

Verification of Burgon's Patristic Evidence for Reading Θεός in 1 Timothy 3:16.

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Introduction

When the Revised Version of the Bible was published in 1881, Dean John William Burgon reviewed it, and the new Greek text on which it was based, and saw that it was very much a corrupt and watered-down version of Scripture. He provided a mass of ancient evidence supporting traditional readings – in other words the Majority Text. His defence of 1 Timothy 3:16, *God was manifested in the flesh*, (where the Revisers have replaced *God* by *he*), can be found in his book *Revision Revised*, which we hereafter refer to as [Burgon-RR], pages 424-520. Where the context makes the reference to this book obvious, we may simply refer to a page number.

In other studies available on www.FarAboveAll.com we discuss the manuscript and lectionary evidence, which, thanks to the availability of scans online, hosted by INTF and CSNTM, we have been able to verify (finding very few exceptions and anomalies), and to greatly extend. Verification of Burgon's patristic evidence (otherwise known as Church Father evidence), which seemed daunting in the past, has become easier in recent years, thanks to online resources such as www.archive.org.

We first consider the six “primitive witnesses” cited on pages 463-464 of [Burgon-RR]. Burgon does not build on these witnesses, but they are very suggestive. Then we consider the patristic witnesses on “*terra firma*” in the order summarized on pages 485 - 490, noting that more details are discussed in a different order in Burgon's preceding pages.

1 Timothy 3:16, in the text we are validating in this article, reads

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

and confessedly great, is the mystery of godliness: *God was manifested in the flesh*, justified in *the* spirit, seen by angels, preached among *the* Gentiles, believed on in *the* world and taken up in glory.

With even a little knowledge of Greek, the reader will recognize the text from printed works when quoted as above. Allowance must be made for a few differences in orthography when reading old printed works, which mimic to some extent the great variety of digraphs and stylistic variations in manuscripts. But when the text of an ancient witness only carries the sense of the above, we transcribe it and give a translation.

All images are for personal use only. We have credited the digitizing sponsors. The images have been processed and reduced in resolution so as to make the size of this document manageable over the internet, whilst maintaining the same general level of legibility under normal reading circumstances.

The six “Primitive Witnesses” on pages 463-464 of [Burgon-RR]

(a) *Ignatius, 1st century, [Burgon-RR, p. 463] - verified*

The references can be verified online in *Patres Apostolici*, edited by Franciscus Xaverius Funk, Published by H Laupp, Tubingen, 1901. Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians, chapter 19, printed page 228, line 13. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/patresapostolic00piongoog/page/n387>

νότης ἢ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. 3. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς
δεσμός ἠφανίζετο κακίας· ἀγνοία καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία
διεφθείρετο θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου
ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρά θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ

ἀγνοία καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς·

Ignorance was destroyed and the ancient realm was brought to ruin, **when God became manifest in a human way**, for the newness of eternal life.

Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians, chapter 7. Printed page 218, lines 18-19. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/patresapostolic00piongoog/page/n377>

VII. Εἰώθησιν γάρ τινες δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν,
15 ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκ-
κλίνειν. εἰσὶν γὰρ κύνες λυσσῶντες, λαθροδοῦνται· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς
φυλάσσεσθαι ὄντας δυσθεραπεύτους. 2. εἰς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρ-
κικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενό-
μενος θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ,
20 πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

εἷς ἰατρός ἐστιν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

For there is but one physician, both fleshly and spiritual, born and unborn, **God come in the flesh**, true life in death, from both Mary and God, first subject to suffering and then beyond suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord.

Ignatius' letter to the Magnesians, chapter 8. Printed page 236, lines 14-15. There is a critical text issue, given below, which is not relevant to the reading we are contending. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/patresapostolic00piongoog/page/n395>

VIII. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις μηδὲ μυθεύμασιν τοῖς
10 παλαιοῖς ἀνωφελέσιν οὖσιν. εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸν
ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι. 2. οἱ γὰρ θεϊότατοι
προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐζήσαν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχ-
θησαν, ἐνπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι
τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὅτι εἰς θεός ἐστιν, ὃ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ
15 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς
προελθὼν, ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

Critical apparatus note to λόγος: + αἰδῖος οὐκ GL Tim

ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος [ἄϊδιος οὐκ] ἀπὸ σιγῆς

that there is one God, who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his son, who is his [Word from silence / eternal Word not from silence]

The references can also be verified online in English in *The Epistles of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch*, volume I, by Rev. J. H. Strawley, D.D., published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1910. Digitizing sponsor: MSN.

Chapter XIX, printed page 57, line 2:

<https://archive.org/details/theepistlesofsti01srawuoft/page/56>

God was appearing in human form

Chapter VII, printed page 47, line 2:

<https://archive.org/details/theepistlesofsti01srawuoft/page/46>

God in man

Chapter VIII, printed page 66, lines 1-2:

<https://archive.org/details/theepistlesofsti01srawuoft/page/66>

There is **One God Who manifested Himself** through Jesus Christ His Son

The three references given can also be verified offline in Greek and English from *The Apostolic Fathers I*, Loeb Classical Library; see our reference [Ignatius-L], shown below. The page numbers are 238/239, 226/227, and 248/249 respectively.

(b) *Barnabas, 1st century, [Burgon-RR, p. 463] - verified*

The reference can be verified online in Greek and English in *BARNABA ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ, The Epistle of Barnabas, From the Sinaitic Manuscript of the Bible*, with a Translation by Samuel Sharpe, published by Williams and Norgate, Edinburgh, 1880, chapter 12, printed pages 42 (English) and 43 (Greek), lines 1-2. We supply Greek accentuation below. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/epistlebarnabas00bookgoog/page/n71>

xii., xiii.]	ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.	43
εσχατων των ημερων. Ειδε παλιν, Ιησους, ουχι υιος ανθρωπου, αλλα υιος του θεου, τυπω δε εν σαρκι φανερωθεις.		
Επει ¹ ουν μελλουσιν λεγειν οτι Χριστος υιος Δαβιδ εστιν, αυτος προφητευει Δαβιδ φοβουμενος και συνιων		

Εἶδε [misspelling of Ἰδε] πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς.

Behold again, **Jesus was not the son of man, but the son of God, who was by a figure made manifest in flesh.**

We remark that the English relative pronoun (a participle in the Greek) *who* is in grammatical agreement with Jesus, not God. So the quotation, which Burgon only claims as suggestive (“is not insisted upon”), should not be taken out of context, (God ... made manifest in flesh). It is the combination *manifest in flesh*, and *of God not of man*, which suggestively links the citation to 1 Timothy 3:16.

The reference given can also be verified from *The Apostolic Fathers II, Loeb Classical Library*; see our reference [Barnabas-L]. For a discussion of the authorship of the epistle, see [Barnabas-L, pp. 5-8]. The date of authorship as given by various scholars ranges from 96 to 132 A.D.

From *(The) Epistle of Barnabas*, Chapter 12 [Barnabas-L, pp. 58/59 and 60/61]:

ἴδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς.

Again you see **Jesus**, not as son of man, **but as Son of God, and manifest in the flesh as a type.**

(c) *Hippolytus of Rome, 2nd century, [Burgon-RR, p. 463] - verified*

The reference can be verified online in *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula Praecipua Quaedam*, (Certain Excellent Minor Works by Ecclesiastical Writers) edited by Martin(us) Joseph(us) Routh, Oxford, MDCCCXXXII (1832), Oxonii (Oxford), S. Hyppolyti, Contra Haeresin Noeti, page 72, lines 9-10. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Images for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/scriptorumeccle00unkngoog/page/n90>

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ροῖς, καθὼς εἴπαμεν ἀνωτέρω, ἀπέσειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων. Οὗτος διὰ νόμον καὶ προφητῶν ἐκηρύχθη παρεσόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Καθ' ὃν οὖν τρόπον ἐκηρύχθη, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ παρῶν ἐφάνερωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καινὸς ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἔχων τὸ πατρῶον ὡς Λόγος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγειον ὡς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Ἀδάμ διὰ παρθένου σαρκούμενος. Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη, ἄνθρωπος τέλειος προελθὼν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπὴν, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη

When He had come into the world, **God was manifested in a body**

Burgon's other Routh reference is on printed page 76, line 4 of the same book. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Images for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/scriptorumeccl00unkngoog/page/n94>

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εἰσέρχεται, καὶ βλέπόντων μαθητῶν ὑπὸ νεφέλης ἀναλαμβάνεται εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐκ δεξιῶν Πατρὸς καθίζεται, καὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν παραγίνεται κριτῆς. Οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς, ᾧ πάντα ὑπέταξεν Πατὴρ. αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Οὗτος ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς,¹

He, God, having become man on our account

Theodoret's quotation of Hippolytus, in his "Dialogues", can be verified in volume 83 of our reference [PatrGraec]. The columns, not pages, are numbered. Column 173, lines 41-42 (roughly opposite the number 133 in the Latin column). Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20083#page/n91/mode/2up>

ἐκ (76) τῆς ἐρμηνείας τοῦ β' ψαλμοῦ. Οὗτος ὁ **cem pas**
προελθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐφανε- **133 ab**
ρεύθη. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ εὐκόλως ἔστι **contumel**

Οὗτος ὁ προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον, Θεός καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐφανερώθη

When He had come into the world He was manifested as God and Man

This citation can also be verified in English from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, volume II, our reference [S+W:2], with Theodoret translated by Rev. Blomfield Jackson.

<https://archive.org/details/selectlibraryofn03scha/page/202>

Printed page 202, at the end of column 2 and the start of the next page, or

<http://mb-soft.com/believe/txub/theodor7.htm>

Search in the document for "manifested as God and Man".

N.B. By searching for the word "manifest", various references to 1 Timothy 3:16 will be found, including the one attributed to Hippolytus, which Burgon quotes. The others must be ascribed to Theodoret.

¹ We retain Routh's accentuation, which is not the convention we are accustomed to (oxytone before punctuation, so Θεός, ... γεγονώς, ...).

(d) Gregory Thaumaturgus, 3rd century, quoted by Photius [Burgon-RR, p. 463] - manuscript not identified

Burgon's citation, with our English, is:

καὶ ἔστι Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ὁ ἄσαρκος ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς

And He is [the] true God, the unfleshy [one] having appeared in [the] flesh

If we understand Burgon's reference “*Cod. 230, –p. 845, line 40*” correctly, it is a specific Photius manuscript (230) which we cannot identify, then page 845 line 90. We searched for “Photius” on the Pinakes website, <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>, using *Recherche générale*, which gives 975 results, of which 17 are in the United Kingdom (all are in London). One, Diktyon 39280, is given as *Cod. 230 : scriptio inferior in uncialibus litteris*, (lower writing of a palimpsest in uncial letters), but it is only one page. It is British Library Arundel 529. Arundel 529 can be viewed online at

https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=arundel_ms_529_f032r. The lower writing is only apparent on one page, (folio f1bv), agreeing with the Pinakes description, But this manuscript does not match Burgon's, in which we need page 845, line 40. No Photius manuscript in London has 400+ folios. Only 4 of the 975 listed by Pinakes actually have the word “Photius” in their description, and none of these are 400+ folios.

There is also a large collection of JPG scans of *Photius Epistulae et Amphilochia*, volumes 1-6, on <https://archive.org>, in a 1GByte+ RAR file, for which “no preview is available”, but by selecting *Show all files* and *Photius.rar* and *View contents*, the 762 scans can be seen, but they are not text-searchable.

<https://archive.org/search.php?query=Photius%20Epistulae%20et%20amphilochia>

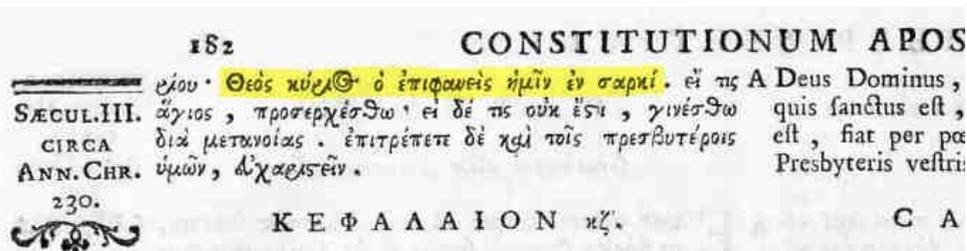
<https://ia800406.us.archive.org/rarview.php?rar=/15/items/Photius/Photius.rar>

We do not know whether they contain the citation we are seeking.

(e) Apostolical Constitutions, 3rd century, [Burgon-RR, p. 463] - verified

This reference can be found online in volume 3 of our reference [Gallandi]. It is on printed page number 182, line 1. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125011194236/page/n245



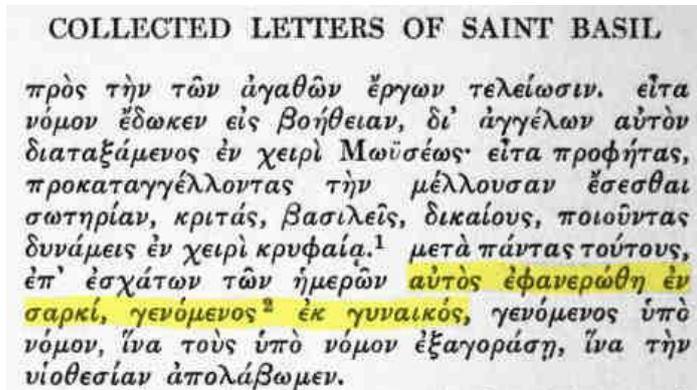
Θεὸς Κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανείς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί.

[The] Lord God who appeared to us in [the] flesh

(f) *Basil the Great, 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 464] - verified*

The reference can be found online in volume 4, page 76 of the 1934 edition of *Saint Basil, The Letters* in the Loeb Classical Library, with Greek and an English Translation by Joseph Deferrari and Martin R. P. McGuire. Digitizing sponsor: Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/letterswithengli04basiuoft/page/76>



αὐτὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός

He Himself was made manifest in the flesh, “made of a woman”

This reference can be also verified in English only from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, volume 8, translated by Rev. Blomfield Jackson, on page 300, Epistle CCLX1 (261).

<https://archive.org/details/selectlibraryofn08schauoft/page/300>

He was Himself manifested in the flesh, “made of a woman”

(g) *Clement of Alexandria, 2nd/early 3rd century -- an additional witness.*

The reference can be found towards the bottom of page 236 of Clement of Alexandria in the Loeb Library.

<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.68241/page/235/mode/2up>

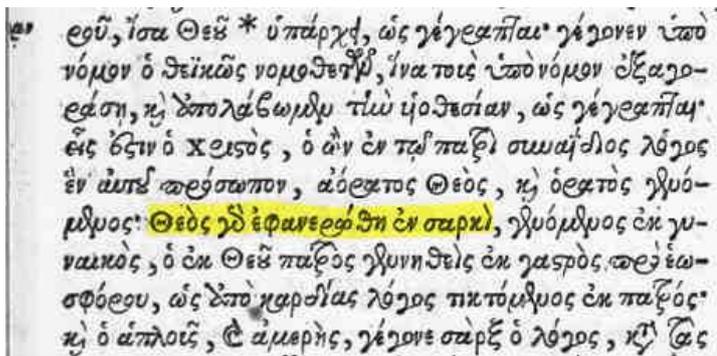
The Patristic Witnesses, on “terra firma”, summarized on pages 485 - 490 of [Burgon-RR]

We also briefly mention the “versions” (ancient translations) and “Copies” (continuous Bible text manuscripts – though some are “catenas”, i.e. with interspersed commentary, and sometimes a loose form of the main text itself). This enables us to retain Burgon's numbering.

(1) *Dionysius of Alexandria, 3rd century, [Burgon-RR, p. 461] - verified*

This reference is found online on www.archive.org in volume I, printed column 853, line 44, of our reference [Concilia]. Digitizing Sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125010892426/page/n439



θεός γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί

For God was manifested in [the] flesh

(2) *Didymus (of Alexandria, the Blind), 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 456] - verified*

Burgon's reference *De Trin. p. 83* refers to a paragraph, or pericope, number, not a page number. The book is *De Trinitate* (Concerning the Trinity). The citation be verified in volume 39, column 403, of our reference [PatrGraec]. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20039#page/n227/mode/2up>

DIDYMI ALEXANDRINI

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<p><i>m elementa quia in ipso liter; id est plenitudo sentia: et aequalem lo, ob ejus ira, utpote ui ait: Et eus, et gra ationis pro ritum Dei ubebamur, s, jam estis nia (55) in</i></p>	<p>ἑαυτοῦ συγγενοῦς καθέστηκεν, κἀν τῇ ὑποστάσει δι- έζευκται· καλῶς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ κινουμένῳ ἰδαφίῳ λόγος, εἰ καὶ ἄγαν βαθέως, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσιν εὐσυνόπτως, Δ. αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποκαταλλάσσειν τὰ πάν- τα· ὡς ἀρμόττειν τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς χρησθέν· Ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· εἰπερ ὑγιῶς ἔχει, τὰ τε νῦν εἰρημένα, τὸ τε, Ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν το πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος. Καὶ Τιμοθέῳ δὲ γράψας, εἰς ἄκρον ἐθεολόγησεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν τῶν λέξεων, τὸ μὴ εἶναι κατὰ θεότητα παρὰ φύσιν τὴν πατρικὴν ἐδίδαξεν. Εἶπεν γὰρ τοιῶσδε· Ὁμοι- ουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστή- ριον· θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν Πνεύ- ματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις [36b], ἐκηρύχθη ἔθνεσιν, ἐπι- στεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ. Οὕτω γὰρ</p>
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The citation is 1 Timothy 3:16 in full. *Remark:* We notice further down the same column the traditional reading of Luke 2:14.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη· ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

“Glory in the highest realms to God,

And peace on earth;

Goodwill among men.”

(3) Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus, 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 457] - **verified**

Burgon's reference on page 357 reads *i. 215 a: 685 b*. Assuming Burgon used [PatrGraec], Patrologia Graeca, this should read *i. 215 a: ii. 685 b*. The volumes are 35 and 36 of Patrologia Graeca, and the numbers refer to paragraph, or pericope, numbers, not column or page numbers. The printed column number is 785, near where the number 215 can be seen in the Latin. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Images for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20035#page/n415/mode/2up>

<p>τῷ πνεύματος. Χριστῷ συνταφῆναι με δεῖ, Χριστῷ συνασπῆναι, συγκληρονομησαί Χριστῷ, υἱὸν γε- νεῖσθαι Θεοῦ, Θεὸν αὐτόν (7). Ὑρᾶτε πολὺ προῦν (8) ἐνήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος. Μικροῦ καὶ χάριν ὁμολογῶ τῷ πάθει, ᾧ τοιαῦτα ἐφιλοσόφησα, καὶ δι' ὃ μᾶλλον ἐραστῆς ἐγενόμην τῆς ἐνθίνου ἀπαναστάσεως. Τοῦτο ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα μυστήριον βούλεται· τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας Θεὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πτωχεύσας Θεός, ἵνα ἀναστήσῃ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἀνασώσῃ τὴν εἰκόνα (9), καὶ ἀνακλάσῃ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα γενώμεθα οἱ πάν-</p>	<p>cum Deo; illa cum carne, hæc ci- me cum Christo sepeliri, 215 gere, Christi cohæredem esse atque adeo Deum ipsum. Vides progrediens tandem evexerit. Et calamitati gratias etiam habeam hæc disserui, et quæ mihi maji- grandi desiderium injecit. Hoc mysterium designat: hoc nobis causa humanitatem suscepit, ac</p>
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The other reference is column 348, at the end:

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20036#page/n183/mode/2up>

<p>causam homo ornatus. Hunc peccati gustu, et despiciere, a Quamque ma- ur? Innovantur</p>	<p>Τοῦτον δὲ φθόνῳ διαβόλου, καὶ πικρᾷ γεύσει τῆς ἀμαρτίας, Θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηχότος ἐλεεινῶς (50) χω- ριζόμενον παριδεῖν, οὐ Θεοῦ. Τί γίνεται; καὶ τί τὸ μέγα περὶ ἡμᾶς μυστήριον; Καινοτομοῦνται φύσεις, καὶ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται· καὶ ὁ ἐπιθετικῶς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τῆς ἰδίας</p>
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And what is the great mystery ...? God became a man.

(4) Diodorus of Tarsus, 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 459] - **verified**

The reference is to J. A. Cramer's *Catena*, our reference [Cramer] volume 4, *In Epistolam ad Romanos*, page 124, line 8. Digitizing sponsor Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/CatenaGraecorumPatrumchainOfGreekFathersOnNewTestament/04.CatenGraecPatr.NT.Rom.v4.Cramer.1844.#page/n131/mode/2up>

124

ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ

VIII. 3.

σὰρξ οὐκ ἠδύνατο πληροῦν τὴν τοῦ νόμου πολιτείαν, διὰ τὸν ἐμπο-
δίζοντα πονηρὸν, ὃν διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σαρκὸς κατέκρινε Χριστός.
“ ὁ Θεός, φησι, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς
“ ἁμαρτίας.” ὅταν μὲν ἀποβλέψῃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου σάρκα ὁ
Ἀπόστολος, ἀληθῶς οὔσαν σάρκα, ἐξ ἧν καὶ ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἀνετράφη 5
καὶ ἐπολιτεύσατο τῷ βίῳ, φανερώς τὴν σάρκα προσαγορεύει, ὡς
καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπάγει “ κατέκρινε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί” καὶ
πρὸς Τιμόθεον γράφων, “ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί” ὅταν δὲ ἀπο-
βλέψῃ πρὸς τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀναμάρτητον καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ὅσιον,
ὁμοίωμα αὐτὸ σαρκὸς ὀνομάζει. οὐχ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν διήλ- 10

It can also be seen from digitizing sponsor University of Toronto.

<https://archive.org/details/catenaegraecorum04cramuoft/page/124>

(5) Gregory of Nyssa in Cappadocia, 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 101, p. 456] - **verified**

Burgon's *Gallandi* references on page 456 are page numbers in volume vi of [Gallandi], with paragraph letters which appear in the middle margin. We have not identified the other references, which don't seem to be from [PatrGraec] or [Gallandi] or Franz Oehler's *S. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni opera* (either on a page or pericope numbering scheme). Burgon gives several *Gallandi* references. We give the one on page 526, at section D. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125011194418/page/n545

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διὰ τοῦτο κληῖσθαι, διότι τὸ πνῆμα τὸ D prerea
οὐράνιον ἐσαρκώθη. τίς γραφὴ ταῦτα λέγει; εἰς est. .
πίνα πᾶν ἁγίων (ἀναφέρει τὸν λόγον) ὅτι πνῆ- cuina
μα ἐσαρκώθη; οὐχ οὕτως παρὰ τῶν Ευαγγελίων linari
ἠκούσαμεν. οὐχ οὕτως παρὰ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Απο- natur
στόλου φωνῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ὁ λόγ- mus,
ος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, λέγει τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ ἐν εἶδει πε- fed e
ριστερᾶς τὸ πνῆμα καταβιῶσά φησιν ἡ Διαγγελικὴ stolo
ἱστορία. σάρκωσιν δὲ πνῆματ^{ος} οὐδεὶς εἶπε τῶν Spir
τῶ πνῆματι λαβόντων μυστήρια. Ἡ δόξα κητεσκή- histo
νώτεο ἐν τῇ γῆ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐκ τῆς γῆς dixit
ἀνέτειλε. καὶ Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. καὶ δι- e Glo
καιοσιμῆ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψε, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦ- est.

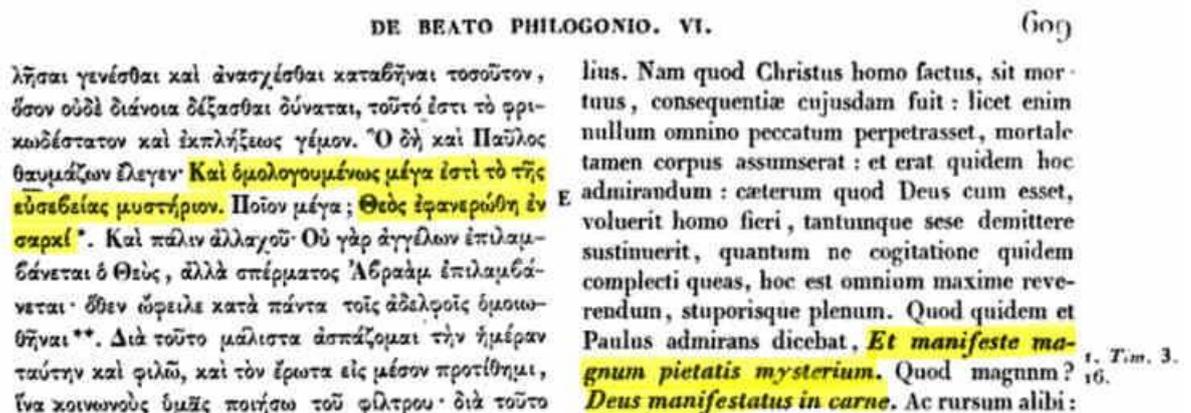
(6) John Chrysostom (Archbishop of Constantinople), 4th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 457] - **an example verified**

We have found the text of Burgon's reference (on page 457) to *de Beato Philogonio*, but only because he specifies the passage by name. We cannot match his abbreviated references, (i. 497 c d e.–viii. 85 e : 86 a.–xi. 605 f : 606 a b d e) to any Greek edition of Chrysostom we have found online, and we have found several. Clearly, Burgon's source must have at least 11 volumes. We have found:

- Sir Henry Saville, *Tou en hagious ... Chrysostomou*, Eton, 1613, in 8 volumes. Page 497 does not contain *de Beato Philogonio*; it contains *Εἰς τὴν γένεσιν*.
<https://archive.org/details/SavileChrysostom1/page/n497>
- [Gallandi] volume 8 contains Chrysostom, but Burgon is not referring to this.
https://archive.org/details/gri_33125011194533/page/n127
- An edition by Bernard de Montfaucon, dated 1836, containing *de Beato Philogonio* on page 609. See below.
- An edition by Bernard de Montfaucon, dated 1862, containing *de Beato Philogonio* in column 753. See below.

A Google search for *Montfaucon Chrysostom de Beato Philogonio* finds the text. It is *Tomus Primus, Pars Altera* (First volume, part 2 of 2) of a Bernard de Montfaucon edition, dated 1836. It is not the earliest edition, as it has been emended and augmented (*editio ... emendata et aucta*). The reference is on page 609. Digitizing sponsor Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=r8sGAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA609#v=onepage&q&f=false>



The same passage can be found in the 1862 edition of Montfaucon, *Tomii primi pars posterior* (Latter part of the first volume), with different typesetting, at column 753, line 15. The link below is to volume 8 of the [PatrGraec] series, which incorporates Montfaucon.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/PatrologiaGraecaVol.048#page/n231/mode/2up/search/ORDO>

We surmise that Burgon had yet another Montfaucon edition, and considering it to be the obvious reference to Chrysostom, thought it unnecessary to give details in his references.

(7) *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως (Concerning Divine Incarnation), 4th century [Burgon-RR, pp. 457-8] - verified*

This is a section title attributed to Euthalius (Burgon, p. 458). Burgon references a footnote on page 59 of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, for the attribution to Euthalius, and for this Scrivener's

second edition (1874) is required. Digitizing sponsor: Internet Archive. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/details/plainintroduc00scri/page/58>

³ e.g. in Wake 12, of the eleventh century, at Christ Church, the title at the head of the list of chapters in the Acts is as follows: Εὐθαλίου ἐπισκόπου Κοιλακῆς ἐκ-
θεσις κεφαλαίων τῶν Πράξεων σταλήσα (-εῖσα) πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας.

The original of this can be seen on the INTF website, if you have access to restricted manuscripts. Wake 12 is GA 506, so the INTF ID is 30506, and the image required is 2590.

<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>.

IMAGE NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

The titles of 1 Timothy are in the writings of Euthalius [PatrGraec], volume 85, column 781. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20085#page/n389/mode/2up>.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ

Τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον Ἐπιστολῆς πρώτης.

Περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ ὁδηγίας, τὴν ἀπροσδεῖ **C**
νομικῆς ἀνάγκης.

Περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκλογῆς εἰς εὐαγγελιστήν ἐκ διώ-
κτου κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ.

Παραγγεῖλια περὶ πιστῆς, καὶ εὐσυνειδήτου διακο-
νίας, ἧς ἄνευ κίνδυνος.

Περὶ εὐχῆς ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντων πανταχοῦ, ἀκάκως,
ἀταράχως, σεμνῶς.

Περὶ διδασκάλων, ὅτι ἄνδρας χρῆ, καὶ οὐ γυ-
ναίκα εἶναι διὰ τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, τὸ ἐξ
ἀπάτης, ὃ λύει γένεσις ἢ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πίστις αὐ-
τῶν, καὶ βίος.

D

Περὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπισκόπων.

Ἐν ᾧ περὶ διακόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν.

Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως.

Ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων αἰρέσεων δαιμονικῶν.

Περὶ ἀγῶνος εὐσεβείας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

We can easily verify the title *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως* in the manuscripts as it is frequent, and in GA 181 (Vatican Reg Gr 179) it is in the list of sections. It is at image 2940.

<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>. This manuscript has restricted access.

IMAGE NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

The title *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως* is even present in 3 manuscripts reading ὅς. Here are the GA numbers and INTF image numbers:

- GA 91, Doc ID 30091, image 4940, at top of page.

- GA 463, Doc ID 30463, image 4050, at bottom of column 1.
- GA 1175, Doc ID 31175, image 3930, at bottom of column 1.

The presence of *περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως* (or, misspelt, *σαρκώσεως*) renders the testimony of these manuscripts somewhat ambiguous.

<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>. ID 31175 is not restricted.

IMAGE NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

(8) *Codex Alexandrinus, (A, GA 02), 5th century, [Burgon-RR, pp. 431-437] - mostly verified, and certainly substantiating the original reading as ΘC, (God)*

We cover this in detail in a separate study, [FAA-A], which is

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Alexandrinus.pdf. But here is a summary. The issue revolves around the original line (before another was added) in the theta, Θ, in the word ΘC, which is the abbreviated form of ΘEOC, *God*. Without the line, one would read OC, *he*, and lose the force of the verse. The following early (mainly 17th century) collators or observers saw the old line only Patrick **Young**, Alexander **Huish**, Bishop John **Pearson**, Bishop John **Fell**, Dr John **Mill** (who remarked that it was becoming faint). No-one pre-the-new-line collated OC. Then, perhaps in 1716, the new line was added, but not entirely obscuring the old line, and the following saw remnants of the old line: John **Creyk**, William **Wotton**, John James **Wetstein** (who later changed his mind), John **Berriman**, Johann Albrecht **Bengel**, Karl Gottfried **Woide**, two **Gentleman** accompanying Berriman. Our main verification document is [Berriman], but see our study for many others. Opponents to the reading base their counter-evidence to *all* these testimonies on the presence of an epsilon on the other side of the page, Bishop Ellicott amongst them in about 1881 pronouncing his conclusion indisputable. Burgon calls this “inconveniently bordering on the ridiculous”.

(9) *Cyril of Alexandria, 5th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 464] - verified*

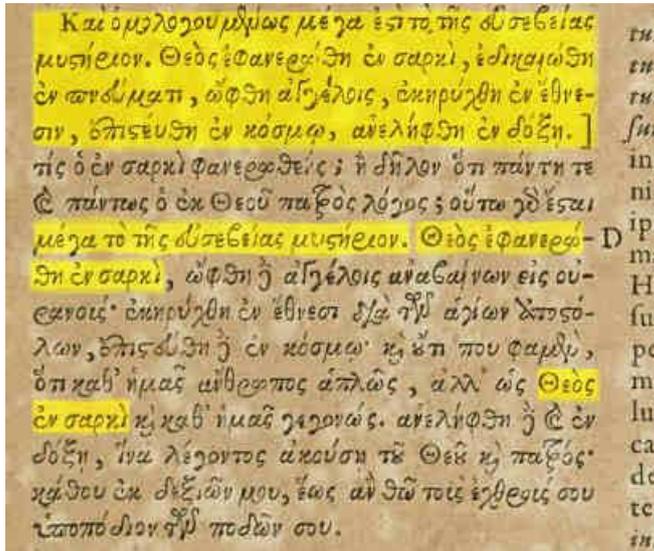
Burgon's reference *Opp. V. Part 2, p. 124 c d* must refer to some standard edition of Cyril which we have not found online, but the same text is available in volume 76 of [PatrGraec], column 1332. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20076#page/n713>

<p>S. CYRILLI ALEXANDRINI ARCHIEP.</p> <p>pietatis sacramen- A carne, justificatum i, prædicatum est do, assumptum est it, qui in carne ma- nibus perspicuum summet Dei Patris illud pietatis my- i ab angelis visus i; prædicatus porro s: creditus autem l velut homo abso- utus tandem est in dicentem audiat: .</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">1332</p> <p>ε Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν Πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπι- στεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ. » Τίς ὁ ἐν σαρκί φανερωθεὶς; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι πάντη τε καὶ πάντως ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς Λόγος; Οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται μέγα τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ὤφθη δὲ ἀγγέλοις ἀναβαίνων εἰς οὐρανοὺς· ἐκηρύ- χθη ἐν ἔθνεσι διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ἐπιστεύθη δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ· καὶ οὕτω ποῦ φαμεν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεὸς ἐν σαρκί καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς γεγονώς. Ἀνελήφθη δὲ καὶ ἐν δόξῃ, ἵνα λέ- γοντος ἀκούσῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς· εὐχαριστοῦν- τος μου, ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἄχθρους σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. »</p>
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From [Concilia] volume 3, column 221, we see the same text, as observed by Burgon. The introduction, in column 2, mentions “Cyril, a wise and holy bishop, roaring against his adversaries”. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125010892988/page/n119



(10) Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus in Syria, 5th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 456-7] - **verified**

The references are in *Patrologia Graeca*, our reference [PatrGraec]. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Images for personal use only.

First reference, i. 92. From *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 80, column 192. This is *Quaest(io) in Genes(in)*, chapter 29. 1 Timothy 3:16 is quoted with intervening commentary.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20080#page/n103/mode/2up>

DRETI EPISCOPI CYRENSIS	192
sus est in et appa- ostolum ^t . a divino- i. emisen-	Ἀ δῆλη· οὕτως ἀόρατος ὢν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος (61) διὰ τῆς σαρκῆς ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναν- εστράφη, καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον. Καὶ ὁ σῖτος δὲ καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ μυστηρίων ἀίνιγμα· τούτῳ συμφωνεῖ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ

Second reference, iii. 657. From *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 82, column 809, line 46. This is *Interpretatio Epist(ulae) I Ad Tim(otheum) Cap(ut) III*. 1 Timothy 3:16 is quoted.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20082#page/n425/mode/2up>

ις. « Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον. » Μυστήριον δὲ αὐτὸ καλεῖ, ὡς ἀνωθεν μὲν προορισθὲν, ὑστερον δὲ φανερωθέν. « Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί. » Θεὸς ἢ γὰρ ὢν, καὶ Θεοῦ Υἱὸς, καὶ ἀόρατος ἔχων τὴν φύσιν, δῆλος ἅπασιν ἐνανθρωπήσας ἐγένετο. Σαφῶς δὲ ἡμᾶς τὰς δύο	VERS. 16. « Et sacramentum. » ut quod ab initio autem manifesta carne. » Cum enim et invisibilem ha
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Third reference, iv. 19. From *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 83, column 48, line 19. This is *Dialogus I Inmutabilis*. 1 Timothy 3:16 is quoted in full.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20083#page/n29/mode/2up>

iposto- est pie- carne, as gen- in glo-	<p>ΟΡΘ. Τιμοθέω γράφων ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος καὶ ταῦτα τίθειεν· εἰ Ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ. »</p>
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Fourth reference, iv. 23. From *Patrologia Graeca*, volume 83, column 52, line 15. This is *Dialogus I Inmutabilis*. The relevant part of 1 Timothy 3:16 is quoted.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20083#page/n31/mode/2up>

etiam i simi- i vela- us est piritu,	<p>ΟΡΘ. Μετὰ μέντοι τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον, οὐχ ὁμοιω- ματι δόξης, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖ καὶ ζῶντι χρησάμενος, οἷόν τινι παραπετάτματι, τῷ τῆς σαρκὸς προκαλύμματι. εἰ θεὸς ἐφανερώθη γάρ, φησὶν, ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις. »</p>
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(11) *The Anonymous Author of 430 A.D. [Burgon-RR, p. 475] - verified*

Although we have not identified Burgon's reference on page 475, *Apud Athanasium, Opp. ii. 33*, we have found what is probably his reference text in [PatrGraec], volume 4, column 89, at the bottom. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20028#page/n49/mode/2up>

<p>ἐκτρέψασθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἔλεγεν· εἰ Ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστή- ριον, θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, ἐδικαιώθη ἐν Πνεύ- ματι, ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις, ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ. »</p> <p>2. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἠκούσαμεν παρ' ὑμῶν (59) τινὰς ταράττεσθαι, καὶ ζητεῖν γράμματα παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ</p> <p>» I Tim. iii, 16.</p>	<p>stiones. nifeste r manifest ritu, ap creditus</p> <p>2. Qu vestrum</p>
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The same edition is also available at

https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5r0UAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=I%20Tim&f=false

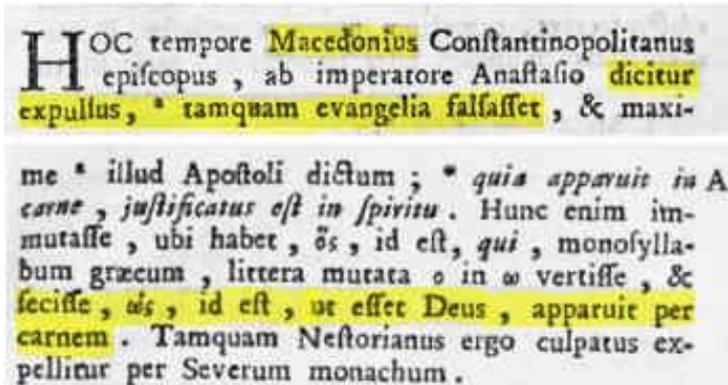
(12) *Euthalius, Bishop of Sulca, 5th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 459-461] - verified*

The discussion above (7) *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως (Concerning Divine Incarnation)* covers both the manuscript presence of the title and the attribution to Euthalius.

(13) *Macedonius II, Patriarch of Constantinople, 5th century, [Burgon-RR, pp. 470 - 475] - verified*

Burgon's account, from Liberatus the Deacon, can be verified in [Gallandi], volume 12, pages 152-153. We have joined the column change with a short gap in our image below. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008697738/page/n195



Highlighted text: Macedonius ... is said to have been deposed as having falsified the gospels ... and to have made $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (*hōs*, not *hōs*), so that it was God; he appeared by means of flesh.

Now $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ means *as* or *because*, so the story as it stands is inconsistent (Burgon: “very lame”). And even if the rumour is to be taken seriously, then it must be conceded that Macedonius is a witness to *God was manifested in the flesh*. But Burgon has an excellent explanation which makes sense of Liberatus: the text also contained *Deus*, and Macedonius was actually accused of changing *Deus qui* into *Deus quia*, i.e. $\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ into $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, so Macedonius read *God was manifested in the flesh* all along!

(14) *Georgian Version, 5th or 6th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 454] - attested by the Georgian Church, and inferred to be true.*

Burgon, informed by Dr Malan, informs us that the Georgian version unequivocally witnesses to $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, *God*. The dean of the Orthodox Georgian Church in London, Father Dorote Barbakadze, informs the present author that this is indeed the traditional reading dating from the earliest times, and it is the reading in the Bible used in the Georgian Church.

ცხოველისაჲ, სუეტი და სიმტკიცე ჭეშმარიტებისაჲ. 16. და აღსარებულად დიდ არს ღმრთისმსახურებისა საიდუმლოჲ; ღმერთი გამოჩნდა ჳორცითა და განმართლდა სულითა, ეჩუენა ანგელოზთა, იქადაგა წარმართთა შორის, ჳრწმენა სოფელსა და ამაღლდა დიდებითა.

The word for *God* is highlighted.

(15) Severus, Bishop of Antioch, 6th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 458] - **verified**

Burgon's reference, *Cramer's Cat. in Actus*, iii. 69 refers to John Antony Cramer's *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, Oxford, 1844, Tomus (Volume) 3, *In Acta SS. Apostolorum (On the Acts of the Holy Apostles)*, section 3, page 69, at the top. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://archive.org/stream/CatenaGraecorumPatrumchainOfGreekFathersOnNewTestament/03.catengraecpatr.Nt.act.v3.cramer.1844.#page/n89/mode/2up>

III. 25. ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ. 69
φήτης Δαβιδ· “Κατάστησον Κύριε νομοθέτην ἐπ’ αὐτούς· γνώ-
“ τωσαν ἔθνη, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ” τοιγαροῦν καὶ δεξάμενα τὰ ἔθνη
τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθέντα Θεὸν, ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς ὅτι
ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ, διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς νομοθεσίας παιδευθέντες τι
τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀξίωμα· καὶ ὅτι χρὴ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἀνακαθαίρειν τῶν
τῆς ἀλογίας παθῶν, ὡς κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν γινομένην· τῶν δὲ
τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδονῶν ἀμελεῖν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς ἐν τῇ καταστάσει
δοξῆς κληρονομήσειεν.

Literally: **The in flesh having-appeared God**

(16) Harkleian Syriac Version, 616 A.D., [Burgon-RR, p. 450] - **verified**

We cover this in detail in a separate study, [FAA-Hk], which is http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Harklean.pdf. But here is a summary using English only. There is a Greek word meaning *piety* which occurs 15 times in the New Testament. In the Harkleian Syriac it has the literal translation *beauty-of-fear* 14 times, and just *fear* once. One of the 14 cases is 1 Timothy 3:16, where the word *piety* / *beauty-of-fear* is followed by *God* in Greek, and by *God* in the Harkleian Syriac. Yet there are, or were, critics who claim that the word *God* is to be disallowed in translating the Harkleian in 1 Timothy 3:16, because of an apparent rule that if the verse is 1 Tim 3:16 – and this verse only – then the Syriac for *piety* changes from *beauty-of-fear* to *beauty-of-fear-of-God*, with the result that *God* is eliminated in the English of the Harkleian – swallowed up in the word *piety*. Readers must assess the fairness of this for themselves. We simply present the issue in a factual way, by presenting the Greek and Syriac of the relevant verses.

(17) John Damascene, 8th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 457] - **verified**

Burgon's references, *i.* 313, and *ii.* 263, were hard to find, as they are not in [PatrGraec] or [Gallandi], and we could not find the very old printed editions (e.g. that of 1603), online, nor could we find the text itself in a multitude of Latin and English editions. But we found the references in the end, thanks to the (Dutch language) University of Gent website, in *Ιωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνου, Joannis Damasceni*, Paris, 1712, volume 1, page 313, section D. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://books.google.be/books?vid=GENT900000211174>²

15. Πάλαι μὲν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἀσώματός τε καὶ ἀσημά-
πτος, ἕδαμῶς εἰκονίζετο. νῦν δὲ σαρκὶ ὀφθέντος Θεοῦ, καὶ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμμασπαφέντος, εἰκονίζω Θεὸν τὸ ὁ-
μοίωμα, ἢ φερσικυῶ τῇ ὕλῃ, φερσικυῶ δὲ τὸν τῆς

XVI. Quapropter Deum olim, ut corporis ac
figuræ expertem, imago nulla referebat. Nunc
verò posteaquam in carne visus est Deus, &
cum hominibus conversatus est, quâ parte confi-
piciendum se præbuit, Dei imaginem efformo.

Assumptus
Deo carnis
imago rite
pingitur.
1. Tim. 3. v. 16.
Bar. 3. v. 38.

The highlighted Greek text reads νῦν δὲ σαρκὶ ὀφθέντος Θεοῦ, (but now, God having appeared in [the] flesh). The second reference, from volume 2, page 263, near the top of the left-hand column, quotes the key part of 1 Timothy 3:16 word for word. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

<https://books.google.be/books?vid=GENT900000211175>

IN EPISTOLAS S. PAULI. 263

ἐλπίζων ἐλθεῖν φέρεις σε ταχέως. ἐὰν δὲ βραδύτω, ἵνα εἴ-
θης, πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἢ πῶς δεῖ ἐν ἐκκλη-
σίᾳ Θεοῦ ζῆναι, τύλος καὶ ἰδρυάμεναι τῆς ἀληθείας.
ἔρμ. Τῶς τῆς, ὁμοίω ἔχοντας πίσιν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῇ ἄρ-
θελίων ἰκτιστάς.
κείμ. Καὶ ὁμοιομορφῶς μέγα δεῖ τὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος μυσ-
τήριον. Θεὸς ἠφανισθῆναι ἐν σαρκί.

A venire cito. Si autem tardaverò, ut scias quomodo
oporteat te in domo Dei conversari, quæ est Eccle-
sia Dei vivi, columna & firmamentum veritatis.
I. Hoc est, qui recta fide instructi sint, nihil-
que dolosi ei admisceant.
T. Et manifestè magnum est pietatis sacramen-
tum. Deus manifestatus est in carne.

(18) Epiphanius, Deacon of Catana, 8th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 475] - **verified**

This reference is found in the *Sacrosancta Concilia*, our reference [Concilia], volume 7, column 618, section E. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/gri_33125010892541/page/n319

E sunt, & finem gloriosissimum susceperunt. Audi
igitur Paulum magna voce clamantem, & veri-
tatem istam corroborantem: Deus manifestatus
est in carne, iustificatus est in spiritu, apparuit ange-
lis, predicatus est gentibus, creditus est in mundo,
assumptus est in gloria. O magni doctoris affe-
ctum! Deus, inquit, manifestatus est in car-
ne, quod est omnium bonorum causa, inde-

1 Timothy 3:16 is quoted from *God was manifested in the flesh*, highlighted.

(19) Theodorus Studita, 8th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 475-6] - **verified**

Burgon's reference is to *Theodori Studitæ Epsitolæ, Pars II*, 36 and 156. We did not find a scan of this book on the internet. But the same content is in [PatrGraec], volume 99, columns 1215-6 and 1487-8, where we have included the Latin column. The Greek in the scan of the second reference is partly missing, but the scan shows our text. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Images for personal use only.

² The web page was linked to here:

https://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog?q=%22Joannes+Damascenus%22&search_field=author

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20099#page/n609/mode/2up>

Quoniam vero unigenitus non ita nudus post incarnationem; idcirco et aspectabilis est. Hinc sacer Apostolus clamat : *Deus manifestatus est in carne, justificatus est in spiritu, apparuit angelis, praedicatus est in gentibus, creditus est in mundo, assumptus est in gloria*⁹². Illud utique in carne, in quacunque enuntiatione aequo jure subintelligendum

σάρκωσιν, δια τούτου και όρατός. Και βεβόδηκεν ό ι 'Απόστολος · Θεός έφανερώθη έν σαρκί, έδειώθη έν πνεύματι, ώφθη άγγέλοις, έκηρύχθη έθνεσιν, έπιστεύθη έν κόσμω, άνελήφθη έν ξη. Τό ούν έν σαρκί, έπι πάση άποφάνσει από κοληπτόν. Ειρμός γάρ τίς έστιν ή πρώτη φωνή μόνον ταίς έφεξής · άλλα γάρ και πάσαις ταίς

<https://archive.org/stream/PatrologiaGraeca/Patrologia%20Graeca%20Vol.%20099#page/n743/mode/2up>

gloria. Credimus quod unus de sancta Trinitate, Filius et Verbum Dei et Patris, per summam bonitatem exinanivit semetipsum, et formam servi accepit, in forma nostra conspectus. Hoc enim est quod ait Theologus : *Et Verbum caro factum est*⁹³; et quod magnus Apostolus dicit : *Deus apparuit in carne*⁹⁴. Et unus idemque est in duabus naturis, perfectus Deus, et perfectus homo : et in utro-

γία προσκυνουμένη κράτει και κλέει. Πιώς ό εις τής άγίας Τριάδος, ό Υιός και Λ Θεού και Πατρός, δι' άκραν άγαθότητα έκιντών, μορφήν δούλου ήλαθεν έν τώ καθ' έξ όφθαίς. Τούτο γάρ έστιν ό φρασιν ό Θεολόγος · Λόγος σάρξ έγινετο · και ό φρασιν ό μέγιστος · Θεός έφανερώθη έν σαρκί. Και και ό κίτος έν δυσι φύσει τελειός Θεός, και

(20) *Codex K (Mosquensis, GA 018), 9th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 490] - verified*

INTF ID/image/column/line 20018/5640/2/16

<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>

IMAGE NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

See almost all manuscript readings of 1 Timothy 3:16 here.

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Spreadsheet.pdf

(21) *Codex L (Angelicus, GA 020), 9th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 490] - verified*

INTF ID/image/line 20020/3260/20 (-7)

<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>

IMAGE NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

See almost all manuscript readings of 1 Timothy 3:16 here.

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Spreadsheet.pdf

(22) *Codex P (Porphyrianus, GA 025), 9th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 490] - corroborated*

INTF image unavailable, but Wikipedia attests the reading:

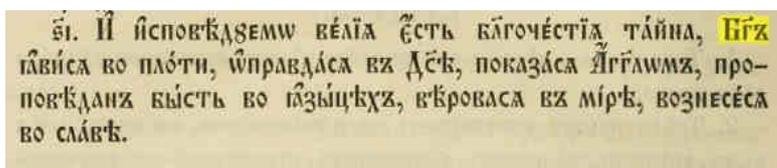
“In 1 Timothy 3:16 it has textual variant θεός έφανερώθη”

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Porphyrianus

(23) *The Slavonic version, 9th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 454] - corroborated*

Not verified against a manuscript, but (1) the word for *God* is admitted by Bishop Ellicott (as reported by Burgon, [Burgon-RR, p. 429]), (2) the word for *God* is the form given in a printed

edition, (Nóvii Zavet, New York, 1867), scanned from the copy in The Massachusetts Bible Society Library, catalog number A412.2-1867, page 529 on the left, where 1 Timothy 3:16 ends. Digitizing sponsor: Boston Library Consortium Member Libraries. Image for personal use only. <https://archive.org/details/nvizavetgdan00amer/page/n1061>



We have highlighted the word for *God*.

(24) *Several ancient scholia, 9th century*³, [Burgon-RR, p. 476] - **part verified**

The images are held here (some with restricted access):

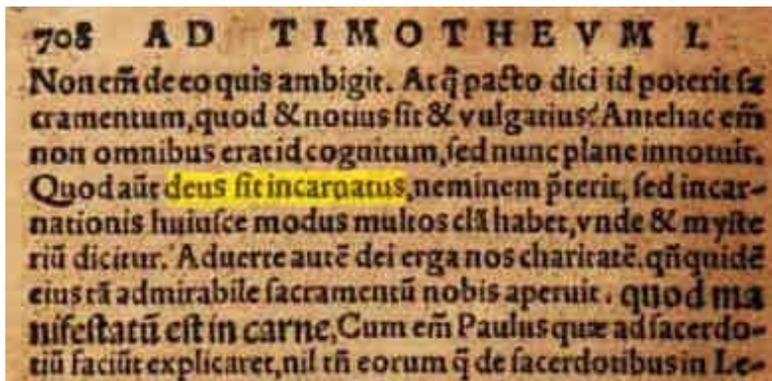
<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>

IMAGES NOT INCLUDED TO ENSURE NO VIOLATION OF CONDITIONS

- Paul 113 (GA 101), a manuscript held in Dresden, damaged in WW2, and partly illegible (from the scans, at least). The scriptural reading is probably at INTF ID/image/column/line 30101/950/2/somewhere. The scholia are probably in the margin of the same page.
- Paul 115 (GA 103). **Two scholia verified**. The **scriptural reading** is at INTF 4730/16 (-4). The **first scholium** reads θεός ἐσαρκώθη (God became flesh), at INTF ID/image/line 30103/4730/margin/45 (-19). The **second scholium** reads θεός ἐφανερώθη πῶς, ἐν σαρκί (God appeared - how? - in flesh) at INTF ID/image/line 30103/4730/margin/52 (-12).
- Paul 118 (GA 463). This is one of the very few manuscripts which reads ὁς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, (at ID/image/line/4050/1/15) **but not μυστήριον ὁς**, for this is a catena – not a continuous-scriptural text. There are 13 lines of commentary between μυστήριον and ὁς ἐφανερώθη, the latter part of the intervention being ὁς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, from Isaiah 53:9. The text appears to be just Oecumenius, as in GA 1927 q.v. below.
- Paul 123 (GA 1927). We think Scrivener's Moscow Syn. 099 should be Syn. 098, Diktyon 43723, as this matches the properties: 241 folios, 10th century, and commentary. Moscow Synod gr. 099 is not in the INTF Liste; also, it is Diktyon 43724, which is not tagged on [Pinakes] with an Aland identifier. GA 1927 has 1 Timothy 3:16 at INTF 31927/3730/main-text/1, reading θεός. The foot of INTF 31927/3720 has a section title Περί θείας σαρκώσεως (Concerning divine incarnation). But the commentary, which according to <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/43723/> is Oecumenius, at INTF 31927/3730/commentary-text/5, reads ὁς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, **but not μυστήριον ὁς**, following ὁς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ, from Isaiah 53:9, as in GA 463, q.v. above.

³ The earliest of the 4 manuscripts by INTF dating is GA 1927, 10th century.

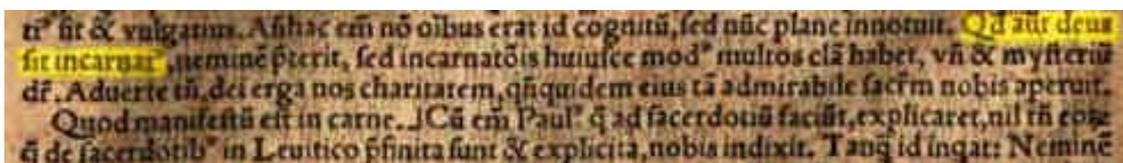
https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_hWURIDp4gf4C/page/n723



Highlighted text: *God became incarnated*. The bolder, larger text is the Vulgate reading, which was manifested in flesh.

Another edition of the same text by the same translator (Cristophus Porsenus) is an edition dated, 1542. The text is on the *verso* of folio CXXVI, opposite folio CXXVII, 10 lines from the bottom of the page. Digitizing sponsor: Google. Image for personal use only.

https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_VSCWS3zZ2xsC/page/n267



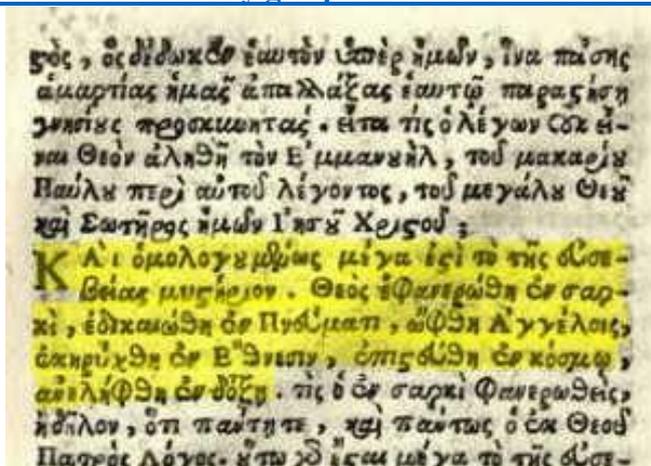
(27) Euthymius, 12th century, [Burgon-RR, p. 476] - **verified**

Burgon's reference is to a Greek book, *Εὐθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός. Πανοπλία Δογματικὴ Ἀλεξίου Βασιλέως τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ περιέχουσα ἐν συνόψει τὰ τοῖς... πατράσι συγγραφέντα...*, Τεργόβιστε Οὐγγροβλαχίας, Μάιος 1710. Access this page

http://www.onassislibrary.gr/en/collection/items/37901_en/

then load the book and, navigate to the page following the one numbered ρκγ' (for the verso). 1 Tim 3:16 is in column 1. Provided by Onassis Library. Image for personal use only.

<http://www.onassislibrary.gr/uploads/mediaem/documents/00981.pdf>



1 Timothy 3:16 highlighted.

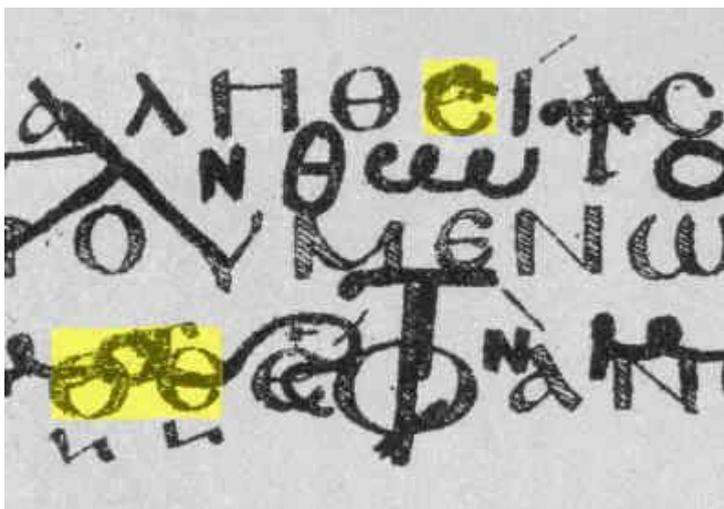
Additional testimonies adduced by the present author

Codex C, 5th century.

Burgon placed this on ambivalent territory, but we have sufficient evidence the line in the theta is original, and that the manuscript reads Θεός. We have a detailed study of this here:

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/CodexC_1T316.pdf

The image below is taken from Tischendorf's facsimile of the manuscript, as reproduced in [Scrivener-PI], showing the contested word ΘC̄. The manuscript has been spoiled since, probably by much touching, and perhaps by the application of chemicals, and is less clear at this place.



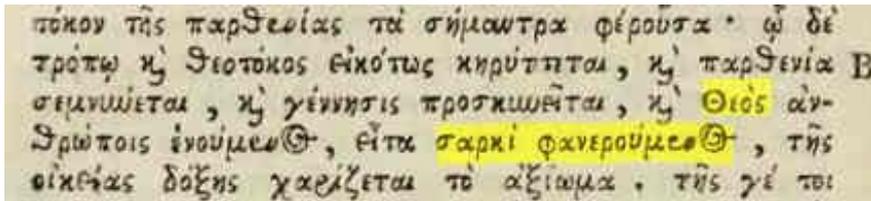
We claim that the line in the theta of ΘC̄ is original. It is very similar to the sagitta of the highlighted epsilon of ΑΗΘΕΙΑC above, in the way it is thin and rising. Not many lines in thetas or sagittas of epsilons are like this, but some are, and Tischendorf's claim that the contested line is secondary *because* it slopes upwards, is clearly refuted. Tischendorf gave one other reason: the line is faint. But the whole text is faint, especially the thinner lines, because the manuscript is a palimpsest, meaning that the biblical writing has largely been scrubbed off so that the parchment could be used for something else – St. Ephraim the Syrian [Scrivener-PI, vol. I, p. 121]. So there is no reason to suspect a correction to this manuscript here. For Tischendorf's claims (in Latin – *subnigra est – a sinistra adscendit*), see page 41, lines 28 and 29, of his *Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus*.

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=JrYhAQAAMAJ&pg=RA2-PA41&lpg=RA2-PA41>

Andreas of Crete, 7th century

He was born at Damascus about 635⁷. We found a reference in [Gallandi], volume 13, page 96, lines 16-17. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute. Images for personal use only.

⁷ <https://www.biblicalcyclopedia.com/A/andreas-cretensis.html>



The Minuscules.

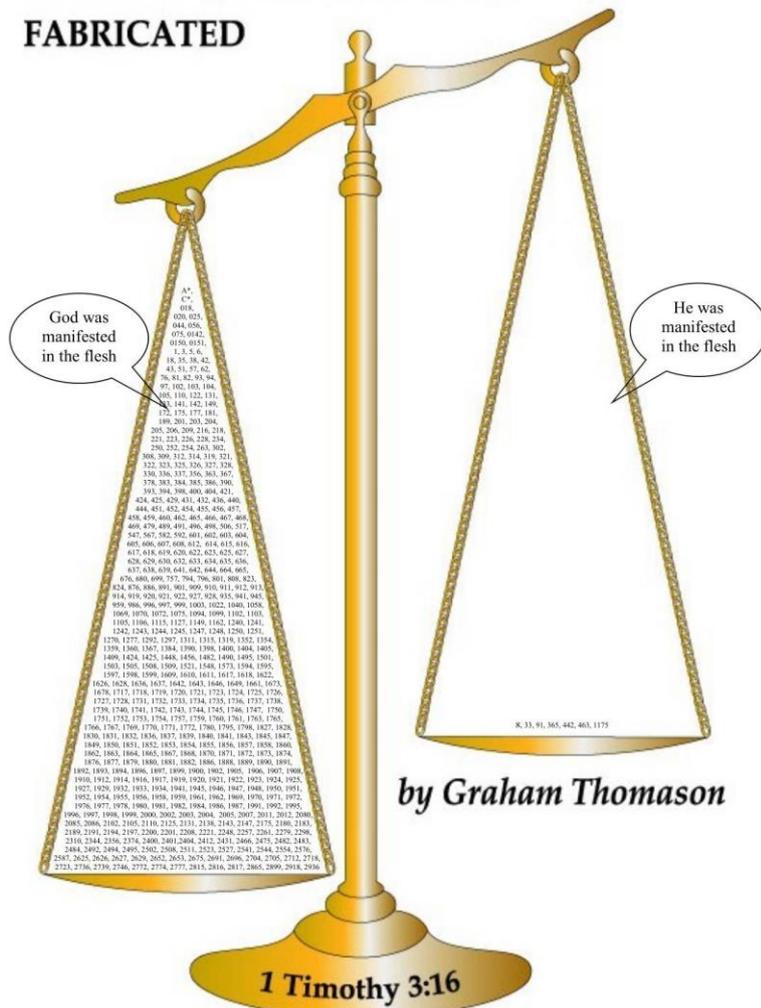
We have examined all the INTF scans of the minuscules containing 1 Timothy 3:16. Almost all manuscripts have been scanned, so we have an almost complete picture. For where to find the reading on each manuscript, and the results, see the spreadsheet which is linked to here:

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/01_Textual.html

The following picture⁸, from our study *Scripture, Authentic and Fabricated*, shows the balance of manuscript evidence. The study is linked to on

http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/01_Textual.html

SCRIPTURE, AUTHENTIC AND FABRICATED



⁸ The scales were drawn by Fiona Allison.

The Lectionaries

Only a fraction of the lectionaries have been scanned by INTF, but 61 containing 1 Timothy 3:16 have [as of February, 2019], and the locations and results are given in the link below. Of the 61, 59 read plain θεός, 1 reads θεοῦ, and 1 reads ὅς. The study is linked to on http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/01_Textual.html

Summary

Burgon has shown, and we have verified, that there is abundant ancient evidence for the reading God was *manifested in the flesh*, far outweighing the contrary evidence, and importantly, going back earlier than it.

We prefer to consider (7) *Περὶ θείας σαρκώσεως* and (12) *Euthalius* as one witness (to avoid any suggestion of double counting). Apart from manuscript evidence (AKLP above, and minuscules and lectionaries, considered in a separate study), and ancient version evidence (considered in a separate study), Burgon has supplied **6 suggestive** (or, as Burgon better describes them, **allusive** – p. 463) **patristic testimonies**, and **19 firm testimonies**, several of which are older than any manuscript containing 1 Timothy 3:16. We have verified almost all of them.

We have added Andreas of Crete as an allusive witness, and codex C as firm witness, and over 300 manuscripts and about 30 lectionaries unknown to Burgon.

References

References to our companion studies on www.FarAboveAll.com

- [FAA-A] The Reading of 1 Timothy 3:16 in Codex Alexandrinus
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Alexandrinus.pdf
- [FAA-C] The Reading of 1 Timothy 3:16 in Codex C, (Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus)
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/CodexC_1T316.pdf
- [FAA-FG] The Reading of 1 Timothy 3:16 in Codices F and G
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_FG.pdf
- [FAA-Hk] The Reading of the 1 Timothy 3:16 in Harklean Syriac Version
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Harklean.pdf
- [FAA-Ms] The reading of 1 Timothy 3:16 in the New Testament Manuscripts
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Spreadsheet.pdf
- [FAA-Lc] The reading of 1 Timothy 3:16 in the Lectionaries
http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/1Tim_3_16_Lectionaries.pdf

Major editions of patristic works

- [Concilia] *Sacrosancta Concilia*, edited by Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, published in 1678. N.B. The whole set of *Sacrosancta Concilia* consists of 15 large volumes (volume 1 containing 1572 pages). Search for *Sacrosancta Concilia* on www.archive.org.
Example: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125010892426/page/n439
Digitizing Sponsor: Getty Research Institute.
- [Cramer] J. A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum*, in 8 volumes, Oxford 1844. Search www.archive.org for *Cramer Catena*. The start of the catena on Romans is at <https://archive.org/details/catenaegraecorum04cramuoft/page/n4>.
Digitizing sponsor: University of Toronto.
- [Gallandi] Andreas Gallandi, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, Venice, 1765-1781. The 14 volumes, covering 380 writers, of patristic texts can be found individually by searching for *Gallandi Bibliotheca* on www.archive.org.
For example, volume 4 is https://archive.org/details/gri_33125011194236/page/n245.
For an index, see https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_dTtm8uifaKYC/page/n29,
but there are better indexes in each volume. Digitizing sponsor: Getty Research Institute.
- [Loeb] Early, out of copyright (but check each case), editions of the *Loeb Classical Library*, can be found by searching for *Loeb Classical* on the www.archive.org site. The library includes many patristic authors with an English translation.
- [PatrGraec] <https://archive.org/details/PatrologiaGraeca>
Patrologia Graeca. These are 161 volumes of patristic texts, prepared by J.-P. Migne. For example, volume 83 of the whole series is volume 4 of the series on Theodoret, with the title *TRADITIO CATHOLICA, SAECULUM V, ANNUS 458, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΕΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ, THEODORETI CYRENSIS EPISCOPI, OPERA OMNIA, POST RECENSIONEM JACOBI SIRMONDI, EDIDIT ... JOAN. LUDOV. SCHULZE, ... ACCURANTE DENUO RECOGNOSCENTE J.-P. MIGNE ... 1864*. The Father / chapter / section title is Theodreti Episcopi Cyrensis / Dialogus II Inconfusus / Sancti Hippolyti episcopi et martyr. Burgon's "Opp. iv. 132" is to be read as Opera Omnia (all works, as in the title above), volume 4, passage 132. "Opensource Collection". Digitizing sponsor: Google.
- See also the links at <http://patristica.net/gaeca/>.

Other references

- [Barnabas-L] Barnabas, Epistle of Barnabas in *The Apostolic Fathers II*, Loeb Classical Library, LCL 25. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. Harvard University Press, ISBN 0-674-99608-9.
- [Berriman] John Berriman, ΘΕΟΣ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, or, A CRITICAL DISSERTATION UPON 1 TIM iii. 16, London. 1741. See especially pages 153-156.
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OJxhAAAAcAAJ>.

- CSNTM The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts. The site hosts scans of manuscripts and some books. <http://www.csntm.org/>
- [deBoer] A earlier study, when less was available online, by Berend de Boer to verify Burgon's manuscripts. It was an inspiration for this more detailed study. http://www.berenddeboer.net/article/1_timothy_3_16.html.
- INTF <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace>
To view a scan, select ID (not Name), and enter the ID (30091 etc.), and click on the lens, then the document found. The ID of a Gregory-Aland (GA) numbered minuscule is 3nnnn, where nnnn is the GA number with leading zeroes. But for some scans, you will see padlocks on the thumbnail images, and you will need special access (which we have been granted), but we do not reproduce any part of those here. In our companion studies, scan references are given in the format ID/image/column/line for multi-column manuscripts, and ID/image/line for single column manuscripts. A negative line number in brackets may be added for convenience, denoting the line number counting from the bottom of the page. Images in our studies are for personal use only.
- [Ignatius-L] Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Ephesians* and *Letter to the Magnesians*, in *The Apostolic Fathers I*, Loeb Classical Library, LCL 24. Edited and translated by Bart D. Ehrman. Harvard University Press, ISBN 0-674-99607-0.
- [Pinakes] <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>. A manuscript cataloguing site.
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Other links of interest

<http://patristica.net/> – with links to scans of patristic authors.

<https://www.sources-chretiennes.mom.fr/> – recent publications of patristic authors.