THE GARDEN OF EDEN AND JUBILEES 3:1-31

JACQUES VAN RUITEN

The Book of Jubilees is presented as a revelation which Moses received at Mount Sinai. It actually consists of a rewriting and interpretation of the biblical narrative from Genesis 1 to Exodus 16. It corresponds to the biblical text very closely, but sometimes the author feels free to deviate considerably from his example. In this article I confine myself to Jubilees 3:1-31, a rewriting of the second creation narrative in the Bible, the story of Eden.

The text of Jubilees corresponds to the text of Genesis 2:4-3:24, but a close examination of both texts makes clear that Jubilees 3 disagrees in many respects with its model. Apart from the additions, the author omits passages, and modifies at other points. The following table shows the most important additions and omissions of Jub 3:1-31 with regard to Gen 2:4-3:24:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genesis 2:4-3:24</th>
<th>Jubilees 3:1-31</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:4-17</td>
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<td>2:18-24</td>
<td>3:1-7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(cf. Lev 12:1-8)</td>
<td>3:8-14</td>
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<td>2:25</td>
<td>3:15-16</td>
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<td>3:1-7</td>
<td>3:17-22</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:8-13</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Biblical verses are quoted according to the Revised Standard Version with slight modifications. Quotations from Jubilees are from J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees, II*, (CSCO 511, Scriptores Aethiopici 88), Leuven 1989.

In this article I would like to show how variations in sequence and detail reflect hermeneutical assumptions and exegetical techniques. It is undeniable that the author of Jubilees reads at certain points his own views into the biblical text. However, very often his so-called biases arises from his exegesis of the text. The writer was a careful reader. He was, at the same time, influenced by current interpretations of certain aspects of the text. The biblical text posed some difficulties to the author of Jubilees, and his composition as such tries to solve many of these.

**Harmonisation of the two accounts of creation**

The most important strategy is *harmonisation*. The author removes repetitions and reconciles contradictions in biblical passages. The totality of the Bible is the word of God, and therefore it is perfect, and the writer of Jubilees cannot accept that passages disagree or contradict one another. This hermeneutical assumption has some important implications for the rewriting of the biblical text. I mention only the most important.

The text of Gen 2:4-25 describes the second account of the creation. For the author of Jubilees, however, Genesis 2 cannot be the second account of the creation. It is the chronological continuation of the creation, which took place in the first week. The plants and animals were already created in the first week, so he does not mention again the plants and animals in Jubilees 3, which describes the second week. This is one of the reasons for the omission of Gen 2:4-17. Neither the animals are created again, they are only brought to Adam in the second week. This is an important reason for the modification of Jub 3:1-4 with regard to Gen 2:18-20. Also man was created in the first week. So he is not created again in the second. Adam was created - male and female. Within Adam the female is present as one of his bones. So the woman was also already created in the first week. However, 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.

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3 See Jubilees 2:1-16, which is a rewriting of Gen 1:1-2:3.
4 See also below (Adam and the animals).
5 See Jub 3:8: 'In the first week Adam and his wife, the rib, were created, and in the second week he showed her to him'. For a discussion about the creation of Eve, see J.R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early*
The author does not only omit many elements of the second account of the creation, he also take some elements out of the context of Genesis 2 and put them in the context of Genesis 1. The most important one is the Garden of Eden. In Genesis 2 the biblical author describes that the Lord God plants a garden in Eden (Gen 2:8). He also gives a description of this garden (Gen 2:9-17). According to Jubilees, however, the Garden of Eden is created on the third day of creation (Jub 2:5-7). There may have been several reasons to do so. In the first place, the writer of Jubilees may have seen a link between the trees in Gen 1:11-12 (‘... fruit trees bearing fruit in which is their seed ...’), and the trees in Gen 2:9, 16-17. Both the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life were fruit trees. In the second place, the text of Gen 2:9a (‘And out of the ground the Lord God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food’) and Gen 1:12 (‘The earth brought forth vegetation, plants yielding seed according to their own kinds, and trees bearing fruit in which is their seed, each according to its kind’) have several elements in common. It is striking that Jub 2:7, which is a rewriting of Gen 1:12, has taken over some elements of Gen 2:9. In Jub 2:7, as in Gen 2:9, it is God who made to grow the trees out of the ground. In Gen 1:12 it is the earth which bring forth vegetation. Moreover, the words ‘for enjoyment and for food’ in Jub 2:7 have no equivalent in Gen 1:12. However, in Gen 2:9 the phrase ‘pleasant to the sight and good for food’ can be found. In the third place, the transposition of the Garden of Eden to the context of Genesis 1 can also be brought about by the use of the expression מַעֲרָבָה in Gen 2:8. Usually, this expression is translated in Gen 2:8 as ‘in the east’ (RSV: ‘And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east’). However, the meaning of מַעֲרָבָה is not only ‘east’, but also ‘in ancient time’, ‘aforetime’. Therefore מַעֲרָבָה can also be translated as ‘earlier’ and ‘before’. In this way Gen 2:8 can be interpreted as follows: the creation of Eden took place before the creation of man.


7 The translation ‘for food’ is defended by VanderKam, Book of Jubilees, II, p. 10.


9 The creation of Eden on the third day of creation can be found also in midrash Genesis Rabbah 15 and in 2 Enoch 30:1. Other texts put the creation of Eden even before the creation of the world (4 Ezra 3:6; the Palestinian Targumim on Gen 2:8). In this opinion מערבה is interpreted as ‘from the beginning’. See R.H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis, London 1902, p.14-15; VanderKam, ‘Genesis 1’, p.312 (note 32).
Adam and the animals

A second hermeneutical assumption is that imperfection in the creation and the imperfection of God in his work is unacceptable. This has also some important implications. The scene of the naming of the animals can illustrate this.  

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**Gen 2:18-20**

18a And the **LORD** **God** said: 'It is not good

18b that the man should be alone;

18c I will make for him a helper fit for him.'

19a So out of the ground the **LORD** God formed every beast of the field and every bird of the air,

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**Jub 3:1-4**

1a And in the first six days of the second week

we brought to Adam, by the word of the Lord

b all animals, all cattle, all birds,

and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water,

c each one according to its kind,

and each one according to its likeness:

d the animals on the first day,

e and the cattle on the second day,

f and the birds on the third day,

g and everything that moves on the earth on the fourth day,

h and the ones that move in the water on the fifth day.

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In the following synopsis between Gen 2:18-20 and Jub 3:1-4, I put in bold face the elements of Genesis 2:18-20 which do not occur in Jubilees 3:1-4, and vice versa. I point to Gen 2:19a and parts of Gen 2:19bc and Gen 2:20a, which are omitted in the text of Jubilees, and to Jub 3:1a', 1b-h, 3 and parts of Jub 3:4, which do not occur in the text of Genesis. I underline those elements that show a variation in sequence. I point to Gen 2:18, which occurs in Jub 3:4, to Gen 2:19c, which occurs in Jub 3:2b, and to Gen 2:20a, which occurs in Jub 3:2a. I put in italics those differences between Genesis 2:18-20 and Jubilees 3:1-4, other than addition, omission or variation in sequence. In normal script are the corresponding elements between both texts.
living creature, that was its name.

20a The man gave names to all cattle, and to the birds of the air, and to every beast of the field;

20b but for the man there was not found a helper fit for him.

And Adam named them all, each with its own name.

And whatever he called them, became their name.

And during these five days Adam was looking at all of these male and female among every kind that was on the earth.

But he himself was alone.

And there was no one whom he found for himself, who would help him, who was like him.

And the Lord said to us:

'And it is not good that the man should be alone. Let us make for him a helper, who is like him.'

In Gen 2:18-20 it is God who observes that the man is alone (v.18ab). He creates the animals (v.19), but he must admit that he has not created something that suits the man (v.20b). Only then he decides to build the woman (v.21-22). In Jub 3:1-4 God’s formation of the animals is not a mistaken attempt at finding a partner for Adam. The animals which have just been created (in the first week) are brought to Adam in the second week (v.1) and he gives them names (v.2). He observes the animals and he sees that they are ‘male and female according to every kind’ and observes that he is alone, that there is none who is like himself, who would help him (v.3). It is the man himself who observes that he does not have anybody. Only then God decides to make a helper (v.4). With the variation in sequence and the modification of some details the author solves his problem of the imperfection of God.

The modifications in Jub 3:1-7 reveals in another way that rewriting is at the same time interpretation. In this passage the bringing of the animals to Adam gets a new goal. Not only do they get their name, but they reveal to Adam, while he is observing them, that he is alone, and that he is in fact longing for a female. The addition in Jub 3:3a-c (Adam observes the animals in pairs) and the modifications in Jub 3:3de (Adam himself does see his need for a partner) make clear that the bringing of the animals has a pedagogical func-

tion. It tells Adam about his incompleteness and his need for a partner. Adam’s recognition of his need and the provision of this need leads to the sexual encounter of man and woman. The author emphasizes their sexual encounter in his rewriting of Gen 2:22-24 with some additions and slight modifications in Jub 3:6-7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen 2:22b-24</th>
<th>Jub 3:6-7</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22b And He brought her to the man.</td>
<td>6a And He awakened Adam from his sleep.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23a And the man said:</td>
<td>b And when he awoke he got up on the sixth day.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23b 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh from my flesh.</td>
<td>c And He brought (him) to her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23c This one will be called Woman,</td>
<td>d And he knew her.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23d for she was taken out of Man’</td>
<td>e and he said to her:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a Therefore a man will leave his father and his mother.</td>
<td>f 'This is now bone from my bone and flesh from my flesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b And he will cleave to his wife,</td>
<td>g This one will be called my wife, for she was taken out of her husband’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c and they will become one flesh.</td>
<td>h and he said to her:</td>
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The postponement of the entrance into the Garden

It is a very striking modification of the story that in Jubilees the woman is formed outside the Garden. This modification finds expression in an extensive addition to the story in Genesis:

'(8) In the first week Adam was created, and also the rib, his wife. And in the second week he showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep seven days

12 Compare Gen Rabbah 17:4: 'Then he paraded them again before him in pairs. Adam said: 'Every one has a partner, yet I have none'.
13 Jub 3:5 (cf. Gen 2:21-22a) describes the completion of the woman, who was already created as one of the ribs of man. In Gen 3:8 this completion is interpreted as a presentation of the woman to Adam. See note 5.
14 In the following synopsis between Gen 2:22b-24 and Jub 3:6-7, I put in bold face the elements of Jub 3:6-7 which do not occur in the text of Genesis. I point to Jub 3:6ab, d, 7a and to part of Jub 3:6e, which do not occur in the text of Genesis. I put in italics those differences between Genesis 2:18-20 and Jubilees 3:1-4, other than addition or omission. In normal script are the corresponding elements between both texts.
for a male and for a female twice seven days in their impurity. (9) After forty days had come to end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden, so that he might till it and guard it. His wife was brought in on the eightieth day. After this she entered the Garden of Eden. (10) For this reason a commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth: if she gives birth to a male, she is to remain in her purity for seven days like the first seven days; then for thirty-three days she is to remain in the blood of her purity. She is not to touch any sacred thing, nor to enter the sanctuary, until she completes these days like the first two weeks and sixty-six days in the blood of her purity. Their total is eighty days. (12) After she had completed these eighty days, we brought her into the Garden of Eden because it is more holy than any land. And every tree which is planted in it is holy. (13) For this reason the law of these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or a female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for male or female are completed. (14) This are the law and the testimony that were written for Israel to keep for all times’ (Jub 3:8-14).

One of the consequences of this modification is that the first sexual marital relation between Adam and Eve does not take place in the garden of Eden, but before they enter. Only forty days after their first sexual marital relation can Adam enter the garden and his wife must wait eighty days. The reason for this modification can be that according to Jubilees Eden is conceived as a holy place, more holy than any land (Jub 3:12), it is a sanctuary (Jub 4:26). In fact, Eden is the prototype of the Temple. This opinion can be found also in some Qumran-texts and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is quite probable that laws concerning the Temple are applied to the Garden of Eden. I point to the laws of Leviticus, for example: ‘If a man lies with a woman and has an emission of semen, both of them shall bathe themselves in water, and be unclean until the evening’ (Lev 15:18). There is a very strict application of this law in some Qumran texts, e.g. the Temple Scroll, which says that after having sex it is not allowed to enter in the city of the temple for three days.

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17 Cf. Lev 22:4-7: ‘[Anyone] of the line of Aaron .... who has an emission of semen .... shall be unclean until the evening and shall not eat of the holy things unless he has bathed his body in water’.
18 The text of 11QTemple 45:11-12 reads as follows: ‘Anyone who lies with his wife and has an ejaculation, for three days shall not enter anywhere in the city of the temple in which I shall install my name ...”; cf. The Damascus Document (CD 11:21-12:2): ‘... And everyone who enters the house of prostration
Because of the contemporary conception of Eden as the prototype of the Temple, the author has difficulties with the view that the consummation of the sexual relationship of Adam and Eve took place inside the Garden. With his modification of the story he solves this problem.

It is not yet clear why Adam has to wait until the fortieth day after his creation, and his wife until the eightieth. Here, another difficulty in a biblical text seems to play a role, this time not in the text of Genesis, but in the text of Leviticus. The entrance of Adam and Eve into the Garden of Eden is namely related to the law concerning the woman who is giving birth in Leviticus 12. The mother observes seven days of impurity and thirty-three days of purification for a boy, and fourteen days of impurity and sixty-six of purification after the birth of a girl. The reason for this disparity between the sexes remains obscure. The author of Jubilees tries to give an explanation for this disparity by integrating Lev 12 in the story of the second week of the creation. The author explains why in Lev 12 the period of impurity following the delivery of a girl will be double that of a boy. It is because Eve was introduced to Adam in the second week of the creation, seven days after he and his bone had been created. Although the situation in Leviticus 12 does not completely fit the model of Jubilees, it is clear that the author tries to give an etiological reason for the disparity between the sexes. The author does not only project certain aspects of the Mosaic Law back to the time of the Garden of Eden, but his radical changements of the text reveal also an exegetical effort to solve the problem of the lack of sufficient details in Leviticus 12.

Adam tilling and guarding the Garden

An addition to the story of Genesis in Jub 3:15-16 describes Adam as a farmer:

'(15) During the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife spent seven years in the Garden of Eden tilling and guarding it. We gave him work and were teaching him to do everything that was appropriate for tilling. (16) He was tilling ... He would guard the


garden against birds, animals and cattle. He would gather its fruit and eat and would store its surplus for himself and his wife. He would store what was being kept.

The tilling of the ground is taught by the angels (‘We were teaching him etc.’). So Adam is described as the model of the ideal farmer. The reason for this addition can be found in the text of Genesis. The words ‘to till’ (שְׁבֵר) and ‘to guard’ (שְׁמַר) are found in Gen 2:5 (‘... and there was no man to till the ground’) and Gen 2:15 (‘The LORD God took the man and put him in the garden of Eden to till it and guard it’). Because of the rearrangement of the story of Genesis 2-3, caused by the harmonisation of the two accounts of the creation, the text of Gen 2:4-17 is omitted in Jubilees 3. Only after Adam and his wife were brought into the Garden, the author can speak about the activities in the Garden. Moreover, the text of Gen 2:5, 15 does not say what kind of work Adam is doing. The biblical text has a lack of sufficient details. And the author of Jubilees is trying to fill this gap. In its wordings Jub 3:15-16 prepares the eating of the fruit by the woman (Jub 3:20-22). Adam as the model of the farmer does occur in one of the interpretations of Philo of this verse. 20 Otherwise an allegorical interpretation is prevailing: Adam labors in the law and keeps the commandments. 21

The covering of the nakedness

The author of Jubilees lays emphasis on the covering of the nakedness. I point to the additions to the text of Genesis in Jub 3:16, 21-22, 30-31. The text of Jub 3:16b-d is a modification of Gen 2:25: 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gen 2:25</th>
<th>Jub 3:16b-d</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25a And the man and his wife were both naked,</td>
<td>16b And he was naked,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25b and were not ashamed.</td>
<td>c but he neither knew it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d nor was he ashamed.</td>
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20 Philo, Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim 1:14.
21 Philo, Legum allegoriae 1:55 (doing the good and keeping the commandments); Targum Neofiti and Targum Pseudo-Yonathan to Gen 2:15 (‘... to labor in the Law and to observe its commandments’); Gen r 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; Aboth de Rabbi Natan B 21 (131); PRE 12 (84-85); 2 Henoch 31:1.
22 In the following synopsis between Gen 2:25 and Jub 3:16b-d, I put in bold face the elements of Jub 3:16b-d which do not occur in Gen 2:25. I point to Jub 3:6c, which does not occur in the text of Genesis. I put in italics those differences between Genesis 2:25 and Jubilees 3:6b-d, other than addition or omission.
The text of Jub 3:16b-d shows two modifications with regard to the text of Gen 2:25. In the first place it omits the phrase ‘And the man and his wife’ and it puts the succeeding verbs in the singular (‘And he was naked .... was he ashamed’). This modification is due to the fact that the text of Jubilees gives all attention to Adam. In the second place, Jub 3:16b has the addition ‘but he neither knew it’. With this addition he stresses the innocence of Adam with regard to his nakedness. Adam is also innocent with regard to the nakedness of his wife. I point to Jub 3:21-22, which is a modification of Gen 3:6b-7.23

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\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Gen 3:6g-7d} & \text{Jub 3:21-22} \\
6g \quad \text{and she also gave to her husband, who was with her,} & 21a \quad \text{And she first covered her shame with fig leaves} \\
6h \quad \text{and he ate.} & b \quad \text{and she gave it to Adam,} \\
7a \quad \text{And the eyes of both were opened,} & c \quad \text{and he ate.} \\
7b \quad \text{and they knew that they were naked;} & e \quad \text{and he saw that he was naked.} \\
7c \quad \text{and they sewed fig leaves together} & 22a \quad \text{And he took fig leaves} \\
7d \quad \text{and they made themselves aprons.} & b \quad \text{and he sewed (them),} \\
& c \quad \text{and he made an apron for himself,} \\
& \quad \text{and covered his shame.}
\end{array}
\]

The text of Gen 3:1-7 describes the scene in which the woman is seduced by the serpent. Jub 3:17-22 follows this text quite closely, as if the author is not really interested in this scene.24 After the conversation of the woman and the serpent (Jub 3:17-19), the woman took the fruit of the tree and ate it (Jub 3:20). The text of Gen 3:6 continues: ‘And she also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate’. The text of Jubilees, however, states that

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23 In the following synopsis between Gen 2:22b-24 and Jub 3:6-7, I put in bold face the elements of Gen 3:6g-7d which do not occur in the text of Jubilees, and vice versa. I point to elements of Gen 3:6g which are omitted in the text of Jubilees, and to Jub 3:21a, 22d which do not occur in the text of Genesis. I put in italics those differences between Genesis 2:18-20 and Jubilees 3:1-4, other than addition or omission. In normal script are the corresponding elements between both texts.

24 The treatment of the serpent is very brief. The author does not seem to be interested. The text of Jub 2:23a (‘And the Lord cursed the serpent, and he was angry with it forever’) is a very short summary of the cursing of the serpent. The author gives no rationale for the curse. He omits ‘Because you have done this’ (Gen 3:14b); there is no comparison with ‘all the cattle and beasts of the field’ (Gen 3:14c); there is no physical consequence of the curse. The author of Jubilees omits Gen 3:14d-f (‘Upon your belly you shall go, and dust you shall eat all the days of your life’). Finally, there is no mention of enmity with respect to the woman of her descendants. The author omits Gen 3:15 (‘I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise your head, and you shall bruise his heel.’). See S.G.W. Andrews, Ancient Interpretations of Divine Judgement in Eden (Genesis 3. 14-19), Cambridge 1994 (Ph.D. Dissertation), p.154.
before the woman gave the fruit to her husband she first covered her shame with fig leaves (Jub 3:21a). With this addition the author stresses the innocence of Adam with regard to the nakedness of his wife. When Adam ate the fruit, his eyes were opened and he discovered his nakedness. After the making of the apron, the texts of Jubilees adds to the text of Genesis that he covered his shame.25

Finally, I point to the addition to the text of Genesis in Jub 3:30-31:

(30) ‘But of all animals and cattle he permitted Adam alone to cover his shame. (31) For this reason it has been commanded in the tablets regarding all those who know the judgement of the law that they cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves’.

The emphasis which the author lays on the covering of the nakedness is one of the few examples in Jubilees 3 of ‘applied exegesis’.26 The additions to the text of Genesis in Jub 3:16, 21a, 22d, 30-31 are not caused by a philological difficulty requiring specific exegesis, nor by a lack of sufficient details, nor by a contradiction of a passage with other passages, nor by unacceptable meanings. These verses, especially Jub 3:30-31, contain a protest against the nakedness of the athletes in the gymnasium introduced in Jerusalem by Jewish Hellenists (1 Macc 1:13-14).  

The priestly dignity of Adam

Connected with the covering of the nakedness is the priestly dignity of Adam. He is described as one who is offering incense after he left the garden:

‘On that day, as he (=Adam) was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance - frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and spices - in the morning when the sun rose at the time he covered his shame’ (Jub 3:27).

The offering of incense is a privilege given to the priests, the sons of

25 Gen 3:8-13 is omitted altogether by the author of Jubilees. The text of Genesis shows God as innocent, which is unacceptable for the author of Jubilees. Moreover, it shows Adam as anxious and guilty, which is problematic for the author of Jubilees, who has a very positive view of Adam. Cf. Levison, Portraits of Adam, p.92. Moreover, the author of Jubilees has already stressed that Adam and his wife has covered their shame (Jub 3:21-22). In that respect the scene of Gen 3:8-13 is quite unnecessary.

Aaron. There is a connection between the covering of the nakedness and the ability to offer. The priests are bidden to cover their nakedness. The emphasis on the priestly dignity of Adam can of course also be an example of applied exegesis. Jubilees originated in a priestly milieu, and it can be an attempt to project the priesthood back to the days of creation. Moreover, Jub 3:27 may contain a protest against the Hellenistic Jewish priests who are involved in Hellenistic practices. However, I think it is possible that also here the starting-point is a difficulty in the text. It is the text of Gen 3:21 which causes problems for the author. Why should the man be dressed once again? He was already dressed in Gen 3:7 (cf. Jub 3:21-22). The addition in Jub 3:27 implies that according to Jubilees the second clothing is something different from the first clothing. It is the clothing of Adam as a priest. The use of הַכֵּן הַיְמָנָה (Gen 3:21) offers him the opportunity for this interpretation. Among the things in which the priests are dressed are also the

So the meaning of Gen 3:21 (cf. Jub 3:26) is according to the author of Jubilees that God has clothed the man in priestly clothing. Hereafter Adam is allowed to offer incense (Jub 3:27). In this interpretation the writer of Jubilees seemed to be influenced by current interpretations. It is a strong line in the history of interpretation to consider Adam as a highpriest who is dressed in Eden with priestly robes. Because he was influenced by this tradition it might have been difficult for him to see the clothing of Adam in a different way.

28 See: Exod 20:26; 28:42.
31 I mention only Ezek 28:13 (MT; LXX; Tg) and Ben Sira 49:16. In MT Ezek 28:13, part of a lament over the king of Tyre, the text reads: ‘You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering (የምስር), carnelian, topaz, and jasper, chrysolite, beryl, and onyx, sapphire, carbuncle, and emerald’. All the precious stones mentioned in MT Ezek 28:13 do occur in the twelve set on the high-priestly breastplate according to Exod 28:17-20 and Exod 39:10-11. In LXX Ezek 28:13 the nine precious stones of the Hebrew text are transformed into the twelve set on the high-priestly breastplate. Tg Ezek 28:13 lists the nine stones, like the Hebrew text, but it mentions that they were set upon a garment: ‘Every precious stone was set upon your garment’. Ben Sira 49:16 mentions ‘the glorious beauty of Adam’. Immediately following Ben Sira 49:16 is the story of the glorification of the High Priest Simon son of Onias (Ben Sira 50:1-21). It is probable that Ben Sira meant to elevate Simon in the light of Adam’s primordial priesthood. See S.N. Lambden, ‘From Fig Leaves to Fingernails. Some Notes on the Garments of Adam and Eve in the Hebrew Bible and Select Early Postbiblical Jewish Writings’, in: P. Morris - D. Sawyer, A Walk in the Garden. Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden (JSOTSS 136), Sheffield 1992, p.74-90 (esp. 79-80).
Conclusion

In this article I tried to show that the author of Jubilees 3 is not only putting his own views into the biblical text. He is in the first place a careful reader of Genesis 2-3 and other biblical texts. The biblical text posed some difficulties to him (contradictions, unacceptable meanings, a lack of sufficient details, philological difficulties) and he tries to solve many of these with his rewriting. Characteristic of this rewriting is especially harmonisation. Sometimes he supplies details for explaining the text. The point of departure is most often the biblical text itself, although, at the same time, he seemed to be influenced by current interpretations of certain aspects of the text (Eden as a sanctuary; Adam as a priest). And because of this influence it might have been difficult for him to see the text of Genesis in another way.

Summary

This article studies the rewriting of the second creation narrative in the Bible (the story of Eden) in Jubilees 3:1-31. It shows that the author of Jubilees 3 is not only putting his own views into the biblical text. He is in the first place a careful reader of Genesis 2-3 and other biblical texts. The biblical text posed some difficulties to him (contradictions, unacceptable meanings, a lack of sufficient details, philological difficulties) and he tries to solve many of these with his rewriting. Characteristic of this rewriting is especially harmonisation. Sometimes he supplies details for explaining the text. The point of departure is most often the biblical text itself, although, at the same time, he seemed to be influenced by current interpretations of certain aspects of the text (Eden as a sanctuary; Adam as a priest).