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## THE CREATION OF MAN AND WOMAN IN EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE

J.T.A.G.M. VAN RUITEN

When one looks for quotations from and allusions to the biblical texts that refer to the creation of man and woman (Gen 1:26–27; 2:7, 18–24; 5:1–2) in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, it is surprising that in this huge field of early Jewish Literature only a relatively small number of texts contain a reference to sexual differentiation in the creation of either man and woman.<sup>1</sup> There are quite a number of texts that refer to the creation of Adam or man(kind) exclusively:<sup>2</sup> in the *Apocrypha*: Ben Sira 15:14; 16:17–17:24 (esp. 16:26, 17:1); 17:25–18:14; 33:7–13; (33:10, 13); 36:26; 40:1–11 (40:11), 27; 49:16; Wisdom of Solomon 2:23–24; 7:1–6; 9:1–3; 10:1–2; 15:7–13; in the *Pseudepigrapha*: *Sibylline Oracles* 3:24; Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 13:8–9; 26:6; 32:15; (37:3); 4 *Ezra* 3:4–11 (esp. 3:4–7); 4:30; 6:45–46, 53–54; (7:62–74, esp. 7:70); (7:116–31); 2 *Baruch* (4:1–7); 14:17–19; 48:42–47; *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* 33:5; 35:3; 37:3; *Latin Life of Adam and Eve (Vita Adae et Evae)* 13:2–3; 2 *Enoch* 44:1; 65:2; *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* 2:10–11.<sup>3</sup> References to Gen 1:27b: זכר ונקבה

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<sup>1</sup> I have excluded from my research the canonical books of the Hebrew Bible, the ancient Versions (Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, Targums), the literature of Qumran, Philo and Josephus. The reader will take it for granted that I have excluded also the New Testament, Rabbinic Literature and Gnostic Literature.

<sup>2</sup> For previous research on the reception history of these texts, see: P. Winter, "Sadoquite Fragments IV 20, 21 and the Exegesis of Gen I 27 in Late Judaism", *ZAW* 68 (1956) 71–84; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei. Gen 1,26f in Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT, 76), Göttingen 1960; J.B. Schaller, *Gen. 1.2 im antiken Judentum. Untersuchungen über Verwendung und Deutung der Schöpfungsaussagen von Gen. 1.2 im antiken Judentum*, Diss. Göttingen 1961; M. de Merode, "Une aide qui lui corresponde'. L'exégèse de Gen 2,18–24 dans les écrits de l'Ancient Testament, du judaïsme et du Nouveau Testament", *Revue théologique de Louvain* 8 (1977) 329–352; J. Fossum, "Gen 1,26 and 2,7 in Judaism, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism", *JSS* 16 (1985) 202–239; J.R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism. From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSS, 1), Sheffield 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Among the documents found at Qumran, only a very few allusions to Genesis 1–3 can be found. In the following documents there are allusions to the creation of man: 4Q264; 4Q301 3:6; 4Q304–305 (*Mysteries of Creation*); 4Q381, frgm. 1; 4Q416–418, 423 (*Sapiential Work A*) [4Q423, frg. 2; cf. 4Q417 II, 1:8;]; 4Q422 (*Paraphrase on Genesis and Exodus*) [4Q422 I:8–11]; 4Q504–506 (*Words of the Heavenly*

כָּרָא אִתָּהֶם (“male and female he created them”) and to the formation of the woman (אִשָּׁה) out of the rib of the man (אָדָם), are not found in these texts. Most of the authors seem to have in mind human existence in general, i.e., mortality and immortality, sinfulness, the dominion of man over the other creatures. These aspects of human existence might go beyond the division of humanity in male and female, although everybody knows that for many of these texts it was Eve who was to blame mostly for the entrance of sin and death into the world.<sup>4</sup> However, when speaking about Eve, it was apparently not always necessary to speak about her *creation*.

Only a few texts speak about a sexual differentiation in the creation of either man and woman, mostly referred to as Adam and Eve: in the *Apocrypha*: Tobit 8:6;<sup>5</sup> in the *Pseudepigrapha*: *Jubilees* 2:14; 3:1–7, 8; 2 *Enoch* 30:8–18; *Sibylline Oracles* 1:22–37; *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (*Apocalypse of Moses*) 7:1; 40–42; Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 32:15.<sup>6</sup> I will restrict myself to some of these texts (Tobit, *Jubilees*, 2 *Enoch*, *Sibylline Oracles*).<sup>7</sup> I will examine them in chronological order, with a threefold question in mind: Which elements concerning the creation of man and woman of Genesis 1–2 are taken over? In which form are they taken over? Why are they taken over, or how are they interpreted?

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*Luminaries*) [4Q504 frg. 8+9]. For a discussion of some of these texts, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “Eden and Paradise. The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (1 Enoch and Other Texts Found at Qumran)”, in: G.P. Luttikhuisen, *Paradise Interpreted. Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Themes in Biblical Narrative, 2), Leiden 1999, 37–62, esp. 49–56.

<sup>4</sup> According to Carol Meyer, it is difficult to read the story of Adam and Eve without being influenced by the predominant early Jewish and Christian interpretation of that story. According to her, it is not only in the Christian interpretation, but also in the early Jewish interpretation that Adam and Eve became the example of disobedience and punishment, and Eve especially was seen as the source of wickedness. See: C. Meyer, *Discovering Eve. Ancient Israelite Women in Context*, New York 1988, pp. 75–76. It should be said, however, that Meyer quotes Christian and Rabbinic literature extensively, but apart from *Ben Sira* and the *Life of Adam and Eve*, she hardly refers to early Jewish literature.

<sup>5</sup> According to Levison also Judith 16:14 contains an allusion to the creation of woman, esp. to Gen 2:22. See J.R. Levison, “Judith 16:14 and the Creation of Woman”, *JBL* 114 (1995) 467–9.

<sup>6</sup> Among the Qumran documents only in 4Q265, fr. 7, col. II, 11–13 and in the *Damascus Document* 4:21 can a reference to the creation of both man and woman be found. For a discussion of both texts, see: F. García Martínez, “Man and Woman. Halakhah Based upon Eden in the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in: Luttikhuisen, *Paradise*, 95–115.

<sup>7</sup> For an extensive discussion of the creation of man and woman in the *Greek*

1. *The creation of man and woman in the Book of Tobit*

The first text that refers to the creation of man and woman (outside the book of Genesis) is the Book of Tobit. This book was written, most likely before the 2nd century BCE, originally in a Semitic language, probably Aramaic.<sup>8</sup> The complete text exists only in Greek. This version exists in a shorter text-form (G<sup>I</sup>), represented by the *codex sinaiticus*, and a longer one (G<sup>II</sup>), represented by the codices *Vaticanus*, *Alexandrinus* and *Venetus*. Recent studies on the text of Tobit prefer the longer text.<sup>9</sup>

The elements concerning the creation of man and woman can be found in Tobit 8:6, which is a part of the prayer of Tobias (8:4–9). He said the prayer on his wedding-night with Sarah. The text of Tobit 8:4–9 runs, in translation, as follows:<sup>10</sup>

- 4a Then they went forth  
 b and shut the door of the chamber.  
 c Thereupon Tobias arose from the bed  
 d and said to her:  
 e "Sister, arise.  
 f Let us pray and make supplication to our God  
 h that He enact mercy and deliverance for us".  
 5a Whereupon she arose  
 b and they began to pray and make supplication  
 c that deliverance might be vouchsafed for them;  
 d he commenced, saying:  
 e "Blessed are Thou, God of our fathers.  
 b and blessed is Thy name for ever and ever;  
 c let the heavens bless Thee, and all creation for all ages.  
 6a *Thou madest Adam*  
 b *and madest Eve his wife as helper and stay for him;*

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and *Latin Life of Adam and Eve*, see: Levison, *Portraits*, 163–90; a discussion of the creation of man and woman in Pseudo-Philo can be found in: C.T.R. Hayward, "The Figure of Adam in Pseudo Philo, Biblical Antiquities", *JStJ* 23 (1992) 1–20.

<sup>8</sup> One Hebrew and four Aramaic copies of Tobit have been found in Cave 4 at Qumran. See: J.T. Milik, "La patrie de Tobie", *RB* 73 (1966) 522–30. On the basis of the Aramaic text of the book at Qumran, some date the book even to the 4th or late 5th century BCE. See: J. Grintz, *Chapters in the History of the Second Temple Times*, Jerusalem 1969, 66, n. 46; D. Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers", in: M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT II.2), Assen 1984, 551–71, esp. 556.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Tobit* (MSU, 17), Göttingen 1984, 11–48.

<sup>10</sup> The translation is according to F. Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit. An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, New York 1958, 93–95.

- c of them both there came the seed of men,  
 d and Thou didst say:  
 e 'It is not good that the man should be alone;  
 f let us make a helper like unto him'.  
 7a And now, I take not this my sister for lust, but in truth.  
 b Command that I and she may find mercy,  
 c and that we grow old together".  
 8a And they responded together:  
 b "Amen, amen".  
 9 Then they slept the night.

The reference of the creation of Adam and Eve is a combination of a quotation and an allusion: a *verbatim quotation* of Gen 2:18 in 8:6e–f ("It is not good that the man should be alone; let us make a helper like unto him"); second, an *allusion* to Gen 1–3 in 8:6a–c ("Thou madest Adam and madest Eve his wife as helper and stay for him; of them both there came the seed of men").

As far as the quotation of Gen 2:18 is concerned, the text runs parallel to the text of LXX Gen 2:18:<sup>11</sup>

<i>LXX Gen 2:18</i>	<i>Tobit 8:6def (G<sup>II</sup>)</i>
2:18a Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός	8:6d καὶ σὺ εἶπας ὅτι
18b Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τον	6e Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τον
ἄνθρωπον μόνον·	ἄνθρωπον μόνον,
18c ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ'	6f ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν
αὐτόν.	ὅμοιον αὐτῷ

*Cf. LXX Gen 2:20b*

20b . . . . βοηθὸς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ

How should one interpret the difference between Tobit 8:6f (ὅμοιον αὐτῷ) and the LXX Gen 2:18c (κατ' αὐτόν)? It is possible that the translator of Tobit harmonises the quotation of Gen 2:18 with 2:20b where the same Hebrew expression (יְבוֹנֵן) is rendered as ὅμοιον αὐτῷ. It is also possible that his translation came into being independently from the LXX. If this is true, we have here a witness of a Greek translation of Gen 2:18 prior to the LXX, which read possibly in both cases ὅμοιον αὐτῷ. The translators of the Septuagint of Genesis differentiate between Gen 2:18 and 2:20 because the expression ὅμοιον αὐτῷ was not appropriate with regard to animals, therefore

<sup>11</sup> The shorter text form (G<sup>I</sup>) of Tobit 8:6d–f runs as follows: σὺ εἶπας Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τον ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ.

they use κατ' αὐτόν in 2:18c.<sup>12</sup> The verbatim quotation is introduced with σὺ εἶπας (“Thou didst say”). We should probably not consider these words as a quotation formula introducing a quotation from Scripture, but as part of the quotation, since Gen 2:18 begins with Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός (“And God says”).

As far as the allusion to the biblical text of Genesis 1–3 in Tobit 8:6a–c is concerned, it is clear that these phrases refer to the biblical text of Gen 1–3, but it is not possible to point out one single phrase in Gen 1–3 that is quoted here.<sup>13</sup> The first phrase (“Thou madest Adam”) could refer to the creation of man in the first account of creation (Gen 1:26–27), or to the creation in the second account (Gen 2:7), or to both. Some observations can be made. Both LXX and MT Gen 1:26–27 use the plural form of the verbs “to create”, “to make”. In LXX Gen 1:26–27; 2:7 the word ἄνθρωπος is used, and not Ἀδὰμ, as in Tobit 8:6a. Tobit 8:6a does not refer to the collective man or mankind, but to the individual Adam, that is to say the *male* Adam. The bisexual Adam (זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה: “male and female”) does not play a part in Tobit. Tobit 8:6a does not refer either to the creation of man in the image and likeness of God, nor to his dominion over the animals. Therefore, we can conclude that the reference to the creation of man in Tobit 8:6a is reduced to the creation of the male Adam.

The second phrase (8:6b: “and [Thou] madest Eve his wife as helper and stay for him”) seems to refer to Gen 2:18c, which is quoted in Tobit 8:6f. However, the differences between Tobit 8:6b and Gen 2:18c point to the conclusion that the allusion is much broader. The proper name “Eve” and the word-collocation “Eve”

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. Rösler, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung* (BZAW, 223), Berlin 1994, 69. It is also possible that the (final) translators of the LXX changed ὅμοιον αὐτῷ in Gen 2:18c of an earlier version into κατ' αὐτόν. However, it is not necessary to follow Schaller, who claims that the LXX is composed out of two translations. One of the proofs for this hypothesis is, according to Schaller, that the Hebrew expression וְנָשָׂא is translated differently in LXX Gen 2:18c and 2:20b. See: Schaller, *Genesis*, 19–20. It is more likely that the Greek translators differentiated deliberately between Gen 2:18c en 2:20c.

<sup>13</sup> The shorter text-form (G<sup>I</sup>) of Tobit 8:6abc runs as follows: σὺ ἐποίησας Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῷ βοηθὸν Εὐάν στήριγμα τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· ἐκ τούτων ἐγενήθη τὸ ἄνθρωπων σπέρμα. The longer text-form (G<sup>II</sup>) reads: σὺ ἐποίησας Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτῷ βοηθὸν στήριγμα Εὐάν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενήθη τὸ σπέρμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

and “his wife” occur in the massoretic text only in Gen 3:20 (“The man called his wife’s name Eve”), in the Septuaginta not before Gen 4:1. The expression “his wife” alone is not found before Gen 2:24, 25. In the LXX Gen 2:25 it is made clear that it is the wife of *Adam*, although she is yet not called Eve. Tobit 8:6b uses the word “for him” (ἀντῷ) and not the phrase of Gen 2:18c: “a helper fit for him” (or: “a helper like unto him”) (βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν; cf. Gen 2:20c: βοηθὸς ὅμοιον αὐτῷ). The word στήριγμα (“stay”) does not occur in Gen 2:18c. The word “to make” is put in the singular and not in the plural, as in LXX Gen 2:18c. In the shorter text of **¶**<sup>1</sup> the verb “to give” is used (“And you gave to him Eve as helper and stay”). This could refer to Gen 2:22, although there the verb “to bring” is used and not “to give”. We can conclude that the making of the woman is summarised in a few words. It is not said that woman is made out of a man’s rib. The more general “man” and “woman” are made more concrete in the individuals Adam and Eve. It is stressed that the woman Eve is made to be the wife and helper of Adam.

The reference in the third phrase (8:6c: “of them both there came the seed of men”) is not quite clear. It seems to refer to human sexuality, especially the marital intercourse of Adam and Eve. However, Gen 2:18–25 does not speak about intercourse between Adam and Eve, neither in relation to their offspring. It is only in relation to the curse on the woman that in Gen 3:20 it is said that the woman is called Eve, “because she was the mother of all living”. The wording in Tobit 8:6c, however, is very different from Gen 3:20. It is not “Eve”, who became “the mother of all living”, but out of “them both” (Adam and Eve) came “the seed of men”. This could mean that the association of childbearing with the curse on the woman because of her behaviour in the Garden of Eden is ignored by the author of Tobit. Human sexuality and childbearing is seen as something positive.

The use of Genesis 2–3 by the author of Tobit makes it clear that according to him the rules that apply to Adam and Eve in Genesis would apply also to Tobit and Sara, because all “seed of men” came out of Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve, as the first married couple, seems to function as example for all married couples after them. Marriage is anchored in the Creation. It stresses the fact that Tobias does not take Sara for lust (Tobit 8:7a), but that he is acting according to the order of Creation.

## 2. *The creation of man and woman in the Book of Jubilees*

The Book of Jubilees, written originally in Hebrew shortly after 160 BCE,<sup>14</sup> contains three statements concerning the creation of man and woman (2:14; 3:4–6; 3:8).<sup>15</sup> The first can be found in Jub 2:14, which is considered as a rewriting of the second part of the sixth day, and especially of Gen 1:26–28. It speaks about the creation of man and woman in the first week of creation.

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<sup>14</sup> According to VanderKam, Jubilees can be dated to between 159–152, see: J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Missoula 1977, 283; cf. O.S. Wintermute, “A New Translation and Introduction”, in: J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, II*, New York 1985, 44; K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ V.3), Gütersloh 1981, 300; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–135 AD). Revisited and Edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman*, III. 1–2, Edinburgh 1986–86, 311. Nickelsburg suggests that Jubilees was written during the time of the Hellenistic reform close to 168 BCE. See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded”, in: M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT II,2); Davenport distinguishes three stages in the composition of Jubilees. The first edition (an angelic discourse) was written either the late third or the early second century BC. A second edition took place during the Maccabean struggles (ca. 166–160 BC). Finally, a sanctuary-oriented redactor worked at Qumran during the rules of Simon and John Hyrcanus (ca. 140–104 BC). See G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (SPB, 20), Leiden 1971, 10–18.

<sup>15</sup> The discovery of at least fourteen fragments of the Book of Jubilees among the Dead Sea Scrolls in Qumran confirms the hypothesis that the Book of Jubilees was originally written in Hebrew. The Hebrew was first translated into Greek and Syriac. The Greek version became the basis for the Latin and Ethiopic versions. Only the Ethiopic version, a translation of a translation, is complete, whereas only fragments of the other versions exist. The published Hebrew fragments, although small in number and size, show that the Ethiopic version is a reliable one. The official edition of the Hebrew fragments is published by J.C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, “Jubilees”, in H. Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4–VIII. Parabiblical Texts. Part 1* (Discoveries of the Judaean Desert XIII), Oxford 1994, 1–185. In 1989 VanderKam published a new critical edition and a English translation of the Ethiopic text of Jubilees on the basis of twenty-seven manuscripts: J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, I–II* (CSCO 510–511, Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 87–88), Leuven 1989. The Latin fragments are published by Ceriani and Röscher: A.M. Ceriani, “Parva Genesis”, in: *Monumenta sacra et profana*, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1, Milan 1861, 15–62. One can find a review of this edition in: H. Röscher, *Das Buch der Jubiläen: oder die Kleine Genesis; unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der in der Ambrosiana aufgefundenen lateinischen Fragmente*, Leipzig 1874 (reprint Amsterdam 1970), 96–168, 439–460.



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*Genesis 1:26–28*
*Jubilees 2:14*<sup>16</sup>


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26a	THEN GOD SAID:		
26b	“LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE, AFTER OUR LIKENESS;		
26c	AND LET THEM HAVE DOMINION OVER THE FISH OF THE SEA,		
26d	AND OVER THE BIRDS OF THE AIR,		
26e	AND OVER THE CATTLE,		
26f	<u>AND OVER THE ENTIRE EARTH,</u>		
26g	<u>AND OVER EVERY CREEPING THING THAT CREEPS ON THE EARTH.”</u>		[ ]
27a	[ ] <i>God created man</i> IN HIS OWN IMAGE,	14a	AFTER ALL THIS, <i>he made mankind</i>
27b	IN THE IMAGE OF GOD HE CREATED HIM;		[ ]
27c	male and female he <i>created</i> them.		—AS ONE man and a woman he <i>made</i> them.
28a	AND GOD BLESSED THEM,		[ ]
28b	AND GOD SAID TO THEM:		
28c	“BE FRUITFUL		
28d	AND MULTIPLY,		
28e	AND FILL THE EARTH		
28f	and subdue it;		
28g	<i>and have dominion over the fish of the sea</i>	14b	<i>He made him rule</i> EVERYTHING
28h	<i>and over the birds of the air</i>		ON EARTH <i>and in the seas and over</i>
28i	<i>and over every living thing that creeps on the earth.”</i>		<i>flying creatures, ANIMALS, cattle,</i> <u>everything that creeps on the earth, and the entire earth.</u>
		14c	OVER ALL THESE HE MADE HIM RULE.

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As can be seen in the synoptic overview the rewriting is relatively short.<sup>17</sup> Several elements of Gen 1:26–31 are *omitted*: the creation of man in the image of God (Gen 1:26b, 27ab), the blessing of God (Gen 1:28a), the command to be fruitful (Gen 1:28b–e).<sup>18</sup> On the other hand Jubilees has a few *additions* with regard to the text of

<sup>16</sup> All translations from the book of Jubilees are taken from: J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II* (CSCO 511, Scriptorum Aethiopicorum 88), Leuven 1989, with slight modifications.

<sup>17</sup> In the synoptic overview I try to give a classification of the similarities and dissimilarities between Genesis and Jubilees. I put in *small caps* the elements of Genesis which do not occur in Jub 2:14, and vice versa, i.e., the omissions and additions. In *normal script* are the corresponding elements between both texts, i.e., the verbatim quotation of the source text in Jubilees. I put in *italics* the variations between Genesis and Jubilees, other than addition or omission. I *underline* those elements that show rearrangement of words and sentences.

<sup>18</sup> Also the designation of food (Gen 1:29–30) is omitted altogether in Jubilees. The author is primarily interested in the created objects. See, however, the end of

Gen 1:26–31 (see 2:14c; elements in 2:14a, b), whereas there are also some other *modifications* (elements in 2:14a, b). I will go into some of the differences between Genesis and Jubilees. First, the last act of creation is set apart from the other acts of creation by the words “after all this”. It is designated as the final act of creation. The description of this act concentrates on the making of mankind (2:14a) and the dominion of men on the earth (2:14bc). Second, the divine name is omitted in 2:14a. This also occurs elsewhere. Third, the verb “to make” is used twice instead of “to create”, which is used three times in Gen 1:27a–c. See, however, the divine command (Gen 1:26b), where the verb “to make” is used. Jubilees does not take over the plural form (“let us make”). It could suggest the idea that God was not alone in his creation. Jubilees put much emphasis on the fact that God alone created the world. Any possible collaboration of the earth on the third and fifth day, and of the waters on the fifth day, is ruled out. Although the angels are created on the first day, they are not active in the creation.<sup>19</sup> Fourth, the creation of man in the image of God (Gen 1:26b, 27ab) is omitted in Jubilees. This does not mean that the author of Jubilees rejects the conception of the creation of man in the likeness of God. Since in 6:8, which is a rewriting of Gen 9:6, it is said that the person who sheds the blood of man will have his blood shed by man “because

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2:7a (“for enjoyment and for food”), although this phrase seems to reflect Gen 2:9 (“... pleasant to the sight and good for food”). It might have been omitted because Gen 1:29–30, which describes a vegetarian regimen, is in contradiction with Gen 9:2–3, which describes an omnivorous diet (the animals and the green plants). Jubilees takes over the omnivorous diet in 6:6, which is a rewriting of Gen 9:2–3. It might be an example of harmonising contradictions within the biblical text. However, we should not overemphasise this point since 3:16e–i seems to reflect the vegetarian regimen (“He would keep the garden against birds, animals, and cattle. He would gather its fruit and eat (it) and would store its surplus for himself and his wife. He would store what was being kept”).

<sup>19</sup> The grammatical explanation of the plural in Gen 1:26b is that of a *pluralis deliberationis*. God consults himself (see Ges.K, par. 124g; Joüon, par. 114e). However, the plural could also indicate a plurality of gods. In order to avoid polytheism, many interpreted the plural as if God spoke the words to the *angels*. The emphasis is on their role as counsellors not as creators. See GenR 8:4; NumR 19:3; MidrPss 8:2; EcclR 7:23, 1; BT Sanh 38b; Tg Ps-J Gen 1:26. According to the Fathers of the Church, the plural is an expression of the Trinity in the Old Testament. See: A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSSM 15), Manchester 1991, 2–4; J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature. An Introduction to Jewish Interpretations of Scripture*, Cambridge 1969, 106; P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen*, Berlin 1975, 88–89.

he made mankind in the image of God". It is difficult to guess the reason for the omission of the reference to the human likeness of God in 2:14.<sup>20</sup> It is noticeable that not only the conception of the creation of man in the likeness of God, but also other elements of Gen 1:26–28, which are omitted in Jubilees 2, do occur in the context of Jubilees 6.<sup>21</sup> Fifth, the formulation of the dominion of men over the animals (2:14bc) runs parallel to Gen 1:28g–i, the execution of the second part of the divine command, in which God promises that man will have dominion over all living creatures (Gen 1:26c–g).

The second statement concerning the creation of man and woman occurs in Jub 3:4–6, which is a very literally rewriting of Gen 2:18, 21–22. It speaks about the bone that is taken from the bones of Adam, and that is built into the woman. One striking element of the rewriting is that as soon as the woman is brought to Adam, they have sexual intercourse (Jub 3:4d: "he knew her").

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*Genesis 2:18–24*


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*Jubilees 3:1–7*

18a Then the Lord God said: "It is not good

18b that the man should be alone;

18c Let me make for him a helper like him."

19a SO OUT OF THE GROUND THE LORD  
GOD FORMED all animals OF THE FIELD  
AND all birds OF THE AIR,  
[ ]

19b *and he brought them to the man*

[ ]

[ ]

1a ON THE SIXTH DAY OF THE SECOND  
WEEK

*we brought to Adam, ON THE LORD'S  
ORDERS*

b all animals, ALL CATTLE, all birds,  
EVERYTHING THAT MOVES ABOUT ON

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<sup>20</sup> VanderKam, "Genesis 1 in Jubilees 2", *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994) 314, suggests that the omission could be an example of the fact that already in the 2nd century BCE caution was being exercised in exegeting Gen 1:26–27 in public. He refers to Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 21. According to K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ, II.3), Gütersloh 1981, 328, it is possibly omitted because the image is limited to Israel. See, however, Jub 6:8.

<sup>21</sup> I refer to the command to be fruitful (6:5: "Now you increase and multiply yourselves on the earth and become numerous upon it"; 6:9: "As for you—increase and become numerous on the earth"; cf. Gen 9:1, 7), the blessing (6:5: "Become a blessing within it"; no parallel in Gen 9:1–7), and the designation of the food (6:6–7).

## Genesis 2:18-24

## Jubilees 3:1-7

- TO SEE WHAT HE WOULD CALL THEM;  
 19c and whatever the man called every living creature, became its name.
- 20a And the man named all cattle, the birds of the air, and all animals of the field;
- [ ]
- 20b *but for the man he did not find a helper like him.*
- 21a The Lord God imposed a sound slumber on *the man*,  
 21b and he fell asleep.  
 21c Then he took one *from* his bones [ ].  
 [ ]
- 21d *He closed up* its place with flesh;  
 22a *and the Lord God built* THE BONE, WHICH HE HAD TAKEN FROM THE MAN, INTO A woman  
 [ ]
- 22b and he brought *her to the man.*  
 [ ]
- 23a *And the man said* [ ]:
- THE EARTH, AND EVERYTHING THAT MOVES ABOUT IN THE WATER
- c IN THEIR VARIOUS KINDS AND VARIOUS FORMS:
- d THE ANIMALS ON THE FIRST DAY;  
 e THE CATTLE ON THE SECOND DAY;  
 f THE BIRDS ON THE THIRD DAY;  
 g EVERYTHING THAT MOVES ABOUT ON THE EARTH ON THE FOURTH DAY,  
 h AND THE ONES THAT MOVE ABOUT IN THE WATER ON THE FIFTH DAY.  
 [ ]
- 2a Adam named them all, EACH WITH ITS OWN NAME.  
 b Whatever he called them, became their name.
- 3a DURING THESE FIVE DAYS ADAM WAS LOOKING AT ALL OF THESE—  
 b MALE AND FEMALE AMONG EVERY KIND THAT WAS ON THE EARTH.  
 c BUT HE HIMSELF WAS ALONE;  
 d *there was no one whom he found for himself*  
 e *who would help him who was like him.*
- 4a Then the Lord said TO US:  
 b “It is not good that the man should be alone.  
 c Let us make for him a helper who is like him”.
- 5a The Lord, *our* God, imposed a sound slumber on *him*  
 b and he fell asleep.  
 c Then he took one BONE *from among* his bones FOR A WOMAN  
 d THAT RIB WAS THE ORIGIN OF THE WOMAN, FROM AMONG HIS BONES.  
 e *He built up* the flesh in its place,  
 f and *he* built [ ] the woman.
- 6a THEN HE AWAKENED ADAM FROM HIS SLEEP.  
 b WHEN HE AWOKE, HE GOT UP ON THE SIXTH DAY.  
 c And he brought (*him*) to *her*.  
 d HE KNEW HER  
 e and *he* said TO HER:

<i>Genesis 2:18-24</i>	<i>Jubilees 3:1-7</i>
23b “This is now bone of my <i>bones</i> and flesh from my flesh;	f “This is now bone from my <i>bone</i> and flesh from my flesh.
23c This one will be called <i>woman</i> ,	g This one will be called <i>my wife</i> ,
23d for she was taken out of <i>man</i> .”	h for she was taken from <i>her husband</i> .”
24a For this reason a man [ ]	7a For this reason a man AND A WOMAN ARE TO BE ONE,
leaves his father and his mother.	b AND FOR THIS REASON HE leaves his father and his mother.
24b And he associates with his wife,	c He associates with his wife,
24c and they become one flesh.	d and they become one flesh

The third statement, finally, is found in Jub 3:8, which has no parallel in the text of Genesis: “In the first week Adam was created, and also the rib, his wife. And in the second week he showed her to him”, and can be seen as an interpretation of the first and second statement.

The three statements concerning the creation of man and woman in the book of Jubilees, have been subject to some debate. Testuz postulates the idea that Jub 2:14 refers, originally, only to the creation of the male.<sup>22</sup> The phrase “as one man and a woman he made them” is, according to Testuz, to be considered as a later interpolation of one of the scribes who attempted to harmonise Jub 2:14 with Gen 1:27. His most important argument is that the number of 22 acts of creation are completed with the creation of the man, and the creation of the woman would surpass this number. The creation of man took place in the first week, and the making of woman in the second.

Levison stands up very strongly for the opinion of Testuz that Jub 2:14 originally included only the creation of Adam.<sup>23</sup> He gives several additional arguments in favour of this thesis. First, the author omits dual creations, omitting Gen 2:7 and adapting Gen 2:19 from the creation of the animals to their naming only (Jub 3:1). This suggests, according to Levison, “that also here in 2.14 he also omits one of the two creation accounts”. The author of Jubilees simplifies the narrative by including only one account of the creation of man (Jub 2:14), the animals (Jub 2:11–13), and woman (Jub 3:4–7). Second, the plural pronoun, “them”, conflicts with its context. Third,

<sup>22</sup> M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés*, Paris 1960, 45.

<sup>23</sup> J.R. Levinson, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism. From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSS, 1), Sheffield 1988, 90–91, 214–215 (note 10).

the prerogative of dominion is granted to Adam alone (cf. Jub 3:2, 15, 16). According to Levison, this lends credibility to the suggestion that the author envisages only the creation of Adam in Jub 2:14. Fourth, 3:8 poses no exegetical solution to the problem of the two accounts of the creation of woman. It should be considered as an additional creation account which is integrally related to Jub 3:9–14. Its goal is to express the law of Jub 3:9–14, and it contradicts the other creation accounts.

The publication in 1994 of the Qumran-fragments of Jubilees from Cave 4, makes the suggestion of a later interpolation in Jub 2:14 unlikely. The text of 4Q216 (Col. VII) reads like Gen 1:27: עֲשָׂה אָחָם וְנִקְּבָה עֲשָׂה אָחָם (‘‘After all these, he made mankind—male and fem[ale he made them]’’).<sup>24</sup> On the basis of palaeographical grounds, the manuscript can be dated between 125–100 BCE.<sup>25</sup> This means that the manuscript comes from a period not far removed from the time when Jubilees was written (middle second century BCE).<sup>26</sup> It remains, however, theoretically possible that a very early transcriber tried to adopt the text of Jubilees to the biblical text of Gen 1:27b. We should, therefore, add some additional arguments to reject the proposal of Testuz and Levison.

First, according to Jubilees, God finished all his works on the sixth day (cf. Jub 2:15–16, 23). Therefore Genesis 2 cannot be the second account of the creation. It is the chronological continuation (in the second week) of the creation (which took place in the first week). The plants and the animals were already created, so the plants are not mentioned again in Jubilees 3; neither the animals are created again, they are only brought to Adam in the second week. Therefore, also the formation of the woman in the second week should not be considered as an additional work of creation. She was already created in the first week, and in the second she is actually taken out of the man, and she is presented to him. So the formation of the woman in the second week is mainly a presentation of her to Adam. However, her creation in the first week should not be considered as

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<sup>24</sup> J. VanderKam – J.T. Milik, ‘‘Jubilees’’, in: H. Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VIII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, XIII), Oxford 1994, 19–21.

<sup>25</sup> VanderKam – Milik, *Jubilees*, 2.

<sup>26</sup> See note 13.

a separate work of creation. She is created as part of Adam and is not an additional work of creation. Second, the tension in the text of Jub 2:14 between the singular and plural pronoun reflects the same tension in the Hebrew text of Gen 1:26–27. This is no argument for neglecting the originality of the creation of man and woman in Jub 2:14. Third, it is possible to interpret Jubilees in that sense that the prerogative is granted to Adam alone. However, this is no argument for claiming that the author is envisaging only the creation of Adam in Jub 2:14. Of course, Jub 2:14 speaks about one figure. However, Eve is part, in one way or another, of this figure.

We should consider, therefore, the text of Jubilees with regard to the creation of man and woman as a (perhaps not completely successful) attempt to solve the tensions within the biblical text of Genesis 1–2. In Gen 1:27 it is stated that God creates man *male and female*. But if God did create man and woman on the sixth day of creation, how could it be stated in Gen 2:18–20 that man is alone, and the woman had to be formed (again)? Therefore, the author of Jubilees takes refuge in an alternative solution. The woman was already created in the first week, but as part of Adam, and she was taken out of him and presented to him in the second week. It would have been simpler if the author of Jubilees had stated that Adam (or man) was created in the first week. Then the statement in Gen 2:18–20 (that man is alone, and the woman is to be made) becomes understandable. However, this is in conflict with one of his points of departure, i.e., that the creation work is completed in the first week.

From the text we cannot obtain a clear impression of the first human being. The author of Jubilees seems to stress the twofoldness of man and woman, and also that the woman was created in the first week, but not as a full being, only as a principle. This is perhaps the reason that it is stated in Jub 3:5 that the rib was the *f<sup>e</sup>trata lab<sup>e</sup> sit*, which can be translated as “the origin of the woman”, but which can also mean “the principle of the woman”. It is unlikely that the author of Jubilees envisages the first human being as androgyne. It is mainly a male being, but with a female part. This female part is considered to be the wife of the male, but it has still to be formed into a concrete woman.

In the continuation of Jub 3:8 the author stresses that not only man, but also the animals and the woman are created *outside* the garden. The entrance of Adam and Eve into the Garden of Eden

is delayed by 40 days for Adam and 80 days for Eve. This delay is related to the *halakha* of the woman who is giving birth in Leviticus 12, for which he gives now an etiological reason. Moreover, the author considers the Garden of Eden as the prototype of the Temple. Since it was not permissible to enter the city of the Temple a certain period after having sex, the first sexual contact between Adam and Eve does not take place in the garden of Eden, but before they enter.

In conclusion, we can say that Gen 1:26–28 and Gen 2 are seen as separated episodes of the creation of mankind. Jubilees does not integrate the story of the Paradise into the description of the sixth day, nor does it integrate the first account of the creation of man into the story of the Paradise. The harmonisation of the two accounts of creation takes place by putting a chronological framework on the text. The first account of creation is the actual creation that took place in the first week, the second account is not a genuine creation, but a presentation of the animals and the woman. Moreover, both man and woman are created outside the garden, and had to wait respectively 40 and 80 days before they were brought into the Garden, in order to illustrate that the first marital relationship took place outside the garden, and to anchor a *halakha* in the creation.

### 3. *The creation of man and woman in the first book of the Sibylline Oracles*

The first two books of the *Sibylline Oracles* can be considered as an Jewish oracle with a Christian redaction.<sup>27</sup> The original Jewish oracle can probably be dated at about the turn of the era.<sup>28</sup> The first part of the first book (v. 5–64) is a poetic rewriting of Genesis 1–3. It precedes the description of the continuation of the history, which is divided into ten generations. Seven of them are described in the first book. The text of *OrSib* I:5–64 retells the story of the creation quite freely, although the general structure of the passage follows the structure of Genesis 1–3 closely, as can be seen in the following synoptic overview.

<sup>27</sup> See: J.J. Collins, "Sibylline Oracles", in: J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, I*, London 1983, 317–472, esp. 330.

<sup>28</sup> Collins, "Sibylline Oracles", 331–332.



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*Genesis 1-3**OrSib 1:5-64*

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*I. The first account of creation  
(Gen 1:1-2:4a)**I. The creation of the world until the creation  
of man (5-21)*

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- Introduction (1:1-2)
1. 1st day: light, day and night (1:3-5)
  2. 2nd day: firmament (1:6-8)
  3. 3rd day (1st part): seas and earth (1:9-10)
  4. 3rd day (2nd part): vegetation, plants yielding seed, fruit trees (1:11-13)
  5. 4th day: greater light, lesser light, stars (1:16-18)
  6. 5th day: great sea monsters, other marine creatures, flying creatures (1:20-23)
  7. 6th day (1st part): cattle, creeping things, land animals (1:24-25)
  8. 6th day (2nd part): creation of man (1:26-31)
  9. 7th day: rest of God (Gen 2:1-4a)

- Introduction (5-8)
1. earth, Tatarus (9)
  2. light (10)
  3. heaven, sea (11)
  4. stars (12)
  5. plants (13)
  6. sea and rivers (13-14)
  7. clouds (15)
  8. fish; birds (16)
  9. wild animals; creeping serpents (17-18)
- Conclusion (19-21)

*II. The second account of creation (2:4b-25)**II. The creation of man and woman (22-37)*

1. Time before the creation of man (2:4b-6)
2. Creation of man and Garden (2:7-15)
  - a. creation of man (2:7)
  - b. creation of Garden (Gen 2:8)
  - c. description of the Garden (the trees [9], the rivers [10-14], the placing of man [15])
3. Prohibition against eating of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (2:16-17)
4. Creation of helper (Gen 2:18-24)
  - a. 2:18 plan (loneliness)
  - b. 2:19-20 creation of the animals, presentation to the man and naming
  - c. 2:21-24 building of the woman
  - d. 2:25: time in the Garden before temptation

1. Making of man as an image of God (22-23)
2. The man is put in the Garden (24-25)
3. Loneliness of the man causes the creation of the woman (26-37)

*III. Rejection from the Garden (Gen 3:1-24)**III. Life in the Garden (38-64)*

1. Temptation and transgression (3:1-7)

1. Prohibition against eating of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (38-39)
  2. Temptation and transgression (39-49)
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<i>Genesis 1-3</i>	<i>OrSib I:5-64</i>
2. Hiding from God and accusation (3:8-13)	3. Anger of God and dismissing from the Garden (50-55)
3. Judgement (3:14-29)	4. Judgement (56-64)
a. serpent (3:14-15)	a. man and woman (56-58)
b. woman (3:16)	b. serpent (59-64)
c. man (3:17-19)	
5. Conclusion (3:20-24)	
a. new name giving of Eve (3:20)	
b. second clothing (3:21)	
c. dismissing (3:22-24)	

The first part (5-21) of *OrSib I:5-64* is concerned with the creation of the world until the creation of man, and forms a parallel to the first account of the creation in Genesis (Gen 1:1-2:4a); the second part (22-37) is concerned with the creation of man and woman, and forms a parallel to the second account of creation (Gen 2:4b-25); and, finally, the third part (38-64) is concerned with the life in the Garden, and the rejection away from it, and runs parallel to the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 3. As far as the general structure is concerned, it is striking that the first account of the creation of man is rearranged and integrated in the second account, although it is only one element of it (the notion of the image of God) that is put in the actual account.

I will concentrate on the second part of the creation story in the first book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, vss. 22-37. It describes the creation of man and woman, and can be divided into three stages. First, the making of the male man, as an image of God (22-23); second, the placing of the man in the Garden (24-25); third, the making of the woman as the result of the loneliness of the man (26-37).

In its wording the rewriting differs quite substantially from the text of Genesis. Hardly any verbatim quotation of more than one word can be found. However, the sequence of the events runs very much parallel to the sequence in Genesis. In the following synoptic overview, I put the parallel phrases of both texts side by side.

<i>Genesis 1:27a; 2:7, 15</i>		<i>Or Sib 1:22-25<sup>29</sup></i>
2:7	<i>The Lord God formed man OF DUST FROM THE GROUND, AND BREATHED INTO HIS NOSTRILS THE BREATH OF LIFE; AND MAN BECAME a living being.</i>	(22) <i>And then later he again fashioned an animate object, (23) making A COPY from his own image, YOUTHFUL man, (24) BEAUTIFUL, WONDERFUL.</i>
1:27a	<i>God created man in his own image . . .</i>	
	Cf. Gen 2:8-14	
2:15	<i>The Lord God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and keep it</i>	<i>He bade him live in an (25) ambrosial garden, so that he might be concerned with beautiful works.</i>
<i>Genesis 2:18-25</i>		<i>Or Sib 1:26-37</i>
18a	THEN THE LORD GOD SAID: "IT IS NOT GOOD	
18b	that the man should be alone;	26 But he being alone IN THE LUXURIANT PLANTATION OF THE GARDEN (27)
18c	<i>Let me make for him a helper like him."</i>	<i>desired conversation, and prayed to behold another form (28) like his own.</i>
19a	SO OUT OF THE GROUND THE LORD GOD FORMED ALL ANIMALS OF THE FIELD AND ALL BIRDS OF THE AIR,	
19b	AND HE BROUGHT THEM TO THE MAN TO SEE WHAT HE WOULD CALL THEM;	
19c	AND WHATEVER THE MAN CALLED EVERY LIVING CREATURE, BECAME ITS NAME.	
20a	AND THE MAN NAMED ALL CATTLE, THE BIRDS OF THE AIR, AND ALL ANIMALS OF THE FIELD;	
20b	<i>but for the man he did not find a helper like him.</i>	
21a	THE LORD GOD IMPOSED A SOUND SLUMBER ON THE MAN,	
21b	AND HE FELL ASLEEP.	
21c	<i>Then he took one from his bones.</i>	<i>God himself indeed took a bone from his (29) flank</i>
21d	HE CLOSED UP ITS PLACE WITH FLESH;	

<sup>29</sup> The translation of the First Book of the Sibylline Oracles is taken from Collins, "Sibylline Oracles", 335. For the Greek text, see: J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS, 8), Leipzig 1902.

22a	<i>and the Lord God built the bone, WHICH HE HAD TAKEN FROM THE MAN, INTO A WOMAN</i>	<i>and made Eve, A WONDERFUL MAIDENLY (30) SPOUSE,</i>
22b	<i>and he brought her to the man.</i>	<i>whom he gave to this man TO LIVE WITH HIM IN THE GARDEN.</i>
23a	AND THE MAN SAID:	
23b	<i>“This is now bone of my bones and flesh from my flesh;</i>	<i>(31) And he, when he saw her, was suddenly greatly</i>
23c	<i>This one will be called woman,</i>	<i>(32) amazed in spirit, rejoicing, such a corre- sponding copy did he see.</i>
23d	<i>for she was taken out of man.”</i>	<i>(33) THEY CONVERSED WITH WISE WORDS WHICH FLOWED SPONTANEOUSLY, (34) FOR GOD HAD TAKEN CARE OF EVERYTHING.</i>
24a	FOR THIS REASON A MAN LEAVES HIS FATHER AND HIS MOTHER.	
24b	AND HE ASSOCIATES WITH HIS WIFE,	
24c	AND THEY BECOME ONE FLESH.	
25a	<i>And the man and his wife were both <u>naked,</u></i>	<i>(35) FOR THEY NEITHER COVERED THEIR MINDS WITH LICENTIOUSNESS <u>nor felt</u> <u>shame,</u></i>
25b	<i><u>and they were not ashamed.</u></i>	<i>(36) BUT WERE FAR REMOVED FROM EVIL HEART; (37) AND THEY WALKED LIKE WILD BEASTS <u>with uncovered limbs.</u></i>

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I point to the following similarities. The first phrase (*OrSib* I:22–24) refers both to Gen 2:7 and Gen 1:26–27. The phrase “he fashioned an animate object” runs parallel with “he formed man. . . . and man became a living being” of Gen 2:7. The phrase “making a copy from his own image” runs parallel with Gen 1:27a (“he created man in his own image, in the image of God”). The second phrase (*OrSib* I:24–25) refers to the description of the Garden in Gen 2:8–15, especially to the last phrase (Gen 2:15). The ambrosial garden and the luxuriant plantation of the garden in *OrSib* I:26 refers to the whole passage Gen 2:8–15. The third phrase (*OrSib* I:26–28) runs parallel with Gen 2:18, which is concerned with the loneliness of man. The fourth phrase (*OrSib* I:28–30) describes the actual making of the woman, and runs parallel with Gen 2:21–22. The fifth phrase (*OrSib* I:31–32) can only be a variation of Gen 2:23. The next phrase (*OrSib* I:33–34) seems to be an addition if the biblical text is considered, although it might refer to the second part of Gen 2:24 (“And he associates with his wife, and they become one flesh”). The last phrase (*OrSib* I:35–37) has some elements in common with Gen 2:25.

Despite the similarities between Genesis and the *Sibylline Oracles*, there are also several omissions and additions. First, with regard to

the creation of the male man the reference to Gen 1:26–28 in the *Sibylline Oracles* is only concerned with the image of God (23). The differentiation of man in male and female, and the dominion of man over the animals are omitted. The blessing in connection with the command to be fruitful is disconnected from the creation of the male man, and is combined with the expulsion from the Garden in *OrSib* I:57, where it is linked up to the curse on man and woman: a clear example of rearrangement.

Second, if Gen 2:7 is considered the aspect of the formation of man out of the dust and the breathing activity of God are omitted in the *Sibylline Oracles*. Compared to these omissions, there is an addition: man is created “youthful, beautiful, and wonderful” (23–24: νέον ἄνδρα καλὸν θεσπέσιον). If the biblical text is considered, this is a somewhat peculiar addition, which is probably influenced by a Hellenistic portrayal of man.

Third, as far as the placing of the man in the Garden is concerned, the creation and description of the Garden (Gen 2:8–15) is reduced to the words “an ambrosial garden” (25) and “the luxuriant plantation of the garden” (26). It is interesting that the words of Gen 2:15 “to till it and keep it” are interpreted as: “that he might be concerned with beautiful works”. Elsewhere in early Jewish and in Rabbinic literature this phrase is either interpreted literally, or related to the works of the Torah.<sup>30</sup>

Fourth, with regard to the creation of the woman, several alterations in *OrSib* I:26–28 can be observed. The divine initiative to remove the loneliness of Adam (Gen 2:18) is not mentioned. It is Adam himself who experiences loneliness, and he himself “prayed to behold another form like his own”. The loneliness of Adam is interpreted as the desire to have conversation with someone. The formation of the animals and the name giving by Adam (Gen 2:19–20) is omitted altogether. It is not a mistaken attempt to find somebody who is like him. Moreover, the cutting away of the creation of the

<sup>30</sup> Adam as the model of the farmer does occur in one of the interpretations of Philo of this verse, see: Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* I:14. Otherwise an allegorical interpretation prevails: Adam labours in the law and keeps the commandments, see: Philo, *Legum allegoriae* I:55 (doing the good and keeping the commandments); Tg N and Tg Ps-J to Gen 2:15 (“... to labour *in the Law* and to observe *its commandments*”); *GenR* 16:5 specifies the commandments in two ways. First, it is a precept to keep the Sabbath, second it is an allusion to sacrifices. Cf. also: *Siphre Deut* 11:13; *ARN B* 21 (131); *PRE* 12 (84–85); 2 Enoch 31:1.

animals out of the context of the creation of man and woman stresses the fact that the creation of men is seen as a separate stage. With regard to the actual fabrication of the woman, it is interesting to see that the aspect of the “sound slumber” is omitted by the author of the *Sibylline Oracles*. With regard to the woman it can be observed that she is called from the beginning “Eve”, and that she is called “a wonderful maidenly spouse” (*OrSib* I:29–30: Εὖαν ἀγαπητήν, κουριδίην ἄλοχον). As I said before, the aspect of sexuality is completely disconnected from the creation of men. It enters the life of the first couple only with regard to the curse, after eating from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The spiritualization in *OrSib* I:35–37 of the nakedness can be seen in the same line. Although their relationship is asexual, man and woman are depicted as the complete equivalent of each other. She is not only a corresponding copy of him (ἀντίτυπον μίμημα), but it is also said that “they conversed with wise words which flowed spontaneously” (33).

Summarising, I point to the following conclusions. First, the first account of the creation of men is rearranged and integrated in the second account of the creation. In the *Sibylline Oracles* the creation of man and woman is set apart from the rest of the creation. Second, the description of the creation of man and woman runs very much parallel with the description in Genesis as far as the sequence of the events is concerned. With regard to the actual wording, both texts differ substantially. Third, the creation is valued as something positive. Eve is not created so that sin and death might come to Adam or to mankind. Eve is created as a partner equal to Adam. Although later on in the story she is the one who persuades Adam to eat from the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, it is the serpent who is seen as the first responsible. He is in fact the only who is to be cursed, whereas the curse on Adam and Eve is lightened very greatly because it is connected with the blessing of God. Fourth, in connection with the positive evaluation of the creation of men, the prohibition to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (Gen 2:16–17) is also rearranged, and forms the direct introduction to the story of the temptation and transgression. Finally, sexuality is disconnected from the creation of Adam and Eve. Before the eating from the Tree of Knowledge, they seem to have a sort of Platonic relationship. Only after this does sexuality enter their life.

4. *The creation of man and woman in 2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch*

The second book of Enoch is also called the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch, and was written probably in the 1st century CE, originally possibly in Greek, but was passed down only in the Slavonic language.<sup>31</sup> It is possibly of Hellenistic Jewish origin, because time and again the author tries to mediate between the Jewish tradition and Hellenistic philosophy.<sup>32</sup> The work can be considered as an amplification of Gen 5:21–32. It describes events from the life of Enoch until the coming of the Flood. The first part describes the ascension of Enoch to Heaven, and is followed by the revelation of God, which can be divided in three parts: a. The history preceding the first week of Creation (24–27); b. The first week of Creation (28–32); c. The eschatological conclusion (33–36).<sup>33</sup>

<i>Genesis 1:1–2:4</i>	<i>2 Enoch 24–36</i>
	24–27 History preceding the first week of Creation
	24:4–5 decision
	25–27 creation of the material requirements
	25 Adoil
	26 Archas
	27:1–3 Universe, circles, “firmament”
	27:4 light and darkness
1st day: light, day and night	28 1st day: seas and earth
2nd day: firmament	29 2nd day: fire, angels, fall of Satan
3rd day: separation of earth and sea, flora	30:1 3rd day: surface of the earth, flora, Garden of Eden

<sup>31</sup> F.I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch”, in: J.H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, I*, London 1983, 91–213, esp. 94–97; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, V.7), Gütersloh 1995, 807–813. For the complicated textual transmission of the text, see: Anderson, *Enoch*, 92–94; Böttrich, *Henochbuch*, 788–799.

<sup>32</sup> For the Alexandrine Hellenistic Jewish background of 2 Enoch, see: Böttrich, *Henochbuch*, p. 811. Some have pleaded for an Iranian provenance of the work. See, e.g., D. Winston, “The Iranian Component in the Bible, Apocrypha, and in Qumran. A Review of the Evidence”, *History of Religions* 5 (1966) 183–216, esp. 196–199; M. Philonenko, “La cosmogonie du ‘Livre des secrets d’Hénoch’”, in: *Religions en Egypte Hellénistique et Romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 16–18 mai 1967*, Paris 1969, 109–116.

<sup>33</sup> For the following scheme, see also: Böttrich, *Henochbuch*, 907.

<i>Genesis 1:1–2:4</i>		<i>2 Enoch 24–36</i>
4th day: sun, moon and stars	30:2–6	4th day: 7 planets, zodiac, stars, sun and moon
5th day: fauna (birds and aquatic animals)	30:7	5th day: fauna
6th day: fauna (land animals), man	30:8–32:1	6th day: Adam and Eve, fall and expulsion
7th day: God rests	32:2 33:1–2 33:3–36:2	7th day: God rests 8th day: symbol of the beginning of a new era eschatological prospect

The description of the creation follows more or less the account of the creation in Genesis 1, although there are many differences between both texts. Within the scope of this paper I will restrict myself to the 6th day of creation, the creation of Adam and Eve, which can be found in 2 Enoch 30:8–32:1. The most striking element in the rewriting is that the whole story of Genesis 2–3 is integrated into the description of the sixth day of Creation. On this day Adam and Eve were created, they were placed in the Garden of Eden and on this very day they were driven away from the Garden.

It is clear that 2 Enoch 28–32 forms a counterpart of the account of the Creation in Genesis, but it may become clear from the text of the description of the sixth day that both texts differ remarkably. Many new elements, especially derived from 1 Enoch, Ben Sira and Hellenistic philosophy are interwoven in the text, and it is not easy to identify the elements of Genesis 1–3. In the following translation of 2 Enoch 30:8–32:1, which follows the longer recension of the text,<sup>34</sup> I put in italics those elements that refer in one way or another to the creation of man in Genesis 1, whereas I underline those elements that refer to Genesis 2–3.

*2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch 30:8–32:1*

- 30:8a And *on the sixth day* I commanded my wisdom *to create man* out of the seven components:
- b first, his flesh from earth; second, his blood from dew and from the sun; third, his eyes from the bottomless sea; fourth, his bones from stone; fifth, his reason from the mobility of angels

<sup>34</sup> I used the translation of Andersen, *Enoch*, pp. 150–154. For the German translation, see: Böttrich, *Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, V.7), 914–928.



- and from clouds; sixth, his veins and hair from grass of the earth; seventh, his spirit from my spirit and from wind.
- 9a And I gave him seven properties:  
 b hearing to the flesh; sight to the eyes; smell to the spirit; touch to the veins; taste to the blood; to the bones—endurance; to the reason—sweetness.
- 10a Behold, I have thought up an ingenious poem to recite:  
 b “From invisible and visible substances *I created man*.  
 c From both his natures come both death and life.  
 d And (as my) *image* he knows the word like (no) other creature.  
 e But even at his greatest he is small,  
 f and again at his smallest he is great”.
- 11 And on earth I assigned him to be a second angel, honoured and great and glorious.
- 12a *And I assigned him to be a king,*  
 b *to reign on the earth,*  
 c and to have wisdom.  
 d And there was nothing comparable to him on earth, even among my creatures that exist.
- 13a And I assigned to him a name from the four components:  
 b from East—(A); from West (D); from North (A); from South (M).
- 14 And I assigned to him four special stars, called his name Adam.
- 15a And I gave him his free will;  
 b and I pointed out to him the two ways—light and darkness.  
 c And I said to him:  
 d “This is good for you, but that is bad”;  
 e so that I might know whether he has love toward me or abhorrence,  
 f and so that it become plain who among his race loves me.
- 16a Whereas I have come to know his nature,  
 b he does not know his own nature.  
 c That s why ignorance is more lamentable than the sin such as it is in him to sin.  
 d And I said:  
 e “After sin there is nothing for it but death”.
- 17a And I assigned a shade for him;  
 b and I imposed sleep upon him,  
 c and he fell asleep.  
 d And while he was sleeping,  
 e I took from him a rib.  
 f And I created for him a wife,  
 g so that death might come (to him) by his wife.
- 18 And I took his last word,  
 b and I called her name Mother, that is to say, Euva.
- .....
- 31:1a Adam—Mother; earthly and life.  
 1b And I created a garden in Eden, in the east,

- 1c so that he might keep the agreement  
 1d and preserve the commandment.  
 2a And I created for him an open heaven,  
 2b so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song.  
 2c And the light which is never darkened was perpetually in  
 paradise.  
 3a And the devil understood how I wished to created another world,  
 3b *so that everything could be subjected to Adam on earth,*  
 3c *to rule and reign over it.*  
 4a The devil is of the lowest places.  
 4b And he will become a demon,  
 4c because he fled from heaven;  
 4d Sotana, because his name was Satanail.  
 5a In this way he became different from the angels.  
 5b He did not change,  
 5c (but) his thought did,  
 5d since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed.  
 6a And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin  
 which he sinned previously.  
 6b And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam.  
 6c In such a form he entered Paradise  
 6d and corrupted Eve.  
 6e But Adam he did not contact.  
 7a But on account of (her) nescience I cursed them.  
 7b *But those whom I had blessed previously,* them I did not curse;  
 7c (and those whom I had not blessed previously, even them I  
 did not curse)—  
 7d neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other crea-  
 ture, but only mankind's evil fruit-bearing.  
 8a That is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion.  
 32:1a After Adam's transgression, Gods expels him into the earth  
 from which he had been taken . . .

Elements of Gen 1:26–28 can be found mainly in chapter 30. I point to v. 8a: “on the sixth day”, and “to create man”; v. 10b: “I created man”; v. 10d: “as my image”; v. 12ab: the assignment of man to be a king, to reign on the earth, which refers to the dominion of man over the animals in Genesis 1. The same sort of reference can be found in chapter 31, in v. 3bc: “so that everything could be subjected to Adam on earth, to rule and reign over it”. Finally, there is some sort of reference in chapter 31, v. 7b (“But those whom I had blessed previously”). This refers to the blessing of man in Gen 1:28, although this element is not used elsewhere in 2 Enoch. Some elements of Gen 1:26–28 are not taken over, for example the creation of man as “male and female”, and the command to be fruitful.

The most extensive reference to the creation of the woman in Genesis 2 is found in chapter 30, v. 17, which can be considered as a verbatim quotation of Gen 2:21–22 with some additions and omissions. I refer to the additions in the beginning (“And I assigned a shade for him”) and, especially, at the end (“so that death might come [to him] by his wife”). Also other elements of the Genesis 2–3 are integrated in the description of the sixth day. In chapter 30 the following elements can be found: v. 8b (“from earth”), which echoes Gen 2:7 (the formation of man of dust from the ground) and perhaps also the curse of 3:19 (“you are dust and you shall return to dust”); v. 15d (“This is good for you, but that is bad”), which refers in some way to the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; v. 18b (“I called her name Mother, that is to say, Euva”), which rewrites Gen 3:20 with some modifications, although there it is Adam who gave the name and not God. In chapter 31, I point to the following elements of Genesis 2–3: v. 1b (“And I created a garden in Eden, in the east”), which refers to Gen 2:8; v. 1cd (“so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment”), which refers to Gen 2:15), and finally, 32:1a (“After Adam’s transgression, God expels him into the earth from which he had been taken”), which refers to Gen 3:23–24.

A striking element in the description of the creation of the woman in 2 Enoch is that the creation does not take place in Garden of Eden, as in Genesis, but outside the Garden, before both Adam and Eve enter the Garden. Moreover, the verses that precede and follow the creation of the woman in Genesis are omitted altogether in 2 Enoch. The text does not refer to the creation of the animals and their name-giving, nor to the loneliness of Adam, and the designation of Eve as his “helper”, as someone who is “like him”. As a consequence, the man does not recognise Eve as part of himself, and nothing is said of a special union of man and woman. This can be seen to be in one line with the omission of the command to be fruitful from Genesis 1. The marital relationship between Adam and Eve is left out. Instead, sexuality is introduced in the story as the intercourse of Eve with Satan, who entered Paradise as a demon (31:6: “In such a form he entered Paradise and corrupted Eve”). The point of the story of the creation of Eve is that she has brought death to Adam: “so that death might come to him by his wife” (3:17g). And death comes by sin, as it is said in 30:16e “After sin there is nothing for it but death”.

In 2 Enoch, sin is not the transgression of the prohibition to eat from the fruit of the tree. In the biblical text, the knowledge of good and evil is the result of the eating of the forbidden fruit, and, therefore, “in the day that you eat of it you shall die” (Gen 2:17). The result of the eating is that man has become like God (cf. Gen 3:22). This Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil is omitted altogether in 2 Enoch. Instead, God has endowed man beforehand with knowledge (30:12: “I assigned him to be a king, to reign on the earth, and to have wisdom”). The knowledge of good and evil can be considered as part of his being as the image of God. In short, God made known to man, before they entered the Paradise, what is good and what is evil (30:15b–d: “I point out to him the two ways—light and darkness. And I said to him: this is good for you, but that is bad”). However, man is also endowed with free will (30:15a), God gave him the choice between good and evil. In this way man could show God whether he loved him or not. In 2 Enoch, the transgression of Adam seems to be that he does not use his freedom and his competence. The transgression of Eve seems not to be that the serpent persuades Eve to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, but his “misleading” of Eve to have intercourse with him. This difference between 2 Enoch and Genesis 3 with regard to the transgression of Adam and Eve, can be considered as a major alteration of the biblical text. I would speak here of a distortion of the biblical text, for which I do not see a clue in the biblical text itself.

Finally, another example of distortion of the biblical text can be found at the end of the rewriting in 31:7. The curse that is put on Adam and Eve in Gen 3:14–19 is greatly softened here. In 2 Enoch it is said that because of the ignorance of Adam and Eve, God cursed them. However, the writer immediately adds that none of the creatures of God will be hit by a curse. This might be in line with Gen 1:28 where God blesses mankind, but it is in contrast with Gen 3:14–19. In 2 Enoch, God curses only the produce of men.

Summarising, we can say that the creation of the woman is integrated in the description of the 6th day. The creation took place outside the Garden of Eden, before both Adam and Eve entered it. Eve was created so that death might come to Adam, although it is also stated that both life and death are part of his nature (30:10c). All elements in the text of Genesis that refer to a marital relation between the first man and woman are omitted altogether. The first sexual relationship took place between Eve and Satan.

### 5. Conclusion

I finish with some general conclusions. The investigation has shown that the reception of the narrative of the creation of man and woman in Early Jewish literature has been diverse. The references to the creation of man and woman are integrated three times in a broader rewriting of the biblical text, either of Genesis 1–3 (*Sibylline Oracles*, *2 Enoch*) or of the whole Book of Genesis and part of Exodus (*Jubilees*). In Tobit there are quotations from and allusions to isolated phrases from the creation account. But here also there is a tendency to embed the isolated quotation in a broader allusion to the whole text of Gen 1–3.

The three documents that rewrite the whole of Genesis 1–3, and which all fall to a certain extent within the same sort of genre, rewrite the Bible quite variously. The *Book of Jubilees* follows the text of Genesis quite closely, also as far as the wording is concerned, although there are some omissions and extensive additions. The *Sibylline Oracles* recast the biblical phrases poetically, but although the actual wording is very different, the rewording can be followed phrase by phrase. The situation is quite different in the second book of Enoch. Here we find a completely revised account of the creation with very few quotations and allusions. However, as far as the general structure is concerned it is clear that the second book of Enoch intends to follow the biblical text. The three examples of rewritten Bible deal differently with the tension between the two accounts of the Creation in the biblical text. The *Book of Jubilees* does not integrate one account into the other, but both are taken as separated stages in the creation of mankind (in the first week the creation, in the second week the presentation). In the *Sibylline Oracles* the first account of the creation of men is integrated in the second account of the creation, whereas in *2 Enoch* the creation of the woman of the second account is integrated in the description of the 6th day. The three books differ also with regard to the place where Eve was created. In the *Book of Jubilees* (cf. 4Q265) and the second book of Enoch, both Adam and Eve are created outside the Garden, before they enter it, whereas in the *Sibylline Oracles*, Eve is created inside the Garden.

All texts refer to the creation of the first man and woman as to the creation of Adam and Eve, with the exception of the first statement in *Jubilees* (“God made mankind”). All texts stress the marital

relationship between Adam and Eve. Sometimes they refer to their sexual union (Tobit, Jubilees), sometimes their union is depicted as being totally asexual. In the latter case, sexuality is connected with the events that take place later in the Garden. In the *Sibylline Oracles*, sexuality starts with the curse on man and woman, although this curse is connected with a blessing, whereas in *2 Enoch* it is Eve who has intercourse with Satan. As far as the sexual union is concerned, in the *Book of Jubilees* they have intercourse before they enter, in the *Sibylline Oracles* after they leave the Garden.

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