ARTICLE V.

ON A PASSAGE IN MATTHEW XXVI. 50.

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The expression which I propose to discuss is, ἐφ’ δὶ πάρει. I shall say no more of ἑταίρει than to refer to chapters xx. 13; xxii. 12, and shall assume that ἐφ’ δὶ is the unquestionably true reading, and not ἐφ’ φ. That ἐνὶ with the Accusative can denote the aim or object, answering to our for or after, may be shown by many examples from the best authors; so that it is no Hellenistic usage, as Bloomfield strangely imagined. Compare Herodot. vii. 32 ἀπεπείμετε ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν, Soph. Trachin. 503 ἐπὶ τάνδε ἄκουσιν ... τίνες κατέβαν; Philoct. 591 ἐπὶ τούτον ἄνδρα τόδε ... πλέοντι, Eurip. Bacch. 454 ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἐς θῆβας πάρει, Aristoph. Lysistr. 1101 ἐπὶ τὶ πάρεστε δεῦρο; Nubes 266 ἐπὶ τὶ στέφανον i.e. λάβω; Plat. Gorg. 447 B. ἐπ’ αὑτὸ γέ τοι τοῦτο πάρεσμεν, where it is noticeable that one ms. has the Dative. The same phrase occurs in Euthydem. 274 Α., cited by Stalib., who also adduces from Theages 122 Α. νῦν οὖν ἥκω ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τάντα.

The meaning of ἐφ’ δὶ πάρει is what we desire to discuss more at length. There are four interpretations of it, all of which have their advocates at the present day.

The first of these I shall name, after having fallen out of notice for a very long time, has again been brought forward in the present day, and has received the votes of some of the most distinguished commentators. It regards the sentence as having the relative form, and explains the sense by an aposiopesis: “that for which thou art come,—do.” This may be called the interpretation of Euthymius Zigabenus (cent. xii.); but it will be made to appear that he was by no means alone, among the ancient interpreters,
in his view of the passage. He is followed, in modern times, by Meyer (H. A. W.), Ewald, Lightfoot, Alford in his last editions, by Lange, Steinmeyer (in his Leidensgesch. des Herrn, Berlin, 1868), and the Dutch Bible Company (1868), in their alternative rendering.¹

The second explanation, which regards δφ’ δ as interrogative, has the vast majority of voices in its favor. It appears in some mss. of the Old Latin, and is the received rendering of the Vulgate, which the later Latin ecclesiastical writers naturally followed; it is adopted by some Greek interpreters, as perhaps by Origen and Chrysostom, and without doubt by Theophylact; the greater part of the Protestant commentators, as Calvin, Grotius, Casaubon, and more recently, Kuinoel, DeWette, Wordsworth, Alford in his earlier editions, know of no other; and the same is true of the lexicographers, as E. Robinson and Grimm; of grammarians, such as Winer; and of all the principal editors of the sacred text.

The third opinion, which regards the passage as exclamatory, was known to earlier interpreters, but was made prominent in later times by Fritzsche, who does not, in his very able comment on the passage, seem to be aware that he had been anticipated in his judgment. He is followed by Noyes in his translation, Alexander Buttmann in his Grammar, and Holtzmann in the Bibelwerk of Bunsen (viii. 212).

The fourth interpretation proceeds on the supposition of an ellipsis; the sentence being interrogative, but the relative force of δ being preserved: “Was it this for which thou art come?” This mode of explanation was followed by the Peashito, and in modern times by Bengel, but has had very few advocates besides.

A question preliminary to all others is, whether the relative δς can be used in interrogation. To the consideration of this point we invite our readers, regretting that it cannot be despatched in a few words, but hoping that in a monograph

¹ To whom I add, on information received from Professor Abbot, of Harvard, Riliet, formerly Professor in Genova, in his French translation of the New Testament (1860), Volkmar (with some hesitation) in die Evangelien (Leipsig, 1870), and Burger in a recent Commentary.
like this a certain fulness of discussion will not be found to be out of place. The method adopted in these remarks will be, first to consider the grammatical point just mentioned, and then to enter somewhat fully into the history of the interpretation of the clause, and the claims of the several explanations of it to our acceptance.

1. As it regards the use of relatives exclusive of ὅς and interrogatives in indirect questions, Lobeck’s doctrine is (in a note on Phrynieus, p. 57, Leipz., 1820), that they are used indiscriminately, and often in the same sentence. His words follow the citation of a passage from Demosthenes, in which ὅς, ὅς, and ὅς, ποιητέων, and ὅς πόσον occur in the same sentence and construction, and where Reiske edited from a ms. ὅποιες ὅς ποιητέων. Lobeck then adds: “Consulto autem hunc locum commemoravi ut pateret tironibus Graecos data opera in interrogationibus oblique pronomina ἐνσαφείᾳ et ἐρε-γιατικῇ effugiendo et repetitionis causa omnimodisse.” He then cites several examples, partly from earlier, partly from later authors. Stallbaum, on Plat. Gorg. 448, remarks: “Relativa post interrogativa in eodem verborum ambitu frequenter inferri docuimus ad Critorem” (48 A., pp. 141, 142, where a great number of examples are cited). But the restriction “post interrogativa” will not stand. The compound relatives, in the received texts, sometimes come first. Thus, in Republ. iii. 414 D., we have οἷς οἷς ὅποια τὸλὴρ ἢ ποιητέων λόγοι, — where Stallbaum himself defends ὅποια against the reading ποιητικα; and in Charmid. 160 D. we have ἐννοοῦσα ὅποια τοιαύτα ... καὶ ποιητέων ὅποια. There is no rule of succession as yet discovered, known to the writer; and hiatus, as well as dislike of repetition, must have had much to do with the usage. The frequent various readings, as of the shorter forms of ποιητέων for the longer of ὅποιες, seem to show that the Greeks themselves confounded the two sets of pronouns.

2. Are the relatives exclusive of ὅς used in direct interroga-
tion? Lobeck says again, in the same note, that what Brunck says on Aristoph. Plut. 392, that "ὄς," ὡς, ὓσ, ὅστις centuries apud Atticos poetae occurrarre in interrogatione [directa], idem valet de scriptoribus cujusvis generis et in relativis omnibus." The passages are all but two from later Greek writers. One of these is from Eurip. Rhea. 702:

τίς, τόθεν ἡ ποιας πάτρας; 
ὡς κεώτει τὸν ὑπατον θεων;

Where, however, the modern critics read:

τίς ἐν τόθεν; ποιας πάτρας; 
ὡς κεώτει τὸν ὑπατον θεων;

Here measure and sense are satisfied, the last line in both strophe and antistrophe consisting of two exactly similar dochmii.

The other passage is from Demosth. c. Timoth. p. 1199, ὡςον τιμα καὶ ποδατὸν καὶ τόθεν γενόμενον τὸν χιλιῶν τούτων. On this Schaefer (apparat. in Demosth. v. 285), says: "Scribe ὡςον. Nec me movet, quanquam gravis, auctoritas Lobeckii ὡςον tuentis. ... Vulgatam textui affricuisse videtur labes Graecitatis citerioris; idemque, opinor, tenendum aut de omnibus aut de pluribus classicorum scriptorum locis ubi relativa vice funguntur interrogativorum."

Here Schaefer admits that in lower Greek the relatives (i.e. especially the correlative ones) have found their way into interrogative sentences. Prof. Sophocles, in his Lexicon of later Greek, gives examples of such use of ὅστις from Pseudo-Justin, Julian (frag.), Cyrill, Theodoret, Theodor. Studites. A passage in Plato (Meno 74 D.) contains δ ἵν so used, but in so involved a sentence that the author may have forgotten the construction with which he set out. But there are other passages where this class of relatives is used in direct questions by the best authors. Here we do not refer to cases, such as a number to be found in Aristophances, where the interrogative of a question is repeated in the answer by the

Dindorf has received Schaefer's ὡςον without ms. authority into his Oxford edition of Demosth. 1849.
corresponding relative. Thus (Ach. 594, 595), ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ; i.e. “but who are you though?” ὡς τίς; “who I am,” sc. do you ask? Equites, 128, Nicias asks καὶ πός; Demosthenes replies ὡς τίς; i.e. “how”? do you ask. Nubes 214, “But Lacedaemon is where?” ποῦ ῥήτω; to which the reply is ὡς τίς ῥήτω; “where is it?” do you ask. Nearest to such cases come others like Plat. Euthydem. init., where Critias had asked Socrates who a certain person was with whom he had been talking the day before—τίς ἦν; The reply is ὡς ὅτερον καὶ ἔρωτας; “which of the two do you ask about?”

But in Plat. Lys. 212 οὗτος ὅτερον φιλος ἔστιν; there is no such reason to be found for the relative forms. Still, Stallbaum tries to explain the usage in several parts of his edition of Plato by supplying something like “scire velim,” or “quaerere licet?” But this is not satisfactory to me. Kühner also, in his larger Grammar (§ 587, p. 1017, 2d ed. 1872, which edition I had not seen until these remarks were written), denies that this usage was allowable in good Greek. “That the words of indirect inquiry,” says he, “were used in direct questions, can hardly be admitted. This confusion of them seems to belong to the later Greek.” And he adds, that where it seems to occur in earlier writers, we must suppose a word like λέγων or εἴπε to have floated in the writer’s mind. Moreover these forms are easily interchanged in the manuscripts.

3. We inquire in the next place, whether ὅς can be used in interrogative sentences. Matthiae laid down the rule that it could thus occur, but only in dependent propositions (§ 485). His examples are such as these: “he sends to Cyrus” εἶπὼν δὲ ἦν, Xen. Cyr. vi. 1. 46; περὶ ἀρετῆς, ὅ ἐστίν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἄδα, Plat. Men. 80 C.; “he tells the shipmaster” ὡς ἔστι, Thucyd. i. 187; δὲν τοβργου "Αἴδης χοὶ κάτω βυνατορεῖ, Soph. Antig. 542 “Who did it Hades knows and those below.”—Plumptre’s trans.; Plat. Rep. 8, 559 A. παραδειγμα ἐκατέρων αἷ εἰσίν. So also Soph. Oed. T. 1068; Herodot. iii. 5; iv. 131; vi. 37; viii. 37. The explanation of this class of cases, as given by Stallbaum on the passage in
Menon, seems to be satisfactory: \( \text{περὶ} \ \text{ἀρετῆς, } \text{δὲ} \ \text{ἐστὶν} = \text{n. a., } \text{τὸδ' } \text{ἐστὶν}. \) Or, might we not say, "concerning virtue, i.e. concerning that which it is"? So "Hades knows those who did it." "He told him who he was." 1

We may say then, that in dependent clauses after words of knowing, finding out, doubting, inquiring, wondering, δὲ can occur in places where δобрες, and even τίς, might be used. As some sentences unite both the relative and the interrogative force, it is not strange that this should be common ground for the three. An interesting example, besides what we have given, occurs in Herodot. ix. 71: γενομένης λέξης δὲ γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἀριστος, where the noun, denoting conversation or discussion, implies asking. "When a discussion took place, who of them had shown himself the bravest." Kühner, in the second edition of his large Grammar published last year (§ 562, p. 942, Vol. ii.), denies that δὲ, όλος, δόσος are ever used for δобрες or τίς, or ὁποῖος for ποῖος, even in indirect questions. As perhaps the latest utterance of a grammarian of high standing, almost writing anew his old work after the lapse of more than thirty-five years, it deserves respectful consideration. That one of his main positions is true, that in such sentences as that from Aeschines cited a little above, the relative preserves a relative force, seems to me unquestionable. That, however, δὲ in dependent or indirect question must have the force of όλος, rather than of δобрες, does not seem to me to be true. For instance, in the passage from Herodot. ix. 71, just now cited, γενομένης λέξης δὲ γένοιτο ἀριστος, this rule breaks down. We must say then, I think, that δὲ in such places stands where δобрες, or even τίς, might stand, but has a relative force. In the passage just cited, we explain the relative "as to him who," etc. Τίς is used in such places from the tendency to bring the forms of direct into indirect inquiry.

It is only a seemingly interrogative use of δὲ, which occurs

1 In Aesch. c. Ctes. § 95, δὲ τὸ πρᾶπον καὶ δὲ ὁλος κακοψυχατέος, ταῦτα δὲ δὲν δобрες ἀκούει, δὲ and όλος have a purely relative force. "It is worth while to bear the way in which, and the knavesies by means of which," etc.
in such forms of the dramatic poets, as ὁδεν ὅν ὅπασον. This may be resolved into "do, do you know what"? But Kühner (larger Gram. 1st ed. § 470) is no doubt right in explaining it as if it grew out of ὁδεν ὅν ὅπασον, or ὅ ὅπασον, "Do you know what I am going to do?" or "what you must do?" It is a passing over from indirect to direct discourse. Similar is ὁδεν ὅν ἦν μὲν ἑαυτόθω.

We may lay it down with confidence that ὅ is not used in classical Greek in direct interrogation. This is, we believe, admitted by all the grammarians. Lobeck says u.s. "sed pronomen ὅ pro interrogativo τό usurpari falsa est Hoogeveensi opinio ad Viger. v. 14, alienissimo Demosthenis loco (Or. pr. c. Aristog. p. 779) abutentis." Professor Hadley says (Gram. § 682) that, "The interrogatives are used in both kinds of questions, but in dependent questions the indefinite relatives are more common; in direct questions they are never found." Kühner says that, "ὑπόκειται and its class never occur in direct question for ὑπόκειται, etc., or only apparently, since a governing principal clause must be supplied" (1st ed. § 887, Anm. 2). We have seen what Matthiae's opinion is. Krüger makes a similar remark (Gram. p. 180). Much less, then, could they grant that ὅ could find place in interrogation.

The grammarians of the New Testament, however, Winer and Alexander Buttmann, contend that ὅ is interrogatively used in direct inquiry in Matt. xxvi. 50. Winer admits that this is unknown in classical prose, but thinks that it was an impropriety of declining Hellenism, which cannot be thought very surprising when the affinity between qui and quis is considered. He gives no examples of this unhellenic usage, and the affinity between quis and qui was about as great in early Latin as afterward. Alexander Buttmann (in the German Gram. p. 217, under § 189, 59; in Professor Thayer's recently published trans. p. 258) says that, "We reach the natural and only congruous interpretation of the passage by the assumption of the faulty use of ὅ in the sense of an interrogatory exclamation." He thus agrees with Fritzsch, and supports his view by the use of ἧλκω in James iii. 5. The
relatives, indeed, ὀλος, ὄςος and ὅς occur in exclamation, but are to be distinguished from the interrogatives, ποιος, πόσος, ὅς (Comp. Hadley, § 815). Thus, ὅς ὄςος εἶ = Oh, the way in which you are pleasant! But ὅς could scarcely be used in exclamation, because it denotes bare relation, while it is quality, quantity, and the like, that provoke wonder. No one probably would think of translating our passage "Oh! that for which thou art come!" It would be a very feeble expression for ἐφ' ὁλον πάρει, if any one should be disposed to give it such an explanation.

It remains then to inquire whether in later Greek there are any examples of ὅς as a direct interrogative. I know of but four alleged examples, all of which are cited by Professor Sophocles in his Lexicon of later Greek; they are Justin M. cohort. (Otto’s ed. iii. § 5 end), Epictet. diss. iv. 1, 95, 120 and Methodius (165 C. of Migne’s Greek Patrol. vol. xviii). The two first of these had been cited before, Justin’s passage by Grotius (ad loc. Op. Theol. iii., ed. Basil., 1683), the two first by Dr. Edward Robinson in his Lexicon (v. ὅς), and these, with the two last, by Professor Sophocles in the second edition of his above-mentioned work. I am able to adduce from Methodius still another; and also one from a writer quoted by Eusebius (Praepar. Evang. vi. 7), to which Viger makes reference.

The passages from the dissertations of Epictetus can be easily managed. The first is corrupt; in the second ὅς is not interrogative. The first (§ 95) is as follows: "But what if my fellow-traveller himself should turn upon me, and prove to be a robber? What shall I do? I will be the emperor’s friend. No one will wrong me, if I am his companion. In the first place, in order that I may become illustrious, what things I must endure and suffer; how often and by how many must I be robbed! Then, if I become his friend, he too is mortal.” ένα γέθεμαι λαμπρός, ὅ με δὲ τλήναι καὶ παθεῖν; ποσάκες καὶ ἐπὶ πόσων λογοτευθήναι; etc. Here πώς must be read instead of ὅ, which is weak in the company of πώςα and ποσάκες, and we can easily account for the
dropping out of πόσα by a kind of homoœoteleuton (ΔΑΜΠΡΟΣΙΟΙΑ was read as if ΔΑΜΠΡΟΣΑ).

The other example (in § 120) is καὶ τίς ἡ ζημία τῷ δή-σαντι τὸν αὐτὸν δοῦλον; ἢν δοκεῖς; τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο ὅ καὶ σὺ ὀμολογήσεις, ἄν θέλῃς σώξῃς, ὅτι ἀνθρωπός οὐκ ἐστι θριον, ἀλλ' ἠμερον ζῶον. If ἢν δοκεῖς is to be taken interrogatively, and the pointing is right, the sense must be, “And what is the loss for him who has put his slave in chains? what do you think it is? It is this act of putting him in chains; which you too will admit, if you are willing to keep in mind that a man is not a wild beast, but a tame animal.” With this rendering ἢν δοκεῖς is idle, being contained in the previous question; and there is no answer from the person so addressed, but the author answers for himself, and then adds ὅ καὶ σὺ ὀμολογήσεις, etc. If we join ἢν δοκεῖς to the clause preceding, and put no interrogation after δοῦλον, we have better sense: “And what is the loss for him who puts into bonds his slave, which you think there is?” Or we may point ἢν δοκεῖς, τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο, as was done in old editions, and render, “that which you think there is, viz. this act of putting into bonds,” where the words are somewhat sarcastic; since the imaginary person thought putting into bonds a ζημία for the slave, but not for the master. This passage has given difficulty to the editors. See Schweighäuser’s note. Wolf wanted to read οἶνον δοκεῖς. Upton remarks that ἢν δοκεῖς, τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο, etc., was the old pointing; and the pointing we have given comes from him. Schw. follows him, for want of something better, confessing that ἢν δοκεῖς; for τίνα δοκεῖς; “insolentius dictum esse videtur,” and saying that Upton’s Latin version, illud ipsum in vincula conjicere, would answer better to αὐτῷ τὸ δῆσαι τοῦτο.

The passages in Justin Martyr and Methodius are more difficult for one who denies that ζ can be used in direct interrogation. Justin’s words are: τῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκότως ὁ Θεός πρὸς αὐτὸν φησι· (or φησει, with the Strasburg ms.; see Otto.) Αἱ ἢν αἴτησιν, δ' Ἀριστοτέλες, τὰς μὲν Πλάτωνος ἀναφεύν θέλων δόξας, ὥς ἀπηθεύοντι προσέχεις Ομήρῳ, ἡμῶν
"How then will not Thales say to him with justice, 'For what reason, O Aristotle, when you wish to overthrow the opinions of Plato, do you adhere to Homer as saying what is true, but when you express the opinion contrary to ours, think that Homer does not say what is true?''"

The passage in Methodius of Patara (ob. cent. iv., near the beginning), from the Sympos. Virg. viii. § 15, is as follows: εἰ κρείττον ἢν τὸ ἐν τῇ γένεσιν εἶχα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἐκτίθημι, τοῦ μὴ εἶχα, δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν οὐκ αἰτιόθεν ἀφ' οὔπερ ἐφ' ἢν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσις ἢν; That is, in the translation belonging to Clark's series, "If it were better, O wretched ones, that man should be subject to [the star of his birth] than that he should not be, why was not his generation and birth from the very time when the race of man began to be?"

Another example of δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν occurs in interrogation in a passage of the same author (de Creatis, cap. 5, Migne Patrol. Graec. xviii. 387), ἐρωμην γὰρ σφάς δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν ἀγέννητον αὑτῶν φάτε, etc., "for I can ask them 'for what reason do you say that he is unbegotten?'' This may remind one of the expression in Acts xxii. 24, ἢν ἐπηγμόνει δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν αὑτῶν ἐπεφώνουν αὑτῷ, where, however, δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν can be resolved into τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ ἢν, as in the passage on p. 819, note. There is yet another clear example of δὲ used in direct question, in an extract from Oenomaus, a cynic philosopher of the second century of our era. It is preserved by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. vi. 7, ed. Heinich. i. 269), Ὡν δὲ ἐνεκα ταῦτα προδήνησα καὶ λόγοπ; "Οτι σε ἐκπέφρασεν, δὸ μάντι; where see the editor's note.

These four passages, if the text is right, are undoubted instances of such interrogative use of δὲ in direct questions. Their very rarity, however, and the need of explanations of the meaning of our passage in Matthew, which called, as will soon appear, for such glosses as those of Hesychius and Suidas, will, I think, subject them to suspicion.

If, then, there is no sufficient authority for allowing δὲ to make a direct inquiry, is not the presumption greatly against...
treat this clause as a question? This presumption will grow in our minds, when we consider in what way many of the old Greek and Latin expositors of the Gospels dealt with this passage. If the relative $\delta$ could be used interrogatively in a direct sentence, this, from the nature of the case, must have been an idiom not infrequent, and well understood; but many of them treat the passage as if it needed a gloss, or they resort to other than the interrogative meaning in such a number of instances as to show that it gave them trouble.\(^1\)

1. Here we will briefly mention, first, the Greek explanations

\(^1\) The intrusion into another field was committed rather by the interrogative $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ than by the relatives. In the New Testament $\delta \zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ occurs but once, Acts 11:6, and there the received text with a number of MSS. has $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$. In the classical writers there are traces of this use of $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ for $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$, as in Soph. Electr. 316 $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta \varsigma\nu\nu\nu$ λέγων ἱστομεi $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ σοι φίλου, where see Schneidewin's note. In the same drama, v. 1178, $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ λέγει λέγει πρὸς $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ τοῦτον ἐπῶν κυρίες; the present writer, in his edition of 1887, wrote $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ λέγει λέγει; etc., on the ground that two short questions are better suited to the exalted feeling in the scene. In two exactly similar passages, Soph. Oed. Tyr. 1144, and Trachin. 339, Schneidewin has done the same. In an old oracle quoted by the same critic from Diog. Laer. i. 28, occur the words $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ σοφή πάντων πληθώς πάντων πρὸς $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ αδεξί; The earlier and the correct pointing was πληθώς; "who is foremost of all in wisdom? I kiss the tripod." Otherwise $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ would here be strictly a relative, but the interrogative form cannot be found fault with. In an epigram of Callimachus (No. 30, or in Meineke's ed. 28) we have

$\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ ὁμοίων $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ νομίμων $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ ουκ ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ κατέλεγεν
$\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$, $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ πολλάκις ἄδει καὶ ἄδει φάρσα,

where $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ takes the place of $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$. The bald and suspicious second line is corrected by Meineke (u. s. in a diatribe on the epigram) so as to read $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ for $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$, which is here feminine, and λαοίς. The Schol. on Soph. Oed. Col. 3, quoted by Bentley, absurdly makes the $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ there relative, and supports it by another passage from Callim., ἐκεῖπ ἡμᾶς ἐκαθάριζεν Ἰακωβοῦ $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ ἀνθρώπου. The sense, giving a relative force to $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ and reading Ἰακωβοῦ $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ ἀνθρώπου would be "he must have dwelt beyond the sea, who never heard of Alkathous." But this, too, can establish nothing. The same Schol. cites an epigram from Nossis (310 B.C.) for the same use of $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ for $\delta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$. But Bentley thinks the citation corrupt, and would read τῶν (τῶν) for $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$, undoubtedly with good reason. In Eocl. v. 9.—a unique example, I believe, in the Sept. for $\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ as a relative in direct discourse,—the text and translation are out of joint. Probably $\eta\zeta\zeta\zeta\zeta$ never took on the strictly relative sense. It ought to be added, however, that Jacobs in the Anthol. Pal., and Kühner (2d ed., § 587, p. 1018), do not object to the reading τῶν.—Here, it may be added, as a curiosity of language, that the modern Greek has lost the relative $\delta$, substituting for it $\delta$ οὐκός and οὐκ (or, as a monoosyllable, οὐ).
that have fallen under our notice. Origen seems to give the passage an interrogative turn. His remarks are not extant in the original, but may be found in the Latin selections from his Commentary on Matthew (in Lommatsch’s ed. iv. 447), “Dicit antem ei, improperans simulationem amicitiae ejus, ‘Amice ad quid venisti?’ Hoe enim nomine [i.e. ἔταφρος] neminem bonorum in scripturis cognoscimus appellatum. Ad malum enim et non indutum nuptialibus vestimentis dicit: amice quid huc venisti,” etc. Here “ad quid venisti” may be the translator’s version, following his reading of the Vulgate, without any comment on Origen’s part. All the other parts of the passage are employed upon the shade of meaning in amice. Nor is it improbable that Hilary of Poitiers may have borrowed from Origen his translation of the passage.

Chrysostom’s comment is (ed. Montf. ii. 723 A.), if the Homily is genuine, ἐταφρε, ἐφʼ ἡ πάρει; πλήρωσον τὰς κακὰς συνθήκας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Φαρισαίον πεποιήκας· συντέλεσον τὸν γραμματέαν τὴν πράσεως, etc. Here he seems to have understood the words as if they denoted “that for which thou art present—do; complete the wicked covenant you have made with the Pharisees,” etc. For the pointing the editor is responsible. In his eighty-fourth homily on Matthew, Chrysostom has no remarks on ἐφʼ ἡ (sic). But in the Symbol. Crit. Patr. in Matth. (Toulouse, 1646), Chrysostom is quoted as explaining ἐφʼ ἡ by ἐπὶ τολὴ αἰτία; etc.

Basil of Seleucia (A.D. 450, publ. with Greg. Thaumatur. Paris. 1622, Orat. xxxi. p. 169), takes the same view of the sentence: “Thou sawest his coming up with soldiers, with arms and staves, and saidst not ‘get thee behind me Satan’; not with words didst thou turn him aside, not with deeds didst thou terrify him, but didst urge him upon the attempt: Ἐταφρε ἐφ’ ἡ πάρει; ἤχου τοῦ ἔργου, μὴ ἀναβάλλου τὴν τολμάν, κύρωσον τῇ πράξει τὴν πράσιν.” The interrogation here is out of place.

Theophylact (A.D. 1070–1112, Comment. in 4 Evang. Paris. 1685, p. 162) has come clearly upon the interrogative ground.
He says, τὸ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ πάρει ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ σκοπῶν πάρει ἐνταῦθα, etc.

Euthymius Zigabenus or Zygadenus (cent. xii. first part), is more clear and decided than any of the Greek expositors (ed. Matthaei, i. 1055). After saying that ἑπάρ άνωμαστὸν τὸν ἔχοντον, he adds, τὸ δὲ, ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ πάρει, οὐκ ἐρωτηματικῶς ἀναγνωστέαν ἐγνώσασε γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ παραγένετο ἅλλ᾽ ἀποφαντικῶς. δὴ οὖν δὲ, ὅτι δὲ ὅ παραγέγονα, ἥγον, τὸ κατὰ σκοπὸν πράττε, τὸν προσχήματος ἀφέμενος. He errs with Theophylact in reading ἐφ᾽ ὑ'; but he errs in the contrary direction in finding ὑπὸ in ἑπάρ, in which Theophylact sees derision (κομμαθῶν καὶ διασύνων); and his argument is not good, that because our Lord knew why he had come, he could not ask him why he had come; but he shows, here and elsewhere, much of the instinct of an able expositor.

Hesychius, the lexicographer (Alberti's ed.), gives the interrogative sense under the phrase ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ πάρει ἐπὶ πολὺ σκοπῶν πάρει καὶ παραγέγονας ἐνταῦθα, in which words the author of the gloss and Theophylact agree.

Suidas has also a gloss on ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ πάρει in these words καὶ Χριστὸς πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαίαν, ἑπάρ ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ πάρει ἀντί τοῦ ἐπὶ τίνι παραγέγονας; where the interrogative sense is clearly given. But it is remarkable that in the ms. of Brussels, called E by Bernhardy,—who regards it as infini ordinis, and thinks that Gaisford rated it higher than it deserves,—the beginning of the gloss is omitted, and after παραγέγονα is added ἐρωτηματικῶς, οἱ δὲ κατ᾽ ἀντίπτωσιν λέγοντι, οἷον οὗ χάριν παραγέγονα ποῖσιν, where not Euthymius, probably, but some other expositor is copied.

These gloss-collectors would have passed by this phrase in the book of all others most commonly read, unless it had been a strange expression; and the different views are significant, as showing that the later Greeks could not satisfy themselves with believing that δὲ could find place in direct inquiry.

It is quite remarkable that the explanation of these words by an apostopesis passed into or originated in the Latin
church, and was current there for ages, notwithstanding the translation *ad quid venisti* of the Vulgate. It is certain that the hint of this came from the Old Latin version. While part of the manuscripts of the Old Latin, the Codd. Colbert., Corbeiens. 2, have *ad quid*, the Veron., Vercell, Clarom., Corbeiens. 1, two Sangerman., and the Cantab. or cod. Bezae, contain the reading *ad quod*. And so the codd. Forojul., Amiat., Fulda, and Maj. Mon. of the Vulg. have the same reading. The cod. S. Gatiani, according to Sabatier, has the version *amice ad quod venisti fac.*

Now that a relative meaning assigned to *ad quod* was very ancient, and stood its ground long in the Latin church, will be made evident by the following citations, arranged, as far as we are able, in chronological order.

**Juvencus** (under Constantine the great), in the fourth book of his Hist. Evangelic. (col. 515, ed. of George Fabricius, Basil, 1562, where the lines are not numbered), has the following verses:

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Ille ibi dissimulans blanda cum voce salutat,
Attigit et labis justi miserabilis ora.
Continuo Christus: totum compleere licebit
Huc venisse tuo quaecunque est causa paratu.
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Here the last line appears to be equivalent to _that for which thou art come_, and the third answers to _do_, = the _fac, perfice_, of others.

**Hilary of Poitiers,** in his comment. on Matt. (ed. of 1730, Verona, i. col. 804), after the words "osculum enim ejus non respuit," adds, "quod autem ait Judae, *fac quod facis*, traditionis suae potestatem sub verbi hujus conditione permittit." .....

**Christian Druthmar of Aquitaine,** called "Grammaticus,”

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1 The Cod. Brix., also, as Dr. Abbot informs me, an Evangelistary at Harvard of cent. viii., and another also deposited there, have the reading *quod* fall or abbreviated.

2 "In pluribus manuere," says the editor, "fecerat, rectius in aliis libris quod faceret."
a monk at Corvey and Stablo (cent. ix., middle), has, in his exposition of Matt., “amice ...... ad quid venisti perfice,” where he must have written quod (max. Biblioth. patr. xv. 167 B.).

Paschasius Ratbertus, abbot of Corvey (ob. about 865) in his comment. on Matt. (ibid. xiv. 677 D.), takes the same view in a somewhat confused way: “incredantis voce dicit, amice ad quid venisti? Ao si diceret, ad quod venisti cur alius agere ostendis? Osculum quidem porrigis, sed signum est traditionis. Rem aliam agis, cum me oscularis ...... unde fac ad quod venisti, et perfice coepta, ne immoreris circa oscula,” etc.

Remigius of Auxerre (cent. ix.), as quoted by T. Aquinas (Opera iv. 459, ed. Ven.), gives the interrogative rendering and adds: “sive hoc fac subintelligatur.”

In the Commentary of Jerome himself ad quid venisti appears; but no remarks are made on this part of the verse, but only on ἐταῖρε. But there is enough made out by the interpretations already mentioned, to show that the relative force of ὅ was distinctly recognized by the renderings of Latin writers, from the third century onward; and this, taken in connection with the similar Greek explanations, is a strong argument in its favor, as well as a proof of its antiquity.

Probably this interpretation was felt to be difficult on account of the aposiopesis which it requires. But we can take away something of the abruptness of the aposiopesis, on the supposition that the sense was assisted by a motion of the hand. I must confess that without this to supply τοις or τὸλῃς would to me seem too harsh.1

Here the purpose of the words, according to this interpretation, calls for our notice. Meyer explains it by the words: “Damit weist Christus das geschehene verrätherische

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1 It may, perhaps, be conceived of as possible, that the interpreters reached this meaning by supplying several intermediate thoughts, that might follow an interrogative ὅ. As, e.g., “For what art thou come? Is it to give me a kiss of friendship, or to betray me? Do your work then.” But the distinct statement that ὅ does not ask a question, shows, I think, that they could not have got at their paraphrases in the way mentioned.
Küssen von sich.” There is more of indignation and less
of pity in this explanation, than seems to suit the speaker and
the occasion. But to me, this sense of the words harmonizes
drew near to Jesus in order to kiss him. But Jesus said
unto him, Judas, art thou betraying the Son of man with a
kiss?” This account leaves it untold whether Jesus repelled
the kiss, or whether Judas, as Matthew says, actually gave
the concerted sign. But, if we suppose that δο’ δ πάσει, in
the sense here spoken of, followed what Luke records, there
seems to be a certain unforced harmony between the passages.¹
“Judas, art thou betraying the Son of man with a kiss?
That for which thou art come, do.” Something so, Ewald,
cited by Meyer (ed. 5), although he expresses the sense in
rather a tame way: “Deines Kusses bedarf ich nicht, und
weiss dass es mit diesem dir kein Ernst ist! Thue vielmehr
was deines Amtes jetzt ist!” By joining the two passages
together, as thus explained, we have in the first pity and
horror at the act, in the second indignation at the hypo-
critical kiss, and in all honor is done to the Son of God.
Professor Lightfoot (Fresh Revis. p. 128, Engl. ed.; p. 114,
Amer. ed.) lends his high authority to this interpretation,
but seems to find in it an echo of the words spoken by our
Lord in John xiii. 27, at the last supper, “What thou doest,
do quickly.”

2. The interrogative force given to the words in question
by most critics and expositors must be rejected on gram-
matical grounds, as we have already seen. It only remains to
inquire whether such a sense is demanded by the context,
or is inconsistent with the situation. The objection of Eu-
thymius, that Christ knew why Judas had come and needed
not to put the question, amounts to nothing; for such a questio
might with reason be put to an evil-doer to arouse
his sense of guilt. Still less force have Fritzsche’s remarks
in his valuable note on this place: “Ejusmodi interrogatio

¹ After writing this I found in Maldonatus, the Catholic Expositor, the same
idea.

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in hunc locum minime quadrat. Haec enim ejus foret, qui praesenti periculo consternatus, animi intrepidus et recte factorum conscientiae simulatione adversarium confundere conaretur hoc modo: amice (= homo pessime, vid. xx. 13), edissere consilium quo huc accederes.” There is in favor of this interpretation a rather remote resemblance to Luke xxxii. 48: “For what art thou come?”—“Art thou come to betray me?” Still it has no advantages over the others in regard to suitableness to the context.

3. The third explanation, or that of Fritzsche, is that the words contain an exclamation. “For what,” that is, “for what a crime art thou here!” This thought suggested itself to several expositors before Fritzsche. Albertus Magnus (cent. xiii.) has, “Ad quid venisti: hoc est, de statu apostoli in quam vilem foveam proditoris cecidisti!” So Sa (Bibl. Max. Comment. literal. Paris, 1643) says, “Vox facinus admirantis”; and Harduin, in his Comm., “Cum admiratione dictum, ut sit sententia, Ad quale facinus perpetrandum venisti!” Fritzsche says that he would accept the view taken by Euthymius, “nisi pateret et simplicior ratio et aptior. Nimirum post πάρει exclamationis signo in locum interrogationis suffecto, ita explicandum, ut Jesus, quo nihil magis eum decet, discipulum ad tradendum summo facinore magistrum advenisse dolet, hac ratione: vetus sodalis, ad qualem rem perpetrandum ades!” Here we find no fault with the meaning given to the words; but just the same objection of being ungrammatical lies against an exclamatory, as against an interrogative, turn given to the sentence. Exclamation goes with interrogation, and grows out of it. Moreover, δ is too bald and generic for exclamation; we should expect a word like .ordinal, denoting quality. And this difficulty Fritzsche does not appear to me to meet by the remark that “δ et ταύτη sape ad genus referri, ut sit idem quod .ordinal et τρωύτο.” But the quality of the act needs to be made emphatic here, if the relative could be so used. Alexander Buttmann, as we have said before, has accepted this solution.

4. The remaining interpretation, “is it this for which thou
art come?” is unobjectionable, as far as the sense and situation are concerned. “Is it to betray me” (or to betray me by a kiss) “that thou art here?” The Syriac (the Peshito) takes this view of the passage, “Ob id venisti?” as given in Walton’s Polyglott; “Is it for this thou hast come?” in Dr. James Murdock’s transl. of the Peshito (New York, 1851). Ludovicus de Dieu, in his exposition of the passage (Animad. in Quat. Evangel., Lugd. Bat., 1631), refers to this translation, and prefers to give the sense of “hast thou come for this” to the Syriac words, rather than “is it this for which,” etc. Several commentators refer to de Dieu’s remarks. But I know of no one who accepts this interpretation until we come down to Bengel, whose note is, “locutio elliptica i.e. hoccine illud est cujus causa ades?” Then he barely quotes (as an alternative?) the gloss of Hesychius, already spoken of. Fritzsche reviews this explanation, in his excellent note, and makes this just objection, which we had felt before being supported by his opinion: “Summi ponderis vocabula, ἐκεῖνο ἄρα ἢν aut similia, per ellipsin omitti non poterant.” The weight of the sentence, in fact, lies in the omitted words; and there is no reason, as there is in aposiopesis proper, why they should be omitted. Nothing suggests them; no gesture helps them; and they would be more readily supplied in a remark like “this is what you have come for,” than in a question.

I conclude with saying that the view of the words taken by Euthymius, Meyer —ὁ μακράπις, Lightfoot, and a number of scholars in recent times, seems to me to be preferable to the other explanations.

The results which have been reached in this Article are principally the following:

1. That ἢς is never used in direct inquiry by the classical authors, and is so seldom found in later Greek — so far as we can discover — as to make the texts doubtful which support this usage. In most of these cases, singularly enough, a case of αἰτία is employed in the questions.

2. That the infrequency of such use is shown by the ne-
cessity which the glossarists and lexicographers felt of explaining ἐφ’ ἕ τοπος.

3. That the Syriac took ἕ here to be a relative, and that most probably the original reading of the Old Latin version was ad quod venisti.

4. That this ad quod venisti was explained by a series of authorities in the Latin church as if it denoted id ad quod venisti fac.

5. That the same interpretation appears in the Greek church from the time of Basil of Seleucia down to Euthymius.

6. That this interpretation harmonizes well with Luke xxii. 48, and suits the occasion when the words were uttered.

7. That for grammatical reasons we must reject the interrogative turn generally given to the sentence, and that the exclamatory turn given by Fritsch is objectionable on the same ground. Neither of these is necessary for the sense.

8. That the violent ellipsis required by the rendering, is it this for which, etc., condemns this translation of the early Syriac and of a few others.

Should it be thought that there is any value in this Essay, much of that value is to be ascribed to my friend Professor Thayer, of Andover, who has most kindly supplied me with quite a number of passages from the older Greek and Latin commentators, which, so far as I know, had not been collected before, and who has rendered to me other important assistance. I am also indebted to Professor Abbot, of Harvard, for valuable suggestions and information. It is due, however, to both of these eminent biblical scholars that I should say that they are not responsible for the views advocated in this article.