

The Heterotopia and Purity at Qumran¹⁾

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1. Introduction

Out of many curiosities, probably the first question is why the Qumran community withdrew from the rest of the Jewish people and settled in the arid area of the Judean desert. The causes of their withdrawal would involve complex factors. The members of the Qumran community were not the same as the ascetics of Early Christianity or the Monasticism of the Medieval Church. Asceticism and Monasticism were spiritual practices designed to encourage interior awareness, combat vices, and develop virtues through self-discipline. As part of the battle against the devil, it was primarily concerned with the desire to dominate the lower nature and free oneself from disordered passions via rejection of the world and the flesh. The Qumran community was, by contrast, a dissenting group against the Hasmoneans and the mainline Jewish people. The sectarians battled with the political entity, not with themselves. The Dead Sea Scrolls revealed that the Hasmoneans attacked the Righteous Teacher on Yom Kippur (1QpHab 11:2-8). One of the Hodayot hymns probably alludes to the conflict between the Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest of Jerusalem (1QH 12:5-12).²⁾

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1) I presented this paper at the workshop co-organized by CISMOR and IKTINOS: *Purity Law in Contexts: From the Ancient World to Modern Times* (Jan 14, 2023)

2) "They have plotted wickedness against me, so as to exchange Your law, which You spoke distinctly in my heart, for flattering words directed to Your people.

The Qumran community conflicted with the Hasmoneans; the community left Jerusalem Temple due to the clashes. The sectarians regarded the Jerusalem Temple to be in a state of impurity. To the community, the Hasmoneans were the usurpers of the high priest, for they were not the descendants of the Zadokites.³⁾ The community's ancestors left "the holy city and placed their trust in God in those days when Israel sinned and made the temple unclean" (CD 20:22f). In addition to their reality of staying away from Jerusalem, the sectarians ceased to worship at the Jerusalem Temple. The Teacher of Righteousness and his teachings stimulated the community to have an alternative temple ideal.

Right at this point, the questions arise. Where did the community worship after leaving the temple? How did the

They hold back the drink of knowledge from those that thirst, and for their thirst they give them vinegar to drink, that they might observe their error (תעוּתָם לֹאֲנֵן) (בהתהלל במעריהם) (הבט אל), behaving madly at their festivals and getting caught in their nets. But You, O God, reject every plan" (1QH-a 12:10-12). Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook with Gordon, *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

- 3) According to the book of the first Maccabees, the Hasmoneans were from the town of Modein, 5 km southeast of Jerusalem. According to the Damascus Document, the Teacher of Righteousness came to the community twenty years after the establishment of the community. Scholars have tried to identify who the Teacher was in history. Stegemann identified the unnamed Teacher as a Zadokite high priest who served from 159 to 152 BCE. Historically, the last Zadokite high priest of the Jerusalem Temple was Alcimus, who died in 159. Jonathan, brother of Judas Maccabeus, was appointed a high priest in 152 BCE by Alexander Balas, king of the Seleucids. Josephus reported, "seven years without a high priest" (Ant. 20:237). Stegemann proposed that the Jerusalem Temple must have had a high priest who presided over Yom Kippur and other sacrificial rituals. All in all, the Jerusalem Temple could not have been without a high priest for seven years. According to Stegemann, the high priest in office from 159 to 152 BCE was the very last high priest whose name was obliterated from the official record for uncertain reasons. H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn, 1971), 102, 210-220.

community replace temple worship during their stay at Qumran? Moreover, how did they expect the Jerusalem Temple to be cleansed again? We may find some clues to these questions in such texts as the Community Rule, the Temple Scroll, and the New Jerusalem texts. These texts say that the community identified itself as a replacement and expected a new Jerusalem and Temple with the strictest regulations of purity law. In this paper, I would like to examine the self-identity of the sectarians and their vision of the temple of the new era. For this purpose, the idea of Foucault's *Heterotopia* helps us understand the character of the Qumranic self-understanding and the vision of the temple. The sectarians understood their stay at Qumran as heterotopia. Simultaneously, their vision of the temple of the new era was to be another dimension of a heterotopia. The sectarians tightened purity laws to maintain their temporal heterotopia at Qumran and their future heterotopic temple at Jerusalem.

2. Qumran as a Heterotopic Space and the Purity Laws

The situation of the Qumran community was very similar to that of the exiles. The exiles lived in a foreign land without a temple. However, they expected to return to their homeland and never gave up on restoring the temple. The Qumran community faced a similar situation; they had to retreat from the Jerusalem Temple and cease participating in the cult. This condition forced them to create an alternative worship system or a substitute for the Jerusalem Temple service. The sectarians needed a space to worship. It is then very intriguing that the community produced the blueprints of the temple, which we can encounter, for example, in the 11QT and the New Jerusalem texts. We must then ask what kind of temple the community

had in mind. Indeed, the community had never dreamed of building the temple outside Jerusalem. On this point, Harrington is right to claim that “They believed that in the eschaton, there would be a re-established Temple at Jerusalem with an accompanying cult; however, it was impossible to reconstruct a surrogate Temple at Qumran.”⁴⁾ The Qumran community’s initial goal was not to replace the defiled Temple but to make their current space a heterotopia. They introduced the strictest concept of purity law to construe their community as a heterotopic temple at Qumran.

Qumran scholars employed the spatial theory to understand the community’s ‘spatial turn’ regarding cognitive and physical locality.⁵⁾ For example, Soja’s conception of Thirdspace significantly contributed to a new understanding of spatiality.⁶⁾ Here in this paper, I’d employ the Foucauldian space discourse. With a word called ‘heterotopia,’ Foucault introduced the concept of a realized utopian space.

Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. I believe that between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there

4) H. K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (Scholars Press, 1993), 56-57.

5) For example, L. I. Lied, “Another Look at the Land of Damascus: The Spaces of the Damascus Document in the Light of Edward W. Soja’s Thirdspace Approach,” *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003*. J. G. Campbell, et. al., eds. (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 101-25. A. R. Krause, “Community, Alterity, and Space in the Qumran Covenant Curses,” *DSD* 25(2) (2018), 217-37.

6) Soja presents three types of spaces: Firstspace is the ‘real’ space such as physical buildings; Secondspace ‘imagined’ representations of spatiality, i.e., representations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms; Thirdspace combines First and Second spaces and creates “real-and-imagined” places. E. W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror. But it is also a heterotopia in so far as the mirror does exist in reality, where it exerts a sort of counter-action on the position that I occupy.⁷⁾

For example, an attic where children go to hide from their parents, a honeymoon destination where newlyweds dream sweet dreams, a carnival, or an amusement park where people seem to escape from their everyday life are spaces like a realized utopia, which is called heterotopia. Looking around, we recognize that there are a lot of Foucault's heterotopic spaces and facilities. These spaces are facilities that bring vitality to our life, but the common feature of our activities in those spaces are always temporary. Therefore, a heterotopia is a temporarily realized utopia.

The sectarians saw their life at Qumran as temporal, with the expectation to come back to Jerusalem and have a renewed cultic life. According to 1QM 1:3, they expected to come "from the Wilderness of the Peoples to come in the Wilderness of Jerusalem." This phrase reveals that the community considered their stay at Qumran temporal. The space of the Judean desert became a heterotopia where the sectarians provided an alternative to and a substitute for the Jerusalem Temple. Schofield proposed that the Qumran community was "a replacing priestly space" as a heterotopia in the wilderness.⁸⁾ She also suggested that the

7) M. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16(1) (1986), 24.

8) A. Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, E. F. Mason, et al. eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 469-490.

community became “analogous to the ‘site’ of a city, maybe even Jerusalem itself.”

The Qumran community lived geographically midway toward Jerusalem, and on the way to Jerusalem, they regarded themselves as a temple of “nowhere, a heterotopia without geographical markers.”⁹⁾ Foucault explained heterotopias as counter-sites:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.¹⁰⁾

The sectarians believed that their small community could be a counter-site, functioning as a mirror through which they discovered the absence of the twelve-tribe at Jerusalem. The sectarians consecrated to the rites and purification considered themselves the restored twelve-tribe of Israel (11QT 24:10; 1QM 3:13; 5:1). Bergsma argued that the community made efforts to become “the functioning, restored twelve-tribe entity of Israel.”¹¹⁾ The heterotopic understanding of the community was enforced by identifying themselves with a “house of truth in Israel” (1QS 5:6) and a “holy house for Israel (1QS 8:5). They were in opposition to “Ephraim and Manasseh” in the Pesharim (4Q169, 4Q171, etc.).¹²⁾ Thus, the space of the Qumran

9) Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 25.

10) Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 25.

11) J. Bergsma, “Qumran Self-Identity: ‘Israel’ or ‘Judah’?” *DSD* 15(1) (2008), 179.

12) For example, 4Q171 Frags. 1-2 Col. 1, “the wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh” (רשעי אפרים ומנשה). For the arguments regarding these sobriquets, see M. A. Collins, “Text, Intertext, and Conceptual Identity: The Case of Ephraim and

community was not a place accessed freely by the public. Foucault explains that heterotopias manage “a system of opening and closing... Moreover, there are even heterotopias that are entirely consecrated to these activities of purification—purification that is partly religious and partly hygienic.”¹³⁾ The Qumran heterotopia had a process of opening by initiation and ritual purification. The Dead Sea Scrolls present a different version of initiation into the community. By examining the various texts dealing with the admission into the sect (1QS 6:13-23; 4Q265 4 ii; CD 15:7-9), Furstenberg proves that “the initiation was gradually transformed into a purificatory procedure and shaped in accordance with the laws of bodily purification.”¹⁴⁾ Also, the sectarians set the rule of closing for the members who disobeyed the system of the community.¹⁵⁾ 1QS 8:21-23 represents the general principle for the expulsion from the sect. It says, “Any covenant member of the *Yahad* of Holiness—they who walk blamelessly as He commanded—who transgresses even one commandment from the Law of Moses intentionally or deviously is to be expelled from the party of the *Yahad*, never to return.” The community was set apart from the rest of Israel for its strictness of the opening and closing system of the community operation. Throughout the process, bodily purity and moral purity were treated inextricably linked.

Helmer Ringgren developed the idea of the association between ritual and moral impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls. He

the Seekers of Smooth Things,” *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke* (Brill, 2017), 209-225.

13) Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

14) Y. Furstenberg, “Initiation and the Ritual Purification from Sin: Between Qumran and the Apostolic Tradition,” *DSD* 23(3) (2016), 386.

15) For the expulsionary procedure of the Qumran community, see G. Forkman, *The Limits of the Religious Community: Expulsion from the Religious Community within the Qumran Sect, within Rabbinic Judaism, and within Primitive Christianity*, P. Sjölander, trans. (Gleerup, 1972), Ch. 2.

pointed out that according to 1QS, ritual and moral purity cannot be separated.¹⁶⁾ For example, 1QS 3:4-9 says as following:

Ceremonies of atonement cannot restore his innocence, neither cultic waters his purity. He cannot be sanctified by baptism in oceans and rivers, nor purified by mere ritual bathing. Unclean, unclean shall he be all the days that he rejects the laws of God, refusing to be disciplined in the *Yahad* of His society. For only through the spirit pervading God's true society can there be atonement for a man's ways, all of his iniquities; thus only can he gaze upon the light of life and so be joined to His truth by His holy spirit, purified from all iniquity. Through an upright and humble attitude his sin may be covered, and by humbling himself before all God's laws his flesh can be made clean.¹⁷⁾

Leviticus had already not limited purity law to ritual. It was extended to the life norms that regulated moral and religious behavior (e.g., 11:44). However, Neusner argues that the central position of the purity debate at Qumran shifted from the Temple to the members of the community (e.g., 1QS 9:3-6; CD 5:6b-20:22b-24; 4Q174 1-2 1 6). Neusner calls this shift a "spiritualization of the old Temple."¹⁸⁾ Accordingly, he and others proposed that the Second Temple Judaism could have a new form of the Temple, such as early Christianity's idea of the body of Christ. Ian Werret presents that "the Qumran's obsession with purity and their desire to combine ritual and moral impurity into a single conception of defilement was an attempt to protect their priestly congregation from all forms

16) H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Fortress Press, 1963), 124.

17) Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook with Gordon, *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

18) J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures, 1972-1973*, Vol. 1 (Brill Archive, 1973), 50.

of uncleanness.”¹⁹⁾ The purity law as a norm of life defined the unclean as a sinner. The Qumran community is well-known for extending, understanding, and applying the purity law to the strictest standard.

The sectarians thus argued that they were pure in contrast to “the multitude of the People,” charged with ritual and moral impurity (4QMMT C 7-8). In the case of Regev, moral impurity was the very cause of the separation of the Qumran community from the Temple cult and Judean society.²⁰⁾ The sectarians blamed the sin of Israel for the ruin of the temple: “And strangers shall lay it waste no more, as they formerly laid waste the sanctua[ry of I]srael because of their sin” (4Q174 1–2 i, 21 :5-6).²¹⁾ Regev claimed that the community proposed “ritual purity and moral purity” as a substitute for worshipping God.²²⁾ However, his proposal did not sufficiently convey the community’s aspiration for the temple. The rules governing ritual and moral purity cannot entirely replace the temple. At Qumran, the temple became “a place without a place.”²³⁾ The Qumranites themselves served as a temple, upholding the purity code. However, as Lanci argued, we cannot find the concept in the Dead Sea Scrolls signifying the community as a temple (הֵיכָל). Instead, they referred to themselves as a house (בֵּית).²⁴⁾ We can see this sort of cognitive system in two passages of 1

19) I. Werrett, “The Evolution of Purity at Qumran,” *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, C. Frevel and C. Nihan, eds. (Brill, 2012), 501.

20) E. Regev, “Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran,” *DSD* 10(2) (2003), 245.

21) Translation from J. Milgrom, (ed.), *DSS-Princeton*, vol. 6B, *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*.

22) Regev, “Abominated Temple and a Holy Community,” 244.

23) Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 27.

24) J. R. Lanci, *A New Temple for Corinth: Rhetorical and Archaeological Approaches to Pauline Imagery* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 14.

Corinthians. “Do you not know that you are God’s temple and that God’s Spirit dwells in you?” (1 Cor 3:16); and, concerning sexual offenses, “Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God?” (1 Cor. 6:19). Fetherolf traced the Pauline concept of the Corinthian community as a body and a temple to the Qumran community.²⁵⁾ CD and 1QS refer to the community as a holy house and the holy of holies.

then shall the party of the *Yahad* truly be established, vacat an ‘eternal planting,’ a holy house (בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ) for Israel, and—mystery!—a Holy of Holies for Aaron; true witnesses to justice, chosen by God’s will to atone for the land and to recompense. (1QS 8:5-6)

At that time the men of the *Yahad* shall withdraw, the holy house (בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ) of Aaron uniting as a Holy of Holies, and the synagogue of Israel (בֵּית יְחִיד) as those who walk blamelessly. (1QS 9:5-6)

So He built for them a faithful house in Israel, like none that had ever appeared before. (CD 3:19)

The sectarians became “a holy house” and “a Holy of Holies” with strict purity laws. Since the Exilic Period, the divine presence was not bound to the physical space of the Jerusalem Temple. Ezekiel 11:16 says, “Therefore say: Thus says the Lord God: Though I removed them far away among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary to them for a little while in the countries where they have gone.” Due to the experience of the exile, Israelites realized that the temple was not some physical building but God himself. The divine presence was a gift of his grace to Israel, contingent upon

25) C. M. Fetherolf, “The Body for a Temple, a Temple for a Body: An Examination of Bodily Metaphors in 1 Corinthians,” *Proceedings* 30 (2010), 88-106.

their obedience to the law. The Qumran community was a gated community with an opening and closing system. Their temporal stay at Qumran became a heterotopia for them. They themselves became a heterotopia. With this cognitive and physical system at Qumran, the sectarians expected to build an eschatological temple in Jerusalem in the near future.

3. The Heterotopic Temple and the Purity Laws

Ezekiel drew a blueprint for an ideal temple. The temple features in Ezekiel 40-42 are described on a grand scale with the multi-level wooden structure, outer and inner courts, side chambers, vestibules, and the like. Modern scholarship agrees that the exilic blueprint had an eschatological tone.²⁶⁾ In the case of Niditch, she proposed that the Ezekielian blueprint of the temple should be read as “cosmogonic, world-ordering concerns.”²⁷⁾ Shunning the term blueprint, Liss noticed no command for ‘building’ the temple in Ezekiel 40-48. She proposed that the Ezekielian temple was a “literary device” to guarantee that “the place and its holiness will never be violated again.”²⁸⁾ Thus, the temple in Ezekiel 40-48 replaced reality and presented a “literary utopia” in which a fictional dimension became a realization of the temple and the presence of the *kabod* in Israel.²⁹⁾

26) As Niditch stated, some modern scholars consider Ezekiel as “a veritable city-planner, the pragmatic ground-layer of the restoration, the architectural designer of the temple blueprint.” S. Niditch, “Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context,” *CBQ* 48(2) (1986), 209. But, as Niditch countered, Ezekiel was a writer rather than a architect.

27) Niditch, “Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context,” 216.

28) H. Liss, “‘Describe the Temple to the House of Israel’: Preliminary Remarks on the Temple Vision in the Book of Ezekiel and the Question of Fictionality in Priestly Literatures,” *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Texts*, E. B. Zvi, (ed.) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 143.

The Qumran community lived with the notion of the eschaton, an “absolute break with their traditional time,” if borrowing the Foucauldian concept.³⁰⁾ Preserving their community as a heterotopia, they still dreamed of an eternal temple in Jerusalem. The sectarians wished to return to Jerusalem and rebuild an idealized temple. The ultimate hope of the community appears in the War Scroll. 1QM 12:10–16 is a victory hymn describing how the children of light repossess Jerusalem; The people of light returned to the temple (1QM 2:1–5), purifying it and conducting the final war until victory. Their dream enacted upon the temple vision as in the Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem texts. For example, the Temple Scroll envisions a glorious temple in the future. “And I will consecrate my [te]mple by my glory, (the temple) on which I will settle my glory, until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel” (11QT 29:8-10). The temple envisioned in 11QT and NJ will be built as a heterotopia until the Messiah comes.

11QT is the longest scroll hitherto discovered, measuring at least 8.148 meters long and comprising 66 columns.³¹⁾ According to Yadin, this leather scroll was written with two distinctive handwritings. He named “Scribe A” and “Scribe B,” respectively. Yadin suggested the possible latest dating for 11QT to “some time during the Herodian script period.”³²⁾ Fitzmyer grouped the contents of 66 columns into two sections: “the Jerusalem Temple” and “the Halahkot of different sorts.”³³⁾

29) Liss, “Describe the Temple to the House of Israel,” 143.

30) Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 26.

31) Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Scroll* (NY: Random House, 1985), 57. According to Schiffman, the length is 8.75m. L. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (Brill, 2008), xvii.

32) Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 60.

Andrew Wilson and Lawrence Wills proposed that the Temple Scroll had four independent, primary written sources: the Temple Source (col. 2-13, 30-46), the Calendar Source (col. 13-30), the Purity Source (col. 48:1-51:5a), the legal material (col. 51:11-56:21; 60:1-66:17). Besides the four primary sources, they proposed there were independent documents such as the Statues of the King (col. 57-59) and other documents concerning access to the holy precincts (col. 33-39).³⁴⁾ The Temple Scroll focuses on the purity of the land, people, king, and the Jerusalem temple.

The Qumran New Jerusalem texts are preserved in seven fragmentary copies (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, 11Q18). The NJ describes the city and the temple of the New Jerusalem. It describes the model of the dimensions of a grand-scale city based upon an orthogonal grid of streets and that of the temple that God will build at the end of times. The authorship of the NJ texts is also under debate. DiTommaso suggests that the NJ was not a Qumranic product but “perhaps composed in the first third of the second century BCE, slightly before the Antiochene crisis and the Maccabean Revolt.”³⁵⁾ The NJ texts are strongly influenced by apocalyptic writings such as Ezekiel and the books of Enoch and Jubilees. The city and temple in the New Jerusalem text represent “not a heavenly Jerusalem, but the very earthly city and the very earthly temple described in the War Scroll, and destined to endure forever.”³⁶⁾ Accordingly, the community certainly produced or preserved

33) This is Fitzmyer's division: J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 144-45.

34) A. M. Wilson and L. Wills, “Literary Sources of the Temple Temple Scroll,” *HTR* 75(3) (1982), 275, 284.

35) L. DiTommaso, *The Dead Sea 'New Jerusalem' Text: Contents and Contexts* (Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 11.

36) F. G. Martinez, “New Jerusalem at Qumran and in the New Testament,” *The Land of Israel in Bible, History, and Theology: Studies in Honour of E. Noort*, J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and J. C. de Vos, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 289.

the texts which would command the earthly heterotopic temple and city at Jerusalem at the end of times. For them, the blueprints were not a mere literary discourse but a spatial representation of their heterotopia.

The key passage to understanding the character of the Temple vision in 11QT can be found in col. 29: 7-10.³⁷⁾ Column 29 is transitional between the sacrificial source and the temple ground plan.³⁸⁾

7. And I will accept them (?), and they shall be (?) my people, and I will be theirs for ever, [and] I will dwell
8. with them for ever and ever. And I will consecrate my [te]mple by my glory, (the temple) on which I will settle
9. my glory, until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple
10. and establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob at Bethel

In line 9, Yadin translated ער into English as “until,” while others translated it into “during.”³⁹⁾ Yadin’s translation suggested that a temple would be built and consecrated before the Messianic temple would be built. Accordingly, the temple ground plan of 11QT is a heterotopic temple to replace the Temple at Jerusalem.

According to 11QT and NJ, the community had a firm plan to build a temple during the end times. The sacrificial

37) The following translation is from Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*.

38) E. W. Baker, *The Eschatological Role of the Jerusalem Temple: An Examination of the Jewish Writings Dating from 586 BCE to 70 CE* (Anchor Academic Publishing, 2015), 305ff.

39) Baker examines the Masoretic usages in case of combining יום and ער and concludes that the translation “during” would be preferable to “until” in that “the Qumran community held to an expectation that the end of days was imminent, an expectation that the use of “until” argues heavily against as the Lord would dwell in the temple that the community is commanded to build forever (11Q19 29:7-8), or at least for a very long time.” Baker, *The Eschatological Role*, 290.

service and the Temple were not the reality of the life of the sect, but the scroll provides the details related to the sanctuary. Whether the Temple vision in 11QT is eschatological is under debate. Yadin interpreted two temples from column 29 of 11QT. According to him, the author wrote about the “earthly man-made Temple.”⁴⁰⁾ By contrast, Wacholder stressed the immediacy of the Qumran community’s expectation of the end time. Consequently, he believed that the author of 11QT commanded the community to build the eschatological temple.⁴¹⁾ Similarly, Wise defined 11QT as an “eschatological Deuteronomy,” eliminating any part of Deuteronomy 12-26, which the redactor felt incompatible with the perspective of the eschaton.⁴²⁾ 11QT thus set the law for the land at the End of Days. Wise presented that 11QT put effort into constructing a magnificent eschatological temple that was never built like the Ezekielian temple.⁴³⁾ Nevertheless, Collins suggested that the temple in 11QT is “normative and ideal, but not eschatological, since it is not be the final, definitive temple.”⁴⁴⁾ She showed that 4Q174(4QFlor) 1:1-13 also reveals that the Qumran community expected to have the final eschatological temple built by God’s hands.⁴⁵⁾ It is thus imperative to distinguish between a utopian temple and a heterotopic temple. Foucault differentiated between utopias and heterotopias:

40) Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (Random House, 1985), 113.

41) Ben Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College, 1983), 27.

42) Michael O. Wise, “The Eschatological Vision of the Temple Scroll,” *JNES* 49(2) (1990), 156.

43) Wise, “The Eschatological Vision of the Temple Scroll,” 158.

44) A. Y. Collins, “The Dream of a New Jerusalem at Qumran,” *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* vol. 3, J. H. Charlesworth, (ed.) (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 231-254.

45) Collins, “The Dream of a New Jerusalem at Qumran,” 245.

Utopias afford consolation: although they have no real locality there is nevertheless a fantastic, untroubled region in which they are able to unfold; they open up cities with vast avenues, superbly planted gardens, countries where life is easy, even though the road to them is chimerical. *Heterotopias* are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy ‘syntax’ in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to ‘hold together.’ This is why utopias permit fables and discourse: they run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental dimension of the *fabula*; heterotopias (such as those to be found so often in Borges) desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences.⁴⁶⁾

The sectarians elicited a plan to build a heterotopic temple during the in-between time and space from Qumran to Jerusalem. They visualized a midway from an earthly heterotopia to an eschatological utopia. We can find an example of a sacred space of the earthly heterotopia in East Asia Mahayana Buddhist eschatology. The central faith of this Buddhism is the Pure Land, a utopia of Amitabha Buddhists, also known as the Western Paradise of Eternal Bliss (極樂淨土). Buddhist temples associated with the Pure Land School have created an architectural form centered on the external space surrounded by buildings. The temple’s inner courtyard is regarded as a representation of Western Paradise. One sanctuary of Buddhist temple buildings is dedicated to Amitabha, which is called Geungnakbojeon (極樂寶殿), Amitajeon (阿彌陀殿), or Muryangsujeon (無量壽殿). Nearly all Korean temples have a sanctuary that enshrines

46) M. Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), ix.

Amitabha and represents the Pure Land on earth. When Korean Buddhists come to Geungnakjeon, they can enter an earthly heterotopia momentarily. Guengnakjeon is an “imagined space of the Pure Land and its enactment in human space.”⁴⁷⁾ Similar to Guengnakjeon, a space of representation of the Pure Land, the heterotopic temple envisioned by the community is an “experienced, lived space.”⁴⁸⁾

In Ezekiel 40-48 and the book of Revelation, for example, the eschatological temple and the city are utopian because it is beyond the human dimension. The temple built by God’s hands has no real locality on earth, only fantastic plans. The utopian temple and its city plans are of magnificent size and scale. By contrast, the temple envisioned by the Qumran community was disturbing because it shattered, destroyed, or contested “the very possibility of grammar” of their contemporaneous Jerusalem Temple and finally dissolved the Hasmonean myth of the authoritative sacred space. The Qumran community employed different grammar formulas to construe a temporal yet ideal temple space. We must pay attention to the notion that the community behind the 11QT and 4QFlor authorship (or readership) expected to actualize a heterotopic temple at Jerusalem until Messiah comes to build a heavenly temple on earth. The community believed they would build a heterotopic temple with their own hands before God would build the final eschatological temple with his own hands. The temple envisioned in the scrolls was thus a heterotopia, a temporally actualized utopian place for encountering the divine presence.

The notion of the divine presence was changed over time.

47) W. E. Deal, “Simulating Pure Land Space: The Hyperreality of a Japanese Buddhist Paradise,” *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces*, J. L. Berquist and C. V. Camp, eds. (London: T & T Clark, 2008), 175.

48) This is a concept from Lefebvre’s terms. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991).

In the wilderness, the people searched God in the mountains, such as Mt. Zion and Mt. Paran (Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4-5; Isa 14:12-15; Hab 3:3-4; Ezk 28:12-16). Settled in Canaan, the tabernacle was once regarded as a place where the deity presented himself. On the other hand, at the time of Solomon's Temple, the Deuteronomistic notion that the name, not God himself, prevailed in the newly constructed temple. The name theology persists in the Temple Scroll (47:4-5 "And the city, which I will hallow by settling my name and [my] temp[le within (it)], shall be holy and clean of any unclean thing with which they may be defiled"). As such, the notion of the divine presence changed. Nevertheless, the purity of the people was inseparable from holding the divine presence throughout history. Their use of the spatial practice of resistance is completely intertwined with the purity law practice.

The members lived in the in-between time before the Messianic Age. They would finally return to Jerusalem and build a heterotopic temple during the in-between time. For the sect, their way of life became an integral part of living during that time. For example, in 11QT, we can find that the community members expected the eschaton as a time of heightened purity. According to both the tabernacle and Solomon's temple, purity is essential for preserving the divine presence in the temple. The temple and temple city should be clean. 11QT stipulates the purity of the city and the temple in which the divine name dwells. 11QT 47:3-6 says:

3. [And let] their cities [be] clean, and [] for ever. And the city,
4. which I will hallow by settling my name and [my] temp[le within (it)], shall be holy and clean
5. of any unclean thing with which they may be defiled; everything that is in it shall be
6. clean, and all that will be brought to it shall be clean:

The holiness of the temple is revealed in the architectural style and the ensuing purity laws. The temple area is much higher than Solomon's Temple, so it is distinguished from other areas in appearance and is not easily accessible. The Temple Scroll envisions a concentric temple layout, "beginning with the Temple complex at the center and extending outward to the tribal allotments, to the cities of Israel and into the houses where the people dwelled."⁴⁹) The Temple is centered on the holy of holies where God's presence is.

Compared to the tabernacle and Solomon's Temple manual, 11QT prescribes purity law in more comprehensive ranges. The Temple is the center of all the land of Israel's purity, and the temple's purity affects all the land. 11QT expands the scope and considers even the temple altar, brass basin, and the stoa to be the sphere of Qodesh Qodashim (35:8-9). The sanctuary, the court of the temple, and even the surrounding area are all distinguished as holy areas. Also, Qodesh Qodashim is not limited to the high priest but is extended to include all priests (4Q397 5:6-8; 1QS 7:5-6; 9:2-8; cf. 4Q400 1:19).⁵⁰) Also, by limiting the people who can access the temple area, they tried to keep holiness. For example, strangers or disabled persons, persons with skin diseases, or who have a flow of semen are prohibited from access (11QT 45:7b-47; 4Q394 frg. 8 iii-iv; 4Q396 frg. 1 ii).

The holiness of the temple is not limited to the temple area but extends to the entire Jerusalem area. Both excretion (11QT 46:13-16a) and sexual intercourse (46:3-4) are forbidden in holy areas, including the Temple and Jerusalem. Compared to the laws of the Pentateuch, 11QT stipulates in detail the holiness of the Levites who work in the temple, the types of sacrifices, and the portions taken by the priests to preserve the

49) Schiffman, *The Courtyards*, xxviii.

50) H. K. Harrington, "Purity," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2., L. Schiffman and J. VanderKam, eds. (Oxford University Press, 20000), 724-728.

sanctity of the temple. For example, looking at the Levite's clothing regulations (11QT col. 40) and the dispute over the share of the priest (4QMMT frg. 3+4 i 9), it can be seen that the basic regulations of the Pentateuchal laws were further expanded and subdivided.⁵¹⁾ Examining how 11QT reinterprets the purity law of the P source exemplifies the tendency of the community's maximizing and homogenizing the biblical purity law. The effect of impurity lasts longer, and cleansing rituals become more complicated than biblical regulations. For example, look at the regulations governing the purification of those who have come into contact with dead bodies. Numbers 19 stipulates that those who contact the dead should sprinkle water and wash clothes and the body on the third and seventh days. In addition to the third and seventh days, 11QT requires purification on the first day (49:13-17). Likewise, Numbers 19:15 says that when a person is dead, an object in an open bowl without a lid in his house is unclean, whereas 11QT 49:8 considers all the contents of the tent, whether the lid of the clay bowl is open or closed.

As another example, Leviticus says that if a man and a woman sleep together, they both bathe in water and are unclean until evening (15:18), whereas 11QT commands them to stay outside Jerusalem for three days and bathe on the first and third days (45:11). Through this purification law, the Qumran texts forbid sexual intercourse within the city of Jerusalem. Leviticus believes that the bed and anything where he sat can transmit injustice, but the Qumran community stipulates that not only beds and chairs but everything that the sick man touches causes uncleanness (4Q274 1 i 4-5).

51) M. J. Berstein and S. A. Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods," *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, M. Henze, (ed.) (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2004), 61-87.

Regarding the purification rites for discharge, the case of women's discharge has become stricter. Concerning the purification of women who shed blood after childbirth, Leviticus 12:4 says that "she shall not touch any holy thing, or come into the sanctuary until the days of her purification are completed." The community stipulates a specific time "until sunset on the eighth day" (4QD). Also, the Qumran texts deem a woman giving birth to a stillborn child unclean (11QT 50:10-19) by extending what Leviticus and Numbers say that touching a dead body was unclean. It stipulates that women with regular menstrual periods and suffering from irregular discharges other than childbirth must remain outside the city during that time (11QT 48:13-17). Some scholars believe that the Qumran community stipulated that women could not live in Jerusalem because of the purity law for menstruating women.⁵²⁾ In addition, Deuteronomy prescribes that a latrine be prepared outside the camp in case of war (Deuteronomy 23:12-14). 11QT interprets it as a latrine 3,000 cubits away from Jerusalem (46:16-18). Another example of maximizing the interpretation of the biblical law is the ritual slaughter of fish (CD 12:13-14) and the obligation to bathe before every meal (1QS 5:13).

4. Conclusion

The Qumran community, as a dissenting group, left the Jerusalem Temple. It meant that the members had a disparate understanding of the organization, the leadership, the law, and the vision. The primary issue of the community was where to worship. For this issue, the members understood themselves as a temple. By doing so, their stay at Qumran became a heterotopia

52) Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 174.

for them. In order to maintain their stay as a realized utopia, the sect tightened the purity law. The members were expected to conduct moral and religious behavior. The community members understood their stay temporal because they wished to return to Jerusalem. Midway from Qumran to Jerusalem, the sectarians envisioned a heterotopic temple before the Messiah would build the final temple. The community provided the strictest purity law for the heterotopic temple to protect the temple and temple city. For the Qumran community, moral and ritual purity laws are inseparable, for people can pollute the sanctuary with physical and moral injustice, thereby driving God out of their midst.

<Keywords>

Eschatology, Temple, Purity, Qumran, Heterotopia

<주요어>

종말론, 성전, 정결, 쿰란, 헤테로토피아

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<Abstract>

The Heterotopia and Purity at Qumran

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From the Hebrew Bible, purity is a prerequisite for worshipping God. To come close to God and the Temple, the Israelites were required to be in a state of purity. The Qumran community disregarded the Jerusalem Temple, whose high priests were the Hasmonean rulers, thereby settling in the Judean wilderness. It is then interesting to examine why the Qumran community, without the Temple, regulated and maintained the purity rulings. This paper examined the characteristic purity rulings of the heterotopic idea in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran community had two dimensions of heterotopias: first, the community as a heterotopia, and second, the temple as another heterotopia. The Dead Sea Scrolls regulated the community with the highest strictness of the purity rulings to make an identity marker and to actualize their vision of the future Temple. The community members envisioned the heterotopic temple space before the Messiah would come and build his own temple. The strict purity rulings were essential for maintaining their reality as a heterotopia and advancing the future Temple.

<초록>

쿰란의 헤테로토피아와 정결

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히브리어 성경에서 정결은 하나님을 경배하기 위한 전제 조건이었다. 하나님과 성전에 가까이 가기 위해 이스라엘 백성들은 정결한 상태에 있어야 했다. 쿰란 공동체는 바로 그런 전통적인 정결사상과 성전의 상관관계 때문에, 하스몬 통치자가 대제사장으로 있는 예루살렘 성전을 배척하였고, 유대 광야에 정착하였다. 본 논문은 성전이 없는 쿰란 공동체가 매우 엄격한 정결 규칙을 확립하고 유지한 이유를 검토할 필요가 있다고 보았다. 본 논문은 사해 문서에 나타난 헤테로토피아 개념을 살펴보고, 정결법을 이 개념의 현실화를 위한 방책이라는 관점에서 살펴보고자 하였다. 쿰란 공동체는 두 가지 차원의 헤테로토피아 사상을 표방하였다. 첫 번째는 쿰란공동체 자체를 헤테로토피아로 보는 것이다. 두 번째는 쿰란공동체에게 성전은 또 다른 헤테로토피아였다는 점이다. 사해문서는 공동체의 정체성을 위해, 또한 미래 성전에 대한 자신들의 이상을 실현하고자 엄격한 정결법을 제정하고 준수하고자 하였다. 공동체 구성원들은 메시아가 오셔서 자신의 성전을 짓기 전에 인간이 구현해야 할 이상적인 성전 공간을 구상했다. 그들의 헤테로토피아적 현실을 유지하고 미래의 성전을 발전시키기 위해서는 엄격한 정결법이 필수적이었다.