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Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan

Contexts, Traditions, and Influences

Edited by

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Preface

The present volume contains the proceedings of a conference organized by Matthew Goff (Florida State University) and Loren Stuckenbruck (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität). The colloquium was entitled “Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Ancient Contexts, Traditions, and Influences.” It convened on June 6–8, 2014, at the Studienhaus, an old farm house which has been renovated for conference use, located near Munich at the foothills of the Alps. It was a beautiful and relaxing venue for our meeting. Scholars from a range of countries participated, including the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Israel, and the United States. Loren Stuckenbruck first suggested holding a conference on the giants during the 2013–14 academic year, during which time Matthew Goff was at LMU as a Gastwissenschaftler, on a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. The conference was generously supported by the Humboldt Foundation and the organizers are grateful for this funding.

The conference would not have been possible without the assistance of the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät of Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. In particular Ursula Danninger provided a great deal of highly effective organizational support, which was instrumental for the success of the conference. We thank her for her help. We are also grateful to Seth Bledsoe for his willingness to assist in myriad ways during the conference. The meeting was also enriched by the participation of several attendees. They include Peter Machinist, Shani Tzoref, Seth Bledsoe, Matthias Hoffmann, Andrew Mein, and Ted Erho. In addition to the contributors of this volume, quality papers were also delivered at the conference by Walther Sallaberger, Annette Steudel, and Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst. Critical editorial support for the present volume was provided by Kyle Roark, a graduate student at FSU, who went through the entire manuscript and prepared the indices. We thank him for his work. Stuckenbruck and Goff are also grateful that Enrico Morano, one of the participants at the conference, agreed to serve as a co-editor for the proceedings volume, because of his expertise in Manichaeism and Central Asian languages.

The editors would also like to express thanks to Mohr Siebeck for accepting the proceedings in its prestigious WUNT series. Henning Ziebritzki in particular deserves acknowledgment for his diligent leadership in seeing this book to press. We also thank the Israel Antiquities Authority for agreeing to have images of texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls published in this volume.

We dedicate this book to the memory of Józef Milik and Walter Bruno Henning, two pioneers of research on the giants in ancient Judaism and Manichaeism, on whose mighty shoulders we stand.

July 2015

The editors

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Introduction

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Florida State University

The essays of this volume constitute the proceedings of a conference, the “Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan.” This was the first colloquium devoted specifically to the giants of Enochic tradition. As scholars of Second Temple Judaism are aware, over the past generation there has been a tremendous rise of interest in Enochic literature and traditions.¹ In terms of scholarly attention devoted to *1 Enoch* and related texts, researchers have naturally focused on the watchers myth, the descent of two hundred angels to earth. They have sex with women who sire children, who are commonly referred to as giants. The sons of the watchers, according to the Enochic *Book of Watchers*, were dangerous and violent “bastards” who rampaged across the earth, killing humans and even eating them (*1 En.* 10:9). This disturbing violence is presented as the iniquity that arose on the earth which triggered Noah’s flood. This tale, it is now widely recognized, was popular in antiquity and it has been studied from a variety of perspectives. Our conference was born out of the conviction that the giants deserve to be a more central topic of consideration in on-going scholarly discussion on Enochic literature. The crimes of the giants have often been considered in terms of the question of the “origin of evil,” a major theme of scholarly interest in Enochic literature and apocalypticism in general.² Despite the growth of scholarship on Enochic literature and traditions, many basic questions and issues regarding the sons of the watchers require further analysis. Why are the children of the angels “giants” and how should we understand what a “giant” is? What, on the basis of the clues that are provided in Enochic literature, did people at that time think these giants looked like? While there has been much interest in exploring

¹ For recent literature on this topic, see, for example, Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblenz Bautch, and John C. Endres, S. J., eds., *The Fallen Angels Traditions: Second Temple Developments and Reception History* (CBQMS 53; Washington, D. C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2014); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts* (WUNT 1.335; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

² Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6:1–4 in Early Jewish Literature*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015); John J. Collins, “The Origin of Evil in Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in idem, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 287–99.

the Mesopotamian cultural background of the watchers, what Mesopotamian texts and traditions can better illuminate the giants of Enochic tradition?³ How the giants of Enochic tradition should be understood in relation to the *gigantes* and Titans of Greek tradition has also, surprisingly, been relatively infrequently a topic of scholarly reflection.⁴ There are other basic questions regarding the Enochic giants that deserve more exploration.⁵

The “Tales of Giants” conference sought to assemble scholars who wanted to investigate in particular the fragmentary Aramaic composition from Qumran known as the *Book of Giants*.⁶ While most of the textual fragments associated with this composition were published in 2000 and 2001 (in *DJD 36* and *DJD 31*, respectively), there has been relatively little scholarship devoted to this work.⁷ No monograph has been published on this composition since the official edition of the relevant fragments has been published.⁸ With the *Book of Giants*, one must wrestle with a host of textual and reconstructive issues, owing to the poor state of preservation of the relevant fragments (see the article by Stuckenbruck in this volume). It is thus a matter of scholarly debate how one understands the basic narrative and plot of the work. Fundamental questions such as the function of this document, or who may have produced it, deserve more attention. Also, there should be more assessment in terms of what the composition contributes to our understanding of Enochic tradition and the reception of the watchers myth in antiquity. While the *Book of Giants* clearly adapts tropes about the giants found in the *Book of Watchers*, several of the narrative elements of the text have no analogue in *Watchers*. For example, much of the extant plot of *Giants* revolves around two giants who are brothers (Ohyah and Hahyah) and the visions they receive through dreams (4Q530 2 ii).⁹ The giants do not have visions in *Watch-*

³ Henryk Drawnel has recently contributed to this topic. See his “The Mesopotamian Background of the Enochic Giants and Evil Spirits,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 14–38. Note also the essay by Ida Fröhlich in this volume.

⁴ An important exception is Jan N. Bremmer, “Remember the Titans!” in *The Fall of the Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck (TBN 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 35–61. Consult also the article by Samantha Newington in the present volume.

⁵ See the introduction to the essay in this volume by Matthew Goff.

⁶ The fragments generally identified as constituting the Qumran *Book of Giants* are 1Q23–24; 2Q26; 4Q203, 4Q530–33; 4Q206a 1–2 (= 4Q206 2–3) and 6Q8.

⁷ Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–549* (*DJD 31*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 9–115; Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (*DJD 36*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 8–94.

⁸ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992).

⁹ 4Q530 2 ii is a major text of the *Book of Giants*. It is a composite of several fragments of 4Q530, including 2 ii, 6, 7 i, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 (?), as presented in *DJD 31*, 28–31. To avoid cumbersome citations, this composite text is referred to in this volume as 4Q530 2 ii. See the article in this volume by Stuckenbruck.

ers. The Qumran *Book of Giants* presents new opportunities to understand the variety of stories people told in antiquity about the sons of the watchers. The “Tales of Giants” conference and the subsequent proceedings are not intended to provide a final answer to such questions but rather to encourage further study of the sons of the watchers.

The second distinctive feature of the conference and resulting proceedings is that they are both collaborative efforts by scholars of ancient Judaism and Manichaeism. Our colloquium near Munich is, to the best of our knowledge, the first devoted to bringing scholars of both traditions together. Manichaeism is an important religion of late antiquity that constitutes a unique synthesis of a variety of traditions, including Persian religion, the gnostic tradition, and Jewish apocalypticism.¹⁰ It flourished in the West and the East, with evidence for the spread of this religion attested from Rome to China. Manichaeism is generally not an important topic of study among scholars in the field of Second Temple Judaism. Experts in this area have, however, come to recognize the value of studying sources that date much later than the Second Temple period itself, such as the writings of the Church Fathers or rabbinic midrash, since such materials may preserve forms of traditions that flourished before the turn of the common era. By and large this insight has not been applied to Manichaeism by scholars of ancient Judaism. One of the overarching ideas that shaped the “Tales of Giants” conference is that scholars of both traditions can benefit from inter-disciplinary dialogue. This is particularly clear with regard to the giants. It had long been known through canon lists of the Manichaean scriptures that among them was a work entitled the *Book of Giants*. But for a long time very little was known about this text. This changed when an important site of Manichaean documents, written in a variety of Central Asian languages such as Sogdian, Uyghur (Old Turkic), and Middle Persian, was discovered around 1900 in Turfan, in western China, in what is now Xinjiang Province.¹¹ Among this horde of texts are fragmentary remains of what appears to be the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. These fragments were published by the Iranist Walter Henning in the 1940s.¹²

¹⁰ For a basic overview of this religion, see Nicholas J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered* (London: T&T Clark, 2011).

¹¹ The manuscripts copied at Turfan generally date to the eighth and ninth centuries. For an overview of Turfan, see Valerie Hansen, *The Silk Road: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 83–112. For an engaging account of the discoveries at Turfan by one of the archaeologists involved, see Albert von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan. Berichte und Abenteuer der II. und III. deutschen Turfan-Expedition* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926). This appeared in English as *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986 [orig. pub., 1928]). See also Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al., *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (MIAKP 17; Berlin: Reimer, 2004).

¹² Walter B. Henning, “The Book of the Giants,” *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46): 52–74. As several

Milik realized in the 1970s that the Turfan *Book of Giants* not only contained direct references to Enochic traditions, such as the descent of the watchers and the figure of Enoch himself, but also that the composition includes details that resonate with the Qumran *Book of Giants* much more than *Watchers* or other Enochic texts.¹³ For example, several of the names of the giants, such as Ohyah and Mahaway, found only in the Qumran scrolls in the *Book of Giants*, also appear as the names of sons of angels in the Turfan *Book of Giants*. In fact, the name Milik gave to the Qumran *Book of Giants* is based on that of the Manichaean composition. Milik's awareness of the Turfan giant fragments was critical for his realization that the Qumran fragments now classified as the *Book of Giants* constitute a distinct composition.¹⁴ While some scholars of Second Temple Judaism have, following Milik's original insight, turned to the Manichaean *Book of Giants* when interpreting the Qumran *Book of Giants*, in particular Stuckenbruck and Reeves, there needs to be further analysis with regard to the parallels between the two works, as well as more exploration as to how and why the Turfan work, generally regarded as later translations of a *Book of Giants* originally written by Mani, appropriated and transformed Enochic traditions. Also merited is a more extensive review of the Turfan horde in general to assess what other texts and traditions it contains that may be relevant to the study of Second Temple Judaism. For example, the Turfan corpus includes a version of the instruction of *Ahiqar* and a story about the figure of Daniel, as well as several biblical psalms, all in the Sogdian language, none of which to my knowledge has been substantively examined by scholars of ancient Judaism.¹⁵ The editors hope that the present volume will be received as one step toward future collaboration among experts of ancient Judaism and Manichaeism, borne out of the perspective that dialogue and exchange of ideas can help scholarship better understand

essays in the present volume discuss, several other fragments of this work have been published in more recent years, including by contributors to this volume, Enrico Morano and Jens Wilkens.

¹³ Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 298–339. See also idem, “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–27; idem, “Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 333–78 (366–70).

¹⁴ Before he had this insight the Qumran texts in question were often referred to as 4QPseudo-Enoch. For discussion of this issue, see Matthew J. Goff, “When Giants Dreamed about the Flood: The *Book of Giants* and its Relationship to the *Book of Watchers*,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and The Scriptures*, ed. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar (BETL 270; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 61–88 (61–64).

¹⁵ Daniel and *Ahiqar*, like *Watchers* and the Qumran *Book of Giants*, circulated in Aramaic, a common language in antiquity throughout vast sections of Asia, which helps explain their transmission into Sogdian, a language with many similarities to Aramaic. See Nicolas Sims-Williams, *Biblical and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Turfan Collection* (BTT 32; Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

the Enochic traditions of ancient Judaism and their reception, and how Jewish and scriptural traditions in general were appropriated and transformed in the Manichaean tradition.

The essays of this volume fall into three sections. Part One is entitled “*Gibborim* and *Gigantes*: Antecedents, Reception, and Comparative Contexts from the Hebrew Bible and Greek Literature.” It begins with an essay by Brian R. Doak, who is well known for his scholarship on giants in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁶ In “The Giant in a Thousand Years: Tracing Narratives of Gigantism in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond” he argues that the giant serves several thematic functions in the literature of the Hebrew Bible: “the giant as divine or semi-divine figure, as anti-law and anti-king, as elite adversary and elite animal, as unruly vegetation, and as the defeated past.” He examines major texts such as Gen 6:1–4 and also the accounts in the Hebrew Bible of the Rephaim, the colossal aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan. A common function of giants in this literature is that they help demarcate various types of boundaries, such as a distinction between one historical period and another, or help signify one group as favored and another as rejected (Israel vis-à-vis Canaan). Doak applies these insights to the giants of Early Judaism. He stresses that stories about giants from this period are not simply entertaining tales but also that these giants “seem to encode a broadly applicable political theology” and were employed to signify different social actors, particularly political enemies of Israel such as the Roman Empire.

Samantha Newington, in her article “Greek Titans and Biblical Giants,” encourages the appreciation of the diversity of Titan traditions in Greek mythology. Their presentation in Orphic tradition, as evident from authors such as Nonnus and Olympiodorus, is quite different from the account of the Titans in Hesiod’s *Theogony*. Olympiodorus, for example, claims that humankind was formed from the ashes of the Titans, whom Zeus punished for dismembering Dionysus. The author examines Hesiod’s account of the Titans and finds a number of thematic parallels between them and the Enochic giants; both, for example, are perpetrators of excessive violence. The author also explores broad affinities between the Orphic tradition and Christianity, including themes such as punishment and original sin.

The last article of Part One is by Michael Tuval. His “Συναγωγή γιγάντων” (Prov 21:16): The Giants in the Jewish Literature in Greek,” offers a helpful survey of the term “giant” in ancient Jewish literature. His review incorporates a wide range of Greek materials, including the Wisdom of Solomon, *3 Maccabees*, Baruch, *3 Baruch*, Pseudo-Eupolemus, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the writings of Philo and Josephus. He concludes that the basic contours of the watchers myth

¹⁶ Brian R. Doak, *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (ILSer 7; Boston/Washington, D.C.: Ilex Foundation/Center for Hellenic Studies, 2012).

were available to Jewish authors writing in Greek, and that they express a range of reactions to this story, some positive, some negative.

Part Two of the volume focuses on giants in their late Second Temple Jewish context. The articles in this section examine texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, the *Book of Watchers*, and Daniel. The first essay of this section is by Joseph L. Angel. His essay, “The Humbling of the Arrogant and the ‘Wild Man’ and ‘Tree Stump’ Traditions in the *Book of Giants* and Daniel 4,” engages the relationship between Enochic and Danielic traditions. Angel seeks to show that the points of similarity between *Daniel* and the Qumran *Book of Giants* are more extensive than the well established parallel regarding their throne-theophanies (see the essay by Bledsoe). He focuses on the visions in *Giants* recounted in 4Q530 2 ii, one of which involves the destruction of trees (ll. 6–12; Haahyah’s vision) and Daniel 4, which contains a vision of a tree that is chopped down and the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar into a wild man removed from human society. Angel argues that both *Giants* and Daniel re-work older Mesopotamian traditions that are appropriated in Daniel 4 to polemicize against Babylonian kingship. This suggests that *Giants* can be analogously understood as developing anti-imperialist formulations of Mesopotamian tradition in the Hellenistic age.

Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, in her “Throne Theophanies, Dream Visions, and Righteous(?) Seers: Daniel, the *Book of Giants*, and *1 Enoch* Reconsidered,” offers a close analysis of the throne theophany disclosed in a vision to the giant Ohyah (4Q530 2 ii 15–20). This passage includes several details that are quite similar to the throne theophany which is part of the vision of the four beasts in Daniel (7:9–10) and also to the account in *Watchers* of Enoch’s journey to the heavenly throne room (*1 Enoch* 14). These parallels have been noted and constitute a key focus of scholarship on the Qumran *Book of Giants*. Bledsoe helpfully reviews the major parallels between these texts and leading scholarly assessments of them. While previous studies have focused on the question of influence and how to trace a line of development regarding the throne visions of *Watchers*, *Giants*, and Daniel, she prefers to examine the function and purpose of these visions in their respective texts.

Ida Fröhlich, in her essay “Giants and Demons,” examines the watchers of Enochic tradition and their sons the giants. She emphasizes that these figures should be interpreted against the background of Mesopotamian culture. This is particularly the case with regard to demons. *Watchers* offers an etiology of evil spirits and asserts that they originated as the spirits of the giants, whose physical bodies were destroyed for their crimes (*1 Enoch* 15). Fröhlich argues that the descriptions of the giants in *Watchers* and *Giants* draw upon Mesopotamian demonological traditions as evident in cuneiform texts such as *Utukkū Lemnūtu*. She also stresses that the watchers myth should be understood in terms of the origin of evil, which the author associates with impurity.

The article by Matthew Goff, “The Sons of the Watchers in the *Book of Watchers* and the Qumran *Book of Giants*: Contexts and Prospects,” lays out a series of questions and topics that deserve more scholarly reflection with regard to the Qumran *Book of Giants* and the broader topic of the sons of the watchers in ancient Judaism. The article also explores the value of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* for the study of the Qumran *Book of Giants*. He argues that instances in the Qumran text in which characters express a fear of death and acknowledge sin, which are too fragmentary in terms of the extant Qumran fragments of the document themselves to interpret sufficiently, can be better understood by turning to the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. In one fragment of this work (Mainz 344a) one giant (Sāhm) explicitly expresses remorse for his previous crimes and prays for forgiveness. It is plausible to argue that in the Qumran composition some giants may have likewise acknowledged their sins and may have even asked for forgiveness. The Qumran *Book of Giants* problematizes the widely held view that the giants of Enochic tradition were always regarded in the late Second Temple period as heinous, evil creatures who deservedly perished in the flood for their crimes.

Loren T. Stuckenbruck, in his “The *Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls: Considerations of Method and a New Proposal on the Reconstruction of 4Q530,” tackles the difficult issue of the material reconstruction of the Qumran *Book of Giants*. He stresses that the physical textual evidence should guide reconstruction of the narrative whenever possible. Stuckenbruck puts forward a possible sequence of the extant fragments of *Giants*. Among these texts 4Q530 is crucial. Fragments of this manuscript preserve remnants of three sequential columns, which contain the core of the extant narrative of the composition, which centers on visions disclosed to the brothers Hahyah and Ohyah. Stuckenbruck, applying Stegemann’s method of material reconstruction, suggests that these important columns occurred near the end of the scroll.

Part Three is devoted to essays that explore the reception and transformation of Enochic giant traditions in Manichaeism. Gábor Kósa, in his “The *Book of Giants* Tradition in the Chinese Manichaica,” offers an extensive and insightful discussion of Manichaean written and visual texts from China. While such materials are far removed from the ken of most biblical scholars, Kósa adroitly demonstrates that scholars of Enochic literature should be interested in Chinese Manichaean sources. He shows that a recently discovered corpus of Manichaean texts from Xiapu (Fujian) preserves in Chinese, as mediated through Middle Persian, the names of the four archangels who defeat the rebellious watchers and their sons in *1 Enoch*: Raphael, Michael, Sariel, and Gabriel. Moreover, in recent years a medieval silk Chinese painting has emerged that provides a visual depiction of the intricate and nuanced Manichaean conception of the cosmos. It has long been known that among the scriptures of this religion was a so-called *Picture-Book*, which consisted of illustrations that helped explain the compli-

cated details of Manichaean cosmology. It appears that the silk painting, which Kósa calls the “Cosmology Painting,” is a medieval version of the late antique Manichaean ‘scriptural’ book of images. Several images from this painting are available at the end of Kósa’s article. Since Enochic traditions were an important influence on Mani’s thought, this silk painting constitutes an important resource not simply for understanding Manichaean cosmology but also how Manichaeans adapted and incorporated Enochic tropes, including the giants, in the formulation of their cosmological beliefs.

The article by Enrico Morano, “Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani’s *Book of Giants* and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature,” publishes for the first time two Turfan fragments written in Sogdian. One of them discusses the giants and mentions the name Sāhm several times; this is also the name of a giant in the Manichaean *Book of Giants* which, according to Text H, is a Sogdian rendering of Ohya, a name which in turn derives from that of Ohyah known from the Qumran *Book of Giants*. This newly published fragment may be from the Turfan giants book. Morano also illustrates the reception of Enochic tradition in Sogdian literature by publishing a text written in this language entitled the “Autumn Sermon.” While it is not clear that this text should be identified as a fragment of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*, the document likely has some connection to Enochic tradition, since it discusses stars that have been bound and imprisoned.

The essay by John C. Reeves, “Jacob of Edessa and the Manichaean *Book of Giants*?,” examines and makes available a translation of a little known scholion to Gen 6:1–4 in Syriac by Jacob of Edessa. This scholion describes the giants dying before the flood by waging war against one another. This resonates with the major Enochic trope that the giants perished by fighting one another in a “war of destruction” (1 *En.* 10:9). The Syriac text preserves the traditions that large heaps of the bones of the giants remained on the earth until the flood and that the earth was formed with their excrement. The scholion asserts that foolish and heretical people believe such fables. Reeves plausibly argues that this document constitutes important evidence for the watchers myth in Syriac Christianity and that Jacob had access to traditions found in 1 *Enoch* and *Jubilees*. Reeves also suggests that the heretical people mentioned in the text is a direct reference to the Manichaeans. It is an important element of Manichaean cosmogony that the sons of darkness were destroyed and their bodies were used to make the cosmos. The “fables” which the text derides may be a reference to the Manichaean *Book of Giants*.

The essay “Remarks on the Manichaean *Book of Giants*: Once Again on Mahaway’s Mission to Enoch” by Jens Wilkens offers a discussion and new edition of Mainz 317, a Uyghur text of Mani’s *Book of Giants*. The fragment in question is Text B in Henning’s edition of the composition. The Qumran *Book of Giants* contains a passage in which one of the giants, Mahaway, the son of the watcher

Baraqel, flies (using his wings) a great distance to reach Enoch so that he may interpret the visions disclosed to the brothers Ohyah and Hahyah (4Q530 7 ii). In Text B of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* a “son of Virōgdād” flies and hears the voice of Enoch, who urges him to turn back. “Virōgdād” is Middle Persian for “gift of lightning,” a name that thus resonates with that of Mahaway’s father according to Enochic tradition, whose name means “lightning of God.”¹⁷ It is reasonable to understand the figure who flies in the Uyghur text as Mahaway, whose name appears elsewhere in the Turfan *Book of Giants* (Māhawai; e.g., M101c). In the Qumran giants work, the journey of this giant to Enoch is his second such visit, since the text refers to a previous visit to Enoch by Mahaway that is not preserved among the extant fragments. Wilkens argues that his new reading of Mainz 317 clarifies that it recounts a version of the first journey of Mahaway to Enoch.

The essays in the present volume examine giants in ancient Jewish literature, in particular the depiction of the sons of the watchers in the *Book of Watchers* and the *Book of Giants* from Qumran. Many papers in this collection also explore how ancient Jewish traditions regarding the sons of the watchers were adapted by adherents of Manichaeism, focusing on the Turfan fragments of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. The editors hope that this volume will help spark interest and encourage future scholarship in the giants of Enochic tradition and their *Nachleben*, in particular the appropriation and re-formulation of the sons of the watchers in Manichaeism.

¹⁷ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 300, 311.

Part One

Gibborim and Gigantes

Antecedents, Reception, and Comparative Contexts
from the Hebrew Bible and Greek Literature

The Giant in a Thousand Years

Tracing Narratives of Gigantism in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond*

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I. The Embarrassing and Alluring Giant

The giants of the Hebrew Bible received very little independent scholarly attention during the twentieth century, and only within the last decade have these figures begun to attract serious focus.¹ This situation is at least somewhat surprising, given the immense popular interest in giants for many readers of the Bible – though it should come as little shock to see that again biblical scholars

* I am sincerely thankful to the participants in the “Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Ancient Contexts, Traditions and Influences” conference (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, June 2014) for their hospitality and feedback. Many of the arguments and sources in this essay appear in more elaborate form in my book *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (ILSer 7; Boston/Washington, D. C.: Ilex Foundation/Center for Hellenic Studies, 2012).

¹ For recent work approaching the topic from a variety of angles and time periods, see Joseph L. Angel, “Reading the *Book of Giants* in Literary and Historical Context,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 313–46; Doak, *Last of the Rephaim*; Deane Galbraith, “Manufacturing Judean Myth: The Spy Narrative in Numbers 13–14 as Rewritten Tradition” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Otago, 2013); Matthew Goff, “Monstrous Appetites: Giants, Cannibalism, and Insatiable Eating,” *JAJ* 1 (2010): 19–42 (34–37); idem, “Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants’ Appropriation of Gilgamesh Motifs,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53; Christophe Lemardelé, “Une Gigan-tomachie dans la Genèse? Géants et héros dans les textes bibliques compilés,” *RHR* 227 (2010): 155–74; Lothar Perlt, “Riesen im Alten Testament: Ein literarisches Motiv im Wirkungsfeld des Deuteronomiums,” in idem, *Deuteronomium-Studien* (FAT 8; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 205–46; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); idem, “The ‘Angels’ and ‘Giants’ of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 354–77; idem, “The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in the Second and Third Centuries B. C. E.,” in *The Fall of the Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck (TBN 6; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 87–118 (now available in updated form in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts* [WUNT 1.335; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014], 1–35).

have neglected those things most important to the readership of the church, synagogue, or general public. Indeed, the popular or even cartoonish appeal of giant or monstrous beings may have actively repelled the academy in the past, as the sheer popularity of conspiracy theories about burials of giant bones or fantastical creatures does not lend scholarly gravitas to this field of study.² To put it bluntly, giants can be embarrassing.

From time to time, scholars have succumbed to the lure of explaining stories of giants in the Bible through historicizing or medicalizing interpretations. One may find, for example, attempts to analyze a character like Goliath (1 Samuel 17) on the basis of hypopituitarism or other physical pathologies.³ Even scant examples of larger-than-normal physical remains in the Levant provoke speculation about the origins of giant stories, and Adrienne Mayor's fascinating study of ancient folk science in *The First Fossil Hunters* gives a plausible etiology for at least some tales of the monstrous and gigantic: fossils of extinct animals appeared to ancient observers as "real" monsters or giants that must have once interacted with human heroes in the distant past.⁴ To be sure, along these lines the ruins of the Late Bronze Age urban centers in Israel/Palestine, whose giant walls and inhabitantless structures were visible during the biblical period, could have appeared to later Israelites as evidence of some by-gone Canaanite race.⁵ Well into the modern period, giant structures and mysterious monuments captivated

² See attempts to prove the historicity of the Bible's giants stories in different ways by Charles DeLoach, *Giants: A Reference Guide from History, the Bible, and Recorded Legend* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1995) and Clyde E. Billington, "Goliath and the Exodus Giants: How Tall Were They?" *JETS* 50 (2007): 489–508.

³ See, e.g., Diether Kellermann, "Die Geschichte von David und Goliath im Lichte der Endokrinologie," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 344–57; James N. Ford, "The 'Living Rephaim' of Ugarit: Quick or Defunct?" *UF* 24 (1992): 73–101 (88). In recent popular literature, see Malcolm Gladwell, *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2013), 3–15; Gladwell (p. 14) claims that "many medical experts now believe" (?) that "Goliath had a serious medical condition."

⁴ Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters: Paleontology in Greek and Roman Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), esp. the list of ancient testimonia on pp. 260–81. On the giant-fossil theory of giant stories, see also Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1920), 1:385–87. Already in antiquity, Augustine of Hippo cites a fossil tooth as evidence of the reality of giant offspring from the episode in Gen 6:1–4. See Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Random House, 2000), esp. the examples in book 15, and the extended discussion of the fossil tooth in Maura Nolan, "Historicism After Historicism," in *The Post-Historical Middle Ages*, ed. Elizabeth Scala and Sylvia Federico (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 63–86 (64–69).

⁵ In Joshua 7–8, the very name of the city of Ai ("ruins") indicates a connection between the conquest narratives and prominent ruins. See Ronald S. Hendel, "Biblical Views: Giants at Jericho," *BAR* 35 (2009); accessed online at <http://basarchive.org>, 23 December 2009), and the well-documented existence of giant fortification structures from the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2500–1460 BCE) by Aaron Burke, "Walled Up To Heaven": *The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008).

romantic travelers in the region, proving the allure of the giant over millennia. One example of such a traveler, the Irish Presbyterian missionary Josias Porter (1823–1889), ornately wrote of the “memorials of ... primeval giants” that he saw “in almost every section of Palestine,” ranging from enormous graves to massive city architecture.⁶ Porter identified the “wild and wondrous panorama” of the Argob region in southern Syria as the site of past giant activity, and felt certain that the remains he saw there were “the very cities erected and inhabited by the Rephaim.”⁷

Neither the historicizing/medicalizing nor the fossils/ruins approach can go very far toward explaining the power these giant traditions came to have in the Hebrew Bible and in so many other literatures over such a long period of time. When taken to extremes, these interpretations can obviously become fantastical or problematically reductionist, and at best the medical-gigantism and fossil-inspiration approaches could only account for the initial motivation for giant stories in selected cases.

In this paper, I would like to attempt a very broad view of the giant in the Hebrew Bible, with the goal of tracing the appearance of giants through several lenses: the giant as divine or semi-divine figure, as anti-law and anti-king, as elite adversary and elite animal, as unruly vegetation, and as the defeated past. It is precisely this kind of thematic overview that has been lacking in the literature, as giants have more typically been treated piecemeal, as mere footnotes or oddities in their narrative contexts. The very rubric of the “biblical giant” could automatically obscure the variety of gigantic figures and their roles throughout time, but it is still the case that giants appear prominently and repeatedly in the Bible, forcing us to consider whether there is something unique or uniquely “biblical” about the Bible’s giants. Though the giant has recently and justifiably received more attention from those working with the Enochic corpus and the Qumran traditions, as well as from those studying the medieval engagement with giants,⁸ we ignore the *Ursprung* of these later materials in the Hebrew Bible to the det-

⁶ Josias L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan, and Syria’s Holy Places* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1884), 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁸ On *1 Enoch* and the various materials from Qumran related to giants, see Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, and the relevant sections of George W.E. Nickelsburg *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001); Angel, “Reading the *Book of Giants*”; Goff, “Monstrous Appetites”; *idem*, “Gilgamesh the Giant.” For the medieval giant and more recent literary presentations, see the major studies of Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1952); Walter R. Stephens, *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989); Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1984); Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999).

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