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Gudrun Holtz

Temple and Purification Rituals: From Torah to the Dead Sea Scrolls

According to the Torah complete purification of impurity due to scale disease and abnormal genital discharge consists of two phases. During the first phase, which lasts seven days, different rituals aimed at cleansing the human body are prescribed. The second phase of the purification process takes place on the eighth day. It is characterized by a twofold modification: the change of place and of purificatory means. For his or her final purification the impure person must “come before the Lord at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting” (Lev 15:14) and bring the offerings to the priest who will make expiation on his or her behalf. For corpse defilement, however, an equivalent to the second phase, described above, is missing.

As has been pointed out by J. Milgrom and J.M. Baumgarten, the DSS repeatedly furnish evidence of the homogenization of the diverging purificatory rites required by the Torah for scale disease, genital discharge, and corpse defilement. This seems to include the *temporary* abandonment of the second phase of the purification ritual for people living in the cities, namely the sacrifices at the Temple and waiting until sunset on the eighth day. In what follows I first want to present the evidence of a two-partite purification ritual in the DSS, one for the temple city, which includes full access to the sacrificial cult, and another for the cities (1). This interpretation contrasts with what is generally assumed¹, without - to my knowledge - having been investigated. Furthermore, I want to discuss its implications for the biblically required sacrifices for scale disease and abnormal discharge. This concerns the purgation or sin offering (2) and the expiatory offering (3). In the concluding section, the textual evidence of the DSS will be related to issues of wider interest (4).

¹ Cf. H.K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (London, New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 21-22, and T. Kazen, “4Q274 Fragment 1 Revisited - or Who Touched Whom? Further Evidence for Ideas of Graded Impurity and Graded Purifications,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 68. - I wish to thank the editors of this volume for their constructive suggestions and comments on an earlier version of this paper, which helped me strengthen the argument. I also wish to thank Luke Neubert for revising the English of this paper.

1. From Torah to the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Evolution of Two Purificatory Rituals

For this paper two texts in the Temple Scroll (11QT) on the purification of the scale-diseased person are of utmost importance, 45:17-46:? and 48:17-49:4. The ritual described in 45:17-46:? is intended for persons healed of scale disease who wish to enter the temple city, the one described in 48:17-49:4 is aimed at those living in the other cities. Other passages in the DSS similarly differentiate between two rituals for bearers of other impurities. This stands in clear contrast to the biblical sources which know only one purificatory rite for the bearer of scale disease (Lev 14:3-20) and the person suffering from abnormal discharge (15:13-15.28-30) each.

According to Lev 14, immediately after the priest declares the bearer of scale disease clean, the cleansing ritual begins. On the first day, the priest performs the bird rite for the healed impure person (v4-7). It takes place outside the camp and consists of the slaughtering over fresh water of one of two birds presented to the priest, the dipping of the live bird, of cedar wood, crimson yarn, and hyssop in the blood of the slaughtered bird, and the sprinkling of the blood on the impure person; finally the live bird is set free in order “to carry away the evil of the disease”². Afterwards, the person being cleansed must wash his clothes, shave his hair and bathe in water (v8). At the conclusion of the rites of the first day, the person is clean (וטהר). After the removal of this first layer of impurity, he or she is allowed to re-enter the camp but still must remain outside his or her tent for seven days. This prescription is intended to hinder direct contact with other persons and objects through which the person could defile profane entities through direct contact and holy things, e.g. sacred food, through overhang³. On the seventh day, then, the impurity bearer is to shave and to wash his clothes and his body a second time, in order to remove a further layer of impurity and, thus, to become clean (וטהר; v9). He now is able to enter his tent for he “no longer contaminates sancta by overhang, only by touch”⁴. For the complete eradication of his impurity, he must approach the tent of meeting on the eighth day bearing sacrifices, which will be offered by the priest (v10-20): a guilt offering (אשם; v12-18) “ordained to expiate for the possibility of *ma'al*”⁵, a purificatory offering (הטאת; v19) because by his impurity he has polluted the sanctuary⁶, a burnt and a meal offering (v19-20) for expiation.

²Cf. B.A. Levine, *The JPS Torah Commentary. Leviticus ויקרא* (Philadelphia et al: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 85.

³Cf. J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16* (AB 3A; New York et al: Doubleday, 1991), 842-43.

⁴Ibid., 844.

⁵Ibid., 363, and similarly Levine, *Leviticus*, 18; but see *ibid.*, 87.

⁶Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 849; but see Levine, *Leviticus*, 88: “The sin offering served to put the individual in good standing with God”.

With these offerings, the priest makes expiation for the impure person. These offerings are the final precondition for purity (וטהר; v20). Henceforth, he again is a “full-fledged participant in his community and its worship”⁷.

Although not in detail, the purificatory ritual for the bearer of scale disease in the highly fragmentary passage of 11QT^a 45:17-46:2? seems to agree with the procedure described in Lev 14. The text as reconstructed by E. Qimron can be rendered as follows: “And any leper and diseased person shall not enter it (sc. the temple city) until they cleanse themselves. And when he has cleansed himself he shall sacrifice [his purgation offering (הטאתו)]. On the eighth day he shall have access to the purity (טהרה) within the temple city. But he shall not enter the sanctuary, [nor eat of the sacred food (הקודשים)]. And when the sun sets on the eighth day, of the sacred food [he may eat and the sanctuary [he may enter]]”⁸.

Corresponding to the requirement in Lev 14:8, that the bearer of scale disease must remain outside his tent for seven days, the impure person, according to 11QT 45:17-18, is permitted to enter the temple city on the seventh day, that is after the second set of ablutions⁹. The remainder of the text agrees with Lev 14 in that the bearer of scale disease must offer his sacrifice - the reconstructed lines, however, only mention a purgation or sin offering (הטאת) - as precondition for gaining full access to the worship of the community of Israel. The last part of 11QT^a 45:17-46:2? goes beyond Lev 14. It specifies the gradually increasing degrees of re-inclusion into the cult after the sacrifice which correspond to the additional degrees of purity attained¹⁰. Immediately after the offering, the scale-diseased person is allowed to consume the pure food (טהרה) within the temple city but not yet to enter the sanctuary and to consume the sacred food (הקודשים) therein¹¹. To get access to the highest sphere of holiness, additional purificatory rites surpassing the biblical purity

⁷Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 859.

⁸Cf. E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew Writings* (Vol. 1; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press 2010), 184-85 (11QT 45:17-18; 46 [= 11QT^b 12:9.10]). For the translation cf. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society et al., 1983), vol. 2, 194, and J. Maier, *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer and das 'Neue Jerusalem'* (München, Basel: E. Reinhardt [UTB], ³1997), 194. The purity within the temple city could refer to an equivalent of what the rabbis call heave-offering and tithe; cf. m. Kel. 1:5: “He whose atonement [sacrifice] is incomplete ... [solely in respect to the purificatory sacrifice] is prohibited in regard to holy thing(s) but permitted in regard to Heave-offering and in regard to tithe” (מחוסר כיפורים אסור בקודש ומותר בתרומה ובמעשר) translation according to J. Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities. Part One. Kelim 1-11*, Leiden: Brill, 1974, 31).

⁹Cf. J. Milgrom, “Studies in the Temple Scroll,” *JBL* 97 (1978): 514.

¹⁰Similar specifications are found in Rabbinic literature; cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 849-50.

¹¹Different from the terms קודש / קודשים and טהרת המקדש which refer “to the sacred food eaten in the Temple” requiring the highest degree of purity, the terms טהרה and טהרת הקודש refer “to ritually pure food eaten elsewhere” (E. Qimron, J. Strugnell, DJD 10:138). In Qumran Hebrew the term טהרה mostly refers to the pure food of the yahad (ibid. 142). This seems to include pre-qumranic DSS Hebrew as well; cf. 4Q274 2 i 3.

demands are required, prominent among them waiting until sunset on the eighth day.

Though differing in many details, a fundamental agreement between Lev 14 and 11QT can be observed: In both texts, ablutions outside the area of the sanctuary *and* offerings inside it are deemed necessary for attaining purity. In the context of a less sophisticated ritual, this can also be seen in Lev 15 and 11QT 45 / 4QD^a regarding impurity due to abnormal discharge. According to Lev 15, the man (v13-15) or woman (v28-30) must count seven days after his or her healing from abnormal discharge. On the seventh day he or she must wash his or her clothes and body (v13). By these very acts they become clean¹². On the eighth day, they are required to approach the tent of meeting (v14) and deliver two turtledoves or pigeons as an offering, the one as a purgation offering (הטאת), the other as a burnt offering (עלה) in order to attain expiation (v15).

11QT 45:15-17 basically agrees with Lev 15:13 on the cleansing requirements of the seventh day for the male with a discharge (זר)¹³. 11QT 45:16-17 specifies the consequences for access to the temple city: “Afterwards he shall enter the city of the temple”. The text 4QD^a 6 ii 2-4, which discusses the case of the woman suffering from irregular discharge (זבה), roughly begins where 11QT 45:15-17 breaks off. Concerning the זבה it is stated: “and if she (sc. the woman) sees ag[ain] (sc. the blood), and it is not [at the time of her impurity] of seven days, she shall not eat anything holy, nor co[me] into the sanctuary until sunset on the eighth day”. These rulings agree with those regarding the bearer of scale disease in 11QT^a 46 = 11QT^b 12:9-10, although they do not explicitly mention the offering which, however, in line with the Torah and the passage on the scale-diseased person from the Temple Scroll can be presupposed. Similar to the Bible, these texts view the sequence of ablutions and offerings as a precondition for entering the temple city and fully participating in the temple cult, e.g. for the complete re-integration of the formerly impure person into the community of worship.

The issue of the bearer of scale disease is taken up a second time by the author in 11QT 48:17-49:4, thereby, focusing on the procedure in the *cities* of Israel. The text reads: “And as for the leper who is afflicted with leprosy or scabies, and the priest

¹²וטהר (v13) and תטהר (v28). For women, the washings of the seventh day are not mentioned because the prescriptions detailed for the man apply to the woman as well.

¹³In accordance with the provisions for nocturnal emissions (11QT 45:7-10) it seems likely that here too laundering one's clothes and bathing on the first day were prescribed in contrast to the wording of the Torah. Cf. Milgrom, “Studies,” 516: “In the temple-city all impurities cause their bearers to be banished, requiring a minimum of two ablutions for passage through the two stages of impurity (טומאה) to profaneness (הל) to holiness (קדש)”.

has declared him unclean ... [You shall shut] them up for s[even days {and their purgation offering (הטאת) (which is) for them} consists of two bird]s and cedarwood and hyssop and scarlet thre[ad and they shall not contaminate] your cities with scale disease (so that) they will become unclean”¹⁴.

The fragmentary passage 11QT 48:17-49:1 apparently deals with the issues discussed in Lev 13 and 4QD^a 6 i where the rules guiding the priest in determining scale disease are explicated. 11QT 49:2-4, alluding to Lev 14:4-8, specifies some of the details of the purification procedure. Lev 14:8 rules that after the initial cleansings of the first day (v8a), the person healed of scale disease “may enter the camp, but must remain outside his tent for seven days” (v8b). In incorporating the period of seven days, 11QT 49:2 relates it to putting the impure person under quarantine within the places allotted in each city to those afflicted with scale disease (48:14-15). Only after the bird rite on the seventh day is performed is he allowed to return to his city and to enter his house. The reason given for this procedure is to avoid polluting the cities. Whereas the birds and the other elements mentioned in Lev 14:4 serve the cleansing of the impure person on the first day, in 11QT 49:2-3 - according to the reconstruction of Qimron¹⁵ - they serve as a purgation offering (הטאת) on the seventh day.

Provided Qimron’s reconstruction is correct, in characterizing the birds as a הטאת, 11QT 49:2-4 or an earlier tradition, to which the Temple Scroll might be indebted, seems to be influenced by the provisions for corpse impurity specified in Num 19. Neither text requires temple offerings. In Num 19:9, however, the ashes of the red heifer function as a purgation offering (הטאת) for corpse impurity. Interestingly, its ashes are not only the product of the burning of the animal itself, but also of the “life-enhancing ingredients”¹⁶ - blood, cedar wood, crimson yarn and hyssop (Num 19:6) - which are also used in the bird rite of Lev 14. The fact that both Lev 14 and Num 19 prescribe the same ritual elements may well have served the author of 11QT as an argument for interpreting the bird rite of Lev 14 in terms of a הטאת. Furthermore, according to Num 19:12 the water containing the הטאת-ashes of the red heifer is sprinkled upon the corpse-impure person on the third and seventh days; only then is he clean. But just as in Lev 14, the third day is not mentioned in 11QT in connection with the bearer of scale disease. Provided that the author of 11QT, in conceptualizing the purificatory ritual for scale disease, was influenced by

¹⁴Instead of “{and there ... for them}”, which is based on Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 188; but see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 212: “and if the sore heals, you shall cleanse them with two birds ...”.

¹⁵Between 48:17 and 49:1 nine lines are missing; cf. *ibid.*

¹⁶Also see Maier, *Tempelrolle*, 206: “und entsühnt”.

¹⁶Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 835.

the rites for corpse impurity prescribed in Num 19, this might well explain why in 11QT 49:2-4 the bird rite figures at the end of the seven-days' confinement of the healed leper and not on the first as in Lev 14: In 11QT 49 the bird rite prescribed in case of scale disease is a *חטאת*, and it is the ashes of the red heifer functioning as a *חטאת* that in form of the water of lustration according to Num 19:12 must be sprinkled upon the bearer of corpse impurity on the seventh (and third) day, not on the first.

In contrast to both Lev 14 and 11QT 45 but in agreement with Num 19 the passage 11QT 49:2-4 does not require the previously scale-diseased person to go to the temple and sacrifice. The Temple Scroll, as mentioned earlier, plainly distinguishes between purity requirements for the temple city and the sanctuary on the one hand (11QT 45:7-48:?) and those for the ordinary cities on the other (11QT 48:11-51:10). The purity requirements for both places correspond to the degrees of holiness attributed to them. The temple city and sanctuary represent the sacred realm whereas ordinary cities belong to the realm of the profane¹⁷. Sacrifices are part of the requirements of the eighth day to gain access to the sacred sphere while the preceding purificatory period of seven days prepares for the full re-integration of the cleansed person into the realm of the profane - the society, the house and the pure food therein. Whereas in Lev 14 and similarly in Lev 15 a single purificatory ritual is described culminating in the sacrifices of the eighth day in the Tabernacle camp, these very same rituals in 11QT are split up into a similar, though expanded ritual culminating in the temple *and* a seven-day purification ritual without sacrifices in the ordinary cities.

This interpretation is confirmed by MMT B64-72, which also differentiates between purity requirements for healed lepers in the cities and those valid for entering the temple. Healed lepers must be isolated inside the cities for seven days so that they do not enter any dwelling and pollute the holy purity (*טהרת הקודש*), that

¹⁷Cf. J. Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 170; idem, *Leviticus*, 974. Cf. esp. 11QT 47:15-17: "If you slaughter it (sc. the sacrificial meat [בשרי; 115]) in my temple, it (sc. the skin) will be clean for my temple (*יטהר למקדשי*); but if you slaughter in your cities, it will be clean for your cities (*ויטהר לעריכמה*). The differentiation mentioned is also implied in MMT B29-33.59-62; see Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:143-46, and Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 13-18.

is the pure food (B64-68). This ruling evidently applies to the cities¹⁸. Obviously, the second prescription demanding that “one should not let them (sc. the lepers) eat of the sacred food (ק[ר]דשים) until sunset on the eighth day” (B71-72) applies to the temple¹⁹. It is reasonable to assume that in accordance with Lev 14 and 11QT 45-46 the eating of the sacred food in MMT would also have required the offering of sacrifices.

Further evidence of two distinct purificatory rituals in the DSS, one for the cities and the other for the temple, is of indirect nature only. A number of purity texts deal with different aspects of purification without mentioning the temple, sacrifices, sunset on the eighth day or the eating of the holy food²⁰. These texts, then, seem to be unrelated to the sacrificial cult. In the Purification Liturgies of 4Q414 and 512, however, the “cities of their dwellings” are expressly mentioned²¹, thus pointing to the place of application of these liturgies. Similarly, 4QToharot A refers to “the camps of the holy (ones) of Israel”²². But as indicated, this is an argument from silence. The rituals referred to in these texts not only apply to scale disease²³ but also to corpse impurity²⁴ and abnormal discharge²⁵. They consist of washings, launderings and sprinklings and - as an additional aspect mentioned neither in the Bible nor in the halakhic texts discussed thus far - of prayer.

¹⁸“And also concerning lepers: we s[ay that] they should [not e]nter (a place) with hol[y] purity (טהרת הקודש), but in isolation they [shall stay outside a house. And] also it is written that from the moment he shaves and washes he should stay outside [his tent for seven d]ays. But now, even when they are still unclean le[pers approach (a place) wi]th holy purity, the house”; for the translation cf. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* (Leiden et al.: Brill 2000), 797. For “holy purity” see above n. 11. This seclusion is implied in 4Q274 1 i 1-2 as well. Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:169, and Kazen, “Fragment,” 68, relate the text to the scale-diseased person; but see J.M. Baumgarten, DJD 35:101-2, who takes this passage to refer to the גר. For the polemical dimension of the text see Qimron, Strugnell, *ibid.*, 168-69.

¹⁹Provided the reconstruction of the text by Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:54, comes close to the original, the fact that two different places are presupposed in B64-68 on the one hand and in B71-72 on the other is also supported by the intermediate passage B68-70. In line with Lev 5:4-6 temple and sacrifice here come into view instead of the realm of every-day life referred to before. - What must be compared, then, is MMT B71-72 and 11QT 45:17-46 (= 11QT^b 12:9-10) on the one hand and MMT B64-68 and 11QT 48:17-49:4 on the other; but see Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:167-68, who compare 11QT 45:17-18, the passage referring to the temple city, and MMT B64-72 which as a whole they claim to refer to the other cities.

²⁰Cf. 4Q278; 2Q284; 4Q414; 4Q512. The most extensive fragment of 4QToharot, namely 4Q274, seems to presuppose the situation outside Jerusalem. One exception, however, needs to be mentioned. In 2 i 9 the term קודשים is used which usually refers to the holy food of the temple (see above n. 11). Since the text breaks off, however, it is hard to tell to what exactly it would have referred.

²¹Cf. 4Q414 7 8-9; 4Q512 7-9 3: בערי מושבותם.

²²Cf. 4Q274 1 i 6: זאת מהני קד[ש]י [שי] ישראל; for the rendering given cf. Kazen, “Fragment,” 63.

²³Apart from the texts discussed from 11QT and MMT cf. 4Q512 24-25 5 and see M. Baillet, DJD 7:268. A further example seems to be 4Q 274 1 i, 1-3; but see n. 18.

²⁴Cf. 4Q512 1-3; 4Q277 1 ii 7-8.

²⁵Cf. 4Q274 1 i 4-9; 2 i; 4Q277 1 ii 11-13; 4Q278 7; 4Q284 1 8; 4Q414 7 11; 27-28 1; 4Q512 7-9 1-2; 10-11 1; 34 17; 4Q514 1 i 1.4.7.

The distinction between two purificatory rituals is discernable in Jewish literature from the Second Temple period as well. Philo of Alexandria suggests that basic sprinklings and ablutions suffice for the reintegration of the impure person into normal life while further sprinklings and ablutions are needed for those who wish to enter the temple and offer sacrifices²⁶. Philo here not only has the bearer of corpse impurity in mind²⁷, but, similar to the DSS, the impure person in general²⁸.

2. The Sprinkling with Water of Lustration as a Temporary Substitute for the Purgation Offering for those Living in the Cities

Provided my argument thus far is correct, one problem must be considered: the defilement of the temple from afar due to human impurities. Part of the DSS share the understanding of the priestly texts of the Torah that impurity is dynamic²⁹. “Dynamic impurity is a substantive entity”³⁰ which “assaults the sacred realm from afar”³¹. It has an “aerial quality”, that is, impurity is transmitted to the temple through the air³² without there being any direct contact between the impure person and the temple. In the Torah, the dynamic quality of ‘ritual’ impurity is clearly implied in the case of impurity due to genital discharge (Lev 15:31) and corpse impurity (Num 19:13.20)³³ and can be inferred for the leper as well³⁴.

Lev 15:31, which is part of the conclusion of the prescriptions concerning the man and woman suffering from genital discharge, presumes that, if their uncleanness were left unattended, they would be “defiling my sanctuary which is in their midst”. Similarly, Num 19:13 states that a person who touches a corpse without cleansing him- or herself “defiles the Lord’s sanctuary”. The reasoning given is that if “the

²⁶Cf. Spec. 1:257.261; 3:205.

²⁷Cf. Spec. 3:205.

²⁸Cf. Spec. 1:257.261; see n. 56.

²⁹Cf. E. Regev, “Reconstructing Qumranic and Rabbinic Worldviews: Dynamic Holiness vs. Static Holiness,” in *Rabbinic Perspectives. Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. S. Fraade et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 89: “The thesis proposed ... is that the *Temple Scroll* and MMT view holiness as dynamic, sensitive and dangerous, and therefore maintain that access to the sacred should be restricted”. In this 11QT and MMT “embrace(d) the cultic *worldview* of the Priestly School” (p. 100). Since holiness and impurity are closely related concepts, Regev describes impurity - both ‘ritual’ and ‘moral’ - in similar terms as holiness (cf. *ibid.*, 108-109).

³⁰*Ibid.*, 108, and *idem*, “Priestly Dynamic Holiness and Deuteronomistic Static Holiness,” *VT* 51 (2001): 255-56.

³¹J. Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary. Numbers* נבנב (Philadelphia, New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 445; further cf. Regev, “Worldviews,” 90.

³²Milgrom, *Numbers*, 445. Further cf. *ibid.*, 161: “severe impurity is dynamic, attacking the sanctuary through the air”, and H.K. Harrington, “How Does Intermarriage Defile the Sanctuary?” (in this volume), **I.II. xxxxxx**

³³But contrast with Sipre Num §125 (Num 19:12): Against the plain sense of the biblical text the punishment of being cut off (Num 19:20) in Sipre only refers to those who enter the temple in a state of impurity, thereby defiling the sanctuary and the sancta. This defilement, then, is thought to be caused by direct contact only, not by aerial transmission.

³⁴Cf. Num 5:2-3 and see Milgrom, *Numbers*, 34.445.

water of lustration was not dashed on him, he remains unclean". Since neither text presupposes that the person who has not cleansed himself enters into the sanctuary in order to defile it by direct contact, its defilement must be caused from afar. This is also true of Num 5:2-3 which not only demands the removal of the person suffering from discharge and the bearer of corpse impurity from the camp but of the leper as well. The purpose given is: "that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell". The impure person is required to leave the camp because outside the realm of the camp "is out of the contamination range of the sanctuary, so that impurities there cannot pollute the sanctuary". Inside the camp the impure person would defile it even without direct contact, that is from afar³⁵.

Although in the DSS the evidence of the sanctuary's defilement from afar is not as explicit as in the Torah, the concept is still present. A number of traditions attest to the understanding that impurity - 'ritual'-physical, 'moral', or 'genealogical' - is apt to attack the sanctuary from afar. At least three passages deal with 'ritual'-physical impurity³⁶.

(1) My first example is from the Temple Scroll. The closing lines of the passage on purity laws to be followed by all Israelites regardless of their place of residence (11QT 51:5-10) state that by defiling themselves the Israelites assault the holiness of God "who dwells among the children of Israel" (17-8). The dwelling place of God in 11QT is the temple city and, more specifically, the sanctuary. For both places the author uses the expression quoted as well³⁷. Therefore, if the Israelites living outside Jerusalem by their physical impurities endanger the holiness of God "who dwells among" them, the defilement of the sanctuary must necessarily be thought of as to occur from afar.

(2) In connection with other texts further evidence is found in MMT B48-49: "[For all the sons of Israel should beware] of any forbidden unions (מכולת[ת] ערובת [ה]גבר) and be full of reverence for the sanctuary (יראים מהמקדש)." From the preceding context (B39-47) it follows that the term 'forbidden unions' refers to impurity due to intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles³⁸. The question arises as to what type of impurity is in view, 'ritual'-physical, 'moral', or 'genealogical' impurity. Based on MMT alone, the issue cannot be clarified. Two texts, Neh and 4QD, that on

³⁵Cf. *ibid.*, 33-34.445, quotation p. 33. The distinction between the camp and its outside in Num 5 is formulated with regard to the conditions in the wilderness. In the land of Israel, "the demand for purity is extended to all of God's land (35:34)" (*ibid.*, 34).

³⁶For examples of 'moral' impurity defiling the sanctuary from afar cf. 11QT 51:11-16; CD 5:7-11; 1QpHab 12:7-9. For genealogical defilement cf. MMT B48-49 (forbidden marriages).

³⁷As related to the temple city cf. 11QT 45:13-14; 47:3-4, to the sanctuary 46:3-4.9-12.

³⁸Cf. Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:139.

certain points agree with MMT³⁹, however, point to the ‘ritual’-physical dimension of impurity, without necessarily implying defilement of the sanctuary from afar. As S. Olyan has shown, in Neh 13:4-9 “other than Tobiah himself, it is difficult to identify a likely source of ‘ritual impurity’ motivating Nehemiah’s purifying actions”. Even though the “cause of pollution is alienage rather than contact with corpses, skin disease, or the experience of a defiling effusion, its effect is to pollute in the manner of ‘ritual’ impurity”. Tobiah, an Ammonite Yhwh-worshipper, here is depicted as “a perpetual polluter, a threat to the holiness of the sanctuary”⁴⁰.

‘Ritual’-physical impurity due to alienage can also be discerned in 4QD^a 5 ii 9-11. This text states that “[anyone of] the sons of Aaron who has been a captive among the Gentiles [should not approach their division for priestly duty] to defile it with their impurity (להללה בטמאתם)”⁴¹. This halakhah implies that any priest who has lived among Gentiles has become a perpetual polluter merely through casual contact with them. The defiled priest, if included in the priestly duty, would pass on impurity to his priestly division and eventually defile the sanctuary.

Another example of ‘ritual’-physical impurity caused by alienage is found in Jub. Similar to MMT B42-46 Jub 30:14 prohibits intermarriage of both Jewish men and women with foreigners and the integration of the latter into the congregation of Israel⁴². The reason given is Israel’s defilement. Additional instructive details are found in the context. V10 describes a man marrying off his daughter to a non-Jew as “caus(ing) defilement of his daughter”, as giving “some of his seed to Molech” and as “sin(ning) so as to defile it”. The type of impurity in view is clearly not ‘moral’, for the daughter is said to be defiled and not the father. By giving his daughter in marriage to a Gentile, he is the perpetrator of an unlawful act and therefore would have to be qualified as ‘morally’ impure if the language of purity were applied to him. In any case, since ‘moral’ impurity cannot be passed on⁴³, it is impossible that the daughter should be affected by it. Genealogical impurity can be ruled out as well, since by intermarriage the “seed” itself, the daughter, cannot possibly be affected, only her future offspring. What remains, is ‘ritual’ impurity,

³⁹Neh is adduced for the interpretation of MMT by several scholars, e.g. J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: University Press, 2000), 43, C. Hayes, “Intermarriage and Impurity in Ancient Jewish Sources,” *HTR* 92 (1999), 9-13, and Harrington, “Intermarriage,” xxxxxxxx.

⁴⁰S.M. Olyan, “Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah as a Tool to Reconstitute the Community,” *JSJ* 35 (2004), 1-16 at 11-12. Olyan here argues against both Klawans, *Impurity*, 43-46, and Hayes, “Intermarriage,” 5, who reject the notion that in late biblical and Early Judaism ‘ritual’ impurity of Gentiles is found; cf. Olyan, *ibid.*, 1.

⁴¹Numbering and translation according to E. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 26. This text is given as 4QD^a 5 ii 4-6 by J.M. Baumgarten, DJD 18:50, and F.G. Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 588-589.

⁴²Jub 30:14 corresponds to MMT B42-46. For MMT cf. Qimron, Strugnell, DJD 10:159.

⁴³Cf. Klawans, *Impurity*, 5, and Olyan, “Purity Ideology,” 26.

the cause of which, again, is alienage: The alien husband defiles the Israelite woman⁴⁴.

Intermarriage, however, does not only cause the defilement of individual Israelites but of the sanctuary as well (v15.16). Similar to Neh 13 and 4QD^a 5, the type of impurity concerned is alienage which causes the pollution of the temple in the manner of ‘ritual’-physical impurity. This emerges from v16 which talks about “the man or woman who defiled his sanctuary”, with “man or woman” referring to those living in intermarriage. Whereas ‘man’ in Jub 30,1-17 can refer either to a man who gives his daughter in marriage to a Gentile⁴⁵ or to one married to a foreign woman, the case of ‘woman’ is unambiguous. ‘Woman’ and the other terms used in Jub 30 for females exclusively refer to Israelite or Gentile women who have cross-ethnic sexual relations. In terms of purity such relations, as seen, must be interpreted as causing ‘ritual’-physical pollution. If related to the sanctuary, pollution through intermarriage must necessarily be understood as effecting defilement from afar.

In sum: The texts adduced to the interpretation of MMT B48-49 demonstrate that alienage may defile buildings, including the temple (Neh, Jub), and persons (4QD^a, Jub). In addition, Jub links defilement caused by intermarriage to the defilement of the temple. These observations substantiate H.K. Harrington’s claim that MMT B48-49 “considers the act of intermarriage as already defiling” the sanctuary⁴⁶. Based on the materials discussed above, however, two more qualifications concerning MMT must be added. The defilement of the sanctuary through intermarriage in MMT must be interpreted in terms of ‘ritual’-physical impurity, with impurity attacking the temple from afar.

(3) Another example is CD 5:6-7: “And they also defiled the temple (מטאמים הם את (המקדש)), for they did not keep apart in accordance with the law, but instead lay with her who sees the blood of her menstrual flow”. Although this passage is explained by most interpreters in terms of ‘moral’ impurity⁴⁷, there is strong evidence for interpreting it primarily in terms of ‘ritual’-physical impurity: 4QD materials point to the fact that the prohibition of cohabitation with a menstruant is not only

⁴⁴In Jub 30 the prohibition of intermarriage is linked to the story of the rape of Dinah Gen 34. Conversion to Judaism as a way to allow for intermarriage with the Shechemites, which is considered in Gen 34, is not mentioned in the rewriting of the biblical story in Jub; cf. Hayes, “Intermarriage,” 21-22.

⁴⁵These statements are based on the English translation of Jub by O.S. Wintermute, OTP 2, 112-113. If “those who cause defilement” by giving their children in marriage to Gentiles are to be counted among “those who defile the sanctuary” (v15), moral defilement of the temple would be in view as well.

⁴⁶Harrington, “Intermarriage,” IIIxxx. Also cf. her rendering of MMT B48-49: “beware of any impure sexual mixture ..., and be afraid of (defiling) the sanctuary” (ibid.).

⁴⁷Cf. esp. Klawans, *Impurity*, 53-56.

formulated with Lev 18:19 in view⁴⁸, a text from the Holiness Code reflecting the idea of ‘moral’ defilement⁴⁹, but also with Lev 15:24 in view, a text clearly dealing with ‘physical’ impurity⁵⁰. Furthermore, CD 5:6-7 and Lev 15:24 have two elements in common. The texts share the verb ‘lie’ (שכב) as well as the idea that impurity is transmitted from the woman to the man which is a characteristic of ‘ritual’ impurity. Finally, according to Lev 15:31, the ‘physical’ impurities mentioned earlier in the chapter, among them impurity due to cohabitation with a menstruant, are apt to pollute the temple from afar. This is exactly what is presupposed in CD 5:6-7⁵¹.

Having demonstrated that also according to the DSS ‘ritual’-physical impurity in all likelihood is thought to be transmitted to the temple from afar, the question arises of how the Scrolls deal with the defilement of the temple due to physical impurity. The DSS, unfortunately, are silent on this issue. The biblical texts, however, provide information which fits well with what can be learnt from the DSS. The means by which, according to priestly law, the defilement of the temple is removed is the חטאת, the purgation offering⁵². In the case of scale disease and irregular genital discharge it must be offered at the sanctuary as part of the sacrifices prescribed in the Torah⁵³. By way of contrast, a purgation offering at the sanctuary for corpse defilement is not required. Still, corpse defilement is not left without a purgation offering. In Num 19:9 the ashes of the red heifer are defined as “purgation offering”. According to Milgrom they “continue to operate as a *ḥatta’ t*”⁵⁴: As emerges from v13, the sprinkling of the water of lustration prepared from the ashes of the red heifer not only cleanses the bearer of corpse impurity from his impurity but also hinders the defilement of the sanctuary which would

⁴⁸Cf. 4Q273 5 4-5 [...] מימי ספרה את דם ... עד אשר י [...] [...] אל יקה איש את האש[ה] [...], and see I.C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 87.

⁴⁹Cf. Klawans, *Impurity*, 54, but see M. Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8 (2001), 12-13.

⁵⁰Cf. 4Q266 6 ii 1-2: [אליה ע]ון נדה עלו: [אשר י]קר [א]י [א]י [א]י, and see Werrett, *Purity*, 87.

⁵¹Although ‘ritual’-physical impurity is the main thrust of CD 5:6-7, interpreted in the wider context of CD/4QD, however, a moral dimension of the text cannot be completely dismissed. Cf. 4Q266 6 ii 1-2, which text interprets the impurity of the male caused by prohibited cohabitation with a menstruant as iniquity (עון נדה). Morally defiling, however, is not physical impurity caused by flux but the transgression of the law; see Himmelfarb, “Impurity,” 21.

⁵²Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 256.857 etc., and G.A. Anderson, Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings, *ABD* 5:879-80. L.H. Schiffman, “‘Ôlâ and ḥattā’ t in the Temple Scroll,” in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord. Studies in the Temple Scroll* (ed. F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 360, seems to assume this understanding for the חטאת in 11QT as well.

⁵³Cf. Lev 14:19.22 (for scale disease) and Lev 15:15.30 (for genital discharge).

⁵⁴Milgrom, *Numbers*, 441; but see B.A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20* (AB 4A; New York et al.: Doubleday, 1993), 464.

occur if purification was delayed because the water of lustration was not dashed on the bearer of corpse impurity⁵⁵.

For the authors of the DSS Num 19:13, as I propose, is the key to the problem of aerial defilement of the temple by those living in the cities. Given firstly that those living in the cities defile the temple by their impurities but for the time being are not required to offer sacrifices because they do not wish to participate in the temple cult and secondly that the “water of lustration”, as pointed out by Baumgarten, is meant for general purification, that is, not only as prescribed in the Torah for corpse defilement but also for any other impurity, including scale disease and genital discharges⁵⁶, it may well be argued that for people living in the cities the sprinkling of the water of lustration not only serves to prevent the defilement of the temple by corpse impurity but by scale disease and genital discharge as well⁵⁷. With the ashes of the red heifer assuming the function of the *חטאת*, temple sacrifices would no longer be necessary for immediate cleansing, that is for the basic cleansing of the impure person and for the prevention of the defilement of the sanctuary through aerial transmission of human impurity.

⁵⁵This cleansing of the sanctuary is of utmost importance for it prevents the impure person to be cut off from Israel.

⁵⁶Cf. esp. J.M. Baumgarten, DJD 35:83-87, and Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 22.82. Kazen, “Fragment,” 84-85, questions the use of the *מי נדה* for general purification. His main argument is that “(n)one of these texts (sc. the texts adduced by Baumgarten) are unambiguous enough to conclude with any degree of certainty that the *מי נדה* was used for dischargers”. Kazen is certainly right in negating the unambiguousness of Baumgarten’s individual texts but seems to underestimate the cumulative aspect of the evidence: (1) The texts adduced by Baumgarten not only stem from different writings but also seem to cover both pre-qumranic (4Q274 2 i 1; 4Q277 1 ii 8-9) and qumranic texts (4Q284 1 i 7-8 [cf. Harrington, *ibid.*, 63]); 4Q512 1-6 2-3.5-6). (2) In two texts not discussed by Kazen the mentioning of the water of sprinkling is followed by a prayer hinting at general purification; cf. 4Q284 3 3-5 [נה] and [מי] and [את] and [מי] and [נה] and 4Q512 1-3 7-9 [מי] [נה]. If Baumgarten’s reconstruction of 4Q278 is correct, there is additional evidence for the parallelization of *זב* / *זבה* and corpse defilement in the context of purification. Furthermore, in 4Q514 1 i 5.8 identical cleansing rules for “all the temporarily impure” (*כול טמא*) regarding eating are formulated. (3) Kazen, *ibid.*, 80, neglects the evidence for general purification by sprinkling in Philo, Spec. 1,261. Philo here talks about the necessity of cleansing the body with ablutions (*λουτροίς*) and sprinklings (*περιρραντηρίοις*). As unambiguously emerges from §257 Philo here not only thinks of corpse impurity but of general impurity: *τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀφ’ ὧν ἔθως ἀτὼ μαίνεσθαι* (“the body [purged] of those [impurities] by which he is *commonly* defiled”). Further evidence from Early Judaism is adduced by Baumgarten who in DJD 35:84 refers to early Rabbinic evidence, namely to Siphre Zutta, where “the red cow is designated as the means by which Israel was sanctified” (*ישראל נתקדשו בפרת חטאת*). Baumgarten interprets the passage to mean that the sprinkling water was “intended for general cleansing from any possible source of impurity”.

⁵⁷This contrasts with normative halakhah according to which sprinkling (in case of corpse defilement) and the blood of the *חטאת*-sacrifice (in case of scale disease and genital discharge) are mutually exclusive; cf. Baumgarten, DJD 35:86. Additionally, it may be noted, that to Rabbi, the author of Mishnah, the water of lustration prepared from the ashes of the red heifer and the blood of the *חטאת* serve as an exact functional equivalent; cf. Siphre Num §125 (Num 19,13).

As indicated above, the purification requirements in the DSS attest to the homogenization of the diverging purity rules of the Bible⁵⁸, the basis of which is often found in the Bible itself. The extension of the טהרה-dimension of the water of lustration from its usage in removing corpse impurity to their usage in cleansing from other impurities is no exception. The following arguments are apt to substantiate this statement: The fundamental biblical text for the homogenization of the prescriptions for the bearer of corpse impurity and scale disease and the person having a discharge is Num 5:2-3. This text equally requires all three groups to leave the camp⁵⁹. Furthermore, for each of these groups a טהרה is prescribed in the biblical texts⁶⁰. Next, for two of these impurities, namely corpse defilement and scale disease, the Torah prescribes, as mentioned, identical “life-enhancing ingredients ... in the purificatory rites”, that is blood, cedar wood, crimson yarn and hyssop. From there Milgrom concludes that in the biblical text the “scale-diseased person is regarded as a corpse”⁶¹. This understanding is also found in the DSS⁶² where it is extended to the person having a discharge as well⁶³. The extension of the water of lustration from its usage for corpse impurity to scale disease and irregular discharge may finally be grounded on the shared understanding of Lev 15:31 and Num 19:13.20 that impurity due to scale disease and corpse defilement pollutes the sanctuary from afar which, in turn, requires a טהרה. As regards scale disease, this is not mentioned expressly but would be implied in the requirement of the purgation offering. Interestingly, in Tannaitic exegesis also, Num 19:13 is used for the purpose of homogenization extending a rule, biblically applying to the bearers of corpse impurity only, to the person having a discharge and the scale-diseased person⁶⁴.

3. Prayer as a Temporary Substitute for the Expiating Function of the Sacrifices

Of the sacrifices prescribed in the Torah for the cleansing of impurity, so far only the purgation offering (טהרה) has been dealt with. Leviticus, however, prescribes

⁵⁸Cf. e.g. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, 74-77; Milgrom, “Qumran Cult,” 170-76; Baumgarten, DJD 35:83-87; Kazen, “Fragment,” 76.

⁵⁹Although in its very own way, this rule is reflected in the DSS as well. The clearest piece of evidence is 11QT 45:15-18 which bars persons having a discharge and bearers of corpse impurity and scale disease from entering the temple city before the end of the purification period of 7 days. This rule albeit with different temporal specifications is extended to other groups too, namely to those who had a nocturnal emission or sexual intercourse and to the blind (17-14).

⁶⁰Cf. Num 19,9 and above n. 54. This also emerges from Sipre Num §125 (Num 19,13).

⁶¹Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 835.

⁶²Cf. 4Q266 6 i 8-12 and see J.M. Baumgarten, “The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease,” *JJS* 41 (1990), 163-65.

⁶³Cf. 4Q274 1 i 7-9 and 4Q278 and see Baumgarten, DJD 35:86-87.

⁶⁴Cf. the discussion between R. Joshijja and R. Jonathan (T3) in Sipre Num §125 (Num 19:13) on the expression טמא יהיה.

further sacrifices for scale disease and abnormal genital discharge, that is the burnt offering (עלה) for both impurities and as an additional sacrifice for scale disease the reparation offering (אשם)⁶⁵. Both offerings in Leviticus are attributed an expiatory role⁶⁶, a role they also have in the Temple Scroll⁶⁷.

Different from the Torah, which strictly separates physical impurity and sin, both entities are connected in the DSS. Therefore, it is hard to imagine that the purificatory process in the cities would be without expiating rites, with expiation being postponed to a future temple visit when the sacrifices necessary to get full access to the temple cult would be offered. This, in fact, is not the case. Rather, there is evidence in both pre-qumranic and qumranic texts that in the purification rituals applied in the cities expiation is achieved through prayer.

The first piece of evidence is a passage from 4Q274 1 i 1-4, a presumably pre-qumranic text⁶⁸. Although explicit expiatory language is missing, the terminology suggests this dimension. Of the leper or, as the case may be, the man having a discharge (זב)⁶⁹ it is said that he shall lie in a bed of sorrow (יגון) and sit in a seat of sighing (אנחה); furthermore, his situation is described as one of “affliction” (נגע). All this is related to the prayer of supplication (תחנון) which by its very nature would imply expiatory purposes⁷⁰.

Much clearer is the evidence of the sectarian Ritual of Purification 4Q512 which, as mentioned earlier, explicitly refers to the cities as the dwelling place of the men and women addressed in the text. One of the fragments, 29-32, is characterized by an especially strong vocabulary of sin, forgiveness and atonement⁷¹. It can serve as an

⁶⁵Furthermore, Lev 14:20 mentions the מנחה. As Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 858, has pointed out, this sacrifice does not have a function of its own but acquires the role of the sacrifice it is part of, that is in v20 the עלה.

⁶⁶In Lev the עלה expressly is attributed this function in Lev 1:4; 9:7; 14:20; 16:24. In 9:7 and 16:24 it serves collective purposes, in 1:4 and 14:20 individual ones. Lev 14:20 is of special importance since the expiatory function here is mentioned in the context of impurity, namely of scale disease. Not quite as clear is Lev 15:15.30; see Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 926, who negates the expiatory dimension of this sacrifice; but see Levine, *Leviticus*, 96. For the expiatory function of the אשם cf. Lev 5,16.18.25f, in the context of impurity cf. 14,18 and see above p. xxx with n. 5.

⁶⁷For the עלה cf. 11QT 27:4: נרצחה העולה לבני ישראל (and see Lev 1:4). For the אשם cf. 11QT 32:6: אשמם לכפר על העם (according to the reading of Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 171; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 2, 138, reads אשמם and see Maier, *Tempelrolle*, 142, n. 386) and 11QT 35:11.12.14.15 where the biblical usage of the sacrifice seems to be presupposed; cf. Milgrom, “Studies,” 507.

⁶⁸Cf. Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 57.

⁶⁹See above n. 18.

⁷⁰Kazen, “Fragment,” 60-61, seems to be correct in arguing that contrary to Baumgarten, DJD 35:100, אל must not be added to the text, for the prayer of supplication would be uttered after the initial cleansing. Kazen’s situating of the prayer agrees with the situation presupposed in 4Q414 and 4Q512. - The expiatory function of the prayer of supplication proposed is supported by 4Q512 34 3: תחנון על כול נסתרת[ו]ת אשמ[ו]ת;

⁷¹For further evidence of this language in the Purification Liturgies cf. 4Q512 39 1; 34 15; 23; 15 i + 16 1.10; 6 1; 5 6; further cf. 4Q414 1 ii - 2 i 3-4; 8 4; 13 3.

example of how aspects of the temple cult were transferred to purificatory prayers uttered in the process of purification.

After mentioning the burnt offering, the text proceeds with a benediction, which in its first part spells out the consequences of the forgiveness of sin and the purification of the body in terms of renewed access to the sphere of the sacred⁷². As mentioned earlier, in Lev 14 and 15 full access to the sacred is achieved through sacrifice. In the context of Qumran thinking, however, it seems to refer to non-sacrificial cultic access to the presence of God and/or the angels⁷³. This interpretation is confirmed by the continuation of the prayer expressing the idea of access to God. The language used is sacrificial language which both reminds of the sacrificial cult and temporarily replaces it. Although the prayer is fragmentary, it is evident that its terminology is indebted to Lev 1, the chapter on the burnt offering (עולה). This offering in Lev 1:4 is attributed expiatory function; in both texts expiation is related to the idea of seeking God's pleasure⁷⁴.

A further indication that 4Q512 29-32 is a non-cultic variant of biblical purification transferred to the cities can be seen in the sequential order of the purificatory elements. Similar to Lev 14 and 15 the fragment seems to presuppose that the water rites serve the initial 'ritual'-physical cleansing which is followed by the prayer taking up central aspects of the biblical עולה. This prayer, then, may well be taken as functional equivalent to the עולה-sacrifice⁷⁵.

It may be noted that in the sources discussed above there is no indication whatsoever that the expiatory prayers resulted from a rejection of the temple by the group(s) behind the texts adduced⁷⁶. The prayers form part of the purificatory

⁷²Cf. 4Q512 29-32 9 which breaks off with לבוא; cf. similarly 39 ii 2: כִּי אֶתְהַרְתֵּי וְתִבְיֵאֲנִי ב.

⁷³Cf. 1QS 9:15; 1QH 9 [1]:31-33; 1QH 19 [11]:10-14; 4Q284 7 2 (?) and see G. Holtz, "Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'Ritual-Physical' and 'Moral' Purity in a Diachronic Perspective," to be published in *Purity in Ancient Judaism and the Ancient Mediterranean World and the Forming of Religious Traditions* (ed. C. Frevel, C. Nihan, Leiden: Brill), parts 2.2 and 3.

⁷⁴The terminology used in Lev 1 and the fragment of 4Q512 29-32 is not identical, but related. Concerning the עולה cf. the expression וּנְרַצָּה לוֹ (Lev 1:4) with 4Q512 29-32: דָּם עוֹלַת רִצּוֹנָה (in the MT the expression דָּם עוֹלָה is a hapaxlegomenon; cf. 2Kings 16:15); further cf. 11QT 27:4: וּנְרַצָּתָה (לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵינוּ) (לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵינוּ). In Lev 1:4 the expiatory function of the עולה is expressly mentioned (לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵינוּ); in 4Q512 29-32 the idea of expiation is expressed in 19.21. In Lev 1:9; Num 28:6 the עולה is called a רִיחֵ-בְיַחֲוָה; cf. with 4Q512 29-32 10 (זִכְרוֹן בְּיַחֲוָה); 11 (וּבִיחֲוָה רִצּוֹנָה) and see 11QT 14:6-7; 15:12-13; 16:10 etc. For a semantic field similar to 4Q512 29-32 cf. 11Q5 18:9-11; 1QS 9:4-5; 1QM 2:5.

⁷⁵In 4Q270 7 i 16-17 a comparable substitution of an expiatory sacrifice can be observed: the acceptance of the judgment of the community by a person who transgressed its rules is understood as equivalent to the offering of the חַטָּאת and the אֵשֶׁת in the temple.

⁷⁶For a pre-qumranic text which implies the expiatory function of the עולות without rejecting the temple cf. 11Q5 18:9-11. Depending upon the reading of 1QS 9:3-6 this passage can be adduced as a qumranic example. Although prayer and ethical perfection to which expiatory function is attributed here take the place of sacrifice (בִּשְׂרַע עוֹלוֹת) (חֲלָבִי זָבַח and בִּשְׂרַע עוֹלוֹת), this need not imply the rejection of the temple; see M. Goodman, "Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and its Aftermath," *JJS* 60 (2009), 208-9.

period of seven days which, in the DSS in accordance with the Torah, is located outside the temple and the temple city. As such they are hardly meant to replace the sacrifices that allow the renewal of cultic access to God. Rather, the expiatory prayers are to be understood as temporary adaption of the expiating dimension of the temple cult to the reality of the life in the cities with an intended purpose of renewing non-cultic access to the sacred.

4. Conclusion

(1) If the proposed reading of the texts dealt with above is correct, we must reckon with two separate but complementary purificatory rituals, one in the realm of the profane, the cities, the other in the realm of the sacred, the temple city. Whereas the ritual in the cities prepares for the full reintegration into the realm of the profane, the additional rites of the eighth day are the final presupposition for access to the realm of the sacred.

(2) The purificatory ritual for the cities adapts the basic functions of the biblical rituals to the reality of the cities, namely the bodily cleansing through washings, launderings, shavings, and sprinklings; the purgation for the aerally polluted sanctuary through the sprinklings of the water of lustration prepared from the ashes of the red heifer; and expiation through prayer.

(3) Since the texts discussed presumably stem from both pre-qumranic and qumranic times, the purificatory rituals in the cities cannot be interpreted in terms of a possible withdrawal of the Qumranites from Jerusalem and the temple. The two-partite purificatory ritual in the DSS is rather to be understood as an equivalent to the graded holiness of temple, temple city and the cities.

(4) The evidence of two different purificatory rituals in both pre-qumranic and qumranic texts points to the existence of a coherent view of ritual purification underlying the texts from the Scrolls discussed in this paper. This coherence concerns the halakhic issues adapted from the Torah as well as the connection of physical purification and prayer in the ritual of the cities⁷⁷. It contrasts with many other issues in the DSS on which different perspectives due to either developments in the field of history of ideas or to divergent authorial views can be observed. One

⁷⁷See above p. xxx on 4Q274 1 i 1-4 and 4Q512 29-32. The connection of physical purification and prayer in the DSS may have precedents in pre-Scroll ideas such as found in Ps 51; cf. E. Würthwein, "Bemerkungen zu Psalm 51," in *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung* (ed. K. Seybold, E. Zenger, Freiburg et al.: Herder Verlag, 1994), 384-85, and K. Seybold, *Die Psalmen* (HAT I/15; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 212-13; their reading of Ps 51, however, is rejected by other scholars.

of its reasons might be seen in that this coherence is a reflection of similar tendencies emerging in Second Temple times in wider circles of Judaism⁷⁸.

(5) The two-partite purificatory ritual resulting in the reduction of sacrificial requirements fits in with other evidence from the Second Temple period. In its very own way this can be observed in Tannaitic tradition. Although Mishnah and Tosefta as a matter of principle presuppose the biblical sacrifices as part of the purificatory process, the tendency, which can be observed, is to reduce the number of incidents of impurity due to male and female genital discharge or to births or - as the case may be - to bring together several occurrences of impurity that demand a sacrifice⁷⁹. These observations are confirmed by the Tannaitic concept of the *מחוסר כיפורים*, the person lacking full expiation, because he or she has not offered yet the biblically required purity-related offerings at the Temple. This concept points to the possibility that these offerings were regarded as a biblical ideal which could allow for later realization⁸⁰. This development seems to be due to both ideological and practical reasons both of which could also underlie the DSS-purification ritual of the cities⁸¹.

⁷⁸For a differentiation between the two phases of purification see above p. xxx (**Philo**) and the following; for the connection of purification and prayer cf. L.A.E. 6-7 and Sib. Or. 4:165-168 and Baumgarten, DJD 35:92-93; and see the following.

⁷⁹According to m. Ker. 1:7 par m. Toh. 4:13 a woman who has had five doubtful fluxes or five doubtful births (in the sense of abortions) is obliged to only one sacrifice (*חטאת*) in order to be allowed to eat from the sacrifices (*זבחים* [Ker.], *קודשים* [Toh.]). After a caesarian the woman is not obliged to sacrifice (m. Nid. 5:1). A menstrual cycle encompasses a minimum of 18 days only: After counting the regular number of seven days blood is regarded abnormal only during the 11 days which follow, with blood from the 19th day onward being regarded as the beginning of a new cycle (m. Nid. 10:8; further cf. m. Nid. 2:2; t. Nid. 3:7). Regarding the reduction of sacrifices in case of male flux cf. the discussion between Bet Shammai and Bet Hillel in m. Zav. 1:1.5-6; for reducing the number of incidents of male flux identified as *זיבה* cf. m. Zav. 2:2.

⁸⁰Cf. m. Ker. 2:1; m. Kel. 1:5.

⁸¹From m. Zav. 2:2 emerges that R. Aqiva wants to reduce the preoccupation with *זיבה*-impurity even more than others did. In the DSS, the ideological dimension is seen in their holiness conception.