

THE ORACLE
OF BAALBEK
THE TIBURTINE SIBYL
IN GREEK DRESS

by

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1.
Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer Collection.
Bronze Coin of Erythrae, reverse (*enlarged*)



2.
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Waddington
Collection, Bronze Coin of Erythrae,
reverse (*enlarged*)

Frontispiece

1. Bronze coin of Erythrae, 17 mm., 4.33 g., Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer Collection), second half of first century A.D. Obverse: bust of Pallas, to right. The plate shows the reverse. Inscription: ΘΕΑ CIBYΛΛΑ. The Sibyl Herophile, clad in a chiton, is seated, to left, on a rock upon which she leans with her left hand. In her right hand she may hold a branch. Described by F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 14 (Amsterdam, 1883), 288. Reproduced in F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 18 (1890), pl. VIII. 27; also *Journal International de Numismatique*, 11 (1908), pl. x. 6. The importance of this coin lies in the fact that the inscription identifies the figure of the Sibyl.

2. Bronze coin of Erythrae, 24 mm., 5.62 g., Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (Waddington Collection). Obverse: beardless head (bust of Senate) with inscription: ΙΕΡΑ CYNΚΛΗΤΟC. The plate shows the reverse. Inscription: ΧΙΩΝ ΕΡΥΘΡΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΟ·ΝΟ·ΙΑ. The Sibyl Herophile, to left, is seated on a rock, raising her right hand toward her chin, left hand leaning on rock. Described by E. Babelon, *Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection Waddington* (Paris, 1898), no. 1677 (= Fonds Général, no. 1305). B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (London, 1892), 150, dates two other specimens of this same coin (British Museum, nos. 272 and 273) to the reign of Valerian (A.D. 253–258). No. 273 is reproduced *ibid.*, pl. xxxviii. 10. The Waddington Collection in Paris contains another bronze coin from Erythrae (no. 1676) with the same obverse and the same representation of the Sibyl Herophile on the reverse, but with the legend: ΕΠ·C·Λ·ΘΛ·ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΙΝΟΥ (Babelon, *Inventaire Sommaire*, no. 1676 [= Fonds Général, no. 1304]). Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grecques*, 288, dates another specimen of the last mentioned coin in his own collection (no. 63 b) to the reign of the Emperor Philip (A.D. 243–249). In *Griechische Münzen*, 117, he describes two bronze coins in Munich (nos. 294 and 295), also showing the Sibyl Herophile seated on a rock, one dating from the reign of Commodus (180–192; see pl. VIII. 26) and the other from the third century B.C. (?). Several of the coins mentioned here are discussed and illustrated by R. Herbig, *Θεὰ Σίβυλλα*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 59–60 (1944–45), 141–147.

I owe the photographs of the coins here reproduced to the courtesy of the museum authorities in Berlin and Paris.

Acknowledgements

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To the organizations and individuals who have furthered my work on *The Oracle of Baalbek* I express my profound gratitude.

January 1967

Paul J. Alexander

viii

CONTENTS

FRONTISPICE	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
I. INTRODUCTION: HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP AND DISCOVERY OF GREEK TEXT.	
	3
II. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY.	
1. Text	9
2. Translation	23
3. Commentary	29
III. DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE GREEK TEXT	41
IV. RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS.	48
V. THE NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK AND THE SIBYLLINE GOSPEL	
	67
VI. HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE NEW TEXT	
1. <i>The Rulers and Their Families</i>	75
2. <i>Foreign and Military Affairs</i>	85
3. <i>Internal Affairs</i>	91
4. <i>Religious History</i>	97
VII. THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK: GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND ESCHATOLOGY	
	106
VIII. METHODS AND PURPOSES OF APOCALYPTIC WRITERS	
	122
APPENDIX TO VIII. THE WARRIOR AT HIERAPOLIS IN <i>Euphratensis</i>	
	129
IX. CONCLUSIONS	
	136
INDICES	
GENERAL	145
GREEK TERMS	151

ix

Abbreviations

I. Series, Journals, Encyclopedias. etc.

BHG	F. Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 vols., 3rd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica, 8 a-c (Brussels, 1957)
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i>
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
RAC	Theodor Klauser, <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.</i>

II. Books and Articles

Blass-Debrunner-Funk:	F. Blass, A. Debrunner and R. W. Funk, <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Chicago, 1961)
Bousset:	Wilhelm Bousset, <i>Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der Alten Kirche. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse</i> (Göttingen, 1895)
Bury:	J. B. Bury, <i>History of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 2 vols. (New York, 1958)
Jones:	A. H. M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire, 284-602</i> , 2 vols. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1964)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Krencker and Zschietzschmann: Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur, Band 5, 2 parts: Text und Tafeln (Berlin-Leipzig, 1938)
- Mercati: S. G. Mercati, "E' stato trovato il testo greco della Sibilla Tiburtina," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, IX (= Παγκάρπεια, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* [Brussels, 1949]), 473-481
- Riessler: Paul Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel* (Augsburg, 1928)
- Sackur: Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle a. S., 1898; reprint, Bottega d'Erasmus, Turin, 1963)
- Stein: Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959 and 1949)
- Steindorff: Georg Steindorff, "Die Apokalypse des Elias, etc.," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, N. F., II, Heft 3 a (Leipzig, 1899)
- Wiegand: Theodor Wiegand, *Baalbek*, etc., II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1923)

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK THE TIBURTINE SIBYL IN GREEK DRESS

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP AND DISCOVERY OF GREEK TEXT

Latin manuscripts of the eleventh and later centuries preserve a brief narrative including a long "prophecy" which they attribute to the Tiburtine Sibyl. This Latin text, first printed in 1563 and then reprinted several times, was critically edited in 1898 by Ernst Sackur in a work which one learns to admire more with every reading.¹ Sackur showed that the earliest version of his text was composed under the Salic king Conrad II (1024-1039) in Northern (Lombard) Italy. He was able to separate fairly neatly from the interpolations added by medieval editors a text dating from the Later Roman Empire, most probably, as he thought, from the reign of Constantius II (337-361) or from the earliest part of Julian's short rule (361-363).² In addition to the Latin version edited by Sackur, which I shall call w¹, there are in existence at least three other Latin versions, one published, the other two hitherto unedited. The first, w², was compiled under Henry IV (1056-1106) and represents, as Sackur saw, a combination of w¹ with Byzantine prophecies.³ An unpublished version, w³, is contained in *cod. Monacensis Lat.* 17742, saec. XII, fols. 42-51. Although Sackur judged w³ to be uninteresting for the textual

¹ On the manuscript tradition and printed editions, see Sackur, 126-128, 177. Sackur's text is reprinted and translated into German by A. Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Tusculum Bücherei, n.d.), 262-279. Much or most of the Sibyl's prophecy is *ex eventu*, but to avoid tedium I shall henceforth abstain from placing the word prophecy and its derivatives in quotation marks.

² Sackur, 162. In his edition of the text, as well as in Kurfess' reprint, the medieval additions are distinguished by italics.

³ Ed. by R. Usinger, "Eine Sibylle des Mittelalters," *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, 10 (1870), 621-631, esp. 621-623, and reprinted under the title "Vaticinium Sibyllae," in MGH, *Scriptores*, XXII (Hannover, 1872), 375 f. See Sackur, 126 and note 2 ("... stellt eine erneute Verarbeitung... der ersten Recension [w¹] mit anderem Weissagungsmaterial byzantinischer Provenienz dar.")

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

tradition of the Tiburtine Sibyl, it will be seen that w^3 , like w^2 , shows the impact of Byzantine materials on the history of the Latin text.⁴ Finally, another Latin version closely related to w^3 is copied twice (w^4 , w^5) in a manuscript of the twelfth century.⁵

It has been clear, at least since the publication of Sackur's book, that the text of the Tiburtine Sibyl, especially of w^2 , had been affected by Byzantine prophecies. Scholars were, therefore, not entirely unprepared⁶ when in 1949 Professor S. G. Mercati of the University of Rome announced that he had discovered "the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl."⁷ In the article in which Mercati informed the public of his find he placed the Latin prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl within the general framework of Sibylline literature and then announced that he had discovered the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl in two manuscripts: in the *cod. Athos 1527 (Karakallou 14)* of the twelfth century and in another manuscript of the fourteenth century which he did not identify. Mercati gave the title

⁴ Sackur, 128 and note 4, called attention to this manuscript and cited excerpts. The Greek text published below will show that in this case Sackur's judgment ("...für die Herstellung der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sibylle aber ziemlich wertlos") was too harsh.

⁵ *Lambacensis membr. LXXVII* (now in the Newberry Library, Chicago: Ry. 6), fols. 198^r-202^v (w^4) and a second time 220^r-224^v (w^5). My attention was first called to this manuscript by F. Kammers, *Vom Werdegange der abendländischen Kaisermystik* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1924), 88, note 1, who in turn owed his acquaintance with this source to W. Levison. Levison described the *Lambacensis* in MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, VII, 2 (Hannover-Leipzig, 1920), 596 (no. 261), and after its transfer to Chicago it was again analyzed in S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), 540. I am deeply indebted to the Reverend Fathers F. Halkin and P. Devos of the Bollandist Society for the reference to Levison's description of the *Lambacensis*. It was this hint that enabled me to locate the "lost" manuscript at Chicago. The close relationship of the two Latin texts in the *Lambacensis* with w^3 is shown by the fact that these three forms of the text exhibit the same long lacuna corresponding to lines 92-117 of the Greek text: *deinde conveniunt omnes sacerdotes hebreorum, et erit ciuitas magna* and end by appending to the Latin text of the Tiburtine Sibyl excerpts from Pseudo-Methodius' apocalypse. In view of the close agreement of the *Lambacensis* with w^3 only a very few readings of the *Lambacensis* deserve to be noted in the apparatus of the critical edition.

⁶ Cf. A. P(incherle), "Sibilla," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXXI (1936), 649 ("...forse risale, attraverso una versione latina del greco...a uno scritto del sec. IV..."), cited by Mercati, 478.

⁷ S. G. Mercati, "È stato trovato il testo greco della Sibilla Tiburtina," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, IX (= Παγκάρπεια, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* [Brussels, 1949]), 473-481. See also E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London, 1957), 24-26.

INTRODUCTION

of the Greek work and its incipit on the basis of the Athos manuscript, showed that it was written between the reigns of Constans I (337-350), son of Constantine the Great, and the first years of Anastasius I (491-518), and promised an intensive study of the Greek text which he had discovered.

Unfortunately other interests and tasks prevented Professor Mercati from carrying out his plan of editing and commenting on the new Greek text. Since I had embarked on a comprehensive study of the Byzantine apocalyptic tradition, in which the text of the Tiburtine Sibyl played a key role, I tried for some time prior to Mercati's death in 1963 to obtain the Greek text.⁸ He had transcribed and published the incipit of the Karakallou codex. Thus I was able, with the aid of an (unpublished) *incipitarium* of Greek manuscripts in the Vatican Library, to identify Mercati's second manuscript as the *cod. Vaticanus Graecus 1120* and to study it in the Vatican Library. It was an extraordinary stroke of good luck that in 1959 the Abbé M. Richard had succeeded in microfilming the Karakallou manuscript. With the same generosity and altruism which he has shown to countless other scholars active in Greek and Byzantine studies, he sent me excellent prints of the relevant parts of the manuscript, as well as his own description. Finally, in 1961 during a stay in Athens I discovered a third manuscript of the same text at the National Library of that city. In spite of much searching no further manuscript of the Greek text is known to me, but it is not unlikely that other codices may contain this short piece.

The Greek text, then, will have to be edited on the basis of the Latin versions mentioned above (w^1 , w^2 , w^3 , w^4 , w^5) and of the following Greek manuscripts.⁹

⁸ In the fall of 1960 I was introduced to Professor Mercati by Professor Deno Geneakoplos of the University of Illinois. Unfortunately he was unable to locate his photographs of the Karakallou manuscript and his own notes on the subject. I shall never forget the personality of this Italian Nestor of Byzantine studies who in spite of grave physical handicaps worked long hours every day at the Vatican Library. For appraisals of his long and fruitful career, see C. Giannelli in *Silloge bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati* (= *Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, 9 [1957]), pp. v-xxiii (with bibliography to 1957); I. Dujčev in *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, VI (1964), 303-315; and E. Follieri, "In Memoriam Silvio Giuseppe Mercati," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 29 (1963), 455-458.

⁹ There are also in existence a Carshunic, an Ethiopic, and three Arabic versions of the Tiburtine Sibyl. They have been edited and translated by

THE ORACLE

K = *cod. Athos 1527* (Karlsruhe), fols. 293, twelfth century. It contains an apocalyptic nature, among the Tiburtine Sibyl on fols. 280^v-286^v.¹⁰

Q = *cod. Vat. Gr. 1120*, paper, fourteenth century. The codex, written in a large number of theological works, many by Latins, but also parts of the *Oracula Sibyllina* and Gregory Nazianzen's *Quaestiones Physicae*,¹² and the

A = *cod. Atheniensis Bibl. 1025*, paper, fols. 417, fifteenth or sixteenth century. It came to the National Library from Munich and contains a number of apocalyptic texts. The Tiburtine Sibyl appears on fols. 210^v-219^v.¹³

These three manuscripts do not represent an archetype,¹⁴

J. Schlaifer, "Die Erzählung der Sibyllen in der *Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 5, 1951, p. 1, has shown that the same source as the Latin text was used for the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl, and its interpretation. The text has been subjected to such thorough editing that it can be disregarded for the establishment of the archetype.

¹⁰ The entire manuscript is of considerable interest as it is an early example of a collection of apocalyptic texts of this nature date from the fifteenth century.

¹¹ Q plays a considerable role in the history of the Tiburtine Sibyl. It was described by J. H. Friedlieb (Bratislava, 1847), who even copied (p. 1) the incipit of the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl to the Latin versions. (I have used the text of the Princeton University.) Strictly speaking, the text is of the fifteenth century prior to Mercati, but his descriptions of the manuscript, with the exception of the title, are correct. *Oracula Sibyllina*, by J. H. Friedlieb, *Oracula Sibyllina*, by A. Rzach, *Oracula Sibyllina*, by J. H. Friedlieb, *Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS, 8 [Leipzig, 1901], p. xi: *Index*); J. Geffcken, *Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS, 8 [Leipzig, 1901], p. xi: *Index*); J. Geffcken, *Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS, 8 [Leipzig, 1901], p. xi: *Index*).

¹² L. Massa Positano, *La tradizione di Teofilatto Simocatta*, Collana di Studi e Testi, 1953). Mrs. Massa Positano assigns the *Vat. Gr. 1120* to the fifteenth century.

¹³ During my stay in Athens in 1951, I wrote a description of this (and of the other) manuscripts of the Athenian Library. It is to be published in the Supplement will soon be published.

¹⁴ This is proved by additions concerning the Tiburtine Sibyl in the title; 71 *Αὐγουστος* (for instance, 71 *Αὐγουστος*).

INTRODUCTION

written prior to the ninth century,¹⁵ and probably in the fifth or sixth century. A agrees in significant mistakes both with K¹⁶ and Q¹⁷ and thus seems to represent a contaminated tradition. Agreements between K and Q are rare, but some of them are significant.¹⁸ Consequently all three manuscripts represent contaminated traditions. The relationship of the Greek manuscripts may thus be represented as follows:

142 γεννά; 150 εἰς; and by other common mistakes (such as 39 γονή: πολλή KA πολλά Q; 62-63 διωγμούς: δὲ λοιμούς Q δὲ λιμούς KA; 98 πυρί: πῦρ KA ὑπερ- Q; 110 Ταῦρον: σταυρόν codd.; 144 Ἰσαυρος: καιρός codd.).

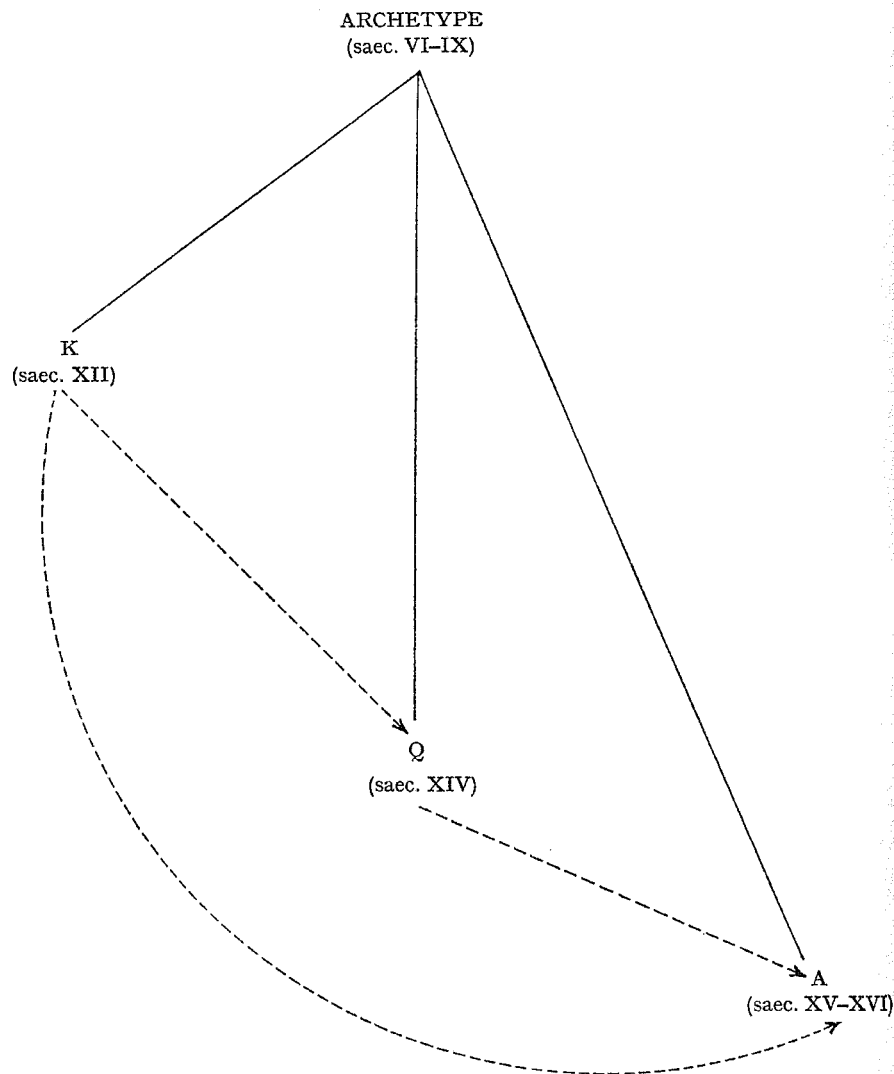
¹⁵ Q alone has a number of mistakes that originated from a misreading of an uncial letter or letters, for instance 83 συγκλητικόν: κατοικόν Q (A read for Λ); 115 ἱερά: κατα (sic) Q (K read for IE); 138 καύσεις: κλήσεις Q (Λ read for A). These mistakes must have been made by an ancestor of Q at a time before K and Q went their separate ways and before the text was transliterated into minuscule. Consequently, the archetype was written prior to the ninth century. Cf. A. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris, 1949), 117.

¹⁶ For example, 77 διὰ om. KA; 80 εἰσι καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς om. KA; 82 πολλούς: κατὰ om. KA; 91 Ἰουδαίαν: ἰδίαν KA; 94 τρις γὰρ ἐξηκοστόν: Γ XXX K Γ γὰρ X A; 141 ἐξ ὧν om. KA; 163 Δυραχίον: ἑδωρακίου K δωρακίου A.

¹⁷ For instance, in the title τὸ δράμα: τῷ δράματι QA; 136 post Θηριώνυμος add. ὁ ἐστὶ λέων QA (δ); 156 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: ξανῶ Q ἀνοῦ A; 193 ante καὶ πολεμήσει add. εἰς μορφὴν QA (-ήν).

¹⁸ I note 125 τόπων: τόπους KQ; 142 post πατρός add. αὐτοῦ KQ; 149 τοὺς om. KQ; 196 αἰμάσσουσιν: ξηράσσουσιν KQ.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK



II

TEXT,* TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

SIGLA

- K = codex Athos 1527 (Karakallou 14), saec. XII
 Q = codex Vaticanus Graecus 1120, saec. XIV
 A = codex Atheniensis Bibliothecae Nationalis 2725 (= Suppl. 725), saec. XV vel XVI
 w¹ ("western") = versio Latina ed. Sackur, p. 177 ssq.
 w² = versio Latina ed. G. Waitz in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXII (Hannouerae, 1872), p. 375 sq.
 w³ = versio Latina in codice Monacensi Latino 17742, saec. XII
 w⁴ = versio Latina in codice olim Lambacensi membr. LXXXVII, nunc Chicago, Newberry Library, Ry. 6, fols. 198-202, saec. XII
 w⁵ = versio Latina in eodem codice, fols. 220-224

TEXT

[Ἐπιγραφή.] Τῆς Σιβύλλης, ἣτις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως τὸ ὄραμα τῶν ἑκατὸν κριτῶν τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ῥώμης διεσάφησεν.

Παραγενομένης τῆς Σιβύλλης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ μεγάλου ἕως μικροῦ. οἱ δὲ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ ὑπήντησαν αὐτῇ λέγοντες· ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις τῆς βασιλείας σου μεγάλη 5

1 Ἐπιγραφή = titulus libri, scholium est, uncis inclusi || ante Σιβύλλης (συβίλλας K σιβίλλας Q συβίλλης A) add. βασιλείσσης K (cf. 5 [τῆς βασιλείας σου], ad 8, ad 20 necnon Sackur p. 174) || post σιβίλλας add. ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ (sic) Q (cf. 3 infra) || ἣτις om. K || δι' : κατὰ K || ἀποκαλύψεως K || τὸ ὄραμα scripsi (cf. 6 infra) : τῶν ὁρωμάτων K ἐν τῷ ὁράματι Q τῷ ὁράματι A || 2 κριτῶν : γραμματικῶν Q || τῆς om. K || μεγαλοπόλεως K || διεσάφησεν : ἐνεφάνησεν K ἢν A || post διεσάφησεν add. ἐπιλύσας τρανότατα Q || 3 παραγενομένης K παραγινομένης Q || συβίλλας K σιβίλλας Q συβίλλης A || ὑπήντησαν Q || 3-4 verba ὑπήντησεν κριταὶ om. K || 4-5 οἱ δὲ λέγοντες : συν (sic) αὐτοῖς πᾶσι (sic) καὶ ἡ (sic) ἑκατὸν (sic) κριταὶ Q || 5 post σοφία add. σου K || verba καὶ ἡ perierunt in A ||

* In the critical apparatus I note all variants of the three Greek manuscripts, except for matters of spelling. The variants of the Latin versions, on the other hand, are cited only where they prove helpful for the establishment of the Greek text.

ἐστίν. νῦν διασαφήνισον τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδαμεν σήμερον [οἱ ἑκατὸν κρι-
ται]· καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα διασαφηνίσαι αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ
οὐ δυνάμεθα γνωρίσαι· ἀποκριθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Σίβυλλα ἔφη αὐτοῖς· ἀπέλ-
θωμεν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ῥώμης· καὶ γενηθήτω
10 τὸ τριβουνάλιον· καὶ ἐγένετο καθὼς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς.

Καὶ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδατε, καὶ τὴν
σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ διασαφηνίσω ὑμῖν· καὶ καθίσασα ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐν τῷ
Καπετωλίῳ ἔσωθεν τῶν ἐλαιῶν ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς λέγουσα· τί εἶδατε
ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι· καὶ ἀποκριθέντες οἱ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ λέγουσι πρὸς
15 αὐτήν· εἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἔλαμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα
ἡ Σίβυλλα ἔφη αὐτοῖς· οἱ ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἐννέα γενεαὶ εἰσιν· λέγουσι
πρὸς αὐτήν· οὕτως δεῖ γενέσθαι, κυρία ἡμῶν, πάντα ὅσα εἶδαμεν ἐν
τῷ ὁράματι ἀπαγγελλόμεν σοι· καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπεν·
οὕτως δεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ κριταί· ὥς εἶδαμεν τὸ
20 ὄραμα, οὕτως καὶ ἀπαγγελλόμεν σοι· λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ Σίβυλλα· πῶς

6 verba ἐστίν. νῦν perierunt in A || ante διασαφήνισον add. δὲ, post διασα-
φήνισον add. ἡμῖν A post διασάφισον (sic) add. ἡμῖν K || ὄραμα Q || ὃ εἶ-
perierunt in A || εἶδαμεν correxi : οἶδαμεν KQ de confusione aoristi primi
cum aoristo secundo vide Blass-Debrunner-Funk §§ 80, 81 (3) et infra ad
11, 13, 17, 19, 21 || ante σήμερον add. κατα τὴν (sic) Q || 6-7 οἱ ἑκατὸν κριταὶ
Q (uncis inclusi, scholium est) : οἶδαμεν γὰρ μιὰ νυκτὶ οἱ κριταὶ οὕτως τὸ ὄραμα
KA (εἶδομεν, post γὰρ add. ἐν, ante κριταὶ add. π) || 7 διασαφῆσαι K διασαφηνῆσαι
Q || αὐτὸ καὶ : αὐτὸ καὶ K αὐτοῦ Q || σύγκρασιν Q σύγκρισιν A || 7-8 verba
αὐτοῦ γνωρίσαι om. Q || 8 ἀπεκρίθη K ἀποκριθῆσα Q || δὲ om. K ||
Σίβυλλα : βασίλισσα καὶ K (cf. ad 1) σίβιλλα Q || ἔφη : λέγει K ἔπει Q || post
αὐτοῖς add. λέγουσα A || 8-9 ἀπέλθωμεν Q || 9 τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως : τῆς μεγαλο-
πόλεως K ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλῃ (sic) Q || 9-10 verba καὶ τριβουνάλιον om. A || 10
τὸ om. K || post τριβουνάλιον add. καὶ τότε γίνεται ἐρώτησης (sic) περὶ αὐτοῦ
Q || διετάξατο Q διετάξεν A || 11 verba πρὸς αὐτούς om. Q || post πρὸς αὐτούς
add. ἡ βασίλισσα K (cf. ad 1) || ἀναγγεῖλατέ KA cf. 14, 18, 20 || ὄραμα Q ||
εἶδατε : οἶδατε KQ (-ται) || 12 σύγκρασιν Q || post αὐτοῦ distinctixit, duos versus
vacuos reliquit A || διασαφηνίσω : ἀπαγγεῖλω K διασαφηνίσω (sic) Q σαφηνίσω
A || ὑμῖν : ἡμῖν Q (corr.) ὑμᾶς A || verba καὶ Σίβυλλα om. A || καὶ
om. Q || καθίσασα K καθεστῆσα Q (post quod add. δὲ) || 13 ἔλουν Q
ἔλεων A || ἀπεκρίνατο Q (ante quod add. καὶ) A || αὐτοῖς om. Q A || εἶδατε
correxi : οἶδατε KQA || 14 ἀπαγγεῖλαται K || ἀποκριθέντες : λέγουσιν Q ||
λέγουσι : λέγουν K om. Q || 15 οἶδαμεν KQA (οἶ-) correxi || ἥλιοι : ἥλι Q || τῆς
γῆς Q || ἀποκριθεῖσα : ἀποκριθῆσα K λέγει Q || 16 ἔφη αὐτοῖς om. Q εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
A || λέγουν K ante λέγουσιν add. καὶ Q || 17 πρὸς αὐτήν : αὐτῇ Q || post αὐτήν
add. οἱ κριταὶ (in marg. π = ἑκατὸν) || οὕτω Q οὕτως post δὲ (sic) coll. A ||
δὴ K δῆ Q δὲ A || 17-18 ἡμῶν ... σοι : ἀπαγγελλόμεν ὅσα οἶδαμεν (sic) A || 17
εἶδαμεν correxi : οἶδαμεν KQA (οἶ-) || ἐν om. K || 18 verba ἀπαγγελλόμεν σοι
om. K ἀπαγγελλόμεν (sic) σοι Q ἀπαγγελλόμεν σοι A cf. ad 20 || 18-21 καὶ ἀπο-
κριθεῖσα ... ὅτι : ἡ (sic) δὲ λέγει οὕτως καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλατέ (sic) μοι Q || 19 δεῖ : δὴ
K || καὶ om. A || αὐτῇ om. A || post οἱ add. π' (= ἑκατὸν) A || εἶδαμεν
correxi : οἶδαμεν KA (οἶ-) || 20 καὶ : δὲ A || ἀπαγγελλόμεν K ἀπαγγελλόμεν A ||
Σίβυλλα : συσσιλίσσα A (id est συβίλλα βασίλισσα, cf. ad 1, 8) ||

γὰρ εἶδατε;· λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· εἶδαμεν οὕτως· ὅτι ὁ πρῶτος
ἥλιος πολυποίκιλος, ἀκτινολαμπής, φωτεινότατος, παμμεγένης, λαμ-
πρὸς σφόδρα. ὁ δεύτερος ἥλιος ὑπέρλαμπρος, παμμεγένης, πολυποί-
κιλος, ἀκτινολαμπής. ὁ τρίτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, ταρταροειδής, παμ-
μεγένης, πῦρ φλέγον. ὁ τέταρτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, ταρταροειδής. ὁ 25
πέμπτος ἥλιος αἱματοειδής, φωτεινότατος, ἀπαστράπτων ὥς ἐν
βροντῇ ὑετοῦ. ὁ ἕκτος ἥλιος ὀμιχλοφανής, χιονοειδής, αἱματοειδής.
ὁ ἑβδομος ἥλιος ταρταροειδής, αἱματοειδής, φοβερός. ὁ ὄγδοος ἥλιος
ἀκτινολαμπής ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ χεῖρας. ὁ ἑνατος ἥλιος ὑπὲρ
τοὺς ἄλλους ταρταροειδής, ἀπαύγασμα ἔχων· 30

Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπεν· οἱ ἐννέα ἥλιοι ἐννέα γενεαὶ εἰσιν.
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἥλιος πρώτη γενεὰ ἐστίν· ἄνθρωποι ἄκακοι, πολυχρό-
νιοι, ἐλεύθεροι, ἀληθεῖς, πραιοί, ἐπιεικεῖς, ἀγαπῶντες ἀλήθειαν. ὁ
δεύτερος ἥλιος δευτέρα γενεὰ ἐστίν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀληθινοί,
πραιοί, φιλόξενοι, ἄκακοι, ἀγαπῶντες τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὸ γένος. ὁ 35
τρίτος ἥλιος τρίτη γενεὰ ἐστίν· ἀναστήσεται βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν,
ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος, γενήσονται πόλεμοι, πλὴν φιλόξενοι καὶ ἐλεήμονες
ἔσονται ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει. ὁ τέταρτος ἥλιος τετάρτη γενεὰ ἐστίν·

21 εἶδατε : οἶδατε KA (οἶ-) || verba λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι om. A || εἶδαμεν : οἶδαμεν
KA (οἶ-) || ὅτι om. A || ὁ om. K || 22 πολυποίκιλος om. KA || φωτεινότατος : φοβερός
(sic) Q || 23 σφόδρα : φοβερός A || post παμμεγένης (sic) add. ἀπαστράπτων K cf.
26 || 24 ἀκτινολαμπής Q || 24-25 παμμεγένης om. A post παμμεγένης add. σφόδρα
Q || 25 πῦρ φλέγω (sic) ante ταρταροειδής (24) coll. Q πῦρ φλέγον post
ταρταροειδής (24) coll. A || φλέγων K, || verba ὁ τέταρτος ... ταρταροειδής
om. A || post ταρταροειδής (sic) add. πῦρ φλέγων (sic) K, cf. 25 || 26 post
αἱματοειδής add. ταρταροειδής (sic) Q || ἀπαστράπτων Q || ὥς ἐν scripsi : ὥς
K ὡς (sic) Q ὡς (sic) A sicut in Ionitruo w¹ (p. 178, 21) || 27 βροντῇ K ||
υἱετοῦ A || χιονοειδής K χιονώδης A || αἱματοειδής K || 28 ταρταροειδής om. A ||
αἱματοειδής : γνωφώδης A || post αἱματοειδής add. γνωφώδης (sic, evan. -ω-
alt.) K. an scholium ad ταρταροειδής ? || 29 ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ χεῖρας :
habens colorem in medio w³ (fol. 45 verso) colorem habens in medio w⁴ (fol.
199 recto) w⁵ (fol. 221 recto). an χρώμα vel χροιάς vel χρώας pro χεῖρας scri-
bendum ? || ἐν μέσῳ χεῖρας : ἐπιχειράς K || 30 ταρταροειδής (sic) Q || 31 καὶ om.
QA || ante ἡ add. δὲ Q || εἶπεν : ἔφη Q (post quod add. καθὼς εἶπων ἡμῖν) ||
ἐννέα alt. om. K || 32 πρώτη om. Q || ἄκακοι : κακοί (sic) Q || 33 ante ἀλήθειαν
add. πᾶσαν QA || 34 δευτέρα : δευτέρη K om. Q || ἐστίν om. Q || ἀληθεῖς Q ||
35 πραιοί om. K || ἄκακοι om. A || τὸν ἐλευθέρων τὸ γένος : τὸ ἐλεύθερον γένος
Q || 36 τρίτη γενεὰ : ἡγουν τρίτη γενεὰ (sic) Q || ἐστίν om. Q || ἀναστήσονται
A || βασιλεία : βασιλείαν K βασιλεῖς A || βασιλείαν : βασιλεια (sic) Q βασιλεῖς A ||
37 ante ἔθνος pr. add. καὶ Q || post ἔθνος alt. add. καὶ K || 37-38 γενήσονται ...
πόλει : evunt pugne multe in Roma w¹ (p. 179, 20) evunt pugne nimium multe
in roma w⁴ (fol. 199 verso) w⁵ (fol. 221 recto). verba πλὴν φιλόξενοι καὶ ἐλεήμονες
ἔσονται non extitisse videntur in codice Graeco e quo fluxit textus Latinus.
nonne delenda sunt ? || 37 φιλόξενοι (sic) Q || post ἐλεήμονες add. καὶ QA || 38 ἐν
om. Q || τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει : τῇ μὲν πόλει Q || τετάρτη : τέταρτα Q ||

Θεότητος γονή φανήσεται ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ· ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ γυνή ἐκ
 40 τῆς Ἑβραϊδος χώρας ὀνόματι Μαρία καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι
 τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν. καὶ λύσει τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ ἰδίου
 νόμον στήσει, καὶ βασιλεύσει ὁ νόμος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀνοιγήσονται αὐτῷ
 οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ φωνὴν λήψεται, καὶ στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων τὸν θρόνον
 αὐτοῦ βαστάσουσιν, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ
 45 προσκυνήσουσιν. καὶ λήψεται ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ νομο-
 θετήσῃ καὶ εἴπῃ πρὸς αὐτούς· Τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐμοῦ,
 κηρύξατε αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσι τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν·

Καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων· 'φρικωδεστάτη δέσποινα
 ἡμῶν, ἐρωτήσῃ σε ζητοῦμεν.' καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα λέγει πρὸς
 50 αὐτούς· 'ὁ βούλεσθε ἀπαγγεῖλατέ μοι.' καὶ λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκεί-
 νοι· 'ἀκοὴν ἠκούσαμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν υἱὸν
 μέλλει τίκτειν. πιστεύεις ὅτι τοῦτο γίνεται, κυρία ἡμῶν;' λέγει ἡ Σί-
 βυλλα πρὸς αὐτούς· 'ὕμεις οὐ πιστεύετε ὄντες ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων;'
 λέγουσιν αὐτῇ· 'ἡμεῖς οὐ πιστεύομεν ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς υἱὸν μέλλει τίκτειν.
 55 καὶ γὰρ λόγον ἔδωκε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα
 αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἡμῶν.' λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ Σίβυλλα· 'ὁ νόμος οὗτος σκόλοψ
 ὑμῖν ἔστιν.' καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ· 'καὶ τί λέγεις, δέσποινα ἡμῶν, περὶ
 τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου;'

Καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἡ Σίβυλλα εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς· 'ὁ Θεὸς τῶν οὐρανῶν
 60 υἱὸν μέλλει τίκτειν, ὃς ὅμοιος τῷ πατρὶ ἔχει εἶναι καὶ ὁμοίωμα νηπίου

39 Θεότης KA post Θεότητος distinxit Q || γονή scripsi : πολλή KA (-ή) πολλὰ Q || μεσημβρία Q μεσημβρία A (-π- incertum) || γυνή : γένος Q || 40 Ἑβραίων K || post Μαρία add. παρθένος Q || post τέξεται add. κατὰ τὰ νομικά παραγγέλματα A || 42 στήσει : ποιήσει Q || αὐτοῦ : οὗτος A post αὐτοῦ add. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας K || 43 καὶ pr. om. QA || φωνή QA (-ή) || post ἀγγέλων add. καὶ ἐξουσία ἀρχαγγέλων Q || τὸν K (-ν sscr.) || 44 βαστάσουσιν KA (-σι) || τὰ pr. om. A || 45 προσκυνήσουσιν K || τῆς om. Q || 45-46 νομοθετήσῃ Q post νομοθετήσῃ add. αὐτοῖς (sic) A || 46 verba καὶ εἶπῃ πρὸς om. Q || εἶπῃ correxi : εἶποι K εἶπει A || παρ' : ἀπ' Q || 47 αὐτὸν : ἐν K || 48 αὐτῇ om. K αὐτοὶ (sic) Q || ἱεροῖς Q || 49 ἐρώτησιν (sic) Q || σε om. Q || post ζητοῦμεν add. τί ἀπο σου (sic) Q add. τί A || ἀποκριθεῖς Q || ἡ Σίβυλλα om. Q || 49-50 πρὸς αὐτούς : αὐτοῖς Q || 50-51 καὶ ... ἐκεῖνοι : οἱ δε (sic) λέγουσιν Q καὶ λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὴν A || 51 ἀκοὴν om. K || ἐθνῶν : Ἑβραίων (sic) A || 52 μέλλει : perierunt litt. με-, add. K² || τίκτει Q || ὅτι τοῦτο : τοουτοῦ K (in ὅτι τοῦτω corr.) || ante λέγει add. καὶ QA || 53-54 verba πιστεύετε ... οὐ om. Q || 54 ante λέγουσιν add. καὶ A || αὐτῇ : οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων A || πιστόβρε Q || τίκτει Q || 56 αὐτοῖς : αὐτοὺς A || οὗτος K || 57 ὑμῖν : ὑμῶν K || καὶ alt. om. KA || λέγοις Q || ἡμῶν om. Q || 59 ἀποκριθεῖσα : λέγει Q || verba εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς om. Q || τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Q cf. 51, sed etiam *Deus celi* w¹ (p. 180, 9) *dominus celi* w¹ (fol. 200 recto) w⁵ (fol. 221 recto) || 60 ὃς : ὁ K || ὁμοίος A || ἔχει εἶναι καὶ : ἔχουν ἦνεγκεν Q cf. *similis erit patri suo* w¹ (p. 180, 10) w⁴ (fol. 200 recto) est) w⁵ (fol. 221 verso) est), et de ἔχω cum infinitivo cf. N. Banescu, *Die Entwicklung des griechischen Futurums* (Bucharest, 1915), 78 ssq. ||

λήψεται. καὶ ἀναστήσονται κατ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρος, Σέλευ-
 κος καὶ Ἡρώδης, οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι σῶσαι ἑαυτούς. ποιήσουσι διωγ-
 μούς πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν χώραν καὶ φονεύσουσι νήπια μετὰ
 τῶν γονέων αὐτῶν ὥστε τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αἵματι συγκερασθῆ-
 ναι· καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελήσουσιν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς θεραπειὰς ποιήσει 65
 ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου μέλλων σταυρωθῆναι. καὶ ὡς θυσιάσουσι . . . τοὺς
 βωμούς αὐτῆς, ἀκούσῃ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαί-
 αν χώραν. καὶ ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ὀνόματι Αὔγουστος ἀπὸ τῆς
 Φρυγίας καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· καὶ ὑποταγήσεται αὐτῷ πᾶσα
 ἡ οἰκουμένη. καὶ ἕκαστος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κληθή- 70
 σεται [Αὔγουστος]. τὸ ξύλον τὸ τρισμακάριστον, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς μέλλει
 ταῦνέσθαι . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συναχθήσονται τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ
 ὄχλοι, καὶ ὁ μέλλων ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθῆναι ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ θερα-
 πεύσει πολλοὺς. κρεμάσουσι τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλου καὶ καλὰ μω
 νύξουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδικήσουσιν αὐτόν. 75

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Ἀντίοχος,
 Τιβέριος καὶ Γάιος, καὶ πολλοὺς διωγμούς ποιήσουσι διὰ τὸν ἐν ξύλῳ
 σταυρωθέντα. καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσουσι τὰ ἱερὰ Ἡλίου πόλεως καὶ τοὺς
 βωμούς τοῦ Λιβάνου. καὶ οἱ ναοὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης παμμεγέθεις
 εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς ὑπὲρ πάντα ναὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης. 80

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑκτῇ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς ὀλιγοχρόνιοι καὶ

61 λήψεται om. Q || βασιλεῖς ante κατ' coll. K || post Ἀλέξανδρος add. καὶ Q || 61-62 σελεύκιος K || 62 ἑαυτούς : αὐτοὺς QA || 62-63 διωγμούς scripsi : δὲ λιμούς codd. (λοιμούς [sic] Q) cf. 77, 82, 97 || 64 τοὺς γονεῖς K || ὅστε (sic) Q || 65 μετὰ : μετα Q || πολλοὺς θεράπους K || ante ποιήσει add. καὶ A (deletum) || 66 θυσιάσουσι KQ || lacunam statui post θυσιάσουσι ubi memorabantur ii qui sacrificaverunt et situs (urbs? regio?) ararum notabatur (cf. αὐτῆς) || 67 ἀκούσαντες A || αὐτοῦ om. Q αὐτῆς A || 69 βασιλεύσει : βασιλεύει Q δουλεύσει A || αὐτῷ : αὐτόν Q || πᾶσα om. K cf. *omnem terram* w¹ (p. 180, 13) w³ (fol. 48 recto) w⁴ (fol. 200 recto) w⁵ (fol. 221 verso) || 70 ante ἕκαστος add. ἕκαστος Q || βασιλεὺς post Ῥωμαίων coll. A || 70-71 κληθήσεται : λαληθήσεται Q || 71 Αὔγουστος uncis inclusi, scholium est || post τὸ pr. add. δὲ Q || 72 ταῦνέσθαι A lacunam post ταῦνέσθαι statui || verba καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα om. Q || οἱ om. KA || 73 ὄχλος K || 73-74 ὁ μέλλων . . . πολλοὺς om. Q || 74 κρεμάσουσιν KQ || post κρεμάσουσιν (sic) add. δὲ K || τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ : αὐτόν Q τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν A || verba ἐπὶ ξύλου om. Q || καλὰ μω A || 75 νύξουσιν K νύξωσι Q || αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν : τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ (sic) Q αὐτῶν A || ἀδικήσουσιν A || αὐτὸν ante ἀδικήσουσιν coll., post ἀδικήσουσιν add. ποιήσει δε σημεῖα (sic) πολλὰ Q (cf. ad 73-74) || 76 δὲ om. A || τρεῖς : ἑ A (= πέντε) || βασιλοῖς (sic) Q || 77 καὶ pr. om. KA || ποιήσωσι K || 77-78 διὰ τὸν ἐν ξύλῳ σταυρωθέντα : τῷ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθέντι K τῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθέντων A || 78 ἀνοικοδομήσουσι : ὠνοῖζουσιν (sic) Q || τὰ ἱερὰ Ἡλίου πόλεως : τὴν ἱερὰ κλειον πόλεως K τὰ ἱερὰ ἱλιονπόλεως A || 79 καὶ : δὲ Q (post οἱ coll.) || ναοὶ : βωμοὶ (sic) Q || 80 verba εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς om. KA || πάντα : πᾶν K || 81 δὲ om. A || τῇ : τῆς Q || δύο : ἑτερεὶ Q ||

ποιήσουσι διωγμούς πολλούς κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν κρινοῦσι καὶ ἀπολέσουσι τὰ τάγματα τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ὠφελή-
 85 σουσιν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ὀνόματι Κωνσταντίνος, φοβερός καὶ κραταῖος πολεμιστής, καὶ λύσει πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἔθνων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν καὶ ταπεινώσει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. καὶ φανήσεται αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπιζητήσει ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἑλένη τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅπου
 90 ὁ Χριστὸς μέλλει σταυρωθῆναι, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν. καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἀλλαγήσεται τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης, καὶ κληθήσεται Εὐδοκόπολις Κωνσταντίνου πόλις. καὶ ἐνοικήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν. μὴ καυχῶ, Βυζαντία πόλις, τρίς γὰρ ἔξηκοστὸν τῶν
 95 ἑτῶν σου οὐ μὴ βασιλεύσεις.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Οὐάλης, ἔγγων Κωνσταντίου, Βαλεντίνου καὶ Ἰουβιανός, καὶ ποιήσουσι διωγμούς πολλούς· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς πυρ(ι) ἀναλωθήσεται, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ῥωμανίας. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-

82 verba πολλούς κατὰ om. KA || 83 ἀπολέσουσι : ἀπολέσωσι K λύσουσι Q || τὰ τάγματα τῶν συγκλητικῶν : στρατεύματα κατοικῶν (sic) Q στρατεύματα συγκλητικῶν A || 84 post Χριστοῦ add. σου A || 84-85 ὠφελήσουσι K Q || 85 ἀναστήσετε K ἀναστήσει A || ante βασιλεὺς add. ἄλλος K (ὁ μέγας κωνσταντίνος [sic] add. in marg. manus posterior) A || 86 ναοὺς : θεοὺς K || 87 verba καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν om. Q || 87-88 verba αὐτῶν καὶ ταπεινώσει om. A || ταπεινώσει Q || 88 Ἕλληνας K² (litt. -λι- in corr.) || 90 μέλλει om. KA μέλλη Q || ἐσταυρώθη KA σταυρωθῆναι Q || 91 Ἰουδαίαν γῆν : ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ γῆν K ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ A || ἀνοικοδομήσει Q || βαζάντιον Q || 91-92 verba τὸ ὄνομα om. A || 92 εὐδοκῶν πόλις KA || 92-93 Κωνσταντίνου πόλις om. K || 93 ἐνοικήσουσιν Q (-ει- e corr. ?) ἐνοικήσουσι post γλωσσῶν coll. A || 93-94 ἑβδομήκοντα δύο : οὐ Q A || 94 καυχῶ K || βύζαντι πόλις Q πόλις βυζαντία A || τρίς γὰρ ἔξηκοστὸν : Γ XXX K (id est : τρίς ἑξακοσιοστὸν = 1800) Γ γὰρ X A (id est : τρίς γὰρ ἑξακοσιοστὸν = 1800) *ne gaudeas gaudio de byzantio inter LX annos non regnabit* w³ (fol. 48 recto) *nec gaudent gaudio de byzantia inter sexaginta annos non regnabit* (vel *regnabit*) w⁴ (fol. 200 recto) w⁵ (fol. 221 verso : *regnabit*) || 94-95 τῶν ἑτῶν : τὸ ἔτος K ἔτος A || 95 ἑτῶν bis scr. Q || σου om. A || οὐ om. K || βασιλεύσεις Q || 96 ταῦτα : τα ? K Οὐάλης correxi : οὐαλὶς K οὐλῆς Q οὐλῆν A || ἔγγων (sic) Q ἔγγονος A || 96-97 Κωνσταντίου : κωνσταντίνου K (fort. recte) κωντῖν vel κωντῖου Q κων A (id est κωνσταντίνου vel κωνσταντίου) || 97 Βαλεντίνου scripsi : βαλεντιανός K βαλεντιανός (sic) Q βαλεντιανός A || καὶ pr. om. QA || Ἰουβένιος (sic) Q Ἰουβίνος A || 98 πολλούς om. KA || εἰς om. Q cf. 141 (ἐξ ὧν μία) || πυρ(ι) ἀναλωθήσεται : πῦρ ἀναλωθήσεται KA ὑπερανλωθήσονται Q *post ea exurgent alii reges, et unus ex illis conburebitur in igne* w³ (fol. 48 verso) *postea surgent alii reges et unus ab inimicis igni conburetur* w⁴ (fol. 200 recto) w⁵ (fol. 221 verso) cf. Ammian. Marc. XXXI 13, 15, Clark p. 592, 7 et infra p. 33 ||

στήσονται βασιλεῖς δύο, Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Θεοδόσιος, δυνάσται κραταιοί, 100 πολεμισταὶ καὶ δικαιοκρίται, διδάσκαλοι τῆς πίστεως, καὶ λύσουσι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ γενήσονται οἱ ναοὶ τῶν ἔθνων εἰς τάφους τῶν ἀγίων.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ γενεᾷ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου, γίνεται Ῥώμη ῥύμη καὶ πόλις ῥύμης. ἐν Φρυγίᾳ αἰχμαλωσίαι γίνονται, 105 Παμφυλία ἐρημωθήσεται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς, Θεοδόσιος καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανός, πρᾶεῖς, ἐπιεικεῖς, καὶ ἀναστήσουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἐπὶ πόλεμον. Συρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται, εἰς' οὕτως ἀναστήσεται τυράννων γένος ἰσχυρὸν, καὶ ληστεύσουσιν τὸν Ταῦρον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τὸν Ἀντίταυρον τῆς Ἀρμενίας καὶ τὸν 110 Λίβανον, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνανεωθῶσιν αἱ πόλεις αἷς παρῳήσαν τὸ πρότερον. καὶ ἀναστήσονται οἱ Πέρσαι πρὸς κραταῖον πόλεμον καὶ ὀλισθήσονται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ δώσουσιν ἐιρήνην ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσάρων. καὶ εἰσέλθῃ ἀνὴρ +πρόπιος πολεμιστής (εἰς Ἱερόπολιν) καὶ συντρίψει

100 Μαρκιανὸς codd. : nonne Γρατιανὸς scribendum ? || 101 καὶ pr. om. A || 101-102 λύσουσι τοὺς : λύσας (-α- in -ου- corr.) ους Q || 102 καταλειφθέντας K || post Ἑλλήνων add. καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου KA cf. 87 || γίνονται KA || 104 βασιλεύοντες : ἀναστήσεται τύραννον γένος βασιλεύοντες ἐνισχύι (sic) καὶ ληστεύσουσιν τὸν σταυρὸν τῆς ἀρμενίας καὶ τὸν λίβανον· καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνανεωθῶσιν αἱ πόλεις· συρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται (sic) ὑπὸ K omissa sunt 109-111 et falso hic collocata || Ὀνωρίον correxi : ὀνορίον codd. (ο- Q δ- A) || 105 Ῥώμη : δὲ ῥώμη K ῥωμανία Q *Roma* w¹ (p. 181, 2) cf. *Oracula Sibyllina* III 364, VIII 165 Geffcken || ῥύμη : ῥύμης ἐν Φρυγίᾳ A || πόλις ῥύμης : πάλιν ῥώμη KA || verba ἐν Φρυγίᾳ om. A || αἰματοχυσία KA (-σία), fort. recte || 106 παμφυλίᾳ K παμφυλῆς A || 107 Οὐαλεντινιανός : οὐαλέντιος K οὐαλεῖανος (sic) Q || καὶ alt. om. KA || 107-108 ἀναστήσονται QA || 108 αὐτοὺς K (fort. recte) αὐτῆς Q || πόλεμος ἐπὶ πόλεμους πόλεμος ἐπὶ πόλεμον A || 108-112 verba Συρία ... πόλεμον om. K (propter homoioteleuton πόλεμον 108 et 112, sed eadem fere post γενεᾷ 104 falso collocavit) || 108 αἰχμαλωτεύεται A || 108-109 verba εἰς' οὕτως : om. K (cf. ad 104) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα A (an recte ? cf. ad 186) || 109 ἀναστήσονται A || τύραννον K (cf. ad 104, fort. recte) || ἰσχυρὸν : βασιλεύοντες ἐνισχύι K cf. ad 104 || ληστεύσουσι A || 110 Ταῦρον correxi : σταυρὸν codd. || verba τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τὸν Ἀντίταυρον om. K cf. ad 104 || Ἀντίταυρον correxi : ἀντίσταυρον Q om. A || 111 ἀνανεωθῶσιν Q ἀνευθῶσιν A || 111-112 verba αἷς ... πόλεμον om. K (cf. ad 104 et 128) || 111 αἷς : ὅν Q || παροικήσας Q || 112 κρατὸν Q || 112-113 ὀλισθήσονται A || 113 ῥώμη Q || ἐπὶ om. Q || τεσσάρων : ἡ K Q μ' A || 114-115 εἰσέλθῃ ... πόλεων : καὶ ἀνέλθῃ ἀνὴρ (sic) πρόπιος πολεμιστής· καὶ συντρίψει τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων K εἰσέλθῃ (sic, spat. inter -9- et -η, v ? post -η add.) μὴ προκαταπολεμησὴν καὶ ἐπιστρέφει τακτὰ τῶν πόλεων Q εἰσέλθῃ ἀνὴρ πρόπιος· πολεμιστής (sic) καὶ στρέφει τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς πόλεως A *et intrabit vir belligator rex Grecorum in Iheropolim* (variae lectiones : *hierapolim, hierapolium, ierapolym, neapolim, aepolim*) *et destruet templa ydolorum* w¹ (p. 183, 15) *tunc surget rex generatus sanguine Grecorum super Hierosolimam, et destruentur templa idolorum apoca Libani* w² (p. 376, 7; sed *apottaliba* cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 571, cf. Sackur p. 126 sq. adn. 2 necnon Mercati 478 = ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου [sic]. addidi εἰς Ἱερόπολιν

- 115 τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου. καὶ ἔλθῃ ἄκρις καὶ βροῦχος πολὺς, καὶ καταφάγῃ τὸν κόπον τῆς Συρίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας, καὶ λιμάξει Καππαδοκία. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα γενήσεται εὐθηνία. τότε γονεῖς τέκνα ἀρνήσονται καὶ τέκνα γονεῖς. ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν παραδώσει εἰς θάνατον. ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ συγκοιμηθήσεται καὶ πατήρ
- 120 θυγατρὶ συγγενήσεται, νεώτεροι γραίας λάβωσιν. ἐπίσκοποι φάρμακοὶ ἔσονται καὶ πρεσβύτεροι πορνεύσουσιν. καὶ αἱματοχυσίαι γενήσονται εἰς <τὴν γῆν καὶ> τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων στρατιαὶ βδελύξουσιν. καὶ ἔσονται μοιχεῖαι, πορνείαι, ἀνδρομανίαι, καὶ τὰ σχήματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀτιμίαν καλέσουσιν. ἔσονται δὲ πλεονέκται, ἄρπαγες, φιλόχρυσοι,
- 125 ὑπερήφανοι καὶ ἀλαζόνες. καὶ κατὰ τόπον προβάτων καὶ βοῶν θνήσκει γενήσεται. Θράκη ἐρημωθήσεται ὑπὸ βαρβάρων προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-

post polemiastis versioni Latinae w¹ confisus, quae probat etiam lectiones polemiastis, συντρίψει, τὰ ἱερὰ. πρόπιος corruptum est || 115 καὶ pr. bis scr. A || βωμοὺς : βουμος (sic, -o- in -ou- corr.) Q || τῶν (sic) λιβάνων Q || ἔλθοι K || ἄκρις A || 116 κόπον : καρπὸν KA, fort. recte. *comedent omnes labores et fructus* (varia lectio : *labores*) et *fructus* w¹ (p. 183, 17) *comedent omnes labores et fructus* (p. 376, 10) || τῆς om. K || 117 verba καὶ λιμάξει Καππαδοκία om. Q cf. *fame cruciabitur* w¹ (p. 183, 18) *fame peribunt* w² (p. 376, 10) || γενήσονται A || εὐθηνία : ἀπιστεία K εὐθηνία A || 118 γονεῖς pr. et alt. : γονοῖς Q || ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν : ἀδελφῇ ἀδελφὸς K || 118–119 verba ἀδελφὸς ... θάνατον om. A || 119 verba ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῇ συγκοιμηθήσεται om. Q cf. w¹ (p. 183, 22) w² (p. 376, 11) ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῷ συγκοιμηθήσονται A || καὶ om. A || ante πατήρ add. ὁ Q || 120 θυγατὲρ Q || γράας codd., correxi || λάβωσι Q λαβουσιν A || post λάβωσιν add. καὶ γέροντες νεωτέρας Q, falso, cf. w¹ (p. 183, 23) || ante ἐπίσκοποι add. οἱ (sic) Q || 120–121 φάρμακοὶ A || 121 καὶ πρεσβύτεροι : οἱ ἱεροὶς QA (–εῖς) || πορνεύσουσιν K πορνεύουσι (sic) A || καὶ alt. om. Q || 121–122 αἱματοχυσίαι γενήσονται εἰς <τὴν γῆν καὶ> τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων στρατιαὶ βδελύξουσιν scripsit Youtie : αἱματοχυσίαι γίνονται (sic) εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἁγίων στρατεῖαι καὶ ἐξουσίαι K αἱματοχυσίαι γενήσονται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος αὐτῶν στρατία καὶ ἐξουσίαι Q αἱματοχυσίαι γίνονται εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγιάσματος αὐτῶν στρατία καὶ ἐξουσίαι A *fiet effusio sanguinis in terra. Et templa sanctiores (sic) pollutent* w¹ (p. 183, 25). docet w¹ verbum actionis (*polluent*) periisse in archetypo graeco, monstrat autem textus Graecus nomen agentis (στρατία) periisse in w¹ || 123 καὶ pr. om. Q || ἔσονται : ἔπονται (sic) A || μοιχεῖαι om. KA || πορνείαι om. K πορνίαι Q || ἀνδρομαχίαι K *sodomiticum scelus* w¹ (p. 183, 27) || 124 εἰς ἀτιμίαν καλέσουσιν : ἀτιμίᾳ μετὰ K *in contumeliam eis appareat* w¹ (p. 183, 26) *non contumelia eis appareat* w² (p. 376, 15) || ἔσονται δὲ : ἀπάνθρωποι ἔσονται K || ἄρπαγες (sic) Q (–e in –ai– corr.) A (ἀ–) || φιλόχρυσος Q φιλόχρυσος (sic) A || 124–126 φιλόχρυσοι ... γενήσεται : ἀσπλαγχοὶ γενήσονται ἑλᾶστορες καταπόλιν καὶ χώραν (sic) K || 125 καὶ pr. et alt. om. A || τόπους Q || 126 γένεσται Q γενήσονται (inter γενή- et -σονται litterae –μα- erasae) ante κατὰ τόπον coll. A *erunt per loca pestilentie* w¹ (p. 184, 6) cf. w² (p. 376, 22) || θράκη Q || ὑπὸ : ἀπὸ QA || προδοσίαν Q || 126–127 verba προδοσίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ om. K fort. recte || 127 καὶ pr. om. Q || αὐτῶν : αὐτῆς K fort. recte cf. 132, 177 || verba καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα om. K || 127–128 ἀναστήσονται Q post ἀναστήσεται add. ἄλλος ὀνόματι A ||

στήσεται Μαρκιανὸς καὶ γενήσονται πόλεμοι. καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς τύραννος ὀνόματι Γιλέρικος καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσει τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ οὐκ ἀποφθαρή ἀπὸ τῶν προμάχων ἕως πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος τῆς 130 ζωῆς αὐτοῦ· σταθήσεται δὲ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἔτη τριάκοντα. καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν Ῥώμην διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῆς φιλαργυρίαν. καὶ οὐ βασιλεύσει ἡ Ῥώμη ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῆς. Δαλματία καταποντισθήσεται πάνυ, Καμπανία καὶ Καλαβρία αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται. 135

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁγδόῃ γενεᾷ ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς θηριώνυμος. ἄρχονται ὠδίνες τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ, σεισμοί, καταποντισμοὶ πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν, καὶ ἔσονται πόλεμοι καὶ καύσεις πόλεων. Θράκη ἐρημωθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ διοικῶν ἢ ὁ διατάσσων τὴν Ῥωμανίαν. Ταυροκικλία ὑψώσει τράχηλον, ἀναστήσεται δὲ Σκύλλα, γυνὴ τοῦ 140 θηρίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος, καὶ γεννήσει δύο κοιλίας, ἐξ ὧν μία ἄρρενα <γεννᾷ>, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ ἔσται καὶ αὐτὸς

128 post πόλεμοι add. μεγάλοι καὶ ἀναστήσονται οἱ πέρσε πρὸς κραταῖον πόλεμον K cf. ad 111–112 || καὶ alt. om. K (δὲ ante ἀπὸ add.) || 129 ὄνομα (sic) A || Γιλέρικος scripsi exempli gratia Procopium secutus : δούσαρχος K δούσαρχος Q σιδήρχος A cf. corruptelam σινδιρέχος eiusdem nominis in cod. Par. Gr. 1555A, J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Oxford, 1839), p. 10 || τοὺς Ῥωμαίους Q || 130 ἀποφθαρή scripsi : om. KA ἀποθάνη Q cf. Dionysius *Ant. Rom.* V 68, Jacoby, p. 242, 16 : ἐάν ἐκόντες ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποφθάρωσιν (ubi ἀπὸ exhibent codices omnes necnon editio Caroli Jacoby, Cobetus autem ἀπὸ in ἐκ pessumdedidit) || ἀπὸ τῶν προμάχων scripsi : ἀπὸ προμαχῶν K ἀπὸ τῶν προμάχων (sic) Q ἀπὸ προμάχων A || post ἕως (ἕως A) sscr. οὐ Q add. ἂν A || πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος : ἔλθοι τὸ τέλος K || 131 σταθήσεται δὲ : καὶ σταθήσεται QA || post αὐτοῦ add. ἐν Ῥώμῃ QA || ἔτη τριάκοντα : ἔτη ᾗ (= τριάκοντα) K ἐπὶ Γ QA (ἔτη) || 132 ταπεινώσει : οὐ μὴ βοηθήσει QA || τῇ Ῥώμῃ A || πολλὴν om. K || αὐτῆς : αὐτῶν K cf. 127, 177 || 132–133 verba καὶ ... Ῥώμη om. Q || 133 ἡ om. A || αὐτῆς om. KA || Δαλματία scripsi : δαλμάτου Q δελματία A || 133–134 verba Δαλματία καταποντισθήσεται πάνυ om. K || 134 Καμπανία καὶ Καλαβρία : καὶ καλαβρία καὶ σπανία A || 134–135 αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται : ἐρημωθήσεται K αἰχμαλωτισθήσεται A || 136 post θηριώνυμος add. ὁ ἔστι λέων QA (δ), scholium est || ἄρχονται scripsi : ἀρχὴ KA αρχὴ (sic) Q || 137 ὠδίνες K ὠδίνες (sic) Q ὠδίνες A || post καταποντισμοὶ add. λιμοὶ A || 138 πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν : πόλεις καὶ χώρα καταποντισθήσεται K πόλεις καὶ χώρα καταποντισθήσονται A || χωρῶν Q || καὶ alt. om. KA || post πόλεμοι add. μεγάλοι ἐμπρισμοὶ καὶ K || καύσεις : καύσεις K κλήσεις Q || post πόλεων add. καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαι πολλὰ K || θράκη KQ || 139 καὶ : δι' ὅτι K || ἔστιν : ἔστι (sic) Q διοικῶν (sic) Q διώκων A || ὁ alt. om. QA || τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ KA || 140 Ταυροκικλία A || ὑψώσει τράχηλον : ἐρημωθήσεται K || σκύλλα Q σκύλα A || ante Σκύλλα add. ἡ K || 140–141 τοῦ θηρίου om. A || 141 γενήσεται Q post γεννήσεται add. ἡ σκύλλα ἐκείνη KA (σκύλα) || verba ἐξ ὧν om. KA cf. 98 (ἐξ αὐτῶν) || μία : ἓνα KA || ἄρρενα Q || 142 <γεννᾷ> addidit Youtie, excidit propter homoioteleuton ἄρρενα γεννᾷ. de mutatione temporum futuri ac praesentis cf. 150 sq., 159, 186 sq. || post καλέσουσιν (sic) add. αὐτοῦ Q || post πατρὸς falso add. αὐτοῦ KQ, appellabatur enim filius Ariadnae Leo ut avus, non Zeno ut pater ||

συγκαθήμενος τῇ θηριωνυμίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, μίαν ὁμοίωσιν ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς βασιλείας ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται Ἰσαυρος.
145 καὶ προσκυνεῖται οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ τότε εἴπωσιν ἐκείνοι
λόγον βλασφημίας εἰς τὸν υἱὸν καθὼς ἔστιν. καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ
κατενεχθῇ σφόδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, κρατήσῃ
δὲ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ δυναστεία τῆς κοιλίας ἔτη πεντήκοντα δύο. καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα γεννηθῇ Ἰσαυρος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔσται μισῶν τοὺς τῆς
150 πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ φύγῃ <εἰς> τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀναστήσεται
ἄλλος βασιλεὺς, οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἔστι τοῦ θηρίου συρτοῦ. γράφεται
δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θηρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου γράμματος· ὃ ἔστι Βασιλί-
σκος. καὶ λαλήσῃ βλασφημίαν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, καὶ διὰ
τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς χλευασθεὶς κακῶς ἀπολείται
155 καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συγγένεια αὐτοῦ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποστρέψει
Ἰσαυρος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, πλὴν οὐκ ἔστι διδομένη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν γράμμασι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς εἰς
τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου, γραφόμενον δὲ Γραικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου

142-144 καὶ αὐτὸς ... ἔχοντες : καθήμενος καὶ αὐτὸς μία ὁμοιώμασιν μετὰ τοῦ
θηρίου εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ KA (μία om., ὁμοίωσι). locum non intelligo,
an mian ... ἔχοντες scholium est ad καὶ ἔσται ... αὐτοῦ? || 143 θηριωνυμία
(sic) Q || 144 φένηται Q φανεταιίων A || Ἰσαυρος scripsi : καίρος codd. (-ος A), litt.
κ- pro litteris uncialibus ισ- lecta, cf. ad 174 || 145 οὕτως KA || post πατρὸς
add. αὐτοῦ Q || εἴπωσιν (sic, -ιν sscr.) Q || ἐκείνη (sic) Q A (-ει-) || 146 λόγους Q ||
υἱὸν : ἱν A (= ἱησοῦν) || post ἔστιν (sic) add. αὐτὸς Q add. αὐτῶ A || 147 κατε-
νεχθῇ : καταβῆσθαι K κατενεχθεῖ Q || σφόδρα om. K || ἀπὸ om. A || θρόνου :
φθόνου A || post αὐτοῦ pr. add. καὶ τῆς βασιλείας K || post αὐτοῦ alt. add. τῆς
βασιλείας A || 148 verba καὶ ἡ δυναστεία ante καὶ (add.) ἡ ἐξουσία coll. A || κοιλίας :
σκύλλας K (cf. 140, sed Ariadnen, non Verinam hic respicit Sibylla) τῆς
βασιλείας τῆς κύλας (pro Σκύλλας?) A || πεντήκοντα δύο : νβ' K QA || 148-149 καὶ
post μετὰ coll. A || 149 γεννηθῇ K γεννηθῇ A || Ἰσαυρος A || verba καὶ ἔσται
om. K || ἔσται Q || μισῶν : μέσον K || τοὺς om. K Q || 150 φύγει Q || εἰς addidi ||
151 ἄλλος : ἑτερος (sic) A || οὗτινος : litt. ου- incertae K οὐτι A || post ὄνομα
add. αὐτοῦ A || τοῦ om. QA || θηριδσυρον (sic) Q || 152 post ὄνομα add. αὐτοῦ
A || verba ἀπὸ τοῦ om. A || δευτέρου : β' K βῆτα Q β' A cf. 158, 165 || 152-153
verba ὃ ἔστι Βασιλίσκος nonne scholium sunt? || 153 λαλήσῃ βλασφημίαν : λέγο-
σιν φλασφημίας (sic) Q || 154 post χλευάσθῃ (sic) add. καὶ Q || κακῶς : καθὼς
K κακ Q (-ὼς sscr.) || ἀπολείται : litt. -λει- incertae K || 155 καὶ pr. om. QA ||
αὐτὸς ... συγγένεια : μετὰ τῆς συγγενίας Q || πᾶσα : litt. πᾶ- incertae K ||
post αὐτοῦ add. μετ' αὐτοῦ KA || μετὰ ταῦτα A || 156 ante Ἰσαυρος
add. ὁ cf. 144, 149 || εἰς om. K || ἔστι διδομένη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ scripsi : ἔστιν (sic)
διδόναι ἐξ οὐνοῦ K ἔστι διδομένη Q ἔστι διδόναι ἐξ ἀνοῦ (= ἀνθρώπου)
A || 157 ἡ βασιλεία : εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν K cf. ad 156 || ἐν : ε Q || Ῥωμαίοις KA ||
158 ἀλφαβήτου : αβ' K ἄλφα καὶ του (sic) βῆτα Q αβ' A || δὲ Γραικῶς scripsi : δὲ
τὸ γρίκον K om. Q δὲ Γραικῶν A cf. 162 (Λατίνως) || 158-159 τοῦ ἐβδόμου
γράμματος scripsi (cf. 152) : τῶν ἐξ γραμμάτων K τον ἑπτα γραμμάτων (sic) Q
τῶν ἐπὶ γραμμάτων A cf. 152, 164 sq. ||

γράμματος· οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἔστι Γραικολατίνον. καὶ ἔσται ἡ βασι-
λεία αὐτοῦ δυνατή, ἀρέσκουσα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. φιλῶν τοὺς πένητας 160
δυνάστας καὶ πλουσίους ταπεινώσει. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται
ἄλλος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πόλεως Ἐπιδάμνου, ὃ ἔστι Λατίνως
Δυρραχίου· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως κεκρυμμένον ἔστι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
ὅμοιοι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ, γράφεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
γράμματος τοῦ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου. ὅταν δὲ λάβῃ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, 165
κληθῇσεται Ἀναστάσιος. ἔστι δὲ φαλακρός, εὐπρεπής, ὡς ἄργυρος τὸ
μέτωπον αὐτοῦ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖραν ἔχων μακράν, γενναῖος, φοβερός,
μεγαλόψυχος καὶ ἐλεύθερος, μισῶν πάντας τοὺς πτωχοὺς. πολλοὺς
δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπολέσει δικαίως ἀδίκως καὶ καθελεῖ τοὺς τηροῦντας
θεοσέβειαν. καὶ ἀναστήσονται ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ 170
καταστρέψουσι τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀνατολῆς μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τῆς Ῥωμανίας μαχαίρα. καὶ βασιλεύσει ἔτη τριάκοντα ἐν.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔσονται οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἄρπαγες, πλεονέκται, τύραν-
νοι, βάρβαροι, μισομήτορες [τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας] καὶ <ἀντι> τῆς ἀρετῆς
καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας βαρβάρων σχῆμα ἀναλαβόντες. ληστεύσουσι τὰς 175

159 ἔστι om. A || γρεκολάτινον K γρικολάτινος Q γραικολατεῖνον A || 160
δυνατεῖ K δηνατῇ Q δυνατῇ A || φιλον (sic) Q || 161 δυνάστας : δυνάστ(ας?)
πλουτῶν (sic) Q δύναται πλουτεῖν δυνάστας Q || ταπεινώσει A || μετὰ : με
Q || 162 ἄλλος om. K || πόλεως om. Q || Ἐπιδάμνου scripsi : ἐπιδαμῶς KA
ἐπιδαμῶς (sic) Q || 162-163 Λατίνως Δυρραχίου scripsi : λάτε ἔδωρακιον K
λατίνως ἐν δυρραχίῳ Q λατίναι δορακίῳ A || 163-165 cf. infra "Commen-
tary" || 163 ἐκεκρυμμένον Q || post ἔστιν (sic) add. ἐν A || 164 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
ἐσχάτῃ : τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ K || 165 ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου : ἸΝ K (falso pro ιη) ιῶτα
(sic) καὶ ἦτα Q || λάβει Q || βασιλείαν Q (-ι- sscr.) || 166 ἔστι : ἐπὶ Q || φαλακρός
(sic) Q || ἄργυρον QA || 167 δεξιὰν χεῖραν : δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ χεῖραν K δὲ χεῖραν
Q || μακρίαν K μακρέαν Q || γένεος Q || 168 πάντας : τας (sic) Q || ante πτωχοὺς
add. πένητας καὶ K || 169 δικαίως ἀδίκως (sic) Q || 169-170 τηροῦντας θεοσέβειαν
scripsit Youtie : θεορῶντας (sic) θεοσέβειαν K θεοὺς τοὺς θεορῶντας πάντας
πλησίον φυλάττον θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφήτας QA (πλὴν pro πλησίον, προφητείαν
pro προφήτας) hariolantur QA, sed et lectio θεορῶντας codicis K corruptela
est cf. infra p. 104, adn. 108 et "Commentary" || 171 καταστρέψαι Q κατα-
στρέψωσι A || πόλεις Q || μετὰ : με K || τὸ πλήθος A || 172 στρατιῶν K ||
μαχαίρει K μαχειρεῖ A || καὶ βασιλεύσει : βασιλεύσει δὲ K βασιλεύσει A || ἔτη :
χρόνους K || τριάκοντα ἐν : λα K spat. trium litt. vacuum reliquit Q λ καὶ
ἐν A re vera regnabat Anastasius annos viginti septem (491-518). veram
ergo lectionem servant KA, librarius autem codicis Q (vel exemplaris),
discrepantiam vaticinii ac eventus animadvertens, numerum omisit. si
auctor vaticinii ipse numerum omisisset, librarius exemplaris codicum KA
sine dubio verum numerum regni (κλ'), non falsum inseruisset || 173 οἱ om.
KA || ἄρπαγες om. Q cf. 124 || 174 μισομήτορες : μηκομήτορι KA (μι-) cf. ad 144 ||
τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας uncis inclusi cf. 175-176 || ἀντι addidi || 174-175 τῆς ἀρετῆς
καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας : τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τὰς ἀληθείας πάσης ἐπὶ στήμης
(sic) Q τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πάσης ἐπιστήμης A || 175 βαρβάρου Q ||
ἀναλαβόντες K ἀναλαβόντες Q || ληστεύσουσι : στηλιτεύσουσι Q ληστεύσωσι A ||

ιδίας πατρίδας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἀντεχόμενος τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ τοῖς
 ἔργοις αὐτῶν, ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν
 φιλαργυρίαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ γενεᾷ κολοβωθῶσονται τὰ ἔτη ὥσει
 μῆνες καὶ οἱ μῆνες ὥσει ἑβδομάδες καὶ ἑβδομάδες ὡς ἡμέραι καὶ ἡμέραι
 180 ὥσει ὥραι. καὶ ἀναστήσονται δύο βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύο
 ἀπὸ Συρίας, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ Ἀσσύριοι ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνα-
 ριζήμηναι καὶ παραλάβωσι πολλὰς χώρας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἕως Χαλκη-
 δονίας. καὶ γενήσονται αἱματοχυσίαι πολλαὶ ὥστε γενέσθαι τὸ αἷμα
 εἰς τὸ στήθος τῶν ἵππων τοῦ συγκερασθῆναι τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ
 185 αἱμαλωτεύσουσι καὶ ἐμπυρίσουσι τὰς πόλεις καὶ σκυλεύσουσι τὴν
 Ἀνατολῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀνα-
 τολῆς, οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ + Ὀλιβός. οὗτος λαμβάνει τοὺς τέσσα-
 ρας βασιλεῖς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτούς. καὶ δώσει ἀτέλειαν
 τοῦ μή παρασχέσθαι δημόσιον τέλος καὶ ἀνανεώσει πάντας τοὺς
 190 λαοὺς τῆς Ἀνατολῆς πάσης καὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς μορφὴν ἔχων ἡλλοιωμένην καὶ βασιλεύ-

176 ἀνεχόμενος QA *non est in terra qui eis resistat* w¹ (p. 184, 27) || 177
 αὐτῶν pr.: αὐτοῦ A || αὐτῶν alt. om. Q || 177-178 verba ἐργαζόμενοι ...
 φιλαργυρίαν non intelligo, an lacuna ante ἐργαζόμενοι vel post φιλαρ-
 γυρίαν statuenda est? || αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν: αὐτοφιλαργυρίαν Q ||
 178 ἐνάτῃ: Θ KA spatium litterae unius vacuum reliquit Q || κολου-
 θήσονται Q || ὥσει: ὡς ἡ K ωση (sic) Q ὡς οἱ A || 179 ὥσει: ὡς οἱ A ||
 ἑβδομάδες pr.: ἑβδομάδες K εὐδομάδες QA (-άδες) || καὶ ἑβδομάδες ὡς ἡμέραι:
 καὶ ἡ ἑβδομάς ὡς ἡμέρα K οἱ εὐδομάδες ὡς ἡμέραι A || ὡς: ωση (sic) Q
 (-η in -αι corr.) || ἡμέραι alt.: ἡ ἡμέρα K ἡμέραις (sic) Q αἱ ἡμέραι A || 180
 ὥσει ὥραι: ὡς ὥρα K ὡς αἱ ὥραι A || καὶ pr. om. K || ἀνατολῶν Q || 181 οἱ
 om. Q || ἀσσύριοι A || ὡς ἡ: ὡσοι (sic) Q ὡς οἱ A cf. Hebr. 11: 12 || 182
 καὶ ... Ἀνατολῆς: τῆς ῥωμανίας Q καὶ παραδώσει πολλὰς χώρας ῥωμανίας A ||
 παραλάβωσι correxi: παραλάβουσι K || πολλὰς KA: *civitates et* w' (p. 181,
 7) an πόλεις καὶ scribendum? cf. 138 || 182-183 Χαλκηδονίας: εἰς χαλκιδῶνος K
 χαλκιδωνίας Q χαλκηδόνος A *Calcedoniam* w' (p. 181, 7) || 183 γενήσονται: γί-
 νονται K γενήσεται A || αἱματοχυσία πολλή A || verba τὸ αἷμα om. K cf. ad 184
 184 τὰ στήθει (sic) K || τοῦ: ὥστε τὸ αἷμα K (cf. ad 183) του (sic) Q om. A ||
 ante τὴν add. καὶ A || 185 αἱμαλωτεύσωσι K || καὶ pr. om. K || ἐμπυρίσουσι
 Q om. K || τὰς πόλεις om. Q || καὶ σκυλεύσουσι: καὶ σκυλεύσωσι K om. Q ||
 185-186 post τὰς ἀνατολὰς (pro τὴν Ἀνατολήν) add. πάσας K || 186 καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα: εἰθούτως Q cf. 108-109 || ἄλλος βασιλεὺς: βασιλεὺς ἕτερος (sic) Q
 βασιλεὺς ἄλλος A || 187 Ὀλιβός: Ἰολβος K ολιβός (sic) Q ἰουλιβος A *corruptela*
est cf. p. 112 infra et "Commentary" || οὗτος: οὕτως K τουτέστι Q || ἀναλαμ-
 βάνεται K λαμβανῇ (sic) Q λαμβάνει A (-u- in -v- corr.?) || 187-188 τέσσαρις K ||
 188 πρὸ: πρότον A || ἀποκτενῇ Q ἀποκτείνει A || τελείαν K || 189 παρασχέσθαι
 scripsi: ἐξέρχεσθαι K παρέρχεσθαι Q παρέρχεται A (supra -ai scr. -σ-) ||
 δημοσία τέλη A || 190 πάσης post Παλαιστίνης coll. QA || 191 ἄλλος: ἕτερος
 (sic) Q || ἡλλοιωμένην K ἡλλωμένην (sic) Q cf. ad 209 || 191-192 βασιλεύση K
 βασιλεύει Q ||

σε ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσει τοὺς βωμοὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου.
 καὶ πολεμήσει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ θανατώσει αὐτὸν καὶ
 πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατήσει παιδὰς ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν.
 καὶ κρατήσουσιν ἀσπίδας καὶ θηλάσουσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὰ βρέφη καὶ 195
 αἰμάσσουσι διὰ τὰ φάρμακα τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν πολέ-
 μων. οὐαὶ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέ-
 ραις ἐκείναις. καὶ γενήσονται αἱ πόλεις τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ὄρη. καὶ σταθί-
 σεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μιανοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Καππαδόκων καὶ συρίσει καὶ εἴπη·
 ἄρ' ἀποτε ὧδε πόλις ἦτο; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται γυνή· ἀπὸ 200
 δυσμῶν ἕως ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου δράμη καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδη ἄνθρωπον, καὶ
 ἐπιθυμήσει ἵχνος ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρη. καὶ εὐροῦσα ἄμπελον καὶ
 ἐλαίαν εἴπη· ἄρα ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ φυτεύσας ταῦτα; καὶ περιπλακείσα
 τοῖς δένδροις τοῦτοῦς ἀποδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ φάγωσιν αὐτὴν λύκοι.
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλεως καὶ πολε- 205
 μήσει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ θανατώσει αὐτόν. καὶ δώσει
 ἀτέλειαν εἰς ὅλας τὰς χώρας ἐπὶ ἑτὶ τρία καὶ μῆνας ἔξ, καὶ δώσει ἡ
 γῆ τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐσθίων. καὶ ἤξει ὁ ἄρχων τῆς
 ἀπωλείας <δ> ἡλλοιωμένους καὶ πατάξει καὶ θανατώσει αὐτόν. καὶ

192 τριάκοντα: λ KA λ' Q || post τῆς Αἰγύπτου (τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Q) add.
 εἰς μορφήν (sic) QA (εἰς μορφήν) cf. 191 || 194 στρατιάν K || παιδίον A ||
 ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν: ἀπὸ 13 ἐτῶν KA ἀποπτῶν δώδεκα Q || 195 κρατήσωσιν K
 κρατήσουσιν Q || ἀσπίδας (sic) Q ἀσπίδα A || 196 αἰμάσσουσι scripsi:
 ζηράσουσι K (add. τὸν ἰόν) Q ἐμέσουσι A cf. "Commentary." de mutatione
temporum futuri ac praesentis vide ad 142 || τὰ φάρμακα: τῆς ἀνάγκης K
 τὰς ἀνάγκας om. K || τῶν: τον (sic) Q || 197 post οὐαὶ add. δὲ Q ||
 ἐχούσες (sic) Q || 198 ἐκείνες (sic) post ἐν coll. Q || καὶ pr. om. Q || γενήσεται A ||
 ὄρει K || 199 μιανοῦ ἔθνους: μιανοῦ εἵδους K (post quod add. ἀπὸ) μικροῦ ἔθνους
 Q || συρίσει: συρήσει K συρήσει Q συριάσει A || εἴποι K || 200 ἄρα QA || πότε
 KA || ὧδε (ὧδε Q) post πόλεις (sic) coll. QA || ἦτο scripsit Voutie: εἶπον K
 ἦτον Q ἦτον A cf. A. N. Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar* § 985 *pecnon*
App. III, § 19 sq. || μετὰ: με Q || 200-201 ἀναστήσεται ... ἡλίου: ἀναστήσονται
 πόλεις ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται γυνὴ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν
 ἕως ἀνατολῶν καὶ K ἀναστήσονται πόλεις ἀποδυσμῶν ἕως ἀνατολῆς καὶ A (sic) ||
 201 δραμῇ (sic) Q || ἴδη: δεῖ K ἡδη (sic) Q || 201-202 καὶ alt. ... εὕρη om. A ||
 202 εὕρη: εὐρεῖ K || εὐροῦσα: εὐρήσει Q || καὶ tert.: ἡ (sic) Q || 203 εἴπη: εἴποι
 K καὶ εἴπει (sic) Q καὶ εἴπη A || ἄρα ποῦ: ἄρα ποῦ K ἀρα (sic) Q ἄρα τίς A ||
 ἐστίν: ἐστὶν K Q om. A || ὁ φυτεύσας: ἡ φητεύσας (sic) Q || ταῦτα: τὴν ἄμπελον
 καὶ τὴν ἐλαίαν ταύτην A || περίπλακῆσα K Q (-ή-) || 204 τοῖς ... πνεῦμα: τῇ ἐλαίᾳ
 καὶ τῇ ἄμπελῳ τελευτήσῃ K τοῖς αὐτῆς γόνασι καὶ ἀποδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα A ||
 φάγωσιν correxi: φάγουσιν codd. || αὐτὴν λύκοι: ἡ λυκὴ αὐτῆν (sic) Q αὐτὸν
 λύκοι (sic) A || 205 ἀναστήσεται Q || ante βασιλεὺς add. ἕτερος K add. ἄλλος A ||
 ἡλιοῦ πόλεως A || 206 βασιλείαν Q || παραδώσει K δώσει Q || 207 τέλει A || εἰς: ἐπὶ
 Q || ἐπὶ ἑτὶ τρία καὶ μῆνας ἔξ: ἐπὶ ἑτὶ 7 καὶ μῆνας (sic) ἔξ K ἐπὶ (sic) γῆν? Q
 ἐπὶ 7 χρόνους καὶ μῆνας 5' A || 208 τὸν καρπὸν K || 209 ὁ addidi cf. 139 ||
 ἡλλοιωμένους K ἡλοιωμένους (sic) Q cf. 191 || αὐτόν om. K ||

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

210 ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιστρέψει εἰς
 σκότος καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἰς αἶμα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ πηγαὶ καὶ οἱ
 ποταμοὶ ξηρανθήσονται, καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος Αἰγύπτου εἰς αἶμα μεταστρα-
 φήσεται. καὶ ὀρύξουσιν λάκκους οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἄνθρωποι ζητοῦντες
 ὕδωρ ζωῆς καὶ οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν. καὶ τότε φανήσονται δύο ἄνδρες,
 215 οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν πείραν θανάτου, Ἐνώχ καὶ Ἡλίας, καὶ πολεμή-
 σουσι τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἀπωλείας. καὶ εἴπη· ἡγγικεν ὁ καιρὸς μου, καὶ
 θυμῶεις θανατώσει αὐτούς. καὶ τότε ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου σταυρωθεὶς ἦξει
 ἐξ οὐρανῶν ὡς φωστὴρ μέγας καὶ ἀστράπτων καὶ ἀναστήσει τοὺς
 δύο ἄνδρας ἐκείνους. καὶ πολεμήσει ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ κρεμασθεὶς τὸν
 220 υἱὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας καὶ θανατώσει αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιάν
 αὐτοῦ. τότε καήσεται ἡ γῆ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῆχαις δώδεκα, καὶ ἡ γῆ
 βοήσῃ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· κύριε, παρθένος εἰμί. καὶ πάλιν καήσεται ἡ γῆ
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας πῆχαις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, καὶ ἡ γῆ βοήσῃ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·
 κύριε, παρθένος εἰμί. καὶ τότε ἦξει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ
 225 δόξης πολλῆς εἰς τὸ κρίναι τὰς ἐννέα γενεάς. καὶ τότε βασιλεύσει ὁ
 Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων
 αὐτοῦ. ἀμήν, γένοιτο, ἀμήν.

210 εἰς : ἡ (sic) Q || 211 τὴν : τῇ Q || εἰς αἶμα : εισέμα Q || verba μετὰ ταῦτα
 om. Q || αἱ om. K || οἱ om. K η Q || 212 Νεῖλος : ἥλιος A || αἰγυπτον Q ||
 212-213 ἀποστραφῆσεται A || post μεταστρα- explicit Q || 213 περιληφθέντες
 K || ἄνθρωποι ζητοῦντες : ἀναζητοῦντες A || 214 ζωῆς : εἰς ζωὴν αὐτῶν A ||
 οὐχ : οὐ μὴ A || εὐρωσι A || ἄνδρες : ἄνθρωποι K || 215-216 πολεμήσωσι K
 ὀνειδίσουσιν A || 216 post ἀπωλείας add. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θανατώσει αὐτοὺς (sic).
 καὶ βρύξει ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἀπωλείας A || εἴποι (sic) K || 217 verba θανατώσει ...
 τότε om. A cf. ad 216 || verba ὁ ... σταυρωθεὶς om. K || 218 οὐρανοῦ A ||
 post μέγας add. λαμπρῶς A || post ἀστράπτων periit A sed cf. ad 226-227
 220 στρατιάν K || 221 καίσεται K correxi || πῆχας K correxi || δώδεκα : ἱβ K ||
 222 καίσεται K correxi || 223 πῆχας K correxi || ὀκτωκαίδεκα : ἱη K || 226-227
 servatur finis doxologiae in A : πάντων τῶν ἁγίων· νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

TRANSLATION

By the Sibyl, who by revelation interpreted the vision of the
 one hundred judges of the great city of Rome

When the Sibyl had come to Rome, there came to meet her the
 entire city, both great and small. The one hundred judges came to
 meet her and said: "The wisdom and sagacity of Your Majesty is
 great. Do now interpret for us the vision which we [the one hundred
 judges], saw today. We cannot interpret it and cannot discover its
 meaning." The Sibyl answered them and said: "Let us go to the
Capitolium of the great city of Rome, and let the tribunal (?) take
 place." And it was done as she had ordained.

11 And she said to them: "Report to me the vision which you saw,
 and I shall interpret for you the meaning." And the Sibyl sat down
 on the *Capitolium* among the olive trees and answered them and
 said: "Report to me what you saw." And the one hundred judges
 answered and said to her: "We saw nine suns shining upon the
 earth." And the Sibyl answered and said to them: "The nine suns
 are nine generations." They say to her: "So be it, our lady. We
 shall report to you all that we have seen in the vision." And the
 Sibyl answered and said: "So be it." And the judges say to her:
 "We shall report to you the vision just as we saw it." The Sibyl
 says to them: "What did you see?" They say to her: "This is what
 we saw. The first sun was many-colored, shining with rays, very
 bright, very large, very shining. The second sun was exceedingly
 bright, very large, many-colored, shining with rays. The third sun
 was bloodlike, like Tartarus, very large, a blazing fire. The fourth
 sun was bloodlike, like Tartarus. The fifth sun was bloodlike, very
 bright, flashing forth as during a thundershower. The sixth sun was
 like a cloud, like snow, like blood. The seventh sun was like Tartarus,
 like blood, terrifying. The eighth sun was shining with rays so that
 it had hands in the middle. The ninth sun was like Tartarus beyond
 the others and had a radiance."

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

- 31 And the Sibyl answered and said: "The nine suns are nine generations. The first sun is the first generation, men who are innocent, long-lived, free, truthful, gentle, mild, and they love the truth. The second sun is the second generation; they too are truthful men, gentle, hospitable, innocent, and they love the generation of the Free. The third sun is the third generation. Kingdom will rise against kingdom, nation against nation, there will be wars, but men will be hospitable and merciful in the city of the Romans. The fourth sun is the fourth generation. The son of the godhead will appear in the south; for there will arise from the Hebraic land a woman named Mary and she will give birth to a son, and they will call him Jesus by name. And he will destroy the law of the Hebrews and establish his own law, and his law will be king. And the heavens will be opened for him, and he will hear a voice, and hosts of angels will carry his throne, and the six-winged (creatures) will worship the tracks of his feet. And he will take men from Galilee and will give laws and say to them: 'The word which you have received from me, preach it to the peoples of the seventy-two languages.'"
- 48 And the priests of the Hebrews say to her: "Most awesome mistress of ours, we wish to pose a question to you." And the Sibyl answers and says to them: "Tell me what you wish." And they say to her: "From the Gentiles we have heard a report that the god of heavens will beget a son. Do you believe that this will happen, our lady?" The Sibyl says to them: "Do you who are priests of the Hebrews not believe it?" They say to her: "We do not believe that God will beget a son; for he made a promise to our fathers that he would not lift his hand from us." The Sibyl says to them: "This Law is a thorn to you." And they say to her: "And what do you say, our lady, concerning this question?"
- 59 The Sibyl answered and said to them: "The god of heaven will beget a son who will be like his father and will assume the likeness of a child. And kings will arise against him, Alexander, Seleucus and Herod, who cannot save themselves. They will carry out many persecutions in the land of Judaea and will slay children with their parents so that the river Jordan will be commingled with blood; and they will not benefit. And after this he who will be crucified on the wood of the cross will perform many healings. And when they

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

- will sacrifice . . . her altars, they will hear of his miracles which he performed in the land of Judaea. And from Phrygia, there will arise a king named Augustus and he will rule in Rome and the entire inhabited world will be subjected by him. And every king of the Romans will be called by his name [Augustus]. The thrice blessed cross upon which Christ will be stretched out . . . And after this the mobs of the Jews will be assembled, and he who will be hung on the wood of the cross will do miracles and will heal many people. And they will hang three men alongside him on the cross; and they will pierce his side with a reed (stake) and will not harm him.
- 76 In the fifth generation three kings will arise, Antiochus, Tiberius and Gaius, and they will carry out many persecutions because of him who was crucified on the wood of the cross. And they will build up (rebuild?) the temples of Heliopolis and the altars of Lebanon; and the shrines of that city are very large and shapely beyond any (other) temple in the inhabited world.
- 81 In the sixth generation there will arise two kings with short reigns, and they will carry out many persecutions against the Christians. And their officials will judge and destroy the ranks of the men of the senatorial order and will kill them because of the name of Christ; and they will not benefit. And after that there will arise a king named Constantine, a terrible and mighty warrior, and he will destroy all the temples of the Gentiles and the altars of Lebanon and their sacrifices, and he will humble the pagans. And a sign will appear to him in the sky, and his mother Helen will seek in the land of Judaea the wood of the cross where Christ, the son of the living god, will be crucified. And he will build up (rebuild?) Byzantium, and the name of that city will be changed, and she will be named Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis. And all the tribes of the seventy-two languages will inhabit her. Do not boast, city of Byzantium, thou shalt not hold imperial sway for thrice sixty of thy years!
- 96 And after this there will arise three kings, Valens, a grandson of Constantius (Constantine?), Valentinian, and Jovian, and they will carry out many persecutions; and one of them will be consumed by fire. And the barbarians will not harm the cities of the Roman Empire. And after this there will arise two kings, Marcianus (Gratianus?) and Theodosius, mighty dynasts, warriors and right-

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

eous judges, teachers of the faith, and they will destroy the forsaken temples of the pagans, and the temples of the Gentiles will be transformed into tombs of the saints.

104 In the seventh generation when Arcadius and Honorius will be kings, Rome becomes a (mere) street and a city of one (mere) street. Prisoners are made in Phrygia, Pamphylia will be laid waste. And after that there will arise two kings, Theodosius and Valentinian, who are gentle and mild. And under them men will stir up war after war. Syria will be captured, then there will arise a strong race of rebels and they will plunder the Taurus of the East and the Antitaurus of Armenia and the Lebanon, and the cities in which they dwelt before will not be restored. And the Persians will arise for a mighty war, and they will be undone by the Romans and will offer peace for forty years. And a man . . . , a warrior, will enter the city of Hieropolis and will shatter the temples of the cities and the altars of Lebanon. And the locust and its larvae will come in great quantity, and they will devour the labor of Syria and Cappadocia, and Cappadocia will be famished. And after that there will be plenty. Then parents will deny their children and children their parents, brother will give up brother to death, brother will lie with sister and the father will have intercourse with his daughter. Young men will take in marriage old women, bishops will be sorcerers and presbyters will fornicate, and blood will be shed in the land and bands of soldiers will defile the churches of the saints. There will be adultery, fornication, unnatural lust, and they will bring (?) dishonor upon their (monastic?) garb. They will be greedy, rapacious, lovers of gold, overbearing, and braggarts. And in every place sheep and cattle will die. Thrace will be laid waste by barbarians through betrayal by Romans and because of their great love of money. And after this there will arise Marcianus and there will be wars. And from Africa there will arise a rebel named Gaiseric, and he will capture Rome and will not vanish from among the champions until the time of his life is fulfilled; his kingship will be established for thirty years, and he will humble Rome because of her love of money, and Rome will not hold imperial sway until the fulfilment of her timespan. Dalmatia will altogether be plunged into the sea, Campania and Calabria will be captured.

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

130 In the eighth generation there will arise an emperor named after a wild beast. The birth pains of the world begin in his times, earthquakes, drownings of cities and countries, and there will be wars and burnings of cities. Thrace will be laid waste, and there will be no one to administer or to manage the Roman Empire. Taurocilicia will lift high her neck (head). There will arise Scylla, wife of the ruling wild beast, and she will bring forth two wombs, one of which will give birth to a male child; and they will call it by the name of the father. And he too will share the throne with his father(?) of the beastly name and they will have one and the same likeness of earthly kingship. While he is king, an Isaurian will appear, and he will be worshipped by his father. And then those men will speak blasphemous words against the nature of the Son. And because of his saying his father will be brought down powerfully from his throne, but the power and domination of the womb will hold sway for fifty-two years. And after that an Isaurian will become king, and he will hate the inhabitants of his city and will flee to his country. And there will arise another king whose name is that of the trailing beast; the name of the beast begins with the letter *beta*: it is Basiliscus. And he will speak blasphemy against the highest god, and because of his blasphemy he will be treated scornfully by a woman and will perish, both he and his entire kin. And after that an Isaurian will return to his kingship, except that his kingship is not given (to him) by heaven. His name stands in Roman letters at the end of the alphabet, but is written in Greek (letters) beginning with the seventh letter (*zeta*) and his name is Greco-Latin. And his rule will be powerful and will be pleasing to the entire people; he will love the Poor and will humble the Powerful and Rich. And after this there will arise another king from the Western city of Epidamnos, which is (called) in Latin Dyrrhachium. The name of the king is hidden from the Gentiles, but his name resembles the last day (i.e. the day of the resurrection or *anastasis*) and begins with the eighteenth letter (*sigma*), but when he seizes his kingship, he will be called Anastasios. He is bald, handsome, his forehead (shines) like silver, he has a long right arm, he is noble, terrifying, high-souled and free (liberal?) and hates all the beggars. He will ruin many from among the people either lawfully or unlawfully and

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

will depose those who observe godliness. And the Persians will arise in his times and will overturn with the sword the cities of the East together with the multitudes of the soldiers of the Roman Empire. And he will be king for thirty-one years.

173 And after that men will be rapacious, greedy, rebellious, barbarian, they will hate their mothers, and in lieu of virtue and of mildness they will assume the appearance of barbarians. They will raid their own ancestral cities, and there is none to resist their works and deeds; they work their land because of their great avarice. In the ninth generation the years will be shortened like months, and the months like weeks, and the weeks like days, and the days like hours. And two kings will arise from the East and two from Syria, and the Assyrians will be countless like the sand of the sea, and they will take over many lands of the East unto Chalcedonia. And there will be much shedding of blood, so that the blood will reach the chest of horses as it is commingled with the sea. And they will capture and set on fire the cities and despoil the East. And after that another emperor will arise from the East, whose name is Olibos (?). He will seize the four kings who preceded him and will slay them. And he will grant an exemption from paying a public tax and will restore all the people of the entire East and of Palestine. And after that there will arise another king who has a changed shape and he will rule thirty years and will rebuild the altars of Egypt. And he will wage war upon the king from the East and will kill him and all his army and will seize children from the age of twelve. And people will seize poisonous asps and suck milk from women with new-born babes and draw blood for the sake of the poison of arrows and the violence of wars. Woe to women with child and to those who suckle (their babes) in those days! And the cities of the East will become deserts. And he ("the king who has a changed shape") will be established by the foul nation of the Cappadocians and he will hiss and say: "Was there ever a city here?" And after that there will arise a woman. She will run from the setting to the rising of the sun and will not see a man; and she will long for the track of a man and will not find it. And she will find a vine and an olive-tree and say: "Where is he who planted these?" And she will embrace these plants and give up her spirit, and wolves will

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

eat her. And after that there will arise another king from Heliopolis and he will wage war against the king from the East and kill him. And he will grant a tax-exemption to entire countries for three years and six months, and the earth will bring forth its fruits, and there is none to eat them. And there will come the ruler of perdition, he who is changed, and will smite and kill him. And he will do signs and wonders on earth. He will turn the sun into darkness and the moon into blood. And after that the springs and rivers will dry up, and the Nile of Egypt will be transformed into blood. And the survivors will dig cisterns and will search for the water of life and will not find it. And then there will appear two men who did not come to know the experience of death, Enoch and Elijah, and they will wage war upon the ruler of perdition. And he will say: "My time has come," and he will be angered and slay them. And then he who was crucified on the wood of the cross will come from the heavens, like a great and flashing star, and he will resurrect those two men. And he who was hung on the cross will wage war upon the son of perdition and will slay him and all his host. Then the land of Egypt will burn twelve cubits (deep), and the land will shout to God: "Lord, I am a virgin." And again the land of Judaea will burn eighteen cubits (deep), and the land will shout to God: "Lord, I am a virgin." And then the son of God will come with great power and glory to judge the nine generations. And then Christ will rule, the son of the living God, with his holy angels. Amen, so be it, amen."

COMMENTARY

N.B: *In this Commentary I shall note some biblical and other parallels and deal with some of the textual and linguistic problems as well as with a few minor historical points. The larger historical and literary issues raised by the new text will be reserved for the later parts of this publication.*

¹⁰ τριβουνάλιον: the word is obviously used here in the sense of "hearing." I owe to H. Zilliacus, "Das lateinische Lehnwort in der griechischen Hagiographie," *BZ*, 37 (1937), 302-344, esp. 334, a

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

possible parallel. The *passio* of St. Eleutherius (*BHG*, 568), probably of the fifth century, mentions that after the Saint's arrival in Rome the Emperor Hadrian gave the order: ἡτοιμασθῆναι (*sic*) τριβουνάλιον (ed. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi e Testi*, 6 [1901], 151, 14). The word occurs also in the *passio* of St. Demetrius (*BHG*, 497), cf. H. Delehay, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* [Paris, 1909], 105: *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., IV, 94 D (ἐν τῷ τριβουναρίῳ). Finally, Ducange cites a *passio* of St. Euplus (*BHG*, 630), PG, 115, col. 524 B), where Calvisianus, an imperial official at Catana under Diocletian and Maximian, orders τὸ τριβωνάλιον (*sic*) αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἀχιλλίῳ. It must be admitted, however, that in these instances the word may have the more normal meaning of "judgment-seat."

15 On the simultaneous appearance of several suns, see Sackur, 141f.
29 χεῖρας: Professor Youtie calls my attention to artistic representations of the vital force of the Egyptian sun god Atum, especially during the reign of Ikhnaton, in the form of rays (= arms) ending in hands and to the treatment of the relevant problems by F. Preisigke, *Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung*, Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg, Schrift 1 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1920). There may well be a connection with the new text, but the difficulty is that in it the hands are located "in the middle" of the sun while in Egyptian art and literature the sun god's hands invariably form the extremity of the rays (= arms) of the sun disk. See however the variant ἐπιχεῖρας in K.

35 τῶν ἐλευθέρων τὸ γένος, i.e., the first generation, the ἐλεύθεροι (cf. 33).

36f. Cf. Matt. 24:7; Mark 13:8; Luke 21:10.

40 καλέσουσι: on the use of the third person plural to denote an indefinite subject, see 38, 40, 66, 67, 185, and Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 130.

42 Cf. Pindar, frg. 152 (ed. C. M. Bowra [Oxford, 1935]): νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς, κτλ.

42f. Cf. Matt. 3:16; Luke 3:21.

43 On God's throne, see Ezra 1:26 where four living creatures are represented as carrying it, and I En. 71:7 where the Ophannim guard the glory of God's throne (R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and*

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, II [Oxford, 1913], 236). The new text speaks of "Jesus' throne" because II Kings 7:12ff. was interpreted as a promise of David's throne to Jesus as the descendant of David; cf. Acts 2:30. The throne of God makes Christ the universal ruler or παμβασιλεὺς; cf. A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 199f.

44 On the six-winged creatures see Isa. 6:2; Rev. 4:8; also *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Slavonic), 21, 1 (trans. N. Forbes and R. H. Charles in Charles, *op. cit.* II, 442); *Apocalypse of Abraham* (Slavonic), 18, 6 (trans. G. H. Box [London, 1919], 62); *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Coptic), 38, 18 (Steindorff, 99). The reference to the worship of the tracks of Jesus' feet is reminiscent of a standard form of reference to the person of the emperor in the papyri and other sources. Thus, in *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, ed. C. Wessely, I (Vienna, 1895), no. XX (A.D. 250), col. 2, line 11ff., an official communication is deposited ἐν τῷ ἐνταῦθα Σεβαστείῳ παρὰ τοῖς εἰχνεσι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου Αὐτοκράτορος. In *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. by B. P. Grenfell and others, XVII (London, 1927), no. 2130 (A.D. 267), line 18ff., a petition for an appeal is deposited ἐν τῷ αὐτόθι (Arsinoë) Σεβαστείῳ πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς ἵχνεσι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ. *P. Lond. Inv.* 1589 (A.D. 295-312), lines 3-4, mentions a petitioner ἀποδημῆσαι μέλλων πρὸς τὰ ἵχνη τῶν δεσπότην ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα νικόντων Αὐτοκρατόρων (unpublished, cited by H. I. Bell and others, *The Abinnaeus Archive* [Oxford, 1962], 36, note 6). Finally a petition by Abinnaeus to the Emperors Constantius and Constans (between A.D. 340 and 342) mentions that the petitioner had been assigned the task to escort *Blemmiorum gentis refugas ad sacra vestigia pietatis vestrae Constantinopolim* (Bell and others, *op. cit.*, no. 1, line 6, p. 34; see also Jones, I, 637). The notion of adoration (προσκύνησις) of the tracks of an emperor or bishop also occurs not infrequently. See for example Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, 51 (*BHG*, 1608), ed. E. Schwartz, *TU*, 49, 2 (Leipzig, 1939), 142, 28, where St. Sabas says to the Emperor Anastasius that he had come to Constantinople in order to προσκυνῆσαι τὰ ἵχνη τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας; a letter from the Thebaïd addressed in the sixth or seventh century to a bishop (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments*, etc. [Oxford, 1897], no.

91) begins: πρὸ πάντων γράφω προσκυνῶν καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος τὰ τίμια ἵχνη τῶν ποδῶν τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρικῆς ἀγιοσύνης; and the other references in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrurkunden*, I (Berlin, 1925), *verbo* ἵχνος, where this noun is used in combination with such verbs as προσπίπτειν, κυλινδεῖσθαι, προσκυλινδεῖσθαι. The passage in the new text, like the preceding one on the angels carrying God's throne (43 and "Commentary"), expresses the idea that Christ is the universal ruler and represents an instance of the many transfers of features from the cult of the earthly ruler to his heavenly prototype. — I owe the explanation of this passage and most of the references here cited to Mr. E. G. Turner, Professor of Papyrology at the University of London.

- 47 On the "peoples of the seventy-two languages," cf. 93f. and the variant ἐβδομήκοντα δύο in Luke 10:1; furthermore, H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, II (Munich, 1924), 605f.; R. Eisler, Ἰησοῦς βασιλεὺς οὐ βασιλεύσας, II (Heidelberg, 1930), 227f. (the seventy-two peoples are all the peoples of the world). A. Borst, in his great work *Der Turmbau zu Babel*, esp. I and II (Stuttgart, 1957, 1959), takes the notion of the seventy-two languages and peoples as the starting-point for his enquiry into the history of the theory of language. He shows that the concept of the seventy-two languages of mankind made its first appearance in Christian literature in the *Adversus haereses* of Irenaeus (*ibid.*, I, 230). In the third century Hippolytus drew up a list of the peoples who were given a language of their own after the destruction of the Tower of Babel (*ibid.*, II, 372, 932–936). Borst also describes how the views of Irenaeus and Hippolytus on the seventy-two languages affected the later fathers of the church. On the Tiburtine Sibyl in particular see II, 376f.

- 55 μὴ ἄραι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἅφ' ἡμῶν: clearly the content of the successive divine covenants with the people of Israel is meant, but the words seem to be a paraphrase rather than a biblical citation. For the phrase αἶρειν τὴν χεῖρα ἀπό, cf. *Didache*, IV, 9; *Epistle of Barnabas*, XIX, 5.

- 60f. ὁμοίωμα νηπίου λήψεται: cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, XII, 33, Geffcken, 190 (σάρκα φέρων θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίον).

- 68f. Allusion to the Trojan origin of the Julian gens, see for example *Aeneid*, I, vs. 288: *nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar*, and F. Münzer, "Iulius", *RE*, X (Stuttgart, 1919), col. 106f.; J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome (281–31)* (Paris, 1942), esp. pt. IV, chap. 7.

- 93 πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δύο γλωσσῶν, cf. on 47 *supra*.

- 98 Ammianus Marcellinus, XXXI, 13, 11–17, ed. C. U. Clark, II (Berlin, 1915), 591f., reports two versions of the Emperor Valens' death at Adrianople (A.D. 378). According to his first account Valens was killed by an arrow. This first account is repeated by several of the later authorities and appears in its essential features as early as the year 379 in a speech of Libanius (*Oratio* XXIV, ed. R. Forster, II [Leipzig, 1904], 515f.). According to Ammianus' second account, based on the authority of a young *candidatus* who escaped, the Emperor was burned alive in a peasant cottage where he had taken refuge. This second account reappears in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *TU*, 49, 2 (Leipzig, 1939), 10, 1, and Theophanes, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 65, 17–20. (I owe this explanation to Professor Ihor Ševčenko to whom I take this occasion to express my gratitude.) — The word ἔγγων, in lieu of ἔγγονος, is first attested in the published sources, so far as I know, in the eighth or ninth century in the *Παραστάσεις Σύντομοι Χρονικά*, 36, ed. Th. Preger (Munich, 1898), 39, 4: ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ τῷ τριβουναλίῳ [sc. στήλῃ] Εὐδοκίᾳς γυναικὸς Θεοδοσίου, τοῦ ἔγγονος Θεοδοσίου, κτλ. (probably from Theodorus Lector, sixth century), later in Theophanes' chronicle (see de Boor's index) and in the *passio* of the Sicilian martyrs Alphiis, Philadelphus, Cyrenus, and others (*BHG*, 57), *Act. SS, Maii* 10, p. XLVII E: Ἐρασμος δὲ ἦν ἔγγων τοῦ Βιταλίου, of uncertain date. Valens of course was not a grandson or descendant (ἔγγων) of either Constantine or Constantius, nor is he known to have claimed such descent himself. It is noteworthy, however, that on an altar found in the modern village of Balia-Bazarköi on the right bank of the River Aesepus, there was engraved an inscription (*CIL*, III, 7084, "titulus non minus singularis quam barbarus") in which the city of Argiza in the Troad honored τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον Κ[αίσαρα]ν (sic) Φλάβιον Οὐ[άλεντα] Κοσσεταντηνον. In the last word all the letters except the first are certain. The editor of the inscrip-

tion suggested that it may be a misspelling of Κωνσταντιᾶν and signify "Constantini vel Constantii similis." The Sibyl's remark about Valens, ἑγγων of Constantius or Constantine, may then be a misinterpretation of an epithet such as that found on the altar from Argiza.

- 101f. λύσουσι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων: cf. John Malalas, XIII, Bonn ed., 344: τοὺς δὲ ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντας κατέστρεψεν ἔως ἑδάφους ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοδόσιος βασιλεὺς. κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τὸ λεγόμενον Τρίλιθον, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανοῖς. *Infra*, pp. 98, 133f.
- 102f. γενήσονται οἱ ναοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τάφους τῶν ἁγίων: γίνεσθαι followed by εἰς, in lieu of a predicate nominative, means "to turn into" (= μεταστρέφεσθαι), see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 145, 1. Cf. *Seventh Vision of Daniel* (Armenian), 29, trans. F. Macler, "Les Apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel, IV," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 33 (1896), 303: "...les temples tomberont, et leurs maisons seront des tombeaux."
- 105 γίνεταί: this word presents no difficulties whatsoever, but I shall collect in this note material on the substitutes for the future tense as used by the author of the new text, in order to explain why here and in other cases I have resisted the temptation to emend some or all of these verbal forms into the future tense. The present tense is frequently used in this text where one expects the future, for example 136, 139, 144, 166, 176, 208. This is frequently done elsewhere, especially in prophecies, see N. Banescu, *Die Entwicklung des griechischen Futurums* (Bucharest, 1915), 66-71; Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 323. Several other substitutes for the future tense are to be found in the new text and should not be emended: the aorist subjunctive (for example 115, 116, 120, 149, 150, 202; cf. Banescu, *op. cit.*, 72-74); μέλλειν followed by the infinitive (for example 52, 60, 73, 90; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 356); the present of ἔχειν followed by an infinitive (see the *apparatus criticus ad 60*); the future of εἶναι followed by the present participle (142f. ?, 149; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 353).
- 114 I have added εἰς Ἱερόπολιν because the verb εἰσέρχεσθαι requires an indication of the place entered and because w¹ and w² actually supply the name of the city entered; see the variants in the *apparatus*

- criticus*. Of the variants offered by the Latin manuscripts that referring to Hieropolis must have stood in the Greek text, as it is difficult to imagine that a Western translator or editor should have changed a reference to Neapolis, Jerusalem, or to the enigmatic *Aepolim* into Hieropolis. On the other hand these variants are easily explained as corruptions of Hieropolis. For a historical and literary interpretation of the passage see "Appendix to Chapter VIII: The Warrior at Hieropolis in *Euphratensis*." The spelling Ἱερόπολις supplied by the Latin versions, rather than Ἱεράπολις, is supported by Stephanus Byzantius, eds. L. Holstenius and others, I (Leipzig, 1825) 216, 15: Ἱεράπολις . . . Συρίας, ἡ καὶ Ἱερόπολις διὰ τοῦ ο, and by the numismatic evidence; cf. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* (London, 1899), pp. III-LIV and 138-146.
- 116 βροῦχος is the larva of the locust (ἀκρίς) after its first, third, or fourth shedding. It is even more voracious than the grown animal; cf. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosius* (Leipzig, 1890), 174f.
- 117 λιμάξει: on λιμάσσω in lieu of λιμώσσω, see *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, pt. III (Leipzig, 1933), 271, 12.
- 119 Cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, VII, 44, ed. Geffcken, 135, and Geffcken's references.
- 124 Cf. II Tim. 3: 1-4.
- 129 On the various spellings of Gaiseric's name see F. Kauffmann, Γενσήρικος, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 33 (1901), 1-5 (also on Gaiseric's role in Western apocalyptic tradition), and Chr. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris, 1955), 394.
- 131 The passage is difficult as there exist two essentially different versions. K reads: σταθήσεται δὲ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἔτη λ καὶ ταπεινώσει τὴν Ῥώμην, but QA have: καὶ σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἔτη (ἔτι Q) Γ καὶ οὐ μὴ βοηθήσει (βοηθεῖσει A) τὴν Ῥώμην QA (τῇ Ῥώμῃ A). Basically K differs from QA in that 1) QA assign Gaiseric a reign in the city of Rome of three years, while K speaks of a thirty years' reign without limiting it to Rome and thus seems to think of the entire duration of Gaiseric's rule over the Vandals, and 2) K speaks of Rome's "humiliation" by Gaiseric while QA say that he did not "aid" the city. Concerning the second point of difference, the reading of K (ταπεινώσει) is

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

superior to that of QA (οὐ μὴ βοηθήσει) as it makes no historical sense to say of Gaiseric in 455 that "he did not aid Rome because of her great greed." Furthermore the verb ταπεινῶν is used elsewhere by our author (cf. 87f., 161). On the first point of difference, both K and QA are historically incorrect. Gaiseric died in 477, after a reign of forty-nine years (428–477), and even if the Sibyl should here be calculating his reign from the capture of Rome in 455, it would be a reign of twenty-two rather than of thirty years. His occupation of Rome, on the other hand, lasted two weeks (2–16 June 455). The best solution will be to adopt the readings of K and to assume that the author of the oracle on Gaiseric expected him to die either after a reign of altogether thirty years over the Vandals, i.e., in 458, or thirty years after the sack of Rome, that is in 485. Either solution would imply either that the author of the Greek text was misinformed about the true date of Gaiseric's death or that he used an earlier prophecy written during Gaiseric's lifetime.

140 ὑψώσει τράχηλον: cf. the word ὑψύχην and its derivatives, as well as Isa. 3:16: ὑψώθησαν αἱ θυγατέρες Σιών καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὑψηλῶ τράχηλῳ.

151 On the indefinite relative pronoun ὅστις used synonymously with the definite ὅς, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 293. See 187, 215.

154 For ἀπὸ followed by the genitive to designate the agent of a passive verb, see 199 and Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 210.

156 ἔστι διδομένη: ὅν εἶναι followed by the present participle, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 353. One is tempted to emend into ἔστι δεδομένη; see Gospel of John 19:11 (ἦν δεδομένον σοι ἄνωθεν) and 163 *infra* (κεκρυμμένον ἔστι), yet all three manuscripts have δι-.

159 The Sibyl considers "Zeno" a Greco-Latin name because it was used in both languages.

162f. The Sibyl considers Dyrrhachium a Latin name because it was known by this name to the Romans.

163–165 In identifying the monarch ruling at the time when he wrote his prophecy, the author is both particularly enigmatic and specific. He begins by saying that "the name of the king is hidden from the Gentiles." This characterized him as a messianic or anti-messianic figure, for it was a widespread expectation that the Messiah would be hidden until he appeared in public; cf. John 7:27: ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὅταν

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

ἔρχεται, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πότεν ἔστί, and Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, II, 488f. Then the author alludes very clearly to the name Anastasius by stating that "his name resembles the last day (*anastasis*) and begins with the eighteenth letter of the alphabet," i.e., with a *sigma*. The second part of the sentence I interpret to be a reference to Anastasius' position at the court prior to his elevation: σιλεντιάριος. The next sentence ("When he seizes his kingship, he will be called Anastasius") is misleading, for Anastasius had been his name from birth, so far as is known; it may well be a gloss.

These lines reappear almost verbatim in the anonymous paraphrase on the Oracles of the Emperor Leo (PG, 107, col. 1144 A): τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως κεκρυμμένον ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. ὁμοιοὶ δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. γράφεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος ἐν τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ, ἦτοι ἐν τῷ τριακοσιοστῷ πρώτῳ.

188f. ὡς ἄργυρος τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ: cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, XII, 164, ed. Geffcken, 196 (ἄργυρόκρανος ἀνὴρ, i.e. Hadrian).

187 χεῖραν: on the ending see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 46.

189 δικαίως ἀδίκως: on this asyndeton see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 460.

189f. Cited in the anonymous paraphrase on the Oracles of the Emperor Leo (cf. *supra*, *apparatus criticus* and "Commentary" on 163–165): Φυλάττων Θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφητείαν (PG, 107, col. 1144 A).

182 Vision of Daniel, as summarized by Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, 39, ed. J. Becker, MGH, *Script. Rer. Germ.* [Hannover-Leipzig, 1915], 196, 5: . . . *praevalere debent adeo Assyrii, ut in Chalcedoniam usque . . . potestative cuncte debeant obtinere*.

184 Unless the text is disturbed here, the infinitive τοῦ συγκερασθῆναι is to be taken in a consecutive sense, see Blass-Debrunner-Funk, § 400, and τῷ αἵματι to be understood after συγκερασθῆναι (cf. 64f.).

187 Cited in the anonymous paraphrase on the Oracles of the Emperor Leo (PG, 107, col. 1144 A): ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ λιβός, κτλ.

194–197 . . . καὶ κρατήσῃ παῖδας ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν. καὶ κρατήσουσιν ἀσπίδας καὶ θηλάσουσι τὰς ἐχούσας τὰ βρέφη καὶ αἱμάσουσι διὰ τὰ φάρμακα τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν πολέμων. Here K reads ξηράσουσι τὸν ἰόν, Q has ξηράσουσι, and A ἐμέσουσι. I have emended into αἱμάσουσι. K further replaces τὰ φάρμακα with τῆς ἀνάγκης and

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

then omits τὰς ἀνάγκας. My emendation is based on two considerations. In the first place ξηράσουσι does not exist as a form of the future tense and neither the verb ξηραίνειν nor ἐμείν makes sense in the context. Secondly, there is an important parallel passage in the Coptic (Ahmimic dialect) *Apocalypse of Elijah*, 27f., Steindorff, 81f.: "der König wird befehlen, dass man ergreife alle Frauen, die säugen, und dass man sie ihm gefesselt bringe und dass sie die Drachen (δράκοντες) säugen, dass sie ihr Blut aus ihren Brüsten ziehen und dass man sie gebe an die... der Flammen. Wegen der Not der Städte wird er wiederum befehlen, dass man alle Kinder ergreife von zwölf Jahren abwärts und sie übergebe dem... um Flammen zu sprühen." Riessler's translation corrects and clarifies the passage in some details (117f.): "Der König lässt die Frauen all, die stillenden, ergreifen und sie gefesselt vor sich bringen, dass sie die Drachen säugen und diese ihren Brüsten alles Blut entziehen; dann sollen sie dem Flammenofen übergeben werden. Und was die Not der Städte ist, so wird er weiterhin befehlen, man solle alle Kinder von zwölf Jahren abwärts greifen und sie dem Feuerbrande überliefern." There are differences as well as points of contact between the new Greek and the Coptic texts, but several features make it certain that the Greek text is closely related to the Coptic: 1. The Coptic words hesitantly translated by Steindorff "an die... der Flammen" (und "dem Flammenofen" by Riessler) is the exact equivalent of the phrase τὰ φάρμακα τῶν βελῶν, for Steindorff (80, note 4) remarks that in the Ahmimic dialect the word *sate* normally means "arrow"; in fact, it should be translated "arrow" in this passage (cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1939], 361 b f., esp. 362 a, *verbo sote*, and 102 b, *verbo klo*); similarly the word *klo*, which Steindorff (note 3) called "unbekanntes Wort, das vielleicht 'Glut' oder ähnliches bedeutet," is now attested with the meaning "vegetable (?) poison used for arrows" (Crum, *op. cit.*, 102 b, *verbo klo*), and in one Sahidic fragment (E. O. Winstedt, "Coptic Saints and Sinners," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 33 (1911), 116 and 118, note 22) even in the sense of "snake poison." In view of these lexicographical clarifications by Crum the translation of the Coptic passage should be adjusted to read "dem Gift der Pfeile" in lieu of "an die... der Flammen"

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

(Steindorff), or "dem Flammenofen" (Riessler). 2. The Coptic phrase translated by Steindorff "Wegen der Not der Städte" (and by Riessler "Und was die Not der Städte ist") is a close parallel of the Greek διὰ... τὰς ἀνάγκας τῶν πολέμων, where the Coptic translator of the Greek original seems to have read the variant πόλεων for πολέμων. 3. Finally the passage translated by Steindorff: "...wird er wiederum befehlen, dass man alle Kinder ergreife von zwölf Jahren an abwärts" is closely paralleled by the Greek (194): καὶ κρατήσῃ παῖδας ἀπὸ δώδεκα ἐτῶν. The Coptic text is based on an Egyptian Jewish source written in Greek, but edited and interpolated by a Christian no later than the beginning of the third century (Steindorff, 19; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi*, 4th ed., III [Leipzig, 1909], 368 f.; the date of the Christian text depends on that of the *Epistle to Diognetus*, for which see J. Quasten, *Patrology*, I [Westminster, Md., 1950], 248-253). Although the Coptic text has reached us in an extremely corrupt form (Steindorff, 16), it is a precious aid for constituting the new Greek text; for the agreements mentioned above leave no doubt that the author of the new Sibylline text used the Greek original of the Coptic apocalypse or a text closely related to it. Thus I feel justified in using the Coptic passage, translated by Steindorff "dass sie ihr Blut aus ihren Brüsten ziehen" (Riessler: "diese ihren Brüsten alles Blut entziehen"), to emend the meaningless and corrupt readings of the manuscripts (ξηράσουσι KQ, ἐμέσουσι A) into αἱμάσουσι = "they will draw blood"; for this meaning of the verb αἱμάσσειν see Aretaeus (second century A.D.), V, 4, 12, ed. C. Hude, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, II (Berlin, 1958), 105, 9: ἦν δὲ πρόσω προήκη χρόνου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν αἰτίῃ ἰσχυρῇ, σικύην χρηρὴς τὸ ἰνίον προσβάλλοντα αἱμάσσειν ἀφειδέως. The reading of A (ἐμέσουσι) is closest to the text as emended (ἐμ- for αἱμ-). In detail the interpretation of the new text offers a number of difficulties. Why does the Antichrist "seize children from twelve years onward," as both the new Greek text and the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* suggest in somewhat different terms? Perhaps this statement was based on a magic belief that children of this age were particularly apt to catch the "asp" or Egyptian cobra, but I have found no parallel for a belief of this kind. Is the Coptic text right in

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

translating: "von zwölf Jahren an abwärts"? A more normal understanding of the words used in the new Greek text would be that children from twelve years *upward* are meant, but this must remain uncertain. On the other hand the mention of δράκοντες, i.e., serpents, in the Coptic text makes it certain that the word ἀσπίδος in the new Greek text must refer to "asps" rather than to "shields." In fact, the word ἀσπίς designates either a poisonous snake in general or the Egyptian Uraeus snake or *Naiia haie*, the common hooded snake of Africa; cf. Gossen-Steier, "Schlange," *RE*, Reihe 2, II (Stuttgart, 1923), cols. 494-557, esp. 524. The simplest interpretation will be to assume that the common subject of the verbs κρατήσουσιν, θηλάσουσι, and αἱμάσουσιν is impersonal as so often in this text (cf. "Commentary" on 40); in the Coptic text, on the other hand, the δράκοντες suck the blood. One may wonder furthermore whether the phrase τὰς ἐχούσας τὰ βρέφη refers to female snakes or to human mothers. It seems to me, however, that the following citation of the passage from the Synoptic Apocalypse (Matt. 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23), which unquestionably refers to human mothers, is a very strong argument in favor of the second alternative. Finally it is not certain whether the object of αἱμάσουσιν are again the mothers mentioned before or whether the author is thinking of a more general collection of blood from men and women of all ages. I have found no exact parallel for a mixture of snake poison, milk from human mothers, and human blood being used for poisoned arrows, but Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 141, 845a, mentions a Scythian custom of using a mixture of a dead snake (ἐχιδνα) and human serum (cf. also Aelian, *On animals*, IX, 15; I owe these texts to F. Lammert, "Pfeil," *RE*, XIX [Stuttgart, 1938], cols. 1425-1430, esp. 1427-1429).

197f. Cf. Matt. 24:19; Mark 13:17; Luke 21:23. Note that in this biblical citation θηλάζειν is used in the sense of "to suckle," but that it means "to suck" in the text itself (cf. *supra*, on 194-197).

201 Cf. *Oracula Sibyllina*, II, 26, ed. Geffcken, 27, and Geffcken's references.

III

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE GREEK TEXT

In attempting to date an apocalyptic text like the Sibyl's prophecy one has to pay close attention to the passage where the author makes the transition from history to eschatology. This point of transition constitutes a *terminus post* for the composition of the text. Normally, indeed, an apocalyptic text may be said to have been written not long after the events recorded at this point of transition, as otherwise the author would be unlikely to let the opportunity slip by of incorporating further historical material. In the new Greek text the last Roman emperor named is Anastasius I (491-518; cf. 166) and the last identifiable event is the new outbreak of the Persian War under Anastasius in 502 (170).¹ The Greek text was therefore composed after 502. On the other hand, the author wrote prior to Anastasius' death in 518, otherwise he would not have prophesied wrongly that Anastasius would rule thirty-one years (172). In the Greek text the prophecy of Constantine's foundation of Constantinople is followed immediately by a curious remark which the author addresses to the new city: "Do not boast, city of Byzantium, thou shalt not hold imperial sway for thrice sixty of thy years" (94f.). The meaning of this oracle is not altogether clear. Does the Sibyl mean that Constantinople would lose her imperial rank within three times sixty years from her foundation, i.e. prior to 510 (330 plus $3 \times 60 = 510$)? or that the new city would be destroyed by that date? or that the world, and the city with it, would come to an end in or before 510? Whatever may be the precise meaning of the passage (I shall henceforth refer to this *vaticinium* as the "Constantinopolitan Oracle"), one thing is certain: as Constantinople neither lost her rank nor was destroyed by 510, the sentence must have been written prior to A.D. 510. Any author who wrote after 510 would have been forced to adjust the numerals, as was in fact done by two of the manuscripts (K and A)

¹ See *infra*, p. 91.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

which changed the figure "thrice sixty" (= 180) to read "thrice six hundred" (= 1800).

The author must have written even earlier than the year 510. As was said above (p. 41), the last historical event to be mentioned in the Sibyl's prophecy is the Roman-Persian War under Anastasius. However, the Sibyl knows only of the campaigns of the first two years (502-503) when the Persian armies defeated, as the Sibyl says (171f.), several Roman armies and captured a number of important cities such as Theodosiopolis, Martyropolis, and Amida. But Anastasius reorganized the Roman high command, and as a consequence the Roman armies were successful in 504 and 505.² Of these Roman successes, as well as of the truce arranged in 505 and the peace treaty of 506, the Sibyl is unaware. It may be concluded, then, that in its present form the Greek text was composed between 502 and 506 at the latest, more probably in 503 or 504.

The question of the provenance of the Greek text is more difficult to answer than that of its date. For a considerable time I was inclined to assume a Roman origin. My principal reason for this assumption was the curious reference to the Sibyl uttering her prophecy sitting "on the *Capitolium* among the olive trees" (12f.). Here the author furnishes a detail of Roman topography which at first sight seemed to guarantee his intimate knowledge of the Empire's ancient capital. This was all the more striking, as a legend known in the Eastern Roman Empire by the sixth century at the latest, the "Ara Coeli Legend," told of a Christian altar set up on the Capitoline Hill by Augustus. Later Western tradition connected the event specifically with a prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl.³ Yet this reference to olive trees on the Capitoline Hill, far from being evidence for a Roman origin of the text, proves on the contrary that it must have been written elsewhere. Indeed, nowhere in the vast

² Bury, II, 10-15; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 352; Stein, II, 92-101; Jones, I, 231 f.

³ On the legend of the Church of Ara Coeli at Rome see John Malalas, X, Bonn ed., 231; *Laterculus Imperatorum Romanorum*, ed. Th. Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, III (MGH, *Auct. Ant.*, XIII [Berlin, 1898]), 428. Good recent summary of problems, with bibliography, in H. Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1959 ff.), 272-275, *verbo* "Augustus und die Sibylle von Tibur." The Tiburtine Sibyl is first connected with the legend in the *Mirabilia Romae* of the twelfth century.

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF GREEK TEXT

ancient, medieval, or modern literature on the topography of the Capitoline Hill is there another mention of olive trees.⁴ The author must either have invented the olive trees, or must have transferred olive trees growing elsewhere to the *Capitolium* in Rome.⁵ It will be seen that the second of these alternatives is correct (see *infra*, pp. 67-69), but it is clear already that the hypothesis of a Roman provenance must be rejected.

There are, however, indications that the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl was composed in or near the ancient city of Heliopolis-Baalbek, which in the early sixth century when the text was written belonged administratively to the province of *Phoenice Libanensis*. The author remarks that the temples of Heliopolis will be built by (under?) Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius and "are very large and shapely beyond any [other] temple in the inhabited world" (78-80). This remark on the gigantic size of the temples at Baalbek is confirmed by their ruins.⁶ Together with the fact that Mt. Lebanon

⁴ Bibliography on "Capitolium" by F. J. Dölger and A. Hermann, *RAC*, II (Stuttgart, 1954), cols. 847-861. I have searched a large part of the modern literature on the historical topography of the Capitoline Hill without finding a reference to olive trees. More important, two outstanding experts on Roman topography, Professors G. Lugli and F. Castagnoli, of the Istituto di Topografia Antica in Roma, had the great kindness of informing me by mail that they know of no mention of olive trees on the Capitoline Hill.

⁵ In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, during the great *agon* between Aeschylus and Euripides, the chorus warns the latter: μή σ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀππάσας ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν. A scholiast explains: ὡς ἐπ' ἀκρον ἱπποδρόμου ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν καθ' ὅς ἐξεφέροντο οἱ ὑποπύπτοντες κατὰ τὸν δρόμον (W. G. Rutherford, *Scholia Aristophanica*, I [London, 1894], 386). Aristophanes and the scholiast are clearly thinking of a racecourse at Athens. It is difficult to imagine, however, why the author of the Greek text of the Sibyl should have transferred these olive trees from the racecourse at Athens to the Capitoline Hill at Rome.

⁶ On the temples of Heliopolis, see Wiegand; also E. Honigmann, *verbo* "Heliopolis," in *RE*, Supplementband IV (Stuttgart, 1924), cols. 715-728; O. Eissfeldt, *Tempel und Kulte syrischer Städte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (= *Der Alte Orient*, 40 [Leipzig, 1940]); *idem*, "Baalbek," *RAC*, I (Stuttgart, 1950), cols. 1113-1118. The enormous size of the principal sanctuary is emphasized throughout Wiegand's publication, see for example p. 47: "Aus dem nordwestlichen Viertel der Stadt weit in die Ebene vorgeschoben und durch mächtige Unterbauten aus ihr emporgehoben, erstreckte sich das Heiligtum der heliopolitanischen Trias in einer Länge von 270 Metern und einer Breite von 120 Metern . . . in seiner Masse noch vermehrt durch den südlich benachbarten Dionysostempel." Of the main temple six columns, each 19 meters high are standing. It was built on an artificial terrace 13½ meters high; three gigantic slabs, each 19 meters long, were used to support the terrace. Cf. Beer, "Heliopolis," *RE*, VIII (Stuttgart, 1913), col. 48: the ruins of Heliopolis "neben den Ruinen von Palmyra die imposantesten Baudenk-

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

is mentioned alongside of Heliopolis, it proves that the Sibyl was thinking of the Phenician rather than the Egyptian Heliopolis. The foundations of the temples of Baalbek go indeed back to the period of the Seleucids (compare the mention of an Antiochus in 76), but a second building period began under the Julio-Claudian emperors and the temples were completed in the period from Antoninus Pius to Philipppus Arabs.⁷

By itself the fact that the author of the new text knew of the enormous size of the temples at Heliopolis is no guarantee that he had seen them himself. But his interest in Heliopolis goes farther. In the eschatological part of her prophecy the Sibyl predicts "that there will arise another emperor from Heliopolis and he will wage war against the emperor from the East and kill him" (205f.). It will be shown below that this passage is an interpolation into an earlier document according to which the slaying of the Emperor from the East was assigned to another eschatological figure, the "Emperor who has a Changing Shape" (193). The simplest explanation of this sixth-century interpolation is the hypothesis that the author wrote in or near Heliopolis and was anxious to assign to

mäler des gesamten ausgehenden Altertums," and R. E. M. Wheeler, "Size and Baalbek," *Antiquity*, 36 (1962), 6-9.

⁷ On the building periods of the temples at Heliopolis see A. von Gerkan, "Die Entwicklung des grossen Tempels in Baalbek," as reprinted in *Von antiker Architektur und Topographie* (Stuttgart, 1959), 267-271; Eissfeldt, *Tempel und Kulte syrischer Städte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, 42f. A decisive piece of evidence which came to light after the German excavations is a graffito dated A.D. 60 and found on the capital of a column of the Temple of the Heliopolitan Triad. It proves that in that year the architrave had not yet been placed on the column, see H. Seyrig, "Heliopolitana," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, I (1937), 77-100, esp. 95-98. There is no agreement among scholars as to the beginning of the second building period at Heliopolis. E. Weigand, "Baalbek und Rom, etc.," *Jahrbuch des Kais. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 29 (1914), 37-91, thought of the Augustan period. Von Gerkan, *op. cit.*, 267, hesitated to accept a date earlier than the reign of Claudius. Eissfeldt, *op. cit.*, 42, opted for the Neronian period and H. Seyrig (*Syria*, 31 [1954], 97f., note 97f.) considers it possible that building operations began under Augustus. The precise assertion of the new text, according to which building operations took place under Tiberius and Gaius, deserves the attention of archaeologists; see H. Winnefeld in Wiegand, 146: "Andererseits schliesst aber auch der Umstand, dass von Koloniegründungen unter Tiberius und Caligula wenig bekannt ist, nicht aus, dass Heliopolis seine Stellung als Kolonie erst einem dieser Kaiser verdankte. . . . Mit der Gründung der Kolonie scheint auch der Bau ihres Hauptheiligtums, des Tempels des Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, in Angriff genommen worden zu sein."

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF GREEK TEXT

this city a pivotal role in the dramatic events to take place at the end of time.⁸

Furthermore the author seems to possess information not only on Heliopolis, but also on the range of Mt. Lebanon, which with its often snow-covered peaks is clearly visible from the city. From the "temples of Heliopolis" the Sibyl carefully distinguishes the "altars of Lebanon." The Sibyl seems thus to have knowledge of free-standing altars on Mt. Lebanon, i.e. of altars that are independent of temples. If there is archaeological or literary corroboration for this notion of the Sibyl, this would be additional evidence for her connection with Heliopolis and its environment.

The Sibyl mentions the altars of Lebanon three times. According to her, they, like the temples of Heliopolis, will be built by Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius (78f.). Constantine the Great "will destroy all the pagan temples and the altars of Lebanon" (86f.). Under Theodosius II and Valentinian III a great warrior "will shatter the temples of the cities and the altars of Lebanon" (115). Archaeological research into the architecture of Roman temples in Syria has distinguished two building periods: the earlier temples of the first century A.D. and the later temples of the second and third centuries.⁹ All pagan temple districts had a sacrificial altar as a matter of course. Those in front of the temples at Hössu Firi and Kalat Fakra in the Lebanon are preserved and belong to the earlier period.¹⁰ At Heliopolis it is uncertain whether the remains of a structure in the courtyard may be identified as belonging to a sacrificial altar (this was the opinion of the German excavators) or as a tower (proposal of their French

⁸ It is probable that the sentence about the building of the temples at Heliopolis and about their gigantic size (79f.) was due to the same sixth-century interpolator as the eschatological passage (205f.); see *infra*, p. 57f. In the sixth century Heliopolis was still a powerful stronghold of paganism (Winnefeld in Wiegand, 150; Honigsmann, *loc. cit.*, cols. 718-723; J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* [Heidelberg, 1920], 193 f.). On the other hand, a Christian congregation had existed at Heliopolis since the days of Constantine the Great (cf. Winnefeld, 149 f.) and the author of the Greek text probably was a member of it. The transformation of the temple of the Heliopolitan Triad into a Christian church seems to have been undertaken in the sixth century, not under Theodosius I as had been thought formerly; cf. H. Seyrig, "Nouveaux monuments de Baalbek et de la Beqaa," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, 16 (1961), 109-135, esp. 121, note 1.

⁹ Krencker and Zschietzschmann, 271-275.
¹⁰ Krencker and Zschietzschmann, 24 (Hössu Firi), 45 (Kalat Fakra). On these locations see the map, pl. I in the volume of plates.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

successors).¹¹ Within sight of Heliopolis, to the southwest, at El 'Hadet, stood a temple of Apollo with an inscribed altar.¹² At Kalat Fakra further to the southwest, at a distance of less than forty kilometers from Heliopolis, there was found, in addition to the altar within the district of the great temple, a second altar. It stood in front of a tower two or more stories high which is dated by two inscriptions to the reign of Claudius and served cultic purposes. The altar, probably of the same date as the tower, measured *circa* five square meters and was located at a point which commanded a wide view over the plain of El Biqla.¹³ There is no reason to believe that the great freestanding Claudian altar of Kalat Fakra was unique, and the Sibyl is undoubtedly right in stating that other altars of this type were built on "high places" somewhat earlier under Tiberius and Caligula. When she prophesies the destruction of the altars of Lebanon by Constantine the Great (87), she has in mind events such as the destruction of the temple of Aphrodite at Aphaka (Afka) by a military unit on the orders of the Emperor.¹⁴ On the other hand, there exists no independent testimony to the destruction of altars on Mt. Lebanon under Theodosius II and Valentinian III, as the Sibyl states (115), yet there is every reason to accept this statement as historical, especially as it is known that under Arcadius (395-408) and under the inspiration of John Chrysostom bands of monks had been destroying pagan shrines in Phenicia.¹⁵

¹¹ Th. Wiegand, *Baalbek*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1921), 68-70; Seyrig, "Heliopolitana," 77-100, esp. 77f.

¹² Krencker and Zschietzschmann, 146f.

¹³ Krencker and Zschietzschmann, Text, 48-55. Cf. 277: "Ein Altar ohne dazugehörigen Tempel steht in Kalat Fakra, wohl kaum innerhalb eines Bezirks, frei in der Landschaft auf hervorgehobener, weithin sichtbarer Stelle."

¹⁴ Eusebius (?), *Vita Constantini*, III, 55, ed. I. A. Heikel (GCS, 7 [Leipzig, 1902]), 102 f.: ἄλλος δὲ τοῦτο ἦν καὶ τέμενος . . . αἰσχυρῶς δαίμονι Ἀφροδίτης ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας μέρει τοῦ Λιβάνου τῆς ἐν Ἀφάκοις ἰδρυμένον . . . αὐτοῖς δ' ἀφιερῶμασιν ἐκ βάρων τὸ πᾶν ἀφανισθῆναι κελεύει. That Constantine should have destroyed "all the temples of the Gentiles" is an obvious exaggeration, but a temple of Asclepius at Aegeae in Cilicia was also destroyed on his orders; cf. Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 5, 5, eds. J. Bidez and G. Chr. Hansen (GCS, 50 [Berlin, 1960]), 57, 7f.

¹⁵ John Chrysostom, *Epist.* 221 (PG, 52, col. 732 f.). Cf. Theodoret, *Eccl. hist.*, V, 29, eds. L. Parmentier and F. Scheidweiler (GCS, 44 [Berlin, 1954]), 329: Μαθὼν (John Chrysostom) δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐτι περὶ τὰς τῶν δαιμόνων τελέτας μεμνηνά, ἀσκητὰς μὲν λήλω θείῳ πυρπολοῦμένους συνέλεξε. νόμοις δὲ αὐτοῦς ὀπλίσας βασιλικαῖς κατὰ τῶν εἰδωλικῶν ἐξέπεμψε τεμενῶν . . . Cf. V.

DATE AND PROVENANCE OF GREEK TEXT

Thus there is strong evidence in favor of the thesis that the new Greek text was compiled in or near Heliopolis. The author knows of the gigantic size of the temples at Heliopolis. He knows of free-standing altars on Mt. Lebanon built under the Julio-Claudian house, such as the one preserved at Kalat Fakra. He knows of the destruction of "high places" like Aphaka under Constantine the Great and is probably right in speaking of further acts of destruction directed against altars on Mt. Lebanon under Theodosius II. Finally he is so interested in the city of Heliopolis that he interpolates an "Emperor from Heliopolis" into the eschatological part of the prophecy which he was using. As references to Heliopolis and Mt. Lebanon are not concentrated in one part of the prophecy but are scattered throughout the Greek text,¹⁶ it is safe to conclude that in its present form it was written in or near Heliopolis between 502 and 506.¹⁷

Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, II (Jena, 1892), 250; J. Chr. Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (Westminster, Md., 1959), II, 391; J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des Griechisch-Römischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed. (Heidelberg, 1929), 193.

¹⁶ 78, 87, 115, 205.

¹⁷ The Heliopolitan origin of the new text is corroborated by one of the passages on Mt. Lebanon. In 110 the author finds it necessary to specify that Mt. Taurus is located in Ἀνατολή and Mt. Antitaurus in Armenia, but he does not give any such indication for the geographic location of Mt. Lebanon (111), presumably because it needed no explanation for himself and his prospective readers.

IV

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

In the preceding chapter the attempt was made to answer the question: when and where was the Greek text of the Sibyl's prophecy composed? This enquiry led to the conclusion that it was written in the early sixth century. Consequently, the Greek text as preserved in three manuscripts is younger than the ancient nucleus of the Latin tradition. One may therefore hope that the tradition lying behind the Greek text and leading to it may be elucidated by a study of the relationship of Greek and Latin texts.

As stated above, Latin versions of the Tiburtine Sibyl's prophecy are preserved in manuscripts beginning with the eleventh century.¹ They are of considerable importance not only for the establishment of the Greek text,² but also for the elucidation of its history. Indeed, a comparison of the Greek Sibyl with the Latin versions will show two things: first, that there existed a fourth-century version of a date earlier than the extant Greek and Latin texts, and secondly, that parts of this earlier version survive, in a somewhat edited form, within the Greek text.

There can be no doubt that the Latin version edited by Sackur (w¹) and the new Greek text tell essentially the same story. This is proved not only by the many passages where the Latin words are the exact counterpart of the Greek text but also by the general correspondence of important aspects of the narrative.³ On the other hand between the Greek and Latin versions there are a number of differences; only those which shed light on the literary relationships

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

² See *apparatus criticus* of edition, for example *ad* 26, 29, 59, 69, 94, 105, etc.

³ Thus, the one hundred "men from the Roman senate" who dream the basic dream in the Latin version correspond to the one hundred "judges" in the Greek. Both texts know of nine suns and nine generations. In both the Greek and Latin versions the Sibyl's prophecy is presented in the guise of an interpretation of a dream. In both texts the Incarnation occurs in the fourth generation. In both texts the Sibyl's speech is interrupted by an objection made by Hebrew priests.

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

of these versions will be discussed here.⁴ The latest historical events referred or alluded to in the ancient part of w¹ belong to the reigns of Constantius II (337-361) or Julian (361-363) while the Greek text reaches down to the reign of Anastasius I (491-518).⁵ In the light of the basic agreement of Greek and Latin versions, this difference may be explained in one of two ways. The author of the Greek text may have used the Latin version (or its Greek equivalent) but added to it remarks on the period not covered by the latter (from Constantius II or Julian to Anastasius). Alternately, both the new Greek text and the Latin version (w¹) may be descended from a common source. To clarify the relationship, a schematic comparison of the content of Sackur's Latin text (w¹) with the new Greek version is offered on p. 50f. It stresses the areas of agreement and omits data which appear either only in the new Greek text or only in one of the Latin versions. The only exceptions to this rule are cases where in one of the texts a given event (or events) is the only one to be mentioned for one of the nine generations and where, accordingly, the distribution of the material over the nine generations would not be clear if the event were omitted. All items listed are literal translations from the Greek and Latin texts, with supplements, added to facilitate the understanding of the passage, placed in square brackets.⁶

This comparison of the Latin and Greek versions shows that the Greek author has rearranged the materials contained in the Latin work. This rearrangement does not concern the first three generations where the Greek text agrees with the Latin Sibyl. But the Greek Sibyl inserted into her "prophecy" of the fourth generation the story of Jesus' sending out of the disciples which in the Latin text is registered as the only event of the fifth generation. Having

⁴ A difference for which I fail to discover an explanation concerns the dream of the nine suns which forms the basis of the Sibyl's interpretation. In the Greek text this dream is told by the one hundred judges, in w¹ it is reported by the author.

⁵ For the date of the Latin version, see the conclusion of Sackur, 162; it is now to be corrected in the light of my remarks, *infra*, p. 63f. Anastasius I is mentioned in the Greek text in 161-172 and no historical event following his reign is recognizable after this point.

⁶ All numerals given under "Latin Text" refer to the pages and lines of Sackur's edition, 177-187. Numerals under "Greek Text" refer to the lines of my edition.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

SACKUR'S LATIN TEXT (w ¹)		GREEK TEXT	
Gener- ation	Events	Gener- ation	Events
1	Loving freedom, truthful, mild (179, 15)	1	Free, truthful, mild (33)
2	Without malice (179, 19)	2	Without malice (35)
3	Tribe will rise against tribe (179, 20)	3	Tribe will rise against tribe (37)
4	There will arise a woman from the stock of the Hebrews called Mary (179, 23)	4	There will arise a woman from the Hebraic land named Mary (39) And [Jesus] will take men from Galilee and will give laws and say to them: The word which you have received from me, preach it to the peoples of the seventy-two languages (45)
	The God of Heaven will beget a son (180, 9)		The God of Heaven will beget a son (59)
	Kings will rise against him (180, 11)		Kings will rise against him (61)
	Augustus will rule at Rome and will subdue the entire earth. Afterwards the priests of the Hebrews will assemble... because he will do many signs (180, 12)		Augustus will rule at Rome and the entire inhabited world will be subjected by him... afterwards the mobs of the Jews will be assembled - Jesus will do miracles (68-74)
	And they will hang him on the cross (180, 19)		And they will hang three alongside of him on the cross (74)
5	Jesus will select two fishermen from Galilee and will teach them his own law and say... the teaching which you received from me, teach it to all the peoples and subdue all the nations through the seventy-two languages (180, 24)	5	Three kings will arise... and will carry out many persecutions because of him who was crucified on the wood of the cross (76)
6	They will be taken by assault in this city for three years and six months (180, 28)	6	Two... kings will arise and carry out many persecutions against the Christians (81)
7	Two kings will arise and carry out many persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God (180, 30)		And after this there will arise a king called Constantine, a... powerful warrior (85)
			[Follow data on fourth-century rulers down to and including Theodosius I] (96)
8	Rome will be deserted (181, 2)	7	[Follow data on emperors from Arcadius and Honorius (including desertion of Rome) to Gaiseric's sack of Rome] (104-135)

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

Gener- ation	Events	Gener- ation	Events
		8	[Follow data on emperors down to Anastasius I] (136-172)
9	Two kings will arise from Syria and their armies will be innumerable like the sand of the sea, and they will seize cities and regions of the Romans until Chalcedonia (181, 5) [Follows eschatological material] (181, 8)	9	Two kings will arise... from Syria, and the Assyrians will be like the sand of the sea, and they will seize many regions of the East until Chalcedonia (180-183) [Follows further eschatological material] (183)
	After them there will arise another king named C., powerful in battle, who will rule thirty years (181, 13) [Follows eschatological material]		

thus "economized" one generation the Greek Sibyl then proceeds to make further headway over her Latin counterpart by omitting altogether the only event listed by the Latin text for the sixth generation. Thereafter, however, the Greek Sibyl allows two generations for what constitutes only one generation in the Latin version, so that in the Greek text the fifth and sixth generations correspond to the Latin author's seventh generation; in other words the Greek Sibyl now loses part of the advantage that she had previously gained over her Latin *confrère*.⁷ However, presently she regains the lost ground by postponing for the moment the only event recorded in the Latin text for the eighth generation: the depopulation of the city of Rome. She continues in the sixth generation with the reign of Constantine which the Latin text discusses under the ninth generation⁸ and uses the balance of the sixth, as well as all of the seventh and eighth generations to review the history of the Roman Empire and its rulers from the successors of Constantine the Great to Anastasius I. As a result the two versions

⁷ In the Greek text two sets of rulers, three and two respectively, take up two generations (5 and 6), corresponding to one set of two rulers and one generation (7) in the Latin. This doubling by the Greek Sibyl and the "wasting" of one generation contrasts with her normal practice of "economizing" generations; it will be explained below (pp. 75-78).

⁸ There can be no doubt that the Latin text (Sackur, 181, 13) means Constantine the Great when it speaks of *alius rex C. nomine, potens in proelio qui regnabit a. XXX* (Sackur, 156f.; note especially the thirty years of Constantine's reign, A.D. 307-337). The Greek βασιλεὺς ὀνόματι Κωνσταντῖνος... κραταῖος πολεμιστής (85f.) corresponds almost literally.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

agree in recording the eschatological events of the last days in similar terms under the ninth generation.⁹

These literary relationships are explained by the fact that the Greek author wrote more than a century after his Latin colleague and consequently wished to fit the history of the intervening years into the framework of the nine generations. He therefore omitted some material which in the Latin text constituted an entire generation (Latin generation 6) and elsewhere combined into one generation materials which in the Latin text take up two generations. Thus, in the Greek text generation 4 represents generations 4 and 5 of the Latin version. These compressions made it possible for the Greek Sibyl to reserve most of generation 6 and all of generations 7 and 8 for the period that had elapsed after the Latin author had completed his prophecy.

Yet it would be incorrect to say that the Greek author simply compressed the extant Latin text (or its Greek original if one existed) and inserted into this shortened version an account of the last century before his own time. In fact it can be shown that the Greek version, although as a whole it is younger than the Latin text, contains elements and motifs that are older. One case in point concerns the location of the action in the city of Rome. According to the Latin text, this action proceeds in two different localities. First the one hundred Roman senators invite the Sibyl to interpret their dream. This invitation is issued in a place which the Sibyl characterizes as "full of excrements and polluted by various kinds of defilement."¹⁰ The Sibyl then proposes to move the proceedings to the Aventine Hill.¹¹ By a remarkable feat of historical empathy Sackur had conjectured that the first locality alluded to by the Latin Sibyl was the Capitoline Hill, the principal center of paganism in Rome, while from the fourth century on Christian churches and martyrs' shrines rose on the Aventine (S. Alessio, perhaps S. Prisca, S. Sabina).¹² Sackur's conjecture is now confirmed by the

⁹ Except that, as has been stated before, the reign of Constantine the Great, which is listed under the ninth generation in the Latin text, is part of the sixth generation in the Greek.

¹⁰ Sackur, 179, 6: *in loco stercoreibus pleno et diversis contaminationibus polluto*.

¹¹ Sackur, 179, 8: *ascendamos in Aventinum montem et ibi vobis pronuntiabo que ventura sint civibus Romanis*.

¹² Sackur, 173.

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

Greek text. Here the one hundred judges, as well as other inhabitants of Rome, meet the Sibyl in an unspecified place in Rome (at one of the gates?) and there the judges ask her to interpret their common dream. Thereupon the Sibyl suggests that they proceed to the *Capitolium*. The judges accept this proposition, and the rest of the scene then takes place on the *Capitolium*.¹³ Which of the two texts preserves the earlier version with regard to locality? The Greek text which localizes the events at an unknown spot in Rome (a gate) and on the Capitoline? Or the Latin version that assigns it to the Capitoline and Aventine Hills? Clearly the Latin version arose in reaction against the Greek text (or a text resembling it in this respect) because its author strongly disapproved of a Christian prophecy issuing forth from the Capitoline stronghold of paganism and therefore moved the scene to the Christian Aventine.¹⁴ Consequently, the localization of the scene in the Greek text is older than that in the Latin version and points towards a text earlier than w¹ which in the main resembled the present Latin version w¹ but differed from it in that it assigned the prophecy to the Capitoline Hill.¹⁵

Another observation points in the same direction and concerns the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" discussed before.¹⁶ It will be remembered that in its present (Greek) form it dates from the reign of Anastasius and predicts an end to Constantinople's imperial sway within three times sixty (= 180) years. Now several Latin versions contain the same oracle in the same context (immediately following the refounding of the city of Byzantium by Constantine the Great), but in a somewhat different form:

"Do not rejoice with joy, they shall not rule from Byzantium within sixty years."¹⁷

¹³ 13.

¹⁴ It is probable that this shift occurred in the West, perhaps in or near Rome, where the pagan character of the Capitoline Hill and the Christian nature of the Aventine were more likely to be known than in the East.

¹⁵ The hypothetical text need not necessarily have been written in Latin, but may have been in Greek.

¹⁶ 94 f.; cf. *supra*, p. 41.

¹⁷ *Cod. Monacensis Lat. 17742 (w³)*, fol. 48 recto: *et erit civitas magna, et habitabunt in ea multi, videlicet septuaginta et due lingue. Ne gaudeas gaudio, de byzantio inter LX annos non regnabunt*. (Sackur printed this excerpt p. 128,

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

The key difference between the Munich and Lambach versions of the Latin text on the one hand and the Greek Sibyl on the other is that the former allow Byzantium only sixty, in lieu of thrice sixty, years of imperial sway. The Munich and Lambach versions seem to represent an older form of the "Constantinopolitan Oracle." It must have originated between A.D. 324 (or 330) and 384 (or 390), when sixty years had elapsed from the foundation of the new capital.¹⁸ After the sixty years of imperial sway which it allowed for Constantinople had passed and there was no prospect that her status would diminish, an editor, from whose text the extant manuscripts of the Greek version are derived, adapted the prophecy to the new situation and changed the figure sixty into thrice sixty.¹⁹ There existed, then, a version of the "Tiburtine Sibyl" which

note 4; w⁴ and w⁵ here read: *nec gaudent gaudio, de bizantia inter sexaginta annos non regnabit [regnabunt w⁵].*) Although Sackur did not, indeed could not, recognize the importance of these sentences, he supplied the information that made the exploration of these literary relationships possible. It is, therefore, only proper to pay tribute to this great scholar whose perspicacity and scholarly honesty one admires even where his evaluation of the evidence cannot be accepted.

¹⁸ Constantine the Great began building operations in 324 and the city was inaugurated in 330.

¹⁹ *A priori*, another explanation for the different numerals in the Munich, Lambach, and Greek versions is possible, i.e., that a copyist inadvertently omitted the word "thrice" before "sixty." Anyone, however, familiar with the practices of apocalyptic writers knows that tampering with the calculations of apocalyptic time spans is the normal method of adjusting earlier texts to the course of events. The classic example is Jeremiah's prophecy that Babylon will be punished seventy years after the fall of Jerusalem and Daniel's reinterpretation of this oracle as referring to seventy year-weeks (or four hundred ninety years; cf. Jeremiah 25:11 and Daniel 9:24), but see also H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895), 269, note 1: "Die drei Rechnungen in Daniel stammen demnach aus verschiedenen Zeiten. . . . Die Zeit der Erfüllung verzog; aber der Glaube wankte nicht. Man schloss, dass es eine andere Rechnung der Verheissungszahl geben müsse, die die Wahrheit sei. . . . Diese beiden Glossen sind also ein Denkmal der Enttäuschung und des unwandelbaren Glaubens der maccabäischen Zeit." Another instructive example is the new Greek text where in the manuscripts K and A the number "thrice sixty" is changed drastically into "thrice six hundred" (see the critical apparatus on 94). Finally Stendhal reports an interesting modern parallel in the *Chartreuse de Parme*, chapters 1 and 2. After the Austrian defeat at Marengo (1800) there was current in Northern Italy a prophecy attributed to the ancient patron saint of Brescia, Giovita, that "the success of the French and of Napoleon would end exactly thirteen weeks after Marengo." Long after the thirteen weeks, and even thirteen months, had elapsed, the local priest at Grianta, loyal to his former Austrian masters, interpreted this prophecy to mean "que ce nombre treize devait être interprété d'une façon

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

was written between A.D. 330 and 390 and in which the fall of Constantinople from imperial status was prophesied to take place before 390. It is probable that this was the same early version that gave the Capitoline (rather than the Aventine) as the place of the Sibyl's prophecy.

If these conclusions have merit, there existed in the fourth century an early version of the "Tiburtine Sibyl's" prophecy, now lost, from which both the extant Greek and Latin versions are descended. Two features of this lost version have been identified: it located the Sibyl's prophecy on the *Capitolium* of Rome and it predicted that within sixty years from its foundation Constantinople would lose its imperial rank. Both these features are preserved in the Greek text, albeit in a revised form so far as the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" is concerned. It is natural to wonder whether the Greek text does not incorporate other major parts of the fourth-century original, apart from these two features. If this question is pursued, it becomes immediately clear that traces of the early document may hardly be expected to occur in that part of the prophecy which rehearses imperial history of the fifth and sixth centuries, i.e., in lines 104-172. On the other hand, the narrative framework (1-30, perhaps also 48-58), the account of the first six generations down to Constantine or even to Theodosius the Great (31-95 or 103) including what I call the "Sibylline Gospel" (39-47, 59-75), and the eschatological portion (173-end, perhaps also 115-126) may well embody parts of the lost fourth-century text. That this is the case cannot be proved, but it can be shown to be highly probable. In the first place, the two features that can with certainty be attributed to this early text (the *Capitolium* as the scene of the Sibyl's prophecy and the "Constantinopolitan Oracle") occur in the Greek text in the narrative framework and in the account of the sixth generation respectively. Moreover, in the Greek text a distinct change of outlook is noticeable after the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" or at the latest after the reign of Theodosius I. In the first part of the "prophecy," the author, to the extent that

qui étonnerait bien du monde, s'il était permis de tout dire (1813)," On this subject of "allegorical arithmetic" see further D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London, 1964), 195-202.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

he refers to historic events, is concerned exclusively with religious history, especially with the history of the Christian religion and with its victory over paganism.²⁰ How different is the outlook in the second part of the Sibyl's prophecy! Here, as will be shown in detail below,²¹ there is a wealth of information on emperors and dynasties, on wars with Persians and Huns, on peace treaties, on the social policies of the emperors, with very little emphasis placed on religious events. The dividing line separating the two parts follows either the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" or the reign of Theodosius I.²² The greater wealth of historical detail in the second part of the prophecy alone might be explained by the better knowledge that a sixth-century author had of the recent past. However, this greater wealth of historical detail coupled with the difference of general orientation—limitation to religious events in the first part, a more comprehensive interest in dynastic, military, domestic history in the second part—makes it highly probable that the sixth-century writer who composed the second part of the prophecy was not identical with the author of the first. In other words, for the interpretation of the first six suns, the sixth-century author probably incorporated an earlier text, probably the same fourth-century version of the Sibylline text the existence of which was inferred above from a study of the place of the prophecy and of the "Constantinopolitan Oracle." There are indications, however, that the fourth-century

²⁰ The data on the first three generations are altogether vague (32–38). In the fourth generation (38–47, 59–75) the Sibyl is concerned exclusively with the life of Jesus; his birth, his baptism, his sending out of the disciples, his miracles, his crucifixion. Alexander, Seleucus, and Herod are mentioned (61 f.) only because of their persecution of Jews. Only the reference to Augustus (68) has no connection with the biblical story. In the fifth generation attention is focussed altogether on the pagan temples at Heliopolis-Baalbek and the altars on Mt. Lebanon (76–80); as will be seen (*infra*, p. 58 f.), this passage is a sixth-century interpolation. In the sixth generation there is a record of persecutions of Christians and of slayings of senators "because of the name of Christ" (81–85). There follows the account of the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great, of his destruction of pagan shrines, the famous vision of the cross, his mother Helen finding the true cross, of the founding of Constantinople, and of the settlement in the new city of the "tribes of the seventy-two tongues" which had been evangelized by the apostles (93 f.; cf. 47) and the "Constantinopolitan Oracle."

²¹ *Infra*, Chapter VI.

²² It will be shown below (p. 63 f.) that the second alternative is correct.

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

document was subjected to editorial changes in the process of its insertion into the sixth-century text.²³

What was the provenance of this hypothetical fourth-century version? In particular, are the references to Heliopolis-Baalbek and to Mt. Lebanon due to the fourth-century author? To the latter question the answer must be negative because several of these references can be proved to be interpolations and must consequently be due to the activity of an author or editor other than the fourth-century apocalypticist. This can be seen most easily in the case of the role assigned to the city of Heliopolis in the eschatological part of the prediction. The Greek version knows of a series of eschatological "kings" in the ninth generation. This sequence of rulers will be most readily understood if it is presented schematically:

1. Tetrarchy: two kings will arise from the East, two other kings from Syria (180).
2. Another King from the East named Olibos (?) (186). He kills the four preceding kings, grants tax exemption, etc.
3. King with the Changed Shape (191). He rules thirty years, rebuilds the altars of Egypt, kills the King from the East and his army in war, etc.
4. King from Heliopolis (205). He kills the King from the East, grants tax exemption for three years and a half, etc.
5. The Ruler of Perdition who has been changed (208). He kills the King from Heliopolis, etc. Enoch and Elijah wage war upon him, he kills them.
6. "He who was crucified on the wood of the cross" (217) comes down from Heaven, revives Enoch and Elijah and kills the Ruler of Perdition and his host, etc.

This schematic presentation makes it clear that the King from Heliopolis (No. 4) is an intruder. In fact, in one respect he is the double of the King with the Changed Shape (No. 3), for he kills the

²³ Thus, as will be shown presently, all references to Heliopolis are interpolated. Furthermore, the name Εὐδοκόπολις must have been inserted before Κωνσταντίνου πόλις (92) after the fourth century, as Eudocia married Theodosius II only in 421. Finally, an editor living after 390 must, as we have seen, have changed the number sixty into three times sixty in line 94 (p. 54). There may well be other instances of editorial interference.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

King from the East (No. 2) a second time after the latter had already been slain by the King with the Changed Shape (No. 3). The "King with the Changed Shape" (No. 3) is evidently identical with the "Ruler of Perdition, he who has changed" (No. 5) and his career continues after the King from Heliopolis (No. 4) is disposed of. The original sequence of eschatological rulers, such as it was found in the hypothetical fourth-century source, may then be reconstructed as follows:²⁴

- 1*. Tetrarchy
- 2*. King from the East: Olibos
- 3*. King with the Changed Shape or Ruler of Perdition
- 4*. Second Coming of Christ

A second reference to Heliopolis-Baalbek and Mt. Lebanon is probably also an interpolation (76-80):

In the fifth generation three kings will arise, Antiochus, Tiberius and Gaius. They will carry out many persecutions because of him who was crucified on the wood of the cross. And they will build up (rebuild?) the temples of Heliopolis and the altars of Lebanon; and the shrines of that city are very large and shapely beyond any (other) temple in the inhabited world.

The first of these sentences is certainly an interpolation. In the first place, it will be shown²⁵ that the passage is the only one²⁶ to disturb the chronological list of rulers and that it suggests, moreover, an impossible chronology for the crucifixion. Secondly, an even more important argument in favor of an interpolation may be

²⁴ Unfortunately, it is impossible to control this reconstruction with the aid of w¹ because the entire eschatological portion (Sackur, 181ff.) has been replaced by medieval material (printed by Sackur in italics). The interpolation of the Phœnician Heliopolis into the fourth-century text may have been facilitated by the role that the Egyptian city of the same name played in eschatology, see *Apocalypse of Elijah*, 30, 5 (trans. Steindorff, 85): "In jenen Tagen wird sich erheben ein König in der Stadt, die man die 'Stadt der Sonne' nennt." It will be remembered (*supra*, p. 38) that there are other points of contact between the new text and the *Apocalypse of Elijah*.

²⁵ *Infra*, p. 78 f.

²⁶ The names of the three rulers (Valens, Valentinian, Jovian) in 96f. are corrupt in the MSS, but if the readings proposed are correct, then there are chronological difficulties here as well.

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

gathered from the schematic comparison of Latin and Greek texts.²⁷ In the Latin text, under the seventh generation there is the laconic entry: "Two kings will arise and carry out many persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God." In the Greek text two entries, under the fifth and sixth generations respectively, correspond to the one entry in the Latin version and report on these royal persecutions (cf. *supra*, p. 50). The first of these entries has just been cited and replaces the two kings of the Latin text by three kings, Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius. The second entry (81f.) states that "in the sixth generation there will arise two kings with short reigns and they will carry out many persecutions against the Christians." In other words, in the Greek text the same activity is prophesied first of a group of three kings and then of a pair of kings. Why did this duplication of persecutors occur? I suggest that it happened for the same reason that the sixth-century author inserted a ruler of Heliopolis-Baalbek into the sequence of eschatological rulers. He knew, or thought he knew (from a Heliopolitan chronicle? from local oral tradition?), that under one of the Seleucid rulers called Antiochus (Antiochus IV?) and under the Roman Emperors Tiberius and Gaius Caligula Christians had been persecuted²⁸ and building operations carried out at Heliopolis. He therefore inserted this information into his text. In fact, he found the material important enough to fill an entire generation (the fifth) with it, in contrast to his practice elsewhere of "economizing" on generations in order to gain space for his fifth-century material. Fortunately (for us) the sixth-century author was not disturbed by the fact that he was working havoc with the chronology of the document which he was editing, an unconcern that makes it possible to unravel the author's procedures.

It may be stated then with confidence that none of the references to Heliopolis-Baalbek, which permitted the localization of the Greek text in this city or its neighbourhood, belong to the original text of the prophecy. They are probably due to the sixth-century editor from Heliopolis and are therefore of no importance for the

²⁷ *Supra*, p. 50 f.

²⁸ It is difficult to understand what the sixth-century author had in mind when he wrote of persecution of *Christians* ("because of him who was crucified on the cross") under Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

problem of where the fourth-century text was composed. Beyond this negative conclusion it is unsafe to go, for the evidence is ambiguous. On the one hand it is said, in line 39, that "the son of the godhead will appear in the south." This sentence must have been written north of Bethlehem. On the other hand, a number of features point towards an Egyptian origin. In line 198 the word ὄρη is used in the sense of "deserts" as in the papyri. This passage is preceded by an account of the deeds of the "King who has a Changed Shape" that reappears almost verbatim in a text of Egyptian origin preserved in Coptic, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*. Moreover, in the eschatological section of the prophecy the river Nile plays an important role (212). Under these circumstances it is prudent to be satisfied with the negative result already stated, namely that there are no indications connecting the original text of the prophecy with Heliopolis.

It is equally difficult to decide in what language, Greek or Latin, the fourth-century source of the Greek text was written. Literal quotations from the Bible are rare in the new text and consequently do not permit inferences as to which text of the Bible was used. The portions of the Greek text, which, as was shown above (p. 55), are based on the hypothetical fourth-century text, are written in excellent Vulgar Greek and my impression is that they exhibit no Latinisms. On the other hand, the Latin text contains at least one phrase that must be based on a false reading in its Greek model.²⁹ Consequently I am inclined to believe that the hypothetical fourth-century text was composed in Greek.

There remains the problem of defining the relationship of the new Greek text to the other Latin versions (w², w³, w⁴ and w⁵), as well as the connections between the Latin versions. The extant Latin versions differ from the Greek text in that they exhibit a great deal of information on Lombard and German rulers from the sixth to the twelfth century.³⁰ In w³ the list of these rulers is virtually identical

²⁹ The Greek words ἐπίσκοποι φάρμακοι ἔσονται (120f.) are perfectly clear, but the Latin text has (Sackur, 183, 24): *Episcopi malefactorum sectatorum* (variant: *sectantes*) *erunt*. As Professor Youtie pointed out to me, the readings *sectatorum* and *sectantes* must be based on a false reading ἔπονται for ἔσονται in the Greek text.

³⁰ Sackur, 129-137 (on w¹ only).

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

with that of w¹;³¹ in addition the two versions share a number of other features.³² w⁴ and w⁵ record some of the same rulers as w³ down to Otto III of Germany (983-1002).³³ It is clear, then, that w¹, w³, w⁴, and w⁵ are derived from a medieval Latin version (w^b) composed at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh

³¹ I give here a comparison of the lists of rulers in w³ and w¹, together with the historical identifications proposed for w¹ by Sackur (the relevant part of w³ is printed by Sackur p. 128, note 4): *rex per K litteram w³ ≈ rex C. nomine w¹ (181, 13 = Constantine the Great); alius rex w¹ (181, 16; omitted in w³); rex per B w³ ≈ rex per B nomine w¹ (181, 18; not identified); rex nomine Auton w³ ≈ rex Audon w¹ (181, 18 = Audoin father of Alboin, circa 550); per A (A ?) rex w³ ≈ A (181, 19 = Autharic, 584-590); iterum per A (A ?) w³ ≈ A (181, 20 = Alboin, 569-572); iterum per A (A ?) w³ ≈ A (181, 20 = Ariovald, 626-636); rex per R w³ ≈ rex per R nomine (181, 20 = Rothari, 636-652); per L w³ ≈ L w¹ (181, 22 = Liudprand, 712-744); Salicus surget rex de Frantia per K w³ ≈ surget rex Salicus de Francia de K nomine (182, 1 = Charlemagne, 768-814); rex post eum per L (182, 7 = Lewis the Pious, 814-840, omitted in w³); rex per B w³ ≈ B (182, 18 = Berengar I, 888-889); reges per XII BBBBBBBBBBBBBB w³ ≈ XXII B w¹ (182, 9, i.e. the later kings of Italy called Berengar); rex per A (= A ?) w³ ≈ A (182, 9 = Adalbert, 950-963, son of Berengar II); dux per litteram V. w³ ≈ rex per V nomine (182, 13 = Hugh of Provence, 926-947). After this two quires are missing in w³ where the author undoubtedly gave the list of German kings from Otto I onward. Unfortunately it is impossible to establish clearly who the last historical figure mentioned in w³ was, for after the lacuna of two quires the text continues as follows: *conuincunt regnum Romanorum in numerum cricum eununtium* (= *circumeuntium*) *temporum VII* (fol. 50r). This phrase marks the beginning of a description of eschatological events excerpted from Pseudo-Methodius (cf. Sackur, 80, 9): the coming of the Antichrist, the eruption of Gog and Magog, and a journey of the Roman emperor to Jerusalem. Whatever the differences of detail, the comparison of the lists of rulers in w³ and w¹ makes it clear that the two versions are descended from the same Latin text written at the earliest in the tenth century (Hugh of Provence is referred to in both) and more probably in the eleventh or twelfth centuries (the Munich manuscript was written in the twelfth century).*

³² Thus, as in w¹, the Sibyl in w³ refuses to interpret the dream on the pagan *Capitolium* and proceeds to the Aventine Hill: *Euntes de ciuitate et de stercore ac de locis immundis eamusque in montem auentinum*, etc. (fol. 44r). Similarly, in both w³ and w¹ it is the *sacerdotes Hebreorum*, not τῶν Ἰουδαίων or ὄχλοι as in the Greek text (72 f.; cf. Sackur, 180, 14 and fol. 48r w³), who are responsible for the crucifixion. There are other instances.

³³ The list of rulers in w⁴ and w⁵ is identical with that in w³ (*supra*, note 31). However, it omits the first two rulers and the second of the kings beginning with L, substitutes, as does w¹, four rulers beginning with A for the king beginning with Lambda, and a ruler beginning with K for the *rex per R*, and adds at the end three rulers beginning with O. In other words, in w⁴ and w⁵ the list reaches down to Otto III. Their parent version must therefore have been composed not long after Otto's accession in 983, in 1002 at the latest, and is therefore older than all the Latin versions studied by Sackur (see his remarks, pp. 126-137, esp. 134: oldest version written under Conrad II of Germany, 1024-1039).

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

century, which exhibited the list of German and Lombard rulers as well as the other elements common to w^3 and w^1 . From this lost common source w^b the Latin versions w^1 , w^3 , w^4 , and w^5 derived some words and phrases found in the Greek text but preserved in Latin only in either w^1 or in one of the other Latin versions, not in both.³⁴ From this same lost source w^b the remaining Latin version w^2 is likewise descended. The beginning of the list of medieval rulers does not survive in w^2 , but from Hugh of Provence onward it is substantially the same as that of w^1 and reaches down to Henry III (1039–1056) or Henry IV (1056–1106).³⁵

These remarks on the relationships of Greek and Latin versions

³⁴ I cite first some examples where w^3 (not w^1) preserves an element of the Greek text: καθίσασα ἡ Σίβυλλα ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ (12) \approx *sedit super saxum magnum et altum* w^3 (fol. 44v); θεότητος γονὴ φανήσεται ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ (39) \approx *tunc exurget mulier a meridiano* w^3 (fol. 46r); ἀνοιγήσονται αὐτῶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ (42f.) \approx *aperientur ei celi* w^3 (fol. 46v); ὁμοίωμα νηπιῶν λήψεται (60) \approx *in similitudinem hominum factus* w^3 (fol. 48r); the "Constantinopolitan Oracle," see *supra*, p. 53, note 17; καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Οὐάλης, . . . Βαλεντινιανὸς καὶ 'Ιουβιανὸς . . . καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς πυρὶ ἀναλωθήσεται (96–98) \approx *post ea exurgent alii reges et unus ex illis conburebitur in igne* w^3 (fol. 48v). In other instances w^1 derives a word or phrase extant in the Greek text from the common source of w^3 and w^1 , whereas w^3 omits it. Examples: ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ γυνὴ ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος χώρας (39f.) \approx *exurget mulier de stirpe Hebraeorum* (Sackur, 179, 23); the *agraphon* is preserved in the Greek text (46f.) and in w^1 (Sackur, 180, 27); cf. *infra*, p. 70, note 13.

³⁵ The fragment w^2 (ed. Waitz; *supra*, p. 9) begins (375, 45) with a *dux per V nomine, de una parte Salicus et de alia parte Longobardus*, evidently Hugh of Provence, 926–947; there follow three kings whose names begin with the letter O (375, 46–50 = Otto I, Otto II and Otto III, 936–1002); then comes (376, 1) *rex de genere Longobardorum per A nomen* (Arduin of Ivrea, 1002–1014); *rex Salicus per E nomen* (376, 1 = Henry II of Germany, 1002–1024); the next rulers (376, 4–24) are eschatological, not historical figures, but the *dux in Tuscia per B nomen* (376, 25) is again a historical monarch, Boniface of Tuscany († 1052); so is the *rex in A nomen* (376, 28 = Henry III of Germany, 1039–1056), as well as the last historical ruler, *rex Salicus de Baiowaria* (376, 34, possibly Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106). This is essentially the same list as that in the text of w^1 according to the *cod. Escorialensis* I 3 (written in 1047); see the first column in Sackur's tabulation on p. 130. However, in w^2 the *rex generatus sanguine Grecorum* (376, 7) takes the place of *alius rex Salicus vir fortis belligator* in the *Escorialensis*; furthermore w^2 speaks of a *dux in Tuscia per B nomen* (376, 25) where the *Escorialensis* of w^1 simply mentions a *rex per B nomine* and the *rex Salicus de Baiowaria* of w^2 (376, 34) has no counterpart in the *Escorialensis*. Clearly the list in w^2 is focussed on the rulers of Italy. This is particularly evident in the references to Hugh of Provence and to Boniface of Tuscany, but also in the sequence Arduin of Ivrea – Henry II. Arduin had been crowned King of Italy in 1002 when Henry became German king, but was forced to abdicate in September 1014, seven months after Henry had been crowned Emperor at Rome.

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

have a bearing on the date of the fourth-century Sibylline text (Σ) which was inferred above (pp. 52–57) from the new Greek text. Sackur placed the ancient portion of w^1 , which, as we have seen, is largely identical with the fourth-century source of the new Greek text, in the earliest part of Julian's reign.³⁶ He based this date partly on the fact that the latest ancient events alluded to by the Latin text w^1 concern the reigns of Constantine the Great and of his sons,³⁷ partly on the absence of any reference in w^1 to Julian's apostasy to paganism.³⁸ From these observations it seemed to follow that the ancient portion of w^1 was composed after Constantius' death and before Julian's apostasy became generally known. It now appears, however, that a reference to Valens' death (A.D. 378) was contained not only in the common source w^b of the extant Latin versions but also in the new Greek text.³⁹ This means that it must likewise have occurred in an ancient (pre-medieval) Latin version (w^a) of the Sibylline text, now lost, which was still free from the interpolations of medieval rulers such as those now preserved in the Latin versions.⁴⁰ Consequently the apostasy of

³⁶ Sackur, 162 (he speaks here of "Konstantius I," instead of using the more normal terminology: Constantius II).

³⁷ Sackur, 157–163.

³⁸ Sackur, 162: "... was mich veranlasst, in dieser Schilderung in erster Reihe an Konstantius I [= Constantius II] oder die erste Zeit Julians zu denken . . . ist der Umstand, dass Julians Abfall zum Heidentum nirgend mit einer Silbe berührt wird. Der eifrig christliche Sibyllist hätte sich das doch nicht entgehen lassen. Ich verlege deshalb die Abfassung unserer Sibylle [the ancient parts of w^1] unmittelbar in die Zeit nach dem Tode des Konstantius." But he seems to have had an inkling that there were indications of a later date in the fourth century, for he remarks somewhat earlier (p. 162): "So ist in der Hauptsache jeder Zug aus der Geschichte des Konstantius zu belegen. Freilich wäre an sich nicht ausgeschlossen, bei der Allgemeinheit einzelner Züge, dass auch etwas spätere Verhältnisse berücksichtigt worden seien."

³⁹ w^a , fol. 48v: *post ea exurgent alii reges et unus ex illis conburebitur in igne*; w^4 and w^5 : *unus ab inimicis igni conburetur*. The new Greek text (96–98) shows that the prophecy about a king to be burned by fire referred to Valens: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται τρεῖς βασιλεῖς, Οὐάλης, . . . Βαλεντιανὸς καὶ 'Ιουβιανὸς . . . καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς πυρὶ ἀναλωθήσεται. As the Greek text proves that the phrase *unus ex illis conburebitur in igne* is not an invention of the Latin versions, it follows that they must have derived it from w^b , and the latter must have obtained it from the Greek via the first Latin translation w^a .

⁴⁰ The phrase about Valens is missing from w^1 simply because w^1 copied its source w^b eclectically and for reasons of its own chose to ignore the entry (*supra*, note 34). The new Greek text and w^3 , w^4 , and w^5 , however, show that the phrase was part both of the Greek and Latin traditions.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

Julian ceases to serve as *terminus ante* for the earliest Latin text (*w^a*) and the death of Valens now turns out to be a *terminus post*. On the other hand, *w^a* can hardly have been written long after Valens' death, for the Latin tradition of our text knows of no Roman emperor later than Valens and when a list of medieval rulers was added in the Middle Ages, it began with the Lombard chieftain Audoin. It seems unlikely that *w^a* could have been produced in the fifth or early sixth centuries without referring to rulers and events of this period. Since *w^a* was derived from the earliest Greek version (*Σ*), the latter must *a fortiori* have been composed not long after Valens' death or in the last quarter of the fourth century. Furthermore it will be remembered that the question was left open (*supra*, p. 55) whether the line dividing in the new Greek text the fourth-century prophecy focussing on religious history from the sixth-century expansion concentrating on secular events followed upon the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" (94f.) or upon the reign of Theodosius I (100-103). It now appears that the phrase of the Greek text referring to the Emperor Valens was translated into Latin shortly after that Emperor's death. It follows that the reference to Valens' death in the Greek text cannot be part of the sixth-century expansion and that the fourth-century portion of the prophecy included certainly the death of Valens and thus extended down to the reign of Theodosius I. A late date in the fourth century is also suggested by the form in which the legend of the Empress Helen finding the cross is related by the Sibyl (see *infra*, p. 80, note 11). On the other hand, it must have been written prior to 390 as the fourth-century text predicted that Constantinople would lose her imperial rank by that date (*supra*, p. 53f.).

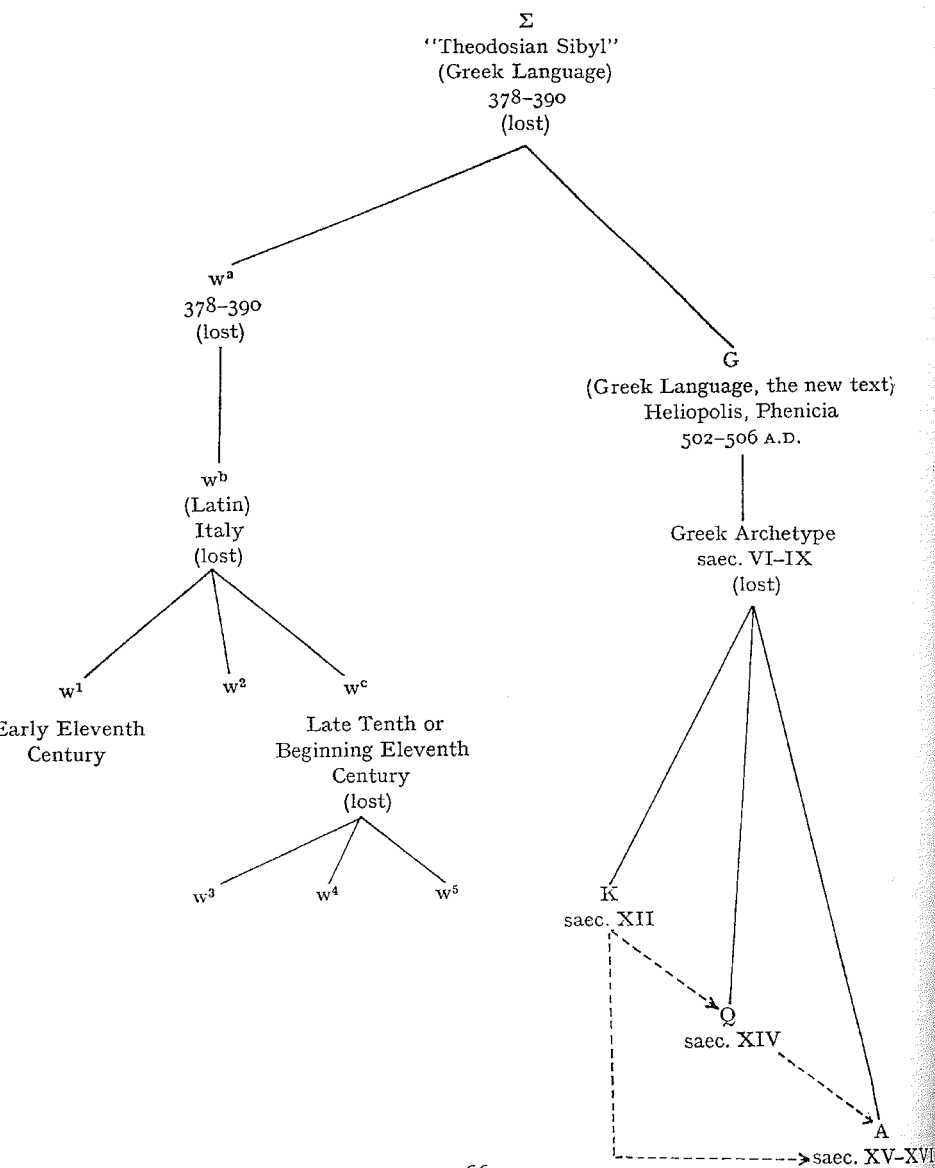
The results of this section may now be summarized as follows. At some time in Theodosius the Great's reign, i.e. between 378 and 390, there was composed a (lost) version of the Sibyl's prophecy (*Σ*, the "Theodosian Sibyl"). The author wrote probably in the Greek language and therefore in the Eastern portion of the Empire. Between them the ancient portions of the extant Latin versions, as well as the narrative, the first part (1-103), and the eschatological section of the new Greek text (173 to end, perhaps also 115-126) provide a fairly accurate picture of this Theodosian text. It is clear,

RELATION OF GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

however, that in their present form both the Greek and Latin documents are the result of considerable editorial work on the earlier text. The Theodosian text formed the basis of a (lost) Latin version (*w^a*), also produced between 378 and 390, not long after the composition of the Greek original. At some time in the late tenth or early eleventh century this first Latin version was expanded in Italy to include a list of Lombard and German rulers (*w^b*). In the East, to be precise in or near Heliopolis-Baalbek in *Phoenice Libanensis*, the earliest Greek version (*Σ*) was incorporated between 502 and 506 into a new Greek text (*G*), here edited for the first time. Editorial changes, notably references to Heliopolis, were introduced and the historical part of the prophecy was continued down to the editor's own period.

These conclusions can now be presented in graphic form:

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK



V THE NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK AND THE SIBYLLINE GOSPEL

In the new text a Sibyl's prophecy is introduced by a narrative about the Sibyl in which one hundred judges tell of a dream about nine suns and where the Sibyl interprets this dream. Her interpretation is interrupted briefly by a dialogue with "priests of the Hebrews." After this interruption the Sibyl's speech continues to the end of the text and no further reference is made to the narrative framework. The theater of action, the composition of the Sibyl's audience, and the date of the happenings implied by the narrative deserve some comment because they shed light on the twofold source of the Christian Sibylline tradition: pagan Sibylline precedents and biblical patterns.

The narrative is clearly localized on the *Capitolium* of Rome, presumably because the pagan Sibylline Books had until 83 B.C. been kept in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and had thus established a strong bond between the Roman *Capitolium* and Sibylline literature.¹ The Christian Sibyl delivers her prophecy seated on the *Capitolium* (12f.) because it was the standard pose for pagan sibyls to prophesy seated on a rock.² It has already been shown (*supra*,

¹ Rome is mentioned both in the title of the piece (2) and in 3. The *Capitolium* is also mentioned twice (9, 13). On the preservation of the Sibylline Books in the Capitoline temple, see Varro, *Antiquities*, II, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, IV, 62, 5; also Θεωσοφία Σιβύλλης, §75, ed. H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft, 4 (Hamburg, 1941), 187, 13 f.: πασῶν τῶν Σιβυλλῶν τὰ βιβλία (καὶ ὕστερον) ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ῥώμης τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἀπετέθησαν, κτλ.

² The Erythraean Sibyl declares in her metrical epitaph preserved in an inscription: Τῆδε δ' ἐφέλωμένη πέτρῃ θνητοῖσιω αἶσα / μαντοσύνας παθεῶν αὔθις ἐπεσομένων (K. Buresch, "Die sibyllinische Quellgrotte in Erythrae," *Mitteilungen d. Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abt.*, 17 [1892], 16-36, esp. 21). Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 9, 398 C, reports the same pose for the Delphic Sibyl: ... κατὰ τὴν πέτρῃν ..., ἐφ' ἧς λέγεται καθίεσθαι τὴν πρώτην Σιβύλλαν. Pausanias, X, 12, 1, knew of a Delphic tradition that "Herophile, called Sibyl, had prophesied from a rock," and the "Rock of the Sibyl" is shown at Delphi to this day (P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Les trésors de Delphes* [Paris 1950], pl. 4 and p. 22 f.). See in

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

p. 42f.) that the author was wrong when he imagined olive trees growing on the Capitoline Hill at Rome (13). What was the source of this error? The olive trees may either be the product of the author's imagination, or he may for some reason have transferred olive trees existing elsewhere than in Rome to the Roman *Capitolium*. The latter alternative is more probable on *a priori* grounds, as apocalyptic writers are wont to operate as much as possible with traditional materials. We ask then: were there olive trees growing on a mount or hill in a place other than Rome which was particularly suitable for the pronouncement of an apocalyptic prophecy? As soon as the question is asked in this fashion, there can be only one answer: the Mount of Olives (τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν), east of the temple area in Jerusalem beyond the valley of Kidron. The ridge owed its name to the fact that in antiquity there stood on it olive trees in greater profusion than today.³ There Jesus had answered the questions posed by four of his disciples: "when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?" There he had pronounced the "Synoptic Apocalypse" in which he had prophesied the signs of the Second Coming, advised the disciples how to behave in the approaching times of tribulation and announced the coming of the Son of Man.⁴

general the representations of the Erythraean Sibyl on coins in R. Herbig, "Ὁ ἑὲς Σίβυλλα," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 59/60 (1944), 141-147, esp. 143, and pl. 15, 3-7, and the frontispiece in this book.

³ On the Mount of Olives in antiquity, see the surveys by L. Gautier, "Olives, the Mount of," in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III (London, 1902), 3496-9, and by H. Haag, "Oelberg," *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., VII (Freiburg i. Br., 1962), col. 1139 (and references). The basic work is H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de Topographie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. and 2 vols. of plates (Paris, 1912-1926); see on topography vol. I, 66-69, and first volume of plates, pl. 1 (topographical sketch of Jerusalem) and pl. XI (view of Mt. of Olives), but also J. B. Curtis, "An investigation of the Mount of Olives in the Judaeo-Christian tradition," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 28 (1957), 137-180, esp. 137 f. for topography.

⁴ Mark 13:4; cf. Matt. 24:3; Luke 21:7. Curtis, *op. cit.*, 176, notes that the author of the *Testament of Naphtali* (chap. 5) claims to have had a vision on the Mount of Olives and concludes: "Olivet was undoubtedly a place for the receiving of revelations from Nargal [the Assyro-Babylonian god of death and life; cf. *ibid.*, 146 ff.] from ancient times." The Sibyl's "prophecy" thus is another instance of an eschatological prediction connected with the Mount of Olives, like the apocalyptic vision of the Book of Zachariah (14), the "Synoptic Apocalypse," and the vision in the *Testament of Naphtali*.

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Because Jesus had proclaimed his Apocalypse "being seated on the Mount of Olives" (καθήμενου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν), the author (or redactor) of the Sibylline prophecy had felt impelled to assign the Sibyl a seat among olive trees (καθίσασα ἐσώσεν τῶν ἐλαιῶν), from which she then proceeded to announce her apocalypse. This author (or redactor) clearly did not dare to move the Sibyl from Rome to Jerusalem, presumably because his models unambiguously localized her prophecy in Rome. But if he could not move the Sibyl from the Capitoline Hill in Rome to the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, he could at least transfer the olive trees which had witnessed Jesus' prophecy and thus underline the fact that the Sibyl was imitating and re-enacting the prophecy of Jesus Christ.

The dramatic date of the narrative lies long before the birth of Christ which is prophesied for the fourth generation (38 ff.). It is not easy to see what "the priests of the Hebrews" are doing in early Rome and why the Roman dreamers are called "judges" in the text.⁵ These two peculiarities are not unrelated and show that the author of the narrative saw early Rome from a biblical perspective. In the Armenian version of Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle* a similar dream of seven suns is dreamed at Rome by one hundred philosophers and interpreted by a sibyl. In this Armenian text the story is placed in the period of the Hebrew Judges and follows immediately upon the slaying of Sisera by Jael.⁶ It may be, therefore, that the Sibylline narrative first appeared within a context in which the Hebrew Judges played a major part and that the author therefore introduced "judges" even into pagan Rome.

With regard to the Sibyl's interpretation of the judges' dream, it becomes more explicit with the fourth generation. Her remarks on this generation concentrate on the life of Jesus and may therefore

⁵ The Latin version w¹, understandably, transformed the one hundred judges into *centum . . . viri ex senatu Romano* (Sackur, 178, 12).

⁶ "La vision des cent philosophes eut lieu en ce temps-là à Rome, où ils virent tous, dans une nuit, sept soleils, que Sibylle, femme sage, explique par sept siècles et sept souverains illustres. Le sixième soleil dont les rayons les éclipsaient tous, et qui ne se couchait pas comme les autres, elle l'explique par le Christ" (V. Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand . . . traduite . . . sur la version arménienne du prêtre Ischok* (Venice, 1868), 52, cited by Sackur, 143). There is no corresponding passage in the Syriac original. Compare H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, Theil 2, Abtheil. 2 (Leipzig, 1898), 452 (source: Jacobus of Edessa?).

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

be called the Sibylline gospel. It is a strange gospel indeed that the Sibyl announces. True, in rough outline she tells the same story as the canonical gospels. A son is to be born of Mary and to be named Jesus.⁷ The biblical accounts of the baptism in the River Jordan and of the sending out of the disciples are alluded to,⁸ Jesus' healings and miracles are mentioned in a general way,⁹ and the Sibyl prophesies his crucifixion together with other condemned men,¹⁰ as well as the piercing of his side.¹¹

Apart from these features, however, the Sibyl's gospel deviates in a number of features from the canonical texts. In the first place she prophesies events of which there is no mention in the New Testament. Thus, in her prediction of the Jordan baptism she adds to the biblical account the circumstance that "hosts of angels will carry his [Jesus'] throne and six-winged (creatures) will worship the tracks of his feet."¹² Furthermore, where the Sibyl speaks of the sending out of the disciples she produces an hitherto unknown *agraphon*: "The word which you received from me, preach it to the people of the seventy-two languages."¹³ More disturbing is a second peculiarity of the Sibyl's gospel: it contains a number of items that contradict the New Testament. Perhaps the description of Mary as γυνή rather than παρθένα is irrelevant as she is called the wife of Joseph in several canonical passages.¹⁴ But it is certainly surprising that during the crucifixion Jesus' side is pierced with a reed (stake), rather than with a lance as in the Johannine account,¹⁵ and that three (rather than two) other persons are crucified alongside of him.¹⁶ A more serious conflict with the canonical gospels has to do

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

with Jesus' attitude towards the Jewish Law. The Sibyl prophesies that Jesus "will destroy the law of the Hebrews,"¹⁷ but in the Gospel of Matthew Jesus says the opposite: "Do not believe that I have come to destroy the law and the prophets; I have not come to destroy but to fulfill."¹⁸ The Sibyl even is of the opinion that Jesus will establish his own law. Finally, the Sibyl makes a number of statements which seem to imply theological preoccupations on her part. Immediately after prophesying the birth of Mary's son she says that he will be named Jesus. Later on in the text, however, the name Jesus is carefully avoided. A few times she calls him Christ,¹⁹ but otherwise she invariably refers to him by laborious formulae such as "he who will be crucified on the wood of the cross."²⁰ Furthermore, the Sibyl clearly stresses Jesus' divine nature, yet, according to the Sibyl, the relation of Son and Father is one of "likeness," not of consubstantiality as one would expect of an orthodox text written in the early sixth century.²¹ Finally, although Jesus will be born the son of Mary, there is an aura of unreality and docetism surrounding him in the Sibyl's formulations: "The son of the godhead will *appear* in the South"²² and the piercing of his side with the reed (stake) during the crucifixion "will do him no harm."²³

How are these peculiarities of the Sibylline gospel to be explained? A number of them are attested elsewhere. Thus, the piercing of Jesus' side with a reed (stake) in lieu of a lance is found in the mid-second century (gnostic?) *Gospel of Peter*²⁴ and in the docetic *Acts*

⁷ 40f.; cf. Matt. 1 : 18-25.

⁸ 42f.; cf. Matt. 3 : 16f.; Mark 1 : 10; Luke 3 : 21f. (Jesus' baptism). - Sending out of disciples: 45f.; cf. Matt. 10 : 5; Mark 6 : 7; Luke 10 : 1.

⁹ 65, 67, 73f.

¹⁰ 74; cf. Matt. 27 : 38; Mark 15 : 27; Luke 23 : 33.

¹¹ 74f.; cf. John 19 : 34 and the text of Matt. 27 : 49 in the *Sinaiticus*, *Vaticanus*, and *Codex Ephraemi*.

¹² 43f.; cf. *supra*, p. 31.

¹³ 46f. This *agraphon* is listed neither in A. Resch, *Agrapha*, etc. (TU, 5, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1906]), nor in Joachim Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte*, *Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 16 (Zürich, 1948).

¹⁴ 39; cf. Matt. 1 : 20, 24 (γυνή); Luke 1 : 27 (παρθένα).

¹⁵ 74; cf. *supra*, note 11.

¹⁶ 74; cf. Matt. 27 : 38; Mark 15 : 27; Luke 23 : 32; John 19 : 18.

¹⁷ 41.

¹⁸ Matt. 5 : 17.

¹⁹ 71, 84, 90, 226.

²⁰ ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου μέλλων σταυρωθῆναι (66); ὁ μέλλων ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθῆναι (73); τὸν ἐν ξύλῳ σταυρωθέντα (77f.); ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου σταυρωθείς (217); ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ κρεμασθείς (219).

²¹ Cf. 39 (where the emphasis on Jesus' godhead is clear whether or not my emendation γυνή is accepted). In 60f. the Sibyl states that Jesus "will be like his father and will assume the likeness of a child," i.e., he is like God the Father and merely assumes human shape.

²² 39; cf. *supra*, note 21.

²³ 75; cf. *supra*, note 15. Compare John 9 : 34: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ.

²⁴ Ed. E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha I*, *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, 3 (Bonn, 1903), 3, 22. Here, however, the piercing takes place prior to the crucifixion. The *Gospel of Peter* was probably composed in the Syriac language, perhaps in gnostic circles; see Chr. Maurer in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, I (Tübingen, 1959), 119.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

of John of the same period written in Asia Minor.²⁵ The most flagrant divergence of the Sibyl from the canonical gospels, her prophecy that Jesus will destroy the Jewish Law, is paralleled by Marcion's key doctrine of the fundamental opposition of Law and Gospel. Thus, in his *Antitheses* Marcion deleted Jesus' saying (Matt. 5:17) that he had not come to destroy the Law or the Prophets²⁶ and inserted into his version of the Gospel of Luke a Jewish charge before Pilate that Jesus "was destroying the Law and the Prophets."²⁷ Later Marcionists then incorporated into their gospel words of Jesus himself which said the very opposite of Matthew 5:17: "Do you believe that I have come to fulfill the Law or the Prophets? I have come to destroy, but not to fulfill."²⁸ Marcion and his disciples, on the other hand, would certainly not have accepted the Sibyl's prediction that Jesus "would establish his own law,"²⁹ but this notion too is not unprecedented. Thus, a letter written by a Stoic Mara to his son Sarapion in the Syriac language, probably between A.D. 73 and 160, refers to Jesus' new legislation and thus expresses the view that Jesus replaced the Jewish Law by a new code of his own.³⁰ The Sibyl's customary paraphrase of Jesus'

²⁵ Chap. 97, eds. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1897), 199, 15: λόγχαῖς νύσσομαι καὶ καταίμοις. Cf. J. Quasten, *Patrology*, I (Westminster, Md., 1950), 135-137.

²⁶ Tertullian, *Contra Marcionem*, IV, 7, 4 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, I [Turnhout, 1954], 554, 22): . . . uenisse se, non ut legem et prophetas dissolveret, sed ut potius adimpleret. hoc enim Marcion ut additum erasit. Cf. A. Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott* (TU, Reihe 2, vol 15, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1924]), 80 and 261*.

²⁷ Marcion's version of Luke, 23, 2: ἤρξαντο (δὲ) κατηγορεῖν (αὐτοῦ λέγοντες) τοῦτον εὐρομεν διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας, κτλ. Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, 173 and 235* f.

²⁸ Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep. I*, 371 (= PG, 78, col. 393 A): Ἀμείψαντες (the Marcionites) γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὴν 'Οὐκ ἤλθον' λέγοντος 'καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας' ἐποίησαν. 'Δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἤλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας; ἤλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πληρῶσαι.' Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, 360* f.

²⁹ Cf. 41 f. Marcion deleted Romans 3:31 ("Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid, yea, we establish the law") and changed Luke's reference (16:17) to Jesus' "law" to read: "And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one title of my words to fail;" cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, 48: "Ebenso strich er [Marcion] 3:31-4:25 völlig; denn der Gedanke: νόμον ἱστῶμεν war ihm ebenso unerträglich wie die Abrahams-Theologie;" also *ibid.*, 60, 104*, 220*.

³⁰ German translation of Mara's letter in J. B. Aufhauser, *Antike Jesus-Zeugnisse*, Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 126 (Bonn, 1913), 8: "Sokrates ist nicht tot: wegen Platon; noch Pythagoras: wegen der Herastatue; noch der weise König [Jesus]: wegen der neuen Gesetze, die er gegeben hat."

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

name by a reference to his future crucifixion on the wood of the cross had of course been prepared by Paul's quotation of Deut. 21:33 in Gal. 3:13 and by other New Testament passages.³¹ The notion of Jesus' death on the wood of the cross was, however, also heavily emphasized by Paul's admirer, Marcion, and by the Marcionite church because it confirmed Marcion's doctrine of the radical difference between the creator God of the Old Testament and the "Strange God" of the New Testament; the God of the Old Testament had cursed him who had hung on the wood of the cross, the God of the New Testament had used this very wood to put an end to the ancient curse.³² On the other hand the Sibyl's stress on Jesus' divinity and her denial of his suffering from the piercing with the reed (stake) are docetic positions, and her prediction that he would be "like the Father" may betray semi-Arian leanings.³³

It will be clear from this examination of the Sibylline gospel that no one author or movement can properly be held responsible for its peculiarities. On the contrary, it represents a potpourri of orthodox and heretical positions and borrows motifs from docetism, Marcionism, perhaps from semi-Arianism, and possibly from other schools as well. The question arises: is the sixth-century author himself responsible for this conglomerate or does he rely on a previous tradition which shows the same kind of eclecticism? Such eclecticism is indeed the characteristic feature of the Jewish-Christian collection called the *Oracula Sibyllina* in which fragments of pro-

³¹ Gal. 3:13: Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γινόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρτα, ὅτι γέγραπται: 'ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,' κτλ. Cf. Acts 5:30; 10:39.

³² Paul's *kerygma* of the crucified Christ is well known (I Cor. 1:23; 2, 2; Gal. 3:1), yet the Sibyl in her prophetic references to Jesus never omits to mention that he will be crucified, "hung" or "stretched out" "on the wood of the cross" and thus seems to place special emphasis on Gal. 3:13 and on the citation from Deuteronomy embodied in this text (see *supra*, note 31). As Gal. 3:13 also played a pivotal role in the thought of Marcion (Harnack, *op. cit.*, 112, 115, 129, 132, 70*, 73*, and *passim*, esp. 132: "Dass der Tod Kreuzestod war, war Marcion besonders willkommen; denn über diesen hatte der Weltenschöpfer den Fluch ausgesprochen und ihn daher für seinen Christus nicht in Aussicht genommen" [italics mine]), there may be here another link between Marcion and the Sibyl.

³³ On docetism see, for example, Harnack, *op. cit.*, 125 f.; H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1937), 262 f. On the "Semi-Arians" or Homoeousians, see F. Loofs, "Arianismus," in A. Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, II (Leipzig, 1897), 6-45, esp. 32 ff.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

phacies composed over a period of at least half a millennium in various parts of the Roman Empire and by authors belonging to different social and religious groups are juxtaposed in a bewildering mosaic.³⁴ Indeed, two of the peculiar features of the sixth-century Sibyl are found already in the *Oracula Sibyllina*. Here is the piercing of Jesus' side with reeds³⁵ and above all the notion that at Christ's coming the Jewish Law will be destroyed.³⁶ In view of the long historical and literary process which led to the formation of the extant collection of the *Oracula Sibyllina* and the accidental ways in which Jewish and Christian oracles were preserved in it or eliminated, it is likely that not only the two deviations from the biblical texts mentioned above, but all or most of the characteristic features of the Sibylline gospel are derived from the Sibylline tradition. The Sibylline gospel probably received the form in which it occurs in the new Greek text in the second half of the fourth century, when the heresies of the Early Church were still part of the living tradition and when Arianism had not yet been defeated inside the boundaries of the Roman Empire.³⁷

³⁴ See the remarks of J. Geffcken, "Komposition und Entstehungszeit der *Oracula Sibyllina*," *TU*, 23, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1902), 31. What Geffcken says here about Book VI may be extended to the entire collection.

³⁵ *Oracula Sibyllina*, I, 373 f., ed. Geffcken: πλευράν / νύξωσιν καλὰ μοισιν (note the plural); VIII, 296: πλευράς νύξουσιν καλὰ μοι.

³⁶ *Oracula Sibyllina*, VIII, 300 f., ed. Geffcken: εἰς αὐτόν (Jesus) τότε πᾶς λύεται νόμος, ὅστις ἐπ' ἀρχῆς / δόγμασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδόθη διὰ λαὸν ἀπειθή; VIII, 328: θεσμούς ἀθέους λύση θεσμούς τε βιαίους. Contrast I, 332: αὐτὸς πληρώσει δὲ θεοῦ νόμον, οὐ καταλύσει.

³⁷ It is perhaps no accident that the agreements of the *Oracula Sibyllina* with our Sibylline text occur in I, 324 ff. and VIII, 251-336. Book VIII was written by several hands, but all of them seem to be roughly contemporary and date from around the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Geffcken, "Komposition und Entstehungszeit, etc." [*supra*, note 34], 42-46) or a later period (A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Orakel," *RE*, Reihe 2, II (Stuttgart, 1923), col. 2146: nothing in Book VIII earlier than third century A.D.). On the date of *Oracula Sibyllina*, I, 324 ff., see Geffcken, *loc. cit.*, 52: latter part of third century A.D.

VI

HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE NEW TEXT

To win the reader's confidence in his eschatological predictions, the author of the new Greek text, like most other apocalyptic writers, surveys a good deal of history in the guise of prophecy. To a large extent this survey corroborates historical information known from other sources, but it also contains some new data. Many of the author's references to historical events are expressed in veiled language, after the fashion of the apocalyptic genre. It will be the business of this chapter to explain the author's historical allusions and to pay special attention to information not known or insufficiently known from other sources. In this way it will be possible to arrive at a judgment on the reliability and interest of the Sibyl's prophecy as a historical source. The historical data contained in the new text will be discussed under the following four headings: 1. The Rulers and Their Families. 2. Foreign and Military Affairs. 3. Internal Affairs. 4. Religious Policy.

1. The Rulers and Their Families

The Greek text names or alludes to a number of rulers who may be tabulated as follows (p. 76). I shall identify in the order of their appearance in the text and without further ado all those names which require or deserve no or little discussion and reserve the more problematic references for later comment.

Of these rulers only the references to "two kings with short reigns" (81) and to the "three kings" (96) are obscure and require further discussion. So far as the "two kings with short reigns" are concerned, two (related) facts are mentioned in the new text with regard to them: they will carry out many persecutions against the Christians, and their officials will judge and destroy the ranks of men of the senatorial order and kill them because of Christ's name. The two emperors, therefore, ruled at a time when a

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

LINE OF TEXT	NAME OR ALLUSION	IDENTIFICATION
61 f.	Ἀλέξανδρος, Σέλευκος, Ἡρώδης	probably Alexander the Great (335-323 B.C.); Seleucus I († 280 B.C.) or a later Seleucid of that name; Herod the Great of Judaea (40-4 B.C.)
68	Αὔγουστος	Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14)
76 f.	Ἀντίοχος, Τιβέριος, Γάιος	Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.) or a later Antiochus; Tiberius (14-37); Gaius Caligula (37-41)
81	δύο βασιλεῖς ὀλιγοχρόνιοι	<i>supra</i> , pp. 75-77
85	Κωνσταντῖνος	Constantine the Great (306-337)
96 f.	τρεις βασιλεῖς, Οὐάλης, ἐγγων Κωνσταντίου, Βα- λεντινιανὸς καὶ Ἰουβιανὸς	Valens (364-378), Valentinian (364-375), Jovian (363-364)
100	Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Θεοδοσίος	Marcian (450-457); probably scribal error for Gratian (367-383); Theodosius I (378-395)
104	Ἀρκάδιος καὶ Ὀνώριος (Ὀνόριος <i>codd.</i>)	Arcadius (395-408); Honorius (395-423)
107	Θεοδοσίος καὶ Οὐαλεντι- νιανὸς (οὐαλεντιος Κ ουαλεῖανος Q)	Theodosius II (408-450); Va- lentinian III (425-455)
128	Μαρκιανὸς	Marcian (450-457)
136	βασιλεὺς Θηριώνυμος	Leo I (457-474)
143	συγκαθήμενος τῇ Θηριω- νυμῖα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ	text corrupt (see <i>apparatus</i>); Leo II (474) is undoubtedly meant
144, 149	Ἰσαυρος	Zeno (474-475)
151-153	Βασιλίσκος	Basiliscus (475-476)
155 f.	ὑποστρέψει Ἰσαυρος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ	Zeno (again, 476-491)
166	Ἀναστάσιος	Anastasius I (491-518)

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

sizeable number of men of senatorial rank had been converted to Christianity. This information makes it probable that the Emperors Decius (249-251) and Valerianus (253-260) are meant. The phrase "two kings with short reigns" is a relative one, but it certainly fits the reign of Decius and will do for that of Valerianus. Both were persecutors of Christians, and a rescript of Valerianus addressed to the Roman Senate provided that "senators, distinguished men, and Roman knights should lose their dignities and also be deprived of their property; and if they persist in being Christians after having been deprived of their means they are also to be executed." Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, to whom this summary of Valerianus' "second rescript" is due, knew also of the existence of instructions by this Emperor to provincial governors, who undoubtedly were among the ἄρχοντες who according to the new text were entrusted with the execution of the rescript.¹ Individual Christians of senatorial rank occur from the reign of Domitian onwards, but the combination of widespread persecutions of Christians with punitive measures against Christians of senatorial rank, as envisaged by the Sibyl, did not emerge prior to the mid-third century.² On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that the passage may refer to two of the tetrarchs, as Maximin Daia, Severus, and Maxentius figure among the persecutors.

More difficult is the task of identifying the three rulers of 96 f., especially as there are corruptions in all three manuscripts. Only one point seems reasonably clear: the last of these rulers is Jovian (363-364), the immediate successor of Julian the Apostate.³ If that is true, then the second of the names is not only misspelt in all the

¹ Cyprian, *Epist.* 80, ed. C. Hartel (CSEL, 3 [Vienna, 1868]), 839 f.: "...rescripsisse Valerianum ad senatum ut...senatores uero et egregii uiri et equites Romani dignitate ommissa etiam bonis spoliarentur et si ademptis facultatibus Christiani [esse] perseverauerint, capite quoque multentur...Subiecit etiam Valerianus imperator orationi suae exemplum litterarum quas ad praesides prouinciarum de nobis [i.e. Christianis] fecit: quas litteras cotidie speramus venire...."

² A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, etc., 4th ed., II (Leipzig, 1924), 559-577, esp. 562-565.

³ The name is spelt in three different ways in the three manuscripts: Ιουβιανός K, Ιουβένιος Q, Ιουβίνος A. Only the first spelling is attested for the Emperor Jovian elsewhere: Nicephorus Patriarcha, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 97, 1.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

manuscripts,⁴ but it also interrupts the chronological sequence; for all the emperors called Valentinian followed (did not precede) Jovian. The name of the first of the three emperors is spelt in three different ways in the manuscripts: οὐαλις, ιούλης and ιουλήν, of which the first makes one think of Valens (364–378) and the two others of Julian (361–363). As has already been explained (see “Commentary” on 98), the Sibyl’s remark that one of the three emperors will be consumed by fire shows two things: Valens is meant and the statement that Valens was a grandson or descendant of Constantius or Constantine may be connected with a tradition that assigned to him the epithet Κωνσταντινῆος.

There is one other difficulty in the list of rulers: the three rulers called Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius follow upon Augustus.⁵ This is historically correct for Tiberius and Gaius Caligula, but none of the Seleucid monarchs called Antiochus ruled at the time of Augustus or Tiberius.⁶ With this difficulty concerning the name of Antiochus should be connected a second chronological difficulty: as the text now stands, the crucifixion of Jesus is mentioned under Augustus and prior to the triad Antiochus-Tiberius-Gaius.⁷ It is difficult to believe that the Sibyl could have committed so elementary a blunder, especially as the Gospel of Luke (3 : 1) explicitly places the beginning of John the Baptist’s preaching “in the fifteenth year of the rule of Tiberius Caesar,” and the crucifixion, whatever its precise date, of course occurred after Jesus’ baptism by John. Both chronological difficulties—the mention of an Antiochus between Augustus and Tiberius and the dating of the crucifixion under Augustus—disappear if one assumes that the passage concerning Antiochus-Tiberius-Gaius and the temples of Heliopolis is a sixth-century interpolation into a pre-existent text.

⁴ βαλλεντιανός KQA (βαλε- QA). The normal spellings are Οὐαλεντιανός (W. Pape and G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, II [Brunswick, 1863–1870], 1084, and F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, III [Berlin, 1931], 68) or Βαλεντιανός (Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, I, 195).

⁵ Compare 76 with 68–71.

⁶ There were rulers of Commagene called Antiochus who were contemporaries of Augustus and Tiberius; see U. Wilcken, “Antiochus, nos. 38, 39, and 40,” *RE*, I (Stuttgart, 1894), col. 2490 f., but it is difficult to see what their connection could have been with the temples at Heliopolis.

⁷ Compare 74 with 76f.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

The interpolator proceeded in so careless a manner that he failed to notice that with his insertion he was disturbing the sequence of rulers and produced moreover an incorrect chronological framework for the crucifixion. Under this assumption of a sixth-century interpolation the name Antiochus would disappear from the fourth-century text (along with those of Tiberius and Gaius) and the crucifixion would be mentioned in its proper chronological order, between the reign of Augustus and that of “the two kings with short reigns” (81) who were identified above (p. 77) as Decius and Valerian.⁸ At first sight this proposal may appear rash, but it will be remembered that the only other reference to the temples of Heliopolis is likewise an interpolation (*supra*, p. 58f.).

Another name does not present a chronological difficulty, but deserves brief mention here because it is the only reference in the list to a ruler other than the king of a large Hellenistic state or to a Roman emperor: Herod of Judaea. How is this exception to be explained? For the age of the Roman civil wars when rulers were made and unmade overnight, it was natural for an Eastern Christian to pay greater attention to the power of the great king of Judaea who maintained himself for almost four decades in spite of all the revolutionary changes, rather than to his ephemeral Roman overlords.

There is one further detail to be discussed here in connection with the list of rulers mentioned in the document: the Sibyl’s description of the Emperor Anastasius’ exterior and personality. Anastasius is depicted as “bald, shapely, his forehead like silver, he has a long right arm, he is noble, terrifying, high-souled, and free and hates all beggars.”⁹ One is reminded of the descriptions of Roman and Byzantine rulers by another author who wrote not very far from the Sibyl, though about two generations later, John Malalas. Malalas’ portrait of Anastasius, however, has little in common with the Sibyl’s. According to Malalas, Anastasius was “very tall, short-haired, well-mannered, with round eyes, his head and beard grizzled, with a light blue pupil in the right eye and a black one in the

⁸ In the Latin text published by Sackur (w¹), the crucifixion is mentioned (180, 19) after Augustus (180, 13) and prior to the reigns of Nero (180, 27; cf. *ibid.*, 155) and of Titus and Vespasian (180, 30; cf. *ibid.*, 156).

⁹ 166–168.

left; he had perfect eyes and his beard was shorn frequently (or closely)."¹⁰

There remain the empresses mentioned or alluded to by the author. Of Constantine's mother, Helen, the author tells the legend of the finding of the true cross as it was told both in East and West from the last years of the fourth century onward.¹¹ Another empress is not mentioned directly, but an allusion to her is of great interest. The author reports Constantine the Great's foundation of a new capital and adds that this city will be called Εὐδοκόπολις Κωνσταντινίου πόλις. The first element of this double designation, Eudocopolis, is to my knowledge not attested elsewhere. It must refer to the Empress Eudocia whom Theodosius II married on 7 June 421 and who received the rank of Augusta on 2 January 423.¹² The Empress exercised a great influence over her husband until 443 when she retired to Jerusalem († 460). Under Theodosius II the capital and its suburbs were threatened by Hunnic invasions and it was consequently decided in 413 to build a new set of land defenses approximately one mile to the West of the Constantinian walls, a measure apparently inspired by the praetorian prefect of the East, Anthemius. These new walls, parts of which still stand, would protect the suburbs that had grown up since the days of Constantine the Great.¹³ A quarter of a century later, in 439, the leading

minister of Theodosius was Cyrus, a favorite of Eudocia, who held the city prefecture since 435 and was in 439 given the additional position of praetorian prefect of the East. Because of the naval threat of Vandal piracy, Cyrus directed that sea walls were to be added to the fortifications of the capital along the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus.¹⁴ Cyrus' building activities made him so popular that on one occasion during the chariot races in the Hippodrome, in the presence of Theodosius II, the inhabitants of the capital shouted for an entire day: "Constantine founded [the city], Cyrus restored it."¹⁵ Now it was customary that when a new section was added to an ancient city, it was given a dynastic name. Thus the new quarter of Athens built by the Roman Emperor Hadrian was known as Hadrianopolis.¹⁶ Because of the great influence that the Empress Eudocia had on her husband and on the affairs of state, it is entirely plausible that all or part of the territory between the Constantinian and Theodosian Walls should have been named in her honor.¹⁷ It may have been that this was done between 421 and

¹⁴ On Cyrus' sea walls: Bury, I, 72; Stein, I, 293 f.; Jones, I, 204.

¹⁵ Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 361, 19: περί οὗ (Cyrus) ἔκραζον οἱ Βυζάντιοι εἰς τὸ ἱππικὸν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμέραν θεωροῦντος Θεοδοσίου ταῦτα: Κωνσταντίνος ἔκτισε, Κύρος ἀνενέωσεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τόπον, Ἀγούσσε. P. Maas, "Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner," *BZ*, 21 (1912/3), 28-51, remarked that the third verse is missing in the *Easter Chronicle* and Theophanes and that its meaning is uncertain.

¹⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrianus*, 20, 4: *multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem*. I owe this parallel to Professor C. A. Trypanis, of Exeter College, Oxford.

¹⁷ A distinction between the pre-Constantinian city of Byzantium, the Constantinian city and the Theodosian addition was made by A. P. D'iakonov, "Vizantiiskie Dimy i Faktsii v V-VII vv.," *Vizantiiskii Sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), 144-227, esp. 187 f., in an effort to localize the circus factions in the various quarters of the capital. If my explanation of the name Eudocopolis is correct, the new text gives a name to the Theodosian addition: Eudocopolis. Should one connect with it the quarter called αἱ Εὐδοκίαι where, according to the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, 754, a church dedicated to the Theotokos was located and which is described as πέραν? Could πέραν mean here: beyond the Constantinian Walls, rather than the normal: beyond the Golden Horn? Cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, 513. Note also that the public baths of the fifth region of the city, that is in the old Constantinian city, were called *Thermae Eudocianae*, almost certainly after the Elder Eudocia, as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, to which this detail is due (*Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck [Berlin, 1876], 233, 10), dates from the second quarter of the fifth century. Cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, 51 and 220 (where *Eudoxianae* and the attribution to Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, must be an error.)

¹⁰ Malalas, XVI, Bonn ed., 392. Cedrenus, I, Bonn ed., 625, agrees with the Sibyl in describing Anastasius as bald. There are many representations of the Emperor on coins, there exist small portraits on several consular diptychs, and the emperor portrayed on the "Barberini Diptych" is probably Anastasius (R. Delbrück, *Die Konsulardiptychen*, etc., I. [Berlin-Leipzig, 1929], 188 ff.; see also K. Wessel, "Wer ist der Konsul auf der Florentiner Kaiserinnen-Tafel?," *BZ*, 57 [1964], 374-381), but nowhere is he represented as a bald man, nor does his right arm appear to be longer than his left.

¹¹ 89-91; cf. John Chrysostom, *Hom.* 85, 1, PG, 59, col. 461 (circa A.D. 398, name of Helen not mentioned, but the cross is "sought" and three crosses are found; Jesus' cross lay in the middle and bore the *titulus*); Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, 41-49, ed. O. Fulle (CSEL, 73 [Vienna, 1955]), 393-397 (A.D. 395, Helen is named, three crosses found, the middle cross has the *titulus*), and A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*, etc., Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 7 (Paris, 1961), 56, 155-158.

¹² On the Empress Athenais-Eudocia, see Bury, I, 220 f., 225-231; Stein, I, 281 f., 293-297. Her granddaughter, the Younger Eudocia, daughter of Valentinian III and wife of the Vandal prince Huneric, can hardly be meant as she never lived in Constantinople.

¹³ Bury, I, 69 f.; Stein, I, 246 f.; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 32.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

439 and her name bestowed on the suburbs enclosed in the Theodosian Walls beginning in 413. But it is more likely that the new dedication was connected with the building operations of her protégé Cyrus and that the Empress Eudocia favored (financed?) the building of the sea walls by Cyrus. In fact, the naming of the newly built part of Constantinople after the reigning Empress is entirely in keeping with the role that Eudocia played in the history of urbanism. Four cities in Asia Minor were called Εὐδοκίᾱς in her honor: one in Phrygia (formerly Soa), another in Lycia, a third in Lycaonia (previously Gdammaua), and the last in Pisidia not far from Termessus.¹⁸ Moreover Eudocia, after her retirement to Jerusalem in 443, enlarged that city by building a new southern wall enclosing the southeastern and southwestern hills in the fortifications.¹⁹ The name Eudocopolis does not seem to have caught on,²⁰ but it preserves a faint memory of the powerful personalities that inspired the rebuilding of the capital and her fortifications in the first half of the fifth century.

As one would expect, the author is well informed on the house of Leo whose daughter Ariadne was still empress (as wife of Anastasius) at the time of his writing.²¹ He refers to Leo's wife, Verina, by calling her Scylla, the monster of classical mythology. The two "wombs" produced by Scylla-Verina are the two princesses Ariadne and Leontia.²² The woman who will deceive the Emperor Basiliscus must be Basiliscus' empress, Zenonis, who committed adultery with Armatus. Armatus was later appointed *magister militum*, promptly rewarded his imperial benefactors by preventing his soldiers from

¹⁸ On these cities see A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), 69, 109, 137, 144 (and note 39, p. 417); on Eudocias in Pisidia, see also *idem*, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 876.

¹⁹ H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1926), 910 f.; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament. Researches and Theories* (Leiden, 1952), 109, note 3, and 261 f. (with sketch); M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954), 50-60 (Eudocia's wall is represented on this map); also the map of Jerusalem in F. van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (London, 1959), no. 39.

²⁰ The usual name for the part of the city lying between the Constantinian and the Theodosian Walls was *Deuteron*, the second part of the city (Janin, *op. cit.*, 336).

²¹ *Infra*, p. 83 f.

²² 141 f.; cf. Bury, I, 317, note 3; Stein, I, 360.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

resisting Zeno's return, and thus caused the assassination of Basiliscus by Zeno's henchmen.²³

A brief comment on the author's data concerning the length of Anastasius' reign (172) and of Ariadne's period of "power and domination" (148) may be in order at this point. With regard to Anastasius, two manuscripts (K and A) assign him a reign of thirty-one years while the third manuscript (Q) leaves a blank for a numeral (cf. 172 and critical apparatus). The number thirty-one is historically incorrect as Anastasius ruled twenty-seven years (491-518). Several alternative explanations of this mistake are possible. The sentence about the length of Anastasius' reign may be due to the sixth-century author himself. Since it was shown that he wrote during Anastasius' lifetime (*supra*, p. 41 f.), the statement would then simply be a wrong prophecy on his part, and the blank space in Q would be due to the copyist who felt uneasy about the incorrectness of the figure. Alternatively, the sentence about the length of Anastasius' reign may not have formed part of the sixth-century text but may have been added by a later editor who was ill informed on the subject and assigned Anastasius thirty-one years.²⁴ In that case again the blank space in Q would mean that the scribe of this manuscript (or of its model) found the figure thirty-one in his model but was aware that the "prophecy" was incorrect. For the Empress Ariadne, daughter of Leo I and wife successively of Zeno and Anastasius, the author predicts that she would hold power for fifty-two years (148). This figure, too, is incorrect as Ariadne played no

²³ Bury, I, 392 f.; Stein, I, 363 f.

²⁴ The second alternative was suggested to me by Professor Youtie, who points out that the author does not often indicate the length of an emperor's reign. This is true, but the author may have had his reasons for wishing to prophesy a long reign for the reigning couple. I tend to think, therefore, that the first alternative is preferable to the second. A third possibility would be to assume that Q corresponds most faithfully to the author's intentions, i.e., that the author wrote a sentence about the prospective length of Anastasius' reign but left the numeral blank, in the expectation of adding it later, after Anastasius' death. The most serious objection to this third alternative is the figure thirty-one in K and A. Why should a later editor, finding a blank space in his model for the duration of Anastasius' reign, have added the historically false number thirty-one in lieu of the correct figure twenty-seven? It should be added that the first (as well as the third) alternatives would provide an additional argument for the view that the text here edited was written during Anastasius' lifetime.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

role in public affairs prior to her marriage to Zeno in 466 or 467 and died in 515, in other words after she had held a position of "power and domination" for forty-nine years at the most.²⁵ Since the author wrote prior to 510 (*supra*, p. 41f.), he cannot have known the true date of Ariadne's death. Consequently he must either have assumed that she had played a role at the court earlier than she did in fact or he must have thought that she would live on until at least 518/9 (= 466/7 + 52) as her husband Anastasius did.²⁶ In other words, the figure fifty-two is either a historical blunder or a false prophecy (or some combination of the two).

Examination of the Sibyl's data on the rulers and their families has shown that the list is far from complete. There are very few names prior to Constantine the Great. The Greek world is represented by Alexander, Seleucus and Antiochus. Judaea furnishes Herod only. Among early Roman emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Gaius Caligula alone appear. The Flavian and Antonine dynasties are entirely blank. For the third century there are no names either, but the "two kings with short reigns" are almost certainly Decius and Valerian. In the fourth century the author is more at ease and names Constantius I (? cf. 96f.), Constantine I, Valens, Valentinian I, Jovian (here the order is disturbed), Marcian (instead of Gratian?), and Theodosius I. From Arcadius to Anastasius I the roster of Eastern emperors is complete.

The second general observation is that for the fourth and fifth centuries the *pars Occidentis* is much more thinly represented than its Eastern counterpart. Of fourth-century Western rulers the author knows perhaps Constantius I and certainly Valentinian I, Marcian (mistake for Gratian?), Honorius, and Valentinian III, and there the Western list ends. The names of Eastern emperors

²⁵ On the date of Anastasius' marriage to Ariadne, see Bury, I, 318, and note 2; Stein, I, 358 and 590, note 47. On her death see Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, sub anno 515, ed. Th. Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, II (MGH Auct. Ant., XI [Berlin, 1894]), 99, 17: *Ariadne* (sic) *Augusta sexaginta annis in palatio exactis vita decessit*. The figure sixty is a round one as Ariadne's father Leo did not accede to the throne until 457.

²⁶ As Professor Youtie points out to me, the fact that Anastasius did indeed die in 518, i.e. fifty-two years after Ariadne's wedding to Zeno, raises the possibility that this passage may have been added after the death of Anastasius by an editor who confused the date of Anastasius' death with that of his wife.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

normally precede those of the Western colleagues, except in the case of Marcian (Gratian ?)-Theodosius I where the opposite order is followed.

These observations correspond closely to what one would expect of an author writing in *Phoenix Libanensis* in the first years of the sixth century. The list of emperors and empresses, though incomplete, is on the whole correct, and all or most of what seems at first sight to be blunders may either be due to textual difficulties or is the result of interpolations. The mention of an Antiochus after the Emperor Augustus (76, cf. 68) is due, as was shown above (p. 58f.), to an interpolation. The reversed order of the Emperors Valentinian I and Jovian (97) is likely to be an error on the author's part. The reference to Marcian in lieu of Gratian (100) should perhaps be charged to a copyist. More problematic is the information on Leo II. Several times the author seems to say that Leo I was his father, although he explains in a preceding sentence that he was the son of one of Leo I's daughters.²⁷ However, here, too, the context is corrupt; moreover the confusion of the two Leos is perhaps forgivable.

2. Foreign and Military Affairs²⁸

As in the matter of the rulers and their families, the Sibyl offers little information on Rome's relations with foreign peoples in the pre-Constantinian period. Her remarks on the third generation may preserve a faint echo of Hellenistic warfare and of Rome's wars of conquest.²⁹ "Persecutions in the land of Judaea" (62f.) are not

²⁷ Leo II son of Leo I: καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ ἔσται καὶ αὐτὸς συγκραθήμενος τῇ θηριωνίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (142f.). Cf. also 145. The same mistake occurs in a description of a mosaic commemorating the finding of the Virgin's robe, executed probably in 473; here Leo I is called twice the father of Leo II; see A. Wenger, "Notes inédites sur les empereurs Théodose I, Arcadius, Théodose II, Léon I," *Revue des études byzantines*, 10 (1952), 47-59, esp. 54-57. On the *proskynesis* of Leo II by his father Zeno (145), see *infra*, p. 102, note 101. The remark that Leo I will be "brought down powerfully" from his throne" (147) because of his religious views, however, is surprising as the Emperor was not overthrown, but died from disease after seventeen years of rule.

²⁸ In this section I shall include, for the sake of convenience, a discussion of the Sibyl's references to the Empire's wars against Germanic and other barbarians (Goths, Vandals, Isaurians) even if these tribes were settled on Roman soil.

²⁹ 34-38, but this may be vague apocalyptic language. I cannot interpret the reference to mercy shown in the city of Rome (37f.).

attested for the reigns of Alexander the Great and Seleucus I,³⁰ but the phrase fits the reign of Herod the Great.³¹ The prophecy that the entire inhabited world will be subjected by Augustus (69f.) is of course more or less true to fact.³²

Information on foreign and military affairs becomes more explicit beginning with the latter part of the fourth century. The Sibyl predicts that in the reign of Valens, Valentinian (I), and Jovian "the barbarians will not harm the cities of the Roman Empire" (98f.). She is here referring to the period from the accession of Jovian (363) to the death of Valens (378). In fact, Jovian concluded an ignominious peace with Persia in which he yielded, among other things, the cities of Singara and Nisibis.³³ Under Jovian and Valentinian, Libyans repeatedly attacked Leptis, capital of Tripolitania.³⁴ Around 372 a Moorish chieftain, Firmus, occupied both Mauretania and burned Caesarea, capital of *Mauretania Caesariensis*.³⁵ In 368 the city of Moguntiacum (Mainz) was sacked by Alamanni³⁶ and Valens' defeat by the Goths at Adrianople (378) exposed the Empire to most serious dangers. Thus the Sibyl's claim that under these Emperors "the barbarians will not harm the cities of the Roman Empire" is grossly exaggerated, although it is true that Jovian secured peace on the Eastern front

³⁰ Alexander passed through Palestine on his way from Issus to Egypt (333 B.C.) and on his return march to Mesopotamia, but on neither occasion did he stay for any length of time (V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959), 41-49). With regard to Seleucus I, some scholars believe that he ruled Palestine for several years after the battle of Ipsus in 301 (discussion of problem in Tcherikover, *op. cit.*, 53 ff.), but even if that is true, there is no record of "persecutions" under that ruler. After the Ptolemies evacuated Palestine and the Seleucids took over (199-8 B.C.), the first Seleucus to rule was Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.), but neither for him nor for later rulers called Seleucus is there evidence of massacres in Judaea.

³¹ The annals of Herod the Great's long reign (40-4 B.C.) are full of persecutions and massacres (see for example W. Otto, "Herodes," *RE*, Supplement II [Stuttgart, 1913], col. 31 f., on Herod's capture of Jerusalem in 37 B.C.). The slaughter of the children (63f.) can hardly refer to Herod's slaughter of the babes at Bethlehem (Matt. 2 : 16) because according to the Sibyl the children were slaughtered "with their parents."

³² Cf. the heading of Augustus' *Res Gestae* in the *Monumentum Ancyranum: orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subiecit*.

³³ Stein, I, 169-171; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 238; Jones, I, 138.

³⁴ Stein, I, 178f.

³⁵ Stein, I, 179.

³⁶ Stein, I, 182.

and that Valentinian I tried earnestly and with at least partial success to strengthen the Roman *limes* on Rhine and Danube.³⁷

Under Arcadius and Honorius, the Sibyl predicts that Rome "becomes a [mere] street and a city of a [mere] street," an old Sibylline pun (see *apparatus criticus ad* 105) here applied to the depopulation of the ancient capital, which both preceded and followed Alaric's sack of Rome in A.D. 410.³⁸ The entry: "Captures occur in Phrygia, Pamphylia will be laid waste" (105f.) is undoubtedly connected with the revolt of Tribigild and his Ostrogoths (399) which affected precisely these two regions.³⁹ Then, for the joint reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, the new text prophesies wars, the capture of Syria, and the plundering of Mts. Taurus, Antitaurus, and Lebanon by "a strong race of rebels"; in the course of these events cities are to be destroyed, never to be rebuilt (108-112). Indeed, the capture of Seleucia in Syria by Isaurian pirates is assigned by Malalas to the reign of Theodosius II, but he adds that it occurred during the consulship of Theodosius and Romoridus, which would place the event under Arcadius (403).⁴⁰ The Isaurians are surely meant by the "race of rebels" (109); for in the last years of Arcadius they ransacked Asia Minor and penetrated into Syria, Phenicia, and Galilee.⁴¹ Their raids

³⁷ Stein, I, 181-183; Jones, I, 149.

³⁸ V. A. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, Ser. 4, fasc. 25 (Louvain, 1961), 476-483. See *infra*, p. 110.

³⁹ Bury, I, 129 f.; Stein, I, 234.

⁴⁰ Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 363: 'Επὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ λησταρχοῦντες Σελεύκειαν τῆς Συρίας μηνὶ Περιτίῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίου καὶ Ῥομορίδου, κτλ.

⁴¹ A. Guldenpenning, *Geschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle, 1885), 172-176; Jones, I, 192 and references, esp. Jerome, *Epist.* CXIV (A.D. 405), ed. I. Hilberg (CSEL, 55), 394, 12: *Isaurorum repentina eruptio, Phoeniciae Galilaeaeque vastitas, terror Palaestinae, praecipue urbis Hierosolymae*, etc.; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Ecl. hist.*, X (PG, 82, col. 1392 A = BHG, 1779): "... πολέμιοι θρασεῖς καὶ ἀήμεροι, οἱ τῆς ἐν τῷ πλείστον ληιστάμενοι τε καὶ ἐξανδραποδιστάμενοι. τίς γὰρ τῶν τῆν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην οἰκούντων ἀνέκοος τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν καιρὸν συμβεβηκότων κακῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν πάσαι μὲν Σολύμων, συνὶ δὲ Ἰσαύρων ὀνομαζομένων; ἀλλ' ὅμως μὴ πόλεως, μὴ κώμης ἐκεῖνοι φεισάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀπάσας δόξας ἐλεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν ληιστάμενοι καὶ πυρὶ παραδόντες, κτλ.; further Philostorgius, *Ecl. hist.*, XI, 8, ed. J. Bidez (GCS, 21 [Leipzig, 1913]), 139, 21; Sozomen, *Ecl. hist.*, VIII, 25, 1, eds. J. Bidez and G. Chr. Hansen (GCS, 50 [Berlin, 1960]), 383, 16: οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ λησταὶ ... μέχρι Καρῶν καὶ Φοινίκων τὰς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐκακούργουν.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

continued into the reign of Theodosius II, as is shown not only by the (chronologically ambiguous) testimony of Malalas, but also by a fragment of the historian Priscus, and the cities of the Eastern Empire suffered heavily from their raids.⁴²

The Sibyl next mentions a Persian war in which the Romans will be victorious and which will be terminated by a forty-years' peace (112f.). This could be either the Roman-Persian War of 421/2 or that of 438-442.⁴³ It is difficult to decide which of the two Persian wars is meant. The only firm criterion is the indication that it was ended by a forty years' peace, but the peace treaty of the earlier war is reported alternatively to have been negotiated for one hundred or for fifty years⁴⁴ and nothing is known concerning the time span for which peace was made in 442.

A further military event listed by the Sibyl under the reign of Theodosius II concerned another theater of war: the Northern frontier. The Sibyl predicts: "Thrace will be laid waste by barbarians through betrayal by Romans and because of their great love for silver" (126f.). The passage must refer to Hunnic invasions, of which there occurred four during the reign of Theodosius II. The first was led by Uldis in 408. In its course the city of Castra Martis in the province of Moesia, considerably to the south of the Danube, was captured by treachery and the rest of (the diocese of?) Thrace was overrun by the Huns.⁴⁵ A second Hunnic invasion occurred in 422, of which one fact is known: the Huns once again devastated

⁴² Priscus, frg. 6, ed. C. Müller, *FHG*, IV (Paris, 1851), 75 f. Priscus summarizes here Roman warfare under Theodosius I: not only against the Huns, but also against Parthians (= Persians), Vandals, Isaurians, Saracens, and Ethiopians. Cf. furthermore Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen, 80, 22, who records that in A.D. 441 Persians, Saracens, Isaurians, Huns, and other peoples raided the Empire.

⁴³ On the earlier war see Guldenpenning, *op. cit.*, 241-243, 249-253; Bury, II, 4; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 281; Stein, I, 280f.; Jones, I, 193. War of 438-442: Guldenpenning, *op. cit.*, 339f.; Bury, II, 5; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 283; Stein, I, 291 f.; Jones, I, 193.

⁴⁴ Sozomen, *Eccl. hist.*, IX, 4, 1, eds. Bidez-Hansen, 395, 10: τότε γούν Πέρσαι μὲν εἰς μάχην κεκινημένοι ἑκατοντούταις σπονδὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔθεντο; Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 364, 9: εὐθὺς ποῖω τὰ πάκτα τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ ἔτη ν' (but note that this is merely a *proposal* of the Persian king).

⁴⁵ Sozomen, *Eccl. hist.*, IX, 5, 2, eds. Bidez-Hansen, 396, 22: καὶ Καστράμαρτις πόλιν τῆς Μυσίας προδοσίᾳ ἑλὼν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην κατέτρεχε.... Cf. E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), 29.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

Thrace.⁴⁶ In 434 Attila became a ruler of the Huns and his first war against the Eastern Roman Empire lasted from 440-443. One of the Hunnic grievances was that the bishop of Margus on the Danube, in *Moesia Superior*, had robbed the Hunnic royal tombs of the treasures buried with the kings. Later on, the same bishop, afraid that he might be extradited to the Huns, betrayed his city to the enemy.⁴⁷ In 440 and 441 the Huns ransacked the cities of the diocese of Dacia (Viminacium, Singidunum, Sirmium, etc.), but in the campaign of 443 they destroyed not only Naissus and Sardica, but penetrated deep into Thrace, captured Philippopolis and Arcadiopolis and came dangerously close to the capital.⁴⁸ The most serious Hunnic invasion, however, was the last (A.D. 447). During that campaign the Huns and their allies "devastated all Illyricum, Thrace, both Dacias, Moesia and Scythia."⁴⁹ Which of these devastations of Thrace did the Sibyl have in mind? To answer this question two criteria are available. In the first place the devastation of Thrace by the Huns should certainly not precede (and probably should follow) the peace treaty that ended the Persian War mentioned earlier in the text (113f.). Secondly, the Hunnic devastation of Thrace should be caused by Roman greed and Roman treachery.⁵⁰ The first criterion clearly excludes the invasion of Uldis in A.D. 408, and probably that of 422. The only other Hunnic invasion of Theodosius II's reign where sources other than the Sibyl mention treachery and greed is Attila's first (440-443), when the bishop of Margus demonstrated greed by robbing the Hunnic

⁴⁶ Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, 75, 15: *Hunni Thraciam vastaverunt*. Cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴⁷ Priscus, frg. 2, ed. Müller, 72f., where the Huns give as one of the reasons for their attack: τὸν γὰρ τῆς Μάργου ἐπίσκοπον εἰς ἑαυτῶν ἀναβεβηκότα γῆν καὶ διερευνησάμενον τὰς παρὰ σφίσιν βασιλείας θῆκας, σεσυληκέναι τοὺς ἀποκειμένους θησαυροὺς. In the same fragment Priscus tells of the bishop's betrayal of his city.

⁴⁸ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), 102, 19ff.

⁴⁹ Jordanes, *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, 331, ed. Th. Mommsen (MGH, *Auct. Ant.*, V [Berlin, 1882]), 42, 22: *Hunnorum rex Attila... omnem Illyricum Traciamque et utramque Daciam, Mysiam et Scythiam populatus est*.

⁵⁰ It should be noted, however, that textually the reference to Roman treachery and love of silver is far from certain; see the readings of K in the critical apparatus ad 126 f.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

royal graves and committed treachery by handing over his episcopal city to the enemy. The Sibyl, then, may well be alluding to the Hunnic invasion of 440-443, but it should be emphasized that, in view of the spotty character of the information available for the terrible invasion of 447, it is not impossible that this is what is meant.⁵¹

Immediately after mentioning the Hunnic war the Sibyl speaks of the reign of Marcian, of the rise of a rebel from Africa and of his capture of Rome (127-133). This section presents a number of difficulties. In the first place the name of the rebel is spelt differently in the three manuscripts: σιδήρχος, δῖρχος, and δύσαρχος respectively, but as he is said to have captured Rome under Marcian, the Vandal ruler Gaiseric must be meant. For him the Sibyl predicts, if the text is established correctly, a reign of thirty years, a prophecy which proves either that the author was misinformed about the length of Gaiseric's reign (428-477) or that he used a prophecy written during Gaiseric's lifetime.⁵² The Sibyl then predicts that Gaiseric "will humble Rome because of her great love of silver," in other words she explains Rome's misfortunes in the same way as the devastation of Thrace by the Huns.⁵³ The next prophecy: "Rome will not hold imperial sway until the season of her time" is a parallel to the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" (*supra*, p. 41f.) and must mean that Rome will never recover her imperial position after the Vandal sack of 455, a "prophecy" which is in fact a remarkable historical judgment, by an author of the early sixth century, on the significance of the Vandal sack of Rome and the drastically reduced role played by the ancient capital in the two decades prior to the "fall of the western Empire." The "drowning" of Dalmatia and the capture of Campania and Calabria, also prophesied by the Sibyl (133-135), are unquestionably references to later Vandal

⁵¹ Between the Persian War (112f.) and the Hunnic devastation of Thrace (126) the Sibyl mentions a plague of locusts and subsequent famines in Syria and Cappadocia (115-117) and the destruction in various localities of sheep and cattle (125f.) as well as other man-made catastrophes. Unfortunately I have been unable to identify these events (those reported by Marcellinus Comes for 443, 444, 446 are different in character).

⁵² See 131f., and both *apparatus criticus* and "Commentary" *ad locum*.

⁵³ 126f.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

razzias, for all three of these areas appear in a list of provinces ravaged by the Vandals.⁵⁴

For the reign of Leo I the Sibyl predicts that "Thrace will be laid waste" (138f.). Perhaps this is a reference to the invasion of Dengizech, son of Attila (468/9), but it is more likely that the Sibyl is thinking here of the sack of Thrace by the Ostrogoth chieftain Theoderic Strabo (471-473).⁵⁵ Still under the reign of Leo, the author says that "Taurocilicia will lift high her neck" (140), undoubtedly a reference to the emergence of the Isaurians in the affairs of state under Leo I.⁵⁶

The last military item discussed by the Sibyl is her prophecy that "the Persians will arise in his [Anastasius I's] times and will overturn with the sword the cities of the East together with the multitudes of the soldiers of the Roman Empire" (170-172). Indeed, the peace treaty of 442 between Rome and Persia was violated by a Persian invasion in 502. This new war lasted until 506. As was stated above, the Sibyl was aware of the Roman defeats suffered during the first two years of the war, but knew nothing of the victories of 504/5 and of the truce and peace treaty that put an end to the hostilities.⁵⁷

3. Internal Affairs

The interest of the Sibyl's remarks about domestic developments lies less in the factual information than in her reactions to the social and economic policies of the emperors of the late fifth century.

⁵⁴ Victor Vitensis, *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, I, 17, ed. C. Halm (MGH, *Auct. Ant.*, III, 1 [Berlin, 1879]), 13, 10: *Quae vero (Geisericus) in Hispania, Italia, Dalmatia, Campania, Calabria, Apulia, Sicilia, Sardinia, Britiis, Lucania, Epiro vetus vel Hellada gesserit, melius ibi ipsi qui passi sunt miserabiliter lugenda narrabunt.*

⁵⁵ On Dengizech's invasion, see E. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 157. On Theoderic Strabo's sack of Thrace: Bury, I, 320; Stein, I, 361; Jones, I, 223.

⁵⁶ Bury, I, 317f.; Stein, I, 358f. I have found no other reference to the term Ταυροκιλικία. Inasmuch, however, as "beginning from some period in the second or early third century, Cilicia Tracheia came to be designated as Isauria" (W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, reprint [Amsterdam, 1962], p. 450 = addendum to p. 376) and as Cilicia Tracheia, as distinguished from ἡ πεδιάς, comprised the part of the Taurus range located in Cilicia (W. Ruge, "Kilikia," *RE*, XI [Stuttgart, 1922], col. 386), there can be little doubt that the Sibyl is here paraphrasing the term "Isauria."

⁵⁷ *Supra*, p. 42.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

In mentioning Augustus, the Sibyl finds it noteworthy that "every king of the Romans will be called by his name."⁵⁸ The title *Augustus*, used by the rulers of the Later Roman Empire to denote their universal rule, is for her clearly no more than a piece of antiquarian lore while she considers the current and normal designation of the Emperor to be βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.⁵⁹ This is in full agreement with the conclusion drawn by modern scholars from studies of Byzantine imperial titles. According to them, the title *Augustus* maintained itself in official use but disappeared from daily and literary language in the Early Byzantine period. Its place was taken by the designation βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, first unofficially, then, beginning with the late seventh century, occasionally in semi-official and official contexts, and from 811 onwards regularly as part of the official titulature of the Byzantine emperor.⁶⁰

It is characteristic of the author's ignorance of the first three centuries of the Christian era that the Sibyl does not mention domestic developments until the time of Constantine the Great. Here occur the "Constantinopolitan Oracle" and the reference to the double name of the new city, Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis, items which have been discussed in other contexts (pp. 41 and 80 respectively). She adds that "all the tribes of the seventy-two languages will inhabit" the new city (93f.). The notion of the seventy-two languages was found already in the *agraphon* of the

⁵⁸ 70 f.: ἕκαστος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κληθήσεται.

⁵⁹ If an Englishman should say today, for example, "since the days of William the Conqueror the title of the king has been *rex*," this would prove that to the speaker *rex* is an official and obsolete, "king" the familiar and current terminology.

⁶⁰ On the title *Augustus* see F. Dölger, "Die Entwicklung der byzantinischen Kaisertitulatur, etc.," *Studies presented to D. M. Robinson*, II (Saint Louis, Missouri, 1953), 985-1005, repr. in *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal, 1956), 130-151, esp. 131 f. On βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων there exists a vast literature. Most useful from the above point of view: E. Stein, "Zum mittelalterlichen Titel 'Kaiser der Römer'," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 6 (1930), 132 f.; V. Laurent, *Βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, etc.*, *Cronica numismaticā et archaeologica*, 15 (1940), 198-217, esp. 207, who cites as the earliest example for the official use of the title βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων a seal from the collection of M. Papahagi with the legend: *Constantinos Constantios (h) Anastas(i)os (b) asileis Ro(maion)* and attributes it to Constantine IV (668-685), son of Constans II and husband of Anastasia. In literary sources and private documents of the *pars Orientis*, written in the Greek language, the title βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων occurs from the age of the Antonines; cf. P. Classen, "Romanum gubernans imperium," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 9 (1951), 103-121, esp. 112 f.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

Sibylline gospel (46f.) and there signified all the languages spoken in the world.⁶¹ The "tribes of the seventy-two languages," thus, are all the peoples of the world.⁶² The implication of the Sibyl's account of the foundation of the new city is that all the peoples of the world were represented in the new capital. Constantinople "an epitome of the inhabited world"—here was a *topos* that must have been developed time and again in the literature of the "Praises of Constantinople" (*laudes Constantinopoleos*).⁶³ It is here used, and its correctness acknowledged, by an author who wrote at great distance from the new capital.

The Sibyl gives no further information on internal developments until she arrives at the reign of Zeno. Her attitude towards this Emperor is ambivalent: "he will hate the inhabitants of his city" (Constantinople) during his first reign (474/5; cf. 149f.) and after his return in 476 "his kingship is not given (to him) by heaven" (155f.). Yet "his rule will be powerful and will be pleasing to the entire people; he will love the Poor and humble the Powerful and Rich" (159-161).⁶⁴ A favourable appraisal of Zeno's reign after his return is found in the *Excerpta Valesiana*, in a passage derived probably from an Eastern source: "Zeno remembered the love of senate and people, and showed himself generous to all so that all thanked

⁶¹ Cf. Luke 10 : 1: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέδειξεν ὁ Κύριος ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα (variant: ἑβδομήκοντα δύο) καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο πρὸς προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ τόπον οὗ ἡμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι.

⁶² See "Commentary" on 47.

⁶³ On the "Praises of Constantinople," see my article "The Strength of Empire and Capital as Seen Through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 339-357, esp. 341-343. I have not discovered the *topos* "Constantinople as epitome of the inhabited world" in this genre, but it occurs regularly in the Praises of other cities, especially Rome. In fact, I have borrowed the formulation "an epitome of the inhabited world" from the second-century Sophist Polemo (cf. A. D. Nock, "The Praises of Antioch," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 40 [1954], 76-82, esp. 78). Polemo had said it of Rome (τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτομή, here cited from Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Περὶ ἀρῶν*, after W. L. Knox, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 47 [1946], 183), but it expresses what the Sibyl here implies about Constantinople. The new text lends weight to Nock's suggestion that in his *Antiochicus* Libanius was reacting against rhetorical claims made for the city of Constantinople.

⁶⁴ With the formulation: ἀρέσκουσα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ for Zeno's βασιλεία, compare the identical characterization of the situation prior to Anastasius by Marcellinus Comes (*infra*, note 75): *placibilem plebi commutationem*. Note, however, the Sibyl's earlier reservations toward Zeno's rule.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

him."⁶⁵ It is more difficult to decide which measures of Zeno, according to the Sibyl, favored the Poor and discriminated against the Rich. Zeno frequently had occasion to confiscate the property of highly placed rebels.⁶⁶ Furthermore, although Zeno's government, because of the heavy payments made to Goths and Isaurians, was constantly short of cash, it refrained from raising taxes and engaged instead in a highly lucrative and systematic sale of public offices.⁶⁷ Similarly, Zeno introduced the new rank of ex-consul and placed on ex-consuls the obligation to contribute financially to the maintenance of the aqueducts.⁶⁸ These measures cannot have weighed on the poor people, but must have been felt as a heavy burden by the men of wealth and influence. Furthermore Zeno's legislation showed a serious concern for the interests of consumers. A law of 483 prohibited all monopolies and the fixing of minimum prices by collusion among dealers. It also imposed heavy penalties on heads of guilds whose members refused to work on contracts not completed by their fellow members.⁶⁹ Four years earlier another law of Zeno had decreed that provincial governors should not leave their province until fifty days had elapsed after the end of their term of office, so that charges of maladministration could be brought against them.⁷⁰ Finally Zeno's legislation also made it illegal for decurions to escape their financial obligations by obtaining the lesser offices of state, from *quaestor* to *comes rei privatae*, and thus to increase the tax burden of their municipalities.⁷¹ Some or all of these acts of Zeno the Sibyl may have had in mind when she characterized his administration as favoring the Poor and humbling the Rich. Her views of Zeno are in harmony with his leaning towards, and

⁶⁵ *Excerpta Valesiana*, 44, ed. J. Moreau (Leipzig, 1961), 12, 20. On the Eastern source, see Moreau, p. vii.

⁶⁶ Stein, II, 66, 76; Jones, I, 229. Cf. Johannes Lydus' statement about Zeno: αὐτὸς περὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὀλεσθῶν τῶν ἐν τέλει τῆς πολιτείας ἀγρυπνῶν (*De mag.*, III, 45, ed. R. Wuensch [Leipzig, 1903], 134, 12).

⁶⁷ In 475 the praetorian prefect Erythrius resigned his office, rather than raise the tax rate (Malchus, frg. 6, ed. C. Müller, *FHG*, IV [Paris, 1851], 116). His successor Sebastianus sold all public offices to the highest bidder for his own and the Emperor's profit (*idem*, frg. 9, ed. Müller, 118: ... τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπεδίδωτο πάσας...). Cf. Stein, II, 66; Jones, I, 230, 394.

⁶⁸ Stein, II, 68 f.; Jones, II, 533, 695.

⁶⁹ *Code of Justinian*, IV, 59, 2, ed. P. Krüger (Berlin, 1929), 186.

⁷⁰ *Code of Justinian*, I, 49, 1, ed. Krüger, 87 f.

⁷¹ *Code of Justinian*, X, 32, 64, 66, ed. Krüger, 144 f.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

being supported by, the Green circus faction; for the party of the Greens was the party of the urban masses.⁷²

Of the Emperor Anastasius, who was reigning at the time of the writing of the new text, the Sibyl speaks in a very different vein: he "hates all the beggars; he will ruin many from among the people either lawfully or unlawfully" (168f.). In her view, then, Anastasius, unlike Zeno, treated the Poor with a heavy hand. It is not easy to see which particular activities of Anastasius the author had in mind when writing this passage. By and large, Anastasius' internal, especially his financial, policies betray a sincere concern for the well-being of his subjects and do not spring from a desire to oppress the lower classes. Some innovations, such as the appointment of *vindices* to supervise the collection of taxes in the municipalities, may have provoked a measure of discontent, but the *vindices* "no doubt saw to it that wealthy taxpayers were not treated with undue leniency, and that the officials and *curiales* did not pocket more than their legal perquisites."⁷³ In addition, the Emperor actually abolished or reduced the obligations of taxpayers. *Sportulae*, i.e. fees added to the tax by collectors, were reduced to one *siliqua* per *iugum*, the *collatio lustralis*, a tax on craftsmen and merchants, was done away with altogether (498), and the *capitatio humana et animalium* on peasants was reduced.⁷⁴ Of these measures, all of them designed to permit the fiscal resources of the Empire, exhausted by Zeno's exactions, to recuperate, only the establishment of *vindices* may perhaps have been felt by the Poor as an oppressive measure. There was, however, one innovation introduced by Anastasius which, though undoubtedly meant, like all his financial measures, to strengthen the economy, dealt a serious initial blow to the economic well-being of the lower classes. Numismatic evidence shows that the fourth and fifth centuries had witnessed a disastrous inflation of the bronze currency, the *nummion*. In the East, Anastasius began in 498 a process of reforming the bronze coinage. Two, or possibly

⁷² On Zeno's orientation towards the Greens, see Malalas, XV, Bonn ed., 379: (Zeno) ἐθαροῖ δὲ εἰς τὸ Πράσινον μέρος ὅτι ἐφιλέτο παρ' αὐτῶν, κτλ.

⁷³ On the measure and its effect on public opinion, see Stein, II, 210. The quotation is taken from Jones, I, 236, but see Stein, II, 210 f.

⁷⁴ On the *sportulae*: Zachariä v. Lingenthal, 'Ανέκδοτα, 271, no. 13; Jones, I, 235 and note 42. On the *collatio lustralis*: Stein, II, 203; Jones, I, 237. *Capitatio*: Jones, I, 237.

three, series of the new coins were struck successively, of which one was light and another much heavier. The new series comprised denominations of 40, 20, 10, and 5 *nummia*, and besides it is possible that the issue of the old *nummia* was temporarily suspended.⁷⁵ The relationship of new and old bronze coins is still *sub iudice*, but this much seems already certain: the copper content of the new bronze coins was considerably less than was indicated by the denomination. Similarly, when the heavy series was added, the forty *nummia* denominations of the light issue seem to have continued to circulate at the value of twenty *nummia*.⁷⁶ Finally, the fact that the smallest denomination in the new series was five *nummia* tended to round off (and consequently to raise) prices to the nearest higher multiple of five. More than twenty years ago, a student of Anastasius' monetary reform, my late teacher, Professor R. P. Blake, wrote: "It is clear that the lower classes, whose scanty savings were for the most part in the previous bronze-copper currency, must have been seriously irked by the measure." This resentment was echoed by the chronicler Marcellinus, as correctly interpreted, and is now confirmed by the new text.⁷⁷

Anastasius may have further incurred the displeasure of the lower classes by measures favoring the landholding aristocracy (and as a consequence worsening the condition of the poorer people), notably

⁷⁵ On the inflation of the bronze coinage see R. P. Blake, "The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications," *Studies in the History of Culture* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942), 84-97, esp. 87-89; Ph. Grierson, "The *Tablettes Albertini* and the Value of the *Solidus* in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 49 (1959), 73-80; *idem*, "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498-ca. 1090," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, VIII (Spoleto, 1961), 411-453, esp. 431 f.; also D. M. Metcalf, "The Slavonic Threat to Greece ca. 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia*, 31 (1962), 134-157, esp. 136 f., note 5. The numismatic evidence for the reform is set forth in the two articles by Grierson while Blake offers a careful analysis of the principal literary source, Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen, 95: *Nummis quos Romani Teruncianos (Terentianos codd.) vocant, Graeci follares, Anastasius princeps suo nomine figuratis placibilem plebi commutationem distravit*.

⁷⁶ Grierson, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 49 (1959), 80: "It looks as if the small [= light] M, K and I coins remained in circulation at half the number of *nummi* marked on them." I have received much help from Professor Grierson on numismatic matters during conversations in the summer of 1964.

⁷⁷ Blake, *op. cit.*, 97. After careful analysis, Blake translated the last part of Marcellinus' sentence (*supra*, note 75) as follows: "... the emperor Anastasius interfered with a (form of) exchange which was agreeable to the populace."

by the reform of the *coemptio* and by the role assigned to the landholding aristocracy in the election of *στρωται*, *defensores* and *curatores*.⁷⁸ If measures such as the institution of *vindices*, the stabilization of the bronze currency, and the reform of the *coemptio* prompted the Sibyl's judgment on the internal policies of Anastasius, then she represents the point of view of Green party politics and does not give a balanced and objective evaluation of the Emperor's attempt to stabilize the Byzantine economy.⁷⁹

4. Religious History

Down to the reign of Constantine the Great the Sibyl is almost exclusively preoccupied with the conflict of paganism with Christianity.⁸⁰ Beginning with the reign of the first Christian on the throne of the Caesars she makes a number of allusions to the doctrinal controversies within the Church Triumphant.

Of Constantine the Great the Sibyl prophesies that "a sign will appear to him in the sky" (88). She is here alluding to the famous vision attributed by Eusebius (?) to Constantine himself: the trophy of the cross in the sky athwart the rays of the afternoon sun, with

⁷⁸ See J. Jarry, "Hérésies et factions à Constantinople du V^e au VII^e siècle," *Syria*, 37 (1960), 348-371, esp. 351-355. Jarry disagrees with an earlier appraisal of Anastasius' internal policies by A. P. D'iakonov, "Vizantiiskie Dimy i Faktii v V-VII vv.," *Vizantiiskii Zbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), 144-227, esp. 216-218. According to D'iakonov, the Red circus faction, which Anastasius favored (Malalas, XVI, Bonn ed., 393), was affiliated with the Green faction. This point is challenged by Jarry (p. 352), in my opinion successfully, on the strength of sixth-century evidence. Jarry further emphasizes Anastasius' measures in favor of the landholding aristocracy while D'iakonov stresses the heavy burdens placed on the masses by Anastasius' financial policies. These two points of emphasis are not irreconcilable.

⁷⁹ Compare with the Sibyl's statement on Anastasius the appraisal of Stein, II, 192: "il a aussi le mérite d'avoir, plus que tout autre, préparé l'apogée de la puissance et de la civilisation byzantine, que nous voyons se produire au VI^e siècle... à sa mort l'empereur laissa un trésor tel que l'histoire financière de Byzance n'en a plus jamais connu de semblable, même de loin; et cependant, tout en accumulant ce trésor, il parvint à alléger les charges fiscales des classes les plus pauvres..."

⁸⁰ This information has been discussed already. For the "Sibylline gospel" see *supra*, Chapter V. Persecutions by Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius, building of temples at Heliopolis-Baalbek and of altars on Mt. Lebanon by the same Emperors: *supra*, pp. 43-47. Persecutions of Christians by "two kings with short reigns": *supra*, p. 75ff. Destruction of pagan temples and altars on Mt. Lebanon by Constantine the Great: *supra*, p. 46. Finding of the cross by the Empress Helen: *supra*, p. 80.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

the inscription "Through this you conquer."⁸¹ Where the Sibyl speaks of persecutions, clearly of Christians, under Valens, Valentinian, and Jovian (97f.), she must be thinking of Valens' hostile attitude towards Athanasians and moderate semi-Arians, perhaps also of Valentinian's suppression of Donatism in Africa and of Arianism in Pannonia, as well as of the latter's intervention in the struggle between the deacon Ursinus and the priest Damasus over the papacy.⁸²

If the Sibyl then calls Marcian (Gratian?) and Theodosius I "teachers of the faith" (101), this must be an allusion to the defeat of Arianism in the Empire after the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381).⁸³

The Sibyl further prophesies: the same Emperors "will destroy the abandoned temples of the pagans, and the temples of the heathens will be turned into tombs of the saints" (101-103). The closing of pagan temples was decreed by Constantius II in 356 and their destruction reached a climax at the end of the fourth century;⁸⁴ for the reign of Theodosius I the process of destruction is vividly and passionately described in Libanius' oration *De templis*.⁸⁵ But what does the Sibyl mean by her remark about the transfor-

⁸¹ Eusebius (?), *Vita Constantini*, I, 28, ed. I.A. Heikel (GCS, 7 [Leipzig, 1902]), 21, 14: ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινῶς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη [i.e. Constantine] ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφὴν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τοῦτω νίκα. On this vision, see for example J. Vogt, "Constantinus der Grosse," *RAC*, III (Stuttgart, 1957), cols. 307-379, esp. 322-325. If one could be certain that the Sibyl's reference to Constantine's vision formed part of the fourth-century source of the present text (*supra*, pp. 52-65), then this passage would be a very early mention of the vision. It may, however, belong to the sixth-century *remaniement*.

⁸² Stein, I, 173-175. I know of no persecutions of Christians during the short reign of Jovian, in fact he granted toleration to all Christian sects (*ibid.*, 171 f.).

⁸³ Stein, I, 198.

⁸⁴ F. W. Deichmann and P. de Labriolle, "Christianisierung II (der Monumente)," *RAC*, II (Stuttgart, 1954), cols. 1227-1241, esp. 1229.

⁸⁵ Pagan temples were "abandoned" or "destroyed" particularly after the massacre of Thessalonica and after Theodosius' public penance at Milan (390); cf. Stein, I, 209f., and the passage from Malalas cited in the "Commentary" on 101. By legislation, Theodosius forbade the performance of cult acts in the pagan temples at Rome (391), and in the same year the Serapeum at Alexandria was destroyed. Cf. also H. Bloch in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), 198. For Libanius' *De templis* (A.D. 386?), see the translation and commentary by R. Van Loy, *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 7-39, 384-404.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

mation of the pagan temples into tombs of saints? The language of the passage is too precise to assume that nothing more than the frequent transformation of pagan temples into Christian churches is meant.⁸⁶ The late Père H. Delehaye showed long ago that in the first Christian centuries the terms ἄγιοι and *sancti* frequently denote the community of the faithful living on earth.⁸⁷ If this should be the meaning which the Sibyl attached to the word ἄγιοι, Christian cemeteries, perhaps even single tombs of individual Christians, would have been located on the site of destroyed pagan temples. This happened indeed not infrequently in the West,⁸⁸ but no Eastern parallels to this practice are known to me. Eastern Christians regarded the pagan gods to whom the temples had been dedicated as powerful demons and may not have wished to entrust their dead to the charge of these dispossessed demons.⁸⁹ In the East, therefore, the structures of the pagan temples were appropriated by the new religion in a somewhat different way. The word ἄγιοι-*sancti*, used in the new text, could also refer to Christian martyrs.⁹⁰ Gratian's and Theodosius' interest in martyrs' relics and martyrs' shrines (*martyria*) is attested by a constitution of 26 February 386 addressed to the praetorian prefect Cynegius, a fierce persecutor of paganism. In it the *Augusti* forbade the transfer, dismemberment, and sale of martyrs' bodies and continued:

But it shall be permissible, if one of the martyrs is buried in any place, to add for the purpose of worship any kind of building that is desired; it shall be called *martyrium*.⁹¹

⁸⁶ F. W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 54 (1939), 105-136; supplements in the article by Deichmann and Labriolle cited above (note 84).

⁸⁷ H. Delehaye, *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 17 (Brussels, 1927), 29-32.

⁸⁸ At Cumae, for example, when in the fifth to seventh centuries the temples of Apollo and Jupiter were converted into Christian basilicas, tombs were cut into the pavements of the former temples, about ninety of them in the case of the Temple of Apollo (A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, 3rd ed. [Rome, 1958], 119, 132). At Agrigento a large section of the ridge on which the main temples were located, especially the area around the "Temple of Concord," was taken over by cemeteries when in the sixth century the "Temple of Concord" became the Church of S. Gregorio delle Rape.

⁸⁹ Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," 105-136.

⁹⁰ Delehaye, *Sanctus*, 32-36.

⁹¹ *Cod. Theod.*, IX, 17, 7, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1905), 466. Cf. W. Ensslin, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius des Grossen*, Sitzungs-

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

There is indeed evidence that in some cases martyrs' relics were transferred to the site of former pagan temples. Presumably, in the case of martyrs, the extraordinary sanctity evidenced by them was expected to exorcise the power of pagan demons. The first such case occurred during the reign of Constantius II when, between 351 and 354, the Caesar Gallus had the relic of St. Babylas transferred to or near Apollo's Temple at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch.⁹² A decade later the Emperor Julian gave orders to the governor of Caria to destroy martyrs' shrines near the Temple of the Didymaeon Apollo outside Miletus.⁹³ In the fifth century Cyril of Alexandria moved the bodies of Sts. Cyrus and John from St. Mark's in Alexandria to the site of the former Temple of Isis at Menuthis, two miles from Canopus,⁹⁴ and under Theodosius II the relics of Ignatius of Antioch were transferred to the Tychaeum of his native city.⁹⁵ At Gerasa in the Decapolis a *martyrium* of a certain Theodore, who died probably under Julian, seems to have replaced a pagan sanctuary around A.D. 496.⁹⁶ In 515 at Zorova-Ezraa, in the Trachonitis, a certain John, son of Diomedes, buried the body of the martyr St. George on the site of a pagan temple (of

berichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 2 (Munich, 1953), 54; N. Q. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London, 1961), 115.

⁹² H. Delehay, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, 2nd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica, 20 (Brussels, 1933), 54; G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, etc. (Princeton, 1961), 364.

⁹³ Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 20, 7, eds. J. Bidez and G. Chr. Hansen (GCS, 50 [Berlin, 1960]), 227, 19.

⁹⁴ Delehay, *Origines*, 223 f. He mentions (p. 409) another example, the cult of St. Hilary in Gévandun (Gaul), but I have been unable to verify it.

⁹⁵ John of Epiphania, *apud Evagrius, Eccl. hist.*, I, 16, eds. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 25 f. Cf. G. Downey, *op. cit.*, 455.

⁹⁶ C. B. Welles in C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938), 476-478 (with bibliography on controversy). Cf. J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, etc., Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Arch. et Hist., 42 (Paris, 1947), 248. Incidentally Lassus suggests (p. 246) that the Christian shrine into which the hexagonal entrance court at Heliopolis-Baalbek was transformed was probably a *martyrium*. If true, this would be highly interesting, for, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 47), the author of the new text wrote in or near Baalbek. Lassus' suggestion seems to be based, however, on nothing more than the architectural shape of the building. It will, therefore, be advisable to reserve judgment on the correctness of his hypothesis.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

Theandrites), "the resting place of the demons,"⁹⁷ and it was probably also at Ezraa that in the sixth century another pagan temple was transformed into a shrine of the martyr Sergios.⁹⁸ Other instances of a similar nature can probably be adduced, but it is worth noting that in most of the cases mentioned above the former pagan temple was not simply transformed into a Christian *martyrium*, but was more or less thoroughly destroyed, presumably to exorcise in this way the "demons" worshipped in it, and the building materials re-used for a martyr's shrine. This, at least, is what Theodoret of Cyrrhus suggests as the normal procedure:

[The martyrs] obliterated the memory even of the so-called gods from the mind of men. For their shrines were completely destroyed so that not even the form of their outlines remained and men now alive do not know the place of the altars, but their materials were consecrated to the shrines of the martyrs. For the Lord substituted his own dead for your gods. He proved the latter vanished and gave to the former their honor.⁹⁹

This passage offers the best commentary on the Sibyl's remark, a commentary all the more valuable as Theodoret lived in Syria (Antioch and Cyrrhus) in the decades after Theodosius the Great's death. Theodosius' constitution on the cult of the martyrs, cited above (p. 99), may be evidence for this Emperor's concern for *martyria*, and the Sibyl may consequently be right in attributing to Theodosius and his colleague Gratian the substitution of martyrs' tombs for pagan temples.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," 117 f.; Delehay, *Origines*, 86; Lassus, *op. cit.*, 140 f., 248; J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg, 1920), 194.

⁹⁸ Cl. Mondésert, "Inscriptions et objets chrétiens de Syrie et de Palestine," *Syria*, 37 (1960), 116-130, esp. 125-130.

⁹⁹ Theodoret, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, VIII, 69, ed. J. Raeder (Leipzig, 1904), 218 f. Cf. Lassus, *op. cit.*, 248, and, on the use of *spolia* in the architecture of Late Antiquity in general, E. Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, V, 3 (Munich, 1958), 16.

¹⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that the building of martyrs' tombs on the site of pagan temples was a cliché of pagan literature in the fourth and fifth centuries. See for example the Little Apocalypse in the treatise *Asclepius* of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (chap. 24), ed. A. D. Nock, II (Paris, 1945), 327: *tunc terra ista*

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

From the reign of Arcadius onwards the Sibyl concentrates on secular history, but she does return to religious matters under the joint reigns of Leo I and Leo II (473/4). For that period the Sibyl announces: "And then those men will speak a blasphemous saying against the Son as he is. And because of his saying the father will be brought down powerfully from his throne. . . ." (145-147).¹⁰¹ Nothing is known of an official pronouncement of Leo I on the

sanctissima [i.e., *Aegyptus*], *sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulcrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima* (cf. Nock's remarks, *ibid.*, 288 f.); the Emperor Julian's "myth" about Constantine the Great's sons who among other misdeeds destroyed temples and "erected sepulchres both on new sites and on the old sites of the temples" (*Oration VII*, 228 C: καθαιρεμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνωκοδομεῖτο παλαιὰ καὶ νέα μνημεῖα (I am citing the translation by W. C. Wright in the Loeb series, II [London-New York, 1913], 135); and Eunapius of Sardes († circa 420), *Vitae sophistarum*, VI, 11, 10, ed. I. Giangrande, 40, 7; Antoninus prophesied that "the pagan temples would be turned into tombs" (τὰ ἱερὰ τάφους γενήσονται).

¹⁰¹ Both the Sibyl's syntax, and her chronology, are baffling at this point, and I am not certain whether my edition and interpretation of 145-147 are satisfactory. In 140-145 the genealogy of the House of Leo is given and the birth of Leo II mentioned (141 f., ca. A.D. 467-468). The Sibyl then mentions the appearance of Zeno "during his kingship" (144: ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται Ἰσάυρος). This must mean that Zeno "made his appearance" during the lifetime of his son Leo II (cf. αὐτοῦ, 144) mentioned in the preceding sentence. If this is so, then the author is not referring here to Zeno's first appearance at the court of Leo I (ca. 466), but to his return from self-imposed exile in Chalcedon to the capital after the coronation of Leo II by his grandfather Leo I (*Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, 66, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 32 [1913], 185), at the latest in November 473. The *proskynesis* of Leo II by his father Zeno (145) must then have occurred on or after that date. It can hardly be the same act of adoration as that reported by Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 376, 9 on the occasion of Zeno's own coronation by his son Leo II (9 February 474), because the event referred to by the Sibyl occurred prior to Leo I's "fall" (147) or death (3 February 474) and prior to Zeno's accession to the throne (9 February 474 [149]). It must therefore have occurred either immediately after Zeno's return from Chalcedon in November 473 or shortly thereafter, perhaps on 1 January 474, when the child emperor Leo II entered upon his consulship (Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 376, 1). If the Sibyl is trying here to indicate the chronological order of events, then the λόγος βλασφημίας (146) must have occurred after Leo II had become co-emperor and after Zeno had returned from Chalcedon, but before the deaths of Leo I and Leo II. The λόγος βλασφημίας, therefore, should be dated between about November 473 and 3 February 474. Thus the ἐκείνοι of 145 refers to the two Leos as emperors and perhaps also to Zeno as the power behind the throne.—In this discussion of chronology and in all that follows in the text I have been greatly aided by E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma*, Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Abt., N.F., 10 (Munich, 1934), esp. 182-185, an outstanding analysis of ecclesiastical history from Leo I to Justinian.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

christological issue, in 473/4 or at any other time,¹⁰² but it has been observed that the government of Leo supported the decisions of Chalcedon with somewhat less energy than had been done under Marcian, and that monophysitism was strengthened during his reign.¹⁰³ In view of the precise statement in the new text, church historians may want to consider whether in the last months of Leo's reign, when the influence of the monophysite Zeno had become paramount at the court, the Emperor Leo I and his grandson made a hitherto unknown formal pronouncement in favor of monophysitism.

Of the usurper Basiliscus the Sibyl says that "he will speak blasphemy against the highest god" (153). Here she is referring to Basiliscus' *Encyclical Letter* (476) which anathematized the Tome of (Pope) Leo and the dogmatic Definition of the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁰⁴ The passage is interesting as it shows, more clearly than the judgments on Leo's, Zeno's and Anastasius' religious policies, that the author was an adherent of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. He neglects to mention the *Anti-Encyclical* in which Basiliscus revoked his earlier measure, but there can be little doubt that the author is at least partially correct when he makes Basiliscus' monophysite pronouncements responsible for his fall.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² At the beginning of his reign (457) the Emperor Leo I considered assembling a new council of the Church which was to decide on the elevation of the monophysite Timotheus Aelurus to the see of Alexandria but also to re-examine the christological issue. This project was prevented by the Patriarch Anatolius of Constantinople (Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV, 5, trans. K. Ahrens and G. Krüger [Leipzig, 1899], 27, 9 ff.). Leo did, however, write an encyclical letter addressed to all bishops in the Empire and to monastic leaders, inviting them to declare their views on the election of Timotheus and on the Council of Chalcedon (text in Evagrius, *Eccl. hist.*, II, 9, eds. Bidez and Parmentier, 59, 18 ff.; cf. Zacharias Rhetor, *loc. cit.*, 27, 23). These activities show that Leo did not consider the decisions of Chalcedon final, yet they can hardly be what the Sibyl has in mind. In the first place, while they perhaps imply a doubt towards Chalcedon, they could hardly be called a λόγος βλασφημίας (146), even by a fanatical Chalcedonian. Secondly, the Sibyl speaks specifically of a period when Leo II was co-emperor and when Zeno influenced the religious policies of the Emperor (cf. *supra*, note 101), and this was not the case until long after 457.

¹⁰³ Stein, I, 355; R. Haacke in A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalcedon*, II (Würzburg, 1953), 109-111.

¹⁰⁴ Text in Zacharias Rhetor, *Kirchengeschichte*, V, 2, trans. Ahrens and Krüger, 60-62; Evagrius, *Eccl. hist.*, III, 4, eds. Bidez and Parmentier, 100-104; cf. E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1431*, etc., Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Klasse, Band 32, 6 (Munich, 1927), 49-51; Haacke, in Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 112 f.

¹⁰⁵ 153 f. . . . διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν . . . κακῶς ἀπολείπται.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

As was said above, Zeno is first alluded to by the Sibyl during the reign of Leo I and Leo II and seems, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 102 and note 101), to have had a share in the promulgation of the λόγος βλασφημίας which the Sibyl assigns to those Emperors. She has nothing to say about Zeno's religious orientation during his first reign (474/5), and even when she speaks of the sixteen years of his second reign (476-491), she limits herself to the remark: "except that his imperial position is not given [to him] by heaven" (156f.). This condemnation of Zeno must refer to his leanings towards monophysitism, as evidenced particularly by the support he had given, prior to his accession, to the monophysite leader Peter the Fuller, his role in the "Acacian Schism," and especially the issuance of the *Edictum Zenonis*, usually called *Henotikon* (481).¹⁰⁶ This imperial edict recognized the decisions of the first three ecumenical councils and anathematized "anybody who had thought or was thinking differently, either now or at another time, at Chalcedon or in any other council."¹⁰⁷

On Anastasius' ecclesiastical policy the author has only one phrase, unfortunately corrupt in all the manuscripts: "he will depose those who observe godliness."¹⁰⁸ Since he wrote probably

¹⁰⁶ Zeno's support for Peter the Fuller: Stein, I, 360. For the Acacian Schism and the *Edictum Zenonis*, see Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma*, 194 ff.; Haacke, in Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 118 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Text of *Edictum Zenonis* in several sources, for example in Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 1431, 52-56.

¹⁰⁸ 169f.: καθελεῖ τοὺς θεωροῦντας (sic) θεοσέβειαν Κ καθελεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς θεωροῦντας πάντας πλησίον· φυλάττον θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφητίαν Q καθελεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς θεωροῦντας πάντας πλην φυλάττον θεοσέβειαν καὶ προφητίαν A. The words θεωροῦντας θεοσέβειαν, common to all three manuscripts, seem to be closest to the original meaning and the reference by the common source of A and Q to the pagan gods (θεοί) must be pure fantasy. On the other hand, θεωροῦντας itself must be corrupt, for it is difficult to make sense of θεωρεῖν θεοσέβειαν. (In fact, it was probably an awareness of this corruption that prompted the common source of Q and A to make their unfortunate emendation.) The principal question is: what stood originally in place of θεωροῦντας? Was it a participle indicating "to practice," or was it on the contrary a word meaning "to oppose"? Inasmuch as the author of the new text was a staunch Chalcedonian and an opponent of the *Edictum Zenonis* and since on the other hand Anastasius, upon ascending the throne, was at the least a strong supporter of the *Edictum Zenonis* and quite possibly already a monophysite (see the convenient survey of modern views on the question by Haacke, in Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 126, note 2), the author must have meant by θεοσέβεια Chalcedonian orthodoxy and stated that Anastasius deposed those who "practiced piety," i.e. those who acknowledged Chalcedon and opposed the *Edictum Zenonis*. Professor Youtie's emendation τηροῦντας is therefore most attractive.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF NEW TEXT

prior to 506, at any rate prior to 510, the primary instance of a deposition of a Chalcedonian by Anastasius was that of the Patriarch Euphemius of Constantinople,¹⁰⁹ and this event the author must have had in mind.

¹⁰⁹ Bury, I, 437; Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen*, etc., 222; Stein, II, 166; Haacke in Grillmeier and Bacht, II, 128.

VII

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND ESCHATOLOGY

The Sibyl's geographic notions correspond to what one would expect of a popular author writing in *Phoenice Libanensis* during the first years of the sixth century. "Rome" for her is still the ancient capital on the Tiber¹ although she is convinced that Rome's imperial role is a matter of the past. The Roman Empire she calls *Romania*, as was frequently done at least since 330.² The term *Romaioi* is used for the inhabitants of the entire Empire as well as for those of Rome alone.³ She has heard of the *Capitolium* at Rome,⁴ but her awareness of the ancient city's topography is so dim that she does not hesitate to imagine olive trees growing there.⁵ Otherwise she mentions in Italy merely Campania and Calabria.⁶ She speaks of one Western region only, Africa, the home base of Gaiseric.⁷ Gaul, Spain, Germany, Britain are beyond her ken. Her knowledge of the Balkan peninsula is hardly more extensive: there is Dalmatia, ravaged by the Vandals,⁸ Epidamnos-Dyrrhachium, native city of the reigning monarch,⁹ Thrace, periodically ravaged by the Huns and Germanic tribes,¹⁰ and of course Byzantium, renamed Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis.¹¹ The Sibyl speaks frequently of Ἀνατολή, a term which seems to include much less than the praetorian prefecture *Oriens* and to signify provinces other than those included

¹ 2, 3, 9, 69, 105, 129, 132, 133.

² 99, 139, 172. Cf. R. L. Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 1-34, esp. 2 f.

³ 70, 113, 126 f. (inhabitants of entire empire), but in 38 the inhabitants of Rome seem to be meant. The term Ἕλληνες is reserved for pagans (88, 102).

⁴ 9, 13.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 42 f.

⁶ 134.

⁷ 129.

⁸ 133.

⁹ 162 f.

¹⁰ 126, 138.

¹¹ 91-93, see *supra*, pp. 80-82.

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

in the diocese *Oriens*; it designates in this Sibylline prophecy the western and central parts of Asia Minor, or roughly the Asian and Pontic dioceses.¹² Probably Phrygia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, and Taurocilicia (Isauria), all mentioned by the Sibyl, form part of Ἀνατολή.¹³ Here is Chalcedonia, the territory of the city of Chalcedon, and Mt. Taurus, while Mt. Antitaurus is in Armenia.¹⁴ Farther to the South the Sibyl mentions Syria¹⁵ and, by means of a confusion which is frequent, she probably thinks of "Assyrians" as inhabiting Syria.¹⁶ The author does not name Phenicia, where he wrote, and it may be that he considered Heliopolis and Mt. Lebanon part of Syria. Farther to the South he names Palestine once, but more often he speaks of "the Hebraic country," Judaea, Galilee and the River Jordan.¹⁷ The "Hebrews" whom he mentions live partly in the Holy Land, partly in the city of Rome.¹⁸ Still further to the South he knows of the land of Egypt and of the River Nile.¹⁹ Beyond the frontiers of the Empire are the hostile Persians and the "barbarians," i.e., the Huns.²⁰

¹² 110 (Mt. Taurus situated in Ἀνατολή, but Mt. Anti-Taurus and Armenia located outside of it); 180 (Ἀνατολή distinguished from Syria); 182 f. (Chalcedonia, i.e., the territory around Chalcedon, located in Ἀνατολή); 186 f. (twice); 190 (Ἀνατολή distinguished from Palestine); 193; 198; 206.

¹³ Phrygia: 69, 105 (also Pamphylia); Cappadocia: 116 f., 199; Taurocilicia: 140 (= Isauria, cf. *supra*, p. 91, note 56); Zeno is regularly referred to as Ἰσκαυρος, 144, 149, 156.

¹⁴ Chalcedonia: 182 f. (elsewhere this term occurs in C. Müller's edition of the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni, Prooemium*, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II [Paris, 1882], 428, 8, but there it is an emendation of the editor; the reading is guaranteed for the new text by Sackur's Latin version, p. 181, 7). Mt. Antitaurus in Armenia: 110.

¹⁵ 108, 116, 181.

¹⁶ 181. The confusion is as old as Herodotus, VII, 63: Οὔτοι Ἀσσύριοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι; cf. R. W. Macan's note on the passage (London, 1908). The "Assyrians" were a favorite of the apocalyptists and they are often mentioned in the *Oracula Sibyllina*, sometimes designating Syrians, e.g. XII, 135, 260, but in V, 336, Xerxes is called Ἀσσυρίων παῖς. I am much comforted by an *obiter dictum* of W. Bousset, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eschatologie," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 20 (1900), 103-131, 261-290, esp. 104, note 1: "Die Assyrer tauchen überhaupt erst in der späteren apokalyptischen Litteratur auf. Fast immer bietet ihr Name ein Rätsel." Cf. also Sackur, 123 f. and especially Th. Nöldeke, Ἀσσύριος, Σύριος, Σύρος, *Hermes*, 5 (1871), 443-468.

¹⁷ Palestine: 190. "Hebraic country": 40. Judaea: 63, 67 f., 72, 91, 223. Galilee: 45. Jordan: 64.

¹⁸ 41, 48, 53. The Ἰουδαῖοι of 72 f. reside in the Holy Land.

¹⁹ Egypt: 192, 212, 221. Nile: 212.

²⁰ Persians: 112, 170. "Barbarians" (= Huns): 126.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

Most interesting is the historical perspective evidenced by the new Greek text. In the earlier part of the prophecy there can be no doubt of a heavy emphasis on the history of the Christian religion and a corresponding disregard for secular affairs. Thus the Emperor Augustus makes his appearance amidst an account of Jesus' miracles.²¹ None of the emperors ruling between Gaius Caligula and Constantine the Great is named.²² The Sibyl speaks instead of Jesus' miracles and crucifixion, of persecutions of Christians, of the building and destruction of pagan shrines, of Constantine's vision of the cross, of his mother's finding of the relic of the cross, etc. Even where the foundation of Constantinople is mentioned, the Sibyl emphasizes that it is inhabited by all the peoples of the seventy-two languages who had been evangelized on Jesus' order by his disciples.²³ The power of God's will throughout history is so strong that human attempts to upset the divine plan prove of no avail.²⁴

The result of this subordination of secular history to *Heilsgeschichte* is revealed in many parts of the new text. It has already been shown that the location of the Sibyl during her prophecy among olive trees was a direct borrowing from the circumstances under which Jesus delivered the "Synoptic Apocalypse." Her pose (seated on the Capitoline Rock), on the other hand, constitutes an imitation of her pagan predecessors.²⁵ The fact that in the Armenian translation of Michael the Syrian the story of the Sibyl and her interpretation of the dream occurs in a narrative concerning the Hebrew Judges raises the possibility that the "judges" in our story may be conceived of as military and political leaders of the same kind as the Hebrew "Judges" had been.²⁶ In other words, the author of the new Greek text imagines that prehistoric Rome, where his story is localized, was ruled by officials the nature of whose

²¹ 68.

²² Cf. 77 and 85. In between come the "two kings with a short rule" (81), probably Decius and Valerian.

²³ Cf. 93 f. and 46 f. The situation is very different in the latter part of the prophecy, 96-172; on this see *supra*, p. 55 f.

²⁴ 62 (Alexander, Seleucus, and Herod cannot save themselves); 65 (their persecutions in Judaea are of no avail, οὐδὲν ὠφελήσουσιν); 84 f. (the same is true of the persecution of Christian senators by the "two kings with short reigns").

²⁵ *Supra*, p. 67.

²⁶ *Supra*, p. 69.

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

authority resembled that of the Hebrew Judges and was inhabited by Hebrew priests (among other people). These conceptions reveal clearly the powerful grip which the biblical tradition had on the author's historical outlook. The dream of the nine suns and its interpretation by the Sibyl (nine generations) reveals the influence of Chaldean astronomy on classical civilization,²⁷ but this pagan framework is filled by the Sibyl largely with the events of Christian *Heilsgeschichte*. This fusion of pagan and Christian elements becomes even clearer if one considers the sequence of historical periods contained in the Sibyl's interpretation. The first generation of men mentioned by the Sibyl are good and fortunate, indeed so good and fortunate that any change thereafter can only be for the worse. The second generation is distinguished by some, but not by all the good qualities possessed by the first.²⁸ With the third generation the world is in full decline and plagued by warfare, though the qualities of hospitality and mercy persist in the city of Rome. This is the pessimistic pattern of classical paganism according to which each successive generation of men is worse than the preceding.²⁹ But this pattern of progressive deterioration does no longer hold from the fourth Sibylline generation onwards; in fact it is impossible to uncover any kind of theoretical pattern from that point on, except for the expectation that the ninth generation ends with the Second Coming and the rule of Christ and his angels. Here, as in the case of the Sibyl prophesying on the Capitoline Rock among olive trees, a classical pagan theme has been pressed into the service of Christian revelation, and as in the case of "judges" and "Hebrew priests" at Rome a pagan framework (the notion of successive ages) has been filled with biblical content. This framework, however, was not introduced for the first time into Christian literature by the author of the new text, but taken over by him from the *Oracula Sibyllina* and combined with the dream of the nine suns.³⁰

²⁷ Sackur, 137 ff.

²⁸ The second generation is truthful, gentle, and innocent like the first, in addition it is hospitable and loves the first generation, but it is not said that the second generation is long-lived, free, and mild as the first was.

²⁹ Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, vss. 109-201.

³⁰ *Oracula Sibyllina*, I, 65-359, and A. Rzach, "Sibyllinische Weltalter," *Wiener Studien*, 34 (1912), 114-122. The *Oracula Sibyllina* regularly speak of ten, not nine generations.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

Another characteristic of the Sibyl's historical outlook is her conviction that all or many of the evils of the present are irreparable. Thus the cities of Mt. Taurus, Mt. Antitaurus and Mt. Lebanon, ravaged by Isaurian raiders under Theodosius II, will never be restored.³¹ The city of Rome will never recover her imperial position after the Vandal sack "until the fulfillment of her time span."³² Finally, Constantinople, too, is to lose her imperial position before the emperor now reigning will close his eyes.³³

The irreversibility of the events just mentioned is related to the author's expectation that the end of the world is at hand, and in general to his eschatological expectations. Apocalyptic language pervades the entire piece, yet the first specific reference to eschatology occurs under the reign of Leo: "The birth pains of the world begin in his time."³⁴ The notion of the "birth pains of the world" derived from the Synoptic Apocalypse and indirectly from Jewish tradition³⁵ and signified the natural phenomena marking the beginning of a new age of the world.³⁶ The author then promptly marks the new dispensation by abandoning his previous practice of openly naming the emperors and resorts instead to various types of paraphrase. Leo I and Leo II invited puns on their bestial name, as did Basiliscus.³⁷ Leo I's empress Verina appears under the disguise of Scylla, the Greek epic monster.³⁸ Zeno is regularly called the "Isaurian,"³⁹ and the author adds to the mystification by pointing out that his name begins with the last letter of the Romaic (= Latin) and the seventh letter of the Greek alphabet.⁴⁰ For Anastasius,

³¹ III f. and the historical interpretation of the passage, *supra*, p. 87.

³² 132 f.

³³ 94 f. and *supra*, pp. 53-55.

³⁴ 136 f. For apocalyptic language in the earlier part of the prophecy, see 36 f., 105 (cf. *supra*, p. 87, note 38), 94 f. (cf. *supra*, p. 53), 108, 115-128 (cf. *supra*, p. 55).

³⁵ Matt. 24 : 8; Mark 13 : 8; cf. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I (Munich, 1922), 950 f.

³⁶ W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums in Spät-hellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1926), 250 f.

³⁷ Leo I: 136, 141, 143. Basiliscus: 151. Similar references to animals representing rulers in the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 26, trans. F. Maccler, "Les apocalypses apocryphes de Daniel," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 33 (1896), 298 ff.

³⁸ 140.

³⁹ 144, 149, 156.

⁴⁰ 157 f.

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

however, he combines paraphrase and name.⁴¹ One wonders why the reign of Leo I serves as the dividing line between the historical world and the new age of the world as ushered in by the "birth pains of the world." The author himself seems to answer this question in 136-139. Not only did the reign of Leo I witness unparalleled natural cataclysms such as earthquakes, floods, conflagrations, and man-made disasters such as wars and the sack of Thrace by Theodoric Strabo,⁴² but also internal anarchy: "there will be no one to administer or to manage the Roman Empire."⁴³ To the author who wrote in the early years of the sixth century and who had no knowledge of the general consolidation which was to occur in the latter part of Anastasius' reign, let alone of the golden age of Justin I and Justinian I, the second half of the fifth century was a period of anarchy and the beginning of the end.

The author expects that the reign of the Emperor Anastasius will be followed by the end of time.⁴⁴ Violence, greed and barbarization will grow among men.⁴⁵ Then comes the shortening of days which is a standard part of the descriptions of the last age, but it is unusual, though not unparalleled, that it occurs in the new text prior to the coming of the Antichrist.⁴⁶

Next comes the series of eschatological rulers which has already been touched upon.⁴⁷ First there are four kings, two from the East and two from Syria, under whom the "Assyrians" will advance as far as Chalcedonia.⁴⁸ There follows a "King from the East," un-

⁴¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 36 f.

⁴² Cf. *supra*, p. 91.

⁴³ 138 f.

⁴⁴ 173 ff. On the following pages I shall summarize and interpret the eschatology of the new text and indicate parallels in the footnotes, but I wish to emphasize that I do not strive after completeness of parallels. My aim is to separate what is traditional from what is novel.

⁴⁵ 173-178. See Bousset, 76 f., on growth of hatred preceding the reign of the Antichrist.

⁴⁶ 179 f. Cf. Matt. 24 : 22; Mark 13 : 20; and Bousset, 143 f.

⁴⁷ *Supra*, pp. 57-59.

⁴⁸ 180-183. Cf. Sackur, 181, 7. Chalcedonia appears as the limit of "Assyrian" (= Arab) expansion in a *visio Danielis* which Liudprand of Cremona read (or of which he heard) at Constantinople in 968; see *Legatio*, 39, ed. J. Becker (MGH, *Script. Rerum Germ.* [Hannover-Leipzig, 1915]), 196, 2-7. Liudprand, who correctly recognized the connection of this type of literature with certain Sibylline prophecies with which he had become familiar in Western Europe (p. 195, 33: *Habent Greci et Saraceni libros, quos ὁράσεις sive visiones Danielis*

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

doubtedly the Antichrist,⁴⁹ whose name may have been given in the text but is unfortunately corrupt in all three manuscripts. Probably it was a mythological name or a quality rather than a historical name.⁵⁰ The author mentions three achievements of the "King from

vocant, ego autem Sibyllanos), mentions that it contained the prophecy that under a wicked and unwarlike emperor *praevalere debent adeo Assyrii, ut in Chalcidoniā usque . . . potestative cuncta debeant obtinere*. The mention of Χαλκηδονία in the new text also explains the curious oracle, in the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 15, trans. Macler, 293, of a Persian siege of Carthage, for Χαλκηδών and Καρχηδών are frequently confused in Greek manuscripts. On 183f., cf. Rev. 14:20: . . . καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα . . . ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων; VI Esdras, 15, 35, ed. R. L. Bensly (*Texts and Studies*, III, 2, [Cambridge, 1895]), 88: *Et erit sanguis a gladio usque ad ventrem et equi femur hominis in camelis pobites*; and *Visio Danielis* (BHG, 1872), ed. A. Vasil'iev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), 39: . . . ὥστε ἐκ τῶν αἱμάτων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππον ἐπιβοτούμενον ἀποσσεῖν.

⁴⁹ The Antichrist was expected to come from the tribe of Dan and this tribe was believed to reside in the East (Bousset, 113). The fact that in the text the "King from the East" will do some kind deeds is no objection, for the Antichrist, in order to win adherents, regularly pretends that he is a friend of the people; see the passages collected by Bousset, 111 f.

⁵⁰ οὐτις τὸ ὄνομα ἐστὶ ἰσλβος Κ (ολιβὸς Q ἰουλῖβος A). One's first reaction is to emend this into the name of a historical personality: Ὀλύβ(ρι)ος (the Western Emperor of A.D. 472, or his grandson of the same name; cf. O. Seeck, "Anicius, no. 54," *RE*, I [Stuttgart, 1894], col. 2208), or Λίβιος, i.e., the Western Emperor Libius Severus, 461-465. Paleographically neither emendation would be impossible. The case for Olybrius is even strengthened by the fact that the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 31, trans. Macler, 305, with which the new Greek text has much in common (see *infra*, notes 59-61), cites a ruler Orlolios or Orlogios (variant: Loukios), and it was conjectured long ago that Olybrius was meant (Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, V [Erlangen-Leipzig, 1893], 118, and Bousset, 41). I have also considered the puzzling Οὐλλίβος, who was killed under Anthemius (467-472), and Leo I (457-474); cf. frg. 89 of John of Antioch (seventh century) in *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905), 129, 22. There are, however, arguments militating against an identification of this "King from the East" with any of these Western rulers, or indeed with any historical personality. Of these the most powerful is the fact that in the new text the "King from the East" is clearly not a historical personality but an eschatological figure. If Libius Severus or Olybrius were named here, one would have to assume that the name was interpolated. Why would a sixth-century writer have interpolated any of these names? Did he expect a Libius (or Olybrius) *redivivus* to appear? Did he expect the Younger Olybrius to seize power? None of these suppositions are impossible but they are farfetched. It will be preferable to assume that a mythological name of the type Beliar (Bousset, 86-88), or Armillus-Romulus (cf. Bousset, 66-68), or a quality was mentioned. In the latter connection I have thought of ὀλίγον (a king "whose name is little"). Cf. M. Buttenwieser, *Die hebräische Elias-Apokalypse*, etc. (Leipzig, 1897), 62 (about an anti-messianic ruler): "Der niedrigste unter den Königen, der Sohn einer Sklavin, mit Namen Gigit [wird] ihm entgegenziehen vom Meere," where the translator remarks that the adjective rendered by him "niedrigste" occurs elsewhere in Rabbinic literature only with the

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

the East": he will slay his four predecessors, he will forgive all public taxes, and he will restore all the peoples of the East and of Palestine. The passage reveals what the author of the new text and the circles for which he wrote expected from a good ruler. The tax burden was felt to be excessive and nothing except a complete remission of taxes would do.⁵¹ The slogan of renewal, ἀνανέωσις, which had inspired all Eastern theories of kingship at least since the days of Constantine the Great and Eusebius of Caesarea, has occurred before in the new text in the sense of a material rebuilding of cities sacked by barbarians and probably includes this meaning in the present passage too.⁵² These hopes of the apocalypticist for a forgiveness of taxes and for the restoration of material life shed a glaring light on the desperate plight of the population in the second half of the fifth century, when "there will be no one to administer or to manage the Roman Empire."⁵³

During the reign of the "King from the East" there arises "another king who has a changing shape" (190 f.). This description makes it certain that this ruler is another Antichrist, for the changing of shapes (child, youth, old man) is a characteristic of Antichrist.⁵⁴

meaning "wenig"; *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Coptic), 33, 13, trans. Steindorff, 91 (on the Antichrist): "Seine Zeichen nämlich will ich Euch sagen, damit Ihr ihn erkennt: Er ist wenig. . ."; A. Vasil'iev, *op. cit.*, 36, 17 (*Vision of Daniel*): Τότε αἰφνιδίως ἐξελεύσονται οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης τῆς καλουμένης Τυραννίδος καὶ εὐρούσιν δι' ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ μέσον τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως ἀνδραπτόν τινα οὐτις τὸ ὄνομα ἦν ἑλαττον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

⁵¹ At the moment I know only of one parallel from a much later period, the tenth century. In Pseudo-Lucian's *Philopatris* (ed. C. Jacobitz, vol. III [Leipzig, 1904], 421) an old man dreams of a good ruler: Οὗτος, ὡς προεῖπον, τοὺς τῶν ἐξισωτῶν (tax assessors) καταλείπει ἑλλειπασμούς καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδώσει καὶ τὰ τε ἐνοίκια πάντα καὶ τὰ δημόσια, κτλ. The text urgently requires a critical edition, but the general sense seems clear.

⁵² On the Eastern emperors as restorers, see G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), esp. 119-132, and my article, "The Strength of Empire and Capital," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 339-357, esp. 352-354. Cf. 111 f., with regard to the cities destroyed by Isaurian raids (*supra*, p. 87): . . . οὐ μὴ ἀνανεοῦσθαι αἱ πόλεις, αἷς παρῳκήσαν τὸ πρότερον.

⁵³ 139.

⁵⁴ See the passage from the Greek Ephraem (cited by Bousset, 94 f.: ἀλλάσσω καὶ τὰς μορφάς) and the other parallels in Bousset, 97 f.; add Romanos, *Cantica genuina*, no. 34 ("On the Second Coming"), str. 4, eds. P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis (Oxford, 1963), 269: (Antichrist) ἐκ μορφῆς εἰς ἑτέραν μορφήν μεταβάλλεται; *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Coptic), 34, 33, trans. Steindorff, 91: "Er wird sich verwandeln vor denen, die ihm zusehen; er wird ein Kind werden und er wird ein Greis werden, er wird sich verwandeln in allen

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

Of this wicked ruler it is said that he will rule thirty years and rebuild the (pagan ?) altars of Egypt.⁵⁵ He will wage war upon and slay the King from the East and defeat his entire army. He will seize children from the age of twelve on. One gains the impression that the wicked ruler will conscript twelve-year-old boys into the army, a procedure doubly vicious because, contrary to contemporary practice, he relied on conscription and disregarded the minimum age for military service.⁵⁶ During the reign of this Antichrist, war will be waged with poisoned arrows, the poison of which is made from the venom of Egyptian cobras, mothers' milk, and human serum.⁵⁷ The following portion of the text is not clear in all philological details, but the drift of the prophecy is that there will be war and terrible destruction. Cities will be transformed into deserts and the king will be established "by the foul nation of the Cappadocians."⁵⁸ He will whistle and say: "Was there ever a city here?"⁵⁹ The desolation is then further illustrated by the pathetic image of the

Zeichen," also B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1960), 204-214 (with a valuable excursus on the political use made of the legend of the Antichrist in the Later Roman Empire, 441-454). Rubin shows that Procopius' report (*Anecd.*, 12, 20-23) on the changing face of Justinian is an echo of the Antichrist legend.

⁵⁵ For some of what follows in the Greek text concerning the Antichrist, I have not been able to find parallels, especially for the establishment of the Antichrist by the Cappadocians (199).

⁵⁶ In the fourth century "the main source of citizen recruits was... the regular conscription" and the minimum age was 19 or 20 years (Jones, II, 615 f.), but by Justinian's time enrollment was voluntary (*ibid.*, 668). A passage resembling the new text occurs in the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*, trans. Steindorff, 159: "...wird er (der König) weiter befehlen, dass alle Kinder ergriffen werden von zwölf Jahren an abwärts...."

⁵⁷ See "Commentary" on 194-197.

⁵⁸ On the low reputation of Cappadocians in antiquity see, for example, the poems of Demodocus (fifth century B.C.) in *Anthologia Graeca*, XI, 237, and Pseudo-Demodocus (sixth century A.D.), *ibid.*, XI, 238.

⁵⁹ Compare the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 38, trans. Macler, 308: "Était-ce bien là une ville?" (of the "city with the seven hills," ἡ ἑπτάλοφος = Constantinople), but it must be a very ancient topos, for it occurs already in the "Oracle of the Potter" (third century B.C. ?), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, eds. B. P. Grenfell and others, vol. XXII (London, 1954), no. 2332, line 58 ff.: ἦτε παραθαλάσσιος πόλις ψυγμών ἀλλιέων (sic) ἔσται... ὥστε τινῶς (sic) διερχομένους λέγειν αὐτῇ ἦν παντοτρόφος, εἰς ἣν κατοικεῖ πᾶν γένος ἀνδρῶν (of Alexandria), and Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 9 (398 D-E), discussing the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79 and the destruction of cities like Pompeii and Herculaneum: "... καὶ φθορὰς πόλεων ἅμα τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων, ὥς μὲν ἡμέραν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἄγνοισιν εἶναι καὶ ἀσάφειαν ὅπου κατῴκηντο τῆς χώρας συγκεχυμένης.

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

woman who crosses the world from West to East in search of the trace of a man. All she finds are a vine and an olive which she embraces before her death.⁶⁰

The Sibyl mentions next a "King from Heliopolis." As was shown above, he is interpolated into the career of the Antichrist. He liquidates once again the "King from the East" (206) who had already been slain by the "King with a Changed Shape" (193). He also imitates his victim by granting a tax exemption for three years and a half, a time span favored by apocalyptic writers. While he lives, there is abundance of crops, but no human being to eat the food.⁶¹

The Antichrist, or "Ruler of Perdition," as he is now called,⁶² who is none other than the "King with the Changing Shape," then kills the King from Heliopolis and performs a number of miracles. He turns the sun into darkness and the moon into blood; springs and rivers dry out and the Nile is transformed into blood.⁶³ Then Enoch and Elijah, "who did not come to know the experience of death," wage war upon Antichrist. The latter will say: My time has come, and he will slay them in anger. The episode of Enoch and Elijah

⁶⁰ There is a close parallel to this passage in the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 38, trans. Macler, 308: "Une femme parcourra la terre à l'est et à l'ouest, au nord et au sud, et ne trouvera aucun fruit si ce n'est un olivier; elle embrassera l'olivier, soupirera et dira: Heureux celui qui a planté cet olivier! et son esprit aussitôt sortira d'elle en cet endroit."

⁶¹ 206; cf. *supra*, p. 57 f. On the span of three years and a half in apocalyptic, see Rev. 12 : 6 (1260 days); 12 : 14; and H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895), 257 f., 266-270, 330, 395. Gunkel interprets it as the time required for the Messiah to grow from childhood to manhood. Often the three years and a half correspond to the rule of wickedness or of Antichrist on earth (Gunkel, *op. cit.*, 268, also Bousset, 144); see also the Armenian *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, 37, trans. Macler, 307: "Dans trois temps et la moitié d'un temps, il (Antichrist) conduira les âmes de beaucoup d'hommes à la corruption, etc." But the King from Heliopolis need not be a wicked ruler, for the three and a half years apply not only to the rule of the Antichrist, but also to the eschatological activities of good persons like Enoch and Elijah (Gunkel, *op. cit.*, 268, note 1). Both famine and abundance are predicted for the reign of the Antichrist (Bousset, 129-132).

⁶² Cf. II Thess. 2 : 3 : ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας.

⁶³ On the miracles of the Antichrist, see the collection of passages in Bousset, 115 f., esp. the sentence from the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*, 30, 2, trans. Steindorff, 85: "der Fluss Ägyptens wird blutig werden;" and that from the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Ethiopic). A passage in Pseudo-Methodius (ed. V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodija Palsarskago i Apokrificheskii Videniia Daniila* [Moscow, 1897], 47, 6-8 [Teksty]) is almost identical with 209 ff. of the new text; it must depend on it or on a common source. On drought during the reign of the Antichrist, see Bousset, 129-132.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

is indeed a normal component of the Antichrist legend and the element of anger on the part of Antichrist is a vestige of the challenge to Antichrist thrown out by the two witnesses and of their recall of the Faithful to God.⁶⁴ The Antichrist's self-exhortation ("My time has come") is clearly patterned after the pseudo-Messianic claim of which Jesus had warned the disciples.⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that the cross plays a considerable role in the historical as well as in the eschatological part of the Sibyl's prophecy. It has already been pointed out that instead of naming Jesus she normally alludes to him by formulae referring to his death on the cross (*supra*, p. 71.) In addition the Sibyl mentions the cross prior to the crucifixion in a passage that unfortunately was mutilated already in the archetype of the manuscripts (71f.) and she refers furthermore to the legend of the finding of the cross by the Empress Helen (*supra*, p. 80). In view of this emphasis on the cross, it is striking that the author knows nothing about an eschatological emperor depositing his imperial diadem on the cross at Jerusalem and about an ascension of cross and diadem to heaven, features that figure regularly in Byzantine apocalypses beginning with the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius in the seventh century.⁶⁶

According to the Sibyl, Antichrist will finally be overcome by Jesus ("he who was crucified on the wood of the cross"). Jesus will descend from Heaven like a great and flashing star and resurrect Enoch and Elijah. He will then slay Antichrist and all his host. The revival of Enoch and Elijah is sometimes attributed to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, but the resurrection by Jesus, as in this text, is normal.⁶⁷ Also normal is the defeat and slaying of Antichrist by Jesus.⁶⁸ The reference to the host of Antichrist, likewise to be

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

conquered and killed by Jesus, is a faint echo of a great battle to be fought, according to the tradition about the Antichrist, by the forces of Antichrist and of the Just.⁶⁹ Interesting is also the descent of Jesus "like a great and flashing star," for it was a Sibylline tradition that he would descend as "smoky fire in the midst of black night," to be exact during the night of the Easter vigil.⁷⁰ The Sibyl then prophesies a conflagration of Egypt and Judaea during which both countries call separately on God saying: Lord, I am a virgin (221-224). The destruction of the world by fire is a regular feature of the Antichrist legend,⁷¹ but the particular details of the new text are attested only in works some of which are difficult to date and may possibly be later than it.⁷² The new text concludes with the coming of the Son of God in power and glory, with his judgment over the nine generations and with the establishment of Christ's kingdom.⁷³

⁶⁹ Rev. 14: 20; cf. Bousset, 145-148.

⁷⁰ Lactantius, *Div. inst.*, VII, 19, eds. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann (CSEL, 19 [Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1890]), 644 ff.: *tum aperietur caelum medium intempesta et tenebrosa nocte, ut in orbe toto lumen descendens dei tamquam fulgur appareat; quod Sibylla his versibus elocuta est: ὁππόταν ἔλθῃ, / πῦρ ἔσται* φοῶν τι μέση ἐν νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ. *haec est nox quae a nobis propter adventum regis ac dei nostri pervigilio celebratur.* J. Geffcken, in his edition of the *Oracula Sibyllina* (fragment 6, p. 233), defends the reading σκορόντι (in lieu of φοῶν τι) of several manuscripts with the remark that in the *Oracula Sibyllina* a masculine adjective frequently qualifies a feminine noun. On the entire passage, see Bousset, 158 f., who proposes a Jewish origin for the tradition according to which the liberation from Antichrist will occur in the same night of Passover in which the Hebrew people had been liberated from Egyptian bondage.

⁷¹ Bousset, 159-165.

⁷² Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*, trans. Steindorff, 168: "[Heaven and earth] werden Feuer sprühen, und die Flamme wird auf Erden zweiundsiebzig Ellen fassen, etc." (end of fourth century or earlier, but the passage may derive from a Jewish work which is much older, see *supra*, p. 39); *Apocalypsis Esdrae* (BHG, 603), ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1866), 29: τότε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν πῆχας ὀκτακοσίας καὶ τὴν γῆν πῆχας ὀκτακοσίας (time uncertain); *Apocalypsis Johannis* (non-canonical) (BHG, 921), ed. Tischendorf, 81: καὶ κατακαύσουσιν τὴν γῆν πῆχας ὀκτακισχίλις πεντακοσίας; *ibid.*, 82 (fifth century or later?): πυρωθήσονται οἱ νέφροι τῆς γῆς, καὶ βοήσῃ πρὸς με λέγουσα: παρθένος εἰμι ἐνώπιόν σου, κύριε; *Apocalypse of Daniel* (BHG, 1874), ed. E. Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta*, etc. (Leipzig, 1895), 120: μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν τριῶν καὶ ἡμισυ χρόνων βρέξει ὁ θεὸς πῦρ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακαήσεται ἡ γῆ πῆχας τριάκοντα: τότε βοήσῃ ἡ γῆ πρὸς τὸν θεόν: Παρθένος εἰμι, κύριε; *Visio Danielis* (BHG, 1873), ed. Istrin, *op. cit.*, 139 (Tektst): φλέξει παντοκράτωρ πῦρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατακαήσεται πῆχας 19'. τότε βοήσῃ ἡ γῆ πρὸς κύριον λέγουσα: παρθένος εἰμι, κύριε (date uncertain).

⁷³ The judgment over the nine generations (225) is the Sibyl's adaptation of the tradition of a judgment over all the generations of the dead since Adam; see the passages collected by Bousset, 168.

The question arises: why did eschatological speculation such as that contained in the Sibyl's prophecy occur at the beginning of the sixth century? To answer this question it is instructive to look for contemporary apocalypses of a similar nature, in the hope that, taken together, they may allow an inference as to the cause that produced apocalyptic writings at this particular time. To the best of my knowledge there is only one apocalypse that may possibly date from approximately the same period: the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*, preserved in the Armenian language but certainly the translation of a Greek original, probably of the late fifth or early sixth century.⁷⁴ The footnotes of this chapter have made it clear that

⁷⁴ The Armenian text was edited and translated into German by Gr. Kalemkiar in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VI (1892), 109-136, 227-240. A French translation by F. Macler appeared in 1896 in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 17 (1896), 290-309, and an English translation by J. Issaverdens in *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, etc. (Venice, 1907), 219-234. I have relied primarily on Macler's French translation. In addition to the translators, the following scholars have commented on this text: Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, V (Erlangen-Leipzig, 1893), 118-121; Bousset, 41-45; M. Ter-Movsesian, *Istoriia Perevoda Biblii na Armianskii Iazyk* (St. Petersburg, 1902), 216 f.; H. Weinel, "Die spätere christliche Apokalypsik," in *Εὐχαριστήριον, Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, Hermann Gunkel ... dargebracht, II, *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, N.F., 19, 2 (Göttingen 1923), 160 f. In spite of much searching I have been unable to find any recent discussion of this text; it is not commented upon by V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiiia Patarskago i Apokrificheskiiia Videniia Daniila* (Moscow, 1897). Kalemkiar (p. 114) and Zahn (p. 118) believed that the Greek original of the Armenian text was composed in the middle of the seventh century. Macler (p. 290) thought that the Armenian text was original, though he expressed this suggestion very cautiously. Zahn (pp. 118-120) felt that it was based on the "Little Daniel" mentioned by Ebed Jesu (*saec.* XIV) and expressed doubts that it referred to the Emperor Heraclius. Both Zahn (p. 120) and Bousset (p. 44), suggested that the Armenian apocalypse might be based on another preserved in the Syriac language in a manuscript of the British Museum, Additional 18715, of the twelfth century, entitled "Of Daniel the youth concerning our Lord and the end of the world" (W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I [London, 1870], 19). I have transcribed and translated this text in full and have satisfied myself that it is not the source of the Armenian text and indeed has little or nothing to do with it. In fact G. N. Bonwetsch, in his edition of Hippolytus' Commentary on the canonical Book of Daniel (GCS, I [Leipzig, 1897], p. viii), has shown that the "Little Daniel" commented on by Hippolytus was nothing but the story of Susanna. That the *Seventh Vision of Daniel* is a translation from the Greek is proved by every section; especially by the confusion *Χαλκηδών-Καρχηδών* (see *supra*, p. 111 f., note 48). A late fifth- or early sixth-century date is probable because of the very detailed allusions to the history of the late fifth century pointed out by Macler (see his notes on p. 296 f.) who spent a great deal of energy in the attempt to explain these allusions.

there exists indeed a close relationship between this Armenian apocalypse and the new Greek text; in fact, in one case at least the two documents agree almost *verbatim*.⁷⁵ If it is correct that both the new Greek Sibylline prophecy and the Armenian text date from the late fifth or early sixth century, then the search for the reason that produced apocalyptic writing at that time becomes even more meaningful as it concerns not one but two apocalypses. It is best answered by a reference to the so-called *Theosophy of Tübingen* or *Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Θεῶν*, excerpts from a fuller work entitled *Θεοσοφία*, which contained pagan oracles as well as sayings of pagan sages, sibyls, and philosophers prophesying the advent of Christ.⁷⁶ At the end the work included a *χρονικὸν συντομώτατον* reaching from Adam to the Emperor Zeno and affirming that the end of the world would come after the completion of the year 6000 from the creation. This calculation was based on three scriptural passages: Ps. 89 : 14, according to which a thousand years were like a day in God's eyes; Gen. 2 : 2, which said that God completed his works in six days; and I John 2 : 18, according to which the last hour had come in the days of John the Baptist and Jesus.⁷⁷ If Jesus was born in the middle of the last day (= millennium) of the world, it stood to reason that the end would come five hundred years later, that is in A.D. 501 of the era of Julius Africanus, or in A.D. 507-508 according to the era of Pandorus.⁷⁸ It is not surprising, then, that the end

⁷⁵ See *supra*, notes 59, 60.

⁷⁶ On the *Theosophy of Tübingen*, see the edition by H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft, 4 (Hamburg, 1941); also K. v. Fritz's article "Theosophia", *RE*, Reihe 2, vol. VA (Stuttgart, 1934), cols. 2248-2253.

⁷⁷ *Theosophy of Tübingen*, § 2 f., ed. Erbse, 167, 15 ff.: ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ τεύχους χρονικὸν συντομώτατον τίθεικεν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἕως τοῦ Ζηνωνος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ δισχυρίζεται μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἑξακισχιλίστου ἔτους γενήσεσθαι τὴν συντέλειαν. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ γέγραπται, φησί, ὅτι χίλια ἔτη παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ ὡς ἡμέρα μία, ἐν ἧς δὲ ἡμέραις ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον ποιήσας τῇ ἑβδόμῃ κατέπαυσε, πάντως χρὴ μετὰ τὴν παρέλευσιν τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων ἐτῶν, ὅπερ ἀντὶ ἑξ ἡμερῶν λογίζεται, τὰ πάντα καταπαῦσαι, διό καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ πεντακισχιλιστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ ἔτει ἐνανθρωπήσας, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν. Cf. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, Theil I (Leipzig, 1880), 24-26, esp. 26: "Unter Anastasius wäre man dann im Stande gewesen, die kosmische Endkatastrophe mitzuerleben."

⁷⁸ Erbse, *op. cit.*, 3. Cf. V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, Traité d'études byzantines, I (Paris, 1958), 30, 219, 244, and my article "Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques," *Actes du XII^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, Ochride, ... 1961, II (Belgrade, 1964), esp. 4.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

of the world was expected in the reign of Anastasius I (491-518). In fact, the view that the world would come to an end five hundred years after the birth of Christ had been held, and justified in a way similar to that of the *Theosophy of Tübingen*, at least as early as the third century by the Church Father Hippolytus († 235). It represents a particular type of millenarianism according to which the beginning of Christ's reign on earth could be computed.⁷⁹ The new text belongs into the tradition of this millenarian chronology as it, too, foresees the reign of Christ on earth after the defeat of Antichrist (225 f.).

In describing the eschatological drama, the author follows the patristic tradition about the Antichrist studied in detail by Wilhelm Bousset. The Antichrist's reign is foretold in the new text with a variety of often dramatic detail which, though entirely in harmony with what Bousset worked out about the legend of the Antichrist, adds considerably to the existing knowledge of this tradition.⁸⁰ Most of the deeds attributed in it to the Antichrist recur in the new

⁷⁹ Hippolytus, *Commentarius in Danielelem*, IV, 23-24, esp. 24, 4, ed. Bonwetsch, 246, 4: ἀπὸ γενέσεως οὖν Χριστοῦ δεῖ ψηφίζειν πεντακόσια ἔτη τὰ ἐπιλοιπα εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων ἔτων, καὶ οὕτως ἔσται τὸ τέλος, ὅτι δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ ἡμίσει καιρῷ παρῆν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φέρων τὴν ἄσπικτον κίβωτον, τὸ ἴδιον σώμα, λέγει Ἰωάννης ἡν δὲ ὥρα ἔκτε' (John 19:14), ἵνα τὸ ἡμισὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιδείξῃ, ἡμέρα δὲ κυρίου ἑξήκοντα ἔτη' (Ps. 89:4), τούτων οὖν τὸ ἡμισὺ γίνεται πεντακόσια. As the *Theosophy of Tübingen* was to do several centuries later, Hippolytus based his millenarian chronology on Gen. 2:2 and Ps. 89(90):14, but in lieu of I John 2:18 he cited the Gospel of John 19:14 as well as a typological interpretation of the measurements of the Mosaic ark (Ex. 25:10: $2\frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{2} + 1\frac{1}{2} = 5\frac{1}{2}$ cubits). I am indebted for these observations on millenarianism to a remarkable article by J. Daniélou, "La typologie millénariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif," *Vigiliae Christianae*, 2 (1948), 1-16, esp. 13 f.

⁸⁰ The parallels from known material have been referred to in the footnotes above, usually with references to Bousset, *Der Antichrist*. Among new details in the Greek text here edited I note the following: The Antichrist's rule lasts thirty years and he rebuilds the (pagan?) altars of Egypt (192; is there a connection with the tradition that the Antichrist will rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem? Bousset, 105). He will be established by the Cappadocians (198 f., an intriguing and to my knowledge unparalleled feature). The depopulation of the world during the reign of the Antichrist is described in particularly full detail (199-204). The water of the Nile will be changed into blood and the survivors will unsuccessfully dig cisterns (212 f.). The Antichrist, before attacking Enoch and Elijah, will say to himself: My time has come (216). As Bousset pointed out (pp. 136, 138), the tradition about the Antichrist is independent of the Book of Revelation, and one sign of this independence is that in it, in contrast with Revelation, Enoch and Elijah make their appearance after, not prior to, the beginning of Antichrist's rule.

THE SIBYL'S OUTLOOK

text,⁸¹ but it is interesting that several elements of this dramatic story are missing. Nothing is said of the Jewish origin of the Antichrist,⁸² about his name,⁸³ about his challenge to God as evidenced especially by his seating himself in the Temple at Jerusalem,⁸⁴ about his demonic servants,⁸⁵ about the sign of the serpent imposed by Antichrist upon his adherents,⁸⁶ and finally about the blowing of the trumpet prior to the Last Judgment.⁸⁷ Among these, the omission of Antichrist's challenge to God, of his demonic ministers, and of the serpentine symbol are the most significant, for they show that the author of the new text had little or no understanding for the ancient cosmic myth underlying the tradition about the Antichrist. To him Antichrist was scarcely different from other wicked emperors who had ruled over the Roman Empire, and he does not notice the contradiction between his "demythologized" concept of Antichrist and the survival of mythological features such as Antichrist's ability to change his shape, do miracles, and the like.

⁸¹ I list here the features of the tradition which reappear in the Sibyl's prophecy: wars as portents of the Antichrist (for example 37, 138; cf. Bousset, 76 f.); dissolution of the Roman Empire (for example 111 f., 139, also the Constantinopolitan and Roman oracles, 94 f., 132 f., which prophesy the fall of these cities from imperial rank; cf. Bousset, 77-83); the only vestige of the Antichrist's relation to the devil is his ability to change shapes (191, 209; cf. *supra*, p. 113 f., note 54, and Bousset, 97 f.); the first victories of the Antichrist (193 f., and Bousset, 102-104); miracles of Antichrist (209-211; cf. Bousset, 115-124); the Antichrist's worldwide sway (Bousset, 126-129) is indicated by his position as the successor of the Roman rulers and perhaps by his gathering of an army (194-198, 220); drought and famine during the reign of the Antichrist (211-214; cf. Bousset, 129-132); the reappearance and the murder of Enoch and Elijah by the Antichrist (214-217; cf. Bousset, 134-139); the flight and persecution of the Faithful by the Antichrist (Bousset, 139-143) survives perhaps in the form of an allusion to the destruction of the cities of the East (198); shortening of days (178-180; cf. Bousset, 143); the attack of the Antichrist's armies on the Faithful and their liberation is presupposed in 219 f. (Bousset, 145-148), where his liquidation is also mentioned (Bousset, 148-154); conflagration of world (221-224; cf. Bousset, 159-166) and the Last Judgment (225; cf. Bousset, 167-169).

⁸² Cf. Bousset, 84-86. The origin of his predecessor from the East (186) may be a remnant of this tradition as the Antichrist was supposed to come from the tribe of Dan and this tribe was believed to reside in the East (Bousset, 111 f.).

⁸³ Cf. Bousset, 86-88. Here, too, the "King from the East," with his probably mythological name (187; cf. *supra*, p. 112 f., note 50), is likely to be another incarnation of the Antichrist.

⁸⁴ Bousset, 104-108.

⁸⁵ Bousset, 124 f.

⁸⁶ Bousset, 132-134.

⁸⁷ Bousset, 166 f.

VIII

METHODS AND PURPOSES OF APOCALYPTIC WRITERS

One of the most valuable features of the new Greek text is that it makes it possible, by a comparison with the Latin versions, to observe the apocalyptic mind at work and thus to add to the knowledge of procedures and motivations operative in this puzzling type of literature.¹ For this purpose it is advisable to review the principal changes made by the Latin and Greek authors in their fourth-century source.²

This can be done very briefly in the case of the Latin document (w¹) which Sackur in his edition had separated from later medieval interpolations. If it is correct, as has been shown to be probable, that by and large the new Greek text incorporates its fourth-century source, then a comparison with the Latin text edited by Sackur shows that the Western editor of the Theodosian Sibyl was determined to normalize his prototype, that is, to remove or to tone down formulations that were objectionable from the point of view of orthodox theology. One example must suffice here. As will be remembered (*supra*, p. 71), the Greek Sibyl prophesies that Jesus "will destroy the law of the Hebrews and establish his own law" (41f.). The Western writer must have realized that this prophecy conflicted with the canonical gospels. Consequently he replaced this passage with the following: "and he will fulfill the law of the Hebrews and adds his own [words]," which from a theological point of view was acceptable.³ In general it may be said that the Greek text

¹ Succinct recent statement on apocalyptic writing in Judaism and Early Christianity by P. Vielhauer in E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, II, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1964), esp. 407-454 (with bibliography).

² The following remarks will be restricted to the comparison of w¹ with the new Greek text and its fourth-century source. It will ignore the other Latin versions.

³ Sackur, 179, 27: "...et adimplebit legem Ebreorum et adiungit sua propria ... Another passage in the Latin text confirms that the objectionable view formed part of the source: "...eligit sibi Jesus duos piscatores de Galileam et legem propriam docebit eos" (Sackur, 180, 24). Here the Latin author neglected

METHODS AND PURPOSES OF APOCALYPTISTS

preserves better than its Latin counterpart the often unorthodox theological formulations of the fourth-century original.⁴

The changes introduced by the Greek author of the early sixth century require a longer discussion, but they are also more revealing of the purpose pursued and the methods employed. Like most apocalypists, he wished to incorporate into his text a historical survey couched in the language of prophecy and reaching down to his own time. Since his source had been written in the last quarter of the fourth century, he had to add to his predecessor's narrative a review of the events of the late fourth and of the fifth century. As has been shown above (pp. 49-52), he did this by maintaining the framework of nine generations, by compressing the events down to and including the reign of Constantine the Great into his first six generations and filling the rest of the sixth as well as all of the seventh and eighth generations with his survey of the late fourth and fifth centuries.

These are, however, rather technical rearrangements caused by the author's wish to incorporate new historical material into an older text. More profound are other changes brought about by the lapse of time and by the historical experience that had accumulated in its course. Perhaps the simplest case concerns the passage on the desolation of the city of Rome. The Latin text mentions that during the eighth generation "Rome will be deserted, and pregnant women will howl in tribulation and pain and will say: Dost thou think that we shall give birth?"⁵ Sackur had already pointed out that the

to edit his source. — There are other examples where the Western editor manipulated his source for theological reasons. Thus in 39 the Greek text mentions only the divine nature of Christ and neglects the human nature; the Latin text has: *erit verus Deus et verus homo* (Sackur, 179, 26) — a change that brings the passage into harmony with Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Further on the phrase "the mobs of the Jews" of the Greek text (72f.) is replaced in the Latin by *sacerdotes Ebreorum* (Sackur, 180, 14), evidently because the Latin author felt that, according to the Gospels, it was the Jewish priests rather than the Jewish masses who were responsible for Jesus' death.

⁴ It has been pointed out in the preceding note that the Latin author proceeded somewhat haphazardly and negligently. Thus the Greek text has: "The god of heaven will beget a son who will be like his father" (59f.) — an Arian formulation that conflicts with the doctrine of the *homousion* as proclaimed by the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325). The Latin author allowed this to stand: *Deus celi sibi geniturus est filium...*, *qui similis erit patri suo* (Sackur, 180, 9).

⁵ Sackur, 181, 2: "...Roma in desertatione erit, et pregnantēs ululabunt in tribulationibus et doloribus dicentes: 'Putasne, pariemus?'

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

notion of Rome's depopulation was part of the Sibylline tradition where it appeared in the form of a pun: 'Ρώμη ῥύμη, Rome a (mere) street.⁶ Now it is exactly in the form of this pun that the idea of Rome's depopulation appears in the Greek text. There are, however, two differences between the Greek and the Latin texts. In the Latin, the remark occurs as an eschatological prophecy and no historical reality corresponds to it.⁷ In the Greek text, on the other hand, the desolation of Rome occurs under Arcadius and Honorius, and the remark about the howling women in Rome is suppressed.⁸ Why? Simply because in the period from Alaric's first siege of Rome in 408 to the Visigothic sack of the city in 410 a large number of inhabitants had fled Rome, a movement that was to be intensified during the ensuing decades.⁹ The Latin author of the fourth century, who knew that the capital city of the Empire had grown steadily more populous in the course of centuries, could imagine a depopulation of Rome to take place only at the end of time, but the sixth-century author of the Greek text knew that the prophecy had come true in the days of Alaric's invasion of Italy and afterwards. Consequently he made it clear that the prophecy about Rome's depopulation had been fulfilled under Honorius. The general conclusion to be derived from this observation is that in apocalyptic literature an eschatological prophecy may be reinterpreted in the light of specific historical events and applied to them.

Another instructive example of the same process occurs in the Greek text under the reign of Leo I. The Sibyl had prophesied that "the birth pains of the world begin in his times, there will be earthquakes . . . and wars" (136-138). Virtually the same passage occurs

⁶ Sackur, 156 and notes 1 and 2 on p. 181; cf. also the *apparatus criticus* on 105 and *supra*, p. 87.

⁷ Sackur, 156: "Hier sind antichristliche Zustände geschildert nach einer aus ägyptischer Tradition stammenden Theorie, dass bei Beginn der letzten schrecklichen Zeiten die Weiber nicht mehr gebären werden."

⁸ 104 f.: 'Εν δὲ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ γενεᾷ, βασιλεύοντος Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνορίου, γίνεται Ῥώμη ῥύμη καὶ πόλις ῥύμη.

⁹ V. A. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 4th Ser., fasc. 25 (Louvain, 1961), 112 and 476-483. It is true that Arcadius was dead (he died in 408) when these events took place, but Honorius was still ruling the West. I suppose that the author suppressed the prophecy about howling women because no such episode was recorded in the accounts of the Visigothic sieges of Rome.

METHODS AND PURPOSES OF APOCALYPTISTS

in the Latin text but, significantly, in the eschatological part of the prophecy.¹⁰ What had been eschatological prophecy in the fourth-century Latin text has become history in the sixth-century Greek version, because the later author saw the events prophesied for the end of time realized in his immediate past.

A similar case concerns the data on persecutions in the two texts, and here the linguistic similarity of Greek and Latin texts is close indeed (see *supra*, p. 50). It will be remembered that in the Latin text during the seventh generation "two kings will arise and will make many persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God."¹¹ On this passage Sackur remarked, perhaps rightly, that it referred to the Jewish War under Vespasian and Titus,¹² yet his view on this matter can hardly be considered certain. Other rulers may be meant, and the sentence may even be eschatological in character. Whatever its interpretation, one thing is clear: its wording does in no way necessitate (though it permits) the assertion that persecutions of Christians rather than Jews were meant. This, however, is precisely the interpretation given to it in the Greek text. As we have seen (*supra*, p. 59), the equivalent of the Latin passage appears twice in the Greek text. In the first instance (76-78) the persecutions occur under Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius and are caused not by God as in the Latin text but by "him who was crucified on the cross." In the second case "two short-lived kings" undertake many persecutions "against the Christians" (81 f.). The reason for this duplication of persecutions has been suggested above (p. 59). The change from "the land of the Hebrews because of God" to persecutions "because of him who was crucified on the cross" or "against the Christians" respectively is not as easily explained as the differences between Greek and Latin texts on the depopulation of Rome (*supra*, p. 123 f.). Here it cannot be argued, on the analogy of the depopulation of Rome, that the historical experience of the later author included persecutions of Christians which that of his fourth-century predecessor did not.

¹⁰ Sackur, 184, 18: *Tunc erit initium dolorum, qualis non fiet ab initio mundi. Et erunt in diebus ipsius pugne multe . . . et terre motus . . .*

¹¹ Sackur, 180, 29: *... exsurgent duo reges et multas facient persecutiones in terram Hebraeorum propter Deum.*

¹² Sackur, 156.

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

In all probability the later author automatically thought of persecutions of Christians when he read of "persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God," because Roman conflicts with Jews were no longer in the foreground of historical memory.¹³ Whatever the explanation, the fact is that an earlier reference to persecutions in Judaea, which may have been historical or eschatological, was in the Greek text interpreted to refer to historical persecutions of Christians. In other words, in apocalyptic literature a prophecy of which it is doubtful whether it refers to historical events or to eschatological notions may be applied by a later apocalypticist to historical events to which it had not originally referred.

The question: what prompted the author to write the apocalypse here edited? raises one of the thorniest general problems posed by apocalyptic literature. Even if one excepts Jewish and Early Christian apocalypses, there remains a very rich genre comprising a large number of items.¹⁴ Not only is the number of apocalypses very large, but the tradition is extraordinarily stable and pieces belonging to different centuries differ often only in small details. In the preceding pages I have attempted to point out the importance of the new Greek text, but it should be clear that, apart from the incorporation of new historical material covering the period from Theodosius I to Anastasius I, the differences from the Latin text published by Sackur are modest.¹⁵ Yet it must be for the sake of

¹³ I imagine that in this case the process occurred in two stages. First, an editor transformed the original prophecy of "two kings" and of "persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God" (Sackur, 180, 30) into "two short-lived kings" who persecute the Christians (81f.), a formulation that would fit the persecutions of the Christians by Decius (249-251) and Valerian (257-260). Secondly, the apocalypticist of the early sixth century, writing at or near Baalbek, inserted a second set of persecutions under Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius.

¹⁴ Survey by H. Weinel, "Die spätere christliche Apokalypitik," in Εὐχρηστίριον, *Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, H. Gunkel . . . *dargebracht* (Göttingen, 1923), II, 141-173.

¹⁵ To this summary of the principal changes of the new Greek text from Sackur's Latin version there should perhaps be added the interpolation of a historical name, which is unfortunately corrupt in the manuscripts, after the mention of the eschatological "king from the East" (186): καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται ἄλλος βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀνατολῆς, οὗτινος τὸ ὄνομα ἔστι Ὀλιβός (variants: Ἰολβος, Ἰουλίβος). I have stated the reasons (*supra*, p. 112) why I consider it unlikely that a historical individual was named here. However, if I should be wrong and a historical figure is mentioned, such as the Younger

METHODS AND PURPOSES OF APOCALYPTISTS

these changes that the new text was composed. What can be learned from them as to the author's motivation?

Clearly he added the new historical material on the late fourth and the fifth centuries for the same reasons as other apocalyptic authors added historical material: to gain the reader's confidence for the prophetic part of his work. He interpolated the various passages on Heliopolis because he lived in the vicinity and possibly had a regional public in mind when he wrote. Furthermore, he "clarified" what was to him an obscure reference to "persecutions in the land of the Hebrews because of God" by transforming it into an allusion to persecutions of Christians. He replaced a prophecy of the desolation of Rome at the end of time by a historical reference to the Visigothic sieges of the city and transformed an eschatological prophecy concerning the beginning of the birth pains of the world into a historical judgment concerning the second half of the fifth century. One may, then, summarize the apocalyptic enterprise as follows: continually to reduce the scope of genuine eschatological prophecies by interpreting such prophecies as fulfilled by historical events as they happen, and continually to rewrite references to historical events in the language of eschatological prophecy and thereby to show that later historical events are in fact fulfillments of earlier prophecy. To put it differently, the apocalypticist is ever engaged in striking a new balance between fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecy, in paring down the scope of the latter in favor of the former in order to show that the interval between the present and the Second Coming is narrowing.

A comparison of the new text with the entire apocalyptic genre reveals an even more immediate purpose pursued by the author of the document. All apocalyptic writings were intended to offer comfort and hope in times of tribulation, particularly in periods of military defeats and disasters.¹⁶ The new Greek text was composed

Olybrius, Eastern consul of 491, it may have been one of the main purposes of the author of the Greek text to predict a glorious future for this important person who had married into the Emperor Anastasius' family.

¹⁶ On the purpose of apocalyptic, see, for example, D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Apocalyptic* (London, 1964), 18: "...apocalyptic is literature of despair...with equal appropriateness it can be described as a literature of hope. God would vindicate his people once and for all and bring to its consummation his purpose and plan for all the ages."

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

in the early years of the Roman-Persian War at the beginning of the sixth century, when the Empire had lost a number of battles at the hands of the Persians (*supra*, p. 42) and when the prospect looked bleak indeed.¹⁷ The seriousness of the military situation is reflected in the fact that the author does not dare to hold out the promise of a military recovery and of future victories over Persia, such as did in fact occur in the years following upon the composition of the text. The only comfort that he can offer to his readers is otherworldly. The death of the reigning Emperor Anastasius will be followed immediately by the beginning of the eschatological drama which, after many reversals, will climax in the destruction of Antichrist, the Second Coming of Christ, and the establishment of his kingdom.

¹⁷ Similarly, the Theodosian Sibyl was composed when the memory of Valens' death and of the military catastrophe at Adrianople in 378 (cf. 98 f.) was still fresh and when a message of hope was sorely needed.

APPENDIX TO VIII

THE WARRIOR AT HIERAPOLIS IN *EUPHRATENSIS*

I have reserved for this appendix the discussion of a difficult passage. To understand it, it will be necessary to draw upon much of what has been learned in the previous sections about the historical value of the new text, its relation to the Latin versions, and the apocalyptic procedures of the author. I shall begin by placing side by side the Greek passage (G) and its equivalent in the Latin versions w¹ and w² (the passage is missing in w³, w⁴, and w⁵ because

G (106-128)	w ¹ (183, 8-185, 2)	w ² (376, 5-24)
	Agareni will capture Tarentum, Barro (=Bari), and many other cities. They will wish to come to Rome, none will resist them.	Agarreni will capture Tarentum (<i>sic</i>), Bari, Apulia, Pulsaria (?), will wish to come to Rome, none will resist them.
Two emperors: Theodosius II and Valentinian III. Isaurians raid Taurus, Antitaurus, Lebanon. Persians attack, are defeated by Romans, a forty-year peace concluded.	Armenians will attack Persia. Persians will defeat Romans and obtain peace.	
καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἄνθρωπος πρόπιος (variant: προκατα-) πολέμιστής (εἰς Ἱερόπολιν) καὶ συντρίψει τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου.	<i>Et intrabit vir belligerator rex Grecorum in Iheropolim</i> (variants: <i>hierapolim, hierapolium, ierapolym, Neapolim, Aepolim</i>) <i>et destruet templa ydolorum.</i>	<i>Tunc surget rex generatus sanguine Grecorum super Hierosolimam, et destruentur templa idolorum apoca Libani</i> (variant in cod. Vat. reg. 571, cf. Sackur, 127, note 2: <i>apottalibā</i>), etc.
Follows apocalyptic material, barbarian destructions of Thrace, reign of Emperor Marcianus.	Follows apocalyptic material in almost literal translation of Greek text, with insertion of medieval rulers, finally <i>rex Grecorum cuius nomen Constans</i> , etc.	Follows apocalyptic material nearly identical with that in w ¹ , and medieval rulers.

the two quires which presumably contained it were lost in the archetype of the manuscripts).¹ As the contexts in which the episode occurs in the three versions will play a role in the discussions, I have summarized them briefly in English.

These passages pose a number of problems. In the first place, who was the warrior who according to the Greek text (G) entered Hierapolis, destroyed the temples of cities and the altars on Mt. Lebanon? And under what historical circumstances did he do these things? The context connects the warrior's entry into Hierapolis with a war between Romans and Persians concluded by a forty years' peace. The personality of the warrior is identified in the Latin versions as *rex Grecorum* or *rex generatus sanguine Grecorum* respectively and further qualified in the Greek text by the expressions πρόπιος or προκάτα. The Hierapolis meant is certainly the city of that name in the province of *Euphratensis*, the ancient Bambyke (modern Membij), located at a distance of fifteen miles west of the Euphrates. In fact, the facilities of that city for the accommodation of the thousands of pagan pilgrims converging each year upon it to consult the oracle and to participate in its famous festivals, as well as the abundance of grain growing in the vicinity, made it an ideal place for the concentration of Roman troops in preparation for a Persian campaign.² In fact, the city served just that purpose at the time of the (actual or projected) campaigns of the Roman Emperors Carinus, Constantius II, Julian and of the Caesar Gallus.³ Now, in the first Persian War under Theodosius II (420-422) one of the Roman commanders was the *magister militum*

¹ *Supra*, p. 61, note 31.

² V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 99 (Paris, 1907), 256, 338; E. Honigmann, "Hierapolis," *RE*, Supplementband IV (Stuttgart, 1924), cols. 733-742, esp. 736. On the festivals and cults of Hierapolis see C. Clemen, *Lukians Schrift über die Syrische Göttin*, *Der Alte Orient*, 37, nos. 3-4, (Leipzig, 1938), 35-57.

³ Chapot, *op. cit.*, 338 and references. Between 340 and 342 Abinnaeus escorted recruits from the Thebais to Hierapolis (H. I. Bell and others, *The Abinnaeus Archive* [Oxford, 1962], no. 1, line 9 f., and p. 11), and in 373 a petitioner handed over recruit money at Hierapolis while the Emperor Valens and his *comitatus* were staying in that city (*Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, ed. L. Mitteis [Leipzig, 1906], no. 34 verso, line 8 and p. 105; cf. Zosimus, IV, 13, ed. L. Mendelssohn [Leipzig, 1887], 169, 7, and Jones, I, 196).

per Orientem Procopius, son-in-law of the praetorian prefect of the East Anthemius who had been regent during the minority of the Emperor.⁴ The name Προ(κό)πιος would be a palaeographically simple emendation for the corrupt forms πρόπιος or προκάτα- in the new Greek text, but before or after it the word ὄνοματι or an equivalent would have to be added, as ἀνὴρ could hardly be followed by a proper name without some connecting word (cf. 85, 129). If this emendation is correct, it would follow that, at some time during or after the first Persian War under Theodosius II,⁵ the *magister militum per Orientem* Procopius made his headquarters at Hierapolis in *Euphratensis* and conducted from there a campaign against urban sanctuaries of pagan gods in his area of command, as well as against freestanding altars on the "high places" of Mt. Lebanon.⁶ It should be emphasized that the connection with the Roman commander Procopius is based on an emendation which is far from certain, but it is safe to say that in the Greek text the incident of the entry of the warrior into Hierapolis is connected with the Persian wars under Theodosius II.

It is also clear that the Latin version w¹ envisages earlier events than the Greek text. Sackur suggested that Constantius II's visit

⁴ On Procopius, see A. Loyer, *Recherches historiques sur les panégyriques de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Paris, 1942), 86-88, and W. Ensslin, "Prokopios, no. 8," *RE*, XXIII, 1 (Stuttgart, 1957), col. 257 f. According to Sidonius Apollinaris, II, 89-93 (ed. Loyer, 88), Procopius was made *peditumque equitumque magister* after his return from the Persian campaign, but Socrates (*Hist. eccl.*, VII, 20, PG, 67, col. 780 C) calls him στρατηλάτης immediately before peace was concluded, and John Malalas, XIV, Bonn ed., 364, 4, says specifically that at the beginning of the war Theodosius II appointed Procopius στρατηλάτης ἀνατολῆς.

⁵ A date after the conclusion of peace is suggested by the sequence of events in the Greek text. It would agree best with the information supplied by Sidonius Apollinaris (*supra*, note 4) that Procopius was appointed *magister militum per Orientem* after the conclusion of peace with Persia, for it would have given him the authority necessary to conduct a widespread campaign against pagan shrines.

⁶ On these altars, see *supra*, pp. 45-47. Renewed activities against paganism within the Roman Empire are indeed plausible in connection with the first Persian War under Theodosius II, as the refusal of Pulcheria's pious government to extradite Christian refugees from the Persian realm had been a main cause of the war, and as one of the Byzantine war aims had been to put an end to the persecutions of Christians in Persia under King Bahram V Gor; cf. Stein, I, 280; W. Ensslin, "Wahram, no. 5," *RE*, Reihe 2, vol. VII A 2 (Stuttgart, 1948), col. 2085. The entire war therefore had something of the character of a crusade against paganism.

to Hierapolis in 360 was meant, and there can be little doubt that he was right.⁷ His interpretation is supported by the context of the Latin passage. It is preceded by data on an Armeno-Persian war and a Roman involvement on the Armenian side, and this corresponds to historical events at the beginning of Constantius II's reign.⁸ Thus, the passage on the warrior's entrance into Hierapolis is embedded in w¹ within a context concerning the reign of Constantius II, while in the new Greek text it refers to the period of Theodosius II. What seems to have happened is that the sixth-century author, who expanded a fourth-century prophecy, held that the sentence about the warrior's entry into Hierapolis had found its fulfilment in the days of Theodosius II. Consequently, he lifted the sentence together with a good deal of the surrounding material from its fourth-century context and relocated it in his "prophetic" narrative of the reign of Theodosius II. A study of the passage thus permits to conclude that in apocalyptic literature an earlier prophecy may be shifted with ease by a later author from an earlier historical context and inserted into a later one, if the events of the subsequent age seem to him to be in better agreement with the meaning of the prophecy.

⁷ Sackur, 158 (he calls him "Konstantius I" but means Constantius II). Sackur based his view on Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 13, 8, ed. C. U. Clark, I (Berlin, 1910), 241: . . . *reversus est* (sc. Constantius II) *Hierapolim*. J. C. Rolfe, in the Loeb edition of Ammianus, adopts the reading *Nicopolim* in lieu of *Hierapolim*, but this reading is to be rejected, principally because a visit of Constantius II to Hierapolis is attested by Ammianus himself in another passage (XXII, 14, 4, ed. Clark, I, 282, 18) as well as by Constantius' cousin Julian, *Epist.* 98, 401 c, eds. J. Bidez and F. Cumont (Paris, 1922), 158 f.: ὑποδεξάμενος (i.e. Julian's pagan host at Hierapolis in A.D. 363) γὰρ πολλάκις τὸν τε ἀνεψιὸν τὸν ἑμὸν (Constantius II) καὶ τὸν ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφόν (the Caesar Gallus), καὶ προτραπεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅλα εἰκός, πολλάκις ἀποστήναι τῆς εἰς τοὺς Θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, ὃ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐλήφθη τῇ νόσῳ. In other words, Constantius had exerted pressure on his host to abandon paganism and to become a Christian. A campaign by Constantius against pagan temples, as reported by w¹, would therefore be in keeping with the Emperor's pre-occupations at the time of his visit to Hierapolis.

⁸ On this Armeno-Persian War, see, apart from Sackur: P. Peeters, "L'intervention politique de Constance II dans la Grande Arménie en 338," *Acad. Royale de Belgique, Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques*, 5th Ser., XVII (1931), 10-47, repr. in *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 27 (Brussels, 1951), 222-250, esp. 224-226; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 236 ff.; R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1947), 132, 138-143; Stein, I, 137 f., 154 f.

There is one further problem raised by the Latin versions. It will be remembered that in w², not in w¹, the reference to the warrior's entry into Hierapolis is followed by the obviously corrupt words: *apoca Libani* or *apottalibā*. Mercati explained them as a transliteration from the Greek ἀπό τοῦ Λιβάνου and implied that they derived from the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl discovered by him.⁹ There are, however, a number of considerations militating against such a hypothesis. In the first place, there is no passage in the Greek text where the name of Mt. Lebanon is preceded by the preposition ἀπό. Secondly, and more important, it has been shown above (Chapter IV) that the text of the Theodosian Sibyl contained no references to either Heliopolis or Mt. Lebanon and that all Latin versions derive from this text, rather than from that of the Anastasian Sibyl. Furthermore, it is equally unlikely that the reference to Mt. Lebanon should have entered the Latin tradition by way of a medieval contamination with the Greek text, as the reference to Mt. Lebanon would be the sole instance of such contamination. It is therefore difficult to assume that the mention of Mt. Lebanon in w² should derive from the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl.

In fact, a survey of the passages referring to the destruction of pagan temples will show that the mention of Mt. Lebanon in w² is derived from a source other than the Greek text of the Sibyl. The destruction of temples is prophesied by the Anastasian Sibyl for the reigns of the Emperors Marcian (Gratian ?) and Theodosius, but nothing is said here either of Heliopolis or of Mt. Lebanon.¹⁰ Earlier in the same text, however, the Sibyl prophesies that an emperor called Constantine, clearly Constantine the Great, "will destroy all the temples of the pagans and the altars of Mt. Lebanon."¹¹ In the Latin version w¹ it is prophesied of an unnamed em-

⁹ Mercati, 478.

¹⁰ 99 ff.: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσονται βασιλεῖς δύο, Μαρκιανὸς (Γρατιανὸς?) καὶ Θεοδοσίος, δυνάσται κραταιοί, πολεμισταὶ καὶ δικαιοκρίται, διδάσκαλοι τῆς πίστεως, καὶ λύσουσι τοὺς καταλειφθέντας ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κτλ.

¹¹ 85 ff.: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστήσεται βασιλεὺς δνόματι Κωνσταντίνος, φοβερός καὶ κραταῖος πολεμιστής, καὶ λύσει πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν ἔθνων καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῦ Λιβάνου, κτλ. Constantine the Great is also referred to in the Latin version w¹, but here in lieu of destroying pagan temples he is said to build a Christian sanctuary, see Sackur, 181, 13: *et post eos consurget alius rex C. nomine, potens in proelio, qui regnabit annos XXX et aedificabit templum Deo,*

peror that he will destroy the temples of the idols, without any specific reference to either Heliopolis or Mt. Lebanon.¹² Finally both w⁴ and w⁵ combine several features of the other versions. In these texts the Sibyl predicts that under Constantine "the temples of the idols and the cultivation (?) on Mt. Lebanon will be destroyed and altars constructed in the name of Lord and the Apostles and the Martyrs."¹³

In conjunction with w² these passages concerning the destruction of pagan temples demonstrate a considerable degree of uncertainty about the identity of the person who would carry out this destruction. w⁴ and w⁵ attribute this activity to the Emperor Constantine. The Anastasian Sibyl assigns it first to Constantine and later to Marcian (Gratian ?) and Theodosius, and w¹ and w² to an anonymous emperor. The last two versions, in particular, show that at one time the Sibylline tradition contained a prophecy that an unnamed emperor would destroy pagan temples.¹⁴ It must have occurred to a medieval Western reader that this prophecy about a nameless emperor had been fulfilled by Constantine's destruction of Aphrodite's temple at Aphaca on Mt. Lebanon, and he must have noted this insight in the margin of his manuscript: *aphaca libani*. The incident had been mentioned prominently in Eusebius' (?) *Vita Constantini*, this source had formed the principal basis for a similar account in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* and it had thus come to the attention of the Western world through such well known Latin works as the *Church History* of Cassiodorus-Epiphanius and Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin translation of Theophanes' Chronicle.¹⁵ Nothing was more natural than that this gloss

etc. w³ also records that Constantine will restore Christian churches, without mentioning pagan temples: *deinde exurget rex per h littera, et erit fortis in proelio, et restituet amenitates ecclesiarum in honore domini atque omnium sanctorum constructas* (fol. 348v).

¹² Sackur, 183, 15: *et intrabit vir belligerator rex Grecorum in Iheropolim et destruet templa ydolorum*.

¹³ w⁴ and w⁵: *et postea surget rex per h nomine, fortis in proelio, recta iudicans, et destruentur templa idolorum et cultura lybani. et erunt in diebus illis templa sancta et altaria construuntur (?) in nomine domini et apostolorum et martyrum*. The phrase *recta iudicans* is reminiscent of Marcian and Theodosius as δίκαιοκρίται (*supra*, note 10), and *et cultura lybani* of the *apoca lybani* in w².

¹⁴ In fact, this may well have been the original form of the vaticinium.

¹⁵ Eusebius (?), *Vita Constantini*, III, 55, ed. I. A. Heikel (see *supra*, Chapter III, note 14), 102f; Sozomen, *Eccl. hist.*, II, 5, 5, eds. J. Bidez and

by a learned Western reader made its way into the Latin text of the Sibyl and that the foreign sounding place name *aphaca* was corrupted in various ways.¹⁶ The source of the references to Mt. Lebanon in w² and in related Latin manuscripts thus was not a Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl but a gloss made by a learned Westerner who, from his readings in the standard Latin histories of the Early Church, had discovered a connection between the Sibyl's prophecy of an unnamed emperor destroying pagan temples and Constantine's razing of the temple of Aphrodite at Aphaca on Mt. Lebanon.

G. Chr. Hansen (GCS, 50 [Berlin, 1960]), 57, 7; Cassiodorus-Epiphanius, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, II, 20, eds. W. Jacob and R. Hanslik (CSEL, 71 [Vienna, 1952]), 119: *... in Aphacis iuxta montem Libanum et Adonem fluvium Veneris domus*; Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Chronographia tripartita*, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, II, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), 84, 21 f.: *tunc funditus templo... Veneris in Aphacis sito destructo*, etc.

¹⁶ w²: *apoca. Cod. Vat. reg. 571: apottalibā*. w⁴ and w⁵, in despair, emended into *et cultura*.

IX

CONCLUSIONS

1. Between 378 and 390 a Christian wrote a piece in Greek prose which I call the Theodosian Sibyl (Σ). The work is lost, but it can be partially reconstructed from extant texts derived from it: the Latin versions, and the Greek text here published for the first time (G). The fourth-century text told of a visit of a Christian Sibyl to Rome where one hundred judges had dreamed an identical dream of nine suns. She interpreted their dream seated on the Capitoline Rock, as her pagan predecessors had sat on rocks when prophesying. At the same time she was surrounded by olive trees, as Jesus had been when proclaiming the Synoptic Apocalypse. She interpreted the nine suns as representing nine generations of men. According to the Theodosian Sibyl, the first three generations showed a steady decline after the pessimistic pattern of pagan cosmogonies, but she placed the career of Jesus Christ in the fourth and fifth generations. Her account of Jesus' life was interrupted by a short dialogue with "the priests of the Hebrews" refusing to accept her prophecy of a Son of God. She then spoke of Constantine the Great, foretold his vision of the cross, the finding of the true cross by his mother Helen, and the foundation of Constantinople, which she expected to lose imperial sway within sixty years of its foundation. She mentioned Constantius II's visit to Hierapolis in *Euphratensis* in 360, on the occasion of the preparations for his projected Persian campaign, as well as his destruction of pagan temples near Mt. Lebanon. She referred to Valens' death at Adrianople and also mentioned the Emperors Jovian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I. The fourth-century text concluded with an account of the end of the world when Jesus, after his Second Coming, would defeat the Antichrist in a battle on the Mount of Olives. For his account of the life of Jesus the fourth-century author used less the canonical gospels than the tradition partially incorporated in the *Oracula Sibyllina*—a mosaic of heterodox and orthodox data from various localities and

CONCLUSIONS

periods. On the basis of Luke 10 : 1 he inserted into the Sibylline gospel an *agraphon* (or otherwise unattested saying of Jesus) according to which Jesus sent out his disciples to evangelize "the peoples of the seventy-two tongues," i.e. all the peoples of the world. The "peoples of the seventy-two tongues" later reappear as constituting the population of Constantinople, which thus emerges as the "epitome of the world." For his eschatology the fourth-century author relied on the legend of the Antichrist, albeit in a demythologized form. In fact, close parallels, in some cases *verbatim* agreements, with the text of the Theodosian Sibyl occur in the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, the extra-canonical *Apocalypse of John*, and the *Seventh Vision of Daniel*. It is due to sources of Egyptian provenance, such as the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, that the eschatology (perhaps also part of the narrative framework, cf. "Commentary" on 29) of the fourth-century text exhibits an Egyptian coloring.

2. Not long after the Theodosian Sibyl was composed, and still prior to A.D. 390, it was translated into Latin. At the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, probably in Italy, this ancient Latin translation (w^a) was re-edited and expanded through the insertion of the names of Lombard and German rulers (w^b). This version then served as the source for the five extant Latin versions. The authors of these used their common source (w^b) eclectically, so that each version now contains not only features common to all of them but also elements derived from w^b which are found in one to the exclusion of the others. The agreements of w^2 with w^1 , therefore, are not to be explained, as Sackur suggested, by its being a recension of w^1 , but by the fact that all five extant Latin versions are independent and selective *remaniements* of a common source (w^b).

3. Meanwhile, the Greek text of the Theodosian Sibyl had also been expanded in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire. The expanded text (G) is preserved in three manuscripts of the twelfth, fourteenth and fifteenth-sixteenth centuries respectively and here published for the first time. Between 502 and 506 a Christian editor, a convinced adherent of the Chalcedonian creed and active at Heliopolis-Baalbek in *Phoenice Libanensis*, a hotbed of pagan cults even at this late date, added references to historical events, primarily

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

secular, of the fifth century and of the first years of the sixth century, interpolated some data on Heliopolis, and made other editorial changes. Thus he added to the account of his predecessor the information that the pagan temples at Heliopolis-Baalbek were built under Antiochus (IV Epiphanes?), Tiberius, and Gaius, i.e. during two building periods for which there is archaeological confirmation. Since the sixty years of imperial sway predicted by his predecessor for Constantinople had already elapsed and there was no sign of the new capital relaxing her grip on the provinces, he changed the figure "sixty" into "thrice sixty." He (or an earlier editor) added the hitherto unattested name Eudocopolis to that of the city of Constantinople mentioned by the Theodosian Sibyl, a designation that probably refers to the quarters of the city located between the walls built by Constantine the Great and those of Theodosius II, husband of the beautiful Athenian Empress Athenais-Eudocia. He lifted the passage referring to Constantius II's entry into Hierapolis from its historical context and applied it to events of the reign of Theodosius II. Out of pride in his city, he interpolated a "King from Heliopolis" into the sequence of eschatological rulers. He also deleted the reference to the Mount of Olives as the site of the eschatological battle between the forces of Christ and Antichrist. The new Greek text, here edited for the first time, therefore, is not, as its discoverer Mercati thought, "the Greek text of the Tiburtine Sibyl," but constitutes a later *remaniement* of the Theodosian Sibyl, as do all the extant Latin versions.

4. The Greek text contains some new historical information which deserves attention. The survival into the sixth century of the tradition about the Trojan origin of the Julian family is interesting. The references to a Seleucid and a Julio-Claudian building period for the temples of Baalbek, as well as to the name of Eudocopolis for part of the city of Byzantium have already been touched upon in the preceding paragraph. While the Theodosian Sibyl seems to have known of the destruction of pagan temples near Mt. Lebanon under Constantius II, the sixth-century text speaks of the later destruction of urban temples and of altars on Mt. Lebanon under Theodosius II. Perhaps it is also noteworthy that the Sibyl knows of a forty years' peace with Persia under Theodosius II, while other sources speak

CONCLUSIONS

of a hundred years' peace or of a proposal for a fifty years' peace. The Sibyl also seems to know about a heterodox (monophysite) pronouncement on the part of Leo I and Leo II (473-474), which is otherwise unknown.

5. In addition to new data of this kind, the Greek text confirms or illustrates information known from other sources. It confirms that by the early sixth century the imperial title Augustus was obsolete in everyday language and that the current unofficial designation was βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. The Sibyl is fairly well informed on the Roman wars against Sassanid Persia in the East and against the Huns in the North. Of the Persian wars under Anastasius she is aware only of the defeats of the first two years and is silent about the victories of 504 and 505. Concerning one of the Hunnic wars of the Eastern Roman Empire (440-443 or 447) she mentions the role played by Roman greed and treachery. She also knows something about the Roman troubles with the Ostrogoths of Tribigild and Theoderic Strabo, and about those with the Isaurians. She knows of persecutions under Antiochus (?), Tiberius, and Gaius, and again under Decius and Valerian. She is aware that Constantine the Great destroyed pagan temples in and near the city of Heliopolis. She is also familiar with the story of Constantine's miraculous vision of the cross as it first appears in the *Vita Constantini*, and with the legend of Helen's finding of the true cross as it became known at the very end of the fourth century. Theodosius I is for the Sibyl principally the conqueror of Arianism within the Empire, the resolute destroyer of pagan temples such as that of Serapis at Alexandria, and the ruler during whose reign the practice of reusing building materials from former pagan temples for the building of Christian martyria had been established. As a loyal Chalcedonian, she condemns the monophysitic policies of Basiliscus and Zeno and the deposition of pro-Chalcedonian churchmen like Euphemius of Constantinople during the first decade of Anastasius' reign. Moreover, the Sibyl's ambivalent view of Zeno, as well as her animosity against Anastasius, betray the party politics of the Green circus faction. However, certain measures of Zeno, such as his fiscal policy and his legislative protection of consumer interests, may partially justify the Sibyl's appraisal: "he will love the Poor and will humble the Powerful and

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

Rich." In a similar way Anastasius' reform of the bronze currency and other measures may have done some degree of harm to the poorer classes and explain the Sibyl's dictum: "he hates all the beggars, he will ruin many from among the people either lawfully or unlawfully." Significant, too, are the Sibyl's historical judgments, which presumably reflect the opinions of wider circles at the beginning of the sixth century. She dates the beginning of the world's last age in the reign of Leo I, when "the birth pains of the world begin" and when "there will be no one to administer or to manage the Roman Empire."

6. Clear-cut instances of factual blunders are few. The disturbed chronology of the crucifixion in the new text was caused by the interpolation of a reference to Antiochus, Tiberius, and Gaius into the fourth-century text. The Emperors Valentinian and Jovian, on the other hand, are listed in the reverse of the chronological order. The indication that under Theodosius II peace was made with Persia for forty years conflicts with information supplied by other sources on Theodosius' first Persian War of 421-422, but may be correct for the second Persian War of 438-442. The span of thirty years allowed by the Sibyl for Gaiseric's kingship is too short and may be a simple factual error, but could also be due to the use of an oracle written during Gaiseric's lifetime. Several times the Sibyl speaks of the child Emperor Leo II as the son (rather than the grandson) of Leo I. The prophecy that Leo II's mother Ariadne would hold power for fifty-two years, on the other hand, is nothing but a wrong prophecy written during the lifetime of the Empress.

7. The language of the new Greek text is an excellent specimen of Vulgar Greek. The style is paratactic rather than syntactic: short simple sentences usually connected by καί follow each other in rapid succession. Frequently the diction is pictorial or dramatic, as, for example, in the description of the Jordan Baptism (42) or of the woman in search of a man at the end of time (200); in the dialogue between Sibyl and Roman judges (4-30) or between Sibyl and "the priests of the Hebrews" (48-58); or in the occasional snatches of monologue, especially in the eschatological part (200, 203, 216). The notion of Constantine's new capital being the ethnic epitome of the

CONCLUSIONS

inhabited world and the reference to pagan temples being transformed into martyrs' shrines under Theodosius the Great are clichés derived from the pagan literature of the fourth and fifth centuries.

8. The author's geographic outlook focusses on *Romania*, i.e., the Roman Empire, and particularly on the *pars Orientis*, and foreign peoples concern him only to the extent that they invade the Empire. However, Sibylline prophecy was so firmly tied to the city of Rome and to the Capitoline Hill that even a Christian prophecy such as the one here edited is proclaimed by the Sibyl from this pagan cult center. Of Western affairs she mentions only two developments: the depopulation of Rome at the time of the Visigothic sack, and the capture of Rome, as well as the raids on certain Western areas, by the Vandals. On the other hand, the author pays a good deal of attention to Thrace, *Anatolē* (the Western and central parts of Asia Minor), Syria, Judaea, and Egypt. For the first three centuries down to Theodosius the Great he is concerned almost exclusively with religious rather than secular history. In fact, his knowledge of events prior to the second half of the fourth century is meager in the extreme. He is so imbued with biblical notions that he thinks of the Sibyl, pre-historic Rome, and the succession of nine generations in terms highly colored by biblical history, a phenomenon hardly surprising if one bears in mind that Sibylline literature had its roots in the civilization of Hellenistic Judaism. The author's views about historical causation never rise above the simplest kind of moralism (126, 132, 146, 153, 177). His historical outlook is deterministic: the end of the world is approaching, nothing and nobody can reverse the course of history or prevent the end from coming. Rulers such as Alexander, Seleucus, Herod cannot succeed in their attempts at persecuting their enemies (65, 84). The eastern cities destroyed by Isaurian raiders under Theodosius II will never be restored (111). Rome will never recover her imperial position after the Vandal sack (130, 132) and the city of Byzantium will lose her imperial sway by A.D. 510 at the latest (94). The author is particularly concerned about the fate of the cities of the Empire. The last age of the world was ushered in during the reign of Leo I. The second half of the fifth century appears to the author as a period of anarchy and disasters, with bestial, monstrous, and barbarian emperors and

THE ORACLE OF BAALBEK

empresses. It is true that, among the eschatological rulers predicted by the Sibyl, the "King from the East" and the "King who has a Changed Shape" will repair some of the damage of the previous period, but these acts of restoration will be temporary and more apparent than real. They will be followed, moreover, by the general conflagration of the world and the establishment of Christ's rule. On the whole, the author follows in his eschatology the legend of the Antichrist (as analyzed by Bousset) and the new text furnishes unusually complete and relatively early evidence for this tradition. The Antichrist's reign is described with a variety of often dramatic detail that, though entirely in harmony with what Bousset worked out about the legend of the Antichrist, adds considerably to the knowledge of this tradition. The author's picture of the last events presents some new details; for example, the reign of the Antichrist is to last thirty years, he will rebuild the (pagan?) altars of Egypt and he will be established by the people of Cappadocia. As interesting as these additions to the traditional legend of the Antichrist are the author's omissions. On the whole, the description of the last times in the new text is "demythologized," but the miracles performed by the Antichrist, as well as the references to the defeat of the Antichrist's host, are vestiges of the ancient cosmic myth of the Antichrist. In general, in millenarian circles eschatological speculation reached a high point during the reign of Anastasius I, because at least since the third century certain biblical passages had been interpreted to mean that the end of the world would come after it had existed for six thousand years and because this span of six thousand years was believed to end around A.D. 500. The new text reflects the views of a millenarian milieu.

9. Since the three extant Latin versions and the new Greek text permit the reconstruction of the text of the fourth-century Sibyl on a number of points, it is possible to compare this early text with the later versions and thus to gain insights into the *modus operandi* of apocalyptic writers. In general it may be concluded that apocalyptic writings contain in themselves the germ of their proliferation and invite every copyist and reader to become editor both of genuine prophecies and of historical references disguised as prophecies. The purpose of such editing is to adjust the older text to the his-

CONCLUSIONS

torical experience that has accumulated since the earlier text was written. More specifically, it is clear, first of all, that the sixth-century author added to the fourth-century text a good deal of information on the history of the fifth century and the first years of the sixth century (104-172). Secondly, he interpreted a number of genuine eschatological prophecies of the Theodosian Sibyl as having found their fulfillment in actual events of the fifth century. The passage about the entry of the warrior into Hierapolis even shows that a subsequent editor of an apocalypse could shift a "prophecy" from an earlier historical context to a later one, and in the process might tamper with the wording of the original text. The reason for this procedure must have been that the editor mistook the earlier prophecy *ex eventu* for genuine prophecy and considered it fulfilled by events as yet unknown to the earlier writer. Finally, because the sixty years of imperial sway allowed to the city of Constantinople by the fourth-century author had elapsed and Constantinople was still ruling at least in the Eastern Mediterranean, the later editor lengthened this time span to thrice sixty years. Thus the author of the new text, like other apocalyptists, considered it his business to revise the prophecy of the Theodosian Sibyl in the light of the historical events that had occurred since the earlier text was written. In addition, both the Theodosian and the Anastasian Sibyls wrote their prophecies in order to offer hope and comfort to their readers in periods of grave military disasters, the former in the years after the Roman defeat at Adrianople (378) and the latter after the disasters of Theodosiopolis and Amida (502). In these two texts the consolation offered by the author is transcendental: the eventual establishment of Christ's kingdom. These observations on apocalyptic method and purpose, made possible by the study of the new text, are of interest not only for the understanding of the particular document under discussion, but because they shed light on the procedures of apocalyptic writers in general. It is the business of the apocalyptist to reduce the quantity of unfulfilled prophecy by showing that earlier eschatological prophecies have been fulfilled by events of the recent past. This is the principal reason why apocalyptic texts have to be rewritten or edited at periodic intervals.

Indices

Names of persons, peoples, and places occurring in the Greek text on pages 9 through 22 are followed by parenthetical numbers indicating the line or lines where they are mentioned.

GENERAL

- ABINNAEUS, 31, 130 note 3
 Acacian Schism, 104
Acts of John, 71f.
 Adalbert, 61 note 31
 Adrianople (battle), 86, 128 note 17, 136, 143
 Aegeae, 46 note 14
 Africa (line 129), 106
Agraphon, 70, 92f., 137
 Agrigento, 99 note 88
 Alaric, 87, 124
 Alboin, 61 note 31
 Alexander the Great (line 61), 76, 84, 86, 108 note 24, 141
 Altars on Mt. Lebanon, *see* Lebanon
 Amida, 42, 143
 Anastasius I (line 166), 5, 37, 41ff., 76, 79, 83ff., 91, 95-97, 104f., 110f., 120, 126, 127 note 15, 128, 139f., 142
 Anthemius, emperor, 112 note 50
 Anthemius, praetorian prefect of the East, 80, 130f.
 Antichrist, 111f., 113f. and note 54, 115-117, 120f., 128, 137f., 142; *see* Eschatology, King with the Changed Shape
 Antiochus (line 76), 43, 58f., 76, 78f., 84f., 97 n. 80, 125, 138-140
 Antitaurus, Mt. (line 110), 47 note 17, 87, 107, 110, 129
 Aphaka, 46f., 134f.
Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic), 38ff., 58 note 24, 60, 113 notes 50 and 54, 114 note 56, 115 note 63, 117 note 72, 137; *of John* (non-canonical), 117 note 72, 137; *of Peter*, 115 note 63; *of Pseudo-Methodius*, 61 note 31, 115 note 63, 116; *see* Synoptic Apocalypse
 Apocalyptic language, 110f.
 Ara Coeli Legend, 42
 Arcadiopolis, 89
 Arcadius (line 104), 46, 76, 84, 87, 102, 124
 Arduin of Ivrea, 62 note 35
 Ariadne, empress, 82-84, 140
 Arianism, 73, 98, 139
 Ariovald, 61 note 31
 Armatus, 82
 Armenia (line 110), 107, 129, 132
 Assyrians (line 181), 107, 111 and note 48
 Attila, 89
 Audoin, 61 note 31, 64
 Augustus, emperor (lines 68, 71), 33, 76, 78f., 84f., 86, 108
Augustus (title), 92, 139

INDICES

- Autharic, 61 note 31
 Apulia, 129
- BABYLAS, St., 100
 Bahram V Gor, Persian king, 131 note 6
 Barberini diptych, 80 note 10
 Bari, 129
 Basiliscus, emperor (line 152f.), 76, 82f., 103, 110, 139
 Berengar I, 61 note 31
 Blake, R. P., 96
 Boniface of Tuscany, 62 note 35
 Bousset, W., 120f., 142, *passim*
 Bronze coinage, reform of, 95f., 140
 Byzantium (lines 91, 94), *see* Constantinople
- CAESAREA (Mauretania), 86
 Calabria (line 134), 90, 106
 Calculations, apocalyptic, 54 note 19, 119f.
 Campania (line 134), 90, 106
 Cappadocia (line 116f.), 107, 114 and notes 55 and 58, 142
 Cappadocians (line 199), *see* Cappadocia
 Carinus, emperor, 130
 Carthage, 112 note 48
 Castagnoli, F., 43 note 4
 Castra Martis, 88
 Chalcedon, 102 note 101; Council of (A.D. 451), 103f.
 Chalcedonia (line 182f.), 107, 111f. and note 48
 Charlemagne, 61 note 31
 Circus factions, 94f., 96f. and note 78, 139
 Claudius, emperor, 46
- Conrad II, 3, 61 note 33
 Constans I, emperor, 5, 129
 Constantine the Great (line 85), 41, 45f., 51 note 8, 52 note 9, 56 note 20, 61 note 31, 63, 76, 80f., 84, 92, 97, 108, 123, 133f., 136, 138f., 140; Constantinian walls of Constantinople, 80f., 138; *see* Helen
 Constantinian walls of Constantinople, *see* Constantine the Great
 Constantinople (line 92), 54, 56 note 20, 92f., 108, 110, 136f., 141; Council of (A.D. 381), 98; praises of, 93; *see* Constantine the Great, *Deuteron*, Eudocopolis, Theodosius II, *Thermae Eudocianae*, Εὐδοκιαναί
 Constantinopolitan Oracle, 41, 53-56, 62 note 34, 64, 90, 92, 121 note 81, 136, 138, 143
 Constantius I (line 96f.?), 84
 Constantius II, 3, 63, 98, 100, 130-132, 136, 138
 Crucifixion, 78f., 116
 Cumae, 99 note 88
 Cyprian of Carthage, 77
 Cyril of Alexandria, 100
 Cyrus, praetorian prefect of the East, 81f.
 Cyrus, St., 100
- DALMATIA (line 133), 90, 106
 Damasus, Pope, 98
 Daniel, Visions of, 111 note 48, 113 note 50, 117 note 72; *Seventh Vision of* (Armenian), 34, 110 note 37, 112 notes 48 and 50, 114 note 59, 115 notes 60 and 61, 118-120 and note 74, 137

INDICES

- Daphne, near Antioch, 100
 Decius, emperor, 77, 79, 84, 108 note 22, 139
 Delphic Sibyl, 67 note 2
 Demythologizing, 121, 142
 Dengizech, 91
Deuteron, 82 note 20
 Docetism, 71
 Donatism, 98
 Dyrrhachium (line 163), *see* Epidamnus
- EBED JESU, 118 note 74
 Egypt (lines 192, 212, 221), 60, 107, 117, 120 note 80, 141f.
 Elijah (line 215), 57, 115f., 120 note 80, 121 note 81; *see* *Apocalypse of Elijah*
 Enoch (line 215), 57, 115f., 120 note 80, 121 note 81
 Epidamnus (line 162), 106
 Erythraean Sibyl, frontispiece, 67 note 2
 Erythrius, 94 note 67
 Eschatology, 57ff., 110-121, 137, *see* Antichrist, King from the East, King with the Changed Shape, King from Heliopolis, Shortening of days
 Eudocia, empress, 80-82, 138
 Eudocia, the Younger, 80 note 12
 Eudocopolis (line 92), 57 note 23, 80-82, 92, 106, 138
 Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, 105, 139
Excerpta Valesiana, 93f.
- FIRMUS, Moorish chieftain, 86
 Friedlieb, J. H., 6 note 11
- GAISERIC (line 129), 35f., 90f., 106, 140
 Gaius Caligula (line 77), 43, 46, 58f., 76, 78f., 84, 97 note 80, 108, 125, 138-140
 Galilee (line 45), 107
 Gallus, Caesar, 100, 130, 132 note 7
 Gdammaua, 82
 George, St., 100
 Gerasa, 100
 Gog and Magog, 61 note 31
Gospel of Peter, 71
 Grammatica: indefinite subject, 30; future tense, substitutes for, 34
 Gratian, emperor, 76, 84f., 98-101, 133f.
 Grierson, Ph., viii, 96 notes 75 and 76
- HADRIAN, emperor, 81
 Hadrianopolis, quarter of Athens, 81
 Halkin, F., vii
 Hebrews lines 40, 41, 48, 53, 107; *see* Priests of Hebrews
 Helen, mother of Constantine (line 89), 56 note 20, 64, 80, 97 note 80, 116, 139
 Heliopolis-Baalbek (lines 78, 205), 43ff., 56 note 20, 57ff., 65, 78f., 97 note 80., 107, 127, 133f., 137-139, *see* King from Heliopolis
 Henry II, German king, 62 note 35
 Henry III, German king, 62 and note 35
 Henry IV, German king, 62 and note 35

INDICES

- Herod the Great (line 62), 76,
79, 84, 86, 108 note 24, 141
Hierapolis (*Euphratensis*, line 114),
35, 129-135, 136, 138, 143
Hippolytus, Church Father, 32,
120
Honorius, emperor (line 104), 76,
84, 87, 124
Hössu-Firi, 45
Hugh of Provence, 61 note 31, 62
and note 35
Huneric, 80 note 12
Huns, 80, 88-90, 106f., 139

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, St., 100
Isaurians, 87, 91, 110, 139, 141;
see Zeno

JERUSALEM, 80, 82; Mount of
Olives, 68f. and notes 3-4, 116
note 68, 136, 138
John, St., 100
John the Baptist, 78
Jordan, river (line 64), 107
Jovian, emperor (line 97), 58 note
26, 76-78, 84f., 86, 98, 136, 140
Judaëa (lines 63, 67, 91, 223), 107,
117, 126, 141
Judges, Hebrew, 69, 108f.
Julian, emperor, 3, 63f., 77f., 100,
130, 132 note 7
Julian House, Trojan origin of, 33,
138
Julius Africanus, 119
Jupiter Capitolinus, 67
Justinian, 111, 114 note 54

KALAT FAKRA, 45-47
King from Heliopolis, 57f., 115,
138
King from the East, 57f., 111-114
and note 50, 115, 121 notes 82
and 83, 142
King with the Changed Shape, 57f.
113-115, 142; see Antichrist
Kougeas, S., 6 note 13

LATIN VERSIONS: w^a, 63 note 39,
64f., 137; w^b: 60-66, 137; w¹,
3, 48-60, 122f., 129-135, 137;
w², 3f., 60-66, 129-135, 137;
w³, 3f., 4 note 5, 53 note 17,
60-66, 133 note 11; w⁴ and w⁵,
4, 9, 54 note 17, 60-66, 134, 135
note 16; see also Manuscripts,
Latin.
Law, Jewish, Jesus and, 71f., 122f.
Lebanon, Mt. (lines 79, 87, 111,
115) 43, 45, 47, 56 note 20, 57f.,
87, 97 note 80, 107, 110, 129-131,
133-135, 136, 138
Leo I, emperor, 76, 82, 85, 91,
102-104, 110f., 112 note 50, 124,
139, 140f.
Leo II, emperor, 76, 85, 102-104,
110, 139, 140
Leontia, 82
Leptis, 86
Lewis the Pious, 61 note 31
Libanius, 93 note 63, 98
Libius Severus, emperor, 112 note
50
Liudprand, Lombard ruler, 61 note
31
Liudprand of Cremona, 111 note 48
Lugli, G., 43 note 4
Lycia, 82

MALALAS, JOHN, 34, 79, 81 note
15, 87f., 131 note 4

INDICES

- Manuscripts, Greek: *cod. Athos*
1527 (*Karakallou* 14), 4, 5f., 9;
cod. Vat. Gr. 1120, 5f., 9; *cod.*
Atheniensis Bibl. Nat. 2725 =
Suppl. 725, 5f., 9; stemma 8;
Latin: *cod. Monacensis Lat.*
17742, 3, 9, 53f. and note 17
(= w³); *cod. Lambacensis membr.*
LXXVII = Chicago, Newberry
Library Ry. 6, 4 note 5, 9, 53f.
note 17 (= w⁴ and w⁵); see
Latin versions; Syriac: London,
British Museum, Additional
18715, 118 note 74
Mara, 72
Marcellinus Comes, 84 note 25, 88
note 42, 89 note 46, 90 note 51,
93 note 64, 96 and note 75, 77
Marcian, emperor (lines 100?, 128),
76, 84f., 90, 98, 103, 129, 133f.
Marcion, 72f.
Marcus Aurelius, 74 note 37
Margus, 89
Martyrium, 99-101
Martyropolis, 42
Maxentius, 77
Maximin Daia, 77
Mercati, S. G., 4f., 133, 138
Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*,
Armenian version, 69, 108
Millenarianism, 120, 142
Moguntiacum, 86

NAISSUS, 89
Nero, 79 note 8
Nile (line 212), 60, 107, 115
Nisibis, 86

Olives, Mt. of, see Jerusalem
Olybrius, emperor, 112 note 50
Olybrius, Younger, 112 note 50,
126f. note 15
Oracula Sibyllina, 6 note 11, 32,
35, 37, 40, 73f., 109, 117 note 70,
136
Oriental translations of Tiburtine
Sibyl, 5f. note 9
Otto I, 61 note 31, 62 note 35
Otto II, 62 note 35
Otto III, 61 and note 33, 62 note 35

PALESTINE (line 190), 107; see
Judaëa
Pamphylia (line 106), 107
Panodorus, 119
Paraphrase of *Oracles of Leo*, 37
Persia, 41f., 86f., 88f., 91, 107, 112f.
note 48, 128, 129-132, 138f., 140
Persians (lines 112, 170), see Persia
Peter the Fuller, 104
Philippopolis, 89
Phoenice Libanensis, see Helio-
polis-Baalbek
Phrygia (lines 69, 105), 82, 107
Pisidia, 82
Polemo, sophist, 93 note 63
Priests of Hebrews, 69, 136
Priscus, historian, 88
Procopius, *magister militum per*
Orientem, 130f.
Pseudo-Lucian, *Philopatris*, 113
note 51
Pulcheria, princess, 131 note 6
Pulsaria, 120

RENEWAL, 113
Revelation, Book of, 120 note 80
Richard, M., vii, 5

OLIBOS (line 187?), 57f., 112f.
note 50, 126 note 15

INDICES

- Romaioi (lines 38, 70, 113, 126f.), 106; *see* βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων
- Romania (lines 99, 139, 172), 106, 141
- Rome (lines 2, 3, 9, 69, 105, 129, 132f.), 90, 106f., 108, 110, 121 note 81, 123f., 127, 129, 141; Aventine Hill, 52f., 61 note 32; *Capitolium* (lines 9, 13), 42f., 52f., 55, 61 note 32, 67f. and note 1, 106, 108f., 136, 141
- Romoridus, 87
- Rothari, 61 note 31
- Ruler of Perdition, *see* Antichrist
- SACKUR, E., 3, 52, 53f. note 17, 63f., 123, 125, 131, 137, *passim*
- Sardica, 89
- Scylla (line 140), 82, 110
- Sebastianus, 94 note 67
- Seleucia, Syria, 87
- Seleucus I (?) (line 61), 76, 84, 86, 108 note 24, 141
- Sergios, St., 101
- Seventy-two languages, 32f., 56 note 20, 70, 92f., 108, 137
- Severus, emperor, 77
- Shortening of days, 111, 121 note 81
- Sibyl, *passim*; *see* Delphic Sibyl, Erythraean Sibyl, Theodosian Sibyl
- Sibylline Books, 67 and note 1
- Sibylline gospel, 69-74
- Singara, 86
- Singidunum, 89
- Sirmium, 89
- Six-winged creatures, 31
- Soa, 82
- Synoptic Apocalypse, 68, 108, 136
- Syria (lines 108, 116, 181), 107, 141
- TARENTUM, 129
- Taurocilicia (line 140), 91 and note 56, 107
- Taurus, Mt. (line 110), 47 note 17, 87, 107, 110, 129
- Temples, at Heliopolis, *see* Heliopolis-Baalbek; pagan, 98-101; of Didymaeon Apollo, 100; of Isis at Menuthis, 100
- Termessus, 82
- Theoderic Strabo, 91, 111, 139
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 101
- Theodosian Sibyl, 54f., 62-66, 128 note 17, 133, 136-143
- Theodosian walls of Constantinople *see* Theodosius II
- Theodosiopolis, 42, 143
- Theodosius I (line 100), 55, 64, 76, 84f., 98-101, 126, 133f., 136, 139, 141
- Theodosius II (line 107), 45f., 76, 80f., 100, 110, 129, 130f., 132, 138, 140f.; Theodosian walls of Constantinople, 81f., 138
- Theosophy of Tübingen*, 67 note 1, 119f. and notes 76-79
- Thermae Eudocianae*, at Constantinople, 81 note 17
- Thrace (lines 126, 138), 88-91, 106, 111, 129, 141
- Throne, God's, 30f.
- Tiberius, emperor (line 77), 43, 46, 58f., 76, 78f., 84, 97 note 80, 125, 138-140
- Timotheus Aelurus, 103 note 102
- Titus, emperor, 79 note 8, 125
- Tracks of Jesus' feet, worship of, 31f.
- Tribigild, 87, 139
- True cross (relic), 80, 136, 139

INDICES

- Trypanis, C. A., 81 note 16
- Tychaeum, at Antioch, 100
- ULDIS, 88f.
- Ursinus, Pope, 98
- VALENS, emperor (line 96), 33, 58 note 26, 63f., 76, 78, 84, 86, 98, 128 note 17, 130 note 3, 136
- Valentinian I (line 97), 58 n. 26, 76, 84f., 86f., 98, 136, 140
- Valentinian III (line 107), 45f., 76, 80 note 12, 84, 87, 129
- Valerianus, emperor, 77, 79, 84, 108 note 22, 139
- Vandals, 81, 90f., 106, 110, 141
- Verina, empress, 82, 110
- Vespasian, 79 note 8, 125
- Viminacium, 89
- YOUTIE, H. C., viii, 30, 60 note 29, 83 note 24, 104 note 108, *passim*
- ZEDINEK, H., vii
- Zeno, emperor, 76, 83f., 85 note 27, 93, 95, 102 note 101, 103f., 107 note 13, 110, 119, 139
- Zenonis, empress, 82
- Zorova-Ezraa, 100f.
- GREEK TERMS
- ἀγιοι, 99-101
- αἰμάσσειν, 39
- ἀνανέωσις, 113; *see* Renewal
- Ἀνατολή (lines 110, 171, 180, 182, 186f., 190, 193, 198, 206), 106f., 141
- βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, 92, 139
- βροῦχος, 35
- γίνεσθαι εἰς, 34
- ἐγγων, 33
- Ἕλληνας (lines 88, 102), 106 note 3
- Εὐδοκιαναί, 81 note 17
- Εὐδοκίας, 82
- Ἰσχυρος (lines 144, 149), *see* Zeno
- Κωνσταντιαῖος, 33f., 78
- Οὐλλιβος, 112 note 50
- πέραν, 81 note 17
- τριβουνάλιον, 29f.