

# OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

More Noncanonical Scriptures

VOLUME

2



James R. Davila  
Richard Bauckham

EDITORS

## OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

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# Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

## *More Noncanonical Scriptures*

VOLUME 2

*Edited by*

James R. Davila

Richard Bauckham

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# The Book of Giants: General Introduction

by James R. Davila

The text commonly referred to today as the Book of Giants is found in two versions: one known from Qumran manuscript fragments and written in Aramaic and one known from fragments found in northeastern Xinjiang, formerly known as Chinese Turkestan, and written in three old Iranian languages and in Old Turkic (Uyghur). The Iranian Book of Giants was one of the canonical books of Mani (ca. 216–276 or 277 CE), who founded his own religion, Manicheism.

The storyline of the Book of Giants is closely related to that of the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1–36) and harkens back to Gen 6, with its story of the “sons of God” who noticed human females and took their wives from among them and sired on them the *gibborim*. This was also, we are told, the time when the *nephilim* appeared on earth. We are further told that, after this, human wickedness was great on the earth and the earth was filled with violence (Gen 6:5, 11).

This is the basis for the Book of the Watchers, as well as the Aramaic and Manichean Book of Giants, which contain many of the same themes. Here, too, we are told of the descent of heavenly beings to earth, the Nephilim in the Aramaic book, “the aborted ones” in the Manichean book, and, in the Book of Enoch, “watchers,” attracted by the beauty of the women. Their offspring were the Aramaic *gabbarim* and the Iranian *kays* (Old Turkic *alp*), commonly understood since antiquity as “giants,” but more probably “heroes (of war).” The Book of Giants then gives us fragments of the story of these two classes of divine and half-divine beings and their troubles and infighting until the four archangels were sent down to earth to incite them to destroy each other in a great war. Like the Book of the Watchers, the Book of Giants contains several descriptions of heavenly journeys, but they are undertaken by one or more of the giants, rather than by Enoch, in both the Aramaic and the Manichean versions.

Since both versions of the Book of Giants are extremely fragmentary and overlap each other to a small degree only, the book can only be reconstructed in part, and many large gaps in both the texts and our understanding of the surviving fragments remain. Fortunately, however, the Coptic Manichean sources frequently refer to the story in some detail, and later Christian and Arabic authors mention the book by its title and refer to and sometimes summarize the contents. These provide some background and allow us to fill in some of the gaps.

Due to its fragmentary nature, identifying and reading the extant material can be quite difficult, and determining the order of the fragments without knowing more of the storyline, is a daunting task, although physical clues, such as the shape of the fragments or the remains of two columns of a scroll on a single fragment, can help. Many scholars have labored to produce what is presented here. In the end, we must try to infer the order

of events based on clues in the incomplete and disconnected narratives of the surviving bits, a precarious process at best, but cautious evaluation of all the evidence gives us some idea of the storyline of the Book of Giants.

Very few fragments of the Aramaic Book of Giants manuscripts contain even relatively complete blocks of text, while there are also a few complete, or almost complete, folios of the Manichean book.

At the end of this introduction is an attempt at a more detailed reconstruction of the story, based on all the evidence and giving specific references to the relevant fragments in all surviving versions of the story. In their chapters Loren Stuckenbruck also offers a detailed reconstruction of the Aramaic original and Prods Oktor Skjærvø of the Manichean version.

For details of all of the above, see the introductions to the Aramaic, Iranian, and Old Turkic texts in the chapters that follow.

## **Contents**

The Book of Giants was written in the late Second Temple period in Aramaic. The book was entirely lost in all its versions for some centuries. This summary draws on all versions and sources to reconstruct a coherent narrative. For details of what is found in each version, see the final section of this introduction.

The original Aramaic book seems to have opened with an account of the descent of the Watchers from heaven and their interbreeding with mortal women, resulting in the birth of the giants. (The Manichean version probably prefaced this with a prologue that recounted the latter part of Mani's cosmology and the story of Adam and Eve.) The Watcher Shemihazah then fathered two giant sons, Ohyah and Ahyah, while the Watcher Baraqel fathered the giant Māhaway. The race of giants enslaved and slaughtered human beings and inflicted ruin on the natural order. Human beings then called on God and the archangels for help. Ohyah and Ahyah seem each to have had a dream. Māhaway traveled to the distant realm where Enoch lived in order to consult with him. In the Turkic version, Enoch seems to have warned him to descend from the air before his wings caught fire. Enoch interpreted the dreams. There is mention of two stone tablets, the second of which bore a message from Enoch. It foretold the defeat of the Watchers and the destructions of the giants. The giants were demoralized by this message, but then a message from the giants Hobabish and Gilgamesh somehow cheered them up.<sup>1</sup> According to the Manichean version, Māhaway went to Atanbish (Utnapishtim?) and told him everything.

Ohyah and Ahyah had another pair of dreams, which they described in the assembly of the giants. Once again, Māhaway flew to Enoch to ask for his interpretation. The Watchers promised to repent and asked Enoch for mercy. But once again, Enoch warned them that they faced imminent ruin. He also referred to a time of blessing coming after the Flood. The placeable fragments of the Aramaic Book of Giants end here. It is uncertain how much of the narrative that follows in the Manichean version was also in the original Aramaic.

1. See Prods Oktor Skjærvø's discussion of the nuances of the relevant terms in the Manichean tradition in his introduction to the Manichean book in this volume, section "The Title of the Manichean Book of Giants." In that tradition these figures may be "valorous warriors of renown" rather than giants. I retain the term "giants" here for simplicity's sake.

The Manichean Book of Giants tells of a final conflict between the Watchers and the angels. The Watchers took the form of human beings and hid among them. Nevertheless, they were detected and separated from real humans and from the giants. Some of the giants or their children seem to have been led to safety in towns prepared for them. A battle between the four archangels and the Watchers followed. Atanbish was involved and there were casualties on both sides. The archangels bound the Watchers in a dark prison. Ohyah did battle with the primordial monster Leviathan and then with the archangel Raphael. This version probably closed with an epilogue that taught Manichean doctrine and gave instruction to lay followers of the religion.

## **The Two Versions of the Book of Giants**

Fragments of the Aramaic original of the Book of Giants were first identified among the Dead Sea Scrolls and published in the 1970s by J. T. Milik.<sup>2</sup> The book was evidently popular among the Qumran sectarians: nine or ten manuscripts of it survive from the Qumran library, more copies than of any of the books that make up 1 Enoch and more copies even than most of the books of the Hebrew Bible. Loren Stuckenbruck describes the manuscripts in more detail in his introduction to the Aramaic version of the book in this volume.

Fragments of the Manichean Book of Giants in three Iranian languages (Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian), as well as in Old Turkic (Uyghur) were discovered by German Expeditions to Turfan (located in the northeastern corner of Xinjiang, formerly Chinese Turkistan) in the early twentieth century. Here Buddhism, Manicheism, and Christianity flourished at various times during the first millennium CE and many hundreds of complete and fragmentary Buddhist, Manichean, and Christian manuscripts were recovered from ruins and cave temples.<sup>3</sup>

2. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 298–339 and pls. XIX, XXX–XXXII. As Milik (298) notes, he first announced the discovery in 1971. Aside from Milik's preliminary publication, the major editions of the Aramaic Book of Giants are: John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*, HUCM 14 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992) (ch. 2 transcribes and translates the Aramaic fragments published up to 1992 in the context of the relevant Manichean fragments); Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Aramaistische Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Deutung, Grammatik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 258–68; and Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 119–24 (all of the Aramaic fragments); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation and Commentary*, TSAJ 63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) (all of the Aramaic fragments); Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*, DJD XXXVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 8–94 (the official edition, by Stuckenbruck, of some of the Aramaic manuscripts); Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens première partie 4Q529–549*, DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 9–115 (the official edition of the rest of the Aramaic manuscripts).

3. The major editions and previous translations of the Manichean fragments are: W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–1946): 52–74 (the Manichean fragments in their various original languages and in English translation); Prods Oktor Skjaervø, "Iranian Epic and the Manichean Book of Giants: Irano-Manichaica III," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48 (1995): 187–223 (includes translations of most of the Manichean fragments); Werner Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata*, *Acta Iranica* 23, *Hommages et Opera Minora* 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 491–505 (an additional fragment in Middle Persian); Enrico Morano, "Il 'Libro dei Giganti' di Mani," in *Il mito e la dottrina: Testi manichei dell'Asia centrale e della Cina*, vol. 3 of *Il Manicheismo*, ed. Gherardo Gnoli (Milan: Mondadori, 2008), 71–107, 367–73 (an Italian translation of all the Manichean fragments as of 2008); Morano, "Some New Sogdian Fragments Related to Mani's Book of Giants and the Problem of the Influence of Jewish Enochic Literature," in *Ancient Tales*

## Literary Context

### Literary Background

Mesopotamian traditions about Gilgamesh are the earliest known influences on the Book of Giants.<sup>4</sup> Gilgamesh was a legendary figure in Sumerian and Akkadian literature, best known from the Epic of Gilgamesh, a work whose importance in ancient Mesopotamia was comparable to that of the Homeric epics in ancient Greece. It told the story of Gilgamesh, the ancient king of the Mesopotamian city-state Uruk. Gilgamesh befriended the wildman Enkidu. They had adventures, notably the defeat of the monster Humbaba of the Cedar Forest, until Enkidu's untimely death at the hands of the goddess Ishtar. Distraught by the loss of his friend, Gilgamesh set out to find the secret of eternal life. He went on a quest to consult with Utnapishtim, the Babylonian Noah figure and the only man to survive the great flood. The gods gave Utnapishtim and his wife eternal life. But Gilgamesh was unable to achieve immortality for himself. He had to be content with his own great reputation for his vast accomplishments.<sup>5</sup>

Gilgamesh, Humbaba, and perhaps Utnapishtim appear as characters in the Book of Giants. Gilgamesh and Humbaba (Hobabish) seem to be giants in the Aramaic version, and Utnapishtim (Atanbish) may be a giant or Enoch himself in the Manichean version. The Book of Giants has no direct references to the events in the Epic of Gilgamesh, but there are hints that the author was familiar with elements of it. In both the Aramaic Book of Giants and the epic, Gilgamesh was a semidivine being associated with dreams that foretold disaster. Both present Gilgamesh and Humbaba/Hobabish as giant warriors. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Humbaba is associated with Mount Hermon in Lebanon. The site is important also in the Enochic version of the story of the Watchers and the giants (cf. 1 En. 6:6; 13:7–9). It very likely figured in the Book of Giants as well.<sup>6</sup> In Mesopotamian tradition Gilgamesh became a judge in the underworld, and in the giants traditions in the Book of Giants and the Enochic literature the giants became disembodied demonic forces after their deaths who afflict human beings with illness and suffering (1 En. 15:8–16:1; Jub. 10:1–14). It is possible that the author of the Book of Giants knew the Epic of Gilgamesh in a late Aramaic translation, but it is no less likely that the author was working with oral traditions about Gilgamesh.<sup>7</sup>

The most important influence on the Book of Giants was the legend of the Watchers and their offspring preserved mainly in the Enochic literature, especially the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1–36) and the Similitudes of Enoch (1 En. 37–71). There are also references to the story in the Book of Dream Visions (1 En. 83–90). Outside the Enochic

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*of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, ed. Matthew Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, WUNT 360 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 187–98. For additional small Manichean fragments see the complete list in Morano, “New Research on Mani’s Book of Giants,” in *Der östliche Manichäismus Gattungs- und Werksgeschichte; Vorträge des Göttinger Symposiums vom 4.–5. März 2010*, ed. Zekine Özürturla and Jens Wilkens, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen NS 17* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 101–111, esp. 106–8.

4. For discussions of the manuscripts, date, provenance, genre, and structure of the Aramaic and Manichean versions of the Book of Giants, see the introductions to the chapters by Loren Stuckenbruck, Prods Oktor Skjærvø, and Peter Zieme, which follow.

5. For an English translation, see Andrew George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian* (London: Penguin, 1999).

6. See the discussion of Turkic fragment A by Zieme below in his translation.

7. Matthew Goff, “Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants’ Appropriation of Gilgamesh Motifs,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53, doi:10.1163/156851709X395740.

literature the story is mentioned in the Book of Jubilees and occasionally in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>8</sup>

The versions of the Enochic legend of the Watchers vary slightly among themselves, but the basic narrative is something like the following: The Watchers were a group of angels whose job was to worship God unsleepingly and to guard his throne (1 En. 14:23; 39:12–13; 71:7). A group of Watchers descended to earth, either with good intention to teach humankind righteously (Jub. 4:15) or because from heaven they saw mortal women and desired to mate with them (1 En. 6:1–2; 39:1; 86:1–3). The chief of the fallen Watchers was Shemihazah (1 En. 6:3; 69:2) or Azazel (1 En. 54:5; 55:4; or Asaël; cf. 1 En. 9:6) and some of their other leaders are named (1 En. 6:7–8; 8:3; 69:2–13). Once on earth they taught mortals how to make weaponry, jewelry, and makeup, as well as secrets of metallurgy, sorcery, and astrology (1 En. 7:1; 8:1–4; 9:6–8; 64:2; 65:6–7). The unions of the angels with mortal women resulted in the birth of monstrous cannibalistic giants who brought ruin to the earth (1 En. 7:2–6; 9:9; 86:4–6).

The four archangels brought the situation to the attention of God, who ordered them to intervene (1 En. 9:1–10:3). They subdued the fallen Watchers and banished them to a deep abyss where they lie chained, awaiting their fiery judgment at the eschaton (1 En. 10:4–8, 11–14; 54:1–6; 67:4–11; 69:28; 88:1–3; 90:21, 23–24). The archangels also incited the giants to take up a war against one another until all (or nearly all?) of them were dead (1 En. 10:9–10, 12, 15; 56:2–4?; 87:1, 4; 88:2). Some of them also seem to have died in the great flood (1 En. 89:6), which took place after these events. Perhaps some even survived beyond the Flood (see below). In any case the disembodied spirits of the dead giants, or some of them at any rate (Jub. 10:1–14), survived as demonic forces that afflict human beings with illness and suffering (1 En. 15:8–16:1). This story is assumed as the background of the narrative in the Book of Giants.

Some of the traditions in the Bible also provide background to the Book of Giants, although it is unclear whether any of these traditions actually influenced it directly. The enigmatic episode in Gen 6:1–4 almost certainly has some connection with the story of the Watchers and the giants. This passage tells us that before the Flood “the sons of God” (i.e., the angels; cf. Job 1:6; 2:1) saw the beauty of human women and took some of them as wives. This seems to have displeased YHWH, who in turn placed a time limit of one hundred twenty years on the spirit dwelling in human beings. We are also told that the “Nephilim” lived at the time (and also “afterward”) when the sons of God were mating with the mortal women who bore children to them. And we are told that these Nephilim were famous warriors.

What does all this mean? Why did angels behave in this way, unparalleled elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible? On what is the one hundred twenty years a time limit? Who are the Nephilim? The word comes from a root meaning to fall (“fallen ones?”) and in later Hebrew it means “abortions.” Were the Nephilim the same creatures as the offspring of the mortal women by the angels? The text may imply they were, but it does not say so explicitly.

One possibility is that the writer of Genesis knew some version of the story of the Watchers and the giants, whether the one now found in the Book of the Watchers or a

8. The best English translation of 1 Enoch is George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012). For a convenient translation of Jubilees, see O. S. Wintermute, “Jubilees,” *OTP* 2:35–142. For the relevant passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see the chapter on the Aramaic Book of Giants by Stuckenbruck in this volume.

common tradition shared by it. The mythological notion of gods mating with human beings may not have appealed to the writer of Genesis, but the story was too well known to ignore. So the writer gave just a brief and allusive account before moving on to the Flood narrative. Another possibility is that Gen 6:1–4 was the inspiration for the story of the Watchers and the giants. Subsequent exegetes pondered the puzzling details of these four verses and filled in the blanks to produce something like the story we now find in 1 Enoch. Different specialists have argued for each of these possibilities and we need not try to decide between them here.<sup>9</sup>

In the Book of Giants (4Q530 2 ii 16b–20a) one of the giants has what seems to be a predictive dream in which he sees God descend from heaven to earth and occupy a throne, while other thrones are also set up. Books are opened, judgment declared, and God's judgment written down. This passage has close similarities in thought and wording to the throne theophany scene in Dan 7:9–10. It also has notable similarities to the throne theophany in 1 En. 14:18–23, a passage that also shares wording and ideas with Dan 7:9–10. The relationship between the theophanies in Dan 7 and 1 En. 14 has been debated for some time. Milik concluded that the Book of Giants was dependent on Daniel. Some scholars have subsequently challenged his view while others have supported it. There is no consensus on which of the three came first and influenced the others or whether they all drew on an independent written or oral tradition. Again, it suffices for our purposes to note the problem without attempting to solve it.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, there are a number of stories in the Bible about giants.<sup>11</sup> These provide some context for our understanding of the Book of Giants. Although Genesis places the Nephilim in the time before the Flood, it hints that they had a further history. And indeed they appear again in the context of the survey of Canaan by the Israelite spies in Num 13. In 13:32–33 the spies report that the people of the land were of great size and that there the spies saw the Nephilim, whose stature made them feel like grasshoppers. This is the only indication in the Bible that the Nephilim were giants, although this point is also specified in 1 En. 7:2.<sup>12</sup> The passage also mentions in passing that the “Anakim” were descended from the Nephilim. This leads us to another group of biblical giants.<sup>13</sup>

9. For the ancient Near Eastern and related background to Gen 6:1–4, see Ronald Hendel, “The Nephilim Were on the Earth: Genesis 6:1–4 and Its Ancient Near Eastern Context,” in *The Fall of the Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 11–34. For a discussion of Gen 6:1–4 and its relation to the Watchers tradition, see Chris Seeman, “The Watchers Traditions and Gen 6:1–4 (MT and LXX),” in *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, and John C. Endress (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014), 25–38, doi:10.2307/j.ctt22nmb25.6.

10. For a discussion with bibliography, see Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, “Throne Theophanies, Dream Visions, and Righteous(?) Seers: Daniel, the *Book of Giants*, and 1 Enoch Reconsidered,” in Goff, Stuckenbruck, and Morano, *Ancient Tales of Giants*, 81–96.

11. The biblical references to giants are covered in detail in Brian R. Doak, *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel*, Ilex Foundation Series 7 (Boston: Ilex Foundation; Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2012). For a summary see Doak, “The Giants in a Thousand Years: Tracing Narratives of Gigantism in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond,” in Goff, Stuckenbruck, and Morano, *Ancient Tales of Giants*, 13–32.

12. In Ezek 32:27 there is a reference to “fallen warriors of old” in the underworld (Sheol). The phrase could also be read as “warrior Nephilim of old” and this may have been its original meaning. The dual sense of Nephilim as ancient warriors and as ghosts coheres well with the biblical sense of Rephaim with whom they are associated (see below).

13. Deuteronomy 1:28 also refers to the report by the spies that the people of the land were



The first mention of the Anakim in the Bible is also in the story of the Israelite spies. Numbers 13:22 reports that the spies also encountered the children of Anak in Hebron and it mentions three of them by name. Then, in his account of the invasion of the land by the Israelites, Moses comments in an aside that the “Emim” had once inhabited Moab and that they were as tall as the Anakim and, like the Anakim, were reckoned as “Rephaim.” Likewise, he says that the land of the Ammonites was reckoned as a land of the Rephaim (whom the Ammonites called “Zamzumim”), because formerly the Rephaim inhabited it (Deut 2:10–11, 19–21). Deuteronomy 9:2 also reinforces the strength and stature of the Anakim.

The name Rephaim leads us still further. It can mean something more or less equivalent to “ghost” (e.g., Prov 21:16; Isa 14:9), but it usually refers to a group of people who inhabited Canaan before the Israelites did. Notably, one of the few named giants in the Bible—Og King of Bashan—is called the last of the Rephaim in Deut 3:11. The description of Og’s enormous bed makes it clear that he too was a giant.<sup>14</sup>

By far the most famous biblical giant is, of course, Goliath of Gath, whose downfall at the hands of David is familiar from 1 Sam 17. Goliath was a Philistine, but he too is connected with the primordial Rephaim. In 2 Sam 21:15–22 we find a collection of brief stories about four Philistine warriors who were descended of Rapha, that is, were among the Rephaim. One named Ishbi-benob carried an enormous spear and so presumably was a giant. He nearly killed David in battle, but another Israelite intervened and killed the Philistine.<sup>15</sup> Another named Saph was slain by an Israelite in a battle at Gob. Then there is an alternate account of the killing of Goliath the Gittite by one Elhanan son of Jaare-oregim the Bethlehemite.<sup>16</sup> The fourth was an unnamed man of great stature who had six fingers on his hands and six toes on his feet. He was slain by a nephew of David. Three of these four are presented as large men, confirming the identification of the Rephaim with giants.<sup>17</sup>

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powerful and tall and that they saw the children of the Anakim there. It does not, however, mention the Nephilim.

14. It was argued by Wolfgang Rölling that an ancient Phoenician grave inscription from Byblos (Byblos 13) also mentions Og. Rölling, “Eine neue phoenizische Inschrift aus Byblos,” *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 2 (1974): 1–15 and pl. 1. The inscription dates to about 500 BCE and invokes a curse on anyone who disturbs the bones of the occupant of the grave. The suggestion is interesting, but it involves a number of philological difficulties. Subsequent analysis of the inscription, including by Rölling, has not found this interpretation to be credible. For a review of the scholarship see Laura Quick, “Laying Og to Rest: Deuteronomy 3 and the Making of a Myth,” *Bib* 98 (2017): 161–72, esp. 170–71. The legend of Og the giant continued to develop in the postbiblical period through late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and even into the modern period. For a survey of the Og legend see Admiel Kosman, “The Story of a Giant Story: The Winding Way of Og King of Bashan in the Jewish Haggadic Tradition,” *HUCA* 73 (2002): 157–90.

15. This episode is omitted in the parallel passage in 1 Chr 20:4–8, but cf. n. 21 below.

16. The parallel passage in 1 Chr 20:5 says that Elhanan slew *Lahmi the brother* of Goliath. The difference between the Hebrew texts of the two passages is slight and it is difficult to tell which is original. The passage in 1 Samuel may have accidentally been miscopied so that it refers to Goliath rather than his brother. Or the Chronicler may have accidentally or deliberately miscopied the text so that it now refers to Goliath’s brother, not Goliath himself, thus resolving the contradiction with 1 Sam 17. In any case, both versions imply Goliath’s descent from the Rephaim.

17. The alphabetic cuneiform texts from Ugarit, a city in Syria in the late second millennium BCE, provide some background information on the Rephaim. The Ugaritic language is closely related to Hebrew and the Ugaritic texts refer from time to time to the *rāpī’ūma*. These appear to be the deceased spirits of ancestral kings. This meaning has similarities to the biblical usage of Rephaim, which can mean either the ancient inhabitants of Palestine or the ghosts of the dead. In both usages they are sometimes

Finally, in 1 Chr 11:22–23, we read of an Egyptian giant who also carried a huge spear. He was killed with his own weapon by one of David's chief warriors.

The Greek Bible also has a number of references to “giants” (Greek *gigas*).<sup>18</sup> Some of the uses of the words in the Septuagint (LXX) translation are helpful for understanding how some of the passages in the Hebrew Bible discussed above were understood in the late Second Temple period.<sup>19</sup> The term Nephilim is translated as “giants” in its occurrences in Gen 6:4 and Num 13:33 (LXX 13:34). The Hebrew word *gibbor* normally means “warrior,” but sometimes its use in context led the translators to translate it as “giant” (Gen 6:4; 10:8–9, cf. 1 Chr 1:10 [of Nimrod]; Gen 14:5; Ps 19:5 [LXX 18:6]; 33:16 [LXX 32:16]; Isa 3:2; 13:3; 49:24–25; Ezek 32:12, 21, 27;<sup>20</sup> 39:18, 20).

The term Rephaim is frequently, although not always, translated as “giants.” Og is called one of the giants in Josh 12:4 and 13:12, although Rephaim is transliterated as *Raphain* in Deut 3:11. Likewise, the word Rapha is transliterated into Greek letters all four times in 2 Sam 21:15–22, but 21:22 does specify that they were all giants.<sup>21</sup> The geographical name “the valley of Rephaim” is translated as “the valley of giants” in 1 Chr 11:15 and 14:9, 13. In Prov 21:16; Isa 14:9; and Job 26:5 the meaning of Rephaim in its original context in Hebrew is “ghost,” but it is translated as “giants.” In Deut 1:28 the term Anakim is translated as “giants.” The Greek of Sir 16:7 refers to a revolt of ancient giants but the Hebrew text uses another word that does not normally mean giant. The Greek of Sir 47:4 refers to Goliath (who is named) as a giant. The Hebrew of this verse does not survive.

There are a few other references to giants in books of the Greek Bible that were composed in Greek or whose Hebrew originals are entirely lost. There is mention of the doom of the ancient giants before the Flood in Wis 14:6 and 3 Mac 2:4. Baruch 3:26 echoes the language of Gen 6:4 when referring to the giants. In her hymn of victory, Judith gloats over the fact that a woman, rather than Titans or giants, vanquished her enemy (Jdt 16:5–6).<sup>22</sup> In 1 Maccabees the poem in praise of Judah the Maccabee says that he “put on a breastplate like a giant” (1 Mac 3:3).

Thus we see that there was a rich mythology of giants in the Hebrew Bible and it continued to develop in the Second Temple period. Space does not permit further discussion of traditions about giants in the Classical world or the ancient Near East, but a few more references to giants in Second Temple Jewish literature should be noted. Sibylline oracles were originally pithy oracles attributed to the Sibyl, a pagan

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specified as kings. For a detailed review of the Ugaritic evidence and its implications for the biblical word, see Hedwige Rouillard-Bonraisin, “Rephaim,” *DDD*, 692–700.

18. For a more detailed discussion of giants traditions in Jewish Greek literature see Michael Tuval, “Συνγωγή γιγάντων” (Prov 21:26): The Giants in the Jewish Literature in Greek,” in Goff, Stuckenbruck, and Morano, *Ancient Tales of Giants*, 41–57.

19. For an English translation of the Septuagint, see Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

20. The Hebrew word *gibbor*, “warrior,” in Ezek 32:21, 27 refers to the dead in the underworld (cf. n. 12 above).

21. The parallel passage in 1 Chr 20:4–8 translates Rapha as “giants” twice and transliterates it once. In 20:8 it too specifies that all “four” were giants, even though only three are mentioned (cf. n. 15 above). The reference to “Dan son of Ioa, from the descendants of the giants [= Rephaim?]” in the Greek text of 2 Sam 21:11 is missing in the Hebrew.

22. For the Titans see Samantha Newington, “Greek Titans and Biblical Giants,” in Goff, Stuckenbruck, and Morano, *Ancient Tales of Giants*, 33–40.



prophetess. Some collections of her oracles were known in ancient Rome. They are now almost entirely lost. But Jews and Christians composed many books in the name of the Sibyl in antiquity. The first three books of Sibylline Oracles, of Jewish origin but with some Christian editing and interpolation, provide some passages of interest. Sibylline Oracle 1:87–103 retells the story of the Watchers briefly, but treats them as its third generation of human beings. It mentions giants in 1:123, but it is unclear that they are the giants of the Watchers myth. The seventh generation is identified as Titans, but these are also the human beings who built the Tower of Babel (Sib. Or. 1:307–23). The latter story is much expanded in Sib. Or. 3:97–161. This passage tells a version of the traditional story of the conflict between the Titans and Cronus that led to the birth of Zeus.<sup>23</sup>

The first-century BCE chronographer Alexander Polyhistor refers twice to earlier traditions about Abraham that mention giants. The work of Alexander is lost, but the fourth-century CE historian Eusebius of Caesarea quotes the relevant passages in his *Praep. ev.* 9.17.2–9 and 9.18.2.<sup>24</sup> Alexander attributes the first passage to the Jewish writer Eupolemos, although some think that he was mistaken and that it was written by someone else, possibly a Samaritan. In any case, the passage creatively retells the story of Abraham, prefacing it with an account of the founding of the city Babylon and the building of the Tower of Babel by giants after the Flood. These giants spread over the earth after God destroyed the tower. It also identifies Enoch with Atlas, a Titan. In the second passage Alexander relates that certain anonymous works say that Abraham claimed to be descended from the giants.

The first-century CE Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria wrote an entire treatise on Gen 6:1–4 called *On the Giants*.<sup>25</sup> As is his usual practice, he allegorizes the story, making it about the temptation of the soul by worldly pleasures. He cautions his readers that the story is not a myth, hinting that he perhaps knew and disapproved of the story of the Watchers and the giants. But he does not directly refer or allude to that story. The first-century Jewish historian Josephus mentions giants a number of times in his works, mostly following the Greek narrative of the Septuagint. In his treatment of Gen 6:1–4 in *A. J.* 1.72–73 he interprets the passage to say that angels mated with mortal women and that the unions produced offspring. He does not call the latter giants directly, but he hints that he knows of a tradition in which they committed outrages similar to those committed by the giants of Greek mythology. Otherwise, he does not refer directly to the story of the Watchers and the giants, although he does say that the bones of some of the giants mentioned in Num 13:33 were on display in his day (*Ant.* 5.125).

Nothing in the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Bible, or the Jewish traditions in Greek from the Second Temple period surveyed above show any knowledge of the narrative in the Book of Giants. But their wide-ranging interest in the mythology of giants gives us a sense of the broader cultural matrix in which the Book of Giants was composed. On the different, Iranian, context of the Manichean characters, see Skjærvø's introduction to the Manichean book in this volume.

23. For an English translation see John J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles," *OTP* 1:317–472.

24. For an English translation see R. Doran, "Pseudo-Eupolemos," *OTP* 2:873–82.

25. See also Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts*, WUNT 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 131–41.

### ***The Transmission of the Book of Giants***

We have little knowledge of the transmission of the book in the early centuries CE. If Mani's Book of Giants was written in Syriac (a dialect of Aramaic), it seems likely that he still had access to the original Aramaic Book of Giants in the third century CE.

There is a possible reference to the Book of Giants in the fifth-century Gelasian Decree, a Latin listing of canonical and apocryphal scriptural books. One of the apocryphal works listed is "the Book of the Giant named Ogias, who, it is asserted by heretics, after the Flood fought with a dragon." One might think at first that this Ogias is the biblical Og, but there is no report of Og fighting with a dragon. The Manichean fragments of the Book of Giants, however, do allude to an episode in which the giant Ohyah was in a battle with the biblical dragon Leviathan and the archangel Raphael. It thus seems that Ohyah has been confused with Og and this book must be the Book of Giants, quite possibly the Manichean version. The implication is that it existed in a Latin translation. This may also imply the existence of a Greek translation that was the source of the Latin. Various other references to the book and its contents survive from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic sources.<sup>26</sup>

The Manichean book was one of Mani's canonical books, which were written by himself and repeatedly copied for the current and new Manichean communities, as the faith expanded. In fact, at various times Manicheism was practiced virtually from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. The extant manuscripts from Turfan may have been copied before and during the rule of the Uyghur Böğü-qaghan, who converted to Manicheism and made it the state religion of the Uyghur Empire from 763 to 840. For details, see Skjærvø's introduction to the Manichean book in this volume.

The latest evidence for the transmission of the Book of Giants is found in a brief Hebrew work known as the Midrash of Shemhazai and Azaël (cf. Shemihazah and Asaël in the Watchers story). This midrash is known from several medieval European Jewish sources, the earliest of which is a commentary on Genesis by R. Moses ha-Darshan of Narbonne in the eleventh century.<sup>27</sup>

The collection of traditions in this work has so many parallels to the Book of Giants that it can scarcely be doubted that the authors had access to the Book of Giants in some form, whether it be the Aramaic original, the Manichean version, or oral traditions deriving from one or the other.

### ***Influence of the Book of Giants***

It is difficult to trace the influence of the Book of Giants outside the Manichean traditions surveyed by Skjærvø. There are references to the story of the fall of the Watchers and the begetting of the giants in various late-antique and Byzantine works.<sup>28</sup> But these mostly refer to traditions that are found in the Book of the Watchers, although this work has some overlap with the Book of Giants. It is possible that some of these traditions refer to the latter, but in most cases we cannot tell. The following references seem worth mentioning.

26. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 20–32.

27. Milik edited four manuscripts of this work and translated it into English. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 321–29.

28. Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

In the New Testament the Synoptic Gospels show a great deal of interest in the class of evil spirits known as “demons” or “unclean spirits.” These creatures possess and afflict human beings. A prominent feature of Jesus’s ministry was the exorcism of such spirits from their human hosts. Perhaps surprisingly, there is no reference in the New Testament to the origin of these spirits, but their behavior corresponds to what we would expect from the traditions about them in the Enochic literature and the Book of Giants. According to the latter accounts, the spirits of some or all of the giants survived after their deaths. They retained enough of a connection to the material world for them to be able to afflict human beings. The Synoptics do not offer an etiology of demons and unclean spirits, but they may assume their origin from the giants.<sup>29</sup>

We find a few hints of awareness of the story of the Watchers and the giants in the Synoptics. The insistence of Jesus that the angels in heaven do not marry (Mark 12:25// Matt 22:30// Luke 20:36) may imply his knowledge of a tradition that some angels descended from heaven and did marry mortal women—with disastrous results. In Luke’s version of the exorcism of the Gerasene demoniac the demons beg Jesus not to banish them to the abyss (Luke 8:31). In the Enochic literature just such an abyss was prepared for the eschatological punishment of the Watchers and their minions (1 En. 10:11–14; 18:6–19:1; 21:7–10; 54:3–6; 56:1–4). And in Jesus’s description of the possession process (Matt 12:43–45), there is an odd aside to the effect that between victims the possessing unclean spirit wanders in “waterless places.” It is possible that he alludes to the tradition reflected in 1 En. 15:11 that the damned disembodied spirits of the giants are thirsty. This evidence does not imply that any of the New Testament writers were acquainted with the Book of Giants itself, but it does point to the possibility that their demonology was consistent with the demonology of the story of the Watchers and the giants.

This understanding of the references to demons in the Synoptics is to some degree supported by the demonology of the Testament of Solomon.<sup>30</sup> This is a late-antique Christian exorcism manual written pseudepigraphically in the name of King Solomon. It tells us in 5:3 that the demon Asmodeus had a human mother but was the son of an angel. Another demon presents itself as the spirit of a lustful giant who died in the carnage of the time of giants (17:1).<sup>31</sup> These passages are at least compatible with the myth that the children of the Watchers were giants, but after their deaths they became afflicting demons. That said, the demon Beelzeboul claims to be a fallen angel who evaded imprisonment (6:1–3), so the work’s demonology is multifaceted.

The Byzantine chronographer George Syncellus preserved some quotations of the Book of the Watchers in Greek translation. One such passage is of interest here because, although Syncellus attributes it to the Book of the Watchers, the passage that he quotes and paraphrases does not quite correspond to anything found in the Book of the Watchers as we have it now. It says that the mountain on which the Watchers descended is accursed and it will be melted down at the eschaton. It then warns human beings (perhaps to be emended to the Watchers) that their beloved sons (the giants?) are doomed and will die within one hundred twenty years. Milik suggests that Syncellus was

29. The reference to the fiery punishment of “the devil and his angels” in the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matt 25:41 sounds more like a reference to the punishment of the Watchers (cf. 1 En. 54:3–6; 55:4; 56:1–4) than to the demons or unclean spirits.

30. For an English translation see D. C. Duling, “Testament of Solomon,” *OTP* 1:935–87.

31. Cf. also the huge dog-shaped demon that claims to have once been a very strong man who did much evil in the world (10:1–2).

mistaken and the passage is actually from the Book of Giants.<sup>32</sup> Milik advances some parallels with a Manichean fragment and an Aramaic fragment of the Book of Giants. His suggestion is possible, but it rests on limited evidence and cannot be verified with any confidence at present.

Finally there is one passage in the Babylonian Talmud that shows knowledge of a tradition found in the Book of Giants, but not anywhere in the Enochic literature.<sup>33</sup> In b. Nid. 61a we read that “Sihon and Og were brothers . . . Sihon and Og were the sons of Ahiyah son of Shemihazai.” A little later it adds, “This is Og who escaped out of the generation of the Flood.” There is a certain amount of confusion here, but “Ahiyah son of Shemihazai” is surely the same as Ahyah, the giant in the Book of Giants who is called the son of Shemihazai (Shemihazah) in the Midrash of Shemihazai and Azaël. We have seen above that Ahyah’s brother Ohyah became confused over time with the better-known biblical giant Og. Such assimilation of a lesser-known figure to a better known one is common in folklore. It is tempting to infer that the filial association of Og with Ahiyah in this passage is a garbled memory of Ohyah and his fraternal relationship with Ahyah. This possibility finds support in the descent of both from the angel Shemihazai and in Og’s origin before the Flood.

### **A Tentative Reconstruction of the Book of Giants**

What follows is a provisional attempt to reconstruct the original narrative of the Book of Giants. This is a speculative enterprise at best and some of the ordering is certainly debatable. The siglum “M” refers to the Manichean Book of Giants, with all its forms consolidated. The siglum “A” refers to the Aramaic Book of Giants, with all its manuscripts consolidated. Abbreviations for specific passages are those of Skjærvø in this volume.<sup>34</sup> Entries within square brackets [] are reconstructed on the basis of references to the events elsewhere in the book. The placement of entries within wavy brackets {} is based in general on their content and is more or less speculative.

Mo. The Manichean version probably opened with a prologue that described the begetting of the spiritual “abortions” in Mani’s cosmology, followed by their fall to earth and transformation into various kinds of spiritual beings. There followed a version of the story of Adam and Eve. This material was not in the original Aramaic Book of Giants. (o:KawJ Middle Persian; 4:KawX Parthian, 1; 3:KawZs1; 2:KawZs3 Sogdian)

M1. The two hundred demons (Egregoroi—Watchers) descend to earth (5:KawK Sogdian; KawL; KawM; KawP Coptic).

M2. Their descent from heaven stirs up the human beings (5:KawK).

M3 (from an instructional text). On the paths that lead to death: The two paths of the two hundred demons are those of “speech of harm” and “harsh torment” (o:KawJ Middle Persian).

32. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 317–20. For an evaluation of this proposal, see Florentino García Martínez, “The Book of Giants,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 97–115, esp. 109–10, doi:10.1163/9789004350106.

33. Noted by Milik in *Books of Enoch*, 320–21.

34. Skjærvø’s abbreviations are based on those of Morano in “New Research,” 105–8. “Zieme D” is not on Morano’s list. Zs3 is forthcoming. Morano attempts to reconstruct the Manichean Book of Giants (with some reference to the Aramaic version) on pp. 102–5. My reconstruction of the middle of the work takes more account of the Aramaic evidence and is somewhat different from his and from Skjærvø’s.

M4. They descend because of the beauty of earthly women (4:KawX Parthian; cf. Gen 6:2; 1 En. 6:1–2; Jub. 5:1).

M5. They reveal forbidden arts and heavenly mysteries and they bring about ruin on the earth (KawM Coptic; cf. 7:KawH Sogdian; Gen 6:5, 11–12; 1 En. 7–8; 9:8; Jub. 5:2–3).<sup>35</sup>

{M6. They subjugate the human race, killing hundreds of thousands of the righteous in fiery battle. The angels hid Enoch (cf. Gen 5:24; 1 En. 70:1–3; 87:3–4; Jub. 4:21, 23). The Watchers forcibly marry beautiful women, both women elect and women hearers. The nations are set to work.<sup>36</sup> (6:KawAi Middle Persian).}

M7. Shahmizād (Shemihazah, cf. 1 En. 6:3; 9:7) begets two giant sons, Sāhm (= Sām, Ohyah) and Pād-Sāhm (= Narimān, Ahyah/Hahyah).<sup>37</sup> The other demons and Yakshas beget the rest of the giants (7:KawH Sogdian; KawO Arabic).

A1. The angelic Watchers beget the rapacious Nephilim and the giants through miscegenation with mortal women. Bloodshed ensues. (4Q531 1; cf. Gen 6:1–4; 1 En. 6:1–7:6; Jub. 5:1).

{M8. Many thousands of the righteous endure burning and Enoch the sage is mentioned (KawQ; KawR Coptic).}<sup>38</sup>

M9. The giants grow up and wreak ruin upon the earth and the human race. The lamentation of humanity reaches up to heaven (cf. A3 [4Q530 1 i 4] and possibly Narimān's dream in 15:KawAg).<sup>39</sup>

A2. The rapacious giants and Nephilim inflict bloodshed and corruption upon the earth and treat sea animals, birds, plants, cattle, and humanity harshly (4Q531 2 + 3; 1Q23 9 + 14 + 15; 4Q532 2?; cf. Gen 6:5, 11–12; 1 En. 7–8; 9:8; Jub. 5:2).

[A3. The spirits of the murdered humans bring a complaint against their killers (inferred from 4Q530 1 i 4—see A15 below; cf. 1 En. 8:4–9:11)].

{M10. Mass suicides occur and the King of Honor sends the four angels down to stop the carnage at the end. (Zieme F; Wilkens Zu3 Uyghur; cf. 1 En. 10:9, 13; 31a:KawZmp1).}<sup>40</sup>

M11. Someone boasts that Sāhm (Ohyah) and his brother will live and rule forever in their unequalled power and strength (KawI Sogdian).<sup>41</sup>

{A4. This bloodshed is reported to Enoch, the scribe (4Q206a 2–3).}<sup>42</sup>

{A5. Enoch (?) addresses God, praising him for his glory, knowledge, strength, and creative acts. (4Q203 9–10).}<sup>43</sup>

35. M1–5 belong at the beginning of the narrative.

36. The reference in M6 to the forcible marriage of beautiful women points to 6:KawAi belonging to the early part of the story, as placed here (cf. Henning, “Book of Giants,” 63 n. 4).

37. On the names, see Skjærvø's introduction to the Manichean book in this volume, section “Manuscripts and Versions.”

38. M8 fits well in the same vicinity as M6–M7, or perhaps after M25.

39. M9 must come after the arrival of the Watchers and the seduction of mortal women. Henning Ag seems to refer to this lamentation (as described retrospectively by Narimān in his dream). If this interpretation is correct, M9 belongs after M7 and at the same time as M12. M8 fits here plausibly, but could belong elsewhere, e.g., before M7 or at the end of M25.

40. M10 fits this context if the mass suicides are of human beings in despair over their oppression by the giants. But its placement is speculative.

41. M11 fits well somewhere in this vicinity, although its placement is speculative.

42. A4 fits in this context, although it could also go after M25.

43. The wording of A5 is similar to that of 1 En. 84:2–5, where Enoch prays a similar prayer in response to the depredations of the Watchers before the Flood.

M12. Yam accepts the homage of humankind as they plead for help (10:KawV Sogdian; cf. 1 En. 9:2–4).<sup>44</sup>

{A6. A number of giants, including Māhaway (who may be the speaker), Hobabish (Humbaba), and ADK[ (name damaged), and the Watcher Baraḳel (cf. 1 En. 6:7), have a conversation in which they may discuss killing (4Q203 1–2–3). This could be the same episode as the first part of M15.}

{A7. The giant Aḥiram, several Watchers, the Nephilim, and giants are addressed in an obscure context that involves sinful killing by the sword of one of them, which was like rivers, presumably of blood (4Q531 7). This may refer to the fighting by the giants among themselves mentioned in 1 En. 7:5, 10:9; Jub. 5:7, 9. This too could be the same episode as M15 or it could go with A11–A13.}

{M13. Sām (= Sāhm, Ohyah), Shahrizād (Shemihazah), and Māhaway have a conversation. There are obscure references to an arrow and bow and a blessing on someone who saw something and did not die.<sup>45</sup> Māhaway mentions his father, Wirōgdād (Baraḳel). Shahrizād affirms what someone has said. Sām and Māhaway do something that involves a chariot (18:KawAc Middle Persian).}

{M14. Someone gives satisfactory assurance to Māhaway that he will be protected from Sāhm but nevertheless Sāhm and Māhaway fall out and begin to fight (19:KawC Sogdian)}<sup>46</sup>

M15. Wirōgdād (Baraḳel) is mentioned. Hōbābīsh<sup>47</sup> addresses someone (the giant Ahir[am]?) about the abduction of someone's wife. The giants fall out among themselves and begin killing one another (cf. 1 En. 7:5; 10:9). Other creatures do likewise.<sup>48</sup> Sām (Ohyah) and his brother are mentioned and someone or something is bound. It appears that Sām has a dream in which a tablet was thrown in the water. It seems to have borne three signs, portending woe, flight, and destruction. Narīmān (Ahyah) has a dream about a garden full of trees in rows, from which (?) two hundred shoots come out (11:KawAj/R/; 14:KawAj/V/ Middle Persian; cf. 6Q8 frags. 2–3).

{A8. The Midrash of Shemihazai and Azael tells a story in which the two sons of Shemihazai (Shemihazah), Heyya (Ohyah), and Aheyya (Hahyah/Ahyah) had dreams. It is possible that this passage preserves some memory of the two dreams in M15. If so, the Aramaic manuscripts of the Book of Giants may preserve a fragment of each dream. The first dream seems to have involved the effacing of a writing-tablet by submerging it in water (2Q26). The first dream may have told of an angel doing the effacing as a symbol of the destruction wrought by the Flood. The second may have told of an angel descending and cutting down all but three shoots (representing the sons of Noah) in the garden.}

M16. Ohyah and Ahyah agree to honor a pledge to their father involving battle and doing something together. The text seems to go on to describe things that are useful in battle and those that are not. Narīmān (Ohyah) tells how he saw (in the dream?) some

44. I follow Skjaervø in taking Yam (the Avestan Yima, see Skjaervø's introduction in this volume, n. 90) as representing the King of Honor in Mani's system and God in 1 Enoch ("Iranian Epic," 203–4). If this is correct, M12 corresponds to the praise of God by humans in 1 En. 9:2–4.

45. Or who would not have died if he had seen something.

46. M13 and M14 seem to follow a natural progression and to go well with the conflict of the giants early in M15, but other placements are possible for both.

47. There is also a reference to Hōbābīsh in a fragmentary context in Zs2.

48. 20–21:KawZs4–5 may belong with M15 if they pertain to the falling out of the giants among themselves.



who were weeping and lamenting and many others who were sinful rulers (29:KawAk; 15:KawAg Middle Persian).<sup>49</sup>

[A9. Māhaway is sent to Enoch to consult him for the first time. The episode is entirely lost in Aramaic, but we may infer it was there from the back reference to Māhaway's *first* trip to Enoch in 4Q530 2 ii + 6 + 7 i + 8–11 + 12 lines 22–23, as well as to the reference to his current *second* trip in 7 ii 7. The beginning of the episode is lost in the Manichean versions.]

M17. The giant Māhaway, son of Wirōgdād (Baraḳel), hears a cautioning voice as he flies along at sunrise over Mount Hermon and he is guided to safety by Enoch "the apostle" and the heavenly voice, which warn him to descend before the sun sets his wings on fire (reminiscent of Icarus). He lands and the voice leads him to Enoch (KawB Uyghur).

M18. Enoch interprets a dream, indicating that the trees represent the Watchers and also mentioning the giants who were born of women. Water is drawn (from a well?) (12:KawD Middle Persian).<sup>50</sup>

M19. Sām reports that someone ordered him to bring two stone tablets to his father, but first to send a message to Narīmān (Ahyah), who, it seems, is running intently. The bearer of the tablets has come to read out to the giants something pertaining to them. Shahmizād (Shemihazah) says to read the document of Enoch the interpreter. (16:KawW).

[A10. The two tablets were also introduced at around this point in the Aramaic version. We infer this from the mention of them in 4Q203 7b ii 2 and 8 3. The revelation of the content of the first tablet is lost in the Aramaic version, but based on the conversations in A14 and A15, Enoch's message may have said that the Watchers and giants would not be forgiven for their sins, but rather would be punished (cf. 1 En. 12:3–13:3).]

{A11. The giants Ohyah and Māhaway have a conversation in which Māhaway tells Ohyah something he heard while in the presence of his (Māhaway's) father, the Watcher Baraḳel. Ohyah responds that he too has heard marvels and he begins to make a comparison involving a sterile woman giving birth (6Q8 1).}<sup>51</sup>

A12. The giants have a conversation in which one of them admits that, despite his own might, he had been unable to prevail in a war against "[a]ll flesh" and some other holy beings who may have been the archangels. Ohyah mentions an oppressive dream that disturbed him. (4Q531 22 1–11).

A13 The giant Gilgamesh says something about "your dream," presumably Ohyah's (4Q531 22 12).<sup>52</sup>

A14. Ohyah tells Hahyah that someone (an archangel?) has punished the Watcher Azazel rather than them. He refers to Watchers and giants and to others who will not be forgiven. Perhaps this idea comes from Enoch's interpretation of the first set of dreams in the lost passage about the first tablet (see A10). Ohyah adds that this person has imprisoned "us" and defeated Hahyah (4Q203 7a–b i; cf. Lev 16:7–10; 1 En. 8:1; 9:6; 10:4–8; 54:5; 55:4).

49. M16 is either a continuation of Narīmān's dream in M15, in which case it belongs here, or part of Enoch's interpretation of it. If the latter, it should be placed after M18.

50. M17 and M18 must come after the account of the dreams and in this order.

51. A11 fits in with the content of A12–A14, but its placement is uncertain.

52. A12–A13 are on a single fragment and must take place after Ohyah's dream.

{A15. Another fragment may continue this speech. The speaker refers to the slain who protest against their killers and he says that “we” (the giants?) shall die together. There is further reference to the speaker sleeping, to bread, and to a vision. Someone then enters the assembly of the giants (4Q530 1 i).<sup>53</sup> Perhaps a conversation continues in which the giants anticipate with dread their coming destruction in the Flood for their sins, in which they will be stripped of their form and reduced to being evil spirits (4Q531 19; cf. 1 En. 15:8–12). Again, this conversation may be about elements of Enoch’s interpretation of the dreams in the lost passage about the first tablet (see A10; cf. 16:KawW).}

A16. A person is addressed in a conversation, perhaps the same one as in A15. The speaker mentions the two tablets and says that the second has not yet been read (4Q203 7b ii).<sup>54</sup>

A17. Someone reads the second tablet, which is a letter from Enoch the scribe to the Watcher Shemihazah and his companions. There is reference to their action, their wives, and their sexual activity and corruption on the earth, which have come to the attention of the archangel Raphael. Ruin is coming upon the world. Enoch’s interpretation (of their dreams or perhaps of the second dream?) is bad for the listeners (the giants?) and he warns them to free their prisoners (cf. the opening of M25) and pray (4Q203 8; cf. 1 En. 9:1).<sup>55</sup>

M20. Sāhm exhorts the other giants to cheer up and eat, but they are too sorrowful to eat and instead fall asleep. Māhaway goes to Atanbīsh (Utnapistim—either one of the giants or another name for Enoch) and tells him all. When Māhaway returns, Sāhm has a dream in which he ascends above heaven. He sees the water of the earth consumed with heat and the demon (?). Wrath comes out of the water. Some radiant beings become invisible. He sees the heavenly rulers (16:KawW Middle Persian).<sup>56</sup>

A18. Ohyah informs the giants of a message from Gilgamesh. Hobabis (the spelling is different in this fragment) is judged, and he (or some guilty person) curses some rulers. This cheers the giants up, but someone curses someone else. (4Q530 2 ii + 6 + 7 col. 1 + 8–11 + 12 (?) lines 1–3a).

A19. Then the two giants Hahyah and Ohyah again have dreams. Hahyah describes his in the assembly of the Nephilim. He dreamed of gardeners watering a garden that produced great shoots. But a fire destroyed the garden. The other giants cannot interpret his dream. It is proposed that they consult Enoch for an interpretation. Then Hahyah’s brother, Ohyah, reports that he too had a dream, in which God descended to the earth, thrones were set up, and God sat amid a multitude of angels and presided over a judgment based on the opening of certain books (cf. Dan 7:9–10). The giants, presumably unable to interpret this dream either, summon Māhaway and send him to Enoch, whom he has encountered before, to ask him to interpret the dreams (4Q530 2 ii + 6 + 7 i + 8–11 + 12 (?) lines 3b–24).<sup>57</sup>

53. Col. ii has only one readable Aramaic word: “to the mouth.” Stuckenbruck places 4Q530 1 i after A17. This is also possible.

54. A14 and A16 are contiguous columns on the same fragment and must come in this order. The events in them must take place after the introduction of the two tablets as reconstructed in A10. The placement of the fragments in A15 is speculative but their content fits the context.

55. A17 must come after A16, in which the second tablet has not yet been read.

56. M19 and M20 are at the bottom of opposite sides of the same page with some lost material between them. A11–A17 fit best between M19/A10 and M20: they seem to cover the giants’ discussion of the content of the first tablet, along with the revelation of the content of the second tablet. But if this is correct, the narrative may have been condensed in the Manichean (or at least the Sogdian) version.

57. A18–A19 seem to overlap with the events in M20: both involve Ohyah addressing the giants to cheer them up (unsuccessfully in M20 and successfully in A18) and a dream of Ohyah that involved heat consuming the water of the earth.



A20. Māhaway flies with his hands across a desolate vast desert until Enoch sees him and calls to him. Māhaway refers to this as his second visit and requests the interpretation (4Q530 7 ii 3–10a).

A21. There is reference, perhaps beginning Enoch's interpretation, to gardeners who descended from heaven (4Q530 7 ii 10b–11).<sup>58</sup>

{A22. Someone (Māhaway, having returned to the giants?) describes how he fell on his face before an exalted person (Enoch?) who did not dwell among or learn from mortals (4Q531 14).}<sup>59</sup>

M21. The spirits are glad to see the “apostle” (Enoch) and assemble in fear of malefactors. Apparently they promise to sin no more (22:KawE Sogdian; cf. 1 En. 13:4–6, 9).<sup>60</sup>

M22. The giant Saxm prays for forgiveness and falls to his knees. Then he rises and confesses abjectly to the light Sun-God regarding his murderous sins (Zieme D; Wilkens Zu1, Zu6 Uyghur).<sup>61</sup>

M23. Enoch the apostle gives a message of judgment to the demons and their children, telling them that they will have no peace (cf. 1 En. 12:5; 13:1; 16:4)<sup>62</sup> and that they will see the destruction of their children (the giants; cf. 1 En. 14:6; Jub. 4:22). He refers to someone ruling for one hundred twenty years (cf. Gen 6:3; Jub. 5:8). Then he predicts either an era of earthly fecundity, presumably after the Flood (cf. 1 En. 10:16–22), or else the Flood itself (cf. Gen 7:8–9) (17:KawAl Middle Persian; cf. A24).

{A23. A group (of Watchers?) prostrate themselves before someone (Enoch?). He tells one of them that he will have no peace (4Q203 13).}<sup>63</sup>

{A24. Enoch pronounces an eschatological or postdiluvian blessing of earthly prosperity (1Q23 1+6+22; cf. Gen 7:8–9; 1 En. 10:17–11:2; M23).}<sup>64</sup>

58. A18–A21 are pieced together from fragments that come on three contiguous columns. They must come in this order. On the basis of codicological reconstruction of 4Q203, Stuckenbruck infers that, after the rest of the column containing A21, this scroll contained at least two, but no more than three additional columns. Assuming that the content was relatively stable among the Aramaic Qumran manuscripts the remaining columns would have included A22, A23, and A24. It would be speculative to assume that the content of the book remained relatively stable through its editing by Mani and transmission and translations into other languages among the Manicheans. But it is possible that some, or even much, of the subsequent material that survives in the Manichean fragments was also found in the last two or three columns of the original Aramaic version.

59. This interpretation and placement of A22 is plausible but speculative.

60. M21 appears to describe a meeting between Enoch and the Watchers. Their repentant demeanor implies that this took place after they had already received one of his messages of doom. I infer that Enoch sent the two tablets with his message in response to the first set of dreams, but that he returned with Māhaway to meet with the giants after the second set of dreams (cf. 1 En. 12:1–4; 13:8–10). According to M27, he is returned to occultation after the imprisonment of the Watchers and the destruction of the giants. If this is correct, perhaps Enoch is speaking to Sāhm/Ohyah as per M22.

61. M22 is placed here because its content is similar to that of M21.

62. In the Aramaic version, 1Q24 8 preserves the single phrase “no peace for you (pl).” Cf. also A23.

63. Milik has proposed that the small bit of text in A23 refers to the same event as in M23. In both someone tells his listener(s) that he or they will have no peace (cf. 1Q24 8, cited in n. 62). Moreover, Milik suggested that a Greek passage that Syncellus preserves and attributes to the Book of the Watchers is actually from this episode in the Book of Giants and addresses the Watchers rather than human beings. It describes the melting down of Mount Hermon at the eschaton, along with the annihilation of the sons of the Watchers, who will live no more than one-hundred-twenty years. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 317–20. But M23 could also go after M19.

64. A24 is placed here because of its similarity to the end of M23.

M24. Someone (Enoch?) warns a group (the demons?) that they will be consigned to a fire to face eternal damnation, despite their belief that they were safe forever. He also addresses their “wicked brats” (the giants?; cf. Gen 6:2) and describes how the righteous will fly over the fire of damnation and gloat over the souls inside it (23:KawF cols. CDEFA Middle Persian).<sup>65</sup>

M25. “They,” presumably the angels, imprison the companions (cf. the end of A17). The angels then descend from heaven, terrifying the two hundred demons, who take human form and hide among human beings (cf. 1 En. 17:1; 19:1). The angels separate out the human beings and set a watch over them, seize the giants from the demons, and lead a group to safety in thirty-two distant towns prepared for them by the “Living Spirit” in Aryān Wēzhan, where Yam was king, in the vicinity of the sacred Mount Sumeru.<sup>66</sup> These people were skilled in the arts and crafts. The two hundred demons fight a massive battle with the four fire-wielding angels (28:KawG Sogdian).<sup>67</sup>

M26. Atanbish does battle, accompanied by Watchers and giants. Someone kills three of those giants. An angel, perhaps a Watcher, is killed. Others are also dead (31:KawY Middle Persian).<sup>68</sup>

M27. The four angels, by divine command, bind the Egregoroi (Watchers) with an everlasting chain in “the prison of the blackened ones,” according to the Coptic, and bound to the planets and the constellations of the Zodiac, according to the Parthian (cf. 1 En. 10:11–14; 54:1–5; 56:1–3; Jub. 5:6, 10). The angels annihilate their children (cf. 1 En. 10:15; 15:8–12; Jub. 5:7–9, 11). Someone hides Enoch (KawP Coptic; 32:KawT Parthian recto; cf. KawZ6).

M28. Even before the rebellion of the Egregoroi (Watchers), this prison had been built for them under the mountains. In addition, thirty-six towns had been prepared for the habitation of the wicked and long-lived sons of the giants before they were even born (KawS Coptic).<sup>69</sup>

M29. Ohyah (or Ahyah), the primordial monster Leviathan (cf. Job 41; Ps 74:14; Isa 27:1), and the archangel Raphael engage in a great battle. They perished or vanished, or both (30:KawN Parthian; 31a:KawZmp1 Middle Persian).<sup>70</sup>

M30. Three thousand two hundred eighty years passed between the time of Enoch and the time of the peaceful reign of King Wishtāsp in [Aryān] Wēzhan (32:KawT verso Parthian; cf. KawR Coptic?).<sup>71</sup>

M31? A doctrinal epilogue about the five elements and the duties of the Manichean hearers probably ended the Manichean version of the Book of Giants. It would not

65. M24 fits as Enoch’s response to the appeal of the demons for mercy, although it could also go after M19. Cf. the eschatological gloating of the righteous over the wicked kings and the mighty in 1 En. 62:9–12 (cf. 27:3; 48:8–9) and the fiery judgment on Mount Hermon cited in n. 63.

66. Cf. Colditz Zp1 and Morano Zp2 and see Skjærvø’s introduction in this volume, section “Elements from Iranian Epic in Mani’s Writings.”

67. M25 fits here as an account of the final battle of the Watchers and giants vs. the angels.

68. M26 fits plausibly in the same context as M24, but it could conceivably also go with M12–M15.

69. M27 comes after the battle in M25. M28 assumes the events in M25 while referring to still earlier events whose exact placement is uncertain.

70. M29 could also go with M25–M26. I place it here because the Latin tradition about Ogias’s battle with the dragon places the event after the Flood.

71. M30 Manichean concludes the story by bringing it from the time of the defeat of the Watchers and giants to the reign of King Wishtāsp (see above). Henning included KawU Parthian at this point, but Skjærvø thinks that it is not part of the Book of Giants.

have been in the original Aramaic version (33:KawAe; 34:KawAb; 35:KawAh. 36:KawAf. 37:KawAa; 38:KawAd; 39:KawAm; 40:KawA; 41:KawAn; Zieme I).

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