

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER & ILIFF SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

**Jewish Ethnic Migrations and Symbolic Boundaries
in the Damascus Document**

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BACKGROUNDS TO THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In 1947, two Bedouin shepherds fortuitously happened upon seven scrolls carefully sealed in large oblong shaped pottery in the Judean Desert at Qumran. The cave where they were deposited was later classified by archaeologists as Cave 1. Since this find, we now have discoveries of similar scrolls from ten more caves. Others were found at a Cairo Karaite synagogue *genizah* in the late 19th century. These discoveries have catalyzed a great flurry of publications and conference proceedings over the last 70 years. At the heart of what is now called Qumran Studies is the quest for reconstructing the ideologies, motivations, and imaginations of this Judean Desert community, the *Yahad*¹ based on texts and artifacts they left behind. Where did this community come from and was it culturally homogenous? What factors pushed migration into the desert? What were the idyllic hopes of settlement; and what boundaries did the *Yahad* draw to secure such hopes? The current view among scholars is that Dead Seas Scrolls Library is the principle source for our knowledge of Qumran Jews.² The library, written ca. 250 BCE to 68 CE, finds itself in overlapping company not only with Egyptian history at its earlier date, but with the historical setting of the New Testament Acts of the Apostles at its later date. For the current project on Qumran Jews in the Damascus Document, I limit my exploratory concerns to other texts that coincide with the *terminus post quem* (250 BCE) and the *terminus ante quem* (68 CE) for the writing and deposition of scrolls found in the 11 caves. Further, I will incorporate commentary on interrelated history pertaining to the Greco-Egyptian Period (304-30 BCE).³

Ben Sira is a significant Deutero-canonical text found in the Greek Septuagint, Orthodox and Catholic Old Testament, but not in the Masoretic texts of the Hebrew Bible. It is remarkably included in the Qumran library. For scholars of Hellenistic Judaism, it offers a sense of the

psychological impact of the 1st century BCE world on the Jewish sense of community, legacy and stability. Ben Sira narrates the Davidic Dynasty as an idyllic age, locating Israel in one geo-political space, unified in one jurisprudence, with one regional cultic practice. Yet, the utopian nostalgia of Ben Sira is betrayed by the choice of what Ben Sira includes and what is left out of the narration about the succeeding Solomonic Dynasty. Noting Ellen Bickerman's study, Tessa Rajak says that the Greco-Egyptian text of Ben Sira is combining Ancient Near East patterns with Greek thought to concretize a self-definition against a period when Jews were anything but stable. Jewish politics, culture and religion during this period were in flux. The historical climate, under the Oniad kingly priesthood rule, shows shifting roles of a priesthood to include political leadership modeled after an over-realized Davidic exemplar. I will show in chapter 3 where similar literary themes occur in the Damascus Document, which dates contemporaneous to Ben Sira.⁴

For New Testament scholars, the Qumran literature presents certain points of interest from which to make comparisons. Common between the Qumran and Nazorean texts is their interest in the conversion of ancestral worshippers ('pagans') despite certain markers of exclusivity or expressed preference for members who already evince some prior affinity to their group identity (cf. 1QS 5:6; Rom 11:11-12). Further, the Nazoreans in Acts and the *Yahad* in the Qumran literature both migrate from Jerusalem to form communities motivated by their group's constructed apocalyptic aspirations. Marking off contested distances between themselves as insiders, obvious outsiders, and those who proximately share their ideological hope for a perfect future, both have delineated rules for catechesis and membership. Both locate their roots in Israel's history. Both are Jewish sects.

Outside of these similarities and considering obvious differences like language and dating, the DSS presents itself as considerably unique. Whereas the historicity of Acts is argued among some scholars as a refined literary work of fiction, commentary on Acts often details themes suggestive of a greater unity in its plot than is observed in the rather desultory form of the DSS. The

preoccupation of the Scrolls compilers is indisputably for precision of definitions and descriptions surrounding a counter-cultural discourse that prioritize a specific historical sectarian purity over any concern for narrative eloquence.⁵ Scholars can only make conjecture about the geographic origin(s), permanent residence and demographics of the Qumran community. Yet, the work of Alison Schofield, John Collins and others now challenges the notion of one isolated settlement in the desert. Despite any comparative visages to the presence of Nazorean enclaves across the Greco-Roman world, their membership rules are quite different. To start, proselytes in the Damascus Documents and even convert in the Community Rule mean something different for the *Yahad* than they do in Acts of the Apostles.⁶ More will be said of this in chapter

Like the Acts of the Apostles, terms like “God-fearer(s)” seems to populate the Dead Sea Scrolls with the Hebrew *yareh El(ohim)* or *yareh ha-shem*. While Acts scholars interpret “God-fearers” as gentile converts, God-fearers in DSS is a term of belonging, assigned exclusively to Qumran Jews and not pagans (or whatever is meant by the term “gentiles”). The *Yahad* have responded to a deep apocalyptic call “to be segregated from within the dwelling of the men of sin to walk to the desert in order to open there His path” (1QS 8.1-16a) via a self-imposed exile. They follow an exclusive ascetic commitment to “walk in perfection” (1QS 9:3-10:8a) in “an age of Belial” (1QS 1:1-2:17) by drawing strong symbolic boundaries around those considered insiders. In so doing, the *Yahad* appear to privilege itself as a distinct class of Jews devoted to ritual purity, and separate from the broader Hellenizing Roman world and other Jewish sects.

THE PROBLEM AND PROJECT

This project emerges from a need for a historical, literary antecedent to New Testament. I began my doctoral work with the intention of writing on diaspora Judaism in the NT Hebrews. With the intention of establishing a counter thesis to the commonly held prediction that remaining in Nazorean Judaism was necessarily better than returning to ancestral worship, I sought to propose a

claim about religious migration. But after engaging Hebrews scholars on the general matter of “migration”, my project seemed threatened by assumption about a physical and historical eschatology within Hebrews that was rooted specific faith traditions and upheld by SBL committee chairpersons. As my work moved toward Acts scholarship, I noted similar assumptions that answered questions about migration while maintaining a dominance of traditionized binary ethnic identities, despite recent scholarship that observes greater ethnic diversity. Of note, biblical criticism assumes a rational, evidence-based analysis of the textual, grammatical, and lexicographical elements of the text. But one of the chronic corruptions I continued to see was that the same scholars who create the grammatical and lexical tools of analysis are the ones whose views become the *communis opinio* (or at least the loudest voiced opinion).

My intuition directed me to an approach that could open dialogue related to ideological and religious movements and how they define themselves when migration is a central event in their history. I turned to the Dead Sea Scroll for such a necessary antecedent to the New Testament studies for three reasons. First, both the DSS and NT texts, accompanied by an obsessive writing culture that sought to concretize novel sectarian movements, and likewise, be taken seriously. Second, both texts evince an obsession with precision in articulating their community’s myth of origins and jurisprudence. Third, a sense of fixity seems elusive in each community despite recursive formulation of rules for membership, belonging, daily life and expulsion.

The Dead Sea Scrolls is a relatively recent field of study in relation to Hebrew Bible and Early Christian Origins studies. Its scribal history does not fall neatly within the cohorts of the Hebrew Bible or New Testament authors. The DSS chronologically overlaps with Deuterocanonical history. Where it consistently finds itself is with the translation history of the Septuagint. Hebrew Bible scholars point forward to the implications of their work for DSS studies. Early Christian scholars reach back to the DSS to lasso theoretical and theological questions and

connections between members of Qumran sectarians and New Testament figures like Jesus, John the Baptist and the Apostle Paul. While the notion of “bible”, “scripture” and “canon” are favorite points of discourse for writers on both ends of the Common Bible, this project, will assume such semantic considerations have already been argued.⁷

But before adopting this recently discovered corpus of literature to do the heavy lifting work of proving this or that critical concern in Hebrew Bible or New Testament studies, it is important to examine the ideological or theological cares of the DSS writers. Do the terms in DSS mean the same as what they mean in the Hebrew Bible or in the New Testament, especially as it relates to articulations of identity and movements of Jews? Is the ideological landscape the same, similar or even stable between each manuscript that comprises the DSS?

The need for a useful antecedent text that gets bogged down less by denominational biases motivates this project to select a non-biblical text that operates in similar ways as biblical texts as a tool for analysis. When examining documents with communities of mobile Jews or migrant Jews, the labels of “diaspora” and “exile” are traditionally used. I will use the term “migration” consistently in attempt to further relieve this study of biases related to trauma or any psychological intensity factors indexed around movement of communities. My hope is to liberate movement from trauma and reimagine its limitless opportunities. Therefore, a “paradigm” (not a theology or even a philosophy) that is not emotionally consumed can be incubated and for later use across similar texts representative of similar communities in the Second Temple Mediterranean to expand possible interpretations of NT texts in areas where it has stagnated.

I will further narrow the focus of this Qumran study to the Damascus Document. Discovered 1896 in a genizah⁸ in Cairo, the two fragments were later published in 1910 by Solomon Schechter of Cambridge University as *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Later in the 1950s, fragmentary remains were found in Caves 4, 5, and 6 in Qumran. What makes them a fascinating text for study is

that they narrate a story of origins out of Damascus, whether mythical or actual, that begin 390 years after the Babylonian Captivity, making it one of the oldest manuscripts in the DSS library. More importantly for this study, the text narrates across three geographical spaces important to my project's interest in migrations—Damascus, Egypt and Judah.

The goal of this project is two-fold—to articulate a paradigm that can be reciprocally transferrable to both social-science and Second Temple scholarship. What is striking about modern migration and mobility studies through a quick survey of the Oxford published *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies*, is the absence of any research from 2011 to the present that applies any social paradigms from ancient civilizations. This deficiency opens opportunity for Qumran studies to inform mobility studies with ancient paradigms about movement when it is inspired by religious commitments.

A paradigm of religious migration can develop from probing the DSS authors and their communities' history of migration, sense of mobility, and construction of home. Surveying keywords on the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I have found studies that consider concepts of “diaspora” and “homeland” within the broader Second Temple Period. Jutta Jokiranta's sociological study examines the *Yahad* in terms of identity and sectarianism. An extensive review of current sociological approaches to DSS studies and antiquities examples in mobility studies is essential work in Chapter 1. Provisionally, I anticipate drawing from Jokiranta's sociological approach in my study of the Damascus Document (CD).⁹ While Jokiranta considers CD in her work, she does not examine the literary discourses through lenses of migration theory. There is currently no study that draws together migration, mobility and homeland in a socio-religious and socio-geographical study that procures a paradigm for religious migration using the *Yahad* as a cultural sample. To construct this paradigm for migration, this interdisciplinary project examines

labels, terms and groups of people in CD. The result is to offer a unique paradigm that situates itself among a people whose very existence is all but stable.

In the literature, the *Yahad* is described in terms of their geographic migrations into and out of Egypt, Damascus, and Judah, three triangulated political contact zones of no small historical significance during the Second Temple Period. What does movement in and out these different and conflicting spaces do to group identity and a communal sense of spatial belonging? This project follows the same methodological assumption of Mary Louise Pratt. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Pratt assumes “that important historical transitions alter the way people write, because they alter people’s experiences and the way people imagine, feel and think about the place where they live in. These shifts, then, will tell you something about the nature of the changes. Such shifts in writing, if they are historically profound, affect more than one genre.” Examining South American and African communities, Pratt evaluates autoethnographic writings that reveal a deep communal sentiment for narrating myths of origins influenced by Divine participations. These writings show communities formed with the Divine hand supporting the communities’ survival. Moreover, these writing offer textual reconstructions of identity and self-representations against settings of erratic political history and migration.¹⁰

The Dead Sea Scrolls is replete with rhetoric across a variety of literary genre that assigns categories to the *Yahad*, at times ambiguous and at other times ambitious, but most often, indicative of the various historical shifts that influenced how the *Yahad* view their identities within a shifting world. Considering a religious migration paradigm, what kinds of representations of self are the authors offering their readers? Are they aspiring to some specific community identification that resides in the liminal space between the real and the imagined? What role does their history of religious migration play in this narration? To parse out these sensitive matters and to achieve a paradigm for religious migration, this work requires interdisciplinary dialogue with migration theory,

and the relevant intersecting cultural and spatial theories. I will say more about these theories in the Theory and Method section. Further this work requires application of the final paradigm both to Migration and Mobility Studies as well as to Second Temple scholarship. Following is an articulation of the thesis and limitations of this project.

THESIS AND SCOPE

Thesis

The following study, socio-religious and socio-geographic in nature, is born from my multi-layered identity. It is a product of my own ideological and geographical migration that coincide with a mixed Afro-Caribbean and Sephardic Jewish heritage. My maternal ancestors were Sephardic Jews who migrated to Jamaica during the Portuguese Inquisition. My grandfather's marriage to a Maroon joined our family with an ethnic group who self-governs in "kibbutz-like" settlements. The 17th and 18th centuries allied Maroons and Jews in wars that lifted British-regulated slavery. Representative of so many other societies that possess historic identity markers around their religion, language and governance, this heritage offer intrinsic motivation for my DSS study and its production of a paradigm for religious migration.

At the beginning of my conception of this project, I thought I would talk about mobility of the *Yahad* in terms of causal relations— that ideological migration from establishment Judaism precipitated geographical migration into the desert to create a new society. But migration is not discretely punctiliar. The whole person, mind and body, does not translocate in one epic moment in time. Records show that within both ancient and modern civilizations, cyclical negotiations and interpretations of the past, present, and hopeful future work to dialectically inform a decision whether to move or stay. Some ideas are real, others are imagined. The central human need for control, security and esteem coupled by the fear of extinction drives the *Yahad* to conduct a writing campaign in defense of the subjective experiences that challenge their political, religious, and cultural

ideals. The experience of migration is not singularly correspondent to the community's awareness of one moment of intolerable ideological difference. After all, geographic migration, as noted in the above historical backgrounds section, was a regular event for the Jews since the end of the Davidic Monarchy. According to Max Grossman, their points of contention with the establishment are fundamentally multivalent.¹¹ Their ideologies do not follow a single, static discourse as Carol Newsom also shows in her critique of Althusser. Using Stuart Hall, Newsom argues, identities of the self are never singular but fragmented and in process. Likewise, societies, which are rooted in history and culture, maintain ancient discourses that fix the subjectivity of the self. Generically, Jewish history and culture regularly set itself against the larger world. Even so do specific sectarian Judaisms, such as we find at Qumran. Sectarian discourses develop over time and present alternatives from which the subjective persons ascribes their beliefs, speech, practices and associations.¹²

What we see with the Dead Sea texts are discourses of knowledge, a body of self-referential speeches affirmed by those initiated into the *Yahad*. The DSS sectarian writings promote ideologies that represent a collated response to multiple discourses contested over time. Whereas Ben Sira presents a fixed homogeneity of political space, law, and cultic practice, the Damascus Document presents a mobile community, motivated by a mission, governed by a composite of legal admonitions, which take up residence somewhere outside of Jerusalem. As such, I employ *ideo-geographical migration* to speak dialectically of two kinds of Qumran migrations within the Damascus Document: (1) the migration of diverse counter-establishment discourses into one coherent and persuasive community ideology; and with it, (2) the community's geographical migration, establishing a unique sect in the Judean Desert.

At the center of this project is an investigation on the *Yahad*'s quest for home. Where is home? What autoethnographic tools do the *Yahad* use to describe it? How do the *Yahad* (both as

individual members and as a collective) journey home? Do they ever get home? Using terms that function both liturgically to define community practice and judicially to set boundaries of belonging, this project uses discourse analysis to examine themes about migration, ethnic group belonging and contracts for inclusion and exclusion within the Damascus Document. I propose that the counter-cultural discourse of the Damascus Document serves the writers' purpose in reinventing ideas about "home." The end goal is to construct a paradigm for religious migration using Qumran sectarianism. My creation of the term, *ideo-geographical migration*, and the use of it in articulating this paradigm for religious migration is my contribution to the field of Dead Sea Studies.

Scope

I will use a critical discourse analysis to examine words and phrases in context through the lenses of migration theory. Social capital theory, a subset of migration theory, specifically asks questions of why people migrate on a micro-level. As I work through the Damascus Document, a migration that has specific ideological and geographical characteristics begs the question of what religious and social challenges contributed to the push out of Jerusalem. I interrogate not why the movement began in the first place, but what social capital permits it to continue and what *ideo-geographical* boundaries secure the *Yahad* in their created world. In other words, I am not interested in the beginning of migration (which would concede to traditional nominals like "diaspora" and "exile") so much as I am interested about the facts of migration. A response to this curiosity is achieved by examining the socio-religious and socio-geographic discourses related to the *Yahad's* cultural heritage. As such, I will examine three kinds of words as symbolic artifacts specific to Qumran sectarian Judaism found in the Zadokite Damascus Documents (CD-A; CD-B) and Qumran fragments, 4Q266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273.

These sectarian texts offer labels used in liturgical and judicial contexts that help to interrogate what beliefs, speech or actions transgress or maintain the boundaries of Qumran society.

The first word is a noun, גבול (“boundaries”), used to mark social, geographic, ideological and theological limits in the various contexts where the word is found. Second, there are three action verbs that bear relevance to the *Yahad’s* history of migration, sense of mobility and construction of “home”. These verbs support the *Yahad’s* daily vocational practice as they fix their community in sectarian time and space. Each term looks different for those in the community as they do for those who are viewed as outsiders to it. They are liturgical terms; yet they have decisive political power and contribute to the discourse of knowledge that shapes the *Yahad*. These verbs are ירא (“to fear, worship”), when it customarily occurs as a Qal participle or infinitive, taking a Divine object (אל “God” or יהוה “ha-Shem” or with the second person masculine singular pronominal suffix, “you”). While ירא and its cognates have high frequency, the grammatical search limits I have set reveal communal habits that situate members in a created *ideo-geographical* home. Liturgical and judicial language establishes the Divine presence at the core of the *Yahad’s* decision to migrate into the desert. Two synonyms are חוה (ישתחוו) (“to worship, bow down”) and לעובדם, עבד (“to work, serve, honor”), including Aramaic cognates מוראם (“to fear”) and דחלין (“to fear, revere”). The practices, speeches and belief associated with these verbs form a composite counter-cultural, sectarian place called “home” with devotion foremost to the Divine, and not to the empire.

Third, there are two phrases that bear some significance to the *Yahad’s* migrations, “Go out of Judah/ the land of Judah” and “(go out of) (the land of) Damascus”. Both phrases occur in the non-biblical DSS manuscripts, giving a sense that the author wishes to rub out a dreadful historical past to define prospects for a hopeful future. While Egypt is the third *ideo-geographic* center that exceedingly preoccupies the literature, it will be left out of this label study because of the predictability of its outcome. Egypt is always viewed as a chaotic and traumatic place of migration

from which the *Yahad* are all too glad to distance themselves. Yet because of such strong sentiments, I will take up the question of Egypt in Chapter 4 where I make meaning of the textual labels in my application of an articulated paradigm for religious migration.

THEORY AND METHOD

I will carry out the work of chapter 3 using critical discourse analysis of the sectarian non-biblical text of the Damascus Document. How authors use words, phrases and tropes in view of the surrounding society to convey ideas is of direct interest to my thesis. To prepare for this kind of grammatical analysis, I first establish the lenses through which the research will happen by examining migration theories in Chapter 2. This is to arrive at how the writer of the Damascus Document arrive at an *ideo-graphical* home through an extrapolation of a paradigm for religious migration in Chapter 4.

An important study that lays the groundwork is Carol Newsom's articulation of "communities of discourse". Moving forward from Louis Althusser with Stuart Hall, who also uses Althusser, Newsom establishes her discourse analysis and theoretical framework on ideology. Specifically, Newsom relies upon Clifford Geertz' sociological definition of the human being. This allows Newsom to expand on the subjectivity of the self. Drawing further upon Fredric Jameson Kenneth Burke, and ultimately Michel Foucault, Newsom explains the relationship between text as symbolic of the world in which texts are constructed. From this explanation, she anchors how she views the socially symbolic discourses that instigate division and re-classification of systems of knowledge and power in the Qumran texts and society.¹³

Supported by this selection of social and cultural theorists, Newsom describes how speech that harvests a variety of counter-cultural discourses, shaping the DSS community's internal structure, creates a symbolic sense of home. The need to create new sentiments of affinity and estrangement from the dominant culture's ideological discourses does not require creating new

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Low context culture. Is what is said as pertinent as what is not said?

language to mark new social boundaries in this new society. Rather, familiar language is used with explicit redefinitions that scratch the itch of the community's ideological points of contention with the established order. Words mutate in meaning according to the creative author's implementation. Words shape the ideological discourse that instructs the community (and other readers) on the societal values and practices being contested, and those being valued. Words defined set the diagnostic test for the eligibility of initiates.¹⁴ A common discourse is achieved when the words and phrases are unveiled and those invested in them can say yes. How the text is structured; whether the reader is to employ a diachronic or synchronic translation; how words, figures and tropes are meant to be interpreted, and the genre used to convey this message all reveals the "figured world".¹⁵

While the community at first appears to be an exclusive, insulated network, Newsom notes that to create a counter-cultural discourse, the *Yahad* must have intimate knowledge and interactivity with the larger social world's discourse. In other words, the DSS writers must both figure what symbolic boundaries are in tension with the broader society as well as figure how to assert their symbolic power to resolve it—their ideological migrations.¹⁶ Ultimately, geographic migration becomes an imperative for the construction of their new figured world. This migration should is not simply as a pacifist response to dissidence. Spatial distance from the geographic hub of contention was needed for the work of cultural critique and the creation of a unique religious community.

This study examines words used as artifacts, as symbolic boundaries used to mark off an ancient discourse about the *ideo-geographical* migration of Qumran Jews. How language interacts with societies impacted by movement; how stability is promoted, and instability is bracketed off; and, how word-symbols represent complex culturally-sensitive thought, which represent regionally-specified things are outcomes of the social, political, economic and religious powers in society.¹⁷ Once contextual meaning is achieved in chapter 3, I will pass each word-symbol through the lens of my developed paradigm for religious migration.

I rely on the standard collaborative work of migration sociologists Caroline Brettell, James Hollifield, Stephen Castles, Mark Miller, Marc Rosenbaum and Daniel Tichenor, which offer theories of migration across space and times, while accounting for various micro-level forces that impel social groups to move. By micro-level, I am referring to a cost-benefit interrogation. This kind of interrogation is addressed in social capital theory, a subset of migration theory. Some of its considerations are the inquirer's ability to adapt to the new surrounding; the psychic benefits of moving (usually connected to one's ideological ascriptions); and, the overall confidence the inquirer has in their skill level or social networks to assist in their flourishing. The advantage of the interdisciplinary work of these theorists is the applicability across time. This advantage also poses challenge. Care must be taken in using modern anglophone migration sociologists to interpret ancient Mediterranean literature. These sociologists write from a place of privilege with little connectivity to the ethnic roots of the subjects they examine in their collaborative texts. My task is to extract the principals about people mobility using other theorists to balance this problem. Where modern non-subaltern contexts from which people are studied and theories conflict with the social landscape of the ancient world, I rely on Stuart Hall and his cohort of cultural theory thinkers as indicated below. Still, the advantage of using anglophone modern migration sociologists is their contribution of fresh vocabulary and fresh perspectives to antiquities studies.

Diving into mobility studies also requires theorizing from subaltern writers in migrations and mobilities critical journals. I will expand on these in chapter 2. Migration theory offers me an integration of geography, ethnic identity, language, politics, economics, and so forth, to articulate something meaningful about the phenomena of movement.

Because of Hall's status as a Jamaican who migrated and took citizenship in England, I rely on his articulation of the complexities of space, culture and movement. Stuart Hall, in "Thinking the Diaspora: Home-Thoughts from Abroad," citing Benedict Anderson, teases out what it means to

live in an imaged space where the boundaries between home and abroad are permanently blurred by one's back and forth movements. When time and geographical space have separated communities from their origins, or from those societies negotiated to stand in as places of origin, how do readers understand the umbilical ties that remain between the new and the old? When places of origin are no longer the same on account of time away due to migration, when linguistic features have shifted because home has shifted by the integration of newcomers, when the foundation and teleological mythic stories are recounted and passed on to children who do not carry forward their integrity due to sheer ignorance of the landscape and politics of these stories, where is home?¹⁸ Because of his deep interest in foundation and teleologic stories against a history of migration, Hall and others offer first-hand sociological perspectives that I will use to examine the real, historical people in the DSS. Integrated with the above listed migration sociologists, Hall's cultural theory, along with his cohort, offer a nice balance check to the discourse analysis I will apply to the Damascus Document.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Introduction: Problem, Thesis, Overview of Chapters

A statement of the problem to culminate in a thesis. This project uses critical discourse analysis to examine themes about migration, ethnic group belonging and contracts for inclusion and exclusion within the Damascus Document. I propose that the counter-cultural discourse serves the writers' purpose in reinventing ideas about "home." The end goal is to construct a paradigm for religious migration using Qumran sectarianism. My creation of the term, *ideo-geographical migration*, and the use of it in articulating this paradigm for religious migration is my contribution to the field of Dead Sea Studies. An overview of each chapter provides a sense of direction and cohesion of my argument.

Chapter One: Bi-focal problem of lack of knowledge transference in Mobility and Qumran Studies

I offer a review of current Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship addressing social-science approaches that extract scholarship most relevant to personhood, diaspora, migration, mobility, and homeland. Reciprocally, I offer a review of where mobility studies have used examples from antiquities, related to any geographical society. I also assess treatment of Mediterranean from the earliest date where mobility research is found. I will conclude with a case for a paradigm for religious migration that offers an opening where both disciplines have not pursued.

Chapter Two: A Paradigm for Religious Migration, Expressed

This chapter accomplishes much in creating a lens through which the Damascus Document will be examined in the next chapter. Acknowledging modern migration theorists in this section, I show where composite ideas derived from the various theories and philosophical frameworks can related to movement, mobility and migration are ontologically applicable to the people of the Damascus Document. In other words, I show where existing theories have not been brought to bear in DSS studies. Because migration happens in space and time and involves volition, offering a paradigm based on the *ideo-geographical migration* of the *Yahad* allows context and direction to begin answering the thesis questions in the subsequent chapter: where is home is? What aspects of home are real? Which are created in the sectarianism of the Damascus Document?

Chapter Three: Critical Discourse Analysis of Symbolic Words in the Damascus Document

This section is divided into two. The first section, following Carol Newsom uses discourse analysis, lays out critical discourse analysis and where it will be applied to my study of CD. Examining symbolic language, I offer in the second section a graphical display of labels (a noun, cognate verbs and contextualized phrases). These terms establish how and why the community defined and maintained its boundaries as it sketches out its *ideo-geographical* perfect home.

Chapter Four: Paradigm of Religious Migration, Extracted

A commentary settles the matter on the outcomes from chapter 3. Israel has always been moving and the DSS community is no different. Accounting for the three geographical centers of Jewish migration, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Egypt, I show from the label study how home is becomes a creation of the Qumran writer's imagination, straddled across ideology, space and time. The paradigm extracted offers facts of migration and how they can be transferable to Mobility Studies.

Conclusion: Exposition on a Paradigm for Religious Migration and Socio-Geographical Analysis

To show that transferability of the paradigm, I show how it is a true parallel for mobility studies in all the relevant ways. To accomplish this, I apply the paradigm to a modern society whose migration has religious motivations.

STATEMENT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC METHOD

The goal of this work is to construct a theory of religious migration using the non-biblical manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. First, I am searching the bibliographic lists within the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls for “homeland”, “migration”, “diaspora” and “mobility”. In German, I am searching for “Wanderung” “Heimat” and “Zug”. This is a comprehensive holding of all existing scholarship concerning Judean Desert Studies. The authors and works found in Orion can be cross-referenced in DU’s Compass for e-copies or on-sight holdings.

To this foundation, I add work saved in migration theory, critical spatial theory and cultural theory learned over these past years in doctoral coursework at Iliff/ DU. By utilizing DU’s Penrose and Iliff’s Taylor Library collection for further keyword searches on these terms, including Project MUSE, ProQuest Central, and Academic Search Premier, CREDO, LibGuides, and the various subject-specific databases, I am capturing an interdisciplinary research involving both antiquities specific sources and sociology sources.

To this search, I also added a comparison between the phenomenon of migration in the modern context of Jamaica and migration to the Judean Desert. This study was motivated by status as an immigrant from Jamaica who continuously experiences the push and the pull mobility, migration and belonging. My project is autobiographical. The bibliography found in James Proctor’s, *Stuart Hall* (New York; London: Routledge, 2004) and Brian Meeks and Stuart Hall, *Culture, Politics, Race and Diaspora: The Thought of Stuart Hall*. Miami; Kingston; London, U.K: Ian Randle Publishers, 2007, allowed me to enter a discourse which contemplated anxieties and paradoxes that has played all along in the background of how I read ancient texts that deal with migration. But now, I proceed with a more conscious awareness with academic ambitions.

PROSPECTOR/ MOBIUS are places I find interlibrary offerings. Podcasts, books and articles suggested in www.biblicalstudiesonline.com, Vincent Wimbush’s <http://signifyingscriptures.org>, www.academia.edu, [Movements: Journal Für Kritische Migrations- Und Grenzregimeforschung](http://www.movements-journal.com), Pop Theory, and Purdue’s [Intro to Critical Theory](http://www.introtocriticaltheory.com), and the University of Zurich’s Zora are dependable open archives. In ProQuest Dissertation Database, WorldCat, JSTOR, ProjectMUSE, ATLA Religion, and Google Scholar, I search for combinations of keywords and author searches combining “Dead Sea Scrolls”, “Qumran”, or “Judean Desert” with “mobility,” “migration,” “homeland,” “spatial theory”, “diaspora” and “ideology.” I have programed ProQuest alerts for any new publications that include the term “Damascus Document.” I also have saved citations encountered in various places that are stored in RefWorks.

TIMELINE

Once this prospectus is approved Fall 2020, I hope to devote the remainder of 2020 in addition to the first half of 2021 to the writing and completion of this project. I have written sketches of this work in three comprehensive exams and conference presentations. I hope to defend this dissertation for graduation Fall 2021.

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APA (American Psychological Assoc.)
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Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Canons/ Septuagint

Deuteronomy	Psalms
1-2 Chronicles	Proverbs
Ezra/ 1-2 Esdras	Wisdom of Sirach
Nehemiah	Isaiah
1-2 Maccabees	Ezekiel

OT Pseudepigrapha

<i>Aristobolus</i>	<i>4 Esdras</i>
<i>Artapanus</i>	<i>Ezekiel's Exagoge</i>
<i>Assumption of Moses</i>	<i>Letter to Aristeas</i>
<i>2 Baruch</i>	<i>Joseph and Asenath</i>
<i>Demetrius</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>1 Enoch</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
	<i>Ps.-Philo</i>

Judean Desert Texts:

1QPesher to Habakkuk (1QpHab)	4QDamascus Documente (4Q270)
1QApcryphon Genesis ar (1Q20)	4QReworked Pentateuchb (4Q364)
1QRule of the Community/ Manual of Discipline/ Serekh ha-Yahad (1QS/ 1Q28)	4Q Miqṣat Ma'ase Hatora (4QMMT)
1Q Rule of the Benedictions (1QSb/ 1Q28b)	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice ^f (4Q405)
1QWar Scroll (1QM/ 1Q33)	4QMorning and Evening Prayer (4Q408)
1QHodayota (1QH ^a)	4QInstructionsb (4Q416)
4QPsalms (4Q88)	4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus(4Q422)
4QNahum Pesher (4Q169)	4QBeatitudes (4Q525)
4QJubilees ^a (4Q216)	4QHymnic or Sapiential Work B (4Q528)
4Q Community of Malachai (4Q253 ^a)	4QNon-Canonical Psalms B(4Q381)
Damascus Document ^a (CD-A)	4QHodayot ^a (4Q427)
Damascus Document ^b (CD-B)	4QGenesis Apocryphon/ 4QTestament of Jacob ar(4QTJacob ar/4Q537)
4QDamascus Document ^a (4Q266)	4QGenesis Apocryphon/ 4QTestament of Judah ar(4QTJudah ar/4Q538)

4QDamascus Documentb (4Q267)

6QDamascus Document (6Q15)

4QDamascus Documentd (4Q269)

11Q19 53:0 (11QTemple^a)

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Bellum Judaicum II 380-385

PHILO

Contra Flaccum

De Aeternitate Mundi

De Vita Mosis

Legum Allegoriae

Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim et Exodum

Quod Omnis probus liber sit

PLINY

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<i>Moretum</i>	27-35
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<i>Sanhedrin</i>	36b
<i>Sotah</i>	13b
<i>Sotah</i>	24a
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	1.23-45

¹ The term I will use from here on to refer to the settlers at Qumran, see Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 21-31.

² Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Oxford Scholarship Online, 2013, doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199554485.003.0010. I take James K. VanderKam and Peter Flint's view that the Qumran community is a small subset of the larger Essene party,

“The Qumran Group within Early Judaism,” *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 275-276.f

³ James Scott, “Introduction,” *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*. Supplements to the Journal for the study of Judaism, vol. 56, James Scott, ed., (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 1-2.

⁴ I elaborate more on Sirach’s literary tendency in exam question 1. Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* in *Arbeiten Zur Geschichte Des Antiken Judentums Und Des Urchristentums*; Bd. 48, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 41-.

⁵ Carol A. Newsom (2004), *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Leiden: Brill, 1-21.

⁶ See Keener, *Acts*, Vol 1 on considerations for historicity and God-fearers, esp. 426-428.

⁷ Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons, and Lloyd Pietersen, eds. *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003*. Library of Second Temple Studies; 52. London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2005; Ulrich, Eugene. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* / by Eugene Ulrich. *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplements 169. 2015.

⁸ A storage place in a Karaite synagogue, a medieval Jewish group that opposed Pharisaic and Rabbinic Judaism.

⁹ Jokiranta, Jutta, “Sociological Approaches to Qumran Sectarianism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. by Lim, Timothy H., Collins, John J. Pages 200-231. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010;

Wassen, Cecilia, Jokiranta, Jutta, “Groups in Tension: Sectarianism in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule.” In *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances*. Chalcraft, David J. ed. Pages 205-245. *Bible World* London: Equinox, 2007; Jokiranta, Jutta, “Sectarianism’ of the Qumran ‘Sect’: Sociological Notes,” *Revue de Qumran* 20/2(2001) 223-239.

¹⁰ Mary Louise Pratt, *ProQuest*, and *ProQuest CSA*. *Imperial Eyes Travel Writing and Transculturation* / Mary Louise Pratt. 2nd ed. New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2008.

¹¹ Grossman, Maxine L. *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*. *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*; vol. 45. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 42-60).

¹² Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, 13-15.

¹³ Newsom, *The Self As Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, 13-19

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *The Self As Symbolic Space*, 129.

¹⁵ By “figured world,” borrowing from Dorothy Holland, Newsom describes a world created by the redefining, reordering and reproducing of symbolic system in the old world. *Ibid.*, *The Self As Symbolic Space*, 23-75.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *The Self As Symbolic Space*, 1-21.

¹⁷ *Tribble, Rhetorical Criticism*, 59-60.

¹⁸ Stuart Hall. “Thinking the Diaspora: Home-Thoughts from Abroad.” *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, 1999. <https://doi.org/Speech>.