

through more than 2,000 years, except on the strength of facts and arguments (linguistic or otherwise) which carry absolute conviction with them.

Even Canon Driver's book may be discovered hereafter to be the work of two authors, one a D.D. (as on the title-page), the other an M.A. (as on the cover of the book); one giving positive expositions of the text, the other criticising the authorship; one under the influence of Assyrian inscriptions, the other inspired by a Hebrew concordance. It has been said of some heretics that they are right in their affirmations and wrong in their negatives; and it is true of some critics also. We trust that Dr. Driver will throw the weight of his name and fame into the scale of positive truth, and not allow himself to be tempted further into the paths of destructive criticism.

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ART. III.—NEW EVIDENCE AS TO THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF ἘΠΙΘΥΣΙΟΣ IN THE LORD'S PRAYER.

AFTER the exhaustive treatise upon ἐπιθύσιος by the present Bishop of Durham in the Appendix to his work, "On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament," published in 1871, it would be mere presumption to enter the arena of the controversy respecting this important word without having fresh evidence to adduce as to its origin or meaning. In that treatise Dr. Lightfoot did break fresh ground and did adduce fresh evidence, but the importance of this fresh evidence does not seem to have been duly appreciated, consisting as it does of a single, isolated, interjectional expression in a Greek comic author. I hope that the new evidence which I have been enabled to discover, and am about to adduce, will place the conclusions at which he has properly arrived upon an absolutely certain and impregnable basis.

But it will be desirable first to give a slight sketch of the present condition of the controversy, as, probably, it is not every reader of the *CHURCHMAN* that has made a special study of it, with all the stores of learning that have been lavished, and indeed thrown away upon it, simply for want of *evidence*, which has been all the while close at hand, but has been most unaccountably overlooked.

As to its origin, ἐπιθύσιος has been derived (1) from ἐπίτιναι, either through its participle ἐπιτών, or through the feminine of that participle, ἡ ἐπιτιύσσα, which had become practically a substantive; (2) from εἶναι, through the preposition ἐπι and the substantive οὐσία. This latter derivation admits of any

amount of theological subtilizing, but cannot be traced to any source earlier than Origen (de Orat. 27), who gives it the preference over (1), which he also mentions to reject later on in the same chapter of the same treatise.

The objections to (1) are purely subjective and theological.

The objections to (2) are purely objective, grammatical, and historical.

As to history and tradition, Bishop Lightfoot proves conclusively that the earliest authorities and versions give translations which unquestionably connect the word with ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα. The Apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews, whose weight in the controversy consists in its early date, even goes so far as to use the word *Mahar*, "to-morrow," in its paraphrase. The Curetonian Syriac translates Matt. vi. 11: "And our bread continual of the day give to us;" and Luke xi. 3: "And give us the bread continual of every day." Of the Egyptian versions, the Memphitic in Matt. vi. 11, neglecting the contradiction in terms, has "Our bread of to-morrow, give it to us to-day," but in Luke xi. 3, "Our bread that cometh, give it to us daily." The Thebaic version translates Matt. vi. 11, "Our bread that cometh, give Thou it to us to-day." The Old Latin version renders ἐπιούσιον by *quotidianum* in both Evangelists, and this rendering has happily been preserved in our own Church and to our own day, and will ere long be proved to be as correct, both theologically and grammatically, as any that can be furnished by either the Latin language or our own.

In the *Journal of Philology* there appeared (vol. v.) in 1874 an article on ἐπιούσιος with the signature "W. Kay," which is manifestly intended as a reply to Dr. Lightfoot's treatise, and deals with his conclusions in an extremely arbitrary and authoritative manner. Mr. Kay attempts to meet the argument that, though περιούσιος is correctly formed from *περι* and *εἰμί*, the form from ἐπι and εἰμι would be ἐπούσιος, not ἐπιούσιος, by bringing forward the co-existence of such words as ἐπίοπτος and ἔποπτος, ἐπιανδάνω and ἐφανδάνω. But he entirely neglects Lightfoot's incontrovertible statement that "all these words, without exception, were originally written with the digamma ἐπίφοπτος, ἐπιφανδάνω, etc., so that elision was out of the question, and even when the digamma disappeared in pronunciation or was replaced by a simple aspirate, the old forms maintained their ground." He moreover neglects the known existence of the word ἐπουσιώδης, which goes far to disprove the possibility of the compound derivative of ἐπι and οὐσία being ἐπιούσιος rather than ἐπούσιος.

But Mr. Kay goes on to take what he unfortunately terms "stronger ground":

It is unquestionable (he says) that no such form as ἐπών is anywhere to be found. Consequently we must admit that the present participle of ἐπεῖναι is ἐπιών, unless some very good reason can be produced for leaving ἐπεῖναι destitute of a present participle. For, when we find in actual use the following correspondent sets of phrases :

- (1) τὸ παρόν, ὁ παρῶν νῦν χρόνος, ἢ παροῦσα νῦν ἡμέρα,
 (2) τὸ ἐπιόν, ὁ ἐπιών χρόνος, ἢ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα,

it seems little short of a certainty that the participles of the latter set, no less than those of the former (with which they stand in sharp contrast), are to be taken as coming from εἶναι.

Here it may be remarked that it is equally hard upon ἐπεῖναι to take its acknowledged participle ἐπιών from it, and hand it over to ἐπείναι, thus leaving it destitute of a participle; or, if Mr. Kay does not intend to go so far as that, but means ἐπεῖναι and ἐπείναι to have a common participle, ἐπιών, that it is cruel to ἐπείναι to force it to be in continual hot water with ἐπεῖναι, with whom it has hitherto lived on amicable terms, respecting which of the two the participle ἐπιών belongs to in each particular case.

But the real fact is that ἐπεῖναι does possess a participle, ἐπών, well-known to Plato and Demosthenes, though unknown to the controversialists upon ἐπιούσιος. Plato has it twice, in the "Lysis," 217 C., οἷον τὸ ἐπών, where ἐπών is a certain correction of Heindorf's for ἐπι δν'; and in the "Parmenides," 132 C., ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνο τὸ νόημα ἐπὸν νοεῖ. Demosthenes has it in the "Oration against Meidias," p. 517, line 15, ἐπόντος τοῦ φόβου τούτου.

I think the false analogy between περιούσιος and ἐπιούσιος may now be dropped, and the claims of ἐπὶ and εἶναι to have originated ἐπιούσιος set aside for ever.

But the second grand point that Mr. Kay makes against Dr. Lightfoot's view that ἐπιούσιος is derived from [ἡ] ἐπιούσα [ἡμέρα] is this :

There is a serious reason against this derivation. Such a prayer as "Give us this day the bread of to-morrow" is both harsh in itself and at variance with what Christendom generally has understood by the petition.

But why has Mr. Kay neglected the evidence, which Dr. Lightfoot has been the first to bring forward, in proof that ἡ ἐπιούσα does NOT in itself signify "to-morrow"? This first piece of evidence is contained in a speech in the "Ecclesiazusæ" of Aristophanes, in which, very early in the morning (καί τοι πρὸς ὄρθρον γ' ἐστίν (line 20), "'tis close on daybreak") Praxagora exclaims, line 105 :

τούτου γε τοι, νῆ τῆν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν,
 τόλμημα τολμῶμεν τοιοῦτον οὐνεκα.

On this account, I swear by the on-coming day,
 We are venturing upon this great enterprise.

There νῆ τῆν αὔριον would have been clearly out of place, and it

is manifest that *ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα*, "the on-coming day," is something different from *ἡ αὔριον*, the morrow.

But possibly Mr. Kay considered this passage by itself to be evidence too slight and isolated to be worth dealing with. I do not think anyone will be able to entertain any such opinion with regard to the passage, which (secondly) I am now about to adduce from the "Crito" of Plato, p. 44, A. In this, very early in the morning (*ὄρθρος βαθεύς*), Crito is represented as coming to Socrates and informing him that the fatal ship had arrived at Sunium, and that on the morrow Socrates must end his life. The dialogue then proceeds:

SOCRATES: "Well, Crito, with good luck may it be! If so it pleases the gods, so let it be. I don't, however, think it will arrive *to-day* (*τῆμερον*)." CRITO: "Whence do you infer this?" SOCRATES: "I will tell you. I presume I am to be put to death the day after that on which the ship arrives." CRITO: "At any rate, so say the authorities in these matters." SOCRATES: "Well, I don't think it will arrive on the *on-coming* day (*τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας*=*τῆμερον*), but on the *next* (*τῆς ἐτέρας*). And I infer it from a vision, which I have seen this night a little previously; and it seems that you forbore to wake me very opportunely." CRITO: "And what was the vision?" SOCRATES: "Methought a lady, handsome and comely, dressed in white, called me and said, 'Socrates, on the *third* day thou wilt come to fertile Phthia.'"

Three days are here mentioned. The first is termed both *τῆμερον* and *τῆς ἐπιούσης*, the second *τῆς ἐτέρας*, and the third *τῆ ὑστεραία* [*τῆς ἐτέρας*]. Hence it is clear that in the early morning, the day, of which the major part is yet to come, is represented by *ἡ ἐπιούσα*. This makes it manifest that *ἡ ἐπιούσα* is not in itself equivalent to *ἡ αὔριον*, although very often the context allows it to be so used.

Thirdly, there is also a passage in the Acts of the Apostles in which, if the usual punctuation and syntactical arrangement be retained, *τῆ ἐπιούσῃ* is led by the following *τῆ ἐτέρα* to bear the same signification as in the above-cited passage from the "Crito" of Plato. In Acts xx. 15 we read: *κάκειθεν* (from Mitylene) *ἀποπλεύσαντες, τῆ ἐπιούσῃ καθητήσαμεν ἀντικρὺ Χίου, τῆ δε ἐτέρα παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον, τῆ δ' ἐχομένην ἤλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον*. The Revised Version translates: "And sailing from thence, we came the *following* day over against Chios, and *the next day* we touched at Samos, and the day after we came to Miletus."

This translation gives us, according to the common acceptation of *τῆ ἐπιούσῃ*, FOUR days from Mitylene to Miletus, two of which are taken up in getting "over against Chios," which seems an unconscionable time by the map. We have (1) the day of starting; (2) the following day, *τῆ ἐπιούσῃ*; (3) the "next" day, *τῆ ἐτέρα*, which ought to have been *τῆ τρίτῃ*, but which cannot be equivalent to *τῆ τρίτῃ*; and (4) *τῆ ἐχομένην* (*τῆς ἐτέρας*).

But if St. Luke—the ship having, as a matter of course, made an early start—has used τῇ ἐπιούσῃ in the same way as Plato and Aristophanes, we have only *three* days for the voyage, with τῇ ἐτέρα in its proper place and with its proper signification. Thus, comparing the three days expressed as above by Plato with the three days of St. Luke, we have:

Plato (1) { τῆμερον. (2) τῆς ἐτέρας. (3) τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ [τῆς ἐτέρας].
 St. Luke (1) τῇ ἐπιούσῃ. (2) τῇ ἐτέρα. (3) τῇ ἐχομένῃ [τῆς ἐτέρας].

But I admit that if τῇ ἐπιούσῃ of St. Luke be taken, contrary to the rhythm of the passage and the general agreement of commentators, with the preceding ἀποπλεύσαντες, the days come out correctly, and my reasoning falls to the ground.

Fourthly, let us consider the passage in Proverbs (xxvii. 1) in which ἡ ἐπιούσα occurs, and see whether the expression does or does not fall under the signification above established from Plato. The English translation corresponds so nearly with the Hebrew that it would be mere pedantry to refer to the Hebrew original. The proverb runs: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may [or will] bring forth." Now what day is here indicated by *a day*? It cannot well be the morrow, for it simply spoils the proverb to paraphrase: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what to-morrow may bring forth." Surely *a day* must be used—the general for the particular—with special reference to the day's space between now and to-morrow. Thus the meaning, as deduced from the Hebrew, will be: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, because thou knowest not what may or will happen between now and to-morrow." Now let us take the LXX. of the verse: Μὴ καυχῶ τὰ εἰς αὔριον, οὐ γὰρ γινώσκεις τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα. Here we have no choice between *may* and *will*, but the translation must run: "Boast not with regard to to-morrow, for thou knowest not what the on-coming day will bring forth." Is it not preferable, and much more corresponding to the spirit of the proverb, to understand ἡ ἐπιούσα, "the on-coming day," in the sense established from Plato and Aristophanes, and perhaps St. Luke also, than to consider it a mere synonym of ἡ αὔριον? Thus the Greek of the LXX. will be not a literal translation, but an extremely vivid and correct gloss upon and paraphrase of the original Hebrew.

Fifthly, there is a passage in Xenophon's "Anabasis" (i. 7, 1 and 2) in which the two senses of ἐπιούσα appear to exhibit themselves in very close proximity. It runs as follows:

At the third halting-place Cyrus holds a review of the Greeks and the Asiatics in the plain at midnight, for he thought that *at the oncoming dawn* (εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἑω) the king would arrive with his army to fight. And he ordered Clearchus to lead the right wing and Meno the Thessalian the left, but arrayed his own people himself. And after the review, *with*

the *oncoming day* (ἄμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ), deserters from the great king began arriving and giving Cyrus information respecting the king's army.

Here Cyrus considers overnight that the king would probably attack him at dawn the next day. So that the sense of ἐπιούσα in εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω is equivalent to its ordinary explanation of "the morrow." But, after holding the review, which would take up a considerable time, and after dawn—for ἡμέρα clearly implies a period in the day later than ἔως—ἡ ἐπιούσα ἡμέρα is used for the *oncoming day*, the day of which the dawn is already past. Of course, the translation "oncoming" dawn or day will suit both places; but in the first case the day in question is not yet come, while in the second it is already somewhat advanced, and the major part of it is yet to come, thus agreeing with the quotations above given from Plato and Aristophanes.

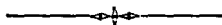
And now what is the practical outcome of all this, over and above the establishment of Dr. Lightfoot's view of the origin and meaning of ἐπιούσιος? Even this, that we have in the sense of ἡ ἐπιούσα, as thus established, the ground and reason of the alternative formulæ of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the Lord's prayer.

In Matt. vi. 11 we have: "Give us this day (σήμερον) our daily bread, τὸν ἄρτον τὸν ἐπιούσιον, τὸν ἄρτον τῆς ἐπιούσης, the bread of the on-coming day, of the day, the major part of which is yet to come. This, then, is the proper formula for a *morning* prayer, or a prayer said at the beginning of, or early in the day.

In Luke xi. 3 we find: "Give us day by day (τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν) our daily bread." Here, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν being allowed to have its full distributive force, we must be supposed to ask at any time for the bread of the on-coming space of a day, reckoning from the moment of using the prayer.

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ART. IV.—"TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES."

THIS book may now be considered as fairly settled in its proper place among our literary possessions. The story of its discovery, its subjects and character, and the period to which it is to be assigned, is now pretty generally understood. A fresh accession to the documents of a most interesting and most obscure stage of Church history, and to ecclesiastical literature in its scantiest and feeblest stage, is not only an important fact in itself, but suggests the possibility that other