

THE END OF THE WORLD OF GIANTS. QUMRAN ENOCHIC TRADITIONS AND  
THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO JEWISH APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT ABOUT DISASTER

EL FIN DEL MUNDO DE LOS GIGANTES. LAS TRADICIONES LITERARIAS DE QUMRÁN  
Y SU CONTRIBUCIÓN AL PENSAMIENTO APOCALÍPTICO JUDÍO SOBRE EL DESASTRE

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RESUMEN

Los escenarios apocalípticos de desastre han sido frecuentemente entendidos en términos de destino y como resultado de una lucha entre seres sobrenaturales, ángeles y demonios. La historia arquetípica del mundo que terminaba con el diluvio está suplementada significativamente por la literatura de Qumrán. El fin del mundo de los gigantes tal y como es descrito en el Libro de los Gigantes de Qumrán provee una personificación narrativa única de este mundo, mostrando una visión del trono del juicio divino en la tierra, más que en el cielo. Narra aspectos del mundo concebido de los gigantes, describiendo su angustia a través de sus conversaciones y sus inquietantes sueños. Los paralelos literarios con los libros de Daniel y la literatura enoica sugieren que la memoria cultural sobre el destructivo poder en la edad babilónica se encuentra entre los ingredientes de las historias arquetípicas de los gigantes en el Libro de los Vigilantes y el Libro de los Gigantes.

ABSTRACT

Apocalyptic scenarios of disaster have frequently been understood in terms of fate and as product of a struggle between otherworldly beings, angels and demons. The archetypical story of the world which ended with the flood is significantly supplemented by Qumran literature. The end of the world of giants as described in the Qumran Book of Giants provides a unique narrative personification of this world. Differently from 1 Enoch 14.8-22 and from Daniel 7,9-10, the Book of Giants situates a throne vision of divine judgement on earth rather than in heaven. The Book of Giants further describes the anguish of the giants through their conversations and their unsettling dreams. Literary parallels between Daniel, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Giants suggest that cultural memory about the destructive power of the Babylonian age belongs among the ingredients of the archetypical stories of the giants in the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants.

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PALABRAS CLAVE

Enoc; Daniel; Libro de los Gigantes; Qumrán; desastre; pensamiento apocalíptico

KEYWORDS

Enoch; Daniel; Book of Giants; Qumran; disaster; apocalyptic thought

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## 1. INTRODUCTION.

The biblical flood story in Genesis 6,5-8,22 comprises an archetypal theme of disaster which reverberates in various early Jewish texts<sup>1</sup>. The New Testament also alludes to the biblical flood through references to 'the days of Noah' and to the flood<sup>2</sup>. To the ancient world, the flood story could be an archetypal example of admonition (4Q370 (*4QExhortation based on the Flood*)) as well as a distant, arcane story which would make some think of 'the myths of the poets', τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μемуθευμένα (Philo, *Giants* 58).

The biblical flood story is relatively terse about the description of the world which ended with the flood. Genesis 6,1-13 comprises references to the multiplication of people on earth (Gen 6,1), to 'sons of God', בני־אלהים, who begot children among daughters of men (Gen 6,2,4), to Nephilim, הנפלים, and 'might men' or giants, הגברים (Gen 6,4), and to wickedness, evil inclination, corruption of flesh and an earth filled with violence (Gen 6,5,11-13). Yet the larger part of the story is about the ark of Noah and the flood itself. This relatively terse picture of the antediluvian world could leave further questions what in ancient imagination would trigger disaster of cataclysmic proportions and which cultural frame of reference the narration of the flood story would have. The apocalyptic text of *1 Enoch* illustrates the fact that further personification of the antediluvian world captured literary attention in Early Judaism.

The Enochic Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36) comprises a narrative personification of the 'mighty men' or 'giants' (cf. γίγαντες in LXX Gen 6,4) who would have lived at the time of the Flood and Enoch's Dream Visions (*1 Enoch* 83-90) further comprise sections on the flood (*1 Enoch* 83-84, 89.1-8). Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* 1-36 and *1 Enoch* 89.1-8 are preserved among the literature of Qumran (4Q201 (4QEn<sup>a</sup> ar), 4Q202 (4QEn<sup>b</sup> ar), 4Q204 (4QEn<sup>c</sup> ar), 4Q205 (4QEn<sup>d</sup> ar), 4Q206 (4QEn<sup>e</sup> ar)), whose palaeographical dates, ranging between the early second century B.C.E. (4QEn<sup>a</sup> ar) and the late first century B.C.E. (4QEn<sup>d</sup> ar), attest to the antiquity of this Enochic literature<sup>3</sup>. The integrated impression of the Aramaic Qumran fragments with longer known versions of *1 Enoch*, in particular the complete Ethiopic version<sup>4</sup>, has been the object of a new translation and commentary in recent years<sup>5</sup>.

1 Cf. *Jub.* 5.20-32; Philo, *Giants*; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.75-92; 4 *Ezra* 3.7-11; 2 *Baruch* 56; *Sib.Or.* 1.120-282; *m. B. Mes.* 4.2, *m. Sanh.* 10.3, *m. 'Ed.* 2.10.

2 Mt 24,37-39 // Lk 17,26-27; 1 Pet 3,20; 2 Pet 2,5, 3,5-6.

3 MILIK, J.T.: *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1976.

4 KNIBB, M.A.: *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1978.

5 NICKELSBURG, G.W.E.: *1 Enoch. 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-*

In addition to Aramaic fragments which overlap with longer known Enochic literature, Qumran literature also comprises evidence of a previously unknown Aramaic Book of Giants. This text provides an additional source of information about early Jewish narrative personification of the antediluvian world. An edition of the Aramaic fragments of the Qumran Book of Giants (1Q23 (1QEnGiants<sup>a</sup> ar), 1Q24 (1QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ar), 2Q26 (2QEnGiants ar), 4Q203 (4QEnGiants<sup>a</sup> ar), 4Q530 (4QEnGiants<sup>b</sup> ar), 4Q531 (4QEnGiants<sup>c</sup> ar), 4Q532 (4QEnGiants<sup>d</sup> ar), 4Q556 (4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup> ar), 6Q8 (6QpapEnGiants ar)) with translation and commentary was published by L.T. Stuckenbruck in 1997<sup>6</sup>. The palaeographical dates of the manuscripts of the Book of Giants range from the early first century B.C.E. (2Q26) to the early first century C.E. (4Q533)<sup>7</sup>. The cave 4 manuscripts of the Qumran Book of Giants (4Q530-4Q533) were published in the 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert' series by É. Puech in 2001<sup>8</sup>. The Book of Giants implies a cultural context of the ancient Near East with its references to Gilgamesh (גלגמיש in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+9-12 2; גלגמיש in 4Q531 22 12), the epic protagonist of Sumerian tales, of which the Akkadian versions incorporate a flood story<sup>9</sup>. This reference to Gilgamesh appears the more striking in view of previous comparison of the biblical flood story with Mesopotamian flood stories<sup>10</sup>. This Qumran Book of Giants provides a distinct narrative viewpoint of the end of the world of giants which merits comparative attention vis-à-vis other Enochic literature.

108 (Hermeneia), Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2001; NICKELSBURG, G.W.E. and VANDERKAM, J.C.: *1 Enoch. A New Translation Based on the Hermeneia Commentary*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2004.

6 Edition and commentary by STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum, 63), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997.

7 Cf. STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 28-31 at 31 for a date of composition of the Book of Giants "sometime between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century and 164 B.C.E., in view of a relationship between 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 11.17-19 and Daniel 7,9-10. For more recent comparative study on the literary interrelationships and common tradition background of the throne visions in Daniel 7, *1 Enoch* 14, and 4Q530, see KVANVIG, H.S.: «Throne Visions and Monsters. The Encounter Between Danielic and Enochic Traditions», in *ZAW* 117, 2005, 249-272; STOKES, R.E.: «The Throne Visions of Daniel 7, *1 Enoch* 14, and the Qumran *Book of Giants* (4Q530): An Analysis of Their Literary Relationship», in *DSD* 15, 2008, 340-358, and TROTTER, J.R.: «The Tradition of the Throne Vision in the Second Temple Period: Daniel 7:9-10, *1 Enoch* 14:18-23, and the Book of Giants (4Q530)», in *RevQ* 99/25, 2012, 451-466.

8 PUECH, É.: *Qumrân grotte 4. XXII: Textes araméens. Première partie 4Q529-549* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 31), Oxford, Clarendon, 2001, 9-116. Numbering of manuscript fragments of 4Q530-533 follows Puech's edition. Partly based on Puech's edition is the publication by PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. Part 3. Parabiblical Texts*, Leiden, Brill, 2005, 472-514 (Book of Giants).

9 See DALLEY, S.: *Myths from Mesopotamia. Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford World's Classics), Oxford, University Press, 1989, paperback edition 1998, 43-44. For detailed comparative study of the incorporation of general threads of Gilgamesh tradition in the Qumran Book of Giants, see recently GOFF, M.: «Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran *Book of Giants*' Appropriation of *Gilgamesh* Motifs», in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 16, 2009, 221-253, focusing on the giants' divine-human parentage, association with evil spirits, dreams, characterization of giants as mighty warriors, and the location Mount Hermon as general thematic similarities.

10 Cf. STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 31-40 on the question of provenance and purpose of the Book of Giants and on the part which references to Gilgamesh and Hobabish play in the use of Babylonian traditions in the Book of Giants.

Next to the Enochic literature, Qumran literature also comprises various interpretive references to the giants or watchers and to the flood, which have been analysed in detail by Florentino García Martínez<sup>11</sup>.

In this essay, I want to go into the distinct narrative contribution of the Qumran Book of Giants to the subject of the imagined disastrous end of the antediluvian world. The following comparative questions will guide my discussion. How is the world of giants depicted in the Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36) and in the Book of Giants respectively and which commonalities and differences can be discerned? Which factors contributed to the end of the world of giants in the Book of Watchers and in the Book of Giants respectively? How do the Qumran Enochic traditions impact the understanding of apocalyptic thought about disaster?

## 2. THE WORLD OF GIANTS.

### 2.1 *The World of Giants in the Book of Watchers.*

The Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1-36) depicts the world of giants in the context of its narration of the rebellion and fall of the Watchers. The opening chapters on theophany, indictment and verdict allude to the watchers and their transgressions (*1 Enoch* 1-5), but it is in *1 Enoch* 6-11 that narration of the rebellion of the Watchers against the works of heaven and earth as created by God (*1 Enoch* 2-5) unfolds. The narration of this rebellion takes up biblical narrative in Genesis 6,1-4<sup>12</sup>, with the exception of the description of those who desired to beget children from the daughters of men: 'the Watchers, the sons of the heavens' (*1 Enoch* 6.2) as compared to 'the sons of God' in Genesis 6,2.4.

The Book of Watchers narrates the rebellion of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6-11), totaling two hundred (*1 Enoch* 6.6), led by Shemihazah their chief (*1 Enoch* 6.3), and then enumerates the names of nineteen other 'chiefs of ten': Ardeqoph, Remashel, Kokabel, Armumahel, Ramel, Daniel, Ziqel, Baraqel, Asael, Hermani, Matarel, Ananel, Setawel, Samshiel, Sahriel, Tummil, Turiel, Yamiel, Yehadiel (*1 Enoch* 6.7). This list of names recurs in *1 Enoch* 8, which enumerates the societal skills of these respective Watchers, ranging from the manufacture of all sorts of metal weapons of war, to jewelry and fashion, sorcery and magic spells, and the interpretation of astrological signs. The depiction of cultural and societal skills in *1 Enoch* 8 includes an emphasis on transgression, straying and ways to desolation (*1 Enoch* 8.1-2 and 8.4). As compared to the emphasis on order and an unalterable course of the works of heaven and earth in *1 Enoch* 2.1-5.3 which are the object of contemplation and observation, the teaching of signs of lightning flashes, stars, shooting stars, earth, sun and moon by the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 8.3) makes part of a larger account in *1 Enoch* 8 which evokes a world in upheaval.

<sup>11</sup> For a comprehensive survey of interpretive allusions to the Flood narrative in literature of the Qumran community (CD-A 2,17-21, 5,1; 1QapGen ar 5,29; 1Q19; 4Q176 8-11, 10-11; 4Q244 8; 4Q252; 4Q253 2; 4Q254; 4Q254a; 4Q370; 4Q422 2-7; 4Q504 8 14; 4Q508 3 2; 4Q534-536; 5Q13 1 7), see GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F.: «Interpretations of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls», in GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and LUTTIKHUIZEN, G.P. (eds.): *Interpretations of the Flood* (Themes in Biblical Narrative, 2), Leiden, Brill, 1999, 95-115.

<sup>12</sup> Note the biblical phrase 'and it happened when', וַיְהִי כִּדְבַר יְיָ, which the Aramaic in 4Q202 2,2 (*1 Enoch* 6.1) imitates from the biblical Hebrew וַיְהִי כִּדְבַר יְיָ in Gen 6,2.

As an interesting aside, the Enochic Book of the Luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72-82) comprises a picture of laws for sun and moon and stars of the sky (*1 Enoch* 72-79), but it also refers to change from the natural order of things ‘in the days of the sinners’ (*1 Enoch* 80.2) who “will take them (i.e. the stars) to be gods” (*1 Enoch* 80.7)<sup>13</sup>. This illustrates that the signs as taught by the Watchers could analogously concern change from a natural order of things to straying and multiplication of evil (cf. *1 Enoch* 80.8).

The setting of the world of giants in the Book of Watchers appears partly informed by Syro-Palestinian whereabouts. That is, several place names and regions are mentioned: mount Hermon as place of the assembly of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6.6), “the waters of Dan in the land of Dan, which is south of Hermon, to the west” as place where Enoch recites the memorandum of a petition of the fallen watchers (*1 Enoch* 13.7), and “Abel-Main, which is between Lebanon and Senir” as dwelling place of the Watchers who await Enoch’s intercession (*1 Enoch* 13.9)<sup>14</sup>.

As compared to the biblical flood story, which mentions Nephilim and ‘sons of God’ as contemporaries and mighty men or giants, ‘men of renown’, as offspring of the ‘sons of God’ and the daughters of men (Gen 6.4), the Book of Watchers provides the following description:

“And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants. And the giants begot Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born Elioud. And they were growing in accordance to their greatness” (*1 Enoch* 7.2)<sup>15</sup>.

The Qumran Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* 7.2 (4Q201 3,16-17 // 4Q202 2,20-21) comprise the following description in translation:

The became pregnant by them and gave birth to giants, some three thousand cubits tall, who were born upon the earth in keeping with their infancy and grew at the rate of their growth<sup>16</sup>.

The stature of the giants entails a rate of growth which in the narrative plot of the Book of Watchers not only burdened the limits of human subsistence, but went

13 NIENBURG, G.W.E. and VANDERKAM, J.C.: *1 Enoch. A New Translation...*, 110-111. Somehow parallel to the Enochic Book of Luminaries, the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts of ‘Astronomical Enoch’ (4Q208-211) further relates observations about moon, sun and stars in the four quarters of heaven.

14 *Ibidem*, 32-33.

15 *Ibidem*, 24.

16 Translation from GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and TIGCHELAAR, E.J.C.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 1. (1Q1-4Q273)*, Leiden, Brill Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 2000, 403, 405. As compared to the reference to stature, ‘some three thousand cubits tall’, cf. CD-A II 19 on the height of the sons of the Watchers, being “like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains” (p. 553). Some of this imagery also occurs in other contexts; see Amos 2,9 on the height of the Amorites being “like the height of cedars”. The Nephilim are further mentioned in Numbers 13,32-33, which mentions the stature of the Nephilim as part of an evil report on the promised land: “all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the Nephilim (the sons of Anak, who come from the Nephilim) and we seemed to ourselves like grass-hoppers, and so we seemed to them” (RSV).

beyond these limits to physical destruction beyond comparison visualized in terms of the devouring of flesh and the drinking of blood (*1 Enoch* 7.3-5). Before turning to this narrative sequence of developments in my discussion of the end of the world of giants (section 3 below), I will survey the depiction of the world of giants in the Qumran Book of Giants as compared to that in the Book of Watchers.

## 2.2 *The World of Giants in the Qumran Book of Giants*

The relationship of the Book of Giants with the Book of Watchers has been characterized by L.T. Stuckenbruck in terms of literary ‘summary’ of elements of *1 Enoch* 6-11 and 12-16 on the one hand and in terms of distinguishing characteristics on the other. Stuckenbruck highlights three distinguishing characteristics: different roles of Enoch; a heightened focus on the offspring of the Watchers, the giants; and an emphasis on dreams of giants<sup>17</sup>.

In my reconsideration of the comparison between the Book of Giants and the Book of Watchers, I will consider commonalities and differences in both as parallel narratives. Even though Stuckenbruck observed a shift of the spotlight from the Watchers to the giants in the Book of Giants, some names of Watchers do also occur in the Book of Watchers. Thus the intercession of Enoch is addressed to Šhemihazah and all [his] companions in 4Q203 8 5. The same fragment comprises the phrase “has reached Raphael” the archangel (4Q203 8 12), in a context of references about the deeds of prostitution and corruption in the land by the Watchers against whom complaints have been lodged (4Q203 8 7-11)<sup>18</sup>. The name of another Watcher, Baraqel (*1 Enoch* 6.7, 8.3), also occurs in 4Q203 1 2, 4Q531 4 2, and 6Q8 1 4. The name of Asael (*1 Enoch* 6.7, 8.1, 9.6, 10.4, 13.1) could be fragmentarily preserved in 4Q531 7 7 ([שאל] ע). The name Azazel (4Q203 7 i 6) could be a variation of Asael. Terms for Watchers, עירין (4Q203 7 i 6; 4Q532 2 7), for giants, גברין (1Q23 9+14+15 5; 4Q531 1 2.5) or גבריא (4Q203 7 i 7; 4Q530 1 i 8, 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 13, 15, 20, 21, 7 ii 3; 4Q531 7 4), and for Nephilim, נפילין (4Q531 1 2 and 7 2; 4Q532 2 3) or נפיליא (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 6; 4Q531 1 8) and נפילי ארעא (4Q530 7 ii 8) are common to those in the Book of Watchers. It appears that references to ‘princes’, רזניא, cursed by someone pronounced guilty (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 2), to ‘the assembly of giants’, גבריא כנשת (4Q530 1 i 8), ‘to the assembly of [his] friends, the Nephilin’, נפיליא [ברודי] (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 5-6), and to an ‘assembly of [Nephilin and]giants’, נפיליא ו גבריא (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 21)<sup>19</sup>, imply a focus on the organization and hierarchy of giants, as compared to references to the gathering of Watchers in the Book of Watchers. Perhaps the focus of the Book of Giants is not so much shifted, but expanded, and the Book of Giants comprises a parallel narrative next to the Book of Watchers as part of a common Enochic tradition rather than a summary of the Book of Watchers.

17 STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 24-28.

18 GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and TIGCHELAAR, E.J.C.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls...*, 411; PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 480-481.

19 Text from PUECH, É.: *Qumrân grotte 4...*, 28. Translation partly based on GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and TIGCHELAAR, E.J.C.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 2. (4Q274-11Q31)*, eiden, Brill Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 2000, 1062-1065.

The world of giants as described by the Book of Giants also comprises different characters, which are not attested in the Book of Watchers: the brothers Ohyah (4Q203 4 3 and 7 i 5; 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1 and 15; 4Q531 22 9; 6Q8 1 2.4) and Hahyah (4Q203 4 3 and 7 i 5), Mahawai (4Q203 2 3; 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 21; 6Q8 1 2.5), Gilgamesh (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 2; 4Q531 22 12), Hohabes (4Q203 3 3), Ahiram (4Q531 7 1), Anael (4Q531 7 2), Na'amel (4Q531 7 3), Ra[ziel] (4Q531 7 3), and 'Ammiel (4Q531 4 3).

The brothers 𐤆 hyah and Hahyah appear involved in contact with Enoch in the interest of his intercession (4Q203 4), they consider consequences of punishment of the Watchers with their sons (4Q203 7 i 5-7), and they dream unsettling dreams which the giants cannot explain but which Enoch as 'distinguished scribe', ספר פרשא is expected to explain (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 14-15). Ohyah further occurs as the person who informs others about "that which had said to him Gilgamesh" (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1-2), a frightful vision of "the death of our souls", מורת נפשנא (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1); a vision which appears retorted by condemnation (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 2) among the giants<sup>20</sup>. The envisioned 'death of our souls' (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1) appears not unrelated to the assertion of a vision "for cursing and sorrow" (4Q530 1 i 2), involving a first person plural perspective that "we shall die together and be made an end of", ונמות כחדא ונתן שיציא (4Q530 1 i 5), as part of a fragment which precedes 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12<sup>21</sup>. It is the totality of the frightful vision which appears involved in the communication between Gilgamesh and 𐤆 hyah.

𐤆 hyah further is a spokesperson who tells about a depressing dream in 4Q531 22 9-11, while 4Q531 22 12 again refers to Gilgamesh, apparently addressing Ohyah with a question about his dream ("and then Gilgamesh said, 'your dream [ ]'")<sup>22</sup>. The interchange between Ohyah and Gilgamesh about Ohyah's dream is preceded by a first-person singular narration in 4Q531 22 3-8, presumably about Gilgamesh as mighty warrior, whose firmness and strength yet begins to waver when his opponents are 𐤆[angels who] reside in [heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places. *vacat* And they were not [defeated, for they ]are stronger than I" (4Q531 22 6-7)<sup>23</sup>. This narration seems to cohere partly with the frightful vision of 4Q530 1 i 2-8 and 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1-3. That is, Gilgamesh narrates his might in war directed against all flesh (4Q531 22 3-4), while 4Q530 1 i 4 relates a plurality of slain people. Gilgamesh also realizes that he fights a battle which he cannot win, when the opponents are the angels of the heavens stronger than he (4Q531 22 6-7). 4Q530 1 i 4-5 implies vindication for the spirits of the slain 𐤆a vindication which is taken up by the archangels in the Book of Watchers.

In the case of both the unsettling dreams of 𐤆 hyah and Hahyah and the grave concerns of Gilgamesh about a turning point in strength when heavenly vindication becomes involved, the underlying issue is premonition about impending doom as the

20 Cf. STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 105-106, who confirms the application of the words in 4Q530 2.1-2 to the giants because of the first person plural suffix in נפשנא.

21 Text and translation from PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 482-483. Cf. PUECH, É.: *Qumrân grotte 4...*, 24: "Dans ce cas, la mort serait la rétribution de la faute des Géants".

22 PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 495.

23 *Ibidem*, 495.

end of the world of giants<sup>24</sup>. Gilgamesh' depiction as a mighty warrior whose strength begins to waver when angels turn out to be his opponents implies an apocalyptic focus on vindication of spirits of the dead and judgement from heaven<sup>25</sup>.

Mahawai is addressed in 4Q203 7 ii 5, as part of a fragment, which mentions two tablets (4Q203 7 ii 6), of which the reading of the second tablet appears related in 4Q203 8 3<sup>26</sup>. This second tablet concerns a letter by the hand of Enoch addressing Shemihazah and his companions with words of reprimand (4Q203 8 3-15). is also an interlocutor of Ohyah (6Q8 1 2.5), whose conversation with Ohyah appears to indicate that Baraqel, one of the Watchers, is his father (6Q8 1 4). Mahawai further is the intermediary person sent to Enoch with the request on behalf of the giants to explain the dreams (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 21-23).

The names of Ahiram (4Q531 7 1), Anael (4Q531 7 2), Na'amel (4Q531 7 3), and 'Ammiel (4Q531 7 3) make part of a list, which also mentions Baraqel (4Q531 7 2), otherwise known as Watcher from *1 Enoch* 6.7 and 8.3. These named characters further appear related to the progeny of "all these giants" (4Q531 7 4)<sup>27</sup>.

According to Stuckenbruck, the Book of Giants has a heightened interest in elaborating the heinous crimes of the giant progeny of the fallen angels (4Q531 1Q23 9+14+15; 4Q532 2; cf. *1 En.* 7:2-5)" as compared to the Book of Watchers<sup>28</sup>. Yet as part of reports and visions of judgement, the Book of Watchers also digresses partly on the evil of the giants (*1 Enoch* 9.9-11, 15.11-16.1). It could further be added that the Book of Giants tells at least as much about the anguish of personified giants about their own end through dreams and conversations as it dwells on the crimes of the giants.

24 *Contra* STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 23, 27, 165-166, who interprets the reaction of the giants in 4Q530 2,3 to the considerations of Gilgamesh (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1-2) as 'a source of rejoicing'. However, the negative terms of impending death and condemnation in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 1-2 stand out as contrary to the rejoicing in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 3. The ׀ in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 3 could perhaps be interpreted as adversative ׀, which renders a different sense of 'but they rejoiced upon him'; an interpretation which corresponds to Puech's translation "mais[ ] les Géants se réjouirent à ce/son sujet" (PUECH, É.: *Qumrân grotte 4...*, 30). This adversative sense implies that at first the giants rejoiced or made fun of grave concerns, giving their rejoicing a sarcastic turn through ostracizing condemnation, while the subsequent dreams of Ohyah of Hahyah (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 3-20) could no longer be ignored, but became the object of a search for interpretation (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 13-15) and gave rise to an unbecoming atmosphere of fear (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 20).

25 In this regard, I do not follow GOFF, M.: «Gilgamesh the Giant...», 238-246, 253, who argues that 4Q531 22 concerns Gilgamesh's loss in combat and defeat as being more or less in contrast to the general tenor of the *Gilgamesh* epic. The reference to Gilgamesh's wavering strength 4Q531 22 does not seem to underline any weakness in earthly battle, but it appears wholly subservient to Gilgamesh's subjection to vindication of all flesh by the angels of heaven. Even though Gilgamesh speaks only of himself in 4Q531 22 3-8, the fact that he was known for his prototypical strength in epic tradition implies that his subjection to powers stronger than he has wider implications.

26 Cf. 2Q26 1-3: "Wash the tablet in order to efface (it!) [ ] and the waters rose up over the [tab]let[ ] and they lifted the tablet from the waters, the tablet which]" (PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 477, 479). 2Q26 has been interpreted by GOFF, M.: «Gilgamesh the Giant...», 248-249 as "a vision that foretold the destruction of all or most of the giants in the flood" and as related to the "topic of Mahaway's first trip to Enoch"

27 GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and TIGCHELAAR, E.J.C.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 2...*, 1067; PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 491.

28 STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 37.

The subject of the end of the world of giants will now be the object of comparative discussion regarding the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants. I will first turn to the question which successive developments make part of the narrative template of the end of the world of giants in the Book of Watchers and then I analyze how the Book of Giants compares to this.

☒. THE END OF THE WORLD OF GIANTS.

3.1 *The End of the World of Giants in the Book of Watchers.*

For purposes of comparison with the Qumran Book of Giants, the end of the world of giants as narrated in the Book of Watchers may be conceptualized as a narrative template with the following consecutive elements:

a) A collective oath with a binding curse (*1 Enoch* 6.3-5).

*1 Enoch* 6.3-5 recounts the swearing of a collective oath with a binding curse by the Watchers for the fulfillment of a deed which individually would have been perceived as a great sin according to their leader, Shemihazah (*1 Enoch* 6.3).

b) Multiplication of giants, food shortage and bloodshed (*1 Enoch* 7.1-5).

The Watchers' deed of bonding begets giants, whose rate of growth outmatches the labor of the sons of men and whose earthly inclinations are set on destruction, which involves the devouring of flesh and drinking of blood, not only of human beings, but also of "the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish" (*1 Enoch* 7.5)<sup>29</sup>. In other words, all life with fleshly impulses beyond the vegetative state is corrupted by the world of the giants.

c) The earth's accusation (*1 Enoch* 7.6).

"Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones"<sup>30</sup>. This general formulation of the earth as accuser of the giants as 'the lawless ones' coheres with the previous description of their corruption of all moving creatures on earth.

d) Artifices of culture of which the sum total is instrumental in perdition (*1 Enoch* 8).

The skills taught by the Watchers to men, the daughters of men, wives and children are enumerated and described as subservient to transgression, godlessness, desolation and perdition.

e) Intercession and commissioning of four archangels (*1 Enoch* 9-11)

The four archangels Michael, Sariel, Raphael and Gabriel bring the accusation of the earth which has gone up to heaven before the Most High (*1 Enoch* 9), who commissions Sariel with instruction of Noah (*1 Enoch* 10.1-3), Raphael with the binding of Asael to cast him into the darkness (*1 Enoch* 10.4-8), Gabriel with destruction of the giants (*1*

<sup>29</sup> NI<sup>☒</sup> E<sup>☒</sup> SB<sup>☒</sup> RG, G.W.E. and VANDERKAM, J.C.: *1 Enoch. A New Translation*...., 25.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*.

*Enoch* 10.9-10), and Michael with binding of Shemihazah and destruction of the giants as well as with renovation of the earth (*1 Enoch* 10.11-11.2).

f) Enoch's two commissions to the Watchers and his ascent and vision (*1 Enoch* 12-16)

In *1 Enoch* 12-16, Enoch is sent twice to the Watchers by the Great Holy One with words of reprimand (*1 Enoch* 12.1-13.3//*1 Enoch* 13.8-16.4); two commissions which are interspersed by the request of the fallen Watchers to Enoch to intercede for forgiveness and longevity before the Lord of heaven (*1 Enoch* 13.4-7). The second commission comprises a description of Enoch's ascent and vision (*1 Enoch* 14.8-16.4), which further stipulate why the consequences of the deeds of the Watchers are without forgiveness and entail judgment to the destruction of the world of giants.

### 3.2 *The End of the World of Giants in the Qumran Book of Giants.*

The Qumran Book of Giants is too fragmentarily preserved to discern a narrative template as detailed as that of the Book of Watchers<sup>31</sup>, but it is possible to single out some major commonalities as well as differences of the Book of Giants in comparison with the narrative template of the Book of Watchers.

Commonalities with elements of the narrative of the Book of Watchers include the following:

- a) food shortage, bloodshed, and destruction (*1 Enoch* 7.3-5//4Q531 frg. 1, 4Q556 6 2).
- b) violence done to men being killed (*1 Enoch* 7.4, 9.9; 4Q203 5 2-3).
- c) great injustice on the earth (*1 Enoch* 9.1, 9.9; 4Q532 2 9).
- d) accusation from the earth of souls of people who have perished (*1 Enoch* 9.10; 4Q530 1 i 4).

It may be illustrative to cite this accusation in *1 Enoch* 9.10 and 4Q530 1 i 4 respectively to underline their overlapping wording:

And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit, and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven, and it does not cease to come forth from the presence of the iniquities that have come upon the earth" (*1 Enoch* 9.10)<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Note the tentative proposal of narrative sequencing of the Qumran Book of Giants by STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 20-24 which he partly extrapolates from comparison with sequences with fragments of a Manichaean Book of Giants (p. 20); cf. Stuckenbruck's synoptic comparison of three reconstructions of narrative sequence of the Book of Giants, by J. Beyer, by J. Reeves, and by F. García Martínez on 13-16. Cf. Puech's observation about the fragmentary character of the Book of Giants, which renders any exact narrative sequencing problematic: "l'état très fragmentaire des manuscrits araméens retrouvés ne permet pas de saisir la trame précise de la composition" (PUECH, É.: *Qumrân grotte 4...*, 11).

<sup>32</sup> Translation from N. E. SB. RG, G.W.E. and VANDERKAM, J.C.: *1 Enoch. A New Translation...*, 27.

“[the spirits of the slain] complaining about their killers and crying out” (4Q530 6 i 4)<sup>33</sup>.

e) emphasis that the Watchers will have no peace (*1 Enoch* 12.5-6, 16.4; 1Q24 8 2; 4Q203 13 3).

f) two commissions of Enoch to the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 12-16; 4Q203 7 ii 6-7 and 8 1-15).

The Book of Giants comprises references to two tablets of letters of Enoch (4Q203 7 ii 6-7), of which the reading of the second one addresses the Watchers led by Shemihazah with words of reprimand and admonition (4Q203 8 1-15). This number of two tablets of letters corresponds with two commissions of Enoch to preach to the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 12-16.

These commonalities are rather general and imply that the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants constitute parallel narratives rooted in a common tradition of narrative cycles of Enochic literature.

Next to commonalities of the Book of Giants with the narration of the Book of Watchers about the developments which led to the end of the world of giants, three major differences should also be noted. Two of them (a) and c)) partly cohere with previous observations by L.T. Stuckenbruck, as I will note below:

a) dreams attributed to giants.

Stuckenbruck previously observed the difference between Enoch as visionary in the Book of Watchers and giants as dreamers of dreams in the Book of Giants<sup>34</sup>. It may be added that the dreaming of dreams by protagonists depicted as evil has a literary parallel in Daniel 2. In Daniel 2 an unsettling dream about the envisioned end of an age of Babylonian rule is attributed to king Nebuchadnezzar. His entourage of magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and Chaldeans cannot help him to expound and interpret the dream, but it is left to an outsider to this court, Daniel, to interpret the dream. In the Book of Giants (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 3-23), the interpretation of two unsettling dreams, one about a watered garden going up in flames (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 4-12) and other about divine judgement on earth (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 16-20), is left to an outsider to the giants, Enoch. The fragment which comprises these dream narratives is not without overtones of condemnation of power constellations, which appears to start from an internal process of ostracism among the assembly of giants, since 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 2 states that “the guilty one cursed the potentates”<sup>35</sup>.

b) God’s direct involvement in judgement on earth.

As compared to the Book of Watchers, no extant fragment of the Book of Giants goes into the commissioning of four archangels to destroy the giants, but the narrative

33 Translation from PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 483.

34 STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 27-28

35 PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 485.

of the dream attributed to Enoch focuses on the role of the Ruler of the heavens to come down to the earth for judgment. Enoch relates this dream in front of the giants as follows:

I too had a dream this night, Enoch giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth and the seats were arranged and the Great Holy Enoch sat down, one hundred hundreds served him, one thousand thousands [prostrated themselves] all [of them] in front of him, were standing and behold [books] were opened and a judgement was pronounced and the judgement of [the Great Enoch] was written [in a book] and a signature was signed for [the great king] (is) over all who live and (all) flesh and over [all those who reign]. And such is the end of the dream" (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 16-20)<sup>36</sup>.

The Book of Watchers also comprises reference to Enoch ten thousand times ten thousand (who) stood before him" (1 Enoch 14.22), namely before the 'Great Glory' sitting upon a lofty throne (1 Enoch 14.18-20), but this makes part of Enoch's ascent to heaven and vision, not of a dream of a giant which envisions the descent of the Ruler of the heavens "down to earth", שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 16)<sup>37</sup>.

c) different roles of Enoch's intercession.

Stuckenbruck previously noted the different narrative viewpoints with regard to Enoch as first person narrator in the Book of Watchers and as third person character in the Book of Giants respectively<sup>38</sup>. Apart from the issue of narrative viewpoint, the intra-narrative role of Enoch's intercession may further be highlighted as regards different portrayals in the Book of Watchers and in the Book of Giants respectively.

In 1 Enoch 12-16, Enoch's message from heaven to the Watchers is consistently absolute in condemnation (1 Enoch 12.3-13.3) in absolute terms of no mercy nor peace nor forgiveness (1 Enoch 12.5-6). It is up to the Watchers to ask Enoch to petition for them for forgiveness (1 Enoch 13.4.6). This petition is consequently answered by a divine reprimand of further condemnation (1 Enoch 13.8-14.7), including a decree "to bind you in bonds in the earth for all the days of eternity" (1 Enoch 14.5)<sup>39</sup>.

In the Book of Giants, Enoch addresses Shemihazah and all his companions with words of reprimand which include the admonition to "tear loose [the] totality [of ...] upon you for evil. Now, then, unfasten your chains which tie (you) ... and pray" (4Q203 8 13-15)<sup>40</sup>. The reference to chains may be figurative in the sense of a fixed

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, 484-485.

<sup>38</sup> STUCKENBRUCK, L.T.: *The Book of Giants...*, 25-26.

<sup>39</sup> Translation from NICHOLSON, R.G., G.W.E. and VANDERKAM, J.C.: *1 Enoch. A New Translation...*, 34.

<sup>40</sup> Translation from GARCÍA GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, F. and TIGCHELAAR, E.J.C.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 1...*, 411.

disposition on the part of the giants<sup>41</sup>. Against an absolute verdict, this admonition could imply an appeal to responsibility. This different accent also coheres with a different personification of giants through troubling dreams attributed to some of them, for whose interpretation the giants approach Enoch.

#### 4. QUMRAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO APOCALYPTIC THOUGHT ABOUT DISASTER.

The Qumran Enochic tradition as represented by the Book of Giants shares various features with the Book of Watchers, including a general eschatological outlook. That is, one fragment also incorporates the eschatological term **יום קץ**, 'the day of the end' (1Q24 (1QEnGiants<sup>a</sup>) 7 1). While the Book of Watchers refers to judgement, including eschatological judgement, it does not go into the flood. The Book of Giants further adds reference to the flood on the earth, **מבול על ארעא**, after having mentioned bloodshed and lies (4Q556 (4QEn<sup>e</sup> ar) 6 2-3). This connects the fragmentarily preserved narrative of the Book of Giants clearly with biblical Hebrew tradition<sup>42</sup>.

Discussion of apocalyptic thought has often revolved around determinism and activity of angels and demons among other motifs<sup>43</sup>. The notion of giants was sometimes associated with the myths of poets, as we noted previously, and could perhaps sound as cryptic as 'sons of the heavens' or 'sons of God'<sup>44</sup> (Gen 6,4). Yet the Qumran Enochic traditions as exemplified by the Book of Giants contribute other hitherto underexposed aspects of the archetypical disaster associated with the world of the giants and its end.

The descriptive terms of the Book of Giants reveal traces of less ethereal, rather human conceptualization, such as:

- The reprimand of Enoch addressing Shemihazah and his companions (4Q203 8) appeals to free will and responsibility and the suggested possibility that certain chains can be torn loose (4Q203 8 13-15) implies ways which could differ from fate and determinism.

- The dreams attributed to the giants (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 6-12 and 16-20) constitute a highly personified focus on the anguish of giants about their own end in terms otherwise usually attributed to human protagonists.

- The rhetorical question "Did not all these depart through your sword?" (4Q531 7 5) after references to giants (4Q531 7 4) and after a second person singular address "what sins for you that [you] slew" (4Q531 7 4)<sup>45</sup> implies human dimensions of warfare.

41 Cf. HOGETER, A.L.A.: *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah, 83), Leiden, Brill, 2009, 348 where I suggested that this appeal to unfasten fetters "could perhaps imply an unfastening of that with which the Watchers bound each other, their curse (1 Enoch 6.4-6)".

42 This is considered among Hebraisms by STADL, C.: *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Schriften der Hochschule für jüdische Studien Heidelberg, 11), Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag, 2008, 27-28.

43 Cf. COLLINS, J.J.: *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (The Biblical Resource series), Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 1998, 12, with reference to these motifs among eight clusters of motifs in apocalypticism as conceived in terms of a historical movement by Enoch.

44 Yet note the translation of **בני האלהים** in Gen 6.2.4 as 'the distinguished men' in the Jerusalem Bible.

45 PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 491.

- The narrative of the Book of Giants includes social organization terms of assembly, כנשת (4Q530 1 i 8, 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 5-6 and 21) and reference to princes (4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 2).

#### ⊠. EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSIONS.

In conclusion, I would like to add some reflections on the cultural settings of the Enochic narrative tradition on the disaster which the world of giants embodied and drew it to its end. A Babylonian background of traditions on Gilgamesh appears somehow part of the Book of Giants, as references to Gilgamesh indicate. Babylonian settings of unsettling dreams and dream interpretation make part of the book of Daniel, which provide a general parallel to unsettling dreams for evil protagonists in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 6-12 and 16-20. A previously observed analogy between the imagery of the thousand thousands before the throne of God in 4Q530 2 ii+6+7 i+8-12 11.17-19 and Daniel 7,9-10 (see noted 7 above) further suggests a cultural background which Enochic tradition and the book of Daniel shared. This should perhaps not be conceived in terms of literary dependence<sup>46</sup> but in terms of a shared cultural memory. It may further be important to note that the flood which ended the antediluvian world of giants is also mentioned in the Qumran Daniel cycle. That is, pseudo-Daniel writings of Qumran (4Q243-244), of which the date of composition has been traced ⊠between the beginning of the second century B.C.E. and the coming of Pompey<sup>47</sup>, incorporate both a Babylonian court setting (4Q243 1-6) and a review of history including reference to the flood, מַבּוּלָא, in primeval history (4Q244 8 2).

In light of the above observations, some formal analogies between Enochic tradition about the giants and Babylonian court settings as related in the book of Daniel may merit further attention. The involvement in magic, sorcery, and astrology (Dan 2,2) at the court of Babylon may be compared to references to the teaching of spells, magic, and interpretation of astrological signs in *1 Enoch* 8. According to Daniel 2,2, king Nebuchadnezzar had himself surrounded by magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and ⊠haldeans to interpret his unsettling dreams. According to *1 Enoch* 9.7, the leader of the giants originally had his authority to rule from God. Daniel 2,37 envisions kingdom, power, might and glory of the Babylonian king as appointed by the God of heaven. *1 Enoch* 7.3-5 mentions the imposing greatness of the giants bringing destruction beyond the labor of the sons of men to destruction of all living flesh, including birds and beast. Daniel 2,38 addresses the Babylonian king as ruler of the sons of men, the beast of the field and the birds of the air, but Daniel 3 narrates that this rule ended up in destruction of people in the fiery furnace who refused to worship the golden image of the king. The degrading development from watchers of heavens to giants as half-breed creatures on the one hand and the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar from human to animal on the other (Dan 4) may further stand in parallel as figuratively representing

46 Cf. STOKES, R.E.: «The Throne Visions...», who interprets comparison between Dan 7 and 4Q530 in terms of their respective use of common tradition with individually different adaptations.

47 COLLINS, J. and FLINT, P.: *Qumran Cave 4. XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert, 22), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, 137-138.

degrading rule of power<sup>48</sup>. The above analogies could indicate that some ingredients in the Enochic narrative of the giants are analogous with settings of Babylonian rule, which were probably part of the cultural memory shared by both Enochic tradition and Daniel.

48 Cf. KVANVIG, H.S.: «Throne Visions and Monsters...», 264-268, with reference to a study by HENZE, M.: *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar* (JSJSup, 61), Leiden, Brill, 1999, discusses the transformation of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar from human to animal in Daniel 4, «signifying his loss of culture and of human dignity» (p. 265), and then turns to the application of monster imagery in Daniel 7. A text not mentioned by Kvanvig, parallel to metaphorical human-animal imagery, may be 4Q531 22 8, as presumably related by Gilgamesh: «of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call [me]» (PARRY, D.W. and TOV, E.: *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader...*, 495).