

The Divine Courtroom in Comparative Perspective

Edited by

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The Divine Courtroom Scenes of Daniel 7 and the Qumran *Book of Giants*: A Textual and Contextual Comparison

*Joseph L. Angel**

1 Introduction

Due to its inclusion in the Hebrew Bible as well as its profound influence on Christian tradition, Daniel 7 represents the best known portrayal of the divine courtroom from Second Temple Judaism. In this Aramaic passage, the apocalyptic visionary Daniel recounts his dream of four terrifying creatures emerging from the mythical “great sea.” Later in the chapter, the interpreting angel explains that these monsters represent a succession of four world empires that have been given dominion over the earth. The prose description of the four monsters (vv. 2–8) is followed by the climax of the vision, a poetic account of the divine courtroom (vv. 9–10):¹

⁹As I looked on,
Thrones were set in place,
And the Ancient of Days sat down.
His garment was like white snow,
And the hair of his head was like lamb's wool.
His throne was tongues of flame;
Its wheels were blazing fire.

¹⁰ A river of fire streamed forth before him;
Thousands upon thousands served him;
Ten thousand times ten thousand were standing before him;
The court sat and the books were opened.

* Assistant Professor of Bible, Yeshiva University. I wish to thank Angela Kim Harkins and Aaron Koller for reading an earlier draft of this paper. This paper was prepared prior to the publication of J. Trotter, “The Tradition of the Throne Vision in the Second Temple Period: Daniel 7:9–10, *1 Enoch* 14:18–23, and the *Book of Giants* (4Q530),” *RevQ* 99 (2012): 451–66, which offers an important alternative perspective to many of the issues discussed here.

1 Translations of the Hebrew Bible are drawn from NJPS with several of my own adaptations.

This impressive scene is immediately followed by an account of the judgment of the fourth and most terrifying beast, who is killed and tossed to the flames (no trial is mentioned). Eternal dominion over the earth is then transferred to a mysterious figure who rides in with the clouds of heaven, the “one like a human being”² who represents “the people of the holy ones of the Most High” (v. 27). Since the fourth beast is to be identified with the Macedonian Seleucid Empire and its blaspheming “horn” with Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE), and the people of the holy ones with the Jewish people, the chapter, at least in its present form, is commonly dated to the period of the Antiochan crisis (167–164 BCE).³ The text’s portrayal of the divine courtroom would then serve as a powerful reassurance to the oppressed Jews of this period that their suffering was far from random or meaningless—rather it was part of a larger cosmic scheme. More importantly, it affirmed that this struggle was destined to end with the judgment of the wicked Seleucids and the vindication of God’s elect.

A lesser known, but strikingly similar description of the divine courtroom appears in the roughly contemporary Qumran *Book of Giants*, at least nine (and perhaps as many as eleven) ancient manuscripts of which were discovered in four different caves near the shores of the Dead Sea several decades ago.⁴ The story of the identification of these Aramaic manuscripts is an intriguing topic

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- 2 This translation is preferable to the common “one like a son of man,” as it more accurately reflects the meaning of the Aramaic כְּבָר אִנְשׁ.
- 3 Some date the text even more precisely to the period in between the Antiochan decree and the desecration of the temple in late 167 BCE. See, e.g., J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 324. To be sure, there is no consensus on the unity of the chapter, and many scholars see evidence of a complex redactional process, according to which Daniel 7 represents an accretion of traditions of varying antiquity. It is commonly asserted, for example, that vv. 9–10 derive from an older source. See, e.g., J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1927), 296; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 93.
- 4 The following nine manuscripts have been positively identified as copies of the *Book of Giants*: 1Q23, 2Q26, 6Q8, 4Q203, 4Q206 2–3 (=4Q206a), 4Q530, 4Q531, 4Q532, and 4Q533. Two others, 1Q24 and 6Q14, may be related, but their identification remains uncertain. The earliest of the manuscripts, 4Q530, has been dated on paleographical grounds to 100–50 BCE by J. T. Milik (*The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 57) and to around 100 BCE by É. Puech (*Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie* [4Q529–549] [DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001], 12). Since the composition may depend on the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (1 En. 1–36), which may be placed with relative certainty in the third century BCE at the latest, a date in the second century BCE might be proposed. L. T. Stuckenbruck (*The Book of Giants from Qumran* [TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 31–40) contends that the particular Jewish-Hellenistic

in its own right, and I shall not rehearse it again here.⁵ It will suffice for my present purpose to observe that the composition preserved in these Qumran fragments was identified by J. T. Milik in the 1970s as a previously unknown Jewish work that served as the inspiration for the canonical *Book of Giants* long known to have circulated among the Manichaeans (and attributed to Mani himself) that was partially reconstructed for the first time by W. B. Henning in 1946.⁶ Milik noted further that the ancient Jewish composition was closely linked to the vast body of Second Temple period lore that developed around the antediluvian biblical patriarch Enoch, represented especially by the book of *1 Enoch*. As in *1 Enoch*, in this composition Enoch is portrayed as mediating between God and disobedient divine beings, and it may be the case that one of the manuscripts of this work (4Q204) was copied together as part of a copy of *1 Enoch* (4Q203).⁷ Milik thus dubbed the text the Enochic *Book of Giants* and even suggested that it was part of an original Enochic pentateuchal collection. While the latter suggestion has not found acceptance in the field, there is no question of the book's compatibility with Enochic tradition. But even with the large number of manuscripts, the composition remains frustratingly incomplete. Fortunately, both the Manichaean evidence and the well-known Enochic mythological background appearing in *1 Enoch* and other works have aided scholars greatly in their quest to grasp the original structure, content, and meaning of the book (which I will refer to henceforth as *BG*).

cultural backdrop of the text implies a date in the early second century BCE. See further his discussion on pp. 28–31.

- 5 For a detailed account, see J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore and Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), esp. 28–32.
- 6 Prior to the twentieth century, the Manichaean *Book of Giants* was known only in name from Manichaean canon lists, as well as from hostile Christian and Islamic heresiological literature. Milik's identification was made possible by Henning's publication of a partial reconstruction of the Manichaean *Book of Giants* based on remnants of manuscripts in various Middle Iranian languages preserved among the fragments from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. See W. B. Henning, "The Book of Giants," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–1946): 52–74.
- 7 If Milik's suggestion that 4Q203–4Q204 belong to the same manuscript is correct, then the *Book of Giants* was copied together with parts of the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of Dreams*, and the *Epistle of Enoch* as early as the late first century BCE. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 310 and 178–79. His contention remains unverifiable. At the very least 4Q203 and 4Q204 appear to have been copied by the same scribe. Cf. J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977): 54; L. T. Stuckenbruck in S. J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 8–10.

Before turning to *BG*'s account of the divine courtroom, it will be worthwhile to offer a brief description of the contents of the work. Much like the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (*I En.* 1–36; see esp. chapters 6–16), *BG* is an expansion and embellishment of Gen 6:1–4, the mysterious passage in which the “sons of God” (בני האלהים) cohabit with “the daughters of men” (בנות האדם) producing “the famous heroes of old, the men of renown” (גבורים אשר מעולם) (אנשי השם). According to Enochic tradition the origins of evil in the world may be traced back to this primordial tale. The “sons of God” are the angels (known as “the watchers”) who descended from heaven during the generation of Jared, the father of Enoch. Their unnatural union with human women produced the giants, a hybrid race of freakish strength and size that proceeded to terrorize humanity. The great flood of the generation of Noah is God’s response to the wickedness perpetrated by the giants against humanity. (Contrast the biblical account, where the flood represents punishment for the sins of humanity.) *BG* is unique among Enochic writings in that the story is told specifically from the perspective of the giants, who, as in the Manichaean sources, are given personal names such as Ohyah, Hahyah, Mahaway, and, most fascinatingly, Gilgamesh and Hobabish.⁸ The text elaborates upon the murderous and destructive crimes of the giants and centers on how their impending judgment by God is revealed to them through dream-visions that are interpreted by Enoch, “the interpreting scribe” (ספר פרשא).⁹

The following comparison of the divine courtroom scenes of Dan 7:9–10 and *BG* proceeds in two parts. First, the tradition-historical relationship of the texts is considered. Scholars agree that these two passages exhibit a tradition-historical relationship, but there is presently no consensus with regard to the precise nature of the relationship. Second, the study reflects on how Daniel and *BG* deploy the same traditional image of the divine courtroom in the service of two very different apocalyptic orientations. For example, in Daniel the appearance of the court is tied to the judgment of the historical Seleucid Empire and the eschatological salvation for the Jewish people. In *BG*, however, it is linked to primordial times and announces the judgment of the giants, the mythological offspring of heavenly angels and human women who filled the earth with violence and corruption. The study concludes with a brief consideration of the

8 These last two names are connected to the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and bespeak familiarity with Babylonian traditions. On the basis of evidence from the Manichaean *Book of Giants* (*Kawān*), J. C. Reeves argues that a giant named Utnapishtim was mentioned in the original Aramaic composition as well (“Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?” *JBL* 112 [1993]: 110–15).

9 On the meaning of the phrase ספר פרשא, see Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 117–19.

social matrix that engendered the appearance of the same tradition in such different apocalyptic contexts.

2 Textual Comparison

The passage of interest for comparison with Daniel 7 appears in the dream-vision of the giant named Ohyah in 4Q530 2 ii 16–20:¹⁰

<i>Ohyah's dream-vision</i>	<i>Daniel 7:9–10</i>
ה[א שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת וכרסון יחיטו וקדישא רבא ית]ב	חזה הוית עד די כרסון רמיו ועתיק יומין יתב
	לבושה כתלג חור ושער ראשה כעמר נקא כרסיה שבבין די נור גלגלוהי נור דלק נהר די נור נגד ונפק מן קדמוהי
מאה מ[אין לה משמשין אלף אלפין לה] כ[ל [ק]דמוהי יקומון	אלף אלפים (אלפין) ישמשונה ורבו רבון (רבבון) קדמוהי יקומון
וארון [ספר]ין פתיחו ודין אמיר ודין [בכתב כ]תיב וברשם רשים] לכל היא בשרא ועל [...].שין עד כא סוף חלמא	דינא יתב וספרין פתיחו [...] עד כה סופא די מלתא (7:27)
Be]hold, The ruler of the heavens came down to the earth, And thrones were erected	As I looked on, Thrones were set in place,

¹⁰ See the edition of Puech, DJD 31, 9–115.

And the Great Holy One sat d[own].

And the Ancient of Days sat down.
His garment was like white snow,
And the hair of His head was like
lamb's wool. His throne was tongues
of flame;
Its wheels were blazing fire.
A river of fire streamed forth before
Him;

A hundred hu]ndreds were serving
Him,
A thousand thousands [(were) . . .]
Him. [A]ll were standing [b]efore
Him.

Thousands upon thousands were
serving Him;
Ten thousand times ten thousand
were standing before Him;

And behold, [book]s were opened,
And judgment was proclaimed.
And the judgment [. . .in a book]
was [wri]tten and recorded in an
inscription [. . .] for all the living and
the flesh and upon [. . .]
Here is the end of the dream.

The court sat and the books were
opened.
[. . .]
Here is the end of the account.
(Dan 7:27)

As Loren Stuckenbruck observes, these passages share numerous lexical items (“throne,” “sit down,” “serve,” “thousand,” “before,” “stand,” “book,” “open”). Even more strikingly, seven of these terms appear in identical grammatical form, and there is a remarkably similar sequence of phraseology.¹¹ The order in which the following five phrases in *BG* appear matches the sequence of the parallel phrases in Dan 7:9–10: “thrones were erected,” “he sat d[own],” “a thou-

11 L. Stuckenbruck, “The Throne-Theophany of the Book of Giants: Some New Light on the Background of Daniel 7,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (2 vols.; ed. S. Porter and C. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 2:217–18. The identical forms include the following: “thrones” = ברסון, “he sat down” = יתב, “books” = ספרין, “they were opened” = פתוחו, “before him” = קדמוהי, “they were standing” = יקומון, “thousand” = אלף, “thousands” = אלפין. One might add the phrase “until here” = עד כא, but in Daniel it appears only after the interpretation of the vision is given, whereas in *BG* it appears immediately after the vision itself.

sand thousands,” “[a]ll were standing before him,” and “[book]s were opened.” The order of the words within the parallel phrases is similar as well. Such details have sufficed to convince scholars of the tradition-historical relationship of these two texts. The differences between them, however, are difficult to interpret and do not readily reveal the precise nature of the relationship. There has been a good deal of debate on this topic in recent years and many possible explanations could be imagined. Most simply, *BG* could be directly dependent on Daniel or vice versa. This option is closely linked to the question of compositional priority. For instance, largely based on his conviction that *BG* postdates Daniel, Milik concludes that the latter served as the source for the former.¹² Since *BG* could just as easily date before Daniel, other scholars have claimed that Daniel was directly influenced by *BG*.¹³ A more complex relationship, according to which both works depend on a common source, is also conceivable. According to this model, the relative dating of *BG* and Daniel cannot be considered decisive as it is possible that the later of the two works preserves a more faithful form of an older tradition. In other words, regardless of compositional priority, it is possible either that *BG* preserves an earlier form of the tradition utilized by Daniel,¹⁴ or that Daniel preserves an earlier form of the tradition utilized by *BG*.¹⁵ Another recent proposal views these passages as independently crafted iterations of a shared oral tradition.¹⁶

Naturally, the best explanation of the source-critical relationship will account for both similarities and differences. The major divergences between the passages may be divided into textual and contextual differences. The present section of this study will deal mostly with the textual differences, while the following section will center on the contextual ones.

2.1 *Textual Differences*

(1) In *BG*, the divine courtroom convenes on earth. God descends. In Daniel 7, the location is never mentioned. In verse 13, however, the “one like a human

12 Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 58. Cf. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 115.

13 So H. Kvanvig, “Throne Visions and Monsters: The Encounter between Danielic and Enochic Traditions,” *ZAW* 117 (2005): 249–72; see esp. pp. 257–58.

14 Argued by Stuckenbruck, “Throne-Theophany”; idem, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (2 vols.; ed. J. Collins and P. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:368–86; esp. 378–84.

15 Argued by R. Stokes, “The Throne Visions of Daniel 7, 1 *Enoch* 14, and the Qumran *Book of Giants* (4Q530): An Analysis of Their Literary Relationship,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 340–58.

16 See Trotter, “Tradition of the Throne Vision,” 451–66.

being” approaches God “with the clouds of heaven,” so it may be inferred that the courtroom is in heaven.

(2) *BG* refers to God as the “Great Holy One,” while in Daniel he is called the “Ancient of Days.”

(3) Daniel describes the clothing and hair of the enthroned one, as well as the fiery appearance of the throne and its wheels (cf. Ezek 1; *1 En.* 14:18–23). *BG* has no corresponding account.

(4) The number of court attendants differs. In *BG* there appear to be hundreds and thousands,¹⁷ whereas in Daniel there are thousands and tens of thousands.

(5) *BG* has three cola describing the acts of these servants. Daniel has only two.

(6) In *BG* God alone sits on a throne of judgment while in Daniel other thrones are occupied by the “court.”

(7) Daniel refers to “one like a human being” (v. 13). It may be that this figure is to be envisioned as enthroned as well (as suggested by Rabbi Akiva: “one [throne] for God, one for David” [*b. Hag.* 14a; *Sanh.* 38b]). No such figure appears in *BG*.

(8) Both texts refer to the opening of books, which constitute the divine record of deeds that will serve as the basis for condemnation. But whereas Daniel contains no further details of the courtroom procedure, *BG* offers an expansive but fragmentary account of the recording of the judgment. The words “for all the living and the flesh and upon . . .” may refer to the punishment of the flood (cf. Gen 6:17: “I am about to bring the flood—waters upon the earth—to destroy all flesh under the sky in which there is breath of life; everything on earth shall perish.”).

2.2 Contextual Differences

(9) Who is judged? In *BG* it is the mythological hybrid giants. In Daniel the fourth beast is non-human and hybrid in form as well. But this beast has a clear historical referent, the Seleucid Empire and King Antiochus IV.

(10) In *BG*, the judgment of the giants has a universal impact—it is good for all of humanity. The judgment of the fourth beast in Daniel brings about the political autonomy and salvation of God’s elect alone.

(11) The courtroom of *BG* convenes in primordial times. Daniel’s courtroom is eschatological.

17 “A hundred hundreds” in *BG* (4Q530 2 ii 17) is partially reconstructed, but a plausible reading in my view. Cf. Puech, DJD 31, 36; Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 119–20.

(12) The courtroom of *BG* convenes on earth. Daniel's courtroom is likely in heaven.

(13) In *BG*, the divine courtroom scene appears in the dream-vision of Ohyah, a sinful giant. In Daniel it is witnessed by Daniel, a righteous and worthy human being. In each case, the meaning of the vision is unclear and requires interpretation by a second figure. For Ohyah it is the worthy human Enoch, and for Daniel it is "one of the attendants," an angel.

From differences (3), (4), (6), and (7) it initially appears that Daniel is the more developed text. But the picture is not entirely consistent. *BG* is longer in three places, represented by differences (1), (5), and (8). Even so, many scholars have been inclined to view Daniel as the more developed text, both literarily and theologically. Loren Stuckenbruck has been a prominent advocate of this approach.¹⁸ According to him, the expansive account of judgment in *BG* (difference [8]; as far as I can see, he does not explicitly explain the other instances where *BG* is expansive) should not be taken to mean that *BG* is more developed. Rather, it may be understood as an addition to the otherwise more original form of the tradition emanating from "the author's particular concern with the assurance that God's judgment against the giants is irreversible and final."¹⁹ This emphasis would be a polemical response to certain Hellenistic-Jewish traditions of the early to mid-second century BCE (vestiges of which are also to be found in rabbinic literature), according to which some giants survived the flood and mediated learning and culture to humanity through the likes of Abraham.²⁰ As for the extra details in Daniel, for Stuckenbruck they were more likely added to Daniel than removed from *BG*. A linchpin in his argument is difference (4), the differing numbers of attendants recorded in each text. The numbers are far more likely to have been inflated than diminished, so it is likely that *BG*'s "hundreds" and "thousands" are more faithful to the original tradition than Daniel's "thousands" and "ten thousands." Moreover, he argues that it is more likely that the description of the throne and the figure seated upon it were added by Daniel than that they were removed by *BG*. The addition of these details is explained as stemming from the "formative influence" of the chariot-throne vision of Ezekiel 1²¹ and the account of Enoch's ascent

18 See also Puech, DJD 31, 13–14; E. Eshel, "Possible Sources of the Book of Daniel," in *Book of Daniel*, 2:390–92.

19 "Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions," 383.

20 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 31–40.

21 For the use of Ezekiel 1 in Daniel 7, see, e.g., D. Halperin, *Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (TSAJ 16; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1988), 74–78; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 95–113.

to heaven in *1 Enoch* 14. This latter text has been especially prominent in discussions of the source history of Daniel 7:9–10 in relation to *BC* and therefore warrants further discussion.

1 Enoch 14 is a key chapter in the *Book of the Watchers*, one of the earliest parts of the book of *1 Enoch* (middle of the third century BCE and earlier).²² In this passage, Enoch is commissioned by God to pronounce judgment on the sinful watchers. In a vision he ascends to the heavenly temple and beholds the deity's throne-room. Although the vision is not of the divine courtroom, the court motif is fundamental to the context (Enoch is sent to pronounce judgment at the end of the vision).

Daniel 7:9–10

As I looked on,
Thrones were set in place,
And the Ancient of Days sat down.
His garment was like white snow,
And the hair of his head was like
lamb's wool.
His throne was tongues of flame;
Its wheels were blazing fire.

A river of fire streamed forth before
him;

*1 Enoch 14:18–23*²³

And I was looking,
And I saw a lofty throne;

And its appearance was like ice;
And its wheels were like the shining
sun;
And its <guardians> were cherubim;
And from beneath the throne issued
streams of flaming fire.
And I was unable to see.
And the Great Glory sat upon it;
His raiment was like the appearance
of the sun and whiter than much
snow.

22 See G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 230; J. Charlesworth, "A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books," *Hen* 24 (2002): 225–34.

23 Unfortunately no Aramaic version of *1 En.* 14 has survived from antiquity. For an attempt to retrovert the text to Aramaic for the purpose of comparison with Daniel 7, see H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 561–62. The text and translation presented here follow Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 257.

And no angel could enter into this house and behold his face because of the splendor and glory; and no flesh could behold him.

Flaming fire encircled him, and a great fire stood by him; and none of those about him approached him.

Thousands upon thousands were serving him;
Ten thousand times ten thousand were standing before him;

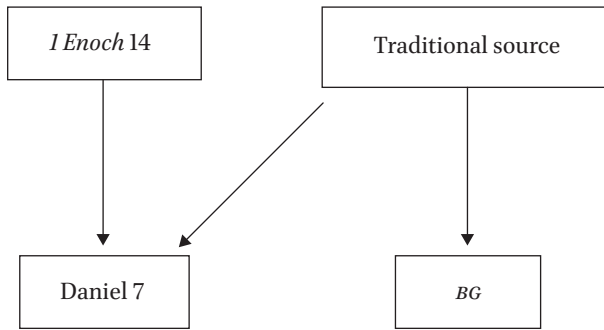
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; but he needed no counselor; his every word was deed;

And the holy ones of the watchers who approached him did not depart by night, nor <by day> did they leave him.

The court sat and the books were opened.

There is a general recognition that both texts are genetically related to earlier biblical throne visions, especially Ezekiel 1. Moreover, the common appearance in each passage of elements that appear nowhere in the earlier biblical throne visions, such as the river(s) of fire, the whiteness of God's clothing and its comparison to snow, and the entourage of ten thousand times ten thousand, is widely taken as an indication of some sort of literary dependency.²⁴ Perhaps due to the consensus that *1 Enoch* predates Daniel 7, there has been a tendency to view the former as a seminal source for the latter. This, in fact, is Stuckenbruck's view. Thus, returning to his explanation of the tradition-historical relationship between *BG* and Daniel 7, the extra description of the throne and the enthroned one in Daniel is understood as drawing directly from *1 Enoch* 14 (as well as Ezekiel 1). *BG*, on the other hand, was uninterested in these speculative details and remained more faithful to its underlying source. Stuckenbruck's view may be summarized visually as follows:

²⁴ See, however, Collins, *Daniel*, 300, who suggests that "direct literary influence cannot be proven" (even as he hypothesizes about possible directions of influence). See also now Trotter, "Tradition of the Throne Vision," 460, who posits that these two works are "independently relying on a shared, but still slightly changing, oral tradition about the appearance of the divine throne."



There are good reasons to question this schematization. First of all, while the *Book of the Watchers* does predate Daniel 7, it may still be the case that Daniel preserves the older throne vision tradition. This position has been argued convincingly in a recent study by Ryan Stokes.²⁵ His argument rests on two main observations. The first derives from the following comparison.

Daniel 7:9

And the Ancient of Days sat down.
His garment was like white snow,
And the hair of his head was like
lamb's wool.

1 Enoch 14:20–21

And the Great Glory sat upon it;
His raiment was like the appearance
of the sun and whiter than much
snow.

And no angel could enter into this
house and behold his face because of
the splendor and glory; and no flesh
could behold him.

Both of these passages begin with a vision of the enthroned deity and move immediately to the whiteness of his clothing, followed by details of his appearance. The shared sequence reinforces the impression of a close relationship between the accounts. But whereas Daniel provides the “lamb’s wool” simile engendering the anthropomorphic image of God as an elderly white-haired man, *1 Enoch* refrains from such a physical description and emphasizes that his face could not be seen due to the “splendor and glory.” The image in Daniel has been related to portrayals of the Canaanite god El surrounded by his council found in the Ugaritic corpus.²⁶ Strikingly, while no other biblical passage refers

²⁵ Stokes, “Throne Visions,” 340–58.

²⁶ See, e.g., J. A. Emerton, “The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery,” *JTS* 9 (1958): 225–42.

to God's hair or its color, the grey beard of El is mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, and he is also called "Father of Years" (*'ab šnm*), an epithet similar in meaning to "Ancient of Days," which is a biblical *hapax legomenon*.²⁷ By contrast, by stating that God's face cannot be seen, *1 Enoch* is in harmony with biblical tradition (see Exod 33, Judg 13, and Isa 6). It is unlikely, avers Stokes, that "Daniel would replace the glorious God, upon whom neither humans nor angels can cast their gaze, with the superbly anthropomorphic gray-haired old man. One would expect, on the other hand, an ancient Jewish author to alter Daniel's vision according to the biblical tradition that one cannot see God."²⁸ Indeed, this explanation would be harmonious with the trend in Jewish apocalyptic literature of this period to increasingly avoid anthropomorphic imagery.²⁹ Moreover, if *1 Enoch* 14 has in fact transferred the scene to the heavenly temple setting, it would suit the author of Daniel's agenda to include the glory language and to alter the description of the deity. It appears that the anthropomorphic Ancient of Days has been replaced in *1 Enoch* 14 by the Great Glory of the heavenly temple, who is too glorious to be viewed. On the other hand, if we imagine that Daniel 7 is dependent on *1 Enoch* 14, it would be very difficult to explain why the author of Daniel would add details concerning his "ancient" appearance.

The second point derives from a comparison of the following isolated passages.

Daniel 7:10

Ten thousand times ten thousand
were standing before him;
The court sat and the books were
opened.

1 Enoch 14:22

Ten thousand times ten thousand
stood before him;
but he needed no counselor; his
every word was deed.

Each text speaks of ten thousand times ten thousand attendants who are standing. In Daniel, these details are followed by the convening of the court. The resulting image is of the Ancient of Days seated as the chief justice surrounded by a panel of counselors. In *1 Enoch*, however, the same exact details about the

27 For El's grey beard, see CTA 3.5.10; 4.5.65–66. For the epithet "Father of Years," see CTA 1.3.24; 4.4.24; 6.1.36; 17.6.49. For different possible interpretations of the phrase *'ab šnm*, see B. Becking, "Ancient of Days," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (2d ed.; ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. van der Horst; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 44–45.

28 Stokes, "Throne Visions," 347.

29 See C. Rowland, "The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 137–54.

attendants are followed by what appears to be a manipulation of the tradition in Daniel (or a source like it). The text clarifies that God has no need to confer with this multitude (or, for that matter, with anyone else) in order to determine judgments. The attendants are mere servants, and God comes to decisions by himself (cf. Isa 40:13–14). Stokes suggests that the removal of the divine council in *1 Enoch* might be a further function of the transference of the scene to the heavenly temple. Since the Great Glory is seated in the celestial holy of holies, he is completely unapproachable and thus separated from potential advisors. Whether or not this is the motivation, Stokes appears to be correct that once again it is *1 Enoch* that has altered Daniel (or a source like it) and not the other way around.³⁰

It is worth mentioning a third observation by Stokes that may point in the same direction. Daniel 7 refers to “one like a human being” who “came with the clouds of heaven” while *1 Enoch* 14 makes no such reference.³¹ It may be the case that this role has been adapted to Enoch, who is summoned by the clouds and lifted to the heavens by the wind in his vision (*1 En.* 14:8).³² Unlike the figure in Daniel, however, Enoch is terrified and paralyzed before he can approach God’s throne. Again, this may be seen as an outgrowth of the transference of the scene to the heavenly temple in *1 Enoch* 14. No human, not even Enoch, may approach the Great Glory seated in the celestial holy of holies.

The above reflections call into question Stuckenbruck’s explanation of the relationship between Daniel 7 and *BG*. Since it is likely that *1 Enoch* 14 has drawn from the tradition found in Daniel 7 (or a similar source), the extra details in Daniel vis-à-vis *BG* (the description of the throne, the enthroned one, and the one like a human being) should not be explained as accretions drawn from *1 Enoch*.³³ Moreover, if the *Book of the Watchers*, which nearly all scholars date

30 For a recent critique of Stokes’ position, see Trotter, “Tradition of the Throne Vision,” 457–60. He contends that “all of the additional material in *1 Enoch* does not demand to be seen as a direct reaction to Daniel’s vision, which is necessary to suggest that *1 En.* 14 is a theologically motivated adaptation.” While I would agree that some details in *1 En.* 14 do not appear to reflect a theological response, this does not negate the possibility that others do.

31 See, however, the later *Book of Parables* (*1 En.* 37–71), which clearly depends on Daniel 7 and identifies Enoch with the “Son of Man” figure.

32 See Stokes, “Throne Visions,” 349–51.

33 As for the sources of Daniel, it has been noted above that the speculation about the appearance of the deity relates to Canaanite tradition preserved in texts dated more than a millennium earlier. The appearance of the throne and its blazing wheels draws from Ezekiel 1, and, as Michael Segal has recently argued in an as-yet unpublished paper (“The Theological Background of Daniel 7”), the one like a human being may be seen as

prior to *BG* (and which some identify as one of the principal sources of *BG*), has manipulated the courtroom scene tradition found in Daniel 7 (or a similar source), then it is certainly possible that *BG* has done something similar. If *BG* has indeed removed these extra elements, then his editorial work would represent an even more extreme transformation than that attested in *I Enoch* 14. Unlike the latter, there is no description of the throne or the enthroned one at all. And there is no hint of a figure comparable to the one like a human being. There are several possible explanations for these moves vis-à-vis Daniel—and here some of the contextual differences noted above will be useful. For example, since the courtroom of *BG* is set on earth (a more appropriate setting for the vision of a culpable giant than heaven), the editor may have been driven to remove such numinous details as Daniel's river of fire. The omission of speculation about the throne and enthroned one might be explained as stemming from the identity of the visionary. Ohyah is a sinful giant, and attributing such a detailed vision to him would improperly put him in the company of such worthy visionaries as Daniel, Enoch, and Ezekiel. As for the one like a human being, there is no room for such an eschatological figure in the primordial context of *BG*.³⁴

Strong support for the position that *BG* has manipulated Daniel 7 (or a tradition like it) may be garnered from differences (5) and (6) noted above.

BG

Daniel 7:10

A hundred hu]ndreds were serving
him,
A thousand thousands [(were) ...]
him.

Thousands upon thousands were
serving him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand
were standing before him.

[A]ll were standing [b]efore him.
And behold, [book]s were opened.

The court sat
and the books were opened.

an inner-biblical exegetical development of Deuteronomy 32:7–8 and Psalm 82. I thank Dr. Segal for sharing his work with me.

34 Moreover, the absence of the prime candidate for even a modified version of this role, the patriarch Enoch, is fundamental to the narrative of *BG*. Since the giants are puzzled by their visions they must make efforts to approach Enoch for the correct interpretation.

The *BG* text is fragmentary, but enough has been preserved to enable a meaningful comparison. The sequence is remarkably similar. Each starts with the attendants serving and ends with the books being opened. The *BG* text, however, shows signs of reacting to the Daniel tradition. Three cola, not two, are designated for the acts of the attendants. Precisely where Daniel indicates that the court sat, *BG* maintains that “all” remain standing. The implication is that, as is maintained also by *I Enoch* 14, God is not advised by the entourage and renders judgment by himself. The proposal that it is *BG* that has made the move away from Daniel finds support in the fact that *BG*, like Daniel, mentions the setting up of a plurality of “thrones” at the beginning of the vision. The many thrones befit the context in Daniel, where other members of the divine tribunal are seated around God, but in *BG* they are superfluous. God alone is seated while “all” stand before him. Thus, the reference to thrones in *BG* may be explained as an authentic vestige of the Daniel tradition inadvertently left in the account by the *BG* editor.³⁵ At the same time the inflated numbers in Daniel suggest that the relationship cannot be explained simply as *BG* borrowing directly from Daniel. Daniel too has modified the earlier source. This original tradition upon which both *BG* and Daniel depend likely included a plurality of thrones for the seated divine court as well as attendants numbering in the hundreds and thousands.³⁶

3 Contextual Comparison

I turn now to the function of the divine courtroom scenes in their respective literary contexts. Broadly, both accounts are concerned with the eruption of chaotic forces in the world that are represented by frightening hybrid creatures. In both, the divine helmsman is concerned to corral the earthly mayhem and, as is to be expected in Jewish apocalyptic thought of the Second Temple period, there is never a question of the correctness of God's judgment or the justice of his overall plan.³⁷ No actual trial is necessary as the guilt of the monstrous defendants is obvious to all. Despite these similarities, it is clear that *BG*

35 So Stokes, “Throne Visions,” 354–55.

36 While the *Book of the Watchers* probably is earlier than and may even have served as a direct source for *BG*, it appears that at this point in the narrative *BG* relied on the courtroom tradition behind Daniel rather than the celestial temple vision of *I Enoch* 14.

37 Cf. M. Z. Kensky's summation of Second Temple period portrayals of the divine court: “Nowhere do we have an *Apocolocyntosis*, nowhere is the system described as being corrupt” (*Trying Man, Trying God* [WUNT 2/289; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 180).

and Daniel deploy the same traditional image of the divine courtroom in the service of two very different apocalyptic orientations.³⁸ The divergent perspectives become especially apparent when the contextual differences noted above (and particularly differences [9], [10], and [11]) are considered in further detail.

3.1 *BG*

Like the rest of the voluminous Enochic lore of the Second Temple period, *BG* espouses a specific mythological explanation of the origins of evil and, in turn, of the present state of things in the world. Evil on earth originates not with the disobedience of the first human beings, Adam and Eve, but rather with the rebellion of heavenly beings, the watchers, against God.³⁹ This rebellion leads directly to the conception of the race of the giants, characterized aptly by George Nickelsburg as “the incarnation of the rebellious spirit-nature of their fathers . . . destined for lives of continued rebellion against God and violence against his creation.”⁴⁰ Indeed, creation, including all of humanity, must endure the unhindered violence until God’s intervention, which comes in the form of the great primordial flood. The giants drown in the flood, but their disembodied spirits survive as demonic forces that continue to afflict humanity, though in an attenuated form.⁴¹ According to this etiological myth, then, the persistence of evil in the present post-flood reality is understood as springing from demonic forces ultimately linked to heavenly rebellion in the pre-flood era. Fundamental to this worldview is the conviction that the current freedom of the demons to trouble humanity is only temporary. At the final judgment, the job that God had begun with the flood would be completed, and demonic affliction would end.

While *BG* is fragmentary and does not include all of the details of the composite of the Enochic myth offered above, it is clearly appropriate to understand the function of *BG*’s divine courtroom scene with the aid of some of these details. At the narrative level, the moment of God’s intervention for the wicked acts of the giants is announced through the dream-vision of Ohyah. The advent

38 *BG* is technically not an apocalypse in genre (while Daniel is), but the worldview espoused therein is clearly apocalyptic.

39 For the opposition between the “Enochic axis” and the “Adam and Eve axis,” see M. E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 51–58.

40 “Apocalyptic and Myth in *1 Enoch* 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 389.

41 According to *Jubilees* 10, for instance, only ten percent of these wicked spirits are granted to Satan to wreak havoc on earth in the post-deluge era until the final judgment. The other ninety percent are imprisoned and awaiting punishment. Cf. *1 En.* 15:8–12.

of the divine court on earth functions as a reminder to the audience that a just judge controls earthly chaos and that wickedness will not be left without punishment. But it must be asked how this reassuring image set in primordial times interfaces with an audience living in the post-flood reality. Two possible answers present themselves, and I do not believe them to be mutually exclusive. The first springs from the etiological approach to the myth sketched above. If *BG* shares the common Enochic assumption that the giants continued to exist as spirits after the flood, then the demons actively causing evil in the world of the audience would be conceived of as defeated spirit powers that had already suffered a decisive setback in primordial times and that were poised for total annihilation at the final judgment.⁴² The audience would thus perceive the divine courtroom scene of *BG* not only as a primordial announcement of the “historical” destruction of the bodies of the giants in the *Urzeit*, but also as a proleptic announcement of the imminent destruction of their spirits in the *Endzeit*. This would tally well with the insistence of *BG* (unique in Enochic lore) that the judgment announcing their own doom is revealed directly to the giants. This indeed seems to reflect the view that the giants will continue to exist only as defeated powers cognizant of their vast inferiority and vulnerability in the face of the power of God.⁴³

A second possible answer to the question of how the scene of ante-diluvian judgment might relate to the post-diluvian audience arises from a paradigmatic approach to the myth. According to this option, the myth reflects the projection of a perceived historical crisis to the mythological plane by an author within a third or second century BCE milieu. By omitting any explicit reference to a “real” historical crisis and projecting it into the primordial mythological realm, the anxiety caused by the comparatively insignificant historical events experienced by the author is defused.⁴⁴ In this case, Ohyah’s vision would represent a paradigm for the judgment of real historical oppressors (perhaps Seleucids?) and the vindication of the oppressed Jewish audience.⁴⁵

42 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 39–40. Although the flood is not narrated explicitly in *BG*, there are several allusions to it within the dream visions of the giants, including, perhaps, that of Ohyah. See, e.g., 4Q530 2 ii 7–12, 19–20; 6Q8 2; 2Q26.

43 See Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants*, 39–40. He cites for comparison several NT passages that indicate that demons are well aware of their subservience to God.

44 See further J. J. Collins, “The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 91–111; idem, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 49–51.

45 This approach has been applied to the *Book of the Watchers* by scholars such as D. Suter (“Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16,” *HUCA* 50 [1979]: 115–35) and G. Nickelsburg (“Apocalyptic and Myth”). Although the *Book of the*

Moreover, the unique feature of the revelation of doom-judgment directly to the giants could be construed as a reflection of the belief that the author's historical oppressors will be humbled by their awareness of their ultimate fate. The motif of the humbling of arrogant and wicked oppressors through the revelation of their inferiority vis-à-vis God is of course well-attested in Second Temple literature. One is reminded, for instance, of King Belshazzar's frightful vision of the writing on the wall in Daniel 5 (see also Nebuchadnezzar's dream visions interpreted by Daniel in chapters 2 and 4). Like Ohyah, the arrogant king is not immediately aware of the meaning of the vision and he must call in a venerated visionary to interpret and deliver the bad news of the decree to take away his power. Another interesting example is found in 2 Maccabees, where Antiochus IV is humbled not by a vision, but by a horrible illness sent by God: "Thus he who only a little while before had thought in his superhuman arrogance that he could command the waves of the sea, and had imagined that he could weigh the high mountains in a balance, was brought down to earth and carried in a litter, making the power of God manifest to all" (9:8). At the height of his suffering, a defeated Antiochus exclaims "It is right to be subject to God; mortals should not think that they are equal to God" (9:12). Note also the telling words put into the mouth of Antiochus in 1 Maccabees 6:11–13: "I said to myself, 'To what distress I have come! And into what a great flood (κλύδωνος μεγάλου) I now am plunged! . . . But now I remember the wrong I did in Jerusalem . . . I know that it is because of this that these misfortunes have come upon me.'" In the light of *BG*, it is suggestive that Antiochus equates the punishment for his sinful acts to being in the midst of a great flood. This is not to argue that there is a direct relationship between *BG* and this or any of the above texts. Rather, it suggests a possible motive for *BG*'s unique claim that the judgment of the divine courtroom was revealed to the giants directly. Following the paradigmatic approach, it cannot be ruled out that *BG* is mythologizing the experience of oppression suffered under the Seleucids. The attribution of Babylonian names to the giants Gilgamesh and Hobabish is indeed consistent with an attitude of hostility toward Babylonian-Hellenistic figures of power.⁴⁶

Watchers predates *BG*, it is conceivable that *BG* could have adapted Enochic traditions about the giants in response to a separate historical crisis.

46 See, e.g., D. Jackson, "Demonising Gilgameš," in *Gilgameš and the World of Assyria: Proceedings of the Conference held at Mandelbaum House, The University of Sydney, 21–23 July 2004* (ed. J. Azize and N. Weeks; ANES 21; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 107–14.

3.2 *Daniel 7*

Daniel 7 does not share *BG*'s concern for primordial times. All that is deemed important in history is represented by the four kingdom schema.⁴⁷ Since the four beasts are likely to be identified with the empires of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Macedonia, the schema is oriented toward the historical upheaval experienced by Jews from the Babylonian exile of the sixth century to the time of the author living under Macedonian (Seleucid) hegemony. Early Israelite history is ignored. Whereas *BG* makes clear that the wicked acts of the giants on earth stem from a heavenly rebellion, according to Daniel the four beasts are said to arise from "the great sea." In Canaanite myth, Yamm, the god of the sea, is personified as the challenger of the storm god Baal.⁴⁸ Similar mythical currents are present in biblical tradition, where the sea is often employed as a symbol of the primeval chaotic forces opposed to the divine will (e.g., Job 26:12–13; Ps 89:9–11; cf. Isa 51:9–10; 17:12–14). Since the monsters derive from the mythological waters, the empires they represent are rightly understood as manifestations of the primordial forces of chaos. The integration of the historical crisis of Seleucid domination and persecution into the mythic pattern of the primordial struggle between God and chaos produces a couple of notable results for the audience. First, it transforms the suffering of the righteous at the hands of the wicked from a potentially random and meaningless experience to an earthly manifestation of an all-encompassing transcendent fabric of meaning. Second, since the gentile empires are the earthly shadows of metaphysical chaotic forces, the active resistance of the Jews is futile. Only heavenly intervention could work and this would take place only when the pre-ordained evil had run its course.

Although the four beasts and the empires they represent are rightly understood as manifestations of the primordial forces of chaos, a close reading of the chapter reveals that the beasts are not entirely independent but rather controlled by a higher power, presumably God. Thus the first beast is made to stand on two feet and given a human heart (v. 4). The second is commanded to "arise, devour much flesh" (v. 5). The third is granted "dominion" (v. 6). Only the fourth beast, explicitly described as "different from all the others," appears to act independently of divine authority: "It devoured and crushed, and stamped the remains with its feet . . . [it had a horn with] a mouth that spoke arrogantly" (vv. 7–8). However, from the ensuing interpretation of the

47 On the Iranian background of this typical apocalyptic schema as well as its popularity in Greco-Roman times, see the classic study of J. W. Swain, "The Theory of Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire," *Classical Philology* 25 (1940): 1–21.

48 See, e.g., CTA 2.4.

vision (vv. 17–27) it becomes clear that all the beasts, including the fourth, have been granted dominion by God willfully.⁴⁹

But what motivated God to commission the rise of these monstrous powers on earth and the concomitant suffering of his chosen people in the first place? It has been claimed that Daniel's answer to this question is articulated in the prayer preserved in chapter 9.⁵⁰ There, in Deuteronomic fashion, Daniel expresses his view that the degeneration of history and the increased suffering of the Jewish people is the direct result of their wholesale abandonment of the Torah: "All Israel has violated your teaching and gone astray . . . so the curse and the oath written in the Teaching of Moses, the servant of God, have been poured down upon us, for we have sinned against him" (Dan 9:11). If these words may be used to understand the rise of the monsters in chapter 7, then this vision would constitute a fundamentally different worldview from the one espoused by *BG*. The hybrid creatures terrorizing the earth would be understood as stemming from human (and specifically Jewish) disobedience, not angelic sin. The creatures would essentially be subservient instruments of God's wrath rather than rebellious opponents of God's created order. The problem of course is that there is little justification to read Daniel 7 in this way. There is no hint of Jewish sin in the chapter (or elsewhere in the book); only the arrogance and horrendous acts of the fourth beast/Seleucid Empire are emphasized, and the progression of history is preordained quite apart from any consideration of Torah observance. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the theology of history in Daniel's prayer is rejected in the angelic response that immediately follows it, and that the prayer is better understood as an act of piety on Daniel's part than as an accurate reflection of the theology of the author.⁵¹

A more plausible reading of Daniel 7 in my view is that it is not concerned with explaining the origins of evil, but rather with clarifying its nature and, most importantly, with promising its imminent end. We are not told how evil

49 Regarding the fourth beast in particular see vv. 26–27.

50 See G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 81–86.

51 This is especially clear from the response of the angel Gabriel that immediately follows the prayer, which makes clear that history will continue on its preordained path regardless of prayer or repentance. See further B. W. Jones, "The Prayer in Daniel IX," *VT* 18 (1968): 488–93; W. S. Towner, "Retributional Theology in the Apocalyptic Setting," *USQR* 26 (1971): 203–14; Collins, *Daniel*, 360. Most recently, see L. DiTommaso, "Penitential Prayer and Apocalyptic Eschatology in Second Temple Judaism," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 115–33, esp. 117–23.

came to exist nor why it has been unleashed on earth, only that it indeed does exist in the form of the gentile political domination represented by the beasts. Rather, the main concern is to illustrate God's supreme control of history. In this schema, evil indeed functions to illustrate God's supremacy; it exists only to be punished by God. By guaranteeing that wickedness will be met with punishment and that suffering will be balanced with reward, Daniel's divine courtroom scene functions to illustrate that God reigns over the malevolent forces behind the degeneration of history and that the cosmic plan is just. The outcomes of the divine courtroom's judgments also underscore the mirror imagery between heavenly and earthly realms. The execution of the fourth beast and the granting of dominion to the one like a human being above have their immediate consequences below, namely the liquidation of Seleucid power and the granting of dominion of "all the kingdoms under heaven" to the Jews, "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (v. 27).

In sum, analysis of the literary contexts in which the divine courtroom scenes of *BG* and Daniel 7 appear illustrates divergent apocalyptic orientations. The myth of *BG* explains both the origin and nature of evil (it stems from angelic sin and is demonic). While the story is set in primeval times, it is actually concerned with two temporal planes: the ante-diluvian *Urzeit* and the post-diluvian *Endzeit*. The primordial appearance of the divine courtroom is not only an announcement of the impending "historical" destruction of the giants, but also a proleptic announcement of the final universal salvation from the plagues of the demons, the defeated spirits of the giants. At the same time, a paradigmatic approach to *BG*, according to which the divine court scene represents a mythologically projected model for the judgment of real Hellenistic-Mesopotamian oppressors and the vindication of the oppressed Jewish audience, is also conceivable. By contrast, Daniel 7 is more clearly directed toward a specific historical crisis—the Antiochan persecution of 167 BCE. The passage does not explain why evil has been unleashed on earth, but only that it exists in the form of the gentile empires. It is concerned only with exilic and post-exilic history and its impending end. Rather than working on two temporal planes, the mythological framework operates on two spatial planes, the mirrored realms of heaven and earth. The evils of gentile dominion on earth are a mere reflection of a pattern of mythological superhuman struggle. The divine courtroom scene illustrates God's supremacy over primordial chaos as well as its earthly manifestations in history. Indeed, the heavenly outcomes of the convening of the divine court have direct reflexes on earth. The conviction and execution of the fourth beast and the granting of dominion to the one like a human being in the celestial realm translates on earth into the fall of the Seleucids and the national-political salvation of the Jewish people.

4 Conclusion

The fact that the differing apocalyptic works of Daniel 7 and *BG* make use of the same divine courtroom tradition brings up the interesting question of the social matrix in which such sharing occurred. The complexity of this topic does not allow for a full consideration in the present context so I limit myself here to just a few speculative remarks. On the one hand, the shared tradition might be thought to indicate adaptations by different authors in a common social group with a broad apocalyptic worldview. This possibility would be in accord with an influential hypothesis put forward by Martin Hengel in the 1970s that both the Danielic and some of the early Enochic literature stemmed from the Hasidim, a group of pious militants that initially supported the Maccabean revolt and that Hengel identified as the parent group of both the Pharisees and the Essenes.⁵² However, Hengel's approach has been criticized for, among other things, not adequately accounting for key differences distinguishing the apocalyptic perspectives of the Danielic and Enochic corpora (some of which have been observed above). According to Gabriele Boccaccini, the dividing issues include the legitimacy of the temple (Daniel defends it, Enoch does not), the centrality of the Torah (for Daniel it is central, for Enoch it is not), the method of confronting Seleucid oppression (Daniel espouses passivity, Enoch active resistance), and differing conceptions of the origins of evil. Such differences indeed make it unlikely that the two bodies were produced by the same group. Instead, he posits that they originated in ideologically opposed parties.⁵³

The issue may be complicated, however, by the evidence of the so-called pseudo-Daniel texts discovered at Qumran (4Q243–245). These manuscripts have been shown to contain an intriguing mixture of Danielic and Enochic elements. For example, on the one hand Daniel is mentioned by name several times and the narrative is set in the court of a foreign king. On the other hand, there is a pronounced interest in primordial history, the name Enoch is mentioned, and Israel is said to be led astray by “the demons of error” (4Q243–244).⁵⁴ Some scholars assume that this material is dependent on the canonical book

52 See M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 1:175–80. The Hasidim are only known from three passages in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–16; 2 Macc 14:6).

53 See Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 81–86. Specifically, he is comparing Daniel and the Enochic *Book of Dreams* (1 En. 83–90), but his distinctions apply to other early Enochic writings as well. For a more extensive argument, see idem, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought 300 BCE to 200 CE* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 126–60.

54 See further Stuckenbruck, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions,” esp. 371–77.

of Daniel.⁵⁵ Aligning himself with this position, Boccaccini interprets these manuscripts as an attempt by the Qumran sect to make Daniel “compatible with Enochic Judaism,” with which the Qumranites were closer ideologically. There is no compelling evidence, however, demonstrating that the pseudo-Daniel material is dependent upon the canonical Daniel. It may just as well have depended on common traditions and circulated independently.⁵⁶ Given this doubt, Stuckenbruck offers another possible explanation of the fragments: they “show a cross-fertilization between intellectual traditions associated with both Daniel and Enoch. These traditions would have been in a state of flux, not only after but perhaps also before and during the Maccabean crisis.”⁵⁷ This suggestion represents an important caution to those who would posit too rigid a connection between apocalyptic traditions and clearly distinguishable social groups. If Danielic and early Enochic traditions indeed originated in different circles, it appears that the borderlines delineating these circles were permeable. The pseudo-Daniel texts attest that the Enochic and Danielic apocalyptic traditions were not always understood in isolation from one another, and the shared divine courtroom tradition of Daniel 7 and *BG* demonstrates that they could draw from a common pool of extra-biblical tradition.

55 See, e.g., García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 137–49; É. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 568–70.

56 See J. J. Collins and P. Flint, in G. J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 134–36.

57 Stuckenbruck, “Daniel and Early Enoch Traditions,” 376.