

Israel's Identity, Fall, and Destiny in the Book of Jubilees

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1. Introduction

One important merit of studying Second Temple Jewish literature is that it can demonstrate the ways in which the Old Testament was being understood by the Jews roughly contemporaneous with the New Testament authors. This knowledge can enable us to see the extent to which the New Testament authors uniquely understand the Old Testament and also the points at which their readings of the Old Testament differ from those of their Jewish contemporaries. To contribute to the exploration of Second Temple literature for this purpose, the present article focuses on the book of Jubilees, with particular reference to Israel's identity, fall, and destiny, which are important themes in both the Old and the New Testament. It is hoped that the findings of this examination can serve as a hermeneutically fruitful source of comparison with the corresponding themes in the Old Testament and the New Testament.

2. An Introduction to the Book of Jubilees

Presumably composed between 160 and 150 BCE,¹⁾ Jubilees retells the

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1) J. C. VanderKam, "The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees", M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange, eds., *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 65

Pentateuchal story from Genesis 1 to Exodus 24 in a new way while interweaving his own words with it. Its goal is to offer a particular way of reading the original Pentateuchal text.²⁾ The features of the particular interpretative perspective promoted in Jubilee – i.e., consistent emphasis on the legal and priestly dimension of Israel's identity and Israel's exclusive covenant relationship with God³⁾ – along with other internal and external evidence, suggests that Jubilees is probably arguing against Hellenization (with some criticisms on high priests) rather than polemicizing against the temple establishment itself.⁴⁾ That is, Jubilees seeks to counter the Hellenizing tendency within Israel to pursue the ideal of “a golden age of non-separation between

(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 20 proposes this date based on the information that Jubilees antedates the composition of 1En 83-90 (no earlier than 164 BCE) – a book with which Jubilees is familiar – and predates the Qumran settlement (in 140's BCE) – because the earliest copy of Jubilees is found in the Qumran library (cave 4). For a more detailed support for this view, see J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 14 (Missoula: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum), 1977, 214-285. For a survey of other views, see *ibid.*, 207-213.

- 2) J. C. VanderKam, “Recent Scholarship on the Book of Jubilees”, *Currents in Biblical Research* 6:3 (2008), 405-431, esp. 409-410, who affirms the general unity of the book, as do most scholars. See *ibid.*, 410-416, for his helpful engagements with some recent views (including the most recent proposal by M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 117 [Leiden: Brill, 2007]) that posit various redactors/compliers based on some seeming inconsistencies in Jubilees.
- 3) J. C. VanderKam, “The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees”, 16-19, also notes that Jubilees' legal and priestly concern is expressed also in its purposeful framing of its entire message with a Jubilean chronology and a solar calendar.
- 4) The former is the majority view, and the latter is proposed by L. Ravid, “Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees”, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 13 (2002), 61-86, esp. 80-86 (non-sectarian polemic against the Zadokite priests) and M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 319-322 (proto-sectarian polemic against the Jewish establishment anticipating the Qumran sect). See J. C. VanderKam, “Recent Scholarship on the Book of Jubilees”, 412-420, for his critical engagements with the views of L. Ravid and M. Segal (esp. J. C. VanderKam, “Viewed from Another Angle: Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees”, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 13:2 (2002), 209-215, against L. Ravid, “Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees”). See also the convincing argument by A. Y. Reed, “Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees: The Evidence of Angelology and Demonology”, G. Boccaccini, et al., eds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 353-368, against using the framework of opposition between the “Enochian Judaism” and the “Zadokite Judaism” (proposed by Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998]) and siding Jubilees with the former. A. Y. Reed shows that Jubilees presents “Book of the Watchers as consonant with the Pentateuch and reads the two as supplementary accounts of earthly events as interpreted from a heavenly perspective” (A. Y. Reed, “Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees”, 366).

peoples,” away from the Mosaic legal emphasis on the separation of the Jews from non-Jews.⁵⁾ Jubilees advocates this anti-Hellenizing separatism by retelling particularly Israel’s history in the pre-Mosaic era and showing that Israel’s law is of heavenly nature, which originated from God’s creation rather than Moses and was even obeyed by Israel’s patriarchs. This view of the occasion and purpose of the book is helpful in understanding Jubilee’s presentation of Israel’s identity, fall, and destiny.⁶⁾

3. Israel’s Identity in Jubilees

One important feature of Jubilees’ understanding of Israel’s identity is its presentation of Israel in close connection with Adam. Jubilees portrays Adam positively and affirms close ties between Adam and Israel. This is supported by the following three observations.

First, Adam is explicitly mentioned as the first in the list of Israel’s patriarchs and specifically compared with Israel. In Jubilee’s retelling of Jacob’s reception of blessings, Abraham prays that God would give Jacob and his descendants – namely Israel – “all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem” and “attach” to them “everything that he promised to give [Abraham] … until eternity – like the days of heaven above earth” (19:27). It is through Jacob’s descendants that Abraham’s name “and the name of [his] ancestors Shem, Noah, Enoch, Malaleel, Enos, Seth, and Adam be blessed” (19:24). These passages make it clear that in Jubilees, God’s blessings that are initially given to Adam, the first patriarch of Israel, are passed down to the subsequent patriarchs and are ultimately focused on Jacob and his descendants, namely Israel.

This view of Israel as the ultimate recipients of God’s blessings to Adam is

5) J. C. VanderKam, “The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees”, 20-22.

6) For our study, we will rely on the critical English text prepared by J. C. VanderKam, ed., *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 510 (Scriptores Aethiopici 87) (Lovanii: Peeters, 1989); J. C. VanderKam, trans., *The Book of Jubilees*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 511 (Scriptores Aethiopici 88) (Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), from the Ethiopic manuscripts (which are translations of a Greek version, which is in turn translated from the original Hebrew) because we have only fragmentary Hebrew versions found at Qumran (see J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 16) and Jubilees in its entirety has been preserved only in Ethiopic.

confirmed and highlighted in 2:17-24. In this passage, God elects Jacob's descendants on the seventh day of creation after his creation of Adam on the sixth day. He declares as follows.

I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day ... I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself through the ages of eternity. (Jub 2:19-20)

The significance of Israel as the elect Sabbath-keepers and the first born son is re-expressed in 2:23 in relation to Adam: "there were 22 leaders of humanity from Adam until [Jacob]; and 22 kinds of works were made until the seventh day." In other words, the way Adam's descendants led up to Israel can be compared with the way God's works of creation continued until the seventh day. The point is that just as the seventh day of creation is the "blessed" and "sanctified" day of celebrating the completion of God's work of creation, so also Israel is the people "blessed" and "sanctified" on the seventh day, who mark the consummation of God's work of raising his people.⁷⁾

Second, an intimate connection between Adam and Israel is expressed another way when Adam and Eve are presented as the first Israelites to keep the law of Israel. This is commonly considered clear in Jubilees 3:8-14. This passage retells the story about the births of Adam and Eve and their entrance to the Garden of Eden. In this retelling, what Adam and Eve go through constitutes the first and foundational application of the Levitical purity law in Leviticus 12:2-5.⁸⁾ In Leviticus 12:2-5, the birth of a boy makes his mother unclean for seven days "as at the time of her menstruation" and further prohibits her from entering the

7) So W. K. Gilders, "The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees", G. Boccaccini, et al., eds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 178-192, esp. 181. L. Doering, "The Concept of the Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees", *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 179-205, esp. 187-193, points out that the sabbath observance is Israel's exclusive privilege of participating in "a holy festal day to all his creation" (2:25; cf. 50:9) with God and the two higher classes of angels, namely "the angel of the presence" and "the angels of holiness," who are also circumcised as Israel (15:27).

8) J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 31 observes the same connection between the Eden story and Lev 12 in 4Q265.

sanctuary for additional thirty three days. This results in the total of forty days of separation from the sanctuary. In the case of the birth of a girl, the time of separation is twice as long, namely fourteen days of impurity and the additional sixty six days outside the sanctuary – altogether eighty days of delayed entrance into the sanctuary.

For the author of Jubilees, this Levitical law concerning child birth, prior to its manifestation in the law of Israel, was applied to Adam and Eve and then stipulated as a heavenly principle. According to Jubilee’s retelling of Adam and Eve’s births in Jubilees 3:8-14, Eve as well as Adam were created outside the Garden of Eden (cf. Gen 2:15-22), and Adam was brought into the Garden of Eden only “after 40 days” of his birth, and Eve, “on the eightieth day” (Jub 3:9).⁹⁾ This completion of forty days for Adam and eighty days for Eve prior to their entrance to the Garden of Eden serves as the reason that this “commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth to a child” (3:10), “for Israel to keep for all times” (3:14).¹⁰⁾ In other words, Adam and Eve’s observance of this Levitical law became a foundational event for its heavenly legislation and its permanent effectiveness for Israel.¹¹⁾ The implication of this retelling of Adam and Eve’s births is not difficult to grasp: what God did to Adam and Eve at the primeval time is prototypical of what God does to Israel. The first two human beings are the prototypical Israelites, the Garden of Eden is the prototypical temple,¹²⁾ and God’s creational design expressed in the first

9) J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha 1 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 92-93, rightly observes that this is one of the passages where the author of Jubilees adds materials to the original Genesis text to express his particular historiographical perspective.

10) See M. Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 49-52, for a helpful discussion on how the details of Lev 12:2-5 can be connected with the events with Adam and Eve as presented in Jub 3:8-14.

11) F. G. Martínez, “The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees”, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 243-260, helpfully observes that “the heavenly tablets” in Jubilees are not only “the divine, pre-existing archetype of the Torah” (Jub 3:9-11; 33:10-12; 16:3-4; 4:5) but also register good and evil (Jub 19:9; 30:19-22), reveal the complete course of history (Jub 5:13-14; 16:9; 24:33; 23:32; 31:32b; 32:21-22), and present correct interpretations of the law – i.e., calendar and feasts (Jub 6:17, 28-29, 30-35; 16:28-29; 18:19; 32:27-29; 49:8) and other laws (3:31; 4:32; 15:25; 28:6; 30:9; 32:10-15) – much like the Oral Torah in Rabbinic Judaism.

12) W. R. G. Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 278-279. This is also supported by Jubilees’s endeavor to clarify that Adam’s sexual intercourse with Eve took place outside Eden (Jub 3:6-9, 34) presumably because of impurity caused by sexual emissions (Lev 15:18; 22:4-7) (G. Anderson, “Celibacy

human beings is reflected in the law of Israel.

This view also underlies Jubilees 3:27 where Adam, having sinned and now leaving the Garden of Eden dressed with “clothing out of skins” made by God, “burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices.” Scholars generally agree that this description of the task of burning incense by a man whose nakedness is covered is indicative of a priestly work performed by Aaron and his sons.¹³⁾ By attributing this priestly work to Adam – and then to the patriarchs, such as Enoch (4:25), Noah (6:1-3), Abraham (13:9) and Jacob (32:3-4) – Jubilees seems to make the point that Adam, the ancestor of humanity, is the first priest of Israel, and the people of Israel, among the nations, are the true priestly descendants of Adam.¹⁴⁾ This priestly link between Adam and Israel further underlies Jubilees 3:30-31, where Adam’s covering of his shame through his priestly garment serves as the ground for the commandment that Israelites must “cover their shame” unlike “the nations [who] uncover themselves.” In other words, among Adam’s descendants, only Israel is Adam’s true priestly descendants and the nations are likened to “the animals and beasts.”¹⁵⁾

Third, not all Israel fit this priestly conception of Israel emphasized in Jubilees. Throughout its retelling of the stories of Israel’s patriarchs, Jubilees emphasizes the laws concerning Israel’s priestly identity and their separation from the rest of humanity. Only those who show unflinching devotion to the exclusiveness of Israel’s priestly identity – as opposed to those Jews who

or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden”, *Harvard Theological Review* 82:2 [1989], 129). For J. van Ruiten, “Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4-3:24 in The Book of Jubilees”, G. P. Luttikhuisen, ed., *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 75-76, the Garden of Eden can also be seen as the “Holy of Holies” within the temple (Jub 3:12; 4:26, and 8:19).

13) J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 94; J. van Ruiten, “Eden and the Temple”, 78, n27 citing Exo 20:26; 28:42. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 28 claims that what is in view here is the evening incense offering in Exo 30:8.

14) Similarly J. L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 41-42.

15) J. van Ruiten, “Eden and the Temple”, 78, and J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 94-95 note that this passage also functions to criticize the contemporary priests’ neglect of their priestly duties and their participation in the Hellenistic practice of public nudity (cf. 1Ma 1:13-14; 2Ma 4:13-15).

marginalize them – are the “holy seed” of Isaac who follows in the footsteps of the priestly patriarchs and constitutes the true returnees from exile for whom God renews the covenant.¹⁶⁾ As James C. VanderKam rightly notes, this priestly line from Adam to Israel culminates in the election of Levi and his seeds to be Israel’s angelic¹⁷⁾ priests ruling over “a priestly kingdom” (31:14-15; 33:20).¹⁸⁾

The above three points show that Jubilees is keen on presenting Adam as the prototypical priestly figure and Israel as Adam’s true priestly descendants elected at the seventh day of creation.

4. Israel’s Fall in Jubilees

Jubilees’ understanding of Israel’s fall is characterized by the following observations.

First, Jubilees emphasizes the violation of the laws concerning Israel’s priestly identity as the paradigmatic case of sin. The basic meaning of sin in Jubilees is the act of deviating from God’s ordained path for humanity (Jub 5:12-13).¹⁹⁾ These divinely prescribed principles of human conduct are, in Jubilees, operative in the patriarchal period, come to be recorded in the heavenly tablets after the first historical application of each principle, and later are codified in Israel’s law. The law of Israel, then, encapsulates the eternally valid heavenly principles for the divinely intended humanity. Failure to keep the law, therefore, constitutes the paradigmatic case of falling short of realizing God’s creational intention for

16) As helpfully emphasized by A. Y. Reed, “Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees”, 368, this is not a sectarian exaltation of a particular Jewish group defined differently from the national identity of Israel. Rather, Jubilees exhorts the Jews to hold onto their original national identity as a kingdom of priests (33:20).

17) That Levi and his seeds will “serve in [God’s] temple like the angels of the presence and like the holy ones” implies that the angelic roles are taken over by them. As A. Y. Reed, “Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees”, 356, contends, angels themselves will be subordinated to Israel in the end, lacking the privileges of Israel (5:17; 15:32; 23:30-31).

18) J. C. VanderKam, “The Origin and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees”, 19, who also remarks that although Judah is similarly elected as Israel’s leader, Levi is of the higher ranking (31:15; 18-20).

19) So C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ: 1 Peter 3:18-22 in Light of Sin and Punishment Traditions in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 118.

humanity. In Jubilees, this divinely intended humanity is represented in priestly terms by emphasizing the avoidance of moral impurity²⁰ – i.e., blood-related impurity (shedding and eating blood, failure to cover blood),²¹ sexual impurity (fornication²²) and intermarriage²³) and idolatry²⁴ – and participation in the heavenly reality through separation from the world – i.e., sabbath-keeping,²⁵ and circumcision.²⁶ For Israel, disobedience to these laws is therefore tantamount to a fall from the heavenly reality and a denial of priestly identity. For Gentiles, their non-observance of these laws confirms their fundamental belonging to the earthly reality and their non-priestly identity. In this light, it is significant that in Jubilees, the first sin to be committed in a universal scale and punished by God's sweeping judgment – i.e., the fall of the Watchers, their descendants, and humanity at that time (Jub 5:1-2; 7:20-33) – is described in terms of moral impurity, namely fornication (5:1; 7:21-22) and blood-shedding (5:2; 7:22-25). The implication is that their sins constitute a paradigmatic rejection of the heavenly principles and a forfeiture of priestly identity, which merits God's judgment and which no human being must follow (7:29-33).²⁷

20) While Jubilees' main emphasis lies in moral impurity, L. Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees", G. Boccaccini, et al., eds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2009), 262-268, shows that Jubilees has concerns for ritual impurity as well – Jub 3:8-14, 34; 21:16; 23:1-7; 32:8, 10-4; 49:9 (*pace* L. Ravid, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees").

21) As noted by L. Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees", 269, this blood-related impurity causes the defilement of the land that demands the blood of its inhabitants who have committed blood-shedding (Jub 7: 28-33; cf. Num 35:33-34).

22) *Ibid.*, 270. Jub 7:21 (cf. 4:22; 20:5); 30:8; 33:20; 16:17-18 (cf. Exo 19:5-6).

23) *Ibid.*, 271-272, who notes that intermarriage makes Israel genealogically impure by spoiling the purity of Israel's priestly lineage as the "holy seed" of Isaac (Jub 16:17-18; 22:20-22; 30:13-14).

24) *Ibid.*, 273. Jub 21:5; 22:16; cf. Lev 20:3.

25) As was noted above, sabbath-keeping marks the sanctity and blessedness of Israel (Jub 2:17-24). G. Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden?", 130, construes from the spatio-temporal prohibition of sexual intercourse – not on the sabbath nor in the temple – that "the sabbath is a means of actualizing, in a non-Temple environment, the requirements of Temple existence."

26) N. E. Livesey, *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 18-19, rightly sees Jubilees' strict emphasis on the circumcision on the *eighth day* as the sign of one's belonging to the Lord (Jub 15:26). As W. K. Gilders, "The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees", 185 notes, circumcision is also the way in which Israel participates in the heavenly fellowship with God and "the angels of the presence" and "the angels of sanctification" who are also circumcised (Jub 15:27). This heavenly fellowship takes places on the sabbath day.

27) Similarly A. Y. Reed, "Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees", 360, states that the fallen

Israel recapitulates this fall if they fail to keep these laws;²⁸⁾ Gentiles confirm their fallen state as they live in denial of these laws.²⁹⁾

Second, Jubilees discusses two causes of sin, namely defective human heart and demonic influence.³⁰⁾ Demonic influence began by the fall of the Watchers (Jub 5). In the retelling of the story of the Watchers in Jubilees,³¹⁾ the Watchers and their offspring, namely the giants born by the Watchers's illicit sexual union with human women, intensify human corruption primarily by being a bad example.³²⁾ That is, the Watchers' illicit union with human women and the giants' intramural blood-shedding function as paradigmatic instances of "fornication, and pollution, and ... all injustice" (7:20-22), with the result that every human being follows in their footsteps in blood-shedding and corruption (7:23-25; 5:1-3) and ultimately experience the paradigmatic instance of God's judgment on the sinners, namely the flood (7:20-21; 5:4-11).³³⁾ The fact that not only the Watchers and the giants but also the human sinners (other than Noah's family) all received God's judgment (Jub 5:4-11) emphasizes human responsibility, especially in comparison with the version of the same story in the Book of Watchers where only the Watchers and the giants are punished.³⁴⁾

angels serve as "paradigms for the Jewish adoption of Gentiles practices." Cf. C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ*, 115.

28) Cf. A. Y. Reed, "Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees", 368.

29) It is also noteworthy that the violations of these laws form the context in which most of the instances of the word "sin" appear – i.e., Jub 9:15; 11:5-6; 16:8; 20:6; 21:19, 21, 22; 23:14, 16, 23; 33:20; 39:6; 41:23, 25; 50:5. Sin in a general sense is referred to in Jub 1:19; 5:12; 15:34; 22:21; 30:21 (sin as covenant breach). More particular sins are in view in 28:6 (deception) and 49:9 (failure to observe Passover).

30) While "the nations" also contribute to Israel's sin, they are not included in our analysis because they are a secondary, less immediate factor than the two causes under discussion. See M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 188-192, for a discussion on the role of the nations and Belial in Jub 1:19.

31) C. T. Pierce *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ*, 112 notes (via R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis Translated From the Editor's Ethiopic Text and Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902], xlv; lxxviii-lxx) that Jubilees was probably influenced also by the Astronomical Book and Book of Dream Visions, as well as Book of Watchers.

32) I made the same point, though from a different angle, in "Paul's Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15", Ph.D. Dissertation (University of St Andrews, 2018), 87.

33) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without*, 172-173; C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ*, 115.

34) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without*, 173-174; C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of*

Both human choice and demonic influence are again affirmed in Jubilee's retelling of the story subsequent to the flood. "Demons" (7:27; 10:1-2) and "wicked spirits" (10:3) – both of which probably refer to the spirits of the giant s³⁵) – now exercise more direct power on humanity by "mislead[ing]" Noah's grandchildren and "destroy[ing]" them (7:27; 10:1). They are even capable of "rul[ing] the spirits of the living" (10:6) and "the thoughts of people's minds" (12:20). Even after God binds nine tenths of them and subordinate one tenth of them to "Satan" (10:11) or "Mastema, the leader of the spirits" (10:8a), for him to be able to serve the role of prosecuting and judging human sinners,³⁶) they

Christ, 114-115; L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil", G. Boccaccini, et al., eds., *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 300. More specifically, in one of the three traditions reflected in 1En 6-11 (i.e., one in which "Shemihazah" leads his subordinate angels [i.e., the Watchers] to have illicit sexual relationship with human women), the primary problem caused by the Watchers is the *danger* posed on people by the violence of their giant descendants (1En 6-7; 8:4; 9:9-10). In response, God punishes them and rescue the victimized people (1En 10:9-22). However, the problem in Jubilees, as correctly noted by L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil", 299-300, is the *bad ethical influence on humanity* exerted by the Watchers and the giants through their *own sinning among themselves* – to which God responds by punishing *all* of those who sinned (similarly M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without*, 172, 156). M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without*, 156-157, further notes (via D. Dimant, "1 Enoch 6-11: A Methodological Perspective", *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 13 [1978], 329) that there are two other traditions in 1En 6-11: one earlier tradition in which the Watchers impart forbidden knowledge (esp., divination and magic) (1En 7:1; 9:7-8; 10:7) and the other later tradition in which "Asael" teaches weapon-making (which leads to wars) and jewelry and cosmetic (which enables seduction) (1En 8:1-2; 9:6; 10:1-5, 8). These illegitimate teachings contributed to human sins, which then led to the flood (the Watchers and the giants are destroyed by Gabriel and Michael prior to the flood; 1En 10:9-15).

35) L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil", 302 (followed by C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ*, 116; also I. Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts", E. Koskenniemi and I. Fröhlich, eds., *Evil and the Devil*, International Studies on Christian Origins 481 [London: Bloomsbury, 2013], 23-50, esp. 34) draws this conclusion based on 1En 15:9, 11; 16:1 and Jub 5:8-9; 10:1-6. The picture emerging from these passages is that the giants, upon death, became disembodied spirits and began influencing people, even before the flood.

36) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Evil Without*, 179 suggests that the name "Mastema" probably comes from Hos 9:7-8 (meaning hostility) and alludes to the angelic "accuser" in Job 1-2 and Zec 3:1-2. As insightfully observed by A. Yoshiko Reed, "Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees", 366–367, this portrayal of Mastema's role shows that Jubilees has transformed Enochic models of demonic activities by "subordinating them to a theodicy more in line with the Deuteronomistic principle, and its depiction of demons falls closer to Job's image of the *satan* and to Deuteronomistic and prophetic views of the role of 'the nations' in the history of Israel."

still retain some capacity for inciting human beings to sin.³⁷⁾ This, however, does not mean that humans commit sin primarily as a result of demonic operation. When Mastema asks God to give one tenth of the evil spirits to himself to “be able to exercise the authority of my will among mankind,” the rationale for this request is specifically that “the evil of mankind is great” (10:8). As rightly pointed out by Brand, the undiminished evilness of humanity serves as the ground for the continued operation of Mastema and his subordinate spirits in the divine system.³⁸⁾ The same is true of the operation of Beliar, who, like Mastema, can “bring charges” against people before God and “trap them away from every proper path so that they may be destroyed” from God’s presence (1:20).³⁹⁾

5. Israel’s Destiny in Jubilees

In Jubilees, the destiny of Israel is determined by the power of death. The following two observations capture Jubilees’ conception of death.

First, Jubilees affirms mortality itself as natural part of human existence and connects the negative sense of death with curtailed lifespan and physical destruction (i.e., premature, violent death), both of which occur in a penal context in accordance with the Deuteronomic theology.⁴⁰⁾ Jubilees rests on the assumption that God’s creational design for human lifespan is at least 1000 years. This can be construed from Jubilee’s portrayal of Adam’s death and the eschatological restoration of Israel. In its retelling of Adam’s death at the age of 930 years, Jubilees comments that Adam’s death before 1000 years is a result of Adam’s transgression, being the materialization of God’s threat that “on the day

37) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Evil Without*, 181.

38) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Evil Without*, 180; A. Yoshiko Reed, “Enochic and Mosaic Traditions in Jubilees”, 357-358. Also J. Park, “Paul’s Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15”, 92.

39) M. T. Brand, *Evil Within and Evil Without*, 188.

40) D. N. D. Jong, “The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees”, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 21:4 (2012), 355-356, as cited for the same point by J. Park, “Paul’s Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15”, 91. See also G. J. Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies in Jubilees 1-2: New Light from 4QJubilees^{ab}”, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 39-58, for Jubilees’ strong reliance on Deuteronomy.

that you eat from it you will die" (4:30).⁴¹⁾ This constitutes "the first reduction in human longevity" due to sin.⁴²⁾ Continuing sins of the subsequent generations of Adam causes successive decline in human lifespan down to seventy years old (23:15), and in the eschatological evil generation, even infants will "look old like one whose years are 100" (23:25).⁴³⁾ However, when this declining longevity is reversed in the eschatological Israel, their lifespan is ultimately restored to the original lifespan of "1000 years and to more years" (23:26).

In addition to curtailment in lifespan, physical destruction also is a penal consequence of sin.⁴⁴⁾ This is best seen in Jubilee's account of the fall of the Watchers and the resultant widespread human sins.⁴⁵⁾ In response to this massive corruption, God not only decrees that "their lifespan is to be 120 years" (5:8) but also "sent his sword among them so that they would kill one another ... until all of them fell by the sword and were obliterated from the earth" (5:9). God inflicts judgment on the Watchers as well when God's angels "tied them up in the depths of the earth" (5:6). God also punishes the giants, their offspring, when he issues the order to "strike them with the sword and to remove them from beneath the sky" (5:7). Physical destruction, then, together with declining longevity, constitutes the two types of human death that result from sins.

Second, while Israel as well as the rest of humanity are vulnerable to physical

41) That this is based on Psa 90:4 ("a thousand years in your sight are like yesterday") is recognized by J. L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 51; J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 228; D. N. D. Jong, "The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees", 347; J. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 170.

42) J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 109. Similarly D. N. D. Jong, "The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees", 347. Cf. J. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 168-170.

43) D. N. D. Jong, "The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees", 50, rightly observes this it is a hyperbole designed to communicate "an inversion of the promise of Isa 65:20." J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 118, says that this premature aging in children is a sign of the more miserable living condition produced by Israel's sin, though it may not imply further shortening of longevity itself.

44) This resonates with my argument in "Paul's Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15", 92.

45) D. N. D. Jong, "The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees", 357-364, also draws attention to the stories of Cain (4:1-6, 31-32) and of Esau (Jub 36:8-9; 37:1, 5, 24; 38:1-14) for the same principle of covenantal retribution.

destruction and subject to declining longevity, they are ultimately recovered from these two senses of death.⁴⁶⁾ Contrary to John R. Levison, other scholars generally note that curtailment in human lifespan is not a penal result of Adam's sin that is confined to Adam alone but a penal consequence that is universally applied to (and exacerbated by) the subsequent generations of Adam's descendants – all of which arose after Adam's expulsion from the Garden of Eden.⁴⁷⁾ Abraham, therefore, “had not completed four jubilees during his lifetime” despite the fact that he “was perfect with the Lord in everything that he did” (23:10). As James Scott notes, this reduction of lifespan below 1000 years during humanity's existence outside of the Garden of Eden will be restored to the eschatological Israel, whose lifespan will be elevated to 1000 years and more.⁴⁸⁾ This ultimate restoration of human lifespan to Adam's pre-fall state converges with the final restoration to Adam's pre-fall residence, namely “the entire land of Eden” (8:21).⁴⁹⁾ This will happen when Israel's universal rue is restored (23:29-30) through the sons of Levi and Judah (31:15-20) on “all of the land beneath the sky” encompassing “the entire land of Eden” (8:16, 19-21; 32:18-19) with the sanctified “Zion and Jerusalem” (1:27-28; cf. 4:26).⁵⁰⁾

46) Similarly J. Park, “Paul's Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15”, 93-94.

47) While scholars would generally recognize this, they tend to pay little attention to the implication of it.

48) J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 121-125, who additionally argues that the gradual decline in longevity from Adam to Moses is mirrored by the gradual increase in longevity, the latter eventually reaching the divine ideal of 1000 years and more when “Eden-like conditions” are restored (124) and “the full and final recapitulation of the original creation” is accomplished (125).

49) D. N. D. Jong, “The Decline of Human Longevity in the Book of Jubilees”, 345 rightly recognizes (via G. Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 39 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 191-193) that the idea of lengthened life is derived from “length of days” for *national Israel on the land* as a reward of the law observance in Exo 20:12 and Deu 30:17-20. While Israel's return to the land does not inaugurate the process of increasing lifespan – which happens only after Israel repents – the full restoration of the original lifespan *does* converge with the full restoration of the land, “the entire land of Eden” (*pace* B. Halpern-Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* [Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1994], 51-54, who marginalizes the territorial dimension of Jubilees's eschatology too much).

50) G. L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, Studia Post-Biblica 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 77-78. J. M. Scot, *On Earth as in Heaven*, 174-175, helpfully observes that the land envisioned here seems to correspond to “the ideal border of the Davidic-Solomonic period.” He further notes correctly that while Jubilees may show some messianic expectation

Israel is also vulnerable to physical destruction. In Jubilees, sinners and idol worshippers can experience God's judgmental destruction in addition to their subjection to reduced lifespan. This is best seen in the case of the destruction of the sinners at the time of the flood and also in God's administration of "the sword, judgment, captivity, plundering, and devouring" on the evil eschatological generation of Israel (23:22). When these sinners die, they "will descend to sheol and will go to the place of judgment" (22:22), as will evil angels,⁵¹⁾ there awaiting a universal judgment on "the great day of judgment when there will be condemnation on all who are corrupted their ways and their actions before the Lord" (5:10).⁵²⁾ This kind of premature, violent death can be experienced by some faithful Israelites when God's judgment is inflicted in response to the corruption of national Israel as a whole (23:22-25).⁵³⁾ However, they will receive postmortem vindication.⁵⁴⁾ In other words, upon physical demise, "their bones will rest in earth and their spirits will be very happy" after being relocated in the heaven, where they will "see all their punishments and curses on their enemies" and "know that the Lord is one who executes judgment but shows kindness to hundreds and thousands and to all who love him" (23:30-31).⁵⁵⁾ Jubilees, however, envision Israel's postmortem heavenly existence as eschatologically permanent. In Jubilees's eschatological scenario, Israel, without bodily resurrection or heavenly ascension, will continue to exist as new generations are born and their hearts are transformed (1:23-25), thereby ensuring the perpetuation of the covenantal relationship.⁵⁶⁾

("Kings will come from you" in 32:18), it is not developed, and more importantly, it is eclipsed by Jubilees' emphasis on Levi and his priestly descendants.

51) C. T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ*, 120 rightly observes that similar fate awaits evil angels in Jub 5:6, 10.

52) G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, Expanded ed., Harvard Theological Studies 56 (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 48, n109.

53) For the unfaithful ethnic Israelites themselves, such death is God's covenantal retribution.

54) J. Park, "Paul's Conception of Sin and Death in Romans 5-8 and 1 Corinthians 15", 93, referring to G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, 48.

55) G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, 49, points to the two corresponding notions in Testament of Moses 10, namely that the spirits of the righteous ascend to heaven and that the punishment of their enemies comes from heaven.

56) R. J. Bautch, "Afterlife in Jubilees: Through a Covenantal Prism", T. Nicklas, et al., eds., *The*

To summarize: Israel, though still mortal as divinely intended, will overcome the two forms of negative death, namely reduction in human lifespan and physical destruction, through the eschatological restoration of the original human lifespan and the postmortem vindication through heavenly ascension.

6. Conclusion

A “rewritten scripture,” Jubilees displays the following features in its conceptualization of Israel’s identity, fall, and destiny. Jubilees describes the law-abiding Israelites as the true descendants of Adam, who embodies the glorious priestly vision of humanity intended at creation. Israel, however, can forfeit her identity and fall, by breaking the law through the influence of the corrupt human heart and demonic beings. While naturally mortal, Israel can shorten her lifespan by committing sins. Israel’s shortened lifespan and physical destruction can be reversed through eschatological vindication and heavenly ascension.

<Keywords>

Jubilees, Israel, Identity, Death, Destiny.

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<Abstract>

Israel's Identity, Fall, and Destiny in the Book of Jubilees

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Second Temple Jewish literature is a helpful resource for illuminating the hermeneutical interface between the Old Testament and the New Testament. The present article seeks to contribute to our knowledge of Second Temple literature by exploring the book of Jubilees, an interpretative retelling of the Pentateuchal narrative. Our specific focus is on Jubilees' understanding of Israel's identity, fall, and destiny, which are three important themes that are expounded in both the Old and the New Testaments. The book of Jubilees displays the following features in its conceptualization of Israel's identity, fall, and destiny. First, Jubilees describes Israel as the true successors of Adam, who embodied the glorious creational vision of priestly humanity and retained it even after his sin. Adam is described as the first priest of Israel who kept the ritual regulations in the Mosaic law, and the people of Israel are presented as Adam's true priestly descendants. Not all of the Jewish people belong to Israel, and only those Jews who remain faithful to the Mosaic law, obeying particularly the priestly regulations that mark Israel as distinct from Gentiles constitute the true priestly line descending from Adam. Second, concerning Israel's fall, Jubilees emphasizes Israel's violation of the Mosaic law, especially the regulations that mark Israel's priestly identity, as the paradigmatic case of sin, which is exemplified in the story of the fall of Watchers in Genesis 6. Jubilees identifies corrupt human heart and demonic power as the two causes of human sins that are also operative also in Israel, inclining Israel to forfeit their priestly identity. While the people of Israel are provided with some protection from demonic power, they are still vulnerable to demonic influence. Third, concerning Israel's destiny, the people of Israel do not enjoy the privilege of either disembodied immortality or bodily resurrection because God's creational intention for humanity was longevity rather than immortality. The result of Adam and Israel's fall was therefore not mortality itself but shortened lifespan and premature

physical destruction that now characterize human life in the present world. Only those Jews who keep the Mosaic law and retain their priestly identity will be restored from this shortened span and premature violent death through eschatological vindication and heavenly ascension.