue* at 5.26 than that it provides another
OL:I-type witness to the reading.

2 Cor 3:3 (*Dial*. *Adam*. 5.27)

The variant καρδίας instead of καρδίαις is present in Adam./
Greek and Adam./Rufinus and also a number of the NT versions
(i.e., many Vg, Gothic, Syriac[P], Coptic, and Armenian). But
none of the prominent OL:I-type witnesses (e.g., Ambrosi-
aster, Marius Victorinus, Ambrose) are listed by Tischendorf
as attesting the reading. Neither Tertullian nor Epiphanius

cites the verse. Therefore, those who argue that the text
of Marcion is being cited here in *Dial. Adam*. 5.27 draw
support only from criterion 3 (attestation in MSS or church
fathers which most frequently reflect Marcionite readings).
This is the least important of the three criteria being used
in this section.

2 Cor 4:11 (*Dial. Adam*. 5.27) provides yet another example
of the looseness of the author of the *Dialogue* in his
citation of Pauline verses. The citation in Adam./Greek
has three variants of note:

1) — διὰ 'Ιησοῦ (so also Rufinus)
2) τοῦ Χριστοῦ for τοῦ 'Ιησοῦ (Rufinus has *Iesu*)
3) ∿ θνητῇ ἡμῶν σαρκί (Rufinus has *carne nostra mortale*)

Once again the text of *Dial. Adam*. is vexed. The transla-
tion of Rufinus has only one of the variants. The verse is
not cited in *Adv. Marc*. 5 nor in *Pan*. 42. The only support
for the variant ⌈ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (which is not the reading of
the Rufinus translation) is the Greek NT MS C. The text is
just too muddled to be relied on.

2 Cor 5:4 (*Dial. Adam*. 5.27). In this citation Adam./Greek
has two important variant readings:

1) ὅταν δέ instead of ὅτι
2) ἀθανασίας instead of ζωῆς.

Rufinus' translation reflects only the first of these. It
is a very short citation by Adamantius but is preceded by a
citation formula. It is clear in the context that ὅτι was

not changed to ὅταν δέ in order to make the verse read more
smoothly. Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 5.12.1) cites the first
half of this verse with great care. Several sentences later
he resumes with the second half: uti devoretur mortale hoc
a vita. It is questionable whether he is not being a bit
loose here, since *mortale hoc* may not be a literal rendering
of τὸ θνητόν. But the very least we can say is that he does
not attest ὅταν δέ--indeed, it is highly probable that his
text read ὅτι (reflected by *uti*). The variant ὅταν δέ is
attested in no MS or church father outside of *Dial. Adam.*

Eph 2:17 (*Dial. Adam.* 5.28)

Harnack argues that this passage has a variant (delete ἡμῖν)
which is confirmed by Tertullian in *Adv. Marc.* 5.[4] He is
on very shaky ground. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen reckons this
section of the *Dialogue* to be an interpolation. It is not
to be found in the translation by Rufinus. Even if the pas-
sage were original, the "scriptural citation" is hardly more
than an allusion. At any rate, Harnack's argument is that
the deletion of ἡμῖν in the *Dialogue* is a variant which is
also found in *Adv. Marc.* 5.17.16. But the deletion of ἡμῖν
is not reflected in that section of *Adv. Marc.* Tertullian
cites the verse with an alteration, namely, the use of the
third plural pronoun (*eis*) instead of the first plural
(*nobis*). It is the sort of change Tertullian often makes in
order to fit the passage more clearly into the context of
his argument. But Tertullian's *eis* is certainly not the

evidence of a deletion.

In summary, the citations from the Pauline letters in *Dial. Adam.* 5 when considered individually cannot be proven to be from the Marcionite Apostolikon.

NOTES: APPENDIX C

[1]Harnack, *Marcion*, 72*.

[2]See the section of this thesis entitled "Comparison of Passages from the Marcionite Pauline Corpus Cited by All Three Witnesses," 120-21.

[3]It is out of the question that this is a variant which could only have originated within the Latin textual tradition. It is true that it is heavily attested in the Latin tradition, and that the similarity between *posse* and *possidere* could have caused some confusion. But the future tense of κληρονομέω is also reflected in the Bohairic MSS. Also, a more obvious mechanism for the variant is the Greek infinitive κληρονομῆσαι being mistaken for κληρονομῆσει. The presence of κληρονομεῖ at the end of the verse could also have had an effect.

[4]Harnack, *Marcion*, 118*.

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For abbreviations, see *HTR* 74:4 (1981) 419-27.

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