

Emotional Regimes, Ritual Practice, and the Shaping of Sectarian Identity: The Experience of Ablutions in the Dead Sea Scrolls

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Abstract

In this article, I explore the role that the purification rites attested in some of the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls played in identity construction. Ritual ablutions communicated “canonical” messages to initiates about some of the group’s foundational beliefs, including the worthlessness of humanity, the gift of divine election, and the sharp boundary between insiders and outsiders. These messages were channeled through the emotions that the sect associated with ritual ablutions: shame, disgust, and grief with the ritual actor’s former state of impurity, joy and honor upon receiving the undeserved divine gift of purity, love for other pure insiders, and hate for all impure outsiders. By evoking emotions—“embodied thoughts”—that reflect core sectarian values, the embodied ritual became a vehicle through which the sectarian “emotional regime” transformed the ritual actor into the embodiment of the sectarian worldview.

Keywords: emotion, ritual, purity, Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, Community Rule, Hodayot

1. Introduction

The success of the sectarian project at Qumran hinged on the ability of the Yahad to shape and reinforce a new identity for its members. This process of identity construction required that the group teach its constituency to see the world through a different lens and adopt new perspectives on familiar subjects such as covenant, election, and redemption. In order to achieve that objective, the sect erected a comprehensive “emotional regime,” a label that captures a

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culture's ability to create, communicate, and enforce patterns of appropriate emotion by means of various social, material, and symbolic elements.¹ This definition reflects an approach which conceives of emotions as evaluative judgments about other people, objects, or behavior that are shaped by the values and beliefs of a community.² In the words of Carol Newsom, the Yahad sought to “make a sectarian” by clarifying who or what should be the objects of an initiate’s love, hate, grief, fear, shame, pride, disgust, honor, and joy.³

Emotional regimes provide and monitor emotional instruction in various ways, prominent among which are forms of ritual practice. Emotions are “embodied thoughts,” cognitive, value-laden judgments that manifest themselves in bodily experience.⁴ Rituals involving the body therefore serve as an ideal context within which to transmit a set of emotional norms. In this article, I will explore the role that one of the Yahad’s central ritual practices—its purification rites—played in the construction of sectarian emotion and identity.⁵

¹ On emotional regimes, see W. M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and O. Riis and L. Woodhead, *A Sociology of Religious Emotion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). I regard the term “emotional communities” as largely synonymous with “emotional regimes,” but, in the case of the Yahad, think that the label “regime” captures the hierarchical structure of the sect and the relationship between strict sectarian discipline and emotion. On “emotional communities,” see B. H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). On emotional communities in ancient Judaism, see A. Mermelstein, “Constructing Fear and Pride in the Book of Daniel: The Profile of a Second Temple Emotional Community,” *JSJ* (forthcoming).

² See M. C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³ See C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ, 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 91–92. On emotions at Qumran, see A. Mermelstein, “Love and Hate at Qumran: The Social Construction of Sectarian Emotion,” *DSD* 20 (2013), pp. 237–63.

⁴ M. Rosaldo, “Towards an Anthropology of Self and Feeling,” in R. A. Shweder and R. A. LeVine (eds.), *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 137–57 (143).

⁵ The literature on purity at Qumran is voluminous; for several representative publications, see H. K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations* (SBLDS, 143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); I. C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007). It is not entirely clear how often sectarians were expected to immerse in

During the course of ritual ablutions, the sectarian was to view himself as characterized by certain emotional dispositions.⁶ This self-perception was part of the rite’s “self-referential” message, a form of ritual communication which, according to ritual theorist Roy Rappaport, transmits information about the participant’s “current physical, psychic or social states.”⁷ These messages clarify whether the ritual actor defines his current state as, e.g., man, warrior, king, subject, or penitent—or, in the case of the Yahad’s ablutions, a member of an exclusive group.⁸

a *miqveh*, but the evidence suggests that they observed this ritual on a regular basis. Josephus (*J.W.*, 2.129) reports that the Essenes would wash themselves before each meal, a practice which might be implied in IQS 5:13. That text speaks of the need to distance non-initiates from the community’s *miqva’ot* in order that outsiders not gain access to the community’s pure food, suggesting that “members of the sect who were allowed to touch the *tohorah* routinely took ablutions before doing so” (M. A. Daise, “Processual Modality in Qumran Ritual: Induction into the Counsel of the Yachad,” *Annali di storia dell’esegesi* 30 [2013], pp. 303–15 [309]; see also idem, “Ritual Density in Qumran Practice: Ablutions in the *Serekh Ha-Yahad*,” in E. G. Chazon and B. Halpern-Amaru [eds.], *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* [STDJ, 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010], pp. 51–66 [64–65]). Other texts, not all of which are necessarily sectarian in origin, imply a similar practice (see 4Q514 1 I 5–7; 11QT 49:20–21). The archaeological evidence supports the conclusion that sectarians immersed themselves before eating: several of the largest *miqva’ot* at the site of Qumran were located adjacent to the entrances to the communal dining room (see J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002], p. 153). Of course, ritual ablutions were practiced at other times as well. The penal code in IQS implies the need for ritual purification following the commission of certain sins (see J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], p. 83), while IQS 8:16–18 may go further and ban the offending sectarian from contact with pure food following *any* sin; see Newton, *Concept of Purity*, pp. 41–42. In addition, the purification liturgies, 4Q284, 414, and 512, have headings that refer to regular dates, especially festivals, suggesting that ablutions were routinely practiced then.

⁶ In the absence of first-person accounts, we cannot know how sectarians *actually* experienced ritual ablutions. The sectarian texts that refer to the practice, however, outline the *ideal* experience of, and outlook on, the rite. My use of the masculine pronoun throughout this article reflects the scholarly view that the *Yahad* comprised a group of celibate men. For a survey of the issue and discussion of the possibility that the sect also included women, see Tal Ilan, “Women in Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 123–47 (123–26).

⁷ R. A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 105. The association between community and ablutions was not unique to this sect; according to H. K. Harrington (“What is the Purpose of Ritual Ablutions in Ancient Judaism?” *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 12 [2009], pp. 1–17 [6]), for many Second Temple Jews “ablutions serve to establish a new identity for a group of Jews which believed they had special access to God.” Nevertheless, the sect’s emphasis on their exclusive ability to become pure is unique.

By evoking distinctively sectarian emotions, rites of purification, I will argue, were self-referential acts that taught the ritual actor to associate his sectarian identity with certain emotional norms.⁹

Self-referential messages are only intelligible when supplemented by a ritual's canonical messages, the fixed, invariant elements of a ritual that reflect the broader ideology or worldview of the group that practices the rite.¹⁰ For example, initiation rites could communicate canonical messages about a group's social structure, relations with outsiders, or collective memory that clarify why the participant has, during the course of the ritual, passed from child to adult. Taken together, ritual's self-referential and canonical messages inform "self and others about commitments, beliefs, and values of the participants."¹¹ The Yahad's purification rites communicated canonical messages about the gift of divine election and the passage from a damned, sinful, and lowly human existence to a state of redemption and exaltation as a member

⁹ My line of inquiry approximates that of R. A. Werline ("The Experience of Prayer and Resistance to Demonic Powers in the Gospel of Mark," in F. Flannery, C. Shantz, and R. A. Werline [eds.], *Experientia, Volume 1: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* [SBLSymS, 40; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008], pp. 59–71), who sought to correct the view of many scholars who "typically understand prayer as a religious *practice*, but probably would not think of it as experience" (p. 59; italics in original). The study of the religious experience of various groups represented in the Scrolls has only recently commanded the attention of scholars. See, e.g., Harrington, "Purpose of Ritual Ablutions"; R. Kugler, "Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran," *JSJ* 33 (2002), pp. 131–52; A. K. Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot Through the Lens of Visionary Traditions* (Ekstasis, 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012); J. L. Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511)," *DSD* 19 (2012), pp. 1–27; C. A. Newsom, "Religious Experience in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Two Case Studies," in F. Flannery, C. Shantz, and R. A. Werline (eds.), *Experientia, Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience* (SBLEJL, 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 205–21; J. H. Newman, "Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in G. J. Brooke, H. Najman, and L. T. Stuckenbruck (eds.), *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (Themes in Biblical Narrative, 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 29–72.

¹⁰ Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, p. 58.

¹¹ C. L. Park and P. McNamara, "Religion, Meaning, and the Brain," in P. McNamara (ed.), *Where God and Science Meet: The Psychology of Religious Experience* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), pp. 67–89 (75). See also Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, p. 106: "Without canon, ritual's self-referential messages would be meaningless or even non-existent as such."

of the covenantal community. Within the sectarian emotional regime, these grand themes were to evoke specific emotions in the sectarian, including shame, disgust, grief, joy, honor, love, and hate. The self-referential act of ablution thus taught the ritual actor that his identity as a sectarian required specific emotional responses to the core sectarian beliefs that were communicated through the ritual.¹² By internalizing the ritual’s canonical messages, the sectarian participant learned to feel shame, disgust, and grief at his depraved state, joy and honor at his undeserved redemption, love for other group members, and hate for all outsiders.

I will primarily confine my discussion to three texts, drawn from 1QS, 1QH^a, and the so-called “Purification Liturgies,” that delineate the canonical and self-referential messages of ablutions and illustrate the place of emotion in the practice of those rites.¹³ As we will see in section two, that ritual concretized the fact that God had purified the participant and elected him to join the covenant. Without the element of divine purification, I will show in section three,

¹² For a recent attempt to examine ritual ablutions in Second Temple Judaism from the perspective of ritual studies, see Harrington, “Purpose of Ritual Ablutions.” For analyses of the ritual of Christian baptism through the lens of Rappaport’s theory of ritual communication, see B. J. L. Peerbolte, “Paul, Baptism, and Religious Experience,” in C. Shantz and R. A. Werline (eds.), *Experientia, Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience* (SBLEJL, 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), pp. 181–204; G. S. Selby, “(Em)bodying the Faith: Baptism as Ritual Communication,” *ResQ* 48 (2006), pp. 1–10.

¹³ Recent scholarship has clarified that the sectarian scrolls represent a diverse mix of distinct, even if closely aligned, groups. See, e.g., A. Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ, 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009). We cannot therefore assume that the three sets of texts that I have chosen as my data set all stem from the same group. Nevertheless, several considerations have led me to treat them together. The hodayah in 1QH^a 19:6–20:6 that I will examine contains verbal, adverbial, and nominal forms of הָיָה on three occasions (see 1QH^a 19:14, 17, 28), suggesting an affinity with 1QS. However, even if it was not composed by that group—and its placement in 1QH^a, along with its exceptional content within the Hodayot corpus, might suggest that “it was an independent hymn that came to be included in the collection compiled by the *yahad*” (A. K. Harkins, “The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation,” *DSD* 15 [2008], pp. 121–54 [131 n. 24])—the Yahad appropriated it by inserting it into the Hodayot scroll. The Purification Liturgies are assigned a sectarian provenance by many scholars (see below, n. 18), although we cannot with certainty attribute them to the 1QS group. Nevertheless, their content echoes that of 1QH^a 19:6–20:6, suggesting that, at the very least, they represent a similar outlook. More generally, the texts in my data set complement each other in their descriptions of the canonical and self-referential messages associated with ablutions.

humans could not transcend their fundamental impurity simply by immersing in a bath full of water, a fact that moves the speaker in the Hodayot to feelings of shame, disgust, and grief. Yet, as will become clear in section four, the ablutions were not a private rite. The ritual actor's passage from impure to pure marked his transition from one social state to another as he joined a collective body of purified individuals, inspiring declarations of joy and honor in various sources. Aided by canonical messages about divine purification, human impurity, and the sect's glorious purity, ablutions became a self-referential ritual through which the participant defined himself as a pure member of the divinely elected group. Those messages elicited a spectrum of emotional responses that represent embodied reflections on the relationship between the individual, sect, and God.

Since the self-referential message of the ritual was dependent upon its canonical messages, the sources that I analyze in section five assert that a failure to affirm those canonical messages excluded the ritual actor from acquiring the status of a pure member of the covenant. Purification rites therefore only proved efficacious for those who joined in the annual covenant renewal ceremony, a ritual whose canonical messages also centered upon themes of covenant, election, and insider status. In focusing on those themes, both practices were ritual expressions of the group's love of insiders and hate of outsiders, and, as such, one could only join one's fellow sectarians in a state of purity if one also joined them in pledging undying hatred of outsiders. Ritual ablutions communicated the following canonical message: sectarian purification rites enabled the ritual actor to take his place as part of the pure, exalted community. However, because humans are inescapably impure, God must intervene in order to ensure the success of the ritual and facilitate the participant's entrance into the sect. That canonical message served to elicit from the participant specific emotions which would become constitutive of his sectarian

identity. Ritual thus became the embodied context in which a sectarian would cultivate the “embodied thoughts” that governed his relations with God, his sectarian brothers, and humankind, aiding in the acquisition and reinforcement of his sectarian consciousness.

2. Ritual Ablutions and Divine Purification

According to a central piece of its canonical message, ritual ablutions were part of a broader process of purification initiated by God. The following passage in the Hodayot articulates well the connection between the purification rite and the act of divine purification:

(13) For the sake of your glory you have purified (טהרתה) a mortal from sin, so that he may sanctify himself (להתקדש) (14) for you. (1QH^a 19:13–14)¹⁴

The speaker in this passage acknowledges God’s instrumental role in enabling him to become pure.¹⁵ God purified him so that he might in turn successfully purify himself, להתקדש, the reflexive form of ש.ד.ק which typically refers to ritual immersion in the Scrolls.¹⁶ Ritual immersion is only efficacious for those who have already been purified by the divine spirit.

According to the Hodayot, ritual ablutions do not *create* a pure sectarian so much as reflect the

¹⁴ Text and translation of Hodayot based on E. M. Schuller and C. A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a* (SBLEJL, 36; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012).

¹⁵ Other passages describe God as the source of the sectarian’s purification, but they lack any explicit reference to ritual ablutions. For a discussion of several of those texts, see S. Haber, “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”: *Essays on Purity in Early Judaism* (SBLEJL, 24; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), pp. 99–101.

¹⁶ See J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), p. 162 (Hebrew). For other texts that use להתקדש to indicate the speaker’s ability to purify himself, see, e.g., 1QS 3:4–5 (ולוא יתקדש) (בימים ונהרות); 4Q512 33 + 35 5 (להתקדש) ...[בימים].

fact that the ritual actor has *already* been purified. The rite in which he is engaged will succeed in purifying him because God has already enabled him to become pure.

This canonical message was embedded in one of the liturgical texts associated with ritual ablutions.¹⁷ These extremely fragmentary texts, likely of sectarian provenance, were apparently recited during the course of ritual ablutions and thus provide a window into actual practice.¹⁸ The following excerpt subordinates the rite of ablution to the divine act of purification: “And I will pr[ai]se [your] na[me ...] for you purified me.”¹⁹ As in the above *hodayah*, the ritual actor acknowledges that the success of the ritual depends upon the divine will.

The divine purification that necessarily preceded the act of ritual ablution was a form of personal salvation. The Treatise on the Two Spirits (TTS) gives expression to this formulation in describing the eschatological redemption:²⁰

¹⁷ On these texts, see J. M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Liturgies,” in P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 202–12; idem, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7,” in D. Dimant and U. Rappaport (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (STDJ, 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 199–209. Based on the amount of overlap between them, 4Q414 and 4Q512, both found on the verso of 4Q503 (Daily Prayers), would appear to be different recensions of one text; see Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, p. 216. Text and translation of 4Q414 and 512 are based on F. G. Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume Two* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), with modifications.

¹⁸ See 4Q512 42–44 ii 2–3: “And afterwards he will enter [the water ... and he will reply] and say...” The arguments in favor of a sectarian provenance largely turn on linguistic contacts with 1QS 3 and other texts, the presence of sectarian terminology, indications of sectarian ideology, and the use of Qumran orthography; see D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 26; E. Eshel, “Ritual of Purification,” in J. Baumgarten et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD, 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), p. 139; Baumgarten, “Purification Liturgies,” pp. 202–3; R. C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ, 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 172.

¹⁹ 4Q512 39 ii 1–2. See also 4Q512 29–32 8–9: “Blessed are You, [God of Israel, who] [forgave me all] my sins and purified me from impure immodesty^{and atoned} so that (I) can enter...”

²⁰ Text and translation of 1QS based on F. G. Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume One* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Recent scholarship regards TTS as a pre-sectarian text that was incorporated into 1QS; see, e.g., C. Hempel, “The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary Development of the Rule of the Community,” in G. Xeravits (ed.), *Dualism in Qumran* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), pp. 102–20. Since I am solely concerned with the final form of 1QS, the pre-history of the Treatise is not relevant for my purposes.

(20) Then God will refine (יברר), with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify (יזקק) for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part (21) of his flesh (מתכמי בשרו), and cleansing (לטהרו) him with the spirit of holiness from all wicked deeds. He will sprinkle (ויז) over him the spirit of truth (רוח אמת) like lustral water (במי נדה) (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement (22) of the unclean spirit (והתגולל ברוח נדה).²¹ (1QS 4:20–22)

This text describes the future redemption as a form of ritual purification analogous to “lustral water” and “cleansing.”²² These metaphorical acts of cleansing will successfully purge the elect of their “unclean spirit” (רוח נדה). The use of this metaphor suggests that the sectarians imagined ablutions as accomplishing in the present what redemption would in the future. The canonical message of ritual ablutions directed the ritual actor to view the rite as a redemptive act made possible by divine grace.

3. Human Impurity, Ritual Ablutions, and Emotion

A corollary of the above texts is that, absent divine purification, the act of ablution cannot purify the ritual actor. Humans are inescapably impure and cannot transcend that state without divine assistance. The above hodayah makes this point especially clear:

(6) I thank you, O my God, that you have acted wonderfully with dust, and with a vessel of clay you have worked so very powerfully. ... (13) For the sake of your glory you have purified (טהרתה) a mortal from sin, so that he may sanctify himself (להתקדש) (14) for you

²¹ J. D. Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (SBLABib, 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), p. 120, classifies this text under “metaphorical uses of washing.” As Klawans has argued, the equation of sin with defilement in this and other passages in sectarian literature is not metaphorical; see his *Impurity and Sin*, 75–82.

Nevertheless, the act of ritual ablution is used here as a metaphor to characterize the future divine act of purification.

²² For the use of נ.ג.ה as a method of purification, see, e.g., Exod. 29:21; Lev. 14:7; Num. 19:21.

from all impure abominations (תועבות נדה) and from faithless guilt (אשמת מעל). (1QH^a 19:6, 13–14)

As lowly dust and vessels of clay, humans lack the capacity to become pure. In even starker terms, the speaker subsequently describes himself as a “corpse-infesting maggot” (1QH^a 19:15). His moral impurity reflects his depraved, physical existence, which inevitably leads him to sin.²³ Because humans are inescapably impure, only God can enable them to achieve a pure state. The speaker’s own ritual ablutions were only successful because God allowed him to “sanctify himself for you from all impure abominations and from faithless guilt.” In expressing this canonical message, the purification rite both symbolizes and concretizes the transformation from one’s carnal and sinful state.

The relationship between divine purification and humanity’s impurity emerges from the hymn at the end of 1QS. Humanity is an “assembly of flesh” (סוד בשר) (1QS 11:7), an “assembly of unfaithful flesh” (סוד בשר עול) (1QS 11:9), and an “assembly of worms” (סוד רמה) (1QS 11:10). The speaker’s missteps are “sin(s) of the flesh” (עוון בשר) (1QS 11:12). Accordingly, he calls upon God to “cleanse me from the uncleanness of the human being (יטהרני מנדת אנוש) and from the sin of the sons of man (הטאת בני אדם)” (1QS 11:14–15). As in the *hodayah* above, this passage juxtaposes the speaker’s fleshly existence and his moral impurity, suggesting that the latter is an inevitable consequence of the former. For this reason, only God can “cleanse me from the uncleanness of the human being.”

Once again, a fragmentary reference in the purification liturgy embeds this as an explicit canonical message during the course of the ritual. A cryptic allusion to “all the impuri[ty] of our flesh” (מכול ערו[ת] בשרנו) recalls the transformation from a fleshly body that characterized the

²³ H. Birenboim, “For He is Impure Among All Those Who Transgress His Words’: Sin and Ritual Defilement in the Qumran Scrolls,” *Zion* 68 (2003), pp. 359–66 (363) (Hebrew).

experience of ablutions in 1QH^a.²⁴ This tantalizing formulation reflects a perspective that views humanity as fundamentally low and of the purification process as one that enables humans to overcome their humble state.²⁵ This canonical message elicits from the speaker in the above hodayah expressions of shame and disgust.²⁶ Shame is an emotion which “involves the realization that one is weak and inadequate in some way in which one expects oneself to be adequate.”²⁷ Adequacy in this case concerns the ability for people to purify themselves—something that was taken for granted by most Jews of the late Second Temple period. However, the speaker has received divine knowledge that clarified his inability to purify himself. That knowledge, which is the object of repeated praise throughout the hodayah, centers upon the divine role in saving humans from their sin:

(23) I knew the inclinations of humans, and I un[derstood] to what mortals return, [and I recognized the mour]nfulness of sin, and the anguish of (24) guilt ... (30) blessed are you, [O Lord, w]ho have given to your servant (31) insightful knowledge to understand your wondrous works and [a ready an]sw[er in order to] tell of the abundance of your knowledge ... (33) gladden the soul of your servant through your truth, and purify me (34) by your righteousness. (1QH^a 19:23–24, 30–31, 33–34)

Equipped with the knowledge that his sins pose an insurmountable obstacle to becoming pure, the speaker expresses shame with his sinful, impure body, which he variously calls “dust” and “vessel of clay” (1QH^a 19:6). The purification rites help the ritual actor transform his body from a state of shame to one of honor, but only because God intervened in the process.

²⁴ 4Q512 36–38 6. See also 4Q512 29–32 8–9: “Blessed are You, [God of Israel, who] ... purified me from impure immodesty (מַעֲרֹת נִדָּה).”

²⁵ See Birenboim, “For He is Impure,” 362.

²⁶ On shame in the Hodayot, see J. Stiebert, “Shame and the Body in Psalms and Lamentations of the Hebrew Bible and in Thanksgiving Hymns from Qumran,” *OTE* 20 (2007), pp. 798–829; A. Mermelstein, “The Emotions of the Ideal Sage and the Moral Life” (paper presented at “Rethinking the Boundaries of Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism,” University of Lorraine, October 21, 2014).

²⁷ M. C. Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame, and the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 183.

The speaker also gives voice to the emotion of disgust. In order for the speaker to enter the “council of [your] t[ruth],” God must raise “a corpse-infesting maggot . . . up from the dust” (1QH^a 19:15). As one who has already undergone this transformation, the speaker reflects upon his past and expresses disgust at his former state. Disgust “concerns the borders of the body: it focuses on the prospect that a problematic substance may be incorporated into the self.”²⁸ It centers especially upon spoiled or decaying objects because ingesting them reminds us of our own mortality.²⁹ The speaker explicitly invokes his mortality in this context, conjuring up images of a “corpse-infesting maggot” and thanking God for having purified a mere mortal from sin (טהרתה אנוש מפשע) (1QH^a 19:13). The pure collective to which he now belongs could not accommodate the decaying object which the speaker had formerly embodied. He again invokes death later in the passage, bemoaning the fact that “I un[derstood] to what mortals return” (1QH^a 19:23). By joining the “everlasting host and the [eternal] spirit[s]” (1QH^a 19:16), he has transcended death.³⁰ Thus, from the vantagepoint of his current pure state, the memory of his former self elicits within him the emotion of disgust.

The same knowledge that inspires in the speaker feelings of shame and disgust also generates expressions of grief:

(22) As for me, a fount of bitter mourning was opened to me [...] and trouble was not hidden from my eyes (23) when I knew the inclinations of humans, and I un[derstood] to what mortals return, [and I recognized the mour]nfulness of sin, and the anguish of (24) guilt. They entered my heart and they penetrated my bones . . . and to utter an agonized

²⁸ M. C. Nussbaum, “‘Secret Sewers of Vice’: Disgust, Bodies, and the Law,” in S. A. Bandes (ed.), *The Passions of Law* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), pp. 19–62 (23).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁰ In an observation about the cross-cultural symbolism of immersion in water, M. Eliade (*The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* [trans. W. R. Trask; New York: Harcourt, 1959], pp. 130–31) noted its widespread association with death and rebirth. Harrington, “Purpose of Ritual Ablutions,” pp. 8–10, has explored several biblical and post-biblical sources that imply a similar symbolic understanding of ritual immersion.

moan and a groan to the lyre of lamentation for all gr[iev]ous mourning[...] and bitter lament until the destruction of iniquity, when there is n[o more pain]and no more affliction to make one weak. (1QH^a 19:22–24)

The speaker's awareness that he cannot purify himself induces in him grief that borders on despair. He experiences this grief in his body: it "entered my heart and ... penetrated my bones," leading him to "utter an agonized moan and a groan." The knowledge that he received as part of his election leads to this embodied thought of hopelessness.

The speaker in the hodayah translates the canonical message of ritual ablutions—that, absent divine intervention, humans are essentially impure—into emotional terms. He managed to "sanctify himself," but that very fact inspires in him feelings of shame, disgust, and grief. Because emotions are embodied thoughts, a shift in the sectarian's emotions will affect his thought patterns. The sectarian emotional regime thus uses ritual as an occasion for communicating the group's foundational beliefs and seeks to ensure the impact of that instruction by appealing to the sectarian's emotional outlook. Shame, disgust, and grief would now become elements of the sectarian's emotional repertoire, and the beliefs that those emotions represent would embed themselves in his worldview.

4. Ritual Ablutions as the Pathway to a Pure Community

Ritual ablutions did not only inspire negative emotions, however. The ritual's canonical message channels a perspective on the community as an exalted group of pure individuals. Ritual ablutions do not simply enable the ritual actor to transcend his fleshly state, but, in addition, they afford him entrance into a pure and holy society. The continuation of the above hodayah describes this canonical message in the following terms:

(13) For the sake of your glory you have purified (טהרתה) a mortal from sin, so that he may sanctify himself (להתקדש) (14) for you ... so that he might be united with the children of your truth and in the lot with (15) your holy ones (גורל עם קדושיכה) ... (16) and so that he may take (his) place before you with the everlasting host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and so that he may be renewed together with all that i[s] and will be and with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing (ביחד רנה). (1QH^a 19:13–17)

According to this passage, fleshly, sinful humans have no place within a community that consists of “the children of your truth and in the lot with your holy ones.” The latter phrase may refer to the angelic host that resided in the midst of the group, in which case the ritual’s message incorporates a belief found in other sectarian texts about the composition of the community.³¹ With the help of this canonical message, ablutions became a self-referential act through which the participant defined himself as a pure member of the divinely elected group.

Because purification rites are the gateway to the pure sect, the group’s ritual baths must be guarded from impure impostors, and the canonical act of ablution focuses on the tenuous but necessary line separating insiders from outsiders. One who has not joined the community “should not go into the waters (במים) to share in the pure (food) of the men of holiness (טהרת אנשי הקודש), for one is not cleansed unless one turns away from one’s wickedness, for he is unclean among all the transgressors of his word” (1QS 5:13–14).³² This prohibition is embedded within a larger section that requires segregation from “all those who do not know the covenant”

³¹ For other texts that express this belief, see, e.g., 1QM 7:3–8 and 1QSa 2:8–10. For the identification of the “holy ones” in this passage as angelic beings, see Harrington, “Purpose of Ritual Ablutions,” p. 6. On this phrase as referring to angels in other Qumranic texts, see Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience,” pp. 19–20.

³² For the identification of טהרת אנשי הקודש as the community’s pure food in particular, see S. Lieberman, “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” *JBL* 71 (1952), pp. 199–206 (203).

(1QS 5:19) in general and the “men of injustice” (אנשי העול) (1QS 5:2, 10) in particular.³³ By virtue of their commitment to “revert to the law of Moses ... in compliance with all that has been revealed of it” (1QS 5:8–9), sectarians have the capacity to become pure. On the other hand, outsiders who refuse to reform themselves “are not included in his covenant” (1QS 5:11), and, for that reason, “wrath will rise up for judgment in order to effect revenge by the curse of the covenant” (1QS 5:12). Ablutions thus concretize in ritual form a set of the group’s more abstract theological commitments.

The purification liturgies echo the canonical message of ablutions as a redemptive ritual that marks the boundary between insiders and outsiders: “He will recite and say: Blessed are y[ou], God of Israel,] because from what issues from Your mouth the purification of all (people) has [been defined. To be separated from all] men of impurity (אנשי נדה) according to their g[uilt], they shall not be purified in lustr[al] waters of purification.”³⁴ As part of the

³³ According to C. Hempel (“The Community and Its Rivals According to the *Community Rule* from Caves 1 and 4,” *RevQ* 21 [2003], pp. 47–81 [80]), “[d]espite the repeated calls for separation from this group, its closeness to the community is at times so pronounced, that the issues raised such as authority and touching the purity would only be conceivable if this group were considered by some as belonging to the community, as being ‘one of them.’”

³⁴ This text is a conjectural emendation based on both 4Q414 and 4Q512 (see n. 17 above). Portions that are not underlined are taken from 4Q414 2 ii 3, 4, portions that are underlined are taken from 4Q512 42–44 ii. Admittedly, several important words, including “separated” (להבדל) and “their g[uilt]” (אשמתם) are reconstructed, but the attested phrase אנשי נדה supports the likelihood of those or similar reconstructions. If, in fact, this text is of sectarian origin (see above, n. 18), the distinction between the ritual actor and אנשי נדה—a phrase that does not appear elsewhere in the Scrolls corpus—likely refers to the distinction between pure sectarians and impure outsiders, who, according to 1QS 3, cannot become pure. נדה can refer in the Scrolls to generic impurity, but the sectarian corpus often uses that word to describe the essential character of non-sectarians, namely that they are impure; see, e.g., CD 2:1, 1QS 5:19; 1QpHab 8:13; 1QM 13:5; 4Q511 18 ii 7. Moreover, the purification liturgies elsewhere include language implying a fundamental distinction between insiders and outsiders; see, for example, 4Q512 4–6: “And today [...] impurity, to consecrate oneself for You and [e]tern[al], for [...] impurity, and no one shall be abl[e] the [d]ays of Your glory and the co[venant] the first (הרשונים) ית [ובר] ית and [...] their guilt (אשמתם) and upon [...] all [...] and You will sanctify him [...] atonement[s of] Yo[ur] favor [...] their [...]. and You shall abhor them (ותתעבם) [...] [...] [...] their works and [...] [...] with a disease of impurity so as to be separated (בנגע נדה להבדל).” For other sectarian formulations in the purification liturgies, see above, p. 501.

purification rite, the immersing sectarian describes the canonical message of the ritual as a belief in boundary drawing. Another purification liturgical text, 4Q284, echoes the same theme.³⁵ The ritual actor is instructed to recite the following blessing: “Blessed are yo[u, God of Israel ...] [... and] you engraved true purity for your people to [...] [...] to be] purified with them from all their uncle[an]liness to ... for the children of your covenant (לבני ברייתכה) [...] in the lot of your t[ru]th (בגורל אמת[כה])... .”³⁶ In addition to the reference to the “children of your covenant,” the final phrase, “in the lot of your t[ru]th,” presumably refers to the sect; the *hodayah* discussed above describes ablutions as enabling the ritual actor to “be united with the children of your truth (בני אמתך) and in the lot with your holy ones (גורל עם קדושיכה)” (1QH^a 19:14–15). This liturgical text thus implies that God is the source of purification and that only members of the covenantal community are capable of becoming pure. By reciting these liturgical texts, the ritual actor fuses the self-referential and canonical messages of the rite, using the embodied practice of ritual ablutions to link the larger, abstract ideals of the sect with his own sectarian identity.

The negative emotions of shame, disgust, and grief give way to joy and honor upon the speaker’s becoming pure. These latter emotions focus on the fact that God has enabled the “corpse-infesting maggot” to overcome his naturally shameful and disgusting state. He now joins an exalted community that includes angelic beings, transforming his shame to honor.³⁷ The speaker in the above *hodayah* whom “for the sake of your glory you have purified” is now able

³⁵ The sectarian origin of this text is suggested by the phrase “זה סרך הדות” in 1 I 4.

³⁶ 4Q284 3 3–4 3. Text and translation based on J. Baumgarten, “Purification Liturgy,” in J. Baumgarten et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD, 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 127–28.

³⁷ One need not accept the suggestion of É. Puech (*La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle? histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* [EBib, 21–22; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993], vol. 2, pp. 375–81) that this passage envisions physical resurrection in order to see in it a celebration of the exalted status that the sectarian now enjoys; see J. J. Collins, “Amazing Grace: The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran,” in H. W. Attridge and M. E. Fassler (eds.), *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions* (SBLSymS, 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), pp. 75–82 (81).

to join “with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing (ביחד רנה)” (1QH^a 19:17).³⁸ His joy thus attaches him to a community that experiences the same emotion. The purification liturgies contain statements of joyous gratitude reminiscent of those in the hodayah: “And I, I will pr[ai]se [your] na[me ...] because you have purified me and brought me into [...]” (4Q512 39 ii 1–2). The statement of gratitude here pertains to the speaker’s initiation into the sect. Gratitude and shame are here linked, as the speaker expresses his gratitude for having overcome his shameful state.³⁹

The speaker in the hodayah connects his joy with pronouncements of thanksgiving: “What am I ... that you have put thanksgiving (הודות) into my mouth ... and (made) the utterance of my lips as the foundation of jubilation (במכון רנה)” (1QH^a 19:6–8). His joy likewise negates his earlier feelings of grief; where he had earlier “utter[ed] an agonized moan and a groan to the lyre of lamentation,” he now “will sing upon the lyre of salvation, and the harp of jo[y] ... without ceasing” (1QH^a 19:24–27).

The association of joy and honor with purity reinforces the canonical messages embedded in ritual ablutions. Achieving a state of purity—of becoming a member of the covenantal community—is an undeserved gift and therefore worthy of thanksgiving. The joy that can only follow from the process of purification makes that emotion constitutive of sectarian identity. The link between the rituals of ablution and joyous thanksgiving deepens the canonical message of purification rites, and that canonical message, in turn, explains the need to experience joy.

³⁸ For the connection between becoming pure and being capable of expressing gratitude, see also 1QS 11:15.

³⁹ See Birenboim, “For He is Impure,” p. 364.

The various emotions in this hodayah—shame, disgust, grief, joy, and honor—shape a ritual experience in which the participant learns that he is completely dependent on divine support. Like the pure status that he achieves as a result of the ritual, his emotions are gifts from God. Only from the vantagepoint of one who has become exalted and honorable can the ritual actor experience shame, disgust, and grief. Without having been “[inst]ructed in the secret counsel of your truth and ... your wondrous deeds,” the sectarian would not even be aware of his shameful and disgusting state. The emphasis on the divine gift of knowledge throughout this passage suggests a link between his present state of awareness and his emotional abilities. The ability to express joyous thanksgiving is likewise not an instinctive impulse but a divine gift: “What am I that ...you have put thanksgiving into my mouth, pr[ai]se upon my tongue, and (made) the utterance of my lips as the foundation of jubilation, so that I might sing of your kindness and reflect on your strength all the day?” (1QH^a 19:6–9). The rite’s canonical message teaches the ritual actor that, for no discernible reason, God has chosen to purify and admit him into the exalted community; that message, along with the emotional responses to it, become constitutive of his own status as a member of the group. The embodied thoughts that he experiences during the embodied ritual thus become parts of his identity, reflections of his core beliefs and self-perception as a sectarian.

5. Ritual Ablutions as Affirmation of Sectarian Love and Hate

Ritual ablutions thus communicate a canonical message about divine election, human impurity, and the singular status of the sect. Because ablutions concretize those abstract beliefs in an embodied ritual, the rite can only be efficacious if one accepts those canonical beliefs. In other

words, the ritual can only serve as a self-referential act that defines one as a sectarian if one simultaneously accepts the canonical messages that define the sectarian worldview. Simply engaging in the ritual is insufficient; one must accept the network of beliefs that it transmits about the divine purification of insiders. In order to demonstrate that one accepted those beliefs, one had to participate in the annual covenant renewal ceremony, described in 1QS and elsewhere.⁴⁰

The canonical messages transmitted by the covenant renewal ceremony, like ritual ablutions, focus upon the themes of covenant, election, and rejection of outsiders. The one who refuses to participate in the covenant renewal ceremony misses the ritual of cursing the sons of darkness during the course of that ritual: “Accursed are you, without mercy, according to the darkness of your deeds” (1QS 2:7). Accordingly, the non-participant “shall not be justified while he maintains the stubbornness of his heart, since he regards darkness as paths of light (וחושך יביט) (לדרכי אור)” (1QS 3:3). In confusing the paths of dark and light, he violates the imperative to “love all the sons of light ... and detest all the sons of darkness” (1QS 1:9–10).

In opting out of the covenant renewal ceremony, the recalcitrant sectarian repudiates the sharp distinction between insider and outsider which also stands at the heart of the canonical message of ritual ablutions. Failure to join with others in renewing the covenant indicates a lack of acceptance of the canonical message that underlies both the ceremony and the purification

⁴⁰ See also 4Q280, 286–90, and B. Nitzan, “4QBerakhot^(a-e): A Covenantal Ceremony in the Light of Related Texts,” *RevQ* 16 (1995), pp. 487–506.

rites.⁴¹ 1QS therefore asserts that the purification rites will not prove efficacious for the recalcitrant sectarian:

(25) And anyone who declines to enter [the covenant of Go]d in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart shall not [enter the Com]munity of his truth, since (1) his soul loathes the disciplines of knowledge of just judgments. He has not the strength to convert his life and shall not be counted with the upright. (2) His knowledge, his energy and his wealth shall not enter the council of the Community because he ploughs in the mud of wickedness and there are stains (3) on his conversion. He shall not be justified while he maintains the stubbornness of his heart, since he regards darkness as paths of light. In the source of the perfect (4) he shall not be counted. He will not become clean by the acts of atonement, nor shall he be purified by the cleansing waters (ולוא יטהר במי גדה), nor shall he be made holy (יתקדש) by seas (5) or rivers, nor shall he be purified (יטהר) by all the water of ablution. Defiled, defiled shall he be all the days that he spurns the decrees (6) of God, without allowing himself to be taught by the Community of his counsel. For it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God that are atoned the paths of man, all (7) his iniquities; so that he can look at the light of life. And it is by the holy spirit of the community, in its truth, that he is cleansed of all (8) his iniquities. And by the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God (9) his flesh is cleansed by being sprinkled with cleansing waters and being made holy with the waters of repentance (להזות במי גדה ולהתקדש במי דוכי). (1QS 2:25–3:9)

Because of his refusal to participate in the covenant renewal ceremony, the recalcitrant member will not benefit from the purifying powers of the group's ritual baths.⁴² Only the one who accepts the canonical messages of the covenant renewal ceremony by participating in that ritual can successfully undergo ritual ablutions.

⁴¹ See J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), p. 77 (Hebrew), who identifies the sectarian who, according to 1QS 2:25–26, “declines to enter [the covenant of Go]d in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart” as one who refrained from participating in the annual covenant renewal ceremony. See also Daise, “Processual Modality,” p. 312, who observes that “[i]mmunity to purification waters ... is not merely a consequence of communal separation and inner penitence. It fundamentally occurs from not participating in a prior ritual, the covenant entry rite set out in 1QS 1.18–2.25.”

⁴² Baumgarten, “Purification Liturgies,” p. 209, compares this to Josephus' descriptions of John the Baptist's belief that his baptism was “a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behavior.”

For rituals to be efficacious, participants must accept the messages that inhere in them. According to Rappaport, ritual actors indicate their acceptance by simply participating in the ritual: “Liturgical orders, even those performed in solitude, are *public* orders and participation in them constitutes an acceptance of a public order *regardless* of the private state of belief of the performer.”⁴³ In our case, however, ablutions are only one ritual manifestation of the group’s canonical messages. One’s ritual ablutions cannot reasonably be described as constituting acceptance of those messages if one simultaneously abstained from the covenant renewal ceremony.

The recalcitrant sectarian will not be eligible to participate in the life of the sect, which, as elaborated several columns later, requires one to be pure.⁴⁴ Since the sect constitutes the covenantal community, his exclusion extends beyond the present into the eschatological future, as the Treatise on the Two Spirits makes clear. In its connection with the section on insincerity and recalcitrance, to be described below, TTS clarifies that recalcitrant sectarians will not enjoy in the future the pure status that characterizes the community of the elect in the present. Recalling the dualistic language from various places earlier in 1QS, TTS articulates a sharp divide between light and dark and insists that only those who can be identified with light will experience divine redemption. In that context, as discussed above, TTS analogizes ritual ablutions to redemption:

(20) Then God will refine (יברר), with his truth, all man’s deeds, and will purify (יזקק) for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part (21) of his flesh (מתכמי בשרו), and cleansing (לטהרו) him with the spirit of holiness from

⁴³ Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, p. 121 (emphasis in original).

⁴⁴ On the connection between 1QS 3 and 5, see D. Flusser, “The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect,” in *Jewish Sources in Early Christianity: Studies and Essays* (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1979), pp. 81–112 (84–89) (Hebrew); Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, pp. 79–80.

all wicked deeds. He will sprinkle (ויז) over him the spirit of truth (רוח אמת) like lustral water (כמי נדה) (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement (22) of the unclean spirit (והתגולל ברוח נדה). (1QS 4:20–22)

This passage and its surrounding context feature numerous linguistic parallels with the section about the recalcitrant sectarian, including common language of truth, impurity, light, perfection, and judgment, suggesting that the redactor of 1QS incorporated TTS with that earlier passage in mind.⁴⁵ The heaviest concentration of parallels appears in the concluding section of the Treatise in connection with the fate of the spirit of falsehood. In the pre-eschatological period, the two spirits walk (יתהלכו) in the heart of each man (בלבב גבר) (1QS 4:23–24). In the endtime, however, the spirit of truth will prevail, and God will sprinkle (ויז) truth upon those associated with that spirit like purifying water (מי נדה) (1QS 4:21). Those who walk in the spirit of truth (אמת) (1QS 4:23), are upright (ישרים) (1QS 4:22), and are perfect (תמימי דרך) (1QS 4:22) will merit inclusion in the eternal covenant (ברית עולמים) (1QS 4:22), and all others will be destroyed. The eventual fate of those associated with the spirit of light stands in sharp contrast with the fate of the present-day recalcitrant sectarian. The latter is said to “walk in his willful heart” (ללכת לבו) (1QS 2:26), and, as such, is not counted among the “perfect” (תמימים,) (1QS 3:3) or “upright” (ישרים) (1QS 3:1). Purifying waters (מי נדה) have no effect on him (1QS 3:4), and he will only enter the everlasting covenant (ברית יחד עולמים) if he first repents (1QS 3:11–12). Both

⁴⁵ As mentioned above (n. 20), I am concerned with the final form of 1QS and do not dispute that TTS may have had a pre-history.

texts discriminate between two groups, one comprised of the pure **תמימים** and **ישרים** and the other of impure outsiders. The sectarian who demonstrates his commitment by participating in the covenant renewal ceremony will enjoy the purifying effects of salvation, while the recalcitrant sectarian will not.

The passage in TTS reaffirms the messages transmitted as part of the ritual ablutions and outlined in column 3 of 1QS. The purification rites help the ritual actor see himself as a member of the covenantal community. That community is characterized by its purity, its special relationship with God, and its alienation from the outside world. Since a group member who fails to participate in the covenant renewal ceremony thereby demonstrates his unwillingness to accept that canonical message, he will never be eligible to receive the self-referential message that he is a pure sectarian.

The lesson of TTS thus serves as an additional warning against recalcitrance but also functions as reassurance for sectarians in good standing: the fact that the canonical order of the sect is compromised by the presence of contaminating recalcitrance will not affect the ultimate destiny of this covenantal community. According to the anthropological dualism of TTS, light and dark are present in each individual; light therefore *cannot* be fully segregated from dark in the present, the canonical message of ritual ablutions notwithstanding. Nevertheless, the sect remains the seed of the future, pure community. TTS clarifies the future that awaits those who accept the canonical messages of the sect's rituals.

In conditioning the efficacy of the ritual ablutions on participation in the covenant renewal ceremony, 1QS linked ritual ablutions with the emotions of love and hate. The first four columns of 1QS, which delineate the boundaries between insiders and outsiders, begin and end by demanding that group members love their fellow sectarians and hate all outsiders. According

to 1QS 1:10–11, sectarians were directed to love (לאהוב) all the sons of light and hate (לשנוא) all the sons of darkness.⁴⁶ During the course of the covenant renewal ceremony, the sectarians would direct curses at outsiders “without mercy, according to the darkness of your deeds” (1QS 2:7). God himself, according to TTS, loves (אהב) the spirit of light and despises (שנא\תעב) the spirit of darkness (1QS 3:26–4:1).

By refusing to participate in the covenant renewal ceremony and affirm his love for insiders and hate for outsiders, the recalcitrant sectarian fails to express correctly the emotions of love and hate. He “regards darkness as paths of light” (1QS 3:3). He thus fails to abide by the sectarian imperative to hate the sons of darkness, and he likewise overlooks God’s hatred of the spirit of darkness. As a result, he should become the object of sectarian hate. After describing redemption as a form of ritual purification, TTS shifts its focus back to the present, when “as is a person’s embodiment of truth (באמת) and righteousness, so shall he hate (ישנא) perversity; conversely, according to his bequest in the lot of evil, one will act wickedly and abhor (יתעב) the truth (באמת)” (1QS 4:24–25). The word אמת, forms of which are attested ten times from column one through the beginning of column three, is a hallmark of the sect.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the recalcitrant sectarian is the antithesis of אמת; he “shall not enter the community of his truth (אמתו)” (1QS 2:26) and shall remain impure because “it is by the holy spirit of the community, in its truth (באמתו), that he is cleansed of all his iniquities” (1QS 3:8). The sectarian audience would have understood the imperative to hate at the end of TTS as addressed to *them*: as the present-day bearers of truth—and as the genuine followers of God, whose sentiments are likewise described using forms of א.ג.ש and ב.ת.ע.ב.—they must hate all those, including recalcitrant group members, who oppose the truth.

⁴⁶ See Mermelstein, “Love and Hate at Qumran.”

⁴⁷ 1QS 1:5, 11, 12, 15, 19, 26; 2:24, 26; 3:6, 7.

One who participates in the covenant renewal ceremony demonstrates his affinity for the sons of light and hatred of the sons of darkness, thereby accepting the group's emotional norms. His ability to become pure—the ritual that creates a boundary between inside and outside—thus concretizes this unique emotional relationship with God on the one hand and humanity on the other. By refusing to join in the covenant renewal ceremony, the recalcitrant member demonstrates that he is unwilling to accept the distinction between the sons of light and dark, placing himself out of the group which God loves and will purify, both in the present and in the future. These two rituals are thus linked in the sectarian consciousness as a complex of acts that gave ritual expression to the emotional mandate to love insiders and hate outsiders, as well as the benefits of being loved by God. The self-referential message of ritual ablutions, therefore, communicates to the ritual actor that he is a lover and hater, emotions that define him as a sectarian because those emotions are central to the sect's identity as the covenantal community.

6. Conclusion

In this article, I have described the strategic way in which the sectarian emotional regime deployed ritual ablutions in the service of shaping the initiate's worldview. The emotions of shame, disgust, grief, joy, honor, love, and hate are all emotional responses to the canonical messages of ritual ablutions. Only God can purify humans, who are inescapably impure. The ritual itself constitutes a boundary line separating insiders, whom God has chosen to purify, and everyone else. By attaching emotional responses to the beliefs that animate the ritual, the sectarian comes to embody those beliefs, associating his sectarian identity with the emotions that reflect sectarian values. The ritual actor may have internalized the foundational importance of

these emotions through ritual practice, but they were to become the emotions that defined his outlook generally and enabled the sectarian to see the world in a different light.

In using ritual ablutions to shape group identity, the sect educated its members by embedding its belief system in the rite's canonical messages. Ritual actors thus internalized the sect's values through the embodied experience of the ritual. Experiencing emotions in an embodied ritual context helped the ritual actor assimilate the set of beliefs that those emotions represent, with the ritual's canonical messages becoming part of the sectarian's "embodied thoughts." By evoking specific emotions during the course of a rite whose self-referential message identified the ritual actor as a member of the sect, the ritual signals particular emotions as constitutive of sectarian identity.