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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_churchman\\_os.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php)

dealers in their strongholds, and I made the people love me." Eight months earlier, Ismail had said, "Do I mistrust Gordon Pasha? That is an honest man." Before he sailed for England, this "honest man" (it is a curious fact) sent to one of the worst of the Pashas in Egypt a telegram, which ran: "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin."

How General Gordon was invited by the King of the Belgians to conduct an expedition round the Congo, and, while on his way, was summoned by his own Government to see what he could do in the Soudan, is known throughout the civilized world. The course of his mission will be watched with the keenest interest, and prayers will be daily made on his behalf.



#### ART. V.—DEAN BURGON'S "REVISION REVISED."

*The Revision Revised.* Three articles reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*—I. "The New Greek Text;" II. "The New English Version;" III. "Westcott and Hort's New Textual Theory." To which is added, "A Reply to Bishop Ellicott's Pamphlet in Defence of the Revisers and their Greek Text of the New Testament, including a Vindication of the Traditional Reading of 1 Timothy iii. 16." By JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, B.D., Dean of Chichester. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.

HAD the reprint of these articles been issued shortly after their first appearance, no doubt the book would have been eagerly bought and read. But the delay of more than a year between the publication of the third article and the appearance of the present volume has produced two distinct results. In the first place, the blow struck by the three articles has had its full effect. The Revised New Testament does not, at present, show much sign of vitality. It may be a book for scholars, or a book of reference for the many. It has not yet taken the place of the Authorised Version. Nor is it likely to do so, in our judgment. Hence there seems but little necessity, at the moment, for any renewed attack upon it. Why should we draw the sword against the slain?

But this book of Dean Burgon's also presents us with another result, of a somewhat different and special kind. The year's delay, which we have referred to, has been a year's hard work for the Dean. Seldom leaving his desk, except for the cathedral, for meals, or for his bed, he has steadily devoted himself to a question raised by the chairman and another member of the New Testament Company in their published reply to his

Reviews. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and Archdeacon Palmer, challenged the Dean's criticisms on their reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16. We have it in our Authorised New Testament as "GOD was manifest in the flesh." The Revisers read, "HE who was manifest in the flesh." In the first of the three articles in the *Quarterly*, Dean Burgon devoted eight pages to a short summary of the evidence concerning this passage as known to us then. "To us," we say; very much as the blower of Handel's organ insisted on saying "we," and enforced the pronoun by letting the wind out of the instrument at a critical moment. But, in truth, there was a mass of evidence as to the authorities for the various readings in this verse, which was known only to Dean Burgon himself. A very large number of his references to the Fathers are, as he has been forced to remind us, "*not to be found elsewhere!*" We cannot even claim to have blown the bellows of the fire in which the Dean has laboured with such effect.

However, not content with having already exhibited considerably greater knowledge of the question at issue than the Revisers themselves, Dean Burgon at once accepted the challenge of the Bishop and the Archdeacon, and turned his whole strength to an exhaustive inquiry into *all* the existing evidence for the text of the famous clause in 1 Tim. iii. 16. To his eight pages, his opponents had replied in twelve. "That I may not be thought wanting in courtesy, the present rejoinder," he says, "shall extend to seventy-six."

This monograph of seventy-six pages is the gem of the whole volume. Its appearance is an event, even in this eventful century. But, if the circulation of the treatise is desired, one thing seems absolutely necessary. The seventy-six pages in question must be taken out of the thick volume which contains them at present, and issued in a separate form. It is deplorable that the age in which we live is not a learned or a studious age.† But facts are facts; and, among other facts, it is undeniable that mankind in general will not spoil a sovereign, or half a sovereign, current coin of the realm for the sake even of a gem like this, valuable as it is. Books that deserve to live are not usually appreciated in anything short of a lifetime. If Dr. Ginsburg had been a little slower, and some other persons a little less pertinacious, and M. Clermont-Ganneau not quite so quick, it is just possible that Mr. Shapira might have secured his million, or at least enough of it to pay his expenses from Jerusalem to London and back. But though the true reading of a single passage in the New Testament which asserts that JESUS CHRIST is very GOD is worth more than a million, the treatise which establishes the truth is not one that will sell rapidly, more especially if those

who buy the treatise are compelled to buy a good deal more than they think they know the drift of and do not want to keep. We say this much to direct attention to a fault of this generation, and not for the sake of depreciating the volume, which in our opinion is well worthy of a place, not only on the shelves, but in the hands of every student of the New Testament. It can never lose its value; and, therefore, it is a truly profitable investment. We cannot shut our eyes to the unpleasant truth that this is not the common opinion; and our own estimate of the exceeding value of Dean Burgon's labours is in no way affected thereby.

Howbeit, we must do our best to acquaint our readers with the value of this treatise; and so let us return to the main point.

Those who already know will accept our apologies for repeating what so many know nothing about, that the authorities for the text of the New Testament fall under three different heads: I. *Manuscripts*; II. *Versions, i.e., translations of the Greek into other languages*; III. *Fathers, i.e., Church writers (especially Greeks) who quote the text of the New Testament in one or another form.* For his knowledge of this *third* branch of the subject the Dean of Chichester is absolutely without a rival in the world. He has *himself searched out and indexed all the references to the New Testament in all the Fathers*, and is consequently possessed of a larger amount of information on this part of the question than any other writer living or dead. He is, moreover, no blind follower of the blind. He is thoroughly acquainted with the distinction enforced by Dr. Scrivener, that the mere quotation of a text in the writings of a Father is not always decisive as to the reading of the text. It may be that several ways of reading it would have served the Father's purpose equally well in the passage under dispute. But where the whole exposition of the text depends on the actual wording of it;—where the interpretation adopted by the patristic expositor is applicable to one form of the words and to no other—there the Father must perforce be witness to the language in which that particular text stood in his New Testament. This principle is fully acknowledged, and its results are adhered to, in the treatise before us. But this is only the third part of the subject. Let us return to the first.

*Manuscripts of the New Testament are divided into: (a) Uncial, (b) Cursive.* We cannot apologize for stating this; for there are many worthy and able men of just too many years' standing to be aware of the fact, which was not part of the education of Macaulay's schoolboy. The Uncial Manuscripts are written in capital letters. Sometimes the words are

not divided; sometimes not even the sentences. These manuscripts contain many abbreviations. In particular the Greek word for *God* is written "ΘC." The very similar combination, "OC," means "who." In the text under discussion this is the great point at issue in the uncial manuscripts.

The cursive manuscripts are very much more numerous than the uncials. In these the words are divided. Small letters as well as capitals are used. Sentences are marked. Accents, breathings, and stops find a place.

The cursive manuscripts are also much more modern than the uncials. Most critics disregard their testimony, as of comparatively little weight. But we must observe that there is a fallacy in the common view. Men write far too much as if uncial manuscripts were *all* the manuscripts, and cursive manuscripts were like printed editions. That 100 printed copies of a document should exhibit the same error is not only natural but even necessary. It can hardly be otherwise. But that 252 *cursive* manuscripts should exhibit one and the same reading of any particular text is by no means necessary. And it is a fact for which we cannot easily assign any other cause than this, that the reading which they preserve is *accepted by the universal Church*. For these cursive manuscripts are "not copies of one another;" they all have their own peculiarities. Nor are they copies of any older manuscripts which we now possess. A collator will necessarily register, and a textual critic will easily set aside, those manuscripts which exhibit the same text, or are copies of a common original. That this is not the case with the mass of cursive manuscripts all critics are aware. But they do not always give the fact its due weight. For if we once allow that the cursive manuscripts are, on the whole, *independent* witnesses, it becomes very difficult to reject their joint testimony.

In any critical edition of the Greek Testament, it is usual to exhibit the authorities for each particular reading in the order above given: (I.) Manuscripts; (II.) Versions; (III.) Fathers. Under each of these three heads, the order of authorities is chronological; and uncial manuscripts naturally take precedence of cursives.

Without blaming those who have adopted this arrangement, a careful consideration of what Dean Burgon has written upon textual criticism has convinced us that it practically often misleads the reader. For example, in this very text. The *uncial* manuscripts apparently give less decisive and distinct testimony than the cursives; and the cursives again, perhaps, weigh less, though they count up to more, than the "torrent of the Fathers." But when the whole evidence is re-assorted chronologically, and the several centuries of the Christian

era are compelled to speak in order, beginning from the eldest unto the last, a very different impression is created from that which we receive by the perusal of an ordinary critical note.

On pp. 486, sqq., we have the following summary: The statement that "God was manifest in the flesh" is recognised to be the true reading of 1 Timothy iii. 16

1. In the first century by Ignatius and Barnabas.
2. In the second century by Hippolytus—twice.
3. In the third century (probably) by Gregory Thaumaturgus; by the Apostolic constitutions; by Basil the Great; by Dionysius of Alexandria.
4. In the fourth century by Didymus; Gregory Bishop of Nazianzus; Diodorus of Tarsus; Gregory of Nyssa; Chrysostom; and by an ancient title of the section to which the passage belongs.

*To this century belong the oldest uncial manuscripts, the Vatican and the Sinaitic. Only one of these contains the passage: the Sinaitic manuscript. It reads not "God," but "Who." The Vatican manuscript is not available here.*

5. In the fifth century, the Alexandrine manuscript (in the British Museum) reads "God." This fact has been disputed by Bishop Ellicott and others. But by an abundance of testimony, placed on record before the manuscript became illegible, Dean Burgon has established the truth.

As the centuries proceed, the testimony for reading "God" is greatly multiplied. But we desire to direct the attention of our readers to the fact that an ordinary critical note would not convey to the reader any idea of the real order of this testimony. He would see first of all that the testimony of the oldest manuscript extant is hostile to the reading "God"; the next manuscript is probably in favour of it; but the reading there is disputed. The next is disputed also; the next is hostile; the next two are doubtful. The number of cursive manuscripts in favour of "God" is overwhelming. But only a few of them are referred to by some critics. Tregelles, for instance, is silent as to the testimony of all but a very few. The versions in general do not, by any means, support the reading "God" in this place. The investigation of their testimony, by Dean Burgon, in this treatise, is exceedingly interesting. He shows that they have been much misrepresented by critics: some of them being actually set down as witnesses on the wrong side. Still, in an ordinary critical note, the impression derived by the reader from what is said of them would be unfavourable to the Authorised Version. Next he would find a few references to Fathers; nothing like so many as Dean Burgon has produced; and he would not gain any clear idea of the

immense preponderance of their testimony in favour of the received text.

What would certainly *not* appear on the face of any critical edition of the New Testament is, that there are at least twelve witnesses for the reading "God was manifest in the flesh," as old as, or older than, the oldest witnesses against it.

We cannot help wishing that the textual critics would henceforth *alter the order* in which they cite the testimony for the various reading of the New Testament. If A, B, ~~8~~, C, D, and the rest of the capital letters are always to stand first, the impression is necessarily created that the authorities which they stand for are the oldest and the best. We cannot all be expected to remember, even if we know, that this is not the case.

No less issue is at stake in this conflict than the whole question as to the value of modern methods of textual criticism. The Bishop of Gloucester and the Archdeacon of Oxford were correct in their statement that if Dean Burgon is right, Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf and Alford, as well as Westcott and Hort, are all wrong. There is no doubt of it. And the same observation applies to a certain extent to Dr. Scrivener. For though, in a great many of his particular conclusions, he and Dean Burgon are agreed, yet Dr. Scrivener's method of citing and arranging authorities, and the deference which he pays to them severally, resemble the generality of modern critics far more than the attitude adopted by Dean Burgon. Respecting the theory of Dr. Hart, however, these two writers are perfectly agreed: that it has no foundation at all.

But it is time to say something of the fresh discoveries with which this treatise of Dean Burgon's is enriched. He has been in correspondence with nearly all the public libraries in Europe. The results appear in the following passage:

The inquiries into which I was led (January to June, 1883) by my dissertation in vindication of the traditional reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, have resulted in my being made aware of the existence of a vast number of sacred codices which had eluded the vigilance of previous critics.

I had already assisted my friend Prebendary Scrivener in greatly enlarging Scholz's list. We had, in fact, raised the enumeration of "Evangelia" to 621, of "Acts and Catholic Epistles" to 239, of "Paul" to 281, of "Apocalypse" to 108, of "Evangelistaria" to 299, of the book called "Apostolus" to 81; making a total of 1,629. But at the end of a protracted and somewhat laborious correspondence with the custodians of not a few great Continental libraries, I am able to state that our available "Evangelia" amount to at least 739, our "Acts and Catholic Epistles" to 261, our "Paul" to 338, our "Apocalypse" to 122, our "Evangelistaria" to 415, our copies of the "Apostolus" to 128; making a total of 2,003. This shows an increase of *three hundred and seventy-four*.

The last sentence of the appendix is also a notable one. *The Codices which are known to witness to "God was manifested,"* in 1 Tim. iii. 16, amount to exactly three hundred. It is also supported by three versions, by upwards of twenty Greek Fathers. Against this, the reading "who" in place of "God" is countenanced by six manuscripts in all, by only one version for certain (viz., the Gothic), not for certain by a single Greek Father.

The reading "which" is supported by a single manuscript (D), by five ancient versions, by two late Greek Fathers.

This is the sum of the whole matter. But the investigation through which this conclusion has been reached, and the discussion in which it is presented, abound with interesting and instructive passages. One of the most important features in the problem is the presence of the horizontal stroke above the abbreviated word  $\Theta\bar{C}$  (God.) If this mark were always the sign of contraction, even the absence of the smaller stroke in the middle of the  $\Theta$  would not make it possible to read  $\bar{O}C$  as anything else but  $\bar{\Theta}C$ . But it appears that this horizontal stroke has other uses. It is found over other letters, vowels in particular, where it cannot be the sign of contraction; and hence some have maintained that in 1 Tim. iii. 16, this horizontal stroke is the rough breathing over the word  $OC$ , *who*. This suggestion is met by Dean Burgon with most marvellous learning and acuteness. He shows that it cannot possibly be the rough breathing, but that its constant presence over the vowel *I* in Greek and Latin shows that "it is nothing else but an ancient substitute (in that case) for the modern dot over the *i*. It is not, however, limited to *i*, but appears occasionally over other vowels. Over the vowel *O* it is comparatively rare, and the result of the investigation respecting 1 Tim. iii. 16 is, that the line there is "probably the sign of contraction." But if so, its presence points unmistakably to the reading  $\bar{\Theta}C$ , *God*, in every manuscript where the horizontal stroke over these two letters appears.

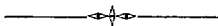
We cannot attempt in any degree to reproduce the brilliant pungency of Dean Burgon's controversial style. Both in this treatise and in the preface to the entire volume his adversaries are well satirized. But this style, which was quite correct in the time of Bentley, is not understood by the moderns; and Dean Burgon's arguments suffer in consequence. His style is thought to be abusive; and "abuse," we are told, "is not argument." To which the reply is both natural and easy, that neither is argument abuse. The Dean's arguments, both here and in "The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," are quite



irrefutable. The strange thing is, that the arguments in his book on St. Mark certainly, and apparently in this case also, are not only not refuted, but not even read. We have heard men far inferior, both in learning and scholarship, pour contempt on what they had evidently never studied at all. Why this is so, is a question which admits of more than one answer. There are fashions even in criticism: and "men love darkness rather than light," if darkness is fashionable. Dean Burgon is too much of a student to be popular. He is too painstaking, too exhaustive, too accurate, too minute, for the age in which we live. Books which are written with so much labour cannot be appreciated at their true value by those who have not laboured at the same task themselves.

Yet the style throughout is as easy as English can well be. Who else is there that can write about "codex" letter this, or "Praxapostolus" number that (we wonder how many of our readers have the faintest notion *what a Praxapostolus* is!) as familiarly as a commercial traveller can describe a railway junction, and be as interesting as a novelist all the while? And that this learning and this facility should be all thrown into the scale, together with life, health, recreation, and even necessary rest, and all to vindicate a single sentence of God's written Word—this, we say, is a sight not for a season, but for a century; not a lesson for the period ("for the fashion of this world passeth away"), but an example for all time.

C. H. WALLER.



#### ART. VI.—THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S ON THE CHURCH IN WALES.

*A Charge delivered at his Third Triennial Visitation to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's.* By WILLIAM BASIL JONES, D.D., Lord Bishop of St. David's. Rivingtons.

**A**N effort is to be made this Session, it seems, to carry a resolution in favour of the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. The people of Wales are supposed to be keen and vigorous politicians; and they return to Parliament, as everybody knows, strongly Liberal representatives. In England, happily, politicians of even pronounced Liberalism, not seldom, are loyal supporters of the National Church; but in the political circles of Wales, perhaps, "Liberal" stands for much the same as "Liberationist." For this reason, no doubt, the first blow at the Establishment is to be directed against