



## From the Qumran *miqdaš 'adam* to the ismaili temple of light (*haykal nurani*)

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**Abstract.** The purpose of this paper is to present the Qumran conception of temple (eschatological temple and *miqdaš 'adam*) as an intermediate stage between the understanding of temple in Jewish eschatology and the Ismaili innerness of the “temple of light.” All of it in the frame of the conception of temple as Garden of Eden based in the “alternative memory”<sup>2</sup> yielded by parabiblical priestly traditions.

**Keywords:** Qumran; Ismailism; Judaism; Temple; Mysticism; Gnosis.

### [es] Del *miqdaš 'adam* de Qumran al templo de luz ismailí (*haykal nurani*)

**Resumen.** El objetivo de este artículo es presentar la concepción de templo de Qumrán (templo escatológico y *miqdaš 'adam*) como un estadio intermedio entre la visión del Templo en la escatología judía y la interiorización ismailí del “templo de luz”, todo ello en el marco de la concepción de templo como Jardín del Edén basada en la “memoria alternativa” (Elior 2014) suministrada por las tradiciones sacerdotales parabíblicas.

**Palabras clave:** Qumrán; ismailismo; judaísmo; Templo; misticismo; gnosis.

**Sumario.** 1. Introduction. 2. Sanctuary and Eden in Second Temple Judaism. 3. Temple(s) in the Dead Sea Scrolls- 4. Concluding Remark: Main Lines of a Qumran-Ismailism comparative on the Idea of Sanctuary. 5 Bibliography.

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## 1. Introduction

In the Ancient Near East the primeval mountain, considered as *axis mundi*, was the place seen also as temple, bulwark against chaos and source of cosmic order,<sup>3</sup> the religion of Ancient Israel also draws from ANE sources and understands the Temple, erected upon Mount Zion, as an entryway into celestial regions. The Temple, despite being located in the earthly sphere, stands as a sanctuary linked to the heavenly

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<sup>2</sup> I adopt this expression from Elior 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Keel 2007, pp. 109-111; Hurowitz 1992.

realm in its quality of dwelling of God. The foundation of the Temple in ancient Israelite religion (although the presence of elements linked to the opposition cosmos-chaos is well attested within the Temple as depicted in the biblical text) does not go back to primeval times,<sup>4</sup> but Yahweh did choose Zion<sup>5</sup> in a temporal moment of his history with Israel, establishing, thus, a link totally connected to historical coordinates. Despite the existing connections between Temple and Garden of Eden<sup>6</sup>, be their shared condition of dwelling of the divine presence or their location: atop a mountain (*cfr.* Ezek 28:13-16) or surrounded by great rivers (Gen 2:10-14), biblical tradition has chosen to underscore God's covenant with Israel over all mitho-mystical aspects around Temple speculation as a new Eden. "Salvation history", with all its concerns about unveiling God's purposes for the future, has shadowed the traditions hearkening back to the origins, to creation, and to inquiry about divine nature. These motifs will be recovered by the so-called "priestly" tradition in apocalyptic literature and, especially, in the Apocrypha and the Pseudoepigrapha, and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>7</sup>

I will not focus so much on earthly physical temples connected to historical coordinates (both Temples of Jerusalem<sup>8</sup>) but rather to the book of Exodus (where the *miškan* or Tabernacle will be analyzed as an archetype) and in the proto-eschatological conceptions of the Temple which may be seen in biblical books such as Ezekiel (of a marked priestly bend) and in the already-mentioned post-biblical literature. Both proto-eschatological conceptions (with a fledging priestly substratum) and fully eschatological ones, already with a marked priestly tendency (such as *Jubilees*, *Sirach*, *Enoch*) present an image of heavenly and earthly spheres not within the parameters of a radical dualism,<sup>9</sup> but rather in the process of alluding to the creation or development of an intermediate stage where the contact or participation of the human in the divine sphere is not also possible but even pre-determined by the nature of the priest as a second Adam.

Thus, a change or maybe combination is operated between myth (realism) and ritual (idealism), with the latter providing an alternative to the real world.<sup>10</sup> The Qumran community goes one step beyond and presents a form of proto-mysticism<sup>11</sup> The terrestrial world or the temple are not described any longer as a correlate of the divine dwelling in heaven, but the Master of Justice (and the whole community, self-understood as a "temple of men") are able to transcend their human nature

<sup>4</sup> *Cfr.* Reymond 1969.

<sup>5</sup> *Cfr.* Sal 133,3; R.J.Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and in the OT*, Cambridge, Massachussets, 1972.

<sup>6</sup> In the Mesopotamian creation myths, the erecting of the Temple substitutes the creation of Paradise.

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed information on the continuity of "prophetic authority or activity" in Second Temple Judaism, see Grabbe 1995; Jassen 2007; Fishbane 1985, esp. the section on "Mantological Exegesis"; Najman 2000; Schniedewind 1995; Thomas 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Not only the two Temples of Jerusalem, but also the Elephantine Temple and Onias Temple in Leontopolis.

<sup>9</sup> Rigid dualism has been put in question by several scholars; *cfr.* C. Morray-Jones in C. Rowland and C. R. A. Morray-Jones 2009; Davila 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Hendel 2008, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> *Cfr.* DeConick 2006. See Alexander 2006. See also, Wolfson 1994; Wolfson 2003. The publication of fragments of the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice*, texts which has several points of contact with "Merkabah mysticism", tradition preserved in the Hekhalot literature, marked the beginning of interest on the search of mystical elements in Qumran manuscripts. See Strugnell 1960, pp. 318-45. Also, the discovery in Qumran of the *Self-Glorification Hymn* where cases of ascended and transformed human figures may be found, has also pointed towards the search of possible mystical connections For more information on this discussion, see Gruenwald 1988; Morray Jones 1992; Morray Jones 1998.

and experience an angelomorphic<sup>12</sup> process through the liturgical practice. Thus, although we still have a rich eschatology and an ideal Temple to come, built by God, Qumran stands aside other evidence, as they are living a present-anticipation of events to come; a “Messianic” present where liturgy stands as the tool which may suspend a linear teleological time and where human beings may experience both the primeval state and the later salvation state.

The Ismaili communities present strong connections with all this priestly tradition and its “alternative memory” in many aspects: Both the Master of Justice and the Imam were part of a priestly collective endowed (by chains of transmission<sup>13</sup> on one side and by their level of purity and fulfillment of the Law on the other) with the capacity of operating a revealed/sacred hermeneutic. Both exemplified the change from a classical exegete into a divinely inspired one, which has the capacity of accessing a special knowledge and therefore understanding prophetic revelation in its entirety. This last feature is crucial for having this inspired exegete be the one which gives full meaning to revelation.<sup>14</sup> Priestly traditions, both in Qumran and in the Ismaili community, are vertebrated around the idea of this sacred hermeneutics, which re-structure the anthropological conception of human beings as a potential angelical being, together with the conception of the temple not anymore as a mere space of union between spheres but as an archetypal image which exemplifies a change of state from one condition into the other through a ritual or process of self-understanding.

In Ismailism there are seven modalities of reading the Qur’an which have equivalents in the seven angelical degrees which open up as a consequence of the fall of the Third Intelligence into the tenth position, thus generating the whole pattern of cycles which constitutes Ismaili cosmology.<sup>15</sup> The recovery of these “lost positions” is expressed in terms of ascent through seven degrees of reading or understanding of the sacred text. This process is known as *ta’wil* and its aim is to decode God’s encrypted message, which is nothing but the knowledge of the divinity itself. This process has an analogue in Qumran, which the angelic transformation expressed in

<sup>12</sup> My paper is indebted to the proposal posed by C. Fletcher-Louis where an angelomorphic transformation of the Master of Justice / Priest is mentioned during the liturgical time in the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice*. Cfr. C. Fletcher-Louis 2002; Fletcher-Louis 2015. For other readings which recognise that there are places where the *Songs* have in view an exalted and angelic but still human community see Wolfson, 2004; Newman 2008.

<sup>13</sup> In Ismaili thought these are known as “spiritual heritage.” The esoteric meaning of the sacred text, as well as its spiritual sense (*haqiqat*) can be only transmitted through this heritage which is the patrimony of the house of the Prophet’s son in law, Ali, and first Imam of the present cycle. As in Ismailism a lineage is generated and the authority of an Imam is determined by two aspects (place within the lineage and spiritual quality), in Qumran there is also a place for that “inherited knowledge” which is the result of the transmission of a thread of knowledge which begins in pre-Diluvian and patriarchal times. This patriarchal origin is not a coincidence: it was thought that the Patriarchs had enjoyed a direct contact with the divinity and therefore, if knowledge had been transmitted since those times to the present, the recipients of that inherited knowledge, priests, would be a worthy guarantee of authority as their successors. Noah is considered the initial step of this chain as he survived the Flood and has been defined as forefather of the righteous. Thus can be seen in fragment 4Q534 and 4Q536 2i+3 8. Dimant 1988; Peters 2008; VanderKam 1992. In the *Visions of Amram* and related texts, there are allusions to this chain of transmission which moves via Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Amram. This work, together with the *Aramaic Levi* and *Testament of Qahat*, would possibly form a collection. See Stone 2000. See also fragments 4Q537 (*4QTestament of Jacob*), 4Q542 (*4QTestament of Qahat*) and 4Q559 (*4QBiblical Chronology*).

<sup>14</sup> Each of the Shiite Imams was called “Keeper of the Book” (*qayyim al-Qur’ān*) by his exegetical work, in the same way that members of the Qumran community were called “Guardians of the Law”, both in terms of belief and practice.

<sup>15</sup> For detailed information on Ismaili cosmology and anthropology, see Corbin, 2003a.

ascensional terms experienced by the Master of Justice in the liturgical moment and which transforms him into a new Adam. The believer, through this full ascensional process, manages to recover his lost angelical nature according to a very structured pattern within the Ismaili esoteric brotherhood, where each member constitutes the limit of other and, at the same time, is limited by other. Self-knowledge is summarized in knowing the horizon which oneself is the limit thereof. Thus, the mode of knowledge is established as the new mode of being of each of the members, with the goal of bridging the gulf between the Third and Tenth Intelligences due to the fall of the former: different Imams are associated to the partial Adams that follow each other in cycles and that head the different "Pillars of Light" which also come after each other until the pre-Fall origins are reached. In Ismailism the angelomorphic process goes one step further when compared to the Qumran community, where the priest was seen as the bearer of divine Glory<sup>16</sup>; the Imam is not just the image of the primeval man, but *Deus Revelatus*<sup>17</sup> itself. These anthropological, angelological, and cosmological conceptions are read through the understanding of priestly hermeneutics, deeply connected to a form of meta-history exemplified in the image of the temple as an intermediate space.

Thus, Ismaili thought presents a process of deepening and interiorizing of the concept of temple (which leads to more psychological proposals, given its location in a historical moment with fully developed Gnosticism) through the concept of *Imago Templi*<sup>18</sup> which sees reality, both temporal and eternal, as a line of lost angelic nature which involves a widening of the field of spiritual sight. Contemplation of the *Imago Templi* and capacity thereof are the basic requirement for the access to this intermediate world which would constitute the sanctuary and for the arrangement of the soul in the path to its origins. In this intermediate world, one stands outside the becoming of historical causality; events which take place there do so in the world of the soul. The only history which takes place in this intermediate world or, in Corbin's words, *mundus imaginalis*, is a hiero-history; that is, time does not follow a historical sequence, but each epiphany of the *Imago Templi* constitutes a unity in itself and is endowed with its own time. Each epiphany is not linked to the next one with a historical nexus, but each of them represents a higher perfecting of the soul. This *Imago Templi* has its parallel in the different versions of the sanctuary which may be found in books like Ezekiel, *I Enoch* or narratives like Jacob in Bethel in Genesis and so forth. They constitute different approaches in different moments to that meta-historical archetype called "temple" or intermediate place where the process of recovery of the lost Adamic condition is started. Situations of the past are re-actualized as they constitute epiphanies of a primeval archetype. The presence of the Impious Priest and the Priest-Kings of the Ashmonean dynasty hearken back to the catastrophe and destruction of the First Temple (586 b.c.e.)

This *Imago Templi* appears to the Ismaili visionary in what is called "confluence of the two seas" (*majma al-bahrain*), a Qur'anic expression (see Qur. 18:59) related

<sup>16</sup> This assimilation of the High Priest with the Adam before the Fall and incarnation of Wisdom and Glory of God points towards an idea of a pre-existing priesthood or a form of proto-innatism.

<sup>17</sup> Corbin 2003a, pp. 93-7. For the nature of the Imam *cfr.* Amir- Moezzi, 1992

<sup>18</sup> Corbin uses the expression *Imago Templi* to define the form which transcendent reality took in order to reflect itself upon the soul in that intermediate world which he calls *mundus imaginalis* where theophanies take place. Without that *Imago Templi* that reality would not be apprehensible to the human being. Corbin 2003b.

to the narrative of the long journey which Moses undertook to reach that place in pursuit of a fleeing fish, event attributed by him to the Devil's work; he continues the journey and runs into a mysterious character (named in the Islamic tradition *al-Khidr*, "the Green Man",<sup>19</sup> since the 1st century of the Hegira), who introduces himself as initiator into an array of secret knowledge.<sup>20</sup> It is from this hermeneutics, so different from historical criticism, where the hierophanies of the *Imago Templi* which constitute the temple tradition have to be understood and appreciated. The *Imago Templi* is, also, the regulator of the relationship of each Intelligence with its "temple" or "heaven" in the context of the Pillar or Temple of Light composed by all the souls which constitute the Ismaili esoteric brotherhood.

The concept of *miqdas 'adam* in Qumran, although a result of historical circumstances (departure from the Jerusalem Temple) and of all the strictures and rules based on a self-understanding of the community as temple, does already present a form of proto-internalization which points to something which, centuries later, Ismailism will understand as an apprehension of archetypes as samples and symbols of internal personal developments and not as external self-existing realities.

## 2. Sanctuary and Eden in Second Temple Judaism

Before starting the analysis of the different temples which appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls, I think it is fundamental for the understanding of Qumran eschatology to summarize the different versions of the eschatological Temple to be found in the OT books and in other parabiblical literature in relationship with the Garden of Eden.

In post-exilic times, after the lack of fulfillment of prophecies which forecast the future glory of Israel, those were re-interpreted by removal into eschatological times.

The eschatological glory of Jerusalem and the Temple may be found in books such as Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zachariah, Tobit, and Maccabees. For the issue at hand, I will focus on Ezekiel.<sup>21</sup>

The importance of Ezekiel is based on several factors: on one hand, its underscoring the existence of a sacred model for both the construction of the Temple and the worship which must take place in it (40:3; 44:31), all this knowledge being sanctioned by the authority of angelic revelation; on the other hand, the visionary experience of the *Merkabah* (1:10) which will mark the beginning and bases of future mystical speculations. Finally, Ezekiel is the first witness which links directly

<sup>19</sup> Corbin, 2003b, pp. 76-80. On the function of *khidr* as an angelic guide *cf.*: Cheetham, 2001, p. 67; Cheetham, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Wheeler, 2002, p. 125.

<sup>21</sup> Six fragments have been found in four Qumran caves (1Q9; 3Q1; 4Q73, 4Q74; 4Q75 y 11Q4) and one in Masada (Mas1d). In all of them, excluding the materials from Masada, there are testimonies of 76 verses of the book. Also, materials have been found in Qumran of the Pseudo-Ezekiel (or Second Ezekiel) (4Q485-4Q388; 4Q391). Some Qumran texts integrate text from Ezekiel (*Florilegium* [4Q174]; the Damascus Document [eight fragmentary copies in Cave 4 4Q266-273]; the *Temple Scroll* [11Q19-20]; the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice* [11Q17] and the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice* found in Masada [Mas1k]). The presence of exegetical works is a clear indication that the book of Ezekiel was part of the intellectual life of the Qumran community. Also, it seems that the vision of the Chariot and the vision of the Temple stirred the imagination of the community and that the element of the spring of water flowing from the Temple could have led the community to settle at Khirbet Qumran. For more information on the interpretation of Ezekiel in Qumran, see Allegro 1968; Yadin 1983; Brooke 1985; Broshi 1992.

and explicitly Temple and Eden,<sup>22</sup> an idea which later will be further developed in priestly apocryphal materials like *Jubilees or Sirach*, as well as in the *Book of the Watchers*.

Ezekiel is taken by the angel from Babylon to a lofty mountain in the Land of Israel (40:2). Although it is true that Mount Zion is not especially high, that elevation could be understood as a state of holiness. It is clear that there is an adaptation of Canaanite mythical motif of the divine mountain, as well as a reading in parallel with the sanctity of Sinai and the revelation of the Law to Moses. Ezekiel's narrative mentions a river which flows eastwards underneath the Temple and also a lush wood. This does not only echo the Canaanite divine mountain, but also the depiction of Genesis 2. Nevertheless, it can be noticed that this eschatological Eden-Temple is not the Eden of Genesis, it is a new Eden where the waters have the power to revive fish and tree leaves are endowed with healing powers.

The utopian and eschatological character of Ezek 40-48 is evident. We do not know if the model of Temple which it presents would be the blueprint for a Second, Third, or hypothetical Fourth Temple. Rather, the conception of Temple which may be gleaned from the book makes us think of an interiorizing of the physical Temple depicted with the imagery of an eschatological Temple whose sacred reach would not stop at the Temple precincts but would extend into the surrounding area: the whole city of Jerusalem, center of the twelve tribes. This vision of the eschatological Temple could have constituted the bases of a later development of the Temple as a state of perfection and sanctity which human beings can attain.

In this case, the people of Israel and the city of Jerusalem would be the equivalent of the Temple as a bridge of union between the heavenly sphere and the earthly world. Becoming a Temple would involve undergoing an angelomorphic process, which can be seen most clearly in Ismaili mysticism and, somehow, in the Qumran community via liturgical practice.

Ezekiel's influence on the Dead Sea community is clear due to several reasons: the revelation of a sacred model for the construction of a temple which would be grounds, as I have said, for later developments of Temple as a process of interiorizing or ontological transformation; also the mention of a sacred worship which would take place in that future Temple. Saliently, inspired liturgy was especially important for the Qumran community as a means of approaching the nature of God and the mysteries of Creation.

Corbin<sup>23</sup> analyzes this "exile" by reading it under the light of a higher level of internalization and abstraction, thus understanding the destruction of the Temple and the exile in cosmological terms. In this way, he conceives the Temple as outside the physical world and cosmos as the Temple's crypt. The initiation granted by the angel is tantamount to showing the way to exit the crypt, leading the adept towards the angel's abode.

We face here the Gnostic idea of the Fall. The soul falls into the body. in the crypt of the Temple the initiate is just an exile. Each human being owns a Temple of Light which is a pneumatic aspect and the souls which reside in the crypt are exiles. The

<sup>22</sup> In some OT books (Psalms, Song of Songs) this idea appears but in an isolated form and with direct links. The language used in Exod 39-40 to allude to the Tabernacle and its building process hearkens back to Genesis 1-2. Cf: Weinfeld 1977.

<sup>23</sup> Corbin 2003b, p. 272.

visible world is interpreted, therefore, as the crypt, as the place whither human souls go after falling from the Temple. Nevertheless, the fact of staying in the Temple crypt leaves the possibility of return open. That is possible because the human soul is, in itself, a divine emanation whose origin, consequently, was placed, as that of the angel, in the heavenly space or Temple. The *Imago Templi* would be, therefore, the entryway to this recovery of one's place in the Temple before the Fall. And the soul regulates the manifestation of that *Imago Templi*.

Corbin exemplifies this through the interpretation of Moses as an archetype. As he was saved from the waters, the human being can leave historical time and delve into metahistory, through the contemplation of the *Imago Templi*.<sup>24</sup>

Both *Sirach* and *Jubilees* are a good example of parabiblical priestly literature which exerted a remarkable influence in the Qumran community, especially in the conception of the Temple, of an anthropology understood as angelic transformation, and of a human-angelic liturgy which would take place within the intermediate space, and which implied a challenge to dualistic-representative conceptions, not by canceling them, but by being a complement.

Whereas *Sirach* introduces the figure of the priest as a new Adam, *Jubilees* develops the coordinates of sacred time and space. This coordinate will manifest in Qumran's *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice*: sacred ritual.

Rachel Elior defines the coordinates upon which the proto-mystical priestly tradition which configures the "alternative memory" is built: sacred place, time and ritual. As we have seen, the sacred place is clearly defined as Garden of Eden in a clean correlation with the concept of Temple; regarding sacred time the origins of meta-history, with Enoc as a central figure and the mysteries revealed to him (the calendar among them) when taken to Eden, have been already mentioned; finally, the sacred ritual shared by human and angelic beings in the setting of that revealed calendar closes this series of coordinates.

This "alternative" memory which drinks from the mythic origins of priesthood in a clear relationship with cosmic and creational mysteries is attested both in the Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament and in some fragments and passages of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>25</sup>

*Jubilees*<sup>26</sup> is presented as a revelation granted to Moses by the Angel of the Presence at Mount Sinai where events which span the 49 jubilees since Creation are narrated. In *Jub* 13:5-7,15 the Bethel altar is seen as the place of the initiation origins of cultic activity. Abraham came back to Bethel from Egypt (*Genesis Apocry-*

<sup>24</sup> Corbin 2003b, p. 275.

<sup>25</sup> Elior 2014, p.66 presents this classification of works which witness this priestly tradition: "There is a priestly-angelic narrative (First Book of Enoch, Book of Jubilees, Testament of the 12 Patriarchs, Testament of Levi, Aramaic Levi, Genesis Apocryphon, Visions of Amram), mystical liturgy (Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice, Psalms Scroll from Qumran, Rule of Blessings, 4QBlessings, Words of the Luminaries), historical-covenantal memories (Jubilees, Temple Scroll, 11QMelchizedek, many excerpts of the biblical books and re-written bible that were found in Qumran and published in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD), mystical narratives (Second Ezekiel, New Jerusalem, Scroll of Melchizedek), recurrent rituals (Jubilees, Scroll of the Priestly Watchers, Qumran Psalm Scroll, Miqsat Māaseh ha-Torah (4MMT) and divine laws (Temple Scroll, Rule of the Community, Damascus Document)". See also Elior 2004.

<sup>26</sup> Copies of *Jubilees* have been found in five Qumran caves. The oldest is 4QJub<sup>2</sup>, and the most recent 11QJub. A total of 15 rolls can be calculated: two in each of Caves 1 and 2 (1QJub<sup>a</sup>, 1QJub<sup>b</sup>, 2QJub<sup>a</sup> y 2QJub<sup>b</sup>); one in Cave 3 (3QJub); nine in Cave 4 (4QTanh, frags. 19-21 (4Q176), 4QJub<sup>a</sup>, pap4QJub<sup>?</sup>, 4QJub<sup>c</sup>, 4QJub<sup>d</sup>, 4QJub<sup>e</sup>, pap4QJub<sup>b</sup>) and one in Cave 11 (11QJub).

*phon*, 1Q20:21) to make a sacrifice; Jacob experienced his dream vision in Bethel, where the promise was set (Gen 28; *Jub* 27:19-27), reconstructed Abraham's altar and started a regular cult upon the earth (*Jub* 31:32), appointing Levi as priest, who had foreknowledge of his election in dreams (*Jub* 32:1-15.) The *New Jerusalem* text could be connected with speculations on Jacob's vision of the Temple and of Jerusalem in his second visit to Bethel and the vision of a heavenly Jerusalem<sup>27</sup> could be attributed to him; nevertheless, the chosen place is not Bethel, but Mount Zion (*Jub* 32:22.) Thus, Bethel remained as a symbol of the cultic covenant and introduced institutions thereof (5Q13 2:6; 11Q19 29:19.<sup>28</sup>) Bethel, Zion, Sinai, the Kaaba, all these physical spaces are transferred into the imaginal world. All these covenants between humanity and the divinity are understood in the background of a metahistory; of a process of return to the pre-fall condition, the true temple, started by a departure from historical time. All these places imply a vivid re-actualization of archetypes or theophanies, of manifestations of the *Imago Templi*. This is the key of its recurrences, which does not lie on material or historical conditions, but configures the inner rule, that of Temple exiles. *Jubilees* promoted a solar calendar where each ritual act was connected to an event related to Israel's patriarchal past and, therefore, to events grounded in the realm of metahistory. The priestly perspective rewrites the stories in Genesis, granting an ancestral origin to ceremonies associated to covenants between God and his people and their commemoration; these rituals are marked by a cyclically structured time, watched over both by angels and priests.

The Temple sanctuary, assimilated to the Garden of Eden, is a highly sacred place as it is located outside time and space dimensions and, therefore, it can be only accessed during a time of the year, Yom Kippur, and only by the High Priest. Only two human beings, the founders of the High Priesthood, enjoyed that privilege: Enoch (Ge 5:24; *Jub* 4:23<sup>29</sup>) and Melchizedek (Ge 14:18; 2 *Enoch* 71:37; 72:1-9<sup>30</sup>.) This sacred space can be perceived only through the gaze of the soul, which makes the manifestation of the theophany or *Imago Templi* possible.

The moment of Creation<sup>31</sup> is the time *Jubilees* goes back to in order to confer authority both to laws and cult, against the time of the Sinai revelation. Sacred covenants which God established with the Patriarchs (Enoch, Noah, Jacob, Levi, etc) are a fundamental aspect included in the priestly tradition. Adam is seen as the founder of the priestly line, not only due to the purity restrictions imposed to him before entry into Eden and which postpone it (*Jub* 3:8-14), but also because the day he was

<sup>27</sup> *Cfr.* Tigchelaar 2010; see also Tigchelaar 2007.

<sup>28</sup> Schwartz 1985.

<sup>29</sup> On Enochian literature, *cf.* Milik and Black 1976; VanderKam 1995; Elior 2005; Reed 2007; Martone 2008; Heger 2011, pp. 190-200. Enoch material from Qumran is preserved in twelve fragments, eleven from Cave 4 (4QEn<sup>a-b</sup> ar, 4QEn<sup>c-f</sup>, ar, 4QEn<sup>g</sup> ar y 4QEnastr<sup>a-d</sup> ar) and one from Cave 7 (7Q4, 7Q8, 7Q11-14 which together compose pap7QEn gr).

<sup>30</sup> On Melchizedek *cf.* Horton 1976; Delcor 1971; Davila 2003. One fragment on Melchizedek has been found in Qumran (11Q13).

<sup>31</sup> The intention is to state that these laws (those given to Enoch and inherited by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Levi) and cult exists since the first week of creation. It can be observed in the modifications or additions which the book presents when compared to the Genesis narrative. It is said that the Garden of Eden was created during the third day (*Jub* 2:7), before creation of the luminaries and hence of time; and it is described as Holy of Holies and dwelling of God (*Jub* 8:19); the purity laws set in order to access remind of those found in Leviticus in order to access the Holy of Holies (Lev 12:4). For a more detailed information on the rewriting of Genesis 2:4-3:24 in *Jubilees*, *cf.* van Ruiten 1999b, pp. 63-81.



expelled from Eden he offered an incense sacrifice to God which the elements he had previously asked from him through the mediation of angels and which could be only found in the Garden (*Jub* 3:27); as did Enoch (*Jub* 4:25-26) and Noah upon leaving the Ark (*Jub* 6:14.)

*Jubilees*, therefore, presents the Garden of Eden as God's sanctuary created during the eternal-sacred time to which the High Priest gets access (after fulfilling purity rules), in his quality of new Adam who, thus, renews all covenants established between God and the Patriarchs-Priests, all of it in the framework of a sacred liturgy and following the solar calendar revealed to Enoch by God.

In *Sirach* there is a detailed description of the High Priest Simeon II in the moment of conducting a ritual sacrifice. In this passage we may find the third element of the priestly "alternative memory" coordinates: sacred ritual. This, nevertheless, exhibits a very particular anthropology which can be summed up as an angelology. The High Priest is presented as a new Adam and endowed with the beauty (*tiferet*)<sup>32</sup> and glory of the First Man (49:16.) The High Priest, who represents Israel as a whole, incarnates all the privileges which God gifted Adam, and hence humanity, with. Also, a comparison is established between the High Priest and astral bodies, a comparison not alien to the biblical corpus (Joseph's dream in Gen 37; God's promise to David in Ps 89:38; Jacob's star in Num 24:17) and whose aim to confer a quasi-royal authority to the High Priest. *Sirach* and *Jubilees* have defined both sacred space (sanctuary) understood as Eden and the figure of the High Priest as a new Adam imbued with his Glory and Wisdom.

Although in Qumran the idea of a pre-existing soul is not clearly defined (as it predates the development of Gnosticism) the fact of attaining an ideal of liturgic purity by the members of the community and, maybe, the process of ascent and transformation of the priest gives way to the creation of this analogue of the Temple of Light, as it is later defined in Ismailism. The Qumran temple is the state of purity or a state close to angelic nature which the community creates via rules and liturgy. Thus, the analogy with Ismaili gnosis is clear except for the fact that there the pre-existence of the soul is specified for the Imam and for each member of the esoteric brotherhood.

### 3. Temple(s) in the Dead Sea Scrolls

I will now examine the different Temple(s) which appear in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the conception around it and about Jerusalem, not so much as the city of the Temple but the City-Temple in the process of being swallowed by the sanctity of a Temple of uncanny dimensions. The works which contained these conceptions are the *New Jerusalem* text, the *Temple Scroll* and *4QFlorilegium*. Also, the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice* contain the sum of sacred liturgy.

<sup>32</sup> The word *tiferet* is also used in *Sirach* to define the vestments of the High Priest in a clear parallelism with Exod 28:2,40. The comparison with Adam suggests that these vestments during liturgy were like Adam's clothes. In Qumran the expression "Glory of Adam" can be found IQS 4:23; CD 3:20; IQH 17:15). If they do not allude to Adam's clothes, they surely do to the High Priest's capacity of reaching the pre-Fall state of the first human being. See Fletcher-Louis 2002, p. 118.

The *Temple Scroll*<sup>33</sup> has clear parallels with the Ezekiel narrative, not only due to its presence within the framework of the Sinai revelation (see parallels with Ex 34 and Deut 7), but also due to the eschatological character of the described Temple, despite its taking as a prototype the entry and conquest into the land of Canaan as a sacred land/sanctuary. It is a Temple which would be the union point of the twelve tribes and whose holiness would spring from the sanctuary and extending into the other areas of the Temple and even beyond. Nevertheless, differences with the Ezekiel narrative are also relevant, as the author does not present revelation as a visionary-prophetic account of a Temple erected by God at the End Times, but as a real and normative building program, a Temple which would replace the corrupt Second Temple.

A series of laws is detailed in relationship with the Temple description (cols. xlix-lxvi.)<sup>34</sup> The *Temple Scroll* is presented as a new Torah, a new Deuteronomy.<sup>35</sup> Corrado Martone has proposed that perhaps it would be not just a re-writing of the biblical text, but a biblical source in itself.<sup>36</sup>

Florentino García-Martínez has analyzed the possible sources the Temple Scroll drew from: on one side, Deuteronomy; on the other, a written source which would have contained instructions for the construction of the Temple and which could be dated in the Seleucid period; a written source which contained a calendar of celebrations according to a solar calendar, datable between the 3rd and 2nd centuries b.c.e.; a source about issues concerning purity rules which would go back, possibly, to the period of the Antioch crisis, and a “*midraš* to Deuteronomy” from which it took the section of the “King’s Law.”<sup>37</sup> The work would belong to the formative period of the Qumran community.

The Temple alluded to in the *Temple Scroll*, as I have said above, could refer to a temple of an eschatological nature; a sort of blueprint for the Third Temple. In fact, a Temple for all Israel is also mentioned in the *War Scroll* (1QM 2:3; 7:11-12; *cf.*: 4Q491 1-3,18) during the period when the eschatological war will take place. *I Enoch* 90:28-29 says that God himself will destroy the Temple and build a new one in a period described as a time “of the sword” (after 98/87 b.c.e.)<sup>38</sup> The hypothesis of a Fourth Temple has also been considered; in fact in *Florilegium* (4Q174 2:2-69) the promise of a Temple which cannot be destroyed is made explicit; this statement could be alluding to a Fourth Temple (*cf.*: 11Q19 39:8-10.) The described Temple seems to be the last one (11Q19 29), a sanctuary which stands outside historical coordinates. Also, in the *New Jerusalem* text (4Q544 1.1:4; c. 4Q554 1.41:18) there is mention of the sanctuary, but it is not known whether there is a relationship between it and the Third or Fourth Temples; or whether, maybe, the *New Jerusalem* text and the *Temple Scroll* were versions of a same eschatological concept.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Cf.*: Yadin 1977; Yadin 1985; Brooke 1989; Schiffman 1990; Wise 1990; García Martínez 1991; Swanson 1995; Qimron 1996.

<sup>34</sup> These laws are arranged around four main topics: construction of the Temple with its central laws in two blocks (construction of the sanctuary and the altar and construction of the courtyards and other annex buildings); the second alludes to the annual cycle of festivities and sacrifices for each of them; the third one is composed of the purity laws both for the Temple and the holy city; and the fourth spans the remainder of the manuscript (cols. 52-66) and would be a rewriting of Deut 12-13. See García Martínez 2000.

<sup>35</sup> See Wise 1990.

<sup>36</sup> Martone 2014; Brooke 1988.

<sup>37</sup> García Martínez 1991.

<sup>38</sup> Maier 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Wise 1990, p. 70

In the *New Jerusalem* text<sup>40</sup> clear parallels with Ezek 40-48 are also found<sup>41</sup>; in the vision the Temple and its city (understood as Jerusalem) are described in huge and unrealistic proportions. In fragments 2Q24, 4Q555, and, especially, 11Q18, both the Temple and some of the rites which take place in it are described.

The description follows an orientation or order which moves from the outermost to the which include references to the Kittim, Edom, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the land of Babel, and all the nations. Although the section is fragmentary and not fully preserved, a sequence of kingdoms may be seen (the Kittim take the last position in it) and a list of nations which grant them their support. All of this seems to be alluding to an eschatological war similar to the one portrayed in IQM col. 1.<sup>42</sup> Are the new Jerusalem and the new Temple the consequence of this eschatological war? Everything seems to point in that direction.

As the Temple described in the Temple Scroll seems to be alluding to the normative Temple built by men, to the non-corrupt version of the Jerusalem Temple, the Temple which appears in the New Jerusalem text seems to be alluding to the Temple which will be created by God during the End times. We cannot say that both the Temple and the city described there have an angelic nature, but it is likely that the hyperbolic measures contained may be understood as an “spiritualization” of the concept of Temple. In a clear relationship with the *War Scroll*, it could be proposed that, thanks to the liturgy practiced by the members of the Dead Sea community and the angelomorphic process which it entails, priests are in full communion with angelic beings and have reached a level of sanctity (New Adam) which could be shown in the creation of a Temple which, without being celestial, would not be fully earthly either, but would exist in an intermediate stage.

An argument in favor of this theory is that the city seems to be unpopulated and does not have an inhabitable appearance, maybe, at the most, it could be seen as a city of pilgrimage, although the text does not have enough evidence to prove this hypothesis, despite its parallels, in this regard, with the *Temple Scroll*.<sup>43</sup>

Both in 2 Bar 4 and in Sir 9:8 and 11QTa 29:10 (where there is an allusion to the creation of a new sanctuary) there are mentions of an eternal Temple, pre-existent to the creation of Paradise. F. García Martínez considers the nature of the Temple in *New Jerusalem* as a visual cyanotype, without going into further considerations about its nature.<sup>44</sup> True, the fact that the city is empty and that in the Temple a ritual without priests or witnesses is being carried out suggests several hypotheses: it could be that the angel leading the vision is hinting at the future nature of the ritual and of the temple before the presence of pilgrims, but also that what is happening in the temple is a ritual of an eternal nature located in the real of metahistory, the perfect example of an ideal temple in agreement with 11Q19.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Seven fragments have been found in the Qumran caves (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, 11Q18). See García Martínez 1986; García Martínez 1992; García Martínez 1999; Frey 2000; DiTomasso 2005; Tigchelaar, 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. García Martínez 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Tigchelaar 2010, p. 123.

<sup>43</sup> See Licht 1979; García Martínez 1999, p. 453; Puech 1995, p. 102; DiTomasso is the only one who does not support the theory of a city of pilgrimage and proposes the idea of a city to be dwelt or, rather, as a haven for military troops, perhaps of the combatants featured in the *War Scroll*. See DiTomasso 2005, pp. 177-8.

<sup>44</sup> García Martínez 1999, p. 129.

<sup>45</sup> Tigchelaar 2010, p. 129.

Although the piece has been conventionally named *New Jerusalem*, the emphasis lies upon the description of the Temple, which would be identified with a New Temple of a New Creation which appears both in *Jub* 1:27-29 and in 11QTa 29:8-10. The city described seems to be the eschatological Jerusalem which will become the meeting point of the tribes of Israel after the eschatological conflict; a city-temple of pilgrimage which seems to be lacking, as said above, the features which render a space inhabitable. This makes me think on a possible spiritualization of both Temple and city: as an archetype-image of a pre-Fall state of purity whither Israel will return after the eschatological war, after the defeat of the Children of Darkness; a Temple where the sacred ritual has been performed since ever and in which, finally, not only a few chosen privileged human beings, but the whole of Israel, will be included.

The influence of Ezek 40-48 is remarkable. According to Shozo Fujita,<sup>46</sup> the theology of the Temple in Ezekiel would have four phases: first, the ruin of the Temple abandoned by God's Glory; second, God becomes Temple in himself; third, the return of God's Glory and the restoration of the Temple; and fourth, the vision of the New Temple as perception of a cosmic restoration. Fujita bases the second phase of this theology in Ezek 11:15-16 and reinterprets the passage understanding the Qumran community as a spiritual temple expecting the arrival of the New Temple which could be alluded to both in the *Temple Scroll* and in *Florilegium* (4Q174 2:2-69.) If the Temple mentioned there were a temple of a spiritual nature where the spiritual liturgy is conducted, this might explain the absence of human being which takes place in *New Jerusalem*; it would be, then, the perfect *Imago Templi* as it would establish a parallel between the renewal of the human heart and the founding of a totally new temple. This *Imago Templi* also, becomes an *Imago Paradisi*, as it involves the restoration of lost Eden.

4QFlorilegium<sup>47</sup> is a collection of short *pešarim* among which the longest one is a *pešer* on 2Sam 7:10-14 (4QFlor 1:1-3), which develops ideas on the Temple and the two eschatological Messiahs. Nevertheless, the most meaningful of this *pešer* is its definition of the Qumran community as a "temple of men." Different hypothesis have been posed around the possible meaning of this, among them: whether it is the equivalent of the eschatological Temple; whether the community stands for the physical structure of the Temple,<sup>48</sup> therefore not acknowledging the existing physical Temple; whether it would be possible to speak of a possible "spiritualization" of the concept, stating that the spiritual Temple underlies the conception of community as Temple<sup>49</sup> (a possibility which is mostly contemplated in studies connected to early Christianity); and the opinions which totally reject this proposal.<sup>50</sup> Uncertainty is increased with the comparison with the *Temple Scroll*, a text in which the Temple described may be of a physical nature, but without excluding an eschatological quality (11QTa 29:8-10.)

The Samuel passage in 4QFlorilegium uses materials from Exod 15:7 and of Deut 12:11 and describes three temples/sanctuaries: one of them is the *miqdaš Yahweh* which appears in line 3: ("[Moses: 'The sanctuary] of Lord which thy hands

<sup>46</sup> Fujita 1970.

<sup>47</sup> Allegro 1968 ; Brooke 1985; Dimant 1986 and her recent versión in Dimant 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. Gärtner 1965, pp. 30-42.

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. Gärtner 1970, pp. 163-76.

<sup>50</sup> Yadin 1959; Flusser 1959.

have established; The lord will reign forever and ever”). It seems to be in direct relationship with the text of Exod 15:17. It is a future Temple, created by God himself in the last days and characterized by its indestructibility. The text also alludes to other temple, the *miqdaš Yisra'el*; thus reads line 6: as they have desolated formerly the sanctuar[y of Is]rael because of their sin”, a clear allusion to the corrupt physical Temple of Israel which will be substituted with the *miqdaš Yahweh*. Last, there is a third Temple, the *miqdaš 'adam* or “Temple of men.”<sup>51</sup> Thus, in line 6 we read: “And he commanded to build for him a sanctuary of men for there to be in it offered for him [as incense]before him works of thanksgiving.” This last *miqdaš* has been the one to arise a more intense discussion, due to the diversity of interpretations given to it; whereas some have interpreted it as a physical building, erected either by humans or by God during eschatological times, others have considered that it rather alluded to the community itself understood as a temple. If the *miqdaš Yahweh* is understood as that eschatological and eternal Temple build by God at the end times after the final battle, a temple where humans and angels are joined in the angelic-divine ritual, the *miqdaš 'adam* could be the valid alternative of the *miqdaš Yisra'el* deemed corrupt in the text. Thus, the *miqdaš 'adam* would present itself as an advance of the Glory which the community of Israel will enjoy after the end battle. Nevertheless, some, like Wise, consider that this alludes to a physical temple, in the sense of a sanctuary (*built*) by men.<sup>52</sup> Brooke disagrees with the theories which support this view saying that, when compared to Deut 12:11 and interpreting 2 Sam 7:10 in the same vein, the term *maqom* would express the location where the liturgy and appropriate ritual take place; therefore the *miqdaš 'adam* could be understood as the community carrying out the ritual and liturgically as an “acting Temple” until the foundation of the *miqdaš Yahweh*.<sup>53</sup> In fact, this theory would have meaning given all the purity strictures geared towards the acceptance of new members into the Qumran community, so similar to those set in Leviticus or the access and ritual of the sanctuary. Also in 1QS 8:10 and 9:3-5 we may read that the purpose of the *yahad* was “to atone for the Land”, a feature activity of the priestly community. The comparison of the community with the House of God (Temple) is a recurring element in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as may be seen in 1QS VIII, 5-10; IX, 3-6; in CD IX, 20-21; 1QS IX, 4-5; X,6; 1QpHab III, 12 prayer is seen as the equivalent of sacrifices at the Temple; in 1QS VI, 2-5; 16-17, 21, ranks of purity for access of the community are defined; they are similar to the Temple strictures ( CD XV, 15-17; 1QS<sup>a</sup> II, 5-9; 1QM VII, 4-6).

This *miqdaš 'adam* would be also equivalent to the Garden of Eden, thus incarnating a perfection of its members, which, together with the angelic liturgy, would allow them to access a pre-Fall state. Besides the substitution of the blood sacrifice with incense and prayer from the lips, which hearkens back to the offerings of incense which the patriarchs presented God with in a sanctuary understood as Eden if not by Eden itself. The placement of the community or Temple of men in the desert and the importance given in the Dead Sea Scrolls to Jacob's covenant with God in Bethel leads to the idea of a possible decentralization by the community regarding Mount Zion and the corrupted Temple in Jerusalem, thus establishing a new covenant with God in a new sacred location.

<sup>51</sup> Wise 1991, p. 113; Brooke 1994; Brooke 2003.

<sup>52</sup> Wise 1991, p. 113

<sup>53</sup> Brooke 1994, p. 289; Sulzbach 2006, p. 172.

Thus, *4QFlorilegium* proposes three conceptions of the Temple which could fit in the time coordinates of past, present, and future. A corrupted past, a presents which constitutes a sort of “Messianic instant” where the heritage and of the patriarch past and covenants is condensed, and a eschatological future where salvation can be already tasted at the time of a liturgy which comprises an angelomorphic process. The different *batim* which appear in the text could undergo a transformation-abstraction, thus turning from the reference to a building, a physical temple, to alluding to a lineage, an “alternative memory” whose representatives have built a temple of souls.

Either if the *miqdaš 'adam* has been understood as the future temple to come and brought closer to the *miqdaš Yahweh* or if it just constitutes a substitution or replacement of the existing and corrupted physical Temple of the period, consciously or not, we are before a process of abstraction which could be understood as a proto-spiritualization.

In Ismaili gnosis the community also constitutes a temple of men/souls. The apex of this Temple of Light is constituted by the Imams themselves. The spiritual temple as a community also has its architecture. The Qumran community also, as we have seen, offers an *Imago Templi*. The priest and Master of Justice or the priestly community as a whole would define this apex or earthly sanctuary and together with the rest of the faithful they would configure the Spiritual Temple or *miqdaš 'adam* which would partake in the angelic liturgy as seen in the *Songs of the Sabbatical Sacrifice*.

#### 4. Concluding Remark: Main Lines of a Qumran-Ismaelism comparative on the Idea of Sanctuary

The Qumran community could be understood as one of the many hierophanies of the *Imago Templi*. The important idea is that in the Qumran text the idea of Temple is never lost, but it takes a different location in the eschatological era. The “almost now, but not yet” or the partly-fulfilled eschatology are the cause of this transfer from the Temple building into a temple-community and of the substitution of blood sacrifices with the “lip offering”, with observance of the Law and with a liturgy in full synchrony with the angelical world. Qumran vouches for a regeneration of the Temple during the end times, although the nature of that Temple remains dubious. The Qumran community saw itself as the fulfillment of prophecies, as that new *Imago Adami* which would be part of the most perfect and full *Imago Templi*; the final theophany which would sum all others up; *Imago Templi* not as yet another revelation but as the true hermeneutics of the fact of revelation. Although it is true that proposals of a “spiritualization” have to be moderated, as the imminent eschatology of the community is a factor which calls for a relativization of the “introspection” in the conception of Temple.

As it has been seen, in Qumran there are prototypes of conceptual developments which will appear in a more explicit form in the gnosis of the Ismaili community. Concepts such as metahistory, Temple, angelic condition of humanity, and the possibility of a return to a pre-Fall condition exemplified by the access into an ideal and eternal temple identified as Garden of Eden are prefigured in the different texts mentioned in this paper. In Qumran, also, a development of the concept of Temple which goes beyond those in the Bible and in other texts of Second Temple Judaism can be seen; it poses the possibility of conceiving the Qumran community itself as a

Temple of men as a substitute of the physical temple and as anticipation of the future eschatological temple. It is evident that, even if talking of a full “spiritualization” of the concept of temple would be anachronistic, it is possible, nevertheless, to see the origin of a process of introspection of that concept which will reach a full development in Ismaili mysticism, where the concept of Temple fully detaches itself from its traditional physical nature (understood as an archetype) to refer instead to a transcended state of the human being.

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