A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at *II Peter* 2.4

Birger A. Pearson

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 ἁμαρτησάντων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ σιροῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένους, ...[1]

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

ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον εἰς κρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν·

These two passages have in common the words ἄγγελοι, ζόφος, 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*,[2] 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 ταρταροῦν, 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

Jude and *II Peter*.[3] 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.[4] 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 בני האלהים with the בנות האדם.[5] 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[6] 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.[7]

The doom of the fallen angels is described in the following passages in *I Enoch*:[8]

> 10.4–8. And again the Lord said to Raphael: "Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness (Δῆσον τὸν ʼAζαὴλ ποσὶν καὶ χερσίν, καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος) and make an opening in the desert which is in Dudael, and cast him

---

[3] 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).

[4] See the introductory formula in v.14: ἐπροφήτευσεν δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἕβδομος ἀπὸ ʼAδὰμ ʽEνὼχ λέγων·

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

[6] *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (SPCK Biblical Monographs I, London 1961); see especially pp.62ff.

[7] The word τιτᾶνες is used in the *LXX* at *II Sam.* 5.18,22 to translate רפאים; see also *Judith* 16.6, where the γίγαντες are referred to as υἱοὶ τιτάνων. The τιτᾶνες in the latter passage are probably to be taken as referring to οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ in *Gen.* 6.2. See Glasson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 65.

[8] I quote from the translation of the Ethiopic version by R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1912). My references to the Greek text are to the version of fragments discovered at Akhmim in 1886 (designated Gg by Charles; the Greek fragments preserved by Syncellus he designates Gs). The Greek fragments are published by R. H. Charles in his edition, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford 1906), alongside of the Ethiopic text, and as a separate appendix in the work cited above. On the Greek fragments and their textual relationship to the Ethiopic version see *The Ethiopic Version*, pp. xi ff, and *The Book of Enoch*, pp. xvii ff.

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 τῆς 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 Semjaza[9] 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.

[10] Cf. the *Apocryphon of John*, CG II, 77.30ff, also in the context of midrash on *Gen*. 6.1ff, and undoubtedly dependent upon *I Enoch* at this point. CG=(Codex) Cairensis Gnosticus, the designation adopted for the Coptic codices discovered in the 1940's near Nag Hammadi, Egypt, on which see now James M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *NTStud* 14 (1967/8) 356–401. For the Coptic text and English translation of the *Apocryphon of John* in CG II see Søren Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis* (Acta Theologica Danica 5, Copenhagen 1963). Three other Coptic versions exist: see Martin Krause and Pahor Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (AbhKairo, Kopt. Reihe I, Wiesbaden 1962); and Walter C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 60.5, Berlin 1955).

by the myth of the Titan Prometheus.[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," *i.e.* heaven,[12] and have lain with the daughters of men.

In these passages from *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; *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 *I Enoch* shows some remarkable points of similarity with the Greek myth of the *Titanomachia*. The earliest complete source for the latter is Hesiod's *Theogony*.[13] The Titans are the children born to Uranos and Gaia, youngest of whom is Kronos (*Theogony* 132ff).[14] The kingship amongst the gods falls to Kronos after he has succeeded in castrating his father Uranos (*Theogony* 176ff).[15] Zeus, in turn, conspires against Kronos and the rest of the Titans, aided especially by the hundred-handed giants[16] Cottus, Briareus and Gyes, sons of Uranos who had previously been banished to the underworld by their father (*Theogony* 147ff; 617ff). The battle rages furiously, and finally the Titans are vanquished and banished to nether Tartarus:

> *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 (καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν ἔδησαν) when they had conquered them by their strength for

[11] Glasson, *op.cit.* (*supra* n.6) 65. *Cf.* Hes. *Theog.* 565ff and especially Aesch. *PV* 445ff. For his defiance Prometheus is bound to rocks, ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις *PV* 6.

[12] *I Enoch* 15.7: ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡ κατοίκησις αὐτῶν.

[13] But the myth is presupposed already in Homer; see especially *Il.* 8.479; 14.274–79; 15.225.

[14] It is perhaps only a curious coincidence that the fallen angels in *I Enoch* are called υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ, *e.g.* at 6.2; *cf.* οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ in Gen. 6.2 (*LXX*).

[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, *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, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden 1965).

[16] Called οἱ ἑκατόγχειρες in later literature, *e.g.* Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.1 and other texts quoted *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 ζόφῳ ἠερόεντι), 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 ἑκατόγχειρες. 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 ἑκατόγχειρες. 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 σιροῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας.

The verb ταρταροῦν 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

---

[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 ζόφος, 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" (ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτά-
ρου).[21] 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 ῥίπτειν (or βάλλειν)
ἐς Τάρταρον. By analogy the precise meaning of ταρταροῦν is 'to cast into
Tartarus'.[22]

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 occur-
rences I have been able to find.

The Epicurean philosopher Philodemus uses the verb ταρταροῦν at
least once in his treatise Περὶ εὐσεβείας.[23] In the context of a critique of
the traditional gods[24] he uses the verb with reference to the story of
the banishment of the ἑκατόγχειρες to Tartarus by Uranos, if Philipp-
son's restorations are correct: τ[ὸν δ' Οὐρα]νὸν ’Α[κο] νσίλαος δείσαντα
τοὺς [‘Εκατ]όγχειρας, μὴ [περιγένω]νται, ταρτα[ρῶσαι], διότι τοι[ούτους
εἶ]δε.[25]

Apollodorus the mythographer uses the verb twice in the *Bibliotheca*.
At 1.1.4 he refers to the accession of Kronos as follows: τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς

---

[21] There is textual corruption in the Ethiopic text. ⟨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 ἑκατόγχειρες 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.

[22] Hom. *Il.* 8.13; *Hymn.Hom. Merc.* 256,374; Hes. *Theog.* 868; *cf.* Lycoph. *Alex.* 1197 ἐμβαλεῖν
ταρτάρῳ.

[23] Preserved only in very fragmentary condition from the famous papyri from Hercu-
laneum. I have used R. Philippson's study of the text published in *Hermes* 55 (1920) 225ff,
which supersedes 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 apolo-
gists, 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: .. τὸ[ν Κρόνον
δι'] αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* by Zeus) ταρ[ταροῦσθαι].

ἐκβαλόντες[26] τούς τε καταταρταρωθέντας ἀνήγαγον ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Κρόνῳ παρέδοσαν. And at 1.2.3 Apollodorus refers to Menoetius, the son of Japetus, as one ὃν κεραυνώσας ἐν τῇ τιτανομαχίᾳ Ζεὺς κατεταρτάρωσεν.

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 μίγνυσθαι τῇ Γῇ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ παῦσαι τῆς ὕβρεως, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκβαλὼν αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας καταταρταρῶσαι.[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, εἴγε ὁ μὲν Κρόνος τῇ ἅρπῃ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐξέτεμε τοῦ πατρός, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τὸν Κρόνον κατεταρτάρωσεν, ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ μετὰ Ἥρας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος τὸν πατέρα δεσμεύειν 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, οὐ καταβάλλουσι τὸν πολὺν τοῦτον ἀσεβῆ λῆρον περὶ τῶν θεῶν; Οὐρανὸς ἐκτέμνεται, δεῖται καὶ καταταρταροῦται Κρόνος, ἐπανίστανται Τιτᾶνες...[28] Athenagoras also uses the verb καταταρταροῦν in chapter 18 in connection with the hundred-handed giants and the Cyclopes, οὓς καὶ δήσας κατεταρτάρωσεν (*scil.* Οὐρανός), ἐκπεσεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῆς ἀρχῆς μαθών.

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, εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω (*Iliad* 2.205), Origen replies, ... καὶ οὐκ ὁ τοῦ καταταρταρωθέντος, ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι, Κρόνου υἱὸς ἀπελάσας τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἀλληγορῇ τις τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ διοικῶν τὰ σύμπαντα θεὸς οἶδεν 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] Τιτᾶνες 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 δήσας καθείρξεν εἰς Τάρταρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κολάζει θεούς.

ταροῦν 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 ἐβασίλευσε καταταρταρώσας τὸν πατέρα.[29] 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 ὡς ταρταρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός. And a scholiast comments on *Iliad* 14.296 as follows: ... λάθρα οὖν ἐμίγη. ὅτε δὲ ἐταρταρώθη ὁ Κρόνος, ὡς παρθένος ὑπονοουμένη ἐξεδόθη Διὶ παρὰ Τηθύος καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ.[30]

Now in all these cases the verb (κατα-)ταρταροῦν 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 σιρός 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 ταρταροῦν. There is a textual problem, for some manuscripts read σειραῖς (or σιραῖς).[32] Since it makes better sense to take σειραῖς as a corruption of σιροῖς (under the influence of δεσμοῖς in *Jude* 6) than *vice versa*, σιροῖς is the preferable reading. I find in the use of the word σιρός 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]

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

[29] Olymp. *in Plat. Phaedon.* 61c, *apud* O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922) no.220.

[30] Ed. W. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* IV (Oxford 1877) 59.

[31] The only exception I have been able to find is in a scholion to Eur. *Medea* 1296: δεῖ γάρ νιν· δεῖ αὐτὴν ἢ καταταρταρωθῆναι ἢ ἀναπτῆναι, 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. Noteworthy support for σειραῖς is 𝔓[72] (*PBodmer* 8). Among the witnesses for σιροῖς are the important uncials ℵ AB.

[33] The word σιρός 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 σιροί 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 silos[37] 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

[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*² I (Oxford 1946) 179–85; for Tod's discussion of the date 418 see pp.184f.

[36] Lines 10–13: οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιροὺς τρεῖς ᾽Ελευσῖνι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ὅπου ἂν δοκῆι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τῶι ἀρ[χ]ιτέκτονι ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ τοῖν θεοῖν· τὸ[ν δὲ κα]ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλειν ὃν ἂν παραλάβωσι παρὰ τῶν δημάρ[χων].

[37] This must reflect a very early custom; note the significance of the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

[38] Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*² I (*Hdb. der Altertumsw.* V.2.1, München 1955) 473.

[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: ᾽Αντίγονος δὲ παραδόξως κυριεύσας τοῦ τ᾽ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀντιτεταγμένης δυνάμεως ᾽Αντιγένην μὲν τὸν τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγούμενον συλλαβὼν καὶ καταθέμενος εἰς σειρὸν ζῶντα κατέκαυσεν.

[42] In *Icaromenippus* 33 the assembly of the gods tells Zeus what he should do with the philosophers: κεραύνωσον, κατάφλεξον, ἐπίτριψον, ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὡς τοὺς Γίγαντας.

contemporary, the author of *II Peter*, using σιρός in precisely the same way. That the word σιρός 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 σιροί 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]

DUKE UNIVERSITY

January, 1969

[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.