

Moral Purification in 1QS

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In preexilic times, moral purification (the enforcement of the death penalty and כרת, "to be cut off") held tragic and fatal consequences for the offender, as well as the nation at large, dynamically illustrated when the nation was collectively "cut off" in exile. In response to the severe punishments occasioned by moral impurity, the prophets considered a survivable alternative for moral purification in place of the harsh Pentateuchal penalties. They envisioned, metaphorically, a lustral cleansing that could wash away moral impurity. The Hebrew Bible does not provide evidence of a literal adaptation of this metaphor into praxis. In looking to the Second Temple period literature, we find that 1QS provides the earliest witness of a literal adaptation of the prophetic imagery into a baptism of moral purification. As such, 1QS is a very important document for demonstrating an approach to moral purification that is both a development of the postexilic Hebrew Bible, as well as a precursor to the practices evident in the lives of John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul.

Key Words: baptism, halakah, moral impurity, moral purification, ritual impurity, ritual purification, Qumran law, 1QS

INTRODUCTION

An analysis of purity law in the Pentateuchal legislation (primarily Lev 11-26 and Num 19) reveals the presence of two distinct categories of pollution (טמא): *ritual impurity and moral impurity*.¹ Though this

1. Other categorizations of "ritual" and "moral" impurity include Tikva Frymer-Kensky's "pollution beliefs" and "danger beliefs" in "Pollution, Purification, and Purgation in Biblical Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 404; and David P Wright's "permitted impurity" and "prohibited impurity" in "The Spectrum of Priestly Impurity," in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel* (ed. Gary A. Anderson; JSOTSup 125; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991). Other references to ritual impurity include "ceremonial impurity" and "levitical impurity."

categorization of impurity is not maintained by all,² the P material clearly distinguishes a permissible type of impurity (ritual), arising out of everyday occurrences of life, such as childbirth (Lev 12:1-8), disease (Lev 13:1-14:32), and death (Num 19:1-37), from a forbidden type of impurity (moral), arising out of prohibited conduct such as sexual sin (Lev 18:24-29), idolatry (Lev 19:31; 20:1-3), and murder (Num 35:33-34).³ Remedy of the former condition was relatively lenient.⁴ However, remedy of the latter condition was extremely harsh, because morally defiled offenders faced either the death or the nn ("to be cut off") penalty.⁵ There was no opportunity of expiation for the morally defiled,⁶ which became a national epidemic for Israel, ul-

2. Some argue against a distinction between "ritual" and "moral" impurity: Richard E. Averbeck, "Clean and Unclean," *NIDOTTE* 4:477-86; Baruch Levine, *Leviticus* (JPS Torah Commentary 3; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989); Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1992); Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity* (SJLA 1; Leiden: Brill, 1973); Baruch Schwartz, *Selected Chapters of the Holiness Code: A Literary Study of Leviticus 17-19* (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1988 [Hebrew]), as identified by J. Klawans, "Idolatry, Incest, and Impurity: Moral Defilement In Ancient Judaism," *JSJ* 29 (1998): 396 n. 20. See also Wright, "The Spectrum," 150-82.

The contention is made that sin does not literally defile; rather, the terminology of ritual impurity is used metaphorically to describe the general "wrongness" of sin. However, as Jonathan Klawans has recently affirmed, sin in the Hebrew Bible does produce a real and tangible defilement: "The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism," *JJS* 48 (1997): 2-16; idem, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 26-42. Klawans draws attention to the earlier work of Adolf Buehler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century* (Library of Biblical Studies; London: Oxford, 1928), and Buehler's predecessor, David Zvi Hoffman, *Das Buch Leviticus* (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1905-6). Buehler himself indicates dependence upon two other works: Justus Koberle, *Sünde und Gnade* (1905); Smend, "Lehrbuch der alttestament" in *Religionsgeschichte* (1899).

3. Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 26, points out that these three sins of moral impurity are often referred to as the "abominations."

4. Ritual purification included (i) lustrations, (ii) sacrifices, (iii) the passage of time, and (iv) disposal. One or more of these "four methods" (as coined by Wright, "Unclean and Clean," *ABD* 6:736) were employed to cleanse ritually defiled persons or objects.

5. For a treatment of כַּרְתָּ, see Douglas Wold, "The Kareth Penalty in P: Rationale and Cases," *SBL Seminar Papers, 1979* (2 vols.; SBLSP 16; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1979), 1:2-24.

6. Conversely, Gordon Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (NICOT 3; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) 109, has suggested that a morally defiled offender, through repentance, could atone for sin in place of suffering the death penalty. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 373, has championed this view, arguing that a "doctrine of repentance" exists in the Pentateuch, permitting deliberate sinners the opportunity to avoid the harsh penalties through repentance. However, Milgrom relies heavily upon late, talmudic evidence (*b. Yoma* 86b). For a refutation of Milgrom, see my, "Moral Purification in Qumran and John the Baptist," (M.T.S. thesis, Associated Canadian Theological Seminaries, 2001), 39-42.

timately illustrated in the exile.⁷ Though a tendency toward leniency in the enforcement of capital penalties is attested,⁸ the unresolved perpetuation of moral impurity grew and defilement of sanctuary⁹ and land¹⁰ ultimately reached a "toxic level."¹¹ This resulted in the enforcement of the כרת penalty on a national scale: the exile.¹² If Israel were to survive the problem of moral defilement, an innovation in moral purification would be necessary.

It is in Ezekiel that this innovation takes root. The prophets stress the priority of moral obedience over ritual performance,¹³ often employing lustral imagery.¹⁴ Congruent with this moral emphasis, Ezekiel uses ablutatory language to envision a "miraculous purification of the people."¹⁵ He prophesies that God will one day cleanse Israel of its moral impurity by *sprinkling* her with *clean water* (Ezek 36:25-26; cf. 37:23), looking forward to the day when a fountain will be opened to *cleanse* Jerusalem of its sin and impurity (Ezek 13:1). Ezekiel's solution to the problem of moral impurity is a restorative purification, in place of the destructive penalties of death and כרת.¹⁶ But did the postexilic community adapt a moral purification?

The Hebrew Bible does not provide evidence for a movement of this metaphorical purification into praxis. For such evidence we must

7. There are many narratives describing enforcement of the death and כרת penalties (Exod 32:25-28; 32:35; Lev 10; 24:10-16; Num 11:1-3, 33-34; 14:23; 15:32-37; chap. 16; 21:4-9; 25:1-9; Josh 7).

8. A general tendency toward leniency is evident in the historical period leading up to the exile. For example, when David is exposed as an adulterer and murderer by the prophet Nathan (2 Sam 7), the Pentateuchal penalty of death is not meted out upon David or Bathsheba. Nevertheless, the progeny from their unlawful union is executed, and as P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984), 296, points out, the sentence upon David's child, that he "shall be put to death" (מִוֶּתֶת, מוֹת) is the standard formula in the Pentateuchal legislation for the death penalty.

9. Cf. 2 Chr 36:14; Jer 7:30; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 23:36-39; 43:7.

10. Cf. Lev 18:25, 28; 20:22; 26:14-39; Num 33:55-56; Deut 9:4-5; 18:9-12; 20:23-26; 22:4-5; Chap. 28; 31:16-18).

11. Tikva Frymer-Kensky, "Pollution," 408.

12., Wold, "Karet," 22. As Wold notes, Ezekiel describes the exile as the national "cutting off" of Israel from the promised land, due to the people's frequent engagement in כרת punishable sins; cf. Ezek 22-23.

13. The prophets bear this out in the expression "to obey is better than sacrifice." See Pss 40:6-8; 51:16; Isa 1:11-15; Jer 7:22; Hos 6:6; Amos 5:25; Mic 6:6-8. See also 1 Sam 15:22 aocl Prov 21:3.

14., The Psalmist emphasized the need for *clean* hands (24:3), and personally besought God to *wash away* his iniquity and *cleanse* him with *hyssop* (51:2, 7), likely a reference to the *water of cleansing* prescribed in Num 19. Similarly, Isaiah urged the people to *wash* and make themselves clean (1:16). Likewise, Jeremiah urged Jerusalem to wash the evil from its heart and thus be saved (4:14).

15. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 31.

16. Ibid. As Klawans notes, it is not likely that Ezekiel had a literal bath in view here.

look to the Second Temple literature outside of the Hebrew Bible, where we find the prophetic trajectory perpetuated in a number of examples that portray dynamically imagined praxis. We will briefly acknowledge these instances before considering 1QS, which we believe is the earliest evidence, within the trajectory of moral purification, of a development of the prophetic imagery into praxis.¹⁷

METAPHOR AND IMAGINED PRAXIS IN SECOND TEMPLE LITERATURE

Josephus, Philo, and Their Essenes

According to Jacob Neusner, Josephus "rarely treats purity in other than a cultic setting."¹⁸ In the few instances that Josephus does refer to purity in a moral context, the references are metaphorical.¹⁹ One biographical statement by Josephus is worth noting. In describing his three-year discipleship under Bannus the bather, Josephus states that Bannus used "frequent ablutions [λουόμενον] of cold water, by day and night, for purity's [πρὸς ἀγνείαν] sake."²⁰ Though lustral purification is in view here, there is no clear evidence that it represented moral purification or that Bannus was at all concerned with moral cleansing.²¹

In turning to Philo, we do find articulate and frequent statements regarding moral impurity and moral purification. For example, as Klawans notes, Philo, in *Spec. Laws* 1 §256-61, "works out a relationship between ritual and moral impurity that could not be more clear."²² In this passage, Philo states that the soul is purified through sacrifices, and the body is purified through lustrations. This Philonic dualism provides an ideal framework for the correlation of ritual and moral impurity, with Philo's primary focus upon moral defilement.²³

17. For a fuller treatment of this trajectory, including its NT phases, see my "Moral Purification in Qumran and John the Baptist," in which chap. 3 serves as a basis for this present article.

18. Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*, 38.

19. He reports, *Ant.* 10.4.5 §§68-70, that King Josiah, in calling Israel to abandon idolatry and show piety to God, "purified [καθαροσύνης] the entire country" (see Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 41); and he reports, *J.W.* 5.1.3 §§11-19, that when destroying the Jerusalem Temple, the Romans used fire-throwing machines "to purge [καθαροῦντες] with fire" the sanctuary already defiled (see Neusner, *ibid.*, 40).

20. Josephus, *Life* 2 §§11-12.

21. Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study* (JSNT-Sup 62; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 112.

22. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 7; *idem*, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 64.

23. *Ibid.*, 64-66. See for example: *Migration* §67; *Heir* §184-85, §239-40, §276; *Flight* §80; *Decalogue* §10; *QE* 2 §51.

The priority in addressing moral impurity is clear in *Cherubim*, where Philo meditates on the impropriety of complying with required purification rituals in preparation for festival worship, while disregarding a need for moral purification:

They cleanse their bodies with lustrations [λουτροῖς] and purifications [καθαρσίαις], but they neither wish nor practice to wash off [ἐκνίψασθαι] from their souls the passions by which life is defiled [καταρρυπαίνεται].²⁴

Philo uses lustral imagery to describe the moral cleansing apathetic worshipers neglect to perform. How are lustrations involved in this moral cleansing?

For Philo, moral cleansing comes through a correct attitude to God.²⁵ This cleansing is described metaphorically as a lustration. Philo, in *Unchangeable*, describes this moral purification:

If we cultivate the spirit of rendering thanks and honour to Him, we shall be pure [καθαρεύσομεν] from wrongdoing and wash away the filthiness which defiles [καταρρυπαίνοντα] our lives in thought and word and deed.²⁶

Here, moral purification is achieved by a figurative cleansing (through right living), not a literal bath. This figurative use of lustrations merely perpetuates the imagery of the prophets and does not indicate a movement into praxis of the prophetic phase.

Regarding the Essenes, both Josephus and Philo provide accounts of their lustrations.²⁷ Despite the detail they furnish regarding the lustral practices of the Essenes, there is no evidence to indicate that the ablutions were concerned with moral purification. Rather, the evidence indicates a concern for proper ritual purification in preparation for eating.²⁸ Although Philo and Josephus do emphasize the Essenes' pursuit of a high moral disposition, they do not provide evidence of a moral purification practice.²⁹

24. Philo, *Cherubim* 28 §91-95. See Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 45.

25. Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (Studying the Historical Jesus; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 86; cf. *Planting* §164; *Spec. Laws* 1 §191, §203-4, §275, §283-84; 2 §35.

26. Philo, *Unchangeable* 1 §7-9. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 111. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1 §260-75.

27. Josephus, *Ant.* 18 §§18-22; *J.W.* 2 §§119-61. Philo, *Hypothetica* 11 §1-18; *Good Person* §75-91. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 5.15.73, makes no reference to purity.

28. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 113.

29. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 16-19; Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 113-16; Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 42.

Pseudepigrapha

Jubilees. In *Jubilees*, the second-century BCE commentary of Gen 1–Exod 12,³⁰ moral impurity is a "constant concern."³¹ As Jonathan Klawans states, throughout *Jubilees*, "the terminology of defilement is juxtaposed to the terminology of sin."³² For example, the commentator states that God judged Sodom and Gomorrah because "they were savage and very sinful, they would defile themselves, commit sexual sins in their flesh, and do what was impure on the earth."³³ Notwithstanding this clear, moral emphasis upon impurity, there is, however, an absence of reference to its purification.³⁴

Apocalypse of Moses. In the *Apocalypse of Moses*, the Greek text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, there is a clear reference to a moral purification involving immersion in combination with repentance and prayer.³⁵ In *Apoc. Mos.* 29.11-13, Adam suggests that he and Eve deal with their Eden sin by repenting in silent prayer, while being immersed up to the neck in the Tigris River.³⁶

This description of moral purification is a striking illustration of praxis, but it is imaginary. This midrash is a creative application of the prophetic imagery to a dynamically imagined story. Though it is an innovative advance upon the prophetic phase, it remains, nevertheless, a fictitious account and does not articulate actual praxis of moral purification.³⁷

I Enoch. Though *I Enoch* makes many references to moral defilement,³⁸ it is silent regarding moral purification. One interesting

30. See James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopicus Tomus 88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), v.

31. Klawans, "Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism," 47. Klawans notes, pp. 47-48, that the three main sources of moral impurity in *Jubilees*, as in the HB, are idolatry (*Jub.* 1:9; 12:2; 20:7; 21:15; 22:16-17), murder (7:33; 21:19), and sexual sin (4:22; 7:21-22; 20:6; 30:3; 33:7).

32. *Ibid.*, 47. Klawans notes *Jub.* 7:21; 9:15; 20:3-5; 21:21; 22:14; 23:14, 17; 33:19; 41:25.

33. *Jubilees* 16:5, translated by VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 95-98.

34. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 57, asserts that none of the views of purity in *Jubilees* "greatly develops the biblical concepts." We find no evidence in *Jubilees* of a concern for the cleansing of moral impurity.

35. Webb, *John Hu: Baptizer*, 122, suggests caution in using the *Apocalypse of Moses*, since it is dated to the late first century CE. However, M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *OTP* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 2:252, suggests that it may have originated as early as the first century BCE.

36. Translated by Johnson, *OTP*, 2:258-61.

37. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 122; Taylor, *The Immerser*, 92.

38. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 56. He notes *I En.* 9:8; 10:11; 12:4; 15:13.

reference, however, reports that the flood was released in order to purify the land, which had become defiled by the sexual sin of the Watchers.³⁹ It is reported that the deluge cleansed the earth "from all injustice, and from all defilement, and from all oppression, and from all sin, and from all iniquity."⁴⁰

This midrash of the flood event is very significant in that it clearly portrays a moral cleansing conducted through lustral activity. However, as a development of the prophetic phase, it falls short on two counts. First, it is describing the cleansing of land, not people. Second, because the lustral activity here is destructive, rather than restorative, *I Enoch* is, in fact, a backward regression in the trajectory to the harsh Pentateuchal approach to moral impurity.

Sibylline Oracles 4. In the fourth book of the Greek *Sibylline Oracles*,⁴¹ there is a text lauding moral purification. In it, the Sibyl urges sinners to engage in lustral repentance:

Ah, wretched mortals, change these things, and do not lead the Great God to all sorts of anger, but abandon daggers and groanings, murders and outrages, and wash your bodies in perennial rivers. Stretch out your hands to heaven and ask forgiveness for your previous deeds and make propitiation for bitter impiety with words of praise; God will grant repentance and will not destroy. He will stop his wrath if you all practice honorable piety in your hearts.⁴²

Here we have a very impressive example of lustral imagery employed in the context of moral purification. However, this context, once again, is imaginary. Here, lustral imagery is adapted to an admonitional context for the purpose of invoking repentance. The Sibyl has dynamically adapted the prophetic imagery, but has not described actual, historical praxis.

Testament of Levi. Though the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a late, eleventh-century CE Greek MS, the discovery of the Aramaic text 4QTLevi^{ar} (4Q213) indicates that the eleventh-century Greek text has adequately preserved the pre-Christian stage, because the two are in close parallel.⁴³ In the Greek text, Levi describes his purification:

39. *Ibid.*, 56-57. *I Enoch* 10:7 describes the defilement of the land.

40. *I Enoch* 10:20, translated by E. Isaac, *OTP*, 1:18-19.

41. Likely written at the end of the Hellenistic period and later redacted, around 80 CE. See J. J. Collins, *OTP*, 1:381-82; Taylor, *The Immerser*, 91; Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 121.

42. *Sib. Or.* 4.161-70, translated by J. J. Collins (*OTP*, 1:388); cf. Webb, *John The Baptizer*, 120.

43. *Ibid.*, 116-20. Notably, 4QTLevi^{ar} does contain portions not found in the later, eleventh-century MS.

Then I washed my clothes and cleansed them in pure water, and in living water I wholly bathed myself, and all my ways I made straight.⁴⁴

Following this ablution, Levi asks the Lord to cleanse his heart from moral impurity:

⁷[Remove] far away from me, Lord, the spirit of unrighteousness and evil thought and sexual immorality, and remove arrogance from me. . . .¹⁴ Cleanse my heart, Lord, from all uncleanness.⁴⁵

Here we find another vivid example of lustral imagery employed in the context of moral purification.⁴⁶ However, as with our previous examples, the text cannot be characterized as an historical account. This is a midrashic expansion on the final words of Jacob to his son Levi (Gen 49). This is not an account of historical praxis but an imaginary portrayal.

The Tannaim and Proselyte Baptism

Though the tannaitic authorities are very concerned with issues of ritual impurity, they have very little to say regarding the subject of moral purification. As Klawans notes, "sins and their defiling force are completely absent from the major 'essays' on ritual purity that can be found in tannaitic sources."⁴⁷ Averbeck suggests that it is not until the fourth century CE that moral impurity becomes an issue in rabbinic literature.⁴⁸ Moreover, Klawans concludes that, in regard to sin and moral purification, "the tannaim were not greatly interested in the topic, and did not care to emphasize it."⁴⁹

The significance of proselyte baptism to our study is unaffected by the ongoing debate concerning its date of origin.⁵⁰ Even if one

44. *T. Levi* 2.3B1-2, trans. in Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 118, based on his versification (cf. p. 117 n. 78).

45. *T. Levi* 2.3B7-8, 11, 14, trans. in Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 119.

46. Conversely, Taylor, *The Immerser*, 91, does not view the lustrations as pertaining to moral cleansing. In our view, she has wrongly polarized the lustration and the moral cleansing in this text. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 119, does well to account for the lustral cleansing, describing it as "an actual immersion in running water to symbolize cleansing from sin and conversion to God." Yet his assertion that this is an "actual" immersion is beyond the evidence of the text.

47. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 11. For the basis of this conclusion see Klawans' major treatment of impurity and sin in the tannaitic literature, *Sin and Impurity in Ancient Judaism*, chaps. 4-5.

48. Averbeck, "טהרה," *NIDOTTE* 2:349; cf. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 114. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 11, notes that the topic of sin eventually becomes an issue in the Tosepta and the Sipra.

49. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 12.

50. Webb, *John the Baptizer*, 123, cites the major works in the debate.

concedes that it was practiced in the first century BCE, its relevance to the trajectory of moral purification is ambiguous. Although proselyte baptism was undeniably concerned with the ritual purification of converting Gentiles, it is not evident that it was at all concerned with cleansing moral impurity.⁵¹ As such, proselyte baptism offers no significant evidence for our investigation.

Summary of Developments

We have observed, in the *Apocalypse of Moses*, *Testament of Levi*, and *Sibylline Oracles 4*, striking examples of the prophetic imagery of moral purification adapted for fictional portrayals of moral cleansing. Indeed, the extensive detail of these portrayals positions them as an innovative phase of development beyond the prophets in the trajectory of moral purification. Yet, they lack specific evidence regarding the movement of the prophetic imagery into actual praxis, for which we must look to 1QS and the Qumran corpus.

RITUAL PURITY LAW IN QUMRAN

In order to acquire an understanding of Qumran's attitudes to purification, it will be necessary to investigate separately the community's approach to dealing with ritual and moral impurity. An analysis of texts referring to ritual purity evidences three main tendencies: (i) a tendency to view the community as a replacement of the Temple, (ii) a tendency to increase purification requirements, and (iii) a tendency to transfer priestly regulations to all members.

Tendency to View the Community as a Replacement of the Temple

According to L. H. Schiffman, the Qumran members believed that "violations of the law marred the Temple and that its priests were illegitimate."⁵² Therefore, the sect viewed itself as "a sanctuary that brought its members into the same intimate contact with God that members formerly had experienced through cultic worship."⁵³ This replacement tendency is evident in their desire to become "a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron."⁵⁴ For this reason, as Newton notes, the community "conducted itself as

51. *Ibid.*, 129-30; see also Taylor, *The Immerser*, 68.

52. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: the History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 290.

53. *Ibid.*

54. 1QS 8:5-6. Translation from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

a replacement for the defiled Temple of Jerusalem and as a dwelling place for God."⁵⁵

Having assumed the role as the sanctuary of God, the community topographically transferred the purity of the temple to the community itself as a "new locus of sanctity."⁵⁶ The issues of impurity that prevented one from approaching the temple now prevented one from approaching the community; issues of temple purity now became issues of community purity. This tendency is also reflected in 4QMMT, which "considers the entire city of Jerusalem to have the sanctity of the biblical war camp."⁵⁷ This increased sanctity of the community's space required a more rigorous approach to protect its "purity."⁵⁸

Tendency to Increase Purification Requirements

It is no surprise that a community that saw itself as a replacement for the temple would be overtly concerned with the maintenance of ritual purity. In the tradition of Leviticus, CD in two places instructs the community to distinguish between clean and unclean.⁵⁹ There is evidence for the continuation of the main Pentateuchal pollutants such as corpse contamination (11QT 49), carcass contamination (11QT 47:7-18; 48:6; 51:1-5; 52:17-21), skin disease (CD 13:5-6; 1QM 7:4-5; 4QMMT B 64-72; 11QT 49:19-21)⁶⁰ and sexual flows (CD 12:1-2; 1QM 7:6; 11QT 45:11-17; 46:14-18).⁶¹ The community also introduced

55. Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 14. Cf. 1QS 5:6, 21; 8:5,8-9,11; 9:6; 11:18; CD 1:7; 6:2. See also A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (NTL; London: SCM, 1966), 216. Hannah K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis* (SBLDS 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 53, argues that Qumran did not see itself as a replacement of the temple and was not participating in the cult, but was preparing to participate in the cult at a future time. However, this does not account for the evidence regarding the community's practice of purification, atonement, and worship.

56. Florentino García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution," in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera; trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 151; Bilhah Nitzan, "Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 159; cf. Klawans on 11QT, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 49.

57. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 73.

58. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 26, suggests that the "purity" of the community refers to anything that belonged to the community, including the pure food and pure drink, possessions, and even abstract things such as knowledge or understanding.

59. CD 6:17-18; 12:19. See also 4Q512 40-41 ix 1-4.

60. Scholars note that, for Qumran, the affliction of skin disease was a punishment for sin. See, for example, Harrington, *The Impurity Systems*, 82.

61. Included in our discussion of sectarian literature are documents, such as 11QT, which some may not describe as sectarian literature, but that do, nonetheless, provide much insight into sectarian halakah.

sources of impurity such as blindness (11QT 45:12-14), excrement pollution (1QM 7:3-7; 11QT 46:15-16), and oil as a highly toxic conductor (CD 12:15-18).⁶²

How did Qumran deal with these ritual impurities? According to Jacob Milgrom, a clue may be found in the *Temple Scroll*, where an increase in the purification requirement of ritual impurity suggests its defiling force had likewise increased.⁶³ Milgrom observes that requirements increase both in terms of passing of time and frequency of ablutions. Purification from nocturnal emission and sexual intercourse increases from one day (Lev 15:16-18) to three days, and requires two ablutions (11QT 45:7-12).⁶⁴ Also, whereas one afflicted with skin disease could return to the camp after the first-day ablu-tion in the Pentateuch (Lev 14:18), 11QT requires a full seven-day separation (11QT 46:16-18).⁶⁵

This more-rigorous approach to ritual purification attests an in-crease in the defiling force of ritual impurity. As Milgrom concludes, the extended waiting period and extra ablu-tion help protect the sancta and keep the malevolent force of impurity in check.⁶⁶

Tendency to Transfer Priestly Regulations to All Members

In light of the expansionist tendencies already observed, it is not surprising to discover a transfer of priestly regulations to the mem-bers of the community. Newton proposes that the demands for pu-rity upon the members "were as stringent as those laid down for those who were called to minister in the Temple in Jerusalem."⁶⁷ Anyone suffering from any form of ritual impurity such as skin dis-ease or irregular sexual discharge was separated from the commu-nity.⁶⁸ And permanent disorders, such as blindness excluded one

62. 4QMMT B 49-54 indicates that the blind and deaf are banned from entrance to the temple (4Q394 8 iii 19-iv 4; 4Q396 1-2 ii 1-5) but does not indicate that such con-ditions are sources of impurity.

63. Jacob Milgrom, "First Day Ablutions in Qumran," in *The Madrid Qumran Con-gress* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 561-70. As Klawans notes, *Impurity and Sin*, 51, al-though 11QT deals at length with ritual impurity, it is "really not that interested in moral defilement." This can also be said for 4QMMT.

64. Milgrom, "First Day Ablutions," 561-62. Milgrom suggests that each ablu-tion was necessary to remove a layer of impurity. The first ablu-tion removed enough im-purity for one to dwell safely in the city, but a second ablu-tion was necessary in order to gain safe access to the temple.

65. *Ibid.*, 563. Milgrom notes that the Temple Scroll envisions community life in the midst of the temple city, which requires as high a level of purity as the temple itself.

66. *Ibid.*, 570.

67. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 49.

68. *Ibid.*, 24. See CD 15:15-16 and 1QSa 2:3-4.

from the possibility of community membership.⁶⁹ This rigorous intensification of ritual-purity maintenance at Qumran is evident also in the members' approach to moral purification.

MORAL PURITY LAW IN QUMRAN

That Qumran was concerned with moral purity is evident from the great many references in its literature to sin associated with impurity.⁷⁰ A fine example is in the passage of the two spirits (1QS 3:13-4:14), where the sinful attributes of the immoral operations of the Spirit of Falsehood upon the earth are described as:

וּדְרָכָי נִדְהָ בְעִבּוּדַת טְמֵאָה¹⁰

¹⁰Impure acts regarding the maintenance of purity.⁷¹

Klawans notes, regarding the cultic terminology here (נִדְהָ, "impurity"; עִבּוּדָה, "purity maintenance"; and טְמֵאָה, "purity"), that "the language of ritual impurity is being used to describe not specific violations of ritual taboos, but grave sins in general."⁷² As in the HB, Qumran regarded sin as defiling, yet developed legislation well beyond pentateuchal law.

Qumran Law: Halakah and Torah

Though Torah was the central piece of legislation at Qumran, the community, deeply concerned with regulating purity, was faced with filling legal gaps, situations that the Torah did not specifically address. As such, interpretation of the Torah was required. This resulted in the development of sectarian rules, referred to in the Qumran literature by terms such as מִצְוָה ("commandment"), מִשְׁפָּטִים ("rules"), נִסְתָּרוֹת ("hidden things") and נִגְלוֹת ("revealed things").⁷³

69. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity," 146. See 11QT 45:12-14. Martínez notes that "blindness" is likely an abbreviation for the imperfections listed in Lev 21:17-20; cf. 2 Sam 5:8.

70. See for example CD 2:1; 3:17; 5:6-11; 7:1-2; 10:2; 1QH 1:23; 9:32; 11:11,21; 12:37; 14:8; 15:30; 17:18; 19:10-11, 30; 1QpHab 7:6-9; 8:11-13; 1QS 3:6-9; 4:10, 20-21; 5:13-14; 8:16-18; 10:24; 11:14-15; 4Q504 vi 2-6; 11QT 51:11-15. See also Joseph Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 211, where his translations of phrases in 4Q512 suggest a context of moral impurity.

71. 1QS 4:10b. Author's translation.

72. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 9. Klawans cites נִדְהָ as sin in 1QS 11:14-15; IQM 8:5; 1QH 1:22; 17:18; 4Q512 29-32 viii 9. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*, 77, points out that there is a tendency in the Qumran corpus to refer to sin generally, rather than to specific sin, such as sexual, idolatrous, or murderous sin as typically done in the Pentateuchal legislation.

73. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 41-42. However, Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico,

Members of the community were not to deviate from the commandments (מצוה),⁷⁴ but to live life according to the community's rules and judgments (משפטים).⁷⁵ The hidden laws (נסתרות) were known only to the sectarians.⁷⁶ And the task of a leader was to interpret the Torah in order to discover the revealed law (נגלֹת).⁷⁷ Rabbinic literature is also known for producing similar, supplementary laws, which they termed "halakah" (הלכה). For convenience, we will use the term halakah to refer to Qumran's sectarian rules.

Whereas Qumran acknowledged that Torah law was obvious to any Jew, the sect was preoccupied with the idea that they alone were custodians of the hidden halakah. They gave the impression that their halakhot were the very commandments of God by weaving their "own interpretations of Scripture into the text of the Torah itself."⁷⁸ We can see this skillful use of Torah and its juxtaposition with halakah:

They "have not sought Him nor inquired of His statutes" (Zeph. 1:6) so as to discover the hidden laws [נסתרות] in which they err to their shame. Even the revealed laws [נגלֹת] they knowingly transgress.⁷⁹

The נגלֹת are Torah laws, "revealed to all of Israel."⁸⁰ However, the Qumran halakot were hidden (נסתרות) and were not easily discernible, comprising the very points and doctrines around which the sect "coalesced."⁸¹ Violation of halakah, and of course of the Torah itself, created a defilement that required remedy.

California: Scholars Press, 1983), 167, suggests that נגלֹת is a technical term for Torah Law. Gary A. Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells* (J. Milgrom FS; ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 55, agrees, suggesting that Qumran developed the two categories of revealed (Torah) law and hidden (halakic) law from Deut 29:28. However, we find that in the eight occurrences of the verb נגלֹת in IQS, only once does it clearly refer to Torah law (see n. 77 below).

74. IQS 8:17; CD 10:3.

75. Though there are many reconstructed possibilities, these are some of the clear or likely references: CD 12:19; 13:17; 14:18; 15:11; 16:12; 16:16; 4Q266 11 18; 4Q270 7 i 12, 151, ii 12; 4Q271 4 ii 16; IQS 6:24; 7:21; 8:20; 8:24; 1QpHab 1:14; 4Q376 1 iii 1; 4Q491 4 3; 4Q504 3 ii 14; 11QT 29:4; 50:6; 56:2, 6.

76. Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 247, identifies IQS 5:11; CD 3:12-16. We also suggest IQS 8:11-12; 9:17; 11:16; 1QH 4:9; 16:10-11; 26:1, cf. 4Q427 7 i 19; 4Q268 1 6-7.

77. IQS 1:9; 5:9; 8:1; 8:15-16; 9:13; 9:19. Cf. 5:12, likely a reference to Torah.

78. Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Some Laws Pertaining to Animals in Temple Scroll Column 52," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 178.

79. IQS 5:11b-12a. Translation from Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1996).

80. Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 247.

81. *Ibid.*, 249.

Halakah Violation: Three Degrees

How did the community deal with offenders of halakah? This question would be difficult to answer were it not for the Penal Code, 1QS 6:24-7:25, a series of sectarian rules dedicated entirely to the realm of moral impurity.⁸² As Schiffman notes, Qumran law generally comprises apodictic statements, leaving the reader to "assume the consequences for violation of the particular regulations."⁸³ However, the Penal Code clearly states the cause and consequence of each violation. An analysis of the Code suggests that there were three degrees of impurity engendered through violation of halakah, as evidenced in their respective penalties: (i) first degree—reduced rations and separation from pure food; (ii) second degree—repeating the two-year initiation process; and (iii) third degree—expulsion.

First Degree: Separation and Reduced Ration. A number of halakic violations stipulated in the Penal Code lead to separation from the pure food for periods ranging from ten days to one year.⁸⁴ Lying about money (1QS 6:24-25), defiance or disrespect of comembers and leaders (6:25-27), speaking out against one of the priests (7:2-3), accusing a comember of sin without evidence (7:4-5), and gossiping (7:15-16) result in a one-year separation from the pure meals along with reduced rations.⁸⁵ Lesser violations do not require separation from the pure food but do result in a period of reduced rations: six months—deceit and fraud (7:5), holding a grudge or seeking vengeance (7:8-9), nakedness (7:12),⁸⁶ or speaking against a comember (7:17-18); three months—unknowing involvement in fraud (7:6) or speaking foolishness (7:9); sixty days—inability to repay fraud (7:8); thirty days—falling asleep in a general session (7:10), spitting in a general session (7:13), wearing loose clothing that exposed one's nakedness (7:13-14), or excessive laughter (7:14-15); ten days—interrupting a member in a general session (7:9-10) or gesturing with the left hand during a conversation (7:15).

82. See García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity," 152.

83. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 155.

84. Joseph Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992): 268-76, has cross-examined the four versions of the Qumran Penal Code (1QS, along with three CD manuscripts, 4Q265, 4Q266, and 4Q270). Baumgarten found variations in the prescribed penalties (see his table, pp. 275-76) leading him to conclude that "the penal legislation of the sect had an extended history during which it underwent modifications in both scope and severity," 268.

85. A period of either six months or one year is stipulated for the reduced rations here, except in the first offense, where there is a unique reduction of one-fourth (6:25).

86. The offender is pardoned if the nakedness is due to illness (7:12).

Though this first-degree legislation concerns intentional violation of Qumran halakah,⁸⁷ it represents the lower end of severity. In second-degree violation, reinitiation was required.

Second Degree: Repeat of the Two-Year Initiation Process. A clue to understanding the moral impurity arising out of this second degree of halakic violation is found in a consideration of the parallel texts, 1QS 7:18b-21 and 1QS 8:16b-19. In the first text, the violator is one who deviates from the foundation of the community, forsaking the truth and walking in the stubbornness of his heart. If this violator repents, he is to endure two years of reduced rations, separation from the pure food for one year, and separation from the pure drink for two years. In the second text, a similar scenario is described. Here, the violator is one who commits a "high-handed" offense (המצודה) against the halakah (ביד רמה).⁸⁸ Like the previous scenario, the offender is separated from the pure food, and in this case, from other community activities. Though the period of separation is not stated, the text indicates that procedure falls under the same stipulations as the initiation process:

וכמשפט הזה לכול הנוסף ליחד¹⁹

¹⁹And likewise, this ruling is for everyone being added to the Community.⁸⁹

Thus, we may conclude that these second-degree violations, the high-handed offenses against halakah, are deemed so defiling that "the penitent sectarian is left with no choice but to tread his way once again through the long process of initiation."⁹⁰

Third Degree: Expulsion. In this most severe degree of halakic violation, permanent expulsion was required. Three scenarios are evident: (i) misusing the name of God (1QS 6:27-7:2); (ii) gossiping against the general membership (7:16-17); and (iii) speaking against the teaching of the community (7:17). In a fourth and less specific

87. In two of the aforementioned violations, sentences are reduced when the offender acts without intent: (i) unintentionally (בשגגה) speaking out against one of the priests (7:3) and (ii) unknowing involvement in fraud (7:6). This lesser intent diminishes the punishments from one year (7:2-3) down to six months in the former case, and from six months (7:5) down to three months in the latter case.

88. Along with 1QS 8:17, other references to ביד רמה sin against halakah can be found in CD 10:3 and 4Q171 1-10 iv 15. See below for reference of ביד רמה sin against the Torah.

89. 1QS 8:19. Author's translation.

90. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 166. Schiffman suggests that CD 20:1-8 is a parallel excommunication.

scenario, expulsion is prescribed for a ten-year veteran of the community who spiritually returns to a treacherous lifestyle (7:22-23).⁹¹ It is also stipulated that members who remain involved with this expelled member will suffer the same penalty (7:24-25).

Now that we have considered the three degrees of Qumran halakah, it will be of interest to determine in what manner the Penal Code manages Torah violation.

Torah Violation

An analysis of moral impurity in the HB indicates that sin was dealt with harshly by either the death or כרת penalty.⁹² Exceptions to this include sins committed with some level of innocence, and in two texts, hidden sin (withholding testimony and fraud) that was eventually confessed (Lev 5:1; 5:21-26 [6:2-71]).⁹³ The moral impurity in these exceptions was purged through sacrifice. Does the Qumran approach to moral impurity arising out of Torah violation correspond with this Pentateuchal pattern?

The final portion of the Penal Code (8:21-9:2) provides a clue to the answer.⁹⁴ Anyone who sins against the Law of Moses with a בידי רמה, "high hand" (1QS 8:22), is to be expelled from the community without opportunity of returning.⁹⁵ The text continues to project a contrasting scenario in which an individual who sins unintentionally (בשגגה)⁹⁶ is permitted to return to the community after two years of separation from the pure food and community activities (8:25-9:2). This is likely the same two-year reinitiation process for the second-degree violations of halakah. The restorability of the unintentional sinner is consistent with the Pentateuch, though the penalty is more severe. Conversely, expulsion, rather than the death penalty, for the intentional sinner is a tendency toward leniency.

91. Anderson, "Intentional and Unintentional Sin," 55, suggests that the harsh penalty here is due to the fact that, after ten years of halakic training, a veteran should have known better.

92. Toews, "Moral Purification in Qumran and John the Baptist," 29-34.

93. Ibid., 34-41.

94. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 170, notes that some scholars view this section as an earlier version of the Code, due to its harsher penalties. In our view, the severity simply reflects the seriousness of Torah violation.

95. Other references to בידי רמה sin against Torah include 1QS 5:12; 8:22; 9:1; 4Q159 2-4 6; 4Q396 1-2 iii 10; cf. high-handed neglect (ויפרעו בידי רמה) against God: CD 8:8; 19:21; 4Q182 1 3; 4Q266 3 iv 6. Two other reconstructed possibilities are 4Q266 8 iii 3 and 4Q270 6 iv 5.

96. Along with 1QS 8:24 and 1QS 9:1, בשגגה occurs in 4Q266 1 2 and 4Q270 7 i 17 for unintentional Torah violation. One other occurrence, though unclear, is 4Q388 2 2.

Summary of Moral Purification in Qumran

In comparison with Pentateuchal legislation, Qumran's approach to penalizing moral impurity shows an interesting dichotomy. As table 1 exhibits, Qumran increases the penalty for unintentional sin yet decreases the penalty for intentional sin.

Table 1. A comparison of penalties for unintentional and intentional Torah violation

	Penalty for Unintentional Sin	Penalty for Intentional Sin
Hebrew Bible Torah Violation	Sin Offering	Death or Karet
Qumran Torah Violation	2 years	Expulsion

Unintentional sin in the Pentateuch was easily remedied through sacrifice. However, at Qumran, the penalty for unintentional sin increases to a two-year separation from the purity. Conversely, Qumran's approach to intentional sin relaxes. Whereas Torah violation meant death or כרת for the Israelite offender, Qumran lightens the punishment to expulsion.⁹⁷ At Qumran, the Pentateuchal penalties regarding moral impurity are relaxed, yet the penalties regarding ritual impurity are intensified.

Regarding halakic violation, we have observed a tendency toward severity.

Table 2. The comparative severity of penalties for Torah and Halakah violation at Qumran

TYPE OF VIOLATION	LEGISLATED PENALTY			
	10-day to 1-year Separation	2-Year Separation	Permanent Expulsion	Death or Karet
Hebrew Bible Torah	Unintentional			Intentional
Qumran Torah		Unintentional	Intentional	
Qumran Halakah	1 Degree	2 Degree	3 Degree	

97. One who commits blasphemy, an offense punishable by death in the HB (Lev 24:15-16), is excommunicated at Qumran (IQS 7:1-2). Even greater relaxation is evident in CD 12:3-6, where a Sabbath violator not only avoids the death penalty but is given an opportunity to undergo a seven-year probation. Some evidence, however, for the continuity of the death penalty is found in 4Q159 2-4 4-10. It is important to note that expulsion in its own right would have been catastrophic for the Qumranite.

As table 2 exhibits, Qumran penalizes its lowest degree of halakah violation comparably to, and in many cases even more severe than, the purification procedure for unintentional sin in the HB. Even the lightest penalty for first-degree halakah violation (ten days) requires a longer period of waiting than the legislated remedy of sacrifice prescribed in the Torah for unintentional sin.⁹⁸ Indeed, many of the first-degree halakic penalties range into month-long and even year-long periods, a tendency toward severity that intensifies even further with the second-degree and third-degree violations. Regarding its treatment of unintentional Torah violation, Qumran not surprisingly increases the penalty to the two-year separation and reinitiation process.

Why this tendency toward severity? The rigorous approach to protecting the purity of the community motivated these stiffer penalties. The community saw its existence as a pure replacement for the temple and thus treated defilement with temple severity. Conversely, the leniency toward intentional sin likely arose out of Qumran's attempt to deal with the problem of moral defilement in a manner that preserved life.

In our analysis of the Penal Code, little detail was discovered concerning the elements involved in moral purification. However, significant insight into the moral purification of the two-year violators and new initiates is available from other texts, providing insight into how Qumran cleansed moral defilement.

INITIATION AND REINITIATION: TWO YEAR PROCESS OF MORAL PURIFICATION

1QS has preserved in great detail the Qumran initiation process,⁹⁹ which involved four key elements: (i) the passing of time; (ii) study and examination; (iii) repentance; and (iv) lustrations.¹⁰⁰ This process achieved moral purification for both the new initiate and, as observed above, the reinitiating member of the community.¹⁰¹

98. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 129 n. 172, notes the Torah-like severity of Qumran's halakah.

99. That the initiation process removed both moral and ritual impurity will be considered below.

100. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 25, notes a divine element: God's providence (1QS 6:22).

101. We cannot know for certain that reinitiating members were required to repeat every step. Nevertheless, since we are told that the two-year penalty for sin is the same two-year process of initiation (1QS 8:19), we can with confidence investigate this process as a model for reinitiation.

Passing of Time: Stages of Internship

The initiation process comprised stages over a two-year internship bracketed by a series of examinations. This incremental access to the purity of the community indicates that the candidate's impurity was removed in layers. García Martínez calls this "progressive purification" or "gradual membership."¹⁰²

Upon successful entrance examination, a new recruit was able to engage in community life but not cultic life. For the first year the candidate was not permitted to come into contact with the purity of the community, neither the pure drink nor the pure meal.¹⁰³ During the second year, the candidate was able to touch the pure food but not the pure drink.¹⁰⁴ Finally, after two years of internship, the candidate was permitted to contact the pure drink, demonstrating that he had achieved a sufficient level of purity and was acceptable for full initiation into the community.¹⁰⁵ For the reinitiating member, this meant a return to cultic life.

Study and Examination in Torah and Halakah

It is interesting that each stage of "progressive purification" required successful examination, suggesting that learning, like the passing of time, was a key sacramental act in the purification process. The first step for any candidate was examination by the head of the council and by the general assembly.¹⁰⁶ Following these initial examinations, the candidate spent his first-year internship studying Qumran law, including the study of both Torah and halakah, so that he could successfully demonstrate an understanding of that law at his one-year examination.¹⁰⁷ This process repeated for a second year, at the conclusion of which he was again examined for full membership

102. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity," 153-54.

103. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 25.

104. 1QS 6:20.

105. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity," 153. On p. 154, he suggests that separation "acts as a substitute for the atonement of the Temple." More accurately, it acts as one of the substitutes.

106. Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 99. See 1QS 6:13-17.

107. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 25. See 1QS 6:18-20. Alternatively, Schiffman, *Reclaiming*, 100-101, based on evidence from CD 15:6-13, proposes that a candidate was not permitted to study halakah until he had successfully passed the first-year examination; cf. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 156-59. However, Chaim Milikowsky, "A Critical Reaction to Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code*," *RevQ* 12 (1986): 247, disagrees, noting that the halakot of the Penal Code are situated at the beginning of the two-year probationary period; moreover, "it is difficult to accept that novices were not expected to know any of these regulations until the end of the two year period."

(6:20-24). This priority of successful examination highlights the importance of study at Qumran, indicating that the acquisition of knowledge was a significant part of the moral purification process at Qumran.

Repentance and Lustrations

The lustration of the initiate is so intimately connected with his repentance from sin that these two elements should be considered in tandem.

Following the two spirits passage (1QS 3:13-4:14), 1QS portrays the conflict between good and evil in an eschatological battle that concludes with a moral purification highly reflective of the prophetic phase of the trajectory of moral purification:

וְאִזּוּ יִבְרַר אֱלֹהִים בְּאֵמֶתוֹ כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂי גִבּוֹר וּזְקָק לּוֹ מִבְּנֵי אִישׁ לְהִתֵּם כּוֹל רוּחַ עוֹלָה
 מִתְּכַמִּי
 בְּשָׂרוֹ וּלְטַהֲרוֹ בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֵשׁ מְכוּל עַל יְלֹת רְשָׁעָהּ. וְיִזּוּ עַל יוֹ רוּחַ אֵמֶת כְּמִי נְדָה
 מְכוּל תּוֹעֵבוֹת שִׁקְרָה וְהַתְּגוּלָּה
 בְּרוּחַ נְדָה²²

²⁰Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part ²¹of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement ²²of the unclean spirit.¹⁰⁸

Here, ritual purity language is used to describe the future moral purification: זָקַק—"to purify," טָהַר—"to cleanse," כְּמִי נְדָה—"like the water of impurity," נְדָה—"impurity." Like the prophets, 1QS uses lustral imagery to describe moral cleansing and to provide a fine eschatological answer to the problem of moral impurity. But how could sin be dealt with in the present life of the community?

Qumran satisfied the contemporary need for moral purification by applying the eschatological lustrations to their present ritual of initiation. Their literal application of lustral imagery provides the earliest Second Temple evidence for a movement into praxis of the prophetic conception of moral purification. Certain features of the praxis are evident.

Confession of sin and genuine repentance were key aspects in the moral purification process at Qumran. Candidates were required to confess sin:

108. 1QS 4:20-22. Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

וְכֹלֵי אֵלֶּיךָ הַעֹבְרִים בְּבְרִית מוֹדִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם לְאִמּוֹר נַעֲוִינוּ
 25 פָּשַׁעְנוּ [חַטָּאנוּ] הַרְשַׁעְנוּ אֲנִי וְ[אֲ]בֹתַי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ

²⁴[And al]l those who enter the covenant shall confess after them and they shall say: "We have acted sinfully, ²⁵we have [trans]-gressed, we have [si]nned, we have committed evil, we and our [fa]thers before us."¹⁰⁹

Moreover, candidates had to repent,¹¹⁰ or otherwise he will bring a threat of defilement against the purity of the community.

13 אַל יִבּוֹא בַמַּיִם לְגַעַת בַּמְהַרְתָּ אִנְשֵׁי הַקֹּדֶשׁ. כִּי־א לֹא יִמְהַר
 14 כִּי־אם שָׁבוּ מִרַעְתָּם כִּי־א טָמֵא בְּכֹל עֹבְרֵי דְבָרוֹ

¹³He should not go into the waters to share in the pure food of the men of holiness, for one is not cleansed ¹⁴unless one turns away from one's wickedness, for he is unclean among all the transgressors of his word.¹¹¹

Further, this repentance had to be genuine. Counterfeit repentance was inadequate:

11 אֲרוֹר בְּגִלּוּלֵי לְבוֹ לְעִבּוֹר
 12 הַבֵּא בְּבְרִית הַזֹּת וּמִכְשׁוֹל עֹוֹנוֹ יִשִּׁים לְפָנָיו לְהַסּוֹג בּוֹ

¹³Damned be anyone initiated with unrepentant heart, ¹²who enters this Covenant, then sets up the stumbling block of his sin, so turning apostate.¹¹²

For those who initiated with false repentance, harsh consequences resulted, because the text warns that the pseudorepentant candidate "shall be cut off from all the sons of Light because of his apostasy from God."¹¹³ Moreover, the pseudoinitiate would be unable to enter the covenant because he did not have the strength to repent (1QS 3:1). And his wickedness would be a defilement of his repentance as he continued to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, eliminating any possibility for justification (3:2-3).

1QS provides further detail regarding the inability of the unrepentant candidate to achieve moral cleansing, rendering the lustral bath ineffective:

109. 1QS 1:24-25. Translation, *ibid.*

110. Nitzan, "Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 146, notes that "the way of life recommended for the members was considered a way of repentance." This is a return to living according to Torah and halakah, 146-50.

111. 1QS 5:13-14. Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.*

112. 1QS 2:11-12. Translation from Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation.*

113. 1QS 2:16-17. Translation, *ibid.*

לוא יזכה בכפורים ולוא יטהר במי נדה ולוא יתקדש במים⁴
 ולוא יטהר בכול מי רחץ טמא טמא יהיה כול יומי מואסו במשפטי
 ונהרות⁵
 אל⁶

⁴He will not be made clean by atonement rituals, nor will he be purified by the waters of cleansing. He will not be made holy by seas⁵ or rivers, nor will he be purified by any of the ritual baths. Impure! Impure, he will be all the days he is rejecting the rules of⁶ God.¹¹⁴

The language of purification in 1QS 3:5, "Impure! Impure!" (טמא טמא), recalls the legislation for skin disease in Lev 13:45-46. But, as Michael Knibb notes, "here it is not one who suffers from a malignant skin-disease who is unclean, but the one who 'rejects the precepts of God.'" ¹¹⁵ The unwillingness to engage in genuine repentance from a rebellion against God's precepts invalidates the effectiveness of the lustrations. However, when combined with genuine repentance, the lustral process does achieve moral cleansing:

כיא ברוח עצת אמת אל דרכי איש יכופרו כול⁶
 עוונותו להביט באור החיים. וברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו יטהר מכול⁷
 עוונותו וברוח יושר וענוה תכופר חטתו. ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר⁸
 בשרו להזות במי נדה ולהתקדש במי דוכו.⁹

⁶For it is by the spirit of God's true council that a man's ways are atoned, all of⁷ his sins, so that he can look towards the light of life. And it is by the holy spirit of the community of truth that he is cleansed from all⁸ his sins. And it is by the spirit of uprightness and humility that his sin is atoned. And it is by the humility of his soul towards all of the statutes of God, that his⁹ flesh is purified through the sprinkling of the water of cleansing and through holy consecration with the water of purification.¹¹⁶

Moral purification comes through spiritual activity, rather than ritual acts involving animal sacrifice. This incorporates the spiritual, atoning act of God, for it is "by the spirit of God's true council" and by the "holy spirit of the community" that a man is cleansed and his sins atoned.¹¹⁷ Purification also involves the spiritual activity of man, for it is by "the spirit of uprightness and humility" and "the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God" that a man is cleansed and

114. 1QS 3:4-6. Author's translation.

115. Michael Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on the Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200, 2; ed. P. R. Ackroyd, A. R. C. Leaney, and J. W. Packer; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 92.

116. 1QS 3:6-9. Author's translation.

117. Nitzan, "Repentance in the DSS," 159, suggests that the replacement of ritual atonement with spiritual atonement is due to the community's departure from temple cult.

his sin atoned. Atonement is achieved through the spiritual activity of God working in conjunction with the spiritual activity of the initiate or reinstating offender. This lustration of repentance is Qumran's answer to the problem of sin.

The two-year process involving separation, the study of Qumran law, lustrations, and repentance provided the new candidate and the reinitiating member an opportunity for moral cleansing. The culmination of this process, Qumran's bath of repentance, provides us with clear evidence of movement into praxis of the lustral imagery alluded to by the prophets. Qumran's answer to the problem of sin was a literal application of the prophets' metaphorical cleansing.

CONCLUSION

How did ritual and moral impurity and purification evolve at Qumran?

Homogenization: Challenging a Scholarly Trend

In an interesting trend in modern scholarship, scholars have come to agree that there is a fusion of ritual and moral impurity at Qumran. García Martínez states that the Qumran texts "completely equate what we distinguish into ritual and moral impurity."¹¹⁸ Klawans adds that "the once independent concepts of ritual and moral impurity have become fully intertwined in the sectarian literature of Qumran."¹¹⁹ Neusner comments that the community "cannot distinguish between cultic and moral impurity. In themselves and in their consequences they are identical."¹²⁰ Finally, Newton concludes that "no distinction was made between what may be called moral and ritual purity at Qumran."¹²¹ Does this trend accurately account for the evidence?

Our study has indicated that the sources of ritual and moral impurity are just as distinct in documents of the Qumran corpus as they are in the purity system of the Pentateuch. Qumran *did* distinguish between moral impurity, which arose out of the violation of Torah and halakah, and ritual impurity, which arose out of normal activities of life such as corpse contamination, carcass contamination, sexual flows, and various diseases. This ritual and moral distinction at Qumran is further highlighted in the stiff penalties assigned to moral impurity (ranging from ten days to permanent expulsion) as compared with the relatively light procedures for dealing with ritual impurity (ablutions,

118. García Martínez, "The Problem of Purity," 154.

119. Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality," 10.

120. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 54.

121. Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 41.

brief separation, laundering, etc.). If, as we assert, ritual and moral impurity in fact remain distinct categories at Qumran, then what is it that has encouraged this scholarly consensus?

Scholars are correct in suggesting a kind of "homogenization." But it is not a homogenization of ritual and moral impurity that has taken place at Qumran. Rather, we find at Qumran a homogenization of ritual and moral *purification*. Though the sources of impurity remain distinct, the methods used in their purifications merge. Namely, both ritual and moral purification utilize lustrations. Because of this consolidation, scholars have drawn the conclusion that moral purity must have become like ritual impurity. But the evidence does not suggest that sin has become a new source of ritual impurity. Sin is the source of moral impurity, just as touching a dead corpse remains a source of ritual impurity.¹²² The change is that lustrations now cleanse not only ritual impurity but moral impurity as well. There is, therefore, a homogenizing of purification, not impurity.

The Synchronous Elements of Moral and Ritual Purification

Having determined that elements used in the methods of moral and ritual purification merge in IQS, we find it very difficult to isolate elements in this purification process and dedicate them as influential to only one type of impurity. For example, in the culminating bath of the two-year initiation/reinitiation process, it would be arbitrary to say that the lustral component of the process was dedicated to achieving only ritual impurity. However, this is what Taylor has attempted in arguing that lustrations affected only ritual (outer) cleansing.¹²³ But such a claim does not explain why the sinning offender required a bath, for sin rendered one morally, not ritually impure. The function of lustrations in IQS evolve beyond their traditional capacity, and are used in moral contexts, for moral cleansing. The bath should be viewed as one of the synchronous components of moral purification at Qumran. The two-year process of moral purification involved the passing of time, repentance, training in Qumran law, and lustrations, all working together to achieve the goal of moral purification.

122. Klawans, "Impurity and Sin," 49, by stating that "sin has become a source of ritual impurity in its own right," fails to keep such a distinction in place. It is more accurate to describe moral purification as becoming akin to ritual purification than to describe moral impurity as becoming a type of ritual impurity. The closest Klawans comes to such accuracy is his acknowledgment that purification and atonement are achieved in the same process, though he describes purification as cleansing ritual defilement, pp. 85-86.

123. Taylor, *The Immerser*, 78-79.

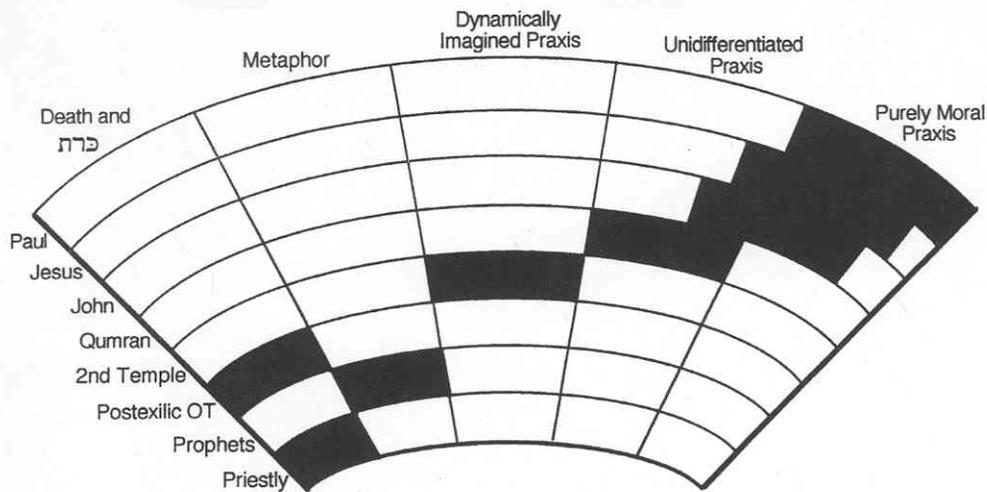


FIGURE 3. Trajectory of Moral Purification.

If lustrations helped achieve moral cleansing, can we then say, with Jonathan Klawans, that repentance achieved ritual cleansing?¹²⁴ In our analysis of Qumran texts discussing ritual impurity, such as 11QT, 4QMMT, or 1QM, we found no indication that members had to repent along with lustrations for ritual cleansing. Though we do not have a detailed account of ritual purification procedures in the Qumran corpus, as we have for moral purification, we may confidently assume that repentance was not used for purification from ritual impurity.¹²⁵

IQS as a Phase in the Trajectory of Moral Purification

Against the larger context of the Second Temple period, *IQS* is a significant document for tracing an advance upon the prophetic phase in the trajectory of moral purification, from metaphorical remedies to actual praxis. Though other sources provide evidence of continuity with the prophetic conception, even advancing the metaphorical phase by employing dynamically imagined illustrations of praxis, no other document so clearly describes a literal application of the lustral imagery of moral cleansing. Perhaps driven by a desire to find a

124. Klawans, "Impurity and Sin," 86-88.

125. Among the various "works" involved in initiation and moral purification, repentance stands out as one element logically dedicated to the repair of moral impurity. One does not need to repent from a ritual impurity in which no wrong was done. As Martin Abegg notes, "4QMMT C 27, 31 and 'Works Righteousness,'" in *DSD* 6 (1999): 143, "entrance into the community was always couched in the language of repentance."

solution to the problem of sin, Qumran ingeniously applies the apparatus of ritual purification to the concept of sin. In the Qumranic phase of the trajectory, though ritual and moral impurity remain distinct categories of impurity, ritual and moral purification merge in the lustral elements they now share.

It is of great interest to note that this trajectory of moral purification develops even further in the ministry of John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul.¹²⁶ As figure 3 illustrates, the NT ministries advance the trajectory to a purely moral phase. Though ritual purification remains, to some degree, a concern for the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul, they significantly shift their emphasis away from ritual concerns. They stress the moral priority in dealing with defilement, making the point that *the real issue of purity is a moral issue*.

126. For a detailed development of this, see chapter four of my "Moral Purification in Qumran and John the Baptist," 88-123.