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Rethinking the Community as Temple: Discourse and Spatial Practice in the Community Rule (1QS)

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RETHINKING THE COMMUNITY AS TEMPLE: DISCOURSE AND SPATIAL

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Abstract

This project is a spatial reading of the *Community Rule* (1QS) that examines how space is used as a response to the perceived defilement of the Jerusalem Temple and how it addresses the problems of atonement and priestly authority for a community without a physical temple. Edward Soja's concept of Thirdspace—social space transformed by material and mental spaces—illuminates how temple, military, and judicial spaces order social and divine relationships for those who followed 1QS. In turn, this spatial practice creates a new place that enables the community to contest the Jerusalem Temple's authority while legitimizing its own. While Edward Soja's notion of Thirdspace guides my understanding of space and place, I flesh out his ideas with Mikhail Bakhtin's work on discourse and heteroglossia and Pierre Bourdieu's work on practice and habitus. Together, these three thinkers provide a theoretical framework for reading 1QS and examining how spatial discourse and practice functioned for and informed the identity of its authors.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Jonathan Z. Smith observes that in a world perceived as chaotic, reversed, and filled with anomie "man [sic] finds himself in a world which he does not recognize; and perhaps even more terrible, man finds himself to have a self he does not recognize. Then he will need to create a new world, to express his sense of a new place."[1] The Jewish sectarians who studied and cherished the Dead Sea Scrolls—hereafter called the *Yahad*—were a community without a physical temple.[2] One of the defining features of the *Yahad* was their self-imposed separation from the Jerusalem Temple due, at least in part, to its perceived defilement.[3] No physical temple has been found at Qumran, one of the wilderness locations for members of the *Yahad*, and no extant text suggest that such a structure was ever built. Yet a cursory reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls reveals that temple is never far from the *Yahad*'s mind.[4]

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[1] Jonathan Z Smith, "The Influence of Symbols Upon Social Change: A Place on

[2] At least as far as textual and archeological evidence reveals. See Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 118.

[3] This statement will be fully detailed in a later section of this chapter. See pgs. 31-58.

[4] The Scrolls describe numerous temples and sanctuaries spanning earthly, heavenly, and eschatological realms. A small sampling of the variety of temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls includes the *Temple Scroll*, the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, and the *New Jerusalem* texts. For a review of the variety of temples found in the Scrolls, see George J.

In response to the lack of a physical temple, the majority of scholars agree that the *Yahad* understood the community itself to be a type of virtual temple.[5] Indeed, in one of the foundational texts for the *Yahad*, the *Community Rule* (1QS), we read self-descriptions such as "house of holiness," "foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron," and "precious cornerstone."[6] In addition to this temple discourse, 1QS describes community members engaged in practices commonly attributed to priests—such as the casting of lots—even though not every member of the *Yahad* belonged to the priesthood.[7]

Scholars have approached this self-understanding from a variety of perspectives, including, but not limited to, literary, archeological, and historical. However, the absence of a physical temple set against the prevalence of temple discourse and priestly practice

Brooke, "The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. John Day; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 422; New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 417-434.

[5] This statement will be thoroughly reviewed and examined in chapter three; Studies that claim the *Yahad* was a substitute temple include, but are not limited to: Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; eds. Florentino García Martínez and A. S. Van Der Woude; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 480-496; Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 112; Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5; London: Clark, 2004), 37-38. Note Klawans argues the *Yahad* did not believe they were an adequate substitute for the Jerusalem Temple. See Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University, 2006), 162-168. See also Devorah Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (eds. André Caquot and Mireille Hadas-Lebel; Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1986), 165-189.

[6] See 1QS 8.5-7

[7] This statement will be fully detailed in chapter three.

calls attention to how the *Yahad* reinterpreted *temple space* to understand their new *social place* in the Judean wilderness. As such, in this project, I undertake a spatial reading of 1QS that examines how space is used as a response to the perceived defilement of the Jerusalem Temple. I argue that the community is not merely a virtual temple. Rather, the authors and redactors of 1QS tap into the cultural resource of temple to address problems for a community without a physical temple, such as: means of sacrifice, authority of priesthood, and maintenance of cosmic order.

Attention to space reveals that temple is not the only space used to create meaning, authority, and identity for the *Yahad*. Judicial and military conceptual spaces, particularly from the wilderness narratives of the Hebrew Bible, are used to transform the *Yahad*'s new place. In 1QS, there is a dialectical relationship between real and perceived spaces that works synergistically to produce a new social space with new social consequences. The shifting, blending, and embodiment of temple, judicial, and military spaces in the *Yahad*'s daily practices creates a Thirdspace in the liminal Judean wilderness. As a result, sacrifice is reinterpreted as entry into the community, non-priests share in priestly authority, and covenant members participate in the divine army.

When reading 1QS with attention to space, I am most influenced by the spatial trialectics articulated by Edward Soja.[8] For Soja, space can be divided into three parts:

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[8] Which, in turn, depends upon the work of Henri Lefebvre. Chapter two details a more comprehensive discussion about the theoretical framework for this project, including Soja's contribution to my interpretation of temple space. For more on Soja's contribution to critical spatial theory, see Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996); Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso, 1988).

Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace. Firstspace is material or physical space, Secondspace is mental conceptions of space or imagined space, and Thirdspace is lived experience or praxis.[9] Thirdspace is a bit more complicated than this, for it is also the creative recombination of First- and Secondspace, extending those spaces into an articulation of a new place. In this way, Thirdspace is both "real-and-imagined" or material and mental.[10] One thing it is not, however, is neutral. Spaces (and places) are constructed and manipulated by human practice.

In recent years, while not ignoring the literary nature and historical background of the Scrolls manuscripts, Scrolls scholarship has turned to a socio-cultural perspective. In particular, scholars have begun to ask questions regarding the spatial aspects of these texts. In 2003, Philip Davies sketched nascent insights of spatial understandings of both the physical site of Qumran, in terms of its location, and the literary texts of the Scrolls, mostly regarding place names and spatial orientation. Davies touched upon several areas for further studies between space and the Scrolls, yet he ends his article with the statement: "I don't expect Qumran scholarship to embrace very enthusiastically such an agenda as spatiality. It has yet to catch up with the traditional literary-critical methods in some areas, and even more with basic sociological or social-scientific concepts."[11]

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[9] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 62.

[10] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 11.

[11] Philip R. Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt; JSOTSup 359; London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 97.

At the same time, Davies claimed:

> I have also come to believe that such analyses may actually prove more productive than many of the more traditional textual, archaeological, historical, political and theological issues that have tended to dominate Qumran research hitherto. Postmodern Qumran studies? It may happen, even before the 'end of days.'[12]

It seems that others agree with the value of postmodern theory for interpreting the Scrolls, for more and more scholars are turning to critical spatial theory to interpret these manuscripts. To varying degrees of theoretical integration, spatial studies have been conducted with the *Damascus Document*, the *Temple Scroll*, the pesharim, the *Hodayot*, various legal texts, and the *Community Rule*.[13]

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[12] Davies, "Space and Sects in the Qumran Scrolls," 97-98.

[13] Liv I. Lied, "Another Look at the Land of Damascus: The Spaces of the *Damascus Document* in Light of Edward W. Soja's Thirdspace Approach," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, et al.; Library of Second Temple Studies 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 101-25; Jorunn Økland, "The Language of Gates and Entering: On Sacred Space in the *Temple Scroll*," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, et al.; Library of Second Temple Studies 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 149-165; George J. Brooke, "Room for Interpretation: An Analysis of Spatial Imagery in the Qumran Pesharim," in *Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures* (ed. A. Lange, et al.; Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 140; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 309-324; A.K. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012); in his recent dissertation, "Law and Society in the Dead Sea Scrolls," Aryeh Amihay briefly addresses Lefebvre's spatial triad in relation to legal texts in the Scrolls; see Aryeh Amihay, "Law and Society in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2013); Alison Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. E.F. Mason, et al.; Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 153; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 469-490; Alison Schofield, "The Embodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Constructions of Space IV: Further Developments in Examining Ancient Israel's Social Space* (ed. M.K. George; Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 155-174; Wayne O. McCready, "The Practice of Place by the Qumran

To date, the most sustained spatial analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls is found in the work of Alison Schofield, who has produced important work on wilderness and Sinai space in the Scrolls. She views the desert as a new priestly space that functioned as what Michel Foucault terms heterotopian – or a space that gathers together in one place "persons, places, periods, and/or things which would normally never occur together."[14] For Schofield, the *Yahad*

> …constructed a new, heterotopian space, one that moved fluidly between the Teacher and Moses, Jerusalem and camp, Judea and Sinai. For them, the desert became just such a counter-site, a place of otherness, and yet one able to reflect and simultaneously critique the contingent realities of the Jerusalem priesthood.[15]

Indeed, Schofield correctly interprets the wilderness as a new priestly space for the *Yahad*, one in which priestly actions could transform it into an authoritative space in contrast to the Jerusalem Temple. In this project, I examine how temple, judicial, and military spaces further that transformation.

The separation of the *Yahad* from the Jerusalem Temple into the Judean wilderness, together with the common understanding of the *Yahad* as a type of temple, highlights the need to examine how space and place was understood by those who studied and treasured the Scrolls. To return to the quote which began this chapter: in response to the question Smith's observation poses for me—how does the *Yahad* create a new place

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Community," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection* (ed. Jean Duhaime, et al.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 287-302.

[14] Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 474.

[15] Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 474.

in the absence of their former place in relation to the Jerusalem Temple?—I answer that the *Yahad* creates a Thirdspace, or a new social place, that interprets the material space of the Judean wilderness and the symbolic spaces of temple and wilderness in order to both organize and empower its community. In this Thirdspace, the *Yahad* negotiates and transforms social and divine relationships—such as the authority of the priesthood and the definition of acceptable sacrifices—in order to create their new identity. In turn, this new spatial practice creates a new place that enables members of the *Yahad* to contest the Jerusalem Temple's authority while legitimizing its own.

In chapter two I expand on the concepts of space and place in relation to 1QS, including how I flesh out Soja's Thirdspace with Mikhail Bakhtin's work on discourse and heteroglossia and Pierre Bourdieu's work on practice and habitus. However, before moving on to the theory of this work, several of my basic assumptions about the *Yahad* need to be acknowledged and supported. These include: (1) the nature of 1QS, including the labels of "Qumran community" and "*Yahad*"; (2) the significance of the wilderness location for the *Yahad,* and (3) the question of how separate the *Yahad* was from the Jerusalem Temple based on what resources both external and internal to the Dead Sea Scrolls reveal and the role purity law played in their separation. The remainder of this chapter will articulate my stance on these issues. In addressing these issues, I show that correct practice was central to the *Yahad*'s move to the wilderness and production of a new place and the wilderness was not merely about geographic location; rather, the wilderness actively informed the *Yahad*'s new interpretation of temple. These observations highlight the need for a new study of 1QS that takes into account space as well as historical, social, and literary aspects of the text.

The S Manuscripts: 1QS and the Cave 4 Manuscripts

The *Community Rule* (S) includes the manuscripts of 1QS and 4QS[a-j], used by the

Yahad and related sectarian communities to organize and regulate their communities.[16]

Of the S manuscripts, 1QS was first published in 1947 by Millar Burrows and, because it

is the longest and best preserved of the S manuscripts, continues to be considered the

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[16] A second manuscript, or Rule text, used for this purpose is the *Damascus Rule* (D), which is preserved in two manuscripts (CD-A [CD 1-16] and CD-B [CD 19-20]) and found in eight fragmentary manuscripts (4QD[a-h]). A common explanation for the relationship between these two rule texts is that CD represents a wider lay movement while S represents a monastic group. See Albert-Marie Denis, "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân," in *Aux origines de l'Eglise* (ed. J. Giblet et al; RBib 7; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1962); Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 26; Philip Davies provides a critique of this position in: Philip R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (JSOT 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 82-83. Other scholars describe the relationship between the texts as a "parent movement" from which a "splinter" group emerged. See, for example: Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the" Damascus Document"* (JSOT 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 173-197; Florentino García Martínez and Adam van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521-541; Charlotte Hempel, "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of Recent Scholarship," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues, and Technological Innovations* (ed. D. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999).
    My position on the relationship between these two texts is that the *Damascus Rule* (D) and the *Community Rule* (S) are not in tension with each other; rather they represent communities in the same broad sectarian movement with very different ways of life. For example, the *Damascus Rule* is written for those who "dwell in camps according to the rule of the land, take wives, and beget children" (CD 7.4b-7), while the *Community Rule* describes members who "walk in perfect holiness" and were celibate. On the issues surrounding the celibacy of members who followed the *Community Rule*, see Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*; Sheffield: JSOT Pr, 1990).
    Recent studies on the historical formation of these communities that led to two rules include: Hilary Evans Kapfer, "The Relationship Between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes Toward the Temple as a Test Case," *DSD* 14 (2007): 152-177; Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 85-93.

standard S text by scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[17] 1QS contains eleven columns and

can be divided into eleven sections: the introduction (1.1-15); the covenant renewal

ceremony (1.16-3.12); the Teaching on the Two Spirits (3.13-4.26); regulations for the

Yahad (5.1-9.11); statement of purpose with general instructions for meetings (5.1-6.7a);

rules for the Assembly of the Many (6.7b-13b); rules for initiation (6.13c-23); the Penal

Code (6.24-7.25); statues for the Men of Perfect Holiness (8.1-9.11); the rules for the

Maskil (9.12-25), and, finally, a hymn (10.8b-11.22).[18] 1QS ends with a large blank

space, suggesting the end of this text before the additional texts 1QSa and 1QSb were

copied onto the parchment.[19] Based on paleography, Frank Moore Cross dates 1QS

between 100-75 BCE.[20] This date is generally agreed upon in scholarship and is

consistent with a carbon-14 analysis dating 1QS to 159-20 BCE.[21]

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[17] M. Burrows, et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of Saint Mark's Monastery* (vol. 2; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

[18] Several of these sections, such as the introductory material of col. 1-4 and the Teaching on the Two Spirits (3.13-4:26), most likely circulated as independent units before being joined to 1QS. See Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 113; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528-549.

[19] It should be noted that in the manuscript of 1QS, two additional texts follow the hymn: 1QSa, an eschatological outline of Israel, and 1QSb, liturgical prayers.

[20] Note Józef Milik dates 1QS to 125-100 BCE. Frank Moore Cross, "The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents.* (ed. F.M. Cross, et al.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1994); Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Wright; Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1965), 170-264; Following Cross are: Géza Vermès, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 250-255; Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. In contrast, see Philip Davies, who argues there is too much reasonable doubt to date these

While many of the additional S manuscripts include much of the 1QS material, not all of them do. For example, 4QS[d] does not include the material of 1QS 1-4 and 4QS[e] does not include the final hymn. Other seemingly intentional differences remain between 1QS and its variants: while 1QS and 4QS[b,d] share the same laws, 4QS[b,d] do not include many of the scriptural citations used to flesh out the legal material, and 4QS[e] includes an additional calendrical work called 4QOtot.[22] Their differences in content and physical qualities suggest that the S manuscripts were used in a variety of social settings.[23]

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manuscripts by paleography. Philip R. Davies, "The Prehistory of the Qumran Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STJD 10, ed. F. García Martínez and A. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 116-125.

[21] A. Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11-19; G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27-32; For a more recent discussion of the limitations and reliability of radiocarbon analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Johannes van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on 'Redating'," *DSD* 14 (2007): 77-89; Johannes van der Plicht and Kaare L. Rasmussen, "Radiocarbon Dating and Qumran " in *Holistic Qumran: Trans-Disciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Annemie Adriaens et al.; STDJ 87; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 99-122.

[22] Although there are at least ten additional manuscripts of S found in Cave 4, only 4QS[b,d,e] are complete enough for significant study and comparison.

[23] See John J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. R.A. Kraft et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003); John J. Collins, "The Yaḥad and the 'Qumran Community'," in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81-96; and Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 69-130.

Early studies of S focused on literary and redactional analysis in order to

determine whether 1QS is a composite document or a unified text.[24] Over time, and often

in conversation with Jerome Murphy-O'Connor's redactional history of S in which he

argued that 1QS 8-9 was the earliest core of the manuscript, the composite theory became

dominant in scholarship.[25] When the Cave 4 fragments were discovered, the conversation

shifted to questions surrounding the relative chronology of the different manuscripts.[26]

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[24] For a comprehensive summary of 1QS's final form, see Robert A. J. Gagnon, "How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 67-85. An early proponent for a composite text includes H.E. del Medico, who concluded the text was haphazardly composed of different fragments. See H.E. Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls* (trans. H. Garner; New York: R. M. McBride, Co, 1959). Others, such as Pierre Guilbert, argued for a unified text based on its inner logic. See Pierre Guilbert, "Le plan de la règle de la communauté," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 323-44. For current studies, see Charlotte Hempel, "Qumran Communities: Beyond the Fringes of Second Temple Society," in *Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield University, 1997), 43-53 and Metso, whose work with the S recensions challenges the common assumption that Zadokites broke off from the Jerusalem Temple to form the sect and argues the references to this priesthood were added later. See Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 27-28, 41-42, 78, 89-90, 106. A more recent analysis is Alison Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies," *DSD* 15 (2008): 96-120.

[25] See Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté"; Some still follow Guilbert's argument for a unified text. See J. Licht, *Megillat ha-Serakhim: Mi-Megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965). Although the composite theory is dominant in scholarship, many, like myself, believe the text was composed with a unified purpose. See Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 90; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 483-550.

[26] On the position that 4QS[b,d] are later than 1QS, see Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yaḥad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437-56. Alexander's argument is based on a paleographical analysis of the manuscripts. See also B.A. Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad in Cave IV," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 403-32 and Devorah Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance," in *History, Ideology and Bible*

Studies of these manuscripts make it clear that S underwent various stages of development and redaction, and recent scholarship convincingly argues that, instead of one sectarian community located at Qumran, there were multiple cells of sectarians across Judea who followed different versions of S.[27] In this project, I examine 1QS, the longest and most complete form of the *Community Rule*. I understand 1QS to be a copy of the rule text of a particular movement who called themselves the *Yahad* and lived in

Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Collected Studies (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 171-83.

On the position that 4QS[b,d] are earlier than 1QS based on their shorter length and defective spellings, see Vermès, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4"; in agreement with Vermès are Markus Bockmuehl, "Redation and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)*," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541-60; Charlotte Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QSd I, 1," *JJS* 44 (1993): 127-28; Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*; Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 377-384. For a new reading of S that takes into account both time and space, see Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies," 96-120.

Of course, each position leaves questions unanswered, but exact ordering of the manuscripts is not essential to this project's argument. Note that radiocarbon testing dates 4QS[b,d,e] to a later time period than 1QS. See A. Jull, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," 11-19.

[27] See Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; ed. Florentino García Martínez; Boston: Brill, 2009); Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies"; Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls." For archeological evidence that Qumran was suited for communal activities, but not as a home for a community, see Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford Univ Pr, 1973), 69-72. See also Hirschfeld, who denies association between the *Yahad* and Qumran, Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004). Alternatively, see also Philip R. Davies, "Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (eds. Florentino García Martínez et al.; VTSup 49; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 152-163. Davies argues that the existence of different recensions of S is evidence that it did not function as a rulebook for a real community, rather, it was a product of imagination.

the Judean wilderness with one location (among others) at the Qumran settlement.[28] As

such, I am bracketing the diachronic issues raised by the Cave 4 manuscripts in order to

read 1QS in the form that we have available to us.[29]

Yahad (יחד) or Qumran Community?

Scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls often call the followers of S, including 1QS, the

"Qumran community" or even "Qumranites," implying the followers resided at or near

Qumran. However, 1QS uses the term יחד to describe the members of the community.

The term occurs at least 141 times in the non-biblical Scrolls with at least 50 of these

times being in 1QS.[30] While the root of יחד means "one," or "to be one," as "to join,"

emphasizing togetherness or unity, its usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls remains

mysterious.[31] The difficulty surrounding the term is in its usage as an adverb, a verb, and,

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[28] Differences between 1QS and its variants will be noted as it pertains to my argument.

[29] For further discussion of diachronic issues, see Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yaḥad : A Proposal," 437-456; Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 143-149; Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies," 96-120.

[30] For example, see 1QSa (*Rule of the Congregation*), 1QSb (*Scroll of Blessings*), 4Q174 (*Florilegium*), 4Q177 (*Catena*), 4Q252 (*Pesher Genesis*). Some, such as J. J. Collins, argue there is one occurrence of *Yahad* in CD 20:32, which reads "the men of the yaḥid." Collins argues this is a mistake and should read "the men of the yaḥad." See John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans, 2010), 54.

[31] Wernberg-Møller viewed the term יחד as flowing from a root common to everyday speech and, when combined with the definite article, referred to society members in general. P. Wernberg-Møller, "The Nature of the Yahad according to the Manual of Discipline and Related Documents," *ALUOS* 6 (1969): 56-81.

occasionally, a noun. These usages are commonly found in the Hebrew Bible, a place where many scholars turn to in search of its meaning in the Scrolls.

For example, Shemaryahu Talmon suggests the term refers to an exclusive group of returned exiles, citing its precedent in Ezra 4:3.[32] This passage describes the rejection to help the Samaritans rebuild the temple by Zerubbabel and other Jewish leaders. They respond with "we יחד (alone) will build." Even though this is an occurrence of the term יחד within a post-exilic community, this interpretation of the term has not been widely accepted.[33]

John J. Collins argues that a better analogy holds between the יחד of the Scrolls and Deut 33:5. This passage describes the "יחד of the tribes of Israel" as parallel to the "assembly of Jacob." Yet this connection is extremely weak, as even Collins admits that the Scrolls never refer to "the יחד of the tribes."[34]

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[32] S. Talmon, "The Qumran [יחד] - A Biblical Noun," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 53-60.

[33] See similar discussions in Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 54-55; Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 139-40. Other suggested uses of the term יחד that have not found following by others include Hartmut Stegemann's claim that "*Ha-yaḥad* meant a confederation of all existing Jewish groups, their union in a new religious body, which had never existed before." See Hartmut Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrere and L. Vegas Montaner; STJD 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 83-166.

[34] Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 55. See also Otto Betz, who finds a connection between 1QSa 1.1 and Deut 33:5, claiming the *Yahad* is an eschatological gathering of Israel. Yet this connection is only available when יחד is reconstructed in 1QSa. Otto Betz, "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament," *RevQ* 6 (1967): 89-107.

James VanderKam cites a third biblical usage of the term יחד as background to its

use in the Scrolls: Exod 19:8.[35] In this passage, the law is given and, in response, the

Israelites agree to its stipulations with the statement: "the people answered as one (יחד)."

This possible biblical connection is the most attractive given the wilderness location of

the sectarian communities and the special relationship the *Yahad* held with the law.

However, complications with the term still exist. As Schofield notes, the term

occurs in texts spanning both chronology and genre.[36] In addition, we must remember

that the Scrolls never give an explanation for the term יחד, and we may therefore never

understand its exact intended usage. Given that recent studies have convincingly

challenged the notion of one community in one location, I acknowledge the multiplicity

of communities that may have been enfolded in the term יחד, while still using it to

describe the readers and followers of 1QS. This is not to be confused with a one to one

connection between the people of the *Yahad* and the location of Qumran. Early on in

Scrolls studies, Wernberg-Møller cautioned against making a strict connection between

the use of יחד and Qumran, arguing that the *Yahad* represents a larger movement ". . .

with groups of members within the larger setting of ordinary Jewish life in the towns and

villages of Palestine."[37] According to Cross, the term יחד, or, in his translation,

"community," "seems to apply to the community par excellence; i.e., the principle

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[35] J. C. VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 44-60.

[36] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 141.

[37] Wernberg-Møller, "The Nature of the Yahad according to the Manual of Discipline and Related Documents," 56-81.

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settlement in the desert."[38] Yet at the same time, even Cross acknowledged that more

than one community could have been referenced with the term יחד. Thus, calling the

followers of 1QS the "Qumran community" incorrectly presumes the term יחד refers to

one community in one location. In this project, I will use the term *Yahad* as a proper noun

to describe the followers of S,[39] including 1QS, as a way of recognizing that the sectarian

movement cannot be compartmentalized into one community in one location.

Location in the Judean Wilderness

So far, I have addressed that there were multiple communities within *Yahad* in

multiple locations, and that S could have been used in different communities and in

different social contexts. The importance of the wilderness location to the *Yahad* is

demonstrated in one of their foundational documents – 1QS. Reminiscent of Isa 40:3-5,

1QS 8.13-16 reads[40]

> . . . Conforming to these arrangements they shall separate from within the
> dwelling of the men of deceit to go to the wilderness in order to prepare there his
> path. As it is written, "In the wilderness, prepare the way of ****, make straight
> in the desert a highway for our God." This (is) the study of the law which he
> commanded by the hand of Moses to do, according to everything which has been
> revealed (from) age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed by
> his holy spirit. . .

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[38] Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 70-71.

[39] The term יחד is used as a proper noun in the Scrolls in reference to the broader movement. See 4QCatenaA 5-6, 16. See additional discussion in Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 140-141.

[40] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Later in the document, in 1QS 9.19b-21, we read: "That is the time to prepare the path to the wilderness. He will teach them (in) all that is found to be done in this time and (teach them) to separate from each person who has not turned his path from all perversity." These passages emphasize the separation of the *Yahad* from those who participate in alternate practices so that the *Yahad* can await the deity's return. In these passages, the author(s) of 1QS link their wilderness calling with the interpretation of the law. The citation of Isaiah 40 is used to explain why the *Yahad* separated themselves in the wilderness: to await the deity's return and study the law.[41] According to at least one of their foundational documents, these activities were to take place in the wilderness.[42]

Scrolls scholars have not ignored the scriptural influence of wilderness for the sectarians. In an early examination of the topic, Shemaryahu Talmon focused on the wilderness in relation to the "desert ideal" or "desert motif" in the Hebrew Bible.[43]

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[41] See also James H Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yahad," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197-224. Charlesworth argues "The pretext [of Isaiah 40] provided the Qumranites with the explanation for their main questions of *who* they were, *why* they were in that place, and *what* they were called to do," Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yahad," 220-21. George Brooke also believes the sectarians lived out a literal calling to the wilderness in George J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris* (ed. George Brooke and Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-132.

[42] For a detailed study of the wilderness motif in the Scrolls, see Alison Schofield, "The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. Kenneth E. Pomykala; Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 10; Boston: Brill, 2008), 37-53.

[43] In short, the "desert motif" refers to the idea that Israel's beginnings were nomadic in nature and that later writings in the Hebrew Bible idealized the wilderness

Talmon argued that there is no "desert ideal" in either the Hebrew Bible or the Scrolls, concluding that the wilderness setting for the *Yahad* symbolized a state of chaotic lawlessness and their location in the desert was a necessary evil.[44]

More recent scholarship has focused on what significance the wilderness setting may have had for the *Yahad*.[45] James Charlesworth is adamant that the author(s) of 1QS 8 interpreted Isa 40:3 as a literal call to the "Qumranites" to move to the wilderness and prepare the return of the LORD through worship and study.[46] According to James C. VanderKam, the particular site of Qumran in the Judean wilderness was no accident. VanderKam's argument is as follows: Isaiah 40, which depicts the return of the LORD after the Babylonian exile, imagines the LORD marching through the wilderness on a highway prepared for the LORD's triumphant procession. Isaiah 40:3-5 reads:

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and nomadic lifestyle. See Paul Humbert, "Osée le prophète bédouin," *RHPR* 1 (1921): 97-118; John W. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament," *JBL* 42 (1923): 158-226. Later scholars debunk this theory. See G.E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 174-197; N. K. Gottwald, "Were the Early Israelites Pastoral Nomads?," in *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. J. J. Jackson and M. Kessler; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1974).

[44] Based on his analysis of 1QS 8.12-16, 9.19-20, and 1QM 1.2-3. See S. Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann; Studies and Texts 3; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1966), 31-63. Since the publication of nearly all the scrolls, the wilderness motif has been revisited by Alison Schofield, who argues "A thoroughgoing analysis of this motif has less to do about the nomadic lifestyle, as it does about the desert as sacred space." See Schofield, "The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 42.

[45] See Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space," 469-490; Schofield, "The Embodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 155-174; VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," 44-60.

[46] Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the Serek Ha-Yahad," 197-224; Others agree. See Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," 177-132.

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A voice cries out: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain. Then the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all people shall see it together, for the mouth of the LORD has spoken."[47]

VanderKam notes that the wilderness of Isaiah 40 is on Jerusalem's east side and separates the exiles from their home. It is through this desert that the LORD will lead the exiles back to Zion.

While Isaiah was written in the later part of the sixth century BCE and calls for a withdrawal to the wilderness, Ezekiel's vision of a new city and nation comes after the exile and speaks specifically of the Judean wilderness.[48] Most significant for those at Qumran, Ezek 47:1-12 envisions a stream that flows from the south side of the temple to the east. This stream begins as a mere trickle but expands to a mighty river, eventually becoming too deep to cross. The guide that leads Ezekiel through this vision explains that the sea of stagnant waters will become fresh and people from En-gedi to En-eglaim – located on opposite sides of the Dead Sea from each other – will be able to fish from it. VanderKam argues:

> All of this may be significant for the location chosen by the people associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls for their place in exile. They established their wilderness settlement at a point near where Ezekiel's visionary river was to reach and revivify the Dead Sea, the place that now is opposed to anything living but in the future will be the locale where God's power will engender new life.[49]

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[47] Translation from VanderKam's article. J. C. VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum* (ed. Bernd Kollmann, et al.; BZNW 97; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 160-61.

[48] Entire vision is chapters 40-48.

[49] VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 163.

VanderKam concludes:

> Isaiah called for a departure to the wilderness; it was Ezekiel who specified where in the wilderness the group was to go . . . As they awaited the end, as they prepared the Lord's way, they situated themselves in the very place where God's salvation would become manifest.[50]

The *Community Rule* (1QS) clearly implies that settling in the wilderness was no coincidence, and, if VanderKam is interpreting the sectarians' understanding of Isaiah and Ezekiel correctly, Qumran itself was chosen for it auspicious location between the Jerusalem Temple and Dead Sea.

More recently, and as noted in the introduction, Schofield has convincingly argued that the wilderness is a new priestly space and counter-site to the Jerusalem Temple.[51] Indeed, Qumran (and other wilderness locations) may already have been a built environment when they settled into the area, but they infused the place with significance and meaning unique to the sect. Schofield is correct to call this a "priestly" space. According to 1QS, the *Yahad* took on priestly roles, requirements, and practices for itself, even when not all the members were priests.[52] 1QS 5.1-7 claims the *Yahad* took on an atoning function; other passages in 1QS claim members to be holy.[53] Several passages

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[50] VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls." For an alternative way of interpreting the boundaries in Ezekiel, see VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," 44-60.

[51] On wilderness as new priestly space, see Schofield, "The Embodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 155-174; Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space," 469-490.

[52] This statement will be fully detailed in chapter 3.

[53] 1QS 8.5-6, 8; 9.6; 10.4; See also 4Q511 35.

describe the *Yahad* as priests,[54] with submission to priestly purity regulations,[55] and others even describe members as liken to heavenly angels.[56] For a community without a physical temple, the *Yahad* appears intent on mirroring cultic and priestly life in its daily routine.[57]

<center>*New Perspectives*</center>

The above scholars provide important insights into the role of wilderness to the *Yahad*. The *Yahad* may be separated from the Jerusalem Temple, but they are not separated from their cultural and social understandings of wilderness and desert. Indeed, the wilderness is not merely a location for waiting for the return of the LORD, it informs the *Yahad*'s reinterpretation of temple. From a spatial perspective, this call to the wilderness opens the door to alter the mental mapping of both material and imagined spaces, such as temple. In other words, in their separation from the physical Jerusalem Temple, temple becomes conceptual space. As conceptual, imagined space, the *Yahad* is able to both change the meaning of temple and, in turn, alter the meaning of their current geographical location in the wilderness. Space is fluid; it can be appropriated and

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[54] 1QS 5.6; 8.9; CD 3.18-4:4; 4QFlor 1.3-4.

[55] 1QS 5.13; 6.16-17; 1QSa 2.3-10; CD 15.15-17.

[56] 1QS 11.8; 1QSb 3.25-26; 4.24-26; 4QFlor 1.4.

[57] Similarly, Robert A. Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics: Sacrifice and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins et al.; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich: William B Eerdmans, 2000), 90-112.

reinterpreted to say something about one's identity, while still maintaining a link to past and (as I will argue in chapters three and four) future associations.[58]

Practice is central to the appropriation and reinterpretation of space. Indeed, it is often assumed that the *Yahad*'s self-imposed separation into the wilderness was in response to the disagreements over correct practice between the sect and the Jerusalem Temple authorities. In turn, some scholars hold that the *Yahad* replaced the Jerusalem Temple.[59] While 1QS includes passages that describe the *Yahad* in temple language, no text explicitly states that a complete separation from the Jerusalem Temple was enforced. This suggests the *Yahad* did not view themselves as a replacement temple.

In the following sections I review common arguments given for the separation of the *Yahad* into the Judean wilderness. Reviewing this material highlights severe dissatisfaction with the Jerusalem cult, but it does not suggest a complete separation from it. Rather, even with the disagreements, there is still respect for the temple system and cuture. For this study, that the *Yahad* can hold multiple, conflicting temple images in its religious imagination emphasizes the fluidity of temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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[58] Victor Matthews, "Remembered Space in Biblical Narrative," in *Constructions of Space IV: Further Developments in Examining Ancient Israel's Social Space* (ed. M.K. George; The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 569; London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 61-75.

[59] Scholars who argue that not only the community replaced the Jerusalem Temple, but also that the divine presence dwelled at Qumran include: Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism* (New York: Cambridge University, 1965), 32-34; E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977), 314-16; Martin Abegg, Michael O. Wise, Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999), 126.

Origin in the Jerusalem Temple?

The question remains whether the *Yahad* had its origins in the Jerusalem Temple. Although 1QS includes passages that describe the *Yahad* in temple language, it does not unambiguously state that the *Yahad* was completely separated from the Jerusalem Temple. Indeed, no text explicitly states that either the *Yahad* originated in the Jerusalem Temple or that a complete separation from the Jerusalem Temple was enforced. A common understanding of the *Yahad*'s self-imposed separation into the wilderness is that it was in response to the disagreements between early leaders of the sect that participated in the Jerusalem Temple and the Jerusalem Temple authorities. Explanations include a dispute between the Teacher of Righteousness and Wicked Priest and the cultic disagreements detailed in 4QMMT.[60]

Despite several early studies that argued the *Yahad* originated in the Jerusalem Temple cult, there is no scholarly consensus regarding the origin of the *Yahad*. Indeed, the task of confirming the *Yahad*'s origin is impossible. As VanderKam and Flint observe: "There is insufficient evidence, because the subject seems not to have been one on which they wrote much, and no one else supplied the missing information."[61] This has not stopped scholars from trying. Early studies posited that the *Yahad* separated from the rest of Judaism due to a dispute about the high priestly succession.[62] According to this

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[60] See f.n. 62.

[61] James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 289.

[62] First proposed by Géza Vermès, *Les manuscrits du désert de Juda* (2nd ed.; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1954), 70-104; See also Jozef Tadeusz Milik, *Ten Years of*

view, the *Damascus Document* (CD) depicts the beginning of the separation. CD 1.5-11 reads:

> And at the end of (his) wrath, three hundred and ninety years after he had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he visited them, and he caused to sprout from Israel and Aaron a shoot of the planting to inherit his land and to grow fat in the goodness of his earth. And they perceived their iniquity and knew that they were guilty people, yet they were like the blind and like persons groping for a way for twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they sought him with a whole heart, and he raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart.

Most scholars recognize that the numbers here are symbolic. However, due to their connection to Ezek 4:5, many simultaneously acknowledge the date of 196 BCE (literally subtracting the time of the exile, 586, from the number in CD, 390, to arrive at 196 BCE) as an approximately correct date of the beginnings of the *Yahad*.[63]

That the beginning of the *Yahad* movement originated among the leaders of the Jerusalem Temple is connected to the idea of the Teacher of Righteousness' leadership, mentioned in the passage above. Although mentioned in the *Damascus Document* (CD), it is the *pesharim*, or biblical commentaries, that refer to a dispute between the Teacher of Righteousness and someone named the Wicked Priest. Neither the identity of the Teacher nor the Wicked Priest is known. It is thought that the Wicked Priest was from the Hasmonean (Maccabean) family, which leads some to suggest his identity as Jonathan

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Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea (trans. John Strugnell; Naperville, Illinois: Alec R Allenson, 1959), 44-98; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 88-120. For an overview of the many proposed origin stories, see James C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 487-533.

[63] For a recent affirmation of this date of origin, see Ḥ. Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 30-31.

(152-142 BCE), Simon (142-134 BCE), John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE), or Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE).[64] The theory is that the Wicked Priest is called "wicked" because he was considered from an illegitimate lineage, causing the Teacher of Righteousness to separate with his followers to the wilderness.[65] As Collins rightly observes, while it is likely that these texts preserve a memory of a historical quarrel, it is not for certain that this quarrel led to the rise of the movement.[66] With the publication of the manuscript *Miqṣat Maʿaśeh Ha-Torah* (4QMMT) came further discussion regarding the origin of the *Yahad* as a result of a schism with the Jerusalem Temple authorities. A full discussion of 4QMMT, which is commonly understood to be a letter written by early leaders of the *Yahad*, is detailed below regarding purity in the Scrolls.[67] For now it is sufficient to say that there is no conclusive evidence identifying the author and addressee of the letter. As such, it is difficult to use 4QMMT as evidence of the *Yahad*'s origin in the Temple.

While it is tempting to pinpoint the origin of the *Yahad* as part of the Jerusalem Temple leadership, there is not enough evidence to say definitively that this was the case. At the same time, the intense concern with priestly activities, for example, and the

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[64] For more on the dispute between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest in relation to the *Yahad* origins, see VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," 487-533; and Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*.

[65] However, VanderKam and Schofield have debunked the theory that the Hasmoneans were not Zadokites and argue that lineage was not central to their dispute. See J. C. VanderKam and Alison Schofield, "Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?," *JBL* 124 (2005): 73-87.

[66] See Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 9.

[67] See pgs. 33-39.

addition of 4QOtot (a calendar of priestly rotations in the Temple) attached to one of the

S manuscripts (4QS^e), suggests some connection between the members of the *Yahad* and

the Temple.[68] According to the resources available to us, we cannot definitively say there

was no relationship between the *Yahad* and the Jerusalem Temple, but concern over

correct practice appears to be central to the sect's move to the wilderness.

Given that the historical information in the Scrolls is tenuous at best, we may

never know the origins of the *Yahad*. What is clear in several Scrolls, however, is that

there was dissatisfaction with the way the Jerusalem Temple was run.[69] To be sure, the

Jerusalem Temple and its authorities had been criticized from other sources from its

inception.[70] Criticism of the Jerusalem Temple is not unique to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Indeed, the ancient witnesses to the Essenes provide further information regarding the

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[68] The influence of priestly practices will be discussed throughout the project.

[69] For example: 4QpsMos^b 3 iii 6; 4QpsMos^e 1.1-2; 1QpHab 9.4; 1QpMic 11.1;
4QpNah 3-4 i 11; 3-4 ii 9.

[70] Describing the first Temple, Zeph 3:4b states "its priests have profaned the
holy, they have done violence to the law." Second Chronicles 36:14 criticizes both
Temple leaders and followers, claiming "All the leading priests and the people became
more and more unfaithful, following all the abominations of the nations; and they defiled
the house of the LORD which he had consecrated in Jerusalem." A common complaint
about the Temple in the Second Temple period is that of its appearance. Ezra 3:12: "But
many of the priests and Levites and heads of families, elders who had seen the first house
on its foundations, wept with a great voice when they saw this house…" and Hag 2:3:
"Who remains among you that saw this house in its former glory? And how does it look
to you now? Is it not in your sight as nothing?" Criticism of the Temple's appearance is
found in extra-biblical works as well. Tobit 14:5: "'But God will again have mercy on
them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel; and they will rebuild the
temple of God, but not like the first one until the period when the times of fulfillment
shall come. After this they all will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in
splendor; and in it the temple of God will be rebuilt, just as the prophets of Israel have
said concerning it" (NRSV).

Yahad's relationship to the Jerusalem Temple and highlight the unique practice of this group commonly understood to be associated with the *Yahad*.

<center>Relationship with the Jerusalem Temple: Outside Perspectives</center>

Ancient sources contemporary to the *Yahad*, such as Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder, speak of different Jewish sects such as the Essenes, Sadducees, and Pharisees.[71] It is commonly held that those associated with the Scrolls belonged to one of these sects, with the Essenes gaining the most support.[72] Of all the groups mentioned in the ancient witnesses, the Essenes certainly have the most in common with what we

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[71] James VanderKam and Peter Flint wisely give us warning with the reminder that we know very little about late Second Temple Jewish groups. Just as modern day labels such as liberal and conservative are flexible and mean different things in different times, presumably so too did words like "Essene" and "Pharisee." VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 239. In addition, we must remember that the ancient witnesses were influenced by their own biases and various sources. Some scholars claim the ancient sources too biased to be of use. For more on this discussion, see Curtis Hutt, "Qumran and the Ancient Sources," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technical Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[72] Most scholars credit Eliezer Sukenik with making popular the link between the corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls and the Essene movement. See Eliezer Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot: Seqirah Rishonah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948), 16. Beall finds 21 parallels between Josephus' descriptions of the Essenes and 1QS, including, but not limited to, the three-year probationary period, the hierarchical and studious nature of the group, the shared pure meals, and communality and shared possessions. T.S. Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004). In contrast, see Steve Mason, "What Josephus Says about Essenes in his Judean War," in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins; Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000). For a compilation of the principle sources on the Essenes, see Martin Goodman and Géza Vermès, *The Essenes according to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Pr, 1989).

know about the *Yahad*, even though the Scrolls never mention the Essenes by name.[73] In

this section I review what these ancient witnesses reveal regarding the Essenes and the

Jerusalem Temple.

Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) briefly mentions the Essenes in his 37-volume work,

Natural History.[74] He describes the Essenes as located on the west shore of the Dead Sea

and below Ein Gedi—a rare mention of the precise location of the Essenes in the ancient

sources, which many scholars agree refers to Khirbet Qumran.[75] Unlike other ancient

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[73] While the Essenes gain the most support in scholarship, not everyone agrees. Rabin claims the "Qumranites" were a Pharisaic group. See Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (New York: Schocken, 1975). See also Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976). Others claim they were Sadducees. See Robert North, "The Qumran 'Sadducees'," *CBQ* 17 (1955): 164-188; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (New York: Doubleday, 1995). Those who claim they were Zealots include: Cecil Roth, "Why the Qumran Sect Cannot Have Been Essenes," *RevQ* 3 (1959): 417-422; Godfrey Rolles Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965). Still others claim that they should be considered one of many Jewish sects of the first century. See Saul Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952): 199-206. On an alternative understanding of the Essene hypothesis, see F. García Martínez and A. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 521-541.

[74] See Christoph Burchard, "Pline et les Esséniens: À propos d'un article recent," *RB* 69 (1962): 533-569.

[75] It should be noted that none of the ancient witnesses imply there is only one community of Essenes in Judea. See Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 192-218. Jodi Magness argues Khirbet Qumran is the most likely site referred to in *Natural History*. See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41. Some argue Pliny is referring to an area inland and further west than Ein Gedi. See Jean-Paul Audet, "Qumrân et la notice de Pline sur les Esséniens," *RB* 68 (1961): 346-387; Robert A. Kraft, "Pliny on Essenes, Pliny on Jews," *DSD* 8 (2001): 255-261; Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 232-233. Others argue that Pliny is inaccurate. Albert I. Baumgarten, "Who Cares and Why Does it Matter? Qumran and the Essenes, Once Again!," *DSD* 11 (2004): 174-190.

witnesses, Pliny does not praise the Essenes; rather, he treats them as an oddity, in particular due to their celibate nature and strong numbers.[76] While Pliny relays interesting information regarding one of the locations of the Essenes, we must turn to other ancient sources to glean information on the Essenes and Temple.

Philo Judaeus of Alexandra (20 BCE-40CE) discusses the Essenes in two of his works: *That Every Good Person is Free* and the fragmentary work *Hypothetica*.[77] For Philo, the Essenes were an example of the excellence of the Jewish people. They were said to be devout attendants of God who sanctified their minds as opposed to offering animal sacrifices.[78] This is not to say that animal sacrifices were rejected; rather, the Essenes privileged obedience to the law.[79] It is doubtful that Philo would have extolled a group who spurned sacrifice, given his advocacy of balance between outward and inward piety.[80] While Philo suggests the Essenes avoided animal sacrifices, he does not tell us the Essenes avoided the Jerusalem Temple.

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[76] The full account of the Essenes is found in *Natural History* 5.15.

[77] Philo, *Prob.* 75-91; The Essenes are briefly mentioned in the work *Contempl.*

[78] Philo, *Prob.* 75; *Her.* 184.

[79] Ralph Marcus, "Pharisees, Essenes and Gnostics," *JBL* 63 (1954): 157-161; Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 118.

[80] Philo advocates temple sacrifice in *Migr.* 92 and *Ebr.* 87, yet he also claims "God takes pleasure from altars on which no fire is burned, but which are visited by virtues" (*Plant.* 108). See also Joan Taylor, "The Classical Sources on the Essenes and the Scrolls Communities," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 173-199; Joan Taylor, "Philo of Alexandria on the Essenes: A Case Study on the Use of Classical Sources in Discussions of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis," *SPhilo* 19 (2007): 1-28.

Flavius Josephus of the first century CE gives us the most information about the

Essene's relationship to the Jerusalem Temple in his works *The Jewish War* (c. 75 CE)

and *Antiquities* (93 CE). Josephus claims to have spent time with the Sadducees,

Pharisees, and Essenes, in addition to time spent with an ascetic teacher named Bannus,

in order to decide which lifestyle to accept for his own.[81] In his account of the Essenes,

Josephus recalls an Essene who specialized in prophecy and taught in the Jerusalem

Temple during the reign of the Hasmonean high priest and king Aristobulus (105-4

BCE).[82] In *Jewish War*, Josephus notes the Gate of the Essenes in the First Wall, or the

oldest wall in Jerusalem, during the time of the revolt.[83] These two accounts assume that

the Essenes did not avoid the Jerusalem Temple and were connected with Jerusalem.

Elsewhere Josephus notes that the Essenes avoided the common precincts of the Temple

(most likely the Court of the Gentiles) but continued to send votive offerings to the

Temple.[84] In addition, he notes that a senior Essene can contract impurity from a junior

Essene.[85] These passages suggest the Essenes practiced some type of separation from

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[81] Josephus, *Life*, 10-12. Josephus does not claim to have joined a particular group and many assume this rotation did not actually occur.

[82] Josephus' main descriptions of the Essenes are found in *J.W.* 2.119-61 and *Ant.* 18.18-22, although his description of the Essene in the Jerusalem Temple is found in *J.W.* 1.78-80 and *Ant.* 13.310-14. Josephus notes that during the reign of Herod the Great the Essenes were exempt from the oath of loyalty due to Herod's high opinion of them. See *Ant.* 15.371-9.

[83] *J.W.* 5.145.

[84] *Ant.* 18.19; See J.M. Baumgarten, "The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 57-74.

[85] *J.W.* 2.150.

other people, both Jews and Gentiles, but not necessarily from the Jerusalem Temple itself. The most likely reason for the avoidance of the Temple courts is because of concern with contracting impurity from other people.

The ancient sources require their necessary critique as historical sources. Indeed, there are times when descriptions are hyperbolic[86] or unrealistic,[87] and there is a good possibility that the sources were shared and not always first-hand knowledge.[88] Even with these exaggerations, the ancient witnesses to the Essenes reveal disagreements about correct practice but do not suggest a complete separation from the Jerusalem Temple. In fact, they suggest an involvement with it. Both Philo and Josephus highlight aspects of the unique practice of the Essenes. Philo highlights the unusual view of sacrifice as study and Josephus highlights avoidance of people rather than the Temple itself. If we understand the Essenes to be connected to the *Yahad* in some way, which I do in this

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[86] E.g., when Pliny the Elder claims throngs of newcomers join the Essenes each day.

[87] E.g. Josephus claims he joined Essenes for a three year period, but his dates do not match the initiation policies outlined in 1QS or make sense in the time period Josephus claimed to have participated in this group. See Matthew Black, *The Essene Problem* (London: Heffer & Sons, 1961), 3-4. See also Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, esp. 34.

[88] Morton Smith, "The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 273-313; Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essenertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 66-107; Randal Argall, "A Hellenistic Jewish Source on the Essenes in Philo, *Every Good Man Is Free* 75-91 and Josephus, *Antiquities* 18.18-22," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Beverly A. Bow, Randal A. Argall, and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 13-24.

study, this highlights the need for a nuanced study of the temple discourse of 1QS that takes into account not only historical and sociological data, but also spatial data.

Relationship to Jerusalem Temple: Internal Evidence

To recapitulate: while much concerning their origins continues to be a mystery, it appears disagreement over correct practice was at the center of the *Yahad*'s move to the Judean wilderness.[89] While some argue the *Yahad* originated in the Jerusalem Temple with the Teacher of Righteousness figure, there is no definitive evidence for this stance. At the same time, there is a clear link between the *Yahad* and the Jerusalem Temple. For example, ancient witnesses suggest the Essenes continued to have some connection to the Temple. This calls into question whether or not the *Yahad* viewed themselves as a replacement temple.

Even with a continued relationship to the Jerusalem Temple, the manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls display intense dissatisfaction with the Temple cult, especially regarding issues of purity. In the following sections I review the textual evidence for this dissatisfaction. If we want to understand how those who followed 1QS understood their new place apart from the center of the sacred space in Jewish life and thought – the Jerusalem Temple – then we must examine why a separation from the Temple could have occurred in the first place. Ultimately, I argue that temple space is one resource used to organize social relationships in the *Yahad*, according to 1QS. In turn, it does not follow

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[89] See 1QS 8.13-16; 9.19b-21.

that members of the *Yahad* replaced the Jerusalem Temple. At the same time, it is clear

that there is dissatisfaction with the temple cult.

(1) 4QMMT and Temple Separation

The publication of the text *Miqṣat Maʿaśeh Ha-Torah* (4QMMT) provided a

turning point in the conversation about the origins of the movement and its relationship to

the Jerusalem Temple.[90] Indeed, one cannot speak of the *Yahad*'s relationship to the

Temple without addressing the role of 4QMMT. Though fragmentary, six copies of this

document were discovered in Cave 4, dating from 75 B.C.E – 50 C.E., and, as such, it is

considered one of the earliest Scrolls, perhaps written before the movement.[91] The

document outlines twenty legal disputes on which the writers disagree with the

addressees including sacrifice, purity, forbidden marriages, and those prohibited from

entering the sanctuary.

Upon its discovery and publication, it was thought that 4QMMT would solve the

mystery of the rise of the *Yahad* because the author(s) of the document were considered

representatives of "Qumran."[92] While varied in their reasons, most interpreters of

4QMMT understand the text to justify the *Yahad*'s separation. This is due to a reference

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[90] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, eds., *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

[91] Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah*, 109-121. At the same time, the early dating of 4QMMT is based upon the assumption that the tone of the document reflects an early period of the movement—an unfortunately circular argument. Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah*, 117.

[92] See L. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 (1990): 64-73.

to a separation from the majority of the people on the part of those who wrote the text:

"[And you know that] we have segregated ourselves from the multitude of the peop[le

. . .] [and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these

things. . ."[93] In these interpretations, the text is most likely a letter[94] written from the early

sectarian or *Yahad* leaders to leaders of the Jerusalem Temple authorities. John Strugnell

and Elisha Qimron argued that it was written by the Teacher of Righteousness to the

Wicked Priest, but, as John Kampen rightly points out, this is pure conjecture as the

authors and recipients are not named in 4QMMT.[95]

The document is written in a conciliatory tone and suggests that a peaceful

reconciliation could be made between the two groups if the addressee would change

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[93] Translation by F. García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998). See manuscript d (4Q397), especially fragments 14-21, 1-8. Fragments 7b-8 cited here. See also L. Schiffman, "Miqtsat Maʿasei ha-Torah," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 55; ed. John J. Collins; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 75.

[94] For an extensive discussion of alternative interpretations, see H. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2009), 143-168. Notable alternatives include Fraade and Grossman, who argue (separately) that 4QMMT is an intra-mural text: Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," *RevQ* 76 (2000): 507-526; Grossman also argues it can be understood as a document after-the-fact. See Maxine L. Grossman, "Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 3-22.

[95] Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Maʾaśeh ha-Torah*. Strugnell has since backed away from this reading in John Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E.C. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ of Notre Dame, 1994), 57-73; some still hold this view today. See Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berline: de Gruyter, 2007), 104-107.

certain legal practices.[96] Most of these legal disputes concern ritual impurity, perhaps implying that the Jerusalem Temple could be ritually defiled.[97] According to early scholars, after failing in their efforts to reconcile, the authors of the letter (often called the "Qumran sectarians") removed themselves from the Temple cult and considered the Temple defiled.[98] While most scholars accept that the document is a letter addressed to the Jerusalem Temple authorities from the sectarian or early *Yahad* leaders, it is important to keep in mind that the document itself names neither the addressee nor the addressor.[99] In addition, in the document there is a "we" group that not only addresses a "you" (plural) group, but also references a "they" group, whose practices were not accepted.[100] The addition of a "they" group complicates the neat picture of the early *Yahad* leaders simply rejecting the Temple authorities.

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[96] See, in particular, section C.

[97] See Eyal Regev, "The Temple Impurity and Qumran's 'Foreign Affairs' in the Early Hasmonean Period," *Zion* 64 (1999): 135-156; Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University, 2000), 189 fn. 28.

[98] For a recent defense of this view, see Eyal Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," *DSD* 10 (2003): 243-278; and Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 251, 256-257.

[99] See discussion in Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," and Charlotte Hempel, "4QMMT and Comfortable Theories," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[100] See Section B.

The separation passage has recently come under closer scrutiny.[101] Charlotte

Hempel rightly points out that early scholars who connected the author and addressee to

the Teacher of Righteousness and Wicked Priest read into 4QMMT the theories of origin

that were circulating at the time.[102] Recent studies have proposed alternate theories for a

separation between the groups, in particular regarding intermarriage:[103] Perez Fernandez

argues the separation revolves around intermarriage between priests and Israelites.[104]

Carolyn Sharp argues the separation is over the marriage between Israelites and non-

Jews.[105] For this project, the significance of 4QMMT is its focus on the Temple cult and

practices. Even though the cult and sacrificial laws are the center of their dispute and the

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[101] See manuscript d (4Q397), especially fragments 14-21, 1-8. Certain proto-sectarian documents such as *Jubilees*, *4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C* (4QapocrJer^c), and the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) also define the separation in terms of moral defilement of the Temple. However, given that *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) and part of the *Damascus Document* (CD) (with the exception of the purity laws of CD) were completed after the separation, these documents could be picking up on issues of moral defilement found in proto-sectarian literature.

[102] Hempel, "4QMMT and Comfortable Theories," 285.

[103] Yet see Himmelfarb, who argues there is little evidence for intermarriage leading up to the Maccabean revolt and, thus, intermarriage was not a significant issue for the author(s) of 4QMMT. Martha Himmelfarb, "Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt," *JSQ* 6 (1999): 1-24.

[104] Miguel Perez Fernandez, "4QMMT: Redactional Study," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 191-205.

[105] C.J. Sharp, "Phinean Zeal and Rhetorical Strategy in 4QMMT," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 207-222. See also Christine Hayes, who argues 4QMMT prohibits intermarriage with all Gentiles, but especially converts. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2002), 82.

authors do claim some sort of separation from the addressee, it is clear that the authors of

the letter respected the temple system.[106]

To be sure, reading and interpreting 4QMMT is not a simple task. Given that the

authors and intended audience are not named in 4QMMT, it should not be assumed that

the document is a letter between early leaders of the *Yahad* movement and the Jerusalem

Temple authorities. At the same time, we must remember that late copies of 4QMMT

were found in Cave 4; six or seven copies were from the late Hasmonean or early

Herodian period. This suggests 4QMMT continued to be copied and studied throughout

the period of the *Yahad*'s existence and strongly suggests 4QMMT was a significant and

perhaps even authoritative document for the *Yahad*.[107] The legal emphasis points to the

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[106] At the same time, Section C is a homiletical conclusion urging the readers of the letter to accept the author's legal interpretations included in the letter—perhaps suggesting a possible reconciliation. Section C also briefly refers to matters of moral depravity. This leads some scholars, like Eyal Regev, to argue that the sectarians believed the Jerusalem temple to be defiled because of moral impurity. See Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," 234-78; Eshel builds upon the argument in: Hanan Eshel, "4QMMT and the History of the Hasmonean Period," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. John Kampen and Moshe E. Bernstein; SBLSym 2; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), 53-65. Eshel argues that the "Qumranites" separated because of reasons that "probably had to due with the Hellenization of Jerusalem." However, these arguments are based on C 7-9 – fragmentary lines that discuss moral impurity in a document largely concerned with ritual impurity. Other sectarian documents, such as *Pesher Habakkuk* and part of the *Damascus Document*'s Admonition, interpret the schism between the sectarians and the Jerusalem temple establishment in terms of moral defilement, but it is not clear if 4QMMT does the same.

[107] Similarly, H. von Weissenberg, "The Centrality of the Temple in 4QMMT," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010) 293-305, esp. 296; and Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics: Sacrifice and the Religion of Qumran," 90-112. Note that Brooke argues these late documents could have been revisited when a time of reconciliation again appeared possible. Brooke, "The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 424.

importance of the Jerusalem Temple to the author(s) and students of 4QMMT throughout

the *Yahad* movement and demonstrates continuous dissatisfaction with and yet respect

for the Temple cult.[108]

Whether or not we understand 4QMMT to be a letter written from the early *Yahad*

leaders to the leaders of the Temple establishment, the sheer number of copies found

throughout the *Yahad*'s movement makes it clear that how the Jerusalem Temple was run

was important to those in the *Yahad*. For example, Jerusalem is called the "holy camp,"

the place where the deity has chosen.[109] 4QMMT reveals that practice and purity is a

concern for the *Yahad*.[110] This concern is also found in proto-sectarian texts such as the

Temple Scroll (11QT) and certain legal portions of the *Damascus Document* (CD; to be

discussed below), suggesting issues of ritual impurity were central to potential

separation.[111] In tandem with the purity issues raised in 4QMMT are the purity issues

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[108] Weissenberg suggests 4QMMT expresses "a concern for the purity of the cult in Jerusalem as an expression of covenantal faithfulness." See von Weissenberg, "The Centrality of the Temple in 4QMMT," 297.

[109] See 4QMMT B 56-81 (=4Q394 8 IV; 4Q396 II-IV).

[110] Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah*, 175-176; Hannah K. Harrington, "Purity," 2:724; James C. VanderKam, "Apocalyptic Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 113-134; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel = Community Without Temple: zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego et al.; Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 118; Tübingen: Mohr, 1999), 267-284.

[111] At the same time, other sectarian documents such as the Admonition of CD, *Community Rule* (1QS), and *Pesher Habbakuk* (1QpHab) frame the separation from the Jerusalem Temple in terms of moral purity. These texts were completed after the split

raised in the Dead Sea Scrolls overall. Oftentimes, these purity issues are interpreted as

criticism of the Jerusalem Temple and reason for the *Yahad*'s separation into the

wilderness.[112] I now turn to the issue of purity as a cause for dissatisfaction with the

temple cult and motivation to move to the wilderness.

(2) Purity and Temple Separation

The texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect a cultural conversation regarding the

impurity of the Jerusalem Temple. As will be examined in chapter three, 1QS puts forth

an alternative—the community itself as a temple.[113] In this section I review the major

critiques of the Jerusalem Temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls—biblical, sectarian, and non-

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with the Jerusalem Temple was final – they tend to equate moral corruption and ritual
impurity with cosmic forces of evil.

[112] See, for example, Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the
New Testament*; Francis Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion
in Ancient Judaism* (trans. J. Edward Crowley; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001),
138-197; Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 119, 140;
Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 16, 37-8, 42, 54, 104. Neusner argues the center for purity
was shifted from Jerusalem to Qumran. See Jacob Neusner, "Idea of Purity in Ancient
Judaism," *JAAR* 43 (1975): 15-26. Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran
and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 18-19
and 42-43; F. M. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution," in
The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls (eds. García Martínez and Julio C. Trebolle Barrera;
Leiden: Brill, 1995), 139-157.

[113] Before reviewing the central issues of purity raised by the Scrolls, it is
important to remember that during the first century B.C.E. both the sectarian community
and the Jerusalem Temple underwent various changes in construction and leadership. As
such, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact practices that may have occurred at any one
period in time. This in turn complicates the task of determining the *Yahad*'s view of the
Temple. Indeed, we must remember that just as the Temple structure and administration
changed over time, so too the *Yahad*'s relationship to it must have developed and
changed as well.

sectian texts—based on purity law.[114] Indeed, given the number of copies of the texts discussed in the following sections that were found in the caves near Qumran, it appears that members of the *Yahad* were aware of other criticisms of the Temple circulating in their cultural environment and that these texts influenced its own views of the Jerusalem Temple. In particular, the concern over purity highlights the concern over body and correct practice. For this study, the body and practice is a central component to the creation of Thirdspace for it enacts an alternative form of divine service.

Scholars generally agree that purity law is central to the identity of the *Yahad*, integrated into the *Yahad*'s social structure, and interpreted in a stricter manner than in

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[114] Early studies addressing purity in the Scrolls, albeit at times cursory, include Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 199-206; Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957); Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1963). The 1970s demonstrated an increase in studies focused on purity law, mostly likely in connection to the publication of the purity-concerned document, the *Temple Scroll* (11QT). See L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975); J.M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1977); J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures, 1972-1973* (Leiden: Brill, 1973). The 1990s was another productive decade for studies regarding purity in the Scrolls, with Hannah K. Harrington, "Interpreting Leviticus in the Second Temple Period: Struggling with Ambiguity," in *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas* (ed. John F. A. Sawyer; JSOTSup 227; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 214-229; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris, 1992* (eds. George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 3-10; Joseph M. Baumgarten, L.H. Schiffman, S.J. Pfann, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. V 25, Halakhic Texts* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); Baumgarten, "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage," 13-24; L. Schiffman, "*Miqsat Ma`aseh ha-Torah* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 14 (1994): 435-457. See bibliography of Jonathan Klawans, "Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 377-402.

other Jewish sects, like the Pharisees, for example.[115] In 2000, Jonathan Klawans published a seminal work regarding impurity in ancient texts. In his work, Klawans distinguishes between types of purity: moral and ritual.[116] Ritual impurity refers to the defilement described in Lev 11-15 and Num 19. One becomes ritually impure by being in contact with certain natural processes such as childbirth, genital discharges, particular skin diseases, touching human corpses, etc. The sources of ritual impurity are unavoidable, and ritually impure persons are not considered sinful or permanently defiled. However, if left unchecked, ritual purity has the potential to defile the Temple, e.g. a ritually impure person could defile the Temple through direct contact.

Moral impurity, based on the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26 and related texts), is a result of committing acts so abominable they are considered defiling and sinful.[117] These acts include forbidden sexual unions (Lev 18; 20:10-26), idolatry (Lev 19:4; 20:1-5), and murder (Num 35:33-34).[118] Unlike ritual impurity, moral impurity is considered a consequence of sin, threatening the sanctity of the Temple and the land,[119] and, though it

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[115] For an excellent overview of the history of scholarship regarding purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Klawans, "Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 377-402. On the centrality of purity, which is standard in scholarship, see, for example, Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. V 25, Halakhic Texts*, 79; Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 7. Alternatively, Werrett argues against a synthesis view. See Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 288-305.

[116] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, ix, 242.

[117] Lev 17-26, Num 35:33-34, Ps 106:34-41.

[118] Elsewhere, moral impurity is caused by deceit (Deut 25:15-16) and arrogance (Prov 16:5).

[119] According to the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26); Leviticus 1-16 suggests only ritual impurity causes temple defilement.

defiles the sinner, it is not contagious. These defilements are resolved in part through sacrifice, the function of which—particularly of the daily burnt offering—is to retain the divine presence.[120]

Christine Hayes follows Klawans definitions of ritual and moral impurity and offers a third category of impurity: genealogical. This category is based on Ezra-Nehemiah and refers to intermarriage, which, unlike ritual and moral impurity, cannot be altered and becomes an impermeable boundary between people groups.[121] With the additional category of genealogical purity, Hayes offers a helpful corrective to the common two categories of ritual and moral impurity: genealogical purity is an issue that should be considered separate from ritual and moral impurity and that genealogical impurity cannot be cleared with sacrifices.[122]

There is no doubt that those who wrote, copied, and studied the Scrolls were deeply interested in issues of purity.[123] Indeed, disagreement over purity relations is often

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[120] For more details on the history of and argument for this understanding of sacrifice, see Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 68-72.

[121] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities*, 19-44.

[122] Purity is a complex and contested topic in scholarship and cannot easily be categorized. Klawans and Hayes work are an important part of the discussion of purity laws in the Scrolls. If we do not adequately define what we mean by ritual purity and moral purity, we cannot accurately discuss the nature of defilement and its repercussions in these texts. One must remember that while these constructed categories of purity help us interpret texts, they also introduce the risk of imposing too much of our own categories onto the text. At the same time, these categories are essential to understanding purity in 1QS and other Scrolls and why the *Yahad* separated from the Jerusalem Temple.

[123] Hannah Harrington notes that the majority of legal material at Qumran addresses issues of purity. For example, of the twenty-three legal passages in the *Damascus Document* (CD), fifteen deal with ritual purity and matters of the priesthood. All six fragments of the *Tohorot* describe rules of purification. *Ordinances A* and

cited as the reason for the separation of the *Yahad*. Klawans makes a compelling

argument that in part of the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls—in particular,

1QS, 1QH, and 1QM—ritual impurity and moral impurity are collapsed into one

category,[124] while other texts, such as the 11QT and 4QMMT demonstrate more concern

with ritual defilement over moral defilement.[125] At the same time, other texts show

concern with moral defilement without integrating it with ritual defilement, e.g. the

Damascus Document, *Pesher Habakkuk*, and *Jubilees*.[126]

In the following sections, I employ the categories ritual impurity and moral

impurity based on the distinction held by Klawans and Hayes.[127] The focus of the

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Ordinances B respectively discuss the purity of agriculture offered to the temple and the marital purity of the priests, the protection of holy food, and the depth of the mikveh. In addition, the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) treats issues of purity, holy festivals, and sacrifices.

[124] Klawans observes that the sectarians were concerned with the defiling force of impurity more than any other contemporary Jewish group. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 67-91; Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 155. While Klawans gives great detail on the conflation of these two purities, other scholars have noted the similarity between the two in the Scrolls. See D. Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1958), 215-266; Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, esp. 123-24.

[125] For a full treatment on this topic, see Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 75-88; 48-52; 72-75. Note Hannah Harrington, who states: ". . . to say that the Qumran sect made no dichotomy between ritual purity and purity in the ethical sense is an oversimplification of the matter. . . . It would be more accurate to say that there is at times a blurring of the line between the two types of impurity, and both require ritual purification." See see Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 27-30.

[126] For example, see *Damascus Document* (CD) 4.12-5.11; *Pesher Habakkuk* 8.8-13, 12.6-9; and Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the* Temple, 147-148.

[127] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 21-42; For a critique of Klawans' chronological understanding of purity, see Gudrun Holtz, "Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'Ritual-Physical' and 'Moral' Purity in a Diachronic

following discussion will be examples of the Jerusalem Temple's perceived impurity that

reveal the *Yahad*'s dissatisfaction with the Temple cult, leading to the move to the

wilderness and creation of a new place to atone without a physical temple. More to the

point: these texts suggest the Jerusalem Temple was not fit to house the deity,

necessitating an alternative form of divine service.

(2.1) Genealogical and Moral Defilement of the Temple

Some Second Temple writings blame the impure actions of priests and people,

including Gentiles, for the defiled status of the Temple.[128] Among these impure actions,

intermarriage with Gentiles was a common complaint.[129] In the biblical writings, while

Exodus and Deuteronomy do not suggest that marriage to a Gentile would cause the

impurity of the Temple,[130] the author of Malachi, most likely writing in the time of the

restoration of the Second Temple says: "Yehud has been faithless, and an abomination

has been committed in Israel and in Jerusalem; for Yehud has profaned the sanctuary of

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Perspective," in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism* (eds. C. Frevel and C. Nihan; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 519-536. Christine Hayes adds a third, 'genealogical' category. See Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities*, 8-12.

[128] Neh 13:4-31; Dan 11:31; 2 Macc 6:2; Ezek 44:7; Ps 79:1. That the Temple is defiled because of priestly activity is found in extra-biblical literature as well. For example, see *Assumption of Moses* 4:8, 5:3-4.

[129] Ezra 10:18, Neh 13:23-29, *ALD* 16-17, *T. Levi* 14:6, and 4QMMT B 75-82.

[130] Exod 34:15-16; Deut 7:3.

the LORD, which he loves, and has married the daughter of a foreign god."[131] Going

further, the prayer in Ezra 9 links the defilement caused by intermarriage beyond the

Temple to the land. Ezra 9:10-12 reads:

> Now, what can we say after this, our God, for we have abandoned your
> commandments, which you commanded by your servants the prophets, saying,
> 'The land that you are about to possess is an unclean land (נִדָּה) through the
> uncleanness of the peoples of the lands, with their abominations (תּוֹעֵבָה) with
> which they, in their uncleanness (טֻמְאָה), have filled it from one end to the other.
> So, now, do not give your daughters in marriage to their sons, nor take their
> daughters for your sons.'[132]

The prayer in Ezra echoes Lev 18, suggesting the concern here is with genealogical

impurity.

In certain pseudepigraphical texts, the connection between sexual misconduct and

Temple defilement becomes even more straightforward. *Jubilees* 30:15-16 states outright

that "the sin of intermarriage defiles not only the individual involved but the Temple

itself."[133] Sexual sins are also a concern in *Psalms of Solomon*.[134] This text juxtaposes

these sins with that of greed and temple defilement by the priests.[135] Elsewhere in *Psalms*

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[131] Mal 2:11 For discussion on this passage, J.L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[132] Compare Lev 18:24-25 to the Holiness Code.

[133] For sexual sin as morally defiling see 4:22, 7:21-22; 20:3-5; 30:3; 33:7; 33:18-20. See also 4QApocryphon Moses C and *ALD* 16-17 and *T. Levi* 14:5-15:1.

[134] *Pss. Sol.* 8:9-13.

[135] See *Pss. Sol.* 1:4-8; the text also addresses the issue of menstrual impurity. In *Pss. Sol.* 8:13, priests are accused of having contact with menstruants and performing sacrifices or eating sanctified meat before purifying themselves. See Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* (Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series 84; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 56.

of Solomon, the defiled state of the Temple is ascribed to all the inhabitants of

Jerusalem.[136]

Sexual misconduct, in particular priestly intermarriage and laws of menstruation,

is one of several issues of genealogical defilement mentioned in the sectarian texts.

According to CD 5:6-11 sexual misconduct—including lying with a menstruant and

marrying one's niece—defiles the sanctuary. As mentioned above, 4QMMT is largely

concerned with ritual purity, but section B 75-82 states that intermarriage between priests

and Israelites pollutes the "holy seed."[137] 4QHalakha A (4Q251) 17 1-7 addresses sexual

misconduct amongst forbidden relationships. According to Erik Larson, Manfred

Lehmann, and Lawrence Schiffman, this section appears to be "a law against marrying

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At least according to Lev 15:31 and CD 4-5; 5:6-8, transgression of menstrual purity
defiles the temple.

[136] *Pss. Sol* 1:8, 2:3, 8:26. See D. Schwartz, "Priesthood, Temple, Sacrifice:
Opposition and Spiritualization in the Late Second Temple Period" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew
University, 1979) 84 f.n. 196.

[137] If we follow Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Ma'aśeh ha-
Torah*, 171-175. Himmelfarb also agrees with this translation, Himmelfarb, "Levi,
Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt," 6-11.
However, not all scholars are convinced there is enough evidence to come to this
translation. See Robert A. Kugler, "Halakic Interpretive Strategies at Qumran: A Case
Study," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the
International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honor of
Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STJD
23; Leiden: Brill, 1997). Other scholars believe the text refers to the marriage of priests to
women of Gentile descent who converted to Judaism. See Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and
Jewish Identities*, 82-89; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Sacrificial Halakhah in the Fragments
of the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran, the Cairo Genizah, and Mt. Athos
Monastery," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran:
Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea
Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced
Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15-17 January, 2002* (ed. R. Clements et al.; STJD
58; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

off one's daughter to a non-Jew or against a priest marrying off his daughter to a non-

priest."[138] In these texts, the sanctity of the priestly seed is directly linked to the holiness

of the sanctuary, creating a link between exogamy and the defilement of the Temple.[139]

While sexual misconduct, or genealogical impurity, is a concern, there are many

more accusations in the Scrolls of moral impurity of the Jewish population defiling the

Temple: bribery,[140] apostasy,[141] violence,[142] and arrogance.[143] Many Scrolls address the

theme of greed and theft among priests and people.[144] The concern that the Temple will

be defiled due to these abominations is present in certain passages, though some are

difficult to reconstruct and therefore interpret. In *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Wicked Priest is

said to have defiled the Temple through forbidden or abominable acts, such as stealing

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[138] Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. V 25, Halakhic Texts*, 46.

[139] cf. *T. Levi* 14:5-15:1; in 4QOrdinances[b] (4Q513) 2 II, priests who intermarry are banned from eating the heave offering and touching sacred purities. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Halakhic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," in *Biblical Archaeology Today* (ed. Janet Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 390-399; Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 70-71.

[140] See the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) 51.11-15 which states that bribery and judicial deceit "defiles the house."

[141] 4Q387 2 III, 6; 4QpNah 3-4 II, 9; 2 Macc 4:11-15; *T. Levi* 17:11; *As. Mos.* 5:3.

[142] *Jub.* 23:20; 4Q390 2 I, 10; *T. Levi* 17:11; CD 6.18; 1QpHab 11.4-6; 12.6; 4QpNah 3-4 I, 11-12.

[143] *Pss. Sol.* 17:8, 26, 46; 1QpHab 8.10.

[144] *Jub.* 23:21; 2 Macc 4:32-33, 39, 42; *Pss. Sol.* 8:12; *As. Mos.* 5:5-6; *T. Levi* 14:5; 17:11; 4Q390 2 I, 8-9; 1QpHab 8.11-12; 9.4-6; 12.10; 4QpNah 3-4 I, 11; CD 6.15-16. This is a motif that occurs in other ancient Jewish literature, including rabbinic literature and New Testament texts.

from the poor.[145] The book of *Jubilees* is concerned with a sinful generation and

juxtaposes greed with Temple defilement.[146] The *Damascus Document* (CD) suggests

that the Temple has been defiled because stolen property has been offered there.[147]

Manuscript B says that the "House of Peleg" left Jerusalem when Israel sinned and

defiled the sanctuary.[148] The theme of Temple defilement due to sin and the subsequent

departure of the divine spirit is found in Second Temple Jewish literature such as *Jubilees*

and *Testament of Levi*.[149] These writings suggest the *Yahad*—or at least the authors and

redactors of 1QS—believed the Jerusalem Temple was morally defiled due to actions of

both the priests who ran the Temple and the people who entered it.

(2.2) Ritual Defilement of the Temple

Like moral defilement, ritual defilement of the Temple is found in Jewish

literature (in general) as far back as the Persian period. In this literature, the accusations

of ritual defilement were typically confined to disobedience of the laws of cultic service

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[145] *Pesher Habakkuk* 8.8-13; the Wicked Priest's sin is again mentioned in *Pesher Habakkuk* 12.6-10 in the context of greed and thievery. A similar passage regarding the people's crimes and defilement of the sanctuary is *4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^e* or *4QPseudo-Moses^e* (4Q390) frag. 2, 1.9.

[146] *Jub.* 23:21-22; See also *T. Levi* 14:5-15:1. Klawans observes that because the sequence of events is complicated, it is difficult to discern whether in this passage the sins in 14:5 have a causal effect on the sanctuary per 15:1. A similar passage is *As. Mos.* 5:1-5, 7:1-10.

[147] CD 6.11-17.

[148] CD Ms B 20.22-23.

[149] *Jub.* 23:20-22; See also *T. Levi* 14:5-15:1; *T. Levi* 17:11.

or the invasion into the Temple of ritually impure sources such as those defiled by skin

disease, seminal discharge, etc (see below). Throughout the corpus of the Scrolls there is

concern for the purity status of the Temple and its participants, and many of these texts

exhibit more extreme approaches to purity than previously known in Jewish literature.[150]

The purity laws of 4QMMT and the *Temple Scroll* (11QT 45:7—51:10) are

excellent examples of how the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit stricter measures of purity

regulation than found in the literature of the Hebrew Bible or other Jewish literature.[151] A

common example given is the issue of men entering the Temple after a seminal

discharge. In the Hebrew Bible, men must wait one day before entering the Temple,[152]

while the *Temple Scroll* lists a three-day requirement. Thus, according to these texts, at

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[150] See Hannah K. Harrington, "The Halakah and Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.J. Collins and R. A. Kugler; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 74-89; Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 74-89. See also the purity laws in *4QToharot*.

[151] As mentioned above, the purity laws of these texts have been well studied. For 4QMMT, see Menahem Kister, "Studies in 4QMiqsat Maase HaTorah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 317-371; Qimron and Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V 5, Miqsat Ma'aśeh ha-Torah*, 123-77; Yaakov Sussman, "The History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 11-76. While several of the purity laws in 4QMMT parallel those in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) and the *Damascus Document* (CD), there does not appear to be literary dependency. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (eds. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; SBL Symposium Series 2; ed. Gail R. O'Day; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1996), 81-98. For the purity laws in 11QT, see Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (vol. 1; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:277-343. Admittedly, the date of the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) is not confirmed, yet it is inferred that in its final form, at least, it is critical of contemporary Temple practice. On the possibility of priestly origins of 11QT, see Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990), 155-194.

[152] Lev 15:16; Deut 23:10-11.

least, one reason the Temple sanctuary was ritually defiled was because ritually impure people were entering it.[153]

This is one example of how certain texts in the Scrolls corpus require longer periods of defilement for impurities in comparison to impurities known in the Hebrew Bible. In other passages in the Scrolls, new sources of ritual impurity are introduced altogether. For example, in 4QMMT B 49-54, a blind person is considered ritually impure because he or she may accidently defile the Temple. Once again, the Temple becomes defiled by the perceived impurity of those entering it.[154] Prevention of the blind from entering the Temple is also found in the *Temple Scroll*, 11QT 45:12-13; García Martínez rightly argues this requirement holds lay people to the same purity requirements of the priests officiating in the Temple (Lev 21:17-20).[155]

In the *Temple Scroll*, realms of space become a point for dispute over ritual purity. Continuing with the example of impure men from seminal discharge, 11QT bans these men not just from the Temple but also from all of Jerusalem.[156] As Klawans observes:

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[153] The *Temple Scroll* (11QT) is concerned with the departure of the divine "glory" or "name" (used interchangeably) from the sanctuary (46.4, 8; 47.3-4, 10-11, 18; 51.7-10; cf. 29.3-10). See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 127-128.

[154] See also Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 155.

[155] García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution," 139-157.

[156] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll," *HAR* 9 (1985): 301-320; Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:277-343. In comparison, the *Damascus Document* prohibits sexual relations in the Temple city. See CD 12.1-2; 4Q 271 frag. 5, 1.17-18.

assuming the current temple did not follow the laws as stipulated by the *Temple Scroll*, we can presume that the [S]croll's stringencies lead to the idea that the [T]emple has been ritually defiled by the admission of ritually impure persons to Jerusalem and its environs.[157]

These texts document disagreements over Temple practices, which suggest some members of the *Yahad* believed the Temple to be ritually impure.

(2.3) Additional Differences with Jerusalem Temple Authorities

According to other Scroll manuscripts, ritual purity was not the only issue that could have defiled the Temple. Other ritual matters, such as the ritual calendar and Temple structure could create tension between the *Yahad* and Temple authorities.[158] From the many calendars and calendrical fragments discovered, it appears the *Yahad* followed a solar, rather than lunar, calendar.[159] This solar calendar approximates the solar year, which is fifty-two weeks or 364 days.[160] It is a convenient way of measuring time,

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[157] Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 155.

[158] For a detailed study on calendars in the Scrolls, see James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998). For an excellent review of calendars in the Scrolls, see Sacha Stern, "Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 232-253.

[159] More than one calendar has been found in the caves outside Qumran, yet the solar calendar dates the festivals and religious holidays. See VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 111-12. See 4QMMT, 11QT, and *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*; Klawans argues that these calendar disputes would not create a boycott of the Temple on all days, perhaps just holidays, because most of the time the calendars would be on the same schedule and priests would be working correctly within both, however, this is just conjecture. Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 57, 86.

[160] A true solar calendar would be 365.25 days.

given that the year neatly divides into four seasons of ninety-one days each, or exactly thirteen weeks. In addition, the holidays fall on the same days of the week each year and the twenty-four priestly courses would repeat every six years.[161] The sheer number of calendars found in the caves outside Qumran—four calendrical texts (4Q317-4Q330) and many more calendrical sections and themes in other texts—demonstrate the significance of measuring time for the *Yahad*.[162]

The solar calendar was important to the identity of the *Yahad*, especially considering the numerous copies of *Jubilees* and *I Enoch* found in the caves near Qumran—two pseudepigraphal works in which the solar calendar is significant.[163] The significance of correct time and practice is also reflected in CD 6.18-19, which encourages members to "keep the Sabbath day according to specification and the holidays and the fast day according to the commandments of the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus."

Shemaryahu Talmon argued that the calendar was one of the essential reasons for a separation between the *Yahad* and the Jerusalem Temple.[164] In contrast, Stern argues that the presence of solar calendars does not indicate calendar polemics and, in turn, is

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[161] See Uwe Glessmer, "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998-1999), 213-278.

[162] Note the silence of the ancient witnesses on Essene calendars.

[163] See *I En.* 72-82; *Jub.* 6.

[164] S. Talmon, "The Calendar of the Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (ed. S. Talmon: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1989), 147-199.

not a cornerstone of the *Yahad*'s identity.[165] This seems to overstate the case. There are

hints in the Scrolls that the correct calendar led to the *Yahad*'s self-imposed separation.[166]

Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab) 11.4-8 tells us the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked

Priest disputed the correct calendar, particularly over the Day of Atonement. 4QMMT

begins with fragments of a conversation about the solar calendar, suggesting the calendar

is one of the reasons for disagreement.[167] Even with the calendar diversity found in

ancient sources, all calendars, whether considered polemical or not, are part of one's

identity and a way to distinguish one's group from another.

For this project, the appearance of priestly courses in the discovered calendars is

significant, for it suggests the influence of priestly traditions and practice.[168] VanderKam

notes:

> By incorporating the dates of Sabbaths and festivals and the periods of service for
> the priestly courses into their system for measuring time, the cultic and
> theological concerns of the authors come to expression. The calendars are, with
> few exceptions, oriented toward worship.[169]

These priestly courses are curious because they were meant to be followed by the

Jerusalem Temple priests week by week. What use would they be in the Judean

wilderness without a physical temple? Stern suggests the priestly courses had symbolic

significance, writing that they suggest

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[165] Stern, "Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism," 232-253.

[166] See also VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time.*

[167] The number in 4QMMT must be restored, however.

[168] VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 112.

[169] VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, 112.

. . . an elevation of the Temple cult to some universal, cosmic dimension, as priestly courses are brought into relation with a calendar that is not only cultic (i.e. a list of festivals, which would be specifically relevant to the priestly cult) but also more generally tracks the heavenly bodies [the sun and the moon], and thus represents in some way a cosmic order.[170]

Like Stern, I think these calendars represent a claim to correct temple practices, and, like VanderKam, I agree they may anticipate a return to the Jerusalem Temple and service in it. There is no doubt that the calendars represent heavy influence of priestly traditions, and their presence in the Qumran caves suggest they may have been used by the *Yahad* in ritual activities. For example, the calendrical 4QOtot (4Q319) appears in one of the *Community Rule* manuscripts, 4QSᵉ (4Q259). In this manuscript, we have an example of a calendar of priestly courses that are part of the *Rule*, in place of the Maskil's Hymn.[171] I argue that the calendar's presence attached to an S manuscript may suggest that they were

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[170] Stern, "Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism," 237. Others suggest such a cosmic association as well. See Ben Zion and S. Wacholder, "Patterns of Biblical Dates and Qumran's Calendar: The Fallacy of Jaubert's Hypothesis," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 1-40, who describe the calendar as a "sacred time-scheme from *Urzeit* to *Endzeit*"; Carol A. Newsom describes it as a "potent symbol of harmony, of being 'in sync' with the cosmos.'" See Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 181; VanderKam claims it is an expression of "the theological and ideological conviction that the courses of the luminaries and the cycles of festivals and priestly duties operate in a cosmic harmony imposed upon them by the creator God himself." VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 112.

[171] See Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 48-51, 140-47; Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (vol. 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 129, 150-52. Metso argues that the Otot may have belonged to the original version of the *Rule*, later replaced by the Maskil's Hymn. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 150-52; Contra Alexander, who argue 4QSᵉ is a late version. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yaḥad : A Proposal," 444-45.

followed at some point in the *Yahad*'s history—and points to the importance of correct practice—not just correct time.

The solar calendars and calendrical sections in the Scrolls demonstrate that the *Yahad* prioritized following the correct time and liturgies. These calendrical texts, which were copied and recopied, imply a superior division of time over the Jerusalem Temple's calendar(s) and create a tension between the *Yahad* and the Jerusalem Temple authorities. At the same time, the presence of these priestly courses document the continued respect of the Temple cult and its priestly influence.

Not only is the Temple time-frame deemed inferior, but also the very structure of the Temple itself. That the Jerusalem Temple was believed to be structurally inadequate is, once again, not an idea unique to the Scrolls. Ezekiel imagines a future temple of enormous size. *I Enoch* and 2 Esdras state that a future temple will replace the current one, and other texts, such as Tobit, describe a future temple of extraordinary characteristics (for example, it is constructed with jewels).[172] The *New Jerusalem* texts imagine luxurious, jewel-encrusted structures with a golden wall and streets of white stone, alabaster, and onyx.[173] The eschatological temple is equally luxurious.[174] The descriptions of the décor and structure of the eschatological temples in the Scrolls suggest the Jerusalem Temple is inadequate, yet I do not believe this is a reason for separation from it; rather these are imaginings of a future, perfect temple.

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[172] Ezek 40-44; *I En.* 90:28-37; 2 Esd 10:25-27, 42-44; Tob 13:16-17.

[173] 11Q18, frag 10; 4Q554 frag 2, 11.15; 5Q15 frag I, 1.6-7.

[174] 2Q24 frag 3, frag 8.

The temple of the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) is described not as an eschatological

temple, but one that will last until the deity constructs a new one (29.9-10).[175] The temple

described, however, is one that was built long ago and is imagined to be in current

existence (29.3-8). In other words, it is an earthly temple. As such, we can compare it to

the Jerusalem Temple of Second Temple times. In comparison to the temple of 11QT,

whose gigantic size is staggering and unrealistic, the current Temple is both ritually and

morally defiled and run under the incorrect calendar.[176]

To summarize: Part of the purpose of the purity and calendar discussion is to

demonstrate the complexities of the relationship between the *Yahad* and the Jerusalem

Temple. It is easy to paint a neat picture of a linear progression: the *Yahad* originated in

the Jerusalem Temple, separated itself—or even rejected—the Jerusalem Temple,[177]

understood itself as its metaphorical replacement, and envisioned itself as part of a future

temple built by God.[178] This analysis presents a singularly coherent and orderly view of

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[175] F. García Martínez, *Qumran and the Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 204-205; F. García Martínez, "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem," in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years, vol 2: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 431-460; Lawrence H Schiffman, "The Theology of the Temple Scroll," (1994): 109-123; Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:182-88.

[176] For further discussion the on the inadequacy of the earthly temple based on the *Temple Scroll*, see Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 158-60.

[177] Rejection of Jerusalem cult is found in: 4QpsMos[b] 3 iii 6; 4QpsMos[e] 1:1-2; 1QpHab 9:4; 1QpMic 11:1; 4QpNah 3-4 I 11; 3-4 ii 9.

[178] James VanderKam and Peter Flint epitomize this view when they state: "The Essenes who formed the Qumran community had separated themselves from the Temple in Jerusalem because they believed that the religious authorities running it were lax in ritual purity and were using an unlawful ritual calendar (cf. CD 20:22-23 and 4QMMT). This does not mean that they rejected the basic validity of a Temple religion; indeed, they

the *Yahad*'s relationship to temple. Despite its appeal as a unifying perspective, it falls short on at least three accounts. Firstly, it ignores the great variety of colorful and at times contradictory temple imagery employed throughout the Scrolls, including imagery of sanctuaries beyond the confines of the Jerusalem Temple. Secondly, it under values the active and creative role of temple in the life and development of the *Yahad*. Thirdly, reference to the *Yahad* as a virtual or metaphorical temple is commonplace in Scrolls scholarship, but the Dead Sea Scrolls reveal that temple was multiple in the *Yahad*'s religious imagination.

(3) Summary of Internal Evidence for Temple Separation

The previous sections are an overview of textual conversations regarding purity law—especially law that details or suggests a dispute with the Jerusalem Temple cult— that were ongoing in the Second Temple period. My intention in these sections is to determine whether or not there was a separation from the Temple due to their interpretation of purity law. Indeed, while no Scroll manuscript explicitly tells us there was a *complete* separation from the Jerusalem Temple, the sheer number of disputes, complaints, and differences between the *Yahad*'s concept of purity and that of the Temple cult suggests that perceived ritual, moral, and genealogical impurities informed their

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awaited its eschatological renewal. Before this end-time event, Qumranites tended to describe their community as an eschatological temple, with *Israel* (the laymen) as the holy place and *Aaron* (the priests) as the Holy of Holies . . ." VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 376. See also Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (2nd ed. Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox, 2006); Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*.

decision to separate themselves. In addition, other cultic matters, such as calendars, provided an ideological divide between the *Yahad* and the temple cult.

The driving force behind this project, however, is not questions regarding the purity of the Jerusalem Temple, rather, it is questions regarding how a new place is formed when an old one is gone. These texts tell us that the body and practice was essential to the *Yahad*'s creation of a new place. While it suggests disagreements over purity law informed the decision to move to the wilderness, these texts do not tell us the *Yahad*'s new understanding of temple space in the wilderness and how those understandings inform the *Yahad*'s identity. Examining 1QS with attention to space, in particular temple space, helps illuminate the *Yahad*'s practice with respect to its new understanding of temple, sacrifice, and priestly authority.

Conclusions

Even with the wealth of knowledge that the Scrolls reveal about the *Yahad*, there is still much uncertainty regarding its origins, practices, and ideology. However, after reviewing the material, a few conclusions are clear: In 1QS, we read that the *Yahad* self-identified as a temple (cf. 8.5-7, etc.) and that the purpose of the *Yahad* is to atone (cf. 9.3-6). Neither archaeological nor textual evidence suggests a physical temple existed at Qumran. Due to disagreement over correct practice with the Jerusalem Temple authorities, the *Yahad* separated itself in the Judean wilderness. However, when reviewing common explanations for the separation, neither the ancient witnesses nor the Scroll manuscripts suggest the separation was complete. Moreover, texts such as 4QMMT and 11QT emphasize the importance of the Temple cult to the *Yahad*. This

suggests the members of the *Yahad* did not view themselves as a *replacement* temple. At the same time, the Scrolls, particularly texts regarding purity, show dissatisfaction with the Jerusalem Temple—the central sacred place in Judaism. Discontentment with perceived defilement of the Jerusalem Temple was already circulating in Second Temple literature, yet these texts emphasize the body and correct practice were essential to the *Yahad*. In addition, they not only give a particular perspective on the Jerusalem Temple, but they also provide the context for the *Yahad*'s spatial practice. They provide at least part of the reason why the *Yahad* created a Thirdspace to help meet their needs outside of the Jerusalem Temple complex.

In the end, the intense dissatisfaction with, but not rejection of, the temple cult complicates the obvious language that identifies members of the *Yahad* as a temple in 1QS. If the *Yahad* did not view themselves as a replacement temple, what is the purpose of the temple discourse? I argue that temple space is a cultural resource that *Yahad* employs in order to articulate a new form of divine service. There is a need to examine 1QS with attention to space—in particular, temple and wilderness space. In the following chapters, after articulating my theoretical perspective, I examine the temple discourse and priestly practice found in 1QS in order to highlight how the concept of temple is fluid and flexible for the *Yahad* and allows them to form a new place to meet their needs outside the Jerusalem Temple.

The following chapter, chapter two, further details the theoretical framework for this project, including basic assumptions I hold when reading ancient texts. Chapter three analyzes what I call the "community as temple" discourse—or how the *Yahad* is frequently identified as a type of temple—in both Scrolls scholarship and the manuscript

of 1QS. I argue that in light of spatial theory, this discourse needs re-examination. What does it mean to say that the community is a temple? What *is* temple in 1QS? Attention to discourse, habitus, and spatiality helps us begin to answer these questions.

Chapter four focuses on the ritual practice of the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS. In particular, I argue the division of the ceremony arrangement into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (1QS 2.19-25) is a reinterpretation of military and judicial space, gleaned from the Hebrew Bible, and, in turn, informs the Thirdspace that is reflected in other aspects of the *Yahad*'s daily life such as the assemblies and meals. The study concludes with chapter five, an overview of findings and summary of results. To analyze the changing understandings of place is to analyze how the *Yahad* constructs its religious world; this can inform our understanding of the religious identity of the sect and demonstrate how the followers of 1QS critically engage other forms of Judaism in this time period.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

This is an exciting time in Scrolls scholarship as the manuscripts have been made available for public view and scholars employ new theoretical approaches to understand them. A leading example of this kind of scholarship is Carol Newsom's *The Self as Symbolic Space*.[179] In her work on discourse analysis and construction of self-identity in the Scrolls, she understands the texts as speech acts, or performed actions. While Newsom does not address spatial theory or practice in her work, she has paved the way for scholars to study the Scrolls as more than just a window into the history of the sect – they remake the world of the *Yahad* and the participants themselves.

In this project, I undertake a spatial reading of 1QS with respect to how place is understood through space. In particular, I examine how temple space and wilderness narrative spaces of the Hebrew Bible are used to understand not only the *Yahad*'s geographical location of the Judean wilderness, but also the *Yahad*'s social position and relationships. However, although spatial theory is gaining traction in the study of ancient texts, it is largely used in the fields of geography or cultural studies. As such, how would one read "space" in 1QS?

I start with the basic assumption that 1QS (and other Scroll manuscripts) is a ritual object and cultural product. As such, 1QS does not merely represent a particular

[179] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*.

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perspective in the historical times in which it was written; it is an actor in those times.[180]

Viewing 1QS as only a data-set puts us at risk of overlooking questions surrounding the

social relationships or environment that produced the text. Rather than providing an

objective snapshot of community life, 1QS is an active, dynamic, and engaged player in

the development of the *Yahad*. In other words, 1QS does not merely reflect a historical

situation, it is creating a new situation; it is not merely expressing social interactions, it is

restructuring these interactions. There is a dynamic aspect to this text. Texts are certainly

cultural artifacts, but they also produce culture.[181]

Indeed, while this study focuses on the imagined spaces and spatial practice of

1QS, the data examined is textual, not physical buildings or archeological digs or lived

practice.[182] However, this dynamic view of texts opens the door for a spatial reading of

1QS. The remainder of this chapter will outline the theoretical framework for this project.

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[180] Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University, 1992), 368.

[181] For more on this view of texts, see Catherine M. Bell, "Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy," *History of Religions* 27 (1988): 366-392.

[182] In addition, Bakhtin gives an essential reminder when he writes: "we must never confuse—as has been done up to now and as is still often done—the *represented* world with the world outside the text (naïve realism), nor must we confuse the author-creator of a work with the author as a human being (naïve biographism), nor confuse the listener or reader of multiple and varied periods, recreating and renewing the text, with the passive listener or reader of one's own time (which leads to dogmatism in interpretation and evaluation)." See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (trans. Michael Holquist Caryl Emerson; Austin: University of Texas, 1981), 253.
In response, I must acknowledge that historical facts are difficult to discern and perhaps what is written in 1QS is what the authors and redactors believed should be rather than what actually occurred. Even if 1QS represents imagined reality, it can still help us understand the religious imagination of the followers of one Jewish text during the Second Temple Period.

In short, Edward Soja's spatial trialectics of Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace provides the overarching guideline to space and place in this study. In order to examine temple space and wilderness conceptual spaces, I pay close attention to the discourses about these spaces and the practices related to them in 1QS. In turn, I am influenced by the work of Mikhail Bakhtin concerning heteroglossia and discourse and Pierre Bourdieu regarding habitus and practice. These thinkers provide basic assumptions about reading texts and analyzing practices that help me flesh out how to "read" space in 1QS.

Edward Soja and Thirdspace

Throughout this study, I will be using the terms *space* and *place*. Oftentimes, these terms are understood to be synonymous with a region, area, and/or landscape. Yet, for many theorists, the ideas of space and place are conceptualized and used to make sense of the world. While many key theorists on space and place are in the field of geography, a concern with space and place has increased over the past thirty years in the disciplines of sociology, cultural studies, and literary studies, especially in studies concerned with social, cultural, economic, or political relationships.[183] Space and place have both abstract and concrete meanings; yet essential to understanding each is their

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[183] See, for example, M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (trans. Steven Rendall; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (trans. Sheila Faria Glaser; Grand Rapids: University of Michigan, 1995). Of course, the work of geographers is influential in social sciences and humanities, and vice versa.

socially constructed nature. They are inherently related, but space and place also can be distinguished from one another.[184]

In this study, I follow Edward Soja's understanding of space and place. Soja articulates a spatial triad of Firstspace, or material space; Secondspace, or imagined space; and Thirdspace, or social space that combines and extends Firstspace and Secondspace.[185] Thirdspace is the lived experience of Firstspace that is mediated through Secondspace. Place stems from Thirdspace and is composed of material spaces, imagined spaces, and lived experience. Soja's contribution to the study of space and his triad of Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace will be fleshed out in the following. However, it is important to note now that when I use the word "space" in this study, I am referring to

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[184] See, for example, Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 8-10.

[185] Soja's triad, or "trialectics," is heavily indebted to Henri Lefebvre's work. Lefebvre introduces a triad of space: (1) spatial practice; (2) representations of space; and (3) spaces of representation. Lefebvre's first aspect of space, spatial practice, is physical or material space and the way in which people understand that space and perform routines and other social practices. Lefebvre's second aspect of space, representations of space, is conceptual or mental space. It is the theoretical ways that people explain and organize space and, in turn, organize society and social relations. Lefebvre's third aspect of space, spaces of representation, is the space of emotions, affectation, and aesthetics. It produces social meaning by evoking a response from people, whether it be awe, fear, joy, pain, etc. It is symbolic and metaphorical space. The writings of Henri Lefebvre are arguably the first that convincingly demonstrated space as socially produced. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 33, 38. For other summaries and interpretations of Lefebvre's triad, see Soja, *Thirdspace*; in relation to biblical studies, see Mark K. George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature 2; Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2009); Jon L. Berquist, "Introduction: Critical Spatiality and the Uses of Theory," in *Constructions of Space. I, Theory, Geography, and Narrative* (ed. Jon L. Berquist and Claudia V. Camp; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 481; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 1-12. Both Lefebvre and Soja insist upon the materiality of space, yet the combination of material and symbolic leads to Thirdspace.

either the physical, geographical locations—such as the Judean wilderness—or imagined, conceptual spaces—such narratives from the Hebrew Bible.

Soja argues that we have long ignored spatiality in lieu of historical and social understandings of our world. Yet we are intrinsically spatial beings and active participants in the creation of our own space. As such, Soja argues, we need to focus on the spatiality of our world just as we reflect upon the historical and social aspects of it. In doing so, we become more aware of the social consequences of what we have created. Of course, for Soja, historicality, sociality, and spatiality are not mutually exclusive; indeed, they are interdependent and interrelated dimensions of human life.[186]

For Soja, space is first and foremost social. It is experienced, sensed, and practiced and, in turn, has implications for social relationships. To explicate the social nature of space, Soja uses a triad of different spatial understandings: (1) Firstspace, or material "real" space; (2) Secondspace, or conceptual, symbolic, imagined space; and (3) Thirdspace, or social space. He describes Thirdspace as a "creative recombination and extension, one that builds on a Firstspace perspective that is focused on the 'real' material world and a Secondspace perspective that interprets this reality through 'imagined' representations of spatiality."[187] For Soja, material Firstspace is comprehended and interpreted through imagined Secondspace which, in turn, is expressed in symbolic language and action. This leads to Thirdspace, which is the space of actual social and spatial practices. These spaces intertwine with each other, yet each individual space is

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[186] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 1-3; 10.

[187] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 6.

"simultaneously real and imagined, concrete and abstract, material and metaphorical."[188] In this study, I understand place to be a combination of all three of Soja's spaces; it is Thirdspace.[189]

A modern example of Thirdspace with which the reader might identify is an office. Firstspace (material space) includes the building, desks, computers, copy machines, coffeepot, and all of the physical material that make up an office. Secondspace (conceptual space) includes the stress of making a deadline, the joy of working on a project you love, or perhaps the fear of being laid off. Thirdspace is, on the one hand, the social actions that take place in the office (e.g., making copies, walking the paths to a conference room, etc.). At the same time, Thirdspace is the social transformation that occurs when both First- and Secondspace are blended. It is what turns a building into an office and a person into an employee. When a new group comes into the office, such as a support group or book club, the material space is once again transformed by new imagined concepts and new social implications for the community who uses it.

The office exemplifies two other characteristics of space: (1) all space is social space that says something about the people who use it. For example, new employees may use cubicles while the leaders and managers have private offices. (2) Space (and place) is fluid: one decorates one's office with pictures of loved ones, memorabilia from vacations, or diplomas from schools, transporting other spaces into the social space of one's office

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[188] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 64-65. At the same time, his discussion centers on Thirdspace as a temporary balance to other readings that privilege Firstspace or Secondspace. He critiques previous thinkers for focusing singularly on material space or imagined space, or collapsing one space into the other.

[189] Socially produced space plays the same role as place. In other words, place is social space. See Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Cresswell, *Place*, 10.

and changing that particular space. All of this is spatial practice. The social actions within and conceptual understandings of material space transform space into Thirdspace, which has the potential to transform identities and social relationships.

Soja himself notes that Thirdspace is a "tentative and flexible term" used to articulate "a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings."[190] As Paula McNutt succinctly writes: "Lived space [i.e. Thirdspace] embodies the real and imagined lifeworld of *experiences*, *emotions*, *events*, and *political choices*."[191] In this project, place is understood to emerge from Thirdspace. Place—or Thirdspace—is created through discourse, practice, and the symbolic imaginings that are associated with particular social spaces.

Soja draws upon the work of many theorists in order to explain his conception of Thirdspace. To think "Thirdspatially," he recommends open and flexible interpretive strategies and urges the practitioner to creatively combine different perspectives.[192] His attention to Thirdspace is an invitation to

> . . . enter a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where the geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass a multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by the epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable.[193]

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[190] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 2.

[191] Italics hers. Paula M. McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever': Social Marginality and the Construction of Space," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan* (ed. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt; JSOTSup 359; London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 35.

[192] For example, bell hooks, Michel Foucault, Edward Said, Barbara Hooper, and Homi Bhaba. See Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5.

[193] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 5.

In this study, I examine how the *Yahad*, in 1QS, interprets its social position and relationships through imagined temple space and wilderness narrative spaces of the Hebrew Bible (Secondspaces). In the following chapters, I examine how temple and wilderness narrative spaces are conceptual spaces through discourse and social spaces through practice—and how these Secondspaces combine and extend into Thirdspace. However, Thirdspace requires further interpretation when reading ancient texts. Soja's encouragement to keep an open, flexible, and multiple interpretative perspective allows me to put literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in conversation with the geographer himself. To be sure, neither Bakhtin nor Bourdieu explicitly write about place or space.[194] Bakhtin is concerned with the world of texts, and Bourdieu is, among many other things, concerned with the world of practice. Yet, as will be detailed in the following sections, for this project, each thinker contributes to my understanding of the *Yahad*'s production of Thirdspace—or the way members of the *Yahad* use space, including the discourses on space and practices within it. In this way, Bakhtin helps me to flesh out the discourses of temple and wilderness. Bourdieu helps me explicate how members of the *Yahad* produce Thirdspace through daily practices. Together, Soja, Bakhtin, and Bourdieu help me to analyze how the *Yahad* understands their new place in the Judean wilderness.

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[194] Bourdieu makes a few comments on space, but is not considered a spatial theorist.

Reading Spatial Discourse via Bakhtin and Heteroglossia

When reading space in ancient texts, I begin with attention to spatial discourse. Jay Lemke rightly observes that discourse ". . . is a protean notion [that] can mean what we wish it to mean; it can be fit into many theories, many texts, many politics."[195] Discourse can be understood as the general phenomenon of communication within a symbolic system such as language, or as a specific way of speaking about a topic—for example, medical discourse or political discourse. For this project, I understand discourse as a concept that can help illuminate the relations between meaning and power in the social world. It is the social activity of meaning making with language.[196] In other words, discourse is social action that creates, maintains, and/or dismantles power. It is certainly not novel to say that language plays a critical role in the creation of power, particularly in the power to do things such as buy or sell, reward or punish, or good or harm to others. The language we speak can command obedience, enlist aid, or create an enemy. The language spoken to us shapes our beliefs and attitudes. However, to speak of discourse in this context emphasizes the role language plays in social relationships – how both individual and group meanings shape and are shaped by social relationships.[197]

An example of this role of discourse in social relationships in 1QS is the language of holiness, which allows members to perceive themselves as participating in the power of the deity. The members of the *Yahad* are described as holy at several points in 1QS:

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[195] J.L. Lemke, *Textual Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics* (Taylor & Francis, 1995), 6.

[196] See Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 6.

[197] See Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 6.

"men of holiness"; "holy council"; "assembly of holiness"; "most holy dwelling"; "holy ones"; "men of perfect holiness"; "council of holiness"; "community of holiness"; and "holy community."[198] The term "holy" connotes being set apart, but it is also a way for the *Yahad* to legitimize itself and appropriate power. By self-identifying as a holy community, members act as if they participate in the holiness of the deity, gain access to divine revelation, and set themselves apart from the Jerusalem Temple.

Analyzing the discourse of temple is one way to "read space" in 1QS. I am strongly influenced by the work of Bakhtin when reading discourse in ancient texts. Bakhtin argues that all texts are in a dialogical relationship with one another. This means texts are constantly read and heard in relation to other texts on similar themes, what Bakhtin calls "heteroglossia" (and I call "discourse" in chapter three). As such, texts connect social groups, and the relationships among groups can be changed and negotiated via heteroglossia.[199] Part of the spatial practice of a group is the discourse (or heteroglossia) of their particular space. Discourse is part of the Secondspatial aspects of 1QS. It is conceptual, imagined space. Bakhtin helps me to analyze Secondspace discourses by highlighting the intertextualities between 1QS and other texts in the Second Temple Period. Taking a closer look at the differences between these discourses highlights how members of the *Yahad* produced a unique Thirdspace through spatial

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[198] "Men of holiness" 1QS 5.13; 7.23; 9.8; "holy council" 1QS 2.24; "assembly of holiness" 1QS 5.30; "most holy dwelling" 1QS 8.8; "holy ones" 1QS 11.8; "men of perfect holiness" 1QS 8.20; "council of holiness" 1QS 8.20; "community of holiness" 1QS 8.2; "holy community" 1QS 9.6.

[199] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 279-294.

discourse; it highlights how the *Yahad*'s practices and location are understood through temple and wilderness spaces.

From the earliest studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a popular and useful way to interpret the manuscripts is by examining references or analogies to the Hebrew Bible, or intertextualities between a Scrolls text and the Hebrew Bible. To be sure, in ancient times as much as in today's world, texts are constantly read or heard (or written or spoken) in the context of another text or against the background of other texts. Lemke rightly notes:

> Each community and every subcommunity within it has its own *system of intertextuality*: its own set of important or valued texts, its own preferred discourses, and particularly its own habits of deciding which texts should be read in the context of others, and why, and how.[200]

In this way, language and texts have social functions and can be understood as a way to shape meaning for those who read, listen to, speak, or write them.

I understand intertextuality and discourse through the work of Mikhail Bakhtin. For Bakhtin, intertextuality is the bridge between the "utterance," or a moment in discourse that he considers to be a social event, and heteroglossia, or the variety of social languages present in a text. The utterance provides an understanding of meaning in language that later came to be understood as intertextuality.[201] The utterance is not an act intentionally determined by a person, but is orientated around previous utterances on the same theme and is part of a social dialogue which can be contradictory—whether the

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[200] Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 10.

[201] See J. Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

participants are aware of this dialogue or not.[202] As such, the utterance highlights the

relationship between sayings and viewpoints, rather than relationships between linguistic

forms or individual speakers. The essential take-away from Bakhtin's utterance is that

every word, phrase, or act is set against the background of other words, phrases, or acts of

a similar theme. In this way, the utterance is always *dialogical*.[203]

In order to interpret what an utterance means as a social act, we need to be aware

of the larger social system of utterances from a variety of times and locations with

different opinions and values—or what Bakhtin calls heteroglossia. Bakhtin writes:

> All the languages of heteroglossia . . . are specific points of view on the world,
> forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific worldviews, each
> characterized by its own objects, meanings, and values. As such they may all be
> juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another, contradict one
> another, and be interrelated dialogically.[204]

Heteroglossia is one of the critical insights Bakhtin contributes to the understanding of

meaning-making: the various social voices of different social groups are ultimately

related to one another. The relationships between social groups—whether it be in alliance

or in opposition or other—are created, negotiated, and changed through heteroglossia or

discourse. Lemke acknowledges that we form discourse:

> from some social point of view, with some cultural system of beliefs and
> assumptions, and some system of values, interests and biases. We do this *not* as
> individuals alone, but as members of communities, and however we do it,
> whatever discourse formations we deploy to make sense of the world, *our*
> formations always have systematic sociological relations to *their* formations. We
> speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have

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[202] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 94-95; see also 281.

[203] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 292.

[204] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 291-2.

individual voices, we fashion these out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own.[205]

In this way, by reinterpreting temple space and applying that imagined space to the *Yahad*'s location and practice, the authors and redactors of 1QS contest the legitimacy and authority of the Jerusalem Temple and bolster their own authenticity. They create a Thirdspace to address the various problems of religious life without a physical temple, such as effective atonement and priestly authority.

For this project, Bakhtin provides a starting point to analyze texts with regard to how to read temple space in 1QS. Analyzing how 1QS temple discourse differs from other cultural temple discourses highlights how temple space is not only negotiated and reinterpreted in direct relation to the Jerusalem Temple, but also how it provides new meaning for a community without a temple. Applying Bakhtin's principles of language is a way of reading 1QS with sensitivity to how temple language and meaning are not created in isolation. It also allows us to see how the authors and redactors of 1QS use temple space differently and, in turn, create Thirdspace.

Indeed, when reading a text such as 1QS, Bakhtin's understanding of intertextuality and his notion of heteroglossia highlights the multiple textual voices in dialogue and the manner in which the *Yahad* distinguishes itself among them. Yet this approach has its limits and cannot answer important questions raised by 1QS—such as how is atonement achieved or how is temple fluid for the *Yahad*? Bakhtin is important because he emphasizes language as a social event. His concept of heteroglossia is

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[205] There is no doubt that this insight into the construction of discourse applies to both ancient texts and modern ones—including the present study. Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 24.

particularly useful with texts such as 1QS, which frequently slips in and out of biblical language and other cultural ideas of temple.

Keeping Bakhtin's notions of language in mind, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus compliments Bakhtin's heteroglossia.[206] As with heteroglossia, habitus recognizes that we cannot divorce language from its integration with other cultural, material, and physical resources for meaning making, including bodily practice. Bourdieu emphasizes that we always evaluate these discourses from our own social viewpoints, and we read, hear, and produce a language against our own evaluations.[207] In this way, he connects Bakhtin's heteroglossia—various social voices in dialogue—to the social position of those who author a text. In turn, we cannot make meaning outside of the discourses of our communities, neither as speakers, writers, readers, nor listeners; how meaning is produced is characteristic of the community, binding it together.[208] In the case of the *Yahad*, the community produces new temple meaning through discourse (heteroglossia) and social practice. In this vein, instead of understanding meaning-making as formed in one's mind, Bourdieu understands meaning-making as a social practice done in a community. We need both to understand temple space in 1QS.

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[206] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of a Practice* (trans. Richard Nice; Cambridge, England: University of Cambridge, 1977); see also Lemke, *Textual Politics*. Ultimately, I believe a spatial approach is best in the case of 1QS, but Bourdieu's concept of habitus provides a bridge between Bakhtin's utterance and Soja's Thirdspace.

[207] This works both ways—today as a student of the Dead Sea Scrolls and members of the *Yahad* in ancient times.

[208] Lemke notes: "In this sense we can speak of a community, not a collection of interacting individuals, but as a system of interdependent social practices: a system of doings, rather than a system of doers." Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 9.

Embodied Place as Spatial Practice via Pierre Bourdieu and Habitus

For this project, part of analyzing space in 1QS is analyzing the practice of the *Yahad*, at least as recounted by 1QS. Geographer Nigel Thrift rightly observes that "the relationship between the human body [including practice] and highly meaningful places is often more complex than even methods can reveal."[209] Being in place involves mental and physical performances that are constantly shifting, evolving, and changing as people encounter space.[210]

The body and practice—including ritual practices—are essential to creating and maintaining Thirdspace. The *Yahad* engaged in a highly ritualized life. 1QS describes the rituals to enter the *Yahad*, routines of reading and study, and the liturgical practice of community members. Discussing ritual at Qumran, Robert Kugler states:

> From the way they measured their time to the way they consumed their meals, from their rising in the morning to their laying down at night, from the way they prayed to the way they saw to the purity of their bodies, from their entry into the community to their departure from it, the people of Qumran patterned their actions in 'more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances' [in ritual actions] aimed at bringing them closer to God.[211]

However, these practices not only functioned to bring the *Yahad* closer to God, as Kugler states, but also organized relationships through particular understandings and reinterpretations of space. The high level of ritual activity reflected in 1QS puts the body

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[209] L. Hubbard and P. Holloway, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2001); Nigel Thrift, "Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Geography," in *Key Concepts in Geography* (ed. S. Rice, S.L Holloway, G. Valentine; London: Sage, 2003), 95-108.

[210] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 36.

[211] Robert A. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002): 131-152.

and practice at the forefront, which were imperative to the *Yahad*'s idea of changing and

creating place.

> Central to my understanding of practice is the work of Bourdieu, who writes:

> Understanding ritual practice is not a question of decoding the internal logic of a symbolism but of restoring practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis, that is, to the conditions in which it functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined.[212]

In other words, context—religious, political, and cultural—is essential to understanding

the *Yahad*'s practice. Bourdieu summarizes ritual practice as "strategic practices for

transgressing and reshuffling cultural categories in order to meet the needs of real

situations."[213] In other words, ritual practice does things – it is a means to create and

maintain certain environments or situations rather than a spontaneous reaction to a

situation. Indeed, humans use ritual to meet their own goals. Ritual practice can bring

about change, transforming not only participants but sometimes, in the context of sacred

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[212] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of a Practice*, 114; it does not follow that ritual always expresses symbolic content. At one time in the history of ritual studies, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, anthropological approaches to ritual claimed that the symbol was key to understanding ritual. Popular in the functionalist school of thought, rituals were understood primarily as a form of communication and the messages that rituals communicated were (sometimes unconsciously) mediated by symbols. In effect, according to this approach, if we can crack the encrypted symbolic system, then we arrive at the meaning of a ritual. For example, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1985); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Harper Colophon, 1973).

[213] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of a Practice*, 133; See also Gerald A. Klingbeil, *Bridging the Gap: Ritual and Ritual Texts in the Bible* (ed. Richard S. Hess; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 41.

time and place, the very reality of things.[214] Practice, including ritual practice, is essential

to the creation of Thirdspace. It is through practice that imagined temple space becomes

reality; it is through practice that space is used to understand place.[215]

Central to Bourdieu's theory of ritual is his use of the term *habitus*. Habitus—or

the system of values, dispositions, and social relationships that guides individuals and

groups to act in particular ways within particular sociocultural contexts—is particularly

significant in understanding of how the *Yahad* interprets (or reinterprets) temple and

wilderness narrative spaces.[216] Habitus is both structured and structuring and is made up

of dispositions acquired during the course of our lives. Not everyone has the same

dispositions for we have different experiences, participate in different activities, and take

on different roles. Examples in the modern world include the dispositions of trained

athletes that are specific to their sport or the dispositions that differentiate between

employers and employees.

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[214] For example, sacrifice and purity in ancient times. Ithamar Gruenwald, in a similar vein to Bourdieu's understanding of ritual, emphasizes the transformative nature of ritual action. Ithamar Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[215] An important tenant to my understanding of place or Thirdspace is its fluid and mobile nature. Many geographers describe *place* as a distinctive, bounded type of space. For these theorists, while place is defined and constructed by those who live in it, and expresses his or her identity, it is, nevertheless, fixed. The boundedness of place was challenged in the 70s, by other geographers, such Yi-Fu Taun, who argues that people live in places that are full of meaning, not merely geometrical relationships. See Y. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, Part 11* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota, 1977).

[216] See Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of a Practice*; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (trans. Richard Nice; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1984).

For Bourdieu, habitus is improvisational and open to interpretation, not just routine. There is strategy involved, not of rational calculation, but rather of "a practical sense, of a particular social game" that cannot be engaged simply by following all the rules and regulations.[217] So it is with the *Yahad*'s temple practice in 1QS. Without a physical temple, the *Yahad* improvises its practice in order to retain the power of atonement.[218] When reading 1QS, we must pay attention not only to the discourse of temple space, but also to the temple and priestly habitus revealed in the practices of those who follow the text. Together, discourse and habitus allow for temple space to be fluid and re-produced in the wilderness.[219]

The concept of habitus highlights how the imagined spaces of temple and wilderness narratives are not empty categories for the *Yahad*. The members of the *Yahad*

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[217] Pierre Bourdieu, "From Rules to Strategies: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu," *Cultural Anthropology* 1 (1985): 110-120. Just as one cannot describe the game of basketball perfectly by merely retelling the rules, so it is with social "games." Bourdieu says: "Nothing is freer or more constrained at the same time than the action of a good player. He manages quite naturally to be at the place where the ball will come down as if the ball controlled him. Yet at the same time, he controls the ball." Bourdieu, "From Rules to Strategies: An Interview with Pierre Bourdieu," 113.

[218] This is a point that will be argued in chapter three.

[219] The work of theorists such as Doreen Massey highlight the fluid and mobile nature of place. For Massey, places are open and porous with linkages and interdependencies between them. As such, places intersect social, political, and economic relations, giving rise to multiple spatialities. The social relations with places are a reflection of particular arrangements of power—whether it be individual or institutional, imaginative or material. In this way, places are relational and contingent. They are experienced and understood differently by different people. Rather than fixed territories, places are multiple, contested, fluid and uncertain. See D. Massey, "Space-Time, Science and the Relationship between Physical and Human Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24 (1999): 261-76; D. Massey, "The Political Place of Locality Studies," *Environmental and Planning A* 23 (1991): 267-81.

were inculcated into multiple understandings of these Secondspaces by the nature of being Jews in the Second Temple period. Significantly, these spaces structure the *Yahad*'s concepts of ritual practice and social organization, but the *Yahad* also restructures these spaces to help meet their current needs as a community. Habitus functions as mental dispositions that provide structure and context to the *Yahad*'s practice. Said another way, habitus includes the principles that shape the life of the individual and community in relation to their history, providing ideological structure. As a priestly community, the histories and memories of temple and wilderness space are included in the habitus of the *Yahad* and, in turn, are both internalized and externalized in their ritual practice.

To summarize Bourdieu's contribution to my understanding of Thirdspace: the body is the site of socially instilled habits and these habits "move" places. Bourdieu's theory of practice encompasses the idea that our bodies articulate everyday, practical, and ongoing activities, and these activities contain prior cultural dispositions that influence these actions. At the same time, habitus can be creative and innovative. Place (or Thirdspace) is created through habitus, the habits or actions that confirm the existence of certain locations, recall its memories, and shift those places.

For Bakhtin, language makes meaning. For Bourdieu, meaning making is a physical action. Indeed, language does not work alone; we make meaning with our movements, gestures, and other non-verbal ways. Bourdieu observed that social abstractions like habits, attitudes, dispositions, and preferences, etc., are embodied in

individuals.[220] For this project, Bourdieu helps me understand how the discourses of temple and wilderness narrative spaces relate to the acquisition of habits that characterize the *Yahad*, according to 1QS. His great insight is this: by rejecting the commonly accepted Cartesian split between mind and body, Bourdieu locates in the body functions typically associated with the mind, such as perception, attitudes, habits, preferences, discourse. Thus, culture is physically embodied in individuals and communities and, in turn, social relationships are embodied. Reading 1QS in light of these observations helps me articulate how the *Yahad* creates Thirdspace through new associations. One no longer needs a temple to sacrifice; one no longer needs to be a priest to have such authority. The power of temple and priesthood is transferred and re-created through new associations and habits. Indeed, habitus is the bridge between discourse about space and the creation of Thirdspace.

Contribution of Theoretical Framework

The *Yahad*'s lived practice and interpretation of imagined spaces form new social and divine relationships which, in turn, produce a new social place for the *Yahad*. By thinking with and reflecting upon temple and wilderness narrative Secondspaces, the authors define and redefine their relationship to the deity, to each other, and those outside the larger sect. I argue that the *Yahad* appropriated, at times misused, and, in turn, reinterpreted these spaces to overcome their limits as a community separated from the

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[220] Thus, members of different cultures and communities not only speak differently—using different languages or speech patterns—but they walk differently, carrying themselves in a way unique to their culture, including age group and gender, etc. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 72.

Temple. These spaces blur the boundaries between the sacredness of the Jerusalem Temple and the liminality of the Judean wilderness, creating an alternate place where members can learn to negotiate boundaries, express dissatisfaction or doubt, and create a new world to ameliorate the tension between the *Yahad*'s values and its lived experience. These spaces help to temporarily reduce the Jerusalem Temple authority's power and renegotiate that power with the sectarians in mind.

Past generations of Scrolls scholarship reflect the dominance of traditional historical criticism in the field. While not ignoring historical context, in this project, attention to space helps address how spatial discourse and practice produced a Thirdspace for the *Yahad* that transformed their view of temple and self-understanding as a priestly group separate from the Jerusalem Temple. A spatial approach to reading 1QS guided by Soja's trialectics and fleshed out by Bakhtin and Bourdieu enables me to study the discourse and practice of 1QS and the *Yahad*'s (re)interpretation of temple and wilderness spaces. This study not only addresses the creation of a new place, but also the issues of power, agency, status, and social and divine relationships in their historical and social contexts. Soja emphasizes the importance of space to understanding meaning making and social practices. Bakhtin provides a foundation for reading 1QS as a cultural product, not merely a historical text. Bourdieu's concept of habitus bridges the discourses of temple and wilderness narratives with the creation of Soja's Thirdspace.[221]

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[221] While the above sections review the theorists that have been most influential to my work, my theoretical influences do not end here. Edward Casey, Michel de Certeau, and Tim Cresswell all influence me in different ways and will be referenced in this study to varying degrees. I am also influenced by interpreters of theorists in the fields of religious, biblical, and Scrolls studies, particularly Jon Berquist, Mark George, Jacob Kinnard, Victor Matthews, Alison Schofield, and J.Z. Smith. Jon L. Berquist, "Spaces of

This analysis of spatial practice moves us beyond archeological digs and literary interpretation enabling an open, creative reflection on the religious world of the *Yahad*. It restructures these ways of understanding in order to create a new category for interpretation. It is a 'thirding' that Soja claims "disrupts, disorders, and begins to reconstitute the conventional binary opposition [of modern and postmodern interpretations] into 'an-Other' that encompasses, but is more than just a sum of, the two parts."[222] Spatial theory, via Soja, does not ignore history or social concerns; rather, it combines and extends these understandings with spatial practice.

Jerusalem," in *Constructions of Space II, The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces* (New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 40-52; George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*; Jacob N. Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Matthews, "Remembered Space in Biblical Narrative," 61-75; Schofield, "The Embodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 155-174.

[222] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 9, 31.

Chapter Three: Temple Discourse and Spatial Practice

Temples of the ancient Near East epitomized sacred space. They were the house of the deity or deities, places of abundance and prosperity, locations of divine revelation. They were places of ritual and sacrifice, holy ground. These temples were of eternal consequence.[223] The Jerusalem Temple, even in the Hellenistic period, stood squarely in this tradition. John Lundquist identifies a series of typologies that help us understand the form and function of ancient Near Eastern temples, including the Jerusalem Temple in all of its forms. These typologies include, but are not limited to, several temple identifications in 1QS and other Dead Sea Scrolls: the emphasis on spatial orientation and ritual calendar;[224] the revelation of the divine temple prototype by the deity;[225] the

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[223] See, for example, Mark S Smith, "Like Deities, like Temples (like People)," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. John Day; New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 3-27; Carla Sulzbach, "Of Temples on Earth, in Heaven, and In-between," in *Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity* (eds. Ian H. Henderson et al.; Studien zu den jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2006), 166-185; Carol L. Meyers, "The Elusive Temple," *BA* 45 (1982): 33-41; Margaret Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK, 2008); Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Solomon's Temple: The Politics of Ritual Space," in *Sacred Time, Sacred Place: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (ed. Barry M. Gittlen; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 83-94.

[224] There are fragments of approximately twenty calendar texts (4Q320-330; 4Q335-337; 6Q17), a partial calendar found in 4Q394, and numerous references to calendars found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. These texts make clear that the *Yahad* followed a solar calendar and that proper times were essential to its ritual life.

welfare of the community as dependent upon proper rituals;[226] sacred meals;[227] revelation

in the holy of holies;[228] formal covenant ceremonies;[229] and secrecy.[230] When the authors

and redactors of 1QS use architectural and other imagery to describe the community as a

virtual temple, such as "house of holiness," they are participating in this common temple

discourse that stretches across centuries and cultures. As Bakhtin writes, "each word

tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words

and forms are populated by intentions."[231] In the case of temple, the original audience

heard multivalent layers of meaning, layers of which we modern readers are not aware.

In this chapter, I nuance the common understanding of the community as a

temple. Many scholars point to the terms "house" and "house of holiness" when arguing

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[225] See 1QS 8.12b-14, which bridges identifications of *Yahad* as a temple with the command to separate themselves in the wilderness.

[226] Those who disregard the regulations of the community are banished. See 1QS 8.21-22.

[227] 1QS 6.2b-6b.

[228] 1QS 2.1-18; 1QS 8.5-7.

[229] 1QS 2.19-3.12.

[230] See especially the Treatise of Two Spirits, 1QS 3.13-4.25, though mysteries (רז) רנא council (סוד)—found throughout 1QS and other Scrolls—convey the idea of heavenly knowledge known through divine revelation. J.M. Lundquist, *The Temple of Jerusalem: Past, Present, and Future* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2008), xii. Of course, not all of Lundquist's typologies are found in 1QS. For example, there is no mention of mountains or high places, and the relationship between the graveyard and Qumran is murky. Conversely, there are temple aspects to the ritual life described in 1QS that are not included in Lundquist's typologies, such as references to the wilderness sanctuary and a temple's foundation stone.

[231] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 293.

the community of 1QS identified as a temple. Instead of seeking exact parallels between the community and the Jerusalem Temple, I argue that temple space is a resource to be deployed. Rather than a replacement or duplicate temple, the community draws upon the power of temple space to articulate new understandings priestly authority and sacrifice.

The "Community as Temple" Discourse in Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship

Scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls commonly identify the community of 1QS as a temple.[232] There is no doubt that certain sections of 1QS clearly describe members of the community with temple language.[233] Scholars often cite the following three passages of 1QS when describing the community in terms of temple language: 1QS 5.5-6, 8.4-10, and 9.3-6.[234] These passages describe the *Yahad* as a temple through architectural and

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[232] Not everyone agrees that the community was a temple of sorts. See: André Caquot, "La secte de Qoumrân et le temple (Essai de synthèse)," *RHPR* 7 (1992): 3-14; Philip R. Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *JJS* 33 (1982): 287-301; Asher Finkel, "The Theme of God's Presence and the Qumran Temple Scroll," in *God and His Temple: Reflections on Professor Samuel Terrien's The Elusive Presence: Toward a New Biblical Theology* (ed. Lawrence E. Frizzell; South Orange, NJ: Seton Hall University Press, 1980); William W. Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran" (Ph.D. diss., University of Aberdeen, 1985).

[233] See Appendix A for commonly cited passages and their full translation. See also 4QFlor 1.6.

[234] See Appendix A for full translations. See also 1QS 4.6; 4Q258 1.i.4, 2.ii.6-7; 4Q509 frg 97, 98 i.7-8; 4Q511 35.3. Another significant passage is 1QS 11.7b-9a, which Charlesworth translates as:

> (7b) To those whom God chose, he placed them as an eternal possession and caused them to inherit in the lot of the (8) holy ones. And he united their assembly with the sons of heaven to (be) the council of the community and the foundation of the building of holiness for an eternal planting through all (9a) the ages that will be . . .

Holy ones are understood as angels in Job 5:1, 15:15; Ps 89:6,8; Zech 14:5; Sir 42:17; *T. Levi* 3.3; *Pss. of Sol.* 17:49. However, in other texts, such as Dan 7, the term seems to

sacrificial imagery.[235] The most common terms are house and foundation, though wall, cornerstone, and the more general term dwelling are also used. In column 5, the members of the *Yahad lay a foundation of truth* (ליסד מוסד אמת) and atone (לכפר) for those who "freely volunteer for holiness in Aaron and for a *house* of truth in Israel" (המתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית האמת בישראל).[236] In column 8, the council of the *Yahad* (עצת היחד{{ה}}) is identified as an *eternal planting* (למטעת עולם) and a "*house of holiness* for Israel" (בית קודש לישראל). They are the "*foundation* (סוד) of the *holy of holies* (קודש קודשים) for Aaron,"[237] the "tested *wall*, the precious *cornerstone*" (חומת הבחן פנת יקר), [238] the "*most holy dwelling* for Aaron (מעון קודש קודשים) . . . offering up a sweet odor" (ולקריב ריח ניחוח).[239] They will be "accepted to atone for the land" (והיו לרצון לכפר בעד הארץ) and will be a "*house* (בית) of perfection and truth in Israel."[240] They are described as having "*foundations* [that] shall neither be shaken nor be dislodged from their place" (יסודותיהו;

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refer to God's faithful people. James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English translations; v. 1, Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (4 vols. Louisville, Ky.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1994).

[235] Architectural imagery is also found in 4QFlor 1.6 (4Q174 f1 2i.6) in which the author refers to the community as a "sanctuary of men" (מקדש אדם). Temple language as tabernacle space is in the introduction and description of the covenant renewal ceremony found in 1QS 1-6 as well.

[236] 1QS 5.5-6; 5.6; cf. 6.16.

[237] 1QS 8.5-6.

[238] 1QS 8.7.

[239] 1QS 8.8-9.

[240] 1QS 8.9; 8.10 reads "to uphold the covenant of eternal statutes."

from יסד).[241] It is unclear in 1QS whether "the council" refers to a special sub-group or the entire group.[242]

Column 9 identifies the community as: "*holy house* for Aaron," (בית קודש לאהרון) and "*house* of the *Yahad* for Israel" (ובית יחד לישראל).[243] Again, the members of the *Yahad* are said to "atone" (לכפר), this time for guilt and sin, with "the offering of the lips for judgment" (ותרומת שפתים למשפט) as a "soothing odor of justice" (כניחוח צדק), and the "perfection of way" (ותמים דרך) is like an "acceptable freewill offering" (כנדבת מנחת רצון). Some of these identifications, especially "holy house," "the foundation of the holy of holies," and "the precious cornerstone" are used to describe the Jerusalem Temple in 4Q164, a *pesher* on Isaiah.

While the overwhelming majority of scholars agree that members of the *Yahad* self-identified as a temple, scholars describe this phenomenon in different ways. Descriptions focus on what *type* of temple and include: a spiritual temple, a virtual temple, a replacement temple, a temporary temple, and an eschatological temple.[244]

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[241] 1QS 8.8.

[242] See also 1QS 6.8-10 where the council is considered "all the people;" cf. 6.14-15.

[243] 1QS 9.6.

[244] See also Florentino García Martínez, "Priestly Functions in a Community Without Temple," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel = Community Without Temple: zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr, 1999), 303-319; Menahem Haran, "Priesthood, Temple, Divine Service: Some Observations on Institutions and Practices of Worship," *HAR* 7 (1983): 121-135; Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple"; Neusner, "Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism"; James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans

One of the earliest and most influential proponents of the "community as temple"

position, Bertil Gärtner, argues that the "writings of Qumran," in particular 1QS, reveal

that the community understood itself as a spiritual temple that replaced the Jerusalem

Temple.[245] The label "spiritual" is, at minimum, problematic. Describing the community

as a spiritual temple implies an evolutionary scheme that ignores how the Temple

continues to be a powerful source of meaning and identity for ancient (and modern)

communities.[246] More recently, scholars have abandoned the supercessionist term, but

many continue to argue that members of the *Yahad* replaced the Jerusalem Temple.

Jody Magness aptly summarizes most common descriptions:

> [The sectarians at Qumran] viewed their community as a substitute temple and
> believed that they would soon reinstitute the cult in the Jerusalem temple
> according to their interpretation of halakhah. The sect therefore applied the temple
> purity laws to the lives of its members. In other words, the sectarians conducted
> their lives as if the community were a virtual temple.[247]

Publishing Company, 1994); Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*; H. Shanks, *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reader from the Biblical Archaeology Review* (New York: Random House, 1992); Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Brill, 1998).

[245] Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, 16-46; see also, Michael A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community," 2:793-797. Gärtner continues to argue that the spiritual temple of 1QS is a precursor to New Testament writings.

[246] The general critique of spiritualizing the Jerusalem Temple and specific critique of Gärtner's use of "spiritual temple" to describe members of the *Yahad* is well documented in Jonathan Klawan's work. See Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 162-68. For an additional critique of using "spiritual" to describe the temple, see Jon Douglas Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (eds. Adela Yarbro Collins and John J. Collins; Minneapolis, Minn.: Winston Press, 1985), 182.

[247] Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 38.

Magness uses the phrases "substitute temple" and "virtual temple." These are popular descriptions found in the works of Lawrence Schiffman and Hannah Harrington as well.[248] Ancient witnesses, however, complicate the view that the members of the *Yahad* saw themselves as a substitute or replacement temple. According to the ancient witnesses, the Essenes continued to participate in the temple cult, albeit in a modified manner.[249] Why would the Essenes, who were most likely connected to the *Yahad*, visit the Jerusalem Temple if they were a replacement for the Temple? In addition, other manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls—notably the *Temple Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem* texts—describe future temples in which sacrifices will be held.[250] If the *Yahad* viewed themselves as a substitute temple, then it appears they did not view themselves as a permanent one.

Recently scholars have modified the "community as temple" description by claiming it was a *temporary* replacement. In addition, the conversation has turned to social divisions of the community based on temple structure. For example, Johann Maier argues that the community understood itself as a temporary replacement for the Jerusalem

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[248] Studies that claim the *Yahad* was a substitute temple include, but are not limited to: Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll," 480-496; Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 112; Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 37-38. Note Klawans argues the *Yahad* did not believe they were an adequate substitute for the Jerusalem Temple. See Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 162-68. See also Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," 165-189.

[249] See pgs. 27-31.

[250] See, for example, the *Temple Scroll* (11QT 29.10) and the *New Jerusalem* texts (especially 11Q18, frag. 13, 4).

Temple and that different components of the community served as different parts of such a temple. He writes: "The *yahad* community considered its inner circle as a temporary functional compensation for the invalid atonement at the desecrated temple of Jerusalem. Its lay members are said to form symbolically the *heikhal* ("house") and its priests the Holy of Holies."[251] James VanderKam and Peter Flint divide the *Yahad* in a similar way and add the description of "eschatological temple": "Before [the expected eschatological renewal of the Jerusalem Temple], Qumranites tended to describe their community as an eschatological temple, with *Israel* (the laymen) as the holy place and *Aaron* (the priests) as the Holy of Holies . . ."[252] Indeed, there does appear to be different levels of holiness within the community, if 1QS 8.8-9 is any indication. This passage describes a separate group of twelve men and three priests as a "holy of holies for Aaron."[253] Yet this group is

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[251] Italics his. He cites: 1QS 4; 5.6; 8.11; cf. 4Q258 1.i.4, 4Q258 2.ii.6-7; 4Q509 frg. 97; 98 i.7-8; 4Q511 35.3. Johann Maier, "Temple," 2:921-927.

[252] Italics theirs. VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 376. See also Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*; Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*.

[253] Some scholars, such as John J. Collins, highlight a particular group, found in 1QS 8.1-4a, of twelve men and three priests. Collins argues this group is considered more holy than other members in the community. While Collins does not claim this group is considered the "holy of holies," he argues that this elite group is set apart within the broader *Yahad*. See Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 72. The group of "twelve men and three priests" has been understood in different ways over the years. Early Scrolls scholars argued this group was an inner council. See Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, 100. Sutcliffe described them as the first fifteen members of the Qumran Community. See S. J. E. F. Sutcliffe, "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community," *JSS* 4 (1959): 134-138. Murphy-O'Connor calls 8.15-9.11 an "Essene manifesto," an influential conclusion still today. See Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," 528-49; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1987), 129. See Metso, who argues this group is "more naturally understood as a reference to the period of two years of probation that is required of all new community members." Cf. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*,

composed of both priests and people complicating the neat division between priests and people found in the above works.

Still, Maier's and VanderKam and Flint's divisions of the community advance scholarship because they point to the possible social function of temple discourse in 1QS—a way to provide structure and hierarchy among members. However, they assume the divisions of "house" and "holy of holies" are gradations of holiness analogous to two of the temple courts.[254] As Jonathan Klawans rightly notes: "This bifurcation . . . does not match the description of any known sanctuary, whether from the priestly traditions, Ezekiel, Josephus, the *Temple Scroll*, or rabbinic literature."[255] These traditions describe three zones of holiness, perhaps more, thereby creating an inexact analogy. In addition, there is a group of both priests *and* people (1QS 8) who are described as more holy than the rest of the community.

On the one hand, these scholars are correct. The temple discourse found in 1QS clearly points to identification with the temple cult on some level.[256] In addition, it is

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133. Collins rightly argues this view places 1QS 8 out of context. See Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 72.

[254] See also Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks*, 162.

[255] Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 165.

[256] This review of the scholarly discourse is not intended to be exhaustive. Rather it covers the most popular and cited variations of the community as temple. George Brooke, who argues there are ten types of temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls, including 1QS. See Brooke, "The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 417-434; Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," 165-189; F. García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs, and Practices* (trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1993); Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (New York: Cambridge University, 1985); Elisha Qimron, "Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds

important to note that some members of the *Yahad* may have been considered "more holy" than others and served a different function.[257] However, by dividing the community into different temple regions, scholars attempt to fit a new creation into an old model. Moreover, identification with a temple does not equal replacement of the Jerusalem Temple, temporary or not.

While there is much to commend the idea that the community is a substitute temple, the most common terms used for temple and sanctuary in the Hebrew Bible—היכל and מקדש, respectively—are not applied to members of the *Yahad*. This should give us pause regarding to what respect members of the *Yahad* self-identified as a replacement temple. In light of this textual discrepancy, some scholars argue the community should not be understood as a temple.

Critique of Understanding the Community as a Temple

Though a minority, some scholars do not believe that members of the 1QS community self-identified as a temple.[258] The most cited critique of the "community as temple" understanding is that the language in 1QS is ambivalent. For example, the actual

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of Sectarians," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress (2 vols.): Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991 Vol. I* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 289-94.

[257] Chapter four addresses the hierarchy of the community.

[258] See Caquot, "La secte de Qoumrân et le temple (Essai de synthèse)," 3-14; Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," 287-301; Finkel, "The Theme of God's Presence and the Qumran Temple Scroll," 39-47; Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran." Grasham gives the most thorough critique.

Hebrew word for temple— היכל —is not found in 1QS, 4QFlorilegium, or any other

sectarian text to describe members of the Yahad.[259] Instead, the argument that the

community self-identified as a temple is often based on usage of the Hebrew word for

house (בית or בת).

Temples were often conceived as houses in the ancient Near East, indicating that

they were primarily understood as dwelling places for the deity or deities. In

Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, a common word for temple was derived from the

Sumerian é.gal, or "big house."[260] In Akkadian we read ekallu and in Hebrew it is היכל. In

a similar vein, a frequently used word for temple in Egyptian literature is hut-netcher or

"house of god."[261] Solomon's temple was often described as the "temple of Yhwh" (יהוה

היכל) or the "house of Yhwh" (בית יהוה).[262] These are the most common terms for temple

in the Hebrew.

While בית is often used to signify the Jerusalem Temple in the Hebrew Bible, it

can also refer to family[263] or dynasty.[264] The phrase "house of Israel" is a reference to the

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[259] George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (eds. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies; JSOTSup 29; Sheffield, England: JSOT, 1985). Note that Brooke agrees that temple language is used to describe the community. See Brooke, "The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 417-434.

[260] W.J. Hamblin and D.R. Seely, *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, Limited, 2007), 9.

[261] Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 9.

[262] There are several examples of this use. For "house of the LORD," see 2 Chron 28, esp. v. 18, 20, 25, 31; for "house of God," see Neh 11:16; 12:40; 13:7.

[263] See Gen 12:1 or Josh 24:15.

[264] See 2 Sam 7:11, 25:28.

people of Israel in Exodus and Leviticus.[265] Another use of בית as reference to people is in Ps 135:19-20, in which the "house of Aaron" and the "house of Levi" refer to the families and descendants of Aaron and Levi. A final example is Num 12:7. In this verse, God speaks to Moses, entrusting him with "all my house," a reference to the people.[266] In Hebrew, house can refer to a building, the temple of God, or a family or dynasty. In the ancient world, deities are understood to have families for which they have responsibility. These meanings are not always mutually exclusive.

In 1QS, the *Yahad* is typically called either a "house of truth"; "house of holiness consisting of Israel"; "house of the community"; "house of perfection and truth"; "house of Aaron" or a "house of holiness for Aaron."[267] What is of significance is that the community is not described as a "house of Yhwh" or a "house of Elohim." Instead, the language in 1QS is of a "house of Aaron" or a house of a people group.

William Grasham has written the most extensive argument that בית should be understood as a people, not a (metaphorical) temple building. He argues that in 1QS, "house of truth" parallels the "community of truth" and "people of truth."[268] In addition, he argues that the "house of holiness" in 1QS 8.5 parallels "house of perfection and truth"

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[265] Exod 16:31, 40:38; Lev 3.

[266] Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran," 30.

[267] See 1QS 5.6; 8.5, 9; 9.6; in the Hebrew Bible, "house of holiness" is used to describe the Jerusalem Temple.

[268] 1QS 5.6, 8.9; 2.24; "people of truth" is reference to 1QH 14.2; 1QpHab 7.10.

in 8.9 and "people of perfect holiness" in 8.20.[269] He continues his critique with the

phrase "holy of holies" (קודש קודשים), which is found in 1QS 8.5 and 8.8. Early interpreters

of S understood this phrase to refer to the community as either *a* holy of holies or *the*

holy of holies, and, in turn, viewed the community as understanding themselves as the

true holy of holies.[270] Grasham critiques these interpretations, noting that, in the Hebrew

Bible, virtually every mention of the holy of holies of the Jerusalem Temple is preceded

by the definite article. Indeed, this is how the holy of holies is written in the *Temple*

Scroll (11QT).[271] Grasham argues that the קודש קודשים should be understood as

emphasizing the holiness of the community, rather than identifying the community as a

holy temple.[272]

Grasham raises important points regarding our translation and interpretation of

temple discourse in 1QS, including the need to pay close attention to how these words

and phrases are used in the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, the authors and redactors of 1QS did

not use the period's most explicit term for temple— היכל —and the term most commonly

used, house (בית), does not exclusively signify a temple. However, despite the absence of

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[269] Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran," 30. Note that neither the Hebrew Bible nor the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls use the phrase "house of truth" as a synonym for the Jerusalem Temple. Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran," 29-30, 27.

[270] See A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1966), 204; T.H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures: In English Translation with Introduction and Notes by Theodor H. Gaster* (New York: Anchor Books, 1964).

[271] 11QT 35.1.

[272] Grasham, "The Priestly Synagogue: A Re-Examination of the Cult at Qumran," 32-7.

the term היכל and the phrase "house of holiness" with the definite article, I argue that the community still participated in temple discourse.

Grasham examines the language of 1QS in relation to how language is used in the Hebrew Bible. If there are differences between 1QS and the Hebrew Bible, for example, "a holy of holies" versus "the holy of holies," Grasham goes too far in concluding that there is no relationship between the texts and, thus, the community should not be understood as a temple. Grasham overlooks how language, when used among different groups, changes and reflects the interests of those groups.

The critique of Jonathan Klawans further highlights the discrepancies between the Jerusalem Temple and the descriptions of temple in 1QS and, in turn, how scholars have over emphasized the community as a functioning temple. Like Grasham, Klawans observes the ambiguity in temple language with the choice of house over temple or sanctuary (מקדש). He writes: "Scholarship . . . has been too taken with the literalization of the 'house' slogan to recognize the intended inexactitude of the homology being drawn."[273] For example, Lawrence Schiffman argues that the community must be understood as a temple because of the gradual admission of initiates and the expulsion of "sinners" for periods of time.[274] Yet Klawans rightly observes that no known temple required years of purification before a person could enter.

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[273] Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 166.

[274] Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," 274.

Klawans claims that scholars have not exercised enough restraint in their comparison of the community to a temple.[275] He provides an excellent critique of current scholarship, arguing that the 1QS community intended for the temple analogy to be inexact and, therefore, the community did not view itself as a replacement temple. Klawans is right to observe the *intended* inexactitude. Indeed, language and meaning-making is orientational—authors, speakers, etc., orientate meaning to their audiences within a system of viewpoints that demonstrate one's preference or stance on the subject.[276] The choice of words used by the author tells us about the author's understanding of temple and social space and should be reviewed when discussing the "community as temple" discourse. These viewpoints are based on one's social position and social interests, and the particular language used reveals particular characteristics of community.

Klawans argues that by imitating the temple, the community respected the temple and the temple continued to provide meaning. However, Klawans does not provide an alternative way to understand the "community as temple" discourse in 1QS. By engaging, appropriating, and changing temple language, the authors, redactors, and followers of 1QS reinterpreted temple. In turn, the temple discourse in 1QS has social implications—it is not merely a sign of respect. Like those who argue the community should be understood as a temple based on its similarities to the Jerusalem Temple, Klawans, too, attempts to fit a new model into an old container. In his case, since the community's

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[275] Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 168.

[276] Lemke, *Textual Politics*, 11-12.

model of temple does not perfectly fit the Jerusalem Temple, he rejects it. While we should heed Klawans warning against overemphasizing the evidence, neither should we cast it aside.

To summarize so far: Scholarly conversations about the community as a temple focus on the type of temple (e.g., virtual, substitute, replacement, temporary, etc.). This approach overlooks how 1QS converses with other temple texts and how it negotiates and redefines temple in the resulting heteroglossia (or discourse). While it is clear in 1QS that members of the *Yahad* identified with temple language, the common academic discourse of "community as temple" needs to be reconsidered. Scholars interpret the community under the same model as the Jerusalem Temple. The significance of this discourse is not just that temple language is used to describe members of the *Yahad*. Rather, the significance is in how the language is different, and how it is in conversation with other temple texts or descriptions to describe a new situation.

Critiques of the "community as temple" position identify these differences, but ultimately approach the evidence in the same way, e.g., if the community does not act like the Jerusalem Temple, it is not considered a replacement. I argue that reconciling the similarities to and discrepancies with the Jerusalem Temple requires a more nuanced theoretical approach. A spatial approach to the temple discourse in 1QS highlights how the authors and redactors do not intend to replace the Jerusalem Temple; rather, temple space is an active strategy to organize social and divine relationships within the community.

There are several words and phrases from the Hebrew Bible that the authors and redactors of 1QS could have used to describe themselves as a temple, e.g. temple or

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sanctuary. In scholarship, much attention is given to the use of "house" and "holy of holies" in 1QS. Yet the authors and redactors chose the specific terms of "foundation" and "eternal planting," as well. Reading this temple discourse from a spatial approach urges us to examine the social implications of the community's spatial practice. The community is not merely a substitute or virtual temple; temple space is used to address the community's problems without a physical temple in a world with a defiled temple. I argue these imagined, mental spaces (Secondspaces) are resources to be deployed and an active strategy of symbolic power. These specific phrases address concerns for a community without a physical temple and help them regain control in a chaotic world.

Temple Discourse

The terms foundation, house, and eternal planting all have roots in temple discourse of the ancient Near East.[277] The polyvalent—or ambivalent, depending on one's perspective—term "house" has already been addressed.[278] In the following sections I take a closer look at two temple phrases used to describe the community in 1QS: "foundation" and "eternal planting." These terms are included in common descriptions of the Jerusalem Temple and sanctuary at the time of the *Yahad* and the resulting heteroglossia would have influenced the intended meanings of the terms.

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[277] As mentioned above, no physical temple was found at Qumran, and, due to the scarcity of archaeological and other material evidence, what we know about the Jerusalem Temple is primarily from literary evidence. Of course, these temple texts are not neutral. We must be sensitive to the theological, political, and other perspectives of the authors and redactors of these texts.

[278] See pgs. 93-99.

(1) The Defeat of Chaos and Foundation Stones

In 1QS members of the *Yahad* are described as a "foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron," "precious cornerstone," and as having "foundations that neither shake nor are dislodged."[279] Many ancient Near Eastern and rabbinic texts connect the foundation stone to the creation of the world. Indeed, temples are not only microcosms of creation, but the building of temples is a divine act.[280] Hamblin and Seely write:

> In many ancient creation stories, the earth was formed when the deity conquered Chaos—represented by the primeval waters—and established the primordial hillock, the first portion of earth to rise from the waters. A temple was built on the primordial hillock commemorating the gods' pre-eminent role in creation and their power in defeating Chaos, legitimizing the worship of the god enshrined in the temple and the rule of his divinely appointed king.[281]

The primeval waters of creation—or *Nun* in the Egyptian imagination, *abzu* in the Mesopotamian, and תהום in the Israelite—carry the dual symbolism of the chaos of creation and the sustaining waters of life.[282] Gen 1:1-9 depicts Elohim as subduing the

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[279] See 1QS 5.5-6; 8.4-10; 9.3-6.

[280] See, for example, Ps 78:69; *Enuma Elish*. On the temple as microcosm of creation, see Jon Douglas Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (1st ed. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988). Further discussion of the connections between temples and creation is found in: Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible*, 111-137.

[281] Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 10. For examples from the Hebrew Bible, see Ps 93; Ps 29:10. Other texts depicting the deity subduing the seas include: Pss 33.7; 74.13; 89.9; Jer 5.22; As Barker notes, "the stories about King David subduing the subterranean waters before building the temple are a variation on the same theme." Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 66.

[282] John M. Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," in *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives* (ed. Truman G. Madsen; Religious Studies Monograph Series 9; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1984), 53-76.

primordial deep and bringing forth dry land. The myth is echoed in temple traditions,

also. In the first temple, the bronze laver in the courtyard is called יָם, or "the sea,"

recalling the primeval waters.[283]

In the rabbinic period, the courtyard itself corresponds to the sea. Margaret Baker

writes:

> A tradition attributed to Rabbi Pinhas ben Ya'ir, who lived in the second century AD describes the temple thus: 'The house of the holy of holies was made to correspond to the highest heaven. The outer Holy House was made to correspond to the earth, and the courtyard was made to correspond to the sea . . .[284]

Further, we find in the *Numbers Rabbah*: "the court surrounds the temple just as the sea

surrounds the world."[285] The Babylonian Talmud describes the walls of the Jerusalem

Temple as blue and white marble that looked like waves of the sea.[286] While these texts

were composed after the Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, contemporary to their time, also

wrote that the outer courtyard of the Jerusalem Temple represented the sea.[287]

In Israelite and Jewish tradition, foundation stones replaced the primordial mound

and were viewed as restraining the primeval chaotic waters.[288] Late Jewish tradition

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[283] 1 Kgs 7:23-24.

[284] Quoted in R. Patai, *Man and Temple: In Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1967), 108; Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 65.

[285] *Num. Rab.* XIII.19; cited in Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 65.

[286] b. *Sukkah* 51b; cited in Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 65.

[287] *Ant.* 3.181.

[288] This tradition is found in Babylonion literature as well. Hamblin and Seely write: "The temple to Marduk in Babylon was called *Esagila* ("the lofty house") and was accompanied by a ziggurat known as *E-temen-anki* ("the foundation of heaven and

identifies the bare rock in the Holy of Holies of Herod's Temple as the foundation stone

(*even ha-shettiyah*).[289] This identification supports the myth that Jerusalem is the center

of the world and the birthplace of creation, as depicted in a well-known Midrashic

passage:

> Just as the navel is found at the center of a human being, so the land of Israel is
> found at the center of the world. Jerusalem is at the center of the land of Israel, the
> Temple is at the center of Jerusalem, the Holy of Holies is at the center of the
> Temple, the ark is at the center of the Holy of Holies, and the Foundation Stone is
> in front of the ark, which spot is the foundation of the world.[290]

Another Jewish tradition tells of a stone that God threw into the *tehom*. The stone became

the keystone of the earth and the foundation of the temple. Lundquist writes: "This

foundation stone played the same role as the primordial mound in Egypt: it was the first

solid material to emerge from the waters of creation, and it was upon this stone that God

effected creation."[291]

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earth"), both of which served to legitimize the worship of the god Marduk as creator and
victor over Chaos." Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 10.

[289] Hamblin and Seely, *Solomon's Temple*, 10. See R.J. Clifford, *Creation
Accounts in the Ancient Near East and the Bible* (Washington, D.C.: Cath. Biblical
Assoc. of America, 1994); J.P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient
Egyptian Creation Accounts* (San Antonio, TX: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Department
of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Graduate School, Yale University, 1988);
S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (New
York: OUP Oxford, 2000). For textual references, see Isa 27:1, 51:9; Rev 12:7-9; m.
Yoma 5.2.

[290] *Midrash Tanhuma*, *Kedoshim* 10, quoted by J.Z. Smith, *Map is Not Territory:
Studies in the History of Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 112.
Cited from John M. Lundquist, "Temple Symbolism in Isaiah," in *Isaiah and the
Prophets* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1984), 33-55.

[291] He continues: "According to Jewish legend, it was the primordial rock on
which Jacob slept, at the place he subsequently named Bethel (Gen. 28). This same rock

1QS 5.5-6 describes the *Yahad* as laying the foundation of truth and as a house of truth

and a sanctuary of Aaron built on that foundation.[292] During the time of the *Yahad*, this

creation imagery is tied to the Jerusalem Temple thus connecting the building of a temple

to the larger cosmic order. By self-identifying as a foundation, the *Yahad* draws upon a

cultural resource symbolizing the larger cosmic order and affirming their participation in

it. They tap into the authority of temple building and embody that space in a dialogic

fashion.

Although 1QS was copied in the Hellenistic period when the Jerusalem Temple

was the center of religious and political life, the sectarian idea of temple cannot be

properly understood disjointed from the many temples of the ancient Near East.[293] When

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then came to be placed in the Holy of Holies (*debir*) of Solomon's Temple." Lundquist, *The Temple of Jerusalem*, xv.

[292] See also 1QS 8.4-10, which describes a sub-group of the *Yahad* as the foundation (from עצה) of the holy of holies with foundations (from יסד) that never move.

[293] As Margaret Barker notes, ". . . any detailed study of the temple would require several large volumes . . ." Barker, *The Gate of Heaven*, 2. Much work has been completed on the Jerusalem Temple, its structure, its purpose, and its symbolism and meaning. The purpose of this section is not to provide a comprehensive study of the Jerusalem Temple, but rather to provide a frame of reference to link temple language in 1QS to broader understandings of the Jerusalem Temple. The themes, imagery, and other temple language in 1QS have a common root in cultural understandings of temples in the ancient Near East. In addition, when discussing the history, symbolism, and influence of the Jerusalem Temple, we must remain sensitive to the succession of temples in Jewish history, beginning with the tabernacle tradition and including the first temple (Solomon's Temple), the second temple (Zerubbabel's Temple), and Herod's Temple. This is not to say that the tabernacle and Jerusalem Temple(s) were the only sanctuaries in Jewish history. Other sanctuaries and temples include those at Shiloh, Arad, Dan, and Bethel (1 Sam 1:3-11; Jer 7:12-14; 1 Kgs 12:29-30) and those at Elephantine and Leontopolis; while there is overlap in symbolism and influence among these structures, each existed in different social, political, and economic contexts. The tabernacle—the actuality of which is fiercely debated in biblical scholarship—was a tent-like structure whose portability

the first temple, or Solomon's temple, was built, it was "already the product of a tradition of thousands of years of temple building in the ancient Near East."[294] According to John M. Lundquist, from the ancient Near Eastern period through the Hellenistic period, a common language and practice surrounded great temples that transcended cultures and survived the rise and fall of empires. Even with the vast cultural and religious uniqueness among the ancient Near Eastern cultures, this language and practice would have been recognized, including the concept of a foundation stone.[295]

The foundation stone is part of the Secondspace understanding of the *Yahad*'s spatial practice. It is among the imagined, symbolic concepts that saturate their purpose and day-to-day living. Deeply rooted in ancient Near Eastern culture (and with continued influence in the rabbinic period), the foundation stone is placed by the deity to cover and contain the chaotic, primeval waters. Creation is effected upon this foundation. As part of their Secondspace realm, members of the *Yahad* tap into the primordial time and merge it with their own eschatological viewpoint, identifying themselves as a new creation, legitimized by divine authority. This image provides stability and authority to a

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symbolized the deity's presence among the Israelites during the wilderness period. Solomon's Temple was a state sanctuary that legitimized the royal authority by linking it to the authority of God, while Zerubbalel's Temple began under foreign domination and is said to have lacked the glory and political independence of Solomon's temple (Ezra 3:12; Tob 14:5). Herod's Temple underwent extensive reconstructions and expansions. The meaning and function of one temple should not be confused with another. A full comparison of these structures is outside the scope of this study.

[294] Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," 54.

[295] Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," 53-76.

community without a physical temple. In short, they are using temple space to understand

their social place.

(2) Garden and the Eternal Planting

While the foundation stone is an architectural image recalling the building of

temples, taming of primeval waters, and subsequent cosmic order, the eternal planting is

a symbolic understanding of sanctuary that harkens back to the Edenic garden.[296]

Scholars have long recognized the connection between Edenic garden imagery and

temple.[297] In the Hebrew Bible, not only is the Jerusalem Temple described as

ornamented in garden motifs, but also creation imagery is a metaphor for future divine

renewal.[298] In the Second Temple period, the author of *Jubilees* describes Eden as a

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[296] "Eternal planting" or מטעת עולם is found in 1QS 8.5 and 11.8; for texts that use the phrase together with sanctuary or Eden imagery, see 1QH^a 6(14).15 and 8(16).6; *1 En.* 10:16, 84:6; 93:5, 10; *Jub.* 1:16, 16:26, 21:24, 36:6; CD 1.7. For a full review of "eternal planting" in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Paul N. W. Swarup, "An Eternal Planting, a House of Holiness: The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community," *TynBul* 54 (2003): 151-156.

[297] See especially Gordon J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," in *"I studied inscriptions before the Flood": Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11* (eds. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study*,* (ed. David W. Baker; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399-404. See also D.W. Parry, "The Garden of Eden: Prototype Sanctuary," in *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (ed. D.W. Parry; Foundation for Ancient Research Mormon Studies; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1994); J.L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 62-63; Lawrence E. Stager, "Jerusalem as Eden," *BAR* 26 (2000): 37-47.

[298] See Isa 51:3; 65:17; Ezek 47.

sanctuary, one of the four sacred places on earth.[299] 1QS pairs the phrase "eternal planting" with "house of holiness" to identify members of the *Yahad*.

P. A. Tiller argues that in 1QS 8.5 the phrase "eternal planting" is a poetic reference to the council of the community and one among many titles for the entire community.[300] He rightly argues that the phrase "eternal planting" refers to the *Yahad*'s cultic activity but states that the eternal planting metaphor it is an indication of righteousness and has nothing to do with temple symbolism.[301] To be sure, "eternal planting" can alternatively refer to the righteous remnant or remnant of Israel.[302] Meant in this way, the phrase echoes the biblical understanding of "eternal planting" found in Isa 60:21 and 61:3 and other prophetic works, which describes the restored people of God as a root planted by the deity that will grow and thrive into righteous deeds and bestow glory unto the deity. However, elsewhere in the Scrolls, "eternal planting" blends the righteous remnant with sanctuary imagery. In the liturgical text the *Hodayot* (1QH[a]), for example, the speaker of column 16 describes members of the *Yahad* as an "eternal planting" planted by the deity and stemming from an Eden-like paradise.[303]

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[299] A text that was likely understood to be scripture for the *Yahad*. *Jub.* 4:26; 8:19.

[300] P. A. Tiller, "The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 312-35.

[301] Tiller, "The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 312-35.

[302] See George J. Brooke, "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995): 268-294; Shozo Fujita, "Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976): 30-45.

[303] See also 4Q500, frag. 1 in which planting and temple are blended together.

1QHᵃ 16 has long been acknowledged in scholarship for its use of creation imagery.[304] In the first part of this poem, the speaker describes a desert scene restored by streams, founts, and wells. Phrases such as "trees of life" and the proper name "Eden" reveal the influence of Gen 2 and 3. When reading this poem, one immediately notices the shared context and vocabulary with Gen 2-3.[305] Line 5 begins: "I give [you] thanks LORD, for you have placed me by the source of streams in a dry land, a spring of water in a parched land, and (by) a watered garden…" Straight away, the image of restoration in the desert recalls Gen 2:5-6: "…when no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up—for the LORD God had not caused it to rain upon the earth…but a mist would rise from the earth, and water the whole face of the ground…" Both passages open with images of the desert being refreshed by streams of water.

To be sure, this poem's shared vocabulary with Gen 2 may alert a listening or participating audience to the creation story. In both passages, water causes—from the verb שקה—the land to drink. In Genesis the deity plants (from נטע) a garden, while in the poem, the deity plants a plantation.[306] There are also overlapping phrases. Like the tree of

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[304] Other images of Eden include: 4Q504 8.4-6; 4Q265 11-17; 4Q500.

[305] While the two texts share few exact matches, the words that do correspond are striking. For example, both texts use the term טרם or "before there was, not yet, etc.," a rare word in the Hebrew Bible, only occurring fourteen times. Five of those times are in the book of Genesis.

[306] The water(s) cause the land to drink (שקה) in line 5 and Gen 2:6, 10. In Gen 2:8 the LORD God planted (נטע) a garden in Eden and in line 6 Adonai is said to have planted a plantation.

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life in Genesis, this poem includes trees of life. Perhaps the most striking term shared between the two texts is Eden in line 21.[307]

These vocabulary and contextual connections link 1QHᵃ 16 and Gen 2 in a deeper way than just shared imagery. By describing a location "as if" it were Eden, the speaker positions a desert place, a place like Qumran or the Judean desert, as analogous to the Garden of Eden, the proto sanctuary in the Israelite and early Jewish religious imaginations.[308] Within this Eden-like place, the speaker describes his community as an eternal planting that grows from the trees of life, whose roots draw from the living water (1QHᵃ 16.8), and whose leaves will provide shelter and pasture for the animals and birds. From a dialogical reading of 1QHᵃ and 1QS, the phrase "eternal planting" clearly connects to Edenic imagery, which is firmly situated within temple discourse.

In response to Tiller's claim that the title "eternal planting" indicates righteousness, Paul Swarup argues that the phrase mixes "the righteous remnant idea and

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[307] "Eden" in found in Gen 2:8, 10, and 15.

[308] According to Gordon Wenham, four phrases suggest the Garden of Eden should be viewed as an ideal sanctuary: first, the verb הלך or "to walk to and fro" is used in Gen 3:8 to describe Yhwh Elohim's action in the garden. This verb is also used with regards to the divine presence in Lev 26:12, Deut 23:15, and 2 Sam 7:6-7 in reference to the tabernacle. Thus, the deity walked in the tabernacle area just as the deity walked in the Garden of Eden. Second, Gen 3:24 states that כר or "cherubim" guarded the entrance to the garden, located in the east, in order to protect the tree of life. In the ancient Near East, *kerubim* (or Akkadian *kuribu*) guarded holy places. Also, 1 Kgs 6:23-28, describing Solomon's temple, lists two cherubim as guards to the inner sanctuary. Third, the tabernacle menorah can be understood as symbolizing the tree of life. Finally, in Gen 2:15, referring to the land, Yhwh Elohim commanded Adam to לעבד ולשמרה or "till it and keep it." Besides this passage, in the Pentateuch these two verbs are used together only in Num 3:7-8, 8:26, 18:5-6. These passages describe the Levites' duties of guarding and ministering in the sanctuary. See Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," 399-404.

the idea of a new creation which the sectaries rework for their own situation . . ."[309]

Swarup correctly notes that in 1QS "eternal planting" is multivalent and used to express their self-understanding. For Swarup, that self-understanding is the community as the "true spiritual temple." For this project, "eternal planting" is part of the imagined, symbolic, Secondspace understanding of the community that influences daily practice. In 1QHᵃ, the phrase "eternal planting" connects the practice of the community with prosperity of garden and lends new understanding to the use of the term in 1QS. "Eternal planting" connects both Edenic sanctuary imagery and ritual practice and can indicate a sense of control in a chaotic world without a temple. Like the foundation stone, "eternal planting" taps into a cultural discourse of creation space and implies the community is divinely appointed. The authors of 1QS chose particular terms that highlight the community's role in the cosmic order from the beginning of time.

(3) Summary of Temple Discourse

The terms "foundation" and "eternal planting" (and "house" and "house of holiness") are Secondspace, or conceptual, symbolic understandings of the *Yahad*. Symbolic, Secondspace is one of creativity and change. Mark George addresses change in symbolic space:

> Symbolic meanings and symbolic space are constantly changing, due to the porous boundaries of social space. The occupants of a space, whether inhabitants, sojourners, or accidental occupants, are constantly changing, due to their ongoing

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[309] Swarup, "An Eternal Planting, a House of Holiness: The Self-understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community," 68.

experiences of the world. Such changes in turn lead to changes in the ways in which they experience symbolic space.[310]

The *Yahad* creates a unique Thirdspace in the wilderness in part by the dependency upon *symbolic* understandings of temple and sanctuary (e.g. stability and prosperity). By moving temple into the realm of the symbolic, temple space becomes fluid, flexible, and meaningful in a world of a defiled and distant Jerusalem Temple. The authors and redactors of 1QS create an alternative, discursive space that allows the sectarians to navigate the real and the ideal by contesting the Jerusalem Temple's authority and drawing authority from this symbolic, Secondspace space.

Temple discourse in 1QS participates in a dialogical relationship with other temple texts—specifically texts regarding the Jerusalem Temple—negotiating and recreating space. At the same time, this Secondspace is layered over Firstspace with the work of the body, or the daily rituals and practices of the community. This results in the imagined space becoming the real space and creating a Thirdspace of lived experience.

The previous sections have drawn from Sumerian, Akkadian, and Egyptian literature, the Hebrew Bible, rabbinic literature, and other texts found in the caves near Qumran. 1QS participates in a dialogical relationship with all of these texts—whether the authors and redactors intended them to or not.[311] All texts are read and understood against the background of other texts in order to construct meaning—this is Mikhail Bakhtin's principle of heteroglossia. The terms "foundation" and "eternal planting" are all part of

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[310] George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*, 145.

[311] Even though the rabbinic literature was written after 1QS, it still reflects the cultural environment of the community.

temple discourse and reflect not only divine activity within the *Yahad*, but also self-understanding of its members: they are divinely appointed. As a foundation stone, they are a new creation placed by the deity to control chaos. As an eternal planting, they are planted by the deity in a sanctuary-like place to grow and prosper in their practice. While no text explicitly says that the deity dwells with the community, these specific phrases suggest the community is authorized by the deity to do divine service.

However, I Thirdspace includes not only spatial discourse, but also spatial practice. To this end, in the following sections, I examine temple and priestly practices as described in 1QS. In these sections I draw from Pierre Bourdieu's principle of habitus—or the system of values, dispositions, and social relationships that guides individuals and groups to act in particular ways within particular sociocultural contexts. These socially instilled habits help "move" temple from Jerusalem to the wilderness. It is through both discourse and practice that temple is re-conceived, re-placed, and re-enacted in 1QS.

Embodied Temple

(1) Priestly Authority Reinterpreted

Priesthood is an essential component of temples in general, and the Jerusalem Temple in particular. Among scholarship describing the followers of 1QS, the term "priestly" is as ubiquitous "sectarian." Throughout the Scrolls, a variety of titles distinguish the members who were priests: priests (כהן), the high priest of the eschatological age (הכהן הגדול), Zadokites (בני צדוק), Aaronites (בני אהרון), and Levites (לוי

בני).[312] The texts name individual priests, such as the Teacher of Righteousness (הצדק מורה), the Wicked Priest (הכהן הרשע), the Appointed One (פקיד), and the Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel (משיח אהרון וישראל).[313] However, not all members of the *Yahad* were priests.

1QS 8.1 tells us the *Yahad* distinguished between priests and laymen.[314] According to 1QS, despite the strict hierarchy that elevates certain priests, all members participate in tasks traditionally designated to priests, except possibly for animal sacrifice—about which the evidence is inconclusive.[315] These activities include: the use of lots,[316] teaching,[317] judging,[318] and blessing.[319]

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[312] For a survey on frequency of these titles, see Robert Kugler, "Priesthood at Qumran," 93-116.

[313] 1QS 9.11 refers to two messiahs, causing some scholars to interpret the syntax of "messiah of Aaron and Israel" to refer to two messiahs, one priestly and the other kingly. See J.C. VanderKam, "Messianism in the Scrolls," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E.C. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

[314] While followers of 1QS are oft described as a "priestly" group that withdrew from the Jerusalem Temple, Robert Kugler challenges this view based on his survey of priestly titles in the Scrolls. He states:
> A reassessment of this view is required by the equivocal nature of texts describing community origins (CD 1; 1QS 8-9), the absence of any reference to Zadokites in the earliest recension of the Community Rule, the inconsistent use of priestly titles, and the indications that only over time the central texts offered an elevated role to named priests of any sort. These factors also strongly suggest that one ought to be careful about creating socio-historical constructs of the Qumran community on the basis of the literary witness as it is presently understood.

See Robert A. Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999, 2000), 93-116.

[315] Sacrifice will be discussed in the following section. For a survey on the priestly functions of the Qumran community, see García Martínez, "Priestly Functions in a Community Without Temple," 303-319.

Florentino García Martínez argues that the priests of the community continue to

practice priestly activities outside of the Jerusalem Temple, but, at least according to 1QS

it appears that non-priests conducted these activities as well.[320] For example, in 1QS 9.7,

the sons of Aaron hold authority to cast lots. However, in 1QS 6.18-19b, this authority is

held by the priests *and* the majority of the men of their covenant. In 5:3, the authority is

held by the sons of Zadok *and* the men of the community.

Outside of the *Yahad*, teaching and judging were not exclusively priestly jobs.

Likewise, non-priests held these positions within the community. For example, the

overseer (מבקר) and the master (משכיל אהרון), whose priestly status is uncertain, held

teaching responsibilities.[321] It is well known that the entire community participated in

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[316] The use of lots: 4Q164[23] frag 1.8 (4QpIsa[d]); 1QS 6.16, 18-19, 21; 1QS 5.3;
1QS 9.7.

[317] Teaching of Paqid: 4Q266 11.8, 1QS 6.14, CD 14.4-6; Teaching of priests in
general: 1QS 5.8-9.

[318] Judgment was not an exclusive right to priests, but a priestly activity
nonetheless. For judging in the sectarian community, see CD 10.4-10; 4Q159 2-4; 1QSa I
13-16, 19-20. See also chapter four pgs. 160-170.

[319] Blessing: 1QS 2.1f, 4f; 1QS 6.4-5; 1QSa ii 17-20.

[320] García Martínez rightly notes that "the preserved texts do not give us a
definition of priesthood from which we may extract a list of the priestly functions
exercised at Qumran." García Martínez, "Priestly Functions in a Community Without
Temple," 305.

[321] Although the מבקר is not identified as a priest, several scholars believe that he
was one based on his role in the community. See Timothy H. Lim, "The Wicked Priests
of the Groningen Hypothesis," *JBL* 112 (1993): 415-25. The same can be said of the
משכיל. Michael Knibb argues he was a layman; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 96. S.
Metso argues he was either a Levite or a priest based on 2 Chron 30:22 and 4Q510-11.
See Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 136, n. 91. See

judicial activities and in blessing as part of their liturgical rituals, as García Martínez also

notes. Thus, while García Martínez is correct that priests continue to participate in

priestly functions outside of the Temple, non-priests of the community also participate in

these functions. What constitutes a priestly activity becomes blurry in 1QS. To be clear, it

is not that non-priests become priests. Rather, non-priests conduct priestly acts. From a

spatial perspective, the temple priesthood is imagined space organizing social place. The

discourse of "house" and "house of Aaron" provides a conceptual understanding of

priesthood for the *Yahad*, yet this Secondspace of priesthood saturates the daily practice

and activates priestly schemes, thereby creating a link between Temple and wilderness.

These activities occur outside of the temple sanctuary, yet non-priests practice the

priestly requirement to be free from both physical and ethical blemish and to be in a

continuously pure state. These are requirements of priests inside the sanctuary.[322] By

participating in these priestly habits both inside and outside the Jerusalem Temple, the

community, including non-priests, invokes a temple spatiality.[323] In other words, by

acting as if they are priests in a temple, the *Yahad* recreates a temple environment. Place

reappears in the body. The body—through ritual practice—is a vehicle for the creation of

also Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, 154-155.

[322] Klawans rightly reminds us that there is literary and archeological evidence that suggest more individuals sought higher states of purity before the destruction of the Second Temple, especially with meals and prayer. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 169. Yet the requirements to be in a continuous state of purity and to be blemish free are ones of priests in the temple sanctuary, not a requirement individuals would take on in personal lives.

[323] As Lefebvre claims, "the body serves both as point of departure and as destination." Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 194.

Thirdspace and reproduction of place. These priestly activities suggest a habitus based on or informed by priestly and temple space yet open to innovation in order to include non-priests.

Edward Casey writes: "A given habitus is always enacted in a particular place and incorporates the features inherent in previous such places, all of which are linked by a habitudinal bond."[324] By imagining a priestly and sanctuary-like environment, members take on a priestly habitus, informing their daily practice. These priestly activities help reproduce priestly and temple space and reinterpret temple. To say it a slightly different way, by enacting temple spatiality in the wilderness, the *Yahad* not only structures an imagined, fluid temple, but also is structured by this temple, extending priestly authority to non-priestly members. By tapping into priestly space, non-priests can act like priests through conscious and unconscious habits, and, in turn, affect priestly authority.

Reproducing temple and priestly spatiality through practice creates a Thirdspace where all members can participate in priestly authority, even if it is temporary until the Temple is rebuilt, and even if some members are considered elite priests. Spaces construct—and manipulate—social boundaries; they include and exclude. The influence of temple in the *Yahad*'s creation of Thirdspace includes, excludes, and confers status on people by extending priestly authorities to those not of a priestly lineage.[325] This

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[324] Edward S. Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91 (2001): 683-693.

[325] The exclusion can be seen in the *Yahad*'s characterization of outsiders as the children of darkness. See 1QS 1.1-10.

Thirdspace is a space of alterity, in which members can live imaginatively in opposition to the normal order.[326] It is a place where non-priests can be part of the house of Aaron.

The *Yahad* is linked to the Jerusalem Temple. The discourse and practices of the sect are shaped by the discourse and practices of temple, producing a new social space. At the same time, the transfer of priestly activity and, at times, authority to non-priests is one way in which temple is fluid and mobile for the *Yahad*. Temple is not moored in Jerusalem—or to a specific historical period. It is mobile and can be re-created anywhere. Temple is not only re-created, but also reinterpreted to fit the needs of a community without a physical temple. Thus, even with the particular deterministic beliefs and strict social system, evidenced in 1QS, the *Yahad* produces a Thirdspace that is ". . . a lived space of radical openness and unlimited scope, where all histories and geographies, all times and places, are immanently presented and represented, a strategic space of power and domination, empowerment and resistance."[327] The *Yahad* rethinks temple and subverts the status quo—from the margins it reinterprets but does not reject the temple system.

Casey writes: "[Thirdspace] is energized and transformed by the bodies that belong to it, while these bodies are in turn guided and influenced by this world's inherent structures."[328] In turn, the body reaches out to places—such as temple—in its actions and

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[326] See Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (London: Equinox, 2005), 53.

[327] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 311.

[328] Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 688.

bears traces of places it has known.[329] In this way, Thirdspace is "not only perceived and conceived but also actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*."[330] The *Yahad* did not merely conceive of themselves as a virtual temple—they experience temple space through the priestly actions of casting lots, teaching, judging, and blessing.

Casey continues to say that in Thirdspace, "we live out our bodily habitudes in relation to the changing spatiality of the scenes we successively encounter."[331] In their move to the wilderness, members of the *Yahad* draw upon other scenes to empower themselves. Namely, they recall tabernacle building to describe their own community building and reinterpretation of sacrifice. Indeed, Secondspace understandings of wilderness influence, transform, and lend power to the *Yahad*'s new understanding of temple and their new place apart from the Jerusalem Temple.

(2) Sacrifice Reinterpreted

While members of the *Yahad* engage in many priestly practices, and retain the priestly levels of purity required inside the sanctuary, we have not yet discussed sacrifice, one of the main priestly responsibilities. As E.P. Sanders writes: "The work of the priesthood proper, put in terms of tasks known today, was a combination of liturgical

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[329] The reverse is also true: places are themselves altered by our having been in them.

[330] Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 687.

[331] Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 687.

worship and expert butchery, mostly the latter."[332] Indeed, sacrifice was the business of

the temple. There were daily burnt offerings given on behalf of the community and

individual offerings given based on one's sin or impurity: cereal, well-being, purification,

and reparation.[333] Additional sacrifices were offered during festivals and the Day of

Atonement. Sacrifices were considered meals, even banquets, and offered in order to

attract and maintain the divine presence.[334] The Hebrew Bible recounts many different

ways to sacrifice and achieve atonement and for a variety of sins or impurities.[335] 1QS

links the concepts of sacrifice and atonement to correct spirit and practice within the

community.[336]

In the covenant renewal ceremony, 1QS 3.7b-9b, those who reject the community

can neither be purified through means of atonement, nor made clean by waters of

ablution (1QS 3.4). Instead, it is by the holy spirit of the community that one is cleansed

of iniquities (יטהר מכול עוונותו). In addition, individual sins within the community are

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[332] Sanders, *Judaism*, 79.

[333] The Temple sacrificial system is a large and complex topic. While much has
been written on the topic, Jacob Milgrom's work and bibliography on Leviticus is the
most comprehensive. See J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with
Introduction and Commentary* (ed. W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman; vol. 3; New
York: Doubleday, 1991). For a more concise overview and bibliography, see Gary A.
Anderson, "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings (OT)," 5:870-86.

[334] Baruch Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Leiden: Brill,
1974); the most complete, and therefore ideal, sacrificial offering consisted of meat,
cereal, oil and wine (c.f. Num. 15.1-10; *Antiq*. 3.233f.).

[335] A full survey of the Israelite sacrificial system is outside the scope of this
project. See f.n. 333.

[336] The main passages are 1QS 3.11b-12, 5.6-7b, 8.6-7, and 9.4-5.

atoned (וכופר חטתו) by the spirit of uprightness and humility (וברוח יושר וענוה).[337]

Compliance with God's laws results in the cleansing of flesh by the sprinkling of

cleansing waters (ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר בשרו להזות במי נדה). The ceremony ends with a

declaration to walk in perfection (להלכת תמים). In the introduction to general instructions

for community life (1QS 5.6-7b), community members make atonement for those who

freely volunteer "for holiness in Aaron" (לכפר לכול המתנדבים לקודש באהרון), for "the house of

truth in Israel" (ולבית האמת בישראל), and for those who join the community (עליהם ליחד

והנלוים). Rules and regulations for community members follow this statement.

1QS 8.6-7 identifies a subset of the community as "true witnesses for judgment

and chosen by (divine) favor to atone for the land . . ." (לכפר בעד הארץ). In 9.3-6, a

reference to the entire *Yahad* once again, there is a clear reference to sacrifice: the

"offerings of the lips for judgment" (ותרומת שפתים למשפט) and "perfection of way" (דרך

ותמים) are like a "soothing odor of justice" (כניחוח צדק) and "an acceptable freewill

offering" (כנדבת מנחת רצון). In addition, the atonement for iniquity and sin in favor of the

land is obtained "without the flesh of burnt offerings" (מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח).[338] Many

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[337] Studies on atonement in the Dead Sea Scrolls include, but are not limited to: Hermann Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (ed. W.S. Dietrich, J. Neusner, E.S. Frerichs, et al.; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980). Paul Garnet, "Atonement: Qumran and the New Testament," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University, 2006).

[338] Here the preposition מן is translated as "without." While I agree with this translation, we must remember that מן also can be translated as "by means of" or "through," which drastically changes our understanding of sacrifice within the *Yahad*. At the time of this writing, archeological evidence does not confirm that sacrifice occurred at Qumran. Those who interpret מן to mean "by means of" or "through" include P. Wernberg-Møller and W.G. Werner, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 35, 133.

scholars reference this passage when claiming that the community's new understanding of sacrifice as prayer and/or practice replaces the Jerusalem Temple's sacrifice.[339]

These references suggest that the followers of 1QS believed that their practices—judgment, prayer, praise, etc. had an atoning function. In particular, the practices of the community had atoning functions for individuals within the community and a subset of the community had the ability to atone for the land. In response to these passages, the scholarly discussion on sacrifice and atonement in 1QS typically falls into one of two categories: (1) did material sacrifice happen at Qumran?, or (2) did members of the *Yahad* actually effect atonement?

Despite the references to sacrifice and atonement in 1QS, to date there is no evidence of an altar at Qumran. Nevertheless, a small group of scholars believe the *Yahad* held their own sacrifices.[340] They offer as archeological evidence for this opinion the bone burials found at the site.[341] The literary evidence cited is primarily from Josephus'

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[339] L. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 33-48. See also G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 64-66, 68-74; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 138-139; 4Q*Florilegium* also suggests prayer has a sacrificial function: the deity commands that "a sanctuary of man/Adam (אדם מקדש)" be built in order to offer him (the deity) "the works of the law (מעשי תורה)." 4Q*Florilegium* 1-2 I, 6-7; On translation of either "works of thanksgiving" or "works of law," see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*, 108.

[340] See Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 85-86; Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân: Propositions pour l'archéologie," *RevQ* 101 (1994): 161-214. For a critical evaluation with bibliography, see Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 105-33.

[341] See Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 12-16. On archaeological evidence with regards to the bone burials and cultic practices in general, see Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 105-33. See also Humbert who

Antiquities 18:19, which suggests that the Essenes performed sacrifices,[342] though some interpret these as "spiritualized" sacrifices.[343] But, Josephus explicitly talks of material sacrifices. Because of this, some scholars suggest we take it seriously that the Essene-like sectarians perform them as well.[344] Indeed, there is evidence of Jewish groups outside of Jerusalem who found temples and practiced sacrifice during the Second Temple period.[345]

Nonetheless, the case for sacrifice at Qumran is not strong. The biggest strike against sacrificial practice is that, to date, no sacrificial altar has been uncovered. A small incense altar is alleged to have been uncovered, but it is too small for use in communal worship.[346] In addition, while some argue the bone burials are evidence of sacrifice, there

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interprets the layout of Qumran as a temple. Humbert, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân: Propositions pour l'archéologie," 161-214.

[342] For more on Josephus and Essene sacrifice, see Albert I. Baumgarten, "Josephus on Essene Sacrifice," *JJS* 45 (1994): 169-183; Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 57-74.

[343] See J.M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea," *HTR* 46 (1953): 141-159; Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 67.

[344] Such as Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 61-62; Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, 48-49; Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," 267-284; Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*. In the end, Klawans states sacrifice at Qumran was unlikely.

[345] See Jena Jörg Frey, "Temple and Rival Temple—The Cases of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel = Community Without Temple: zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. Beate Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr, 1999), 171-203.

[346] See Stephen J. Pfann and Elgvin Torleif, "An Incense Altar from Qumran?," *DSD* 9 (2002): 20-33.

is no known Jewish sacrificial custom that involves bone burial.[347] How do we explain

the bones? Jodi Magness has the most compelling suggestion thus far. She proposes that

the bone burials reflect ritualized eating practice.[348] Most of the bones are sheep and goat,

but lamb, ox or cow, and calves have also been found. Because analysis of the bones

demonstrates that they were boiled or roasted on a spit, it is most likely that they are the

remains of a meal.[349]

The absence of a sacrificial altar at Qumran begs the question: how does the

Yahad attract and maintain the divine presence without sacrifice? A popular suggestion

has been prayer and praise.[350] 1QS 9.3-6 says that the "offerings of the lips for judgment"

(ותרומת שפתים למשפט) and "perfection of way" (ותמים דרך) are like a "soothing odor of

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[347] Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," 272.

[348] Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 116-128, 132-133. Others suggest that the sectarians performed sacrifices that did not require an altar, such as the red heifer ritual found in Num 19. See E. Sutcliffe, "Sacred Meals at Qumran?," *HeyJ* 1 (1960): 57-58. However, according to both rabbinic and Samaritan evidence, this rite would only be performed at most once in a generation. In addition, most of the animals buried were sheep or goat. Thus, it cannot be proved that the Qumran sectarians performed sacrifices at regular intervals. See John Wick Bowman, "Did the Qumran Sect Burn the Red Heifer [Num 19]," *RevQ* 1 (1958): 73-84. See also Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 298 n. 85.

[349] Jodi Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 98-99, n. 83.

[350] Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," 33-48, esp. 34-35. See also Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, 64-66, 68-74; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 138-139; 4Q*Florilegium* also suggests prayer has a sacrificial function: the deity commands that "a sanctuary of man/Adam (מקדש אדם)" be built in order to offer (the deity) "the works of the law (מעשי תורה)." 4Q*Florilegium* 1-2 I, 6-7; On translation of either "works of thanksgiving" or "works of law," see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*, 108.

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justice" (כניחוח צדק) and "an acceptable freewill offering" (כנדבת מנחת רצון). Some suggest these prayers and acts of praise coincide with liturgical rites in the Jerusalem Temple.[351] Even if no material sacrifice was performed at Qumran or other locations, there is evidence that sacrificial law continued to be studied, an expression of the significance of the act to the *Yahad*.[352] At the same time, even if it were proven that material sacrifices did occur, it would not render obsolete the discourse of sacrifice and atonement in 1QS. Physical sacrifice—while intriguing—leaves open the question as to why practice is articulated in sacrificial tones and as a means of atonement.

The second category of discussion includes whether or not atonement is achieved or is effected by members of the *Yahad*. Based on the above passages, some scholars argue it was as effective or even more effective than the Jerusalem Temple sacrificial system.[353] Conversely, Klawans argues that because the various forms of punishment found in 1QS are more severe than the sin-offering of the Hebrew Bible, atonement was not effective. He writes:

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[351] See 4Q409 and Elisha Qimron, "Times for Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409)," *JQR* 80 (1990): 341-347; Kugler, "Rewriting Rubrics: Sacrifice and the Religion of Qumran," 341-47.

[352] Presumably with the hope that they would return to the temple. In addition, most of 11QT columns 13-30 are dedicated to the sacrificial procedure in the *Temple Scroll*'s ideal temple. Sacrificial law and procedures are also referenced in *New Jerusalem*, 4QMMT, and CD 11.17-12.2; 16.13-17a; 4Q266 5 II, 1-16; 4Q267 5 III, 1-8; 4Q273 2 1-1; 4 I 5-11.

[353] Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 138-39; Schiffman, "Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community's Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple," 269; Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," 243-278.

> The penal laws of 1QS—whose punishments typically take a long time to work off—clearly suggest that the sect did *not* claim to possess the powers of atonement that the priestly traditions of the Pentateuch claim for the cult. We must conclude, therefore, that the sectarians did *not* believe they had the power to effect atonement, at least not in a very expeditious manner, which is what one would expect from a temple.[354]

In what Klawans admits is a brief assessment of the issue, he throws the baby out with the bathwater. His is an example of an analysis that disregards rather than reconsiders the evidence of 1QS when it does not fit the temple system of the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature. I agree with Klawans that the *Yahad* did not view their means of atonement as preferable to the Temple's sacrifice. 11Q19 details the rebuilding of the correct temple according to the correct calendar—including the sacrificial service. The *New Jerusalem* texts predict a future temple with sacrificial rites (2Q24, frag. 4; 11Q18). The *War Scroll* indicates a new temple in a purified Jerusalem. Each of these texts suggests sacrifice in a pure Jerusalem Temple was preferred.

At the same time, in the ancient world, only the deity could determine if atonement was granted. With such clear discourse of sacrifice and atonement in 1QS, surely members of the *Yahad* believed themselves to be attempting atonement in a world with a defiled Temple. Like Klawans cautions, we should not be too quick to assume that the *Yahad* replaced the atonement and sacrifices of the Jerusalem Temple. Yet these passages strongly suggest that the community desired atonement for the land and its community members.

The conversations surrounding the existence and effectiveness of atonement in 1QS are important. Sacrifice and atonement are complex issues with many uncertainties

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[354] Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 167-68.

and unknowns about the process and function in both the Hebrew Bible and 1QS. However, if neither the existence of material sacrifices nor the effectiveness of atonement can be determined based on the evidence we have, what, then, do we do with the discourse of sacrifice and atonement in 1QS? Spatial theory, particularly Soja's Thirdspace, offers another way to read and understand this discourse. We can view these references to atonement and sacrifice as literal. Or, as a spatial perspective encourages, we can view them as imagined, conceptual space that informs the social relationships and social practice of the community. In this project, I am looking at how space is understood to interpret place. In this light, spatial theory can tell us something about how the authors and redactors of 1QS drew upon not only temple space, but also wilderness space to describe part of their understanding of sacrifice and atonement.

(3) Spatial Practice of Atonement

Even if physical sacrifice *was* performed by members of the *Yahad*, symbolic sacrificial understandings are written into the spatial practice of the community. A brief example of this is the intertwined language of judicial practice and atonement. 1QS suggests prayer and praise are conceptual understandings of sacrifice—which presumably help to achieve atonement—but there are also several places in 1QS in which acts of judgment and atonement correspond.[355] Note the following:

> Defiled, defiled will he be, all the days he rejects the judgments of God, without being instructed by the *Yahad* of his (God's) counsel. For it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God (that) the ways of man are atoned, all his iniquities, so that he can look at the light of life (1QS 3.5b-7b).

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[355] See 1QS 3.4b-12, especially 5b-7a and 8.6b-10a.

> . . . [the members of the council of the *Yahad* are] true witnesses for judgment and chosen by (divine) favor to atone for the land and to repay the wicked their reward. . . . And they will be accepted in order to atone for the land and to decide judgment of the wickedness {in perfect of way}. And there will be no iniquity . . . (1QS 8.6b-8.10b).

As seen in these passages, the discourses of judgment and atonement are often found together. This is an example of how imagined, conceptual space—the ability to atone for sin (3.5b-7b) and the land (8.6, 10b)—transforms the understanding of social practice or judicial counsel. 1QS blends the language of atonement with the language of judicial practice, lending power to the act. For the *Yahad*, rather than (or in addition to) traditional ways of atonement—sacrifice or repentance—judicial practice can effect atonement. This allows the *Yahad* to gain control over an activity that is associated with the Temple cult.

Just as the means for atonement gains new meaning within the *Yahad*, so too does sacrifice. In addition, the authors and redactors of 1QS drew upon their wilderness setting (Firstspace) to infuse their reinterpretation of sacrifice (Secondspace) during the initiation into the community (Thirdspace—social practice).

(4) Spatial Practice of Sacrifice

Attention to ways in which sacrifice is understood as practice in 1QS reveals how the *Yahad* is empowered by their geographical location in the Judean wilderness, namely through the discourse of tabernacle construction. When thinking about temple in 1QS, the ways members of the *Yahad* self-identified as a temple—such as "house of holiness" and "foundation"—immediately come to mind. However, the tabernacle sanctuary of Exodus is another type of temple space in 1QS that informs the *Yahad*'s identity and spatial

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practice.[356] In both the Exodus account and throughout 1QS freely donating one's

material possessions into a communal pool marks one's commitment to the respective

communities.[357] In Exodus, the volunteering of possessions enables the construction of a

wilderness sanctuary. In 1QS, I argue that the discourse and practice of volunteering

reinforces the fluidity and embodiment of temple space for the *Yahad*. In particular, the

Yahad reinterprets sacrifice as bodily practice through the use of tabernacle space. The

discourse and practice of "volunteering" is central to this understanding.

After a description of the wilderness sanctuary, Exod 35:20-21 describes the

voluntary nature of building the sanctuary:[358]

> Then all the congregation (עדה)[359] of the Israelites withdrew from the presence of
> Moses. And they came, everyone whose heart was stirred, and everyone whose
> spirit was willing (נדב), and brought (ביא) the LORD's offering to be used (מלאכה)
> for the tent of meeting, and for all its service, and for the sacred vestments.[360]

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[356] For a critical spatial analysis of the tabernacle texts, see George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*.

[357] 1QS 1.1-15, an introduction which describes the *Yahad*, and 1QS 6.13b-23, the initiation into the *Yahad*.

[358] See also Exod 25:2 in which the divine command for a contribution is given to every (man) "whose heart impels him" אשר ירבנו לבו.

[359] While in Exodus the community is called a congregation (עדה), in 1QS *Yahad* is the preferred term to describe members. It should be noted that "congregation" is used once in 1QS 5.20, yet it is used interchangeably with *Yahad* in 1QSa.

[360] NRSV translation. These key words between Exodus and 1QS are repeated in Exod 36 as well.

1QS parallels Exod 35-36 in several areas, especially the introduction to 1QS (1.1-15) and the initiation into the *Yahad* (6.13b-23).[361] Each member of the respective communities marks his or her commitment with the voluntary donation of materials or skills. The purpose of these donated resources is related to building a sanctuary. According to Exodus, the wilderness community built the tabernacle sanctuary out of their own supplies and resources, including special skills.[362] However, for the members of the renewed covenant—a community without a physical temple or sanctuary—not only are material possessions volunteered,[363] but also one's knowledge (דעת), energies (כוח), and riches (הון).[364] Those "energies" include service, counsel, judgment, and purity. 1QS 1.16-19 relates these values to covenant keeping. 1QS 3.2 repeats those values as part of the covenant renewal ceremony. Indeed, one of the most frequently used self-

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[361] For a similar discussion, see Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 139-40; For a discussion on the similarities in language between these accounts, see Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 199-206. The Exodus tabernacle accounts and 1QS are linked in other ways, as well. In the initiation into the *Yahad* (1QS 6.13b-14a) volunteers are tested according to insight (שכל) and deeds (מעשה) and, again, this is connected to covenant keeping in 1QS 14b-15a. In both Exod 36:2-3 and 1QS 6.19, members approach (קרב), work is done or offered (המלאכה), and one brings forward one's offering (יקר[י]בו in 1QS; הביאו in Exodus); In 1QS 6.19-20 members possessions, and later judgments, are merged with community in relation to their progression in insight and obedience to the law. See also Catherine Murphy's discussion, *Wealth*, 140-41.

[362] As others have noted, the materials donated were materials used in royal palaces and temples. See George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*, 165; Members contribute material resources in Exod 25:1-9 and 35:5-9; they contribute skills in chapters 35, 36, and 39.

[363] 1QS 6.13b-23; Members combine their contributions with those of the larger community in stages. The half-shekel is required once in a member's lifetime in 4QOrd[a] I ii 6-12 and 4QOrd[b] 1-2 I.

[364] 1QS 1.11b-13a.

identifiers in 1QS for the *Yahad* and other community members is the phrase "those who voluntary offer" (המתנדבים from נדב).[365]

For the *Yahad*, the building materials required by the community include tangible items such as money and imagined items such as knowledge. This requirement is an example of how the authors and redactors of 1QS tap into a Secondspace resources available to them—the tabernacle building narrative of Exodus—in order to advance the creation of their own community. Yet they go beyond the Exodus account and transform the creation and sanctuary space of Exodus to include the particular "energies" and "knowledge" of the members of the *Yahad*. In this way, the imaginings of sanctuary, volunteering, and donations—the creation of a community—saturate the lived experience of community members in their studies, meetings, and other ritual practices. Just as ancient Israelites voluntarily participated in the creation of their holy space, so too, do the members of the *Yahad* volunteer to create the space of its "holy" community. In addition, "volunteering" takes on a sacrificial function that further transforms the *Yahad*'s new place by allowing them a means to atone without a physical altar.

The voluntary offering of the neophyte and members certainly helped meet a practical need to maintain the community's livelihood and to keep it functioning. But there are also symbolic, Secondspace understandings of these contributions. These contributions, especially framed in the discourse of "to bring" (בוא) and "voluntarily offering" (המתנדבים and נדבים "those who voluntarily offer") connect to the language of sacrifice. Catherine Murphy makes a compelling argument for the connections between

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[365] For the connections between this word and military service, see pgs. 170-171.

sacrifice and volunteering based on the use of בוא and נדב. Exodus 35:21, 29 and 36:3 use הביא to describe the sacrificial offering in the tabernacle sanctuary account. It is also used in Leviticus to bring sacrificial offerings. Murphy states:

> Thirty-six of the forty-two occurrences of בוא in the *hifʿil* form in Leviticus refer to a sacrificial offering. In two of the remaining references, 18:3 and 20:22, God is bringing Israel into the land of Canaan, in return for which Israel is instructed to obey God's statutes and bring offerings to atone for the land.[366]

The term בוא is frequently used in 1QS[367] and, given the cultic connotations in the Hebrew Bible, we can understand it in a cultic context in 1QS.[368] For example, in 1QS 1.11, בוא describes the action taken by the volunteers to convey their knowledge, energies, and riches to the community. In turn, these all take on sacrificial understandings.

Most uses of בוא are in the context of covenant or membership in the *Yahad*. It is often found with the term נדב—a self-identification of the *Yahad* that has additional cultic understanding. The authors of 1QS use the *niphal* substantive participle of נדב to describe those entering the community: הנדבים or "those voluntarily offering (themselves)" (1QS 1.7, 11). The Hebrew Bible prefers the *hithpael* form of נדב. It is found in Judges and 2 Chronicles to describe voluntary military service, in Nehemiah to describe the voluntary return to Jerusalem after the exile, and in Ezra and 1 Chronicles to describe voluntary

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[366] Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*, 138.

[367] For example, see 1.11, 16; 2.12, 18, 25 (to describe entering the covenant); 3.2; 5.7, 8, 13, 20; 6.14, 15; 8.21; 10.10, 13; 11.13. See also Saul Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952): 199-206.

[368] Similarly, the term קרב has cultic understandings.

free-will offerings.[369] The *hithpael* participle is found in 1QS 5.1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22; 6.13b; 9.5.[370] As Murphy notes, "the *qal* form occurs only in Exodus in the context of the initial contribution (תרומה) collected to construct and furnish the wilderness sanctuary. God commands the contribution from every man 'whose heart impels him' (Exod 25:2)." The discourse and practice of volunteering are blended with the cultic terms בוא and נדב. Given the cultic language of בוא and נדב, the volunteering of tangible and intangible possessions is an understanding of sacrifice based on tabernacle creation space. Moreover, the use of the reflexive participle and the volunteering of knowledge and energies, suggest that the volunteer himself became a symbolic sacrifice of sorts.

In this cluster of cultic discourse, or, in Bakhtin's terms, this heteroglossia, meaning is negotiated and changed. The authors of 1QS appropriate cultic terminology from the wilderness tabernacle account to fashion their own version of sacrifice. It should be noted that these terms occur in the introduction to 1QS and in the sections that describe the initiation into the *Yahad* – passages that reveal core values to its identity.[371] Here it is the discourse of the creation of a portable sanctuary that is appropriated and reinterpreted. In the *Yahad*'s reinterpretation of temple space, temple and sacrifice are fluid and reinterpreted in several different ways. Sacrifice is not merely understood as prayer and praise, as many scholars have observed. Rather, the mix of cultic terminology,

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[369] See Judg 5:2, 9; 2 Chr 17:16; Neh 11:2; Ezra 1:6; 2:68; 3:5; 1 Chr 29:5, 6, 14.

[370] The connections of this term with military cultic service will be discussed in more detail in chapter four. See pgs. 170-171.

[371] 1QS 1.18-2.25; 6.13b-23.

in particular, the bringing of donations and the offering of their person, reflect the *Yahad*'s expansive view of sacrifice.

Unlike the wilderness community of Exodus, whose members gained their memberships by entering the covenant and subsequently built a sanctuary, 1QS 6.19-20 details a gradation of membership centering around the voluntary offering of material resources and knowledge and the subsequent participation in food and/or drink. In 1QS members undergo several stages of voluntary contribution whereas in Exodus there is one voluntary contribution. In addition, these levels of contribution correlate with how much members participant in the *Yahad*—which we do not see in Exodus. In the initiate's first year, neither are his possessions registered, nor does he participate in the possessions of the Many. In his second year, his possessions are registered though not used by the *Yahad*, but, however, the initiate participates in the possessions of the community. Finally, after the second year, the initiate's possessions are fully integrated with *Yahad*'s property. One purpose of the *Yahad* is to atone for guilt and unfaithfulness so that divine favor is obtained for the land without "the flesh of burnt offerings" and the "fat of sacrifices" (1QS 9.4-5).[372] 1QS 9.5 identifies the vehicle of this atonement as "the proper offerings of the lips for judgment" and the "perfection of way." However, in the introduction and initiation passages of 1QS, the gradated levels of joining the community prepare the body to become such a sacrifice through the volunteering of tangible and intangible items.

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[372] For alternate translation of the preposition מִן, see f.n. 344.

The connections between these passages in 1QS and Exodus lead some to argue that the *Yahad* self-identified as a wilderness sanctuary.[373] Yet it is a bit more complicated than this assessment. The authors of 1QS use the Exodus account to lend power and authority to their reinterpretation of sacrifice as the body and practice. More than an identification with the wilderness sanctuary, it is a complete transformation of a conceptual idea (sacrifice) that, when intersected with lived experience such as initiation into the community, attempts to attract the divine presence in the wilderness. Just as the foundation stone taps into the power of temple building, so, too, does the cultic discourse of "offering" and "volunteering" tap into the building of a holy sanctuary. The authors of 1QS blend the languages of temple and tabernacle building to lend authority to their own holy community. They are neither just a temple nor just a tabernacle sanctuary. They are a new creation that provides an alternative, but authentic, form of divine service.

Reading the *Yahad* simply as a wilderness sanctuary emphasizes the similarities between the accounts rather than the differences. It is in the differences that we are able to identify the unique ways the *Yahad* interpreted concepts like "volunteering."[374] In turn, these differences help structure social relationships (e.g., levels of membership in the community are based on the volunteering of goods) and provide stability for the *Yahad* during a time without a physical temple (e.g., by tapping into the cultural resource of

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[373] See VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," 44-60; See especially Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*.

[374] For example, one major difference between the accounts is that in Exodus, the deity directs the construction of the tabernacle. This language is missing from 1QS. There is a command to go to the wilderness to prepare a path, but in 1QS the deity does not direct the building of a community or sanctuary.

tabernacle building). As Økland reminds us, "Such spatial discourse is never neutral, but is linked to power either through an attempt to control or contest the representation of a material space, to change the material space or its representation, or to construct new 'spaces of representations'. . ."[375] The performance of the volunteering restores order in a world in which the Jerusalem Temple is defiled and gives the *Yahad* some control over sacrificial understandings. All space is social space and spatial discourse is never neutral. They are performing a new understanding of sacrifice making the sanctuary a living reality.

Moreover, tabernacle space is mobile space. The portable nature of the wilderness sanctuary would surely appeal to the *Yahad*.[376] Indeed, this language must be intentional for a community without a physical temple—for the wilderness sanctuary, as a portable sanctuary, emphasizes *people* rather than location.[377] This includes the multiple people groups and social stations of those who joined the *Yahad*. This portability certainly helps address the tension between the centrality of temple worship that is evident in the Dead Sea Scrolls, yet lack of physical temple as they wait for the return of the deity.

Sacrifice is reinterpreted again in these passages, and this reinterpretation gains strength from the *Yahad*'s wilderness location. As others have noted, the wilderness is

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[375] Jorunn Økland, *Women in their Place: Paul and the Corinthian Discourse of Gender and Sanctuary Space* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 154.

[376] On the significance of the desert, in general, and the spatial practice of camps, in particular, for the *Yahad*, see Schofield, "The Embodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 173.

[377] At the same time, the particular place of Qumran does appear to be important. See VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," 44-60.

significant to the *Yahad*.[378] To be sure, wilderness as Firstspace can be considered a profound center of human experience for the *Yahad* that is embedded in its imagination helping to form their identity. In the Hebrew Bible alone it is considered, among other things, a place of refuge, a place of punishment and testing, and a place of personal and national transformation.[379] The Scrolls repeat several of these meanings.[380] The significance of wilderness for the *Yahad* can be seen in other ways as well, such as labeling the communities "camps" in 11QT and CD.[381] The discourse of volunteers, coupled with the practice of volunteering tangible and intangible items, certainly brings the tabernacle sanctuary "into place." Yet the tabernacle sanctuary is also a collective, social memory reinforced and empowered by the Firstspace location of wilderness.[382]

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[378] See, for example, Schofield, "The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions About Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (eds. Hindy Najman et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37-53; VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls"; Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Approaches range from wilderness as counterspace to the Jerusalem Temple to Qumran as an intentional, auspicious wilderness location. See also Yi-Fu Tuan, one of the first writers on space/place who argued place is not "fixed," discusses the bond between people and place. Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* For Tuan, space turns into place by turning attachments, associations, and memories into place.

[379] As a place of refuge, see Gen 16; a place of punishment and testing: Gen 22; Exod 15:23-25a, 16:7-8, 35; Deut 8:2-3; Lev 16:8, 10, 26; Num 11:1; a place of personal and national transformation: Gen 12, 28:13; Num 6; Deut 27:9.

[380] For example, the wilderness is understood as refuge in 4Q504 frag 6, 9-11.

[381] For a more detailed review of the influence of wilderness in the Scrolls, see especially the work of Alison Schofield.

[382] At the same time, Edward Relph notes that it is not just the location of places from which meanings are derived. For example, temple space provides meaning for the *Yahad*, even though they are separate from the Jerusalem Temple. Rather, the "essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as profound

The *Yahad* draws power from their wilderness location, helping to legitimize their new covenant and reinterpretations of temple and sanctuary place. To be sure, there is an existing "emotional investment" in the wilderness – prior meanings and collective experiences, sometimes in conflict with each other.[383] With the *Yahad*, a new meaning emerges. The *Yahad* entered the wilderness with all of its history and turned it into a new place where the body enacts sacrifice through practice and discourse. More than a geographical place for the *Yahad*, the wilderness is where multiple spaces and places merge, intersect, and transform identity.[384] The social memories of the wilderness community of the Hebrew Bible, such as refuge and camps, are not erased. Rather, 1QS enters this discourse, and its readers gain power from an expanded view of wilderness.

Just as we need to pay attention to the specific words chosen to describe community—e.g. foundation, eternal planting—so, too, should we pay attention to what is *not* said. It is never said that the divine presence is at Qumran (or another wilderness location of the *Yahad*). Never is it said that their sacrifices are better than or replace the Jerusalem Temple sacrifices.[385] In addition, we need to keep the ambiguity of מן in 1QS in mind when we speak of atonement and sacrifice in 1QS. Sacrifice and atonement are

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centers of human experience." Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 43; See also Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims*, 162.

[383] For example, the wilderness as refuge and exile.

[384] Alison Schofield describes this as heterotopia. See Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 469-490.

[385] A point rightly made by Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple*, 168.

ambiguous, but this ambiguity is because religious practice "on the ground" is not as clear and clean cut as the deterministic worldview found elsewhere in 1QS.[386]

To conclude my discussion of sacrifice and atonement in 1QS: sacrifice and atonement are fluid notions in 1QS. They are performed through the body and empowered by the *Yahad*'s geographical location. Casey writes that Thirdspace is "not only perceived and conceived but also actively *lived* and receptively *experienced*."[387] This new interpretation of sacrifice contributes to the *Yahad*'s creation of Thirdspace. If the *Yahad* had a fluid understanding of temple, it follows that sacrifice and atonement, too, would be changing and dynamic. In this way, a physical altar is not needed because the temple and sanctuary are not fixed.

Conclusions

In their move to the wilderness, the *Yahad* create and enter a new place—a Thirdspace—in which members actively construct and reconstruct identity through textual discourse and embodied habitus. Temple becomes a new, fluid space that helps address the problems of a community without a physical temple: powerlessness, sacrifice, and legitimization. Examining the specific temple identifications used in 1QS and their dialogic relationship with other temple texts reveals that the *Yahad* creates a unique

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[386] There is evidence of doubt and uncertainty in the religious imagination of the *Yahad*. See Eileen M. Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 29-45.

[387] Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 145-46.

Thirdspace in part by its dependency upon *symbolic* understandings of temple. They select specific terms such as "house," "foundation stone," and "eternal planting" that symbolize stability, cosmic order, and prosperity. By moving temple into the realm of the symbolic, temple and priestly space become fluid, flexible, and meaningful in a world where the Jerusalem Temple is defiled and removed. It is not about replacing the temple, it is about continuing to serve the divine. Temple is not meant to be replaced—temple is a fluid, mobile concept.

The authors and redactors of 1QS draw upon *multiple understandings of temple* to redefine their new place and organize their social order. Appropriating temple discourse offers a complex and multi-layered symbolic structure that enables community members to transfer religious meaning into political rhetoric. The temple discourse of 1QS is infused with meaning particular to the community, and, combined with an innovative habitus, it is used to understand their current place. This understanding gives them control over divine communication or revelation, legitimizes their separation from the Jerusalem Temple, authorizes the (most likely temporary) extension of priestly authority to lay members, and allows for a new interpretation of sacrifice as practice. Instead of calling the community of 1QS a virtual or replacement temple, we should recognize the temple spatial practice of 1QS. There is a dialectical relationship between real and imagined spaces in this text. Indeed, temple is perceived, conceived, and lived. Space is used to understand social functions and to give meaning and purpose to the community. In short, temple space is used to understand place, including social and divine relationships.

In this chapter, I have reviewed how 1QS redefines and reinterprets temple—instead of a physical building in a specific geographical location, temple is lifted up and moved to the individual and collective bodies of the *Yahad* and enacted through its priestly practice. The community is not merely a new type of temple—the concept of temple itself is multiple, fluid, and dynamic. The *Yahad* can move from the primordial period to the future, eschatological temple with ease. Each provides meaning and none are more authoritative than another. Temple is a cultural resource used to lend power and authority to the community. Yet temple is not the only space used to provide meaning for the *Yahad*; so, too, do military and judicial spaces.

Chapter Four: Judicial and Military Discourse and Spatial Practice

I now turn to a different type of space found in 1QS: the bodily arrangement of the *Yahad* in the covenant renewal ceremony. 1QS 2.19-25 reads:

> Thus they shall do year after year, all the days of Belial's dominion. The priests shall cross over into the order first, one after the other, according to their spirits. Then the Levites shall cross over after them. Then, thirdly, all the people shall cross over into the order, one after another, in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, so that each Israelite may know his standing in the Yahad of God for an eternal council.

In the covenant renewal ceremony, the neophytes and members of the *Yahad* enter in an order that recalls the wilderness community of the Hebrew Bible: priests, Levites, and people in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. This order was used during times of judicial appointments and military practice for the wilderness community of the Hebrew Bible. For the *Yahad*, this arrangement not only marks the rank and hierarchy of the sect, but also blends multiple spatial practices into the *Yahad*'s understanding of its new place. Like the Secondspace of temple, 1QS reinterprets judicial and military Secondspaces in order to structure social relationships, stabilize the *Yahad*'s environment, and produce new meaning for a community without a temple. These spaces come to life through Thirdspace.

As detailed in chapter two, Soja opens the theoretical door to bring thinkers like Bakhtin and Bourdieu together in conversation to flesh out Thirdspace for the *Yahad*. This chapter continues with the basic assumptions that texts are in dialogue with one

another and that places are embodied and reproduced through ritual and practice. In addition, I find conversations about memory and place in the reinterpretation of space to be helpful. In this respect, I draw from the work of phenomenologist Edward Casey and scholar of religion J.Z. Smith—both important thinkers on memory, place, and emplacement—in order to flesh out my understanding of Thirdspace with respect to the covenant renewal ceremony.

Past Approaches to the Covenant Renewal Ceremony Arrangement

Many scholars have written on the covenant renewal ceremony from different perspectives: wealth and sacrifice,[388] power and discourse,[389] or ritual and the liminal.[390] Yet the particular formation of bodies that occurs as members and neophytes enter into the ceremony—first priests, then Levites, and then people in groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens—is often only mentioned in passing as an interesting note, when it is mentioned at all. This phrase clearly recalls the wilderness community of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Numbers, who gathered in this formation during times of judicial appointments or military conquest.[391]

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[388] Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*.

[389] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*.

[390] Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[391] See Exod 18:13-27; Deut 1:9-18; Num 31:14, 48, 52; Beyond the wilderness period, see 1 Sam 17:18; 1 Macc 3:55.

Common explanations for the arrangement include literal ones, such as that of

James VanderKam, who notes that the

> arrangement of the community members at the ceremony is interesting when we keep in mind that a small group of no more than two hundred members may have lived at Qumran (though they may have been joined [in the covenant ceremony] by others from different camps) . . .[392]

Nathan Jastram calls the formation of the ceremony a hypothetical historical category, by

which he means that the community uses the formation to link itself with ancient Israel.

He argues that the formation "borrowed from the authors' perceptions of faith rather than

from observations of social reality . . ."[393] Citing Milik, he states that the Qumran

population was never more than 150-200 and, citing Philo and Josephus, claims that even

if the formation included related communities throughout Israel, the population could not

have totaled more than four thousand.[394]

First, it bears repeating that we must be cautious with phrases such as "Qumran

population" that limits the scope of S to Qumran.[395] All the same, these perspectives

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[392] VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," 46. Others believe the division of units and subunits indicates that the larger population from the camps were included in the procession. See William Hugh Brownlee, *Dead Sea Scrolls Manual of Discipline* (Cambridge, Mass: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 1-60. See also Géza Vermès, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Fortress; SCM, 1999), 43-45, who understands ranking in CD, female bodies in the cemetery, and animal bones at Qumran as evidence of this conclusion. 1QSa 1.4-5 is often cited in this defense.

[393] Nathan R. Jastram, "Hierarchy at Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 349-376.

[394] The number four thousand is based on accounts of Philo and Josephus. See also Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, 97; Jastram, "Hierarchy at Qumran," 97.

[395] See discussion in chapter one, pgs. 13-16.

prioritize a historical understanding of the formation. As such, it keeps our understanding at the level of Firstspace or material space. In their works, VanderKam and Jastram do not give the formation further attention beyond noting the impossibility of the numbers. However, if the numbers belie reality, what do they indicate about the readers of 1QS?

The recent work by Ellen Juhl Christiansen stands at the other end of the spectrum. She does not address this unusual arrangement in her important work on the covenant renewal ceremony.[396] Instead, she argues there is no relation between the historical covenant of ancient Israel and the covenant renewal ceremony.[397] For Christiansen, who treats the multiple covenants of the Hebrew Bible as the same, the historical covenant of Israel is based on ethnicity whereas the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS is based on personal choice, or religious particularism.[398] Christiansen is concerned with covenant theology and historical connections—or lack thereof. Indeed, she states, ". . . a continuity with the past is not expressed in covenantal terms in 1QS," and later writes ". . . there seems to be no interest in maintaining that the covenant was established with Israel at Sinai, or that the present community is in continuity with

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[396] Ellen Juhl Christiansen, "The Consciousness of Belonging to God's Covenant and What it Entails according to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (Sheffield, Eng: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 69-97.

[397] García Martínez agrees. He notes: "The *Rule* does not explicitly set the history of the Community in the context of the history of Israel, as does the *Damascus Document*, but instead expresses a theology of the 'covenant' in which the personal decision of joining the group and separating from the others is the main referent." Florentino García Martínez, *Invented Memory: The 'Other' in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. J. C. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 209.

[398] Christiansen treats the covenant of CD as well, but that topic is outside the scope of this project.

historical Israel."[399] Most surprisingly, Christiansen argues that "there is *no*

consciousness of belonging to a people whose existence has its origin in the divine

establishment of the covenant."[400] While Christiansen is correct to say that the covenant

is concerned with obedience to God by a particular community, as opposed to an ethnic

Israel, to say there is no connection to the past goes too far.[401] Social memory links

unassociated social places.[402] The arrangement of the *Yahad* during the entrance into the

covenant ceremony is a clear reference to the wilderness community before the Sinai

covenant narrative, and it is an arrangement repeated multiple times in the Hebrew Bible

after the covenant to describe the covenant members. By prioritizing the theological

understandings of covenant in 1QS, Christiansen elevates Secondspace, or the conceptual

understandings of covenant. Reading the covenant renewal ceremony, including the

bodily arrangement, with questions of space and place in mind suggests the past was very

much on the present mind of the *Yahad*.

Carol Newsom, alternatively, reads 1QS with attention not only to historical and

symbolic detail, but also to the social issues of the followers of the text (at least what we

can glean from it). In her influential book, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, Newsom does not

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[399] Christiansen, "The Consciousness of Belonging to God's Covenant," 85-86.

[400] Christiansen, Christiansen, "The Consciousness of Belonging to God's Covenant," 87.

[401] Not to mention the multitude of intertextual connections between the covenant ceremony and Hebrew Bible, especially Deuteronomy, and the connection between covenant and temple building in general.

[402] For example, see work of Berquist and the spaces of Jerusalem. Berquist, "Spaces of Jerusalem," 40-52.

treat the arrangement of the community in her reflections on the covenant renewal

ceremony; rather, she discusses this arrangement in her reading of the examination for

admission and advancement into the community (1QS 5.20-23; 6.13-23). She describes

this arrangement as the rank order of the community determined by these examinations

and connects the arrangement and subsequent hierarchy to Michel Foucault's

observations on disciplinary power.[403] With respect to the hierarchy determined in the

arrangement, she writes

> Foucault contrasted symbolic ways of arranging bodies in space (e.g., royal
> displays arranged to represent the king's sovereignty) with disciplinary plays
> which represent nothing except the normalizing judgment of the discipline. In the
> case of the annual covenant ceremony the precedence of the priests and Levites
> might be taken as an instance of a symbolic arrangement, representing the fixed
> status of the priestly orders. But the rank order of the community represents
> simply the results of the yearly examination.[404]

On the one hand, Newsom is absolutely correct: the order of the people is a reflection of

rank that provides a visual clue to one's social place in the community. Moreover, rank is

an active instrument for discipline in which higher-ranking members model behavior—

primarily regarding speech—for lower-ranking members.[405] Newsom has advanced the

study of 1QS by connecting discipline over the body with control over the mind and

speech. In this way, she shifts the conversation from historical to social analysis. The

examinations set social boundaries and, in turn, define social life. Tim Cresswell writes

"every society has an understanding that some things or persons belong or do not belong

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[403] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 138-140.

[404] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 140.

[405] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 140.

within a specific place."[406] In 1QS, there is the boundary of higher rank versus lower rank, and this boundary is based on knowledge and behavior.[407] More importantly, it is lived out in bodily practice.

However, we must not forget that Foucault himself was very much concerned with power, knowledge, *and space*.[408] Attention to spatial practice helps balance claims to historical and symbolic interpretations and points to a new understanding of the formation—not as a reference to actual numbers or a nod to the past—but as a conceptual map that transforms the *Yahad*'s lived experience.[409] I believe this arrangement is one of the *critical strategies*—not just a reflection of power or merely the examination results, as Newsom argues—used by the *Yahad* in order to form a new place, both in terms of the individual's place in the community and the *Yahad*'s new place apart from the Jerusalem Temple. The formation of the covenant renewal ceremony is a *reinterpretation* of space—an intentional disordering of past space in order to create a new place. In his

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[406] Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression* (Minneapolis, Mn.: University of Minnesota, 1996), 3. A well-known example in the Hebrew Bible is of the high priest with consecrated vestments singularly allowed into the Holy of Holies (Exod 40:12-15; Lev 16).

[407] Thinking about the formation of the community in terms of power and discipline is a necessary perspective and one that I continue to address in the following section.

[408] Foucault writes: "People have often reproached me for these spatial obsessions, which have indeed been obsessions for me. But I think through them I did come to what I had basically been looking for: the relations that are possible between power and knowledge" Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (trans. C. Gordon; New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 69. As cited in Soja, *Thirdspace*, 148.

[409] Soja critiques geographers for focusing on First and Secondspace understandings and ignoring Thirdspace – see chapter two, pgs. 63-69.

writing on Thirdspace, Soja invokes the work of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault,

writing:

> . . . [Lefebvre and Foucault make a central point of Thirdspace,] *that the assertion of an alternative envisioning of spatiality [...] directly challenges (and is intended to challengingly deconstruct) all conventional modes of spatial thinking.* They are not just 'other spaces' to be added on to the geographical imagination, they are also 'other than' the established ways of thinking spatially. They are meant to detonate, to deconstruct, not to be comfortably poured back into old containers.[410]

To be sure, otherness and difference are represented spatially in the entrance to the

covenant renewal ceremony. Although the formation is a symbolic way of positioning

bodies that reflect power, it is also a way to interpret the past, organize the present, and

look toward the future.[411]

To summarize common approaches to the bodily arrangement of the covenant

renewal ceremony entrance: VanderKam notes the conceptual link to the Hebrew Bible

but tries to fit the arrangement into a literal account of physical bodies. Trying to fit the

math with historical numbers misses the point of the reference. In addition, if we only

note the connection between the formation and the Hebrew Bible, such as Jastram, then

our understanding is kept in the realm of Secondspace and overlooks how the

arrangement reflects and transforms social practices. Christiansen overlooks the reference

to the arrangement entirely, even though it is repeated and referenced throughout 1QS

and is a clear link to the past. Alternatively, Newsom addresses the social rank of

members in this arrangement and the implications of this rank in daily practice. While I

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[410] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 163. Italics his.

[411] Especially considering the unites are repeated in 1QM—a text which details the future, final war between the children of light and children of darkness. See also 4Q491 frgs. 1-3.9-10.

agree with Newsom's conclusions regarding rank and the bodily arrangement, I do not think this arrangement is a mere reflection of power—it is a source of power and symbolic capital itself.

In this way, the bodily arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony—repeated in assemblies and meals—creates a new, present place by drawing on the power of past, remembered spaces. The remainder of this chapter addresses two points with regards to the bodily arrangement: (1) the hierarchical ranking reflected in this arrangement is a social map that can be rectified and reproduced anywhere and anytime, and (2) the arrangement draws power from and is transformed by wilderness conceptual spaces of judicial appointment and military units.

Initiation into the *Yahad* and the Arrangement of the Covenant Renewal Ceremony

(1QS 6.13b-23; 5.8b-11; 1.18-2.25)

The covenant renewal ceremony is an essential part of 1QS,[412] although the act of a covenant renewal ceremony is not unique to the *Yahad*.[413] Detailed in 1QS 1-6,[414] full

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[412] For detailed studies on the covenant renewal ceremony, see Martin G. Abegg, "The Covenant of the Qumran Sectarians," in *Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*; (Boston: Brill, 2003), 81-97; Craig A. Evans, "Covenant in the Qumran Literature," in *Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 55-80; Bilha Nitzan, "4QBerakhota-e (4Q286-290): A Covenant Renewal Ceremony in Light of Related Texts," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 478-506; Bilha Nitzan, "The Benedictions from Qumran for the Annual Covenantal Ceremony," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, 20-25 July 1997* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 263-271.

[413] Other covenant renewal ceremonies include: Deut 29-31; Josh 24:1-28; 1 Kgs 8; 2 Chron 6; 2 Kgs 23:1-3.

entry into the *Yahad* is entry into the covenant.[415] To be sure, understandings of space are

written into the ceremony.[416] One emphasis of the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS is

movement – one enters (בוא) the covenant in 1QS 2.12, 18; and crosses over (עבר) in 1QS

2.19–21.[417] In addition, the ceremony was renewed and performed annually. During the

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[414] Although often considered together, Michael Daise argues that the covenant
renewal ceremony and initiation period are separate ceremonies and should not be
considered one continuous ritual. According to Daise, 1QS 1.18-2.25 is the covenant
renewal ceremony and 1QS 6.13-23, 5.7-41 is the initiation ritual. He argues there is an
indefinite period described in 6.14b-15a that is often used to connect the two rituals, yet
Daise argues that the curses tell us otherwise. Michael A. Daise, "The Temporal
Relationship between the Covenant Renewal Rite and the Initiation Process in 1QS," in
Qumran studies (Cambridge: William B Eerdmans, 2007), 150-160. See also Stephen J.
Pfann, "The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance," in
Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Leiden: E J Brill, 1999), 337-
352. These two sections were separate at one point and brought together later. For issues
of redaction see Bockmuehl, "Redation and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community
(1QS/4QS)*"; Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule;" Schofield, "Rereading S:
A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies." For
discussion on the covenant connections of col. 3-4, see Klaus Baltzer and David E.
Green, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings*
(Philadelphia: Fortress Pr, 1971).

[415] Russell Arnold divides the ceremony into six main elements: "preparation,
entrance of new initiates, blessings and curses, entrance into the *serekh* [full membership
in the *Yahad*], purification and instruction, and rebuke and dismissal." Arnold, *The Social
Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, 54.

[416] 1QS 5.23-24; for example, column 2 includes speeches by the priests and the
Levites that bless the priests of the community and curse the followers of Belial and the
insincere candidate (1QS 2.1-18). The speakers acknowledge their past participation in
the "errors of Israel and dominion of Belial" and express gratitude for their deliverance
from such faults (1QS 1.22-2.1). All of these speeches highlight the separation of the
community from the rest of society and the hierarchical nature of the sect.

[417] See also CD 2.2 and 3.10.

ceremony, fledglings and neophytes were examined and full members of the *Yahad* were ranked.[418]

To become a covenant member one must cross over into a position or rank in the hierarchy, give freely of one's knowledge, "energies," and possessions, commit to the law of Moses, and strive for perfection. Members crossed over into the community in the order of their spirits (1QS 2.20) or their deeds and knowledge (1QS 5.21). These rankings determined the hierarchy that would govern the community during the coming year and organize part of daily life. As such, this annual ritual was one of, if not the, central rituals in the community life of those who followed the text.

1QS 6.13b-23 describes the initiation into the *Yahad* that determines one's rank in the community.[419] Lines 13b-15 describe examinations and entrance into the *Yahad*:[420]

> And anyone from Israel who freely volunteers himself (מתנדב) to join the council of the Yahad shall be examined by the Officer (הפקיד) at the head of the Many (הרבים) with respect to his insight (לשכלו) and his deeds (ולמעשיו). If he is suited to the discipline, he shall let him into the covenant so that he may return to the truth and turn away from all falsehood, and he shall instruct him in all the precepts of the Yahad.

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[418] While usually referred to as "the covenant," it is described in different ways in 1QS: eternal covenant (1QS 4.22); covenant of kindness (1QS 1.8); covenant of an everlasting community (1QS 3.11-12); covenant of justice (1QS 8.9); and, perhaps, though it is not clear, covenant of God (1QS 10.10).

[419] My singular use of "community" here should not be confused for a singular understanding of community. Recent studies have convincingly argued that multiple communities used versions of the *Community Rule* (S). See Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls"; Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*.

[420] See also 1QS 5.20-23, 1QS 5.7-20, and 1QS 1.16-2.18. Josephus also describes the entrance into the community in *J.W.* 2.137-139. For regulation of the member's offspring, see 1QSa 1.6-9.

After the initial examination by the officer, or *paqid*, an unknown period of time passes and the candidate, called a volunteer, spends another year in development before being allowed to eat the pure food of the community.[421] Finally, after another year of testing, the candidate is allowed to participate in the pure drink, completing his initiation into the *Yahad*.[422] During this initiation period, the volunteer is instructed in the "correct" knowledge and practice of the community and tested before each stage.[423] 1QS 5.8-10 describes the oath taken by the initiate:

> He shall take upon himself a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses, with all heart and soul, according to all that has been commanded, (and) to all that has been revealed from it to the Sons of Zadok, the priests who are the keepers of the covenant and the interpreters of his will, and to the multitude of the members of their covenant who have freely offered themselves (המתנדבים) as a Yahad to his truth and to walking according to his will.

The oath itself emphasizes the voluntary, sacrificial nature of the members,[424] the commitment to practice, and the shared authority between priests and other members (i.e., the initiate takes the oath according what has been revealed not only to priests, but also other, presumably non-priestly, members). Once admitted into the community, each member continues to study and be examined.

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[421] 1QS 6.15b-20a.

[422] 1QS 6.20b-23.

[423] For more on the mysteries and knowledge described in 1QS and other scrolls, see Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: SBL, 2009).

[424] On the sacrificial nature of entering the *Yahad*, see pgs. 127-138.

According to 1QS 5.23-24, one's status or rank in the *Yahad* is based upon this annual judgment of one's insight and behavior by fellow community members, and his rank can be upgraded or downgraded based on the examination.[425] It reads:

> And they shall be recorded in the rule, each before his companion, according to his insight and his deeds, so that each one obeys another, the junior the senior. And in order to examine their spirit and their deeds, year after year, so as to upgrade each according to his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his perversion.

In other words, rank is based on one's revelation of knowledge and practice within the *Yahad*, and this rank is communally determined. Concern over the violation of rank by rejecting communal discipline is found throughout the document.[426]

To be clear, the rank order of members during the initiation period is commonly understood to be the basis for the entrance and bodily arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony. Thus, the arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony reflects the rank and hierarchy of individual covenant members and the group as a whole. In other words, to enter the covenant is to hold a social rank and a place in the community.

The order of entrance into the ceremony details this rank and echoes the arrangement of Israelites in the wilderness. After the priests and Levites enter,[427] the people enter in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens.[428] 1QS 2.19-25 reads:

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[425] Note that this passage ranks members by merit, not lineage. It is commonly understood that the descendants of Aaron are considered priests, those of Levi are considered Levites, and the remainder of the community are designated as Israel; See 1QS 2.19-25; CD 14.3-6. However, it is unclear if the priests and Levites (especially in 1.16-2.1) were hereditary designations. See also CD 3.20-4.4, which identifies the priests, the Levites, and the sons of Zadok (Ezek 44:15) with followers of the text.

[426] 1QS 3.9-11; 5.2-3.

The priests shall cross over into the order first, one after the other, according to their spirits. Then the Levites shall cross over after them. Then, thirdly, all the people shall cross over into the order, one after another, in thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens, so that each Israelite may know his standing in the Yahad of God for an eternal council.

The arrangement of the community reveals its social order and structures the relationships of those within the community and without. It highlights the special relationship members have with the deity, organizes the knowledge and resources of the group, and tells us who has power over whom. Unlike the Sinai covenant, which included all of Israel, this covenant only includes those who volunteer to join the group (who are then called "Israelites").

Crossing over or entering into the covenant produces legal, social, and theological boundaries of the *Yahad* that are adjusted and repeated annually. Lines 2.23-25 read:

And one shall neither be demoted from his appointed rank nor promoted from the place of his lot.[429] For all shall be in the Yahad of truth, of proper humility, of merciful love, and righteous intent towards each other, in a holy council, members of an everlasting society.

This strict hierarchy is so that each "Israelite" will know "his standing in God's community." Once the hierarchy is established, members cannot move up or down from their rank until the next covenant renewal ceremony.[430] How one is ranked determines the

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[427] On the hierarchy of priests and Levites, see Num 3:5-14; 18:1-8; Ezra 2:40-58; Neh 7:43-60; 2 Chr 13:10.

[428] See Exod 18:13-27; Deut 1:15. Israelite armies were also divided into similar configurations such as thousands and hundreds: See Num 31:14, 48; 1 Sam 17:18; 1 Chr 28:1; 2 Chr 25:5; See also 2 Chr 23:1; Isa 3:3; 1 Macc 3:55.

[429] There is movement among rank in 1QS 5.23-24.

[430] 1QS 6.3-6; 6.8-13; CD 12.22-13.6; 14.3-6; 1QSa 1.25-2.3; 2.11-22.

seating arrangement in the meals and assemblies held by the community for the following year. In the covenant renewal ceremony, members of the *Yahad* are annually formed and transformed. This transformation centers on the arrangement of bodies and subsequent rank.

To summarize so far: the gradated steps to enter the community mark the boundaries set up by community members. The rituals of testing, studying, and revealing knowledge establish differences between not only those inside and outside the community but also among community members themselves. Ritual action—or practice—regulates the entrance into or exit from the community. These rituals, and especially the covenant renewal ceremony, center on the social positioning of relationships and the forming or transforming of bodies. In the case of the *Yahad*, essential daily rituals such as assemblies and meals repeat this arrangement and rank—which is articulated in the covenant renewal ceremony as priests, Levites, and people in particular units. In this way, practice and the body transform each other simultaneously. In other words, the body represents and creates hierarchical power, and then those hierarchical relationships act upon the created bodies in practice.

Ambiguities in Rank and Hierarchy

As Tim Cresswell writes: "by acting in space in a particular way the actor is inserted into a particular relation with [his or her society's] ideology."[431] This phenomenon can be seen in the covenant renewal ceremony arrangement of priests,

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[431] Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, 17.

Levites, and people into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, as the bodily

arrangement represents a social map of an ideal community. Here I am drawing upon the

work of J.Z. Smith in *To Take Place* in which Smith discusses the mapping of social

hierarchy in the temple texts of Ezek 40-48. For Smith, place always participates in

"ideological maps of geographical and social space."[432] These maps codify "a social

position within a hierarchical system."[433] With respect to the covenant renewal ceremony,

the arrangement of bodies in the ceremony maps modes of emplacement within the

Yahad. It is a system of power within the group that affects speech and authority. In this

arrangement, the people are subordinate to the Levites and priests, and the Levites are

subordinate to the priests. More importantly, these social positions transcend the

wilderness community of the Hebrew Bible through ritual practice.

At the same time, there appears to be shared authority between priests and non-

priests within the *Yahad*. In the previous chapter, I noted the shared authority between

priests and non-priests to cast lots and that non-priestly members participated in priestly

activities. As noted in the previous section, acceptance of the oath to enter the

community's covenant was acceptance of both priestly and non-priestly interpretative

authority.[434] Indeed, there is a certain tension between the authority of the priests and that

of the people in 1QS.

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[432] Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (eds. Jacob Neusner et al.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), 45, 73, 108-9.

[433] Smith, *To Take Place*, 45.

[434] Martha Himmelfarb argues that rather than the division between the priests and the people, the division between the children of light and the children of darkness dominated the *Yahad*'s consciousness. See Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests:*

A third example: according to 1QS 8.13-16, the *Yahad* understood their

separation from the rest of society as the positive fulfillment of Isa 40:3.[435] It reads:

> . . . Conforming to these arrangements they shall separate from within the dwelling of the men of deceit to go to the wilderness in order to prepare there his path. As it is written, "In the wilderness, prepare the way of ****, make straight in the desert a highway for our God." This (is) the study of the law wh[i]ch he commanded by the hand of Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed (from) age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed by his holy spirit . . .

The *Yahad* believed that divine revelation occurred through this nightly study. Indeed, the

authors and redactors of 1QS define the members' elect identity, as least in part, in terms

of his ongoing activity of study and thereby possession of an esoteric knowledge of the

divine will. One of the conditions upon entering the *Yahad* is to share all knowledge, and

as the neophyte moves further into the community more knowledge is revealed to him.

This is reinforced by 1QS 5.2, which states the community is a union (יחד) in both shared

property (הון) and knowledge (תורה). 1QS 6.6b-8a states

> And in the place where there are ten (members) let there not be lacking a man who studies the Torah day and night continually, one man relieving another. And the Many shall watch together for a third of every night of the year in order to read the book, to study law, and to bless as a community (ביחד).

The duty to study is written in 1QS as part of the purpose of the community.[436] It is

important to note that the entire community participates in this study, not just the leaders

or elite of the group. The priest is not singled out—each takes a turn studying. In

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Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 122, 124. Himmelfarb also argues the division of priests, Levites, and Israelites is largely ornamental, about which we disagree.

[435] 1QS 9.19-20 alludes to Isa 40:3, as well.

[436] See also 1QS 9.4-5 which states purpose of *Yahad* is to atone.

addition, when ten members of the *Yahad* gather, a priest must reside, yet the members are gathered by rank (1QS 6.3-4), which may undercut the hereditary claims of the priest.[437]

As Martha Himmelfarb correctly notes, priests are often mentioned in 1QS as a source of authority, but always appear alongside the other community members.[438] Moreover, the ranking of members in 5.23-24 is concerned with merit, not lineage. Indeed, there appears to be a certain tension between priests and the people regarding authority, or at the very least it is unclear whether lineage trumps merit, especially given the tendency of non-priests to participate in priestly activities.[439] From a Thirdspatial perspective, this tension highlights how the *Yahad* lived imaginatively in opposition to the dominant order. This is not to say that there was equality between priests and non-priests, or that the *Yahad* invoked a utopian lifestyle. Rather, in Thirdspace, priestly authority can be extended to non-priests and—whereas outside the *Yahad*, priests hold a higher social status—within the *Yahad* non-priests can share this status based on merit.

The hierarchy of the *Yahad* is not only about rank, discipline, and power. It also invokes new spaces through its formation. In particular, there is the duplication of judicial and military space in the arrangement of the people in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. To be sure, this arrangement "maps" the social hierarchy of the *Yahad* and describes an ideal covenant community that can be replicated and rectified

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[437] See also Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests*, 125.

[438] Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests*, 125; see 1QS 5.2-3; 5.8-10; 5.20-22; and 6.18-20.

[439] See also pgs. 112-118.

no matter the location, allowing the system of status—especially regarding the people or non-priests—to be transferred.[440] At the same time, symbolic, imagined spaces provide meaning to these hierarchal systems. In the case of the covenant renewal ceremony, the arrangement of the people draws from wilderness traditions of judicial appointment and military units, giving them more status and power.

The wilderness narratives of the Hebrew Bible are part of the collective memory of the *Yahad*. In other words, these narratives are part of the Secondspace of the *Yahad*'s wilderness location. Edward Casey argues that our memory "is either *of* a place itself (e.g. of one's childhood home) or of an event or person *in* a place."[441] It is rare that we remember a person or an event without its place, for there is an intimate connection between memory and place tied together by the lived body or "memory beyond the mind."[442] The lived body—or social (spatial) practice—links memory with place because it is simultaneously in place and creates place. In other words, memory and physical surroundings meet at the lived body. Yet the covenant renewal ceremony arrangement is also a conceptual paradigm that transformed lived space in the assemblies and meals by invoking judicial and military practices.[443]

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[440] In the case of Ezekiel, the maps can be rectified whether or not there was an actual temple in Jerusalem. See Smith, *To Take Place*, 73.

[441] Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (2nd ed.; Indianapolis: Indiana University, 2000), 183.

[442] Casey, *Remembering*, 189.

[443] While members of the *Yahad* may have entered the ceremony in the order of priests, Levites, and people, it is unlikely that there were enough members to organize into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. See VanderKam and Jastram, see pg. 142 above.

Finally, the covenant renewal ceremony is not just a renewed commitment between members and the deity. It is the founding and legitimizing of a community and its social relationships just as the temple covenant system founds and legitimizes the state.[444] It should be noted that in creating a new covenant space, the *Yahad* drew upon this particular arrangement[445] rather than referencing Sinai or other mountainous images. The arrangement of bodies is an essential component to the legitimization of the *Yahad* that should not be ignored, for place reappears in the actions of the body. As argued earlier, the temple reappears through the practices of the *Yahad* and the tabernacle sanctuary reappears through the volunteering of goods. Smith writes: "It is the relationship to the human body, and our experience of it, that orients us in space, that confers meaning to place. Human beings are not placed, they bring place into being."[446] This includes remembered Secondspaces brought forward by the arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony and transformed by the *Yahad*: judicial and military Secondspaces. I begin with judicial space.

The Covenant Renewal Ceremony Arrangement and Judicial Practice

The entrance into the covenant renewal ceremony recalls a formation that a reading or listening audience would have recognized: first enter the priests, then the

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[444] John M. Lundquist, "The Legitimizing Role of the Temple in the Origin of the State," in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1982), 271-297.

[445] And tabernacle creation space, as detailed in previous chapter.

[446] Smith, *To Take Place*, 28.

Levites, then the people in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. In the Hebrew Bible, this formation is used to describe the wilderness community during times of judicial appointment and military conquest.[447] In 1QS, the formation reflects the rank of the covenant members and is reproduced in daily activities such as assembly seating, speaking order, and meals. In this section, I review how this space is used in judicial practices of the Hebrew Bible and how the authors and redactors of 1QS use this biblical conception of space to address shared interpretative authority between priests and non-priests of the *Yahad*.

Exodus 18 contains the first biblical example of this arrangement.[448] In this passage, Moses acts as the representative of the people before God and as a judge for the people (v. 13, 19). He teaches the people the statutes and instructions of God and helps them apply these expectations to their daily living, a task that continues from morning until evening (v. 13). Moses' father-in-law Jethro tells Moses both he and the people will quickly tire of this situation and tells Moses to select "capable men" from among the wilderness community and appoint them as "heads over the people" (v. 25), "officers over units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (v. 21, 25) in order to settle disputes.

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[447] See Exod 18, Num 31:14, 48, 52. See also 1QSa 1.14-15; 1.29-2.1; CD 12.22b-13.2. Military examples include: 1 Sam 29:2; 2 Sam 18:1 – Deut 1:9ff, see also f.n. 430; it is used to describe military units beyond the wilderness period, also.

[448] There are three stories that describe the installation of judges/officers in the Hebrew Bible: Exod 18:13-23, Deut 1:9-18, and Num 11:16-17. There are notable differences between these accounts. In particular, the accounts of Exodus and Deuteronomy deal with a different institution than that described in Numbers. The Numbers account is similar to the 71 members of the Sanhedrin in the Second Temple period. Analogies between the judicial practices of 1QS and the Sanhedrin are outside the scope of this project. For now it is important to note that the covenant renewal ceremony draws from the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts, not Numbers.

The passage concludes with: "They acted as judges for all the people at all times. Hard cases they brought to Moses, but all the minor matters they would decide for themselves" (v. 26). Deuteronomy 1:9-18 is a second account of judicial appointments by Moses and includes the same arrangement of the people.[449]

While the division of the people (or non-priests) in 1QS clearly alludes to these passages, there are significant differences between 1QS and the biblical accounts. For example, in Exodus the installation of the judges occurs prior to the covenant ceremony at Sinai and in Deuteronomy the judicial appointments occur after. However, in 1QS judgment and the ability to interpret and share knowledge is integrated into membership in the *Yahad* and determines each members' rank and entrance into their own covenant ceremony. In other words, non-priestly members are arranged in these same units during the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS. Being experts in the Hebrew scriptures, the authors must have been intentional in this language. Thus, the biblical discourse of judicial appointment or interpretation of law is not a surprise—it is an apt parallel given the role of judgment in the community: e.g., entering and moving within the community is based upon being judged by fellow members and those outside the *Yahad* are deemed to be cursed, or children of darkness.

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[449] There are several differences between the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts, but for the purpose of this study, it is important to note that the accounts of Exodus and Deuteronomy emphasize different qualities in leadership. In Exodus, after the proposal by Jethro, Moses selects the candidates that demonstrate moral qualities: fear of God, faithfulness, hating unjust gain. In Deuteronomy, Moses initiates the selection and the people select candidates that demonstrate intellectual qualities: wisdom, discernment, knowledge—qualities in line with the requirements of those who enter the covenant of 1QS.

Indeed, covenant members are expected to study daily, interpret the law, and share what they learn with a higher authority. Yet, perhaps one reason scholars have overlooked or under-examined the bodily arrangement of 1QS is because the contexts between 1QS and the Hebrew Bible are so different.[450] In Exodus and Deuteronomy, Moses appoints officers to judge over groups of thousands, hundreds, and fifties. In 1QS, this arrangement is reinterpreted. First, it is a description of how covenant members and neophytes enter into the annual covenant renewal ceremony. Second, no official appoints a person over these units. Instead, the priests enter the ceremony, then the Levites, then the people in units and subunits. This arrangement reflects the rank of each individual and reflects the hierarchy of the *Yahad* for the following year. Third, the authority to interpret is given to every covenant member, not just the leaders and officers. Non-priestly covenant members are called the people and are divided like the people of Exodus and Deuteronomy, but they are given the work of the judges.

To summarize: The division of the people into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens is a clear reference to appointment of judges in Exodus and Deuteronomy.[451] Unlike Exodus and Deuteronomy, the people are given the authority to judge and interpret law, and this arrangement produces the hierarchy of the covenant members that governs the day-to-day affairs of the community. The participation in judicial practice is another example of how non-priests are given authority in the *Yahad*.

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[450] Here, one must remember the words of Mikhail Bakhtin: "each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions." Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 293.

[451] See Exod 18:21, 25; Deut 1:9-18.

In other words, the conceptual arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony is a way the authors and redactors of 1QS use space to organize, control, and change the status of social relationships within the *Yahad*.

1QS is not just informed by these texts. The bodily arrangement is a strategy used to tap into new, symbolic power while drawing from the power of remembered place. The material space of the wilderness influences, transforms, and lends power to the *Yahad*'s new understanding community and covenant by blending covenant and judicial space. Indeed, the remembered space of the wilderness is part of the spatial practice of the community's daily assemblies in which judicial practice was a main activity.

<div align="center">Spatial Practice of Judicial Activities</div>

The statutes of 1QS clearly demonstrate how acts of judgment were central to the *Yahad*'s purpose and activity. In addition to studying the law in general, members also studied and enforced the judgments of their own penal code[452] and performed judgment in rites of expulsion.[453] Other judicial activities include the readings of the law, meetings about legal interpretation, and the study of violations of law by those outside the community in order to "condemn all those who transgress."[454] Most judicial activity, however, involved those inside the *Yahad*, educating members in the law perhaps for the purpose that they may be ready to join the leaders of the future, restored Israel.

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[452] 1QS 6.24-7.25; See also 8.16b-9.2.

[453] 1QS 1.16-3.12.

[454] 1QS 5.7a.

A clear example of the *Yahad*'s judicial activity in 1QS is the description and

rules for the Many (הרבים). The Many is an organizational body mentioned several times

in 1QS, usually in the context of an assembly, and that employed judicial function within

the *Yahad*.[455] It was the Many who examined those who wished to be initiated into the

Yahad (1QS 6.13c-23) and who determined the status of members who wished to be

readmitted.[456] It is not clear whether all members belong to the Many.[457]

There is much discussion about the relationship between the assemblies of the

Many and to other voluntary associations, such as the code of the Iobacchi—a Greek

drinking club—or the sessions of the Sanhedrin according to the Mishnah.[458] Others have

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[455] The Many is frequently referenced in the S and D manuscripts. In 1QS, the references to the Many are restricted to columns 6-8 and their equivalent in the other S material (4QS^b 9.3; 11.6, 12; 4QS^d 1.2; 3.2; 7.3; 4QS^e 1.7, 11; 2.6). See also 1QS 9.2 and CD 13.7; 14.7; 12; 15.8 (cf. 4Q266 10 I, 5; 10 ii, 5, 7; 11 1; 4Q267 9 iv, 3; 4Q270 7 i, 11).

[456] See, for example, 1QS 7.23-24; 8.16-19, 26; 9.2.

[457] Charlesworth and Saul Lieberman conclude that the Many is synonymous with the *Yahad*, but the two terms function differently: *Yahad* indicates the movement in its broadest sense, while the Many indicates an assembly of people for judicial purposes. James H. Charlesworth, "Community Organization in the Rule of the Community," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L. Schiffman, J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford, 2000), 133-136; Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 199-206; See also Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 134. For further discussion and comparison of the two terms, see Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 144-147.

[458] On the code of Iobacchi, see Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 26-27; 51-54. In his monograph, Weinfeld gives examples from the statutes of seventeen associations. Perhaps a closer model is the fixed seating and speech protocols of the Sanhedrin. See *m. Sanh.* 4.2, 4; See Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 199-206; Rabin, *Qumran Studies*, 12-21; Jacob

made analogies between the *Yahad* and the assemblies or philosophical schools.[459] While

each position has its strengths and weaknesses, reading the sessions of the Many through

a spatial lens reveals that the *Yahad* draws from the conceptual space of biblical judicial

appointment to lend power to the lived experience of the nightly sessions and to help

organize levels of authority among members.

The Many assembled each evening for one-third of the night to read the book (ספר

– presumably scripture), study judgment (דרש משפט), and participate in communal liturgy

(ביחד ברך).[460] According to the first rule of the Many in 1QS, each person enters by rank:

the priests first, then the elders, then the remainder of the people by rank.[461] Then they

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Neusner, "The Fellowship (חבורה) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth," *HTR* 53 (1960): 125-142.

Carol Newsom rejects the biblical models of royal and judicial counsel. See Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 145. Indeed, there is no biblical precedent for sitting according to rank. See also discussion in Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 354-363.

On the *Yahad* as a synagogue community, see Matthias Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*; (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 251-270. For a thorough critique of Klinghardt, see Gillihan, *Civic ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls*, 47-50. On the similarities between the Yahad and the Pythagoreans, see Justin Taylor, *Pythagoreans and Essenes: Structural Parallels* (Louvain: Peeters, 2004).

[459] See Albert I. Baumgarten, "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Ancient Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Greco-Roman World* (ed. Martin Goodman; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 93-111.

[460] 1QS 6.7b-8a.

[461] See Deut 31:9

will be questioned by rank and reveal each one's knowledge by rank (1QS 5.8b-10a).[462]

Each session engages in many judicial activities: teaching law, interpreting scripture, examining knowledge of members, and considering cases of transgression and other disciplinary matters. Much of the legal code governing behavior during these assemblies in 1QS 6-7 revolves around proper speech.[463]

More than half of the precepts to be judged during the evening relate to improper speech, including: lying, insulting, laughing out loud, speaking out of turn, answering stubbornly or impatiently.[464] Offenses that result in banishment include speaking the deity's name, slandering the community, or grumbling against its authority.[465] As Newsom comments, these assemblies provide "a means for the ideals of the community to be realized and regularly instilled in the members."[466] In these assemblies, the priests always spoke first, yet priests and people (also called the Israelites) deliberate and judge together. While judicial activity was communal, the decisions of the Many must be accepted or else the dissenter would be expelled.[467]

The seating arrangement and, thus, the speaking order reflect the bodily arrangement in the covenant renewal ceremony. While it is probable that the community

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[462] CD organizes the Many by priests, Levites, Israelites and proselytes (CD 14.7).

[463] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 143-48.

[464] 1QS 7.9-14; 26.

[465] 1QS 7.16b-17b.

[466] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 145.

[467] Similar to the decisions of the priest and judge in Deut 17.

entered assemblies in the order of priest, Levites, and people, it is unlikely that there were

numbers sufficient for units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. Indeed, this

arrangement is conceptual. Yet why include the units at all? The reference of bodies in

units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, etc., allows participants in the covenant renewal

ceremony and the assemblies to manipulate the physical space of the Judean wilderness

in a way that reminds participants of the previous associations and events of that

arrangement. Recreating the arrangement—even conceptually—plays on the emotions of

the participants to encourage them to feel as if they were present in the stories and

memories of the past. As Berquist notes:

> Once the audience shifts from claiming that their ancestors or neighbors
> experienced an event to believing that they too have experienced it, even if only
> in symbol, ritual, simulacrum, or re-enactment, their sense of identity shifts to
> become one with these others. Nostalgia, real and constructed, is a powerful
> force.[468]

This is what Soja refers to when he discusses the real and the imagined.[469] In other words,

recalling the practice of assembling the people in numbered groups specifically connects

with the practice of appointing judges. Because the practice of judging peers is so

essential to the *Yahad*'s practice, the particular arrangement of thousands, hundreds,

fifties, and tens evokes the biblical practice of appointing judges and integrates it into the

practice of covenant renewal. This self-identification with biblical practice becomes an

essential component of their Thirdspace identity. The *Yahad* is not merely practicing the

biblical ritual of covenant renewal, they employ a blend of biblical resources that results

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[468] Berquist, "Spaces of Jerusalem," 49. See also Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*.

[469] See Soja, *Thirdspace*, 239-244.

in something entirely different—a Thirdspace—but one that feels completely authentic. The reverse is true as well: the judicial practices performed in rank in the assemblies recall the covenant renewal ceremony. These conceptual meanings (or imagined space) order and define a new "reality." The imagined becomes real through the workings of the mind and body.[470]

It bears repeating that space is socially constructed and always changing. In turn, it does not matter if the individual was present for the activities in the Hebrew Bible, or even if the activities actually occurred or not, for the formation is a social memory. In this way, the body and its habitus play an important role in this manipulation of space and transformation of place.[471] Edward Casey writes that habitus ". . . emphasizes the way in which past experiences ingress into the present hold on place."[472] This is essential to a place's continuity and ongoingness. He continues:

> Only the body hold together, in one coherent entity, the sense of place, the past pertinent to that place (that is, via body memories), and the orienting power which place requires. The body is the only aspect of our being—individual or collective—capable of *performing place*, that is to say, making place a living reality.[473]

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[470] Soja is heavily influenced by Baudrillard here. See Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* and Soja, *Thirdspace*, 239-244.

[471] Habitus is the system of values, dispositions, and social relationships that guides individuals and groups to act in particular ways within particular sociocultural contxts. For more on habitus and its relation to Thirdspace, see chapter two pgs. 75-80.

[472] Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 718.

[473] Emphasis mine. Casey, "Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?," 718.

In this way, place (or Thirdspace) is never fixed—it is always changing and ever-altering. Through the entry formation, the body has the quality of simultaneously being place and shaping place. We see this when the formation is reproduced in everyday activities such as the assembly of the Many (1QS 6.8-23). In their nightly judicial sessions, covenant members not only perform the judicial appointments of Exodus and Deuteronomy, but recall the covenant renewal ceremony as well. The body moves and blends these spaces and turns the imagined into reality. The judicial discourse found in the bodily arrangement creates a link to power: the power of past to legitimize the present. Space, in this case, judicial space, re-appears in the body.

To summarize: In Exodus and Deuteronomy, this arrangement was used to describe the people during judicial appointments. The *Yahad* enters these assemblies in rank order, understood as the same arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony. When the *Yahad* blends and reproduces these spaces in the covenant renewal ceremony and the assemblies of judicial activities, they reinterpret the Secondspace of the Hebrew Bible—each member of the covenant has the authority to interpret and judge (although the Many has the final word). The arrangement simultaneously reflects and reproduces hierarchy and social control within the *Yahad*. By tapping into and reinterpreting the space of Deuteronomy and Exodus, covenant members engage in a critical strategy that helps inform a new identity and Thirdspace—an "other" space that includes Secondspace understandings of the judicial practice that are acted out in lived experience. At the same time, the military context of this arrangement, to which I turn next, should not be overlooked.

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The Covenant Renewal Ceremony Arrangement and Military Practice

The entrance into and arrangement of the covenant renewal ceremony recall not only judicial practice of the wilderness community, but also military practice.[474] The Hebrew Bible contains many examples from the wilderness period and beyond in which armies are divided into units of thousands, hundreds, etc.[475] This formation persists into the Second Temple period, as read in I Macc 3:55, where Judas continues the revolt initiated by Mattathias against those who defiled the sanctuary. Here, Judas appoints leaders over his army of people, divided into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens.

We find this type of division in other Scroll manuscripts as well, most significantly in the *War Scroll* (1QM).[476] This manuscript details the war between the children of light and the children of darkness, the latter who are aided by a nation called the *Kittim*.[477] In this text, the temple cult is restored, and with divine intervention the

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[474] See Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (trans. Bernhard Anderson; London: Scholars Press, 1981); Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (ed. J. Barr, P. Ackroyd, B. Anderson et al.; Louisville, Kent.: Westminster Press, 1976).

[475] See Num 31:14, 48; 1 Sam 17:18; 1 Chr 28:1; 2 Chr 25:5; See also 2 Chr 23:1; Isa 3:3; 1 Macc 3:55.

[476] See also 1QSa 1.14, 2.1 (cf 2.21-22; 1.6-2.9); CD 13.1-2 (cf 10.6-7; 14.6-9, etc.); 11Q19 22.2; 57.4; 58.4; 11Q20 5.9, maybe 5.23; 4.5; 4Q491 f1 3.10. For a detailed study on the relationship between 1QM and 1QSa, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of Congregation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

[477] At other times in the manuscript, the war is described as between Israel and the nations. On the date, genre, and composition of the War Scroll (1QM), see Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. T 3, 4Q482-4Q520* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 7; Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977); and Yigael

children of light defeat the children of darkness. The text details a future seven-stage, forty year battle. While there are several links between the *War Scroll* and the Hebrew Bible, there are few links between the *War Scroll* and other Scroll manuscripts. The exceptions that are usually noted by scholars are the significant parallels between the dualistic worldview of the *War Scroll* and 1QS 2.13-4.26 (Teaching on the Two Spirits) and between the blessings and curses in the *War Scroll* 13.1-6 and 1QS 2.1-18. In addition, in each of these manuscripts, the people of Israel are organized and composed in units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. This bodily composition, found in military contexts in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple literature, and other Scroll manuscripts, opens the door to examining the covenant renewal arrangement in light of military Secondspace.

(1) Military Components of 1QS

The discourse and daily practices of the *Yahad* parallel ancient military practice in significant ways. As detailed earlier in relation to the building of the tabernacle sanctuary, members of the *Yahad* are called מתנדבים or "volunteers."[478] In the Hebrew Bible this title describes the fighting forces in Deborah's Song from Judg 5 and those who volunteer to lead battalions in 2 Chron 17:16. The latter reference has an additional cultic component as one leader, Amasiah, is called a מתנדב ליהוה. Indeed, the very title of

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Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. and C. Rabin; London: Oxford University, 1962).

[478] See also pgs. 127-138 for discussion of this term and sacrificial offering.

the document, *serekh*, found throughout 1QS, has a military connotation.[479] There are

other examples in the Hebrew Bible that connect volunteers, military success, and the

temple cult. Nehemiah 11:2 describes those who return to Judah from Babylon and

volunteer to live in Jerusalem. In Ezra 2:68, the verb of נדב refers to the returnee's

offering of wealth in order to rebuild the temple. Like the returnees of Nehemiah and

Ezra, members of the *Yahad* volunteered themselves and their wealth for the restoration

of the temple or sanctuary.[480]

  While many scholars note the biblical precedence of priests sharing property from

a common fund provided by sacrifices, tithes, etc., sharing property also a features

prominently in military life. In addition, Yonder Gillihan argues that there are strong

analogies between the initiation into the community and procedures to enlist in the

Roman army. In both cases, enlistment begins with an application to an officer and

includes moral scrutiny. In Roman armies, accepted recruits took a military oath that

affirmed loyalty to "the gods, the emperor, commanding officers, and the laws of the

camp."[481] The soldier renewed his oath annually during a communal ceremony, followed

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[479] 1QS 1.16; 2.20-21; 5.1, 23; 6.8, 22; There are at least four different meanings of the term *serekh* in the Dead Sea Scrolls: (1) a book; (2) a list of rules that provide a boundary of sorts so that one could enter into the *serekh*; (3) a heading for instructions for a particular group, e.g., the *Yahad* or the hosts of the congregation; (4) a military grouping (cf. 1QSa and 1QM). See Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, 60-68; Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations*, 10-13.

[480] Based on these connections, Yonder Gillihan argues that these biblical connections support the possibility that the *Yahad* was preparing for war. Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls*, 311; See also discussion of tabernacle sanctuary pgs. 127-138.

[481] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls*, 379.

by his registration in writing. Another strong analogy between the *Yahad* and Roman

armies, according to Gillihan, is the practice of collecting and registering property into a

common fund, which can be seen in 1QS 6.18b-23.

While the overlap between entrance into Roman armies and entrance into the

Yahad is compelling and interesting, we do not need to look beyond the Hebrew Bible for

connections between the daily practices of the *Yahad* and ancient Jewish armies. The

laws of the war camp, as detailed in Deut 23, require celibacy among the men, which

may also have been required of some members in the *Yahad*. There are further

connections between Deut 23 and the rules for the *Yahad*; indeed, Josephus' description

of the Essenes appears to be based on the military laws of this biblical passage. For

example, according to Josephus, a new initiate receives a trowel or hatchet in order to,

among other things, dig a hole and bury one's defecation—a practice that follows the war

camp laws of Deut 23 in order that the deity may not see anything indecent.[482]

The references to the Day of Vengeance are a final martial aspect to 1QS.[483] The

manuscript of 1QS addresses a figure called the מכיל, or the Maskil.[484] Gillihan

convincingly argues that while the Maskil was not a general, his position did reflect

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[482] See Josephus, *B.J.* 2.137; Deut 23:13.

[483] See 1QS 9.25; 10.19. In addition, the *War Scroll*, which detailed the final war between the children of light and children of darkness, was one of the most carefully preserved scrolls of Cave 1.

[484] The Maskil is often translated as "Sage." For more, see Carol A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maśkîl," in *Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 373-382; Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999), 67-92.

military ideals, especially in his role in preparing for the Day of Vengeance. He argues

the Maskil and covenant members prepared for war through cultic means, thereby

emulating biblical heroes "whose conquests came through God's direct action against

Israel's enemies."[485] However, it is not clear who exactly the Maskil is and the

manuscript gives no indication of his qualifications for office. We are told that he is "the

officer in charge at the head of the Many."[486] Yet the Maskil had many pedagogical and

liturgical duties, including the judgment of members' character and the preparation of

members for the Day of Vengeance.[487] Newsom rightly argues that the Maskil embodies

all of the *Yahad*'s virtues.[488] In addition to evaluating the character of each member,[489] he

delivers judgment,[490] brings members into the *Yahad*,[491] and avoids arguments with the

"men of the pit" so that the "counsel of Torah" may be concealed from the "men of

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[485] Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls*, 448-52; See Exod 14-15; Josh 6; 10:8-14; Judg 7:9-23; 2 Kgs 7:3-8; 2 Chr 20:13-23.

[486] Vermès argues that the Maskil and the Inspector (מבקר) are the same person. See Vermès, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 97. See also Charlotte Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," in *Damascus Document* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 69-84.

[487] 1QS 9.12-23a; See also 4Q298, Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn; 1QSb.

[488] See Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 165-174.

[489] 1QS 9.14-15a.

[490] 1QS 9.15b.

[491] 1QS 9.15c-16a.

deception."[492] There may have been several Maskilim at one time given the multiple

number of camps in the *Yahad*.[493]

To summarize: The means of preparing for war are often (rightly) understood in

relation to the cult of atonement: strict levels of purity, attention to celestial signs, and

other liturgical activities.[494] Thus, there are several connections between 1QS and

military ideals: the titles of "volunteers" and *serekh*, the sharing of property, the initiation

procedures, the shared practices with Deut 23, and the role of the Maskil in preparation

for the Day of Vengeance. These military discourses and practices feed into Secondspace,

symbolic understandings of the bodily arrangement in the covenant renewal ceremony.

Whenever members enter the ceremony and invoke the conceptual understanding of units

of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens not only do they invoke judicial practices, they

also emplace military practices, opening a blend of symbolic meaning that informs the

Yahad's daily practices when reproducing this arrangement. According to 1QS, members

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[492] 1QS 9.16b-17a.

[493] See Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 154-155. The Maskil is mentioned in several of the Scroll manuscripts, including: CD 12.21; 13.22; 4Q266 5 I, 17; 4Q400 3 ii, 5, 8; 4Q510 1, 4, etc.

[494] Influenced by Greek and Roman literature on warfare, Gillihan argues that there are military elements to the *Yahad*'s liturgy. Like the generals of Greek and Roman armies such as Onasander and Cicero, the Maskil "led communal cultic observations of celestial signs" and "interpreted the positions and movements of the luminaries in a way that demonstrated that he had expert knowledge of the divine order by which they were governed" which were understood to lead to either a prosperous battle or withdrawal from plans. These texts also stressed the importance of correct timing to engage in battle – a task given to the Maskil in 1QS 10.19-21 (cf. 9.16-17, 21-22; 11.1-2). See Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls*, 448-53. See also Onasander, *Strategikos*, esp. 10.10.27; Cicero, *Republic*.

participated in the ritual of communal meals, another practice shared with military camps.[495]

(2) Spatial Practice of Meals

During communal meals, members ate, blessed, and took counsel, strengthening the *Yahad*'s identity and purpose and uniting members around shared goals.[496] At the same time, just like the assemblies of the Many, these meals centered around the rank and hierarchy determined in the initiation period and conceptually invoked, if not physically demonstrated, in the covenant renewal ceremony.[497] Members both entered the meals and took their seats according to rank. The blessing pronounced before touching the food proceeded according to rank, beginning with the priests and continuing through the remaining members. During the meals, members were questioned, according to rank, concerning the law. These meals reinforce the hierarchy and social rankings of covenant members; each time a communal meal was held, the covenant was invoked. In this way,

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[495] Many scholars understand communal meals in light of Hellenistic practices, instead. See Klinghardt, "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," 28-29.

[496] 1QS uses the term *Yahad* six times in its description of the meal, indicating communal activity.

[497] There is no evidence regarding how frequently community meals occurred. 1QSa 2.21-22 says "they shall act according to this statute for every meal in which ten men are gathered." Arnold notes that "if we take 1QS 6.2-3 to represent a prescription for the Yahad to 'eat, bless, and take counsel together,' then we should conclude that they ate together on a regular basis, at least daily" Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, 96. Note that Josephus describes the Essenes' communal meal as a daily gathering and indicates that those present may have been served according to rank.

the communal meals invoked the imagined Secondspace of the covenant renewal

ceremony and vice versa.

If one needed to be in a pure state in order to touch the food of the community, it

follows that one would need to be in a pure state in order to participate in the communal

meals.[498] Indeed, purity was another key feature of these meals. Entrance into the

covenant community occurred in stages that were marked by participation in the pure

food and drink.[499] Participation in these meals indicated full membership in the *Yahad*.[500]

Access to food and drink also depended upon one's purity. Ritually impure members

were certainly restricted from the pure food. Like the temple priests, members of the

Yahad were required to purify themselves before consuming the consecrated food.[501] In

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[498] 1QS 6.4-6; For archaeological evidence related to communal meals at Qumran, see Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 11-14; Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology*, 113-126.

[499] See pgs. 148-154 of current chapter.

[500] P. Bilde, "The Common Meal in the Qumran-Essene Communities," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (ed. I. Nielsen and H. S. Nielsen; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998); Dennis E. Smith, "Meals," 1:530-32; Karl G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran," in *Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 65-93.
See also See 4Q514 line 4; cf. 4Q274 2 I; 4Q512 II 9. Regarding the rule of the pure food and drink and who could participate, see Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," 67-92; J. Licht, "Some Terms and Concepts of Ritual Purity in the Qumran Writings," in *Studies in the Bible Presented to Professor M.H. Segal* (ed. Jacob Liver; Jerusalem: Israel Society for Biblical Research, 1964), 300-309.

[501] Lev 7:19-21, 21:23; see 4Q514 1. 4; cf. 4Q274 2 I; 4Q512 II 9. In addition, the harvest (4Q274 3), storage, and consumption of the food appear to be analogous to the consecrated food of the temple.

addition, those who stray from the *Yahad*'s way of life were excluded from the pure

food.[502] 1QS 8.16-18 reads:

> And anyone of the men of the Yahad, of the covenant of the Yahad, who turns
> away from any commandment may not touch the pure food of the men of
> holiness, nor know any of their counsels until his deeds have been cleansed from
> all iniquity by walking in the perfect way.[503]

Many scholars rightly note that the rules regarding the purity of members before and

during meals coincide with the purity regulations regarding entrance into the sanctuary

before sacrifice and sanctified meals.[504] This leads many to argue that meals should be

understood as sacrifice.[505] Scholars often cite Josephus, who describes the communal

meals of the Essenes, in support of the argument that meals replace sacrifice. He writes

> Then, after working without interruption until the fifth hour, they reassemble in
> the same place and, girded with linen loin-cloths, bathe themselves thus in cold
> water. After this purification they assemble in a special building to which no one
> is admitted who is not of the same faith; they themselves only enter the refectory
> if they are pure, as though into a holy precinct. When they are quietly seated, the
> baker serves out the loaves of bread in order, and the cooks serves only one
> bowlful of one dish to each man.[506]

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[502] According to the penal code in the *Community Rule* (1QS 6.24-7.25), further
actions that exclude one from the pure food include: lying about property, speaking
against a priest in anger, insulting a fellow member, and dealing treacherously with the
truth.

[503] cf. CD 9.21, 23.

[504] In 1QM 2.5-6, שולחן, one term for the sacrificial altar in the Hebrew Bible,
indicates both the sacrificial altar and the communal meal table.

[505] Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*,
10-13; Bilde, "The Common Meal in the Qumran-Essene Communities," 10-13;
Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and
Jesus*, 191-92; cf. 259-60; Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its
Archaeology*, 113-126.

[506] Josephus, *J.W.*, 2.129-31. Translation from Goodman and Vermès, *The
Essenes according to the Classical Sources*, 41.

There are many similarities between Josephus' description of the Essenes and the

description of the communal meals in the Scrolls: the donning of white robes, bathing

before the meal, and the exclusion of all but full community members in partaking of the

meal. Josephus also conceptualizes the refectory as a "holy precinct," analogous to a

temple. If we assume the Essenes were related to the *Yahad* in some way, then Josephus'

account is strong evidence that we can understand the communal meals as held in a

sanctuary-like building, but it does not follow that meals replaced sacrifices.[507]

The covenant members believed themselves to be living in the last days, waiting

for the messianic era to arrive. In this way, communal meals reflect an eschatological

understanding of a future meal with the deity. Russell Arnold writes:

> Comparison between the *Rule of the Community* and the *Rule of the Congregation*
> provides evidence that there was some connection between the regular meals of
> the community and the meal to be presided over by the priestly messiah, and the
> messiah of Israel in the last days.[508]

Rather than sacrifice, these communal meals anticipated the day when the deity would

restore the Temple and Israel, and the two messiahs would appear.[509]

Both 1QSa 2:4-9, a description of the eschatological assembly, and 1QM 7.4-6, a

description of the eschatological war camp, require participants to be physically without

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[507] C.f. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, 98.

[508] Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, 98-99.

[509] These meals were a preview of the eschatological banquet as detailed in 1QSa 2.17b-22. See Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 74-78; See also: Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 116; Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, 98-99.

blemish.[510] This is based on Lev 21:16-24, or the requirements of priests who serve in the sanctuary. According to 1QSa, the same is required of those who enter into the council of the community and participant in the eschatological banquet. Indeed, there is a well-known correspondence between the temple cult and war camps. In this way, the meals are informed not only by temple space, but also the space of wartime military units. Before this eschatological meal, however, is the forty-year war between the children of light and the children of darkness.

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[510] The *Damascus Document* informs us that people who enter community must be physically whole. See 4QD^a 8 I, 6-9=CD15.15-17; Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 63-64; a similar requirement is found in 1QSa 2.4-9 and 1QM 7.4-6 regarding members of the eschatological assembly and eschatological war camp, respectively. CD states:

> no light-minded [f]ool shall come (into the congregation). Neither shall any simple minded or errant man, nor one with dimmed eyes who cannot see, [nor] a limping or lame or deaf person, nor a young boy, none of these shall [come] into the congregation, for the hol[y] angels [are in their midst].

4QD^a 8 I, 6-9=CD 15.15-17; reconstruction and translation by Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)*, 63-64. On the differences between 1QS 6.13-23 and CD 15.5-16, see Philip R. Davies, "Who Can Join the 'Damascus Covenant'," *JJS* 46 (1995): 134-142; Göran Forkman, *The Limits of Religious Community, Expulsion from the Religious Community Within the Qumran Sect, Within Rabbinic Judaism, and Within Primitive Christianity* (Lund: Gleerup, 1972), 52-70; Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*, 97-101; Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," 134-42. According to these restrictions, possibly an interpretation of Lev 21:16-24, if a candidate were unfit for service in the temple, he would not be eligible to enter community. Some scholars understand these restrictions to apply only to the communal assembly. See Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 185-186; and Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of Congregation*, 47-48. Others interpret the passage to imply the community in general. See Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 85-86; Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, 114.

Given the connection between the formation of units in the covenant renewal

ceremony and military units, one could understand these meals as an expression of

Thirdspace. Integrating this military symbolism into the covenant renewal ceremony,

assemblies of the Many, and communal meals not only legitimizes the hierarchical order

of the community, but also restructures the members into agents of the divine army, ready

to restore cosmic order.

The covenant renewal ceremony and the description of the covenant members'

entrance in 1QS 2.19 begins with a reminder that the *Yahad* is living in the days of

Belial's reign. In general, Belial is a figure that represents evil in the Scrolls.[511] Members

of the *Yahad* believed themselves to be living in a period of time called the end of days or

the last days, thought to be the period before a decisive end to history during which time

some will experience judgment and others will receive redemption.[512] Belial was the

name of the ruler of dark forces called the "children of darkness." Outsiders, both Jews

and Gentile, were considered subjects of Belial and governed by the Angel of

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[511] The name Belial occurs in the Hebrew Bible as well, but its meaning is not fully known. In general, Belial refers to either a negative attitude or mythological character. Belial is connected with death and the underworld in Ps 18:5 and 2 Sam 22:5. In other places, Belial is associated with critique of cult officials or identifies those who encourage illegitimate worship (see 1 Sam 2:12 and Deut 13:14, respectively). It is not clear whether this use of the term is connected to a mythological character, such as the leader of the underworld. For more information, see Michael Mach, "Demons," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L. Schiffman, J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford, 2000), 189-92; and Benedict Otzen, "בלייל" in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1975), 131-36.

[512] For a concise description of this topic, see the work and bibliography of VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 264-74.

Darkness.[513] 1QS 1.9b-11a, the "Teaching on the Two Spirits," gives us insight into the dualistic worldview of the *Yahad* and tells of the two divisions of humanity: the children of light, to whom God reveals truth and shows mercy, and the children of darkness, whom God rejects and who will inherit the vengeance of God.[514] Through interpretation of scripture and other texts, the *Yahad* believed they could know future events because the deity had already determined them. The *Yahad* expected the future restoration of Israel and the coming of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel, after which time their liturgy and activities will come to an end or, at least, change, and Belial and the children of darkness would be defeated.[515]

These self-identifiers and constructions of the "other" are part of the sectarian authors' spatial map of the cosmos. Indeed, Belial is a social construction representing an alternative social order. In other words, Belial embodies the chaos that threatens the life of the community and what that life represents. Belial threatens the very cosmic order of the universe.

To be sure, there is a direct relation between military language and cosmic order. This relationship is found as early as Assyrian documents and continues in the Hebrew Bible. In this ideology, the king defends the cosmic order through military action against a chaotic enemy.[516] In Mesopotamia, Israel, and Judah, the human king has the role of

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[513] See 1QS 2.4b-5a; 3.20b-21a; 4.19b; cp. 1.18, 23-24; 2.19.

[514] 1QS 1.8, 22.

[515] 1QS 2.19; the same eschatological expectation is found in D.

[516] Much research has been done on this topic. For a recent study and extensive bibliography, see C. L. Crouch, *War and Ethics in the Ancient Near East: Military*

defending order on Earth, which is directly connected to the deity's defense of order

during creation. Military engagement and victory is the crucial act that facilitates the

creation of an ordered universe. This statement is not novel, but how does it connect with

1QS, composed and redacted centuries later than the ancient near Eastern texts? Once

again, we must remember that these mythologies and ideologies are part of the cultural

environment in which 1QS existed. We cannot make meaning outside our system of

discourses.[517]

    Thus, in their annual covenant ceremony entrance formation and again in the

assemblies and meals, the *Yahad* forms rank against Belial and prepares to restore

order.[518] In other words, the *Yahad*, among many other things, really is an army ready for

war. The martial units of thousands, hundreds, etc. in the covenant renewal ceremony

does not merely serve the purpose of disciplinary organization during the covenant

renewal ceremony. The *Yahad* is symbolically preparing for battle against Belial.

    By reproducing military space in the covenant renewal ceremony, the *Yahad*

constructs and creates a new order in their effort to defeat chaos. They *reinterpret* the

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Violence in Light of Cosmology and History (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). See John
Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old
Testament* (New York: Cambridge University, 1985). Psalms includes the strongest
evidence of the tradition of chaos embodied by watery sea creatures (see Pss 89, 93, 24,
18).

[517] See discussion in chapter two, pgs. 69-75.

[518] Concern over order and proper behavior permeates 1QS – beginning with its
title, *serekh*, Hebrew for "order," and reiterated in the blessings and punishments listed in
the document. With self-descriptions such as "community of truth," "holy council," and
"everlasting society," the *Yahad* understands themselves to maintain order in a chaotic
period.

division of bodies of the wilderness community by integrating it into the covenant

renewal ceremony, thus integrating interpretation and cosmology with community

membership and the body. Each reproduction of this division, such as at meals and

meetings, invokes these symbolic understandings. But it is not only these symbolic

understandings that are referenced, but a new experience is formed. In describing the

covenant renewal ceremony by reproducing the spaces of judgment and military, the

authors and redactors of 1QS argue for a particular ritual order. This contributes to the

Secondspace understandings of covenant and how community members produce

meaning—they stand in formation, ready to judge (and be judged?), but also ready to

restore cosmic order through military feat.[519]

By invoking a time when non-priestly leaders were given the authority to interpret

law and act as judges coupled with times of military conquest, the bodily formation of the

covenant renewal ceremony transfers power to covenant members whenever they

reproduce their rank formation. At the same time, members of the renewed covenant use

this formation—or reinterpret it—to produce a new place with their own ideals.

Victor Matthews, in his reflections on the relationship between memory and

space, notes

> Once space in all of its dimensions has become indelibly defined through
> repetition of social practice as it serves its domestic, sacred, or official role, then
> the collective memory of the community tends to perpetuate that spatial
> conception as part of the 'mental map' of their living and working space.[520]

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[519] See also 1QM, or the *War Scroll*, which uses this formation together with the wilderness language of "camps."

[520] Matthews, "Remembered Space in Biblical Narrative," 62.

There is memory attached to the covenant renewal ceremony, assemblies, and meals, and, perhaps surprisingly, it is not the memory of mountains but of judgment and military. These memories are attached to the bodily formation of the *Yahad*—wherever it is reproduced and, in turn, influence the use of social space when it is reproduced. The ceremony establishes and reestablishes the *Yahad* each year, distributing power amongst its members and arranging the community in a powerful formation that encompasses past, present, and future. Not only does the formation of the bodies physically and conceptually demonstrates authority and purpose, but it also is a "spatial link to the past" that legitimizes the *Yahad*'s position as interpreters of law, military units, and so on. In the fashion of Thirdspace, the formation is transformed into something new and something fluid and dynamic. Once again, as Soja argues, Thirdspace deconstructs spatial thinking—it is not only an "other" space, but also an "other than" space, not to be poured back into an old container. In the covenant renewal ceremony and each time rank is reproduced, new understandings of military and judicial practices are invoked, including new understandings of priestly authority and cosmic order. In this way, the covenant members strategically turn space into place.

Memory is a powerful force in the production of place and has the ability to not only strengthen or revive past associations of space—or Secondspace—but also to continue the production of space and meaning—or Thirdspace. Matthews writes also

> . . . the collective memory or knowledge about particular social space, along with its previous associations, becomes a form of political 'capital' when used to produce an effect on an audience or to serve the aims of the one who combines the manipulations of physical actions with social imagery attached to space.[521]

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[521] Matthews, "Remembered Space in Biblical Narrative," 69.

In the case of the covenant renewal ceremony, several factors come into play that help transform social memories from remembered Secondspace into lived Thirdspace: the physical domain of the wilderness, the conceptual placement of the bodies into units and subunits, the actions of participants, the hierarchical nature of that placement, and the words spoken in the ceremony. While the past is often invoked, the covenant renewal ceremony—which is reproduced in the daily activities such as assemblies and meals—is redefined and reused for particular social purposes that are present and future oriented: to enter the community, to enter the divine army, and to be trained in interpretation. Indeed, the covenant renewal ceremony blends covenant space with several powerful spaces that construct purpose and identity for the *Yahad*.

Conclusions

The Firstspace of the Judean wilderness invokes communal memories from the Hebrew Bible. Edward Casey suggests: "to remember is to re-emplace oneself, or to be so re-emplaced—and perhaps the reverse also holds, perhaps *to be emplaced* is also *to remember*."[522] Indeed, the *Yahad*'s place in the wilderness certainly recalls experiences of refuge, camp formation, etc., yet the *Yahad* also reinterprets these experiences in order to address their shortcomings without a physical temple.

The *Yahad* remembers wilderness Secondspaces in a bodily and conceptual way, but they are changing these spaces, too. The arrangement of the covenant renewal

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[522] Jeff Malpas, "The Remembrance of Place," in *Exploring the Work of Edward Casey: Giving Voice to Place, Memory, and Imagination* (eds. Azucena Cruz-Pierre and Donald A. Landes; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 63-72.

ceremony is a practice that can be understood as an act of remembrance through ritual

activity that is tied to space– in particular, judicial and military spaces. It is a collective

memory that the people present do not have to have experienced directly. The wilderness

experience already existed for the *Yahad* in their social memory and by moving to the

wilderness and forming this arrangement they are able to encounter the past through

place. It is a focal point of emotional memories that the *Yahad* tapped into to create a new

place.

Remembrance, or memory, can be understood as a placing or re-placing; memory

connects not only the past, but it is very much connected to the present. Indeed, as J.Z.

Smith writes: ". . . [Memory] is a complex and deceptive experience. It appears to be

preeminently a matter of the past, yet it is as much an affair of the present. It appears to

be preeminently a matter of time, yet it is as much an affair of space."[523] Once again,

space is not an empty loci to be filled with memories and later recalled. Place, in the

words of Smith, is an "active product of intellection," not a passive receptacle.[524] A

central component to the *Yahad*'s creation of a new place, or Thirdspace, is the particular

bodily arrangement in the covenant renewal ceremony.

Through the covenant renewal ceremony and the daily practices—or lived

experience—detailed in 1QS, priestly, judicial, and military spaces are redefined in large

part through the arrangement of bodies—or the perceived arrangement—during these

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[523] Smith, *To Take Place*, 25; On the porous boundary between past and present, see Andreas Huyssen, ed., *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (ed. Mieke Bal and Hent de Vries; Stanford: Stanford University, 2003).

[524] Smith, *To Take Place*, 26.

social events. I argue that the discourse of the arrangement of bodies intentionally reinterprets space—by which I mean it is not intended to be an exact reproduction of its prior associations (i.e. judicial appointments and military units); rather, it is a hybrid of spaces from the past that creates new social and spatial understandings for the present and future—especially surrounding understandings of priestly authority and cosmic order. The mental mapping of this space is altered and, while maintaining a cultural link to the past, is used for new purposes.[525] In this Thirdspace, identities are fluid and reshaped by practice.

To take on a new covenant, to give new expression to sacrifice and priestly authority, to re-place the wilderness arrangement, is to exercise great power and symbolic capitol. While the previous chapter detailed how temple is part on the on-going identity formation of the *Yahad*, so, too, is wilderness. This highlights the fluidity of not just the *Yahad*'s religious identity, but also the places and spaces that are embedded and entangled in that identity.[526]

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[525] As discussed in Matthews, "Remembered Space in Biblical Narrative," 71.

[526] For further reading on the mobility of places, see Kinnard, *Places in Motion: The Fluid Identities of Temples, Images, and Pilgrims*.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

For those who study the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is clear that historical methods dominate the field. As Robert Kugler reminds us: "We have for too long asked the Scrolls to give us evidence of social realities where the literature more often seems to convey imagined realities instead."[527] As the introduction to this study indicates, a spatial analysis does not ignore history. Rather, certain historical assumptions are taken into account: there was a sectarian community at a remote location next to the Dead Sea called Qumran, and several other outlying wilderness communities were connected to this group; these communities—called the *Yahad*—at minimum, treasured and studied the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus; the *Yahad* separated themselves from the Jerusalem Temple due to, in part, disagreements in purity law, and, according to 1QS and archeological data, participated in daily, ritualized activities.

However, unlike those who study modern sectarian groups, we do not have live behavior to observe. We have only texts, but the variety of texts found in the caves near Qumran testify that the *Yahad* had an active religious imagination, influenced by the writings known today as the Hebrew Bible and the political and cultural realities of the

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[527] Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," 114.

Second Temple Period.[528] As discussed in Chapter two, we need to adjust our view of the

Scrolls from conveying historical facts to being active, dynamic participants in the life of

the *Yahad*. This does not preclude historical information; rather, this way of

understanding texts views them as cultural products that are capable of restructuring

social interactions.

In light of this view, attention to space has much to offer in one's interpretation.

Indeed, as Soja argues, spatiality is often ignored in critical examinations of our world,

taking a backseat to historical and social approaches. Yet one of the reasons I find Soja's

spatial triad so compelling is that it does not ignore historical and social questions; rather,

it combines them and extends them with questions of a spatial nature. That space (and

place) was essential to the *Yahad* is clear in 1QS, a rule text, with its strong language of

temple, sanctuary, judicial, and military practices. Indeed, the self-imposed separation

from the center of sacred space in Second Temple Judaism—the Jerusalem Temple—into

the liminal space of the wilderness necessitates the creation of a new place for the *Yahad*.

As such, attention to space is a useful and apt approach to interpreting one of their

foundational documents—1QS.

As students of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we pass on to the next generation the way we

organize the manuscripts and summarize their meanings and purpose, shaping general

and specific understandings of the Scrolls and the people who used them. There is still

much to learn from the Scrolls and there will always be disagreement among those who

study them. At the same time, there are dominant discourses that arise from research—

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[528] Copies or fragments of every book in the Hebrew Bible were found at Qumran with the exception of the book of Esther.

one of which is that *Yahad* identified itself as a temple of some sort. It has become a habit in most scholarship to discuss the community who followed 1QS as a temple, one that I argue should be re-examined in light of spatial theory.[529] As such, I argue that, when describing the *Yahad*, we need to move beyond focusing on the "type" of temple – metaphorical, spiritual, eschatological, etc. Instead of discussing the community as a temple, we need to change the discourse and discuss spatiality, or spatial practice, in 1QS, which includes a multiplicity of fluid temple spaces.

Social relationships and the way we understand them are always changing. Incorporating theoretical perspectives from Bakhtin, Bourdieu, and Soja, constructs an understanding of language, text, and spatiality that shows us a dynamic community capable of introducing new meaning and new behavior. During the liminal period when the *Yahad* considered the Jerusalem Temple defiled and the new temple had not been restored or rebuilt, the authors of 1QS transformed the spatiality of temple into a mobile place through discourse and practice. The *Yahad* is not a replacement temple. Rather, the *Yahad* engaged in a spatial response to the defilement of the Temple. Temple discourse is not merely the product of the *Yahad*'s lexicon or grammar—it is a resource to be deployed, an active strategy of symbolic power. It organizes social relationships and addresses concerns for a community without a physical temple: stability, prosperity, and control. In turn, members of the *Yahad* experience temple.

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[529] While I am critiquing the dominant academic discourse about the community as a temple, I acknowledge that I am participating in a discourse from another particular social viewpoint—one that is not separate from the social, historical, and cultural dimensions of modern Scrolls academics—but, influenced by spatial theory, takes into account embodied habits and spatiality of texts.

In this study, I challenge the traditional interpretation of the "community as temple" summary found in academic discourse. To be sure, the *Yahad* is described as a temple in 1QS, yet attention to temple space complicates this neat picture. Instead of merely describing the "community as temple" (of some sort), I argue we should instead think of the temple as a critical strategy the *Yahad* used to think through and redefine social and divine relationships such as priestly authority and sacrifice. The authors, redactors, and followers of 1QS are thinking with the temple, not completely replacing it. The imagined, Secondspace understandings of temple and atonement overlay the *Yahad* through embodied temple practice that unmoors the concept of temple from Jerusalem to the *Yahad*'s body (individual and collective), creating a mobile, fluid place.

I believe that a spatial theoretic perspective offers a unique framework for reading the Scrolls in general and the temple discourse and practice of 1QS in particular. This framework allows me to not only talk about the temple self-identification found in 1QS, but also the implications of this identity. Rather than focusing on which existing type of temple the *Yahad* emulates, I argue that temple is a fluid concept, transcending both geographical location and historical period. Indeed, the multiplicity of temple and sanctuary imagery in the Scrolls demonstrates the fluidity and dynamism of the *Yahad*'s idea of temple—and, in turn, sacred space.

The way in which scholars of the Scrolls approach the "community as temple" metaphor is as much a part of the temple discourse of 1QS as the words of 1QS themselves (and informs how one reads temple spatiality in the text). Temple discourse is not limited to the language of 1QS. What we read *about* 1QS is as influential as what we

read *in* it. It is a scholarly discourse that, in light of spatial theory, has been re-examined and new questions presented.

Spatial theory shifts the conversation from replacement of temple to how temple space is used to organize, identify, and make meaning in the community. It allows for a way to navigate the inconsistencies of temple language and practice. It also reveals other spaces besides temple that inform the community. Temple is not the only space that defined the community, making the "community as temple" characterization not all-encompassing. As a critical spatial analysis of the covenant renewal ceremony suggests, judicial and military space are equally inscribed and reproduced each time in the *Yahad*'s daily practice when it formed into ranks, especially in meals and assemblies. The imagined spaces of temple, sanctuary, judicial, and military—enacted through practice and informed by habitus—inform the creation of Thirdspace for the *Yahad*; a place where meaning is produced in a chaotic world and ultimately their identity as separate from the Jerusalem Temple is legitimized. They have access to divine revelation in order to judge righteously; they are agents in the divine army ready to restore cosmic order.

As a final note, and a suggestion for further study, I must address the elephant in the room: sacred space. If space is constructed and continuously redefined by humans, it follows that sacred space is also created by humans. If places are fluid, mobile, and embodied, does the sacredness of temples and sanctuaries follow suit? It is a complex question to ask of 1QS for the text never claims that the deity dwells with the *Yahad*. I tentatively offer the suggestion that the location(s) of the *Yahad* were considered sacred space, but, given the mobility of space, this category was temporary. The Scrolls include multiple images of future, perfect temples in contrast to the images of an imperfect

Jerusalem Temple. I hold that the *Yahad* was still waiting for the perfect, pure temple to be built. In appropriating temple, sanctuary, and other places, they attempted to make right their relationship with the deity as a community without a physical temple, but ultimately their new Thirdspace was insufficient. Indeed, it is an-Other place—a place of new opportunities; a place of hybridity and fluid social meaning, but the *Yahad* awaited the deity's future, true reign.

This project showed that temple is not just a physical location but a fluid concept used to think through social and divine relationships. It is reinterpreted through heteroglossia and reproduced in practice. In turn, this reinterpretation creates a Thirdspace in the Judean wilderness as an alternative to the Jerusalem Temple. When referencing temple language (space) in 1QS, it is often said that the members desired to maintain the holiness of the Jerusalem Temple until eschaton,[530] but the *Yahad*'s discourse of temple space and practice impacts the religious experience of members in profound ways. It transforms understandings of atonement; it reorganizes priestly authority.

There is a dialectical relationship between real and imagined spaces in 1QS. Space is used to say something about atonement, priestly authority, and sacrifice. But in Thirdspatial fashion, these spaces blend synergistically with the *Yahad* to produce a new social space. Indeed, space and place are humanly constructed and contested.[531] As Mark George observes, societies change over time and their inherited symbols either adapt or

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[530] See, for example and bibliography, VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 376.

[531] See Smith, *To Take Place*, 28.

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fade.[532] In 1QS, we witness the adaptation of temple and sanctuary in a new, communal social setting. The *Yahad* and the temple (and other places) are defined vis-à-vis each other. Places, even fluid, imagined ones, change in relation to discourse and practice, and spatial practices change people and groups. As such, the *Yahad* constructs a meaningful place beyond the Jerusalem Temple that simultaneously critiques, honors, and expands temple culture.

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[532] George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*, f.n. 51.

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Appendix A

1QS 5.5b-6 reads:

(5b) ועיניהו ומחשבת יצרו למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורף קשה ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית	(5b). . . [and so they shall] lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the *Yahad* of the eternal covenant.
(6) עולם לכפר לכול המתנדבים לקודש באהרן ולבית האמת בישראל והנלוים עליהם ליחד	(6) They shall atone for all those who freely volunteer themselves for holiness in Aaron[533] and for a house of truth in Israel, and for those who join them for a community. . .

1QS 8.4b-10 reads:

(4b) בהיות אלה בישראל	(4b). . . When these become in Israel,
(5) נכונה {{ה}}עצת היחד באמת {{ל}} למטעת עולם בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש	(5) the council of the *Yahad* being established in truth, an eternal planting, a house of holiness for Israel,[534] and a foundation of the holy of
(6) קודשים לאהרון עדי אמת למשפט וב{{י}}חֲרֵי רצון לכפר בעד הארץ ולהשב	(6) holies for Aaron; true witnesses for judgment and chosen by (divine) favor to atone for the land and to repay
(7) לרשעים גמולם ⟦ ⟧ היאה חומת הבחן פנת יקר בל	(7) the wicked their reward. It shall be the tested wall, the costly cornerstone.[535]

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[533] Note Charlesworth's translation of "those who devote themselves for a sanctuary in Aaron . . ."

[534] Note Michael Wise translation of "a temple for Israel."

[535] Perhaps a reference to Isa 28:16.

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(8) יזדעזעו יֵסודותיהן ובל יחישו ממקומם ‖ ‖ מעון קודש קודשים	(8) Its foundations shall neither tremble nor shake from their place. (It shall be) a most holy dwelling
(9) לאהרון בדעת כולם לברית משפט ולקריב רֵיחֵ ניחוח ובית תמים ואמת בישראל	(9) for Aaron, with all-encompassing knowledge of the covenant of judgment, offering up a soothing odor. (It shall be) a house of perfection and truth in Israel to
(10) להקם {{ooooo}} ברית לחוו}}קֶוֶת עולם וְהיו לרצון לכפר בעד הארץ ולחרוץ משפט רשעה {{בֻּתֻמֹֻֽם דֹֻדֻ}} ואין עולה	(10) establish a covenant of eternal statutes. And they will be accepted in order to atone[536] for the land and to decide judgment of the wickedness {in perfection of way}; and there will be no iniquity. . .

1QS 9.3-6 reads:

(3) בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת	(3) When, according to all these arrangements, these (people) come to be a foundation of the holy spirit in
(4) עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת	(4) eternal truth in Israel, in order to atone for iniquitous guilt and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for favor for the land without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fat of sacrifices. The offering of
(5) שפתים למשפט כניחוח צדק ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצון בעת ההיאה יבדילו אנשי	(5) the lips for judgment (is) like a soothing odor of justice, and the perfection of way (is) like an acceptable freewill offering. At that time the men of

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[536] Note Michael Wise's translation of "they shall be an acceptable sacrifice."

(6) the *Yahad* shall separate themselves (as) a house of holiness for Aaron, for the *Yahad* of the most holy ones, and a house of the *Yahad* for Israel; those who walk in perfection.

(6) היחד בית קודש לאהרון להוחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים