A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at
II Peter 2.4

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The purpose of this article is to elucidate the background of the reference to the fallen angels in II Peter 2.4. The passage reads as follows:

εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων ἀμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ στροφῆς ἥξον παράγωγος παραδόκους εἰς κρίσιν τηρομένους, . . .

The parallel passage in the Epistle of Jude (v.6) is considerably different:

ἀγγέλους τε τούς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολύσαντας τὸ ἐαυτὸν ὑκτηθήμενον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δειμοῖς ἀδιόης ὑπὸ ζόφον τετηρηκένει.

These two passages have in common the words ἀγγέλους, ζώφος, τηρεῖσθαι and the phrase εἰς κρίσιν. I am completely in accord with the usual view of the relationship between Jude and II Peter, viz. that the author of II Peter knew and used the Epistle of Jude, but the differences between II Peter 2.4 and Jude 6 require explanation. Especially of interest is the use in II Peter 2.4 of the verb ταραπαθῶ, a hapax legomenon in the New Testament.

The myth of the fallen angels and their fate is dealt with at length in I Enoch, especially in chapters 6–21, and commentators quite rightly refer to I Enoch in illuminating the background of these passages in

1 I have used the edition of E. Nestle and K. Aland, Novum Testamentum Graece, 25th ed. (Stuttgart 1963).
2 See the standard introduction, Paul Feine, Johannes Behm and Werner G. Kümmel Introduction to the New Testament, transl. A. J. Mattill Jr of 14th German ed. (Nashville 1966) 303. See also the more recent commentaries: Karl Hermann Schelkle, Die Petrusbriefe (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum NT, XIII.2, Freiburg 1964) 178; Ceslas Spicq, Les Épîtres de saint Pierre (Sources bibliques, Paris 1966) 228. But for a recent commentary arguing against the dependence of II Peter upon Jude see Bo Reicke, The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude (The Anchor Bible 37, Garden City 1964) 189f; see my review of the latter in Dialog 5 (1966) 73–74.
Jude and II Peter. At least in the case of Jude there can be no question about the influence of that apocalyptic pseudepigraph. I Enoch 1.9 is actually quoted in Jude 15 with a formula crediting the quotation to the prophet Enoch. And Jude 6 surely reflects the influence of I Enoch in its formulation, especially 10.4ff, as duly noted in the margin of the Nestle text.

The Old Testament stimulus for the myth in I Enoch is that intrusive passage in Genesis 6.1–4 describing the adventures of the נב המלחמה הבאות המלחמה. Nevertheless it is clear that Enoch’s enlargement of the Genesis myth includes some new elements not dependent upon Genesis 6 at all and which can only be accounted for on the basis of extra-biblical influences. Specifically, it has been shown by T. F. Glasson that the myth of the fallen angels in I Enoch has been moulded under influences from the theogonic myths of the Greeks, especially those stories dealing with the Titanomachia, the war between Zeus and the Titans.

The doom of the fallen angels is described in the following passages in I Enoch:

10.4–8. And again the Lord said to Raphael: “Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness (Δήσον τὸν ᾿Аζαζήλ ποσίν καὶ χεριόν, καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος) and make an opening in the desert which is in Dudael, and cast him

See ad loc. especially Friedrich Spitta, Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas (Halle 1885); Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (The International Critical Commentary 17, New York 1903); Hans Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe (Handbuch zum NT 15, Tübingen 1930); and C. Spicq, op.cit. (supra n.2).

See the introductory formula in v.14: ἐπροφήτησαν δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐξόντες ἀπὸ Ἰosphον θέων ἔνως λέγων

On this passage see now E. A. Speiser, Genesis (The Anchor Bible I, Garden City 1964) 45f.


The word πτώνεσ is used in the LXX at II Sam. 5.18,22 to translate דודאון; see also Judith 16.6, where the γῆσαρες are referred to as νοὶ πτώνεσ. The πτώνεσ in the latter passage are probably to be taken as referring to νοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ in Gen. 6.2. See Glasson, op.cit. (supra n.6) 65.

therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire (καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως ἀπαχθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἐνπυρισμόν). And heal the earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal the plague, and that the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the Watchers have disclosed and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azazel: to him ascribe all sin.”

10.11–14. And the Lord said unto Michael: “Go, bind Semjaza⁹ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them in all their uncleanness. And, when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire and to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all generations.”

The angels are accused of two crimes. In 10.8 reference is made to the disclosures of secrets to men by Azazel; in 8.1ff these secrets consist especially of the arts of civilization and the use of the metals of the earth.¹⁰ This motif is absent from Genesis 6, and is possibly influenced

⁹ These passages dealing with Azazel and Semjaza represent two different sources, according to Charles, The Book of Enoch (supra n.8) 13.

by the myth of the Titan Prometheus.\textsuperscript{11} In 10.11ff defilement with women is the crime, and this is developed out of Genesis 6. At 15.3ff this theme is elaborated: the angels have left their proper “dwelling,” \textit{i.e.} heaven,\textsuperscript{12} and have lain with the daughters of men.

In these passages from \textit{I Enoch} are to be found the sources of Jude 6: the angels have abandoned their proper dwelling place (15.3,7) and have been placed in chains (10.4,11; \textit{cf.} also 54.3–5) and darkness (10.4f) until the judgement of the great Day (10.6,12).

In turn, the myth of the fallen angels in \textit{I Enoch} shows some remarkable points of similarity with the Greek myth of the \textit{Titanomachia}. The earliest complete source for the latter is Hesiod’s \textit{Theogony}.\textsuperscript{13} The Titans are the children born to Uranos and Gaia, youngest of whom is Kronos (\textit{Theogony} 132ff).\textsuperscript{14} The kingship amongst the gods falls to Kronos after he has succeeded in castrating his father Uranos (\textit{Theogony} 176ff).\textsuperscript{15} Zeus, in turn, conspires against Kronos and the rest of the Titans, aided especially by the hundred-handed giants\textsuperscript{18} Cottus, Briareus and Gyes, sons of Uranos who had previously been banished to the underworld by their father (\textit{Theogony} 147ff; 617ff). The battle rages furiously, and finally the Titans are vanquished and banished to nether Tartarus:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Theogony} 713–35. And amongst the foremost Cottus and Briareos and Gyes insatiate for war raised fierce fighting; three hundred rocks, one upon another, they launched from their strong hands and overshadowed the Titans with their missiles, and hurled them beneath the wide-pathed earth, and bound them in bitter chains (\textit{kai} δεσμοί [\textit{en} ἀγράλειον \textit{e}δησαν]) when they had conquered them by their strength for
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\textsuperscript{11} Glasson, \textit{op.cit.} (supra \textit{n.6}) 65. \textit{Cf.} Hes. \textit{Theog.} 565ff and especially Aesch. \textit{PV} 445ff. For his defiance Prometheus is bound to rocks, διαμαρτύρων δεσμῶν \textit{en} ἄρρήκτοις πέδαις \textit{PV} 6.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{I Enoch} 15.7: \textit{en} τῷ οὐρανῷ \textit{et} κατολήσας αὐτῶν.

\textsuperscript{13} But the myth is presupposed already in Homer; see especially \textit{II.} 8.479; 14.274–79; 15.225.

\textsuperscript{14} It is perhaps only a curious coincidence that the fallen angels in \textit{I Enoch} are called \textit{νιόi} οὐρανοῦ, \textit{e.g.} at 6.2; \textit{cf.} \textit{οι} τοῦ \textit{θεοῦ} in Gen. 6.2 (LXX).

\textsuperscript{15} These myths of the succession of kingship amongst the gods are ultimately derived from ancient Near-Eastern sources. For a brief discussion see now Albin Lesky, \textit{A History of Greek Literature}, transl. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (New York 1966) 94ff and lit. cited. On the general question of the impact of Semitic culture on Mycenaean and archaic Greece see Michael C. Astour, \textit{Hellenosemitica} (Leiden 1965).

\textsuperscript{16} Called \textit{οἱ} ἕκαστόγγυρες in later literature, \textit{e.g.} Apollod. \textit{Bibl.} 1.1.1 and other texts quoted \textit{infra}. 
all their great spirit, as far beneath the earth as heaven is above earth; for so far is it from earth to Tartarus. . . . There by the counsel of Zeus who drives the clouds the Titan gods are hidden under misty gloom (ὑπὸ ζόφω ἤρόεντε), in a dank place where are the ends of the huge earth. And they may not go out; for Poseidon fixed gates of bronze upon it, and a wall runs all round it on every side. There Gyes and Cottus and great-souled Obriareus live, trusty warders of Zeus, who holds the aegis.17

The similarities between the fate of the fallen angels in I Enoch and that of the Titans in Hesiod are striking. The angels are bound in chains by the archangels of God, just as the Titans are bound in chains by the henchmen of Zeus, the ἐκατόγχειρες. The fallen angels have rocks heaped upon them by the archangels of the Lord, just as the Titans are overwhelmed with rocks hurled by the ἐκατόγχειρες. The evil angels are consigned to nether darkness in I Enoch, and the Titans are consigned to the nether gloom of Tartarus in Hesiod.18 The one main feature of the myth in I Enoch absent from the Greek myth is that of a future judgement of fire.19

These similarities are such that one can safely assert that I Enoch has been profoundly influenced by Greek mythology. Jude v.6 shows only a secondary influence from Greek mythology via the Jewish book of Enoch.

But the case with II Peter 2.4 is different from that of Jude v.6. Though II Peter 2.4 is partially indebted to Jude 6 for the theme of the doom of the sinful angels, it is my contention that II Peter 2.4 has been formulated under direct influence from Greek mythology, with no independent use of I Enoch at all in evidence. This can be seen especially in the phrase αἱροῖς ζόφον ταρταρώσας.

The verb ταρταρών does not occur in the Greek fragments of I Enoch. The noun Τάρταρος occurs but once:20 in I Enoch 20.2 the archangel Uriel is described as “one of the holy angels who is over the world

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17 Transl. Hugh Evelyn-White in the Loeb ed.
18 The word used in the Greek fragment of I Enoch 10.5 is σκότος. The usual word in Greek literature which describes the darkness of Tartarus is ζόφω, as e.g. Hes. Theog. 729. But see Aesch. Eum. 71f, where κακὸς σκότος is used in connection with Tartarus.
19 In addition to the texts quoted above see I Enoch 21.7–10; 54.1–6.
20 The word τάρταρος occurs in LXX at Job 40.20; 41.24; Prov. 30.16.
and Tartarus” (δ ἐς τῶν αἰγών ἀγγέλων δ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρταρου). The question thus arises as to the source of this verb in II Peter 2.4, its precise meaning, and the contexts in which it is used elsewhere in Greek literature.

In Hesiod and the older classical writers the verb ταρταροῦν does not occur. Instead one finds the noun Tartarus used in a prepositional phrase in conjunction with a verb, as e.g. the phrase δίπτευν (or βόλλειν) ἐς Τάρταρον. By analogy the precise meaning of ταρταροῦν is ‘to cast into Tartarus’.  

From the first century B.C. onward the verb ταρταροῦν does occur, sometimes in compound form καταταρταροῦν. A study of the contexts in which the verb is found is instructive; here I present all the occurrences I have been able to find.

The Epicurean philosopher Philodemus uses the verb ταρταροῦν at least once in his treatise Περὶ εὐσέβειας.  

The Epicurean philosopher Philodemus uses the verb ταρταροῦν at least once in his treatise Περὶ εὐσέβειας. In the context of a critique of the traditional gods he uses the verb with reference to the story of the banishment of the ἐκατόγχειρες to Tartarus by Uranos, if Philippson’s restorations are correct: τὸν δ’ Ὑφα[

21 There is textual corruption in the Ethiopic text. Ἰθ. Ἐξ. (ra’ād), a non-word surrounded by daggers in Charles’ edition, is taken by him as pointing back to “a corrupt transliteration of τάρταρος.” See The Ethiopic Version (supra n.8) 52 n.5. The angel Uriel as warder of Tartarus performs a function similar to that of the three ἐκατόγχειρες at Hes. Theog. 734ff. Uriel’s function is later attributed in apocryphal literature to a separate angel who goes under the name Ταρταροῦχος. See e.g. Apocal. Pauli 18; and The Book of Thomas the Contender (in Coptic, unpublished) CG II, 142.41. Cf. also Hippolytus’ reference to the ταρταροῦχοι ἄγγελοι, Ref. 10.34.2.


23 Preserved only in very fragmentary condition from the famous papyri from Herculaneum. I have used R. Philippson’s study of the text published in Hermes 55 (1920) 225ff, which superseded Theodor Gomperz, Philodem über Frömmigkeit (Herkulanische Studien 2, Leipzig 1866).

24 According to Philippson, op.cit. (supra n.23) 225, the critique of the traditional gods in late antiquity from the second century B.C. onward, including that of the Christian apologists, is based on Epicurean foundations; and Philodemus is the most important witness to this Epicurean topos.

25 Philippson, op.cit. (supra n.23) 255. Cf. also his restorations on p.250: . . . τὸν Κρόνον δι’ αὐτοῦ (i.e. by Zeus) ταφ[ταραύσαν].
In the Theologia Graeca of the Stoic philosopher L. Cornutus occurs the following passage (from ch. 7): Τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ μὲν Κρόνος ἱστορεῖται συνεχῶς κατιόντα ἐπὶ τῷ μέγνυθαι τῇ Γῇ τῶν Ὀυρανῶν ἐκτειμέω καὶ παιδαι τῆς ύβρεως, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκβαλὼν αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας καταταρτώσαν. 27

In the Hypotyposes of Sextus Empiricus, in a section wherein he seeks to prove that there is no absolute good, he refers to the custom of the Scythians of cutting the throats of their fathers when they get above the age of sixty, and then remarks (3.210): καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰγε ὁ μὲν Κρόνος τῇ ἀρπῇ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἔξετεμε τοῦ πατρός, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς τὸν Κρόνον καταταρτώσει, ἦ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ μετὰ "Ἡρας καὶ Ποσειδῶν τὸν πατέρα δεσμεύσειν ἐπεχείρησεν;

The Christian apologist Athenagoras utilizes the philosophical traditions of criticism against the gods of mythology in his defense of the Christian faith. In his Supplicatio pro Christianis (ch. 21) he writes, oὐ καταβάλλουσι τὸν πολὺν τούτον ἀσεβὴ λήρον περὶ τῶν θεῶν; Οὗρανός ἐκτείμετα, δεῖται καὶ καταταρτάρωσι τὸν Κρόνον, ἐπανίσταται Τιτάνες... 28

Athenagoras also uses the verb καταταρταροῦν in chapter 18 in connection with the hundred-handed giants and the Cyclopes, ὁς καὶ δῆσας καταταρτάρωσεν (scil. Οὐρανός), ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς μαθῶν.

Origen, at Contra Celsum 8.68, takes note of the charges of Celsus that Christians do not honor the emperor. Referring sarcastically to Celsus’ quotation from Homer, εἰς βασιλεὺς, ὃ ἐδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἄγκυκλομήτεως (Iliad 2.205), Origen replies, ... καὶ οὐκ ὁ τοῦ καταταρταρωθέντος, ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι, Κρόνου υἱὸς ἀπελάσας τούτον τῆς ἀρχῆς καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, οὐδ’ ἀν ἄλληγορῇ τις τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ἀλλ’ ὁ διοικῶν τα σύμπαντα θεός οἴδειν ὅ τι ποτὲ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν τόπον τῆς τῶν βασιλέων καταστάσεως.

There are still other texts, dating from the sixth century and later. In Olympiodorus’ commentary on Plato’s Phaedo the verb καταταρ-

26 Τιτάνες is the subject, Οὐρανός the object.
27 Ed. C. Lang (Leipzig 1881). Cornutus goes on to interpret the myth allegorically according to Stoic convention.
28 Cf. Ps.-Clem. Hom. 4.16.2: αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα δῆσας καθείρζεν εἰς Τάρταρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κολάζει θεοῖς.
ταράδων is used in the context of a reference to the Orphic tradition of four divine kingships, those of Uranos, Kronos, Zeus and Dionysos: μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κρόνον ὁ Ζεὺς ἐβασιλεύει καταταρακώσας τὸν πατέρα. In Johannes Lydus' De mensibus 4.158 it is stated that the Saturnalia (Κρονίαι) in December are celebrated at night ὅτι ἐν σκότει ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος ὁς ταραθρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίως. And a scholiast comments on Iliad 14.296 as follows: ... λάθρα οὖν ἐμίγη. ὅτε δὲ ἑταρακώθη ὁ Κρόνος, ὁς παρθένος ὑπονοομένη ἐξεδόθη Διί παρὰ Τηθύνος καὶ Ὀκεανοῦ.30

Now in all these cases the verb (κατα-)ταραδων has been used with very narrow reference, viz. to the theogonic myths of Uranos, Kronos and the Titans, and Zeus.31 It seems clear to me that the verb as it occurs in II Peter 2.4 cannot be interpreted apart from an understanding of its use in these other contexts. In light of the concinnity of these contexts, it is evident that the author of II Peter 2.4 framed his description of the fate of the fallen angels under direct influence from the Greek theogonic myths, unmediated either by his Vorlage (Jude), or by I Enoch, with which he shows no familiarity.

The use of συρός in the same context in II Peter requires some comment, since it too is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament, and at first glance appears to be an unusual word to be used with ταραδων. There is a textual problem, for some manuscripts read σειραῖς (or σειραῖ)32. Since it makes better sense to take σειραῖ as a corruption of συροῖς (under the influence of δεσμοῖς in Jude 6) than vice versa, συρός is the preferable reading. I find in the use of the word συρός in II Peter 2.4 another indication that the author's description of the fate of the fallen angels is independent of I Enoch and betrays no Jewish influences in its reformulation of Jude 6.33

συρός is a word capable of expressing connotations of both 'underworld' and 'punishment', and so fits in context with ταραδων (though

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29 Olymp. in Plat. Phaedon. 61c, apud O. Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta (Berlin 1922) no.220.
31 The only exception I have been able to find is in a scholion to Eur. Medea 1296: δεῖ γάρ μν τῷ γάρ ἢ καταταρακώθην ἢ ἀναπτήναι, ed. E. Schwartz, Scholia in Euripidem II (Berlin 1891) 210.
32 This is the reading adopted in the text of the new Bible Societies edition of the NT, ed. K. Aland et. al. (New York, etc. 1966); see apparatus ad loc. for a large list of witnesses. Note-worthy support for σειραῖς is P23 (PBodmer 8). Among the witnesses for συροῖς are the important uncialς G AB.
33 The word συρός does not occur in the Greek fragments of I Enoch and is absent also from LXX.
II Peter 2.4 is apparently the only place in Greek literature where these two words occur together). The word σιρός means 'pit' or (its cognate) 'silo'; in some parts of the Mediterranean world σιροί were used for grain storage. Pliny, for example, suggests that the best method of storing grain is by keeping it "in holes, which are called siri, as is done in Cappadocia, Thrace, Spain and Africa."34 The use of such σιρόι in Greece can be documented from the fifth century B.C. An important Athenian decree from ca.418 (IG I² 76)35 provides for the gathering of first-fruits from the Greek cities for the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, and for the building of three σιροί at Eleusis in which to house the offerings.36 The storage of first-fruits and seed-grains in such underground silos37 corresponds to the καταγωγή of Kore in the Eleusinian cult-legend and her sojourn in Hades for one-third of the year (i.e. from June to October).38 σιρός can, therefore, by association with the myth of Kore in the Mysteries,39 connote 'underworld'.

The word σιρός is occasionally used as a substitute for βάραθρον, 'cleft', 'pit'. In Athens there was a βάραθρον, into which criminals were thrown for punishment.40 Diodorus Siculus uses the word σιρός instead of βάραθρον in his description of the death of Eumenes at the hands of Antigonus.41 Thus if βάραθρον can be used by Lucian as a metaphorical equivalent of Tartarus,42 it should occasion no surprise to find his

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34 Utilissime tamen servantur in scrobibus, quos siros vocant, ut in Cappadocia ac Threcia et Hispania, Africa. NH 18.73.306.
35 The text, with bibliography and discussion, is published in Marcus N. Tod, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions I (Oxford 1946) 179–85; for Tod’s discussion of the date 418 see pp.184f.
37 This must reflect a very early custom; note the significance of the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρα.
39 Cf. the use of ἐποπτής in II Pet. 1.16, indicating influence from the terminology of the Mysteries.
40 See e.g. Ar. Nub. 14; Pl. Grg. 516d (ref. in LSJ erroneous). Demosthenes uses the words σιρός and βάραθρον together in 8.45 and 10.16.
41 19.44.1: Α’ Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραδέχεσθαι κυριεύσας τοῦ τ’ Ἐμενοῦς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀντιπεπηγμένης διδακτικῆς Α’ Ἀντίγονα μὴν τῶν τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἠγούμενοι συλλαβῶν καὶ καταδέμενος εἰς σειρῶν ζωῆς κατέκατα.
42 In Icaromenippus 33 the assembly of the gods tells Zeus what he should do with the philosophers: κεραύνωσον, κατάθλεξον, ἐπίτρησον, ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὡς τοῖς Γίγαντας.
contemporary, the author of II Peter, using σπός in precisely the same way. That the word σπός is used at all in II Peter is in all likelihood an indication that the author was familiar with an area in the Mediterranean world in which such σπός were used in the manner described by Pliny above. 43

Comparison of these parallel passages in Jude and II Peter is illuminating. Whereas the author of Jude derives all of his mythological traditions from Jewish sources—mainly from such apocrypha or pseudepigrapha as I Enoch—the author of II Peter avoids any reference or allusion to these now unacceptable writings. 44 Instead, whether consciously or unconsciously and despite the disclaimer in 1.16, he is influenced directly by pagan mythology. 45

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43 This, of course, has bearing on the question of the place of origin of II Peter. Of the regions mentioned by Pliny (supra n.34) Cappadocia is the most likely candidate; cf. II Pet. 3.1 with I Pet. 1.1. In general Asia Minor would be more likely than Rome, cf. Reicke, op.cit. (supra n.2) 145; or Egypt, cf. Spicq, op.cit. (supra n.2) 195.

44 On this tendency see Feine–Behm–Kümmel, op.cit. (supra n.2) 303.

45 Cf. the Sibylline Oracles where, however, the case is somewhat different in that Jewish and pagan traditions are placed side by side. E.g. in Book 3 the Titan myth is found immediately after the Tower of Babel story! This state of affairs is undoubtedly due to the fiction of a pagan authoress.