

Placing Ancient Texts

Edited by
MIKA AHUVIA and
ALEXANDER KOCAR

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*
174

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
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The Ritual and Rhetorical Use
of Space

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Mika Ahuvia and
Alexander Kocar

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

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Mika Ahuvia
Alexander Kocar

Seattle
Princeton

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AIT	James A. Montgomery, <i>Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur</i> . Cambridge University Press, 1913.
<i>AJSR</i>	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BDD	<i>Bekhol Derakhekha Daehu: Journal of Torah and Scholarship</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
<i>CurBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . Edited by Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum. 2 nd ed. 22 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FC	Fathers of the Church
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>

JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Exoriente lux</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLA	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplements Series
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCI	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> . Ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum and Günter Bandmann. 8 vols. Rome: Herder, 1968–1976
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RC	<i>Religion Compass</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Greco-Roman World
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i>
SBM	Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to Numen)
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
STAC	Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature (Peter Lang)
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	World Biblical Commentary
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

Mika Ahuvia and Alexander Kocar

What difference does place make in our interpretations of ancient religious texts? This volume, which examines ancient Jewish and Christian literary, liturgical, and ritual texts seeks to offer a variety of answers clustered around three inter-related topics: the rhetorical construction of places both earthly and cosmic, the positioning of people in religious space, and the performance of ritual texts in place. We seek to overcome disciplinary boundaries, placing studies of liturgy and ritual alongside more literary studies and challenging scholars to consider space, performance, and meaning in their analyses of ancient textual and material sources.

In the chapters that follow, scholars interrogate the use of imagined or conceptual spaces. They explore how and for what purposes place was rhetorically constructed in ancient texts. For example, Derek Krueger's chapter examines the relationship between the rhetorical construction of place and the formation of community in the church. Alexander Kocar considers what can be deduced about social boundaries and ethical expectations based on how ancient authors and practitioners deployed imagined space(s). Two scholars, Rachel Neis and Gil Klein, raise questions about how rhetoric concerning the body intersects with constructions of space and ritual behavior. As both demonstrate, neither measures of space nor gestures in place are given, but are the products of a cultural logic ("of intellection" as Jonathan Z. Smith puts it),¹ which must be innovated for the establishment of rituals or borrowed from the cultural milieu. Neis's and Klein's analyses of rabbinic literature show how the "corporeal turn" may intersect with the "spatial turn."²

David Frankfurter, AnneMarie Lujendijk, and Mika Ahuvia investigate the performative aspect of ritual texts, discussing how texts were performed in their physical environment (e. g., in an Egyptian temple, an oracular shrine, a home). They investigate how our understanding of a letter to the dead, an oracular ticket, or an incantation bowl changes when we ask where they were performed, with

¹ Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 26.

² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "The Corporeal Turn," *JQR* 95 (2005): 447–61; Kim Knott, "Religion, Space, and Place: The Spatial Turn in Research on Religion," *Religion and Society: Advances in Research* 1 (2010): 29–43.

whom they were used, and where they were ultimately installed or discarded. These scholars demonstrate that the interpretation of ritual or liturgical language is affected by its location in a physical space as well as its particular social and institutional dimensions.

As we will see, ancient authors and texts repurposed or re-placed ancient texts into new contexts or physical spaces. In the case of ritual texts, the following chapters consider how their situatedness affects our interpretations of their performance. In the case of texts constructing imagined space, the contributors examine how ancient authors construct new spaces out of inherited conceptual *spoila*.

Placing Our Volume: The Ritual and Spatial Turn

What if space were not the recipient but rather the creation of the human project? What if place were an active product of intellection rather than its passive receptacle? (Smith, *To Take Place*, 26)

Ritual is, first and foremost, a mode of paying attention ... It is this characteristic, as well, that explains the role of place as a fundamental component of ritual: place directs attention. (Smith, *To Take Place*, 103)

Emphasizing the richness and malleability of the concept of place, our contributors do not approach the idea of place or space through a single methodological or disciplinary lens. Their analyses are informed, but not driven by theoretical conclusions. Their studies range from the Second Temple period through late antiquity and from Babylonia to Egypt, and they feature voices and views that have traditionally been overlooked.

In the last few decades, the publications of the ritual texts from around the Mediterranean basin have broadened the availability of sources for the study of a wider swath of people from antiquity.³ Our volume includes studies of Roman-Egyptian letters to the dead, Christian oracular tickets, and Jewish incantation bowls. At the same time, scholars of religion have sought to remove the baggage of “magic” from such sources and accord them a place in the study of religious life.⁴ These texts also allow female figures to come to the fore. Ancient and biblical women receive attention in many of the chapters in our volume.

³ Dieter Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, eds. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: Harper, 1994); Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls* (London: Routledge, 2002). Shaul Shaked, Siam Bhayro, and James Ford, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁴ Olof Pettersson, “Magic – Religion: Some Marginal Notes to an Old Problem,” *Ethnos* 22 (1957): 109–19; John Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Rebecca Macy Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International,

Ancient liturgical and magical-ritual texts published in recent decades offer particularly productive and untapped resources for the development of ritual theory and research on daily life in antiquity. Much of ritual theory has emerged out of contemporary ethnography,⁵ drawing attention away from clues in ancient texts that signal ritual behavior. Meanwhile, historians of ideas have largely eschewed image-based arguments for more technical or pastoral texts when narrating the history and development of important ethical ideas.⁶ The chapters in this volume put into conversation insights about ritual and rhetorical space from ritual theory, anthropology, and other fields with close analyses of ancient texts and their various relationships with place.

Our volume also engages with “the ways that never parted” approach to the study of ancient Judaism and Christianity.⁷ This perspective emphasizes that Jews and Christians did not separate or develop fixed communal boundaries by the second century CE, but continued to be in the process of self-definition and definition through the other well into the fourth century and beyond. Local diversity prevailed, a phenomenon particularly evident with Jewish and Christian ritual practitioners. Priests, prayer leaders, and ritual practitioners could be found in every community in the Mediterranean world, but surviving textual evidence has been uneven. It is one of the interventions of this volume to include the product of ritual practitioners alongside more traditionally and canonically accepted figures. Although it is not the main focus for our contributors, the ongoing religious and political dialogue between these diverse and polythetic groups informs all of the discussions of place in this volume. Thus, we offer new avenues for theorists of place but also specialized discussions of important texts and arguments within and between ancient Judaism and Christianity.

1998); Jonathan Z. Smith, “Trading Places,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (New York: Brill, 1995).

⁵ Jas Elsner, “Material Culture and Ritual: State of the Question,” in *Architecture of the Sacred: Space, Ritual, and Experience from Classical Greece to Byzantium*, ed. Bonna D. Wescoat and Robert G. Ousterhout (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–26. For an ethnographic approach to ancient daily life in Palestine, see Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1995); Ann E. Killebrew, Billy J. Grantham, and Steven Fine, “A ‘Talmudic’ House at Qasrin: On the Use of Domestic Space and Daily Life during the Byzantine Period,” *NEA* 66 (2003): 59–72.

⁶ Specialists in cognate disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, and cognitive linguistics have proven to be useful resources for bridging this gap: e. g., Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966); Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969); George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Two wonderful instances of theoretical and historical synthesis can be found in Carol Newsom's *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Community and Identity at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) and Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: Yetzer Hara and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

⁷ Adam H. Becker and Annette Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

The Ritual Turn

Although this volume does not present a single approach to the concept of ritual, each author is the beneficiary of exciting developments emerging from ritual studies. No author has been more influential in this field over the past several decades than Catherine Bell.⁸ Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's work on practice,⁹ Bell reframed ritual as a particular type of practice in which "a ritualized body" is in dialectical relationship with a "structured and structuring" environment. This ritualized body, according to Bell, is a socially constructed body with a "sense" of ritual.¹⁰ As such, a ritualized body, as generated by, and generator of, a closed environment, is a mediator *par excellence* insofar as it is able to consent, resist, or negotiate the continued production of its structured and structuring environment.¹¹

Bell thus removed the counter-productive dichotomy of myth/ritual or thought/action and replaced it with a co-determined and circularly dialectical relationship.¹² Additionally, she contended that ritual significance arises from deferred and unresolved play between dialectal tensions.¹³ In other words, there is not a single symbolic or allegorical meaning to a specific ritual; the significance of a particular ritual is inextricably linked to the cultural milieu in which the ritual was performed.¹⁴

⁸ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); eadem, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

¹⁰ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 98: "It is in the dialectical relationship between the body and a space structured according to mythico-ritual oppositions," writes Bourdieu, "that one finds the form *par excellence* of the structural apprenticeship which leads to the embodying of the structures of the world, that is, the appropriating by the world of a body thus enabled to appropriate the world."

¹¹ Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 209.

¹² Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 99: "A focus on the acts themselves illuminates a critical circularity to the body's interaction with this environment: generating it, molded by it in turn. By virtue of this circularity, space and time are redefined through the physical movements of the bodies projecting organizing schemes on the space-time environment on the one hand while reabsorbing these schemes as the nature of reality on the other."

¹³ As Bell convincingly shows, apparent ambiguity or misrecognition of symbolic meaning, even among practitioners, is part of what creates the meaning of a rite. Drawing upon Derrida, Bourdieu, and others, she argues that there is not a clear one-to-one relationship between object and semantic significance; instead, ritualization and the meaning of ritual is necessarily relational: "Semiologically speaking, just as a sign or a text derives its significance by virtue of its relationship to other signs and texts, basic to ritualization is the inherent significance it derives from its interplay and contrast with other practices" (Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 90.)

¹⁴ Bell, *Ritual*, 252: "No ritual stands by itself. It is always embedded in a thick context of traditions, changes, tensions, and unquestioned assumptions and practices. Ritual is a way that people can act in the world, and all those factors that influence how any person and group acts will influence the performance and understanding of ritual. A community's attitudes and styles of ritualizing are inseparable from their worldview."

In short, the authors in this volume elucidate some of the cultural and situational factors whose dialectical tension with specific ritual practices created ritual meaning, in as much as we can recover it from these ancient texts. For example, Ophir Münz-Manor's chapter draws the reader into the physical confines of late antique churches and synagogues to hear liturgical poetry performed.¹⁵ Through the immediacy of this context, he brings into relief how factors outside of texts, in this instance sacred architecture, contributed to the performance and meaning of these rituals.¹⁶ To provide these layered and rich analyses, our authors make use of ongoing conversations in cognate fields such as archeology, papyrology, and religious history. This emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches has resulted in exciting glimpses into just how these ancient rituals might have been experienced nearly two millennia ago.

The Spatial Turn

Without forcing a confrontation between literary and material sources, this volume seeks to ask new questions about texts and space in antiquity. In doing so, it participates in the so-called spatial turn in religious studies. Kim Knott has noted that before the mid-1990s, there was "comparatively little interest in researching religion, space, and place."¹⁷ Two early examples are of note: *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land* (1998) and *Experiences of Place* (2003). The former presented an array of articles focused on the texts and local cults of the Holy Land, especially highlighting its vibrant, multifaceted religious milieu, where polytheistic religions continued to thrive alongside Judaism and Christianity. This collection of articles gestured towards the rich history of religious interactions in the Levant, where multiple religious groups laid claim to holy sites and holy figures. Chapters in the present volume contribute to that history from additional sources of evidence. For example, Eshbal Ratzon examines the location of the Garden of Eden in post-biblical texts, and Derek Krueger analyzes the invocation of Adam and Eve in late antique liturgical song. In doing so, both authors highlight textual conceptions of place. Their work also stands in line with Mary MacDonald's study of place, which analyzes how "places are known, imagined, remembered, and struggled for," and how they orient human

¹⁵ For a similar approach to the social and physical context of ancient Roman speeches, in particular Cicero's, and how their context would have affected audience reception, see Anne Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

¹⁶ A model study that shows the significance of factors outside of the text is Susan Ashbrook Harvey's book *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

¹⁷ Knott, "Religion, Space, and Place," 29; and Knott, "Spatial theory and the Study of Religion," *Religion Compass* 2 (2008): 1102–16.

lives.¹⁸ Her volume showcased a broad comparative and ethnographic perspective, with articles ranging from an analysis of the boundaries of the Holy Land in the Bible to Sacred Yorùbá cosmology. By contrast, our volume concentrates on late antique religious texts, juxtaposing texts from a variety of genres – legal, poetic, narrative, ritual – to elucidate their many resonances of space and place.

Focus on ancient conceptual and rhetorical uses of space is a more recent phenomenon. Ancient religious studies on this theme gained traction with studies that firmly situated Judaism and Christianity in their Roman context. Charlotte Fonrobert's work on "The Political Symbolism of the *Eruv*" proved outstanding for showing how rabbinic conceptions of Sabbath space (the *eruv*) may represent an assertion of "non-territorial sovereignty" on the part of the rabbis, where the concept of the *eruv* was formed partly as a response to the Roman occupation of Syro-Palestine.¹⁹ Geographical and political conditions set the stage for a rhetoric of space, a legal fiction, with enduring practical implications for rabbinic Jews. Gil Klein's chapter in the present volume continues to interrogate Jewish and Roman conceptions of space, emphasizing points of contact and creativity.

In early Christian studies, Laura Nasrallah's book *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire* (2010) exemplified the importance of reading texts in place. She reinterpreted early apologetic texts in the context of the material culture of the Roman empire to offer fresh insights about their meaning. As Nasrallah writes, her book brings "together literary texts and archaeological remains to help us to understand how religious discourse emerges not in some abstract zone, but in lived experiences and practices in the spaces of the world."²⁰ In the present volume, the chapters by David Frankfurter, AnneMarie Luijendijk, and Mika Ahuvia continue this conversation by interpreting ritual texts and their performance in place.

Geographers such as Lily Kong and Kim Knott have distinguished two trends in the spatial turn in religion, namely the poetics and politics of space, where the former is more phenomenological and concerned with experience and aesthetics, while the latter is more attuned to production of knowledge, power, and ritual.²¹ Chapters in our volume tend to undermine this dichotomy: distinctions of public and private, religious and secular, political and religious are modern

¹⁸ Mary MacDonald, ed., *Experiences of Place* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 2.

¹⁹ Charlotte Fonrobert, "The Political Symbolism of the *Eruv*," *Jewish Social Studies* 11:3 (2005): 9–35; Fonrobert, "The New Spatial turn in Jewish Studies," *AJS Review* 33 (2009): 155–64.

²⁰ Laura Nasrallah, *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²¹ Lily Kong, "Mapping 'New' Geographies of Religion: Politics and Poetics in Modernity," *Progress in Human Geography* 25 (2001): 211–33. See discussion and literature review in Knott, "Religion, Space, and Place," 30.

binaries not found in antiquity. Focusing on the experience of liturgy or ritual in Roman Palestine cannot help but make us aware of the politics of spatial construction. Recent conference titles show that religion and space continues to be a topical area of research.²²

Whereas other volumes have considered particular sacred geographies or pilgrimage texts,²³ our volume analyzes religious texts whose spatial dimensions have been neglected. Few studies here focus on particular sacred places *per se*, but rather examine the interplays of text and space: how ancient religious texts imaginatively constructed the location of the Garden of Eden, how liturgy shaped people's experience in ancient synagogues, and how legal discourse shaped their self-conceptualization within the grounds of Roman Palestine. In the final three chapters one may read about the way that Jewish homes, Christian shrines, and public temples shaped the performance of ritual texts. These studies flow in two directions: some focus on how texts created meaningful space, others on how spaces shaped the meaning of ritual texts. In between, some focus on how recitations, which survive as texts, positioned people in ritual or religious spaces.

For readers interested in the religions of antiquity, we hope the chapters in this volume offer innovative approaches to ancient texts and insights about the way ancient peoples imagined earthly and cosmic spaces, placed themselves in ritual mode, and experienced text in place. To paraphrase Smith's observations above, places are not passive receptacles, but the products of active intellection, and as such, cannot be separated from ritual experiences. When people enact rituals in places where there is much cultural contestation (such as Roman Egypt or Byzantine Palestine), their actions necessarily have political and social implications as well. Moving forward, we hope more scholars will see the potential of opening up spaces for conversation between specialists in literature, liturgy, and ritual texts. Together they offer a fuller picture of the religious past. More research that is able to see the interactions of the people behind these ancient texts is a desideratum.

²² Solemn Geographies & Sacred Places: The Literature of Holy Location, at Abilene Christian University, Dallas, October 5–7, 2017; Sacred Spaces and Sacred Places: Expressions and Experiences of Lived Religion, at Aldo Moro University of Bari, May 24–26, 2017; Imaginal Worlds: Religion in Speculative and Fan Fiction, at Columbia University, April 7, 2017; Religion and Movement, at the University of Chicago Divinity School, April 15–16, 2016; Kissing the Mezuzah: Jews Between Public and Private Space, February 11–12, 2016, at Indiana University; Exploring Other Worlds: Constructing, Locating, and Navigating Imagined Religious Space, at Stanford University, October 1–2, 2015.

²³ See, e.g., the excellent array of articles in *Pilgrimage and Holy Spaces in the Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 1998) and *From Temple to Church*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

Overview of Chapters

The first section of our volume, *Constructing Spaces and Places*, includes three chapters spanning the Second Temple period through late antiquity, from biblical authors to the rabbis of Roman Palestine and the poets and craftsmen of late antique churches and synagogues. The scholars in this section analyze the construction of place in a range of sources, each answering the pressing questions of ancient people: Where is Eden and what is the way back to it? How does one navigate sacred boundaries in Roman occupied Palestine? What is the meaning of a house of worship built by human hands in the cosmos created by God?

The Hebrew Bible begins with the creation of the earth and the place of humans within it. The first chapter in this section takes us back to those early texts and questions about people's place in the cosmos. Eshbal Ratzon, in "Placing Eden in Second Temple Judaism," illuminates the changing locations of the Garden of Eden in biblical and pseudepigraphic texts, tracing how Eden shifted from Adam and Eve's first residence on the earth to the heavenly resting place of the righteous. Ratzon observes that though the early Scriptures do not betray any desire to return to the Garden, by the early centuries CE Eden had become the sought-after final destination of the righteous in Jewish and Christian texts. She uncovers the evolution of the place of Eden in ancient thought through careful deconstruction of literature that bridges biblical texts and first-century Jewish and Christian sources, namely 1 Enoch and its component parts. The Book of the Watchers and the Book of Parables reveal several disparate views of Eden, originally separate strata of texts; but when combined into one book, these chapters allowed the hearer to locate Eden in heaven as the abode of the righteous. Ratzon illustrates how a foundational conceptualization of the heavens and the earth gradually emerged, one with enduring implications for Jews and Christians.

In the next chapter, "Sabbath as City: Rabbinic Urbanism and Imperial Territoriality in Roman Palestine," Gil Klein showcases the rabbis in deep engagement with Roman culture, even as they strive for a particularly Jewish conception of space in Palestine. He argues that gesture and posture are not only spatial manifestations of culture, but that they are also used to consciously produce a culture's sense of its territory. Klein explores two interconnected practices of land distribution: the rabbinic Sabbath Boundary (*tehum shabbat*) and Roman land survey and allotment. He shows that for the rabbis, walking on the Sabbath was not only an act that should be limited, but was also a way to define place in relation to one's body and community. Interestingly, the rabbis utilized sophisticated techniques of measurement in precise gestural terms that bear remarkable similarities to the details of Roman manuals of land survey, particularly their rich ritualistic augural practices. The practices involved in the Sabbath Boundary may be seen as the rabbinic movement's utilization of Roman movements in its institution of Jewish space within the imperial landscape. Klein demonstrates how the rabbinic

construction of space may be seen as an expression and realization of Roman culture in late antique Palestine.

Whereas the rabbis and Christian leaders had a hand in developing what would become normative religious traditions, a visit to late antique synagogues and churches would reveal popular leaders engaged in an innovative poetic production of their own. To gain a more complete picture of the way ancient people constructed space, we turn from narrative pseudepigraphic texts and legal sources to liturgical poetry. Though this poetry has been studied textually, it has not received much attention from a performative and spatial perspective. Thus in the third chapter, “*In situ*: Liturgical Poetry and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity,” Ophir Münz-Manor explores the performance of poetry in houses of worship. Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew liturgical poems describe, explicitly or implicitly, the ritual space in which they were performed, that is the church and synagogue. Münz-Manor argues that one of the central techniques used by the poets was *ekphrasis*, a well-known Greco-Roman rhetorical device that poets used to connect images in churches and synagogues with the words of the liturgy in general and liturgical poems in particular, thereby creating a unique ritual experience. He highlights the shared ekphrastic technique of the poets of synagogue and church while singling out the unique characteristics of each religious tradition. Liturgical-poetry guided the ancient individual to view her synagogue or church with significance accruing over the course of the lectionary cycle as it was performed in her local place of prayer.

While the first section treats the construction of space from cosmic, territorial, and local perspectives, the second section, *Placing People*, features chapters that ask how ancient texts taught people to place themselves, and how Jewish and Christian texts incorporated believers into a religious landscape. This section is also arranged chronologically and thematically: it begins with an inquiry into how early Christian texts taught people to imagine themselves within the hierarchy of salvation and corresponding heavenly dwellings (Alexander Kocar); then moves to how the rabbis sought to direct people with spatial techniques for ritual prayer (Rachel Neis); and closes with a study of how Byzantine liturgical hymns interpolated Christians as later Adams and Eves (Derek Krueger). Inquiries into subjectivity in space emerge clearly in each chapter, further detailing how ancient authors were called to answer people’s questions about where they would reside after death, how they were to transition from the ordinary routine of life to enter the space of ritual, and how to imagine themselves in exile even as they inhabited the stronghold of community.

Alexander Kocar’s chapter, “A Hierarchy of Salvation in the Book of Revelation: Different Peoples, Dwellings, and Tasks in the End Times” examines how the author of Revelation, John of Patmos, struggled to find appropriate spaces for different sorts of people in the end times. After the death of Jesus and the gradual inclusion of gentiles into the Jesus movement, some Jewish authors began to pon-

der: where do these saved Gentiles end up? Do they deserve or are they even able to enter into the heavenly Jerusalem? For John, saved gentiles would be present to fulfill eschatological expectations; however, *where* they would be situated was more problematic due to concern for purity in this heavenly Jerusalem. Indeed, the limited gentile participation in the eschatological celebration was a corollary of prophetic expectations for the restoration of Israel. Kocar shows that John attempted to reconcile this incongruity with metaphorical language expressing shared but hierarchical salvation where gentiles and restored Israel would be spatially differentiated and assigned different tasks after the final resurrection.

Rachel Neis's chapter, "Directing the Heart: Corporeal Language and the Anatomy of Ritual Space," traces an expression of bodily language (*kavvanat halev*, "directing the heart") from biblical to early rabbinic sources and demonstrates how it oriented people to the affective, physical, and spatial dimensions of prayer. Rejecting a binary that would treat such language as either mental/subjective (and thus metaphorical) or solely physical/objective, Neis argues that we must unpack the fraught meaning of such corporeal spatial terminology to understand "rabbinic concepts of body-mind, ritual technology, and sacred geography" (132). She highlights the guidelines for the body in prayer mode found in the Mishnah and Tosefta Berakhot, which provide a geography and choreography of bodily and affective orientation that calls into question the notion of a fixed mandate to turn toward the site of the Jerusalem Temple. Although later directions found in the Babylonian Talmud on praying toward the holy of holies have come to be viewed as normative, Neis warns against reading these into the earlier sources on prayer, finding multiple focal points in her anatomy of the tannaitic evidence. Analyzing *kavvanat halev* in Mishnah Rosh Hoshana and its parallel in the Tosefta, Neis shows how the sages turned hearing into ritual listening, and ordinary gazing into observing, directions grounded in the body, space, and affect. Neis concludes with a section on the broader implications of her work for scholarly discussions of mind/body dualisms and metaphorical and embodied language.

With the chapters by Ratzon on the location of Eden, Münz-Manor on performance of poetry in synagogues and churches, and Neis on the affective dimension of ritual in the liturgical environment, the contribution of Derek Krueger's chapter, "Beyond Eden: Placing Adam, Eve, and Humanity in Byzantine Hymns" comes into relief. Krueger surveys three Byzantine hymns on Adam and Eve written between the fifth and the ninth century, which use the first humans to explore and cue emotional responses to the condition of humanity after the expulsion from Paradise. He illustrates how the cantors, merging their voice with biblical figures, would also invite the congregation to do so, creating a space for them to merge their identities and their fallen states with figures like Adam and Eve. Using biblical types with whom Christians should identify, these hymns both placed the congregation in the world beyond Eden and transmitted affects of grief and

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