PURITY AND THE COMMUNITIES OF THE DEAD

SEA SCROLLS: A SOCIO-HISTORICAL RE-EVALUATION OF CLASSICAL JEWISH PURITY SYSTEMS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GENDER STUDIES

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


All Hebrew Bible quotations are from *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990.

Unless otherwise stated, all Hebrew texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from the Hebrew texts in Accordance Bible Software module “QUMRAN.” See Martin G. Abegg, "Qumran Text and Grammatical Tags" Version 3.3 in Accordance 9.6.6 Altamonte Springs, Florida: OakTree Software, © 1999-2009. The English translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are stated individually from various reference sources. In text quotations will start with either a capital letter or lower casing depending upon the text.
The Dead Sea Scrolls provide verifiable everyday depictions of mixed communities of elite and ordinary Essenes in the Second Temple period. However, to date, scholarship on purity and impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls has been mainly concerned with establishing an elite - predominantly male focused - history. This thesis aims to redress this imbalance through the application of contemporary theories from Gender Studies to selected purity passages of the Dead Sea Scrolls, to challenge the view that women are an uncontrollable and leaky problem when they are impure and to bring the uncontrollable aspects of the impure and vulnerable male into discussion. This will be achieved in four ways. Firstly, by applying Raewyn Connell’s hegemonic masculinity framework, I will use references to the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form), to demonstrate the vulnerable and uncontrollable aspects of ordinary male impurities. This will reveal the evolving vulnerability of men when impure and the dimensions at play between masculinity and purity/impurity. Secondly, the embodied and empowered aspects of impure women will be revealed through an application of embodiment theories to selected passages from 4QD (4Q266 and 4Q272) and 4QTohorot A (4Q274). This will demonstrate from an empowered and embodied perspective how the impure female is regulated. Thirdly, I will be applying Susies Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday to the Temple Scroll (11QT) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) to demonstrate the changing dynamics between ordinary impure males and impure females. When necessary Scott’s three conceptual features will be used throughout each of the three principal chapters to reveal how impurity disrupts the construction of daily life. Fourthly, underlying each of these points is the premise that gender and purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing categories. To conclude, the application of inter-disciplinary approaches provides an enhanced understanding of the everyday realities experienced by the pure and impure ordinary members of the Dead Sea Scrolls communities and forms the basis for additional studies in this topic area.
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DECLARATION

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Claire and John. My mam is far more than a mother, she is my best friend; her love and belief in me has been a constant support. My dad has provided me with advice, guidance and most importantly love throughout this process. I will always be thankful to them.
My interests in purity and gender first came about when I was doing my BA in Religions and Theology at Bangor University (2007-2010). During my second year, Dr Catrin Williams was doing a module on the literary presentations of women in the Bible and I became fascinated with the gendered constructions of the Levitical purity laws. I subsequently wrote my BA dissertation on women’s purity laws and used social-scientific theories to look at Leviticus. After my BA, I received funding from the AHRC to do an MA in Religions and Theology at The University of Manchester (2010-2011). It was here that I was first introduced to the world of the Dead Sea Scrolls by Prof. George Brooke. As I was reading for the MA module on the Dead Sea Scrolls, I began to notice a gap in scholarship on the application of social-scientific theories. Consequently, I wrote my MA dissertation on 4QTohorot (4Q274-278) and used social-scientific theories as an attempt to fill this gap and pose new questions to the ancient materials. After receiving further funding from the AHRC to do my PhD in Religions and Theology (2011-2014), I knew I wanted to push the social-scientific theories further and apply them to the Purity Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls from a more gendered perspective. Since commencing my PhD studies, I have had the opportunity to present my work at a variety of international and national conferences. These presentations are shared below and I was the sole presenter of the papers unless otherwise indicated:

International Peer Reviewed Conference Papers


November 2013, Baltimore (Society of Biblical Literature; Gender, Sexuality and the Bible Session), “A Gendered Reading of Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Constructions of the Perfect and Imperfect Bodies in the War Scroll.”

National Peer Reviewed Conference Papers

April 2014, University of Manchester-University of Lausanne (Joint Seminar Series, The Bible and the Social Sciences), “Femininities and Masculinities in the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

Invited UK Conference Papers

July 2013, University of Manchester, The Bible and the Social Sciences: Modern Methods and Ancient Texts, (with George J. Brooke and Jutta Jokiranta) “What is the Importance of the Social Sciences?”

July 2013, University of Manchester, Implicit Allusions to Patriarchs Workshop, “Constructions of Patriarchal Ideologies: The Three Nets of Belial Revised from a Masculine Perspective.”

January 2014, University of Sussex (Gender Seminar Series), “A Gendered Reading of Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Construction of the Perfect and Imperfect Bodies in the War Scroll.”
Chapter I
Introduction

A. Introduction

In the majority of cases where ancient texts are related to ancient social groups, the scholarly focus has been on elites. As such, the ancient literary portrayals are not necessarily understood as representative of the lived reality of most everyday people. I argue, however, that the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS hereafter)\(^1\) actually provide verifiable depictions of mixed communities of elites and ordinary people and, consequently, they can offer insights into the lives of the Essenes\(^2\) during the Second Temple period. Scholars who have discussed issues of purity and impurity in the DSS, such as Jacob Neusner, Hannah Harrington and Jonathan Klawans, have constructed their understanding of Jewish purity systems with the focus on priestly traditions and the relationships between purity and sin within the relevant texts. Although such discussions are obviously important in relation to purity and impurity in Second Temple Judaism, these scholarly discussions usually have to be qualified because real life amongst the DSS communities would almost certainly not have been so systematic and rigid.

This thesis will bring ordinary male and female impurities into the fold of discussion surrounding Jewish purity issues in the DSS in order to enhance and develop the current abstract scholarly focuses. Throughout this thesis, unless otherwise stated, when I discuss men and women I am primarily referring to the ordinary members of the DSS communities.\(^3\) Arguably, the focus on the elite members of the communities has meant that the elite male has been positioned as the universal norm of the DSS communities, with this positioning being taken for granted in scholarly discussions. However, that positioning does not allow for the dynamic and vulnerable aspects of the impure ordinary male to be discussed, or understood, and this thesis is focused on bringing the vulnerable

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\(^1\) Dead Sea Scrolls will be retained as a full spelling in sub-headings throughout the thesis.

\(^2\) Though most of the discussion in this thesis depends on reading the scrolls as DSS themselves, and without close reference to the Essenes, from time to time I follow the consensus view that the sectarian Scrolls represent varied forms of Essene ideology. For a further discussion on the identities see footnote 19.

\(^3\) For a definition of the terms ordinary and elite please refer to p. 23-4.
aspects of the impure male into the discussion. The ordinary impure female will also be discussed in relation to empowerment and embodiment.

A new wave of scholarship is beginning to emerge where scholars are starting to question the abstract and systemic views and portrayals of purity and impurity in Ancient Judaism. For example, the dynamic nature of purity has recently been emphasised by Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan who have argued that purity in the ancient world is not to be treated - or understood - as an isolated phenomenon, but rather set within a diachronic and synchronic modality which constructs purity in a “dynamic framework” rather than an abstract one.\(^4\) Furthermore, Tracy Lemos has begun to question the current systemic approach in scholarly literature on purity and impurity and she sees it as misguided, since a systemic, singular understanding of purity does not encapsulate how purity and impurity were truly constructed in the ancient world. Accordingly, there is still a need to understand the diversity of purity issues and examine the “relationship between impurity constructions and the lived experiences of Israelites.”\(^5\) I agree with this current wave of scholarship’s understanding of the rigid, systemic and monolithic approaches of previous scholarship on purity literature, and would argue further that a fresher methodology needs to be used to enhance the understanding of ordinary male and female experiences of purity and impurity in the ancient world. In DSS scholarship, Cecilia Wassen has recently looked at impurity as being a part of day-to-day life amongst the DSS communities and she has highlighted the difficulties in merging together a picture of perfection that is portrayed in some of the DSS and the daily reality of ritual and moral impurity (as seen in S, D, 4Q265 and 4Q274).\(^6\) Moreover, a focus on the everyday also enables a


broadening of the evaluation of purity to include a wide range of gender issues and permits exploration of the ordinary masculinist perspectives and experiences, which are currently poorly understood and reported.

B. Methods Used in this Thesis
Purity is a gendered topic and by explaining the DSS communities through the use of present day theories from Gender Studies, I plan to offer an improved and more balanced understanding of the social realities behind the selected Purity Texts; if correct, that will enable previous more abstract constructions to be adjusted. My main area of interest in the thesis is to bring the non-elite male and female experience of impurity into the fold of discussion. This will allow me to uncover and focus on four key aims throughout the thesis. Firstly, by applying Masculinity Studies to the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form), specifically hegemonic masculinity, I will reveal the evolving vulnerability of non-elite males as they experience impurity and the dynamics at play between masculinity and purity/impurity. Secondly, the application of embodiment theories to 4QD manuscripts (specifically 4Q266 and 4Q272) and 4QTohorot (4Q274) will demonstrate that impure women, when impure, are more empowered and embodied in their everyday lives in comparison with impure men. Thirdly, I will be using theories relating to the everyday to reveal the changing spatial dynamics between impure males and impure females in the Temple Scroll (11QT) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa). Here, I will be using Susie Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday to discuss the selected DSS. Scott’s three conceptual features will be applied when necessary throughout each of the three principal chapters to reveal how impurity disrupts the constructions of daily life. Fourthly, throughout this thesis, there is an underlying argument that gender and purity in the DSS communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing.

7 Susie Scott, Making Sense of Everyday Life (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 2. Scott’s everyday criteria will be outlined in detail in the methodology chapter. Susie Scott is not to be confused with Sue Scott in later discussions.
C. Definition of Key Terminology

1. Purity and Impurity in Ancient Judaism

In the Pentateuch, purity (רֹהֲב) and impurity (אֲםָפ) formed the basis of proscription relating to eating, sacrifice, sexual intercourse, genital emissions and worshipping God in order to create and maintain a holy people in late Second Temple period and to avoid contamination.⁸ All “Israelites” were supposed to maintain purity in order to participate in the Temple cult and they were to abstain from unclean foods and from sexual relations during a woman’s menstrual period, or if a person was affected by another uncleanness as outlined in Leviticus 15.⁹

In comparison with the portrayals of purity and impurity in Leviticus, the DSS often enhance and adapt aspects of the biblical rulings in order to create greater clarification about purification issues. For example, Harrington has emphasised the congruent and cohesive aspect of purity rules throughout the DSS stating that the “scrolls found at Qumran reveal a surprising amount of congruence on the subject of purity. Although these documents represent differences of authorship, date and genre, they consistently champion a stringent standard of ritual purity.”¹⁰ Such standard and coherent views of the development of purity in the DSS have recently been challenged by scholars, such as Klawans and Ian Werrett, who want to move away from the synchronic and one-dimensional view of purity and impurity. The synchronic understanding of purity and impurity in the DSS has been widely accepted in scholarship, but there is now a move towards a diachronic understanding that takes into account the differences of interpretation over time. For example, Klawans has entered into the ritual and moral purity debate by stating that the DSS are a part of a larger

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⁹ Neusner, “Purity and Impurity,” 1109.
re-definition of the relationship between impurity and sin from the Hebrew Bible, to Second Temple and then to rabbinic literature.\textsuperscript{11}

For Eileen Schuller and Wassen, the majority of the information pertaining to the daily life of women in the DSS comes from compositions that are concerned with marriage, sexual relations and purity.\textsuperscript{12} I will be drawing on compositions that are concerned with purity issues in order to conceptualise the daily life of both ordinary men and women. By bringing ordinary male and female impurities into the fold of discussion, I will enhance the current abstract scholarly construction to demonstrate the vulnerable positions that impure men had amongst the DSS communities and the more empowered and controlled position impure women may have held amongst the communities.

2. Dead Sea Scrolls
The DSS discussed in this thesis come from the collection that was found in the 11 Caves at and near Qumran (northern end of the Dead Sea), beginning in 1947.\textsuperscript{13} Although the DSS were deposited in the Qumran Caves very few scholars would argue that they were all written at Qumran.\textsuperscript{14} It is highly plausible that some, even most, of the written material developed outside of the Qumran community and ended up at the Qumran site for a variety of reasons. For example, Alison Schofield, building on the insights of others, takes the view that some Jewish people took themselves, and their Scrolls, to the desert for shelter and safety before the Roman invasion (between 68-70 C.E.).\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} Alison Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for Community Rule (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 11.
\textsuperscript{15} Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 11.
In this thesis, I will be focusing on extracts from the DSS that lend themselves most fruitfully to an analysis of purity alongside Gender Studies. In Chapter IV, I will be focusing on the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) to uncover the vulnerable position of the impure ordinary male. I will also be looking at the War Scroll (in its 1QM form) to uncover the dynamics of the relationship between purity/impurity and masculinity. In Chapter V, sections from 4QD\(^6\) (4Q272), 4QD\(^8\) (4Q266) and 4QTohorot A (4Q274) will be discussed, as these manuscripts are predominantly focused on purifications of both the male and the female and adapt Levitical rulings to specific social situations. It has also been suggested that 4Q266 and 4Q274 are personal copies of purity rules, which is significant when focusing on everyday experiences amongst the DSS communities. In Chapter VI, I will be looking at specific extracts from the Temple Scroll (11QT\(^a\)) that are concerned with purity/impurity and spatial separation and I will also analyse extracts from the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) in order to understand the gendered education hierarchy at play amongst the communities. It is also significant that all of these DSS (except arguably the Temple Scroll) are sectarian texts and therefore provide insider perspectives into the constructions of gender and purity/impurity, which seem to be distinctive to the DSS communities.

3. Identity of the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities
It has long been presumed that the people behind the DSS formed the “Qumran community,” a title that refers primarily to the archaeological and literary remains preserved at the site of Qumran.\(^16\) With all the DSS now available, new questions are beginning to be asked of both the archaeological site and the literary remains, which is why “the identification of the ‘Qumran community’ remains one of the most debated issues in Qumran scholarship.”\(^17\) John Collins has recently argued that the archaeological site at Qumran belonged to only a single settlement of the wider movement and he has argued that the use of

“Qumran community” in DSS scholarship is misleading. The view most commonly held by DSS scholars is that the communities behind the manuscripts were the Essenes of various forms.

Schofield concludes her study with a hope that future studies should assume a more diverse background to the penal code than a “two communities” paradigm (one behind the D material and one behind the S material), where Jerusalem and other nearby areas are considered as the potential backdrop to certain literary materials. Consequently, it is now time to challenge how scholars have constructed the “Qumran community” to re-define the notion that the “community” was marginal, monastic and singular, and to re-read the DSS with a more open mind. I acknowledge the scholarly differences in the terminology used to define who were actually behind the DSS and I recognise that there is no unproblematic term when discussing identity. However, in this thesis, I will be using DSS communities to refer to those behind the sectarian manuscripts unless I am drawing on original source material from modern authors who present their own terminology and constructions of the communities. I will re-imagine the diverse and everyday settings where certain

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18 See John J. Collins, Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010).
19 DSS scholars who follow the Essene identification behind the DSS communities include: Collins, “Sectarian Communities,” 151; Cecilia Wassen, Women in the Damascus Document (Academia Biblica 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 5; Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad. As well as the Essene hypothesis, there is also the “Groningen Hypothesis,” which argues that the origins of the Essene movement and the origins of the “Qumran community” are distinct from each other: The Essene movement developed out of the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition and the “Qumran community” emerged later from the same movement after a split from the founding group, which resulted in the physical withdrawal to Qumran. See Florentino García Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, “A ‘Groningen’ Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” RevQ 14 (1990): 521-41. Amongst other views, the “Sadducean Hypothesis” was recently revived by Lawrence Schiffman based on views expressed in MMT that are “identical” to those attributed to the Sadducees in rabbinic sources; See Lawrence H. Schiffman, The Halakhah at Qumran (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975). See also Hempel, “Qumran Community,” 746-51, for a more detailed explanation of these theories related to the identity of the DSS communities. Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 281.
21 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 1.
22 For example, Qumran community has been shown to be too singular and isolating; Qumran communities (although in the plural) implies a Qumran connection; Dead Sea communities implies a Dead Sea connection; Essene communities doesn’t take into account the differences in opinion that some DSS scholars have with regards the identity of the Scrolls. I have found DSS communities to be more neutral in terminology and reflect the varied geographical positioning of the communities behind the DSS that were discovered. I also follow the DSS scholars who identify the DSS communities as belonging to the Essene movement.
purity laws could have been applied to the DSS communities and focus on the ordinary members of the Essene movement.

4. Sect and the Yahad

There are a number of self-designations used in the DSS to identify the communities referred to in the various manuscripts. For example, in S, Yahad (‘community’) and תד לטוב (“the many”) are used the most; in D, “congregation” and “camp” appear most often; and in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSα) שם (“congregation”) appears most frequently.23

The differences between the S material and the D material were usually “solved” in early scholarship with the assumption that the DSS belong to two different communities and that the Yahad refers to the actual “Qumran community,” i.e. the monastic, elitist, singular all-male community behind the S material.24 However, that simplistic two-community model approach and the equation between the Yahad and the “Qumran community” are now widely questioned by scholars. For example, Collins has recently argued “the assumption that the Yahad was a technical term for the ‘Qumran community’ is probably shared by the majority of scholars in the field. Yet, this assumption is without foundation in the Scrolls.”25 Collins’ work is an example of a careful approach to the DSS and the communities behind them, which is imperative since, amongst other things, it questions the celibate character of the members of the communities. There is a need to broaden the understanding of who lived, maintained and followed the rulings behind the manuscripts to include communities beyond those living at the archaeological site at Qumran and living in “all of their residences” (1QS VI, 1-8).26

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23 Hempel, “Qumran Community,” 747.
26 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 14.
Biblical scholars have referred to a wide range of sociological thinkers, from Max Weber to Brian Wilson, in order to uncover meanings of the ways in which ancient communities described and constructed themselves. Jutta Jokiranta has demonstrated that a “sociological approach” to the study of ancient sects is in itself under discussion, especially since there is no one definitive definition of what constitutes a “sect.” For example, Louise Lawrence has used social-scientific theories and asceticism to try and understand the communal thoughts on group and sectarian identity in the Rule of the Community, with a view to uncovering the elite and perfected ideal of masculinity behind the composition. After analysing certain passages in 1QS, Lawrence adopts a Weberian view on sectarianism to conclude that “the sect represented in 1QS does not in day-to-day life seem to exhibit charismatic features, but rather with their carefully defined rituals and ascetic behaviour, finds more resonance with a virtuoso social type.”

The portrayal of the “sect” as a “virtuoso social type” creates the image of a disciplined, methodical community, which was dissociated from others and withdrawn from everyday patterns of social relations. Such an image also inadvertently assumes a celibate picture of the “sect,” Lawrence argues that it “would be tempting to push this further (the celibate lifestyle) so that the evidence would fit the virtuoso model.” It is precisely that image of an all-male, celibate “Qumran community” that I want to avoid and by understanding the DSS communities as gendered, I will be re-configuring and re-imagining possible everyday lives behind certain Scrolls. Importantly, the application of sociological analysis to ancient texts should not be restricted to the study of sectarianism and, as Jokiranta has argued, sociological analysis should now be

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29 Lawrence, “Men of Perfect Holiness,” 98.
30 Lawrence, “Men of Perfect Holiness,” 100.
widened in the case of the DSS to uncover a variety of understandings, including the role of gender in the texts.  

5. Gender and Sex

The definition and more complete understanding of gender is still very much debated, but there is a consensus amongst certain scholars to see gender as a “culturally constructed system” which alters the perceptions of biological difference. Just as with the terms “community” and “society,” it is impossible to define gender and sex in a single way that would allow all disciplines to be comfortable with the supplied definition. However, gender is usually taken as a social construction that ultimately defines the person’s place amongst the communities, while sex is generally understood biologically. The conceptions of gender and sex interact throughout a person’s life, since gender in itself embodies “cultural attributes and definitions” that relate in themselves to male and female. In a variety of disciplines, there is beginning to be a move away from static and singular theories relating to gender and more emphasis is being placed on the diverse nature of gender, and the affects that such dynamic diversity has on all forms of everyday life. It is becoming more common to see masculinity as being composed of “masculinities” since religious, historical and cultural factors all affect the ways in which masculinity are understood within societies. However, not all scholars working in Gender Studies accept the term masculinity or masculinities since, as John MacInness has argued, “just as there is no such thing as masculinity, neither are there any such things

33 See Geraldine Pratt, “Gender,” in The Dictionary of Human Geography (ed. Derek Gregory et al.; London: Wiley Blackwell, 2009), 268-78. It is important to state that although sex refers to the biological differences of whether an individual possess the reproductive organs associated with being male or female a person may possess both sexual organs and, as such, be defined as hermaphrodites. It is also possible to be born asexual and therefore lack any sexual organs. See James K. Beggan and Jill M. Harbison, “Sex,” in International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities (ed. Michael Flood et al.; London/New York: Routledge, 2007), 552-53.
35 Pratt, “Gender,” 268.
as masculinities.”37 In this thesis I will refer to both masculinity and/or masculinities depending on the context of the discussion.

Although there are publications on the literary depictions of women and purity in the DSS,38 there has not yet been an in-depth discussion relating to purity and gender. In examining the constructions of gender, scholars can begin to challenge the inevitable binaries that have been socially constructed for men and women, and male and female. As Helen Hatchell has demonstrated, there is a need to “problematize gender and to acknowledge that gender is inclusive of males as well as females.”39 The term “gendered” in this thesis relates to the separate identities of “men” and “women” and the social aspects that that binary corresponds to amongst the communities. Miriam Peskowitz and Laura Levitt have argued that there is no one agreed definition of gender, and argue that concepts such as “femininity,” “masculinity,” “Judaism” and “sexuality” can be constructed in differing ways by different people, cultures and religions.40 A gendered analysis can no longer be regarded as relating only to women or the feminine, instead a current methodological understanding of gendered analysis will usually also discuss masculine roles and productions.41 Therefore, this thesis will emphasize throughout the importance of understanding both the male (masculine/masculinities) and female (feminine/femininities) understandings of purity and impurity by encapsulating and re-configuring both viewpoints from a modern and ancient perspective.

6. Elite and Ordinary
In this thesis references to ordinary men and women refer to the non-elite members of the DSS communities who were subjected to strict *halakhic* interpretations of purity rules that were the understandings of the elites. Although elites are themselves a part of everyday constructions, it is the concern for this thesis that they are not in themselves ordinary. It is important to re-evaluate the status of the ordinary men and women who may have belonged to the wider DSS communities, especially since Josephus describes the Essenes as settling in large numbers (presumably as mostly non-elites) in “every city,” rather than dwelling in one place or city exclusively (*War.* 2. 124). Although there is a clear attempt in the DSS to describe communities as priestly, the focus in scholarship has been on the male aspect of priesthood and its elitism. From my point of view, this has resulted in the neglect of the ordinary male members of the DSS communities and especially how women are described and perceived within those communities. Attention to priestly elitism has thus affected the scholarship relating to the possible integration and presence of women in the DSS communities. The references in this thesis to elite and ordinary members of the DSS communities provide working definitions that distinguish leaders and those with particular responsibilities over against regular, usually non-priestly, members of the movement, which will allow for re-interpreting and re-imagining how purity and impurity may have worked on a daily level.

D. The Contents of this Thesis
The thesis is constructed in five chapters. The first chapter explores the history of scholarship and the debate about purity and impurity in the DSS from 1947 to the present day, in order to determine what questions and conclusions have been drawn out throughout the decades. The second chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological standpoints of Masculinity Studies, specifically hegemonic masculinity, embodiment and the everyday. These three

methodological frameworks will then be applied to the following three principal chapters to develop the four aims of this thesis. The third chapter uses Masculinity Studies to look at the constructions of masculinity in the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form) with the aim of uncovering the vulnerable position of the impure ordinary male. That will allow the uncontrollable aspects of the impurity of the ordinary impure male to be the focus (rather than the “problematic” impure female). The fourth chapter will use theoretical tools from embodiment theory and the everyday to demonstrate that impure ordinary women, in comparison with impure ordinary men, are empowered even though more regulated when impure. That will be achieved through an inter-disciplinary reading of 4QD\(^a\) (4Q272), 4QD\(^a\) (4Q266) and 4QTohorot A (4Q274). The fifth chapter will use Scott’s three conceptual features of the everyday - the mundane, the routine and the breaking of rules - to reveal the dynamics between the ordinary impure males and ordinary impure females. This will be achieved through a reading of the Temple Scroll (11QT\(^a\)) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa). Scott’s three conceptual features of the everyday will be referred to throughout the three principal chapters as appropriate. In each chapter there is an underlying premise that gender and purity in the DSS communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing.
Chapter II

The Debate about Purity and Impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls

A. Purpose of this Chapter

When it comes to the scholarship on purity in the DSS, established scholars such as Joseph Baumgarten, Harrington and Klawans have predominantly created abstract constructions of Jewish purity systems. Whilst notable and significant contributions in their own right, such constructions have overlooked possible connections between purity and the gender of a person and the impact such dynamics may have had on everyday life. As an illustration of where insight into gender may have been useful, Baumgarten, a Jewish scholar who worked closely on purity in the DSS, states that there was a pious trend during the Second Temple period to extend the purity rules beyond the priesthood and into the “daily life of the home.”¹ Yet, the abstracted reconstructions of the communities behind the DSS that both he and others reveal, lend themselves most fruitfully to the elite, celibate, male priesthood. Also, Harrington, drawing on S and Dm surmises that the Essenes were attempting to live in a “state of perfection” by adhering to strict purity regulations so that divine holiness could endow them with both revelation and power.² If members of the DSS communities were trying to live in a “state of perfection” then how did the purity laws function in the constructions of their daily lives? For Harrington, halakhah played a pivotal role in turning a worldview into a recognisable occurrence, but it is exactly this nuanced everyday reality, of pure and impure Jewish men and women living amongst the DSS communities, that has been neglected in DSS scholarship.

The order of the publication of the DSS, the debates surrounding the archaeological evidence of cemeteries at Qumran (especially the ratio between men, women and children) and the influence of the classical descriptions by Pliny, Philo and Josephus, have effected and continue to effect, the debates on

purity in DSS scholarship. In order to contextualize the ways in which purity and impurity have been constructed, it is my intention in this chapter to explore the scholarly portrayals of purity and gender in three time frameworks. The first framework will look at the beginnings of DSS scholarship from the discovery of the Scrolls in 1947 through to the 1960s, and review the predominant discourses held by scholars during this period; those discourses have consequently had long-lasting effects on Scrolls research up to the present day. The reconstruction of the communities made by scholars, the obvious Christian influence on the readings of the Scrolls, the archaeological reconstructions made in the preliminary reports and the neglect of women in both the texts and the scholarly world will be discussed. The second framework will look at scholarship on purity and gender during the 1970s through to the 1980s; during this time period, the Temple Scroll (11QTa) was published which brought into focus the importance of the purity laws for men and women. The influence of feminism will be discussed as well as the development of purity as a topic in its own right. The third framework will assess scholarship from the 1990s to the present day. It will outline the significance of scholarship on purity and impurity in the DSS and how views surrounding gender and purity are beginning to change in recent times.

In all three time frameworks there are wider historical and intellectual debates to consider, not all of which I am able to discuss in this chapter. However, I will be primarily looking at the effect of feminist and Women’s Studies, the reconstructions of the DSS communities, the debates surrounding celibacy behind the DSS, the future of inter-disciplinary interpretation from Masculinity Studies, the importance of embodiment and the everyday - aspects of which I will argue are highly relevant for understanding purity and gender in future DSS research and scholarship.

Through this approach, I want to uncover how the inter-related themes of purity and gender have been adapted since the beginning of DSS scholarship and to describe where we are today. The DSS have been assessed and re-assessed against Christian perspectives, Jewish perspectives and the relations between the two, but a composite gendered perspective has not been mapped on
to the DSS. This chapter will show that there is a gap in DSS scholarship on purity that will benefit from a gendered perspective. I will begin by looking at the developing and differing arguments on purity and the perception of the female roles behind the communities of the DSS between 1947 and 1969.

B. Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship on the Role of Purity and the Perceptions of Women during 1947-1969

1. Reconstruction of Communities by Scholars

The first scholar to identify the DSS with the Essenes was Eliezer Sukenik who stated from the available Scrolls he had, including the Rule of the Community (1QS), The Hodayot (1QH³), War Scroll (1QM) and a copy of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsab), that the manuscripts “belonged originally to the sect of the Essenes,” an argument he based largely on Pliny the Elder’s discussion of the Essenes.³ The majority of scholars who worked on the DSS during the 1950s and 1960s followed on from this lead and came to the conclusion very early on that the “community” behind the available Scrolls belonged to the Essenes.⁴

One of the fundamental reasons why the members of the communities were identified as the Essenes was based on the similarity of purity and “celibacy” practices that were in the available DSS, alongside the discussions of the Essenes in the works of Pliny and Josephus.⁵ In 1953, the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab) and the Qumran copy of the Damascus Document (CD) were published, which re-emphasised the importance of the purity laws

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³ Eliezer L. Sukenik, Megillot Genuzot I (Jerusalem, 1948), 16. It is also significant that although Sukenik saw the Rule of the Community he did not buy it or read it closely.
⁵ The Essenes seem to be discussed in Josephus, War. 2. 119-65; Antiq. 13. 171-73, 293-98, 18.12-20 and Pliny, Natural History, V, 15, 23.
amongst the DSS communities. Baumgarten, himself a practicing rabbi, attributed the sectarian abandonment of the Jerusalem Temple to their need to avoid impure priests who “failed to observe the laws of ritual purity.”

The labels “Jewish sect” and “Qumran monastics” that were placed on the “Qumran community” gave the impression of an isolated and all-male, singular Jewish “community.” It was argued that Josephus’ description of two “groups” of Essenes, one celibate and one married, solved the discrepancies evident amongst the S material and the D material “there is another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, customs and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage” (War. 2. 160). As such, the “community” behind the S material was attributed to an all-male, celibate community and the “community” behind the D material was portrayed as being married. An early example of this dualism can be seen in the work of André Dupont-Somer, who argued that the “Qumran monastery” would have been inhabited with celibate, Essene males, while the married Essenes settled across Judaea where they were in various “camps.”

However, there were some scholars during the first stages of DSS scholarship who did reject the idea of two separate communities, including Frank Cross. Cross is one of the first scholars to attribute the “ambiguous

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6 Two medieval manuscripts dating from the 10th and 12th centuries C.E were discovered in 1897 in the Cairo Geniza by Solomon Schecter and were named the “Zadokite Fragments.” See Solomon Schecter, Fragments Of A Zadokite Work (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). The Zadokite Fragments, later named the Damascus Document, is the only sectarian work that was previously known before the Qumran discovery.

7 Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls,” HTR 46 (1953): 141-59. See also Friedrich Notscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1956).


9 In 1959, Allegro, constantly referred to the archaeological site of Qumran as a ‘monastery,’ “An artisan, entering the Essene monastery at Qumran for the first time, would soon find himself at home and his skills in great demand.” See John Allegro, The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Texts and Pictures (London: Routledge, 1959), 41.


attitude towards marriage” to the priestly distinctions between ritual purity and pollution.\textsuperscript{12} The effects such early views have had relating to the “celibate isolated community” and the “married community” still dominate the landscape of scholarship. As such, early views and portrayals of an isolated and broken Qumran “community” hindered scholarly conversations relating to the varieties of Judaism described in the DSS and subsequently, the gendered varieties of communities.\textsuperscript{13} In short, and despite concerns, there was definitely a fixed academic narrative emerging about the identity of the DSS communities: one community being celibate and one community being married.

2. Christianised Reconstruction of Texts

It is now recognised that early scholars working on the DSS, such as Dupont-Sommer and Cross, viewed the available manuscripts that they had with religious biases.\textsuperscript{14} Since many scholars working on the Scrolls at the time were male Christians, purity and impurity are shown either at the forefront of Christian discussions relating to purity and baptism, or regarded as relevant only when other aspects of Jewish life have been assessed from a Christian perspective, such as asceticism, brotherhood and monastic lifestyles.\textsuperscript{15} For instance, Geza Vermes uses Christian imagery to discuss the “Qumran community” as the “brethren of the desert.”\textsuperscript{16} That would have undoubtedly had an effect on the ways in which purity laws relating to women were being viewed, especially in relation to sexual laws, menstruation and parturient purifications.

There also seems to have been an obvious neglect in the very early stages of purity scholarship, of the influences Leviticus had on the worldview of the communities, which was possibly related to the lack of Scrolls being physically

\textsuperscript{12} Cross, \textit{The Ancient Library}, 72.
\textsuperscript{13} See Schofield, \textit{From Qumran to the Yahad}, 22.
\textsuperscript{14} See John J. Collins, “Introduction,” in \textit{Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls} (ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 1-8, esp. 3, where he states that the “first phase of scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls…was predominantly the work of Christian scholars, who naturally viewed the texts through the filter of their own interests.”
\textsuperscript{15} See Sommer who argued that the \textit{Community Rule} was being used to “govern the Essene community established in the Monastery of Qumran,” \textit{The Jewish Sect of Qumran}, 63.
available to scholars. It appears that by the 1960s the neglect of using Leviticus as a tool in understanding the purification rituals in the DSS during the 1950s was addressed, albeit from a predominantly male perspective.\footnote{For a more in-depth and recent argument on the relation between intimacy and purity see Cynthia M. Baker, “‘Ordering the House:’ On the Domestication of Jewish Bodies,” in \textit{Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity} (ed. Maria Wyke; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 221-42. See also Janice Delaney who demonstrates that men and women get together in two basic ways, through food and sex, and when a woman is menstruating these are the two areas where women must be mitigated by strictest possible taboos regarding food and sex. See Janice Delaney et al., \textit{The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation} (New York: E.P Dutton Co., Inc., 1976).} The books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy were beginning to be assessed in order to understand the purification laws in the DSS. For example, with the laws relating to men who were fighting in battle and how men could come closer to God, but there was still no discussion about female purification or possible participation in the communities. The effect that the Levitical purity laws would have had on the “Essene community” is stressed by Edmund Sutcliffe, who wanted to understand the “men of Qumran as a religious community” since female presence was not deemed an issue.\footnote{Edmund F. Sutcliffe, \textit{The Monks of Qumran as Depicted in the Dead Sea Scrolls} (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), ix.} Such statements demonstrate that early on scholars were identifying fundamental issues relating to: purity and the communities (which are still very much debated today); the relation between ritual and moral impurity; and the role of celibacy.

3. Archaeological Reconstruction

After the DSS were discovered, Roland de Vaux directed the first excavations at the archaeological site of Qumran in 1949. He argued that the same “community” that deposited the DSS in the surrounding caves inhabited Qumran.\footnote{Roland de Vaux, \textit{L’archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 102.} De Vaux was an insightful archaeologist for his time and subsequent archaeological scholars have verified his interpretation of the site.\footnote{See Magness, \textit{The Archaeology of Qumran}, 17.} Indeed, the site of Qumran enables a unique opportunity to use archaeological evidence alongside ancient Scrolls to reconstruct and understand the everyday life of a community.\footnote{Magne, \textit{The Archaeology of Qumran}, 13.} The archaeology of the Qumran site reveals two key aspects: the significance of the \textit{miqva’ot} and the discovery of gendered skeletons.
Firstly, Robert Scott, writing in 1955, strongly emphasised the archaeological water supplies as significant for Jewish purification. However, one of the reasons why other scholars may have neglected the importance of the purity laws was because de Vaux seemed to have downplayed the significant amount of *miqva’ot* (purification baths) present amongst the archaeological findings. De Vaux rejected the secure identification of several of the pools at Qumran as *miqva’ot* on the basis of the secluded desert setting and need for water “We have seen that there are a considerable number of cisterns at Khirbet Qumran, but the ordinary needs of any relatively numerous community living in a semi-desert region would be sufficient to explain the installation of a water system of this kind.” There was little known about ancient *miqva’ot* in Palestine during the time de Vaux was writing, but the evidence now available indicates that many of the pools found at Qumran were used as *miqva’ot* which reflects the importance of purity for the DSS communities.

Secondly, during the 1953 excavations conducted by de Vaux at Khirbet Qumran, skeletons of women and children were discovered. In early scholarship, Dupont-Sommer ascribed fundamental importance to these skeletons and argued that the remains belonged to “pious women” who would have been admitted exceptionally to rest in the same cemetery as the “saintly ascetics.”

4. The Portrayals of Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Rita Gross, in her discussion of feminist reflections throughout the past forty years, argues that scholars of religion largely ignored women and gender during the 1950s and 1960s, predominantly because those who studied religion were almost universally men. The woman’s body has stood at the centre of the feminist agenda, both politically and philosophically, since the early 60s and

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some scholars have demanded greater control over the discussion of female bodies in the areas of religious discourse, translation and discussion. The political and philosophical debates surrounding the body and embodiment during the 1960s did not seem to affect early scholarship on purity and gender within the DSS. That was probably because it was mainly men who were working on the DSS and the identity and purpose of the Scrolls were still very much debated. Although the presence of women amongst the DSS communities has been discussed in early scholarship, the prominence of an elite, celibate priesthood dominated the majority of discussions and, as such, the Jewish female became marginalised in scholarship.

One of the earliest disputes surrounding female participation in the DSS communities was to be found alongside the translation of the Rule of the Congregation and the proposal that the straightforward translation of 1QSa I, 11 indicated that a woman was able to be a witness against her husband (1QSa I, 11). Following Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Milik’s 1955 reconstruction of 1QSa I, 11 “and at that time she will be received (יִצְרָא) to bear witness of him (concerning) the judgments of the Law and to take (her) place in proclaiming the ordinances,” Allegro interpreted this passage as showing that an Essene wife was able to become a witness against her husband in matters of law and to have a decisive effect on his future amongst the communities. In 1957, Baumgarten completely dismissed the original reconstruction of 1QSa I, 11 and advocated that to have a regulation concerning a wife’s qualification to present indictments against her husband is “completely obscure and out of place.” For Baumgarten, the only regulation that fitted into the context of 1QSa I, 11 was one that placed the male at the centre of the discussion and he advised the following textual amendment and translation: “and he shall be received (יִצְרָא) to testify in accordance with the laws of the Torah and to take his place in hearing the judgements.”

proposed reading of the feminine form of the verb had been “corrupted through scribal error and must be emended.” Thus, some scholars have found it inconceivable that wives would have been able to play such a decisive part in the Jewish legal system and have the status to appear as witnesses in court. I will return to this debate later on in the thesis when I look at the role of women and education.

5. Unresolved Issues Relating to Masculinity
There are three scholars who brought up issues relating to the roles of the men of the DSS communities, namely Dupont-Sommer, Allegro and Helmer Ringgren. For example, Dupont-Sommer discussed the isolation and loneliness of a male member of the community who was being punished. Allegro elaborated on the ranking system that is evident in both the S and the D material and outlined how the frequent mention of “ranks” and how this affected a member’s status amongst their communities (1QS V, 20-25). Both Dupont-Sommer and Allegro also refer to issues of impurity and warfare. One of the issues that Ringgren portrayed in relation to purity was that angels demanded physical purity in order for men to be able to face their enemies and fight “for holy angels are together with their enemies” (1QM VII, 6). The relationship between the presence of angels and the presence of men may well provide an understanding as to why men behaved and acted in particular ways. All such aspects of communal life that these three early scholars highlighted, have been somewhat neglected in modern day scholarship.

Scholars working on the DSS from 1947-1969 were obviously hindered by the lack of available manuscripts published during that time, many were also influenced by their own religious beliefs and many failed to recognise the value

33 Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran, 87.
34 Allegro, The Dead Sea, 102, William Sanford LaSor viewed purity as one of the main attributes that had an effect on the rank of an individual, once admitted into the Community “for Torah, for judgement, for Purity” (1QS VI, 22). See William Sanford LaSor, Amazing Dead Sea Scrolls and The Christian Faith (Chicago: Moody Press, 1956), 86.
of understanding the DSS alongside rabbinic Judaism. However, I have found some useful threads in the early scholarly arguments on purity that I want to expand on in my own methodological reading of purity, including the understanding of purity/impurity in relation to warfare and the inherent link between purity and masculinity. The importance of the ranking system put forward by Dupont-Sommer can also be adapted to highlight the social influences that communal ranking may have had on a male member, and how the ranking may have altered his masculinity when impure.

C. Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship on the Role of Purity and the Perceptions of Women during 1970-1989

1. Introduction
The biases that were evident in earlier DSS scholarship seemed to have been reviewed in much of the scholarship during the 1970s and 1980s, which may be why purity became such a central focus in discussions of the DSS and the prescription of the communities’ practices. With the publication of the Temple Scroll (11QT) in 1977 by Yigael Yadin, purity came to the forefront of many discussions. That important development will now be expanded upon.

2. Feminist Thought Outside of Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship
The development and understanding of feminist theology in the 1970s and 1980s allowed women to come to the forefront of discussions relating to ancient discourses and the perceptions of women within them. Gross argues that by the early 1980s there was no excuse for any scholar of religion that was writing during those decades “not to be familiar with women and feminism.”

36 Collins, Introduction, 5.
37 See E.P. Sanders, Jesus and Judaism (London: SCM Press, 1985), xi. Sanders did not want to approach Jewish sources as if he was not “primarily a student of the New Testament,” but unlike earlier DSS scholarship, Sanders does not have an obvious bias towards Christianity in his writings. Paul Garnet adopted a similar method and approached the theme of atonement in the Scrolls through the Hebrew Bible and other Jewish sources, “to avoid reading back Christian ideas into the Scrolls.” See Paul Garnet, Salvation and Atonement in the Scrolls (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1977), 3.
During the 1970s, women demanded greater control over their own bodies and the material body became the focus of feminist thought in many disciplines. That was especially the case in feminist philosophy, where it was argued that the material aspect of the body reflected the inner assertions of the self.\(^4^0\)

There was a shift during the 1980s from the material body, to the importance of understanding self-perception and the representation of the female body in Western culture. Such feminist way of thinking was greatly influenced by the works of Michel Foucault who treated the female body as being a “politically inscribed entity” shaped by practices of restrictions and control.\(^4^1\) There seems to have been a variety of views relating to Jewish feminism during these decades. On the one hand, Naomi Goldenberg, a feminist psychologist of religion, stated that the Jewish and Christian religions depended on the masculine images that these religions have of their God.\(^4^2\) Goldenberg’s analysis of how Jewish laws are supposed to make women separate, but equal, offers a more positive view of women in the Jewish tradition. On the other hand, the feminist theologian Judy Grahn views the Jewish ritual of purification as a means constructed by men to suppress women’s influence, since many of women’s physical body properties are included in the “general patriarchal concept of unclean.”\(^4^3\) The issues surrounding the female body and the menstrual purity rules still create controversy, with some Jewish women viewing the menstrual laws as restrictive, while others see the menstrual laws as liberating. In this thesis, I explore the possibility that a woman, while she

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was impure, was empowered in distinctive ways in comparison with impure men.

The issues that were being debated in the wider circles of feminism and religion, relating to patriarchy and the undermining of women within scholarly works, could have been applied to the DSS, but interestingly were not during these decades. A possible explanation for this lack of interaction could be taken from the argument of gender and historiography, since historiography is a “product of contemporary society” and is constantly changing and evolving within set time periods and within historical events. This is certainly the case with the place and positioning of women; the historical evidence has always been there, but scholars did not choose to see the evidence for women’s studies in the Scrolls. The question is, of course, why? A number of responses are possible and I will highlight two. Firstly, the lack of the discussion was due to the dominance of the debate about Essene celibacy. Secondly, the delayed publication of many Scrolls had a key effect on the discussions and portrayals of women. I will now further the latter observation.

3. The Discussion of Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls
In 1983, Lawrence Schiffman attempted to construct the details of the sectarian codes in the DSS in order to understand the structure and doctrines of the sects. It became apparent to Schiffman that ritual purity and impurity, sin and atonement were all inter-related themes in the legal material. For Schiffman, the communities that are envisaged in 1QS and 1QSa are based on the purity and moral perfection of their members. Methodologically, it is of great interest that Schiffman allowed the legal material in 1QS and 1QSa to be portrayals of the everyday reality of the communities. He put forward the argument that these two manuscripts discussed the historical reality of those living at Qumran rather than the dominant view of an all-male, celibate priesthood occupying the space.

Drawing on the discussion of the “camps” in the D material, Schiffman discussed the purity of the sectarian DSS communities living outside the Qumran desert as “deprived of the complete purity and sanctity of the life within the sanctuary of the desert.”48 He outlined the role that purity played in the age to come and argued that both purity and impurity “defined the inner and outer limits of the sect in the present as they would in the Messianic age.”49 As such, Schiffman portrayed an image of graded purity at Qumran that not only included the impure priests, Gentiles and impure Jewish followers, but also the everyday communities who belonged to the same group and followed the same practices.

4. Reconstruction of Texts and Communities

It is apparent that during the 1970s and 1980s, the origins and dynamics of the DSS communities were beginning to be re-assessed from the simplistic “two camps” reasoning: one being celibate and one being married. That development allowed prominent Jewish scholars, such as Yadin and Schiffman to incorporate halakhic and rabbinic thought in their discussions on purity within the DSS. It seems that during the 1970s many DSS scholars followed on from the previous assumptions that the Essenes are to be identified with the DSS communities, but there were other scholars who were beginning to question the Qumran-Essene hypothesis.50 For example, Schiffman reserved identifying the DSS communities to the Essenes, or any other Jewish group “until its halakhah has been thoroughly investigated.”51

5. Purity as a Topic in its own Right

5.1 Jacob Neusner and the Idea of Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls

During the 1970s and 1980s, purity in DSS scholarship is shown either at the forefront of many discussions, or regarded as relevant only when other aspects

48 Schiffman, Sectarian Law, 12.
49 Schiffman, Sectarian Law, 216.
50 Baumgarten and Schiffman proposed that the DSS were either written by the Sadducees or were written by a group formed from Sadduceen roots. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, Studies in Qumran Law (Leiden: Brill, 1977) and Lawrence Schiffman, Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1983).
51 Schiffman, The Halakhah, 2.
of Jewish life have been assessed. In 1973, Jacob Neusner published *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*, which discussed purity in the biblical and Second Temple tradition. The interest was “solely in Talmudic Judaism” which could, arguably, have blurred his view in terms of purity pre-70 C.E.\(^52\) In a way that avoids discussions of “ritual purity” and “ritual impurity,” Neusner discusses two new interpretations of the biblical purity laws that are applied at Qumran.\(^53\) The first was the application of the priestly purity laws to be conducted outside the Jerusalem Temple for a purpose other than the Temple cult and the sects’ “obsessive concern for purity is matched by its claims to have a monopoly on it.”\(^54\) The second innovation was designated as “entirely without parallel” since the community transcended the metaphorical element of sin and ritual and moral impurity to be in need of purification: “the impurity of a menstrual woman and that of the arrogant person are not distinguished in any way.”\(^55\)

Neusner also draws on the then recent work of the anthropologist Mary Douglas who looked at the treatment of purity “as a symbol, metaphor or allegory” for wider, social issues relating in particular to the importance of the Temple.\(^56\) Douglas’ writings have greatly influenced biblical scholars, particularly when looking at the purity issues in the book of Leviticus.\(^57\) Douglas believes that dirt “involves reflection on the relations of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death.”\(^58\) For her, dirt seems to be the polar opposite of purity. Neusner adapts Douglas’ argument to state that the Jerusalem Temple became the one clean point in Jewish life where the “lines of structure, both cosmic and social, converge.”\(^59\)

\(^{58}\) Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 54.
5.2 Lawrence Schiffman and the halakhic influences on Purity
Schiffman published his doctoral thesis in 1975 and his work re-examined the new evidence from the available texts to determine their halakhah. By looking at the available halakhic sources from selected DSS, including the Rule of the Community, the War Scroll and the preliminary discussions from Yadin of the Temple Scroll, Schiffman compiled a list of the main areas of Qumran halakhah, including observances of the Sabbath, oaths, vows and ritual purity. Discourses belonging to the DSS communities always exist within a larger cultural perspective and scholars, such as Schiffman and Baumgarten, have adequately analysed the importance of halakhah amongst the DSS communities, but away from the ancient cultural and social perspectives.

5.3 Michael Newton: Purity and Paul
In 1985, Michael Newton produced the first monograph relating to purity in Qumran as a means for understanding the letters of Paul. Newton begins his discussion of purity from the assumption that the Essenes, as described by Josephus, are “identical with the community at Qumran.” Drawing heavily on Neusner, Newton argues that the reason why purity has been neglected in the studies of early Judaism and Christianity is because of the “forced dichotomy between ritual purity and ethics.” Like Neusner, Newton also draws on the work of Douglas and claims that her work is key to understanding why purity permeates a community. Newton tried to understand how the “community at Qumran” applied the purity concerns of the Jerusalem Temple to their own communities. Newton’s discussion of purity focuses on the reasons why members of the sect were to be separated from the “purity of the congregation” (1QS VI, 25) and the reasons why the communities felt compelled to leave a Temple-based Jerusalem. Although Newton’s study of purity in the DSS does discuss what purity meant in practical terms for the communities, and the ways

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60 Schiffman, The Halakhah, 2.
62 See Carol Newsom, The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 347.
63 Michael Newton, The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 10. Newton admits himself that he feels “compelled to identify the Qumran sect with the Essenes,” 11.
64 Newton, The Concept of Purity at Qumran, 3.
65 Newton, The Concept of Purity at Qumran, 7.
purity controlled many aspects of life, his discussion still only concerned the male members. There is no mention of the archaeological discoveries of the graves of women and children found at the Qumran site and there is no mention of the sexual purification laws evident in the DSS.

6. The Publication of the Temple Scroll (11QTa)
The publication of the Temple Scroll had a major impact on scholarly discussion relating to purity and impurity. That permitted the issue of purity in the DSS to come to the forefront, with columns XLVI-XLVIII concentrating specifically on issues relating to purity including, food, sexual matters, death and animals. For example, the Temple Scroll intensified the severity of the impurity derived from sexual orifices by regulating that the menstruating woman and the parturient are to be removed from “every city,” and that a man who has experienced a nocturnal emission is to be put in a confinement similar to the leper. For Yadin, the laws and regulations that were peculiar to the Temple Scroll were linked to the sectarianists of the DSS communities.66 Although the sectarian nature of the Temple Scroll is still disputed, the preservation of multiple manuscripts, along with the importance of purity, demonstrates that the Scroll was clearly highly important in reconstructing the worldview of the DSS communities.

Yadin was one of the first scholars to discuss in detail the strict interpretation of the sexual purity matters that the Temple Scroll prescribes, such as the biblical extension from one day of impurity for an emission of semen (Deut 23:9-11), to three days in the Temple Scroll (11QTa XLV, 7-10).67 Yadin tried to uncover the origin of religious celibacy in the community and he argued that menstrually impure women in the Temple Scroll are not given places in the city of the Temple, which he argued, “confirms that the doctrine of the sect banned women from permanent residence in the Temple city.”68 Yadin goes as far as to

66 Johann Maier countered this argument in 1985 by stating that the majority of the prescriptions in the Temple Scroll were to be attributed to an older period relating to the Zadokite culture. See Johann Maier, The Temple Scroll (trans. Richard T. White; JSOT 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 4.
attribute the lack of laws for impure women to be the “distinct source” of the development of Essene celibacy.\textsuperscript{69} I think that is unrealistic, especially since the Temple Scroll does not allow impure men to reside in certain areas of the Temple city either.

During the 1970s and 1980s, earlier scholarly biases were reviewed, which allowed for more halakhic and Jewish oriented readings of the texts to be put at the centre of the discussion. The emergence of feminism and female focused scholarly studies, allowed women and the female body to be integrated into the debate and studied. The Qumran-Essene hypothesis still dominated scholarly construction, although the works of Schiffman and others also introduced a more gender-balanced approach to the DSS communities by moving the discussion beyond celibacy. Purity in itself became a more dominant and studied area of DSS scholarship, which was enhanced with the publication of the Temple Scroll.

D. Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship on the Role of Purity and the Perceptions of Women from 1990 to the Present
1. Introduction
From 1990 to the present, debates surrounding purity have intensified due to all of the Scrolls being made public. With the publication of the extant copies of the S material and the D material, along with the publication of Miqsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah (MMT) and the many fragments of Cave IV (4Q266-273 and 4Q274-278) which have been shown to deal with issues of purity involving both women and men, scholarship during the last few decades has re-visited key themes of DSS studies.\textsuperscript{70} With this in mind I will now uncover some of the key themes relating to these decades, including the current debates surrounding the DSS communities, celibacy and sexuality and the prominent views of purity

\textsuperscript{69} Yadin, \textit{The Temple Scroll: The Hidden}, 174.

\textsuperscript{70} Schuller highlights 1996-1999 as the key years for the official publication of major new texts dealing with women when both the copies of the Damascus Document (4Q266-273) and the collections of halakhic and purification texts (4Q251, 264a, 265, 274-278, 284, 414) were published. See Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in \textit{The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty years: A Comprehensive Assessment} (vol. 2; ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam: Leiden: Brill, 1999), 117-44.
and impurity.

2. Current debates about the Identities of the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities
As in previous decades, the majority of scholars still construct the identity of the DSS communities in light of the Qumran-Essene hypothesis. One of the first scholars to discuss the problems of the singular “community” was Philip Davies. He argued that the designation of “Qumran community” had been used too precisely to show a linear, monolithic community behind the DSS. However, as Davies pointed out, that was no longer possible based on the process of redaction. Davies therefore suggested that “Qumran communities” is a more appropriate, situational representation. The designation of “Qumran communities” implied that the varied communities were in the Qumran area but, as Collins has demonstrated, the Essenes were a widespread movement and consequently were to be found throughout the surrounding geographical areas. Davies brought about the importance of understanding the plurality of communities behind the DSS and now Collins, Charlotte Hempel and Schofield lead the way in exploring the diverse communities behind the DSS.

As Collins highlighted in 2006, the assumption by scholars that the Yahad was a technical term used for the singular “Qumran community” is an assumption formed “without foundation in the Scrolls.” Drawing on all the DSS being made public, Hempel demonstrates how the significant variants now visible amongst the manuscripts, for example amongst the S material found in Cave IV (including 4Q256, 4Q258, 4Q259), have dismantled the image of a “small, isolated, fringe group” to be found at Qumran. Schofield skilfully reconstructed the various manuscripts belonging to the wider S material to demonstrate that the previous scholarly constructions of two “camps” - based on the S material and the D material to formulate two communities - is an

argument “no longer tenable” in scholarship. For Schofield, the reality behind the formations of the S material and the D material (including the 4QD manuscripts), shows a “spectrum of community formations over time.” Whereas the D material reflects earlier exegetical traditions that are closer in age to the biblical Priestly source, the S material is more refined and expanded. There is also more caution placed on using Josephus, Philo and Pliny as describing what the Essene communities were really like, especially since much of their writings would have been based on outsider perspectives, rather than personal experience.

3. Celibacy and Sexuality: Looking at Private and Public aspects of the Body
Much of the controversy surrounding the Essene hypothesis has centred on the issue of celibacy. Elisha Qimron, in his study on celibacy in the DSS, was one of the first scholars to link the practice of celibacy by some of the men of the Scrolls with the purity of Jerusalem and its Temple. His main reasoning was that the sectarians considered themselves as a substitute for Jerusalem, and since sexual intercourse was forbidden in Jerusalem it was to be forbidden at Qumran. Qimron’s use of celibacy is almost as an identity marker to distinguish between the “true” members of the Yahad and the other Dead Sea sectarians who “did not maintain a similar degree of purity.” One of the main arguments against Qimron has been that there is no explicit evidence of celibacy to be found in the entirety of the DSS. Wassen, in one of the first detailed analyses of women in the D material, states that despite the absence of any explicit evidence of celibacy in the Scrolls and the lack of any reasoning why there would be abstention from marriage, scholars continue to argue that celibacy was the practice of many men within the communities; a life that was based on

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75 Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad* 276.
76 Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 276.
77 Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 276. The scribes and authors of S can be seen as developing from the earlier movement described in D, which was also the case with the Yahad, where the Yahad also “grew out of the camp structure described in D.” Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 276.
78 Collins, “Sectarian Communities,” 165.
80 Qimron, “Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 288.
purity. Qimron does admit that there are no references in the DSS to celibacy and he further undermines his own argument by claiming that references to women and children occur in many of the sectarian DSS.

Another scholar who has taken a similar viewpoint to Qimron is Sanders who has discussed the practical elements of celibacy by stating that if the sectarians were a “male monastic group” then semen (except for nocturnal emissions), menstrual blood and other flows from female genitalia and childbirth, would be sources of potential impurity that would need to be removed from the community. Personally, I struggle to understand why communities would preserve, re-write and use materials relating to female purification if impure flows, relating to both men and women, were not an issue within the DSS communities.

The dominant working hypothesis in DSS scholarship, based on two separate Essene communities, one celibate and one married, has slowly, but significantly, changed. That is largely because many of the DSS that are now available discuss women, childbirth, menstruation and sexual relations between men and women and can no longer be ignored. Many of the assumptions surrounding celibacy and the Essenes were configured by scholars from the works of Josephus and Philo, and it needs to be remembered that this may reveal more about the sources that they were using and the audiences that they were addressing.

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82 Qimron, “Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 289.
84 The scribes may have upheld the role of authoritativeness in the base texts and this was why they wanted to re-write the female purification laws, but I think the Purity Texts would have been used as a more practical guide rather than the ideal.
85 Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea,” 118. There is also change in the archaeological argument used for celibacy based upon the excavated graves at the Qumran site. For example, Schuller has argued that since only around 4% of the available graves have been excavated, it is “highly suspect whether we can deduce relative status in the community from the graveyard.” See Schuller, “Women in the Dead Sea,” 139. Rachel Hachlili has recently argued that the small number of women that were buried at Qumran “neither disproves nor confirms the Qumran-Essene hypothesis.” See Rachel Hachlili, “The Qumran Cemetery Reassessed,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 46-81.
There is now a change in scholarly thought that has turned away from the celibacy debate in favour for an argument from abstinence. As Carl Olson has recently argued, although Judaism as a religion has traditionally rejected celibacy, there is an accepted form of temporary celibacy/abstinence practiced when a woman is on her menstrual cycle. As Carl Olson has recently argued, although Judaism as a religion has traditionally rejected celibacy, there is an accepted form of temporary celibacy/abstinence practiced when a woman is on her menstrual cycle. Arguments for abstinence have been put forward by Scrolls scholars, for example Hartmut Stegemann has argued for designated times of abstinence amongst the men of the DSS communities, which may have led outsiders to deduce that the communities practiced permanent celibacy. Another DSS scholar who has taken that viewpoint is Baumgarten, who has argued that celibacy was practiced later on in a member’s life with elderly men and women renouncing sexual relations at a particular stage in life. Taking a slightly different perspective, Schofield makes the argument that although some members of the communities may have been celibate, it does not mean that there were not unmarried members. For me, an argument for celibacy is putative since celibacy is not mentioned in any of the Scrolls and does not fit with Jewish ideology of family and procreation. Following other DSS scholars, such as Stegemann and Baumgarten, I agree that it is possible that some of the members of the DSS communities may have practiced abstinence from sex during specific times of their lives; perhaps all members were abstinent before getting married and/or when their wives were menstrually impure.

4. The Prominent Views of Purity and Impurity

4.1 Joseph Baumgarten

Using Qumran in a restrictive and outdated manner, Baumgarten does not entertain the possibility that women may have been members of the “Qumran

87 See Hartmut Stegemann, The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist and Jesus (Grand Rapids, Mi: Eerdmans, 1998).
89 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 279.
90 There are other scholars who have argued that celibacy does not fit in with Jewish ideology. See Lawrence Schiffman who has opposed the identification of the DSS communities with the Essenes and consequently has argued that celibacy was not practiced by the sects behind the Scrolls. See Schiffman, Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls, 129.
community” through marriage, but he does address key issues that involve women, children and purity, including childbirth, menstruation, sexual discharges and purification procedures. Moreover, he has stated that it is now widely recognised that the “laws of purity had a pervasive influence on the religious, economic and social life of the Qumran community. One can hardly point to any aspect of their ideology, or their communal discipline, which does not in some way involve the legal categories of "_panim."  

Women and the roles that they embody are very much positioned in the background, as they are portrayed as belonging purely to the “marrying Essenes.” As previously discussed, that is especially the case with Baumgarten’s dismissal of the translation of 1QSa I, 11 and the reluctance to accept the feminine verb. Arguably, with such a negative portrayal, women were seen to have no direct influence on the purity - or personhood - of the DSS communities. To challenge such abstractions, I will reconstruct the everyday life for ordinary people living behind the Scrolls from the perspective that reveals the vulnerable and problematic aspects of the impure male and the empowered presence of the impure female.

4.2 Jacob Milgrom

In his work on purity, Jacob Milgrom recognizes the distinctive nature of the defiling force of sin in the biblical purity laws. For Milgrom, bloodshed, idolatry and sexual immorality have the potential to not only defile God’s sanctuary, but also the land of Israel. In his commendable commentary on Leviticus, Milgrom devotes a large section to discussing genital discharges (Lev 15:1-33). In his section on the menstrual, Milgrom points to the biblical

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leniency surrounding the menstrual purity laws: “all she needs is a separate bed, a separate chair and the discretion to stay out of her family’s reach.”

Milgrom states that the DSS tend to show more stringency than Levitical foundations in the application of the purity rules. In his work on first day ablutions and the Temple Scroll, Milgrom argues that each ablution removes a layer of impurity and that “two ablutions are a minimal requirement for admission into the Temple city.” I think the idea of graded impurity is significant, since the gender of a person becomes secondary to their impure status, which is an important distinction when looking at the interaction between purity and gender.

4.3 Hannah Harrington
One of the most significant contemporary influences on the workings of purity in the DSS is the scholarly output of Harrington, whose writings are clearly influenced by Milgrom, her doctoral supervisor. Harrington’s work has a continuous thread of discussing the similarities and differences between rabbinic halakhah and the Scrolls. That was enhanced with the availability of the Temple Scroll, as well as the more recent publication of 4QMMT.

Following Milgrom, Harrington suggests that the DSS communities relied upon the expansion of scriptural law through exegesis. According to Harrington, the sectarian and rabbis differ in the level of stringency that each community applied to the purity regulations: the “Qumran sectarians” intensify scriptural purity laws, while the rabbis minimize the scriptural purity laws. Harrington takes a systematic approach to the understanding of purity in the DSS and further argues that the relationship between sin and impurity cannot be accurately determined, since the DSS communities did not explicitly define

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95 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 953.
96 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 970.
them. Arguably, such an analysis is often overlooked in contemporary DSS scholarship.  

Harrington sees the Purity Texts amongst the DSS as sharing a similar set of themes and although they are not always in complete agreement on certain points, their coherence rests in their opposition to the establishment practices in Jerusalem, from which these sectarians departed. Harrington’s systematic approach to purity laws has recently come under scrutiny from Werrett who, following a more diachronic approach, argues that a systematic approach emphasizes the continuity between the texts and their legal positions, while simultaneously discrediting any discrepancies between the purity rules. In practice, this means that the Purity Texts have not been taken as individual compositions but instead have been analysed as a coherent body. That systemic structure and understanding of the purity rules has forced an elitist understanding of purity on the DSS, which has resulted in the neglect of the everyday people who would have been trying to abide and live by those purity laws. I think the individuality of each Scroll, and the intended communities behind each text must always be kept in mind.

In relation to women and impurity, Harrington states that in the D material, menstrual impurity is shown to be a “big concern among the sectarians” where, for instance, in the Admonition, priests are rebuked for having sexual intercourse with a menstruant and thereby polluting the sanctuary (CD V, 7; cf. 4Q266 6 II, 2). Harrington also focuses on the celibate nature of men amongst the “Qumran community” arguing that “writers of the Scrolls placed heavy restrictions on marital relations and the group at Qumran was probably celibate.” The majority of Harrington’s work on purity is limited to a predominantly elite perspective and most of the references to women in the Scrolls are viewed as being only eschatologically relevant. There is also a

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101 Ian C. Werrett, Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 12.
traditional emphasis on the sectarian and secluded aspects of the “Qumran community,” evident in some of Harrington’s work on purity. This is where my thesis will expose the elitist abstractions and bring more overtly into the discussion, the social realities amongst the DSS communities. That will re-instate the vulnerable positions of the impure male and the possible empowered position of the impure female.

4.4 Jonathan Klawans
Klawans reinforces the importance of understanding the relationship between impurity and sin in the sectarian DSS, and he proposes a diachronic reading, which allows for a better understanding of the differences and similarities between certain manuscripts.\(^\text{104}\) Although I agree that there is a need to move away from the current systemic viewpoint, I do not think Klawans has clearly defined what ritual purity actually means in his discussion, and how - and why - this changed over the duration of Second Temple Judaism. For example, the questioning of why impurity became an interchangeable term is not discussed and neither is the possibility of women and children being members of the DSS communities and how this would impact upon the portrayal of ritual and moral impurity.

Although Klawans does state that members of the DSS communities were also prone to sin and that the “identification of ritual and moral impurity at Qumran knew no boundaries,” he does not question, or interpret, what the breaking of these boundaries meant for both the individual and the community as a whole.\(^\text{105}\) As Thomas Kazen has recently argued, while there is an obvious moral aspect to the idea of purity in Ancient Judaism, talking of moral versus ritual purity is in itself flawed since it is as if “purity ceases to be a ritual category when applied to moral matters.”\(^\text{106}\) Martha Himmelfarb has also criticized Klawan’s moral and ritual focus on purity, and argues that the

\(^{104}\) Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 91.
\(^{105}\) Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 82.
attitudes to purity displayed in the sectarian and non-sectarian texts, demonstrate a difference in understanding and reading.  

4.5 Ian Werrett

Recently, Werrett has proposed a re-reading of ritual purity in the DSS in a comprehensive manner and advocates the advantages of discussing each Scroll in its own right, rather than presuming similarities relating to purity and impurity. In order to move beyond Harrington’s systematic view of purity, Werrett wants to demonstrate that the Scrolls reveal as much disagreement as they do agreement in relation to purity laws. I also want to avoid adopting a systemic and systematic viewpoint about purity that has so often been undertaken by scholars working on purity and the DSS.

In relation to celibacy in the DSS, Werrett questions the attempts of previous scholars who have tried to advocate that the members of the DSS communities were celibate. In comparison with Wassen, he has refreshingly argued that there are no explicit passages on celibacy to be found in the Scrolls, and the overwhelming amount of discussion relating to women, marriage, sex and menstruation, counteract the possibility of the male members being celibate.

In a recent discussion on the evolution of purity in the DSS, Werrett has argued that alternative methodological approaches, such as feminist and social-scientific perspectives, can further the understanding of the Purity Texts available at Qumran and enhance the worldview of the communities. By applying methodological insights from Masculinity Studies, theories from embodiment and the everyday to the DSS, I will raise new questions relating to the vulnerable position of the impure male and the empowering position of the impure female, which in turn will enhance the worldview of the communities. That will develop and enhance the current systemic and overly abstract debates.

108 Werrett, Ritual Purity, 2.
109 Werrett, Ritual Purity, 2.
110 Werrett, Ritual Purity, 14.
5. Moving Beyond Mary Douglas

The influence of Douglas’ work on the role of purity and impurity within society is profound. In 1966, Douglas put forward the systemic argument that where there is dirt there is system, and as such, dirt is never an isolated event. As Douglas herself puts it “dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.” Russell Arnold has recently used Douglas’ typological models to designate the “Qumran community” as a “strong group and strong grid model” that maintained “strict boundaries and separation from all non-members.”

Using such a frame, Arnold deduced that the “Qumran community” consisted of the pious elite who separated themselves, both physically and ideologically, from the world of wickedness. Arnold reinforces previous studies on the singular and isolated aspects by using the designated title “Qumran community” and constructing a private agenda of separatism. However, that elite separatist viewpoint is changing, especially since the community does not appear to have an ideological agenda of celibacy.

Although Douglas does not refer to the DSS in her analysis of the body, the Bible is a key source that she quotes from and applies to her theories surrounding purity and pollution. The focus on the body as a symbol of society has highlighted how the inscription of rules on bodies and persons, as seen in Leviticus 15, demands critical responses from anthropology. However, I agree with Simon Coleman when he argues that much of the work on the body in anthropology takes us beyond Douglas’ useful “but curiously disembodied” depiction of the body as a symbol of society. In order to move beyond the analysis of purity and danger by scholars such as Neusner and Harrington, I am proposing using theories relating to embodiment, which could be considered as more useful to uncover the daily life and actions of ancient people.

112 Douglas, Purity and Danger, 43.
114 Arnold sees the women as belonging to the “camps” and states that it is not possible to determine whether women could have been considered members of the Yahad. See Arnold, The Social Role of Liturgy, 36.
Embodiment has recently been used as a tool for understanding cultural and social difference and although being impure was inevitably a part of daily life, the act of being impure, especially in relation to sexual impurity, may have created certain feelings of shame or secrecy within a community. That is especially relevant as embodied beings not only perceive, but also are perceived. Consequently, they can be seen, touched, heard and smelled. For instance, it was only after fulfilling the required purification procedures that were needed for a seminal emission or menstrual period, that an impure person would be viewed and re-defined as a complete member of the social body.

6. Reconstructing Ordinary Men and Women amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities

Arguably, up until now, DSS scholarship has missed out on the methodological integration of Gender Studies with Second Temple Judaism that has been seen in New Testament and Hebrew Bible scholarship throughout recent decades. It is now time to move DSS scholarship forward by integrating purity with the burgeoning work on Gender Studies. The recent work by Nicole Ruane on the relations between gender and sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible, is an area in which a sensitive approach to gendered relations has proven enlightening. The dynamic aspects of gender was also emphasised by Ruane who has argued that “gender is not a monolithic entity; it is constantly changing and must be adapted as needs arise.” The purity laws are one such example of managing and controlling gender relations amongst communities. Recently, Maxine Grossman has used tools from Gender Studies and sociology to begin moving

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116 In a recent discussion on vision and embodiment David Morgan has looked at how communal relations are created and maintained through different types of looks, such as shy glances, averted glances, strict stares, all of which reveal and command both authority and weakness within a community. The idea of seeing and viewing a person in the DSS communities in a certain way is significant since the person, when impure, would be consequently viewed differently in society. See David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye. Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley, La.: University of California Press, 2012), 3.


119 Ruane, *Sacrifice and Gender*, 11.
from the available textual evidence of the DSS to hypothetical historical reconstruction." For example, Grossman effectively discerns that in the Rule of the Community, the masculinity of the sect is structured by social constraints that promote obedience, respect and self-control (1QS V, 25-26). In order to develop the work that Grossman has begun, I will be looking at purity and impurity through three methodological lenses - hegemonic masculinity, embodiment and the everyday - which will help uncover the everyday lives of ordinary women and men behind the DSS communities, whose daily realities were constructed around purity and impurity.

E. Summary
In tracking the relationship between purity and gender in DSS scholarship throughout the decades, it has become apparent that during the earlier timeframe of this review, women were rendered as “functionally invisible.” That was due to a number of reasons, including: DSS relating to women being unavailable to scholars; the dominant view of celibacy among the men of the communities drawn from the works of Josephus and Pliny; the division between “married” community and “celibate” community; and the influence of Christian scholars at the beginning of Scrolls scholarship, which did not look at purity as a key identity marker for the communities. Furthermore, throughout the decades, some scholars have worked on the basis of Bible interpretations, others on the basis of historical realities, and yet others on rabbinic ideas retrojected, which has caused misgivings and misunderstanding in relation to key aspects of the discourses on purity and women within the DSS. The themes of purity and gender have up until now been studied separately, as two distinct categories of religious thought.

Male academics have created philosophical, religious and scientific discourses on the function and role of women’s bodies, but they have been

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122 Schuller, “Women in The Dead Sea Scrolls,” 573. As Schuller states, to date much of the detailed study on the Damascus Document and the fragmented purification texts, which Baumgarten and Harrington have undertaken, has been approached to understand halakhic and purification issues and that this work has been done apart without any explicit gendered context. See Schuller, “Women in The Dead Sea Scrolls,” 582.
remarkably good at forgetting that they themselves have a gender. I do not want to focus solely on female roles; this thesis will extend the debate to focus on the areas of masculinity, embodiment and the everyday in a way that allows for a balanced discussion of both the female and male body in the Purity Texts, which each overlap social and gender boundaries. The concept of gender in itself embodies cultural attributes; definitions relating to masculinity and femininity become social roles that affect all aspects of social and cultural life. By drawing on such theories and methodologies and mapping them on to the selected DSS texts, I will attempt to uncover the lives of the everyday and ordinary members of the communities to whom they refer.

Although there are publications on the literary depictions of women and purity in the DSS, there has not yet been an in-depth discussion relating to the gendered dynamics of the DSS communities and the practical implementations that organizational patterns and practices described in certain manuscripts may have had on daily life. As part of that balanced approach, the thesis will bring ordinary male and female impurities into the fold of discussion surrounding Jewish purity issues in the DSS. This will demonstrate the uncontrollable aspects of male impurities and the vulnerable position that they held in daily life and the embodied and more controlled aspects of female impurities. There are four aims to this thesis. Firstly, I will be applying Masculinity Studies, especially hegemonic masculinity, to the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form) to reveal the evolving vulnerability of male impurities and the dimensions that are at play between masculinity and purity/impurity. Secondly, I will be using theories relating to embodiment and the everyday to demonstrate that impure women are more empowered, embodied and controlled in their everyday lives in comparison to impure men. I will demonstrate this through an inter-disciplinary reading of 4QD manuscripts (4Q266 and 4Q272) and 4QTborahot A (4Q274). Thirdly, I will use theories relating to the everyday to reveal the changing dynamics between and against impure males and impure females. Here, I will be applying Scott’s three

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124 Hatchell, “Gender,” 234.
conceptual features for understanding the everyday - the mundane, the routine and the breaking of laws - to the Temple Scroll (11QTa) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), to demonstrate the changing dynamics between ordinary impure males and impure females. Scott’s three conceptual features will be used throughout the three principal chapters when needed as a framework to understand the everyday. Fourthly, throughout this thesis, there is an underlying premise that gender and purity in the DSS communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing.
A. Purpose of this Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to set out my methodological approach, which has three dimensions to it and will be variously applied; namely, Masculinity Studies, embodiment theory and the study of the everyday. My use of Masculinity Studies depends heavily on the work of Connell, my reflections on embodiment theory develop ideas in the work of Butler and my attention on the everyday makes multiple uses of Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday.

Katharina Galor’s recent statement that the study of gender “has clearly been addressed previously in the context of Qumran studies” is a gross exaggeration.1 The articles that Galor refers to have clearly been involved with themes of gender and the discussion of women,2 but specific gendered methodologies, relating to both men and women, remain little used. In current feminist and cultural theory, there has been a shift away from abstraction and practice towards more embodied conceptualizations of the body.3 In light of growing criticisms of Cartesianism, in both popular culture and the social sciences,4 post-structuralist and post-modern scholars have demonstrated that a

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normative and universal understanding of gender and sexuality is no longer possible. As Sara Salih argues from an anti-Cartesian perspective, the more the body is understood and accepted in cultural terms, and as a cultural situation, the less the idea of a natural body and “sex” can be attested with such certainty. That is especially important when trying to uncover the roles of the ordinary everyday male and female body in relation to “natural” flows and cycles, since such roles, created naturally within societies, are not grounded on truths but are culturally created. For example, the female menstrual cycle has been constructed as the leaky cyclical norm that disturbs religious and daily performances.

Historically, menstrual cycles have been read as a sign of women’s lack of control over their bodies; women leaked, while men remained contained. For Elizabeth Grosz, the reduction of men’s bodily fluids to the productive and pleasurable elements has allowed men to spatially distance themselves from the leaky, uncontrollable and disruptive aspects of the corporeal female, which men themselves have attributed to women. Such essentialist arguments relating to the rationality of men and boundless nature of women have been challenged and re-defined, not only by feminist scholars, but also by social constructionists who have argued that there is no “natural” body. Rather, the body is always “culturally mapped; it never exists in a pure or un-coded state.” Whilst it is usual for the female to be negatively positioned in such ways, the method underpinning this thesis will challenge this hegemony by using inter-disciplinary insights. Masculinity Studies will be used to bring the

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8 Elizabeth Grosz, Volatile Bodies. Toward a Corporeal Feminism (Bloomington Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1994), 200.

uncontrollable aspects of the impure and vulnerable male into the discussion. That will be enhanced by using Scott’s contemporary insights into the everyday to provide a perspective on male vulnerability in the ancient world.10

B. Masculinity Studies as a Methodological Tool
1. Masculinity and Uncontrollable Aspects of Impurity

The first methodological tool to be applied is Masculinity Studies, especially in relation to the vulnerable position of the male. In order to demonstrate the vulnerable position men may have found themselves in amongst the DSS communities, I will be using aspects of theoretical discussions from Masculinity Studies, particularly from hegemonic masculinity, to frame my discussion. Masculinity Studies has provided a highly valuable contribution to contemporary Gender Studies that encompasses both the deconstruction of specific kinds of gendering, as well as a reconsideration of gender itself as a given source of power.11 Todd Reeser convincingly argues that meaning is made through opposition and consequently theorists often consider “masculinity” as one element of a binary opposition with “femininity.”12 Femininity has often been taken to be the marked category within society, as people tend to think about it more, whereas masculinity has become unmarked since it is taken to be the norm.13 I agree with Grosz’s argument that the “regulated flows that emanate from women’s bodies” should not become the main theorized focus when trying to understand the social body, but rather the “unrepresented peculiarities of the male body.”14 The ordinary male experiences and views need to be brought into the fold of enquiry in order to realise the dynamic realities of gender and to understand that “masculinity is not natural and fixed.”15 I will take that argument further to demonstrate that purity and impurity are also not natural and fixed and the dynamics between masculinity, femininity and purity/impurity are constantly changing.

10 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday.
11 Anne Cranny-Francis et al., eds., Gender Studies. Terms and Debates (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 21-38, esp. 29.
14 Grosz, Volatile Bodies, 198.
Masculinity Studies can provide added value to an understanding of purity that goes beyond the current systemic nature displayed in scholarship. Although semen and menstrual blood are both gendered fluids, one being from a male and the other being from a female, they have been constructed differently in scholarly discussions. Menstrual blood has been viewed as uncontrollable and problematic, while seminal emissions have been viewed as regulated and controlled. In the following principal chapter, I will use Masculinity Studies to demonstrate the uncontrollable and problematic issues (social and religious) surrounding seminal fluids and the vulnerable position that ordinary impure men can find themselves in while living amongst the DSS communities. I will also explore the possibility that the loss of semen may have been equated with a loss of masculinity, since the male was unable to partake in war, prayer or sex. The vulnerability of the impure male is a recurring theme throughout the thesis and is discussed in each of the principal chapters. Women’s impurity will be discussed later on in the thesis in more empowered and embodied terms since the impurity from a female’s menstrual cycle is not threatening in itself to a woman’s sexual identity, whereas uncontrollable aspects of seminal emissions means men become socially destabilised.

2. The Dynamics of Masculinity
If asked to describe what constitutes a man, most people would respond with a list of traits that are likely to include physical size and muscularity and the ability of the male to promote “male values and male norms” such as courage, inner strength, autonomy and group solidarity. The reality is that most men do not exhibit all of these positive characteristics. Rather, the ensemble and construction of these traits constitute a hypothetically ideal masculinity that men in the culture are enjoined to take as their model.

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In antiquity, gender was characterised on a spectrum of masculinity, with the epitome of “true masculinity” being at one end and “true women” - epitomising lack of masculinity - at the other end.\(^{18}\) It was the goal of men in antiquity to stay at the masculine end of the spectrum and to avoid being characterised, or labelled, as feminine (4Q184 1 I, 1; 4Q184 1 I, 14). In relation to Jewish masculinities, Warren Rosenberg has argued “Judaism, as codified in the Torah or Hebrew Scriptures, is one of the primary sources for the historical construction of masculinity.”\(^{19}\) With the creation of Adam and Eve, the body and sexual laws in the book of Leviticus and the war and behavioural codes in the book of Numbers, Jewish male behaviour has been defined and outlined from the very outset. This has led scholars working on the Jewish male body to argue that the “ideal Jewish male became a biblical scholar, a congregant and a loving husband and father, who rejected violence.”\(^{20}\) To take these portrayals further, this ideal construction of the Jewish male has consequent effects not only on the ways in which the male is believed to carry himself and his role amongst the DSS communities, but also on the characteristics and qualities that he is to hold. I turn now to see how Jewish masculinities can be methodologically understood.

3. Raewyn Connell\(^{21}\) and Hegemonic Masculinity

One way of trying to understand the relationship between contemporary men and the ancient men of the DSS communities is through the works of Raewyn Connell, who argues that “true masculinity” is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies.\(^{22}\) As such, the male body has a significant connection to culture and to discourse and is one of the main avenues through which culture attempts to construct masculinity/masculinities.\(^{23}\) In the 1990’s, Connell started to re-think the relationship between the male and female body by acknowledging that, in culture, the physical sense of maleness and

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\(^{21}\) Raewyn Connell identifies as a trans-sexual woman who made a formal transition later on in life and has previously published under the names R.W. Connell and Robert Connell.


femaleness is central to the cultural interpretation of gender, rather than being biologically determined.\footnote{Connell, *Masculinities*, 52.} Connell re-inserted the plurality and diversity of bodies and argued that all too often “the body” is described in monolithic terms.\footnote{Connell, *Masculinities*, 52.} Although bodies are located in particular social and historical structures, Connell showed how men’s bodies are not merely passive and acted upon since men are actively involved in the development of their bodies. Just as male bodies age, grow, change, adapt and die in modern society so this would have also been the case amongst the DSS communities: the same biological changes of life - ageing, puberty, sexual development, death. However, what would have been different in ancient times is the cultural perceptions of these changes. It is, therefore, important to remember that masculinities vary and change across time and space within societies and through life courses.\footnote{Jeff Hearn, “Masculinities,” in *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (ed. Michael Flood et al.; London/New York: Routledge, 2007), 390-94, esp. 391.} For Connell, a historical account of masculinity cannot be understood as linear. Accordingly, she proposes to move beyond the ideological and biological rationale of masculinity and gender to search for their practical bases in everyday life. Relationships constructing masculinities are dialectical and the recognition of different types and transgressions of masculinity must be made to adjust the existing fixed categories of gender.

One of the main arguments I want to make with regards to masculinity and certain DSS, is that the fluidity and dynamic natures of masculinity also reflects the fluidity and dynamic nature of purity and impurity; such dialectical views of purity are important when trying to move beyond the current systemic approaches in scholarship. The interplay between different forms of masculinities is a key aspect of how a patriarchal social order works.\footnote{R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (London: Polity Press, 1987), 183. In a personal correspondence with Prof. Raewyn Connell, she has suggested key areas for me to explore in relation to masculinity literature and the Scrolls, such as masculinities and sport, masculinities and men’s health, as well as masculinities and gender-based violence.} Connell wanted to demonstrate three wider ideas in her reconstruction of what masculinities mean in society: firstly, how some men have succeeded in making it appear normal, natural and necessary for them to enjoy power over other men...
and most women; secondly, why it is that so many men and women have participated willingly in their own oppression; and thirdly, how resistance to hegemonic masculinity can promote gender justice.\textsuperscript{28} It is the third idea, resistance to hegemonic masculinity, which is particularly relevant to my own work and the method underpinning this thesis, since impurity amongst the DSS communities (in relation to men) may have brought about aspects of resistance, and reversal, to the traditional social/patriarchal order amongst the communities. It is in everyday relations and daily activities that Connell sees the practice of gender and she argues that there are four types of masculinities, which are each positioned hierarchically in relation to one another: hegemony, subordination, complicity and marginalization.\textsuperscript{29} I will now further develop each of these positions.

3.1 Hegemonic Position

Hegemonic masculinity has a threefold purpose in Connell’s work; it is a position in the system of gender relations; it is the system itself; and it is also the current ideology that serves to reproduce masculine domination.\textsuperscript{30} The hegemonic position is the accepted “male ideal” and this image changes over time and place.\textsuperscript{31} Drawing on Antonio Gramsci’s hegemonic analysis of class relations, Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as “the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.”\textsuperscript{32} In other words, the characteristics associated with hegemonic masculinity have allowed society to understand how men and women are positioned differently in communities and the extent to which this has affected social structure in everyday life.

The most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are not always the most powerful, as such the models of hegemonic masculinity express ideals,
fantasies and desires that men construct, which in itself is revealing. As I will argue in relation to the DSS, the masculine ideals and constructs that are often portrayed are quite unrealistic for ordinary male sectarians; again, that demonstrates the male’s vulnerability in relation to impurity. Hegemonic masculinity embodies an accepted strategy and when conditions for the defence of patriarchy change, the “bases for the domination of a particular masculinity are eroded.” Connell’s argument is that hegemonic masculinity as a system becomes built into social institutions so as to make it appear normal and natural for men’s subordinate position to be maintained. As an ideological construct, hegemonic masculinity provides the justification through which patriarchy is maintained and structures the manner in which all people experience and know their world. As Levy has reinforced, the ideology behind hierarchical ranking amongst men is one of the least studied components of hegemonic masculinity. The hegemonic position is the area that will prove to be most illuminating in relation to 1QS and 1QM in the following principal chapter.

3.2 Subordinate Position

Men who find themselves in the subordinate position run the risk of being subordinated when they do not practice gender that is consistent with the hegemonic position and ideology. Connell used contemporary European/American culture to demonstrate the subordinate position through the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men, although some heterosexual behaviour may exhibit “symbolic blurring with

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33 Connell, Masculinities, 77. See also R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” Gender Society 19 (2005): 829-59 (840). In this review of the use and function of hegemonic masculinity over the past few decades, Connell and Messerschmidt assess the use and application of hegemonic masculinity in a variety of disciplines. For example, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been used in education studies as a way of understanding how the dynamics of a classroom have affected bullying, achievement and friendship groups. See W. Martino, “Boys and Literacy: Exploring the Construction of Hegemonic Masculinities and the Formation of Literate Capacities in the English Classroom,” English in Australia 112 (1995): 11-24. The use of hegemonic masculinity has also proven insightful in the field of criminology where the concept has helped to theorize the relationship among masculinities and crime, including rape and murder. See J. W. Messerschmidt, Masculinity and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory (Lanaham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1993).

34 Connell, Masculinities, 77.
femininity.”³⁹ In the DSS, the “symbolic blurring with femininity”⁴⁰ may be discussed in relation to ritual impurity and the potential gender equalizing effect of ritual impurity on men and women, since the impurity status takes precedence over gender in the constructions of identity in the text.

3.3 Complicit Position
Most men fall within the third category, complicit masculinity. As Connell argues, normative definitions of masculinity face the problem that not many men actually meet the normative standard.⁴¹ This applies to hegemonic masculinity. Although the number of men practising the hegemonic position in its entirety may be quite small, the majority of men gain from its hegemony and benefit from the patriarchal dividend.⁴² The men who fall within that category participate in the wider system of hegemonic masculinity for three reasons: firstly, men are able to enjoy the physical and symbolic benefits of the subordination of women; secondly, through fantasy experiences, men are able to experience the sense of hegemony and learn to take pleasure in it; and, thirdly, by being in the complicit position, men are able to avoid subordination.⁴³ Masculinities constructed in ways that realise the patriarchal dividend, without exhibiting hegemonic masculinity characteristics, become complicit in the patriarchal order.⁴⁴ Men who are within this category have often made extensive compromises with women with issues of marriage, fatherhood and communal life and show respect to their wives and mothers.⁴⁵

3.4 Marginalization Position
The men belonging to the fourth category, marginalization, are described as being unable to aspire to hegemony and include men with disabilities and men belonging to subordinated racial groups.⁴⁶ The interplay of gender with other structures, such as class and race, creates further relationships between

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³⁹ Connell, Masculinities, 78.
⁴⁰ Connell, Masculinities, 78.
⁴¹ Connell, Masculinities, 79.
⁴² Connell, Masculinities, 79.
⁴⁴ Connell, Masculinities, 79.
⁴⁵ Connell, Masculinities, 80.
masculinities.⁴⁷ As Connell argues, marginalization is always relative to the “authorization of the hegemonic masculinity of the dominant group.”⁴⁸

It is important to remember that these four masculine positions are each based around the hegemonic ideal, which is why the hegemonic position and the social implications around it will be the methodological focus in the following principal chapter.

4. Applying Hegemonic Masculinity to the Dead Sea Scrolls
In a recent review of the place of hegemonic masculinity as a methodological concept, Connell and James Messerschmidt remind scholars that the concept of hegemonic masculinity was originally formulated alongside hegemonic femininity (renamed “emphasized femininity”), which re-instated the “asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order.”⁴⁹ In subsequent research on men and hegemonic masculinities over the last few decades, the relationship between masculinities and femininities in the hegemonic model has not been adequately addressed and, as a result, became neglected.⁵⁰ Connell and Messerschmidt defend, very convincingly, why this lack of scholarly engagement with the female standpoint alongside the male is regrettable since “gender is always relational and patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradiction.”⁵¹ Women are central in many of the social and physical processes that construct masculinities, be it as mothers, educators, sexual partners, wives or lovers. Consequently, Connell and Messerschmidt have now called for research on hegemonic masculinity to give much closer and more detailed attention to the practices of women and the “historical interplay of femininities and masculinities.”⁵²

Subsequently, in biblical scholarship, there is a methodological move to understand the more dynamic place of ancient women and, as such, the traditional portrayals of a hierarchical position of gender and patriarchy are

⁴⁷ Connell, Masculinities, 80.
⁴⁸ Connell, Masculinities, 81.
beginning to be challenged. For example, Carol Meyers has recently put forward the argument that there is a need to move beyond the term patriarchy and proposes the use of heterarchy.53 That term reflects the complexity of gender dynamics and acknowledges that ancient Israelite women were not dominated in all aspects of society, but were “autonomous actors in multiple aspects of households and community life.”54 Alongside Meyer’s methodological move towards the dynamic role of ancient women and Connell’s recommendation for future scholarship on hegemonic masculinity and the female role, it can be seen that recognising and describing the different types of masculinities in relation to a “patriarchal gender order” demonstrates that masculinities and femininities are not fixed categories. It is therefore “essential to recognize the dynamism of the relationship in which gender is constituted” and include the female/femininities and the male/masculinities in subsequent writings on hegemonic masculinity.55

A move beyond traditional patriarchal understandings of communal life, towards a more inclusive “patriarchal gender order” is relevant to my work in three ways. Firstly, it insists that masculinity cannot be viewed as a one-dimensional part of life, since conceptions of masculinity/masculinities are complex and have different effects on male roles and behaviours within communities, which reveals the male’s vulnerability. Secondly, drawing on the dynamic aspects of men and masculinities also enhances a greater understanding of women and their roles in communal life, especially since focusing only on the activities of men excludes the practices of women in the “construction of gender among men.”56 Thirdly, I want to put forward the argument that impurity troubles the patriarchal order and becomes a status equaliser when both sexes are impure. I will be analysing how, and if,

53 Ross Kraemer has discussed the interchangeability of masculinity in relation to its constructions within societies and variations according to social class and reinforces the notion that “gender is always hierarchical.” See Kraemer, *Women and Gender*, 466.
hegemonic masculinity (especially the ideal male-type and hierarchical ranking) is prevalent in aspects of the DSS I am focusing on, especially communal entrance and war, and how the relationship between purity, impurity and gender are constructed in relation to masculinities. That will also involve looking at how, and why, men maintain dominant social roles over women. As an illustration, it may be that an “upside down” hegemonic masculinity is created when a male is shown to be impure, which demonstrates the vulnerability of the male in communal life. Therefore, I will problematise hegemonic masculinity and look at how the patriarchal order is over-turned when a male member becomes impure.

Connell’s work on masculinities provides a methodological framework for my discussion on Masculinity Studies and the DSS. Since hegemonic masculinity is the term used to explain the criteria for being the ideal man in a particular culture it becomes the ideal-type for men to aspire to. Both hierarchical ranking and the role of the female in the construction of hegemonic masculinity have been neglected in scholarship. These three areas, hegemonic as an ideal-type, hierarchical ranking and the role of women in the construction of gender amongst men, will be discussed in the following principal chapter. I will be drawing on these three areas and applying aspects to the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form), to reveal the evolving vulnerability of male impurities. I will also be revealing the dynamics between masculinity and purity/impurity. The vulnerable, unstable and dynamic positions of men are recurring images and areas that appear in the following chapters and the vulnerability of the impure male proves to be an anchor throughout the thesis.

C. Towards an Embodied Methodology

1. Embodiment

Embodiment is a state that needs to be described and discussed. It provides tools that allow for an understanding of the constantly evolving everyday
Alongside Connell’s understanding of what constitutes masculinity and femininity, embodiment theories argue that the body is not to be methodologically understood as an “object” to be studied in relation to culture, but is to be considered as the “subject” of culture. In a recent edited collection on the body in ancient texts, Joan Taylor has stated that the body is an “entity on which religious ideology is printed” which is why it is predominantly a “subject of interest, anxiety, prescription and regulation” in Jewish and early Christian writings. One way of grounding the dynamic, rather than the mere abstract aspects of the literary male and female perspective, has been put forward by Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott who argue that gendered embodiment can be used as a methodological tool to understand the constructions of both masculinities and femininities. For Jackson and Scott there exists a paradigm shift from the “abstract constructions of gender in literature” to an understanding of the “limited, fleshy experience of embodiment.” Jackson and Scott reinforce the notion that both men and women are embodied equally. Therefore, understanding everyday gendered embodiment permits an analysis of both femininity and masculinity and the performative relation between the two.

According to Jackson and Scott, no bodily function can ever be outside the social and consequently understandings of bodily functions in and amongst communities has radical and real implications for gender and the purity regulations in the DSS. For example, the discussion of menstruation in 4Q274 1 I, 7 renders both the female and male impure. In Jackson and Scott’s analysis of menstruation and embodiment, the embodied experience of menstruation is not solely reducible to bleeding, bloating or any other symptoms, but occurs in

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60 Jackson and Scott, “Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground,” 13.
61 Jackson and Scott, “Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground,” 9.
62 Jackson and Scott, Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground, 12.
specific contexts and, as such, already has an imbedded range of social meanings attached to it. The social and religious regulations that allow menstruation to be routinely kept, the when, how and to whom it can be revealed, are issues that mark menstruation as social. To take this further, the same can also be said about male impurities, particularly semen and nocturnal emissions, since they also occur in specific contexts and therefore have a range of social meanings attached to the male impurities. The embodied experiences of seminal emission are not solely reducible to bodily fluid, but have social consequences attached to it, such as vulnerability from both a social and religious perspectives.

2. Judaism and Embodiment

From a Jewish perspective, discussions of embodied gender and everyday life in Jewish thought promotes mixed responses, especially since there is no exact Hebrew word for body in terms of a Western understanding of body and mind. However, in the DSS πυ in terms of a Western understanding of body and mind. However, in the DSS πυ is often translated as “body” for example in 1QH a XVI, 33 and in 4Q416 2 II, 18. For Wolff, the biblical use of πυ (flesh) stands for a visible part of the body and consequently “can also mean the human body as a whole.” On the one hand, scholars such as Nancy Levene, in her discussion of Judaism and gender, argue that the Jewish body politic was not the main focus in ancient and medieval Jewish philosophy, as they purposefully avoided the body’s role in virtue and wisdom. While on the other hand, Anne Golomb Hoffman, in her discussion of the interaction between Jewish Studies and gendered issues, promotes the use of Gender Studies and embodiment in Jewish thought since embodiment reflects key questions relating to our “inner selves.” The main reasons for this lack of

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65 For a more detailed discussion of the understanding of the Western Mind and various counter arguments (especially Spinoza’s understanding) see Moira Gatens, Imaginary Bodies: Ethics, Power and Corporeality (London/New York: Routledge, 1996).
66 Hans Walter Wolff, Anthropology of the Old Testament (trans. Margaret Kohl; London: SCM Press, 1974), 28. The use of πυ (flesh, human) is used regularly in 1QIsaa, 11QT and in Cave IV fragments relating to purity, such as in 4Q270, 4Q271 and 4Q273.
engagement with gender and embodiment is that scholarship on Ancient Judaism is not interacting with the key questions that have begun to redirect the full impact gendered elements have on both the ancient texts and the daily experiences of ancient people.69

3. Judith Butler

The works of Judith Butler are key to understanding theories of embodiment as she defines gender as the process of embodiment that results from the repeated performances of acts of gendering. Foucault heavily influences Butler’s understandings and discussions of gender as she adopts an extreme Foucauldian model to gender and asserts that all identity categories in communities are the “effects of institutions, practices, discourses” with numerous points of origin, including performance.70 For Butler, the temporal and social aspects of the body makes the body a lived and experienced construct, which is then able to

69 The application of gender and embodiment has been used in a recent book on the daily life of women in Ancient Judaism by Jennifer Ebeling who has drawn on her archaeological background to suggest that an understanding of more “mundane” everyday and transformative life-cycles, such as menstruation, marriage and childbirth, illustrates how religious understanding and practice integrated in daily life in ancient Israel. See Jennifer Ebeling, Women’s Lives in Biblical Times (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2010). In a recent online resource, Schiffman has tried to uncover the ideology of the DSS communities by looking at the theme of embodiment to try and understand how purity and impurity in the DSS are connected with concepts of the body. See Lawrence Schiffman, “Body and Soul, Purity and Impurity: Hodayot,” n.p. [cited 7 October 2013]. Online: http://lawrenceschiffman.com/body-and-soul-purity-and-impurity-hodayot/. In his short discussion of embodiment in the Scrolls, Schiffman refers to embodiment in quotation marks. As Schiffman demonstrates through the sectarian literature, including the Rule of the Community and the Hodayot, the terminology that is used is not so much of body and soul, but rather of “flesh and spirit.” Schiffman, “Body and Soul, Purity and Impurity: Hodayot,” n.p. [cited 7 October 2013], Online: http://lawrenceschiffman.com/body-and-soul-purity-and-impurity-hodayot/. For Schiffman, many of the texts that emphasize flesh and the insignificance of humanity use terms that relate to the female reproductive organs, which in relation to purity and gender, allows menstrual impurity to be viewed and read negatively.

70 Judith Butler, Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (London/New York: Routledge, 1990, 1999), ix. Carol Newsom, who is one of the first DSS scholars to use social-scientific theories effectively, has recently drawn on Michel Foucault’s methodological assumptions surrounding disciplinary institutions and power to uncover the ways in which the self is constructed in the communities of the DSS. It seems as though Newsom has completely ignored Foucault’s understanding and work on sexuality and I am not too sure why. For example, Newsom argues “at Qumran, of course, the discourse of truth did not concern sexuality.” See Newsom, The Self as Symbolic Space, 100. If the discourse of truth did not concern sexuality then the world behind the sectarian texts is very much constructed and regarded as all-male, celibate and isolated but it is precisely this creation and understanding that I want to move beyond. The discourses of truth in the sectarian writings (as well as the non-sectarian writings) were concerned with elements of sexuality, especially with reference to female and male impurities, sexual encounters and marriage rituals.
be constructed differently depending on different contexts. I think aspects of purity and purification can also be seen in relation to performance and gender.

It is the enactment of gender identities and the reiterations and repetitions of social factors that force bodies to perpetuate the heterosexual norms amongst the communities, and it is for these reasons that Butler describes gender as an act of being embodied. In her extensive work on the performativity of gender, Butler questions the very constructions of gender and the ritualized repetitions of norms that effect both gender and the materiality of sex. The notions of performance, embodiment, ritualized repetitions and gender can be reinterpreted in relation to purity/impurity in a way that enhances the everyday aspects of the DSS communities’ daily life. Focusing on the performance of purity, the embodied nature of patterns, the ritualized daily repetitions surrounding purification and the maintenances of purity in 4Q266, 4Q272, 4Q274, allows for a more dynamic and tangible view of purity to emerge.

A Butlerian reading proposes the movement from sex to gender as integral to embodied life, since it develops from the original biological body into the cultural one. For Butler, the descriptions of biological features are in themselves socially and culturally constructed and she argues that there can be “no reference to a pure body which is not at the same time a further formation of that body.” In other words, the attainment of a pure body is always presented and constructed in an idealised form. The image of a strong and powerful male Jewish body is distorted when the man is impure, which can be seen in 4Q274, since the impure male body is placed on an equal status of the female body; he is defiling, isolated and unclean to those around him. Butler

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71 Pia C. Kontos, “Local Biology: Bodies of Difference in Ageing Studies,” Ageing and Society 19 (1999): 677-689. Several postmodern French philosophical thinkers working on religion and gender, such as Julia Kristeva and Luce Irigaray, strive to dilute any use of ’ism’ thinking in academic discussion, including feminism, since feminine sexuality itself should present a model for non-binary thinking as it is “not one, but multiple and plural.” See Tirosh-Samuelson, Introduction: Jewish Philosophy in Conversation with Feminism, 6.
73 Judith Butler, Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex” (New York/London: Routledge, 1993), x.
74 Salih, “Variations on Sex and Gender,” 23.
75 Butler, Bodies that Matter, 10.
exposes the constructed nature of the body and argues that the body does not have an independent existence prior to the mark of gender, since sex is itself a gendered category.\textsuperscript{76}

The DSS communities were embodied communities who were united on a focused understanding towards, amongst other \textit{halakhic} issues, purity regulations and the discussions of menstrual regulations, semen and childbirth and need to be understood in such embodied terms. A gendered analysis of embodiment is critical of representing the body in texts as uninhabited and of discussing embodied practices as if bodies existed without people behind them.\textsuperscript{77}

4. Embodiment and Empowerment

Embodiment theory draws attention to how bodies function, whether whole or diseased, disabled or impure.\textsuperscript{78} The theories also pay attention to women and men as social bodies.\textsuperscript{79} Grosz uniquely shifts attention away from the regulated monthly flow of menstruation, to the unspoken and unrepresented functions of the male body.\textsuperscript{80} Drawing on such theorists as Grosz, I also want to shift attention away from the regulated flow of the female to the ways in which male impurities affected his life, and those around him, since a male was always more susceptible to change and impurity than the female, which exposes his vulnerability.\textsuperscript{81}

In discussing sociological issues such as gender, sexuality and purity, I am arguing that it is important to refer to the purity and impurity of both men and women and I want to avoid generalised statements relating to the two sexes. On

\textsuperscript{76} Kontos, \textit{Local Biology}, 682.
\textsuperscript{77} Jackson and Scott, \textit{Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground}, 17.
\textsuperscript{80} Grosz, \textit{Volatile Bodies}, 199.
\textsuperscript{81} David Biale has argued in his historical understanding of eros and the Jews that the priests behind the P material seemed to have constructed a man loosing semen as a man who has temporary lost his “vital power,” which Biale relates to loss of fertility but which could also be extended to refer to loss of masculinity. See David Biale, \textit{Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America} (London: Harper Collins, 1992), 29.
the one hand, I want to get beyond such statements as the one made by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, who in his favourable discussion of Judaism, sexuality and God argues, “the sexual asceticism evidenced among the Jews at Qumran is thus regarded as a deviation [from the norm].”\textsuperscript{82} Such a view is also taken up by Shaye Cohen, who has suggested that men “exclusively” comprised the “Qumran community.” Consequently, men were “far removed from any contact with the pollution of the world, especially women” and Cohen argues that the discussion of menstrual purity laws, children, wives and female elders is ideologically constructed.\textsuperscript{83} On the other hand, I want to avoid statements that pin women’s impurities as worthy of more attention than men’s impurity, as seen in David Stewart’s discussion of women in the Priestly Code (Leviticus 11-15) where men’s purity concerns, such as seminal emissions, discharges and baldness, are argued to be “matters placed here by attraction.”\textsuperscript{84} I am, therefore, calling for a balance between the sexes that allows the male and female viewpoint to be understood and viewed equally.

For me, it is possible to discuss embodiment within Judaism, since it is behaviours, habits, gazes and movements that are central to an understanding of gender, purity and embodiment. The behaviour of an impure person relates to the actions of a person while they are in a state of impurity. The habits of an impure person are the ways that their daily lives become affected while impure, the gazes towards an impure person refers to the ways in which others viewed impurity and the movements of an impure person are evident in how they go about making themselves pure again. Through an application of theories relating to gender and embodiment to some selected DSS, it is my intention to reconstruct the possible ways in which men and women reacted to purity and impurity to determine how others may have perceived them within the communities when their status changed. This approach will explore and

\textsuperscript{84} Stewart, “Does the Priestly Code Domesticate,” 65.
illuminate how impure women are nevertheless empowered and the vulnerable roles of men according to some texts.

In “Chapter V: Thinking Beyond the Abstract: Towards an Embodied Reading of Purity in 4QD² (4Q272), 4QD³ (4Q266) and 4QTohorot A (4Q274),” I will be using theories related to embodiment and the everyday to demonstrate that impure women are empowered and more regulated in their everyday lives in comparison to impure men.

D. Theorizing the Everyday
1. Susie Scott: Making Sense of Everyday Life
Like the sociology of the body, the sociology of everyday life has recently become recognized as worthy of study in its own right. For Bennett and Watson the interest in the sociology of the everyday has come about due to significant cultural changes in people’s perspectives of daily life since the twentieth-century, which has demonstrated itself in three ways. Firstly, there has been a cultural shift in what is worthy of public focus and the ever-increasing interest in the “ordinary” aspect of people’s domestic lives with photojournalism, autobiographies and reality television becoming popular in public discussion. Secondly, from a social research perspective, the twentieth-century saw the emergence of new methods for documenting everyday life, such as ethnographic studies and empirical research. Thirdly, the rise of social movements during this period, such as feminism, Gay Pride and the black civil rights movement, made people question their identity and place in daily life. It is against that background that contemporary social theorists have positioned their understandings of everyday life and grounded their theoretical standpoints in the early sociological works of Georg Lukács, Henri Lefebvre and Michael de Certeau.

The understanding of the everyday has crossed several disciplines and been understood in different ways. For example, in Cultural Studies, Joe Moran has

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86 Bennett and Watson, *Understanding Everyday*, 40.
87 Bennett and Watson, *Understanding Everyday*, 40.
described how different versions of reality are constructed by the places, images and artefacts that people encounter in everyday life, which Moran argues can be read “critically as texts that transmit particular ideas or ideologies.” Against such theoretical background and context, Scott, a sociologist, has recently written an informative and accessible text, which explains the importance of studying everyday life in the social sciences. Drawing on empirical research findings, Scott draws on many theoretical approaches, such as ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, Cultural Studies and social psychology, and applied elements of these theories to real-life everyday situations, including emotions, eating, leisure activities, time, health and shopping. Scott focuses on these areas of everyday life because she argues that they each have a commonality: each of these areas represents sites in which people do (perform, reproduce, challenge) social life, day-to-day.

When questioning “What is Everyday Life?” in her opening chapter, Scott reveals that one of the main aims of her book is to demonstrate how “micro-level, small-scale practices relate to, and are shaped by, macro-level patterns.” Regardless of how social scientists have chosen to observe everyday social life, whether it is through observing workspace, living spaces, culture, sexuality or history, Scott argues that there are three conceptual features that characterize each of the observational practices.

Firstly, “everyday life is that which we presume to be mundane, familiar and unremarkable,” it is what constitutes the “daily lives of ordinary people.” The mundane aspects of life tend to happen in the spatial surroundings of the home, communal gatherings and around other people. It is therefore essential, Scott argues, to study the mundane and make the familiar strange to look more objectively at phenomena that would otherwise be dismissed as unremarkable, such as bedtime rituals, decisions about what to eat, the writing of a shopping

89 Joe Moran, Reading the Everyday (London: Routledge, 2005), 19.
90 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday.
91 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 1.
92 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 1.
93 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 2.
94 Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 2. See also T. Bennett and D. Watson, Understanding Everyday Life (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), x.
list. That is important as the sociology of these acts occurs once the “mundane” label attached to the activities is questioned and subsequently unpacked to reveal the rules and routines that ordinary people are living by.\textsuperscript{95} From a contemporary perspective, Scott uses the example of comparing with a friend how often you both watch television in order to determine how this action inter-relates with your daily life and how it is socially constructed around time, meals and leisure. In sociological terms it is studying “how decisions are made, how routines are created, how rules are followed or broken.”\textsuperscript{96} Understanding mundane aspects of life involves standing back and deconstructing familiar settings from the perspective of a “detached observer” and since the examples are documented, the process is both descriptive and analytical for the researcher.\textsuperscript{97}

Secondly, everyday life is that which is “routine, repetitive and rhythmic,” it is the habitual micro-level repetition of daily routines and rituals that “reproduces social life.”\textsuperscript{98} When searching for underlying rules, routines and regularities in behaviour it is possible to determine how settings are socially organised.\textsuperscript{99} Studying the mundane and repetitive aspects of people’s lives reveals micro-levels to which people may live by and this must then be anchored in an understanding of the wider macro-level of social order. By questioning the daily routines of people amongst communities, it is possible to place these micro-level processes against the larger macro-level of social order and examine hints of spatial structure/s that may be found amongst other people/s and wider communities.\textsuperscript{100} Scott wants to question how the daily activities of individuals come together to “create and sustain a sense of order, stability and predictability” amongst people’s local communities and how these micro-techniques combine to form a larger social structure.\textsuperscript{101} The various parallels surrounding daily activities and social order that are discovered may then relate to the norms, habits and rituals that are perceived as socially

\textsuperscript{95} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 4.
\textsuperscript{96} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5.
\textsuperscript{97} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5.
\textsuperscript{98} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 2.
\textsuperscript{99} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5.
\textsuperscript{100} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5.
\textsuperscript{101} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5.
acceptable within that community and the everyday patterns that are considered as being outside the “norm” - and therefore outside the everyday.\textsuperscript{102} It is possible to examine the structures behind micro-practices such as habits and rituals that make social behaviours appear in line.\textsuperscript{103}

Thirdly, people’s everyday lives appear to each of us as “daily routines and rituals” which, when broken, affect not only the individual involved but also the wider community.\textsuperscript{104} As such, there is a need to understand the consequences for breaking societal rules and customs within a community in order to determine the effects for both the person involved in the incident and the wider communities. That involves uncovering what breaking societal rules means for the individual, such as feeling embarrassed, guilty, shameful, as well as the consequences involved for the wider communal structure as a whole.\textsuperscript{105} On an individual level, the consequences for breaking societal customs may lead to social and spatial separation amongst the communities. If a society identifies the rule-breaker as a deviant, the behaviour becomes safely contained and dissociated from the group, which in turn becomes more cohesive.\textsuperscript{106} Consequently, there is a need to look for social patterns that are present in the lives of individuals.\textsuperscript{107} Of course trying to pin-point conceptual features of what constitutes the everyday is in itself testing as what might be mundane and familiar to one person may be extra-ordinary for another. Nevertheless, the three conceptual features Scott puts forward - the mundane, the routine and rule breaking - provides a theoretical structure and framework for researchers to try and understand and comprehend what is everyday life and how can it be theoretically studied.

2. Applying Scott’s Three Conceptual Features of the Everyday to the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities

Although Scott is addressing everyday life from a contemporary modern perspective, the three conceptual features that Scott proposes provides a
methodological framework when discussing everyday life in this thesis. The work of Scott has not, to my knowledge, been applied to the DSS and I will be applying and extending Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday in order to frame the dynamics between ordinary life amongst male and female members, purity and gender. Subsequently, Scott’s work will be referred to in each of the following three principal chapters, but it is worth noting that the three conceptual features will fluctuate in focus depending on the Scroll that I am referring to and the point being made. The three conceptual features of the everyday that Scott proposes are inter-related and may sometimes coincide with other exegetical points that I am making, but they are a way in which to understand daily life amongst ancient communities and can be fruitfully applied to purity and gender in the following way.

Firstly, in relation to Jewish purity laws, understanding mundane aspects of life will help analyse the ways in which purification laws affected the daily routines of people. For example, studying the mundane aspects of life involves questioning the routine of purity and impurity and how purification rules inter-relate with a person’s daily life, including meals, personal time, religious time. The purity laws determine how mundane decisions are made in terms of being able to go to war, when to have sex, the purification time needed after a baby is born. As Scott states, in order to uncover the mundane and make the familiar strange, the researcher/analyst has to become a “detached observer” and scrutinize familiar settings as if they had never seen them before - from a textual perspective, that involves describing how the DSS have been created/written around familiar settings and how impurity disrupts the familiarized setting.

Secondly, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations in behaviour can be applied to how the Jewish purity laws are created and understood amongst the wider DSS communities. Routines were created from a purity/impurity perspective, since being impure may have socially affected a person’s daily life and altered their daily routine. Studying the routine and repetitive aspects of purification amongst the DSS communities reveals mundane and repetitive aspects of people’s lives which, in turn, can then reveal
the wider macro-level of social structures, especially in relation to gender and purification. Scott focused on the ways in which micro-practices created and sustained “order, stability and predictability.” I will argue that maintaining order, stability and predictability is only possible when the DSS communities are pure, since impurity overturns this steady triad and that becomes especially troublesome for men; rituals of purity make social behaviour appear orderly, but impurity causes disruption.

Thirdly, the purity laws can be understood as examples of “daily routines and rituals” which, when broken, affect not only the individual involved but also the wider community. In relation to the DSS this involves looking at the ways in which breaking societal rules affects the individual and the wider communities and the possible emotional responses of guilt or embarrassment that may occur to the individual. From a purification perspective, being impure is constructed in some of the DSS as leading to social and spatial separation - that is not to say that being physically isolated is always the consequence for breaking halakhic law, but the physical separation from within the communities may have led to feelings of embarrassment as a result of the segregation. Ordinary members of the DSS communities may have followed the purification rules, or they may have broken them, which may have affected the wider communities and caused physical segregation if the laws were not followed. That is made most apparent in physical disciplines of the body that consequently effect movements and occupations of varied spaces.¹⁰⁸ For instance, during the excavations of the Qumran site, a toilet was found and the privacy of the toilet has been summarized by Magness as a “peculiar sectarian concern that defecation be done in private.”¹⁰⁹ The find correlates with certain writings in the Scrolls, as seen in 1QM VII, 6-7 and 11QTα XLVI, 13-16, but to understand this practice in more detail, the unique and individual focus of toilet habits that were found at Qumran will be explored in relation to social concerns following space and male/female privacy.

¹⁰⁸ Baker, Rebuilding the House of Israel, 14.
¹⁰⁹ Magness, Stone and Dung Oil and Spit, 134.
This third criterion can be expanded upon when taking into consideration community and everyday life in relation to space. For example, the spatial boundaries are applied adequately through the terminology of purity and impurity; those who do not conform to the purification rules are liable to be physically removed from the space of the communities. The physical removal of impure people can also be seen in the Temple Scroll (11QT) in uncovering the relationship between purity to space, time and gender, where it is instructed that three areas are to be built, divided from one another: where the lepers, those suffering from a flux and men who have nocturnal emissions are to be kept, segregated from others (11QT XLVI, 12). Donn Welton sees the various gendered bodies discussed in Leviticus, such as the menstrually impure body (Lev 15:29), sexual bodies (Lev 15:18) and medically ill bodies (such as leprosy), as having the effect of singling out the body and turning it into an object of attention. For Welton, it is only after there is a breakdown in the “rhythms of everyday life” that biblical texts call attention to the body specifically.

It is possible, in the case of the DSS, that the breakdown in the rhythm of everyday life is constituted by the impure/pure dichotomy (e.g. 4Q274 1 I, 1 and 4Q274 1 I, 8). These ideas could also be taken further in relation to gender theories, since the breakdown in rhythms and flows of everyday life may create spatial differences between and amongst the sexes; there may be issues of secrecy, denial and privacy that become heightened when one becomes impure. It also raises the question of how the breakdown in “rhythms of everyday life” creates positive or negative effects for the male and/or female. The notion of rhythm in itself can be challenged, since impurity is part of natural cycles of all sorts, including death, menstruation and seminal emissions. The female, while impure, endures more personal time, free from domesticity and sexual responsibilities, whereas an impure male appears more socially impure, less cyclically focused and unable to provide or pray for his family. I will be using Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday, to formulate

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110 See Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 5-6.
an understanding of the everyday alongside gender and purity to understand the positioning of the everyday impure men and women amongst the DSS communities.

In “Chapter VI: Everyday Living and the Constructions of Spatial Privacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities focusing on the Temple Scroll (11QTa) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa),” I will apply Scott’s three conceptual features to understand how the everyday functioned amongst the communities. This will involve focusing on three areas: firstly, I will need to look at the mundane aspects discussed in the selected DSS and become a “detached observer” in order to make the familiar settings strange and question how decisions are made and how rules are followed or issues broken; secondly, I will be looking at how rules, routines and regulations are constructed to see how the micro-levels of social life relate to the wider macro-level; and thirdly, I will be looking at the effects breaking social/religious laws had on the individual and wider communities. In order to understand how ordinary men and women may have functioned within a communal setting, these three conceptual features will be applied in various degrees to all three of the principal chapters. By focusing on the everyday through Scott’s framework, I will reveal the changing dynamics between and against males and females when they became impure and highlight the male’s vulnerable position.

E. Summary: Moving Beyond the Abstract
The focus on the everyday lives of people behind the selected DSS enables a broadening of the critique of purity to include a wider range of gender issues and permits exploration of the male perspective and experience which, as I have shown, is poorly understood and reported. The methodological tools that I will adapt to the DSS have to be approached with a degree of caution since the scribe/s who wrote, for example, the 4QD manuscripts (4Q266-272) or 4QTohorot A (4Q274), would not have worked with a gendered methodology in mind. A degree of vigilance also needs to be taken with regards to the historical reality behind the texts. Recent methodological developments by scholars such as Grossman, who draws on S and D to discuss the masculine mentality behind
the sectarians,\textsuperscript{113} should be developed in order to incorporate a wider inter-disciplinary understanding of the DSS communities. In order to understand the structural development of a community, the purification regulations and the methods by which that system is communicated and interplayed amongst men and women, needs to be analysed.\textsuperscript{114}

By using Masculinity Studies, specifically hegemonic masculinity, embodiment as a methodological tool and Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday, I will bring ordinary male and female impurities into discussion surrounding Jewish purity issues in the DSS. That will demonstrate three specific points. Firstly, I will use Masculinity Studies, particularly focusing on the hegemonic masculine ideal-type, hierarchical ranking and the role of women in the construction of gender, to address the vulnerable position that impure men may have found themselves in amongst the DSS communities and allow the uncontrollable aspects of ordinary male impurities to be acknowledged. An application of such masculine issues to the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form), will reveal the vulnerability of the impure male. Secondly, the use of embodiment as a methodological tool will demonstrate the empowered, controlled and embodied nature of impure women in daily encounters in comparison to impure men, which will reveal her regulated routine and again demonstrate the male’s vulnerability. Thirdly, the application of Scott’s three conceptual features - making the familiar strange, looking at routines and rituals (micro-level) and the consequences for breaking societal norms - will allow me to reveal how purity, impurity and gender inter-related with each other and will reveal the changing dynamics between impure men and impure women. I will be referring to Scott’s three conceptual features throughout the three principal chapters where needed to illuminate how daily life may have been carried out in relation to purity and gender. Underlying each of these points is the premise that gender and purity in the DSS communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing. I will now move on to discuss masculinity and purity in

\textsuperscript{113} Grossman, “Reading for Gender,” 497-512.

the DSS in the *Rule of the Community* (in its 1QS form) and the *War Scroll* (in its 1QM form).
Chapter IV
Masculinity Studies and the Men of the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities

A. Purpose of this Chapter
In this chapter I will look at how hegemonic masculinity has been constructed in the S material focusing particularly on the Cave 1 version of the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form), in order to reveal the evolving vulnerability of men who are impure. I will demonstrate this in the following way. Firstly, by using images of the hegemonic male ideal-type I will highlight the vulnerable position of impure men. I will be looking at the interactions between hierarchical ranking, ideologies and masculinity in the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) in order to determine the social norms and ideals of the men within the DSS communities. Where necessary, I will be using Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday - the mundane, the routine and breaking rules - to see how purity and masculinity may have been affected. Secondly, I will look at the hidden literary placement of women in 1QS to determine how and if the female contributes to the constructions of masculinity and the hegemonic ideal-type. Thirdly, I will be looking at the relationship between masculinity, purity and warfare as outlined eschatologically in 1QM. That will demonstrate the ideal masculine type of the communities, which provided the role model for men to aspire to if they were to go to battle. Fourthly, the relationship between loss of masculinity and loss of purity will be discussed to show that the two can be related and how hierarchical ranking was affected amongst the DSS communities. Ruane has recently looked at the relationship between gender and sacrifice to argue that masculinity is portrayed in the cultic texts as “frightening and highly dangerous.”¹ I want to enhance the argument by stating that the frightening and dangerous elements associated with masculinity can also prove to be diminishing to the impure male and can situate him in a vulnerable position amongst the DSS communities.

¹ Ruane, Sacrifice and Gender, 8.
Focus will be on the constructions of the hegemonic ideal male, hierarchical ranking and its place in hegemonic ideology, and the role of women in the construction of masculinity, which will each demonstrate the vulnerable position of the impure men. I will use extracts from both the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and the War Scroll (in its 1QM form) to demonstrate the social norms and ideals of the men amongst the DSS communities, the relationship between masculinity and purity/impurity and the inter-relations between loss of masculinity and loss of purity.

B. The Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) and Masculinity

1. Introduction

From at least the start of the first-century B.C.E. the Rule of the Community outlines the laws, regulations and theological premise for the communities in both the present eschatological age and also in the pre-messianic age. The content of the Rule of the Community has often been taken as “proof” that women were not members of the DSS communities and that the men belonging to the group practiced celibacy. Such conclusions are often drawn on the basis that the S material makes no explicit mention of women barring a stylised description of men as “son of [God’s] handmaid” and the reference to “one born of woman” in the concluding hymn. Consequently, the Rule of the Community has often been understood as belonging to a celibate, all-male community (1QS XI, 16, 21). However, there is now an argument for controlled abstinence, which, as I have argued, is more encouraging.

The S material has been described as a “collection of various rules, regulations and religious instructions, concerning the ‘actual life’ of a sectarian community” and by shifting attention away from certain standard questions relating to the scholarship on purity, especially the focus amongst the elite members of the DSS communities, I want to introduce other sub-categories of analysis to uncover the “actual life” of the DSS communities. That will include

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3 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 276.
focusing on the constructions of hierarchical structures, such as purity and ranking, the potential literary dangers of women and the portrayals of shame and ranking, which will place the individual at the centre and force the abstract constructions to be adjusted.

2. Brief Description of Extant Manuscripts

The Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) is the first document among three belonging to the same Scroll in Cave I.\(^5\) The Rule of the Community (1QS) was originally followed by the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and then the Blessings (1QSb), and the physical relationship amongst these three Scrolls is made apparent by naming these manuscripts 1QS, 1QSa and 1QSb.\(^6\) The Rule of the Community has been found in at least 12 manuscripts and the most complete text was 1QS, which was found in Cave I. There were 10 copies of the Rule of the Community found in Cave IV (4QS MSS A-J) and one in Cave V (5Q11).\(^7\) Cross has dated 1QS palaeographically between 100 to 75 B.C.E.\(^8\) and the oldest copy of the Rule of the Community that was found in Cave IV, can be dated to the end of the second-century B.C.E., which is probably before Qumran was occupied. Schofield has demonstrated that with the now later date for the Yahad settlement at Qumran (c. 100-50 B.C.E.), it is highly unlikely that the long redactional process behind 1QS took place entirely at Qumran.\(^9\)

I will begin by exegetically analysing 1QS I, 16-III, 12, which is a unit of text focused on covenant, renewal and refusal. I will then look at 1QS II, 25-III, 12 from a more detailed masculinist perspective. After looking at this unit of text, I will compare the Athenian constructions of masculinity alongside the Rule of the Community, which will then lead to a more general discussion of hierarchy and shame.

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6 As Qimron and Charlesworth have argued, the relationship between the Rule of the Community, the Rule of the Congregation and the Blessings as they are found in Caves I, IV and V demonstrates that each manuscript had its own history of composition and should not be read as continuous. See Qimron and Charlesworth, “Introduction,” 2.
7 Qimron and Charlesworth, “Introduction,” 2.
9 Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 277.
3. An Exegetical Analysis of 1QS I, 16-III, 12
3.1 Delimiting the Text
The reasons why I am focusing on 1QS I, 16-III, 12 as a unit in the *Rule of the Community* are threefold. Firstly, I want to focus on how men entered into the communities and most importantly, for my purposes, why they may have been refused entry into the covenant. Secondly, much of the scholarly focus on the beginnings of 1QS have been devoted to 1QS III, 13-IV, 26 and the “Two Spirit Treatise” which has been said to contain the Teacher of Righteousness teachings. Although that discourse is vital to an understanding of the dualistic worldview held by the DSS communities, and I will be looking at this pericope later on, the scholarly focus may have overshadowed the importance of the verses that are before 1QS III, 13. And thirdly, there is a focus, especially in the final pericope, on the constructions of purity and impurity and what is needed to be a true member of the community. I will begin by outlining 1QS I, 16-III, 12 as a unit and outline any exegetical or methodological considerations that are of importance.

3.2 Reading the Text
In becoming a member of the community, a person had to enter into the covenant and carry out the core obligations and ideals needed to be a valid member (1QS I, 16-18), but those refusing to participate in the covenant and who behaved insincerely were refused entry.\(^{10}\) The middle section, 1QS II, 19-25a, refers to the annual assembly and Renewal of the Covenant. I will be focusing on the middle and final section. For me, some of the statements may have referred implicitly to women. For example, in the terrors, temptations and trials during the reign of Belial (cf. 1QS I, 24; II, 5, X, 21), women may be implicitly described, especially since in the D material two of the nets of Belial specifically relate to female sexuality (CD IV, 16-19). However, it is not so much that the women are being portrayed as the “guilty party” during the reign of Belial, but it is the men themselves who must avoid the “stumbling-block” (1QS II, 17) of their own iniquities and enter the covenant with a humble heart. This does not immediately mean leading a celibate daily life and it may have

meant treating women differently and not objectifying them; it may also have meant looking beyond “sexual desires” during a females’ menstrual cycle.

3.3 Structural Outline of the Text

For Michael Knibb, 1QS I, 16-III, 12 should be seen as one unit that relates to the entry into the community itself and the admission of members into the community.11 Whereas 1QS I, 16-II, 18 describes the ritual for the ceremony of entry into the covenant, 1QS II, 25-III, 12 is directed explicitly against those who, at the end of their probationary period, refused to enter the covenant and instead continued with their “wilful heart” (1QS II, 26).12 The implied author of the pericope as a whole unit seems to be a male member of a community, who has strong views on what is, and what is not, acceptable within communal life. It is also possible that the author held a senior position amongst the communities and he placed high precedence on the correct path, pure life and the human being. The structure of the composition suggests a manual-like genre where men, probably the Maskil, consulted the composition or were read parts out to them that related to Admissions into the communities. I turn now to look at the middle section of this pericope.

3.3.1 1QS II, 19-25a

11 Knibb, *The Qumran*, 82.


[11, 12] Thereby, they shall do every year, as long as the reign of Belial lasts. The priests shall enter
into the order first, one after the other according to their spiritual status. And
the Levites shall enter after them.
21 And thirdly all the people shall enter into the order, one after the other, by
thousands, hundreds,
22 fifties, and tens, so that every man of Israel may know his own position in the
community of God
23 according to the eternal plan. No man shall move down from his position, or
move up from his allotted place.
24 For they shall all be in a community of truth, virtuous humility, kindly love,
and right intention
25 towards one another in a holy council, and they shall be members of an
eternal fellowship.13

3.3.2 Purpose of the Text
In the second part of this unit, 1QS II, 19-25, the Renewal of the Covenant is
laid out and as with the setting of the previous pericope (1QS I, 16-II, 18), the
renewal is set during the reign of Belial.14 Although Deuteronomy legislates for
the Renewal of the Covenant every seven years (cf. Deut 31:9-13), amongst the
DSS communities the covenant was renewed at the feast of weeks, which,
according to their calendar, fell on the fifteenth day of the third month.15 This is
thought to be the case because the oldest manuscript of the Damascus
Document, 4QD9 (4Q266), refers to a gathering amongst members on the third
month “And all [those who live in] camps shall converse on the third month
and curse those who stray from the Law” (4Q266 11 I, 16-17).16

In 1QS II, 19-25, the focus is on the hierarchical order of the Renewal of the
Covenant, with priests entering first, then the Levites and finally “all the
people” (הנה לבבות) and the hierarchical order is based on their “spiritual status”

13 The English Translation is from Knibb, The Qumran, 88.
14 It is thought by some scholars that lines 19-25a refer to a separate ceremony, but I agree with
Knibb’s argument that this pericope should be seen as instructions for the ceremony of entry
into the covenant. See Knibb, The Qumran, 88.
Acts 2:1).
16 See also Jub 6:17, “That is why it is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they
should celebrate the feast of weeks in this month (i.e. the third month) once a year-so as to
reopen the covenant each year.”
The reference to “all the people” is not in the masculinised form, but more gender-neutral suggesting that the renewal is not reserved only for men. This is significant since the gender-neutral form might imply that women were included in the Renewal of the Covenant. However, the ranking of the ordinary people is so that every man of Israel (בראשית בראשית) may know his position in the community of God (1QS II, 23).

The masculinisation of the DSS communities is encapsulated in the ranking of the male participants during the renewal since “No man shall move down from his position, or move up from his allotted place” (1QS II, 23). The same image is also portrayed in 1QS V, 23 where it is stated that the members shall be registered “one before another, according to their insight and their deeds, that they may all obey one another, the one of lower rank obeying the one of higher rank.” Such statements create an image of a constant and steady hierarchical order that presumably would not only symbolise familiarity, but also a sense of frustration, since the order is also static and a male member was not able to proceed up the ladder in a progressive manner. The maintenance of hierarchy would have been a social and everyday reality. The men are to be in a “community of truth, virtuous humility, kindly love and right intention towards one another” (1QS II, 25), but if the order of ranking was so fixed and rigid, it is possible to question whether such a virtuous humility would be a social everyday reality or more of a constructed reality. The everyday nature of life may be found in the opposite of what certain manuscripts put forward, since it is only natural that members of the DSS communities would have experienced emotions, such as jealousy, rage and anger, during certain social occasions. Perhaps this is exactly why the virtues need to be listed, in order to remind the people of what one should strive for in spite of the difficulties of everyday life. I turn now to look at the final section of this pericope.

3.3.3 1QS II, 25b-III, 12

ויש תמיימים למדא [בבראשית בראשית ילקט בחרות למדא]
[ישכינא בח שמה קמה נלוכל]
No one who refuses to enter into the covenant of God so that he may walk in the stubbornness of his heart [shall enter into the community of his truth, for

his soul has spurned the disciplines involved in the knowledge of the precepts of righteousness; he has not devoted himself to the conversion of his life and with the upright he shall not be counted. 2 His knowledge, his abilities and his wealth shall not be brought into the council of the community, for he ploughs with wicked step and defilement accompanies his conversion. He shall not be justified when he follows the stubbornness of his heart; for he regards darkness as the ways of light. In the spring of the perfect 4 he shall not be counted. He shall not be made clean by atonement, or purified by waters of purification, or made holy by seas and rivers, or purified by any water for washing. Unclean, unclean shall he be as long as he rejects the precepts of God by refusing to discipline himself in the community of his counsel. For it is through a spirit of true counsel with regard to the ways of man that all his iniquities shall be wiped out so that he may look on the light of life. It is
through a holy spirit uniting him to his truth that he shall be purified from all his iniquities. It is through a spirit of uprightness and humility that his sin shall be wiped put. And it is through the submission of his soul to all the statutes of God that his flesh shall be purified, by being sprinkled with waters for purification and made holy by waters for cleansing. Let him, therefore, order his steps that he may walk perfectly in all the ways of God in accordance with that which he commanded at the times (when he made known) his decrees, without turning to right or left and without going against any one of all his commandments. Then he will be accepted through soothing atonement before God and it will be a covenant of the Eternal community.

3.3.4 Purpose of the Text
The opening of 1QS III has been described by James Charlesworth as the most difficult to translate in the whole of 1QS and consequently DSS scholars have provided a range of translations. Gudrum Holtz is one of the few scholars I have come across who tries to understand 1QS III, 1-12 as a single unit. For Holtz, the fundamental aspects of physical and moral purity within this text are to be obtained by the “Holy Spirit” rather than purificatory rituals and it is a moral purification ritual that is needed before the physical. In Holtz’s understanding, 1QS III, 3-12 shows that “humans do not have the capability to act morally” and consequently any circumstance that they find themselves in “only allows them to sin.”

For Himmelfarb, purity laws and language in the Rule of the Community are used primarily in rhetorical passages that distinguish between those who belong outside the community and are sinful and impure and those who join the community and are purified. Although I agree with this point in general, there are also rhetorical devices at play in 1QS III that pins men against men,

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17 The English translation is from Knibb, *The Qumran*, 90-91
18 See Vermes, “for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled (?)” *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64.
20 Holtz, “Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 524.
21 Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin,” 34.
right against wrong and pure against impure that are based on the purified and perfected being, attitude and spirit. The imagery of the perfect, hegemonic male versus the imperfect male is enhanced further by the purification rituals that follow in 1QS III, 4-5, since “He cannot be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by waters of purification (משה ונם) nor sanctify himself in streams.”22 The purity of the male cannot just come from outside means since his inner self also needs purification.

Harrington adopts a moral argument to 1QS III, 3-6 to show no amount of purification can be effective if you have not been obedient to God’s will.23 The symbolism used with the purification of the sinner in 1QS III, 7-9, through the waters of purification (יהוז ונם), is striking since the possible member is “crossing from death and impurity to life and purity” by joining the group.24 Harrington refers to this section using two dualisms, death to life and impurity to purity, but this duality seems to suggest that once you have entered the community you are no longer able to become impure, it is as if the impure life is left with death, the wicked and unjust. Of course, this would not have been the case and daily life would have created constant encounters with the threat of impurity. Therefore, while there is an idealised construction of daily life at play here, such hegemonic images would still have affected how men would have constructed their own lives.

For me, the waters of purification in this passage relate only to men, but since women could also be purified through the waters of purification (יהוז ונם) (cf. 4Q274 1 I, 7; 11Q19 XVIII, 16), women may be implicitly behind the text, even if they are not discussed explicitly. By casting an almost spiritual net over the men behind the Rule of the Community by using symbolic imagery of life and death, the actual lives of the people are almost forgotten. The imagery of purity and the masculine is the focus in 1QS III, 4-6 where a man who rejects

22 The reference to יהוז ונם in 1QS III, 4 is significant from a purity perspective since the reoccurrence of its use in other manuscripts, such as 4Q277 has led Baumgarten to argue that the sprinkling of the water made up of the Red Heifer’s ashes, which in normative halakhah is confined to purification from corpse impurity, could be extended to other kinds of impurity. See Baumgarten, “4QTororot A-C.”
23 Harrington, Purity Texts, 117.
24 Harrington, Purity Texts, 126.
the covenant of God is portrayed as non-righteous “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 (טמא טמא) shall he be all the days that he rejects the laws of God, refusing to be disciplined in the Yahad of His society.” The use of טמא in 1QS III, 5 corresponds with parallels between 4Q274 1 and 5Q13 where “impure, impure shall he be” is used in relation to skin eruptions (cf. Lev 13:45). I do not think that leprosy is the issue in 1QS III, 4-5. Rather, the members of the DSS communities who had not truly repented inwardly, despite their purifications through lustrations, may account for the inter-relations between moral and ritual purity evident throughout 1QS and the various manuscript redactions (especially 4Q255 and 4Q257). For Himmelfarb, 1QS III goes beyond P’s language of purity since the purification of the soul is the main source of impurity and it is only at the end of the passage that the purification of the body comes in to view (1QS III, 7, 8).26

Drawing on the language of 1QS, Werrett has recently argued that sinful behaviour contaminates an individual on both a moral and a ritual level, which results in a need for purification and atonement (1QS III, 3-9; IV, 20-22).27 The interweaving of moral and ritual purity within 1QS III not only has an effect on the soul of the member, but also on themselves, the wider DSS communities and their place within the communal groups. There was a real fear amongst the DSS communities surrounding anyone who may have entered into the covenant with false pretention, since both purity and atonement are intertwined, and a person who brought about risk and insincerity threatened the purity of the whole group.

From a masculinist perspective, Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne have said that the ways in which men construct themselves and distinguish themselves from other men, is a key aspect of any study of masculinity and this

is pertinent.\textsuperscript{28} There are specific actions used throughout the passage to construct the hegemonic male ideal-type and enhance the male ideology that are needed to belong to the communities, including being “upright and humble” (1QS III, 8), “walking perfectly” (1QS III, 9) and the characteristics that are not needed include “stubbornness of heart” (1QS III, 3) and an unclean spirit “Unclean, unclean is he” (1QS III, 5). In 1QS III, 1-12 the ideal male is based upon the distinction between the impure and the pure, the sinful versus the sinless (1QS III, 11). Looking at the ways in which perfection have been implied in metaphorical language in DSS, Wassen has recently argued that the maintenance of holiness and purity would be hard to maintain in daily life, especially since “from the perspective of day-to-day life, impurity was always part of the community.”\textsuperscript{29} I agree with Wassen when she highlights the “continuous threat” that ritual and moral impurity posed amongst the communities and the difficulties in bringing together perfection and daily life.\textsuperscript{30} To take that argument further, the inability to achieve a state of perfection alongside daily life left the male vulnerable to social situations and when impure his status would be unstable.

4. 1QS II, 25b-III, 12 viewed from a Masculinist Perspective
Frevel and Nihan have shown that the relationship between purity and impurity does not just relate to hygienic or ritual aspects, but are often “gender biased” and can be constructed alongside spatial and temporal lines.\textsuperscript{31} That suggests that purity and impurity are more than merely ritual tools since they effected how men and women lived and carried out daily life. Grossman has argued in relation to the men and women portrayed in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), that in studying gender norms from antiquity, scholars should have no presumptions about what they expect to find based on modern terms but, instead, should be willing to question the evidence and the texts while trying to

\textsuperscript{29} Wassen, “Do You Have to Be Pure,” 55.
\textsuperscript{30} Wassen, “Do You Have to Be Pure,” 55.
\textsuperscript{31} Frevel and Nihan, “Introduction,” 10.
understand gender in its historical context. Drawing on Grossman’s caution, I will now look at the “genderness” of purity to unpack the constructions of the male in 1QS II, 25-III, 12 to see how the male was perceived by others within the communities, as well as how the male constructed himself.

It is possible to see that the constructions of the male in the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form) were used to enhance the masculine ideology of the community and formulate what is, and what is not, morally and ritually acceptable. When viewed from a masculinist perspective, 1QS III, 1-12 outlines fundamental hegemonic male ideal attributes that are needed in order to enter the DSS communities, which are based predominantly on purity, physicality and the right state of mind. In 1QS III, 2 (cf. 4Q257 C) the knowledge, strength and wealth of any who refuse to enter the community are banned because “his scheming is in the filth of wickedness and there are stains on his return.” The one who “refuses to enter [the covenant of G]od,” is presented against “the upright ones” (1QS III, 1) and the “perfect ones” (1QS III, 3), since he is “unable to repent” (1QS III, 1) and “not righteous when he walks” (1QS III, 3).

Although 1QS III seems to speak predominantly of the ideal male, it is clear that the text is also about actual male members of the communities. Using Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, the routine aspects of the attributes that are needed to enter the DSS communities reveals wider macro-level social structures of how the communities operate. As Scott has argued, micro-practices maintained order, stability and predictability, and 1QS III, 1-12 is maintaining these three areas by controlling who is to enter. The main elements needed for an idealised construction of a hegemonic male are inner purity, uprightness and perfection: that idealised vision may have affected the ways in which real people lived since the constructions would have filtered into daily practices and structures. The constructions of perfection and righteousness in daily practice would have meant trying to be the best person that you can be in a way that exposed the vulnerable aspects of daily life, since

this perfected male self-awareness would not have been able to be perfect at all times.

How can such constructions be understood from a masculinist perspective? As Cornwall and Lindisfarne have argued from an ethnographic position, masculinity may be understood as the inner aspect of a person that can be measured, possessed or lost. In my opinion, measurement, possession and instability can be equated with the characteristics of purity and impurity; in the same way that masculinity is dynamic, so purity is dynamic, unstable and ever changing. Moreover, just as a member of the community can change and enhance his purity, he can also enhance his masculinity. As such, the male is in a constant state of vulnerability since his masculinity is based on his purity. That is what seems to be happening in 1QS III, 1-12: the communities are re-defining and enhancing both their purity and their masculine values. Using Connell’s hegemonic masculinity framework, it becomes apparent that the definition of masculine values creates the ideal hegemonic male to which all men can aspire to be. That mind-set subsequently creates a wider patriarchal order. It is important to try and construct and place the masculine ideologies of the Rule of the Community in order to understand how this fits in with cultural standards. The masculine ideologies amongst communities refer to sets of culturally defined standards of masculinities to which men are expected to adhere to; when members of the communities are impure, such impure status highlights their vulnerability over against the ideal male role.

Jewish masculinities have taken various forms and understandings in a number of historical circumstances, and both men and women have come to re-define their identity and ideology to suit the political and social surroundings during uncertain times. It is possible that the men behind the Rule of the Community were re-drawing and enhancing their own Jewish masculinity in

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33 Cornwall and Lindisfarne, “Dislocating Masculinity,” 11.
order to suit the change in their own political and social surroundings.\textsuperscript{35} For example, the men were discouraged from having “lustful eyes” and “stubborn hearts” and encouraged to come to together to “perform truth, righteousness, justice, merciful love and circumspect walking” (1QS VIII, 1-3) in order to maintain purity and coherence amongst the communities. The question is whether such issues refer to the ideal or real man, but even if these statements were for an idealised male, then it was still an image that men would have wanted to aspire to and it may have influenced male actions and behaviours.

From a Deuteronomic perspective, with which the S material thoroughly reasonates, such an understanding of re-drawing the boundaries of purity can only be understood in relation to maleness and status. That is because in Deuteronomy, the holiness of the camp is defined and based on the status of the soldiers as it is only the humans and animals that may be counted as pure or impure, rather than place or land.\textsuperscript{36} As Udo Rüterswörden has argued in his discussion of purification in Deuteronomy, the holiness of the camp is very much dependent on the purification of the men belonging to the communities, which may be why Deuteronomy restricts nakedness and improper conduct in God’s presence.\textsuperscript{37} The re-definitions of purity borders, masculine ideals and structures may provide greater insights into the ways in which ordinary men constructed themselves in the DSS communities and how they came to place themselves against the hegemonic ideal.

\textsuperscript{35} In one of the first comprehensive discussions of anthropology and the Hebrew Bible, Wolff attempts to uncover the anthropological purpose of being a man in the Hebrew Bible by drawing on the four parts of man, his בלב (heart), רווח (spirit),.Factory (flesh) and נפש (soul-throat-desire), in order to understand the constructions of man’s organs, his limbs and his appearance as a whole. See Wolff, Anthropology of the Old, 7-55. Drawing on Wolff’s argument, it is interesting that 1QS III, 8 plays on the use of soul/being and flesh in relation to impurity and the correct path for the potential member of the Community to follow “and by humbling himself (נפש) before all God’s laws his flesh can be made clean.” In this example, there is an interesting use of פכס in 1QS XI, 21, where the scribe constructs a negative portrayal of what it means to be a man before God “As what can he, born of a woman, be reckoned before You? Kneaded from dust, his body is but the bread of worms; he is so much spit.” In this example “flesh” is used after the only reference to “woman” (נפש) in the entire manuscript.


\textsuperscript{37} Rüterswörden, “Purity Conceptions in Deuteronomy,” 414.
Although sexual impurity is not explicitly mentioned in the Rule of the Community (in its 1QS form), purification rules relating to semen (cf. Lev 15:16-18) must have been an issue for the communities. Robyn Longhurst, in her discussion of flesh and boundaries, has argued that since women are understood to be in possession of insecure bodily boundaries and men are understood to have “secure bodily boundaries,” the categories created have little to do with the actual flesh of men and women but are key in constructing relationships to space in both private and public areas.\(^{38}\) I do not think that men have “secure bodily boundaries” and this may be why seminal emissions are not discussed in the Rule of the Community because of issues relating to modesty and privacy. There can be no doubt that seminal fluid would have been an issue within the communities, so it may well be that the scribe behind 1QS III was concerned with putting the moral and perfect hegemonic ideal-type male before God, rather than the impure, imperfect male. Consequently, the everyday “messy” male (and female) were not discussed, and therefore causing a distinction between the everyday person and the idealised person.

The purity laws were crucial in constructing the male’s place in the DSS communities.\(^{39}\) For Leaney, the construction of the way of light and the way of darkness in 1QS allows us to understand the importance that the community attached in understanding the individual “psychology of man” belonging to each member.\(^{40}\) The כבדי נפש (1QS III, 6) highlights the two choices that man had in his lifetime, either the way of darkness (III, 21; IV, 11) or the way of light (1QS III, 3). 1QS III, 1-12 provides a glimpse into the ways in which purification rules were actually observed and constructed within a community, and although there is a focus on the purification of the spirit, the crux of belonging to the community was placed on the purification of the flesh; the utmost symbol of how the “psychology of man” could be understood.

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\(^{39}\) In Judith Baskin’s study on gender and Jewish private life the focus was solely on the importance of female impurity in the household and male purity issues are scarcely discussed. See Judith Baskin, “Jewish Private Life: Gender, Marriage and the Lives of Women,” in The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion and Culture (ed. Judith Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 357-80, esp. 357-59.

\(^{40}\) Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning, 141.
5. The Athenian Constructions of Masculinity and the Rule of the Community

In the limited literature that exists on masculinity and the Second Temple period, most biblical scholars have delved into the field of Classics which has a large amount of material on Greek and Roman masculine ideals, values and beliefs from an ancient perspective. Joseph Roisman in his discussion of the rhetoric of manhood in the “Attic Orators,” consisting of speeches from elite male citizens dating from the fifth-century B.C.E. to the second-century B.C.E., defined masculinity as a cultural and social construct, one which defines a man’s responsibilities and beliefs within a structured setting. For Roisman, the ideology of manhood is one of the key ways of understanding the constructions of masculinity in the “Attic Orators” since the Athenian’s definition of the ideology of manhood can often correspond with the communities’ moral ideology. The ideal man is the ideal human - the hegemonic ideal - so a virtuous woman would be considered “manly.” The ideology of manhood in this definition relates to beliefs and attitudes that are upheld by members of communities, which in turn guides and justifies social and religious conduct for those living amongst the communities. In Connell’s terms a hierarchical ranking is created.

Roisman’s discussion of the “Attic Orators” and masculinity has many parallels that can be related to the DSS, in particular with the Rule of the Community. As an illustration, in comparison with the Rule of the Community, the Athenian basis of ideology was founded on opposing images of the good and the bad man and it is these images that form the basis of the ideology of manhood amongst communities. As Roisman shows in relation to the “Attic Orators,” the positive image of a male living amongst the communities was based on being a loyal, hardworking adult who was “able to control his appetite.” In contrast, a bad Athenian was disgraceful to other members of the communities, showed sexual misconduct and was rash on the battlefield in his relation with other men. The defining features that constituted the masculine ideologies from an ancient Athenian context, crossed boundaries of age, status,

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rank and in some cases gender, but in most cases it was male courage that dominated the discussion and social structure at the time. Consequently, it was these social ideals that were needed to conform to the hegemonic ideal-type.

It is possible to draw on such masculine ideologies outlined by Roisman to gain an insight into the everyday life structure, perceptions and attitudes of the DSS communities in ways that extend beyond the abstract scholarly portrayals of a purely elite and priestly sect. In 1QS I, 16-III, 12, ranking, status and beliefs formed part of the daily structures for men (and women) and, even if such structures reflected a more idealised form of everyday life, then it is still significant since the idealised may reveal more about what daily life was actually like. Using Scott’s first conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, the mundane reality of daily life may have reflected something more non-ideal than ideal, whereby people were just waiting and hoping for their lives to change; the text provided almost a fanciful way of re-creating and re-imagining what life will be like in the future. The hope of one day being perfect was important and this would have effected how daily life was carried out. The mundane aspects of daily life - how decisions were made, how routines were created and how rules were followed - would each have been affected by the purity status of the male, which in turn had an impact on the performance of daily life.

The masculine ideologies of the DSS communities continue to be set up in 1QS V, 3-6 where, as in Athenian communities, the positive idealised male is set up against the negative attributes of a man, both in the eyes of God and amongst the communities. In accordance with the hierarchical ranking order and the Torah, property and judgment, the men are to “practice truth and humility righteousness and justice, kindly love and circumspection in all their ways” (1QS V, 3-4) and this conjures up an image of a man living in one of the DSS communities who strived to be honest, humble and pure and who worked

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44 Roisman, The Rhetoric of Manhood, 8.
alongside other members to promote love and justice. What is significant about these characteristics is that it does not seem such values were being applied by other Jews in other communities, therefore the specific communities behind S are re-defining and re-drawing what it actually meant to be a “true pure male” living amongst the DSS communities. These masculine ideological attributes are immediately juxtaposed in 1QS I, 1 against what a man should not do: a man is not to “walk in the stubbornness of his heart” (1QS V, 4), or to be misguided in following his “heart and his eyes” (1QS V, 5).

6. The Constructions of Hegemonic Masculinity and Hierarchical Ranking in 1QS: A Case Study
As I have already stated, hierarchical ranking in relation to hegemonic masculinity has been categorized as the least studied component of the hegemonic framework. Hierarchical ranking can be defined as a process in which men compare themselves and others to the hegemonic ideal-type. In comparison to the DSS, such an understanding of being the hegemonic ideal male and exhibiting hierarchical ranking of strong, male norms can be seen in certain characteristics and constructions in the S material. One of the ways in which the S material arguably adopts the dynamics of masculinity is through ranking, which is used throughout the manuscript as examples of how the male body is to be situated amongst the communities, as these three extracts attest: “None shall be demoted from his appointed place, none promoted beyond his

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46 For Philo the Essenes are in themselves related to holiness “because with them they have become above all attendants of God (θεραπευται θεοδ) not by sacrificing animals, but by being worthy to render their minds holy” (Prob. 75). Therefore, for Philo, the Essenes are ultimately good in terms of their human relationship to the Divine. See Joan E. Taylor, “Philo of Alexandria on the Essenes: A Case Study on the Use of Classical Sources in Discussions of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis,” The Studia Philonica Annual 19 (2007): 1-28. Philo’s references to the Essenes in his works have often been taken as “proof” that the Essenes were celibate males, especially since in Hypothetica it is stated that “no one of the Essenes ever marries a wife, because woman is a selfish creature and are addicted to jealousy in an immediate degree and terribly calculated to agitate and overturn the calculations of a man and to mislead him by her continual tricks” (Hypo. 11. 14). However, as Taylor has argued, Philo was writing to a largely non-Jewish audience who were learned in Stoic philosophy and, as such, used the Essenes as a rhetorical tool in advocating celibacy in Stoic circles. See Joan E. Taylor, Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria: Philo’s Therapeutae Reconsidered (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24-5. This all-celibate and all-male portrayal of the Essenes does not reflect the diversity of communities and the messages being portrayed about women Philo’s work may reveal more about his social and cultural context and propaganda then actual reality.

foreordained rank” (1QS II, 23); “They are to be enrolled by rank, one man higher than his fellow, as the case may be, by virtue of his understanding and works,” (1QS V, 23) and; “The men shall sit before the priest by rank, and in that manner their opinions will be sought on any matter” (1QS VI, 4). From a religious perspective, the ranking is based primarily on birth-right as priest, Levite or non-priest and that might then be extended. From a sociological perspective, the categorization of men and women into ranking orders creates a system of social stratification that ultimately discerns how members of the communities will be treated. 48 This then creates a hierarchical ranking, which in Connell’s terms, allows men to compare themselves and others actively to their hegemonic ideal-type.

Continuing this sociological perspective, David Chalcraft has recently looked at the social implications of ranking within the DSS communities and argues that from a Weberian point of view the ranking system allows for a degree of salvation anxiety among the men (1QS VI, 2). 49 An enhancement of such a Weberian analysis of ranking can be demonstrated through discussions of hierarchical ranking in relation to the hegemonic ideal-type that had been socially formed amongst the communities. That provides wider insights into the relations of women and children in the DSS communities. As well as values and norms enhancing masculinity amongst the DSS communities, masculinity can also be enhanced through purification status, especially in relation to war and purity, since a man was able to prove his masculinity to his family and wider communities. Although all men have the male body in common, there are numerous constructions and expressions of gender that are available. 50 Being impure troubles the hegemonic ideal-type since men are no longer able to adhere to the expected ideals.

50 Beynon, Masculinities 1. In relation to masculinity and community perception, Glenn Good and Nancy Sherrod have argued from a psychological perspective that in the modern day an understanding of men is needed that goes beyond the traditional patriarchal perspectives that have been constructed in the past. See Glen E. Good and Nancy B. Sherrod, “The Psychology of Men and Masculinity: Research Status and Future Directions,” in Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender (ed. Rhoda K. Unger: Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2001), 201-15.
A similar hierarchical categorization can also be seen in the sanctions made against food and impurity in the *Rule of the Community* (cf. 1QS V, 13; 1QS VII, 2-21). Harrington has tentatively argued that in certain anthropological works, food laws have been found to maintain distinction between those within a community and those outside of it.\(^{51}\) That has recently been taken further by Hempel who argues that the relationship between a community and food can inform a great deal about the people, family dynamics and social communities to which they belong.\(^{52}\) Although Hempel’s main argument is to demonstrate the differences between the description of the common meal in 1QS VI, 2-3 and the pure food and drink in the admission process in 1QS VI, 13b-23. To build on Harrington and Hempel, I think the social aspect of who is actually “making dinner” amongst the communities could be argued from a more gendered perspective. For example, the sociologist Bryan Turner has argued that eating can be equated to the origin of a community and consequently the sharing and eating of food is the “basis of the social.”\(^{53}\)

In the *Rule of the Community*, partaking of the “pure food” (חיוב) is the final stage in a more extended process of food production and preparation, and in a list of prohibitions, both the food and the drink belonging to the *Yaḥad* are used as social markers to demonstrate a new member’s status. In 1QS VII, 18-19, a new member who “forsakes the truth and walks in the stubbornness of his heart” is to be punished by reduction of his daily rations for two years. The reduction of the daily rations becomes an obvious social marker for the man’s misgivings, but also serves as a masculine marker amongst the other members of the communities since he is now socially marked as lower amongst the other members: “He shall rank lower than all the men of the *Yaḥad*” (1QS VII, 20). Ultimately, the reduction of the pure food and drink becomes a masculine hierarchical symbol amongst the members of the DSS communities as to who is

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truly a worthy member; who truly epitomises the hegemonic masculine ideal-type.

The discussion of the Two Spirits in 1QS III, 13-IV, 26 can also be understood in masculinist terms. The passage creates masculine ideologies since the perfect man is set against the imperfect man and the Angel of Darkness causes for all the Sons of Righteousness “sins, their iniquities, their guilt and their iniquitous works” (1QS III, 21-22). The Sons of Righteousness symbolise and embody all the aspects of true masculinity since they are filled with the judgements of God and command “humility and patience, great compassion and constant goodness” (1QS IV, 3) and a “glorious purity, loathing all unclean idols” (1QS IV, 5). This masculine ideology is expanded upon in 1QS V, 1-2 where men are instructed to repent from all evil “separate themselves from the congregation of the men of injustice and shall form a community in respect of the law and of wealth.” The ideological notions that are upheld in this section relate to separation from other men and communities who are constructed as being full of deceit. The verse also implies that the men they are addressing also belonged to the same communities that are being described as so full of deceit.

The male is being used in a negative way by describing the Spirit of Deceit in 1QS IV, 10-11 as the men who are “walking in all the ways of darkness” will be filled with “great hypocrisy…works in a spirit of fornication, filthy ways in unclean worship, a tongue of blasphemy, blindness of eyes…hardness of heart” (1QS IV, 10-11). The notions of impurity, lustful thoughts and blindness are imposed on to the male as negative aspects of masculine ideologies. The use of the locutions “heart” and “eyes” are used in other DSS as male bodily attributes that often refer to, or against, female temptation (4Q436 1 II, 1; 4Q417 1 I, 27). It may be that the references to “heart” and “eyes” are references specific to the female form and temptation. It is possible that the discourse of the body, as either metaphorical or literal when discussing male bodily characteristics, such as heart and eyes, seems to be more closely associated with the feminine, whereas the abstract characteristics, such as justice and humility, belonged more to the masculine realm.
In his discussion on manly shame, Roisman argues that the ideology of shame for the Athenian men was both inconsistent and limited, and in their speeches there is an underlying argument to avert shame by hiding misconduct and exposing the shame of others.\textsuperscript{54} There is an obvious shift in modesty that may be accounted for through the interplay between ritual and moral impurity. The interplay between purity, shame and ritual also accommodates for elements of secrecy since there are also sanctions made in S against men and nakedness “Whoever walks naked before his fellow without being forced shall be punished for six months” (1QS VII, 12). This is also seen in 1QS VII, 13-14, “Whoever causes his penis to come out from under his garment, or it (has) holes so his nakedness is seen shall be punished (for) thirty days.” That may suggest that the sanctions against nudity were part of the masculine ideology that the Rule of the Community put forward to certain members. The breaking of laws relating to nudity and exposure of flesh had repercussions for members of the wider communities. In relation to Scott’s third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, the breaking of laws related to nudity may have been a part of daily life since there were strict sanctions in place relating to physical separation of the individual and perhaps feelings of shame from the wider macro-level of communal life.

7. Literary Portrayals of the Dangers of Women and the Constructions of Gender

There is some evidence to suggest that the “Two Spirit Treatise” (1QS III, 13-IV, 26) is influenced by the non-sectarian manuscript 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184).\textsuperscript{55} The one fragmentary manuscript of 4Q184 is dated paleographically to the end of the first-century B.C.E.\textsuperscript{56} The date has been difficult to determine, but its dualistic thought and concern for the Jewish law are, according to Armin Lange, typical for Jewish wisdom texts from Hellenistic times.\textsuperscript{57} Although 4Q184 is a non-sectarian text, it is apparent how

\textsuperscript{54} Roisman, \textit{The Rhetoric of Manhood}, 83.
\textsuperscript{56} Geza Vermes, \textit{The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls}, 417.
the manuscript would have related to the DSS communities especially in relation to temptations and leading the right path of life. Dualism could be described as a visual aid amongst the DSS communities; it allowed them to see their world in terms of metaphors and images, light and darkness, truth and deceit. The path that each man took was a choice “Until now the spirit of truth and of injustice feud in the heart of man and they walk in wisdom or in folly” (1QS IV, 23-26). In imagery that pertains to 4Q184 (cf. 4Q184 I, 9, 10, 12), the Rule of the Community describes the followers of the two paths in the following way “And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion; they walk on paths of darkness...all the spirits of their lot cause the sons of light to fall” (1QS III, 15).

In relation to Connell’s hegemonic framework, how the female is constructed in 4Q184 may give insight into how “patriarchal gender order” is created and how this transfers into daily life. The metaphorical representation of a seductress woman in 4Q184 allows for a snapshot understanding of some of the attributed characteristics of this female by the male scribe. The female is constructed in this text as powerful and as being able to create self-doubts amongst the men she lures. For example, she makes “upright men trip up” (4Q184 I I, 12), she causes the “humble to rebel against God” (4Q184 I I, 14) and she seduces with flatteries “every son of man” (4Q184 I I, 19). Using Scott’s third conceptual feature of the everyday, understanding the “daily routines and rituals” of daily life and the consequences for breaking such laws, the female in this text embodies the breaking of laws which effects the male individual and his wider place amongst the communities. The negative and shameful virtues placed upon Lady Folly are in direct contrast to the faithful virtues that the men are portrayed as possessing. The men walk in the “ways of justice” they are “righteous” and “upright” and the only distraction that keeps them from the correct path is the influence of a woman, not their naivety and inability to be self-controlled.

Women contribute to the constructions of the hegemonic male ideal since it is women who are instructed not distract men. Consequently, the nature of Lady Folly in 4Q184 was more than symbolic and allegorical since she epitomises -
in both her body and ways - the absolute path of neglect from God. In everyday terms, she symbolises the consequences for breaking the “daily routines and rituals” of the wider communities and the spatial separation that would be imposed on the men who fell for the temptation and compromised their masculine ideals.

Whereas the Rule of the Community juxtaposed masculine ideals against the wrongdoings of other men, in 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) masculine ideologies are constructed against women. For example, in 4Q184 1 I, 5 it is the woman who marks destruction “she is the beginning of all evil paths: alas for all who take possession of her, and destruction (יָכַנְת) comes to all who take hold of her.” Similar imagery is used in S to relate to the opposing men, the men of “destruction” who are one of the bodies who are not to be confronted or grappled until the “day of revenge” (1QS IX, 16, 22; X, 19). Masculine values are placed upon the sexual otherness of the female and these values are clearly represented in the literary depictions of the female in 4Q184; she metaphorically symbolises what is wanted and what is feared by men, which in turn creates literary constructions of the dangers of women. Although women are not directly discussed in the S material and it does seem as though men are pinned against other men in terms of masculine ideals, the literary dangers of women may have been implicitly behind certain alluring distractions that are evident in the Rule of the Community. The literary dangers of women may have been implicitly constructed in to the ideologies behind the hegemonic ideal-type. The interplay between the different forms of masculinities, and how men are told to behave in different social situations would have been a key aspect of how the patriarchal social order works. Hegemonic masculinity provides the justification through which patriarchy is maintained which, in Connell’s terms, would have led to the construction and maintenance of hegemonic patriarchy.

The masculine ideologies in 1QS can be seen throughout the composition, especially in relation to hierarchical ranking, purity rules, dualistic

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constructions and communal acceptance. In the first column of 1QS, the masculine ideology of how to be a man and how not to be a man is set up, since all those who are entering into the covenant renounce their previous ways of life, the sins, the transgressions and the iniquities (1QS I, 25); the men are to “bring all their knowledge, their abilities and their wealth into the community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of the statutes of God” (1QS I, 11-12). They are to re-draw their own social organization to fit in with the new of way life based on truth and righteousness (1QS I, 28). The ideals of knowledge, ability, wealth and purity provide the masculine ideals needed to become a true member of the DSS communities. Using Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations to understand the micro-levels of communities, these ideals demonstrate at the everyday micro-level what is needed to be a true man and member of the DSS communities; the ideals provide order, stability and predictability and anything which may disrupt this, including impurity and female distraction (4Q184), is deemed problematic at the wider macro-level. In masculine terms, such distractions pose a threat to the hegemonic framework and disrupt the male ideal.

In comparison with possible allusions to S and 4Q184, the fears, trials, sins, iniquities and transgressions that are discussed in the Rule of the Community during the reign of Belial (cf. 1QS I, 17-18 and 1QS I, 24-26) may have equated with the temptations of the feminine. It was strongly believed that as this age came to an end, the members of the DSS communities would have to face the fears and trials put forward by Belial, which would test their worthiness to participate in the new age. The fears of Belial are also discussed in the D material as it is stated that Belial will “catch (גַּלְעָד) Israel in the “three nets” (קִנְיָם קְדוֹשִׁי) and whoever “escapes from one is caught (גַּלְעָד) in the next; and whoever escapes from that is caught (גַּלְעָד) in the other” (CD IV, 18-19; cf. 4Q269 III, 2). The first net is fornication (ךָלָה), the second is wealth (ץָכָה) and the third is defiling the sanctuary (ץָכָה שְׁבָיָה) as such two of the three nets are related directly to issues surrounding female impurity -

59 Knibb, The Qumran, 84.
fornication and defilement of the sanctuary. John Kampen has argued that is “one of a few major terms employed for the purpose of defining activities contrary to the sectarian lifestyle” and refers most frequently to issues of marriage and sexual relations. I do not think that it was specifically sexual intercourse that was “contrary to the sectarian lifestyle,” since sex and bodily fluids are referred to throughout the corpus of material, but the issues would have been around purity and sexually impure intercourse, such as sexual intercourse with a menstruant. Although the three nets of Belial are not directly discussed in S, such sinful acts and guilty transgressions may be behind the confession of the new members who state that during the reign of Belial “We have committed iniquity [and transgressed,] we have [sin]ned and acted wickedly we [and] our fath[ers] before us, in that we have walked [contrary to the covenant] of truth and righteous[ness…]” (1QS I, 24-26). Also, in 1QS I, 17-18 the fears, terrors and trials of Belial are discussed.

If aspects of the fears, terrors and trials do relate to the characteristics of certain female qualities, then it also suggests that women are implicitly behind the S material. Since two of the three nets of Belial in the D material are related to the female, the fears, terrors and trials that are discussed in 1QS I, 16-18 and 1QS II, 19 may have related to the temptation of the female. The female may have been implicitly, and tentatively, constructed as a temptress and such characteristics may suggest that certain images of the feminine are being subtly portrayed and constructed behind the texts.

In S it is not a strict axiom of male/female that is being used to set up the social order, but pure male versus impure male; pure, reasoned, self-less humility (1QS III, 2) is paired against lustful, impure, blind male bodies (1QS V, 15-19) who have not overcome their sins. In masculinist terms, the

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60 In the Damascus Document בְּנֵי is used in other ways, which seem to refer back to fornication as one of the three nets of Belial. For example, in CD VIII, 1-2 “And such is the verdict on all members of the covenant who do not hold firm to these laws: they are condemned to destruction by Belial” because they “did not depart from the way of traitors, but rather relished the customs of fornication (בְּנֵי) and wicked wealth (בְּנֵי)” (CD VIII, 5).

hegemonic male-ideal bodies are paired against the marginalized bodies. It is, therefore, of interest from a gendered perspective, that it is not explicitly male versus female in terms of characteristics that is the issue, but male versus male, which brings with it its own masculine problems. With reference to a Synoptic perspective, Jerome Neyrey, in his discussion of gender in the Gospel of Mathew, argues that few males in antiquity would have had the opportunity to fulfil the ideal stereotype of masculinity. Drawing on similar notions relating to un-fulfilment and idyllic states, the idealised male and masculine attributes in the Rule of the Community were unattainable and being a pure, humble and just man at all times in everyday life was, in all likelihood, impossible.

The constructions of the ideal traits that are presented in the DSS provide a hypothetical ideal masculinity that men living amongst the communities are encouraged to take as their model. This is where the distinction between the idealised daily life and the reality of daily life would have come into consistent interaction, since in waiting for the reign of Belial to end and in living daily life in the present age, there would always be a reason to strive to be a better person; a perfected version of yourself that was not yet attainable. Men were not “just men all the time” they strove to be better people, to be pure and different from the impure and lustful norms that they saw before them in the reign of Belial. As such, they strove to perfect their purity and their masculinity in ways that would differentiate them, not only before God and other communities, but also amongst themselves. It is impurity that troubles the hegemonic ideal and leaves men in vulnerable positions amongst their wider communities.

Although women are not explicitly discussed in the S material, it does not mean that they were not part of the immediate or wider communities. Indeed, it is almost encouraging that the polarization between men and women is not used. The temptation of female sexuality may be behind certain allusions to

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4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) and Belial’s temptations, but there is no direct oppositions being made between male and female, rather the focus seems to be on males versus males, which in itself may have caused friction amongst the men surrounding hierarchical ranking and the constructions of hegemonic male ideals amongst the communities. It is in the understanding of day-to-day life and ideology that the abstract construction of purity in the scholarly literature has neglected to discuss. However, I have re-focused the constructions of purity and daily life through a masculine lens in order to reveal a sense of the vulnerable lived reality everyday men may have experienced.

C. Masculinity, Purity and Warfare in the War Scroll (in its 1QM form)
1. Brief Description of Extant Manuscripts
The War Texts is the name given to a small group of DSS that depict the preparation for the eschatological battle between the “Sons of Light,” led by God, and the “Sons of Darkness,” led by Belial. The longest of the War Texts is known primarily from a manuscript found in Cave I and labelled 1QM (1QMilhamah) and it is this manuscript that will be the main focus of my discussion. The eschatological war presented in 1QM culminates with God’s own intervention, which results in the total extermination of the army of Belial and leaves the Sons of Light to enjoy everlasting redemption and blessing. Outside of the DSS there are no other literary parallels known of this kind in Second Temple literature, which highlights the importance and unique nature of the sectarian War Scroll material.

As Jean Duhaime has argued, 1QM represents the most complete copy of the War Scroll and can be seen to show the final form of its literary development. For Duhaime, the early Herodian script of 1QM points to a date in the last part

of the first-century B.C.E. As such, looking at 1QM will give a view of the male 100 years later than S in 1QS form. Although the bottom part of 1QM is missing, it is still possible to infer that there was a minimum of 21-22 lines in an average column. In the discoveries from Cave IV, six fragmentary manuscripts of the War Scroll, as well as a War Scroll-like fragment (4Q497), have been identified (4Q491-496 = 4QM1-6). The language of 1QM and the related fragmentary manuscripts that have been discovered is Hebrew. It is significant that the language of the War Scroll shares features of the Hebrew in other DSS.

In the context of the wider historical perspective, Duhaime has put forward the argument that the War Scroll appears to be in the form of a “tactical treatise” which provides military rules and regulations on the organization of the army, the varying equipment needed for certain military procedures that was applicable to varying military situations. For example, in the work of Asclepiodotus, there is an older example of a “tactical treatise” that has similar characteristics to 1QM II-IX. Drawing on the theoretical aspect of the treatise and the fragments from Cave IV, it is likely that the War Scroll is a compilation of at least three different documents (cols. II-IX; X-XIV; XV-XIV) and each unit may have been transmitted and modified over many recensions.

Although the War Scroll is set within an eschatological setting, the numerous copies of the text can be interpreted as an indication that the “members of the sect presumably took it literally and studied it as a manual to train themselves.” So, even in an eschatological setting, everyday lives are being

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68 Jean Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 80. Although not all scholars are in agreement over this dating; S.A. Birnbaum has argued for a date in the third quarter of the first-century B.C.E. See S.A. Birnbaum, The Hebrew Scripts: I, Text (Leiden: Brill, 1971).
71 Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 83. The structure and date of the original composition of the War Scroll are unknown but Duhaime has argued that there is textual evidence to demonstrate that at least two different recensions of this work were in circulation during the second part of the first-century B.C.E.
72 Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 84.
73 Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 84.
74 Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 84.
affected. Taking the *War Scroll* as a manuscript that is outlining masculine ideologies, and the significance it may have had on the daily constructions of patterns, behaviours and practices, I will be conducting an exegetical and masculinist analysis of 1QM VI, 11-VII, 9 (cf. 4QM1=4Q491). This is a unit of text that outlines the masculine ideals that are needed to go into war and also the purity prohibitions. Such ideals enhance the masculine ideologies of the DSS communities, and reiterates the male characteristics and bodily traits that will not only be needed in the war, but since the communities expected the war imminently, they would have lived by the laws daily. I will then move on to discuss masculinity, purity and disability in 1QM VII and then construct the masculine ideals in the *War Scroll* more generally.

2. An Exegetical and Masculinist Analysis of 1QM VI, 11b-VII, 7

2.1 Delimiting the Text

The unit of text that I am focusing on (1QM VI, 11-VII, 7) is part of a larger section of text (1QM V, 3-VII, 7) that provides rules to equip the frontal formations (1QM V, 3-14), the light infantry (1QM V, 10-VI, 6) and the cavalry (1QM VI, 8-18). The section concludes with specifications about age requirements and the purity of the camps (1QM VI, 19-VII, 7).

2.2 Reading the Text

I will be focusing particularly on the specifications surrounding purity since purity rules were to be strictly obeyed, and prohibiting the rules resulted in the exclusion from the camp, or from the battlefield, of women, children and men bearing bodily defects and stricken by uncleanliness (1QM VII, 3-7; 4QM 1-3 II, 6-10). After this larger unit of text, the *War Scroll* moves on to discuss battle line arrangements and the sacrificial ceremony is outlined. The section VII, 9-IX, 9 ends with a prohibition for the priests to approach unclean blood (IX, 7b-9).

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2.3 Purpose of the Text

Brian Schultz has recently reviewed and re-examined the M material in light of the manuscripts found in Caves IV and XI. He concludes that the manuscript was originally composed to describe warfare as it was expected to be carried out during the eschatological age, but that it was modified over time to include a description of the very battle that would bring about the expected messianic age. Although there have been attempts by scholars to create historical links between the War Scroll and events during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, their reliability has been disputed. However, the content of the War Scroll does add to historians’ knowledge of Jewish military practices and calls into question the description of the Essenes by Philo as pacifists, who have no men amongst them who are makers of arrows, javelins, or swords (Prob. 78).

The War Scroll probably had multiple usages, for example the manuscript could have been used on the battlefield as a guide for legitimation and religious motivation. If taken as a preparation guide for battle, then the text would need to have been understood at the micro-level of daily life, amongst the rules, routines ad regulations. For David Morgan, the symbolic presentations of the war would have affected daily life since the masculine characteristics constructed, acted and reproduced in war and the military are some of the most direct within a community and wider society. Although there is no way of knowing what the precise use of the War Scroll was amongst the DSS communities, Alexander’s references to the training aspects of the rules in the M material are significant to my own interpretation, especially since the communities may have taken the rules literally. As such, the DSS communities’ daily lives became affected by the organizational patterns, behaviours and practices that were described in the manuscripts and this has

79 The “M material” for Schultz relates to the work reflecting 1QM and all its possible recensions, including 4Q491-496, 4Q471.
80 Schultz, Conquering the World. 7.
real relevance when trying to understand how their daily life may have been constructed and lived.

2.4 Structural Outline of the text
The unit of text I am focusing on (1QM VI, 11-VII, 7) has two sub-units with the first being 1QM VI, 11-20 and the second being 1QM VII 1-7. The first sub-unit focuses on the men that are needed for the war and what they should be wearing and look like before battle. The second sub-unit draws on Deuteronomistic aspects of law to discuss purity issues and the types of impurities that are restricted from entering in to the war camp and on to the battlefield. I turn now to look at the first unit of text.

2.5 1QM VI, 11b- VII, 7
VI. The horsemen, including the mounts of the men of the rule, shall be six thousand, five hundred for a tribe. All the mounts which go out for the battle with the skirmishers shall be male horses, swift of foot, soft of mouth, long of breath, in the full measure of their days, drilled for battle, trained to the hearing of noises and to the sight of all scenes. Those riding on them shall be men of worth for the battle, drilled to the mount and the measure of their days shall be from thirty years to forty-five years. The horsemen of the rule shall be from forty years to fifty; they and the mounts [...] and helmets and leggings, equipped in their hand with round shields and a spear eight cubits long [...] a bow and arrows and war javelins. All of them shall be ready in [...] and to shed the blood of the slain of their guiltiness. They are the ones who [...] (vacat) [...]  

VII. The men of the rule shall be from forty years to fifty. Those who order the camps shall be from fifty years to sixty. The officers shall also be from forty years to fifty. All those who strip the slain, seize plunder, purify the land, keep watch over the weapons and the one who prepares the provisions, all of them shall be from twenty-five years to thirty. No young boy or woman shall enter their camps when they leave Jerusalem to go to battle until their return. Neither lame, nor blind, nor crippled, nor a man in whose flesh there is a permanent blemish, nor a man stricken by some uncleanliness in his flesh, none of them shall go to battle with them. They shall all be volunteers for war, perfect ones of spirit and flesh, and ready for the Day of Vengeance. Any man who is not purified from a (bodily) discharge on the day of the battle shall not go down with them, for the holy angels are together with their hosts. There shall be a distance between all their camps and the place of the hand two thousand cubits or so. No indecent nakedness shall be seen in the surroundings of all their camps (vacat) 85  

Alongside Connell’s hegemonic framework, military life and the way it can be understood in gendered terms, Morgan proposes looking at the constructions of

the masculine body within texts that discuss war, ideology and behaviour. For example, drawing on images of soldiers from Republican and Imperial Rome, Richard Alston has argued that violence has been constructed as a particularly male attribute and the violence associated with soldiers has come to represent the ideals of manhood. The use of violence in the War Scroll is used in a way that expands able bodied men’s masculinity since “All of them shall be ready…to shed the blood of the slain of their guiltiness” (1QM VI, 15) and not to “become defiled in their unclean blood” (1QM VIII, 8). In these examples, the idealised males are represented as pure and ready to provoke violence amongst others. They are also to avoid tarring their purity and becoming defiled since they will not be able to fight; here, their impurity affects masculine behaviours.

The portrayals of the men outlined in 1QM VI and VII represent the ideal, the ideal ages (1QM VI, 14-VII, 1), the ideal fight (1QM VI, 12), the ideal qualities (1QM VI, 16-17) and ideal purity (1QM VII, 3-7). However, even in the ideal, reality is at play. It is not just the men who should be masculinised, even the horses are described in masculine terms, as they are to be “male horses (מַשָּׂר), swift of foot, soft of mouth, long of breath” (1QM VI, 12) and those riding them shall be “men of worth” (1QM VI, 13).

There seems to have been a military ideology evident amongst the communities of subsequent DSS. The definitions of warfare, masculinity and purity can be used as concepts that relate to whether a man amongst the DSS communities was able to go to war and therefore prove his masculinity. For example, in 1QM VII, 1-7 there is a detailed description of who is and who is not permitted to enter the battlefield, which are concerns largely based on purity, as well as age, gender and modesty. It is stated that, “No young boy or woman (חַדָּל נֶן וֹפֹּ֨ה וֹפֹּ֨ה) shall enter their camps when they leave Jerusalem to go to battle until their return” (1QM VII, 3). Such prohibitions

may demonstrate that there were age and gender restrictions placed on the people of the DSS communities, but it may also have been that women were restricted from entering the camps for purity reasons - with their possible menstrual uncleanness and also the temptation for the men to have sexual intercourse with the women.  

In relation to enforcing the laws of purity and conducting rituals, the priests and the Levites play a fundamentally important role during war (1QM VII, 7-IX, 9; XIII, 1-2; XV, 4-7). Deuteronomy is one of the major sources of inspiration for the War Scroll, especially with the laws of purity, since purification laws are to be strictly enforced because God stands amongst the camps (1QM X, 1-2; Deut 7:21-22). The laws about exclusion and purity in the camps (1QM VII, 3-7 and 4QM1 fragments 1-3 II, 6-10) are applications derived from Deuteronomy 23:10-15 in which the concept of holiness does not mean a particular enhancement of human moral qualities. In observing the ritual customs prescribed in Deuteronomy 23:10-15, Israel was segregated from the unclean things and bodily impurities were particularly important in terms of separation (cf. Lev 15; Num 5:1-4). It is also instructed in 1QM VII, 7 that there should be place away from the camp “two thousand cubits or so” for the toilet (cf. Deut 23:13 and 11QT XLVI, 13) and there is to be no “indecent nakedness” around the camps.

In Deuteronomy, the soldier becomes the symbol for the holiness of the camp and if a soldier becomes unclean because of a nocturnal emission (חֲמָרָה בַּלְיָלָה), as seen in Deuteronomy 23:10-11, then he is to wait until evening and wash himself with water and only when the sun has set is he to return back into the camp. In masculine terms, when the soldier is in danger of losing his purity he is instructed to leave the camp since he is not able to participate in a pure manner. For Biale, God was involved in the “power of the procreative fluids,” such as menstrual blood and semen, and he tries to understand the reason why sexual intercourse was deemed impure in Leviticus as a result of semen being

88 4Q265 III, 1 also has a restriction against young boys and children, which is probably based on purification issues.
90 Rüterswörden, “Purity Conceptions,” 414.
attributed to demonic forces. Biale argues that the priests seemed to have understood ejaculation as a temporary loss of a man’s “vital power” which, from a masculinist perspective, may equate with a loss of masculinity. The man who is not ritually clean “in respect to his genitals on the day of battle shall not go down with them into battle” (IQM VII, 6) for the “holy angels” are present amongst their army. For me, such images relating to impurity can be equated with a loss of masculinity; he has now lost a part of him that once made him inclusive, dominant and masculine within the communal setting, but since he is now impure he has lost a part of his identity that made him part of the community.

3. Masculinity, Purity and Disability in 1QM VII, 3-7 (4Q491 1-3, II, 6-10)
In relation to Scott’s third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, and the need to understand the consequences for breaking societal rules, the exclusion of men, women and children is significant since this may have led to social and spatial separation amongst the DSS communities. The risk of impurity that women carry may be why they are restricted from entering the men’s camps when they have gone to war “No youth nor woman shall enter their encampments from the time they leave Jerusalem to go to battle until their return” (IQM VII, 3-4), especially since a man who “is not purified from a (bodily) discharge (אָדָם אֲנָפִים לַעֲבָדָתָהו)” (IQM VII, 6) is also instructed not to enter battle. As Morgan has argued in relation to modern day society, such exclusion not only defines who “does” what, but, ultimately, who “is” what within a community. On the one hand, being impure could be seen as a “gender neutral” dynamic, as a physical state, which created equality amongst the sexes. On the other hand, being impure could be viewed in a community as being more harmful to the male since he is no longer able to partake in “ideal” masculine roles and left more vulnerable to social change, whereas the female

91 Biale, Eros and the Jew, 29.
92 Morgan, “Theater of War,” 180. For Thomas Hentrich, the impact biblical purity laws had on disabled or otherwise afflicted people forced them to become “the Other” within society. See Thomas Hentrich, “Masculinity and Disability in the Bible,” in ‘This’ Abled Body: Rethinking Disabilities in Biblical Studies (ed. Hector Avalos et al.; Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 73-91, esp. 73-80. Such relations between disability and masculinity could also be used to enhance debates on purity and the DSS and take further Harrington’s comparative work between 4QMMT, Durkheim and Douglas.
may have felt more liberated since she became “free” from more everyday sexual and domestic habits. In relation to gender it is significant that in 4QM1 (4Q491), which is a different recension of M consisting of 70 parchment fragments, the woman is listed before the child (4Q491 1, II 6) compared with 1QM VII, 3 where the child is listed first. Since the script is much smaller than M, it has been suggested that this version of M is a private copy which may imply that the owner of the manuscript adjusted the ordering based on his own family circumstances where the mother would be placed first and suited his own way of life.

Roismann has shown in his discussion of men in the military in Athens that all able-bodied men could be called to military service and all women, children and the disabled excluded. Thus, an exclusive group of males is created who are portrayed and constructed as the physical and inclusive members of the DSS communities. The same image can be seen in the communities behind the War Scroll where it can be argued that being impure and unable to go to war would have affected the ways that a man would be perceived amongst the communities, by both women and other men. The men are to be “perfect ones of spirit and flesh” (1QM VII, 5) and nothing less. The purity concerns in the War Scroll, particularly the restrictions placed in 1QM VII, 4-5, are worthy of further attention from a non-cultic perspective.

The historical association of war and hegemonic masculinity effects those who were unable to take part in the war and if members of particular communities were unable to go to war due to purity issues, then the ways that they would have been perceived by the pure members of the same DSS communities, whether male or female, would have been affected. Bryan Turner, in his discussion of disability and the body, argued that a sociological understanding of the body is needed that combines both an appreciation of the lived body in the everyday world and a clear understanding that the body is

93 Schultz, Conquering the World. 104.
94 M. Baillet, Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520) (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 12.
95 Roisman, The Rhetoric of Manhood, 105.
constructed.\textsuperscript{96} Such an understanding of masculinity and disability studies has recently occurred in biblical scholarship with Thomas Hentrich, in his discussion of masculinity and disability in the Bible, revealing how the gender of a person is only second to their disability.\textsuperscript{97} Drawing on the secondary nature of gender in the Hebrew Bible, the impurity of those described in the \textit{War Scroll} are based on bodily blemishes, the men are described as “lame,” “blind,” “crippled,” “blemished” and “unclean,” their male body has become impure in the eyes of God and in the wider communities (1QM VII, 6). Using Connell’s larger hegemonic framework, it is apparent that the men who are presented as lame, blind, crippled, blemished and unclean move into the fourth category of masculinity - the marginalization position - as they are marginalized from the wider hegemonic ideal-type. In masculine terms, impure men trouble the hegemonic ideal-type.

Although 1QM contains elements that can be connected with those found in apocalyptic literature, it does not belong to the literary genre of the apocalypses.\textsuperscript{98} The editing of the manuscript allowed for a collection of rules, prayers and speeches, which appear in the form of a guidebook for both priests and Levites who were in charge of leading the eschatological war. In the idealised masculinity, it is possible to find daily masculinity since the \textit{War Scroll} influenced the daily life of the people through the patterns and practices that are described throughout the manuscript. For example, the correct conduct when fighting (1QM VI, 13), the maintenance of purity (1QM VII) and the maintenance of modesty (1QM VII, 7), which, although based in an eschatological setting, may have created everyday practices and patterns to be lived by. Each of these ideal masculine patterns and practices left the everyday male vulnerable to loss of status and compromised masculinity if he became impure.

\textsuperscript{96} Turner, “Disability and the Sociology,” 253.  
\textsuperscript{97} Hentrich, “Masculinity and Disability,” 73.  
\textsuperscript{98} Schultz, \textit{Conquering the World}. 61.
4. Constructing Hegemonic Ideals in the War Scroll
Joane Nagel has demonstrated the intimate connection between war and manhood as longstanding.99 For Nagel, the attributes associated with hegemonic masculinity “across time and space mirror the cultural components of warrior traditions: bravery, toughness, daring, honour, strength and courage.”100 As David Clines argues in his landmark essay on masculinity and King David, the constructions of masculinity in the portrayal of David “reflects the cultural norms of men of the author’s time.”101 That would also have been the case with both the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll, and the constructions that each manuscript portrays of purity, warfare and individuality would reflect the ways the scribes and the people of the communities symbolically perceived their involvement in everyday life. The construction of women, or lack of in certain manuscripts, may also be seen to reflect the cultural norms of the scribe’s time.

The War Scroll outlines how a man should react in the appointed time of vengeance, he is to be “strong and brave” (1QM XV, 7) and he is not to be terrified, alarmed or trembling (1QM XVII, 7-8). Just as the men permitted to be in the military had to meet “masculine expectations” that were set up alongside the permitted masculine ideology, so the eschatological battle outlines to all those who are listening and reading to this Scroll how to be a man, a Son of Light and what is needed to be “pure of spirit and flesh” (1QM VII, 5). The brave, disciplined, pure, strong man brought honour to himself, his family and the wider communities, but without the purity element, no man could prove his bravery, strength or worth (1QM XV, 7). Drawing on the ideas of masculine preservation, purity and warfare, masculinity and purity can be understood as related concepts when discussing the men behind the War Scroll.

100 Nagel, “War,” 626.
101 David J. A Clines, Interested Parties. The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 215. In a personal correspondence with David Clines he has been kind enough to send me a copy of his upcoming book, Play the Man: The Masculine Imperative in the Bible. The War Scroll also draws on biblical imagery relating to David and juxtaposes him with Goliath of Gath whose physical attributes are emphasised as he is described as a “mighty man of strength (יהויהו יהושע נבטי חלק)” (1QM XI, 1), against David who trusted God’s name rather than a sword or spear (cf. 1 Sam 17).
The real question here is one of the possible spilling of blood and all the resonance that this has on purity status; it is a question of keeping a physical whole, blood-free and scar-free body. The male would consequently have to stay pure and retain his masculinised physical flesh while fighting; they are to shed the blood of the guilty (1QM VI, 17) but not their own. It is assumed in 1QM XIV that all the Sons of Light, when they have slayed the enemy, shall “clean their garments and wash themselves of the blood of the guilty corpses” (1QM XIV, 2-3). Accordingly, it is not presumed that the Jewish men are themselves impure but are simply to “return to the place where they had taken position” (1QM XIV, 3). This hope is almost beyond reality and again points to the vulnerable position in which men find themselves.

The people whom God chooses to redeem are described in terms that relate to the improvement and enhancement of their male body since God has “taught war to the weak […] He gives to the staggering knees strength to stand and steadiness of loins to the smitten back” (1QM XIV, 6-7; 4Q491 8 I, 4-5). As Turner has shown, the effects of masculine ideologies allows the body to become an object of society where power is produced in order to be controlled, identified and reproduced. In a Foucauldian sense their bodies have been controlled and regulated through movements, time and everyday activities which has allowed the body to become invested in relations of power resulting in obedient “docile bodies.” In a Jewish sense, the male bodies are pure, masculinised and ready to do God’s work (1QM XIV, 12).

In accordance with Scott’s second and third conceptual feature of the everyday, understanding the “daily routines and rituals” of daily life and the consequences for breaking such laws, the War Scroll provides ideal rules, routines and regulations surrounding military life. These ideals provide rules and routines that would be followed in certain respects in daily life and how to act and behave when the war does come. Since the War Scroll is an eschatological text, the actuality of whether men did go to war is never known,

103 Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (trans. Alan Sheridan; London: Alley Lane, 1977), 177.
but the ideological images that are portrayed provide an idealised setting and vision for the men to aspire to, which, in turn impacted upon the wider DSS communities. It seems that both reality and the ideal were aspired to as they each effected the involvement in daily life.

D. Summary: Purity, Shame and Honour: The Constructions of Masculinist Ideologies in the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll

As seen in both the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll, it was the goal of men to not be characterised as belonging to other imperfectly masculinised groups of men, especially the Sons of Darkness. During the times the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll were produced, re-written and re-used, masculinity took on different aspects and re-definitions based on the historical circumstances of the time. In more stable societies, the ideas and ideals of masculinity would also remain stable and any change or re-definition of masculine behaviours reflects the chaos of the time; the stable portrayals of masculinity was not to be found in the construction of the masculine in the War Scroll.¹⁰⁴ The texts portray an ideal male in various ways - either in moral perfection in S and the physical obedience in M - but the everyday, ordinary man cannot adhere to this as people’s daily lives aspire to such ideals and can never obtain them.

In the Rule of the Community, gender is not constructed on a male versus female scale, rather the men of the DSS communities were paired against other men. However, women may have been implicitly behind the manuscript as a source of physical and sexual temptation, which may have contributed to the construction of the patriarchal gender order. In the War Scroll, gender seems to be constructed on an intertwining scale, where male and female intertwine depending on social context; men were ranked against each other and in the same manuscript impure men and (pure and impure) women were restricted within the communities. Using hegemonic masculinity as a framework, I have been able to show that masculinity is used as an ideal social construct within these two sectarian Scrolls; however, men are vulnerable because they cannot

¹⁰⁴ Alston, “Arms and the man,” 220.
live up to the ideal and their position can fluctuate depending on external factors, such as war, impurity and the temptation from women.

It has been possible to study how hegemonic ideal-type masculine ideologies were constructed and understood within the manuscripts and it seems that many of the masculine attributes depended on the person in question being and remaining pure; anything less left them vulnerable amongst the communities. As I have argued throughout this chapter, the masculine ideals, future times and preferred ideological practices that are described are implemented in the lives of the DSS communities through their daily patterns, practices and performances. This chapter has revealed the vulnerable position impure men found themselves in and subsequently has demonstrated three key points. Firstly, the use of Masculinity Studies has allowed the elitist focus to shift and I have used the Rule of the Community to reveal the social norms and ideals of the ordinary men within the communities. There are potential allusions to the literary constructions of the dangers of women behind the Rule of the Community based on the influence of 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) and the references to Belial. Secondly, I have looked into the relationship between masculinity, purity and warfare and how in both the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll, male’s masculinity can be enhanced through being pure and defiant either in their membership or attitude to war. Thirdly, the correlation between loss of masculinity and loss of purity was highlighted which revealed an inherent vulnerability of male’s purity; it is not static, but evolving. Having discussed and highlighted the importance of the constructions of male ideologies and its restrictions, I will now move on to discuss how masculinity and femininity were encapsulated and understood in the DSS by looking at theories from embodiment to search for the ordinary male and female of the DSS communities.
A. Purpose of this Chapter

In this chapter I want to turn attention away from female regulated impurity and look more closely at the dynamic aspects of male and female impurities to see how purity and impurity functioned at an everyday level. Taking the fleshy experiences of embodiment as portrayed in the constructions of gender, alongside Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday, will allow me to move beyond the abstract constructions of purity in DSS scholarly literature. This will reveal the more empowered and controlled aspects of the impure female in comparison with the vulnerable impure male. I will map out this journey by focusing particularly on the constructions of gender and purity in the 4QD manuscripts (predominantly 4Q266 and 4Q272) and 4QTohorot A (4Q274) and by uncovering three key points. Firstly, two manuscripts of 4QD (4Q272 and 4Q266) will be discussed in terms of how they present the daily lives of men and women. I will then use Scott’s three conceptual features when necessary to uncover the empowering aspects of female impurities and the inter-relations of flesh, shame and fluidity in 4Q266 6 II. Secondly, I will conduct a Butlerian reading of 4Q272 and 4Q266 to uncover performative aspects of the discourse about purity. Thirdly, the constructions of the impure male and female in 4QTohorot A (4Q274) will be looked at to reveal the potential gender neutralizing aspects of the possible application of rules about impurity, and how resistance to the hegemonic ideal can promote gender justice. Theories stemming from embodiment, such as those as Scott and Butler, use a bottom-up narrative, which allows the habits and movements of males and females to be addressed from an everyday perspective. That enables less abstract questions to be asked of the purity texts - questions relating to performance, seclusion and modesty.¹

¹ Jackson and Scott, “Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground,” 20.
B. Men and Women in their Daily Lives: Towards a Reconsideration of Masculinity and Femininity in 4QD

1. Brief Description of the Extant Manuscripts

The various copies of the Damascus Document are extant in 12 different manuscripts, two of which came from the medieval period (CD A and B) and 10 from Qumran (4Q266-273, 5Q12 and 6Q15). Hempel has demonstrated how the dates of the various D manuscripts, varying from the end of the second-century B.C.E. to the middle of the first-century C.E., correlate with the occupation of the Qumran settlement, which is dated from around 100 B.C.E. to c. 68 C.E. Hempel has argued that the origin of the movement, implied in D, included various groups at differing stages of its development. As shared earlier in this thesis, this has altered the early views of there being just “two communities” at Qumran, one that was married and one that was not.

Both Hempel and Wassen have demonstrated that the D material can be divided into two parts: an exhortation called Admonition (CD I-VIII, XIX-XX) and a legal section (IX-XVI and 4QD text). The 4QD manuscripts preserve unknown material from the opening of the Admonition (4Q266 1 I). Significantly, Hempel has highlighted that the legal section of D has been “undeservedly neglected in Qumran studies” and the discovery of the 4QD manuscripts shows that the legal section of D contains two thirds of the original document. The majority of the old material in the 4QD manuscripts belongs to the legal section and contains a number of new laws concerning the priesthood.

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4 Hempel, The Damascus, 24. Grossman uses the construction of masculinity and femininity in the Damascus Document to look at how the text might reflect the actual “religion of real men and real women in that community. See Maxine Grossman, Reading for History in the Damascus Document. A Methodological Method (STDJ 65; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 42. In Grossman’s discussion, she conducts a case study querying gender in the Damascus Document by looking at the Hebrew language relating to men and women and how this corresponds to the action being discussed. Although such case study work is important and highlights the issue of gender language differences, I have taken the methodology further by using gender theories to try and understand how life may have been for men and women when they were impure.
5 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 21.
6 Hempel, The Damascus, 3.
purity and offerings. I will be focusing on the purity sections of the 4QD manuscripts, predominantly 4Q266 and 4Q272, in order to understand the gendered relations described in the manuscripts.

The continuous copying of D before, and during, the Qumran occupation, illustrates the importance of the sectarian manuscript to the DSS communities throughout its development. Wassen has convincingly demonstrated that there are considerable similarities between D and the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), which both provide communal rulings that include children and women. Hempel has gone as far as to suggest that the communal laws of D and 1QSa “emerged from a similar, if not identical, social situation.” It is generally assumed that D would have been in the annual Festival of the Renewal of the Covenant. Perhaps from a social perspective, D and 1QSa may have served an educational purpose in the lives of the members of the DSS communities by acting as reminders of the key laws and beliefs that were to be held.

2. The Content of 4Q272 and 4Q266
In this section my focus will generally be on the constructions of purity and gender in the Early Law Code, particularly the genital discharges of both men and women. Although the Early Law Code deals with biblical laws, in certain manuscripts of D there are innovative examples that support a stricter interpretation of the biblical laws. Hempel breaks down the redactional material in D to show the following literary strands in the legal section of the D material:

1. Halakhah
2. Community Organization

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8 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 21.
9 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 28.
3. Miscellaneous *Halakhah*

4. Miscellaneous Traditions and Redactional Material

Following Hempel’s identification of the strands of the D material, the two manuscripts I am discussing here belong explicitly to what she identifies as *halakhah*. Although the references to purity and women are predominantly Levitically based, I still think that the references in themselves are significant as they reflect the gendered audience (i.e. non-celibate nature) behind the DSS communities. The references to women throughout the legal and communal sections demonstrate to Wassen that women have been present amongst the groups throughout the development of the communities, from the earliest non-sectarian laws to the later sectarian stratum.\(^\text{13}\) Since Wassen’s study is focused predominantly on women in D, the main reason male impurity in 4Q272 and 4Q266 is analysed is because “the impurity prescriptions constitute an elaborate, coherent system with parallel laws for men and women.”\(^\text{14}\) In that case, the primary reason why men and their impurity are being studied is for systemic reasons, based on the biblical texts, and it is precisely this reasoning that I want to enhance from a gendered perspective. By focusing on ordinary men and women amongst the DSS communities, more insight will be gained into their everyday lives and practices.

Drawing on the fragments dealing with the subject of skin disease, fluxes and childbirth namely 4QD\(^a\) (4Q266), 4QD\(^d\) (4Q269), 4QD\(^g\) (4Q272), 4QD\(^h\) (4Q273), Hempel has produced a comprehensive composite text of the laws as “the various topics treated are based on Leviticus 12-15 which forms the scriptural background to the material.”\(^\text{15}\) In looking at 4Q266 6 I-III, 4Q269 7, 4Q272 1 I-II and 4Q273 1 II as a composition, it is possible to trace the obvious biblical allusions, but there are also negatives to this approach since the individual character of the separate fragments are almost lost in translations. The small differences, such as interlinear additions and the personal focus evident in certain manuscripts, are significant and make the manuscripts more

\(^\text{13}\) Wassen, *Women in the Damascus*, 42.

\(^\text{14}\) Wassen, *Women in the Damascus*, 47.

\(^\text{15}\) Hempel, *The Laws*, 43.
individual and personal. Hempel has only one and a half pages of commentary on the comprehensive composite text. To enhance Hempel’s composite texts, I will, therefore, exegetically discuss the two sections that deal specifically with male and female impurities and outline 4Q272 and 4Q266 in sequence, starting with 4Q272 1 II, 3-18 and followed by 4Q266 6 II, 3-13.

3. An Exegetical Analysis of 4Q272 1 II, 3-18 (parallel 4Q266 6 I, 14-16)

3.1 Delimiting the Text
There are three fragments attributed to 4QD³ (4Q272), although only the first fragment contains legible text. The fragmentary pericope I am focusing on starts at 4Q272 1 II, 3, but the end of the pericope is more difficult to determine since the fragment breaks up at line 18. Whilst fragmentary, the main reason I am investigating this particular pericope is because it contains verbal allusions to Leviticus 15:1-33 and laws regarding male and female discharges. The paleographical date for this manuscript is towards the end of the first-century B.C.E.¹⁶

3.2 Reading the Text
4Q272 consists of a set of identified fragments belonging to two columns and the scant remains of two smaller unidentified fragments.¹⁷ The principal identified leather fragment has been categorised as a “non-biblical” Scroll with a medium-sized writing block.¹⁸ The first column of 4Q272 is composed of six pieces and both the top and the bottom margins are preserved. The text of column II, which I am focusing on is extant in eight small joined pieces. The material in this section deals with skin disease, male fluxes and menstruation and is based on Leviticus 12-15. The beginning of the pericope in column I pertains to the priestly duty of diagnosing various impurities, particularly on the head and the beard.¹⁹

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¹⁶ Hempel, The Damascus Texts, 23.
¹⁷ Baumgarten et al., Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, 179.
¹⁸ Emanuel Tov, Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 86, 97.
¹⁹ Hempel, The Damascus Texts, 34.
3.3 Structural Outline of the Text

What survives of 4Q272 belongs to the halakhah section of D. The textual remains have a strong focus on halakhic situations and practices and the tendency in the rulings is strict and consistent with those in other DSS, especially the Temple Scroll.\(^{20}\) The discussion of halakhah in the 4QD material can be classified into two categories: those explicitly based on the interpretation of Torah passages and those presented without scriptural support.\(^{21}\) Although 4Q272 is extremely fragmentary, it seems as though the text belongs to the first halakhic category since there is an obvious parallel with the structure of the Levitical purity laws (Leviticus 12-15). The social setting may have been educational or instructional as reminders about the purity laws. Since women are discussed in the extant column II, there may have been some women in the audience when the text was rehearsed. From the available fragments belonging to 4Q272 there are four key parts that I can determine:

1. The beginning of the fragment, 4Q272 I I, 1-13 (parallel 4Q269 7 1-13), outlines the laws surrounding skin disease and how a priest can determine when a person is free from the impurity (cf. Lev 13:3).\(^{22}\)
2. The next part of the column, 4Q272 I I, 14-20 (paralleling 4Q266 6 1) outlines the impurity of the skin of the head and the beard (cf. Lev 13:29-36).
3. The beginning of the second column, 4Q272 I II, 1-2 (paralleling 4Q266 6 I), contains the rules for skin disease for the “Sons of Aaron.”
4. There is then an obvious vacat after line 2 in the text before an outlining of the laws of a man and a woman with impure discharge (4Q272 I II, 3-18), which is the section of text that I will be focusing on.

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\(^{20}\) Baumgarten et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek*, 4.

\(^{21}\) Baumgarten et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek*, 4.

III [...] And the rule concerning one who has a discharge. Any man [with a discharge from his flesh, or one who brings upon himself] lustful [thoughts, or who] [his contact is like the contact of [...] he shall wash his clothes and bathe in water [...] him, who touches him shall [bathe] And the law [of a woman who has a discharge: Any woman] who has a discharge of blood [shall be in menstrual impurity seven days] she shall remain four the seven days[...] the menstruant and all[II] [who touches her [...] stir up [the blood of the discharge [...] the water[...] and with the waters of purification[...] living water [...] her hand [...] and [...]  

Lines 3-7 in 4Q272 1 II outline the regulations concerning a man with a bodily discharge and the purification requirements needed for those who touch or come into contact with him. There are two male impurities discussed in this fragment, with a possible third; the first contains contact with a "who has a discharge from his flesh" (line 4); the second relates to impurity from masturbation "or who thinks] lustful [thoughts" (line 4); and a third impurity is suggested by the "or who" also in line 4, but the text breaks up at this point. I agree with Himmelfarb’s suggestion that the third male impurity relates to the
emission of semen from sex based on the biblical ruling in Leviticus 15:13-15.24

As Wassen has shown in her discussion of this manuscript, the main issue in the text is transmission of impurity through touch and she argues that the three kinds of male impurities would have been seen as equally defiling in the DSS communities (cf. 4Q274 I 8b-9a).25 If that analysis is correct, then the communities behind 4Q272 extended the biblical rulings in Leviticus 15 to make those concerning semen more severe. The DSS communities’ approach to seminal impurity can be seen from the fact that those who become afflicted with it are listed in the catalogue of transgressors in one of the Cave IV manuscripts of D (4Q270 9 II).26 The consequences of seminal impurity were far more severe than those described in Levitical rulings, since the objects that were touched by the one who did not wash his hands were equally as impure as his bed and his seat and the one who carried the clothes was unclean until sundown (4Q277 1 II, 11-13).

In addition to the practical implementation, the extension of the rules relating to seminal emission may have correlated with the scribes’ and communities’ constructions of sexuality. In my view, the secrecy attached to the emission of semen can be understood from a gendered and everyday perspective as relating to the ideologies of the DSS communities. The DSS communities discussed seminal impurity as a consequence of lustful thoughts (4Q272 1 I, 14-15); sexual images which should not be imagined, is in direct contrast with later tannaitic halakhah (M. Zabim 2.2).27 Eviator Zerubavel has shown in his understanding of silence and denial in everyday life that the more communities are determined by a hierarchical structure (as is discernable in D), the more the communities will encourage silence.28 It is possible that there was a communal sense of

24 Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin,” 34.
25 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 49.
silence on such topics as sexuality and sexual pleasure, and the enhanced purity rules may have been a way to encourage silence on topics relating to sexuality.

In 4Q272 1 II, 8 female impurity becomes the main concern. For Wassen, this fragment corroborates with the biblical stipulation that the touching of the menstruating female body is a less severe impurity than the impurity contracted from objects that her blood may have come into contact with (Lev 15:19-22), which shows that the main issue is “contact with the blood.” However, even if it is the blood that is the main concern, it is still attributed to the female.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the remainder of the manuscript, lines 9-18 have not been discussed much by Baumgarten or Wassen in their exegetical review. The expression, “stir up [the blood of her discharge (??)]” in 4Q272 1 II, 12 presents a problem in Baumgarten’s reconstruction. He suggests reading the verb כֵּֽני as denoting the “cessation of the flow of blood” (cf. 4Q270 4 II and 4Q266 6 I, 8). Interestingly, כֵּֽני is also used in 4Q270 2 II, 16 in the Hifil (m.s.), which Baumgarten relates to a man who has sexual intercourse with a pregnant woman. In 4Q272 1 II, כֵּֽני is used in the feminine (3 f.s.) and may relate to the prohibition of sexual intercourse with a menstruant. The references to מים (the water) in lines 13, מים (waters of purification”) in line 15 and יד (her hand”) in line 17, demonstrates that the female remains the subject for the remainder of what survives of the column, and likely relates to the purification procedure that is needed to be carried out by the female. The reference to the “waters of purification” מים (M) may have a significant echo of the purification processes attached to the admission of members into the DSS communities, as described in 1QS III, 9. Such reasonance would imply the inclusion of women within the communities.

28 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 50.
4. An Exegetical Analysis of 4Q266 6 II, 1-13

4.1 Delimiting the Text

There are over 75 fragments assigned to 4QD⁹ (4Q266) and it is a key manuscript to understand for physical reasons, since it is the most extensive manuscript of D from Cave IV.³¹ It is also the oldest copy, dating from the beginning to the middle of the first-century B.C.E.³² For Tov, the high number of scribal errors and cancellation dots in 4Q266 is unusual amongst the DSS.³³ Along with the DSS that were professionally copied by scribes, there is evidence of some private drafts (e.g. 4Q448, 4Q398, 4Q255) that seem to have been written in a semi-cursive hand.³⁴ In relation to the everyday life of the people behind the Purity Texts and the DSS, 4Q266 is a highly important manuscript since it has been described by Baumgarten as a copy written for personal use rather than for a public or communal setting.³⁵ Both the beginning and the end of the pericope I am focusing on, 4Q266 6 II, 1-13, have been lost.

4.2 Reading the Text

The line length and left and right margin can be determined in the first column of fragment 6, since lines 6 and 7 are justified to the left and lines 8-13 are on the right.³⁶ 4Q266 6 I, 1-12 overlap with 4Q272 1 I, 9-20; lines 12-16 overlap with 4Q272 1 II, 1-5; and lines 1-6 overlap with 4Q269 7 11-13.³⁷ Although there are many parallels in the first column with other 4QD material, the second column of fragment 6 has no textual comparisons made by Baumgarten with other sectarian materials. That may be because the order is biblically based. However, although this piece of halakhah largely follows Leviticus 12-15 the order has been changed with regard to purification after childbirth, which is dealt with after the topic of flux in D.³⁸ The personal use, along with the

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³¹ Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 34.
³⁴ Baumgarten, “266-273,” 2.
³⁵ Baumgarten, “266-273,” 2.
³⁶ Baumgarten et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek*, 36.
³⁷ Baumgarten et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek*, 36.
emphasis on purity in 4Q266 (in particular the constructions of impure men and women in 4Q266 6 II), will be fundamentally important in my gendered theorisation of 4Q266 as I will be able to uncover the use of a private manuscript from an everyday perspective.

4.3 Structural Outline of the Text
Since 4Q266 is the only D manuscript that contains both the opening column and the final column, Hartmut Stegemann has designated it as the “principal manuscript for every attempt at physical reconstructions of the DSS.”39 In many DSS written on leather, there are examples of several words, or parts of words, being crossed out with one or more lines indicating the removal of these elements from the context.40 Tov has shown that this procedure is frequent in 4QD⁴, which contains 10 such examples in the very fragmentary text and it is highly possible that the complete composition would have contained even more examples.41 It seems as though 4Q266 was written in different phases as the scribe used different pens throughout the manuscript and Baumgarten makes the intriguing comment that the scribes’ “moods seem to have varied from one sitting to another.”42 The differences in handwriting, the variety of pens and the possible differences in the moods of the scribe, add to the personal character of this manuscript.

4Q266 6 II, 1-13 also belongs to the halakhah section of D and a strong halakhic focus is evident throughout. The function of this manuscript could have been educational and the personal nature of the copy may suggest a familial context in which men and women consulted the “Admonition,” “Laws” and “Communal Rules” when appropriate. Since there are over 75 fragments

40 Tov, Scribal Practices, 198.
41 Tov, Scribal Practices, 199.
42 Baumgarten, “266. 4QDamascus,” 26.
affiliated with 4Q266, I cannot provide an overall structure of the manuscript, but I will outline the structure of 4Q266 6 as a whole: 43

1. 4Q266 6 I, 1-12 overlaps with the other 4QD manuscript I am focusing on namely 4Q272 1 I, 9-20, where the focus is placed on skin disease and impurity of the skin under the beard. 4Q266 6 I, 1-12 is less fragmentary than 4Q272 1 I, 9-20, but it is obvious that the same biblical content is being covered.

2. 4Q266 6 I, 13-16 overlaps with 4Q272 1 I, 1-5 and discusses the impurity of a man with “discharge from (his) flesh” (4Q266 1 I, 15). Although there are obvious parallels with 4Q272 1 II, 1-5, there are also differences that need to be discussed. Whereas 4Q272 1 II, 1-5 moves straight from male impurity to female impurity, 4Q266 6a I, 4Q266 6b I, and 4Q266 6c I, each extend the discussion of male impurity with references to הָאָצִי “the flesh” (4Q266 6b I, 1), separation (4Q266 6c I, 2) and washing of garments.

3. In 4Q272, female impurity is discussed straight after the male (from line 7 to line 8), but in 4Q266 6 the references to female impurity come much later with 4Q266 6d II referring to הָאָצִי (the blood) and continuing until 4Q266 6 II, 1-4. Since the scribe of 4Q272 has narrowed down the references to male and female purity, it is possible that 4Q272 could also be seen as a personal manuscript with strong focuses on individual needs for the family structure behind the text.

4. 4Q266 6 II, 5-13 relates to purification after childbirth and has parallels in Leviticus 12:1-8, 4Q265 and Jub 3. It is the references to female impurities in 4Q266 6 II, 1-13 that I am focusing on. After exegetically discussing this section of text, I will then move on to a discussion of both 4Q272 1 II, 3-18 and 4Q266 6 II, 1-13 from an everyday gendered perspective using Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday.

43 For a more physical reconstruction of 4Q266 as a whole manuscript see Stegemann, “Towards Physical Reconstructions,” 177-200.
Although fragmentary in nature, lines 4Q266 6 II, 1-2 are generally accepted as the phrase "the woman approaches [her has the sin of menstrual impurity upon him. If she again sees (blood) and it is not [at the time of] [her menstruation] of seven days, she shall not eat anything hallowed, nor come into the sanctuary until sunset on the eighth day. (vacat) And a woman who conceives and bears a male child [shall be unclean] for the seven days, [as in] the days of her menstrual impurity. And on the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin [shall be circumcised. For thirty-three days she shall remain in blood purification. If she bears a female child [she shall be unclean two weeks as in her menstruation. [For sixty-six days she shall remain in her blood] [purification. And she] shall not eat [any hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary,] [for it is a capital of] [let her give] [the child to a nurse who is in a state of ritual purity ...] [And if she cannot afford [a lamb, let her get a turtledove or pigeon for a burnt offering] [and she shall substitute [it for the lamb]]

impurity upon him (אָלָמָה נְדָה בִּלְאָה),” which relates to the laws about sexual intercourse with a menstruant in Leviticus 15:24 “If any man lies with her and her impurity falls on him, he shall be unclean for seven days.” Although I do agree that the subject of the first two lines is the result of sexual intercourse with a menstruant, I think the use of נְשֵׁי (sin) in the reconstruction is worthy of further consideration, especially since Leviticus 15:24 does not refer to the sinful nature of the act. In Leviticus 18:19, the prohibition of sexual intercourse with a menstruant is mentioned again, but this time within a sinful context. In 4Q266, the scribe has amalgamated the two laws into one and specifically described sexual intercourse with a menstruant as being sinful, which may have affected the perceptions of the impure female amongst the DSS communities and it may have made women feel ashamed, or guilty, for being impure.

The use of נְשֵׁי in other DSS often relates to the sinfulness of man “the wicked (שָׁחָה) acts of the children of Israel, all their guilty transgressions and sins committed during the dominion” (1QS I, 23) and “of his iniquities (שָׁחָה); 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 (שָׁחָה). Through an upright and humble attitude his sin may be covered, and by humbling himself before all God’s laws his flesh” (1QS III, 7-8). It may be in 4Q266 that the responsibility of not having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman was being placed on the male’s actions, rather than the female, which may correlate with her passive role in the text.

Lines 2b-3a have caused various problems in translations. For Baumgarten, the text should read “If she ag[ain] sees (blood), and it is not [at the time of] her menstruation of seven days, she shall not eat anything hallowed.” This reconstruction correlates with a בַּגְּדָה (a woman with a flow of blood outside of her menstrual cycle) and food restrictions, rather than restrictions against sexual intercourse. Following the reconstruction of Ben-Zion Wacholder and Martin Abegg, Wassen reconstructs these sections in a logical order following on from Leviticus 15:24: since a man who has sexual intercourse with a נְדָה (a woman

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with a flow of blood during her menstrual cycle) is impure for seven days, so is a man who has intercourse with a קָד ה. I agree with Wassen’s reconstruction and argue that the subject is a man who has sexual relations with a קָד ה, rather than food restrictions being the main focus.

As Baumgarten has demonstrated, 4Q266 considers any continued bleeding beyond a woman’s designated time of seven days (Lev 15:19) to be attributed to the קָד ה, which requires seven days of purification after the blood flow has stopped and a sacrificial offering at the end of the flow (Lev 15:25-29). In 4Q266 6 II, 3b-4, it is stated that a woman suffering from a flux “shall not eat anything hallowed, nor co[me] into the sanctuary until sunset on the eighth day.” As Wassen and Baumgarten have argued, the exclusion from the sanctuary is specified in relation to the parturient in Leviticus 12:4, but should also be applied equally to a menstruant. The exclusion of both a menstruating woman and a parturient is also mentioned in the Temple Scroll. Drawing on 11QTL VIII, 14-16, Schiffman has argued in his recent discussion of laws and sexuality in the DSS, that the allotted space for menstrually impure women can be seen as a source for some of the later Middle Ages stringencies relating to impurity and women. From a gendered perspective, a woman’s role amongst the DSS communities may have been dramatically altered when she was impure by not being able to partake in certain meals or enter the temple, which may have affected the ways she was positioned and viewed by other members of the communities.

Wassen has shown how the purity topics covered in D loosely follow Leviticus 12-15. There is one key difference that Wassen outlines between Leviticus and 4Q266, whereas Leviticus 12 discusses the purity laws on childbirth before the section on scale disease, 4Q266 6 II discusses impurity

47 Baumgarten, “266. 4QDamascus,” 56.
48 See Baumgarten, “266. 4QDamascus,” 56 and Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 53.
resulting from childbirth together with genital discharges. Wassen understands that discrepancy as resulting from the similarities between female blood from menstruation and female blood from childbirth, which may well be the case, but the fact that both female bloods are linked may also reflect concerns over women’s femaleness by the scribe. Such an understanding is taken up by Tarja Philip, who has recently argued in her discussion of menstruation and childbirth in the Bible, that blood from the womb is the “only impure blood in the human body” and the cultic, cultural and social functions that are reflected in the laws on menstruation and childbirth “reflect concepts about women, men and body” in relation to priestly ideology.

Although there are parallels between Leviticus 12:4 and the restrictions on entering the temple in 4Q266 6 II, 3b-4, Wassen has highlighted the semantic differences between the two passages. Whereas Leviticus 12:4 uses הָנִּיטָה “touch,” 4Q266 II, 3 uses הָאָכָל “eat” and there is also a reference to the sunset, which is probably drawing on the laws relating to tebul yom, an issue also expressed in 11QTha XLV, 9-10; 4Q394 (4QMMT) 3-7 I 16-19; and 4QToh b I II, 13. Wassen states that 4Q266 6 II, 3 “clarifies the biblical injunction,” but what if there is more to the distinction between “touch” and “eat”? It could be argued that in referencing eating, the scribe is detaching the food from any physical contact between the impure woman and other beings and objects, especially in light of the reference to sexual intercourse in the previous lines. As Wassen has importantly highlighted, the prohibition of eating and entering the temple, is that pure women are depicted as being a part of the sanctuary and were therefore able to eat of the sacred food when they were ritually pure.

Hempel has shown in her research on source criticism and D, that material on skin disease, flux and childbirth share a strong scriptural focus, which is closest in “character to the material on the disqualification of priests.” In relation to

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50 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 47.
51 Tarja S. Philip, Menstruation and Childbirth in the Bible: Fertility and Impurity (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 127.
52 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 54.
53 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 54.
the priestly ideology of the body in the Bible, Philip has argued that the conception of the “human body” can be most clearly seen in its connection to the cult, where priests are instructed to dress in suitable clothing and cover their nakedness “and you shall make them linen breeches to cover the flesh of their nakedness” (Ex 28:42). The issue of nakedness is also seen in the 4QD manuscripts, where the law has been extended to every member of the DSS communities, not just to the priestly cult (cf. 4Q266 10 II, 9; 4Q270 7 I, 2).

From a gendered perspective, this could be seen as covering the male’s masculinity in order to show respect before God and maintain purity of the men and, by extension, maintain the purity of the DSS communities and the wider spiritual world.

In Baumgarten’s reconstruction, 4Q266 6 II, 5-9 refers to the purification after childbirth in Leviticus 12:2-4, which is also a main focus in 4Q265 7. In contrast to 4Q265 7 and Jubilees 3, the references to parturient impurity in 4Q266 is not concerned with the reasons why there is such a difference in the impurity between newborn boys and girls, but the focus seems to be more on the mother, which may enhance how the DSS communities viewed women and their role as mothers. For Ruane, purity laws are constructed as a polarization between both sacrifice and biological reproduction and this image is made instantly obvious in relation to mothers. Such a control between purity, sacrifice and biological reproduction may be what is happening in 4Q266 6 II, 5-9, where the mother’s gender, status and biology are shown to be inter-related.

After the prohibition against impure women entering the temple, there are two key examples in 4Q266 6 II, 10-11 of non-biblical references relating to women, with line 10 referring to the previous action as a capital offense “for this is a capital crime” and line 11 refers to the need of a wet-nurse

55 Philip, Menstruation and Childbirth, 127.
56 The shamefulness attached to impurity is drawn upon by Himmelfarb who, in her discussion of impurity in 4Q512, has argued that human perfection is central to the manuscript and distinctions between pure and impure are used as the marker in 4Q512 7, 9 (for the shamefulness of impurity). See Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin,” 34.
57 Ruane, Sacrifice and Gender, 150.
“[the c]hild to a nurse (לְכַלְכִּית) who is in a state of ritual purity …].” Although Wassen has argued that the phrase מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן is not “known in any other document in the Scrolls” I have come across a few reconstructed uses, as well as a specific reference to the term. For example, in 4QJub\(^1\) (4Q221 7, 6) it is instructed that, “no man should fornicate with a woman who has a husband. For a death penalty (מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן) has been established” and in the Temple Scroll (11Q19 LXIV, 9) a man who is shown to be cursing his own people is to be “convicted of a capital crime (מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן)

Another gendered consideration is that in every other example I have found of מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן in both the DSS and in the Hebrew Bible, the subject has always been the male. For example, in Deuteronomy 21:22 “if a man has committed a sin worthy of death (מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן) and he be put to death, and you hang him on a tree” and a male is also the subject in Jeremiah 26:11 “This man is worthy of death (מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן); for he has prophesied against this city.” The reference to the capital crime in 4Q266 6 II, 10 refers to the female parturient and the consequences that she incurs if she transgresses any of the prohibitions that are outlined.\(^58\)

Drawing on the lack of previous female examples, I think the very fact that מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן has been added by the scribe to a female, especially in relation to the male-centred use of the term in other DSS and the Hebrew Bible, correlates greatly with the place of the female within the DSS communities; women are not constructed as taking passive, static roles in this composition. This possible judgement would mean that women needed to have known the rules (מַטְחֵן מַטְחֵן), and must have some responsible positions in their own right, which is also the position taken in 1QSa I, 1-4.

For Wassen, the problems associated with hiring a wet-nurse in antiquity has led her to argue that the command in 4Q266 6 II, 11 is not based on the impurity of the mother, as argued by Baumgarten, but rather relates to “hiring a wet-nurse in the case of a mother’s death.”\(^59\) I am not too convinced by Wassen’s reluctance to accept the reality of a woman nursing a baby in purity,

58 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 55.
59 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 58.
especially in relation to how \( \text{שׁנֵה} \) (to suck) is used in various other compositions. For example, in a list of prohibitions on the Sabbath, D states that “No caregiver (\( \text{אָנַּיָּה} \)) should carry a baby on the Sabbath, either going out or coming in” (CD XI, 11; parallel 4Q270 6, 16). That corroborates with the existence of wet-nurses within the wider societies that the compositions were being composed in. For example, Valerie Fildes has demonstrated in her history of wet-nursing from antiquity to the present that social, political and religious factors played an important role in determining the extent of “professional breastfeeding” in different societies throughout history.\(^60\) Fildes looks at how wet-nursing differed in ancient civilizations and how the role of the wet-nurse was affected by the status of women, local customs, religious laws and attitudes of physicians and philosophers. In surviving ancient nursing contracts made between a family and a wet-nurse, there are evident similarities to how a wet-nurse should behave and act; she is to refrain from sexual intercourse while nursing and there are several penalties to be made if she becomes pregnant. The construction of the ideal wet-nurse can be seen in a letter from Italy in the third or second century B.C.E. to a new mother “choose a proper and clean wet-nurse, a modest woman…The wet-nurse should not be temperamental or talkative or uncontrolled in her appetite for food, but orderly and temperate, practical, not a foreigner, but a Greek.”\(^61\) With corroborating evidence of wet-nurses nursing in purity in antiquity, as well as the examples from other DSS, I do think that a wet-nurse may have been needed in daily life to nurse a newborn baby in purity.

In 4Q266 6 II, 12 socio-economic concerns arise surrounding impure women and finances. If a woman cannot afford a lamb as her sacrificial impurity offering because she “cannot find the means (\( \text{נֶדֶים} \)\) then she is to get a turtle dove or pigeon, which were presumably more accessible (cf. Lev 12:8). The same phrase is used in 4Q274 2 I, 6 for an impure male who may lack the


\(^{61}\) In surviving medical texts from Ancient India there are similar characteristics desired for a wet-nurse if a mother was unable to breastfeed; she was to be selected from women of the same caste as the mother; of middle height; not greedy; her breasts should contain abundant pure milk. See Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, 19.
means for spare garments after a seminal emission. Consequently, it is made
apparent that in both of these texts socio-economic differences are being
foreshadowed in relation to purification, which reveals that not all of these laws
are relating to the elite priestly circles. Since both 4Q266 and 4Q274 have been
designated as personal and private manuscripts, this may be why there are
specific references to be found to different social situations. The importance
of the purity laws can be determined in relation to the length of the Sabbath laws,
where Wassen has demonstrated that the extant compositions relating to genital
discharges and childbirth in 4Q266 is at least one column long (4Q266 6 I, 14-6
II, 13), which is about the same length as the Sabbath Code in D (CD X, 14-
XI, 18).62 That suggests just how important the purity codes were for both men
and women behind the DSS communities.

C. Uncovering the Everyday in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities: An
Engendered and Embodied Analysis of 4Q272 and 4Q266

1. Introduction

As Lemos has recently shown, while it is difficult trying to reconstruct ancient
Jewish communities and uncovering how the purity rules would have affected
daily lives, it is a question that “cannot be side-stepped if one is to make any
attempt to reconstruct Israelite culture and society.”63 Sexuality and the body
became aspects of the private daily experiences of life that were deemed to be
personal, and by placing the unpredictable male impurities at the centre of the
everyday, rather than the regularities of female impurities, the emphasis is
changed from the female posing the daily life problems to the male. In relation
to Scott’s second conceptual feature of the everyday, searching for underlying
rules, routines and regulations to understand the micro-levels of communities,
the impurity relating to seminal emissions and masturbation (4Q272 1 II, 3;
4Q266 6 1, 14) may have been perceived at the micro-level as familiar and
mundane, but at the wider macro-level, the male’s role amongst the
communities would have changed after the sexual encounter. Consequently,
that may then have impacted upon a male member’s daily life. Scott wanted to
question how daily activities of individuals come together to create a sense of

62 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 46.
order, stability and predictability, but impurity relating to nocturnal emissions (4Q272 1 II, 4; 4Q266 6 1, 15) would interrupt a man’s daily activities; such interruptions cannot be understood as rhythmic and repetitive since the emission is unavoidable and unpredictable. Importantly, although impurity relating to all bodily impurities could be understood as private and personal for both the male and female, male impurities may have had more of a social effect since men are the regular participants in communual activities and therefore more vulnerable when impure.

For Adler, contemporary Judaism has hardly begun the process of engendering itself since it is not interacting with key questions that have begun to redirect the full impact gendered elements have on both the ancient texts and the daily experiences of the Jewish people. I am in agreement with Maria Wyke who, in her understanding of gender and antiquity, argues that “ancient bodies” continue to be the sites on which discussions of modern sexualities and genders can be discussed, confronted and assessed. I do think that placing the relevant DSS into an everyday power structure may shed light on, and consequently alter, the abstract constructions that affected both men and women. On the one hand, the constructions of female impurity by male authors may have created a sense of de-feminization amongst the women, since they may have felt secluded and unable to carry out their roles that defined them as female. On the other hand, the isolation from impurity could be viewed from a positive and embodied perspective since, as Rosemary Ruether has argued, anthropological studies have neglected to demonstrate how gender segregation based on purity and social laws creates female bonding and a shared sense of unity in a communal life. Consequently, impurity may have brought an empowering dimension to the everyday female.

2. Female Impurity, Embodiment and Empowerment

In the majority of the anthropological literature on menstruation, the focus has been on the negative association of menstruation with pollution and with the

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taboos and restrictions placed on women across different societies, cultures and time periods.\textsuperscript{67} It can no longer be taken for granted that ancient sex differences were understood on a simple binary structure, but what can be questioned and discussed is how people in the past might have experienced their differences.\textsuperscript{68} One way of questioning the negative aspects of menstruation is to consider how the regularity of female impurity might be considered as an empowering experience.

One aspect of such empowerment concerns issues of menstrual synchronization. Issues of empowerment need to be taken into consideration when trying to uncover the ways in which women lived while secluded, and it is almost certain that women would not have just sat “staring at four walls” during their menstruation. It may have been possible that the women swapped stories, problems, rested, slept uninterruptedly and laughed. Anthropological studies have neglected how gender segregation based on purity and social laws creates female bonding and a shared sense of unity within a communal life.\textsuperscript{69} As an illustration, Jennifer Ebeling has shown that there is ethnographic evidence to demonstrate synchronous menstruation within societies where women who are living together in close proximity menstruate at the same time. That eventuality may have enabled a sense of community amongst the women in the DSS communities.\textsuperscript{70}

In accordance with Scott’s third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, the consequences of breaking rules, impurity breaks the daily rituals and routines of everyday life. The segregation of impure men and women constructed in the DSS purity rules may not have intended repression, but there must have been an obvious spatial isolation and visual evidence when a man or woman was impure amongst their communities, which may have led to feelings of embarrassment.

\textsuperscript{68} Joyce, \textit{Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives}, 129.
\textsuperscript{70} Ebeling, \textit{Women’s Lives}, 70.
Using Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, searching for underlying rules and regulations in behaviour to understand the micro-levels of communities, the role of impurity may be understood as two-fold. At the wider macro-level, when pure, men and women are not socially equal since a patriarchal gender order is at play. However, at the micro-level, the feminine patriarchal hierarchy collapses, which left men more vulnerable and may reveal the potentially neutralizing aspects of impurity. The notion of seclusion is evident for both impure men and women and it is possible that the seclusion in itself became gendered, with men in one area and women in the other. It may be that seclusion amongst the DSS communities created an “upside down” hierarchy, with the pure men becoming more involved in daily activities, which would create a difference in social hierarchy and understanding. In relation to Connell’s hierarchical hegemonic structure, the resistance to the hegemonic ideal-type can promote gender justice and being impure may have created a sense of gender equality while impure. The impact of seclusion is an important question in relation to Jewish daily life, especially since menstrual seclusion is discussed in the Scrolls (11Q19 XLV; 4Q274 1; 4Q266 6). Also, the water for purification from menstrual impurity discussed in certain DSS, including 4QMiscellaneous Rules (4Q265) and the Temple Scroll (11QT), may indicate some interaction and involvement with women.71

Women have culturally been understood as embodying different habitus to men and the ways in which women’s femininities have been constructed and embodied are consequently viewed as different. Using Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations in behaviour to understand the micro-levels of communities, it is possible that impure men and women functioned equally at the micro-level of society. Consequently, at the wider macro-level the methods for viewing and tracking the female differ from the male.72 For Margrit Shildrick, the reason why women and the female sex have different relationships to embodiment in life then men, is because women’s bodies leak

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71 Arnold, The Social Role of Liturgy, 38.
and spill across the boundaries designated as secure. However, I would argue that women’s leaking is anticipated whereas men’s leaking is less controlled.

3. A Butlerian Reading: Purity as Performance
As I have previously outlined, Butler defines gender as the process of embodiment that results from the repeated performances of acts of gendering and therefore gender itself becomes a performance act. For Butler, sex does not cause gender and gender cannot be understood to reflect sex and in de-limiting any understanding of sex and gender from a purely dualistic viewpoint, Butler is trying to understand female and male from an angle that does not make one other or superior. Drawing on the works of Butler, Wyke defines the taxonomy of gender as requiring elements from performance, self-examination, spectatorship and concealment within a community for status and authority to be gained. For me, the purity laws can also be related to the gendered performance elements that Butler proposes. Purity requires an element of performance; for example, a man who has sexual relations with a menstruating woman contracts the defilement caused by her impurity (4Q266 6 II, 1). Purity also requires elements of self-examination, for example in the process of nursing a baby (4Q266 6 II, 11) and it also brings about elements of spectatorship and concealment, since the impure are to be segregated from the rest of the community (4Q266 6 II) - and hence need to be washed. As such, purity rulings reflect social and cultural concerns and as Philip has argued in relation to Levitical rulings about purity, they reflect concepts about women, men and body within a specific communal ideology.

From an embodied perspective, Maria Wyke has argued that reading for gendered embodiment in antiquity has shown a variety of attitudes towards femininity and impurity that may explain the construction of women as alienated in societies. For instance, femininity can be viewed as highly embodied and in need of control, but can also be portrayed in ancient texts as

74 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 152.
radically disembodied and rational. Taking that example further, the same is true for masculinity since men can also be embodied, but at the same time unstable and uncontrollable: as Wyke has argued, the “male body is permanently troubled.”78 I agree with Wyke’s assessment that the “male body is permanently troubled” as that was manifestly the case in relation to Jewish purity laws, where the randomness and uncontrollability of seminal emissions make the male flesh a constant source of potential pollution, to himself, his wife and his wider community. In 4QpapRit Pur B (4Q512), the most substantial of the available purification liturgies, the character of the purification liturgy is reflected in the phrase ירות בלשמן (“the shame of our flesh”) (4Q512 36-38 II, 17). The shameful aspect of flesh that is attributed in some of the DSS may give greater insight into how a male constructed himself when he was impure. Men were prone to being exposed to impurity at any given time, as seen in 4Q272 1 II, 3-4, and it is precisely this uncontrollable aspect of the male body that has so far been neglected in scholarship on purity. Placing the unpredictable male impurities at the centre of daily life, rather than the regularities of the female impurities, has demonstrated that it is the impure male who poses the threat to the structure of daily life. Butler’s reading of purity as performance enhances the regularity of the female impurities and the irregularity of the male’s impurities, which demonstrates the embodiment of impurity for men as well as women. I will now move on to discuss the construction of both the masculine and the feminine impure bodies in 4QTohorot A (4Q274 1).

D. The Constructions of the Impure Male and Female in 4QTohorot A (4Q274)

1. Brief Description of the Extant Manuscript

4QTohorot A (4Q274) is one manuscript belonging to a wider collection of manuscripts known as 4QTohorot A-C (4Q274-278). That generic title was given to the manuscripts as a whole by Baumgarten but the title, in my opinion, is misleading since the subject matter and scribe, although each dealing with

some type of purity issues, differ in relation to the specific purity rules being discussed. 79

2. An Exegetical Analysis of 4Q274 1 I, 1-8
   2.1 Delimiting the Text
   The four manuscripts belonging to 4QTohorot A-C (4Q274-278) have different foci relating to purity: 4Q274 is based on impurity and purification relating to bodily fluids; 4Q276 (4QTohorot B′) and 4Q277 (4QTohorot B′) are both concerned with the red heifer ritual and the correct methods needed for the purification; and 4Q278 (4QTohorot C), although highly fragmentary, seems to be referring to the impure female (cf. 4Q278 1 I, 3, 4). I will be focusing specifically on the first fragment of 4Q274 where both the impure male and the female are discussed.

   Baumgarten has dated the script of 4Q274 as belonging to the early Herodian period, which is estimated to come from the first-century B.C.E. 80 Tov listed 4Q274 as an example of a “small composition” as it only contains 9 lines. 81 It was not uncommon during the first-century B.C.E. up to the second-century C.E. that manuscripts of small height were used personally to enjoy poetry. Drawing on the personal nature of smaller manuscripts and the “small composite” stature of 4Q274, it is highly probable that the manuscript was used for individual use, like 4Q266, and may have been used as a personal edition of the purity laws. The personal nature of this manuscript (along with 4Q266), may also give insight into the purpose of some of the DSS, perhaps as a “check-list” text for the purification rules or to be used in a “what if?” scenario.

   2.2 Reading the Text
   The text of 4Q274 is written on relatively small strips of leather in columns

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81 Tov, Scribal Practices, 272.
c.10cm wide by c.5.5cm high. There are four fragments that remain of 4Q274 and each measures c.5.3cm in height. If the average for each column is taken as c.10cm than the manuscript, based on the available extant manuscripts, would have been around c.70cm in length. There are four columns in the first fragment on 4Q274 and I will be focusing on the first column, as the material in this column is based on male and female impurity and the transference of that purity to both men and women. The beginning and the end of the column are missing. Fragment 2 is based on the male with an impurity from semen and the sprinkling of הָדְנָה יָמִים (waters of purification). The two columns belonging to fragment 3 relate to the purity and impurity of food and the need to eat in purity (cf. 11QTXLIX 11, 3, 5, 8; 4QMMT B 57-61; 1QS VI, 16-21). The genre of 4Q274 seems to be educational and relates directly to the personal circumstances for the individual. The references to female and male impurities may suggest a more familial setting than solely a male perspective. I do not think the manuscript would have served in an elite educational role, but may have been used by a father to instruct his own family on the purity laws.

2.3 Structural Outline of the Text

I will now outline the structure of 4Q274 as a whole manuscript.

1. 4Q274 1 I, 1-3 relate to the impurity of a man with a seminal emission and the impurity brought to those who touch him. In lines 4-7 the subject changes to the impurity of a woman discharging menstrual blood and impurity of her touch. From lines 7-9 the subject is both the male and the female and the reasons are given as to why contact through touch with either semen or menstrual blood is defiling. The main reason why I am focusing on this fragment is because there seems to be a gender balance being demonstrated between men and women in their impurity.

2. 4Q274 2 I, 1-9 discusses the sprinkling of the water of purification and the rules to be followed if the seventh day sprinkling falls on the Sabbath. For Baumgarten, this fragment demonstrates that the DSS

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82 Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” 75.
communities extended their use of the "2 from being solely used for the biblical purpose of corpse impurity (cf. Num 19), to impurity from severe genital discharges (cf. 4Q514 1 I, 8).  

It appears that line 6 of this fragment has been added in by the scribe at a later date. That suggests that leniency was given to those men who were unable to immerse the garments containing their semen every time they were impure, which may reflect the personal nature of this manuscript as reflecting a social issue that was specific to this person and family life in general. Lines 7-9 go on to discuss the impurities of the objects brought into contact with the touch of the seminal emitter. 

The second column, 4Q274 2 II, 1-9, is extremely fragmentary but it seems to continue the theme of impurity and touch (4Q274 2 II, 6). The structure of the column has shown that male impurity was discussed first (in three lines) and then female impurity was discussed (also in three lines) and then the remainder of the column referred to the impurity of both men and women.

3. 4Q274 3 I and II discuss the halakhic rules surrounding the purity and impurity of food. In 4Q274 3 I, 1-9 it is stated that if juice has oozed out, then the food cannot be eaten in a pure state but if no juice has oozed out then the food can be eaten in purity (cf. 4Q284a). It is the liquid that makes the food susceptible to impurity.  

4Q274 3 II, 2-12 continues the Qumran stringency relating to purity. Whereas in biblical law it is stated that “if water is put on the seed and any part of the carcass falls on it, it is unclean for you” (Lev 11:38), for the DSS communities behind 4Q274, the laws are extended to include the crops themselves becoming susceptible to impurity. It is important that those people during their period of purification are not to touch or eat them (4Q274 3 II, 8-9). I turn now to focus on 4Q274 1 I, 1-9.

83 Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” 104.  
84 Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” 107.  
85 Harrington, Purity Texts, 58.
[Let him not] begin to cast his suspense. In a bed of sorrow shall he lie and in a seat of sighing shall he sit. Apart from all the unclean shall he sit and at a distance of twelve cubits from the purity when he speaks to him; towards the northwest of any dwelling place shall he dwell at a distance of this measure. Anyone of the unclean who touches him, shall bathe in water and wash his clothes and afterwards he may eat; for this is as said, “Unclean, unclean,” shall he call out all the days that the affliction is upon him. And a woman who has a flow of blood, during the seven days she shall not touch the man who has a discharge, nor any vessel which he touches or that he has laid upon or sat upon. And if she did touch, she shall wash her clothes and bathe and afterwards she may eat. She shall with all her effort not mingle (with others) during her seven days so as not to contaminate the camps of the sanctities of Israel; also, she is not to touch any woman with a blood flow lasting many days. And the one who is counting (seven days), whether male or female, shall not touch one who has an unclean flux or a menstruating in her
uncleanliness, unless she was purified of her [unclean]lines; for the blood of menstruation is like the flux and the ne touching it. And when [a man has] an emiss[ion] of semen his touch is defiling. A [man who tou]ches any person from among these impure ones during the seven days of [his] purify[cation shall not] eat; just as if he had been defiled by [a human] cor[pse; [and he must b]athe and wash (his clothes) afterwar[ds].

The subject of the first four lines of 4Q274 1 I, 1-4 has been much debated by scholars, including Baumgarten and Milgrom. For Baumgarten, the Levitical rulings surrounding a נַחֲשׁוֹן (one afflicted with “scale disease”), as outlined in Leviticus 13:45, has been extended here by analogy to the בּוּז since the לַחֶשׁ (4Q274 1 I, 1) are discussed and it is the בּוּז in the biblical tradition who transfers defilement to the bed upon which he sits (Lev 15:4). However, Milgrom believes the subject of lines 1-4 to be “unmistakably” the נַחֲשׁוֹן (cf. Lev. 13:45). Werrett follows Baumgarten’s reconstruction and takes 4Q274 1 I, 1-4 to be concerned with the notion of bodily discharges rather than skin diseases. I am also inclined to follow Baumgarten’s reconstruction and state that the beginning of 4Q274 1 I, 1-4 is portraying a בּוּז. Baumgarten assumes a negative before לָכָּם, which would restrict a בּוּז recitation of prayers during his period of uncleanness. That corroborates with 4Q512 and the discussion of a בּוּז who may recite blessings only after purification (cf. 4Q512 10-11). Perhaps the most convincing evidence that the beginning of the fragment refers to a בּוּז is in 4Q274 1 I, 4b which instructs a “woman who has a flow of blood” to not “touch the man who has a discharge or any vessel [t]hat he touches or that he has lain” (4Q274 1 I, 4). That strongly suggests that the בּוּז was the subject of

86 The English Translation is from Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” 101.
89 Werrett, Ritual Purity, 251.
90 Baumgarten, The Laws About Fluxes, 3.
the previous lines, especially since a woman during her menstrual period is referred to just after the בּ in the biblical tradition (Lev 15:19-24).

4Q274 1 I, 5-6 is centred upon the menstruant during her seven days of impurity and what she should do if she comes into contact with a בּ before she may eat (4Q274 1 I, 5). The menstruant is instructed to bathe if she has touched a בּ (this is not found in the Leviticus ruling), which emphasizes the DSS communities’ stringent expectations in relation to the pure meal. A menstruant begins purification at the onset of the menstrual blood and consequently if she touched a בּ the impurity would inflict a more severe type of impurity upon her. 91

Arnold states that the rules of purification, which discuss the menstruant in 4Q274 1, are built on the biblical passages and therefore they treat situations mentioned therein. 92 However, 4Q274 1 I, 6 outlines a ruling that I have not come across in any biblical or rabbinic material which is related to two females “she is not to touch בּ any woman [with a blood flow] lasting many days.” On the one hand, Kazen has argued that the menstruants’ transitional state of impurity within this fragment is lower than the other purifying discharges. 93 On the other hand, Harrington advocates that 4Q274 1 I, 6 confirmed that amongst the DSS communities, the impurity of a בּ (cf. Lev 15:25) and the impurity of a menstruant is equated with that of a בּ. 94 I ascertain that 4Q274 1 I does not equate a difference in status between the בּ and the בּ since women of either impurity are expected not to touch each other (4Q274 1 I, 7-8). It may have been the case that impure men experienced more of a sense of inequality than the women, since their participation in daily lives would have been dramatically effected.

92 Arnold, The Social Role of Liturgy, 170.
93 Kazen, “4Q274 Fragment 1 Revisited,” 70.
For Milgrom, 4Q274 1 I, 8 implies that without the seminal emission the touch of the זב in his purificatory period would not defile which is, as he comments “more lenient than the rule which can be deduced from Scripture that the זב does indeed defile during his purificatory period.” That translation is also adopted by Harrington and her explanation for the leniency is that “the DSS distinguish between one who touches the purifying person and one whom the purifying touches: the former is made impure, the latter is not.” Drawing upon M. Zabim, Kazen has argued that to the rabbis, touching and being touched were basically the same; however, M. Zabim 5.1 specifically states that a זב conveys uncleanness by contact “if a man touched a Zab or a Zab touched him...he conveys uncleanness by contact.” I do not think that the DSS communities would allow leniency to occur in relation to the זב, especially since the Levitical instruction is so explicit (Lev 15:10). Baumgarten’s reconstruction of 4Q274 1 I, 8 as referring not to the man in his purificatory period, but to another impure person touching him eliminates the unexpected leniency “And when [a man has] an emiss[ion] of semen his touch is defiling.”

4Q274 1 I, 9 insists that a man who touches any person from amongst the impure ones during his seven day purificatory period shall not eat.

E. Reading Purity and Impurity in 4Q274: Towards Embodied Social Realities
1. Towards an Embodied View of Purity and Impurity in 4Q274
Using Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday, searching for the mundane, the rules and the consequences for breaking such rules, it can be seen that in 4Q274 impurity becomes a status and gender neutralizer for men and women and also reveals the vulnerable position of the male. As Hilary Lipka has shown in her understanding of sexuality in the Hebrew Bible, every community has cultural norms that each member were instructed to abide by. Amongst these roles are instructions related to gender and sexual behaviour. Gender, sexual behaviour and status often reflected the sources of power within the specific communities and it is these values that

95 Milgrom, “4QTohora” 67.
96 Harrington, The Impurity Systems, 86.
97 Baumgarten, “274. 4QTohorot A,” 58.
become inextricably bound by purity rules amongst the DSS communities.\textsuperscript{99} Anthropologists have noted that numerous societies designated women as distant from culture, and closer to nature, because of the natural procreative functions specific to women alone including fertility, maternity and menstrual blood.\textsuperscript{100} Can this also be said of the construction of the female in 4Q274 1? From a Jewish perspective, Leonie Archer has argued that in priestly literature, hierarchical distinctions are made between male blood and female blood (cf. Ex 29:20-21 and Num 18-19).\textsuperscript{101} However, in 4Q274, an equality of impurity is being stressed in relation to both the female and the male (4Q274 1 I, 3-4). The same purification rules are applied to both men and women in an impure state. As such, there is a symbolically blurring with femininity at play, as men and women are both equally defiling.

There are also suggestions made in 4Q274 1 I, that female impurities are equated with each other (4Q274 1 I, 6). As such, the rule not only applies to the female touching other impure men, but also the consequences that are brought about if the woman touches another woman; impurity, in that case, crosses gendered boundaries and creates a sense of gender equality between men and women. These are matters of the everyday because they reflect how people might be in breach of rules and detail - a factor that Scott has conceptualised as marking the everyday. The consequence for breaking the societal rules results in a female being socially and spatially secluded. In relation to Scott’s third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, consequences for breaking the laws, being impure affected how decisions were made, how routines were created and how rules were followed and, in turn, troubled the members’ position amongst the DSS communities. There does appear to be an equated sense of impurity between men and women in 4Q274 1 on the surface, but it


\textsuperscript{100} Judith Baskin, Midrashic Women: Formations of the Feminine in Rabbinic Literature (Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 2002), 23

may have been that an impure male is the one constructed as being lower than the other purifying discharges since, socially, he is now on par with the female.

2. The Impure Male: Equal or Problematic?
In relation to Jewish studies and embodiment, gender plays a role in the discussion of discourse. The role of gender in discourse has real significance when trying to re-create the everyday realities of ancient people, especially when trying to determine how being impure affected the dynamic relationship between life and purity. In relation to control and bodily movements, bodies are not a natural entity, they are made to conform, regulate and produce within a given social structure. Butler has argued that “to be sexed” is “to be subjected to a set of social regulations.” In a way that conforms to discussions of purity, Foucault argues that bodies within societies and communities need micro-techniques of power in order to function and operate on the body in order to “transform it, divide it and train it to perform certain functions.” That can also be related to the Purity Texts, since they can be constructed as control texts amongst the DSS communities that affect the positioning and social regulations of the female and male within the communities. In 4Q274 the male and the female are to be equally positioned as impure, regardless of gender, which reinforces both the position of people amongst the communities and the micro-levels amongst the DSS communities that are affected when people do become impure. There is a sense of social collapse when a person becomes impure since they are no longer able to function as normal.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the dangers which women and their femininities are perceived as possessing are controlled through achieving a “docile” body, where women are encouraged to embody the values of

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102 Hoffman, Embodiments, 9.
103 Diprose, The Bodies of Women, 20.
104 Butler, Gender Trouble, 129.
domesticity; for example, through the restrictions and parameters placed on
the menstruating body.\textsuperscript{106} It has long been argued by biblical scholars that it is
the female body that is uncontrollable and that is why menstruation is treated
with greater purity restrictions then semen. For example, Eilberg-Schwartz
has argued that control is key to understanding the gender differences evident
in the biblical purity laws and it explains why ejaculation is considerably less
impure than menstruation since “it is far more possible for a man to control
his ejaculate than a woman her menses.”\textsuperscript{107} It is such an understanding of
gender and purity that I want to avoid, and the idea of not being determined
by a “fixed state” as an everyday person can be understood as relating to the
dynamic constructions of purity and impurity alongside daily life and also
demonstrates the vulnerable positions of impure men (cf. 4Q274 1 I).

The content of 4Q274 1 I is concerned with the impurity of semen which, on
the one hand, might embody masculinity since it provides the male contribution
to reproduction.\textsuperscript{108} On the other hand, however, semen could be viewed as
distinctly anti-masculine as on par with the loss of menstrual blood and lack of
useful function, it is “viscous fluid without border” and is caught in a position
of ambivalence between bound and unbound.\textsuperscript{109} As Grosz argues, seminal fluid
has come to be known primarily for what it creates and produces “a causal
agent and thus a thing” and this bodily function to create is carried out at a
spatial distance.\textsuperscript{110} In relation to the pure men in the wider DSS communities,
the impure man behind 4Q274 1 I is coded and ranked against the impure social
space that they embody, and as such a hierarchy is created based upon control
and order that serves to divide those who are pure and those who are impure. In
discussion of this passage, Baumgarten states that the בֹּז was “socially isolated”
even from other unclean persons and was expected to dwell outside his

\textsuperscript{110} Grosz, \textit{Volatile Bodies}, 199.
community in “lonesome misery.”¹¹¹ That hierarchy becomes a more gendered issue when the man is impure since he is put on an equal status to that of the impure woman and is symbolically feminine; the bleeding, fluxuating woman who is restricted from so many aspects of social and religious life. Consequently, the vulnerability of the impure male is revealed.

Alongside the vulnerability of the impure male, an argument can also be made for the empowering aspects impurity brought to the impure female. Stewart puts forward the promising argument that menstrual taboos should be viewed in relation to the power a woman’s pollution gives to her. Since the impure woman now has the power over her sexual partner, she has the power over whom she touches, and she has the power to alter the patriarchal social order that she is apart of.¹¹² Although 4Q274 discusses impurity in equal terms, that does not mean that the everyday reality reflected such equal status, as it may have been that a man’s status became more affected when he is impure since “pure women” were already perceived as other within the communities. Following Stewart’s argument of power and menstruation, the equality between semen and menstruation may have been an attempt to keep hierarchy at bay. The equality demonstrated in 4Q274 between semen, menstruation and longer menstrual bleeding might have actually meant that the men were most affected by the equal nature of impurity, since the men became more feminine, more vulnerable and more exposed in relation to their status. In relation to Scott’s first conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, understanding the mundane and making the familiar strange, it seems that the impure male breaks down the daily social structure when he is impure and, as such, each person embodied his or her own impurity in a specific way. It is therefore possible that while men and women were impure, a gendered equality became the focus, which was not the case when the same men and women were pure, thus exposing the empowering state of the impure female and the vulnerable state of the impure male.

For a woman, her gendered body also becomes a sexualized body and, as such, her femininity becomes acted upon by outside influences and movements that become engaged and influenced by sexual surroundings and practices.\(^\text{113}\) The same can also be said for the shamed and impure male, since his masculinised embodied movements become influenced by his surroundings, as he is no longer able to carry out certain duties that were expected from him when he was pure.

The flesh of humans cannot be reduced to a merely Foucauldian rationalist understanding of discourse and an understanding of bodily experiences is needed from an embodied perspective.\(^\text{114}\) Forms of embodiment, through the senses and the habitus, are never isolated events but are embedded in the everyday routines of people’s daily lives. Vicky Kirby, whose discussion of the flesh from a scientific post-modernistic perspective, has argued that bodies cannot be viewed simply as texts to be understood abstractly, they need to be understood as flesh, which are discussed and acted upon through language.\(^\text{115}\) The move away from the abstract in relation to the DSS allows the individual daily life of people to be understood and uncovered. For example, in 4Q274 1 I, \(1\) an impure man is instructed to “lie down on a bed of sorrow and in a seat of sighing he shall sit. He shall sit apart from all those who are unclean and at a distance.” As Kirby has argued, the bodies in a text need to be read and understood as flesh and in relation to the portrayals of the male in 4Q274, the importance of the individual and the effects such loneliness and shame would have brought upon the person needs to be recognised from an everyday perspective.

In looking at 4Q274 from an embodied and personal perspective, the fleshy and everyday experiences of the impure people can be discussed and the importance of looking beyond the elite is realised. On the one hand, at the everyday micro-level, being impure could be seen as “gender-neutral” since

\(^{113}\) Jackson and Scott, *Putting the Body’s Feet on the Ground*, 15.


both sexes are isolated, which created a sense of equality amongst the senses. On the other hand, being impure could be viewed in a communal and social setting as being more harmful to the male since in his impurity he cannot participate in the masculine roles, such as war, ranking and partaking in the pure food. Due to the unpredictable impurities of the male, the disruption to daily life was probably greater for the impure male than it was for the impure female. The emphasis of my discussion on impurity has shifted the focus from the female posing the real daily problems to the male. By placing the unpredictable male impurities at the centre of regulated impurities, rather than the regularities of the female impurities, the emphasis has shifted from the female posing the real threat to the male.

F. Summary: Towards an Embodied and Everyday Understanding of Purity
In this chapter, I have demonstrated that impure women are both more empowered in spite of being more controlled in their daily lives in comparison to impure men. A reading of purity and impurity was needed that went beyond the mere abstract constructions of elites and took into account the daily experiences of men and women, the very place where their everyday lives were conformed, idealised and regulated through religious practices and beliefs. By using theories of embodiment, alongside Scott’s three conceptual features of the everyday, I have been able to re-imagine, engender and embody ancient Jewish ideas through a modern lens that makes the people behind the Purity Texts of the DSS tangible and embodied. In re-asserting and re-directing an inter-disciplinary approach to the male and female in the selected DSS constructions of purity laws, I have offered a greater emphasis placed on how everyday Jewish men and women would have experienced impurity. I have found that women are more empowered, despite also being more regulated in their impurity, while impure men more greatly disturb the performances of daily life.

I began with an exegetical discussion of both 4Q272 1 II, 3-18 (par. 4Q266 6 I, 14-16) and 4Q266 6 II, 1-13. It is the male who creates the problem for himself and his wider community. That inter-disciplinary reading emphasised that the impure male does not fit in to the regularity of daily life since his
impurity is unpredictable and irregular. It is the females’ impurity that is
rhythmic, regular and cyclical and more commensurate with the natural pattern
of daily life. Therefore, in the wider everyday context, although males and
females are discussed equally in their impurities, it is the male who creates the
problem in daily life - both for himself and his community - through his
impurity. Taking that idea further, I moved on to an exegetical discussion of the
personal manuscript 4Q274 1 I, which, on the surface, seems to create a sense
of gender equality with regard to male and female impurities. However, on
closer inspection, it is the impure male who is vulnerably positioned. Issues of
touch, vulnerability, impurity and flesh were revealed that allowed the
abstractions to be adjusted from a more inter-disciplinary perspective.

From a gendered and embodied perspective, I looked at the possibility that
while impure, men and women were portrayed as equal, but this equality
brought about a reversal of roles - with the male being more vulnerable and
unstable, and the female being more empowered. In their everyday pure lives
that kind of reversal would not have been the case. For example, Stewart has
illustrated that women’s menstrual impurity could have been seen as
empowering to women, as it allowed them to be in control of their own
movements. This can also be applied to the women behind the DSS as they
could be defined in their impurity as powerful since, in their impure state, they
were on the same level as the impure male. I have also shown the importance of
understanding the ordinary male experience of impurity in order to determine
how such restrictions on male’s nakedness and lustful thoughts may have
impacted life.

I have attempted to establish the character of daily life for impure men and
impure women using Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the
everyday, concerning the mundane, the routine and the breaking of rules. Being
impure troubled each of these three areas; when you identify the mundane, it is
possible to identify something that is everyday and in itself impurity made the
familiar strange and troubled the social order. In relation to the second
conceptual feature, I found that purity issues affected the routines at both the
micro- and macro- levels of communal life. At the micro- and macro- level,
pure men and women were socially located in a routine way by means of a traditional understanding. However, impurity troubled that order, stability and predictability of daily life - impurity seems to have resulted in men and women becoming equal and it seems that at the macro-level, men are more vulnerable in relation to their social surroundings than women. The third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, understanding the “daily routines and rituals” of daily life and the consequences for breaking such laws, affected men and women equally, such equality can be read as the empowerment of the impure woman and the display of the vulnerability of the impure man.

It seems that in their embodied impure lives, it is actually women who hold the key to a more empowered and regulated state, whereas the impure male is subject to the unexpected, uncontrollable and problematic occurrence of impurity. However, in their everyday pure lives, men are given more social, religious and cultic power over women. Drawing on these differences between impure daily life and pure daily life, I will turn now to look at the ideological constructions of the everyday in selected texts from the DSS.
Chapter VI

Everyday Living and the Constructions of Spatial Privacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities focusing on the Temple Scroll (11QT\textsuperscript{a}) and the Rule of the Congregation (1QS\textsuperscript{a})

A. Purpose of this Chapter

1. Everyday Living and Spatial Privacy

In the previous chapter I concluded that the impure female is embodied and empowered in comparison to the impure male. This chapter will take this argument further and discuss the everyday and spatial relationship between and against impure males and impure females. I will be applying and extending Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday to understand space, purity and gender from three perspectives. Firstly, in relation to Jewish purity laws, the concept of the mundane and making the familiar strange, will help analyse the ways in which purification laws affected the daily routines of people. In the Temple Scroll (11QT\textsuperscript{a}) the ideas of an actual space and an imagined space come together and I will be using the purification rules as examples of rituals and everyday activities, which can be used as a way to examine how the everyday world is performed, produced and experienced by an individual and amongst wider communities.\textsuperscript{1} Secondly, in order to understand the routine and micro-level of the communities, from an everyday perspective I will be looking at the role of the Rule of the Congregation (1QS\textsuperscript{a}). Specifically, with reference to Scott, I will contrast the states of purity and impurity as it relates to being positioned inside, or outside, everyday community spaces. Thirdly, the purity laws can be understood as examples of “daily routines and rituals” which, when broken, affect not only the individual involved, but also the wider communities. In order to develop the ideas relating to purity and daily ritual, I will be looking at how privacy, shame and space are represented in archaeological terms.

The relations between space and place become fundamentally important when discussing issues of purity, impurity and gender. The gendering of space

\textsuperscript{1} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 7.
and place reflects the ways in which gender is constructed and represented in DSS communities.\textsuperscript{2} Drawing on issues of architecture and gender from an ancient Jewish perspective, Baker has argued that gender and space should be viewed as intertwined in the creation of Jewish identity.\textsuperscript{3} However, as Baker cautiously warns, any evidence for the presence or absence of men and women in a certain location can never be taken as conclusive and therefore such work relies heavily on unstable assumptions about “gender-space correspondences for its interpretation.”\textsuperscript{4} These cautions are particularly pertinent when trying to understand ancient communities, but I do think that space and the constructions of space amongst the DSS communities would have had a significant impact and role on gender in daily life, especially in maintaining the ideal “patriarchal gender order.” Whether as imagined or actual space, the routines, regulations and behaviours described in texts, such as the Temple Scroll, have an impact on the ideologies of the members of the communities and what it means to be impure.

Although the actual subject matter of everyday life is wide and varied (home, emotions, time and so on) there is a sense of routine commonality evident amongst the subjects in which people “do” social life, day-to-day, through performance, reproduction and challenges.\textsuperscript{5} Moran reads the everyday as a dynamic and historically evolving concept, with varying social and political issues re-defining “everydayness” in society and culture.\textsuperscript{6} Regardless of the varying changes throughout history, Moran argues that it is fundamentally important to understand that “lived, social space is inextricably linked to represented, imagined space and that both are central to an understanding of everyday life.”\textsuperscript{7} As such, the dichotomy of the actual space and the imagined space becomes blurred. In both the actual space and the imagined space, there are people, men and women, who have the capacity to become impure. I want to demonstrate that there is an important relation to be found between spaces, impurity, gender and daily life, since the matters and functions of everyday life,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Massey, \textit{Space, Place}, 186.
  \item \textsuperscript{3} Baker, \textit{Rebuilding the House of Israel}, 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Baker, \textit{Rebuilding the House of Israel}, 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} Scott, \textit{Making Sense of Everyday}, 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Moran, \textit{Reading}, 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Moran, \textit{Reading}, 19.
\end{itemize}
such as eating, emotions, time and rituals, occur within a specific space. The daily actions that people encounter, perform and reproduce represent certain aspects of social life and it is precisely these daily activities that had the potential to become tarnished if a person was morally impure.\(^8\)

In looking at the dichotomy of actual space and imagined space, it is important to not just equate men with one designated area of everyday life and women with the other. Diane Bolger, in a recent chapter on the temporal dimensions of gender in the ancient Near East, has argued that the emphasis on the dynamic aspects of gender has shown that gender in itself is a cultural construct, which varies considerably through both time and space.\(^9\) Drawing on the dynamic aspects of gender, I want to avoid simply equating binaries and spatial actions to males and females, such as public (men) and private (women), inside (women) and outside (men), since such labelling does not encapsulate the dynamics of everyday life and the interweaving that would have been felt and experienced by the ancient people. Purity and gender are both dynamic in that they are both influenced through differences in time and space, which affect both individuals and communal life.

B. Mundane Reality in the Everyday World
1. The Constructions of Familiarity and Purity in the Temple Scroll (11QT\(^5\))
It is possible to see the purity rules as a list of everyday assumptions, as models, which may have been taken for granted and possibly even abused in certain DSS communities. The purification rules can be read as mundane, daily practices and rituals. Making the mundane explicit in the everyday world, demonstrates that both an individual and community instill control and maintain physical boundaries. The idea of blurring between actual and imagined space corresponds to the idea of actual space and eschatologically imagined space in the DSS, especially in the Temple Scroll (11QT\(^5\)), where routines, regulations and behaviours are set up as ideal constructs for men and women to practice. Daily life can be also characterised in relation to rhythmic

\(^8\) Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 1.
cycles of practices and it is these rhythmic cycles and everyday routines that shapes a groups’ ideologies and everyday experiences.\textsuperscript{10} Therefore, in relation to Scott’s first conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, impurity in itself “makes the familiar strange” since it disturbs the mundane familiarity of purification. I will be using this first everyday criterion and applying it to the Temple Scroll. I will begin with the construction of purity in 11Q19 and focus particularly on the columns that deal with male and female impurities.

2. Brief Description of the Extant Manuscripts

The Temple Scroll is the largest preserved composition that was found in the Qumran caves and has been referred to as the “most important halakhic composition” known from the Second Temple period.\textsuperscript{11} It is generally accepted that the Temple Scroll was compiled no later than the last quarter of the second-century B.C.E. and is considered to describe systems that served as forerunners to the wider DSS communities’; it is, therefore, a non-sectarian composition.\textsuperscript{12} The most well preserved copy of the Temple Scroll is 11Q19 (11QTemple\textsuperscript{8}), which was found in Cave II and is about eight metres long and 65 extant columns (2-66). That copy has been written in two hands, with one scribe writing columns 1-5 at the end of the first-century B.C.E. and another scribe writing the remainder of the Scroll at the beginning of the first-century C.E. (or thereabouts).\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{10} Scott, Making Sense of Everyday, 69.
\textsuperscript{12} Arnold, The Social Role of Liturgy, 29.
\textsuperscript{13} Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 1. There are two other copies of the Temple Scroll that were found in Cave II including 11Q20 (11QTemple\textsuperscript{3}), which has been dated slightly later than 11Q19 to c.25-50 C.E. and the tentatively named 11Q21 (11QTemple\textsuperscript{5}), which only contains three small fragments so little can be said regarding its significance and redaction. Arnold, The Social Role of Liturgy, 29. There are also possibly two further fragmentary manuscript of the Temple Scroll found in Cave IV, the first being 4Q524 (4QTemple\textsuperscript{3}), which according to paleographic analysis is the oldest extant manuscripts related to the Temple Scroll dating to the early Hasmonean period (c. 150-125 B.C.E.). The second manuscript is 4Q365 (tentatively named 4QTemple\textsuperscript{5}), which may not be an actual copy of the Temple Scroll but may have been used as a source for the composition of the manuscript. For further details see Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 2.
The main purpose of the *Temple Scroll* is to envisage an idealised version of Jewish everyday life and religion that should be lived and maintained in the present, rather than a state which should be implemented in the later days.\(^\text{14}\) The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Temple Scroll* is one in which the “circumstances of real life are the opposite of those called for by the author” - which, in itself is revealing since that demonstrates that men and women were failing in their ideal type.\(^\text{15}\) In relation to the purity laws, the expected maintenance of purification in the actual spatiality of life was just not being carried out but the imagined reality of daily life was discussed. That has real impact on the ways in which everyday life was lived during Second Temple Judaism, since the imagined space is more ideal than the actual space of everyday life. Consequently, the imagined space houses all that which is desired and wanted - in relation to the hegemonic ideal male put forward by Connell, the *Temple Scroll* reveals the fantasy of what was wanted, and the inability to adhere to the purity rules left men vulnerable. In this chapter, I will be using the manuscript 11Q19 which has come to define the *Temple Scroll* in modern discussions, especially since the manuscript is the most fully preserved copy.\(^\text{16}\)

3. The Structure of the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19)
The first extant column of 11Q19 is labelled column two because at least one previous column has been lost. It contains commands based on Exodus, requiring separation from the Canaanites followed by standard Deuteronomistic warnings against forbidden religious practices.\(^\text{17}\) The rest of the manuscript can be divided into roughly four topics.\(^\text{18}\)

1. Description of the Sanctuary or Temple Precinct (columns 3-13, 30-45): The focus is the Sanctuary itself, with the first section

\(^{14}\) Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 5.
\(^{15}\) Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 5.
\(^{16}\) As James Charlesworth has cautiously argued the importance of 11Q19 in modern discussion does not necessarily mean that the early communities in the first-century C.E. regarded this particular manuscript in the same way. Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 2.
\(^{17}\) Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 3.
\(^{18}\) This layout has been adopted from Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 3.
outlining the Temple along with its inner sanctuary and the second section outlining the structures lying outside of the Temple.

2. The Festival Calendar (columns 13-29): The section describes the various festivals throughout the year and details the sacrifices that are to be offered on each of them.

3. Purity Regulations (columns 45-51): These columns discuss purity regulations for the Sanctuary and the Temple city, as well as regulations for all of the cities throughout Israel.

4. “Deuteronomic” Section (columns 51-66): The final section restates the legal portions of Deuteronomy.

The main section that I will be using in relation to sacred and everyday space will be the purity regulations in the Temple Scroll (columns XLV-L1). These columns focus on an array of topics including intermingling and the maintenance of purity laws when a man has a nocturnal emission (column XLV), separation methods for the Temple court, issues around excrement, oil and skin of clean animals (columns XLVI), pure and impure food (column XLVII), insects, birds and leprosy (column XLVIII) and impurity from corpses and death (columns XLVII-LI). The purification issues play an important role in the manuscript as they are physically at the centre of the Temple Scroll’s structure.

In relation to the overall genre of the purity section, it seems as though the purity rules go beyond a mere Levitical account of purification issues. Although the purity regulations are presented as though they are a part of everyday assumptions, carried out in lived spatiality, it is more probable that the purity rules relate to the imagined space of everyday life. That does not mean that daily life was not affected; for example, if remaining pure is to be found at the centre of daily activities and habits in the imagined space, then this could be taken as an everyday pattern considered socially acceptable by the individual and the wider communities, while remaining impure in everyday life correlates with being outside the “norm” of the everyday. Consequently, the communities’ daily lives could have become affected by the organizational patterns, behaviours and practices that were put forward in the Temple Scroll and this
could have real relevance when trying to understand how a communities’ daily life may have been constructed and lived. I will be focusing particularly on the sections in columns XLV and XLVIII that deal with issues of male and female impurities and construction of spatial inclusion (rather than focusing on the purity and impurity of animals and food).

4. Purity, Space and Gender as Mundane Constructs in 11Q19 XLV, 1-18

4.1 Delimiting the Column

11Q19 XLV, 1-18 is the first column that begins the section on the purification rules. The previous column refers to the spatial layout of the gates of Reuben and Joseph (column XLIV). Although fragmentary, the main reason I am investigating column XLV is because it contains spatial references throughout relating to impure male members who are not to enter the Sanctuary.

4.2 Reading the Column

There are 18 lines belonging to this column and although the beginning of the column is preserved, the end of the column is missing with line 18 breaking up half way through a sentence. Lines 1-4 are the most fragmentary section, but the lines can be restored according to the parallel found in 11Q20. The remainder of the column is in good order and relates to who is, and who is not, able to enter the Sanctuary. The restrictions described in lines 7-18 loosely follow that of Leviticus 15:13 and Numbers 5:2.

4.3 Structural Outline of the Column

Since column XLV is the beginning of the purity section of the Temple Scroll, there is a strong focus on halakhic situations and practices that might arise in general and tend to be very strict and consistent with those in other DSS, especially the “Laws” section in the 4QD material. Although the purification issues that are discussed are based on biblical situations, there is an obvious stringent attitude placed throughout the Temple Scroll’s attitude to purity that seems to suggest that the scribe wanted the purification issues to be taken more

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19 Schiffman with Charlesworth and Gross, “Temple Scroll,” 111.
seriously. From the available content of column XLV there are four parts, each marked with a separate vacat:

1. Lines 1-7a are the most fragmentary of the column, but seem to be continuing on from the previous column with a more purification focus. The lines seem to discuss the purification of the storehouse and the avoidance of impurity “they shall not mix” (11Q19 XLV, 4).

2. Lines 7b-10 discuss the purification requirements needed for a man who has experienced a nocturnal emission (הרקפת לילה) and the need to wash on the first and the third day.

3. Lines 11-12a outlines the purification requirements needed for a man who has sexual relations with his wife and produces semen. Although the Bible stipulates that both men and women are unclean only until the evening (cf. Lev 15:18), the sexual purification needed in column XLV relates only to the male and he is banned from the Sanctuary for three days.

4. Lines 12b-14 outline the purification law against blind men who are not to enter the Sanctuary “throughout their days” (11Q19 XLV, 13). Lines 15-17b outlines the law for every man (אישה) who is to be impure from his discharge for seven days before entering the city of the Sanctuary, which is again an extension of the biblical ruling (Lev 15:16). The remainder of line 17 refers to purification from corpse impurity and although this reference is very small (half a line), there are three columns in the wider purification section that deal solely with corpse impurity (columns XLVIII-LI). The small reference to corpse impurity in line 17 may indicate that the wider purification rules (columns XLV-LI) were supposed to be read in sections that related to a persons individual impurity problem rather than all in one sitting.

11Q19 XLV, 1-18

[ ] [ ]

1 יָמִיתוּ [כָּל] [ ]

2] אֲשֶׁר לָיְהוֹוהִים בָּ[ ]

שָׁמֵנִים}
And from [the gate…] […]

2 seventy […] and all of them […]

3 And when the [first] watch enters, [the] second shall enter to the left […]

4 the first shall go out from the right; they shall not mix, these with those, nor with the implements.

5 the watch arr[ives] at its place, then they shall camp. And this one shall enter and that one shall go out on the eighth day. And they shall purify

6 the storehouse, one after the other [from] the time the first goes out. And it shall not there be mixed. (vacat) And a man, if he has a nocturnal emission, he shall not enter into the entire Sanctuary until three days are completed. And he shall clean his garments and wash on the first day and on the third day he shall clean his garments and wash. The sun shall set, afterwards he shall enter the Sanctuary. But those having an impure discharge shall not enter my Sanctuary and make it impure. (vacat) And a man who lies with his wife having an ejaculation of semen, he shall not enter the entire city of the Sanctuary in which I shall allow my name to dwell (for) three days. (vacat)

Every blind man, they shall not enter it throughout their days, and they shall
not make impure the city in which I dwell 14 in its midst; for I, YHWH, (shall continue) dwelling in the mists of the sons of Israel forever and ever. 15 And every man who shall be purified from his discharge and counts for himself seven days for his purification, then he shall clean on the seventh 16 day his garments and wash all his flesh in living water. Afterwards, he shall enter into the city of 17 the Sanctuary. And all (made) impure by a corpse, they shall not enter it until they are purified (vacat). And every one with a skin disease, 18 or stricken with a disease they shall not enter it until they are purified. And when one is purified and presents

The first thing to consider in relation to the everyday is the relationship between architecture and the daily life. One scholar who has looked into this relationship is Jorun Økland, who has approached the Temple Scroll from two perspectives; firstly, as part of a “discourse of sacred space” and secondly, from a ritualistic perspective which reflects inter-relations between sacred space and ritual. 21 Although Økland does not refer to 11Q19 XLV specifically, her ritual approach to sacred space demonstrates the interconnection and existing relationship between architecture and purity in the wider text. 22 In the Temple Scroll, space is constructed from God’s perspective and is organized and designed through the areas of the priests. 23 The references to “entering,” “leaving,” “right” and “left,” in relation to the “purity of the storehouses” in 11Q19 XLV, 6 creates a concept of both actual and imagined space from the outset of the purification section. After the rules relating to purity of storehouses and who is, and who is not to enter, there is a vacat and the subject moves on to male impurities and it is the male who remains the predominant subject for the remainder of the column.

The topic moves to that of a man who has a nocturnal emission in 11Q19 XLV, 7. In relation to Scott’s first conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, it is significant that the mundane aspects of semen have become an object of attention since the male becomes spatially restricted by his impurity and he is not to enter the entire Sanctuary, until the three days are completed (11Q19 XLV, 8-9). Male impurity disturbs the mundane routine of daily life, since a male experiencing a nocturnal emission is not to enter the Sanctuary so as to avoid making it impure (11Q19 XLV, 10). Therefore, his spatial presence amongst the communities’ religious and social levels becomes restricted, and again we see that it is the impure male who disturbs the daily social structure.

With the second vacat, the subject changes to a man who has an emission of semen (ץחמח) after having sexual intercourse with his wife (11Q19 XLV, 11-12). Although parts of the Temple Scroll seem to be outlining an imagined spatial construction of what daily life may be like, there are elements that constitute what “real” daily life would have been like and in this daily life there is a great emphasis placed on the maintenance of sexual purity. The focus on such stringent attitudes towards sexual purity might suggest that in actual life, sex was being performed frequently in a state of impurity. The male who was made impure from nocturnal emissions was restricted from entering the entire Sanctuary (רֹאשׁ הָיָם), but the male made impure from sexual intercourse was restricted from entering the entire city of the Sanctuary for three days (11Q19 XLV, 11-12).

In relation to Scott’s first conceptual feature of the everyday, understanding mundane aspects of life, being impure affected everyday life and performance, and in the imagined spaces created in the Temple Scroll, the mundane phenomena of sexual intercourse becomes strange, since the restrictions placed on the man effected his daily rituals and place in life. As with the impure male in 4Q266 and 4Q272, it is the male’s role amongst the DSS communities that changes the most in relation to religious and social duties. If gender, self and identity affect everyday life and performance, especially in relation to sexual impurity, then the Purity Texts should also be read as dynamic and changing.
since they are able to limit the ways in which a man, or a woman, lived out
their daily lives.

The third vacat delineates the largest section relating to impurity from lines
12b-17. Lines 12b-14 refer to all blind men not being able to enter the
Sanctuary “throughout their days.” This restriction goes beyond the mere
mundane of everyday, since blindness affected the holiness of God (XLV, 14).
In relation to the third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday,
understanding the “daily routines and rituals” of daily life and the consequences
for breaking such laws, blindness may have led to feelings of guilt and shame
since the afflicted person would have stood out as a constant symbol of impure
rejection amongst the communities. The purity laws outlined in lines 15-16
relate to “every man” who is to be purified from his discharge and who needs to
count seven days for his purification (cf. Lev 15:13). Only after washing his
garments and his flesh on the seventh day can he enter into the city of the
Sanctuary. From an everyday perspective, it is only after he has made himself
more mundane and familiar - through his visual appearance and clothing - that
he is allowed back into the pure space. It is semen that makes the “familiar
strange” and troubles the wider mundane surroundings. 24 The section of purity
laws in XLV ends with the impurity restrictions placed on those who are
impure by a corpse (cf. Num 5:2).

The final vacat of XLV appears towards the end of line 17 and the subject
changes to “everyone with a skin disease” (תнологן), which seems to be a
more gender-neutral term but, unfortunately, this is where the text breaks up.

The situated experience and understandings of flesh, self and space are in a
continuous “process of flux throughout the life course” and it is this
understanding of fluidity and dynamics that can be related to the Jewish

24 Such isolation from the city is also portrayed in the next column (XLVI) where it is
instructed that there should be “three places of the city” separating those with skin disease,
those who have a discharge and men who have nocturnal emissions (11Q19 XLVI, 18). The
ordinary Israelite men and women have no access or knowledge to the central spaces of the
Temple (11Q19 XLVI), since control is given from the priests.
constructions of purity. It is seminal impurity, especially from a sexual context, that makes the “familiar strange” in 11Q19 XLV, 1-18. It is significant that the female is not mentioned, but since the column breaks up it is possible that she was originally discussed later on in the column.

5. Purity, Space and Gender as Mundane Constructs in 11Q19 XLVIII, 1-18
5.1 Delimiting the Column
The fourth column of the purification section is fragmentary, but the content seems to be an extension of the previous column and continues the discussion of impure animals. The main reason I am focusing on XLVIII is because it is clear that the priests are being addressed and the column also discusses male and female impurities at a more everyday level.

5.2 Reading the Column
Column XLVIII has 17 lines remaining and both the beginning and the end are fragmentary. The first two sentences of the column are particularly fragmentary with the second line containing no text. This may suggest that the line was intentionally left blank or it may have contained the remainder of Leviticus 11:20, which outlines the impurity of creatures.

5.3 Structural Outline of the Column
This column has four separate sections that are each marked with a vacat:

1. Lines 1-2 form the first section of the column and are very fragmentary in nature but seem to be discussing the purity and impurity of winged creatures based on Leviticus 11:20.
2. Lines 3-7a form the next section of text and continues the laws surrounding winged creatures and outlines those that are eligible to eat and those that are not.

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3. Lines 7b-10a are directed against the physical appearance of the priests, who are not to slash, cut, or tattoo themselves in accordance with biblical law (Lev 21:5).

4. Lines 11-17 discusses how the dead should be buried and outlines the need for segregated spaces across the cities, for both men and women suffering with impure discharges.

11Q19 XLVIII, 1-18

[... (and) its [kind,] and the hoop[oe ...the winged] [...]

2 [...] (vacat) [...]

3 [...] the [swarming] winged [creatures] you may eat” the locust (and) its kind, and the winged-lo[cu]st (and) its kind, and the grasshopper

4 (and) its kind, and the cricket (and) its kind. These from the swarming winged creature(s) you may eat: those walking on four (legs) which 5 have legs above its (feet) to spring on them from the ground, and to fly with its wings. Any
carcass of a winged creature or domesticated-animal you shall not eat, but (you may) sell (it) to foreigners. And every abomination you shall not eat, for you (shall be) a holy people to YHWH, your God. (vacat) (Because) you (shall be) sons to YHWH, your God, you shall not slash yourselves, and you shall not put a bald-patch between your eyes for the dead. And a cut upon yourself, you shall not allow on your flesh. And a tattoo you must not write on yourselves. For you (shall be) a holy people to YHWH, your God. (vacat) And you shall not make impure your land. (vacat) And you shall not do as the nations do: in every place they bury their dead, even in the midst of their houses they bury them. Instead, you shall separate places in the midst of your land in which you shall be burying your dead in them. Between four cities you shall apportion a place for burial in them. And in each and every city you shall make places for those stricken with a skin disease, or with an affiliation, or with scall(s), who shall not enter into your cities and make them impure. And (this rule applies) also for those with a discharge and for women who are with an impure discharge and in their childbirth, who shall not make impure (those) in their midst by their impure discharge. And the one who has a chronic skin disease or scall(s), then the priests shall declare him impure.

Using Scott’s first conceptual feature for the everyday, looking at the mundane aspects of the everyday, it is of interest that the sons of YHWH are instructed not to make themselves familiar, strange or different; they are not to slash themselves or tattoo themselves since they need to symbolically represent all that is holy and pure (11Q19 XLVIII, 8-10). In their everyday, purified social space, the men are not to make the “familiar strange,” they are not to draw attention to themselves, and they are not to contradict the norm. However, in their impurity, the everyday dynamics change and the familiarity of life does become strange. When understanding the everyday, Scott proposes looking at how mundane decisions are made, how routines are created and how rules are followed or broken, and in relation to the Temple Scroll, being impure effects each of these three areas and troubles the norm.

Lines 11-17 correspond with impure life being exposed as a break in the mundane and not the norm since, in the imagined space, there is to be a place in every city for those with a skin disease, an affliction, scalls or discharge (line 15). Referencing 11Q19 XLVIII, Kazen reinforces the point that it cannot be known to what extent any of the segregation practices were reinforced in actual societies at the end of the Second Temple period. Kazen goes on to argue that the idealist aspects of the Temple Scroll does not “exclude the possibility that that purity rules regarding the ordinary city might have represented more general practices of a larger segment of Second Temple society” which, if in power, may have been enforced and practiced. It is for these idealistic and potentially real reasons for practice that I think the Temple Scroll would have appealed to the DSS communities and allowed them to hope that, one day, purification laws would be so strigently practiced by all men and women.

In relation to Scott’s conceptual features for understanding the everyday, when the male is impure, his everyday life is affected, his mundane routines are disrupted and he is more vulnerable to breaking rules, which troubles the position of men amongst the communities. The gendering of bodies in spaces was outlined by Adrienne Rich, who has stressed the importance of developing a “politics of location” which studies how place is gendered and what kinds of bodies are permitted into set spaces, and who are not. From a gendered perspective, the spatial isolation in the Temple Scroll not only applies to men but also to women with an impure discharge or who may have been impure because of childbirth (11Q19 XLVIII, 16). This is the first time in the purity section that female impurities are discussed directly and not in the context of sexual relations with a male (11Q19 XLV, 11). Schiffman states very persuasively that it is the potential for sanctification on the one hand and for defilement on the other, which makes women the object of so much attention in

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the Temple Scroll. There does not appear to be an obvious gendered distinction between male and female impurities; if anything, more pressure is placed on the male since his sexualized impurities are extended beyond biblical instruction (11Q19 XLV, 13-14).

Semen is the main problem that is causing disruption of the everyday for the impure male and using Scott’s first conceptual feature, understanding the mundane aspects of the everyday, it has been shown that impurity as a concept in itself makes the familiar strange. Impurity disturbs the mundane aspects of daily life and affects how decisions are to be made, how routines are to be created and permits rules being broken. Obviously, being impure is an unavoidable part of everyday life, but it is not the ideal or familiar norm that is desired, since both the male and the female are both metaphorically and practically positioned in isolation when impure. It was shown that in column XLV, being an impure male is shown to have personal, sexual, social and spatial consequences where the mundane realities of worship, eating, touching and washing became unfamiliar concepts in the impure spatial reality. In relation to male’s impurity, the emission of seminal fluids seem to make the male vulnerable as he is shown to be on par with the impure female - they become equal when impure.

The constantly changing dynamics of being pure and impure had an effect on how a person lived amongst the DSS communities. In column XLVIII, the priests are instructed not to interfere with their natural appearance. That column also calls for separate places in the land, where men and women are to be physically segregated in their impurities. The isolating position of impure everyday men and women disturbs the mundane aspects of daily life since there is a physical isolation made between the mundane pure space and the strange impure space; both these spaces appear as actual lived space and appear in the imagined space.

These two columns provide a glimpse into the imagined space of the scribe, where rules about sexual emissions were intensified and where spatial isolation was increased for both men and women who were impure, as they made their familiar and mundane surroundings strange. It is not hard to see why the Temple Scroll would have fitted in with the social and eschatological settings of the DSS communities. The idea of community from a spatial dimension has demonstrated the importance of understanding areas of familiar life, where purity and gender intersected. I will turn now to look at the roles of the micro-level of communal life.

C. Purity Laws at the Routine Level amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities: The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and Gender

1. Introduction

There is a growing trend in DSS scholarship to try and understand the family dynamic and household structure of the life of the DSS communities. For example, Alexei Sivertsev has tried to uncover the everyday routines behind marriage, household structure and divorce by studying the Scrolls from a gendered and economic perspective. One way of trying to understand how the micro-levels of communities work in relation to the wider macro-level is to uncover how a community works on a gendered level. Lieber uncovers the constructions of ideal femininity, the role of education in childhood and the changing role of women in communal life for Jewish women in antiquity to explore what daily life may have entailed. Taking such ideas alongside Scott’s second feature for understanding the everyday, understanding the micro-levels amongst communities and searching for the “routine, mundane and repetitive”

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in behaviour, can inform “how the settings are socially organised.” That involves studying the possible structures behind “norms, conventions, habits and rituals” that make social behaviour appear orderly.

2. Re-creating the Micro-Levels of Communal Life
Studying the “routine, mundane and repetitive” micro-aspects of people’s everyday lives, uncovers the processes of the wider macro-levels. For example, ritual is a micro-level aspect of communal life and uncovering the mundane aspects of ritualization has been recently discussed in relation to the DSS. Jokiranta has looked at the frequency of the purification rituals and states that, “purification from semen and menstrual bleeding or contact with a corpse/impure person must have been fairly frequent occasions.” Jokiranta also states that since the term “purity” in the rule texts can be interpreted as a daily gathering with a meal and required washing (1QS VI 16, 25), there is also a reason to believe that “purification could have been a daily event in the Qumran movement.” In relation to ritual and gender, Økland has argued that in many rituals a person’s gender affected how they were segregated, which in turn affected physical space. To take such ideas further, I will be looking at the construction of ritual alongside another micro-level aspect of communal life, education, in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa).

3. Brief Description of the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa)
While there are several copies and versions of the Rule of the Community, there is probably only one copy of the Rule of the Congregation and Blessings. The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) once formed part of the same Scroll as the

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34 Scott, Making Sense, 5.
35 Scott, Making Sense, 5.
37 Jokiranta, “Ritual System in the Qumran Movement,” 156.
38 Jorunn Økland, “Men are from Mars and Women are from Venus: On the Relationship Between Religion, Gender and Space,” in Gender, Religion and Diversity. Cross Cultural Perspective (ed. Ursula King and Tina Beattie; London/New York: Continuum, 2004), 152-61, esp. 159.
39 There may be additional copies according Stephen Pfann as he has argued that there are cryptic texts of the Rule of the Congregation. See S. J. Pfann, “Cryptic Texts,” in Qumran Cave 4. XXVI (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 515-74. However, I am referring to 1QSa as the obvious text.
Rule of the Community (1QS) and the Blessings (1QSB). The Rule of the Congregation was composed in Hebrew by the sectarians before 75 B.C.E.\textsuperscript{40} I will be focusing on the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) form. The fragmentary manuscript alludes to the communities living in the “end-time” and that the congregation believed that they were already experiencing the messianic age.\textsuperscript{41}

Since the Rule of the Community (1QS) has been often been used in scholarship as outlining the “celibate” nature of the “Qumran community,” the references made to women and children in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa I, 4) are either understood in eschatological terms or as reflecting the “married Essenes.” For example, Charlesworth and Loren Stuckenbruck, in their discussion of the Rule of the Congregation in relation to other writings, have reverted back to early stereotypes and stated that the references to women and children found in the manuscript refer to the “Essene community” who were married, as discussed in D and mentioned by Josephus (War. 2. 160-61).\textsuperscript{42} As I have already argued, simply comparing two DSS communities, one being married and one being celibate, as the reasons why women and children are being mentioned, is difficult to justify. It is no longer possible simply to ignore the roles and functions of both women and children in the DSS, and the Rule of the Congregation demonstrates this viewpoint. As with D, I understand the Rule of the Congregation as working amongst the DSS with an educational role. Although it is an eschatologically oriented text it reflects the contemporary daily life of the congregation it describes, Schiffman has argued that the “legal materials contained in the Rule of the Congregation were actualized in the everyday life of the sect.”\textsuperscript{43} Therefore, the halakhic rituals outlined in the Rule of the Congregation can be taken as examples of the micro-level aspects of the communities behind the text, which in turn can give insights into the wider macro-level of how the communities are structured.

\textsuperscript{41} Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation,” 108.
\textsuperscript{42} Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation,” 109.
\textsuperscript{43} Schiffman, The Eschatological Community, 9.
4. An Exegetical Analysis of 1QSa I, 1-16

4.1 Delimiting the Text
The fragmentary manuscript of the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) only has two columns. I am focusing particularly on 1QSa I, 1-16. Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck have divided 1QSa I, 1-16 into two parts: 1QSa I, 1-5 comprises the introduction of the text as a whole and 1QSa I, 6-16 relate to the stages of life of an individual (male) member. In discussing the everyday micro-levels of a community, these two sections are significant since they set up how members were instructed to lead their lives.

4.2 Reading the Text
The beginning and end of 1QSa I, 1-16 remain intact (although the middle of the first line is missing). Scholars have demonstrated that 1QSa I, 1-5 refers to the annual Renewal of the Covenant Ceremony.\(^{44}\) There are strong parallels to be found between this passage and the covenantal ceremony in Deuteronomy 31:10-13. The content of 1QSa I, 6-16 is very much based on life stages and has strong parallels to be found with other sectarian documents (cf. 1QSa I, 9-11 with CD XV, 5-6; 1QSa I, 12-13 with CD X, 4-10 and 1QSa I, 14-18 with CD XIV, 6-9). Following Schuller and Wassen, I will propose reading this section of text as gender-inclusive.\(^{45}\)

4.3 Structural Outline of the Text
The *Rule of the Congregation* alludes to the communities’ living in the “end-time;” there is a great emphasis placed on *halakhah* and priestly instruction. The function of the text could be classed generically as educational and instructional, especially since the text possibly relates to the Renewal of the Covenant Ceremony. I will now provide a structural outline of 1QSa I, 1-16:

1. 1QSa I, 1-3 begins the Renewal of the Covenant Ceremony by calling all the “Congregation of Israel (עם ישראל)" in the end of

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days to gather as a Community. This passage is directed to those who have turned away from walking in the way of the people and have therefore kept the covenant of God.

2. 1QSa I, 4-6a includes the references to women and children (הנהahoו וטษ תד נמש) who are included amongst those who are to “read in [their] hear[ing]” the statutes of the covenant (זרוכו ובריה). 46 That reading suggests that the halakhic educational instruction is primarily for men. 47 However, Schuller has argued that since 1QSa I, 4-5 includes references to women and children then 1QSa 6-9 should be read similarly until there is a change in layout in 1QSa I, 9-10. 48 I will follow Schuller’s gender-inclusive interpretation.

3. The subject/s of 1QSa I, 6b-9 have been debated by scholars, with Schiffman and Charlesworth arguing that the subject turns solely to the discussion of the male, as the third person masculine suffixes are used for the remainder of this section (e.g. [ןוש, נשמית, יטבתלת, הלם]). 49 The case for the inclusion of both men and women in 1QSa I, 6-9 is made even clearer in 1QSa I, 11 where it is stated that a woman was able to be a witness against her husband (דקד). 1QSa I, 12-16 takes a more gender specific approach and lists the life-cycle of the male: at 20 years of age he is to join the holy Congregation (ڑוי); at 25 years of age he is to perform the service of the Congregation; and at 30 years of age he is able to decide a legal case. It is of interest that the parallel material that occurs in this section of the Rule of the Congregation is with the D material (cf. 1QSa I, 9-11 with CD

4. The fourth section of this introduction is lines 10-16. Drawing on Stegemann’s suggestion that 1QSa I, 1-5 relates the rules needed for every assembly, Wassen argues that the inclusion of both sexes is the norm for the educational instructions. 49 The case for the inclusion of both men and women in 1QSa I, 6-9 is made even clearer in 1QSa I, 11 where it is stated that a woman was able to be a witness against her husband (דקד). 1QSa I, 12-16 takes a more gender specific approach and lists the life-cycle of the male: at 20 years of age he is to join the holy Congregation (ڑוי); at 25 years of age he is to perform the service of the Congregation; and at 30 years of age he is able to decide a legal case. It is of interest that the parallel material that occurs in this section of the Rule of the Congregation is with the D material (cf. 1QSa I, 9-11 with CD

47 Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation,” 111.
49 Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 142.
And this (is) the rule for all (in) the Congregation of Israel in the end of days:

When they gather [as a Community to walk] continuously ² according to the judgement of the Sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their covenant who have turned away from walking in the way of ³ the people. These are the men of his (God’s) counsel who have kept his covenant amidst evil to atone for the land. ⁴ When they come, they shall assemble all those who enter, from children to women, and they shall read in [their] hearing ⁵ [all] the statutes of the covenant, and instruct them in all [the]ir judge[ments] lest they stray in their errors. ⁶ And this is the rule for all the hosts of the Congregation, for all born in Israel. From the time of youth ⁷ they [shall instruct] a person in the Book of Hagu, and according to age they shall enlighten the youth in the precepts [of]...
the covenant and [according to a person’s understanding] 8 [they shall] teach (him or her) their regulations. (For) ten years [the person] shall enter with the children. And at twenty year[s (of age)] he or she shall pass over into 9 those enrolled to enter into the lot with his or her fam[ily], to join the holy Congre[reation]. But he shall not [approach] 10 a woman to know her by lying with her until he is fully twe[n]ty years (of age), at which he knows [good] 11 and evil. And at that time she shall be received to bear witness of him (concerning) the judgements of the Law and to take her place at the hearing of the judgements. 12 And when he is fully…. And at twen[t]-five years (of age) he shall come to take a firm sta[n]d among the units of 13 the holy Congregation to perform the service of the Congregation. And at thirty years (of age) he shall draw near to decide a legal case 14 and ju[dgeme]nt, and to take a firm stand among the heads of the thousands of Israel, the rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fi[f]ties,15 [and the rulers of] tens, (and to be one of the) judges and officers for their tribes, in all their families, [according t]o the Sons of 16 [Aar]on, the priests, advised by all the heads of the congregation’s clans. Anyone so destined must take his pla[ce] in service publicly50

5. Beyond Private and Public Gendered Relations in 1QSa I, 1-16
In 1QSa I, 4 it is “children along with women (תינוקות ונשים)” who are called upon to read and hear the statutes. Drawing on Wassen’s and Schuller’s gender-inclusive reading of 1QSa I, 4-12, young boys and girls were to enter the educational classes (1QSa I, 6-8a), enter the assemblies up to the age of ten (1QSa I, 8b), and were present for the formal entrance when a person becomes a full adult member (1QSa I, 8-9).51 If that accurately reflects the situation, then routinely young women were a part of the education system of the congregation. Drawing on Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations in behaviour to understand the micro-levels of communities, young women were a

50 The English Translation of lines 1QSa I, 1-4-11 and 1QSa I, 12-16 is from Charlesworth in Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation (1QSa),” 108-17 and the English Translation of lines 1QSa I, 4-11 is from Wassen, Women in the Damascus, 140-41; her translation is strongly gender-inclusive.
part of the micro-level of the DSS communities and formed a cohesive shared section of the education system. For Wassen, 1QSa I, Deuteronomy 6-16 demonstrates that just like marriage, education of children is considered a “life stage” and, as such, a “natural part of life.”

Where did such exclusive education take place? Traditionally, it has been assumed that this was in the home since Baker has shown how houses in ancient Galilee proved to be the spatial foundations where relations and relationships were built-up. Larry Yarbrough uses ancient Jewish sources to reveal the relationship between parents and children in the Jewish family and he uses the Talmud to demonstrate the three obligations parents had to their children: firstly, the father should redeem his son (Ex 22:29); secondly, he should have his son circumcised; and thirdly, he should teach him the commandments. Yarbrough’s examples are predominantly father-son examples and although the responsibility and emphasis is usually placed on the father, there are biblical indications that the mother may have provided instruction (cf. Deut 6:20-21) - possibly to their daughters. However, according to 1QSa this was taking place in the assembled congregation probably beyond simple domestic settings.

The routine situation that 1QSa seems to promote was that a child was taught in the “statutes of the covenant” and in their “judgement” matters which would define them (1QSa I, 1-12). A gender-inclusive reading of that section of text allows both sexes to be a part of communal gatherings where identity would be reinforced and also allows both sexes to be a part of the wider macro-level structure of the everyday. Just as purity/impurity and masculinity/femininity were ever changing, a member’s identity and role amongst the DSS communities may also have changed. For example, a daughters’ role amongst the DSS communities may have been re-defined when she gained her menstrual period, but especially when she got married. That may reflect everyday life,

53 Baker, Rebuilding the House of Israel, 36.
55 Yarbrough, “Parents and Children,” 42.
though it is expressed as an eschatological ideal. It is clear that at least in part, the educational system in the congregation were gender-inclusive. However, from line 10 onwards the female is passively constructed and it is the male member of the congregation whose life stages are rehearsed. For example, it is the male who is instructed when to have sexual intercourse with a female. In relation to Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, education for daughters and sons can be seen as part of the micro-level amongst the DSS communities, which, in turn, reveals the larger structure of the macro-level; a structure that could have included educated men and women.

As I discussed earlier in the thesis, the discrepancy between scholars on how to translate 1QSa I, 11 seemed to be based upon the functions and roles that scholars thought a female would have had within the DSS communities. For Baumgarten and Schiffman, that a woman could have had such a strong influence on legal matters against her husband did not correspond with their view of the Jewish way of life in antiquity. For Davies and Taylor the text states clearly that a woman is able to testify against her husband (יִתְנַה) which, alongside the rulings in 1QSa I, 4-5, demonstrates that women and children are “equally susceptible to the laws” and that women too may have been subject to judgement if they departed from the rules.56 For Schuller, scholarship in the past decade has generally “accepted” the clear reading of the feminine verb (יָנַה), which has allowed the Jewish woman to become part of the law where her testimony was needed.57 I agree with Davies, Taylor and Schuller and would argue further in relation to the first conceptual feature of the everyday, looking at the mundane, that the inclusion of women as being able to bear witness against her husband in a legal capacity reveals underlying rules, routines and regularities in behaviour - women are constructed as belonging to the legal and educational realm.

Women were in a social position to be able to testify against their husbands, but only when they were married, which in Scott’s terms reveals that wives

were a part of the daily structure that brought about “order, stability and predictability.” In relation to privacy, another aspect of the construction of the everyday, it is significant that only wives were able to testify against their husband as this may imply that women were called to testify against private and personal issues, for example sexual impurity. To take this observation further, in relation to Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding everyday life, young women were a part of the micro-level of DSS communities, as seen in education, but in relation to the wider macro-level it seems that their status as legal members of the communities was only activated in cases involving the sexual practices of their husbands. In relation to Connell’s hegemonic analysis and the need for “patriarchal gender order,” it is significant that it is only when women are wives that they are permissible to take on a role in social and legal levels of communal and daily life. Due to their very limited roles, women’s ability to testify against their husbands hardly disturbs that patriarchal gender order.

Whilst women and children do seem to share the same educational space as men in 1QSa 4-11, in the next section of text (1QSa I, 12-16), the focus becomes more gendered as it is the life-cycle of the men that are discussed. That obvious separation between the male and female in the text may have contributed to the spatialization of gender within a community, as it is the men who are instructed in the micro-levels of the community; they are instructed when to have sex (1QSa I, 10), when to perform the service of the Congregation (1QSa I, 13), and when to judge (1QSa I, 15). It is here that the rules, routines and regulations of daily life are constructed for the men. Although the life-cycles of the male are the focus in 1QSa I, 12-16, in relation to the “macro-level” there may be a reason why the female life-cycle is not discussed; namely, that a young woman’s life (post-puberty) may have already been pre-planned or pre-determined by her sex/gender. The pre-determination of the female roles in the communal life may give insight into why children are named before women in the list of those who can enter and hear the statutes of

the covenant (1QSa I, 4). If women’s roles were already pre-determined then it
may also explain why female impurities are not listed amongst the afflictions
for those who are not to enter the Congregation (1QSa II, 3-10). Maurice Sacks
has observed from a Jewish feminist perspective, that it is only men’s statuses
that are named in ancient and post-Second Temple Jewish literature, such as
“son of light,” “scholar,” “rabi,” and there is no equivalent for Jewish women
since the roles they encapsulate are not given societal titles like “educator” or
“mediator.”60 In contrast, the DSS sometimes constructed women as mothers,
wives and elders, which, in turn, defined them socially within some of the DSS
communities (cf. 4Q270 7 I, 1; 4Q271 III, 13-15; 4Q159 2-4, 8-10).61 As an
illustration, in 1QSa women are constructed as mothers, educators and legal
contributors and although the later laws in 1QSa I, 11-16 become more gender
specific, young women are still intrinsically present.

In relation to archaeology and the conceptualization of gender, Margaret
Conkey and Janet Gero have outlined fundamentally important questions in
order to inquire into gender, its dynamic nature and cultural expression.62
Firstly, what are the locations and contexts within which gender is most likely
brought into play? Secondly, what are the foreseen spatial contexts in any given
ancient context of gender relations, of gender tensions and gender dynamics?
Thirdly, how is the structure of time, of scheduling, of “household cycles,” of

60 Maurice Sacks, “An Anthropological and Postmodern Critique of Jewish Feminist Theory,”
in Gender and Judaism. The Transformation of Tradition (ed. T. M. Rudavsky; New
61 In the recent volume on women in the Ancient World, Laura Lieber has argued that the roles
and statuses of women changed with the widespread influences of Hellenism, which affected
both the lived and idealised constructions of femininity. See Laura S. Lieber, “Jewish Women:
Texts and Contexts,” in A Companion to Women in the Ancient World (ed. Sharon J. Jamesand
of marriage, sex and family in the Jewish tradition, also emphasizes the influences that the
enforcement of Alexander’s empire in the fourth-century B.C.E. had on the Jewish tradition as
it brought Jews into “direct and sustained contact with Hellenism.” For Berger, Hellenistic
thought had real influence on the development of Jewish purity laws, especially in relation to
food and sex and it is during this time that various Jewish communities evolved, including the
DSS communities. Berger goes on to argue how influential the purity laws were on the
“Qumran community” and enabled them to achieve a disciplined and structured attitude to
sexuality. See Michael S. Berger, “Marriage, Sex and Family in the Jewish Tradition: A
Historical Overview,” in Marriage, Sex and Family in Judaism (ed. Michael J. Boyce and
62 Margaret W. Conkey and Janet D. Spector, “Archaeology and the Study of Gender,” in
Reader in Gender Archaeology (ed. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley; London/New
everyday life reflected in relation to space and symbolic life? These questions, when applied in an archaeological setting, allow a focus on the engendered past which has allowed scholars to focus on the people of pre-history rather than solely on the remains; the intimate and daily aspects of their lives becomes the focus, rather than the concept of society or culture. An application of these questions from a Jewish purity perspective may also allow an insight into the more intimate and micro-level aspects of peoples’ lives behind the DSS communities. Focusing on location, spatial contexts and structure of time allows for a greater understanding of purification laws from a more everyday perspective. Firstly, the location and context within which gender is most likely brought into play can be seen in 1QSa, where education is discussed in predominantly gender-inclusive language and then more gender-specific in relation to life-cycles, which are discussed from a predominantly male perspective. The obvious division in the micro-levels amongst the DSS communities for men and women symbolically represent the wider macro-level of gender differentiation. It seems as though young women are a part of the educational micro-level up to a specific point of time in their life, but it may have been the case that as young girls entered into puberty, their macro-level presence amongst the DSS communities became more family focused. However, a wife’s ability to testify against her husband is thought provoking as it gives women a legal status amongst the communities. Secondly, the spatial contexts in which gender tensions and dynamics arise are predominantly when it comes to pure and impure space. When a man becomes impure he is not to enter the Council (1QSa II, 3-10), which may then spatially place the male alongside the ordinary female. Thirdly, the structuring of time, schedule and space can be clearly seen in 1QSa I, 12-16 where the male life-cycles were thoroughly discussed and the female life-cycles are possibly presumed (in relation to sexual participation) or ignored.

The designated sex roles, gender identities and cultural values about gender may not have been stable amongst the communities but were constantly

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changing. In relation to the DSS, the dynamic aspects of gender can also be seen in the dynamics of purity and impurity where the roles and position of a person (especially the male) change when they became impure (1QSa II, 3-10). Gender and sex roles need to be understood in a wider context in relation to the history and wider culture of which they were a part. From an everyday perspective, women and children are part of the routine in everyday life and are evident in the micro-levels of daily life and, as such, play a part in the wider macro-level. In looking at certain micro-levels of communal life, namely education and life-cycles, it has been possible to re-create how the dynamics of space and gender interact. Children and women are included amongst those who gather and hear all the statutes of the covenant and share the same educational space as men.

In taking a gender-inclusive perspective of 1QSa I, 4-11, young girls were also a part of the educational sphere and were a valued part of the communal gatherings. However, the wider gendered macro-level amongst the DSS communities reveals that the male life-cycle is the main focus. The adult female life-cycle may not be discussed in the Rule of the Congregation because it was pre-determined; a young woman’s life-cycle may have been based purely on her biology. The move beyond the simplistic gendered understanding of public and private allowed the inter-relations between body, space and community to be discussed. Women are part of the micro-levels of the DSS communities, they are listeners to the laws and part of the purification rituals and routines and are able to bear witness against their husbands. Drawing on Scott’s second conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations in behaviour to understand the micro-levels of communities, involvement in the micro-aspects of communal living expands spatially and symbolically into the wider macro-level of communal life. Since women were a part of the micro-level, they may also have been working at the macro-level. I will now move on to discuss the third aspect of the everyday, the function and use of daily rituals in everyday impure life.
D. Rituals and the Consequences for Rule Breaking

1. Introduction

In this section I will be applying Scott’s third conceptual feature for understanding the everyday, the daily routines and rituals of daily life and the consequences for breaking such laws, to develop the understanding of purification rituals and archaeology. In a recent study on sex, gender and archaeology, Rosemary Joyce has demonstrated that archaeological methodologies have been used as tools to enable scholars across varied disciplines to understand sex and gender in ancient lives.⁶⁴ Scholars who do not inquire into gender processes in relation to historical and pre-historical contexts, undermine the possibility of a greater understanding of gender and sexuality as historical processes.⁶⁵ Whilst this statement is referring particularly to archaeology and the neglect of gender issues in the discipline, similar arguments could also be put forward for scholarship in the DSS, as this thesis attests.

The distinction between public and private spaces and public and private bodies have created problems in relation to how men and women have been culturally and socially constructed. The public/private dichotomy has enabled constructions, control and the suppression of gender, which has subsequently created a patriarchal hetero-normative model that has become deeply rooted in philosophy, theology, popular culture, geography and spatial understandings.⁶⁶ The distinction made by modern scholars in relation to ancient Jewish people as belonging to two domains “public” (men) and “private” (women) is one of the fundamental problems that Baker has found in her study of gender and architecture in antiquity.⁶⁷ For Baker, looking at Jewish life in early rabbinic texts of Roman Galilee, the locations of Jewish men and women and the ways they relate to each other and interacted in their daily lives has become too dualistic, since the concepts of “public” and “private” need to be questioned and complicated. I agree with Baker’s assessment that the spatialization of

⁶⁶ Duncan, “Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality,” 128.
⁶⁷ Baker, Rebulding the House of Israel, 3.
gender within communities is based upon the disciplining of the body, which is carried out with fluidity through, and occupation of, diverse spaces. The disciplining of which gendered body is also significant since it is important to distinguish whether a female’s body and the spaces in which she occupies, through her clothing, speech, purification practices, communal gestures, are regarded as different to a male’s body, as such acts contribute to the spatialization of gender within a community.\(^6\) We need to consider these things when envisaging the spaces in which such a text as the *Rule of the Congregation* might be lived.

2. Semen, Space and Secrecy

The purity laws can be understood as examples of daily routines and rituals, which, when altered, affected not only the individual but also the wider DSS communities. In relation to Scott’s third everyday conceptual feature and the consequences of breaking the daily rituals, it is of interest that being impure would have led to spatial separation and positioning, which in turn may have led to feelings of isolation and possibly shame. The feelings of shame may be equated more with the male since the beginning of puberty for boys, with the first signs of seminal emissions and masturbation, can be immediately equated with sexual pleasures and the beginnings of manhood, whereas the onset of menstruation for young girls has no equation with pleasure or signs of sexual development, just the future of her cyclical womanhood.\(^6\) Grosz goes on to see a real difference in the controllability of male flows of sperm and female flows of blood, since men are able to “solidify the flow of sperm, connecting it metonymically to a corporeal pleasure and metaphorically with a desired object,” whereas a girls menstrual period leaks uncontrollably “not in sleep, in dreams, but wherever it occurs.” It is the beginning of the girls “out of control status” which she will perpetually be in.\(^7\)

I do not think that Grosz’s summary of bodily fluids allows for the uncontrollable aspects of men’s fluids to be fairly characterised, especially

\(^6\) Baker, *Rebuildding the House of Israel*, 5.
\(^6\) Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 205.
\(^7\) Grosz, *Volatile Bodies*, 205.
since men’s seminal emissions cannot just be attributed to sleep and dreams as Grosz has made out. The impure male would have found himself in vulnerable situations, which would have affected the social and religious aspects of the wider DSS communities. Women’s leaking can be regularised and controlled to some extent, whereas men are less controlled.

I am arguing that any consideration of women must also be a consideration of men and this is not always the case with readings of gender in antiquity. For example, it has been argued by Baker that while the question of male masturbation is interesting in relation to the Tosefta and Talmud, it is “not intended” to be discussed in her book on the architectures of gender in antiquity. It is precisely that understanding that I want to challenge.\footnote{Baker, Rebuilding the House of Israel, 73.} I cannot see how a scholar, such as Baker, can say that they are looking at gender in antiquity with highly important methodological questions and reasoning, and then just completely leave out the male perspective. For me, the masculinist perspectives have to be uncovered and explored, especially in relation to Jewish purity laws, since masculinity cannot be summarised in one quick-fit definition; rather, it is both divergent and often competitive, and above all masculinity continuously changes, just like purity (cf. 4Q274 1 I).\footnote{Bernard A. Knapp, “Boys will be Boys: Masculinist Approaches to a Gendered Archaeology,” in Reader in Gender Archaeology (ed. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley. London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 365-73, esp. 367.}

There may be similar problems in the discussion of sexual pollution, particularly in relation to how privacy is contextualized. Drawing on sexual pollution in the Hebrew Bible, Eve Feinstein has argued that semen “may be regarded as unproblematic within certain human relation, such as sex between husband and wife, is considered ritually polluting in the presence of the divine.”\footnote{Eve Levavi Feinstein, Sexual Pollution in the Hebrew Bible (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010), 127.} Although I agree that the presence of the divine would have been an issue on an individual level, there may have been an element of shame and secrecy when semen, or nocturnal emissions, occurred and this individual level of secrecy may account for the toilet practices in the DSS communities.

Feinstein concludes her section on semen with the claim that the polluting

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{Baker, Rebuilding the House of Israel, 73.}
  \item \footnote{Bernard A. Knapp, “Boys will be Boys: Masculinist Approaches to a Gendered Archaeology,” in Reader in Gender Archaeology (ed. Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley. London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 365-73, esp. 367.}
  \item \footnote{Eve Levavi Feinstein, Sexual Pollution in the Hebrew Bible (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010), 127.}
\end{itemize}
nature of semen is “relative rather than absolute,” which justifies the search for a “system” in the purity codes.\(^{74}\) I cannot see how such a new claimed methodology relating to sexuality and purity can still allow semen be referred to in systematic and abstract terms, which ignores the spontaneity and fluidity of semen (and menstruation) in itself. Moreover, by linking every action back to the divine, the everyday living of the Jewish person is neglected. Stating that, “semen emissions are by far not as obstructive for priestly service or for participation in a sacrificial meal or other sacred events as the woman’s monthly period”\(^{75}\) is misleading, as sudden emissions that make the male impure are more threatening for the continuation of everyday life - since impurity disturbs the rules, routines and regulations.

3. Lived Space at Qumran: Beyond the Idea of Celibacy
Two insights from archaeologists need to be kept in mind as we reconsider the notion of celibacy. Firstly, there is the matter of the female skeletons in the main Qumran cemetery. For Kelley Hays-Gilpin and David Whitley, both pre-historical archaeologists, archaeology can be used as a highly important methodological tool to reveal hidden concepts and ideas related to the “deep history of sex and gender relations” which other disciplines simply cannot do in the same effective way.\(^{76}\) The main issue for Hays-Gilpin and Whitley is that simply designating a skeleton as male or female in archaeology does not reveal anything about the ways in which such people regarded men and women amongst the communities. In relation to the Qumran site, the presence of female skeletons does not necessarily mean that there were women present at the site on a regular basis, but it could have been the case.

Secondly, there has been some analysis of the archaeological remains of monastic communities. In relation to celibacy and community, it has been argued by archaeologists, such as Roberta Gilchrist, that celibate adults are

\(^{74}\) Feinstein, Sexual Pollution, 127.
often shown to occupy “spatial precincts” of their own.\textsuperscript{77} Such spatial isolation is often shown to result in a celibate community, whether male or female, being secluded from the outside world while also remaining incorporated in a community amongst themselves. Joyce has demonstrated how looking into the architecture and buildings of such communities allows for the ancient lives of men and women to be traced in a more detailed way, especially since “buildings were not just places where people carried out their daily lives.”\textsuperscript{78}

Therefore, the buildings and architectures belonging to the community created relationships and experiences amongst individual people. Joyce has found that seclusion from the wider community in ancient times, as well as exclusion from others, changes the “nature, frequency and intimacy of experience” amongst the people.\textsuperscript{79} That has a direct consequence on the lives of the community since “other people are models for the performance of gender,” which has a direct impact on the way relationships are understood and dynamically created.\textsuperscript{80}

The remains of the Qumran archaeological site have often been used as evidence for the supposed celibacy of the “Qumran community.” Drawing on similar archaeological arguments as Gilchrist, Michael Satlow has argued that the evidence for celibacy at Qumran is not to be found in the literary materials but in the archaeological evidence.\textsuperscript{81} Satlow takes the number of male graves excavated and the lack of “family graves” found at the Qumran site as evidence of a “Qumranite rejection of the Greco-Roman ideal of the oikos.”\textsuperscript{82} For Satlow, family units were not created in the conventional way of marriage and children, but rather through fictive familial relationships, such as communal brotherhood. This portrayal of an isolated, all-male, celibate community has led other scholars, such as Eliezer Diamond, to argue that the “celibacy of the Qumran community was as much a rejection of societal norms as it was an

\textsuperscript{78} Joyce, \textit{Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives}, 110.
\textsuperscript{79} Joyce, \textit{Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives}, 110.
\textsuperscript{80} Joyce, \textit{Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives}, 110.
\textsuperscript{82} Satlow, \textit{Jewish Marriage}, 46.
expression of personal purity.”\textsuperscript{83} However, as I have already argued alongside other DSS scholars, including Baumgarten and Schiffman, there is now a more permissible argument for abstinence of sex during specific times i.e. when women were menstruating, especially since the accepted Jewish ideal was of marrying and starting a family at a young age.\textsuperscript{84}

In a recent study on the familial language in the S material, D material, \textit{Rule of the Congregation} (1QSa) and the \textit{Hodayot} (1QH\textsuperscript{6}), Jokiranta and Wassen have demonstrated that there was no brotherhood at Qumran. In terms of communal perceptions, the familial metaphors that are used more frequently lend themselves to a patriarchal familial setting rather than a brotherly all-male community.\textsuperscript{85} This conclusion goes directly against Satlow’s fictive familial relations amongst the “Qumran community,” which alters the perception of an all-male celibate community living behind the DSS communities. As Marie Sorensen has strongly argued “objects may not simply reflect gender categories, but may themselves have been drawn into the negotiation of difference.”\textsuperscript{86} Furthermore, as Werrett states, the DSS do not “require their readers to embrace the concept of celibacy,” especially since there were so many rulings relating to the proper conduct of sexual practice, sexual emissions and sexual misdeeds.\textsuperscript{87} Rather than celibacy, if those who occupied the site of Qumran were predominantly male, than it is probably better to think of them as sexually abstinent for some particular reason.

4. Privacy and the Toilet at Qumran

Gender ideology relates to a set of practices that encourage and maintain relations between men and women, on both sexual and personal levels, as well

\textsuperscript{83} Eliezer Diamond, “‘And Jacob Remained Alone:’ The Jewish Struggle with Celibacy,” in \textit{Celibacy and Religious Traditions} (ed. Carl Olson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 41-64, esp. 46.


\textsuperscript{86} Marie Sorensen, “The Construction of Gender Through Appearance,” in \textit{The Archaeology of Gender} (ed. Dale Walde and Noreen Willows; Calgary: The University of Calgary, 1991), 400-20, esp. 420.

\textsuperscript{87} Werrett, \textit{Ritual Purity}, 283.
as producing gender through masculinity and/or femininity.\textsuperscript{88} As Baker has argued from a Jewish perspective, gender ideology is constantly re-negotiated and re-created through materialistic objects and habits, which shows that ideology in itself is an “everyday matter intimately bound up with mundane practice.”\textsuperscript{89} In comparison with Scott’s everyday terminology, impurity disrupted the mundane practice and troubled the stability and function of daily life. Within a communal setting, such an understanding of gender ideology in a specific group may create certain borders and parallels between genders that may have enhanced a sense of hierarchy between the genders. Consequently, gender can never be understood or defined as static, but interacts and converses with the surrounding structures and models.\textsuperscript{90} From a Jewish perspective, the purity laws may be seen within a community to reverse hierarchical distinctions and maintain everyday order within a group’s ideology in order to create system and maintain routine; in this way, the purity laws could be read as literal “texts of the everyday world” that maintained the functioning of the communities ideals and values.

On the one hand, if the purity laws are taken as examples of daily rituals, then it is possible that gender differences were felt in relation to the purity laws amongst the people living them. On the other hand, the purity laws may have created a sense of equality amongst the DSS communities, since the sexes were almost distinguished on one purity level. As well as the emotional elements felt amongst the DSS communities, the external world would also have played a fundamental part in the creation of spatiality and it is intriguing to question how people in the past experienced life through their engagement with the material worlds that they shared with others.\textsuperscript{91} How did the everyday material surroundings in the Qumran site and wider Jewish communities contribute to the gendered presence and understanding of the people, if at all? Such questions are important when trying to uncover the ways in which people lived and although the questions are difficult to answer definitively, it does not mean that

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{89} Baker, Rebuilding the House of Israel, 28.

\textsuperscript{90} Knapp, “Boys will be Boys,” 369.

\textsuperscript{91} Joyce, Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives, 129.
\end{footnotesize}
such questions should not be asked. One way to try and uncover the answers to such questions is to look at the methodological theories related to archaeology.

The habit of interpreting spaces or objects as being related to the gender of the user has a contentious history in archaeology. One of the most personal ways to try and understand the construction of private space in the Qumran site is the toilet that was excavated by de Vaux. Josephus indicates that defecating for the Essenes required “selecting more deserted places” where they would go with a small axe and dig (War. 2. 148-9). The spatial separation allowed for the Essenes to defecate “without offending the rays of God” (War. 2. 148-9). As Taylor has recently argued, the need to defecate in isolation shows particular care in obeying Deuteronomy 23:13-15, where those who are at war are instructed to go outside the camp to an allocated place and dig a hole with a stick. The description that Josephus makes of the Essenes details the care that they take to leave the many towns in which Josephus describes them living and to go to special latrines outside of their sacred/personal space (War. 2. 12). For Taylor, the cloaks that the Essenes are described to have been wearing while defecating is a “curious situation” since the Essenes are not covering themselves for modesty, but wrap themselves in cloaks to “protect themselves from God’s gaze alone.”

The toilet is believed to have gone out of use after 31 B.C.E., and for Magness, the presence of a toilet at Qumran raises the question of the DSS communities’ rules and regulations regarding purity. I agree with Magness’ social concerns surrounding purity issues, but would add that the toilet also raises other social, and possibly even gendered, issues. For example, it may have been possible that women used the only available toilet or the toilet may have been used only by the “elite” members and, as such, not used by the everyday people. The DSS communities, unlike other Jews and non-Jews from their time, considered defecation as polluting, and consequently impure, and I

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93 Taylor, The Essenes, 81.
94 Taylor, The Essenes, 81.
95 Magness, The Archaeology of Qumran, 106.
think this suggests issues relating to privacy and shame that have up until now not been discussed. There are several key passages in the Scrolls that discuss the impurity of defecation and what to do when a person needed to go to the toilet. For example, in 11Q19 XLVI, 13-16 it is stated:

עשתה להם מוֹקֵם דָּר חֵר כֹּל הָעֵד אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל
לַחֹֽוֹת לֵאָסְפָה מַעֲשָׂר לְעִד בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ בְּחַלֹֽוֹתָה
אֶסֶר חֹזֵיה נֶעָמָה אוֹדָת אֶל תְּפִלָּתוֹת לְאוֹדָה חַיָּה

13 You are to build them a precinct for latrines outside the city. They shall go out there,
14 on the northwest of the city: roofed outhouses with pits inside,
15 into which the excrement will descend so as not to be visible.

There is almost a shameful element attached to the impurity from defecation in the Temple Scroll, especially since the excrement is not to be visible to others, which seems to suggest that viewing the excrement in the wrong social space would almost cause a physical reaction or aversion. The Temple Scroll also insists that the toilets should be “roofed houses with pits” suggesting elements of privacy and modesty are needed. As Werrett has argued, the rulings in both the Temple Scroll and the War Scroll regarding defecation (11Q19 XLVI, 13-16a; 1Q33 7. 6-7) are based on Deuteronomy 23:12-14 “Further, there shall be an area for you outside the camp, where you may relieve yourself. With your gear you shall have a spike, and when you have squatted you shall dig a hole with it and cover up your excrement.”

96 For Werrett, the main reason why men are instructed to defecate outside of the camp and cover it up is so as not to offend God (Deut 23:25).

Although Werrett is correct in his observation that defecation in the context of Deuteronomy is offensive to God, I wonder why something so everyday and human is offensive in the wrong place? I think a potential answer may lie in Kazen’s recent work on the role of disgust in the Jewish purification laws.

96 Werrett, Ritual Purity, 112.
Kazen draws largely on the emotional and physical reaction to disgust outlined in the psychological findings of Paul Rozin. For Rozin there are nine different areas of everyday life that can produce triggers of disgust “food, body products, animals, sexual behaviours, death or corpses, violations of the exterior envelope of the body, poor hygiene, interpersonal contamination and poor hygiene.” Drawing on the three bodily impurities in the priestly legislation, skin disease, genital discharges and corpse impurity, Kazen traces the emotion of disgust felt against each of these categories and states that the aversions held against such impure people were based primarily on “feelings of disgust towards their bodily conditions.” As seen in Deuteronomy 23:15, which encourages men to cover up their excrement, Kazen looks at the idea of God feeling disgust at “ordinary human defecation” and argues that not only was human disgust prevalent amongst the social context of the texts, but also “divine disgust” outlined in God’s aversion of everyday bodily occurrences.

Although I agree with elements of Kazens’ discussion on disgust, purity and impurity, I think his argument can be pushed further with the roles of gender and disgust since he does not discuss the different aversions that may have been felt between semen and menstrual blood. Defecation and sexual or menstrual emissions are (largely) part of everyday life and serve as constant reminders that humans are humans and are not, for example, angelic beings who are closest to God. Disgust plays a significant role in sexual relations as the very bodily fluids that people encounter in sex, like semen and menstrual blood, are in themselves found disgusting and seen as contagion. The DSS communities believed that defecating was a polluting activity and consequently they washed

98 Paul Rozin, Jonathan Haidt and Clark R. McCauley, “Disgust,” in *Handbook of Emotions Second Edition* (ed. Michael Lewish and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones; New York/London: The Guilford Press, 2000), 637-53, esp. 637. One of the major flaws in this study is that all the data is gathered from participants situated in North America, which calls in to question the global capacity and usefulness of this data in terms of generalization.
99 Kazen, *Emotions in Biblical Law*, 83. For example, Kazen looks at the change in meaning and focus of the term niddah, which refers primarily to menstrual bleeding but became used as a general term for impurity and immorality (cf. Ez. 9.11; Lam. 1:8, 17; Zech. 13.1) and, as such, menstrual language became intertwined with emotional taunt against others rather than being solely related to the female body.
100 Kazen, *Emotions in Biblical Law*, 89.
themselves after defecation and required the placement of the toilet at certain distances from their ideal Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{102}

In 1QM VII, 6-7 there is a relation made between defecation, space and nakedness “There shall be a space between all their camps and the latrine of about two thousand cubits and no shameful nakedness shall be seen in the environs of all their camps” which seems to suggest that secrecy and embarrassment are attached to both nakedness and excrement. In contrast to the public Roman bathhouses, where toilets were installed side-by-side, the installation from Qumran consisted of a single terracotta pipe that was set into a mud-lined pit, which alongside the readings from the DSS, corresponds with a private, modest and secret space for defecation.\textsuperscript{103} The idea of a modest and private space correlates with the DSS communities’ psychology of a “feeling” of awareness in relation to defecation and the want, and need, to do this act in private. Tikva Frymer-Kensky’s work on sex and the Bible is significant at this point as she argues that sexuality is impure in biblical texts because it is an incompatible notion with God who “does not have sex.”\textsuperscript{104} The same notion of God not having sex could also be applied to the idea of defecation, since God is not described as defecating and it is therefore an “alien” concept in His divine world. However, the everyday reality is that defecation does happen and consequently the DSS communities believed they had to come up with a way of dealing with it. What is of interest here though is that defecation amongst other members of the DSS communities was also an issue, and it is these ideas of secrecy and embarrassment that may have crossed to other areas of everyday life, particularly in relation to purity issues.

As Scott has argued, embarrassment is one of the most common emotional states that can be experienced in everyday life and it may have been that there was an element of shame and embarrassment associated with defecation that went beyond purity matters and concerns.\textsuperscript{105} It seems that in certain

\textsuperscript{102} Magness, \textit{The Archaeology of Qumran}, 110.
\textsuperscript{103} Magness, \textit{The Archaeology of Qumran}, 107.
\textsuperscript{105} Scott, \textit{Making Sense of Everyday}, 39.
manuscripts the covering of excrement creates a construction of privacy that moves beyond a simple need to hide defection from divine view. There seems to be knowledge of embarrassment amongst the DSS communities.

The third everyday criterion, looking at daily rituals and routines, has demonstrated the unregulated flow of semen and the isolating position brought about when this experience happens to a male. That has demonstrated again the vulnerable position of the impure male. In uncovering the importance of purity as a daily routine and the consequences if such laws are broken, I have been able to look at certain Purity Texts from a more everyday perspective that alters the elitist views and expands an understanding of daily life.

E. Summary: Everyday Living and Privacy at the Mundane, Routine and Rule Breaking Level

In order to try and understand everyday living and the construction of spatial privacy amongst the DSS communities, I adopted Scott’s three conceptual features for understanding the everyday - understanding mundane aspects of life, searching for underlying rules, routines and regulations to understand the micro-levels of DSS communities and the consequences for breaking everyday rules - to try and re-create daily situations. This chapter has illustrated that that there is a fundamental dynamic between spaces in DSS communities and the everyday life. It is precisely amongst the everyday spaces that people and objects become impure and consequently threaten the gendered and imagined space to which they belong.

All three of Scott’s conceptual features for understanding everyday life were affected by the presence of impurity and it seems that impure men affected daily life in a more obvious way. I have uncovered insights into the ways in which everyday habits and performances affected everyday life. Firstly, in looking at the mundane aspects of daily life in the Temple Scroll, I demonstrated that impurity in itself makes the familiar strange and challenges the hierarchical norm amongst communities’, this is especially the case with seminal impurity. The imagined spaces in the Temple Scroll may have affected the reality of spaces. Secondly, studying the micro-levels of communal life
through education and life-cycles in the *Rule of the Congregation* revealed that boys and girls do share the same education space up to a point, but the *halakhic* education becomes more gendered in relation to male life-cycles (1QSa I, 12-16) when the focus becomes predominantly male. Thirdly, in studying the daily routines and rituals of daily life through archaeological insights it was revealed that men and women were often positioned in isolation amongst the DSS communities. That created both physical and spatial isolation for the impure ordinary people and would have affected the daily routines and rituals of everyday life. Once again, the spontaneity of the male impurity is demonstrated to be the most problematic in terms of the breaking down of daily routine and ritual.
Chapter VII
Conclusion: Beyond an Abstract Reading of Purity

This present study has focused on the importance of bringing the ordinary male and female impurities into the fold of discussion surrounding Jewish purity issues in the DSS. This has demonstrated the dynamic and vulnerable position that impure everyday men held in daily life. I have also enhanced the understanding of everyday impure women from an embodied and empowered perspective. Consequently, in allowing purity to be viewed in more fluid and dynamic terms, as opposed to systemic and rigid terms, I have been able to uncover dynamic facets of purity and impurity that are often overlooked in scholarship and developed new insights and understandings for the everyday members of the DSS communities. There are four aims that have been demonstrated throughout this thesis.

Firstly, using hegemonic masculinity as a framework, I have been able to show that masculinity is used as a social construct in 1QS and 1QM, which revealed the evolving vulnerability of male impurities and the social dimensions that were at play between masculinity and purity/impurity. In the Rule of the Community, I looked at how male masculine attributes are described alongside pure attributes and the instability of the impure male correlates with dynamic aspects of impurity. It was also significant that in discussions of oppositions in the Rule of the Community, males were placed against males rather than males being placed against women, which is significant since the absence of women in the manuscript may be a positive. Taking hegemonic masculine methodological insights into the War Scroll also demonstrated that there was a correspondence to be found between being impure and being viewed as less masculine amongst the communities, especially in relation to ranking and the military - being impure was shown to trouble the hegemonic ideal. As such, any serious debate on gender within a social setting must engage with both gendered and masculinist perspectives, re-conceptualize the categories within which we construct the past and define new and alternative
models of scholarly discussions and interpretations.\(^1\) Men and their masculine positions can fluctuate and anything less than pure left the male vulnerable.

Secondly, I used theories relating to embodiment to reveal that in comparison to impure men, impure women are presented as being empowered and more controlled in their daily lives. As such, in 4Q266, 4Q272 and 4Q274, where there is an obvious emphasis on purification rules, there seems to have been a gender-balance evident for both men and women at the literary level, but at the social level it is the male who creates the most problems in everyday life. I uncovered the male and female perspective and wanted to view purity and impurity in a way that shows the vulnerable and uncontrollable aspects of the male, as well as the empowering aspects of the impure female. The masculine area is often overlooked, or taken for granted, since the uncontrollable aspects of the female menstrual cycle are often viewed as cyclical and repetitive and therefore regulated. However, I have demonstrated through exegetical and methodological insights into 4Q266, 4Q272 and 4Q274 that the male body can be taken as just as regulated by bodily functions, if not more so, since semen and nocturnal emissions posed more problems to the social life. Alongside Scott’s three conceptual features of the everyday, I found that impurity affected how decisions were made and created. The male body should not be taken as norm when it comes to the application of the purification laws since the male can also be exposed to vulnerable and embarrassing situations.

Thirdly, I moved on to look at the everyday and spatial privacy constructed behind selected DSS and used archaeological evidence to reveal the changing dynamics between impure men and women. Developing Scott’s three conceptual features of the everyday it became apparent that being impure affected each of these three criteria. I used Scott’s conceptual features for understanding the everyday to focus on three specific areas: firstly, the mundane reality of daily life and the ways in which the everyday made the familiar strange; secondly, the understanding of the micro-levels amongst the communities; and thirdly, the understanding of daily rituals and the

\(^1\) Knapp, “Boys will be Boys,” 371
consequences brought about if such rules are broken. In looking at everyday spaces and situations behind the DSS communities of the Temple Scroll and the Rule of the Congregation, the importance of body, life-cycles and space were discussed in an idealised setting, which I argued may also have affected daily life. The importance of gender and archaeology were also discussed, especially the function and possible use of the excavated toilet. It seems that in certain texts the notions of “embarrassment” go beyond purely divine sight, since the toilet was used as a way of being enclosed amongst other members of the communities, which may have affected the role of purity in certain social cases. The notions of privacy, disgust and shame were approached in a way that uncovered the vulnerable male position within a community.

Fourthly, underlying each of these points is the premise that gender and purity in the DSS communities are performative, dynamic and constantly changing. Gender itself cannot be understood in terms of male and female actions and I do not think purity and impurity can be understood in such binary terms either, especially since purification of the body is such a dynamic field. Gender is now understood as a performance, as dynamic and as changing. Gender relations have no fixed essence since they vary both within and over time. 2 For me, the purification laws are just as dynamic, since there can be no fixed state attributed to them either. Gender is not only a dynamic, social and cultural process, since gender beliefs, understandings and roles also provide the performance tools for the enactment of daily life. 3

Ultimately, the present study is intended to do more than simply re-affirm the importance of purity in the DSS. Using methodological insights and theoretical standpoints from Gender Studies has re-integrated ordinary male and female purity issues into discussion. I have been able to alter the elitist view and focus of scholarship to try and uncover how, and in what ways, the purity laws affected ordinary everyday people. That revealed the vulnerable positions impure men may have found themselves in and the empowering position of impure women. I have focused on a more complex social Sitz im Leben in

which various gendered DSS communities read the manuscripts over generations. Moreover, this work re-emphasises the value in understanding both the male and the female approach to purity issues in the DSS, which outlines the need to broaden scholarly understanding of sectarian literature to uncover the dynamic and everyday nature of the manuscripts for the everyday women and men living amongst the DSS communities.
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