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ΦΘΙΝΟΠΩΡΙΝΟΣ<sup>1</sup>

THE force of this word seems to me to have been generally misunderstood by the commentators on Jude 12, δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ ἄκαρπα δις ἀποθανόντα ἐκριζωθέντα, where the A.V. has "trees whose fruit withereth," corrected in R.V. to "autumn trees." The former interpretation is retained in Weymouth's "trees that cast their fruit" (*The N.T. in Modern Speech*) and in Stier's "frugiperdae," "fruchtverderbenden." It is not denied that this is an entirely unexampled use of the word, but it is thought to be justified by the etymology, as illustrated by the parallel δρὺς φθινόκαρπος (Pindar, *P.* iv. 471) used of a tree which sheds its fruits before they ripen, and φθινοπωρὶς ἀνέμων χειμερία καταπνῶα (Pindar, *P.* v. 161), "the fruit-withering blast of stormy winds," also by ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι (*Od.* x. 510). There can be no doubt, however, that φθινοπωρινός is an adjective<sup>2</sup> derived from τὸ φθινόπωρον, which is itself, I think, best explained as a compound of φθίνουσα ὀπώρα (cf. φθίνοντος μηνός), meaning the concluding portion of the ὀπώρα. This latter word is, according to Curtius, compounded of ὀπ-, connected with ὀπίσω, ὀπισθεν, and ὦρα = "the later prime." We find ὦρα used by itself both for the spring with its flowers and, more rarely, for the summer with its fruits, as in Thuc. ii. 52, ὦρα ἔτους. Perhaps from this double use of the word may have come the ambiguity in the application of ὀπώρα, of which Ideler says that "it originally indicated, not a season separate from and follow-

<sup>1</sup> In writing this paper I have made use of the article on *Astronomia* in the *D. of Ant.*, Ideler's *Handb. d. Chronologie*, G. F. Unger on *Zeitrechnung* in Iwan Müller's *Handb. d. klass. Altertumswiss.* vol. i. p. 561, and Ruehl's ed. of Schmidt's *Griech. Chronologie*, pp. 475-81. For the knowledge of the two latter I am indebted to Dr. Gow.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gow reminds me that the termination -ινός (so accented) is almost confined to adjectives of time, as ἔαρινός, θερινός, χειμερινός, δειλινός, περισινός. The two apparent exceptions (πεδινός, ἀληθινός) are perhaps of different formation, cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl.-Gramm.*, ii. pp. 135, 147.

ing after the summer, but the hottest part of the summer itself, so that Sirius, whose heliacal rising took place (in the age of Homer) about the middle of July, is described as ἀστὴρ ὀπωρινός (*Il.* v. 5).” In early times it would seem that the Greeks, like the Germans (*Tac. Germ.* 26), recognized only three seasons—winter, spring, summer; and that the last was indifferently named θέρος or ὀπώρα: compare *Arist. Aves*, 709, πρῶτα μὲν ὥρας φαίνομεν ἡμεῖς ἦρος, χειμῶνος, ὀπώρας, with *Aesch. Prom.* 453, ἦν δ’ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χειμάτος τέκμαρ οὔτ’ ἀνθεμῶδους ἦρος οὔτε καρπιμου θέρους βέβαιον. But though ὀπώρα was thus used strictly for the dog-days, when the fruit ripened, it was also vaguely used for the unnamed period which ensued up to the commencement of winter. Thus *Hesiod (Op.* 674), μηδὲ μένειν οἶνόν τε νέον καὶ ὀπωρινὸν ὄμβρον καὶ χειμῶν’ ἐπιόντα: and ὀπώρα appears as a definite season by the side of the others in a line of *Euripides*, quoted by *Plutarch (Mor.* 1028 F), from which it appears that he assigned four months each to summer and winter, and two to spring and ὀπώρα<sup>1</sup>:—

φίλης τ’ ὀπώρας διπτύχους, ἦρος τ’ ἴσους

(where the epithet φίλης deserves notice). It is said that the author of the treatise *De Diaeta* (c. 420 B.C.), which goes under the name of Hippocrates, was the first to introduce a definite term (φθινόπωρον or μετόπωρον<sup>2</sup>) for the new season, the word ὀπώρα being reserved for the late summer, according to the definition of *Eustath.* on *Il.* v. 5, ὀπώρα ὥρα μεταξὺ κειμένη θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετ’ αὐτὴν μετοπώρου. And so we find it used by *Aristotle (Meteor.* ii. 5, αἱ χάλασαι γίνονται ἕαρος μὲν καὶ μετοπώρον μάλιστα, εἶτα καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας, χειμῶνος δὲ ὀλιγάκις, and by *Theophrastus (περὶ*

<sup>1</sup> Unger (p. 560) mentions others who shared this view. Among them, as will be seen, is the author of the *De Diaeta*.

<sup>2</sup> The word μετοπωρινός is found in our present text of *Hesiod (Op.* 415), μετοπωρινὸν ὀμβρήσαντος Ζηνός.

Σημείων, 44) ἐὰν τὸ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ θέρος ψυχρὰ γίνηται, ἢ ὀπώρα γίνεται καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον πνιγρόν.<sup>1</sup>

There is a good deal of inconsistency about the exact limits of the seasons, as is natural enough when we remember that they were first distinguished for purposes of agriculture and navigation, as we see in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Each season brings its own proper work, and the farmer or merchant is reminded of the return of the season by various signs, the rising and setting of stars, especially of the Pleiades and Arcturus, the sun's passage through the signs of the zodiac, the re-appearance of the birds, etc. A more strictly accurate division was made by the astronomers, who distinguished between the various kinds of rising and setting of the stars, and divided the year into four equal parts by the solstices and equinoxes. In the year 46 B.C. Julius Cæsar introduced his revised calendar, which assigned definite dates to the different seasons. Thus spring begins *a.d. vii. id. Feb.* (Feb. 7), summer *a.d. vii. id. Mai.* (May 9), autumn *a.d. iii. id. Sext.* (Aug. 11), winter *a.d. iv. id. Nov.* (Nov. 11).<sup>2</sup>

Taking the Julian calendar as our standard, as it was no doubt the generally accepted standard of the Roman world, we find that autumn begins on August 11 and ends on November 10. There are, however, other reckonings which it may be worth while to compare with this. Thus in the *Diaeta* we read (p. 366. 38) φθινόπωρον ἀπὸ Ἀρκτούρου (i.e. his morning rising about Sept. 15) μεχρι Πλειάδων δύσεως (the morning setting about Nov. 9), giving less than two months to this season. As the same treatise (Bk. iii. *init.*) says τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη διαιροῦσιν, ἅπερ μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy, *Appar.* (quoted by Schmidt) gives the limits of the ὀπώρα as follows: 21 July, ὀπώρας ἀρχή; 15 September, μετόπωρον ἀρχή.

<sup>2</sup> See Varro, *R.R.* i. 28 (where Keil quotes *Geoponica*, i. 1. 3, μετόπωρον ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Αὐγούστου ἡλίου δυτος ἐν λέοντι); Columella, *R.R.* xi. 2. 57, 84; Plin. *N.H.* xviii. 68. 7; Ov. *Fasti*, ed. Peter, pp. 20-22.

γινάσκουσιν οἱ πολλοί . . . ἔαρ δὲ ἀπὸ ἰσημερινῆς (March 21) μεχρι Πλειάδων ἐπιτολῆς (May 10), his summer must have extended over more than four months. Another reckoning was that from the equinox to the solstice (Sept. 22 to Dec. 22). This does not seem to have been in such common use; the only Latin authority quoted for it in De Vit's *Forcellini* (s.v. "Autumnus") is Ulp. *Dig.* 43. 20. 1, § 32, "aestatem incipere sic peritiores (? the astronomers) ab aequinoctio verno, et finiri aequinoctio autumnali, et ita senis mensibus aestas atque hiems dividitur," and even here it is only stated that summer ends on the autumnal equinox, autumn and spring being entirely omitted. Yet Lewis and Short give this as though it were the only reckoning for autumn, while they further confuse the student by the statement that the Pleiades set on December 22 (instead of Nov. 9). Hesychius, quoted both by Stephanus and by Rost and Palm under φθινόπωρος, gives an equally unsatisfactory account of its duration, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ἀυγούστου μηνὸς ἕως τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Δεκεμβρίου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκοστῆς δευτέρας Ἀυγούστου ἕως πάλιν εἰκοστῆς δευτέρας Δεκεμβρίου. Here it will be noticed that both reckonings give four months for autumn; and that, while the second reckoning agrees with the astronomers in ending the season with the winter solstice, it does not begin with the equinox. I think therefore that we should change the latter Ἀυγούστου to Σεπτεμβρίου. [Since this was written I find that the same change is suggested by Unger.] If we make a similar correction in the earlier part of the sentence, changing the former Δεκεμβρίου to Νοεμβρίου, we get the ordinary agricultural reckoning.

To turn now to the commentators, I may take Trench as representing their view in his *Authorized Version*, p. 186, ed. 2, where he says, "The φθινόπωρον is the late autumn . . . which succeeds the ὀπώρα (or the autumn contemplated

as the time of the ripened fruits of the earth) and which has its name *παρὰ τὸ φθίνεσθαι τὴν ὀπώραν*, from the waning away of the autumn and the autumn fruits. . . . The deceivers of whom St. Jude speaks are likened to trees as they show in late autumn, when foliage and fruit alike are gone."

I have stated above what I hold to be the origin of the word *φθινόπωρον*. Trench's explanation is ambiguous and unsuited to the facts of the case, as will be seen from the criticisms in Lightfoot's *Fresh Revision*, p. 135: "In the phrase 'autumn-trees without fruit' there appears to be a reference to the parable of the fig-tree. . . . At all events the mention of the season when fruit might be expected is significant." He adds in a note, "Strange to say, the earliest versions all rendered *φθινοπωρινὰ* correctly.<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's instinct led him to give what I cannot but think the right turn to the expression, 'Trees with out frute at gadringe (gathering) time,' i.e. at the season when fruit was looked for. I cannot agree with Archbishop Trench, who maintains that 'Tyndale was feeling after, though he has not grasped, the right translation,' and himself explains *φθινοπωρινὰ ἄκαρπα* as 'mutually completing one another, *without leaves, without fruit.*' Tyndale was followed by Coverdale and the Great Bible. Similarly Wycliffe has 'hervest trees without fruyt,' and the Rheims Version 'trees of autumnne unfruitful.' The earliest offender is the Geneva Testament, which gives 'corrupt trees and without frute.' . . . The Bishops' Bible strangely combines both renderings, 'trees withered (*φθίνειν*) at fruite gathering (*ὀπώρα*) and without fruite,' which is explained in the margin, 'Trees withered in autumnne when the fruite harvest is, and so the Greke woord importeth.'"

The correctness of the interpretation, given by Lightfoot alone among modern commentators, is confirmed by a con-

<sup>1</sup> This agreement is probably owing to their dependence on the Vulgate "*arbores auctumnales infructuosae.*"

sideration of the context. The writer has just been comparing the innovators, who have crept into other Churches, to waterless clouds driven past by the wind. Just as these disappoint the hope of the husbandman, so do fruitless trees in the proper season of fruit. If *φθινοπωρινὰ* were equivalent to *χειμερινὰ*, denoting the season when the trees are necessarily bare both of leaves and fruit, how could a tree be blamed for being *ἄκαρπον*? It is because it might have been, and ought to have been a fruit-bearing tree, that it is rooted up.

If we follow the Julian calendar, Trench's interpretation is evidently impossible. Even if we suppose St. Jude to have been familiar with the scientific calendar, which makes autumn begin with the equinox; since leaves and fruits would even then not be cleared from the trees till autumn was more than half through; and since the first part of the compound *φθινόπωρον* has already spent its force in the change from the dog-days (*ὀπώρα*) to the autumn, and cannot act again (as Trench supposes) to change autumn into late-autumn, it follows that *φθινοπωρινὰ* would have been a most unsuitable word to express the bareness of winter. How unsuitable it would have been, how little corresponding to the *Spätherbst* and *senescens autumnus* of the commentators, will be evident from the way in which autumn is spoken of in the Greek romances. The scene of Longus' *Pastoralia* is laid in this season: in i. 30 he speaks of the temperature as *ἔτι τῆς ὥρας οὐσῆς καυματώδους*, in i. 28 of the ripening of the grapes *μετοπώρου δ' ἀκμάζοντος καὶ τοῦ βότρυος*. At the beginning of Book ii. the vintage is described, and in the third chapter we are introduced to a shepherd who speaks of the produce of his garden at different seasons, *ἦρος ῥόδα, κρίνα . . . θέρους μήκωνες καὶ μήλα πάντα νῦν ἄμπελοι καὶ συκαὶ καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μύρτα χλωρά*. Similarly Philostratus (*Heroic*. i. 5) dwells on the delights of autumn, *ὡς πικίλη*

σοι ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὡς ἐκδεδώκασιν ἰλαροὶ οἱ βότρυς, τὰ δένδρα θ' ὡς διάκειται πάντα καὶ ὡς ἀμβροσία ἢ ὄσμη τοῦ χωρίου, ib. 6 τρωκτὰ δ' ὠραῖα προτίθεμαι ἐπειδὴν θέρος θ' ἦκη καὶ μετόπωρον ἴσσηται. We may compare the saying attributed to Euripides (Ael. *V.H.* xiii. 4), οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔαρ τῶν καλῶν κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον; Hor. *C.* iv. 7. 11, pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, *Ep.* ii. 17 decorum mitibus pomis caput autumnus agris extulit, Macrobius (*Somn. Scip.* i. 20. 6) mollities autumnalis auræ.

J. B. MAYOR.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS.

VIII.

JEREMIAH XVI. 10.-XX. 18.

*The reason for these threatened Judgements is the People's Idolatry.\**

<sup>10</sup> AND it shall come to pass, when thou shalt declare unto this people all these words, and they shall say unto thee, 'Wherefore hath Yahweh pronounced all this great evil against us? or what is our iniquity, or what is our sin, wherewith we have sinned against Yahweh our God?' <sup>11</sup> that thou shalt say unto them, 'Because your fathers have forsaken me, saith Yahweh, and have walked after other gods, and have served them, and have worshipped them, but me they have forsaken, and my law they have not kept; <sup>12</sup> and ye have done evil more than your fathers; for, behold, ye walk every one after the stubbornness of his evil heart, so that ye hearken not unto me.' <sup>13</sup> And I will hurl you forth out of this land into the land that ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers; and there shall ye serve other gods day and night; for I will grant you no favour.

\* The immediate sequel to 16. 1-9 (see the *EXPOSITOR* for May, 1903, p. 365 f.).