**The Harklean Syriac of 1 Timothy 3:16**

**Covering Verses Translating *Εὐσέβεια***

Graham G. Thomason, March 2019. Revised 15 January 2023

Available on [www.FarAboveAll.com](http://www.FarAboveAll.com)

**Introduction**

This article forms part of a study of the reading of 1 Timothy 3:16. We wish to establish whether the reading is *God was manifested in the flesh* (the traditional reading) or *He was manifested in the flesh*, as given in most modern Bibles. Elsewhere we have investigated the Bible manuscript evidence the lectionary evidence and the Church Father evidence[[1]](#footnote-1). The present study is concerned with the Harklean (also spelled Harkleian[[2]](#footnote-2)) Syriac version, dated AD 616.

**The issue simplified, in English only**

There is a Greek word meaning *godliness* or *piety* which occurs 15 times in the New Testament. In the Harklean 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 critics who claim that the word *God* is to be disallowed in translating the Harklean 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 Harklean – 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.

**The issue as expressed by Burgon**

This study is a verification of an observation made by Dean John William Burgon, in *The Revision Revised* on page 489, quoting in the following summary the editor of the Version, the Rev. Henry Deane, of S. John's College, Oxford:

To the VIIth century [A.D. 616] belongs the Harkleian (or Philioxenian) Version; concerning which see above, page 450. “That Θεός was the reading of the manuscripts from which this version was made, is put beyond reach of doubt by the fact that in twelve\* of the other places where εὐσέβεια occurs, the words ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ (‘beauty-of-fear’) are found *without* the addition of ܐܠܗܐ (‘God’). It is noteworthy, that on the thirteenth occasion (1 Tim. ii. 2), where the Peschito reads ‘fear of God’, the Harkleian reads ‘fear’ only.\*\* On the other hand, the Harkleian margin of Acts iii. 12 expressly states that εὐσέβεια is the Greek equivalent of ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ (‘beauty-of-fear’). This effectually establishes the fact that the author of the Harkleian recension found Θεός in his Greek manuscript of 1 Tim. iii. 16”

\* Burgon, or rather Rev. Henry Deane, omits 1 Timothy 6:11, but we include it, so covering all occurrences of εὐσέβεια.

\*\* It is the Harkleian that corresponds to the Greek (which does not contain the word for ‘God’ in 1 Tim. ii. 2). The Peschito adds the word for ‘God’. But we are not particularly concerned with the Peschito here.

**Typographic note.**

The Syriac *alef* is rendered in a standard font, which is an Estrangela font, by ܐ in this document, but in the scans we reproduce, it is in a Serta font. For readers not familiar with Syriac, but attempting to at least match Syriac words in our description with those in the Harklean publication, the table below shows equivalent words.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Our font (Estrangela) | Harklean book printed font (Serta) | Transcription |
| Beauty of | } piety | ܫܦܝܪܘܬ |  | shafirut |
| Fear [of] | (ܐ)ܕܚܠܬ |  | dechilat(a) |
| God |  | ܐܠܗܐ |  | Aloha |

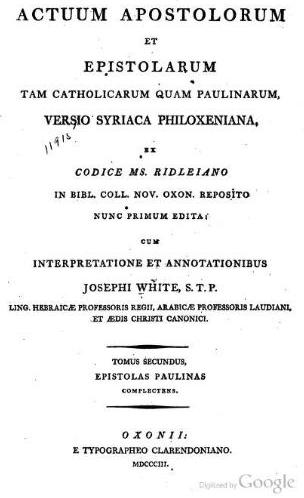
The letter in the round brackets in the Syriac makes the word determinate (the fear / fear), otherwise it is in a construct form (fear-of). So the *inclusion* word in square brackets in the English corresponds to the *absence* of the bracketed letter in the Syriac.

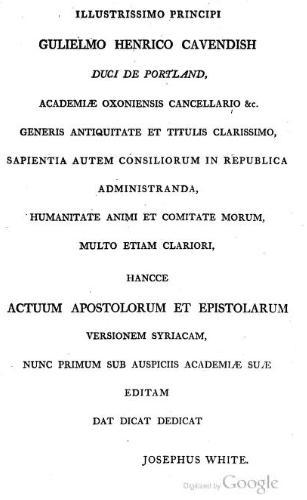
**Translation note**

Readers should note that the English word “godliness” (used in the AV and FarAboveAll translations) is not a translation of a word, or phrase, containing the word “God” in Greek or Syriac. To avoid confusion, we translate the Greek and Syriac equivalents by “piety” in this study. Similarly, we replace “godly” by “pious”.

**The Harklean Syriac Text**

A scan of a printed edition of the Harklean Syriac is available online (see our References). The two volumes were digitized by Google, and are for personal, non-profit use, so we request that Google's Usage Guidelines are respected. The title pages shown below.





**The Verse-by-Verse Study of the Translations of *Εὐσέβεια in the Harklean Syriac***

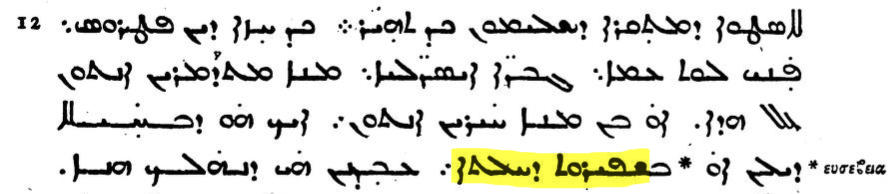
We consider all verses where the Greek contains the word *εὐσέβεια* .We will consider 1 Tim 3:16 last. In each case, we first give the Greek from the Majority Text (Robinson-Pierpont Byzantine Textform 2005) and an English translation of the Greek, from the *FarAboveAll* translation (but using the word “piety” rather than “godliness”, and “pious” rather than “godly” as explained above).

**Acts 3:12**

Ἰδὼν δὲ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαόν, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε, ὡς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεποιηκόσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν;

And when Peter saw *this*, he answered the people, “*You* Israelite men, why are you astonished at this, or why do you look at us *so* intently as if *it were* by our own power or piety *that* we made him walk?

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol I, electronic page n43, printed page number 15):***



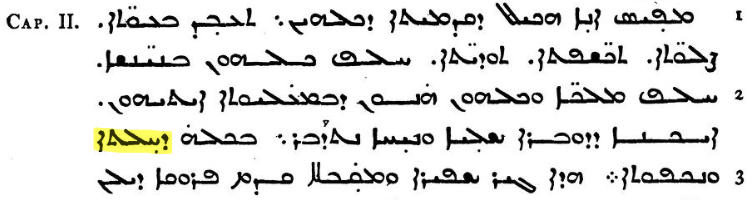
The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ. The marginal note expressly confirms this, as Burgon observed.

**1 Timothy 2:2**

ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων, ἵνα ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

for kings and all those in high positions, so that we may lead a quiet and calm life in all piety and solemnity,

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol II, electronic page n283, printed page number 274):***



The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܕܚܠܬܐ (so withoutܫܦܝܪܘܬ in this case).

**1 Timothy 4:7 and 4:8**

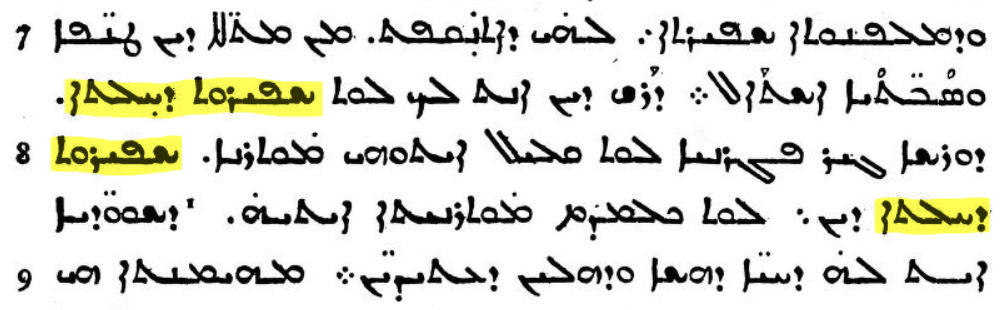
7Τοὺς δὲ βεβήλους καὶ γραώδεις μύθους παραιτοῦ. Γύμναζε δὲ σεαυτὸν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν·

8ἡ γὰρ σωματικὴ γυμνασία πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος· ἡ δὲ εὐσέβεια πρὸς πάντα ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν, ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης.

7But reject profane and old wives' tales and exercise yourself *rather* to piety.

8For physical exercise is beneficial in a minor matter, but piety is beneficial in all respects, having the promise of present and future life.

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol II, electronic page n287, printed page number 279):***



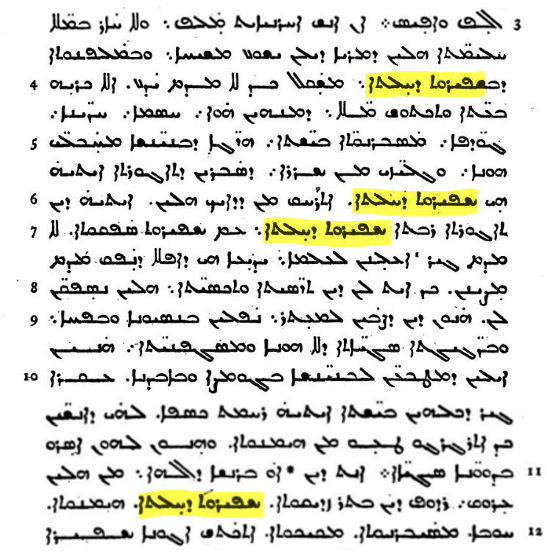
In both cases, the translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

**1 Timothy 6:3, 6:5, 6:6, 6:11**

3Εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ, καὶ μὴ προσέρχεται ὑγιαίνουσιν λόγοις, τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ τῇ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλίᾳ, 4... 5διαπαρατριβαὶ διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἀπεστερημένων τῆς ἀληθείας, νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. 6Ἔστιν δὲ πορισμὸς μέγας ἡ εὐσέβεια μετὰ αὐταρκείας· 7... 8... 9... 10... 11Σὺ δέ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, ταῦτα φεῦγε· δίωκε δὲ δικαιοσύνην, εὐσέβειαν, πίστιν, ἀγάπην, ὑπομονήν, πρᾳότητα.

3If anyone teaches another doctrine and does not adhere to sound words – those of our Lord Jesus Christ and to the pious doctrine – 4... 5vain arguments of men corrupt in mind and devoid of the truth, who reckon piety to be a means of gain. Do not associate with such. 6But piety with independence is an important means of gain. 7... 8... 9... 10... 11But you, O man of God, flee from these *things*, and pursue righteousness, piety, faith, love, patience, meekness.

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol II, electronic pages n293-295, printed page numbers 284-286)***



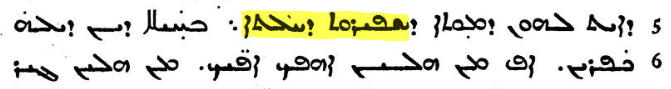
In all these cases, the translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

**2 Timothy 3:5**

ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἠρνημένοι· καὶ τούτους ἀποτρέπου.

having a form of piety, but having denied the power of it. From these also turn away.

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol II, electronic page n305, printed page number 296)***



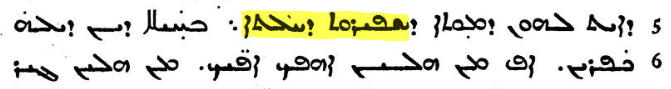
The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

**Titus 1:1**

Παῦλος, δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν,

*From* Paul, a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to *the* faith of God's elect and acknowledgment of *the* truth which *is* in accordance with piety,

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol II, electronic page n311, printed page number 303)***



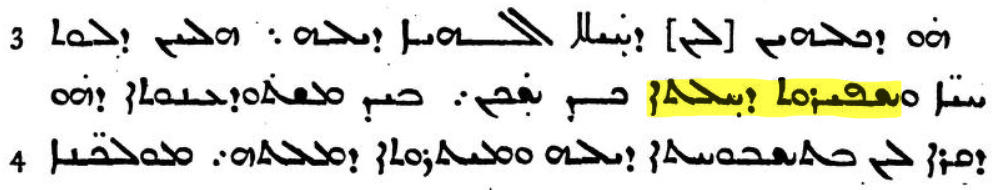
The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

**2 Peter 1:3**

ὡς πάντα ἡμῖν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν δεδωρημένης, διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς·

since his divine power has bestowed on us everything *pertaining* to life and piety through acknowledgment of him *who* called us through glory and virtue,

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol I, electronic page n259, printed page number 231)***



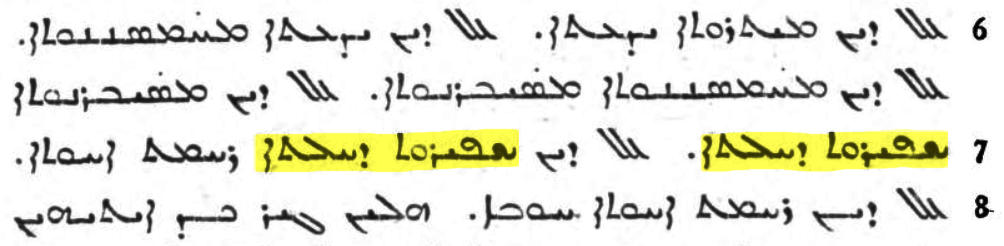
The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

**2 Peter 1:6 and 1:7**

ἐν δὲ τῇ γνώσει τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπομονῇ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, 7ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ τὴν ἀγάπην.

and in *your* knowledge, self-control, and in *your* self-control, endurance, and in *your* endurance, piety, 7and in *your* piety, brotherly affection, and in *your* brotherly affection, love.

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol I, electronic page n261, printed page number 232)***



In both cases, the translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.

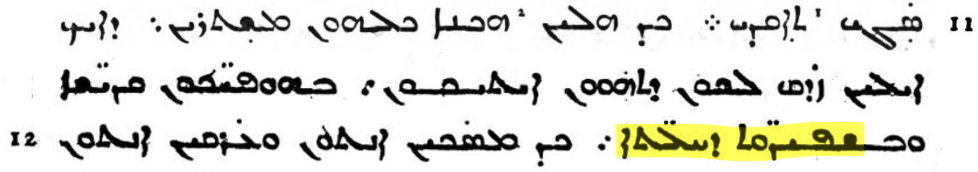
**2 Peter 3:11**

Τούτων οὖν πάντων λυομένων, ποταποὺς δεῖ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς ἐν ἁγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ εὐσεβείαις,

Seeing that all these *things* *are to be* dissolved, then, what kind of *people* should you be in holy conduct and piety,

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol I, electronic page 269, printed page numbers 240-241)***

The translation of εὐσέβεια is ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬܐ.



\*\*\*\* We now come to the crux of the matter. Does 1 Timothy 3:16 read *God* or not? \*\*\*\*

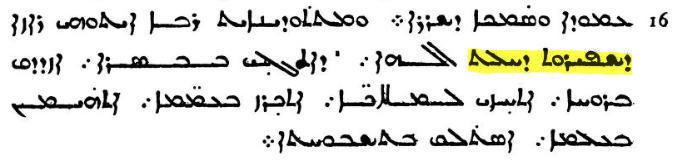
**1 Timothy 3:16**

***Majority Text (Robinson-Pierpont Byzantine Textform 2005, FarAboveAll English)***

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.

[A pillar and base of the truth,] 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.

***Harklean Syriac (archive.org Vol. II, electronic page n287, printed page number 278):***



We have shown that in all other verses the translation of *εὐσέβεια is* ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬ. And so is it here. The word following ܫܦܝܪܘܬ ܕܚܠܬ, namely ܐܠܗܐ, is never used anywhere else to part-translate *εὐσέβεια*, which means that neither is it here. The word ܐܠܗܐ is a stand-alone word, *God*, in 1 Tim 3:16. There is no justification for swallowing it up in the translation of *εὐσέβεια*.

The Harklean version therefore reads

the mystery of godliness towards **God**, who was manifested in the flesh

which must have come from a Greek reading of

τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· **θεὸς** ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί

or perhaps (though no Greek manuscript[[3]](#footnote-3) contains it)

τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· **θεὸς** **ὃς** ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί

and certainly not

τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον· **ὃς** ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί

We have shown that Burgon's astute observation is correct, and that Bishop Ellicott (the chairman of the Revising Committee) has put the Harklean version on the wrong side of the dispute[[4]](#footnote-4).

The Revising Committee for the Revised Version adopted the **ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί** (he was manifested in the flesh) reading partly through Ellicott's– or rather his informants' – misinformation. The error has persisted to modern times. The *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 1971 edition, by Bruce Metzger, which attempts to justify the Nestle-Aland / United Bible Societies reading ὃς, and which will have been consulted by many a translator, states that “all ancient versions presuppose ὃς or ὁ”. The Harklean is one example showing the falsity of the statement; for the other ancient versions supporting θεός (Georgian and Slavonic), see Burgon's *The Revision Revised*. Burgon shows that the bulk of the other ancient versions (Latin, Peshitta, Coptic, Ethiopic and Armenian) support ὁ not ὃς, and so do not support the Nestle-Aland / United Bible Societies reading. Only the Gothic supports ὃς.

**References**

The Harklean Syriac is available online. We found a link on this page

<http://syri.ac/bibliography/379437680>

which links to this volume for Paul's epistles:

<https://archive.org/details/ActuumApostolorumEtEpistolarumTamCa2/page/n287>

For Acts and the Catholic Epistles, the link is:

<https://archive.org/details/ActuumApostolorumEtEpistolarumTamCa/page/n31>

The Revision Revised J. W. Burgon, *The Revision Revised,* originally published 1883.

<https://archive.org/details/revisionrevised00burggoog>

[UBS-Commentary] Bruce Metzger, in cooperation with The United Bible Societies,

*A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*

published by and obtainable from

Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, P.O. Box 810340, 7000 Stuttgart 80, Germany.

ISBN 3 438 06010 8.

1. For the Bible and lectionary manuscripts, see [www.faraboveall.com/015\_Textual/01\_Textual.html](http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/01_Textual.html); Church Father investigations are in progress at the time of writing, but see [www.berenddeboer.net/article/1\_timothy\_3\_16.html](http://www.berenddeboer.net/article/1_timothy_3_16.html) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Burgon spells it *Harkleian*, and we retain that spelling quoting him and in our remarks following. Elsewhere, we use the more usual spelling *Harklean*. The translator is spelled *Thomas of Harqel* in Wikipedia. We also retain Burgon's spelling *Peschito* (another Syriac translation) when quoting him, but the more common *Peshitta* elsewhere. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. I.e. not one out of 584 we have examined, these being almost all known, and all that are available in online scans. See our summary on [www.faraboveall.com/015\_Textual/01\_Textual.html](http://www.faraboveall.com/015_Textual/01_Textual.html). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For Bishop Ellicott's position, see *The Revision Revised*, p. 429 (where the Harklean is called the Philoxenian). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)