

# Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls

*John Collins at Seventy*

VOLUME 1

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# Where's Enoch? The Mythic Geography of the Qumran *Book of Giants*

Matthew Goff

## 1 Introduction<sup>1</sup>

According to ancient Jewish legends about the antediluvian sage Enoch, he wrote books filled with rare and privileged knowledge. And he was quite prolific—according to *2 Enoch*, he composed 366 books (23:6). Such an exceptional author is a fitting topic for an essay warmly devoted to John Collins. Not only is Collins a remarkable, and productive, sage in his own right; he has also been for many years a leading scholar of Enochic literature and has helped us better understand the portrayals of Enoch in Early Jewish literature.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous texts present the wisdom of Enoch as knowledge that one acquires by reading his writings. This is a central trope, for example, in the booklets collected in *1 Enoch*, which purport to be written by Enoch himself (e.g., 14:1, 7; 92:1). There are also Early Jewish tales about people traveling to Enoch to obtain knowledge from him personally. The best-known example is the story of the birth of Noah, variations of which are found in *1 Enoch* (chs. 106–107) and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (col. 2). In this tale, Lamech dispatches Methusaleh to Enoch in order to learn about his infant son Noah, who is born with strange and disconcerting attributes, such as light streaming from his eyes (*1 En.* 106:5). The narrative has been the subject of much scholarship in recent years.<sup>3</sup> I would like to focus on another Early Jewish story in which

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1 A version of this paper was presented at the Neutestamentliche Kolloquium at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich, Germany, on January 10, 2014. I thank the participants of this seminar for their feedback. I am also grateful to Kyle Roark for his helpful comments about this paper. The research for this essay was facilitated by support from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

2 See, for example, John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 43–79; Collins, “The Sage in the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature,” in Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 339–50; Collins, “The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of the Watchers,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 91–111.

3 See, for example, several essays in Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, eds., *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008* (STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The

someone journeys to Enoch to seek out knowledge, one that has received much less scholarly interest: the Qumran *Book of Giants*. In this text, the giant Mahaway travels to Enoch to acquire from him the interpretation of two dreams.

Genesis 5:24 states that God “took” Enoch and he was no more. In ancient Judaism, as is well known, this was often understood to mean that he did not die.<sup>4</sup> This led to much speculation regarding Enoch’s whereabouts. A major answer to this question was that God took him to heaven. A foundational motif in 3 *Enoch*, for example, is that Metatron, who has a throne in heaven and is called “Lesser Yahweh” (12:5; cf. 10:1–5), is none other than Enoch, transformed by his celestial ascension (4:2; cf. 2 *En.* 22:8–10; 1 *En.* 71:5–14). Early Jewish literature attests another answer regarding the location of Enoch: he was in the garden of Eden. This, I shall argue, is the case in the *Book of Giants*. This composition is fragmentary and does not state explicitly where Enoch is or where his meeting with Mahaway takes place. Moreover, in the *Book of Giants*, I suggest, the garden of Eden is imagined as on this world, but separated from the human realm by a vast desert. Paradise should perhaps be imagined as a beautiful oasis on the edge of this wasteland. In antiquity (and the medieval period) people often understood the fringes of the earth to be filled with incredible features and strange monsters that did not exist in the world that they knew.<sup>5</sup> The extensive travel narrative in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 *En.* 17–36) describes the world as having features that humans normally cannot see, such as, on the western edge of the world, a mountain in which

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Lamech Narrative in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) and *Birth of Noah* (4QEnoch<sup>c</sup> ar): A Tradition-Historical Study” (253–75); Esther Eshel, “The *Genesis Apocryphon* and Other Related Aramaic Texts from Qumran: The Birth of Noah” (277–97); Matthias Weigold, “Aramaic *Wunderkind*: The Birth of Noah in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran” (299–315).

4 See, for example, Sir 49:14; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.85; Heb 11:5. *Genesis Rabbah* 25:1 attributes the belief that Enoch did not die to הַמִּינִים (“the heretics/sectarians”). Consult James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 173–74.

5 This attitude is evident in the technique found in ancient and medieval maps of marking far away regions with slogans such as *hic sunt leones* or *hic sunt dracones*—“here are lions” or “here are dragons.” See Daniela Dueck, *Geographie in der Antiken Welt* (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2013); Chet van Duizer, “*Hic sunt dracones*: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (ed. A. S. Mittman with P. J. Dendle; Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 387–435. Cf. also James C. VanderKam, “Putting Them In Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,” in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 476–99.

the souls of the dead await judgment (ch. 22), and a river of fire (ch. 17).<sup>6</sup> The geography of the *Book of Giants* has a similarly mythic dimension, but its extant fragments provide much, much less information about the physical world than the *Book of the Watchers*. However, when situated against the backdrop of other Enochic texts, especially the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the mythic geography of *Giants* and the related issue of Enoch's location in the garden of Eden can be better understood.

## 2 The Qumran *Book of Giants*

The *Book of Giants* is an Aramaic composition that was written probably in the second century BCE. The Qumran fragments that comprise the text are generally recognized as 1Q23, 1Q24, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q530–533, 4Q206a 1–2 and 6Q8. These manuscripts are highly fragmentary and in some cases their affiliation with *Giants* is not fully certain (e.g., 1Q24, 4Q206a). These documents were officially published in 2000 and 2001, in *DJD* 36 and *DJD* 31, by Loren Stuckenbruck and Émile Puech, respectively.<sup>7</sup> The foundational scholar of the Qumran scrolls, J. T. Milik, was the first to realize that the Dead Sea Scrolls include the text which he entitled the *Book of Giants*, and he published the *editio princeps* of some but not all of the fragments of this composition in the 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

The *Book of Giants* preserves, as the name indicates, a narrative about the giants, in Aramaic גבריא, a term that derives from the Hebrew word הגברים

6 Kelley Coblenz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: 'No One Has Seen What I Have Seen'* (JSJSup 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

7 Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 8–94; Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII. Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529–54* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 9–115. Stuckenbruck has also published an edition of the composition in his *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 1997). Consult also Matthew J. Goff, *When Giants Walked the Earth: The Giants in Enochic Literature and Ancient Judaism* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, forthcoming); John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (MHUC 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992).

8 J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 298–339; Milik, “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (eds. G. Jeremias et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–27; Milik, “Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 333–78, esp. 366–72.

Gen 6:4.<sup>9</sup> While the term “giant” is ambiguous, the word in this context has a very specific sense—it signifies the sons of the angels who descended to earth and had sex with women.<sup>10</sup> The placement of Gen 6:1–4 before the flood story proper suggests that this act of procreation is related to the spread of evil on earth that led to the flood, but in Gen 6 itself the relationship between the giants and the flood is not clear. The Enochic *Book of the Watchers* provides a fuller narrative of this episode. It relates that the children of the angels are horrible and destructive giants, who are 3,000 cubits tall (over a mile) according to some manuscripts and commit heinous acts such as murder and the eating of humans (1 En. 7:3–5).<sup>11</sup> These crimes, according to the *Book of the Watchers*, trigger the flood. The *Book of Giants* tells another narrative about these antediluvian giants. This text draws on both Genesis and the *Book of the Watchers*, but contains a story that is independent and often different from the latter.

While the *Book of the Watchers* is distinctive for giving personal names to the angels, whereas no angels are named in Genesis, the *Book of Giants*, unlike the *Book of the Watchers*, has giants with names. They include 'Ohyah and Hahyah, who are brothers, and Mahaway and Gilgamesh. The name Gilgamesh shows reliance upon ancient Near Eastern traditions, being the name of the hero in the famous Mesopotamian epic.<sup>12</sup> The *Book of Giants* also includes named angels who appear in the *Book of the Watchers*, such as Baraqel (6Q8 1 4) and Shemiḥazah (4Q203 8 5; 4Q203 14 2).

The *Book of Giants* presents the giants as violent, but there is no extensive portrayal of their crimes, in contrast to 1 Enoch 7. No text of the *Book of Giants* describes them as cannibals, also unlike the *Book of the Watchers*. The extant material of the *Book of Giants* focuses not on their violence but rather on their visions. The central episode of the composition focuses on the reception of

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- 9 This follows the view held by most scholars today that the *Book of the Watchers* engages and interprets some form of Gen 6. Cf., e.g., James C. VanderKam, “Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees,” in *From Revelation to Canon*, 276–304. There is also a minority view that the Enochic material is older than Gen 6:1–4, which contains an abridged form of an Enochic myth. For such views, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 30–31; Philip R. Davies, “Women, Men, Gods, Sex and Power: The Birth of a Biblical Myth,” in *A Feminist Companion to Genesis* (ed. A. Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1993), 194–201.
- 10 John J. Collins, “The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men,” in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (ed. M. Nissinen and R. Uro; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 259–74.
- 11 Matthew J. Goff, “Monstrous Appetites: Blood, Giants, Cannibalism and Insatiable Eating in Enochic Literature,” *JAJ* 1 (2010): 19–42.
- 12 Matthew J. Goff, “Gilgamesh the Giant: The Qumran Book of Giants’ Appropriation of Gilgamesh Motifs,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 221–53.

heavenly visions by giants and their efforts to understand them. This has no analogue in the *Book of the Watchers*. 'Ohyah and Hahyah receive visions and describe them to an assembly of other giants. The first vision, which is disclosed to Hahyah, is about a garden filled with trees that is destroyed by fire and water, except for one tree with three roots (4Q530 2 ii 6–12). In the second, 'Ohyah's dream, God comes down to earth with his heavenly host, and books are opened for judgment (ll. 15–20; cf. Dan 7:10–11). Hahyah's vision prefigures the flood and the survival of Noah and his three sons. 'Ohyah's vision signifies theophanic judgment.

The giants are disturbed by the two visions and want to understand them (4Q530 2 ii 20). They decide to send one of their own, Mahaway, to travel to Enoch in order to learn the interpretation of the visions. He is chosen because he has visited Enoch previously (lines 22–23; 4Q530 7 ii 7), alluding to an episode that does not survive in the composition's extant fragments. Enoch interprets the dreams for Mahaway, but unfortunately his interpretation is not preserved (line 11). He presumably gave the bad news that the visions foretell the flood and that a divine sentence of judgment has been made against the giants and their angelic fathers. This is clear from another text of the *Book of Giants*, 4Q203 8, which purports to be a copy of a message Enoch gave them, written on a tablet that presumably Mahaway brought back from his journey to Enoch. In this tablet Enoch summarizes their crimes and God's judgment.

### 3 Mahaway's Journey to Enoch

Only two lines of the *Book of Giants*, 4Q530 7 ii 4–5, describe Mahaway's journey to Enoch. According to the reconstruction of these lines by Puech, they are as follows: “as whirlwinds and he flew with his wings (lit. hands) like an eag[le to the east of the world. He passed over] the inhabitable world and crossed the wastelands, the great desert. [He went far from them towards the paradise of righteousness.]”<sup>13</sup> 4Q530 7 ii 4–5 attests three terms that describe the arc of Mahaway's journey—in sequence, the “inhabited world” (חלד), “wastelands” (שהוין) and “the great desert” (מדברא רבא). In Puech's reconstruction the terminus of this travel is the paradise of righteousness (פרדס קשטא). This would thus be where Mahaway's meeting with Enoch takes place. Moreover, according to Puech the giant traveled in an eastward direction to reach him. Other editions of the *Book of Giants* do not include either of these intriguing

13 Puech, *DJD* 31, 38.

supplements.<sup>14</sup> They are, however, valid and can be reasonably accepted, particularly the addition that Mahaway traveled to paradise, as the analysis of the passage below discusses.

Also, 4Q530 7 ii 4–5 makes explicit the means of Mahaway's journey—he flew. The text literally states that he flew with his “hands,” so this can be plausibly understood as a reference to wings. Unlike the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Giants* does not tell that the giants are 3,000 cubits tall, a stature which would make flight rather difficult. But then, in the *Book of the Watchers* there is no indication that the giants have wings.

#### 4 The Human Realm and the Desert

The first leg of Mahaway's journey constitutes leaving “the inhabited world.” The word חֶלֶד is a *hapax* in the Qumran corpus. In the Hebrew Bible the term can signify the (human) world or the human life span.<sup>15</sup> The word חֶלֶד of 4Q530 7 ii 5 derives from this usage. In the *Book of Giants* the term likely refers to the known world, in which humans live. No particular region is emphasized and no precise or detailed map can be inferred. The term denotes the entire area in which humans reside.

This understanding of חֶלֶד is also suggested by what follows in 4Q530 7 ii. After crossing over that area, Mahaway flies over “wastelands” and “the great desert.” These two phrases are best interpreted as parallel terms, denoting one vast uninhabitable area. The phrases “wastelands” and “great desert” are governed by the same verb, implying that crossing them constitutes one action. The plural form שְׁהוּיִן (“wastelands”) likely expresses the large size of the desert area, as Milik intuited.<sup>16</sup> The word may be an instance of the incorporation of the Hebrew “plural of majesty” into Aramaic.<sup>17</sup>

14 See, for example, Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 128; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 58; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 1:265; Michael Langlois, “Livre des Géants,” in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân. Vol. 1: Genèse* (ed. K. Berthelot, T. Legrand, and A. Paul; Paris: Cerf, 2008), 153–243 at 194.

15 See Ps 49:2 [Eng. v. 1]: “Give hear, all inhabitants of the world (כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי חֶלֶד)!” The term may also denote in the Hebrew Bible the human lifespan or mortality (cf. 17:14; 89:48; Job 11:17).

16 Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 15 (also cf. 38, 291), makes this observation using an argument that James C. VanderKam legitimately critiques. See VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77,3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,” *RevQ* 11 (1983): 271–78, esp. 278.

17 In Biblical Hebrew the plural of majesty conveys the large scale of a singular entity by marking it with a plural form. The best example is אֱלֹהִים for God, but note also בְּהִמּוֹת



The word שְׁהוּי (sg. שְׁהוּה) is unusual. This exact form is not found in the Hebrew Bible or elsewhere in Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew terms שְׁוֹאָה and מְשֹׁאָה have a similar meaning. They are often translated, respectively, as “devastation” (the contemporary term for the Holocaust) and “desolation” (e.g., Zeph 1:15; Job 30:3). In the book of Job שְׁוֹאָה and מְשֹׁאָה, not unlike שְׁהוּי in 4Q530 7 ii 5, are parallel with “desert.” When God speaks angrily to Job from the whirlwind, he exclaims that no one other than he is able “to bring rain on a land where no one lives, on the desert (מִדְבָּר), which is empty of human life, to satisfy the waste and desolate land (שְׂאֵה וּמְשֹׁאָה)” (38:26–27; cf. 11Q10 31:3–4). The three phrases “desert,” “waste,” and “desolate land” all signify one uninhabited desert, not unlike שְׁהוּי and מְדַבְּרָא רַבָּא in 4Q530 7 ii 5.

If “great desert” and “wastelands” both denote the same desert, which desert is being described? Some scholars have argued that Mahaway flies over the Syrian desert.<sup>18</sup> In the *Genesis Apocryphon* the expression “great desert” does indeed refer to this region (1QapGen 21:11–12). Understanding the phrase in the same way in 4Q530 7 ii 5 can be supported if one understands the giants narrative as taking place in Abel Main, a site in northern Palestine that is significant in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 13:9).<sup>19</sup> Mount Hermon, a key mountain in the *Book of the Watchers*, is also in this region. The author of the *Book of Giants* probably was aware of the large desert to the east of Palestine. However, the desert in 4Q530 7 ii signifies more than the topography of Syro-Mesopotamia.<sup>20</sup> As argued above, חֶלֶד does not signify northern Israel but rather the human realm as a whole. The fact that the desert lay beyond this region indicates that what is at issue is not simply the location of an “actual” desert.

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for the monster Behemoth (Job 40:15). The plural of majesty is not found in Aramaic as a general rule. The Qumran Aramaic corpus does, however, attest examples of the plural of majesty, as a kind of Hebraism. 4Q244 (4QpsDan<sup>b</sup>) 12 2, for example, attests the word אֱלֹהִין (“God”) with a singular verb. See Christian Stadel, *Hebraïsmen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2008), 73, 97.

18 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 104; Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 134.

19 For the emendation Abel Main, cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 196.

20 Puech, *DJD* 31, 40; Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011), 367.

## 5 A Desert between the Human Realm and Paradise: The Geography of the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*

Milik, in his initial studies of the *Book of Giants*, understood the “great desert” of 4Q530 7 ii to be an important element of the mythic geography of the composition. He contended that it is equivalent to the “deserts” mentioned in the Enochic *Astronomical Book* in 1 En. 77:3, and that this mythic locale is at the northern extremity of the world.<sup>21</sup> He argued that 1 En. 77, which provides an explanation of the four quadrants of the earth, and the *Book of the Watchers*, attest a schematization of the world that comprises three concentric circles, a perspective he adopted from Grelot.<sup>22</sup> In Milik’s map of the *Book of the Watchers*, within the first circle is the inhabited world, with Jerusalem at its center (1 En. 26:1; cf. Ezek 5:5; 38:12). This extends out to a great river, his second circle, which surrounds the human realm. The third circle is the great darkness and then the desert lay beyond, with seven large mountains jutting out at various points from these circles. His opinion that the desert is located in the north was based on the idea, which he also got from Grelot, that there are two paradises, one in the northwest, which is the residence of God, and another in the northeast, which is the garden of Eden.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Milik asserted that the term Dadouel, the desert where the angels are punished in the *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 10:4), renders *Daddu’el*, “the (two) breasts of El,” corresponding to *Mašu*, the twin mountains mentioned in the *Gilgamesh* epic (9.37–47).<sup>24</sup> He understood the desert, in both the *Book of Giants* and the *Astronomical Book*, to be between these two mountains, to the northwest and northeast, respectively, and thus in the north.

Milik’s geographical theories have not fared well. VanderKam and Coblentz Bautsch have both justly refuted his claim that the world according to the *Book*

21 Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 15, 30. See the maps on pp. 18, 40.

22 For example, 1 En. 77:1 states in the Ethiopic that “the first quarter is called ‘eastern’ because it is the first.” Despite its fragmentary condition, the Aramaic version of this verse in 4Q209 23 3 suggests that this explanation was based upon a pun between “east” (קדִים) and “first” (קדמיה). Cf. 4Q210 1 ii 14–15. Cf. Pierre Grelot, “La géographie mythique d’Hénoch et ses sources orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958): 33–69; Coblentz Bautsch, *A Study of the Geography*, 162–76.

23 Grelot’s northwest paradise was based on his understanding of the location of the seven mountains of 1 En. 18:6–9 and 24:1–4, and the one he understood to be in the northeast is seen by Enoch in 1 Enoch 32 (more on this below). See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 33, 38; Milik, “Hénoch au pays des aromates (ch. xxvii à xxxii): Fragments araméens de la grotte 4 de Qumran,” *RB* 65 (1958): 70–77, esp. 75, 77; Grelot, “La géographie,” 41–44.

24 Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 30.



of the Watchers (and 1 En. 77) is a system of three concentric circles, arguing that his perspective is based more upon a Late Babylonian map (the so-called “mappa mundi”) than on the Enochic texts at issue.<sup>25</sup> They have also critiqued the “two paradises” thesis of Milik (and Grelot). And while the *Book of Giants* does indeed draw upon Gilgamesh traditions, most evident in the name “Gilgamesh” for a giant, the claim that Dadouel, which never even occurs in the *Book of Giants* or the *Astronomical Book*, alludes to Mašū strains credulity.

Milik, however, was certainly correct that the Enochic *Astronomical Book* is important for interpreting the geography of the *Book of Giants*. The Aramaic version of this book (4Q208–211), which is roughly contemporary with the *Book of Giants*, is more relevant than the Ethiopic, from which it differs substantially.<sup>26</sup> The differences between the two texts are particularly clear in 1 En. 77. 1 Enoch 77:3 in the Ethiopic divides the northern portion of the earth, the last of the four directions that are treated, into three areas: one where people live and a large second region that comprises “seas, the deeps, forests, rivers, darkness and mist.” The third is the garden of righteousness (*gannata sedq*). The Aramaic version of this verse, after discussing the names of the four quadrants of the world (in the order of south, west, north, east [a different order than the Ethiopic]), states: “One of them serves as a place where people live (למדבר בה בני אנשא), one of them ... for deserts (למדברין) and for ... the [paradi]se of righteousness” (לפרדס קושטא) (4Q209 23 8–9). This text is fragmentary and much about it is unclear. The repetition of the phrase “one of them” (חד מנהון) suggests that the areas listed are part of a broader system of demarcating the earth into regions that does not survive in the text. There is no clear warrant, however, for applying Milik’s system of three concentric circles.

25 This map is on tablet BM 92687 (6th century BCE). For criticism of Milik’s schema of three concentric circles, see Coblenz Bartsch, *Study of the Geography*, 234–36; VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77:3,” 278; George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37–82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 492–93. Cf. also Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (2nd ed.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 20–42. For discussion of the two paradises thesis, see Coblenz Bartsch, *Study of the Geography*, 166, 219–20; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts,” in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. P. Luttikhuisen; TBN 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 37–57, esp. 43–45.

26 For an overview of the differences between the Aramaic and Ethiopic versions of the *Astronomical Book*, see VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 351–57. 4Q208 dates to the end of the third or beginning of the second century BCE and 4Q209 was copied around the beginning of the common era (VanderKam, *ibid.*, 337). Consult also Dennis Duke and Matthew J. Goff, “The Astronomy of the Qumran Fragments 4Q208 and 4Q209,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 176–210.

There is a tradition of understanding 4Q209 23 8–9 as demarcating a three-fold demarcation of the entire world, not just the northern quadrant, as one finds in the Ethiopic.<sup>27</sup> It is not clear that one should understand this Qumran text as delineating three divisions. The Aramaic line at issue includes three regions—in order, “where people live,” “deserts” and “[the paradi]se of righteousness.” But these are only the three that are extant. There is space in the lacunae for additional locales.<sup>28</sup> 4Q209 23 8–9 may, however, describe physical features of the world as a whole. The word “earth” comes before the text under discussion. These lines of the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, following an overview of the four quadrants of the earth, may be a poorly preserved summary of the landscape of the entire world.

The main significance of 4Q209 23 8–9 for understanding the geography of the *Book of Giants* is the assertion that there are “deserts” (מדברין) between the human realm and paradise. This parallel suggests that the plural form of the “deserts,” like the “wastelands” of the *Book of Giants*, signifies one enormous desert rather than multiple areas.<sup>29</sup> More importantly, the *Aramaic Astronomical Book* sheds light on a key question that the *Book of Giants* never answers: *where* is Enoch when Mahaway meets him? On the basis of the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, one can reasonably posit that the giant, once he crosses the great desert, reaches Eden, where Enoch lives and where his meeting with him takes place. This thesis is supported by other Enochic traditions.

27 Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 190, for example, reconstructs the phrase “[And thus are divided the three par]ts of the earth (תלת פלוגת ארעא)” in 4Q209 23 8. So understood, this statement functions as a sort of heading for the rest of ll. 8–9, quoted above. A similar supplement is suggested by Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Notes, in Consultation with James C. VanderKam, with an Appendix on the ‘Astronomical’ Chapters (72–82) by Otto Neugebauer* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 416. See also VanderKam, *1 Enoch* 2, 491.

28 Compare the second extant item (“the deserts”) in the Aramaic of 4Q209 23 8–9 with the second area (of the north) of *1 En.* 77:3 according to the Ethiopic: “the seas, the deeps, forests, rivers, darkness and mist.” Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 291, considers the deserts to have been omitted from the list of areas in the Ethiopic. See also his “Hénoch au pays des aromates,” 76. Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 191, reconstructs 4Q209 23 8–9 in a similar way.

29 See n. 16.

## 6 A Paradise Beyond the Desert and a Sea: Imagining the East in the *Book of the Watchers*

In the *Book of the Watchers*, when Enoch journeys with the angels, they fly over a desolate desert on their way eastward to paradise. This travel begins in Jerusalem. The Greek (G<sup>pan</sup>) of 1 En. 28:1, which is not available in Aramaic, asserts that Enoch “went from there to the midst of a desert and saw it desolate” (cf. 29:1). The word for “desert” is Μανδοβαρά, a Greek adaptation of the Aramaic מַדְבָּרָא; this locale is described as “desolate” (ἔρημος). These two terms that signify a desert are in parallelism, like “wastelands” and “the great desert” in 4Q530 7 ii 5. The eastern desert of 1 En. 28 does not necessarily fit modern conceptions of an actual desert. Verse 2 states “water was pouring forth from above.”<sup>30</sup> This language does not simply denote rain or streams. It recalls the cosmology of Gen 1 and the claim in Gen 7:11 that the flood began when portals in the heavens opened. The imagery of desert and water merge, both denoting areas that separate the human world from paradise (cf. 1 En. 77:7). The deserts and water likely signify mythic chaos, physical space that God has not organized or established for human habitation, that is beyond the fringes of the known world. This view is supported by other locales of Enoch’s itinerary. After the desert of 1 En. 28, Enoch passes over other regions and bodies of water, culminating with the Red Sea, understood as a large sea at the eastern extremity of the world, beyond which is darkness (28:2–32:1). The Red Sea corresponds to a “great river” he visits at the western edge of the earth (17:6). While the *Book of Watchers* does not necessarily rely upon a system of three concentric circles, as Milik and Grelot argued, one can reasonably contend that the eastern and western waters express a geographical schema that is like the Okeanos, the great river that, according to Greek myth, circumscribes the disk of the world, or the Mesopotamian *marratu* (the salt sea), a body of water that was likewise thought to encircle the earth (cf. 3 Bar. 2:1 [Gk]).<sup>31</sup>

There is no evidence that the *Book of Giants* had, like the *Book of the Watchers*, some conception of a world-river that surrounds the earth. The desert of 4Q530 7 ii is not mingled with water imagery, in contrast to 1 En. 28–32. However, the desert of the *Book of Giants*, like that of the *Book of the Watchers*, may likewise denote chaos. In the Hebrew Bible the wilderness is at times described

30 For text-critical issues regarding this verse, see 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), 320; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 232–33.

31 So Coblenz Bartsch, *Study of the Geography*, 184. For more on the *marratu*, see Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 21, 29–30.

with chaos language and imagery. The desert can be the haunt of strange creatures that are far removed from the realm of human domestication, such as Azazel in Lev 16, or Lilith in Isa 34. Some scriptural texts also describe the desert with chaos terminology.<sup>32</sup> The *Book of Giants* may draw on this tradition.

In the *Book of the Watchers*, after Enoch crosses the Red Sea, he sees the “paradise of righteousness” ([פרדס קשט]א ; ὁ παράδεισος τῆς δικαιοσύνης; *gannata sedq*; 1 En. 32:2–3). This is Eden; it states that this is where Adam and Eve disobeyed God (v. 6; cf. 25:4; 4 Ezra 8:52; L.A.E. 25:3). The *Book of the Watchers* does not envision Eden as in heaven but rather beyond the eastern fringes of the known world, separated from the human realm by a desert and a large body of water (cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 21:4–6).<sup>33</sup> The journey of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers* describes a geographical arrangement similar to that of the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*. Enoch starts at the center of the world (Jerusalem) and moves on to the desert and other areas. Having passed them, he approaches the paradise of righteousness, using the same phrase found in 4Q209 23 9.<sup>34</sup> Both compositions attest a geographical sequence that goes from where people live to deserts to paradise. Whereas the *Book of the Watchers* asserts explicitly that this paradise is the Eden of Adam and Eve, the *Aramaic Astronomical Book* does not. The former text is unambiguous that this paradise is in the East. The *Aramaic Astronomical Book* may assume this to be the case but never clearly makes this assertion. Genesis 2:8 is likely important for the view that Eden is in the East, since this verse situates it “in the East” (מקדם; LXX: κατὰ ἀνατολάς).<sup>35</sup> This tradition suggests that the author of the *Book of Giants* also understood the paradise of righteousness to be in the east, a position that does not accord

32 Isaiah 34:11, for example, combines desert imagery with the term בָּהֶרֶו, a major word in Gen 1. Job 38:26–27, examined above, with its claim that only God can bring life to the desolate desert, occurs in the context of his assertions that he has dominion over Leviathan and Behemoth, monsters that are well-known symbols of primordial chaos. The book of Job thus considers God’s supremacy over the desert to be similar to his mythic victory over chaos. Also, as discussed below, some Early Jewish texts associate Behemoth with a desert. See Robert Barry Leal, *Wilderness in the Bible: Towards a Theology of Wilderness* (New York: Lang, 2004), 70–75; Laura Feldt, ed., *Wilderness in Mythology and Religion: Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012).

33 Philip S. Alexander, “Geography (Early Jewish),” in *ABD* 2.978–88, esp. 984.

34 4Q206 1 xxvi 21 (1 En. 32:3) reads [פרדס קשט]א ; 4Q209 23 9 attests קושטא [פרד]. Puech, *DJD* 31, 38, 40, supplements the phrase “paradise of righteousness” on the basis of the 4Q206 text.

35 Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise” 42.

with Milik's claim that the desert is in the North.<sup>36</sup> The account of Enoch's journey in the *Book of the Watchers* supports the assertion that in the *Book of Giants* Mahaway leaves the inhabited world and then travels over a vast desert to reach paradise, the location of Enoch.

## 7 The Desert of Behemoth and Paradise in the *Similitudes of Enoch*

The *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 En. 37–71), like the other Enochic texts that are under discussion, presents Enoch as dwelling in paradise, understood as beside a desert. 1 Enoch 60:8 asserts: “But the name of the male is Behemoth, who occupies with his breast the trackless desert named Dundayn, on the East of the garden (*ba-mešrāqa gannat*) where the chosen and righteous dwell, where my great-grandfather (Enoch) was taken up” (cf. 61:5).<sup>37</sup> The term Dundayn is an adaptation of Doudael from the *Book of the Watchers*, in which it is the name of the desert where the watchers are buried because of their misdeeds (10:4).<sup>38</sup>

36 The *Book of Giants* never makes explicit the direction of Mahaway's travel to Enoch. Note, as mentioned above, that Puech's reconstruction of 4Q530 7 ii supplements an eastward direction for the giant's journey to the extant text. This position is also supported by the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. This text, which dates to the third century CE, was in the canon of Manichaean scriptures and has extensive parallels with the Qumran *Book of Giants* text, suggesting some sort of direct relationship between the two compositions. In one fragment of the Manichaean work (Text B), which is preserved in the Uighur language, a giant who corresponds to Mahaway flies close to the sun “at the point of rising,” suggesting that he is flying in the east. He is warned by Enoch, whose voice he hears from the South, that he is too close to the sun. For an overview of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* and its relationship to the Qumran *Book of Giants*, see Goff, *When Giants Walked the Earth*, Appendix I. See also Walter B. Henning, “The Book of Giants,” *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46): 52–74, esp. 65.

37 This verse is part of a unit (vv. 7–10 + 24) that is considered a secondary addition to 1 Enoch 60. See Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 2, 239; Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 1.170, 2.144. Consult also Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise,” 48; K. William Whitney, *Two Strange Beasts: Leviathan and Behemoth in Second Temple and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007).

38 The Ethiopic of the place name is often spelled in 1 En. 60:8 as *dunudāyn*, but there is significant variation among the manuscripts. Drawing on the verse's assertion that this region is east of Eden, Charles argued that the name “Dundayn” is a corruption of “Nod,” which according to Gen 4:16 is east of Eden. See Robert Henry Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch: Edited from Twenty-Three MSS. Together with the Fragmentary Greek and Latin Versions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906), 105; Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 115.

In the *Similitudes* it becomes the name of a desert that makes Enoch's paradise unapproachable. The *Similitudes* asserts that this desert is exceptionally large ("trackless desert"). The size of the desert is conveyed by its association with Behemoth. 4 *Ezra* associates this monster with a massive region of dry land: "And you gave Behemoth one of the parts that has been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains" (6:51; cf. 2 *Bar.* 29:4). By invoking this creature, 1 *En.* 60 associates the desert with chaos traditions, which, as I argued above, is also true in the cases of the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of Giants*.<sup>39</sup> The *Similitudes* never mentions a world-river that separates Eden from the human realm, unlike 1 *En.* 28–32, but 1 *En.* 60 does claim that Behemoth was separated from Leviathan, who is associated with the seas. While the *Similitudes* clearly attests geographical traditions found elsewhere in Enochic literature, its arrangement of physical space appears to be rather different from the texts discussed above. The placement of the desert of Behemoth is to the east of paradise, and this makes it difficult to assume that in the *Similitudes* a great desert lay between the human realm and paradise, as I have argued is the case in the *Book of Giants*, the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*.<sup>40</sup> These three books were circulated or composed during the second century BCE, whereas the *Similitudes* was written later (first century CE). So it should not be surprising that it attests a geographical scheme that is somewhat different from these other texts.

The claim in 1 *En.* 60:8 that Enoch was "taken up" to the garden where the chosen and righteous dwell elaborates the tradition, based on Gen 5:24, that God took him.<sup>41</sup> The *Similitudes of Enoch* relates that Enoch was moved to where angels had measured out with cords the "place of the chosen and the

39 Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 2, 242, suggests that the phrase "trackless desert" (*badw za'ityyāstar'i*), literally the "desert that cannot be seen," is a translation of ἔρημος ἀόρατος. The first word of this phrase describes the desert in 1 *En.* 28:1. He intriguingly proposes that the phrase alludes to the chaos of Gen 1:2, since the Septuagint renders יְהוָה with ἀόρατος.

40 The location of paradise is also different in these texts. In the *Similitudes* it is not in the east as in the *Book of the Watchers*, with 1 *En.* 70:3 affirming that it is between the northeast and the west and 61:1 that it is in the northeast.

41 While the reference to Enoch being "taken up" (*tamaṭṭawa*) recalls Gen 5:24, the verb in the Ethiopic of this verse, however, is *kabata* ("to hide"). Some Ethiopic manuscripts add to Gen 5:24 that God hid Enoch "in the garden" (*westa gannat*), alluding to the tradition under discussion. The LXX version of this verse also hints at Enoch's ascension. It translates the key Hebrew verb of this verse, נָקַח ("took"), with μετέθηκεν ("transferred"). See Augustus Dillmann, ed., *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Primus, sive Octateuchus Aethiopicus* (3 fasc.; Leipzig: Sumptibus Fr. Crr. Guil. Vogelii, 1853–55), 1.11.



righteous" (1 En. 70:3), an act also mentioned in 1 En. 61:1–5 (cf. v. 12).<sup>42</sup> The assertion in the *Similitudes* that Enoch has already ascended is different from the *Book of the Watchers*. In 1 En. 32 he sees the garden during his travels but does not enter it. The *Book of the Watchers* contains a narrative about Enoch before he made this final ascent (cf. 1 En. 81:1–6). The *Similitudes* assumes this pivotal event has already taken place. This also appears to be the case in the *Book of Giants*. The author of this composition assumed that Enoch is far away and saw no reason to explain how the sage got there. The composition relies upon the trope attested in the *Similitudes* that Enoch has already ascended and is removed from the human realm.

## 8 Enoch in Eden

The book of *Jubilees* also asserts that Enoch was placed in the garden of Eden: "He was taken from human society and we led him into the garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind" (4:23; cf. 8:19).<sup>43</sup> The following verse claims that the flood did not destroy Eden because of Enoch (contrast 3 Bar. 4:10).<sup>44</sup> In *Jub.* 4, Eden is on the earth, in the East (v. 26).<sup>45</sup> There is no sense, however, that this garden is separated from the human world by a desert, in contrast to the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*. The claim that Enoch spends his time in the garden writing down transgressions that occur on earth is significant for

42 Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 2, 322.

43 This translation is from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Critical Text and Translation* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 2:28.

44 In *Jubilees* Eden should probably be understood as on a mountain, although this is not evident in the Ethiopic. *Jubilees* 4:23 reads in the Ethiopic "garden of Eden" (*gannata 'edom*), but the Syriac has "the mountain of paradise" (*twr' dprdy's*). The Syriac likely attests the older reading since *Jub.* 4:26 enumerates four places as sacred on the earth, Eden and three mountains. It is likely that the sequence originally listed four mountains. This would also explain why the flood did not reach Eden. This trope may be influenced by Ezek 28, which describes Eden as a mountain. See James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984), 187–88.

45 For the text-critical background of the statement that Eden is in the east, see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.29. Also contrast 2 *Enoch*, according to which Enoch's final ascent is to Eden, understood not as on this world but rather in the third heaven (42:3; cf. 8:1–4; 3 En. 5:5).

the *Book of Giants*. 4Q203 8, as a written communication from Enoch to the watchers and giants that summarizes their sins and the divine judgment against them, is an example of the kind of writing activity *Jubilees* attributes to Enoch in Eden.

The story of the birth of Noah at the end of 1 *Enoch* likely attests the tradition that Enoch is in Eden as well, although this cannot be stated conclusively. Methusaleh, like Mahaway, makes a long journey to visit Enoch to acquire knowledge from him. 1 *En.* 106:7 asserts that Enoch's "dwelling is with the angels." While this claim could be reasonably read as a reference to heaven, the following verse indicates that this is not the case. Enoch in v. 8 explains that Methusaleh found him at "the ends of the earth" (*ʿaṣnāfa medr*). In 1 *En.* 33:1, once the visionary has seen paradise, he travels to "the ends of the earth" (*ʿaṣnāfa medr*), where he observes unusual beasts and the gates of heaven. That both verses attest this phrase suggests that the birth-of-Noah story in 1 *En.* 106–107 utilizes a conception of the world that is similar to that of the *Book of the Watchers*, which presents Enoch in Eden, located at the eastern extremity of the world. 1 *Enoch* 106–107 never explicitly states, however, that Enoch's locale at the ends of the earth is in fact Eden. The assertion in 1 *En.* 106:7–8 that Enoch is with the angels at the edge of the world is consistent with the tradition that God stationed angels in Eden (*Jub.* 3:15; cf. 2 *En.* 8:8; 3 *Bar.* 4:7).

The *Genesis Apocryphon*, in its variation of the birth-of-Noah story, attests similar geographical traditions. In 1QapGen 2:23 Methusaleh finds Enoch in Parvain (פרוין). This name is obscure, but in 2 Chron 3:6 Parvaim is where Solomon procured the gold to make the temple. Pierre Grelot has argued that Parvain signifies the garden in which Enoch lives.<sup>46</sup> While there is not enough information in the *Genesis Apocryphon* to support this claim conclusively, Grelot's suspicion may be correct.<sup>47</sup> According to Daniel Machiela's edition of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, 1QapGen 2:23 states that Methusaleh "went through the length of the land of Parvain, and there he found the end of [the] ea[rth] ([קץ ארעא])."<sup>48</sup> This recalls the emphasis in 1 *En.* 106:8 on Enoch being at the

46 See his "Parvaïm, des Chroniques à l'Apocryphe de la Genèse," *VT* 11 (1961): 30–38 at 35; Grelot, "Retour au Parvaïm," *VT* 14 (1964): 155–63 at 158; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 41. There have also been efforts to transcribe the word "east" before Parvain in 1QapGen 2:23, but this reading should probably not be adopted. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (3rd ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 136.

47 So also Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 137.

48 Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17* (STJD 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 37.



ends of earth, which, as argued above, can be plausibly understood as an allusion to Eden.

## 9 Conclusion

While the *Book of Giants* itself only provides minimal evidence for understanding its geographical scheme, the composition's brief allusions to this topic can be better understood within the context of the Enochic traditions of Early Judaism. This garden is often conceptualized as a location at the eastern extremity of the world, separated from the human realm by a vast desert. This is the case in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, and similar traditions are preserved in *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*. This material suggests that the *Book of Giants* utilizes a conception of the world that is akin to that of the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Aramaic Astronomical Book*. Interpreting Mahaway's journey in this Enochic context helps appreciate the mythic dimension of the composition's geography. The "great desert" of 4Q530 7 ii goes far beyond invoking the desert of Syro-Mesopotamia. It is a vast wasteland that serves as a boundary between the human world and paradise.

I add as a concluding remark that understanding the mythic geography of the *Book of Giants* provides a richer reading of other elements of the text. In the *Book of the Watchers*, when Enoch journeys to the extremities of the world, he flies to them with angels. This mode of transportation allows him to visit areas that normally humans cannot reach, or as it says in 1 En. 17:6, "where no human *walks* (περιπατεῖ)" (emphasis mine; cf. 19:3). The flight of Mahaway should be understood in a similar way. This giant is able to reach Eden because he can fly over a desolate desert that would be, following this logic, impossible to cross on foot. This underscores the extraordinary and difficult nature of the giant's voyage. Asking Mahaway to undertake such an arduous journey highlights how seriously the giants wanted an interpretation to the two visions of 'Ohyah and Hahyah.