SEPARATION IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE

A Post-Jungian Perspective

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Abstract

This thesis develops a dual approach to texts from the Hebrew Bible and from selected Rule Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls where verbs of separation are used. The detailed textual study examines the particular verb utilized in each case and its significance. In addition to that, the thesis considers particular postmodern approaches that may broaden and deepen the understanding of the incidences of separation that are characterized by the use of particular Hebrew verbs. The modalities chosen for this process are a Bakhtinian awareness of the dialogic nature of the texts, in conjunction with the psychotherapeutic insights offered by Julia Kristeva's definition of 'abjection'. The core approach is the post-Jungian one attributed to Christopher Hauke and others, that combines classical Jungian understandings of the individuation process and the 'shadow', as the negative side of the human psyche, with an awareness that these terms have to be used with caution in a post-Jungian approach that is consciously aware of cultural complexes. The thesis will make a comparison between the separation of an individual from its mother or caretaker and the separation of a sectarian group from the surrounding environment. It will show that projections of the 'shadow' enable the sectarians to distance themselves from problematic content. The process of splitting and projection allowed the separations to be made, and to avoid the 'blurring of boundaries.' The different verbs of separation will be shown to perform different functions, of achieving clarity, of division, of making conscious distinctions and of enabling the text to describe the process of turning or returning. A development will be shown from the texts of Ezra-Nehemiah, through Jubilees to the Dead Sea Scrolls that demonstrates the importance attributed to avoiding 'blurring the boundaries.' The texts examined from the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus that engage with the verbs of separation will focus on 1QS and 4QS, the Damascus Document and 4QMMT. In addition, there will be an excursus to examine the 1QH texts that use a verb of separation to describe the importance of making divisions. The use of a detailed examination of the chosen texts through a post-Jungian lens allows this dual methodology to deepen our understanding of the ancient texts.

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With love, I dedicate this thesis to you

ABBREVIATIONS

CBQ Catholic Bible Quarterly

DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert

DSD Dead Sea Discoveries

DSSEL Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies

JQR Jewish Quarterly Review

JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament

JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series

LSTS Library of Second Temple Studies

Rev Q Revue de Qumran

SBL Society of Biblical Literature

SDSSRL Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and related literature

SIJD Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitschianum

SJSJ Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism

STDJ Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah

SVTP Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha

TSAJ Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism

ZAW Zeitschrift fur die Alttestamentische Wissenschaft

Separation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish Literature:

A Post-Jungian Perspective

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Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

In this study of separation in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature, I seek to bring together two different approaches: a detailed study of the texts in question together with a psychological approach to the processes being described. In doing so I am following the methodology of Aron and Hennik (2010) who affirm that additional exegetical methods can deepen our understanding of the ancient texts if they are used in conjunction with textual analysis.

The methodology used will combine *both* a detailed examination of the texts in question and *also* a consideration of the psychological purpose of the separation being described. My chosen modality is post-Jungian psychology which will enable me to give a new perspective on the chosen ancient texts.

In order to place the post-Jungian interpretation within its historical context, it will be necessary to examine the use of psychological, or rather psychotherapeutic, approaches to biblical texts, itself a product of the postmodern approach of the late twentieth century. The move from what is often referred to as 'modernism' in biblical studies to 'postmodernism' is exemplified by the work of the Bible and Culture Collective who edited the 1995 *Postmodern Bible.* They argued that scholarship needed to acknowledge the validity of a multiplicity of approaches to the ancient texts and that it was not possible to uncover one overarching explanation. Their index lists chapters that present reader-response criticism, structuralist and narratological criticism, psychoanalytic criticism, and feminist and womanist criticism to name but a few. It should also be noted that the plethora of different approaches began to have an impact on one another, so that the layers of meaning in the text, and their impact on its readers, both needed to be taken into consideration. The nuanced reading of ancient texts began to have an influence in Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship as well. Matthew Collins (2011) noted that the language used and its impact on those who read it or heard it read by another began to be considered by recent scholars.

This thesis examines the meaning of the verbs of separation as they occur in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. I will trace the use of these verbs in examples from the Second Temple period, Ezra-Nehemiah and the book of Jubilees as well as the Pentateuchal use of separation narratives. The verbs of separation will be examined also in the Dead Sea Scroll texts, using examples from 4QMMT, IQS[1] and the Damascus Document, aware that examples of this document were already known from discoveries in the Cairo Geniza before the Qumran documents were

[1] And parallel texts from Cave 4

accessible to scholarship. It has long been recognised that the interpretation of a text is impacted by the interpreter.

1.0.1 Who Interprets the Ancient Text?

A significant impact on scholarship that seeks to understand ancient texts came from the postmodernist Stanley Fish whose best-known work was his 1980 *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*. The title comes from a real-life incident where a student and lecturer shared a moment of incomprehension because one assumed that the question was an allusion to a set text whilst the other thought the question was about a fixed text. Fish suggests that even before a verbal interaction occurs, each person is already functioning within an assumed knowledge of the shared language and how it functions. Fish's approach to literary criticism was important for biblical scholarship as well; it encouraged people to consider the canon of the bible as being much more than the ancient words that had been passed down through history. Instead, the books could be seen as having 'an afterlife'. The phrase is used by Yvonne Sherwood (2000) in her introduction to *A Biblical Text and its Afterlives: the Survival of Jonah in Western Culture*. She notes how short the book of Jonah is as a text in comparison to its significance within the communities that retained it as part of the canon. She suggests that biblical texts are literally sustained by interpretation and the claim that one can reach back through the accretions of history to a 'pure' original is unsustainable. The post-modern focus on the response of those that receive a text was influenced by the significance of the early twentieth-century Russian linguistic philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin.

1.0.2 A Bakhtinian Perspective on the Use of Language in Texts

Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin was an insightful figure for the consideration of linguistic philosophy and the study of text, especially for the language of separation that I will consider in this thesis, because he spent much of his life in enforced separation from the mainstream of Russian life. Born in 1895, he was arrested and sent into internal exile in 1929. He wrote about discourse in the novel during the second world war, but its influence on scholarship was only when it became known much later in an English translation in 1975. Bakhtin was rediscovered in the 1960s by postgraduate students. They enabled his work to be published in Russian and eventually translated into English. Bakhtin's life's work was achieved from the periphery of Russian society, separated from the mainstream until near the end of his life. His sensitive evocation of different levels of communication in an interaction, whether in a speech event or a text, meant that he became popular amongst those who wanted to examine the function and purpose of ancient texts. One of his best-known contributions to the literary analysis of text is the concept of 'dialogics', which

considers the interaction within the narrative and if it is singular, which he named as ‘monologic’, or dialogic, which Bakhtin considered to be open-ended.

Carol Newsom (1996) explored the use of dialogics in considering the different voices to be heard in a biblical narrative. This use of Bakhtinian interpretation allowed her to examine the core text as a literary product. It enables the text to move from being what Bakhtin called ‘monologic’, for example an epic poem where there is one clear concept being promulgated by the author, to ‘dialogic’ when the idea is moved forward by an interaction between two voices eg. ‘J’ and ‘E’ in the scriptural text. Bakhtin’s other contribution to the study of ancient texts, some of them potentially sectarian, is what he called ‘heteroglossia’. He describes how, at any time of its historical development,

> Language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form (Holquist, 1984, 281).

Whilst this description of heteroglossia is given by Bakhtin in his essay on ‘Discourse in the Novel’, its sensitive evocation of different levels of language that can co-exist in dialogue can also be extremely helpful in understanding language in ancient texts.

The concept of heteroglossia is potentially helpful in analysing interactions across a divide, where separation is a significant part of the narrative: for example, the use of language in Ezra-Nehemiah to differentiate between the ‘returnees from the exile’, and those who had remained in the homeland during the exile. The growth of interest in Bakhtinian analysis can be seen in Barbara Green’s (2000) Mikhail *Bakhtin and Biblical Scholarship: An introduction.* The biblical narratives now examined through a Bakhtinian lens include the Book of Samuel, Deuteronomy, Judges, Joshua, Isaiah and Lamentations. The significance of Bakhtin in analysing ancient texts is to remind us that there is always heteroglossia in the narrative. This scholar, who was separated from the mainstream for most of his life, can highlight the necessity of avoiding binary choices in understanding a tradition. it encourages us to see that it is rarely black and white, but much more often the grey area in between the binaries, where interaction takes place. Towards the end of the twentieth century, scholarship began to consider anew the unconscious assumptions that underpinned the tendency to see an area of concern in binary divisions. The insights of Bakhtin which were applied to literary analysis became more widely known via feminist scholarship.

1.1 Judith Butler's Challenge to Binary Divisions

The feminist cultural historian and theorist, Judith Butler, had an impact across the humanities in her challenging work that reconsidered binary divisions. A particularly significant challenge to the accepted norms of modernist scholarship came with the publication of *Gender Trouble* in 1990. In it she gives her philosophical rationale for questioning the foundational character of identity categories such as 'female'. By placing that gender description in inverted commas, she challenged her readers to see that *gender is performative*, created by the effects of language and signification. This constructed nature of identity, according to Butler highlights the way in which

> Feminist discourse on cultural construction remains trapped within the unnecessary binarism of freewill and determinism (Butler,2014,187).

The language that she uses, that feminist discourse 'remains trapped', is deliberately challenging, it confronts the reader with their preconceived notions about binary categories and that they are not, as it were, 'cast in stone', but rather a product of the language we use to describe concepts. Butler's influence on scholarship is partly a result of her sensitivity to language and the tendency to describe concepts in polarised language. She underlines for later scholarship the slipperiness of language, most often a subject is not *either* a or b, but something between the two, what might be called 'beyond the binary'.

Her approach to the constructed nature of identity was critiqued, for example by Gill Jagger (2008) who suggests that Butler's conception of identity makes the individual no longer a coherent being, but rather something constructed by linguistic categories. Even so, Butler's work has been influential in reminding scholarship that the identity formulation described in writing is constructed rather that foundational. It is a particularly helpful reminder when considering ancient identity categories that are only accessible to us in their textual formulation. Butler's work in highlighting the core significance of language in structuring identity and the need to resist its tendency towards binary categories was taken up by queer theorists, who particularly acknowledged their debt to her insistence in avoiding rigid categories.

1.1.1 Queer Theory and its Resistance to Binary Categorisation

The additional contribution of queer theorists is to do what Deryn Guest (2005)[2] describes as 'unsettling the text.' In their discussion of taking up a queer position Pullen, Thanem, Tyler and Wallenberg (2016) discuss the innate difficult in defining exactly what that means, precisely because queer theory *aims* to disrupt a text. They say that if queer is anything it is,

[2] Guest (2012) pays tribute to Teresa de Lauretis (1991) whom she acknowledges as being the first scholar she could trace who uses the phrase 'queer theory'.

> A form of immanent critique, an attitude of unceasing disruptiveness, and a taking apart of the taken-for-granted assumptions surrounding power, knowledge, and identity. If nothing else, queer performs a rejection rather than a reification of categorical thinking, making it particularly hard to know where to begin to try to articulate what it can 'tell us' (p.84)

Stewart (2017), in a review of the changing focus of queer interpretations of the biblical text, notes that from an initial response to perceived homophobia in the scriptural material, queer interpretation has focused in more recent years on an avowal that queer interpretation abandons the search for the 'correct' meaning. He notes further that the description of 'queer' interpretations has been replaced in some places by the term 'norm criticism', a reflection of the fact that queer theory rejects normative approaches.

Guest (2018) uses this inherent value in queer theory to look anew at a text in a disruptive way to great effect in her challenging interpretative lens with which she examines the book of Judges. In particular, she questions the use and misuse of women in the texts, for example in the rape and dismemberment of the concubine in Judges 19 that has been 'explained away' by heteronormative commentators anxious to maintain the image of a just God. By looking at the text anew, through the paradigm of queer theory, she is able to problematize the assumptions of previous interpreters of the text and force us to reconsider the use and abuse of power it depicts. The need to 'go beyond the binary' as a core element of queer theory is pinpointed by Mary Lowe

> For queer theorists, this means rejecting the binary pairings of gay/straight, male/female and inside/outside, because binary constructions always privilege one concept over the other. (Lowe, 2009, 52).

When examining textual material, the queer theorists suggest taking up a position contrary to what is perceived as normative. They are suggesting that new insight can be gained by looking at a text from a different starting point (see for example Loughlin, 2007). This approach is especially helpful for encouraging a more nuanced approach to language and for highlighting boundary issues. Rosenberg (2015) uses queer theory to interpret texts from the Hebrew Bible that switch gender in the Hebrew original. He suggests that queer theory allows a 'both-and' approach to these puzzling texts, rather than having to 'explain away' the confusion. Queer theory is comfortable with ambivalence in the language and able to look at how it might broaden and deepen our perception of the core text. That means that a queer interpretation encourages a respect for pluriformity that is to the advantage of the receiving communities that value the texts. Queer theory encourages a hermeneutic of suspicion towards a normative approach, especially one that assumes that one can

1.1.2 The Philosophical Rationale for Postmodern Scholarship

The insights of feminist theory and queer theory are predicated upon a philosophical understanding that asserts that when we consider a phenomenon from a different period of history, we can only do so with an awareness of our own historical situation and its limitations. Gadamer notes,

> If we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon from the historical distance that is characteristic of our hermeneutical situation, we are always already affected by history. It determines in advance both what seems to us worth inquiring about and what will appear as an object of investigation, and we more or less forget half of what is really there-in fact we miss the whole truth of the phenomenon-when we take its immediate appearance as the whole truth (Gadamer, 2013, 311).

I have quoted Gadamer at length because of the significance of his insistence on owning our own 'reception horizon' when we consider an artefact from another historical time period. A suitable example is given by the early investigators of the site of Qumran, themselves Catholic priests, who described the site and its textual remnant using the familiar language of a monastic tradition, somewhat anachronistic for a pre-Christian site. More recent scholarship has been careful to delineate its own 'reception horizon' *pace Gadamer*, so that the hermeneutical distance from the original situation is highlighted to readers. There is, however, a concern about the 'open-endedness' of these aspects of postmodern scholarship. Whilst it is widely accepted that it isn't possible to dig down deep enough to recover one original meaning, there is also a concern that too many lines of interpretation, unless contained, can lead to a kind of deconstruction of meaning.

1.1.3 The Challenges of a Postmodern Approach

The very concept of postmodernism has been problematized by some scholars. Collins (2005) notes that postmodern scholars reject an overarching narrative and share a common assumption that texts are open to multiple interpretations because there is no underlying, univocal meaning. Ronald Hendel (2014) expresses succinctly the view that a strong postmodernism is problematic because it opens the door to a sort of interpretative anarchy. He supports instead what he calls a weak version of postmodernism which "accepts that reason is impure-it is embedded in culture and society, entangled with power and interest, embodied, sensuous and practically engaged" (Hendel, 2014, 426).

Even so, the practices of reason are essential to the work of scholarship, especially when Hendel's warning about its lack of objectivity is factored into the debate. As noted by Gadamer, all

scholarship is situated in a particular historical time period which influences the conclusions that we reach.

Maxine Grossman's 2015 *Is Ancient Jewish Studies (Still) Postmodern (Yet)?* provides a thumbnail sketch of the influence of postmodernism on the humanities when she notes,

> Postmodern scholarship and cultural criticism contributed to a transformation of the humanities in the second half of the twentieth century. Embracing the arguments of critical theory, historians and literary scholars brought to light previously hidden dynamics of power, whilst reframing central questions about textual meaning, cultural production, and indeed events in the material world. (Grossman, 2015, 246)

Postmodern scholarship, the sense that there were multiple complex ways of finding meaning, finds its place within the heritage of Sigmund Freud and the impact that psychoanalysis had on the understanding of the human psyche and how it functioned within different contexts. Civitana, Montana Katz and Tubert Oklander (2015) refer back to Freud's description in *The Interpretation of Dreams* of an unknowable core of a dream as the dawning of the postmodern awareness that there is no single, final objective truth.

1.2 Psychoanalytic Insights into Religious Practice and its Significance

Freud was born into a Jewish family in Freiburg, but the family moved to Vienna, not only for his father Jacob's business, but also to allow Sigmund the education in a Gymnasium that his talents merited. He related in his 1925 *Autobiographical Studies* that he was born and remained a Jew. Joel Whitebook's intellectual biography of Freud (2017) highlights the importance of the family Bible that his father passed on to Sigmund, but also that they became more distant from the Jewish traditions left behind in Galicia, where his grandfather had been a rabbi. Even so, he wrote four books in which religion played an important part. Whilst rejecting the formal aspects of his Jewish faith, Freud was deeply invested in considering the cultural impact of religion, as can be seen in *Totem and Taboo* (1913), *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), *Civilization and its Discontents* (1929) and *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). *Totem and Taboo* looks for the psychological meaning of ritual as being the mitigation of guilt for the primordial slaying of the father. Though Freud himself admitted that he was not a historical or biblical scholar, his work has continued to have an influence on psychological study of text. Psychoanalytic studies look for motivations beneath the surface of text. Rollins (2002,110) lists these as denial, sublimation, projection, regression, displacement and reaction formation. Freud's theories have continued to be developed in psychoanalytic bible interpretation, including using the theories of post-Freudians Melanie Klein, Jacques Lacan and Julia Kristeva. The theoretical discussion of individual development, predicated on separation from the mother, led to both Melanie Klein and Jacques Lacan separating from their psychoanalytic training organisations

and causing a lasting split in the post-Freudian arena in Britain and France. Kristeva was originally Bulgarian but spent her working life in France, so her psychoanalytic insights were through the medium of her second language. This is worthy of note because language, and in particular the language of separation will be a focus in this thesis. It is important to recall that the use of psychological methods to understand the language of ancient texts is an *additional* element in scholarly study, that began to be used systematically towards the end of the twentieth century.

The use of psychological approaches is not to replace historico-critical methods, but rather to enable additional insights into the text using the insights of psychology.[3] The institution of a new programme unit of the Society of Biblical Literature in 'psychology and biblical studies' in 1991 was a response to a flowering of this new form of biblical criticism in the 1960s and 1970s and allowed scholarly interest in the psychological motifs of the biblical text and the response of its readers to find an academic focus. A review of its development in the compendium edited by J. Harold Ellens (2012) notes that whilst there had been previous attempts to use psychology to understand the New Testament in particular, it had not been well received because of a perception that poor scholarship had undermined the work of psychologists within the academy. The review of the work of the subgroup of the Society of Biblical Literature up till 2011 notes that it enabled some shared conclusions to be reached, including that the Bible is part of a historical, social, and literary process, but also of a psychological process in which unconscious as well as conscious factors are at work. It also accepted as a *sine qua non* that psychological factors are at work both in those that wrote the ancient text and also to those that preserved them as well as in modern readers.

Much of the early focus on psychological interpretations of ancient texts was on Freud and his followers since they offered a coherent body of work that could be utilised as an additional way to interpret ancient works.

1.2.1 The Significance of Melanie Klein as a post-Freudian Interpreter of Separation and Development

Melanie Klein was a Jewish refugee who became an influential but controversial member of the British Psychoanalytic Society. Her addition to classical Freudian theory was the insight that one could analyse children based on their activities during play.

Klein's move beyond classical Freudian theory was to look beyond the Oedipus drama to the mother -child interaction of early infancy. She describes two stages in the infant's development: the

[3] This was well expressed by Tuvia Peri who said, "psychoanalytic interpretations can suggest additional streams of thought that enrich the reading of the text and disclose layers or aspects that would remain inaccessible if it were not for psychoanalytic insight " (Peri, 2013, 358).

paranoid-schizoid and the depressive position (see section 2.1.3 below). Crucially, though these stages were experienced in the early months of life, the attitudes of love and hate towards inner and outer 'good objects' and 'bad objects' continues to function throughout the individual's life, according to Klein. When Klein first introduced these concepts into psychoanalytic society, they were regarded with great suspicion, as the concept of an infant 'hating' its mother was unacceptable for some analysts. It caused a great deal of controversy, in particular with the followers of Anna Freud, who had also come to London from Vienna and had a more didactic approach to child analysis. Both Freudians and post-Freudians use the insights of psychoanalysis to examine the unconscious issues being addressed in a text, whether ancient or modern. It is noticeable that Jacques Lacan, a significant albeit controversial post-Freudian scholar, stated that he was returning to the authentic original insights of Freud, claiming that their radical impact had been dulled by the formalisation of analytic training requirements (as described in studies on Lacan e.g. Benvenuto and Kennedy, 1988, Ruth Golan 2006). His work focused especially on the language used to express concepts, both in the development of the human individual and in the analytic encounter. For that reason, his complex ideas, following de Saussure, on the difference between 'signified' and 'signifier' have been taken up in particular in the study of ancient texts, where the emphasis has to be on the language used, our only access point to understanding the communities that valued the texts.

1.2.2 The Significance of post-Freudian Understandings of Separation from the Mother/Caretaker

The terminology that Lacan used to describe child development and its stages brought the emphasis back from the Oedipal conflicts to pre-Oedipal connections between mother and child in a parallel development to the work of Melanie Klein described above. The psychoanalytic formulations of the early stage of separation from the mother and the development of the individual have been an important element of psychotherapy with young children. Because the early stages referred to are pre-verbal, they are only accessible through observation of play or interactions with an older child, and dreams of adults. Lacan concentrated on the development of language as a key marker of change in the separation of the individual from the mother/caretaker and their entering into the wider culture.

He describes three stages, though they are not mutually exclusive. The Real is the stage of unmediated experience, something of a parallel to the Kleinian paranoid-schizoid position, where the infant does not yet see itself or others as a whole, but rather a series of parts. It then goes into the Imaginary Stage, sometimes called the Mirror Stage where the infant, catching sight of itself in a glass, perceives that itself, and then others, are a unitary whole. What Lacan calls the Symbolic stage[4] follows the

[4] Schwall outlines these stages in her use of Lacanian terminology to understand the Gospel (Schwall 1997).

acquisition of language.[5] With this use of language, the infant becomes an entrant into the culture in which he or she functions. Something of the wholeness of the previous experience is lost, according to Lacan. Just as with the Kleinian interpretation of individual development, the conceptual understanding of separation from the mother/caretaker and its stages are a core part of Lacanian understanding. This can be utilized to consider other forms of separation that might be described within a text or as part of a movement's development. Lacan's philosophy became influential amongst French post-Freudians and was developed in particular by the Bulgarian emigre Julia Kristeva. Kristeva became important both in psychological assessments of the process of human development and in literary analysis of text through her description of a very early stage of separation which she called, "the Abject". Her *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1980) begins with a statement that the abject is neither subject nor object. She says that "what is *abject*, on the contrary, the jettisoned object, is radically excluded and draws me towards the place where meaning collapses (Kristeva, 1980, 2 italics in original)".

Kristeva's description of the abject was taken up by other literary and psychological theorists as an important way to describe that which functions before the infant has language to describe his or her world. It had particular significance in biblical studies because of her examples using ancient texts. For biblical scholars, Kristeva's other notable contribution was her introduction of the term "intertextuality." This was in a 1966 lecture on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the novel. The new term was introduced to replace Bakhtin's own notion of dialogism (Lesic-Thomas, 2005,1). The post-Freudian's interpretation of the text built on the insight of Freud himself that the *dramatis personae* of psychoanalysis, the ego, the super-ego and the id have always been present in the human psyche and so there is value looking at an ancient civilization and its text through this lens.

As seen above, Freudian and post-Freudian interpretations of individual development and the separation from the mother/caretaker have had enormous influence on biblical studies, because of their insight that the human psyche and its functioning left an impact in ancient narratives. The use of psychological interpretations was not to replace the historico-critical ones, but rather to add an additional layer of understanding. The path of one of Freud's initially favoured disciples, Carl Gustav Jung was different. Their correspondence was published in 1974, edited by William McGuire, and showed how an initially close relationship had deteriorated by 1912.[6]

[5] It should be noted that this use of the term Symbolic in Lacanian interpretation is entirely different from its Jungian use where a 'symbol' in a dream or mythology is differentiated from a sign. Whilst a sign is simply what it states, e.g. a road sign, a 'symbol' points beyond itself to something greater, e.g. a cross denotes the Christian story.

[6] See The Freud-Jung letters: the correspondence between Sigmund Freud and C.G.Jung 1974.

1.2.3 Jung's Development of a Different Understanding of the Psyche

Where Freud and Jung, initially close colleagues, parted company, was in their concepts of the structure of the psyche. Freud's great contribution was the description of the *personal* unconscious and how it functioned, including the flow of libido (psychic energy) and what might interrupt its normal process. Jung parted company with Freud in 1912 with his publication of *Symbols of Transformation*, in which, amongst other things, he posited a deeper level of the unconscious, which he came to call the *collective* unconscious, shared by all human beings, whatever their personal or ethnic background.[7]

In his study of unconscious processes in the Word Association Test (detailed in Volume Two of the Collected Works), Jung noted that his experimental subjects would have delayed reactions to certain trigger words, without being aware of this process, in other words they were autonomous reactions. He realised that, rather than being a fault in the experimental design, these were *feeling toned complexes*, a series of emotional reactions and responses around an archetypal core. This description of the complex became widely known and is usually described in relation to the archetypal core around which the complex operates e.g., a 'Mother Complex' or 'Father Complex.' Jung's own writings accepted that the complexes, whilst originating in the collective unconscious, actually manifest in an individual whose experience of the archetypal images is via their own culture and upbringing.

1.2.4 Jung and the post-Jungians

Jungian writers developed their ideas in a way that moved beyond the classical formulations of Jung himself. They reflected their late twentieth century reception horizon which necessitated a clear delineation of how they differed from the conceptions of Jung. Andrew Samuels (1985) was the first to write about schools of analytical psychology as 'post-Jungian', acknowledging his choice of title as being indebted to Brown's 1961 *Freud and the Post-Freudians*. Samuels carefully deciphers the different schools of Jungian psychology and how they adapted and adopted classical Jungian concepts in distinct ways. Samuels updated his definitions in the year 2000 because he noted that since the studies that he and others had undertaken, the boundaries between Jungian groupings had altered. That clarification meant that any post-Jungian working clinically or in the academy would be able to know whether the ideas they utilized were from the classical school (self and individuation), development school (infancy and transference-countertransference) or archetypal

[7] It should be noted that Freud's concept of inherited memories as described in Moses and Monotheism and Totem and Taboo e.g. the murder of the father, whilst offering an intriguing point of comparison with Jung's concept of the archetypes of the collective unconscious, is not a direct parallel as the archetypes, according to Jung, provide a sort of crystalline structure that is then filled in by the archetypal images formed by the experience of the individual psyche as the person encounters other aspects of their world.

(images and soul). Samuels' definitions of post-Jungian understandings have been taken up particularly in the humanities (see for example Barnaby and D'Acierno 1990, Baumlin, Baumlin and Jensen 2004). The acceptance in postmodern scholarship that each writer has to acknowledge their own reception horizon (see section 1.1.2 above) underpinned post-Jungian writings that moved away from a 'Europe-centric'[8] view as described by Jung himself, whose own reception horizon belonged to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the period of European colonialism. This work has been extremely significant in facilitating access to the insights of Jung by those whose world-view was very different. The initial work on building a space that was 'beyond the binaries' described by Jung himself was carried out by Joseph Henderson (1984).

1.2.5 The Delineation of the Cultural Unconscious and associated Complexes

The importance of this intermediate stage between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious was first described by Joseph Henderson (1984). His work was developed by post-Jungian writers in the United States who described this cultural unconscious as the place of cultural complexes. Samuel Kimbles explains the significance of this concept in heightening the awareness of the collective,

> Cultural complexes, as opposed to individual complexes, are group based. Like individual complexes, they function autonomously within each individual and group to organize the attitudes, emotions and behavior that make up group life (Kimbles, 2014, 33).

For African-American post-Jungian writers, it was important to highlight the cultural unconscious, in order to distance themselves from some of the dated remarks in the Collected Works. In Volume 9ii paragraph 15, writing about the *shadow (see below)*, Jung describes the affect associated with this negative side of the personality saying,

> On this lower level with its uncontrolled or scarcely controlled emotions one behaves more or less like a primitive, who is not only the passive victim of his affects but also singularly incapable of moral judgement (Jung, 1981, 9).

Fanny Brewster (2020) notes that in her Jungian training the discussion of race in relation to the Collected Works of Jung was limited to a comment that Jung was 'a man of his time', with no awareness of the impact of the language on those from a non-European cultural background.[9] The British Jungian Helen Morgan (2008) notes that issues of race and racialized language were passed over in silence in psychoanalytic trainings. Post-Jungians have worked to fill this gap in Jungian work with thoughtful writing on the cultural complexes.

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[8] This is explored further in section 1.3.4

[9] There is an emerging body of work that addresses the Western-centric, culturally insensitive element in Jung's Collected Works, especially in the Journal of Analytical Psychology, published in London by the Society of Analytical Psychology. However, there is still much work to be done in this area.

Samuel Kimbles (2014) notes five basic elements in cultural complexes:

> (1) They function at the group level of the individual psyche and within the group; (2) they function autonomously; (3) they organize group life; (4) they facilitate the individual's relationship to the group; (5) they provide a sense of belonging and identity as well as a sense of historical community (Kimbles, 2014, 83).

I have noted above that the complexes have an archetypal core. The word 'archetype' is now in general usage, but it originated in Jung's writing about the psyche and its form.

1.3 The Significance of the Archetype in Jungian Psychology

A defining difference between Jung and Freud was the focus on the positive valence of the unconscious in that it contained *both* the personal unconscious *and* the collective unconscious which was the repository of the archetypes (Williams 2019). Jung understood these to be universal structures that give rise to symbols and images that would manifest within a culture or an individual psyche as appropriate for that historical time period. Jung made a distinction between the archetypal image and what he called the *archetype an sich (as itself)*. The phrase is borrowed from the philosopher Kant who talked about *Ding-an-sich*, the thing in itself, its essence. That important distinction makes clear that the *archetype-an-sich* is a structure or potential that can be instantiated as an archetypal image in an individual life or culture. The idea of archetypes was developed by post-Jungian psychology. Samuels notes that "archetypal theory provides a crucial link in the dialogues between nature and nurture, inner and outer, scientific and metaphorical, personal and collective or societal" (1985,23).

Since Samuels pivotal work in 1985, there has been much written by post-Jungians which brings Jung's own ideas about the structural significance of archetypes in the collective unconscious together with modern research on the structure and the function of the brain. Jean Knox's *Archetype, Attachment, Analysis: Jungian Psychology and the Emergent Mind* is a fine example of the genre. She finds that the modern research,

> Lends considerable scientific support to the key role archetypes play in psychic functioning and as a crucial source of symbolic imagery, but at the same time identifies archetypes as emergent structures resulting from a developmental interaction between genes and the environment that is unique for each person (2003, 8).

Modern research, such as that of Knox and her collaborator Peter Fonagay was able to articulate a link between the physiological development of the individual and the archetypes as Jung had described their formulation. Even before the genetic research was able to enable a developmental

He believed that the purpose of a human life is to undergo the process of individuation. This term has entered ordinary speech, but Jung defined it carefully as,

> The development of the psychological individual as a being distinct from the general collective psychology. Individuation, therefore, is a process of *differentiation* having for its goal the development of the individual personality (CW6: para 757).

1.3.1 Individuation and Separation

This term is explained by the post-Jungian Rosemary Gordon when she reminds us that "Individuation is a process, not a state" (Gordon, 1998, 267). In the same article she goes on to suggest about individuation that,

> It encompasses an ever-growing consciousness of one's separateness, the development of oneself as a whole and unique person, relatively detached from personal and social origins and concerned to discover personal values. One becomes conscious of existence as an organic unit, separate from the collective, but not detached and impervious to the community's needs (Gordon, 1998, 267).

Gordon's definition underpins my own work because it emphasises that the process of individuation *necessarily* entails separation, both from the mother or caretaker and also to a different extent from the collective in which one functions.

Once an individual has successfully navigated the separation of birth and the separation inherent in the acquisition of language, in Jungian terms the task of life is then to become an individuating person, but one never becomes a fully individuated person. Christopher Hauke, in a post-Jungian blending of the insights of Jung and the post-Freudian Kristeva, emphasised the significance of separation for the development of the individual and the collective. He noted that Kristeva's use of the concept of abjection takes the significance of separation right back to the moment of birth.

Hauke is able to utilise the image of the abject, as initially described by Kristeva, to bring together these two stages of separation and development, first the early stage of separation from the mother and then the additional separation achieved by the development of language. He explains that "Beyond the biological fact, Kristeva is indicating how both human life and human society are initiated by this prototypical abject experience" (Hauke, 2000, 130). In other words, the nature of human society is predicated on an experience of separation. The ability to achieve that separation and the level of tension inherent in maintaining it will have an influence on the development of individual societies. The work of Carol Newsom links the study of human society and the relationships of individuals to the collective with the examination of smaller groups in the Second Temple Period and their defining characteristics. For that reason, her work forms a link between the psychological

development of human individuals and the development of the collective in ancient Judaea. Newsom (2008) describes how the human species has a natural proclivity towards group formation.

Because the process of individuation is life long, it suggests that some individuals may move further from their collective, for example crossing the boundary into a sectarian group. As Jungian writers began to explore the process of individuation, they described how different archetypal formations exist within a human personality as it develops. Their conceptualisation of the process was that each had an archetypal core that would be personalised by interaction with those within the individual's environment.

1.3.2 The Development of the Ego and its relationship to the Unconscious

Jung believed that the ego, the centre of consciousness emerges from containment in the self, the ordering principle of the whole personality. The nascent ego maintains a relationship with the self via what was called the ego-self axis in Edward Edinger's 1992 *Ego and Archetype*. In order for the individual to grow and develop, they need to maintain the link of the ego-self axis as the person matures. A central part of that process is achieving closeness to the mother or caretaker whilst negotiating enough separation to achieve growth.[10] . Part of this growth and development will be achieved when the ego encounters various complexes along the way as it broadens its experiences. If a complex is not experienced in a balanced way, that is to say encompassing both polarities of an archetypal image, it can damage the individual's growth. Well known examples might include, to give an example, those who might, for reasons of familial interaction, develop a negative father complex that makes them resist all authority figures as they develop and mature.
Jung uses a term from ancient Greek theatre to describe the first encounter between one individual and another, they interact via the *persona*. Jung borrowed this term, used to describe the masks that performers wore to denote their different characters, to describe the way an individual presents themselves to the wider world,

> The word *persona* is an excellent expression, for originally it meant the *mask* once worn by actors to indicate the role in which each appeared on the scene…. Only the fact that the persona is a segment more or less arbitrarily cut off from the collective psyche can explain why we are in danger of taking it, altogether wrongly, for something individual, for as its name implies, it is nothing but a mask for the collective psyche: a mask which simulates individuality (CW7 para 468).[11]

[10] Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, in their early work at the Hampstead Nursery, showed that when this tension between closeness and distance could not be successfully achieved due to the absence of parents during wartime, there was evidence of serious psychological disturbance in the infants. (Freud 1974).
[11] It is accepted Jungian terminology to quote from the collected works in this fashion, the number of the work followed by the paragraph.

Jung's outlining of the persona suggests that it develops as an individual matures. By the use of a term borrowed from classical Greek drama Jung also facilitated an understanding of the fact that an individual may have multiple *personae*. Williams (2019) suggests that a persona can become too rigid when an individual identifies with their societal role such as 'priest' or 'teacher' or 'parent' and the form of the persona obscures the person underneath in such a way that they can no longer function spontaneously or outside of the boundaries of their chosen persona. I will consider later the 'sectarian persona' and whether it can become rigidified and thus not responsive to new information from another source.

Post-Jungian psychology examined the development of a variety of archetypes as described by Jung in the Collected Works (see especially Volume 9.2 Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self, originally published in German in 1951). In Aion Jung suggests that after an encounter with the persona of the other, the archetypes most accessible to the ego in interaction will be the anima/animus (feminine part in a male psyche and masculine part in a female psyche) as well as the shadow, the hidden side of the personality.

1.3.3 The Archetype of the Shadow

Jung himself described how, in developing a relationship with the unconscious side of the personality in analysis of dreams and interactions with a therapist, the first encounter will be with the 'shadow', his terminology for the inferior side of the personality. He wrote extensively on this topic, for example in Aion where he states:

> The shadow is a moral problem in that it challenges the whole ego-personality, for no-one can become conscious of the shadow without considerable moral effort. To become conscious of it involves recognizing the dark aspects of the personality as present and real (Jung, 1970, 8).

The resistance of the conscious side of the personality to owning its shadow aspects is further described by Jung in his *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* where he notes:

> Seen from the one-sided point of view of the conscious attitude, the shadow is an inferior component of the personality and is consequently repressed through intensive resistance (Jung, 1970, 53).

Samuels (1985) noted that the shadow expresses not only the inferior component of the individual personality but can also express that for the whole of humanity or for a particular culture at a particular time.[12] For Jung, the purpose of recognizing the shadow was to integrate its energy into the personal or collective realm, such a process can lead to greater psychological wholeness. For

[12] Whilst the phrase 'cultural complex' was not yet in usage in Jungian writing at this time, Samuels' description of the human and cultural potential allows for the possibility of examining the 'cultural shadow' in a defined context.

that reason, the recognition of the shadow is a struggle, but the outcome is not negative, because it gives additional energy that can be utilized by the ego.

A definition of this important Jungian concept can be found in many introductions to analytical psychology. For example, Samuels, Shorter and Plaut (1986) describes the shadow as,

> The negative side of the personality, the sum of all the unpleasant qualities one wishes to hide, the inferior, worthless and primitive side of man's nature, the 'other person' in one, one's own dark side (p.138).

Ruth Williams' 2019 definition of the shadow simply states it is 'what one has no wish to be' (p.46).

Because the shadow contains all the parts of a person's nature that they don't wish to acknowledge, it is often subject to the mechanism of projection.

David Freeman (2015) described the 'shadow' as used by Jung as,

> That unconscious part of us where we put all that we dislike and do not wish to know about ourselves. Unfortunately, it does not stop at that because, having hidden things away in the Shadow, we put them on to other people in a process known as 'projection' (p.162).

These definitions of the Jungian concept of the 'shadow' and its development in post-Jungian writings allow us to consider how this idea of 'that which we don't wish to know about ourselves' might be projected onto those outside of the inner group. We will see later that this idea of shadow projection can be considered in our examination of the material of the Hebrew scriptures and the Second Temple Period. The sense of being a small group under threat from those outside of its borders had an impact on what in Jungian terms would be called 'shadow projection', both within the Hebrew scriptures and within the sectarian literature at the end of this period.

1.3.4 A post-Jungian Response to Unconscious Racial Bias in the Concept of the Shadow

Post-Jungian authors, particularly those who have been personally drawn to the idea of the archetypal images in individual development and the arts, have felt obligated to explore the unconscious bias in Jung's description of the Shadow. Jane Johnson (2020) explores her own discomfort with how the non-European 'other' is perceived in Jung's own writings. The *locus classicus* for his perception of the 'other' is his 1963 *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* in which he recounts his journeys to Africa and to India. He notes a dream he had of an American of his acquaintance who is holding a red-hot curling iron to his head in order to make his hair kinky. Jung goes on to interpret his own dream, saying 'I took this dream as a warning from the unconscious; it was saying that the primitive was a danger to me. At that time, I was obviously all too close to "going black" (Jung, 1973, 272).[13]

This reflection of Jung's unconscious bias as a European educated in the nineteenth century when there were hierarchies of societies as to which was 'primitive and which was 'civilized' is quite clearly unacceptable in the twenty-first century. Karen Naifeh, reflecting on this same dream in 2019 suggests that Jung as a white European was unable to withdraw a projection of primitiveness and inferiority that belonged in his own shadow. It seems to me that this is a correct interpretation because his unconscious chose a black man *of his acquaintance*, someone with a relationship with him, to enact the challenge that the dream represents. The question to be addressed by all those who value Jung's ideas, is how the valuable concepts such as archetypes and complexes might be separated from the racialized subtext in Jungian psychology. This important question is addressed by Christopher J. Carter (2021) from the perspective of being both a Jungian analyst in training and also an individual from an African-American-Native American background. He notes Jung's unapologetic use of racist language and says that

> We must verbalize, document and demonstrate that we embrace much of Jung's analytic theory, but we do not embrace the continued dehumanization of Black and Brown people. Individuation is contingent upon neither colour, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, nationality nor socio-economic factors. In differentiating our perspectives from Jung's, we utilize a wider lens to stimulate insight. (Carter, 2021, 82)

Alan Vaughan (2019) an expert in jurisprudence as well as a Black American Jungian noted Jung's lack of knowledge of the Harlem Renaissance, a flourishing of art and culture that took place *at exactly the same period of time as Jung was visiting America*. Vaughan notes instead that Jung projects primitivism onto black people and interprets their appearance in the dreams of whites as shadow phenomena. It seems instead that it is Jung's own shadow that is being projected onto people of colour.

Much of the response to the European-centric, colonial nature of some of Jung's pronouncements about 'Africans' and 'Negroes' has come from those from minority communities who have chosen the professional path of training to be Jungian analysts. However, from outside that community Professor Andrew Samuels, who himself has written about Jung's antisemitism, detailed the under-representation of African Americans as part of the cohort of Jungian analysts. Samuels (2018) notes that of six hundred qualified Jungians in the United States, only three are African Americans, a notable under-representation compared with their numbers in the wider population.

One of that number, Fanny Brewster, has addressed the issues of shadow projections amongst Jung himself and modern-day Jungian analysts in America in her 2017 *African Americans and Jungian Psychology: Leaving the Shadows.* She highlights the projection of shadow in some of Jung's writings, for example in CW9ii474

> Closer examination of the dark characteristics, that is the inferiorities constituting the shadow reveals that they have an emotional nature, a kind of autonomy, and accordingly an obsessive, or better, possessive quality. Emotion, incidentally, is not an activity of the individual but something that happens to him. Affects occur usually where adaptation is weakest, namely a certain degree of inferiority and the existence of lower level of personality. On this lower level with its uncontrolled or scarcely controlled emotions one behaves more or less like a *primitive, who is not only the passive victim of his affects but also singularly incapable of moral judgement (italics added in Brewster, 2017, 82)*

Brewster quotes Jung at length to illustrate that whilst the concept of shadow is helpful and illuminating in therapeutic interactions as well as to understand artistic endeavours, it is necessary to accept the reality of Jung's own shadow projection onto what she calls Africanist people (those of African descent). Her own experience in Jungian training was that the founder's unconscious bias was excused because he was 'a man of his time.' But, as she notes, the implications for modern post -Jungian engagement with a post-colonial world are profound and have to be considered as part of using the insights of Jung himself, who was deeply influenced by the colonial world in which he functioned. She "accepts that reason is impure-it is embedded in culture and society, entangled with power and interest, embodied, sensuous and practically engaged" (p.426).

Even so, the practices of reason are essential to the work of scholarship and is utilized in a more engaged and conscious way in post-Jungian psychology by writers who acknowledge their connection to Jung's own work as well as the additional insights of more recent scholars. They have utilized these core Jungian terms in a nuanced way that values the insight into unconscious processes whilst moving away from the somewhat rigid binaries that Jung inherited from his nineteenth century intellectual environment. Christopher Hauke's *Jung and the Postmodern: The Interpretation of Realities* defines its purpose as revisioning Jungian concepts in a decidedly post-Jungian fashion. He describes his endeavour as including postmodern concepts, which he sees as being,

> *Psychological and cultural phenomena that are discontinuous with Enlightenment assertations and values and the epistemological values of modernity* (Hauke, 2000,15 italics in original),

The engagement with Jungian principles in this postmodern fashion is core to post-Jungian writers that both value his psychological insights whilst rejecting the nineteenth century attitudes that were an expression of his own cultural complexes. In a paradigmatic example of this process, Williams (2019) notes that feminist scholars have participated in a post-Jungian update to the concept of anima/animus that problematizes a polarized binary. Susan Rowland's 2002 *Jung: A Feminist Revision* was influential in developing a post-Jungian body of knowledge that moved away from the idea that there could be an over-arching theory and towards something more nuanced and in accord with postmodern understanding. She was able to do this by suggesting that the postmodern scholar is able to utilise the creativity of interaction between ego and unconscious as a model for the relationship between 'self' and 'other.' That is to say the relationship between them is not static and fixed but rather interactive and flexible. Both classical Jungians and post-Jungians have used the insights of Jungian theory to interpret the text of the Bible. J. Harold Ellens (2012) edited a compendium in honour of Wayne G.Rollins, a classical Jungian interpreter of the scriptures, that examined the insights to be gained by the use of analytical psychology as well as post-Freudians and others.

1.4 The Textual Approach of Jung and the Post-Jungians

Jung wrote one work on a biblical topic, *Answer to Job*, published in 1952. There he depicted how God, described in the book as an antinomy, a combination of all the opposites, is transformed through human consciousness by the interaction with Job. The classical Jungian interpreters of the Bible, Erich Neumann (1905-1960) and Edward Edinger (1922-1998) saw the relationship between the individual and the divine as a symbol of the developing relationship between the ego and the Self (the centre of the whole human personality). This enabled an analogy to be made between the development of the human infant and the development of humanity. Neumann saw the emergence of the ego and the beginning of individuality as being a parallel to Genesis 3, when the first humans are barred from returning to paradise. The story of the encounter with the snake in Genesis 3 is seen as a paradigm, not only for the original birth of consciousness, but also for the sacrifice inherent in every additional birth of consciousness.

Edinger was a classical Jungian, who saw in Jung's model of the process of individuation and the ego's encounter with the Self a parallel to the biblical narrative with its encounters between the individual human being and the divine. The struggles and crises along the path of individuation in an individual psyche are given depth and meaning by comparison with the stories of the Hebrew bible. According to Edinger

> It represents a vast individuation process unfolding in the collective psyche. Its pivotal crisis is Job and its culmination is the mandala vision of Ezekiel. This vision is really a foundation image of the Western psyche (Edinger, 1984,70).

In contradistinction to Edinger, a post-Jungian approach emphasises the flexibility of boundaries, and furthermore that a close study of texts reveals that binary descriptions are too rigid, and most texts are irreducibly plural.[13] One of the important distinctions between Jungian and post-Jungian authors is that the latter show an attachment to Jungian theory accompanied by a critical distancing from it as well to allow for the additional impacts of more recent theoretical constructs. Susan Rowland critiqued Jung's attachment to binaries by explaining that such a 'grand theory' only functions if an originating principle is brought from outside the binary opposition (Rowland, 2002, 100-101). She bases her argument on deconstructionism which questions the impulse to define terms as simple opposites.

1.4.1 The Challenge of the 'shadow' in the post-Jungian Interpretation of Ancient Texts

I have shown above that Jung's own use of the term 'shadow' is complicated by the unconscious bias typical of a man of his time that used binary images that saw black as 'inferior' or 'primitive.' African American Jungians such as Fanny Brewster have found a way to acknowledge the limits of Jung's own vision whilst acknowledging the possibility of using the idea of 'shadow' to gain additional understanding into some biblical texts.

A post-Jungian use of the concept of 'shadow' as outlined by Jung and developed by others, sought to offer a different context for the biblical understanding of sin. The idea that 'shadow' is not wholly bad but contains psychic energies that can be released by acknowledging its reality has been utilized by post-Jungians. Kotze (2014) uses the idea of shadow characteristics and their repression by the conscious ego to discuss Qohelet 7:16-17 which has challenged interpreters where it says 'Do not be too righteous or too wise: why should you destroy yourself? Do not be too wicked or too foolish, why should you die before your time? [14] Kotze suggests a post-Jungian interpretation that would seek for balance and acknowledgement of the realities of the human psyche. In a further study utilising post-Jungian psychology, Kotze (2022) shows that acknowledgement of the shadow as the first stage in the individuation process gives another layer of understanding in his study of the Book of Baruch. The contrite spirit of the exiles, an acknowledgement of their own sins could be seen as an allegory of 'owning one's own shadow'.

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[13] See for example Paul Kugler who explains that the movement from structuralism to poststructuralism is a shift from closed texts to plurality of meaning (Kugler, 1990, 315).
[14] Translations author's own unless otherwise stated.

1.5 The Utilization of postmodern Techniques in the Study of Ancient Texts

This chapter has shown that the insights of postmodern approaches to textual study can add another layer of meaning to a study of ancient texts. The work of scholars such as Butler, Gadamer and Bakhtin alerts us to the fact that our awareness of ancient texts cannot but be impacted by the reception horizon of our own age. More than that, the language of those texts, and indeed our own scholarly formulations is impacted by dialogics, no text exists in isolation, it responds to the texts around us and to the individuals with whom it interacts. The additional insight of psychological studies is to show that the processes by which a human being develops are also those by which the collectives of human society develop. The mechanisms of separation that begin at a preverbal stage with the separation from the mother can be examined for parallels with the processes by which the collective develops. Just as the human being, according to Klein, goes from the paranoid-schizoid position to the depressive position, when they accept that the good and bad object are one and the same, but retain the defense mechanisms of splitting and projection, so human groupings go through the process of projecting that which is uncomfortable for them onto outsiders. The Jungian terminology for this is 'shadow projection.' As noted above, it is important to note the caution of African-American Jungians such as Fanny Brewster who value the classical Jungian definition of the 'shadow', whilst rejecting the racism inherent in some of Jung's own words. The value of a post-Jungian approach, as exemplified by Christopher Hauke and Susan Rowland, is it allows both an attachment to the words of Jung, *and* a critical distance from them. An additional advantage of this post-Jungian formulation is that it also incorporates the insights of post-Freudians such as Kristeva whose work on the 'abject' as the place 'where meaning collapses' has proved so insightful in adding an additional layer of meaning to scholarly understanding of texts. This difficult idea of the abject is used in her discussion of the purity concerns of Leviticus and the significance of boundary formation to avoid the blurring of boundaries between categories that do not belong together. The insights of psychologists when applied to textual study can deepen and broaden our approach to ancient material. The post-Jungian approach in this thesis traces an additional way of understanding the presentation of community life. Whilst this adds an additional level of meaning, it is important to be aware that these are 'curated communities', we are only interacting with their own self-presentation through the preserved texts.

2 Psychological Insights into Ancient Texts

2.0 Introduction

I have shown above how the development of psychological studies of scriptural texts became accepted as part of scholarship from the mid twentieth century onwards. There had been previous scholarly discussions of the interface between the Bible and psychology, most notably Franz Delitzsch's (1867) *A System of Biblical Psychology*. Despite this promising start, the discipline faltered in the early twentieth century. In a review of the gradual development of the psychological study of the Bible J. Harold Ellens (2012) singles out the critique by modernist scholars of what they considered to be psychoanalytical reductionism in studies of Jesus of Nazareth. That use, or what

was seen widely as misuse, of psychoanalytic terminology, initiated a period where psychology and bible studies were mutually suspicious of each other. The instigation of the SBL group on Psychology and Biblical Studies brought an end to that unproductive period. The real rapprochement between the disciplines has flourished in the last thirty years when there have been scholars who bring together a careful analysis of the text with a nuanced discussion of psychological insights that can enhance understanding of the ancient material. Their approach has enabled modern scholarship to see that *both* historico-critical *and* psychological studies can deepen our knowledge and understanding of ancient texts.

2.0.1 The Theorists that Combine Psychological Insight with Textual Study

More recent work[15] on the interface between biblical studies and psychology such as Deryn Guest's 2018 *YHWH and Israel in the book of Judges* utilize a number of psychological theorists including Donald Winnicott and John Bowlby *in conjunction* with a careful analysis of the original text to add another layer of meaning to her interpretation. Bowlby was a British psychiatrist and paediatrician who originated the idea of 'attachment theory', that infants have an innate need to bond with a caregiver. In *Attachment and Loss*, published in three volumes between 1969 and 1980 he demonstrated the consequences of a failure to develop a secure attachment with the mother or caretaker. Bowlby describes the sequence as 'protest, despair, detachment'. A child with an insecure attachment will have trouble developing relationships later in life. Donald Winnicott worked as a child psychotherapist in supervision with Melanie Klein and valued her description of 'good' and 'bad' inner objects. He added to this a new idea of the 'transitional object', the beloved toy or comforter that gave the child a 'safe space' to explore between their inner and outer worlds. In *The Maturational Processes and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development* 1982 he introduces the concept of the so-called 'false self', analogous to Jung's idea of the persona which protects the inner core of a child, their 'true self', when the surrounding environment makes the psyche reluctant to engage with the 'true self'. The terminology of attachment and object relations can be helpful in deepening one's understanding of the interaction of YHWH and Israel in the book of Judges. Guest notes in the introduction that a psychologically informed approach hadn't been used for the relationship between YHWH and the people in the book of Judges. She describes convincingly the appropriateness of object relations theory with its awareness of the psychological mechanisms of splitting and projection. As she underlines, there is

[15] See for example Lacan's *Ecrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, translated by Bruce Fink, 2006, W.W. Norton and Company, New York and Kristeva's *Powers of horror: an essay on abjection*, 1982, New York, Columbian University Press.

self-evidently a dysfunctional attachment in the relationship between God and Israel in the book of Judges. She notes in her conclusion that,

> Paradoxically, a method that is 'alien' to the text pushes the interpreter even deeper into it, in order to analyse its inner world of attachment issues, masochistic drives, splitting and repression (Guest, 2018, 172).

Guest's innovative approach demonstrates how well a psychologically aware exegesis coheres with a respect for the narrative of the Hebrew Bible. Her innovative use of a method that she describes as 'alien' to the text alerts us to the additional possibilities inherent in bringing together different threads so that the historico-criticial tradition of careful text study is broadened by the additional challenge brought by a psychotherapeutic awareness.

Another example can be seen in the work of Lori Hope Lefkovitz (2010a) who notes that the narrative she is examining in the creation stories from Genesis is what she calls a 'cosmic semiotic event', that is to say that God calls into reality the world as we know it by *naming* the series of opposites that establish the created world. Since she utilizes in a postmodern formulation both narrative and psychoanalytic skills, as well as a deep knowledge of the text, she is able to open up new levels of meaning and understanding in the canonical stories. She notes the significance of separation as a way of signposting meaning. This is particularly clear in the narrative of Genesis 1 where 'each instance of separation locates meaning-locates existence itself where difference is asserted' (Lefkovitz, 2010a, 17). it is significant to note her understanding of the importance of separation in the creation narratives, *separation is the place where meaning can be located*. Since 1991, there has been an enormous increase in interest amongst scholars in bringing together a careful study of the ancient text and a variety of modern psychological and psychotherapeutic approaches. The literature is too vast to enumerate, but a compendium such as *Psychology and Bible* (2004) includes some of the major authors such as Ilona Rashkow, André LaCocque and D. Andrew Kille.

Post-Jungian scholar Helen Efthimiades-Keith uses her knowledge of the concept of individuation to examine the first creation story and its description of the creation of light which she interprets symbolically as the introduction of consciousness into the world. She notes, "consciousness develops by spltting, differentiating/ "dividing" from the unconscious psyche", (Efthimiadis-Keith, 2017, 290). She has developed her interest in Jungian Bible interpretation elsewhere e.g. '*Othering and Self-Othering in the Book of Tobit: a Jungian Approach* (2018) She doesn't therefore express concern for the impact of her studies for people of faith. However, Guest (2018) notes that her psychological interrogation of the relationship between YHWH and Israel in the book of Judges is

likely to be challenging reading for those who come from a faith perspective. She doesn't want to be the only mainstream scholar on the texts, but rather one in dialogue with those who come from other theoretical standpoints. Even so, she highlights accurately the challenge to scholars from a faith background in bringing together these two aspects of their lives. A clear example is given by Seth Aronson (2021) who describes how difficult it was to have his Jewish life and study integrated with his psychoanalytic training. Once his lifetime knowledge of Jewish textual study was accepted alongside psychoanalytic training, he was able to combine the two in a creative whole. The example he gives is an interpretation of Jacob's vision of the angels going up and down the ladder between earth and heaven (Genesis 28). With his combination of midrashic and analytical knowledge he is able to interpret the dream with renewed depth, suggesting that the dream is 'a transformational transitional space between Heaven and Earth, Jacob and God, Human and Divine, Self and Other' (Aronson, 2021, 356).[16]

2.0.2 The Development of a Postmodern Combination of Psychoanalytic and Midrashic Text Study

A trend can be noted, whereby scholars from a Jewish background such as Lori Hope Lefkovitz (2002), Avivah Zornberg (1996, 2000, 2008) and Lewis Aron (2010) make use of both psychoanalysis and midrash in their response to the biblical text. Their contention is that both are techniques to read between the lines, as it were, responding to complexities in the language, gaps in the text, parallels from elsewhere and the emotional situation in the biblical material (e.g., the flight of the prophet in Chapter 1 of the book of Jonah). In an introduction to a psychoanalytic journal dedicated to an exploration of the Jonah story, and commenting on Zornberg's exposition of the text, Aron makes the link between the two disciplines saying,

> For psychoanalysts it is fascinating to see Zornberg compare the enigma of the narrative to the riddle of the self. She points out that Jonah is never curious about himself. Surely, this theme is relevant to all clinicians (see especially Stern 1997), and Zornberg further connects Jonah's plight with clinical concerns regarding trauma, enactment, memory and dissociation (Aron, 2008, 302).[17]

[16] De Vleminick (2010) makes a similar point in his discussion of the work of the Hungarian Jewish psychoanalyst Szondi's work on Cain and Abel. He shows that a study of alternative sources of aggression to the sexual libido highlighted by Freud can give additional insight into the biblical stories where violence was followed by repentance and reparation. The clearest example is of Moses the Lawgiver who kills an Egyptian early in his career but goes on to receive the law that restrains other Israelites from manifesting a similar aggression.

[17] Aron and Hennik (2010) note in their editorial introduction to a series of articles connecting Contemporary Psychoanalysis and Jewish Thought that a link can be made between Freud's definition of interpretation as his way of creating meaning and the midrashic process of interpreting gaps, contradictions, and anomalies in the sacred text.

Aron makes an explicit connection between Zornberg's interpretation of the text of the Hebrew Bible and psychoanalysis. For him, the Israeli scholar Tuvia Peri, who wrote on midrash and psychoanalysis, and others, the Jewish tradition of textual interpretation, acknowledged as having different levels since rabbinic times, *all of them relevant and meaningful*, was a clear parallel to the endeavour of the psychotherapist to read the symptoms of a client in a way that enabled them to understand the processes of the self together.

2.0.3 The Use of Linguistic Analysis to bring Psychoanalytic and Textual Interpretation Together

Moshe Halevi Spero uses his knowledge of the Hebrew text of the Joseph dream cycle in Genesis to make an insightful comment about the significance of the Hebrew terminology used. When brought out from prison to interpret the dreams that have so upset Pharaoh, Joseph shows that he has grown up from the narcissistic youth who used his dreams to laud it over his brothers, inciting their anger. The dream cycle relates how Joseph has been able to interpret the dreams of his fellow prisoners with accuracy. When the chief butler relates this to Pharaoh, Joseph is rushed from prison into the presence of the Pharaoh. He might have used this opportunity for self-aggrandisement, certainly that has been his previous character. Instead, a different response is given through the medium of language,

ויען יוסף את-פרעה לאמר בלעדי אלהים יענה את-שלום פרעה

Genesis 41:16 And Joseph answered Pharaoh saying: 'It is not in me; God will give Pharoah an answer of well-being.

The underlined Hebrew word, which I have translated as 'It is not in me', is that which Moshe Halevi Spero underlines as marking the point of psychological change in the now mature Joseph. He says that Joseph means to say, "I am but a sign; I represent, just like dreams represent, an Other, God, the unconscious and language itself (Halevi Spero, 2010,216)".

Halevi Spero's intriguing commentary on the Joseph dream cycle in Genesis demonstrates the additional insight that can be gained by bringing together *both* a comfort and facility with the classical Hebrew text *and also* an awareness of the psychological processes decipherable in the language that is used.

Eran Viezel (2019) details the medieval commentators' explication of the Talmudic dictum 'the verse does not depart from its plain meaning' (Shabbat 63a). Though commentators such as Rashi and Rashbam concentrated on the *peshat*, the simple explanatory process, they explained that the sages used midrashic methods because they too are part of the plain meaning of the text. This rabbinic ease with ambiguity and multiple meanings is also taken up by Philip Cushman (2007) and

commented upon by Lewis Aron (2007) in his response to the connection between Midrash, Hermeneutics and Relational Psychoanalysis.

Cushman makes this clear in his careful study of midrashic hermeneutic and the rabbis' comfort with ambiguity. He compares midrashic texts, which may present several explanations to the same problematic text in the Pentateuch, to the interpretations of psychotherapists who may come up with differing understandings of the encounter with a patient's narrative. He notes that they are

> Always open to new interpretations that are challenged in an ever-changing historical terrain and that flow from textual problems and flaws sometimes discovered through group effort (Cushman, 2007, 71).

All these Jewish psychologists, despite coming from different analytic traditions, had a similar understanding of the connection between the endeavour of Jewish traditional commentary to understand their sacred tradition, and their comfort with ambiguity, and the psychotherapeutic endeavour to enable a patient to understand their own life's narrative, itself a many-layered process. Peri (2007) makes explicit his own understanding that the layered approach of Jewish tradition to textual study,[18] when several interpretations may be offered as true *at the same time* coheres well with the approach of postmodernism and its assertion that there is no one overarching truth.[19]

2.1 The Significance of the Work of Melanie Klein

Yet the post-Freudian who had the greatest influence on Bible interpretation was one who was disconnected from her own Jewish background, Melanie Klein. Klein's innovation was to apply Freudian categories to her own observation and play therapy with infants and very young children. She hypothesized that the baby's nascent ego had particular defense mechanisms to cope with an external or internal threat. She described four mechanisms. The first was *splitting*, when the infant's ego split off a part of itself to stop the bad contaminating the good. The second was *projection*, when the ego fills the object with some of its split off feelings. The third is *introjection*, when the nascent ego takes into itself some of what it perceives or experiences of the object. The final is *projective identification*, when the ego pushes its feelings into an object with which it can identify. All these processes, according to Klein and her followers, continue to function in the growing child throughout life. Crucially, the infant goes through an identifiable process of

[18]Peri (2012) notes that midrashic interpretation of the *Akedah* brings to the surface conflicts only hinted at in Genesis 22, for example the fact that the angel has to repeat his demand that Abraham do no harm to his son, because he is so determined to fulfil the divine command.

[19] He notes in his article on the *Akedah* that 'psychoanalytic interpretations of the behavior of Abraham and Isaac in the *Akedah* can deepen our understanding of the tensions that arise from the biblical text and *midrashim'* (Peri, 2012,8).

interaction with the outer world, prototypically with the mother and her breast in its earliest months. When the baby is being fed, the breast is what Klein calls a 'good object' and all is well. When the mother is not present, the baby feels anxious and hateful towards the absent breast which is now a 'bad object'. This early stage is what Klein called the 'paranoid-schizoid' position, when the infant is in a time when emotions seesaw between good and bad. Only when the baby can hold inside the knowledge that the good and bad exist together within the same person does it migrate to what Klein called the 'depressive position.' This name reflects the infant's anxiety over the previous rage against the 'bad object'. Klein conceptualized this process as occurring within the very earliest months of life. Her insight was that this tension between the paranoid-schizoid position and depressive position, though themselves preverbal, are played out in later situations and can be explained in this way. Klein's work was taken up particularly in British psychoanalysis as the basis for object relations theory. Because of its clarity in describing the early experience of 'good and bad objects' and how the ego responded to them, object relations theory also became accepted within the post-Jungian understanding of early childhood. The British object relations school, founded on the principles of Melanie Klein, was developed in accordance with more modern cognitive science by one of her analysands, John Bowlby. He aimed to refocus the discussion on infant development in a more outward direction. He then focused on the child's interaction with the environment, how it developed what he called 'internal working models' that enabled the growing child to predict events and behaviour. His work was developed by post-Jungian psychologists such as Knox and Fonagay (2003) who linked archetype, attachment and analysis to what they called 'the Emergent Mind', dependent on neurological development of the brain. Despite this innovative method of attachment theory, the clarity of Klein's descriptions that underpin the defenses of early childhood, splitting and projection, introjection and projective identification, meant that her theoretical work continued to be particularly attractive to biblical scholars.

2.1.1. The Use of Kleinian Terminology to Interpret a Biblical Text

The language that Klein used introduced ideas of how a 'good object' or a 'bad object' might be used by biblical scholars to aid their understanding of biblical texts. Klein's depiction of the defense mechanisms of the ego were utilized by Jeremiah Cataldo (2013) in his understanding of the function of the Jerusalem Temple in the words of Haggai, the prophet of the restoration. He uses in particular her concept of 'projective identification' to explain that,

> The temple for Haggai represents a shared object, or "collective ego", upon which the collective identity of the community is based. Moreover, this collective ego mediates between the community's good and bad experiences (Cataldo, 2013, 4).

Cataldo's integration of the insights of object relations theory into his study of the biblical book enables a deeper level of understanding of the functioning of anxiety in the restoration period and the prophet's perception of the Jerusalem Temple as what Klein would call a 'good object'. Her emphasis on the function of envy in understanding of how the growing individual can spoil the 'good object' is used by scholars interpreting the creation narratives in Genesis, what might be called the 'infancy of humanity 'and the function of envy within that narrative.

2.1.2 The Example of Genesis 2-3 in Bringing Together Biblical Narrative and Kleinian Exegesis

A clear example is given in Peri (2010) who uses Klein's focus on the function of envy as a human drive to explain why the serpent in the Garden of Eden persuaded the woman to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Peri suggests that the woman is envious not only of God's creative ability but also of Adam for his closeness to God. The narrative in Genesis chapter 3 ends with the enmity being made explicit and God placing envy between the serpent and the woman. Klein (1957) notes that envy is one of the seven deadly sins and perhaps the worst of them all because it spoils the good object (here demonstrated by the envious incident in the Garden of Eden that led to Adam and Eve being driven out). Peri (2010) notes that it is not only the first human beings who display envy of the divine, God too is jealous of what the human beings might achieve if they eat also of the Tree of Life and so casts them out of Eden with a flaming fiery sword behind, guarding the way to the Tree of Life, so that they may not ever return. J. Harold Ellens (2004), in commenting on the narrative of Genesis 3, suggests that it can be seen as a parallel to general human psychological development and the necessity to separate or disengage from parents.[20] It may be noted that these psychologically attuned commentators note the importance of the time in the infancy of humanity when the first human beings have to separate from God as part of their process of maturation.[21]

Paul Ricouer (2009), commenting upon Genesis 2-3, suggests that *separation is of the essence of creation*:

> Just as the "successive" stages which together make up the unique event of Creation as a complete whole are distinguished from each other as so many separations[22], so too Creation as a whole is placed under the sign of separation which we call "originary" through which the world exists as a manifold reality (Ricouer, 2009, 39-40).

[20] In his conclusion he suggests that a psychological lens allows a renewed vision that sees the pain of the expulsion from Eden as a necessary prerequisite to growth and an enabler of individuation.
[21] Lyn Bechtel (1995) describes Genesis 2:4b-3:24 as a symbolic myth about human maturation. She notes the significance of group-oriented thinking in ancient Israelite society.
[22] Anna Piskorowski (1992) examines the story from a Lacanian perspective and notes that the conclusion has the man and woman enter the Symbolic Order (based on language) where their identity is formed by differences and lack.

The psychological significance of these acts of separation in establishing an autonomous identity, whether as an individual or as personified Israel in the Hebrew Bible is outlined by Hawkins and Cushing Stahlberg in the introduction to their 2009 *From the Margins 1: Women of the Hebrew Bible and their Afterlives*. They utilize in particular the Kristevan concept of abjection noting that,

> In Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytic theory, the self develops through acts of separation and rejection. One becomes an 'I' by differentiating oneself from the Other-from the body of the mother in human development and from the surrounding nations in the case of ancient Israel (Hawkins and Cushing Stahlberg, 2009, xii).

I have shown above that post-Jungian psychology has also taken up the Kristevan emphasis on the importance of separation in becoming an individual.[23] Jung and his followers emphasised the significance of the lifelong process of individuation, in other words the process of becoming one's own self is never fully completed, there is always a necessity to become separate from the collective whilst related to it. The acts of separation that facilitated creation itself are also those that enable the individual to separate from its mother or caretaker.

I will show below that analogous processes can be discerned in the separations that occurred in the Second Temple period. The Hebrew language has a number of verbs that might be translated as 'to separate'. In order to discern the type and purpose of separation, it will be necessary to examine the definition and usage of these verbs.

3 The Concept of Separation in the Hebrew Bible

3.0 Introduction

I have shown above that the development of the individual occurs through separation from the mother at birth and a continued movement towards the collective through repeated acts of separation. Whether this be the development of the individual or the development of ancient Israel

[23] It should be noted that the post-Jungian language for this necessity for separation to occur is often that of the development of the 'ego-self' axis (see for example Edinger, 1992, 4).

as a collective, it is achieved through a mechanism of separation. To understand the narrative purpose and the psychological significance of these acts of separation, I will first delineate the terminology in use in the Hebrew Bible. It should be noted that there may be no fixed determination of the meaning of a Hebrew verb in a given context, it is dependent at least partially on the development of the Hebrew language itself and the dating of the text under consideration.

3.0.1 The Hebrew Verbs Used to Denote Acts of Separation or Differentiation

My focus in this thesis is to consider the Hebrew verbs used in the canonical texts of the Bible and early Jewish literature to denote acts of separation and differentiation. The psychological significance of the terminology used for these moments of development of the self, to quote Hawkins and Cushing Stahlberg, is impacted by the choice of verbs used in different contexts, and so it is important to consider the Hebrew verbs used and their impact on the understanding of separation and its function in the narrative. The verbs of separation that I will focus upon are those that occur in the Rule Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as in the Hebrew scriptures. For that reason, I will be studying the verbs פרש ,פרד, בדל and שוב [24]

3.0.2 The Meaning of the Hebrew Verbs of Separation

Clines (2009) notes in his introduction that his is the first dictionary of classical Hebrew to record the Hebrew language texts from earliest times to the end of the second century C.E. Unlike the standard lexicon Brown-Driver-Briggs it means that he also includes examples from Ben Sira, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hebrew inscriptions. Each headword is followed by a statistical note to explain the number of occurrences of the lemma in each of the corpora. This allows the individual using the dictionary to be aware of the distribution of that particular word across the different sources. It would be immediately become apparent if a word features more commonly in one of the quoted sources rather than another.

He notes that פרש can be used to mean to separate, spread out, **be explained precisely,** to be scattered, **to expound clearly**. It has the specific connotation of meaning 'to separate out to achieve clarity'. It will be seen below how this meaning manifests in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. The root פרד is translated as to diverge, to be separated from, to spread out or to cause a separation, dependent on the *binyan* of the verb. It will become evident that the verbal stem is used in different forms to convey a different meaning. The core meaning of this root is associated with **being scattered.** The root בדל occurs in the creation story where is has the core

[24] There are other verbs of separation in the Hebrew Scriptures and the texts of the late Second Temple Period that I have excluded from this study, because they do not occur in the Rule Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Of particular note is Ellen van Wolde (2017) who notes that the root *bara*, most often translated as 'he created', can be used to mean 'he separated' both in Genesis 1 and Psalm 104.

meaning of to **distinguish between one thing and another.** Clines (2009) gives examples of where this is used in the passive voice to mean 'be separated from' eg 1QS7:3. He gives numerous examples of the use of the root ,שוב , too many to list, but the core meaning is **to return, to turn back, and thus to separate.**

3.0.3 The Function of the Verbs of Separation in the Narrative of the Hebrew Bible

Each of these Hebrew verbs partakes in the narrative of the Hebrew Bible in a different way. I will show below in my examination of their function that they each act, as it were, as threads in a tapestry that builds up a narrative of separation, beginning symbolically with creation when God separates the light from the darkness. The study of the verbs of separation in this chapter will build upon the insights of Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, where the separation that initiates the life of an individual and the life of a collective such as the ancient people of Judaea will enable renewed insights into movement (s) which separated themselves from the wider collective of the society in which they lived.

3.0.4 An Example of the Development in Meaning of a Hebrew Verb denoting Separation.

The root פרש is used both in the book of Leviticus and the book of Numbers, the meaning being to separate the evildoer from the wider collective of the Israelites, to clarify the situation so that he can be singled out for punishment.

יניחהו במשמר לפרש להם על-פי יהוה

Lev 24:12 And they put him in custody,[25] to make clear for themselves by the mouth of the Eternal One

This extract comes from a section describing the blasphemy of the son of Shelomit bat Divri and an Egyptian man. The setting apart is necessary in order to clarify what action God requires from them to punish the blasphemy committed by the man who transcends proper boundaries, being the offspring of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian man. His sin is so uncontainable that the people are commanded to stone him with stones till he dies. The root פרש is used here to denote the need for *separation in order to achieve greater clarity*. The blasphemer challenges community boundaries and brings evil into the camp of the Israelites by his action, so a verb of separation is used to explain the need to avoid his action impacting the collective.

ויניחהו אתו במשמר כי לא פרש מה-יעשה לו

Numbers 15:34 And they put him into custody because it was not clear what should be done to him.

[25] Fishbane (1988) notes that the two uses of פרש in the Pentateuch are related to an old Semitic root meaning to make legal decisions.

This use of the root in Numbers is also about inappropriate action: the man who has blasphemed by collecting sticks on the sabbath must be put into custody until it is clear, once again, that the sin is so irredeemable that he must be stoned to death. Once again there is a *separation in order to achieve greater clarity*. This sinner also puts the collective at risk so must be separated from them.
In both these cases, the verb פרש can be translated as 'to make a distinction', or 'to clarify'. When a boundary has been crossed or a sin committed by not recognizing the holiness or purity of a given choice, then the sinner must be separated from the collective until a suitable response has come from on high.

3.0.5 The Use of the Root פרש in Prophetic Texts

כבקרת רעה עדרו ביום-היותו בתוך צונו נפרשות כן אבקר את-צאני והצלתי
אתהם מכל-המקומת אשר נפצו ביום ענן וערפל

Ezekiel 34:12

As a shepherd seeks out his sheep in the day when he is among his scattered flock, so I will seek out my flock and save them from all the places where they have been scattered in the day of cloud and deep darkness.

The Ezekiel passage represents the sole occurrence of the root פרש in the Prophets.

Adams (2008) notes that the passage begins with the prophet criticising the "shepherds", that is to say the kings of Judah, who have led the people astray through their own incompetence and greed.[26] The people need to find redemption via the divine shepherd who is with them even in their exile in Babylon. Though they are scattered in the exile, they are not forgotten by God, an expression of hopefulness. It might be said that in contradistinction to the Torah passages, this use of the root פרש allows a positive resolution, it is reassuring the people that whilst separate from Zion, they are not separated from God. The Eternal seeks them out to enable a clarification of their status, though mixed up with the other nations in the places to which they have been exiled, they will be sought out to achieve redemption at the appropriate time.

When the exiles were eventually allowed to return to Judaea, their re-engagement with the land and the rebuilding of the Temple is described in Ezra-Nehemiah. The dating of the book and its literary analysis is too complex to detail here (see for example Pakkala, 2017). In a description of Nehemiah 8:1-8 Whitters (2017) understands it as being foundational for the restoration of Israel as a nation after the Babylonian captivity.[27]

[26] Hughes (2014) notes that the metaphor of being a "shepherd" was often applied to ancient near Eastern monarchs.
[27] Hempel addresses this very issue in her 2019 *Semitica* article.

3.0.6 The Use of the Root פרש in the Writings

והלוים מבינים את העם לתורה והעם על-עמדם. ויקראו בספר בתורת האלהים מפרש ושום שכל ויבינו במקרא

Nehemiah 8:7b-8

And the Levites enabled the people to understand the Torah whilst the people stood in their places. And they read in the book of the Torah of God clearly, and gave interpretation, so that they understood the reading.

The use of the verb פרש in Nehemiah is significant, because it comes in the context of the reformation of the community after the return from exile, the people wish to hear the Torah but the Levites have to explain it to them.[28] Pakkala (2004) in a detailed analysis of Nehemiah 8, highlights in a footnote the complexity of the participle form used in this verse, noting that it allows many meanings including divide, separate, specify, distinguish and explain. The content of the verse itself focuses on the complexity of language, a concern which will reappear in Nehemiah 13 with the assertion that so many of the people have married women of Ashdod, Moab and Ammon that the next generations were not able to speak the language of Judah. The root פרש here underlines the need for separation to distinguish a clear meaning.[29] As with the Pentateuchal texts outlined above, this was *separation to achieve clarity*. For a returnee community, who had been within a non-Hebrew speaking environment, clarity of understanding required the clear and careful elucidation of the sacred text.

The final use of פרש to be found in the Tanakh is its only occurrence in a causative form of the verb.

אחריתו כנחש ישך וכצפעני יפרש

Proverbs 23:32 Its end is to bite like a snake and to sting like a viper.

In the context of a series of proverbs, this verse warns against the abuse of wine which seems attractive at first and then stings the one who overindulges. It is hard to relate this one incidence of the verb in its causative form to the meanings detailed above when it appears to refer to the need for clarity and separation, other than the implication that the place where boundaries dissolve because of hedonism is a danger to the one who indulges. It comes after a warning against the harlot and foreign woman who leads the Israelite astray, lying in wait like a robber, itself a warning that those who transgress boundaries will bring woe upon the Israelites.

[28] The situation of the returned community will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 4.

[29] Fishbane notes, by a careful comparison with cognate words in Aramaic and Persian, that the root implies that the Torah was read out carefully and precisely, including its intonation and phrasing to make the units of the piece and its traditional meaning readily comprehensible (Fishbane, 1988, 109).

3.0.7 The Use of פרש in the Hebrew Bible

Whilst it is difficult to draw firm conclusions based on a limited number of uses of the verb פרש in the Hebrew Bible, it serves the function of separating for the purpose of achieving clarity. Even when, as in the Nehemiah 8 text, the separation is for the purpose of understanding a given text rather than protecting the collective from an evildoer as in the Torah, the function of the verb fulfils a similar function of explaining how the returnees from the exile could understand the Torah text read out, because each word was *separated for the sake of clarity*. Whether for a positive or negative purpose, the verb פרש is used to designate the need to achieve clarity.

3.1 The Use of the Root פרד in the Hebrew Bible

The root פרד will be examined initially for its usage in the Torah, already authoritative texts by the end of the Second Temple period. Its usage, particularly in the book of Genesis, as I will show, accentuates the meaning of separation as making a division.

ונהר יצא מעדן להשקות את-הגן ומשם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים
Genesis 2:10 And a river went out from Eden to water the garden; and from there it was divided and became four heads (of rivers).

מאלה נפרדו איי הגוים בארצתם
Genesis 10:5a by these were the islands of the nations divided in their lands.

אלה משפחות בני-נח לתולדתם בגויהם ומאלה נפרדו הגוים בארץ אחר המבול
Genesis 10:32 These are the families of the sons of Noah by their generations, in their nations; and from these were the nations divided upon the earth after the flood.

הלא כל-הארץ לפניך הפרד נא מעלי
Genesis 13:9a-b Is not the whole land before you? Separate yourself, I beg you from me

ויאמר יהוה לה שני גוים בבטנך ושני לאמים ממעיך יפרדו
Genesis 25:23a-b And the Eternal said to her, two nations are in your womb, and two peoples shall be separated from your bowels.

והבשבים הפריד יעקב
Genesis 30:40a and Jacob divided out the lambs.

בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם
Deuteronomy 32:8a When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated out the sons of Adam.

When the root פרד occurs, in all these examples from the Torah, it might well be translated as 'to

divide', the emphasis in each case is upon a *physical* separation. Perhaps the most important example for my study is Genesis 25:23, there a clear connection can be seen between the separation of birth and the separation inherent in the birth of two distinct peoples.

3.1.1The Use of the Root פרד in the Prophetic Books

וחבר הקיני נפרד מקין מבני חבב חתן משה

Judges 4:11a-b Now Hever the Kenite, of the descendants of Hovav, the father-in-law of Moses, had separated himself from the Kenites.

שאול ויהונתן הנאהבים והנעימים בחייהם ובמותם לא נפרדו

2 Samuel 1:23a-b Saul and Jonathan were loved and dear in their lives, and in their deaths, they were not divided.

והנה רכב-אש וסוסי אש ויפרדו בין שניהם

2Kings 2:11b-c and behold there was a chariot of fire and horses of fire and they made a division between the two of them.

כי-הם עם-הזנות יפרדו

Hosea 4:14c for they separated themselves off with prostitutes.

ופניהם וכנפיהם פרדות מלמעלה

Ezekiel 1:11a Thus their faces, and their wings were stretched out upwards.

The use of the root פרד in the historical books as well as in Hosea underlines a physical division, the quote from the vision of Ezekiel is hard to interpret as the only use of this root in a participle form, but it appears to mean something like separated out, the elements of the wings would thus be clearly visible.

3.1.2 The Use of the Root פרד in the Writings

ויאמר המן למלך אחשורוש ישנו עם-אחד מפזר ומפרד בין העמים בכל מדינות מלכותך

Esther 3:8a-b And Haman said to king Ahasuerus There is a certain people scattered and divided amongst all the peoples in all the provinces of your kingdom.

באשד תמותי אמות ושם אקבד כה יעשה יהוה לי וכה יסיף כי המות יפריד ביני ובינך

Ruth 1:17 Where you die, I will die, and there I will be buried, the Eternal do so to me, and more also, if even death makes a division between me and you..

ואנחנו נפרדים על-החומה רחוקים איש מאחיו

Nehemiah 4:13c And we are divided up on the wall, each man far from his brethren

איש תהפכות ישלח מדון ונרגן מפריד אלוף

Proverbs 16:28 A perverse man sows quarrels; and a whisperer causes a division between friends

מכסה-פשע מבקש אהבה ושנה דבר מפריד אלוף

Proverbs 17:9 One who covers up a sin seeks love, and one who repeats a matter causes a division between friends.

לתאוה יבקש נפרד בכל-תושיה יתגלע

Proverbs 18:1 One who separates himself, desires to satisfy his own vanity, he breaks out against all sound judgement.

ליש אבד מבלי-טרף ובני לביא יתפרדו

Job 4:11 The old lion perishes through lack of prey and the lion's cubs are dispersed.

איש באחיהו יבקו יתלכדו ולא יתפרדו[30]

Job 41:9 (of the scales of Behemoth) Each one is joined to the next, they are stuck together and cannot be divided/separated.

The use of פרד within the Writings marks moments in the narrative when division are made. In the quotes from Esther, Ruth and Nehemiah, as well as the initial quote from the book of Job, this is actually a physical separation, clearly visible in the external world. In the use of the root in Proverbs it is a symbolic separation, each bad action that the wisdom literature issues its warnings about, risks making an uncomfortable separation. An ironic connection can be made between the use of פרד in the book of Proverbs, the one who sows dissension, and the use of the verb in the description of the loving relationship between Saul and Jonathan, dissension was sown by ..others, and yet in death they were not divided

In the final quote from Job, it appears that the root is used to underline the power of God to avoid divisions, once the magical creature has been created, nothing can separate its scales.

3.2 The Use of the Root בדל in the Hebrew Bible

Having considered the use of the roots פרש and פרד, with their ambivalent range of possibilities, I move now to examine the function of the root בדל. In the examples given below, I will show that it can be utilized to signify the creative possibilities in making a separation as well as the creation of a separate body politic in the book of Leviticus. The use of בדל is well-known in the story of creation, where it means 'to make a distinction/separation'. The use in Leviticus 20 adds the sense of 'setting apart', that is to say making a distinction between Israel and the nations. There is the potential for ambivalence in the use of this verb, it can also be used to express the disdain of the text for those who have not made the proper separation and the need

[30] Translations in this selection from the Hebrew Bible are my own.

to separate from those who have made sinful choices (see for example the story of Korach in Numbers 16.

3.2.1 The Use of the Root בדל to Signify making a Separation in the Torah

Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) examine the use of בדל in the creation story of Genesis 1, where God makes distinctions in order to structure the world. They note that,

> From the first day to the last, creation is presented as a great performance of separations, in which nothing is created ex nihilo and much is created through separations (p46).[31]

ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין החשך

Genesis 1:4b

And God made a distinction between the light and the darkness.

ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים

Genesis 1:6

And God said: "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters and let it divide between the waters and the waters".[32]

An examination of the priestly source in Leviticus[33] reveals the use of the same root בדל. Whereas in Genesis God separates in order to create[34], Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) depict the priests making an ongoing series of divisions in order to make binary oppositions between what is permitted for Israel and what is prohibited.[35]

אני יהוה אלהיכם אשר-הבדלתי אתכם מן העמים. והבדלתם בין-הבהמה הטהרה לטמאה ובין העוף הטמא לטהור ולא-תשקצו את-נפשתיכם בבהמה ובעוף ובכל אשר תרמש האדמה אשר-הבדלתי לכם לטמא. והייתם לי קדשים כי קדוש אני יהוה ואבדל אתכם מן העמים להיות לי

Leviticus 20:24c-26

I am the Eternal One your God who separated you from the peoples. Therefore, you should distinguish between pure and impure cattle and pure and impure birds so that you do not make your souls abominable through cattle or birds or anything that creeps upon the earth which I separated from you as impure. And you should be holy to me for I the Eternal One am Holy and I separated you from the peoples to be mine.

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[31] Van der Wolde (2017) argues convincingly that making a separation can also be denoted by the verb *bara*,. She shows that its traditional translation as 'to create' is lacking in nuance, it can also mean to separate, both in the creation story and in Psalm 104.

[32] In her Jungian reading of Genesis 1, Efthimiadis-Keith (2017) notes that the verb בדל signifies what she calls 'conscious differentiation.'

[33] Whilst traditional Judaism believes that the whole of the Torah was dictated by G-d to Moses on Mount Sinai, progressive Jews have long accepted the Documentary Hypothesis, that is to say that there are four sources in the Torah, conventionally known as J-Yahwistic, E-G-d's name as *Elohim*, P, the priestly source and D the Deuteronomistic Source. This description is followed by Louis Jacobs in *We have reason to believe: some aspects of Jewish theology examined in the light of modern thought*.

[35] Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) note that the priests have the obligation to keep God's created world in order by continuously performing separations.

The Levitical text expresses the constituting of the holy people by *means of separation* from that which is impure, whether it be beast, or fowl, or the other nations. Just as God separated them from other peoples, so Israel is required to make separations from anything that would render that separated holiness untenable. The holiness of Israel is manifest in the division made between them and that which is irredeemably 'other.' Diana Edelman, in a study of YHWH's Othering of Israel notes that,

> Othering is a psychological strategy for establishing and reinforcing individual or group identity through separation and the establishment of boundaries of difference (Edelman, 2014, 41).

The maintenance of those group boundaries requires constant respect and attention. If the level of holiness achieved by separation from that which is profane is not respected appropriately, the root בדל is used to 'other' Korach and his company in a sarcastic and angry way.

המעט מכם כי-הבדיל אלהי ישראל אתכם מעדת ישראל להקריב אתכם אליו לעבד את עבדת משכן יהוה ולעמד לפני העדה לשרתם-

Numbers 16: 9
Is it a small thing to you that the God of Israel separated you from the congregation of Israel to bring you close to him to do the service of the tabernacle of the Eternal One and to stand before the congregation to serve them?

הבדלו מתוך העדה הזאת ואכלה אתם כרגע

Numbers 16:21
Separate yourselves from the midst of this congregation and I will consume them in a moment.

The holiness of the congregation at each level has to be respected as an *ongoing* work of separation, otherwise the entire system is threatened. The Korach narrative uses the root BDL both to underline the privilege of being within the priestly caste who constitute Israel as a people by repeated acts of separation and also to enforce division from the sinners who have stepped outside this collective constituted by separation and therefore will be severely punished. The constitution of the community through separation is an ambivalent act as seen in the rebellion of Korach and also in the separations detailed in the book of Deuteronomy.

אז יבדיל משה שלש עים בעבר הירדן מזרחה שמש

Deuteronomy 4:41
Then Moses separated off three cities on this side of the Jordan towards the rising sun.

והבדילו יהוה לרעה מכל שבטי ישראל ככל אלות הברית הכתובה בספר התורה הזה

Deuteronomy 29:20
Then the Eternal One will separate him off for evil, according to all the curses of the covenant which are written in this book of the Torah

If the holiness of the community, itself achieved by separation is threatened by an unplanned act of manslaughter, the perpetrator may be separated off into a city of refuge from the pursuer, so that another level of holiness is not transgressed. However, if an Israelite has already transgressed by stubbornly going after other gods, it is a sin that blurs the lines of distinction that impart holiness, so such a person is separated off to be cursed. The one who deserves the imposition of 'all the curses of the covenant' is described using a Hebrew phrase that will recur in the Damascus Document of the Dead Sea Scrolls:

שלום יהיה לי כי בשררות לבי אלך

Deuteronomy 29: 18b-c There will be peace for me even though I walk in the stubbornness of my own heart.

This person is one who, in his own hypocrisy, endangers the very processes of separation that constitutes the covenant community, and so verse 19 describes how 'the Eternal shall blot out his name from under the heaven.'

This use of בדל to highlight the one who has abandoned holiness by ignoring the need to make separations appropriately makes its appearance in Ezekiel, the prophet of the exile.

3.2.2 The Use of the Root בדל in the Prophets

As we have seen above, the root בדל is used in the priestly source in Leviticus to specify the role of the priests. It was their task to make the distinctions that were necessary for the Israelite collective to function properly, it was the role of the priests to make the appropriate separation between the pure and impure. Very similar vocabulary is used in Ezekiel to highlight the danger to the Israelite community if the priests are not consciously and constantly aware of their need to fulfil the function of make proper separations.

ironic use comes in Ezekiel 22 as a counter to the description above in Leviticus 20. Just as the priestly source describes how holiness is built up by proper and scrupulous separation from that which is not holy, so Ezekiel angrily condemns Jerusalem which has deserved her exile because the priests, guardians of the need to increase holiness, have refused to fulfill their purpose.

כהניה חמסו תורתי ויחללו קדשי בין-קדש לחול לא הבדילו ובין טמא לטהור לא הודיעו ומשבתתי העלימו עיניהם ואחל בתוכם

Ezekiel 22:26
Her priests have violated my Torah and have profaned my holy things; they have not made a distinction between holy and profane or taught impure from pure, and they hid their eyes from my sabbaths, I am profaned in their midst.

The priests of Israel, with the high responsibility of providing the environment for holiness to be maintained have turned away from God and profaned the holy things by their refusal to make a proper distinction. The turning away from the responsibility of priesthood has catastrophic results; verse 27 describes how 'her princes in her midst are like wolves tearing the prey'; verse 28 accuses the prophets of 'seeing false visions and divining lies to them, saying: thus says the Eternal God, when the Eternal has not spoken'. All this destruction and perversion of the message of the prophets comes as a result of the priests failing to make the proper distinctions between holy and profane. However, it can be corrected by a reconfiguration of appropriate binary distinctions. In a long description of a rebuilt Temple, Ezekiel 42 concludes with its core purpose, 'to make a distinction between the holy and the profane' (42:20).

The ambivalence of the root בדל, which may imply separation for a positive or a negative purpose is highlighted in its use in Trito-Isaiah.

Abraham Sung-Ho Oh (2014) discusses the many theories as to the date or indeed the existence of Trito-Isaiah but suggests that it shows an open attitude to outsiders and may come from the early Second Temple period.

ואל-יאמר בן-נכר הנלוה אל-יהוה לאמר הבדל יבדילני יהוה מעל עמו ואל-יאמר הסריס הן אני עץ יבש

Isaiah 56:3

Let not the son of the stranger who has joined himself to the Eternal One speak saying, the Eternal One has completely separated me from his people, nor let the eunuch says, behold, I am a dry tree.[36]

Wright and Chan (2012) note this prophetic injunction as being significant for its reversal of the Torah's limitation on the involvement of eunuchs in the future of the community, it is YHWH who assures them that they will have a memorial. The root בדל is used to mean 'to make a distinction' both for positive and negative purposes. As seen above in note 35, the importance of separation using this root is that it needs to be conscious differentiation. To achieve that requires attention to the ongoing responsibilities to make the appropriate separations.

I turn now to the root שוב and its complex usage within the Hebrew Scriptures. Like בדל, shown above, there is an ambivalence in the way that this root may be used to signify a literal or metaphorical movement of separation.

3.3The Development in Usage of the Root שוב in the Hebrew Bible

[36] Schuele (2019) notes that in contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah, this text from Third Isaiah allows an acceptable differentiation to be made between religion and ethnicity.

The use of the root שוב in texts from the Hebrew Bible is difficult to translate accurately into English in a way that maintains the meaning of the Hebrew. I accept the premise of David Lambert (2015) who suggests that the scriptural use of the verb usually denotes a behavioural change or one implying movement rather than the inner spiritual movement that we would understand by the rabbinic concept of *Teshuvah*-repentance. The word *Teshuvah*-repentance, does derive from the root שוב. The caution that Lambert notes is the confusion of two concepts that functioned in different historical time periods. The use of the root שוב in the Hebrew Bible is concerned with turning and returning, sometimes literally and sometimes metaphorically as in 'returning to G-d'. However, a different usage developed in the post-biblical period and is still in use today whereby the word *Teshuvah*-which literally means returning is always understood as an inner spiritual or psychological process.

The ambivalence in the use of the verb is noted in Clines (2009) in that it can imply both 'turning away from something negative and 'turning towards' something perceived as positive. The active notion of turning or returning links it with the other verbs of separation that I examine in this work. The use of the verb שוב in the Hebrew Bible is too common to cite all the occurrences, so I have chosen representative examples from different parts of the scriptures.

3.3.1 Uses of the Root שוב in the Torah

The usage of the root שוב in the book of Genesis can be shown to imply physical movement, this adheres to the premise of David Lambert that this root in the Hebrew Bible does not yet refer to an inner conscious process, but often actual movement. Whether that movement has positive or negative implications for the scriptural narrative can only be ascertained by examining the context.

וישובו המים מעל הארץ

Genesis 8:3a and the water turned back from covering the earth.

The use of שוב in this text describes the end of the flood narrative, it was a physical movement of the waters.

וישבו ויבאו אל-עין משפס

Genesis 14:7a and they returned and came to Ein-Mishpat.

This use of the verb שוב describes actual physical movement during a battle.

ואברהם שב אל מקמו

Genesis 18:33c and Abraham returned to his place.

-the use of the verb שוב in Genesis 18 is both a behavioral and a physical example, Abraham argues with the Eternal One over the possible destruction of Sodom, and then having been heard in the interaction, returns to his own home.

וישב יצחק ויחפר את-בארת המים

Genesis 26:18a and Isaac turned back to dig the wells.

Isaac physically returns in order to redig the wells that Abraham his father had initially provided.

ויאמר יהוה אל-יעקב שוב אל-ארץ

Genesis 31:3a-b and God said to Jacob: "Return to the land".

The locus of this use of שוב is an interaction between Jacob and God when the patriarch is given the instruction that they time has come to return to his own home.

The first instances of the root in the book of Exodus Chapter 4 denote *both* actual movement *and* behavioural change when God gives a doubting Moses the signs that he is the recipient of divine pleasure, and so he has the courage and conscious awareness to fulfil his destiny and return to his father-in-law and thence to Egypt to begin the enactment of the Exodus narrative.

וילך משה וישב אל-יתר חתגו

Exodus 4:18a And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father-in-law.

לך שב מצרים

Exodus 4:19b Go, return to Egypt.

וישב ארצה מצרים

Exodus 4:20b And he returned to the land of Egypt.

בלכתך לשוב מצרימה

Exodus 4: 21a When you go to return to Egypt.

The building up of incidences of the root שוב in Exodus chapter 4 builds a narrative of renewal after his encounter at the burning bush. He is given the tools to prove his divine mission and then physically returns to his father-in-law and then requests a separation in order to return to his brethren in Egypt. Only when there was a chronological separation from the episode when he killed an Egyptian taskmaster was it possible for the return to take place.

In the book of Leviticus, the use of the root שוב is indicative of a positive movement, once the jubilee is proclaimed, the individual Israelite can return to his family and inheritance.

וקדשתם את שנת החמשים שנה וקראתם דרור בארץ לכל-ישביה יובל הוא תהיה לכם ושבתם איש אל-אחזתו ואיש אל-משפחתו תשבו

Leviticus 25:1

And you shall sanctify the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty in the land to all its inhabitants, it is to you the jubilee. Then each man shall return to his inheritance, and you shall return each man to his family.

The use of the root שוב in the book of Deuteronomy shows its use as a marker of conscious behavioural change, the individual Israelite has to respond to a perceived need by returning to the Eternal his God.

ובקשתם משם את-יהוה ומצאת כי תדרשנו בכל-לבבך ובכל-נפשך. בצר לך ומצאוך כל הדברים האלה בָּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים ושבת עד-יהוה אלהיך ושמעת בקלו.

Deuteronomy 4:29-30

If you seek the Eternal from there you will find him, if you seek Him with all your heart and all your soul. When you are in distress, and all these things have come upon you in the latter days, if you return to the Eternal your God and listen to His voice.

The context of the verses underlines the significance of behavioural change, if the Israelites have been exiled for idolatrous behaviour, God will be accessible if they seek Him with sincerity and a change of conduct. The dotted line highlights the concept of the 'latter days' that can also be seen in the textual material from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

It can also be seen in Deuteronomy 30 that the wish to return to God with sincerity initiates a response from God who will then respond to the behavioural change amongst the Israelites (to use Lambert's terminology) by initiating a return from exile amongst the nations.

ושבת עד-יהוה אלהיך ושמעת בקלו ככל אשר-אנכי מצוך היום אתה ובניך בכל-לבבך ובכל-נפשך. ושב יהוה את-שבותך ורחמך ושב וקבצך מכל-העמים אשר הֲפִיצַךָ יהוה אלהיך שמה.

Deuteronomy 30:2-3

Then you should return to the Eternal One your God and listen to His voice according to all that I command you this day, you and your children with all your heart and all your soul. Then the Eternal One will return your captivity and have mercy and you and return and gather you form all the peoples where the Eternal One your God scattered [37]you thither.

Lambert (2006) underscores the reciprocal relationship inherent in this behavioural change, when Israel behaves appropriately by returning to God, it initiates a divine response that means return to the land will occur.

The relational use of the verb שוב is also evident in the prophetic texts, the children of Israel have to acknowledge their sin and reformulate a relationship with God that has been distanced by their own behaviour.

3.3.2 The Use of the Root שוב in the Prophetic Books

An examination of the use of the verb in historical books shows its use to denote actual physical movement.

ותשב אל ביתה

2 Samuel 11:4c and she returned to her house.

This usage of the verb occurs after Batsheba's encounter with David when she goes home.

ויאמר יהוה אליו לך שוב לדרכך

1 Kings 19:15a And the Eternal said to him: "go, return on your way".

After the encounter with God at Mount Carmel, when the prophet reassured that God is with him, he is then given the divine instruction to move forward on his mission to anoint kings.

The prophetic texts adhere to the suggestion by Lambert (2016) that a dramatic change of behavioural direction is implied. The ambivalence of the Hebrew verb requires a contextual translation into English to reflect the going back to God after a relationship damaged by Israel's sin.

אלך אשובה אל מקומי עד אשר-יאשמו ובקשו פני בצר להם ישחרנני. לכו ונשובה אל-יהוה כי הוא טרף וירפאנו יך ויחבשנו

Hosea 5:15-6.1
I will go and I will return to my place, until they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face; in their affliction they will seek me. Come, let us go back to the Eternal One, for He has torn, and He will heal us; He has struck, and He will bind us up.

The context of this quote implies actual movement, the Israelites have been seeking help from foreign powers but must now go back to God who is the only power who can heal them. These texts from Hosea build up a narrative of separation as an inherent part of the change of behavioural direction. The separation is a pre-requisite for the reformulation of the relationship with God. That is why this ambivalent verb שוב is associated with separation as a necessary part of the cycle of sin, repent and return.

שובה ישראל עד יהוה אלהיך כי כשלת בעוניך. קחו עמכם דברים ושובו אל-יהוה אמרו אליו כל-תשא עון וקח-טוב ונשלמה פרים שפתינו.

Hosea 14:2-3

Return Israel to the Eternal One your God, for you have stumbled in your iniquity. Take with you words and turn to the Eternal One, say to Him: Forgive all iniquity, and receive us graciously, and we will offer the (words of) our lips in place of calves.

This passage from Hosea is associating behavioural change in response to an awareness of sin with the *use of language* to reform the link with God. The mechanism of return, a dotted underline in the quote above, is *by the use of words* to correct the straying of the people. As is made clear in this text, this is a change from a previous situation when sacrifice enabled the people to remake their connection with God.

The link between return and the reformulating of a connection with God may be seen in a well-known section from Hosea. Whilst this text became associated in later liturgical texts with the inner process of *teshuvah*,-usually translated as repentance, though literally meaning "returning", in Hosea it denotes a behavioural change in the prophet acting out the unfaithfulness of the people to God by marrying a harlot.

אחר ישובו בני ישראל ובקשו את-יהוה אלהיהם ואת דוד מלכם ופחדו אל-יהוה ואל-טובו באחרית הימים

Hosea 3:5 Afterwards the children of Israel will return and seek the Eternal One their God and David their king and fear the Eternal One and his goodness in the latter days.

Pikor (2021) notes that the root שוב occurs 22 times in the book of Hosea, a reflection of the importance of returning to God, the behavioural change necessarily achieved by separated oneself from sinful conduct. Dewrell (2021) reviews the dating of the book of Hosea, usually assumed to be prior to the falling of the Northern Kingdom into the hands of the Assyrians. He suggests, based on the appeal to Egypt to help them, that the more likely date would be in the last decade of the eighth century, after the fall of Samaria. Certainly, the exigencies of Israelite life during the latter part of the eighth century B.C.E. underlines the significance attributed to the necessary changes of behaviour, separating from their sinfulness, which underlines the prevalence of the root שוב, as well as the failed attempt to change their fate by making alliances with more powerful nations.

A similar complexity in the use of the root שוב may be seen in examples given below from first Isaiah. [38]The idea expressed in Deuteronomy that an awareness of sin might cause the Israelites to make a clear separation and return to God is expressed here in quite clear relational terms. The prophet declares that the people must be punished for their separation from God so that they can consider properly their need to return with a whole heart.

[38] Jonathan M.Knight (2019) suggests that the oracles in Isaiah 1-39 date back in parts to the eighth century B.C.E. and differ in authorship from the oracles of redemption in 40-66.

The ambivalence of the use of the root שוב is attested in first Isaiah, it is used in a relational fashion to show that God can postpone the Israelites understanding of sin because they have to be punished first for their sinfulness before they are allowed to return and reformulate the relationship.

השמן לב-העם הזה ואזניו הכבד ועיניו השע פן-יראה בעיניו ובאזניו ישמע ולבבו יבין ושב ורפה לו

Isaiah 6:10 Make the heart of this people fat and their ears heavy and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart and return and be healed.

The hope of first Isaiah is that despite the deserved destruction, a remnant shall come back, this repeated hopefulness is expressed using the verb שוב.

שאר ישוב שאר יעקב אל-אל גבור. כי אם-יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו כליון חרוץ שוטף צדקה.

Isaiah 10:21-22
A remnant shall return, a remnant of Jacob to the mighty God. For though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall return; the destruction decreed shall overflow with righteousness.

Isaiah 10 mirrors the section above from chapter 6, though punishment and exile is ordained, righteousness can reformulate the relationship with God and reinstitute the behavioural change that brings about return to the land. The remnant that will return must separate from the sinful behaviour that has caused the exile.

The flourishing of the prophet Jeremiah in the preamble to the destruction of the first Temple by the Babylonians in 586B.C.E. highlights the urgency of the need for the people of Judah to separate from their previous sinful behaviour in order to merit a positive and not a negative response from God. This underlines the comment from Lambert (see note 42), that Jeremiah highlights the relational use of the verb שוב, if the people wish to restore their relationship with God, they must first make a clear separation from their stubbornness that has brought the crisis upon them.

כה אמר יהוה הנה אנכי יוצר עליכם רעה וחשב עליכם מחשבה שובו נא איש מדרכו הרעה והיטיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם

Jeremiah 18;11b-c
Thus says the Eternal One; “Behold I am forming evil against you and considering a plan against you; now turn back each man from his evil path and make your ways and your deeds good”.
The response of the Israelites underscores that the choice is in their hands, verse 12 describes how their choice to follow their own plans and go after the stubbornness of their evil hearts. [39]

ואיש שררות לבו-הרע נעשה

Jeremiah 18:12b Each man shall do according to the stubborn nature of his evil heart.

[39] Lambert (2016) suggests that Jeremiah marks a shift in the use of the verb שוב, instead of being about returning to a previous position, it becomes reformulated as a restoration of a relationship.

The underlined phrase depicting the *choice* of those who refuse to turn away from evil is used in Deuteronomy 29:18 where it symbolizes the hypocrisy of those who appear peaceful but have evil intent, the same phrase may be seen later in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

3.3.3 The Use of the Root שוב in Third Isaiah, Ezekiel and Malachi

The use of the root שוב in third Isaiah reflects its ambivalence and the complexity in translating it both in the prophetic text and in its use in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

ובא לציון גואל ולשבי פשע ביעקב נאם יהוה

Isaiah 59:20 And there will come to Zion a redeemer and to those who turn from transgression amongst Jacob says the Eternal One.

In commenting on this section, Lynch (2008) notes a similar use of language in Isaiah 1:27

ציון במשפט תפדה ושביה בצדקה

Zion shall be redeemed by justice and her returnees by righteousness.

Ezekiel, the prophet of the Babylonian exile, uses שוב to indicate letting go of something negative so it has to be translated as 'turns away' rather than 'return.' It should be noted that once again the root is used in a relational fashion, the responsibility is upon the evil person to turn away from his sins and act righteously, once he has made that movement, God will respond in such a way that he will live and not die.

והרשע כי ישוב מכל-חטאתיו אשר עשה ושמר את-כל-חקותי ועשה משפט וצדקה חיה יחיה לא ימות

Ezekiel 18:21 As for the wicked, if he turns away from all his sins that he did and keeps all my statutes and does that which is just and right, then he will live and not die.

In Ezekiel the importance of language in initiating the turning from evil is emphasised by the demand that the prophet *speak* to the people in order to elicit appropriate behavioural change.

אמר אליהם חי-אני נאם אדני יהוה אם-אחפץ במות הרשע כי אם-בשוב רשע מדרכו וחיה שובו שובו מדרכיכם הרעים ולמה תמותו בית ישראל

Ezekiel 33:11
Say to them, As I live says the Eternal God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked but rather that the wicked should turn from his way and live. Turn, turn from your evil ways, for why should you die, house of Israel?

I have used a dotted underline to show that the desired behavioural change is achieved once again by the use of *language* to elicit a response from Israel.

By post-exilic times, Malachi continues to use שוב to denote turning away from sinful behaviour, and again it is described in relational terms, if Israel turns back to God, God will turn towards them despite their depicted inability to know how to perform this turnabout.

למימי אבתיכם סרתם מחקי ולא שמרתם שובו אלי ואשובה אליכם אמר יהוה צבאות ואמרתם במה נשוב

Malachi 3:7
From the days of your fathers, you turned aside from my statutes and did not keep them. Turn back to me and I will turn back to you, says the Eternal One of hosts. But you said, how shall we return?

Lambert (2016) suggests that the post-exilic insistence on turning back towards God by rectifying bad behaviour and not simply relying on God's mercy is a new emphasis brought about by the rupture of exile which necessitated the systematization of the ideas of mercy and justice. If the people could accept their responsibility for bad behaviour and turn back to God, then God would turn back to them.

3.3.4 The Use of the Root שוב in the Writings

The first examples from the writings come from Psalm 9

בשוב-איבי אחור

Psalm 9:4a in my enemies turning away backwards.

ושובו רשעים שאולה

Psalm 9:18a The wicked shall turn back to Sheol.

The psalmist affirms his belief in the power of the Eternal to protect him, because of his faith, his enemies will be turned away from him.

ונשב כלנו אל החומה איש אל מלאכהו

Nehemiah 4:9c and we returned all of us to the wall, each man to his work.

The example above from Nehemiah 4 occurs after the attempted interruption to the rebuilding of the wall, the workers are protected and able to *physically* return to their places upon the wall.
In the book of Ruth, the root שוב is used to denote a behavioural change, unlike her sister-in-law Orpah, Ruth is determined not to turn away from her mother-in-law Naomi, but rather to accompany her to an uncertain future.

ותאמר רות אל-תפגעי-בי לעזבך לשוב מאחריך

Ruth 1:15a-b And Ruth said: "Do not entreat me to turn back from following after you".

ותשב נעמי ורות המואביה

Ruth 1:22a So Naomi returned with Ruth the Moabite.

3.3.5 The Ambivalent Use of the Root שוב in the Hebrew Bible

It is clear from the examples cited above that the core meaning in the Hebrew scriptures of the verb שוב is of a physical return to a previous position. However, the potential for a behavioural response to develop into a more complex *relational* response is already evident in Deuteronomy and the prophetic texts. The onus is upon Israel to accept their sinfulness and change their behaviour. If, as in Deuteronomy 30, they return to the Eternal, then God will respond to that relational movement by returning them from their places of captivity. The texts depict the relation between God and Israel as what the Russian philosopher Bakhtin would call "dialogic" (see section 1.0.2 above). The essence of a dialogic relationship, according to Bakhtin is that it is "unfinalizable". There is always a new level of response possible, as indeed we see in the fractured relationship between God and the children of Israel, however broken it appears, there is always a possibility of redemption if only they turn back from their sinful actions. I have shown above in the examples from Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel that the complexity of the verb שוב includes within it the necessity to make a separation from previous stubbornness that has caused the rupture in the relationship with God. The dialogic relationship between God and the Judahites requires of them a recognition of previous sinful behaviour and, crucially, a separation from it, before they are able to turn back and reformulate their connection with God.

3.3.6 A Psychological Interpretation of the Use of the Root שוב in the Hebrew Bible

The dialogic relationship between God and Israel described above in texts from the Hebrew Bible may also be envisaged in psychological terms, as demonstrated by Jungian Edward Edinger (1922-1998). He saw the growth of the individual as a separation of the nascent ego from containment in the Self (conceptualized as the centre of the psyche). If the individual is to maintain psychological health, they need to maintain what Edinger called the 'ego-Self axis' (1992,5). If the circumstances of life mean that the individual loses the connection to the Self, they are lost and disorientated and need to *return* to reform the ego-Self axis. Edinger sees God in the Hebrew Bible as what he calls a 'Self-symbol', and so the struggles of the individuals to maintain that relationship are significant not only for their individual flourishing, but also for the growth of the children of Israel as a collective self. Edinger followed Jung in considering that the task of the individual (or the people Israel we might add), was to maintain that connection to the Self via the ego-Self axis. If they separated from the ego-Self axis and lost that element of relationship, it needed to be reformulated by a *return*, turning away from the negative impact of sin and alienation and back towards a healthy relationship with God as the symbol of the Self. The concept of separation in this description is an ambivalent one, as expressed by the Hebrew verb שוב, the people needed to separate from their sinful conduct

that had caused a break in the ego-Self axis, and turn back to God, conceptualized by Edinger as a Self-Symbol.[40]

The need to separate from previous transgressions and sins and turn back to God is expressed in Ezekiel 33. The prophet is described as a 'watcher' for the house of Israel to warn them of the consequences if they don't turn away and separate from their wicked ways. Verse 11 expresses the stark choice in separating from wickedness and turning back to God, using a doubled iteration of the root שוב This demonstrates the dire consequences of stumbling away from the ego-Self axis as Edinger (1992) describes it. That leads away from flourishing and towards death as described in Ezekiel 33. The importance of God as a Self-Symbol, as Edinger describes Him, is a powerful reminder of the disorientation of the exile. The possibility of returning to God, and thus reformulating the ego-Self axis in a positive renewal is described in the Vision of the Dry Bones in Ezekiel 37.

This offers a rebuilding of the national self-awareness of the Judaeans and allows a reforming of a secure ego-Self axis as a precursor to the return. The Judaean collective had been profoundly impacted by the caesura of exile and the circumstances of their return.

It seems that the Second Temple period, following the return from Babylonian exile, challenged the narrative of boundary formation for the returnees from Babylon as well as those who had maintained a presence in the land of Israel. The definition of what constituted the continuation of monarchic Israel and what was 'outside of acceptable boundaries' was likely to be influenced by the sense of safety of the reestablished group. The more insecure they felt, the more likely it would be for them to set firm boundaries between 'self' and 'other' As I will show below, the awareness of the 'other' and the perceived threat they may pose to the group designated as 'self' has an impact on the need to enforce separation more rigidly as demonstrated in Ezra-Nehemiah. The concept of the 'other' has resonance even within the group itself, those that don't adhere to purity concerns may threaten the coherence of the group. This problematic nature of the 'other', whether external or internal is highlighted by Saul Olyan who suggests that, "The other may challenge the self-definition of the group in question by transgressing its boundaries in some way and thereby calling them into question" (Olyan, 2000, 63).

This need to make a boundary to separate the core group from the troubling 'other' can be seen to be an important process in the post-exilic texts of Ezra=Nehemiah.

[40] Edinger (1992) suggests that the sustained dialogue between God and man as expressed in the sacred history of Israel is best understood as pictures of the encounter between the ego and the Self.

4 The Development of the Discourse of Boundaries in Early Second Temple Texts

4.0 The Formation of Boundaries as a Response to External Pressure

My focus in this chapter is to use selected texts from the Second Temple period to illustrate how the clarification of boundaries and their solidification served a psychological purpose. The examples chosen will show how the texts functioned as a 'defense mechanism'. In using the phrase 'defense mechanism', I refer to its psychological application as defined by Anna Freud's 1979 *Theory of the Mechanisms of Defense*. There she explains that the ego responds to perceived threats by repression, displacement and reaction formation. I suggest that the same psychological process can be seen when the place of the individual ego is replaced by the body politic of the Judaean community of returnees.[41] Like the ego of an individual, they felt threatened by the wider society and reacted by forming clearly defined boundaries. Morton Smith (1987) describes them as the 'Yahweh-alone' party, linking them to pious groups of the pre-exilic period. A comparable mechanism may be examined amongst later groups that set themselves apart for reasons of purity and separated from gentiles and in some situations from other parts of the Judaean collective. I will suggest that the ambivalent identity of the returnees from the Exile necessitated stronger boundaries to be formulated as a defence against the anxiety of a contested identity. Jeremiah Cataldo (2017) suggests that the *golah* community that had returned *as immigrants* to their long-remembered land of origin, needed the reconstituted sense of who was within the group and who was an outsider to cope with the anxieties of its own socially marginal position. This reformulation of boundaries to facilitate a defense mechanism against the anxiety of the returnees from the exile is well illustrated by examples from Ezra-Nehemiah. Robert Carroll's influential 1992 article highlighted the premise that was core to much of Second Temple Literature, that of the "myth of the empty land ". Whilst texts such as Jeremiah 29, and 2 Kings 24 make it clear that there *was* a remnant left in the land of Judah, the ideology of the returnees from Babylonian exile required a 'pollution-deportation-restoration-purification[42] narrative to explain their exclusive role in the rebuilding of the Temple.

[41] Grabbe (2015) suggests by reviewing the extant archaeological material, that the numbers of returnees would probably be many less than the estimates gleaned by a perusal of the biblical texts. He notes, for example, that Ezra 1-6 suggests 40, 000 people immigrated. The area around Jerusalem has been estimated by archaeologists to contain around 3000 people in the Persian period. Whilst the overestimation in Ezra could be explained by the desire to highlight greater enthusiasm for the return that actually occurred, the smaller number then increases the likelihood of their experience of vulnerability and their need to set up clear boundaries to separate them from the sources of anxiety.

[42] See Carroll, 1992, p.8.

Lambert (2003) notes that this is the moment when clarity as to whom the term “Israel” describes, begins to dissipate. I will demonstrate later that the same ambivalent use of naming a group as ‘Israel’ also occurs in the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the end of the Second Temple period.

4.1 The Need for Boundaries in Ezra-Nehemiah

In an important early article Morton Smith (1961) suggests that the formal constitution of a binding agreement in Nehemiah 10 is the first sect-like institution in the Hebrew scriptures.

ובכל-זאת אנחנו כרתים אמנה[43] וכתבים ועל החתום שרינו לוינו כהנינו

Nehemiah 10:1 And concerning all of this, we make a faithful agreement and write it, our princes, Levites and priests set their seal to it.

The underlined term is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew scriptures. It is then followed by a list of those who affixed their names to this faithful agreement, a demonstration that they are, as it were, a subgroup of the returnees from the Exile. Smith suggests that,

> As in the *Manual*,[44] the assembly meets, hears debates and decides on certain measures which it is then incumbent upon the *bene haggolah* to obey under penalty of expulsion from the sect (Smith, 1961, 356).

Signing up to the faithful agreement referred to at the beginning of the chapter is incumbent not only upon the named leaders of the people, but also upon the other recognized groups within their society.

ושאר העם הכהנים הלוים השוערים המשררים הנתנים וכל הנבדל מעמי הארצות אל-תורת האלהים נשיהם בניהם ובנותיהם כל יודעי מבין

Nehemiah 10:29 And the remainder of the people, the priests, Levites, gatekeepers, Temple servants, and all those who separated from the peoples of the lands to the Torah of God, their wives, their sons, their daughters, everyone who knew how to understand.

The root בדל is used in this context to delineate those who take upon themselves the requirement to maintain a distance from that which threatens their purity and their relationship to the Torah of God. The separation between those who accept their sinfulness and their need to distance themselves from the peoples of the land with their idolatrous history and those who are unwilling to make that commitment becomes clarified at this juncture. The noteworthy description of Ezra and those who support him as an early form of sect is also supported by Blenkinsopp (2009). He notes

[43] Clines (2009) notes that it can also be translated as ‘covenant’ or ‘pledge’.
[44] As the Rule of the Community was referred to in his time.

that the returnees act like a Diaspora in reverse, intent on imposing their own boundaries upon those who hadn't lived in the *golah.*

Maier (2017) uses the insights of post-colonial theory to suggest that the repatriates were exhibiting what Bhabha calls 'mimicry' the intention to bring the values of the Persian colonizer back to the homeland. Janzen (2016), also analyzing Ezra-Nehemiah through the lens of post-colonial theory, notes the significance of *hybridity*, that the colonized combine aspects of the imperial culture with their own culture.

The language used to impose the boundaries between the returnees from the Exile and those who would lead them astray is particularly striking in Ezra 9:1-2 for its utilization of the archaic enemies of ancient Israel who had long since ceased to be a threat.

> וכלות אלה נגשו אלי השרים לאמר לא-נבדלו העם ישראל והכהנים והלוים מעמי הארצות כתועבתיהם לכנעני החתי הפרזי היבוסיי העמוני המאבי המצרי והאמרי. כי-נשאו מבנתיהם להם ולבניהם והתערבו זֶרַע הַקֹּדֶשׁ בעמי הארצות ויד השרים והסגנים במעל הזה ראשונה

> And when these things were finished, the princes approached me saying, the people of Israel, the priests and the Levites have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands according to their abominations, of the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians and the Amorites. For they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed is intermingled with the peoples of the lands, and the hand of the princes and rulers has been foremost in this sacrilege.[45]

It has been noted by various scholars (e.g. Blenkinsopp 2009, Wills 2008) that the list of those whom the returnees should not have relations with is closely related to Deuteronomy 7:1-4 with the addition of the Ammonites and Moabites from Deuteronomy 23:4. The discourse of boundary formation is intensified by reimagining the ethnic[46] boundaries between ancient Israel when they entered the land and those whom Deuteronomy warned them against. This reintroduction of symbolic boundaries from the past served as a warning to the returnees of the inherent danger of the peoples of the lands around them. In describing this discourse of boundary formation in Ezra 9, Lawrence Wills (2008) suggests that the passage is one of the most important in the Hebrew Bible in

[45] It should be noted that the term used here to condemn exogamy, 'sacrilege', is more typically used to condemn bringing impurity into the sanctuary or the Temple.

[4646] Southwood (2011) notes the concern to avoid outmarriage with different ethnic groups in Ezra 10 and Nehemiah 13. She outlines how the boundaries are formulated differently, in Ezra by categorization and boundary forming behaviours, whilst in Nehemiah the concentration is on facility with the Hebrew language as a form of inner group identity. Ethnicity is used in section 4.1 to describe recognised boundaried groups.

construction of the 'We' and the 'Other.[47]' This is intensified by the use of the phrase 'holy seed', a *genealogical* distinction between Israel and the nations, noted by the dotted underline above and used in the Hebrew Bible only here and in Isaiah 6:13. Pakkala (2006) notes the use of Deuteronomic phraseology and suggests that the novel introduction of the phrase 'holy seed' in Ezra comes from a priestly tendency to emphasize physicality and separate the pure from the impure.

Jones (2021) compares the two occurrences of this unusual terminology to consider whether one is dependent on the other. It is hard to come to a firm conclusion, but he does show that the same striking terminology is used both positively in the Isaiah text to describe a remnant that will remain, and also as a core criticism in Ezra 9 to describe the sacrilege of mixing the holy seed with outsiders.The emotive reintroduction of the ancient enemies of the Israelites into this post-exilic context focuses attention on the psychological vulnerability of the returnee community which highlights their need for a defense mechanism against a perceived threat. [48]

4.1.1 Ezra's Emotional Reaction to the potential Boundary Infractions.

The psychological necessity for this defense mechanism against impurity may be seen in the emotional language used to describe Ezra's reaction. Angela Harkin explains that, "The re-enactment of grief could be understood as a strategy for accessing foundational events even after the disruptive breach of the exile" (Harkins, 2016, 467). She highlights an important point, that Ezra quite literally acts out his distress, thus externalizing the grief at the boundary infractions which have been highlighted. The physicality of his demonstration enables those who witness it to reconnect with the psychological fear that is being expressed.

The intermixture with those who threaten the boundaries of the returnees from exile is perceived as threatening, as evidenced by Ezra's action in tearing his garments and literally tearing his hair out.

וכשמעי את-הדבר הזה קרעתי את-בגדי ומעילי, ואמרטה משער ראשי וזקני ואשבה משומם ואלי יאספו כל חרד בדברי אלהי שראל על מעל הגולה ואני ישב משמם עד למנחת הערב

> Ezra 9:3-4 And when I heard this matter, I tore my clothes and my tunic, and plucked the hair from my head and my beard and sat down appalled. And all who trembled at the words of the God of Israel gathered around me because of the transgression of the exiles, as for me, I sat appalled until the evening sacrifice.

[47] Zlotnick-Sivan notes that "articulating the growing pains of the exilic community, Ezra-Nehemiah appears to be fundamentally concerned with issues of identity and boundaries." (2000,3)

[48] Ben-Zvi and Ophir notes that the "fragility of identity of both self and other means that the unity and identity of the separated community depend on the reiteration of the separating act"(2018,71).

The word translated here as ‘appalled’ might equally be translated as ‘devastated’, a reflection of the emotional[49] nature of Ezra’s response to the infraction.[50] It is not a legalistic attitude but rather that of one who is psychologically unable to deal with the situation. As we shall see, the reaction of Ezra the scribe is more personalised and more emotional than that demonstrated by Nehemiah the governor.

The underlined word ‘trembled’ also appears in Isaiah 66:2,5 to denote those who are faithful to the word of God. Blenkinsopp (2017) provides another connection between the Ezra text and Isaiah 66 by noting that there too those that tremble in their devotion to God are contrasted with the priesthood in the Temple who are not of a similar level of religiosity. In Ezra-Nehemiah, the word is used to describe those who are loyal to the mission of Ezra and thus appalled at their fellow returnees who have been seduced into transgression by the peoples of the land. The renewal of the Israelite community in the land is potentially put at risk by the intermarriages and transgressions of the returned exiles.[51] That which is holy is at risk of being rendered profane. Thus, it is important for Ezra to enable a clearer boundary to be fixed in order to maintain the holiness and purity of their endeavour. The Priestly Code in Leviticus 18 had already warned the Israelite community that sexual misdemeanors risked the land “vomiting them out”, because of their defiling actions (Leviticus 18:28)[52]. Several scholars e.g., Christine Hayes (2002) and Naomi Koltuv-Fromm (2010) also link the innovative demand to avoid admixture between the ‘holy seed’ of Israel with the ‘unholy seed’ of the peoples of the lands with the Holiness Code in Leviticus 19 which legislates against the sowing of different seeds together. The innovation in Ezra is to use this evocative image to prohibit out-marriage. Hayes (2002) notes this rigid boundary is different from the relatively permeable boundary between Israelites and Gentiles in pre-exilic texts. However, Heger (2012) disputes the idea that genealogical impurity is dependent on the notion of the ‘holy seed’, explaining convincingly that the Hebrew *zera* is used in many scriptural contexts to mean ‘people’ or ‘descendants’ and that the expulsion of the foreign wives and children in Ezra-Nehemiah is to avoid their alien cultural practices[53]. He gives as an example the use of non-native languages in Nehemiah 13, an example of how family members from other backgrounds were influenced by their non-native culture.

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[49] Harkins (2016) suggests that it is Ezra’s arousal of emotion that moves those people defined as *hareidim* and allows him to secure their loyalty.

[50] Francoise Mirguet (2019) suggests that the emotional strength of Ezra’s reaction allows those present to reconnect with their ancestors as they reconnect with the covenant after transgression.

[51] Harkins (2016) further suggests that the emotional reaction in Ezra himself moves the returnee community to agree to the sending away of their foreign wives.

[52] Leviticus 18 explicitly warns that it is the ‘men of the land’ who defiled the land by their abominations (verse 27-28).

[53] The assumption is that the alien cultural practices that might be introduced by the foreign wives refers to idolatry.

4.1.2 The Enforcement of Boundaries in Ezra-Nehemiah as a Defense Mechanism

The discourse of boundary formation in Ezra-Nehemiah is particularly strong because the establishment of more rigid boundaries serves as a defense mechanism. The impurity represented by the foreign wives may be seen in Kristevan terms as that which is *abject*, it induces revulsion so must be repulsed from the body politic. That which is abject endangers the coherence and acceptability of the collective and so must be rejected.

Perhaps the strongest statement of the importance of this change comes from Saul Olyan who states

> Thus, in the final form of Ezra-Nehemiah, earlier ideas of both "ritual" and "moral" impurity are mastered to craft a new, complex and unprecedented ideology of alien pollution. (Olyan, 2011, 162).[54]

I would concur with Olyan and suggest that the new ideology had a psychological purpose, to serve as a defense mechanism against that which threatened the newly established community of returnees from exile. It is noteworthy that the roots בדל and שוב are used in this context which will also feature in the Dead Sea Scrolls texts at the end of the Second Temple period. [55]

ויאכלו בני-ישראל הַשָּׁבִים מהגולה וכל הִנבדל[56] מטמאת גוי-הארץ אליהם לדרש ליהוה אלהי ישראל

> Ezra 6:21 And the children of Israel, who had returned from the exile ate, with all those who had kept separate from the impurity of the nations of the land to seek the Eternal One, the God of Israel.[57]

The 'dotted underline' represents the use of the verb שוב to represent physical return from the exile in Babylon. The 'solid underline' draws attention to the verb בדל being used to mark a separation from that which would impart impurity.

The action of Ezra-Nehemiah in excluding the foreign wives offers a credible narrative of a developing society that has to expel that which threatens its boundaries. Kartveit (2018) notes that the delineation of 'the foreigner' is ethnic in determination though it serves the purpose of making a

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[54] In an earlier commentary on the binary division between Judeans who had returned from exiles and those labelled aliens in Ezra-Nehemiah Olyan (2000) notes that the notion of all things alien being polluting is used to underpin the exclusionary programme of Ezra-Nehemiah, (that is to say the sending away of the foreign wives and their children).

[55] Harrington (2013) notes that, whilst Leviticus uses food laws to make separation between insiders and outsiders, Ezra-Nehemiah employs the root בדל to describe a geneaological separation between Israelites insiders and those outside the community.

[56] Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) note that this is the first time that separation is achieved through the performative nature of the prohibition and avoidance of exogamy.

[57] Thiessen (2009) notes the complexity of the Hebrew of this verse, it is generally seen as a point of inclusivity in Ezra-Nehemiah, but he shows the conjunction could equally be understand as explanatory and referring to the returnees from exile.

Becking (2009) suggests that the 'othering' of the foreign women is expressed in a particular forceful way because of their proximity and thus the threat they embodied to the purity boundaries of the returnees from exile. He suggests that, rather than being wholly other, they were Yahwistic descendants of the people who had remained in the land. Whilst being descended from pre-exilic Judah, they could be described as 'the wrong kind of Judahite.' He reminds us in this way that the 'peoples of the land' who are regarded as a dangerous source of pollution may be metaphorically and even literally related to the 'children of the exile' who are rejecting them.

The stark imagery of impurity underlines the insecurity of the community of returned exiles and their need for a defense mechanism. As noted above, the language used reflects the Kristevan idea of that which is abject being unbearable and having to be repelled (see for example Washington, 2003, 429). Nehemiah 13:3 uses Pentateuchal language to describe the abhorrence of mixing seed.

ויהי כשמעם את-התורה ויבדילו כל-ערב מישראל

And it came to pass, when they heard the law, that they separated out everyone who was of a mixed background from Israel.

I have underlined the use of the root בדל which will be an important linguistic focus in this work. It seems that the admixture of that which is impure is so threatening to the 'holy seed' of Israel that they have to make a clear separation from it. Olyan (2004, 1) notes that Ezra-Nehemiah lends itself to an analysis that recognizes the social constructed nature of ideas of 'Self' and 'Other' as well as the malleability of boundaries.[58] Rom-Shiloni (2013) examines the rhetorical structure of the narrative of Ezra-Nehemiah and shows that the returnees from exile utilise the language of peoplehood and nation in such a way that they alone are depicted as 'Israel.'

Ophir and Rosen-Zvi note that,

> Hostility towards aliens runs through Ezra-Nehemiah. It is expressed in a variety of contexts and based on a series of non-congruent justifications. The most conspicuous-and consequential hostility is expressed through a sharp critique of exogamy (Ophir and Rosen-Zvi, 2018, 58).

[58] Sivertsev suggests that the notion of a pure seed of Israel intrinsically distinct from the profane seed of gentiles apparently developed during the Babylonian exile, when a family gradually assumed the role of the main social, economic and religious unit within the Jewish community (Sivertsev, 2005, 31-32).

The need to protect the threatened boundaries of the re-established community is perceived as such a fundamental requirement in Nehemiah that it is expressed using the language of purification, removing that which might render the holy impure.

וטהרתים מכל-נכר.

Nehemiah 13:30a Then I purified them from all foreigners.

The context of this purity statement is important, it follows a condemnation of Solomon who, though he was a great king, was susceptible to being caused to sin by foreign women.[59] That expression of abjection, disgust that *even Solomon* could be seduced away from righteous behaviour is followed by a description of the grandson of the high priest who had to be chased away because he had married a foreigner, thus bringing impurity into the very portals of the Temple.

Ophir and Ben Zvi (2018) note that Ezra-Nehemiah is the first time that separation is formalised as a prohibition on exogamy. In the situation of the re-established *golah* community, clear boundaries were needed as a defence mechanism against the negative influence of gentiles, which was symbolised by linguistic diversity. They suggest further that the,

> Unity of the group is not a given, and the identity of its others can never be taken for granted, both are established through a process that takes time and involves threats and compulsion, negotiations and postponement (Ophir and Rosen-Zvi, 2018, 71).

In the re-establishment of the grouping of those who are the returnees from exile, their identity is promulgated through a constant negotiation as to what and who constellate the 'Other'. Most prominently it is the non-Judaean women, and so the matter of the Hebrew language and those who have a facility with this identity marker becomes of significance.

4.2 The Hebrew Language as a Marker of Boundary Formation

There is a linguistically complex section in the last chapter of the book of Nehemiah that introduces the significance of language diversity. It relates that there is a language problem with the children of those who have married foreign women in that they no longer speak the Hebrew that functions as a central part of identity formation.

גם בימים ההם ראיתי את-היהודים השיבו נשים אשדדיות עמוניות מואביות.
ובניהם חצי מדבר אשדודית ואינם מכירים לדבר יהודית וכלשון עם עם

Nehemiah 13:23-24 And also, in those days I saw Jews that had had married women from Ashdod, Ammon and Moab. And of their children half spoke Ashdodite (or spoke half Ashdodite) and they could not recognize the speaking of Judahite[60], rather each according to their own language.

The translation of these two verses is challenging as the Hebrew word order makes it difficult to determine whether half their children spoke Ashdodite,[61] or that they spoke some kind of dialect that mixed Hebrew with another language.[62]

Nehemiah's reaction in Neh. 13 to those who had married outside of the Judaean community is again characterised by a strong emotional reaction.

ואריב עמם ואקללם ואכה מהם אנשים ואמרטם

And I quarrelled with them, and cursed them, and struck some of them and pulled out their hair, (13:25a)

His emotional response mirrors that of Ezra, *but instead of pulling out his own hair*, *he pulls out that of those he perceives as sinful*. If we are to understand this reaction once again as a defense mechanism against that which is abject and must be rejected from the community, Nehemiah the governor's reaction is more outwardly directed than Ezra the scribe. In the case of Nehemiah, it seems that the foreign wives put at risk communal cohesion by their apparent lack of facility in the Hebrew language. By their very presence they constituted a threat to the body politic of the returnees and so a defense mechanism had to be enacted to counter the anxiety elicited by their presence. Leung Lai (2015) notes that Nehemiah's strong emotional reaction can be viewed through the Bakhtinian lens of dialogism, he is always in dialogue with the Judahite community by his response, and so the forcefulness of it increased its impact upon them and their awareness of his profound displeasure. As noted by Harkins (2016), the acting out of strong emotion by Nehemiah would have provided a performative model for the returnees from the exile that allowed them too to access the emotion of profound displeasure.

It has been shown by Katherine Southwood (2012) that language is important in maintaining community cohesion. The dilution of this central mechanism of community identity by the admixture of foreign language would have been a source of insecurity, hence Nehemiah's need to build a

[60] Weinberg (1980) notes that the Judahite tongue is noted in three other locations, each referring to the negotiations between the emissaries of Sennacherib and Hezekiah over the fall of Jerusalem. The use of Aramaic is requested but denied, as the Assyrians wish the local population to understand the content of the negotiation for which Judahite is needed.

[61] Frevel and Conczorowski (2011) suggest that an influence from the "multicultural" coastal region would have been regarded as dangerous for the construction of identity promoted by the Nehemiah memoir.

[62] This complexity is also noted by Weinberg (1980) who notes that the KJV translates 'Their children spoke half in the language of Ashdod.'

linguistic boundary to defend the coherence of the returnees' group. The Hebrew language, as noted by Fraade (2012), seems to have functioned as a subsidiary national symbol,[63] the very use of it evoked the core elements of Judaean identity, the Torah, and the Temple, whose rituals were carried out using the Hebrew language There was a further value in the Hebrew language in that it delineated the returning community and their polity from outsider communities, especially the Western province of Ashdod, a noted trading area. (See Frevel and Conczorowski 2014 who suggest the Ashdodites symbolized the fear of external influences).

Gruen (2013) discusses the impact of language use on ethnic identity, using the post-exilic example of intermarriage in Nehemiah as an example of its complexity. Ruiz (2009), in a post-colonial interpretation of Nehemiah, makes a comparison between the language boundaries being defended in Nehemiah and the experience of Hispanic Americans. He suggests that the violence of Nehemiah's reaction is an anti-assimilationist move that was rendered stronger by its inevitable futility. The language choices that a community or movement make reflect on their self-understanding amongst the wider collective. In the latter part of the Second Temple period, the use of Hebrew is of note in the movement behind the Dead Sea Scrolls.

4.3 A Psychological Interpretation of the Boundary Narrative in Ezra-Nehemiah

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, Anna Freud noted in 1979 that the ego of an individual responds to threat by utilizing the defense mechanisms of repression, displacement or reaction formation. If one compares the development of the individual to the development of the body politic of the returnee community, these processes can be perceived. There is a denial, in fact a repression of awareness of the "foreign women" and their actual closeness to the returnee community. By repressing knowledge that these were probably Yahwistic individuals, either from those that had remained in the land of Judah or from previous groups of returnees, it became possible to demand their rejection from the body politic. The enforced separation from the collective of returnees was possible by a process of displacement. The vulnerability of those who had returned from Babylon could be denied by what Anna Freud called 'reaction formation'. Instead of owning their own fear, they could project it onto the "foreign women' who were then to be forcibly rejected from the collective. The foreign women thus fulfilled the purpose of what is called in Jungian terms a "shadow projection".

Projection is a psychological process whereby whatever an individual is unable to accept within their own personality is projected onto another individual or group who is then the recipient of hostility. Jung used the term the 'shadow' to depict the aspects of an individual psyche that are neglected

[63] The Hebrew language becomes another category of ethnic identity.

because they are unacceptable to the conscious self, usually negative traits. For the returnees from exile, unable or unwilling to accept their own limitations, it is understandable that instead they project their negative feelings onto the proximate 'other', the foreign wives. Their closeness to the returnee collective made them an ideal hook for the projection of these shadow emotions. That which the returnees hated in themselves, their own inner 'other' they projected onto the outer manifestation of the 'other', the foreign wives who could then be rejected and cast out of the Judahite community. The emotional nature of this process is reflected in the fact that Ezra tears his hair and sits down appalled (Ezra 9:3) and the people respond to his weeping by weeping themselves (Ezra 10:1). The externalizing of this projection is illustrated in Nehemiah 13:25a-b when the governor relates his fury with the misbehaving Judahites saying, 'I quarrelled with them, and cursed them and struck some of them, and pulled off their hair'.

4.3.1 The Movement from Projection to Sectarian Development

The action of Nehemiah in acting out his projection exemplifies a process of negating that which is 'other' and excluding it from the body politic. His action in Nehemiah 13 is so forceful that it may be described as 'abjection', utilising the term as used by Kristeva, as being the place where meaning breaks down. The transgression of boundaries acceptable to the collective, to which obedience is owed, is so abhorrent that it must be publicly rejected. Part of the defence mechanism of the returnees from the exile was to make a clear separation from those who lacked their level of purity and religiosity. [64] The shadow projection onto the foreign wives represents a forceful rejection of that which is not separated from the impurity represented by the peoples of the land. Because of the notion of 'holy seed' introduced in Ezra 9:2, there is no solution to the impurity they represent. A rigid boundary has been laid down between the returnee community and those outside their definition of the requirements of holiness and purity. This was a further move towards nascent sectarianism.

5 The Development of the Discourse of Boundaries in Late Second Temple Texts

[64] Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) note that the paradigm of separation introduced by the prohibition on exogamy in Ezra-Nehemiah is the first time when the 'other', the medium of introducing impurity into the holy community, becomes a permanent status. The foreign women and their children have no way to overcome their impurity, it is passed down through the generations.

5.0 Introduction

At the beginning of the Second Temple Period, as shown above, the re-established community of the returnees from exile established firm boundaries between themselves and the peoples[65] in neighbouring areas, notably by a prohibition on exogamy. The purity of those who shook with their commitment to God (see for example Ezra 9:4) could no longer be expressed by means of the sacrificial offerings in the Temple, instead it started to be manifest in their desire to preserve the holy seed (Ezra 9:2) by avoiding exogamy. There is little textual evidence for the period between the Nehemiah memoir and the second century B.C.E. For my purpose it is sufficient to note that the small area of Judaea was vulnerable to tensions between larger entities seeking to extend their hegemony over the coastal strip that formed the land bridge between Asia and Africa. I will demonstrate that their response to this perceived vulnerability was to set up ever clearer boundaries against exogamy.

5.1 Intermarriage in the Book of Jubilees

The book of Jubilees, probably written in the second century B.C.E (see for example Vanderkam 2008, Himmelfarb 2006), suggests that the holiness of Israel is to be achieved like the holiness of the Sabbath and the angels, *by being separated* from the wider environment.[66] Naomi Koltuv-Fromm (2010) explains the expansion of the definition of the Israelites as a 'kingdom of priests and a holy nation', (Exodus 19:6). Since the Torah forbids priests from marrying women who would diminish their holiness (that is to say widows and divorcees), so the whole kingdom of priests has to hold to the same standard in order to protect their boundaries as a holy nation. Cana Werman (1997) shows the developments in Jubilees to support a ban on intermarriage by illustrating its portrayal of the story of Dina and Shechem in Genesis 34.[67] Whilst the Genesis story portrays the consequences of a foreigner who forces his attention on a daughter of Israel, Jubilees uses the language of defilement and punishment to denigrate even a *voluntary* marriage between an Israelite and a gentile. Jubilees brings the concept of intermarriage within those sins condemned by the Torah itself that cause impurity and can have dire consequences. After a condemnation of sexual sins and the defilement they engender, Leviticus 18:25 pronounces a punishment. Since such sins

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[65] Gruen (2020) notes the flexible and malleable nature of ethnicity, which defies consistent definition. He gives illustrations from ancient Jewish authors including Josephus, Philo and the authors of the books of Maccabees and Judith to determine that there was an ongoing tension between defining Jews in the ancient world based on lineage as opposed to based on shared tradition and practices.

[66] Satlow (2001) in his review of Jewish marriage in antiquity singles out the book of Jubilees as representing the work that offers the strongest support for endogamy alongside the harshest condemnation of exogamy.

[67] Thiessen (2018) discusses the use of the narrative of Genesis 34 in the book of Judith where the pious widow trusts that God would strengthen her hand, just as he strengthened the hand of Simeon to bring down vengeance on Israel's adversaries.

defile the land God will bring a punishment upon it, that the land vomits out its inhabitants. Jubilees, based on the author(s)' extreme aversion to intermarriage, brings it into the category of those sins of fornication and impurity that can pollute the whole nation. The force of the condemnation of a more general defilement caused by intermarriage is highlighted by Kugel (2012) in his translation of the relevant passage, Jubilees 30:7-16

> *No adulterer or impure person is to be found within Israel through all the time of the earth's history, for Israel is holy to the Lord. Any man who has caused defilement is to die; he is to be stoned. For, this is the way it has been ordained and written on the Heavenly Tablets regarding any descendant of Israel who causes defilement: "He is to die; he is to be stoned." This law has no temporal limit.*
>
> *There is no remission or any forgiveness, but rather, the man who has defiled his daughter within all Israel is to be eradicated, because he has given of his seed to Molech[68] and has sinned by defiling them. Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and warn them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they are not to marry any foreign women, because it is despicable before the Lord… It is a disgraceful thing for the Israelites who give or take [in marriage] one of the foreign women, because it is too impure and despicable for Israel[69].*
>
> *Israel will not become clean from this impurity while it has one of the foreign women or if anyone has given one of his daughters to any foreign man. For it is blow upon blow and curse upon curse. Every punishment, blow and curse will come. If one does this or shuts his eyes to those who do impure things and who defile the Lord's sanctuary and to those who profane His holy name, then the entire nation will be condemned together because of all of this impurity and contamination. So is any man or woman in Israel to be who defiles His sanctuary (Kugel, 2012, 260-italics in original).*

I have quoted this at some length to highlight that the fear of the outsider has developed a great deal during the Second Temple period since the return from Babylon. The language of admixture of the 'holy seed' which is prominent in Ezra has, by the second century B. C.E authorship of Jubilees become something close to disgust and abomination at that which renders the holy nation impure. This introduces the notion of *abjection* into the fear of exogamy. Intermarriage with outsiders causes a disgust and horror that is well illustrated in the quote above from Jubilees. More than that, the impurity has to be cast out from within the body politic of Judaea because it risks the condemnation of the entire nation. The powerful condemnation of boundary crossing functions as a defense mechanism against the outside forces of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds that were beginning to impact on Judaea. The development of a secure body politic was under potential

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[68] Hayes (2002) traces the rationale of this use of Leviticus 18:21,28 and 20:3, 22, the Torah's phrase about 'handing over one's seed to Molech' is interpreted as having a sexual relationship with a gentile which by its nature jeopardizes the existence of the community in the land of Israel.

[69] The vehemence of the condemnation in *Jubilees* may hint at the fact that exogamy was of real concern and a genuine challenge to the coherence of the Judaean collective.

threat, the reaction of abjection demanded a powerful response. The response of the writers of Jubilees was to recast the boundary crossing mechanisms of intermarriage as a potential source of defilement and impurity. Vanderkam (2010) underlines the significance and authority of the renewed emphasis in Jubilees on a prohibition on intermarriage in a memorable phrase, 'Moses Trumping Moses.' Because the communication to Moses from the 'angel of the presence' is the only remaining communication from Moses' first experience at Mount Sinai (he broke the tablets of the commandments in fury at the Israelites worshipping the golden calf), it *predates* the later communications that underpin the ancestral tradition of the Torah. This significant understand of its primacy means that the fierce condemnation of intermarriage has, as it were, the *imprimatur* of Moses himself. Himmelfarb (2006) suggests a dating after the Maccabean revolt when the imposition of Judaean practice upon the neighbouring Idumeans, as recounted by Josephus in *Antiquities* 13.257-58 enabled inclusion of those who were 'other' by definition according to *Jubilees* and could never become as one with the Judaean population. In contradistinction to her opinion, Regev (2010) suggests a date for Jubilees during the Maccabean revolt because of its abomination of the other nations. The ferocity of its polemic against the refusal of some Jews to adopt the ethnic mark of circumcision (Jubilees 15) suggests authorship in a time when the political situation in Judaea felt very threatening to the continuation of Jewish practice.

Olyan (2000) notes the ferocity of the prohibition against intermarriage in Jubilees by highlighting its use of Molech imagery from Leviticus 20:2-5 to equate the union of a Jewish woman and a gentile man with child sacrifice and idolatry. The need to separate from the stain of intermarriage which was permanent is emphasised in Jubilees by the widening of the condemnation of those who 'give their seed to Molech', to include men and women alike who go outside the boundaries of the Judaean community to seek marriage partners. The taint of intermarriage passes down the generations, it cannot be undone. The Jubilees tradition of increasing emphasis on endogamy and clear boundary formation between Judaea and the gentile world coheres well with its scholarly dating to a late Second Temple environment when ethnicity was largely defined in terms of exclusivity and difference.

5.2 Elements of Identity Formation in Judaea

This emphasis on the elements of Judaean identity at the end of the Second Temple period is appropriate as much of their religious life focused on symbols of difference, e.g. Sabbath observance, circumcision, and dietary laws. With a brief period of exception to this rule during the Hasmonean dynasty, when there was some conversionary activity, Judaism was not a religion that sought to convert others, but rather ethnic and exclusivist in nature. Difference was of the essence

of Jewish self-identity[70] and thus boundary formation between 'us' and 'them' was an essential focus of their awareness of what was acceptable. The complexity of the late Second Temple period makes it impossible to speak of 'one Judaism', a term that is somewhat anachronistic at that time, but rather of multiple approaches to the sacred tradition in a time and place that was impacted by the tensions of the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman worlds. In other words, at this time of great tension, when the small nation of Judaea was impacted by world events around it, texts can be found to show *both* a greater distancing from the gentile nations, *and also* a possibility for those outside the group to obtain a status close to conversion. At this time of transition at the end of the Second Temple period it shows that the separation between 'us' and 'them' was more nuanced than it might seem at first glance.

5.2.1 The Focus on a Description of Judaean Identity

In considering the texts that allow us access to ancient conceptions of Judaean identity, it is helpful to be aware of their situated nature within the ancient Mediterranean world, because their perceptions could not but be influenced by their surroundings.

Much scholarly work has focused on the position of Josephus in chronicling this period (e.g. Mason 2001, Klawans 2013, Taylor 2013). In his 2015 entry to the *Companion to Josephus,* Baumgarten notes that the

> Principal practical consequence of this dissent is redrawing the lines between insiders and 9outsiders, creating a new class of aliens out of fellow members of the group and translating the patterns that govern relations with "true" outsiders to apply to the new class of aliens. (Baumgarten, 2015, 263).

In considering those textual remnants that have been preserved from the end of the Second Temple period, it becomes evident that the distinction described above by Baumgarten in regard to Josephus might be usefully considered as a lens through which to examine the distinction between 'self' and 'other[71]'.The psychological significance of those distinctions has been examined by Efthimiadis-Keith in relation to the book of Tobit.[72] Whilst the text of the canonical Hebrew bible has been fixed for hundreds of years, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their publication revealed hitherto unknown versions of later canonised texts in addition to what appeared to be the writings of an ancient group or groups that had separated from the mainstream of the ancient

[70] Lim notes in an article on Josephus that, "It is interesting that identity is predicated on difference, which is in a relative state, not an absolute one"(Lim, 2013, 410).
[71] Silberstein (1994) suggests that identity presupposes alterity, that is to say that each person and group defines themselves in contradistinction to the 'other' or 'outsider'.
[72] Efthiamiadis-Keith (2018) examines the book of Tobit through a Jungian lens to consider 'othering' and suggests it may be related to an experience of self-alienation.

Jewish world at the end of the Second Temple period. The very essence of the textual remnants is predicated on their separation in the Judaean desert.

The complexity of sectarian identity formation is noted by Davies (1999). He notes that it is surrounded by something it closely resembles (the host community) which is also that from which it most powerfully wishes to differentiate itself. It is thus understandable that such a group, seeking to adhere to their own particular strict standards of purity and religiosity should erect boundaries against their surrounding environment by psychological as well as physical means.

5.2.2 Crossing an Additional Boundary to Join the Movement behind the Texts at Qumran

If an individual chose to engage with the Dead Sea Scrolls movement, it was a conscious choice made as an adult. Having thus volunteered to enter this movement,[73] he also had to negotiate the degree of engagement, both within his own sectarian collective and the wider communities of the Second Temple period. Much of his (or her) religious life was negotiated in terms of what one might call "degrees of separation", the level of flexibility or rigidity of boundaries. Benedikt Eckhardt addresses the need to make a conscious decision about boundary formation in his description of what has become known as the 'Rule Texts' from Qumran (see for example Hempel, 2013; Leonhardt-Balzer, 2014). He suggests that

> The rule texts from Qumran are not mere guidelines of behaviour, but a conscious attempt to create and meticulously define an identity for a group defined early through phrases like, "those who freely volunteer" (Eckhardt, 2017, 407-408).

Eckhardt's definition reminds us that the sense of self is not a rigid structure but rather a flexible way to position the self in relation to the wider collective, as described by Gordon in her description of individuation.

According to Baumgarten, those at Qumran saw the divisiveness of their age as one of its curses. (1997, 110). There is an irony in the fact that their pursuit of harmony in an age marked by division saw them make a clear demarcation between their own movement(s) and those outside. Whether those within the movement dwelt within the cities of Israel or at Qumran, their initiation rites and purity rituals enforced a separation between them and those outside. In an article entitled 'Polarized Self-identification in the Qumran texts', Nickelsburg affirms that 'we can properly understand human conduct and the ideas that often drive it only when we consider their psychological dimension and social context' (2008, 29). This is a helpful reminder that for the sectarians at Qumran, there would

[73] See for example 1QS1:7 where the Hebrew phrase used means 'those who volunteer themselves'.

have been a need for regular renegotiation of boundaries to enable the 'us' to have a sense of selfhood in contradistinction to the 'them'. It seems that they lived with a creative tension between those within the movement and the world outside. That suggests a possibility that some of the rhetoric that establishes that separation may have been stronger than the reality on the ground.

5.2.3 The Complexities Inherent in Defining a Text as Sectarian

The textual remains at Qumran contains around a thousand documents. Since 1947, when the Cave 1 documents were discovered, there has been much scholarly discussion about how it is possible to describe the documents, often based on whether they contain what is sometimes described as sectarian terminology. Newsom (1990) problematizes what she described as "sectually explicit" literature from the Qumran caves by presenting evidence of documents such as "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice" that appear to lack the terminology associated with movement authorship and yet were used at Qumran in such a way to support the worship and study of the sectarian community. She reminds us that usage is an important criterion in designating something as a sectarian text.

> A sectarian text would be one that calls upon its readers to understand themselves as set apart within the larger religious community of Israel and as preserving the true values of Israel against the failures of the larger community (Newsom, 1990, 178-179).

A contrasting approach may be seen in the work of Dimant who has affirmed the possibility of determining the nature of a sectarian text. In her article on taxonomy and its pertinence and usage (2009) she describes how the sectarian writings depict the community's organization, ideology, and theological controversies. She has a particular view on the way to establish whether or not a text justifies being described as sectarian, stating

> The sectarian nature of any document may be established only when distinctive theological terms appear in conjunction with organizational or polemical nomenclature of the first two categories (Dimant, 2009, 11).

Recent assessments of the textual remains from Qumran and how to categorize whether parts of them may be described as 'sectarian' have benefited from an awareness of the sociological background of the term that was not always present in early research. It is noteworthy for example that George Brooke (2011) looks at four separate categories to assess the material. He describes the stage of 'pre-sectarian incipient sectarianism', followed by 'nascent sectarianism', giving the book of Jubilees as an exemplar. The third category of 'full-blown sectarianism' may be seen in a document such as the Community Rule. The fourth category of 'rejuvenated sectarianism', introduces a sense of timeliness, that the texts cherished by the community/ties may have differed over the time of

their functioning as a movement. It is a helpful way to consider that these texts were received in a particular way by their internal audience.

I have noted above that those that had made the choice to be part of the sectarian community/ties were described as those who had *volunteered* to join this movement. The importance of priestly leadership will be shown below, but it is likely, as in any text-based community[74], that there were both the literate group who could read and write the text, and also those who experienced it at one remove by listening to those who recited the material to them.

5.2.4 The Sociological Implications in Living Life as a Sectarian

In living life as a sectarian, there was it seems, an inherent tension with the socio-cultural environment (see for example, Jokiranta, 2013, 43). I have described above how there was a pluriformity of textual traditions at the end of the Second Temple Period. Even so, it is likely that much of the Judaean population would be reliant upon a literate elite to communicate significant material to them orally. This complex textual community of those who were illiterate and thus reliant on the interpretations of others was described by Charlotte Hempel in her 2017 "Reflections on Literacy, Textuality and Community in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls". She draws on the work of Brian Stock on textual communities that attract groups to study texts which were also disseminated orally to those unable to access them independently.[75] Those who enabled others to hear the texts that were an important part of their community life would naturally have authority attributed to them by people who were more passive recipients of the significant material.

5.2.5 The Concept of Reading in the Second Temple Period

It is well known that the Hebrew root meaning "to read" קרא also means " to proclaim", reflecting the fact that for most people in the Second Temple period, a book was *listened* to whilst another individual read its contents. (see for example, Jaffee, 2003, 18). This is the Hebrew root used in the well-known injunction in 1QS:6:7b-8a when the sectarians are required to spend a third of each night together to read aloud from the book, to expound rules and to offer blessings together. It is clear from that context that reading was not the private endeavour visualised in a post-printing era, but rather a communal experience when a literate person would proclaim the words from a scroll and others would hear his words as an aural/oral experience.[76]

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[74] White Crawford and Wassen (2016) edited a collection that problematizes the concept of libraries in the ancient world, and their presence between rural and urban culture and literacy.

[75] In the epilogue to *Rediscovering Eve*, Carol Meyers describes how,' the priestly importance on the postexilic period gave authority to these documents in a process called the textualization of authority' (Meyers, 2013, 204).

[76] In his discussion on oral transmission of material in the Second Temple period, Jaffee notes that "to the degree that a book was its oral declamation and aural approximation (rather than its mere material copy, the

More recent studies e.g. Mroczek (2016) use an analogy with the study of the plethora of digital material available online to remind us that the book, as we conceptualize it in our post-printing age, is not a helpful image to conceptualize the textual product of the late Second Temple era when multiple versions of a cherished text existed alongside each other. For such a group, the recitation of their cherished texts and their explanation by acknowledged leaders would have allowed an ongoing awareness of core messages of their sectarian traditions.

– Because the sectarians believed that their leaders had access to the hidden meaning of Torah as well as the revealed one, (see CD3:12b-14) the shared study sessions functioned as a way to update community knowledge for their own time and to redraw the boundaries between the Yahad[77] and historical Israel.

The shared traditions of Second Temple Judaism were able to be heard in a renewed way by the interaction of inspired interpreters with the sacred text. This conception of their own religious growth calls to mind the comments of Newsom where she utilises Bakhtin's notion of texts in dialogic relationship to one another and says,

> Not only is every utterance unique but also must be conceived as a reply to what has gone before. Thus, every instance of a genre can be understood as a reply to other instances of that genre and as a reply to other genres, whether or not consciously conceived of as such. The dialogical relationship carries forward the ever-changing configuration of the genre (Newsom, 2007, 28).

This is a helpful reminder that the texts that we have from the Dead Sea Scrolls, whilst of course many were lost over the centuries, were preserved within a movement that was *both* in a dialogic relationship with the historic Israel outside *and also* in a dialogic relationship within their own sectarian movement[78]. The very presence of the list of punishments in 1QS 7 depicts a movement in which the closeness of an individual to the core values of the sectarian community was constantly reviewed and disciplinary action that separated the one who had gone astray was a constant possibility. The adult volunteer who joined the movement committed themselves to being part of a collective that constantly monitored their adherence to the accepted values and the punishment that was forthcoming for those who fell short of the mark. This ongoing monitoring of their

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manuscript substrate of the book often bore the influence of the performative contexts in which it was shared" (Jaffee, 2003, 17).

[77] Schofield (2009) notes that since the publication of most of the material from Qumran there has been a rethinking of the paradigm that problematizes the association of the Yahad just with Qumran, based on her careful study of the 'S' manuscripts she suggests a 'radial-dialogic' development (Schofield, 2009, 274).

[78] Mroczek (2011) notes that the discussion about what may or may not be 'rewritten bible' in scholarly literature on the Dead Sea Scrolls is related to a conception of a fixed canon which is anachronistic at this time. She suggests instead that the pluriformity evident in the scroll texts might more helpfully be imagined in comparison to the texts of the digital age when different versions co-exist online and may be utilised by a new writer to communicate their own message.

adherence to communally accepted norms of behaviour helped to ensure that the adult volunteers avoided 'blurring the boundaries' of acceptable practice.

As a social entity that was made up largely of adult volunteers, the Qumran movement inherited textual traditions and languages of communication that were extant in the Second Temple period. Their formation of a sectarian movement was enabled by the "sectarian accent" they gave to this inherited tradition.[79]

The sectarian accent was facilitated by the dialogic relationship the community/ties had with their textual tradition. As their leaders were perceived as being able to understand the secret Torah as well as the revealed (CD3: 12b-14), they could ascertain renewed meaning from the texts they preserved. The understanding of the textual remnants from Qumran as the product of those with a *developing* and *dialogic* relationship with their own textual tradition as well as that shared with the wider Judaean communities of the late Second Temple period developed during scholarly study of the material. From when the texts from Cave 1 came to international attention in 1947, they challenged the scholarly consensus about the period in question. We can't of course have access to the actual experience of the ancient sectarians, we only have the texts that present a picture of community life that can be examined for their particular focus on the core concerns of this movement separated from wider society.

[79] See also Joosten, 2010, 351

6 Scholarly Study of the Texts from Qumran

6.0 The Significance of the Publication of the Textual Remnant

I have noted above (section 1.1.2) the principle expressed by Gadamer (2013), that scholarship must always own its particular reception horizon when investigating material from another historical period. In other words, all scholarship is, by definition, situated in its own historical time period and it is imperative to own that psychological reality. Matthew Collins (2011) notes that the circumstances of the discovery and dissemination of the Dead Sea Scrolls offer an opportunity to examine their reception, influence and impact. The reception history perspective may also, he suggests, be applied to Qumran scholarship itself and has the potential to consider the origins and developments of ideas about the scrolls and would provide valuable insights into the (often unconscious) influences at work within scrolls scholarship (Collins, 2011, 229).[80]

The psychological significance of how the scrolls were discovered and the influence that had on modern research is described in Edna Ullman-Margalit's 1998 *Out of the Cave: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Dead Sea Scrolls Research* 1998. In her description of the divisions of modern scholarship into the scrolls, she draws a comparison between the sectarian divide depicted in the ancient material and the sectarian divisions in modern scholarship. In particular, she notes the strength of feeling expressed between different approaches to the group(s) that wrote and preserved the texts. Her insight highlights the investment of some scholarship into critiquing approaches other than their own into the ancient material, a striking example of 'othering', in the terms noted by Efthimiadis-Keith (2018). This results in a projection of unacceptable contents onto the other, whether an individual or a belief system. The psychological process of 'othering' that can be seen in the sectarian and pre-sectarian material[81] is, according to Ullman-Margalit, perceptible in some of the material of modern scholarship as well. Another psychological factor is demonstrated in the huge respect given to the early investigators of the scrolls and the conclusions they arrived at. The projection of knowledge, authority and insight by later generations of scholars onto the great figures of the early period of Qumran studies meant that some of their conclusions, grounded in their own reception horizons, were accepted as unassailable for some time.

6.1 The Development of the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis by Early Researchers

[80] See for example Maxine L.Grossman and Catherine M. Murphy, eds., The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Popular Imagination in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 12.1: 2005.

[81] There is a vast literature which examines the position of the 'other' in ancient Jewish thought, with particular emphasis on the differentiation between Israel and the other nations (see for example Harlow et all 2011, Gruen 2011, Silbertein and Cohn 1994).

Flint's 2013 history of the Dead Sea Scrolls notes the acquisition of two scrolls by Eleazer Sukenik of the Hebrew University from a dealer in Bethlehem (later identified as *The Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *War Scroll* from Cave 1). His publication of two volumes on the scrolls in 1948 and 1950 underlined his position as an early authority on these important textual remnants. His involvement at the very beginning of Qumran studies, meant that his opinion on the material contained within them was given authoritative status.

Eleazer Sukenik was credited as the first to initiate what became known as the Qumran-Essene hypothesis (see for example Cargill 2011,105). The similarity between the description of the sectarian practices in some of the Cave 1 discoveries, notably 1QS, and the description of the Essenes in the first century C.E. by Pliny the Elder, Philo and Josephus, was noted early on and the designation of the group as Essene, or at least as one group of Essenes, became widely accepted. The early researchers, including Dupont-Sommer,[82]de Vaux and Milik were all quickly persuaded of the connection between the newly discovered scrolls and the ancient authors' description of the Essenes. The situated nature of their own scholarship within Catholicism encouraged a view of the discoveries at Qumran as being analogous to early Christianity and later celibate Catholicism. For example, in *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, published in 1959, Milik comments, "Cave IV seems to contain the main library of the convent. The cave itself is artificial and the character of the pottery found there shows it had once served as a cell for a hermit" (1959, 20). The use of terminology such as 'convent' and 'hermit' underlines the reception horizon of Milik. At the end of his book, he goes on to affirm, "However, there are numerous similarities between Essene and the authentic early Christian doctrine" (1959, 143). The identification of the sectarians at Qumran as Essene became axiomatic in early scholarship. In a comment made a year earlier, John Strugnell stated, "We must now take the identification of Qumranites and Essenes as proved" (1958, 107). In what became a well-known statement on the subject, Frank Moore Cross ends by saying, "I prefer to be reckless and flatly identify the men of Qumran with their perennial houseguests, the Essenes"(2009, 331-2). These statements by the highly respected scholars of the early period of study of the Dead Sea Scrolls began to have a causative effect. Those who later came to study the texts or examine the remains at Khirbet Qumran did so in the knowledge that the great early scholars had associated the archaeological remains and the texts as Essene as if it were a proven fact. For example, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor (1977) focused on his theory that the Essene movement originated as a response to the divine punishment of the Babylonian exile, whilst not querying the Essene definition of the inhabitants of Qumran. García Martínez and Van der Woude (1990) in their 'Groningen' Hypothesis of the origins of the ideology of the textual corpus, traced it

[82] Dupont-Sommer (1962) describes how he devoted numerous pages to demonstrate the Essene hypothesis

back to a Palestinian phenomenon originating in the apocalyptic tradition but continued to define it as Essene.

6.1.1 Some Concerns raised about the Qumran-Essene Hypothesis

Since the accidental discovery of the scrolls in 1947 meant that the texts were known before the site was excavated by de Vaux, there was a tendency to use the archaeological material to confirm the Essene identity of the scrolls, despite some 'mismatches' with the classical record in Pliny's Natural History Book 5, Philo's *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* and Josephus' long excursus on the Essenes in War 2:119-61. Notably, despite their insistence on the celibacy of the Essenes, the concept is not mentioned in the extant scrolls and the position of the settlement doesn't clearly tally with Pliny's geography. In a pithy 1988 article entitled "How not to do archaeology", Philip Davies takes the de Vaux team to task for interpreting the archaeology to suit their understanding of the Cave 1 texts, most notably the 'pushing back' of the Phase 1 settlement to suit an identification of the 'wicked priest' with a Hasmonean ruler of the mid second century B.C.E. Davies accuses them of preconceptions and overinterpretations such as the description of this pre-Christian site as a monastery (Davies, 1988, 205). Steve Mason (2007), writing as a scholar of Josephus, underlines his perception that the classical texts adduced by other scholars to equate the Qumran Movement with the Essenes do not stand up to historical scrutiny.

Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (2007) suggested by a statistical analysis that there may be old and young caves with their deposit of scrolls representing the concerns of the sectarians at a particular historical time period. He suggests that Cave 1 and Cave 4 samples were taken from the collection earlier than the samples from the 'young caves'. His careful statistical analysis suggests that the manuscripts in the 'old caves' were put there safely before the fire that destroyed the settlement between 9/8 and 4B.C.E. His conclusion is that further analysis is needed to determine the process of 'hiding' or 'storing' the scrolls that appear to have taken place at two separate time periods.

Cargill's 2011 review of the state of the archaeological debate at Qumran notes that when the site was investigated during the century before the discovery of the scrolls, many assumed that it was some kind of fort,[83]noting in particular its potential as a defensive structure. He highlights also the speculation that the site may have been a Hasmonean villa that was later reoccupied by sectarians (2011, 106). The additional hypotheses remind us that diverse conclusions are possible.

[83] This identification as a fortress was revived by Norman Golb (1985) who queried the whole Qumran Essene Hypothesis

6.1.2 When New Research Impacts the Accepted Chronology

Whilst de Vaux's 1973 *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* suggested a mid-second century B.C.E date for the founding of sectarian Qumran, perhaps influenced by the chronology in the beginning of the Damascus Document, his dating was superseded by Magness (2002) who suggested there was no material evidence for a period 1A, to use de Vaux's depiction, and that the sectarian settlement began at the beginning of the first century B.C.E. Her criticism of the circular argument between the evidence of the scrolls and the archaeological record has been widely accepted. This change in the accepted chronology also had an impact on the efforts to identify the 'Wicked Priest' with a Hasmonean Ruler, itself a product of the de Vaux chronology. This refocusing of the *floruit* of the Movement is confirmed by Michael Wise in his 2003 analysis of historical allusions in the texts. An additional corrective to the accepted viewpoint came from the 2018 *The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, edited by Gabor, Humbert and Zangenberg. Two of the editors explained in their introduction that the consideration of artefacts that hadn't been published by de Vaux allowed a new consideration of the site separate from the scrolls. They suggest that, though the description of Qumran as a *villa rustica* by Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voute may not have been a felicitous name for an ancient near Eastern habitation, it was helpful in modelling a way of looking at the ruins using the archaeological technique of analogy separate from a consideration of the scrolls.

6.1.3 An Early View from Social Sciences

It has been noted by the Israeli philosopher Ullman-Margalit that the Qumran-Essene hypothesis, though challenged from the 1980s onward, has undergone what she calls 'elasticity and cooptation' (Ullman-Margalit 1998, 862). She goes on to explain that the mainstream scholarly consensus has expanded to incorporate some of the new insights (e.g. that many of the texts were neither Essene nor authored at Qumran). She comes closer to a postmodern insight about the reception horizons[84] of the scholarly community when she notes that the emotive value of the Qumran-Essene hypothesis is as attractive now as it was in the time of Josephus and flexible enough to include new insights and possibilities,

> The Essene connection, whose appeal was already appreciated by the first-century writer Josephus, seems capable of casting a powerful spell-a religious, romantic and social-utopian spell-to this day (Ullmann-Margalit, 1998, 865).[85]

[84] This concept, as stated above, comes from Gadamer who stated that, "every encounter with tradition that takes place within historical consciousness involves the experience of tension between the text and the present. The hermeneutic task consists in not covering up this tension by attempting a naïve assimilation of the two but in consciously bringing it out" (Gadamer, 2013, 317).

[85] The same point is made by Garry Trompf in his essay on the history of scholarship in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Trompf, 2002).

Ullman-Margalit's perception that the Qumran-Essene hypothesis attracted a similar partisan commitment in modern scholarship as it had in the ancient world was further developed by Gwynedd de Looijer in her 2013 Durham Phd entitled 'the Qumran Paradigm.' She brought into question the accepted scholarly views on chronology, ideology and indeed whether the texts at Qumran constituted a library at all. She suggested that, rather than accept the Qumran Paradigm as handed on by previous generations of scholarship, the task instead was to look anew and decide what should be jettisoned and what maintained.

6.1.4 A Qumran Library?

Early researchers described the finds at Qumran as a 'library' in a rather uncomplicated way. For example, Frank Moore Cross entitled his 1958 work *The Ancient Library at Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*. More recent scholarship has looked at the terminology for the collection in a more nuanced way, searching for a term that would highlight the difference from organised libraries of the ancient world such as the one in Alexandria, whilst highlighting the fact that the recovered texts are largely of a religious nature rather than a documentary one as might be found in an archive. Shavit (1994) suggests that the idea of libraries as a cultural institution was a Hellenistic phenomenon. The 2016 *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library* edited by Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen addresses the challenge in a variety of ways. White Crawford herself defines the extant collection as a library with an archival component. In a review of the concept of a library at Qumran Devorah Dimant explains that,

> Thus the early cohesive and restrictive view of the scrolls has now been replaced by a kaleidoscope of genres, styles and themes, displaying diverse materials and many links to other compositions, both within the Qumran library and outside of it (Dimant, 2016, 8).

The nature of the collection stimulated lively discussion as to the identity of those who authored or collected the material The accident of the initial discovery of the Cave 1 material promoted discussion on sectarianism at Qumran.[86]

6.2 Sectarianism at Qumran

Solomon Schechter's 1910 publication of the *Documents of Jewish Sectaries Volume 1 Fragments of a Zadokite Work* using the material from the Cairo Geniza, set in place in the scholarly imagination the possibility of sectarianism in ancient Judaea. The

[86] Pfann (2016) suggests that if, for example, Cave 11 had been discovered first, the conclusions reached about the nature of those that collected the textual material might have been very different.

discovery in Cave 4 at Qumran of parallel texts enabled an adoption of similar terminology to describe those who kept the textual material discovered *in situ*. Baumgarten (1997) discusses the difficulty in using terminology used to describe those who seceded from a mainstream church, a European model of sectarianism, to describe ancient Judaea which was pluriform at the end of the Second Temple Period. He follows in the tradition of Bryan Wilson (1973) in making a distinction between reformist groups, who wish to impact on the wider collective, and Introversionist groups who built a boundary between their elite lifestyle and that of those they perceived as 'outsiders.'

Whilst acknowledging his own debt to Mary Douglas (1965) in her pinpointing of the centrality of purity concerns to sects, he defines a sect in language more helpful for the ancient Jewish world,

> *A voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms-the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders-to distinguish between its members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity* (Baumgarten, 1997, 7, italics in original).

Hillel Newman (2006) in an attempt to avoid the terminology of sect versus church, more appropriate to early modern Europe, found different terminology to describe ancient Judaea. He distinguishes between what he calls 'regime-powered dissenting groups', which includes Pharisees and 'independent-powered seceding groups', amongst which he includes both Essenes and Qumran. Jutta Jokiranta (2013) used the concept of "social identity" to describe sectarianism at Qumran, a careful recognition of the fact that human beings function both as individuals and as members of particular subgroups in a collective that define membership by their acceptable boundaries within their shared social life.

6.2.1 Making a Distinction between the Essenes and the Inhabitants of Qumran

Whilst the knowledge of the Essene descriptions by ancient writers and their similarity to some of the descriptions in the scrolls enabled some writers to equate the two, and indeed to compare the classic references with those found in the scrolls, (see especially Beall 1988), others were meticulous in separating the two and avoiding use of the hyphenated identifier 'the Qumran-Essenes.' [87] The defining of what constituted sectarianism in the texts found at Qumran proved to be something of a

[87] Regev (2007:8) also notes, "In this book I also refrain from using the common phrase 'the Qumran Essenes' as if these are interchangeable terms".

challenge. Moshe Weinfeld (1986) made an intriguing comparison between the Qumran Sect and the Guilds and Religious Organizations of the Hellenistic-Roman period. Whilst helpful in placing Qumran in its wider Mediterranean location[88], and thus challenging the scholarly binarism that put Judaism and Hellenism on different sides of a divide, it also demonstrated that the embedded nature of the Hellenistic groups within their own culture and their lack of distinctiveness based on purity concerns, showed them to have somewhat limited comparisons with those that kept and wrote the documents at Qumran.

Albert Baumgarten (1994,1997) is clear that the sources on the Essenes and Qumran should not be used to explicate each other. Atkinson and Magness (2010) compare Josephus' Essenes with the inhabitants of Qumran and return to the idea that they are indeed closely related. They go further by suggesting that the mismatch suggested by Mason and others may be attributed to the fact that Josephus wrote some two hundred years after the first extant copy of IQS which they date to c100-75 B.C.E. The use of the phrase 'sectarian' has sometimes been without definition in the scholarly literature. In order to clarify its use at Qumran it is most helpful to examine the textual remnant.

6.2.2 Defining Sectarianism from Extant Textual Material at Qumran

A helpful focus on the content of the textual material was given by Carol Newsom's influential 1990 'Sectually Explicit Literature from Qumran'. She expresses admirable caution in suggesting the Qumranites be described as 'Essene-like', rather than equating the two groups and, as it were, papering over the differences. Further, she shows by examination of the distribution of material within the caves, that multiple copies exist of texts which have an affinity with 1QS and thus might realistically be seen as associated with the movement known as the Yahad, rather than a random selection brought by those fleeing the Roman occupation, suggested by authors such as Golb (1995). Even texts that were more complicated to attribute to sectarian authorship, could be shown to have links to their theology. She suggests further that a text may be considered sectarian in terms of its author, content and also its rhetorical use, whether or not it is used to make a separation between 'us' and 'them'. Her contribution in this important article highlighted the fact that defining a text as 'sectarian' should be influenced by its function amongst those who read it or heard it read out Devorah Dimant (1993) made a division between the sectarian and non-sectarian texts based on style, theme and vocabulary. Whilst she didn't distinguish between them on usage, she did note that, "The sectarian writings depict the community's organization, ideology and political and theological controversies" (Dimant, 1993, 7-8). She noted that they contained language which

[88]Mizzi (2017) also emphasizes that the Qumranites, although living in a desert location, were not isolated from the wider Mediterranean world.

underlined the boundary formed between them and the wider collective of Second Temple Judaean society.

Mladen Popovic (2012) defines the movement behind the Dead Sea Scrolls as a 'textual community', thus highlighting the significance of the manuscripts in defining the core beliefs and values of those that wrote and kept the documents. The scholarly emphasis on boundary foundation as a core factor in the formation of sectarian groups (e.g. Dimant 1993, Baumgarten 1997) is the focus of my own work on understanding the centrality of the motif of separation in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

6.3 The Impact of Newer Research Methodologies on the Study of the Scrolls

By the end of the twentieth century with the full publication of the scrolls texts their complexity became evident. This recognition of the multi-faceted nature of the scrolls' texts created an atmosphere in which there was a greater willingness on the part of scholars to approach the material with a flexibility of views. The overview of all the published scrolls meant it became tenable to challenge some of the views of the early researchers, for whom only a small percentage of the material was available. This broader knowledge of the content of the scrolls enabled a 'rethinking of the paradigms'. New approaches to the texts included spatiality, rhetorical criticism, discourse analysis, new historiography to name but a few.[89] This postmodern move in Qumran research opens the possibility of a renewed approach to the concept of separation using both text study and a psychological consideration of the language used and the functions it appears to perform.

6.3.1 The Texts to be Studied Utilising a Postmodern Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls

I will examine the mechanisms of separation in the Dead Sea Scrolls using three case studies. The first is often described as 'pre-sectarian' or 'proto-sectarian', I refer to 4QMMT, originally referred to as the Halakhic Letter (see for example Pérez Fernández (1997), Grossman (2001). The other case studies from the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community deal with documents recognised as sectarian within the definitions given by Dimant et al. (as detailed above). In considering mechanisms of separation and the language used to describe them, it is helpful to hold in mind the development of understanding of Qumran terminology as more and more manuscripts were interpreted and published. That reminds the modern researcher that some dualistic concerns of the early scholarly interpreters were influenced by the number of dualistic texts extant in Cave 1, which was of course

[89] Lim and Collins 2010 *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* contains many articles that challenge what had been, until then, the 'received wisdom' amongst scholars.

a matter of historical accident. If, for example, Cave 4 had been the source of the first textual remnants to be uncovered, different conclusions may have been reached.[90]

6.3.2 The Impact of the Discovery of Dualistic Texts in Cave 1

As noted above, the coincidence of the Cave 1 texts being discovered first containing the Community Rule, the War Scroll, the Hodayot and the Pesharim, facilitated a belief in the early days of Qumran scholarship that overestimated the significance of sectarian terminology with its tendency towards dualism. Had the Cave 4 texts been found first, with their wisdom literature and variety of halakhic material, there may well have been less focus on possible Zoroastrian influence or comparisons with Johannine dualism. Looking back from the vantage point of over seventy years since the Cave 1 discoveries, it becomes clear that there was a wholly understandable lack of awareness that the discovered texts may not portray the whole of Qumranite philosophy. It became evident that categories that were once seen as 'either-or' can now be realised as something that is 'both-and.' [91] Even so, a focus on the undoubted dualism in the Cave 1 texts is helpful in considering its potential impact on the group(s) that valued the texts.

Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer (2010) suggests that the dualism in the language had a social function of boundary formation. Dualistic language is a chosen vocabulary that functions to, as it were, draw a boundary between those who have chosen to become part of the sectarian project, and those who are outside of it. She suggests that dualistic language adds clarity to the choices before the would-be sectarian.

6.3.3 A Psychological reflection on the Development of Qumran Perspectives

Ullman-Margalit's 1998 article which underlines the tenacity with which the Qumran-Essene hypothesis has continued to hold sway amongst modern scholars is worthy of further consideration. She describes it as having 'elasticity and cooptation', a reflection of the fact that new perspectives and additional material which wasn't known to the early researchers was understood in such a way that it still fitted within the dominant hypothesis. In other words, she describes a process whereby the researchers were *invested* in the Qumran-Essene hypothesis, long a classic understanding of Qumran studies, in such a way that they could 'co-opt' additional facts to fit in with the classic understanding of the early scholars. She underlines for us the process whereby new insights were

[90] This is noted in a number of places, including the 2010 volume (edited by Metso, Falk, Tigchelaar and Parry) that revisits the Cave 1 texts 60 years after their discovery.

[91] Jokiranta et al (2018) make a plea for an interdisciplinary approach to Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman period, underlining, for example, that more recent scholarship has clarified that the lived experience in the ancient world meant that rigid boundaries such as 'Judaism' and 'Hellenism' were not helpful.

able to be incorporated in such a fashion that they still fitted within the mainstream Qumran-Essene hypothesis. My post-Jungian approach allows a psychological understanding of how this process functioned.

Using the description of the Jungian process of individuation as outlined by Spiegelman (2009) in his review of Stein's 2006 book on the subject is helpful in this context. It allows one to separate out two elements, both described using alchemical imagery, a typical usage of Jung himself and post-Jungians in making sense of complicated processes. There are a number of alchemical processes that were interpreted psychologically and can be used to understand the tendency to revert to a previous status quo rather than the complex work of including new insights. The two elements that are helpful in supplementing Ullman-Margalit's work are the *separatio*, when two things that were joined together are rent apart by a change in circumstances or information. This is assumed to be followed, in the fullness of time, by the *coniunctio*, a recombination that builds up a new system when the change and development is incorporated in a more coherent whole. In Qumran studies, the *separatio* comes about when the additional information renders the previous position no longer tenable. Once new information is integrated, the *coniunctio* can be brought about which builds a better overall picture, thanks to the new input. However, between the two parts of the process there is an unavoidable period of uncertainty and anxiety when the previously accepted situation is no longer tenable. This is inclined to produce a defense mechanism, a reaction formation against this discomfort, which is likely to be the reconstituting of the anxiety-reducing orthodoxy, adapted to include the new information.

6.3.4 **A Psychological and Textual Approach to Separation in the Textual Remnant from Qumran**

I have shown above the widening of the parameters within Qumran scholarship since the textual remnant was available to scholarship in the 1990s. More recent scholarship has utilized the insights from social sciences including queer theory, dialogics, sociolinguistcs and identity theory to name but a few (see for example Brooke and Hempel 2019). Whilst these newer methodologies can broaden and deepen our understanding of the texts, they function best in conjunction with a close examination of the textual remnant as well as an awareness of the situated nature of all scholarship. I have chosen as my focus the subject of separation in given examples from MMT, S and D. The subject of separation is of the essence of the development of an individual or, I would suggest of the body politic of Israel, as seen in the examples quoted above from Ezra-Nehemiah. It is particularly significant in the self-awareness of a sectarian group that identifies its own core values in

contradistinction from those around them. The textual study accompanied by psychological discussion will begin with a consideration of 4QMMT.

7 The Case of 4QMMT and the Use of the Root פרד

7.0 Introduction

In beginning this consideration of the language of separation in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is intriguing to note the complex history and interpretation of the composite document now known as *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, 'Some of the Works of the Torah'(4QMMT). Though first referred to by Strugnell in a collective report by the editorial board in 1956, 4QMMT wasn't officially published until DJD X in 1994, though unofficial copies circulated before that date. Its discursive text and attempt to persuade its addressees of the merit of its halakhic positions has encouraged some scholars to consider it as 'pre-sectarian'[92]or 'proto-sectarian.'[93] Though it should be noted that in his discussion of 4QMMT in a Qumran context, Bernstein (1996) notes that there was already a difference between the two original editors where Strugnell thought it was a document emanating from a group "either identical with, or ancestor of, the Qumran group" whilst Qimron states, "the 'we' group is clearly the Dead Sea Sect". Strugnell made public his disagreements with Qimron on certain ways of understanding the MMT text in his 1994 article entitled "*MMT: Second Thoughts on a forthcoming edition".* He notes for example, that, "I have frequently questioned the use of the word epistle"(p. 67), and suggests that it "makes a compelling case for comparing section B of MMT to the beginning of Deuteronomy"(p. 62-63).[94] Later scholars picked up on these remarks, noting in particular the prevalence of Deuteronomic language and the association with decisions attributed by the rabbis to the Sadducees (see especially Schiffman 1994).

Kratz (2020) suggests that it might be dated at a time around the end of the second to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. He notes further that the lack of sectarian terminology in this work led earlier scholars to date it to Hasmonean times[95].

The fact that the central part of the published material describes proper observance of Torah law as perceived by the senders meant it was initially referred to as 'the Halakhic Letter',[96] (see for example

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[92] Strugnell, one of the two editors of the *editio princeps*, describes how, "it is written in a form of proto-Mishnaic Hebrew, not in Qumran's typical biblicizing Hebrew, indeed it stands at the beginning of literary composition in Mishnaic Hebrew".

[93] Collins (2010, 20) notes that," Most scholars have accepted the editors' suggestion that this text, which may be viewed as a halakhic treatise, was addressed to an individual leader of Israel, most probably a Hasmonean high priest."

[94] Strugnell further underlines his disagreement with Qimron, his co-editor, by suggesting that "the minimalist will call MMT not a letter, but a legal proclamation sent to an accepted ruler, probably a High Priest of Israel and possibly even the one who was later to turn to proto-Pharasaic positions and to become the Wicked Priest of the Commentaries "(1994,72).

[95] He notes that earlier scholars linked the Qumran community/ties to the Essenes known from Josephus, who describes then as being distinguished by biblical fundamentalism and a radical pious lifestyle. He suggests a *terminus ad quem* for the dating of MMT of 152B.C.E. when scholarship has assumed the founding of the Essene Union under the "Teacher of Righteousness" (p.21)

Schiffman, 1990). Though six fragmentary manuscripts were found in Cave 4, underlining its significance to the movement, it is important to be cautious in drawing conclusions, because of the fragmentary nature of the material. Early researchers, by referring to the document(s) as 'the Halakhic Letter', unconsciously influenced how it would be perceived by those who studied the *editio princeps*. Grossman (2001) notes that the naming of the text's genre is important in the understanding of the principal actors and context of the text. An epistle is perceived differently from a treatise which in turn has a different impact from a historicizing document. Jonathan Ben-Dov notes that,

> MMT is similar to *corporate letters* and to *epistolary treatises*, and that a final decision on the classification is difficult due to the fragmentary state of preservation, especially the question of whether and how the extant halakhic section was originally preceded by any text now lost (Ben-Dov, 2020,198).[96]

In his 2020 introduction, Kratz underlines the similarity of both the halakhic section in Part B and the parenetic Part C to the Damascus Document and its explicit citation of material that would later form part of the Hebrew Bible. He notes too that the early dating, because of the lack of sectarian terminology, is no longer valid as other documents that were part of the core texts such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice also lacked this terminology. For that reason, as shown above, he dates it to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C.E.

The preservation of six manuscripts at Qumran gives evidence that it was valued by the sectarians long after their separation from the 'majority of the people.' Fraade (2000) suggests that rather than a letter to the leader in Jerusalem, it might rather have been an internal document, designed to educate the sectarians about their origins.[97] A similar conclusion is reached by Grossman (2001) who suggests that it might have functioned rhetorically as a reminder of a number of separations that required clarification of the sectarian doctrines. Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes (2013) remind us that the relationship between the centre and the periphery is never fixed but rather constantly renegotiated. 4QMMT is witness to the fact that whether at an early stage, or as a later reminder of separation struggles, the interaction between centre and periphery is constitutive for both.

In Kampen and Bernstein 1996 Qimron, one of the two editors of the document, describes how they pieced together around a hundred fragments and suggests that,

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[96] Mizrachi (2020) notes that the language of MMT differs from the rest of Qumran Hebrew and is less of a stylistic homage to biblical Hebrew, probably because it is designed as a letter.

[97] A similar conclusion was reached by Schiffman who noted that, "it remains to be determined if it is an actual letter, dating to the earliest days of the Qumran group, or if it is an apocryphal text written years, or even decades later to express the fundamental reasons for the sect's break or schism with the Jerusalem establishment" (Schiffman, 1990, 65).

> The composite text of our edition therefore should not be used independently, but rather must always be consulted together with the individual manuscripts and commentary presented in its publication (Kampen and Bernstein 9-10).

Despite this caution and some clearly expressed disagreement between the two editors, the composite text is all too often examined as a fixed artefact, rather than, as described by Qimron himself in the Symposium volume where he says, "reconstruction is no more than an educated guess on the basis of the scholar's knowledge and intuition"(1996,9). The caution with which the text should be approached is underlined by Elitzur Bar-Asher Siegal (2011) who suggests, based on a careful comparison with other texts in the Scrolls corpus as well as Deuteronomy, that the separation could be from the people(s) and refer to the whole of historic Israel separating from the nations because of purity concerns.[98] This concern with the assertion of the editors of DJD X that the text was depicting the separation from the majority of the people has been critiqued in later scholarship and is, at least in part, one of the reasons for the 2020 translation and commentary edited by Kratz.

7.1 An Examination of the 4QMMT text Concerning Separation

In the Hebrew text below, I have used the Composite Text set out in the DJD X publication which is the text discussed by most scholars. It should be noted that the placement of the various fragments, as well as reconstructions of lost material, has been subjected to a number of criticisms[99] and more recent research, including the Kratz 2020 edition, which has made an impact on how the reference to separation is to be interpreted. The issues go beyond positioning of the different fragments, it also impacts upon how the text is read with resulting changes in understanding of its history and rhetoric.[100]

ועל הנשי[ם החמ]ס והמעל[ ]
כי באלה[בגלל] החמס והזנות אבד[ו קצת]
מקומות [ואף] כתו[ב בספר משה שלו]א תביא תועבה א[ל ביתכה כי]
התועבה שנואה היאה [ואתם יודעים ש] פרשנו מרוב הע[ם ומכל טמאתם]
[ו] מהתערב בדברים האלה ומלבוא ע[מהם] לגב אלה ואתם י[ודעים שלוא
י]מצא בידנו מעל ושקר ורעה כי על [אלה א]נחנו נותנים א[ת לבנו ואף]

[98] The same reading of the text, based on the original fragments is also brought by John J. Collins (2020).
[99] Werrett (2009) suggests that comparisons with the Temple Scroll are overused to draw conclusions based on fragmented material.
[100] Qimron , one of the original editors, ends his chapter on the nature of the reconstructed composite text with the comment, "We all know that any reconstruction, however learned and brilliant, is merely an educated guess" (Kampen and Bernstein, 1996, 13).

And concerning the wom[en. the violen] ce and the disloyalty [ ]
For in these matters [ ]because of [ ] violence and fornication [some]
Places have been ruined. [And further] it is writ[ten in the book of Moses:] you shall [no]t bring an abomination in[to your house for]
Abomination is an odious thing.[And you know that] we have separated ourselves from the majority of the peop[le and from all their impurities]
[and] from mingling in these affairs, and from associating wi[th them] in these things. And you k[now that there is not]
To be found in our actions disloyalty or deceit or evil, for concerning [these things]we give [our heart, and even]
4Q398, frg. 14-21, Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4* (translation slightly amended)

Bar-Asher Siegal (2011) notes the reconstructed nature of 4Q398 fr 14-21,7 and the decision of the editors of the *editio princeps* [101]*to* place this fragment at the boundary between section B and C of MMT. Much has been derived from this positioning, not least that the 'separation from the majority of [the people]' was due to halakhic issues. He critiques the process of interpretation, suggesting that the proper order would have been to make sense of the pivotal sentence in context and only then using it to understand the nature of the text, rather than the reverse order which has been adhered to in scholarship and led to significant conclusions based on flimsy evidence.

He questions the conclusion based on a comparison with similar terminology in Ezra and in Deuteronomy and suggests that a more plausible understanding of the text that would fit well into the space available would utilize the plural:

פרשנו מכל הע[מים]

We separated from all the pe[oples}

This reading is illustrative of my own understanding of the purpose of the Ezra text in formulating boundaries between the returnee community and the other peoples of the land(s) who don't adhere to the same level of purity. Indeed Bar-Asher Siegal notes that פרש is used in Aramaic translations of the Pentateuch to represent the verb בדל, itself a focus of my own work, and that a Syriac equivalent is used in the Peshitta (2011,235).

He follows the insightful work of Hempel (2010) who demonstrates convincingly that a great deal of interpretation hung upon a reconstruction in which only part of the *ayin* is visible and the final *mem* is entirely reconstructed. That enables a refocusing on the phrase in question as a conclusion to the the halakhic section B in the composite text summarizing quite naturally how the authors have separated from others on the basis of halakhic disagreement.

[101] Strugnell (1994) one of the two editors of the composite text suggests that it is called instead the *editio major*, a reflection of the fact that because of his illness, some of the content they had wanted to include, such as an essay on the theological background of section C, had to be omitted from the final publication.

The Kratz 2020 edition produces the text based on the most complete 4Q394 manuscript and leaves the simpler form of the text whilst translating the phrase about separation as follows:-
[that] we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people[e/es?..and] from mixing in these matters (p49), underlining the lack of certainty in understanding this section.

They offer the Bar-Asher Siegal reconstruction as a footnote on the same page.

והובדלנו והו]פרשנו מרוב העם והוזהרנו[מהתערב בדברים האלה ומלבוא עם

And we were set off and apart from the multitude of the nations and we were prohibited from mingling with them.

Sharp [102](1997) suggests that the purpose of MMT was to challenge the practice of marrying gentiles. She shows the similarity in vocabulary between the section of MMT and Ezra 9-10. Though this seems a little overstated, she does fine service in encouraging one to look again at the connections between section B and section C. She also notes a semantic similarity between the root פרש in 4QMMT and בדל in Ezra. Bar-Asher Siegal (2011) queries the editors' suggestion that פרש in MMT is the first use of the verb to mean 'to separate or secede', suggesting by parallel with other Qumranic texts and rabbinic literature that it is usually to turn *from the* path in a sectarian context and it is not attested at this point. In order to understand the use of the root פרש in MMT, upon which much interpretation has rested, it is helpful first to look at its usage in a scriptural context.

7.1.1 A Background to Understanding the Use of פרש in MMT

The uses of the root פרש in all examples from the Hebrew bible noted above in chapter 3 are a helpful reminder that the verb פרש is closely allied to the important idea of separating one concept from another. Perhaps the most significant usage is in Nehemiah 8:7b-8. In a note on that participle form, Pakkala (2004) explains that such a use of פרש can mean 'divide, separate, specify, distinguish or explain'.

This idea of separation appears to underly its use in the MMT text considered in this chapter. The same root occurs in the Aramaic text of Ezra 4:13 with the sense of something presented explicitly and with clarity before the king.

It is instructive to return from an examination of פרש in the Hebrew Bible back to the text of 4QMMT which has been described by a number of scholars as being characterised by an unusual form of Hebrew that is unique amongst the scrolls.[103]

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[102] Tigchelaar, in a commentary on a new translation of MMT (Kratz,2020) reminds us that the paleographical examination of the manuscripts is important, because there is no internal dating and scholars still disagree as to its historical setting or date of composition.

[103] For example, Bernstein (1996) notes the admixture of biblicizing elements in MMT together with proto-Mishnaic stylistic aspects and queries whether it might be related to the scriptural source of some of the halakhot under discussion.

For example, Fraade notes

> `the language of *4QMMT* displays among the DSS a unique combination of proto- mishnaic, Aramaic and biblicizing elements making it difficult to locate within the history of ancient Hebrew. (Fraade, 2000, 523).

Alec Kienzle (2020) suggests that the unusual prevalence of participle forms in 4QMMT supports the view that this was a letter to an external recipient, rather than an intramural document, as letters tend to utilize more informal grammar.[104]

Regev (2007) dates the Temple Scroll as well as MMT as early in the Qumranic corpus, because they don't contain some of the accepted markers of sectarian texts as noted by Dimant (1993) and others. If we accept that positioning on the boundary between late biblical Hebrew and proto-Mishnaic Hebrew, it allows an engagement with the scriptural meaning of the root פרש, which means something like 'to clarify, to put aside for things to become clear' and 'to be separated' in the Ezekiel text. It should be noted that the nominal form of this root appears with a similar meaning in S and D texts from Qumran.

Having considered the scriptural range of the verb פרש, we are now able to examine its use in the well-known passage from MMT.

7.2 The Significance of the Language of Separation in 4Q398, frg. 14-21

I would concur with Bernstein (1996) who suggested that C5-7 functions better as the conclusion to the B section on immorality and so the hortatory section begins with the well-known phrase, [You know that] we have separated from the majority of the people."

Deuteronomic language is particularly notable in this section, the reference to bringing abomination into an Israelite house is an almost exact quote from Deuteronomy 7:26 with an interpolation from 12:31. Many scholars have commented on the prevalence of Deuteronomic language in 4QMMT e.g. Fraade (2003), Hogenhaven (2003) and Hogeterp (2008). George Brooke's commentary on the

use of scripture in 4QMMT is particularly helpful because he questions the purpose of its presence in the text.

> When scriptural phraseology appears, is it used merely to give a scriptural flavour, an air of authority in convenient and familiar terminology, or is it intended to be dependent on a scriptural source and to be directly interpretative of the legal matter in the context from which the language is taken (Brooke, 1997, 68).

[104] Hogenhaven (2003) had already suggested that the rhetorical content of MMT has an epistolary character, and some similarities with parallels from 2 Maccabees.

Brooke's question reminds us that the language used in a document such as MMT resonated with those that read or heard it with their experience of the same usage in what was already accepted as scriptural, in particular the Torah.

The section of MMT under consideration in this chapter begins with a discussion of that which is abhorrent or abominable.

The root of the word תועבה an abomination, isעוה which means 'to bend, to twist or to hurt', according to Brown, Driver and Briggs, whilst Clines' Dictionary of Classical Hebrew links it to the root 'to be abhorrent' עבה

The necessity to separate from the majority of the people to avoid an abomination and the impurity that goes with it links that powerful language with the section on immorality in B, whether that be intermarriage with pagans (e.g. Baumgarten 1996) or between priests and laity (Qimron and Strugnell 1994). It is well accepted that one of the core values of the Qumran movement was to separate from those in wider Judaean society who did not accept their firm boundaries in matters of purity. That separation encouraged a view of those outside of the collective, reflected in a number of texts from Qumran, of what I have called above 'historic Israel' as facilitators of abominable practices.

7.2.1 When Abhorrence of Impurity becomes Abjection: Its Psychological Significance

The presence at Qumran of six fragmentary manuscripts of MMT suggests it was a significant document to those that kept the textual remnant. It is noticeable that their abhorrence of the impure practices of others is of such a powerful nature that it brings to mind the concept of abjection as described in Kristeva's *Powers of Horror*.

> It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite (Kristeva, 1980,4).

Whilst Kristeva describes abjection as related to the separation from the maternal body and hence preverbal, she also notes its relationship with conceptions of pollution and defilement, in particular the dietary taboos of Leviticus. In her chapter on the "Semiotics of Biblical Abomination". she notes that the Levitical abomination of leprosy is informed by the problematic nature of intermixture with its threat to identity.

This boundary-crossing nature of abjection, its presence at the place of taboos and disgust has continued to have significance in Biblical Studies. Alford (2009), in his study of the book of Job from a psychoanalytic viewpoint, notes that the process of abjection comes in at the point when the Real erupts into our lives. I have capitalised Real to emphasise it is being used in its Lacanian formulation

to refer to that which comes from the pre-symbolic order when a child doesn't have language to elucidate their experience. It is the period when bodily experiences are central, a fact also noted by Grofius (2017) who gives examples of the abject and its placing where there is a source of anxiety include human waste, corpses and the body of the mother. Kalmanofsky (2016) explores the imagery of the abject in the book of Jeremiah. These examples of abjection in the Hebrew Bible and its relationship to anxiety are a helpful background to considering its possible presence in texts from Qumran where their concern with boundaries between themselves and others with a lesser commitment to maintaining appropriate levels of purity is constitutive of the sectarian community.

7.2.2 The Association of Abjection with the Body and the Body Politic

As long ago as Douglas (1966) an association was made between the boundaries of the body and the boundaries of the body politic. Because the small nation of Judah was vulnerable to invasion, the Levitical laws functioned to protect the Israelite body politic itself against invasion, especially from those blemished and taboo areas that would induce anxiety, the locus of the abject.[105] The root פרש, as I have demonstrated in the scriptural passages examined above, shows the function of boundary formation and separation in achieving clarity. Such a separation contains the anxiety caused by boundary transgression, the very focus of [106] that which incites abhorrence and is the place of abjection. A conceptualisation of the abject as that which comes at a place where the body politic is threatened by intermixture is helpful in considering the language at the beginning of section C of MMT. The root פרש is used to describe separation from the majority of the people, according to the translation of the composite text by Qimron and Strugnell. The previous halakhic section highlights the transgressions that risk bringing abomination into the house. Such a risk, a place where sectarian meaning would collapse, a source of anxiety and thus a place of abjection brings about the need for separation.

The strength of the abhorrence of the impure practices of others outside their own collective is noticeable in this early sectarian document. The very nature of a sectarian group was to highlight awareness of appropriate practice, together with the obligation to keep far from those who would put this at risk. Separation is of the nature of sectarian awareness and the development of the sectarian collective. For that reason, any risk to it was regarded with horror and fulfils Kristeva's description of what constitutes abjection.

The sectarian identity was perceived to be under threat by impure practices. The vivid language of 4QMMT, that facilitated its description as a teaching document, or a letter (see section 7.0 above)

[105] Basson (2008) uses this concept of the abject to explore the longing for bodily wholeness in the book of Job.
[106] The alternative reconstruction given by Bar-Asher Siegal (2011) in which the separation is from the multitude of the nations is also consistent with a concern for a place where their particular boundaries against impurity might be transgressed.

would have highlighted the immediacy of the need to affirm the shared practice of those referred to as 'we' and 'you' in contradistinction to the 'them'.[107] More than that, it would have encouraged the building up of defense mechanisms against those who would disrupt the nascent sectarian identity Kristeva's definition of abjection focuses on that which disturbs order and identity, the place where meaning collapses. For the sectarian collective at Qumran, their central focus for developing identity was by the cultivation of holiness through the adherence to accepted practices, particularly around purity. The word 'holiness' occurs 176 times in the Qumran texts, but I would draw attention particularly to its position in 1QS 9: 6 where the sectarians are described as setting up a holy of holies, a place where they will become an 'acceptable sacrifice for the land' and a 'sweet-smelling savour'. These are clearly references to the purpose of the cult described in Leviticus. The antithesis of this holy of holies, is the abhorrence expressed in MMT to the actions that threaten the boundaries of holiness. That which might threaten the purity of their endeavour, the זנות that describes sexual transgressions is a source of horror and potential abjection, where the sectarian endeavour might be destroyed.

I have examined in this section the use of פרש in MMT and its function in upholding the boundary between purity and the impurity and transgression that is the place of abjection. The uneasy and disorientating experience of abjection, where boundaries are unclear, can be seen in this text to be countered by the use of פרש meaning to make clear, to judge or elucidate. The post-Jungian description by Hauke (see section 1.3.1 above), highlights how an acceptance of abjection and an adoption of the means required to counter this place where meaning collapses, can be achieved by the mechanisms of separation, and that in turn can facilitate the process of individuation.

7.3 Other Uses of פרש in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The use of the verb פרש to mean "that which is a clear version', taking into account Fishbane (1985) who linked it to an old Semitic root meaning 'to judge', is close to the scriptural meaning noted in Chapter 3 and occurs on 42 occasions in the scrolls. The most numerous are its use in the phrase פרוש שמותיהם -the clear statement of their names (9 times), פרוש התורה-the clear interpretation of the Torah (6 times) and פרוש המשפטים- a clear statement of the laws which occurs 5 times.

More noticeable are the occasions when the root occurs in the Genesis Apocryphon. According to Machiela

> Based on the contents and language of the Apocryphon, it is suggested that an early to mid-second century B.C.E date of composition is most plausible and that the scroll was produced

[107] Reinharz (2009) discusses the genre possibilities for 4QMMT as a treatise, a letter or an intramural teaching document, particularly in comparison with New Testament epistles.

by a Judean group with a number of concerns that overlapped matters deemed important by the Qumran Essenes (2009,2).

Machiela comes to this conclusion based on a comparison with the Aramaic parts of the book of Daniel and other Aramaic documents from the Dead Sea Scrolls.[108]

בתר יומא דן פרש לוט מן לאותי

1QapGen ar XXI:5 After that day Lot separated from me

ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל ובאש עלי די פרש בר אחי מן לאותי

1QapGen ar XXI:7 And I continued to live in the mountain of Beth El and thought it unwise that my nephew Lot separated from me.

(all translations are taken from the DSSEL)

Both occurrences of the root פרש occur in the relating of the story of Abram and his nephew Lot separating to seek different pastures (based on Genesis 13:9). Here, as noted in MMT, the root has gained the meaning of 'to separate, to draw apart from'.

Though it is impossible to draw conclusions from such sparse evidence, the separation allows Abram to act righteously, a model for the sectarians, whereas Lot chooses the best for himself and pitches his tent towards the wicked city of Sodom. It calls to mind the core meaning of individuation as described by Jung, to develop one's own potential, to separate from the collective. For the sectarians separating from 'historic Israel', as for Abram separating from Lot, it was a vital part of the process to separate from that which caused conflict with their core values. The movement away from what I have termed "historic Israel' was both literal and metaphorical and was expressed in verbs that illustrate movement and separation. In following chapters, I will be illustrating this process by examining the use of שוב and בדל to ascertain their different uses in the selected texts. The choices made to use particular language enables the sectarian to develop a sense of "insider" identity in contradistinction to those who are outside the particular boundaries of their movement that is to say the language of "self" and "other".[109] Whilst the core focus of my examination of the language of separation in the Rule Texts will be on the use of the verbs בדל and שוב, I will first examine the use of the verb פרד, which can also be translated as 'to separate.'

7.4 An Examination of the Root פרד in the Dead Sea Scrolls

[108] However, it should be noted that the great Hebrew linguist, E.Y. Kutscher, dated the scroll between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., albeit when only the Cave 1 documents were known.

[109] Brooke explains, in the context of the chaotic state of textual pluriformity in Second Temple Judaism, that 'Malleability and pluralism, even on a small scale, should be supposed, rather than institutional permanence and uniformity' (Brooke, 2011, 90).

I have shown above (section 3.1) that the root פרד is used in the Hebrew Bible to mean 'to separate', mostly in the physical sense of 'to divide up.' However, a causative form of the verb is used in Proverbs is a symbolic way to mean 'to cause a division between one person and another', usually by inappropriate behaviour. In a consideration of its use in the textual remnants from Qumran, I will ascertain if the same division can be noted between its literal use to mean 'to divide up, to separate', and a symbolic use to mean separation in more complex circumstances.

לא 12 באו מיום סור אפרים מעל יהודה בהפרד שני בתי ישראל 13 שר אפרים מעל יהודה

CD7:11c-13 have never 12 come before since the departure of Ephraim from Judah (Isaiah7:17) that is when the two houses of Israel separated, 13 the house of Ephraim from the house of Judah.

The significance of the use of פרד in this context is its core meaning of division, used in the prophetic text to highlight the state of war between Israel and Judah. The use of the Isaiah prooftext both underlines its significance to the authors of the Damascus Document, and also can be seen as a reflection of their sense of rupture with the wider collective of Second Temple Judaea.

7.4.1 The Use of the Root פרד in 1QH

Eileen Schuller, in her introduction to the study edition of 1QHa notes

> That fact that there are eight copies preserved and that 1QHa was a large and elegantly crafted scroll indicates that these psalms had importance and authority for the community that wrote them and preserved them in the caves near the Dead Sea. They reflect that distinctive vocabulary and religious ideas that marked the type of Judaism found in other core works such as the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll (Schuller, 2012,1).

The vocabulary of 1QH includes the root פרד which may be seen in the examples below

היותם ויריעו כול אושי מבגיתי ועצמי יתפרדו ותמבי עלי כאוניה בזעף

1QH-a XV:4 All the foundations of my frame crumble, my bones are separated and my bowels are like a ship in a raging storm.[110]

[ ] הפרידם ממעמד

1QH- 5:2 He dispersed them from the condition of.

ולוא להפרד

1QH-a5:14 and not to be separate.

It is not possible to come to any conclusions from the small number of examples in 1QH, but it is of note that, as within the Hebrew Bible, the root פרד can be used both literally and symbolically.

[110] An analogous expression can be found in 4Q428(4QH-b)13:8 'how can I, as a creature of dust, be preserved from being shattered,"

7.4.2 The Use of the Root פרד in 4QInstruction

Benjamin Wold (2018) suggests that key to an understanding of 4QInstruction are what he calls "divisions", a series of distinctions that are integral to its presentation of learning. He also notes

> 4QInstruction was likely composed in the mid-second century B.C.E., although manuscripts (4Q415-418,423, 1Q26) likely date to the late first century B.C.E. and the early first century C.E. (Wold, 2018,5).

ואם נפרדה בהריתכה קח מו[לדיה
4Q415(4QInstr-a)11:11a-b If *she be divided (?)*when she is pregnant for thee, take thou the *offs*[pring of her]

מאמה הפרידה ואליכה [תשוקתה ותהיה] 4 לך לבשר אחד בתכה לאחר יפריד
4Q416 (4QInstr-b)2 IV 3b-4 From her mother He has separated her but towards thee [will be her desire and she will be for thee one flesh. Thy daughter he will separate to another man.

[מאמה הפרידה ואליכה תהיה ל] בשר אחד בתכה ל[אחר יפריד ובניה
4Q418(4QInstr-d) 10, a, b, c From her mother He has separated her, but towards thee [shall be her *desire*, And she shall become 4 for thee One flesh. Thy daughter he will separate to another man

[ ] [ ] בו תפרד
4Q414 (4QInstr-d) 37:4 divide

[ ] פרד [ ]
4Q418 (4QInst-d) 235:2divide
(translations from DSSEL).

The distinction made by Wold (2018), when he notes the significance of divisions in 4QInstruction does figure in these examples of the use of the root פרד. It is not possible to come to conclusions, based on such a small number of examples, but it shows that the root can be used to mean both literal and symbolic separation.

7.4.3 Additional Examples of the Use of פרד in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Though the verb פרד does re-occur a number of additional times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is not possible to form firm conclusions because of the unclear nature of many of the texts.

פרידו ה
2Q20(2QJub)-b 2:1 they separate the

יובדו ויתפרדו כול [פו]עלי 13 און
4Q 88 (4QPs-f) X:12-13a perished and scattered are all evil {do}{Anderson, 1994 #12}ers.

החלקות אשר תובד עצתם ונפרדה כנסתם ולא יוסיפו עוד לתעות [ ] קהל ופת[אים]

4Q169 (4QpNah) 3-4iii:7 whose counsel will perish and their assembly will be broken up and they will not continue to mislead [the] congregation and the simple [ones

ויברכנו ולא נפרד ממנו מיום באו מחרן

4Q223-224(4Qpap Jub-h)2ii: 1c-2a he blesses us and has not separated from us from the day he came from Haran

[צאו]ן אז אעשה עמכה [אחוה נפרדו שדים מאמן

4Q223-224(4Qpap Jub-h) 2iv:8 and shee]p, then I will practise [brotherhood] with you, the breasts have been separated from their mother.

בש]טו על מי[שרים ובן[תו] ך] אחים יפרי [ד

4Q525 (4Q Beatitudes)2-3ii+3:10 with] his[st]aff over the ju[st and among]st brothers he shall discern.

(all translations from DSSEL).

In this small but disparate group of examples, it can be seen that the root is used both literally (eg in 4Q88) and metaphorically in 4Q Beatitudes.

7.4.4 Literal and Symbolic Separations in the Dead Sea Scrolls Using the Roots פרש and פרד

This survey of the use of the Hebrew verbs פרש and פרד in the Dead Sea Scrolls has shown that it is possible to trace a line of their usage back to their appearances in the Hebrew Bible. Both there (see Chapter 3), and in the scrolls from Qumran, the core usage can be discerned where פרש has the core meaning of 'to separate, to clarify or make clear', and פרד has the core meaning of 'to make a division.' This chapter has demonstrated that those meanings have developed in the scrolls texts in particular to mark a place where a boundary has to be maintained in order to avoid the anxiety caused by a blurring of boundaries. For the sectarians at Qumran, who sought to maintain the highest possible levels of purity, any blurring of boundaries would have threatened their very sectarian endeavour. The expression of those processes to avoid the blurring of boundaries was particularly pertinent to the so-called 'Rule Texts' and the communities that accepted them as binding. The structure of the Rule Texts and the communities that adhered to them will be examined in Chapter 8.

8 The Significance of Language Used to Determine Separation in Examples from the Rule Texts

8.0 An Introduction to the Communities behind the Texts under Consideration

Before addressing the texts themselves, a brief word is needed on the differentiation between the D communitie(s) and the S communitie(s). Hempel describes how the underlying requirement to swear an oath to return to the law of Moses with all one's heart and soul can be discerned both in CD15:5b-10a and also in 1QS5:7c-9a (Hempel, 2013, 29). As she explains, this is not to diminish the differences between the entrance requirements set out in CD and 1QS, but rather to point out some remarkable similarities as well.[111] The consideration as to whether the D communities preceded the

[111] Davies argues that the "Judaism of S is a *transformation* of the Judaism of D or, in its own terms, its proper fulfilment, its final maturity. Simply put, S represents the Judaism of D in which an interim devotion, valid for the "period of wrath", to the correctly interpreted Mosaic law shares authority with a charismatic leader

S, or vice-versa, continues to be a matter of scholarly debate. Whilst I am convinced by Davies' (2000) argument that the Judaism of the S communities was a transformation of that of D, Regev (2007) is amongst those who suggest that an analysis of structure and organization leads to the conclusion that the *yahad* emerged before the Damascus Covenant. He suggests that the *yahad* preceded the more organizationally complex Damascus movement with its various camps. Both positions have their merits. Schofield's (2009) description of the communities as "radial-dialogic" is an important reminder that, whilst boundaried, they didn't exist cut-off from centres of Jewish life such as Jerusalem. The similarities seen in the penal code of both documents has enabled scholars to come to the realization that they may have been using a similar source.[112] It is helpful then, to consider what we mean by the useful overarching title of 'Rule Texts.' The publishing of all the texts from Qumran has brought a realization that the term 'Rule Texts' has greater breadth and complexity than was evident in the early days of scholarly research. Hempel notes that

> While it is certainly still true to say that the Scrolls have revealed a very distinctive type of literature that deals with community organization and shares a penchant for the term *serekh*, the evidence emerges as more complex than customarily indicated. The notion of a genre of Rules is to a considerable extent heuristic with considerable scope for future refinement (Hempel, 2019, 410).

8.0.1 Delineating the Family of Rule Texts

Many scholars have emphasized the necessity to realize that the description of communities and how they lived in the Rule texts is a literary construction and not a 'window on history' so the relationship between the two has to be assessed with awareness of its literary and constructed nature (see for example Metso, 2009, 389, note one). Hempel (2013) introduces the concept of a 'family' of Rule texts at the beginning of her introduction, whilst underlining that this is a heuristic concept to enable us to describe a related group that shares things in common whilst retaining distinctive features. I am indebted to her for the use of this helpful terminology. The awareness that there are connections between different families of text and possible shared sources has encouraged a change in terminology as scholars realized the complexity of the Movement that gave rise to the Qumran texts. To give a small example, the important text known from Cave 1 as the

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believed to be a/the messiah forecast in CD" (Davies, 2000, 36). Whilst others argue in the other direction, that the S texts precede the D texts, that does seem to be an inherent logic in his formulation.

[112] Metso explains that 'The Cave 4 versions of the Damascus Document witnessed by 4QD^{a} (4Q266) and 4QD^{e}(4Q270) includes a section of a penal code which is clearly based on the same text as the one in 1QS. Many of the regulations are identical in both, though IQS contains some that are not found in 4QD$^{a, e}$ (Metso, 2000, 88).

"Manual of Discipline", itself a reflection of a monastic view of the site from early scholars, became renamed as the Community Rule, a less value-laden nomenclature.

Hempel (2013) revisits this grouping and also includes within it the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), the Damascus Document (D) and (4Q265) Miscellaneous Rules. Whilst accepting this definition of the Rule Texts, the examples I have selected to consider in this work, for reasons of space, are those from the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.

8.0.2 An Examination of the Language used Concerning Volunteering to Become Part of the Movement

Much of the consideration [113] about the suitability of describing the Qumranites as a sect is concerned with the appropriateness of such terminology for the ancient world. Even so, there is an element of sect-like behaviour in the requirement of the members to *choose* to leave the wider collective behind them to join the Movement behind the Qumran texts.

The volunteering element at the core of the movement implies a conscious choice, a requirement that would-be members turned away from the external situation in late Second Temple Judaea and towards the opportunities offered by freely volunteering to become part of the movement(s) behind the Dead Sea Scrolls. In her 2007 study of the use of the Hebrew root נדב in the Rule of the

Community Devorah Dimant notes that it can be used both in the *nif'al* and the *hithpa'el* form and occurs only in sectarian texts to designate members of the Qumran community. Her 2014 article develops the link between its biblical use in relation to the cultic arena and its importance at Qumran. She suggests that," The volunteers' pietistic life in the community is comparable to an acceptable free-will offering in a temple-like organization" (Dimant, 2014, 299). Eckhardt (2019) also notes the link with temple-related activities and highlights the fact that, unlike its scriptural usage, the hithpa'el participle form is used in sectarian documents to designate the movement without an object or corresponding verb. The desire to volunteer for a life of greater piety[114] than that of the outside collective of Second Temple Judaea was realized amongst those who wished to affirm a renewed covenant by both a literal and a metaphorical separation.

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[113] In an early commentary on the root NDB in 1QS Fitzgerald (1974) suggests the text of 1Chr29:1-22 may have been in the mind of the writers who adopted the participle form to characterize themselves. Just as the people offered precious gifts for the construction of the Temple, so the sectarians would willingly offer themselves for the construction of a renewed Israel that was committed to greater levels of purity and to returning to the Torah of Moses.

[114] Elliff (2022) links the same root to the Pesher on Numbers 21:18b to suggest the 'volunteers' of the people are the present-day members of the sectarian movement (rather than their founders).

8.0.3 The Psychological Significance of Volunteering for a Life of Greater Piety

I have shown above (section 1.3.2) that Jungian theory, as described by Edinger, required the developing ego of the individual to grow and develop whilst maintaining connection with the Self, the ordering principle of the whole psyche by means of what Edinger called the ego-self axis. If we are to adapt this imagery to understand the development of the nascent sectarian, part of the process of development would require a continuing contact with the Self, represented here by the Torah of Moses accepted by all Second Temple period Jews, whilst beginning to reformulate their experience using the language with the addition of a 'sectarian accent'. The *volunteering* for a pietistic lifestyle allowed the nascent sectarian to follow the path of self-actualisation whilst maintaining the contact with the Self, represented here by the Torah of Moses in the shared understanding of Second Temple Judaism. In Jungian terms, this is the moment of *individuation*, when the individual makes a choice that enables him to grow as an individual whilst maintaining a connection with the collective

8.1 The Need for a Literal and Metaphorical Separation from 'Historic Israel' for the 'Righteous Remnant'

-There is a clear demarcation line here between those within the renewed covenant and those who happen to be born an Israelite.[115]Thus, the term 'Israel' can be used, *even within the same section*, to denote the "true Israel", those within their movement, and also those who have gone astray.

ובמחזיקים במצות אל 13 אשר נותרו מהם הקים אל את בריתו לישראל עד עולם
לגלות 14 להם נסתרות אשר תעו בם כל ישראלvacat

CD-A 3:12b-14

> And concerning those who hold fast to the commandments of God, [13] those who are left of them, God established His covenant with Israel forever to reveal [14] to them secret things concerning which all Israel has erred.[116]

There is a creative tension in the text as the naming of 'Israel' is used within this brief statement both to refer to the sectarians and also to what I have termed 'historic Israel' from whom they have to separate because of their errors. García Martínez (2007) notes that there is a clear distinction amongst the sectarians where just being born of Israel is not sufficient to be included in this covenant and that the very term 'Israel' begins to be used in a new way. In a similar vein, Davies (2010) notes that the essence of a sectarian mentality is both to claim identity with that which went

[115] Baumgarten (2000) notes that D's claim to be the 'true' Israel and thus the proper successor to the pre-exilic collective is underlined by extensive quotations.

[116] García Martínez highlights the fact that 'this new covenant requires not only race but also personal choice and complete faithfulness. This concept of covenant serves to mark off the boundaries of the group not only in respect of the gentiles (who are not Israel) but also in respect of other Israelites' (2007,198).

before, whilst also underlining their differences. Fraade (2011) also notes that the Qumranites regarded themselves alone as the true Israel.

A great deal has been written about the timing of the separation of the righteous covenant community from 'historic Israel.'[117] The use of the term 'Israel' is itself a matter which requires definition within the shifting identities of Jewish groups and sub-groups at the end of the Second Temple period. Davies (2007) outlined the challenges of understanding the term in the context of the textual remnants from Qumran,

> In the case of the Scrolls, in fact, there are three 'Israels' in play: the sect, the discredited entity of the past, a nation punished by exile; and a continuing, equally discredited entity, the contemporary Jewish society outside the sect (Davies, 2007, 33).

The polarized nature of the language used in the scrolls is a reminder of the dictum of Bakhtin and his followers about dialogism. Any speech unit is always in dialogue with what came before and what goes afterwards. The sectarians who heard the text of the Damascus Document would have caught the nuance between the different uses of the term "Israel", they had experienced in their own lives the dialogic interaction in the uses of the terminology. They were, unless born into the sect, volunteers for this pietistic lifestyle who would themselves have previously been part of the discredited entity outside the sect.

The context in which the earlier section of the Damascus Document describes how 'God caused a remnant to survive', helps contextualize this ambivalent sentence. The *first* mention of Israel, those who merited the covenant, are clearly the sectarians who have the benefit of a renewal of the tradition through the inspired exegesis of their leaders, whilst the *second* Israel, who have gone astray are the contemporary outsiders beyond the boundaries of the sectarian collective. I have noted above (section 5.2.5) that the experience of 'reading' for the majority of the Second Temple collective was one in which a literate individual read aloud from a scroll, proclaiming the text to those whose experience was of listening. For them, the dialogic relationship between different sections and word usages would have been their way to understand their own religious life.

Those that wished to be counted as within the boundaries of the sectarian movement had to make a literal and metaphorical move to return to the Torah of Moses, that is to say to both "turn away" from that which is impure and "turn towards" that which is righteous. This is the core meaning of the root שוב as discussed in section 3.3.5 above, the separationfrom thatwhich was sinful was .required before the relationship with God could be reformed

[117] See especially García Martínez and Tigchelaar (2007) where they highlight the complex use of the name 'Israel' to delineate the sect in opposition to what I have called 'historic Israel'.

8.1.1 The Source Material for a Depiction of the Origins of the Movement.

In her discussion of the Admonition from the Damascus Document, Hempel has described four accounts of the origin of the movement (2013, 63-78). In a previous work (Hempel 2000) she delineates clearly the different manuscripts that attest this work, not only Manuscript A from the Cairo Geniza, containing 16 pages and dating from the 10th century, but also the two pages of Manuscript B dating from the 12th century and partially overlapping with Manuscript A as well as the 10 fragments found at Qumran. Whilst some of these are simple one stage accounts of the 'righteous remnant', (see for example CD2:11-12), others recount a more complex community origin in which the early formation was followed by the emergence of a leader or interpreter of the law, for example in the pesher-like interpretation of the 'Diggers of the Well' in CD5:20-6:11.[118]

It seems likely, as Hempel relates, that a simpler foundation story, perhaps going back to the origins of the movement and written at that time, was edited together with a more complex version of movement history by those who simply had more history to relate. For my purpose, I simply note that in each origin story, there is a clear self-identifying of the movement *in opposition* to those from whom they had separated because of the need to nurture a 'root of planting' or a 'righteous remnant' that would fill the land with their descendants.

The essence of a sectarian identity is to find a way to mark boundaries between the movement that they have chosen to become part of, and all those who are outside of this movement. For pre-exilic Israel, the 'other' from which the distance was to be maintained was the gentile nations. In the Damascus Document, the other, is 'historic Israel' outside of their own sect, whom they consider to have erred.[119]

8.1.2 The Symbolic Significance of Sectarian Markers for the Beginning of a Sectarian Movement

It has been shown above that the returnees from Babylonian exile, at least as formulated in Ezra-Nehemiah considered themselves to be the 'true Israel', and their covenant (see Nehemiah 10:1) established a new beginning for those who had *separated* from the peoples of the land (Nehemiah 10:29). This narrative was unusual in that the 'children of the exile' were the ones who took upon themselves the mantle of determining who were legitimate inheritors of the pre-exilic Israel, rather than those who remained in the land. The language of the early part of the Damascus Document

[118] Goldman (2018) shows by her careful analysis of the textual allusions around the reference to Numbers 21:17 that there is what she calls a 'mosaic of artful rearrangement', that supports the pesher interpretation that underlines the significance of the sectarians' ongoing revelation of scriptural exegesis.

[119] Shemesh (2014) notes that the process of return and redemption in the Damascus Document is related to the sect alone, and not to Israel as a whole.

that describes the sectarian understanding of the past follows a comparable path in taking upon themselves the authority to define who may be considered a legitimate part of 'true Israel'. Its purpose is well expressed by García Martínez where he explains,

> The birth of the "shoot of the planting"[120] is the first divine intervention after the punishment. From his point of view, "the remnant for Israel", from which the group was to emerge was still in exile, a situation that would only end with the emergence of the group. This means that the group *invented for itself a historical memory* in which the return of Ezra and Nehemiah does not exist and in which the situation of the exile only ends with the emergence of the group (García Martínez, 2007. 195, italics added).[121]

The verbs of separation that I will be examining have to be considered in this context, the separated movement was part of a reformulated history in which they, rather than 'historic Israel' are conceptualized as the 'true Israel.' The failure of the returnees from exile to adhere scrupulously to the requirements of the Torah of Moses meant that for the sectarians they, as it were, edited them out of their concept of sacred history. [122]

8.1.3 A Psychological Understanding of the Significance of Reformulated History

It is worth considering the impact of 'invented historical memory' on the sectarians' self-perception. The failure of the returnees under Ezra and Nehemiah to adhere to the Torah of Moses caused a crisis of meaning within those who adhered to scrupulous levels of purity. Shem Miller (2019) adds an additional level of meaning in his discussion of cultural memory in the *Pesharim,* equally relevant to a consideration of this reformulation of history in the Damascus Document. Miller notes that memory and identity are inextricably intertwined. We may add to that the psychological level of constructing meaning. If, as perceived by the writers of the Damascus Document, the returnees under Ezra and Nehemiah have failed in their reformation of Jewish life, that has to be addressed in the renewal of historical memory that we can perceive in the Damascus Document.

A psychological significance to this process has been suggested by Davies (2007) who notes there is an editing out of the restoration under Ezra-Nehemiah in the historical section of the Damascus

[120] Tiller (!997) in a careful survey of the use of metaphors around planting notes that it is developed in Isaiah to refer to a restored Israel and becomes an image that the sectarians use to refer only to themselves.
[121] Langille (2014) makes a comparable observation that removal from the space of the impure other (in this case Jerusalem) creates the space necessary for identity dissociation.
[122] Miller (2019) notes that what he calls traditional historiography often reflects an ahistorical view of time. That is certainly the case in the Damascus Document that edits out the return under Ezra-Nehemiah.

document. It is as if the exile had only just ended with the establishment of the sect. Davies suggests that,

> The overwriting might be typological, applying a "canonical" format to the birth of this new "Israel", without denying the historical facticity of the episode, or it might represent a denial that such a covenant was ever really made, that there ever was any other "new Israel". (Davies, 2007, 37)

Davies, in this insightful comment, has noted the 'as if' character of the sectarian view of their own history. If we are to assume that the birth of a sectarian movement is a response to the perceived sinfulness of what I have called 'historic Israel', part of that separation appears to be a denial of that which went before. If we consider the birth of a sectarian movement as analogous to the birth of an individual, the denial of the restoration of 'historic Israel' is a parallel to the denial mechanism described by psychology when the ego, in this case the nascent sectarian movement, refuses to acknowledge external or internal events that are not 'ego-syntonic', this technical phrase refers to things that are not in accord with their values.

For the sectarians that would be their perception that the restoration under Ezra-Nehemiah was a failure. For that reason, it was important for them to reformulate the accepted memories of the significant events of the past. Langille (2014) suggest that this reshaping of important memories such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile serves a psychologically significant purpose, to create a boundary between the elect, the sectarians, and those who are outside of their movement. He uses CD and 1QpHab as specific examples of how the mourning process for the pre-exilic community reshaped the memory of those earlier traumas to position their own communities in the present in such a way that they were perceived as the elect. The 'editing out' of the return under Ezra and Nehemiah can be seen as a response to the sectarian perception that it was a failure, more than that, it was a place of abjection that needed to be rejected for them to start anew with their new beginning as a sectarian collective. The anxiety caused by their failure elicited a defense mechanism, in this case it was denial. The 'shoot of planting' that began the sectarian collective at Qumran acted as if part of Judaean history had been negated. They themselves, through denial of that historic episode, acted as the 'house of holiness' that would end the situation of exile.

8.2. The Use of the Root of Planting Imagery to Separate the Covenanters from 'historic Israel'

This created sense of their own history is expressed in the Damascus document.

> השאיר שארית 5 לישראל ולא נתנם לכלה וּבְקֵץ חֲרוֹן שנים שלוש מאות 6 ותשאים לתתו ביד נבוכדנאזר מלך בבל 7 פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרון שורש מטאת[124] לירוש 8 את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו ויבינו בעונם

[124] It should be noted that the same imagery occurs in 4QD[a](4Q266) and 4QD[c] (4Q268)

CD-A 1:4c-8

> He caused a remnant to remain for [5]Israel and didn't finish them completely and in a time of anger three hundred and [6] ninety years after He gave them into the power of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, [7]He visited them and caused to sprout from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit [8] His land and to grow fat upon the goodness of his land and they understood their sin.

Whether the time of anger was exactly three hundred and ninety years is unlikely, it seems to be a symbolic figure derived from Ezekiel 4:5, Collins (2010) suggests that whilst not a historiographically accurate figure, it does reflect the movement's understanding of their own history. But time was, as it were, of the essence for a group who thought that they were living in the end of days and awaiting the eschaton.[125] It is important to remember with Davies (2010) that the configuration of the past in the Damascus Document is not a reflection of what happened, or at least we can't rely on that perception, but rather a version of collective memory. Fraade (2018) reminds us that the narrative functions rhetorically to enable the sectarians to identify as a group, and so it is not appropriate to use in an attempt to ascertain sectarian origins. Once again there is a discernible element of dialogism in this narrative. Those that heard this 'history' being related, many of them volunteers from the wider collective of Second Temple Judaea, would have understood the dialogic use of accepted Israelite history to facilitate a new language for the sectarians in understanding their own particular version of history.

The beginning of the sectarian collective is described here using images from the natural world, the "root of planting", that will flourish and enable a more positive new beginning. The vegetation metaphor is important as a symbol of hope when used in this way in the scriptural literature, (see for example Psalm 92:15 where the "righteous flourish like a plane tree, he grows like a cedar in Lebanon"). In an early article, Shozo Fujita (1976) notes the use of the planting metaphor in the Psalms of Solomon 14:3-5. Crucially, in terms of the sectarian interest that would develop in this metaphor, it doesn't refer to all of Israel, as in Isaiah, but only to the pious ones of the Lord. He suggests further that the image of the 'righteous plant', used both in Psalms and in First Enoch enabled the communities that cherished these texts to see their own flourishing as one of the most important component events in God's plan for world history. Paul Swarup (2006) shows that the utilization of the 'root of planting' imagery in the Damascus Document and elsewhere in the scrolls draws on imagery from the Hebrew scriptures to enable the sectarian collective to see themselves

[125] Baumgarten makes an analogy with Daniel 11-12 where the author appears to have detailed knowledge of the history of the Hellenistic kingdoms. According to him, ''the term of 390 years is thus not merely typological. Considering difficulties of calculation, in the absence of eras and years of fixed length, this shows remarkable interest in and knowledge of history". (Baumgarten, 2000, 13)

alone as those entitled to the description 'Israel' as a righteous remnant. If the metaphors such as 'root of planting' were to have meaning for the Judaean community, the language needed to resonate with other cherished texts that had the patina of antiquity and authority. These were above all, the five books of Moses.[126] There were 21 Deuteronomy manuscripts found in Cave 4 at Qumran, a reflection of its importance to the sectarian movement. I turn now to a consideration of vegetation metaphors as an image of flourishing or floundering in Deuteronomy 29, a text of significance to the sectarians for its distinction between blessings and curses.

8.2.1 A Psychological Understanding of the Vegetation Metaphor

Deuteronomy 29:17-29 comes after a series of paired blessings and curses in Chapter 28. The one who heeds the commandments of God will be blessed in the city and the field and in the fruit of their body and the fruit of their animals and the earth that they till (v. 1-6). The one who doesn't heed the commandments of God and His statutes will be cursed in all these arenas, and have sent upon him 'cursing, confusion and failure until he is destroyed and perishes quickly because of the wickedness of his actions in forsaking God '(v. 20). The individual is then exhorted (see Ch.29) to make the choices that will bring blessings and not curses. If the right choices are made, as Chapter 30:2-3 describes, using the root שוב, then God will return the people from captivity to their own land. To make the right choice was an existential necessity that avoided bringing destruction upon the individual and upon the land. Those that made the wrong choice knew that they would be exposed to the danger of bringing the curse of the Eternal upon them and are portrayed as representing a 'root that bears gall and wormwood' (Deut 29:17). This metaphor describes that which is bitter and infertile. The use of such a negative image around vegetative life contrasts strongly with the well-known description of the 'root of planting' which occurs in CD 1:7. There are a plethora of images from the natural world to show the blossoming of Israel in the Hebrew Bible. A typical example that illustrates the hopeful and future-facing purpose of such a metaphor can be found in Isaiah 51:3b which describes how God will comfort Zion and "make her wilderness like Eden and her desert like the garden of the Lord." Baumgarten (1989) addressing the link between 4Q500 and the image of the Lord's vineyard traces it back convincingly to Isaiah chapter 5 which describes in verse 7 how the 'vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel and the men of Judah his pleasant plant.' Brooke (1995) has shown that this imagery bears a close association to Isaiah 60:21, which describes a time of restoration from exile when 'all your people shall be righteous and inherit the land forever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.' The

[126] White Crawford (2008) notes that by the second half of the Second Temple period, whilst there was no fixed canon that could be described as 'Bible' the Torah was regarded as ancient and binding in terms of Jewish practice.

language of Isaiah is appropriately adapted for the sectarian notion that *they*, rather than the whole people represent the hoped-for redemption and a blossoming of the renewed covenant. The image of the 'root of planting' also occurs in Jubilees 1:16, a text which itself was of great significance to those who left the textual remnant at Qumran.

This usage of the vegetation metaphor is described by Tiller (1997) who examines all its usage in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as a designation of the righteous. He shows by a careful textual comparison that the metaphor can be used to refer to the righteous at the time of Noah, of the nation of Israel or a subgroup within Israel (such as the sectarian collective). If we trace its usage from Deuteronomy to the Dead Sea Scrolls, it demonstrates what would be called, in Jungian terms, a failed individuation process. I have shown in chapter 1 that the concept of individuation as understood by Jung and post-Jungians requires a successful separation from the mother in order for the individual to grow and develop in the best way they are able to achieve. For the sectarian collective, looking back upon the pre-exile Israel of monarchic times, and what it had become, it was clear that the process hadn't happened successfully. The analogy is between the individual body and the body politic. In their terms, 'historic Israel', as I have described it above, fails the task of individuation, becoming a flourishing fulfillment of the promises of post-exilic restoration. Instead, it fails continually to maintain the states of purity and holiness incumbent upon it. In their understanding, it is only the sectarian collective that fulfills the promise of Isaiah. Because of their vulnerability to a 'failed individuation process', when the hoped-for restoration and renewal had failed to blossom, the sectarians had to be particularly aware of risks from those who were not whole-heartedly committed to their level of purity and holiness. The image from Isaiah 5 of the flourishing of the righteous as being like a 'pleasant plant' and the counter image from Deuteronomy 29:17 of the failure to flourish being like 'gall and wormwood', would have been familiar texts to those who cherished the Dead Sea Scrolls (both the Pentateuch and Isaiah were accepted quasi-canonical literature (see Najman 2009). The dialogic nature of their interaction with the texts heard in their nightly study sessions (see 1QS6:7b-8) would have alerted them to the warning inherent in the contrast of these two texts, the one who appears committed to holiness, but is actually a hypocrite.

8.3 The Danger of the Pseudo-Sectarian

The root שרר is used in biblical Hebrew to mean 'that which is hard' and by extension can mean 'that which is stubborn/firm' (Clines, 2009,480). The abstract noun is only used in its construct form to describe stubbornness of heart. It appears 176 times in the DSSEL and clearly expresses a concept of concern to the sectarians.

והיה בשמעו את-דברי האלה הזאת והתברך בלבבו לאמר שלום יהיה-לי כי בשררות לבי אלך למען ספות הרוה את הצמאה

Deuteronomy 29:18 And it will come to pass, when he hears the words of this curse, that he will bless himself in his heart saying. I will have peace, even though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart, to add drunkenness to thirst.

The use of this construct formation in Deuteronomy and in the Dead Sea Scrolls is a sign of the wariness of those who feared the impact of hypocrisy on their body politic. Those who *seemed* sincere for their own motives but were proven to be disingenuous could have a deleterious impact on their own community/(ties) and so there was a need to exercise great caution. The need to be cautious of the danger inflicted by infiltrators of the small sectarian collective is a reminder of the sense of vulnerability in the wider arena of Second Temple Judaism. Judaea itself felt vulnerable to attack from the military powers around them, a reality that was realized in the Hasmonean wars depicted in Josephus. The sectarians at Qumran and elsewhere were vulnerable to the impact of those with whom they came into contact, either socially or in commerce. In the language of the Jungian concept of individuation, the danger of the pseudo-sectarian is his negativity coupled with invisibility, he cloaks himself in acceptable language and yet is there in the stubbornness of his heart for his own hidden motivation. The very presence of the pseudo-sectarian risks the whole sectarian endeavour being subverted by what Jung called the 'shadow'; the negative part of human nature that is generally kept hidden from others. The presence of this 'pseudo-sectarian', who appears to be one thing but is actually something other, a personification of the shadow, presents a real and present danger to the sectarian boundaries. This lack of clarity can also be noted in the ambivalent use of the denotation of "Israel" in the texts, a description that was inclusive in Deuteronomy has become context-dependent in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Philip Davies (2008) notes the 'as-if' character of how D uses the term 'Israel', it functions as if the restoration under Ezra-Nehemiah had never taken place. The ever-present danger of the pseudo-sectarian and his deleterious influence upon the sectarian collective could be countered by the knowledge that the sectarians believed that they alone had access to both hidden and revealed aspects of the Torah because of the inspiration of the sectarian exegetes (see for example Tzoref 2010).

8.3.1 Distinguishing Between 'hidden' and 'revealed' Matters

The distinction made between hidden and revealed matters has been the subject of much comment in Qumran scholarship. The phrase itself is derived from Deuteronomy 29: 28.

הנסתרות ליהוה אלהינו והנגלות לנו ולבננו עד-עולם לעשות את-כל-דברי התורה הזאת.

The hidden things belong to the Eternal One our God, and the revealed things to us and our children forever, to do all the words of this Torah.

In this verse the 'hidden things' and the 'revealed things' are both expressed using the feminine plural which may have influenced its interpretation.

It is instructive to note that this verse itself is positioned in such a way that it too functions as a mechanism of separation. It comes between the curses of Deuteronomy 29, aimed especially at the hypocrite, a person who is at peace with himself, even though he says אלך בשררות לבי ' I go in the rebelliousness of my heart' (Deut. 29:18), a challenge also addressed in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the choices of chapter 30 where it states, ושבת עד-יהוה אלהיך ושמעת בקלו (Deut.30:2a), 'then you will return to the Eternal One your God and listen to His voice'. In this transitional section from Deuteronomy 29:30, the importance of both the hidden and the revealed things are noted as a stimulus to return to God, the root used here is שוב which becomes significant in the Rule Texts as I will show below. An early and influential contribution from Schiffman claimed that,

> The *niglot* are those laws rooted in Scripture whose interpretations are clear to anyone. The *nistarot*, on the other hand, are those commandments the correct interpretation of which is known only to the sect. The sectarian interpretation of the *nistarot* is the result of a process of inspired exegesis, a sort of divinely guided *midrash*. Study sessions were regarded as a medium through which God made known to the sect the correct interpretations of His commandments (Schiffman, 1983, 15).

Werman and Shemesh (1998) show that the sectarians understood the development of their legal processes as a development of the *nistarot* and that human intellectual scrutiny was an essential part of the process. This somewhat simplistic association of the hidden and revealed matters with commandments has been queried by a number of commentators. For example, Heger (2007) shows by a careful listing of biblical and Qumranic examples that the root סתר is used fourteen times to refer to esoteric matters, whilst there are only two occasions when it appears to be referring to hidden legal matters, so it is used of mysteries more often than legal topics. Tzoref (2010), in a review of the use of the terminology at Qumran and comparison with rabbinic usage, suggests that as well as revelation of mysteries and progressive halakhic revelation, the terms can be extended to refer also to penalties for deliberate/inadvertent or overt/covert sins. She comments upon the obliqueness of the terms and the placing of the verse between the punishments of Deuteronomy 29 and the possible redemption detailed in Chapter 30 as another potential example of the Sin-Exile-Return sequence.

Dimant, in summarizing her understanding of these two terms notes,

> Thus, the interplay between concealing and revealing forms is an essential part of the mentality and ethos of the Qumran community and may explain the often enigmatic and concise formulations of the sectarian texts (Dimant, 2018, 60).

The distinction between those within the community's boundary who were to share in the secret knowledge and those on the outside, from whom it was to be concealed was important for the Qumran movement because 'historic Israel' had the scriptural Torah, described in the Damascus Document as נגלה whilst the 'sectarian Israel' had the additional נסתר, created by exegetical development of the scriptural Torah (Davies, 2000, 33).[127] The essence of the difference, whether associated with mysteries, legal processes or penalties for sin is that the sectarians believed that only they had the ongoing revelation of the hidden Torah. This alerts us to the necessity of examining the use of the term 'Israel' when it occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls. It needs to be determined by context whether it refers to 'historic Israel', the sect itself or the eschatological future when the two would be united.

The understanding within the movement that there was *both* a revealed tradition *and* a hidden one, only accessible to their own interpretations, introduced the possibility of remaking the boundaries, between themselves and those outside as a result of the ongoing sectarian exegesis, the 'hidden' Torah.

The adult recruit learned that his becoming part of the 'in group' and rejecting the 'out group' was through his proper understanding of the texts of his community.[128] The mechanism that enabled the new recruit to function appropriately was to 'walk before God in perfection', and he was able to do that because of his ability to study both the 'hidden' and the 'revealed things', in a way that his group considered appropriate.[129]

Tzoref (2010) notes in her careful summary of the use of the use of the term *'nistarot'* at Qumran that it appears to relate to a process unfolding in history. She notes that the term is used in the wisdom and apocalyptic literature from Qumran to designate, "The revelation to the Community of knowledge about God and how He conducts the world" (Tzoref, 2010, 314). The knowledge of both the hidden and the revealed matters was particularly important for a sectarian collective that understood the importance of timeliness as they believed they were approaching the eschaton.

8.3.2 The Need to Separate at the Appropriate Time in the Damascus Document

It has been noted above that the sectarians believed that only they had access to the hidden aspects of the Torah as well as its revealed ones which were accessible to all of 'historic Israel.' This

[127] Collins explains that, "the claim of revealed interpretation quite openly breaks with the traditions of the recent past and provides a license for the invention of new traditions in the name of revelation and interpretation" (Collins, 2010, 22).

[128] According to Collins, "The sectarians claimed new revelation, but the subject of the revelation was the interpretation of the Torah." (Collins, 2012, 456).

[129] Joffee explains that "the Yahad regarded itself as blessed to have such prophets in its very midst. Delivered with prophetic authority, the living traditions of the community were perceived not as supplements to prophetic books, but as divine disclosures themselves" (Joffee, 2001, 38).

understanding meant that they had a particular sensitivity to the need to respond according to the requirements of each age. The clearest example of this is in the *pesharim* which utilise the prophetic tradition and interpret it to refer to their own days. Brooke (2010) describes this as a process of atomistic modernization in which the identification is with the interpreter's community (rather than the historical one in the time of the prophet). Tzoref (2011) suggests that the unfolding of human events at their determined times is at the heart of the Qumran *pesher* genre. Machiela (2012) notes that the source most commonly used as an illustration in this context is 1QpHab7:3-8 which uses a contemporizing exegesis to state that it was to the Teacher of Righteousness that God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets. The focus on understanding at the appropriate time is of note, it appears from the *pesher* that there were aspects of his prophecy that Habbakkuk *himself* didn't understand in their fullness and depth, they had to wait for the advent of the Teacher of Righteousness for 'all the mysteries' to be interpreted.[130] The importance of deepened understanding at a later period of time is exemplified in the statement by Hartog who said,

> The Pesharim reflect a view of history as being divided into divinely ordained periods. Each period resembles and is significant for understanding other periods, and the closer one comes to the end of history, the fuller one's insight into the divine plan behind the course of history becomes (Hartog, 2018,253).

It becomes clear that timeliness was of the essence in their understanding of how and when to act appropriately. The text below shows that this human requirement has to be done *in imitation of God who* knows the explication of all the times and seasons for eternity.

וידע את שני מעמד ומספר ופרוש קציהם לכל 10 הוי עולמים ונהיית עד מה יבוא בקציהם לכל שני עולם

CD-A 2: 9b-10

And He knows the set-up of the years and the number and explication of their periods and all [10] that has happened for eternity and will happen in their time periods for all the years of eternity

The essence of timeliness is to keep the sacred occasions of the year in an appropriate fashion.

שבתות קדשו ומועדי 15 כבודו עידות צדקו ודרכי אמתו וחפצי רצונו אשר יעשה אדם וחי בהם

CD-A3:14b-16a

His holy Sabbaths and the special seasons of His glory and the testimonies of His righteousness and

[130] Dimant (2014) makes the similar point that the prophetic language was cryptic, and its full meaning could only eventually be understood by the particular exegesis of the Teacher of Righteousness.

The commandment to act according to God's will and thus live is a quote from Leviticus 18:5. It is in the context of keeping the laws of sexual purity, something that was extremely important to the sectarians in their meticulous observance. In order to act appropriately with these time-bound events and thus to merit the promise of Leviticus, the sectarians had to enable clear distinctions to be made between themselves and 'historic Israel'. Dimant notes that," Each timespan offers ways of understanding and interpreting God's will, in keeping with the law of that specific time" (2014, 312).

8.3.3 A Psychological Interpretation of the Significance of Timeliness

I have written above, in section 8.3 about the risk of a 'failed individuation process', there it referred to the post-exilic inhabitants of Judaea under Ezra and Nehemiah. They could have been part of the Sin-Exile-Return narrative depicted in the prophets where the return promised restoration and a renewed chance to return to the Torah of Moses and live a life in purity and holiness. That failure, of growth and development in the Judaean collective was so serious that the sectarian recounting of their own history excised that episode completely, as if it had never happened. What their own narrative, particularly in the *pesharim*, describes is the deep need to understand the appropriate time and respond to it. Timeliness is an essential part of the concept of individuation. As mentioned above in Chapter 1, post-Jungian psychology conceptualizes an ego-self axis. The proper development of this requires the ego (in this case of the sectarian collective) to move away from its containment in the self so that it can become the best possible version of itself. If the proper time for this process to occur is not respected and so the response is absent, the appropriate moment is lost and therefore the individuation process will fail and the opportunity for the sectarian grouping to flourish is lost.

8.3.4 Separation between Self and Other at the Inception of a Movement

A new sectarian would need to enact a clear distinction between their own practices and those of outsiders. Baumgarten (2000) emphasizes that all cultures employ boundary practices to distinguish between insiders and outsiders. The familiarity of Pentateuchal texts in particular[131] would give them enhanced authority in facilitating a new understanding of the need for separation between self and other. Fishbane (1999) emphasizes the fact that Torah texts, believed to be divinely inspired, had a particular power and legitimacy in relation to newer textual material.

This is well illustrated by the pesher-like [132]interpretation of Numbers 21:18 in CD-A 6:2b-7a//4Q267 2: 7c-14//4Q266(4QD-a) 3:8-12.

[131] White Crawford (2008) reminds us that whilst the canonical fixing of the five books of Moses had not yet occurred, there were versions already in circulation at the end of the Second Temple period.
[132] I use the phrase 'pesher-like' to distinguish It from continuous or thematic pesharim. Dimant (2009) describes the examples of the genre within the Damascus Document as 'sporadic units of explicit pesharim' (p.374).

ויקם מאהרון נבונים ומישראל3 חכמים וישמיעם ויחפורו את הבאר באר חפרוה שרים כרוה 4 נדיבי העם במחוקק הבאר היא התורה וחפרוה הם 5 שבי ישראל היוצאים מארץ יהודה ויגורו בארץ דמשק [133]6 אשר קרא אל את כולם שרים כי דרשוהו ולא הישבה 7 פארתם בפי אחד

> He raised up from Aaron men of understanding and [3] wise men from Israel[134] and they dug the well.[135] *The princes dug the well and the* [4] *nobles of the people excavated (Numbers 21:18)* The well is the Torah and the ones that dug it are the [5] returners [136]of Israel that left the land of Judah[137] and dwelt in the land of Damascus in [6] that God called them all princes for they sought Him and their [7] honour was not denied by a single mouth.[138]

This multi-faceted interpretation of the Pentateuchal text would come within Tzoref's 2009 definition of *pesher* as being a biblical interpretation known only from Qumran that uses literary techniques to substantiate a conviction about divine reward and punishment. In this complex pesher on the Numbers text, the separation from the 'other' in the inception of the movement is underlined by physical movement. לשוב can mean both to turn away (from sin) and also to return (to the Torah of Moses). Hartog (2018) describes the additional knowledge that the pesher commentators could bring to a scriptural text as they perceived themselves to be living in the latter days. He explains that

> Whereas the base text, perceived as it was to derive from divine revelation, is evidently authoritative for its commentators, its author was unable to assess its full meaning. This privilege was reserved for the readers of Scripture in the latter days (2018,106).

The physical change required is underlined by the use of geographical metaphors that indicate distance, the founders of the movement had to leave the land of Judah and move to Damascus. Davies (1990) following Murphy-O'Connor (1974) suggests that "Damascus" in this context refers to the sectarian origins in the Babylonian exile. However, Knibb (1987) suggests that it is a

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[133] Fraade (2022) reminds us that this reference is not generally taken to refer to the actual city of Damascus in Syria, but rather to the place of the community's exile.

[134] According to Campbell, the mention of those who are understanding and wise recalls the phrase in Deut 1:13 where the same terminology is used, thus implying the sect and its leadership are the genuine heirs to Moses and his righteous followers (Campbell,1995, 94).

[135] 'The precise significance of the 4QD reading, which introduces the biblical text with אשר אמר משה is not immediately obvious. While the introductory formula could simply have dropped out of CD6:3 accidentally, it is also possible that CD at this point represents a different edition of the text (Campbell, 1995, 94 note b).

[136] Elliff (2022) suggests, based on the use of the past tense of verbs and comparison with the same phrase elsewhere in D (CD4:2; 8:16 [repeated in 19:29]; 4Q266 5 I 15), that this phrase refers to the founders of the movement.

[137] Bergsma shows that "in the foundational documents of the community, the Qumranites show a marked preference for identifying themselves as 'Israel' or 'Israelites', even though they implicitly acknowledge that, in the present, 'Israel' is a bigger category from which they have come, in which they exist, and for which they exist" (Bergsma, 2008, 187).

[138] According to Knibb, "The passage has something of a self-contained character about it and may have been taken over by the author from an already existing source" (Knibb, 1987,47).

metaphorical name for those who left the prince-priest class in Jerusalem (the land of Judah) to settle in Qumran.

It is clearly also a reference to Amos 5:26-27 where the prophet describes how God will cause the people to go into exile beyond Damascus. Hempel (2000) shows that the writer of the Damascus Document used a version of the Amos 5 text that pictured the place of exile as being actually '*to* Damascus'. This minor editing supports the idea that 'Damascus' used in this way is a symbolic reference to the place of exile, rather than a place name.[139]

8.3.5 The Ambivalent Use of the Root שוב in this Pesher-like Interpretation

Because the ancient Hebrew text is without vowels and the root שוב is ambivalent in its meaning, I have translated the phrase above as "returners", it could be understood as a *physical* return or a *behavioural* return to the Torah of Moses. Iwry (1969) translates it as 'returnees' and suggests that the reference to Damascus refers literally to the city in Syria. Davies (1983) translated it as "captivity of Israel", again a reflection of a connection with the Babylonian exile. If, as suggested by Dimant (2014), there is a resonance with the 'penitents of sin' described in Isaiah 59:20, the use of the root שוב must be considered to be a letting go of something else, a turning away from something that is corrupting. The source text, Isaiah 59:2, describes how the people's sins have caused a separation between them and God. The root בדל is used, a particular focus in my own work. The image is appropriate for those who have turned away from sin as understood from the Damascus Document because they have turned aside from the society of those described in Isaiah, "Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths" (Isaiah 59:7).

The sectarians are 'those that turn away' or those that 'return' from sin, the ambiguity in the Hebrew verb accords well with the ambiguity in the geographical references to Damascus that may be literal or metaphorical. Shemesh (2009) notes the inherent ambiguity in the term *shave Yisrael*. The same Hebrew phrase can mean both 'those that turn away (from sin)', a reference to their spiritual state, and also 'returnees of Israel', which refers to the group's history. He suggests that the two meanings are interrelated. For my purpose I note also that both these meanings for *shave Yisrael* would have particular resonance for those behind the Damascus Document text and the parallels from Qumran because movement away from sin and towards purity is a core part of their self-understanding, highlighted and facilitated by the use of a geographical image. Because of that movement they reconnect with God who is forgiving of those who turn away from sin.

[139] Kister (2007) notes that Manuscript B of CD omits the Amos pesher entirely and uses a different source text from Zechariah 13.

ערמה ודעת הם ישרתוהו ארך אפים ורוב סליחות 5 לכפר בעד שבי פשע

CD-A 2: 4-5a (a description of God) Cunning and knowledge serve Him, He is long suffering and magnanimous in [5] forgiveness to give atonement for those who turn away from sin.

The root שוב is used to describe the renewed compassion from God available to those who turn away from sin. [140]This is the identical Hebrew idiom used in Isaiah 59 to describe those who turn aside from sin and so deserve to be redeemed. Those that 'turn away from sin' are to find a redeemer will come to Zion and that the covenant with God will be affirmed both with them and their seed, a powerful promise to a sectarian collective that saw themselves as the eschatological hope for Israel.

8.3.6 The Significance of Timing in Turning Away from Destructiveness

A further text from CD-A15 describes the necessity to turn away from a particular path of destructiveness. This is not the need to turn to the pure and away from the impure, but rather a need to turn aside completely from that which is wicked. Again, the root שוב is used.

וכן 7 המשפט בכל קץ הרשע [141]לכל השב מדרכו הנשחתה ביום דברו 8 עם המבקר אשר לרבים

CD-A 15:6c- 8a

And this is [7] the rule for all the time of wickedness[142] for each that turns from his destructive way on the day he speaks [8] with the overseer of the many.

The need to turn back from his sinful conduct is to be done *at a particular time*, represented above by the dotted line. For the sectarian, timeliness mattered because his understanding of the exegesis of the hidden Torah could vary from one period to another. Brooke (2013) suggests that the sectarians believed that God had set things in place before creation, and they were approaching the 'end time.' The sense that they lived in the end time or "the time of wickedness" described in CD16: 6c added importance to the need to understand the hidden Torah in a way appropriate to each particular period. In a memorable phrase, Tzoref (2011) describes this as 'performative contemporization', explaining that the use of the language of timeliness brought the concept in the

[140] I have noted above in section 3.2 the helpful reminder from Lambert (2015) that the root SHWB in pre-rabbinic times refers to behavioural change, i.e., turning away from sin, rather than to an inner process that is closer to the rabbinic concept of repentance.

[142] The phrase 'time of wickedness' also occurs in CD6:9-10 and again in CD6:14 where it refers to the need for the sectarians to behave in an exemplary fashion, following the interpreter of the Torah whilst keeping far from anything that would render them impure.

text into the time of the sectarian collective at Qumran. Each of these uses of the root שוב implies a very definite turning aside from a source of sin or defilement.

8.3.7 The Use of Pesher on a Prophetic Text for those living in the End-Time

Prophetic texts such as Ezekiel already had the patina of some authority by the end of the Second Temple period. It meant that an interpretation of a prophetic text to refer to their own need for timely separation from those of lesser purity had a deepened resonance with those who heard it. There was a dialogic relationship with the words of Ezekiel that engaged the auditors at a deeper level, that is to say the vocabulary was already known to them, so the meaning could be considered immediately.

הקים אל להם ביד יחזקאל הנביא לאמר הכהנים והלוים ובני 1 צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל 2 מעלי הם יגישו לי חלב ודם vacat הכהנים הם שבי ישראל 3 היוצאים מארץ יהודה והנלוים עמהם vacat ובני צדוק הם בחירי 4 ישראל קריאי השם העמדים באחרית הימים[143]

CD-A 3:21-4:4c

> As God established for them by the hand of Ezekiel the prophet saying: 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of [1] Zadok who kept the courses of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray [2] from me, they shall offer me up fat and blood. The priests are the returners of Israel,[144] that [3] come out of the land of Judah[145] and those that accompany them. And the children of Zadok, they are the chosen ones of [4] Israel, called by name, that will stand in the latter days.[146]

In this pesher-like interpretation of the prophetic text,[147] minor alterations in the Hebrew have facilitated a new understanding of the prophetic text which can be understood by a contemporizing exegesis to refer to the sectarians. Ezekiel describes, 'the Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok', who stand firm against the corruption of the Israelites who "went astray after their idols, they shall bear

[143] in a careful study of the phrase translated here as 'in the latter days', Steudal suggests that it is "the last of a series of divinely pre-planned periods into which history is divided" (1993,231).
[144] Hultgren (2007) notes in addition it might be translated as the 'captivity of Israel', a link to their origin during the exile.
[145] According to Knibb those that 'went out of Judah' is probably 'best understood as those who left Jerusalem and its immediate environs to settle at Qumran' (Knibb, 87,36).
[146] Liora Goldman relates the function of the Zadokite priests in the Damascus Document text to the prophecy in 1Samuel2:27-36 where the man of God promises that there will be a 'sure house' to inherit the priesthood from Eli because his sons are not worthy. The same phrase 'sure house' is used in CD 3:19, thus providing a link between the two prophecies (Goldman, 2009, 194).
[147] According to Hogetrop "it could be that the Qumran community attributed to itself a privileged place in the Temple service 'at the end of days.' באחרית הימים, as the sons of Zadok, who are 'the chosen of Israel, the men of renown'(CD-A 4: 3-4a) The image of the sure house thus comprises the legal and temple-theological aspects of self-definition"(2009,51).

their iniquity" (Ezekiel 44:15,10). By the addition of the Hebrew particle, ו, meaning 'and', the writers of the Damascus Document have enabled those who stand strong against corruption to be understood as the sectarian movement as conceived in a rather hierarchical fashion with the Zadokites as the 'chosen ones.' [148]Wearne (2019) makes a comparison between the text of Ezekiel 44 and section B of 4QMMT to suggest that the priestly nature of the leaders was relevant in both cases. The prophetic source, that is quoted in detail in the text above contrasts the priestly Levites, the sons of Zadok who kept charge of God's sanctuary in contradistinction to the children of Israel who went astray. The source text in Ezekiel 44 marks a time of renewal, when uncircumcised foreigners will no longer be allowed in the temple. The Hebrew phrase recalls its use in Ezra-Nehemiah (e.g. Nehemiah 13:30) when those that caused impurity should be expelled from the sanctuary. Instead, the priestly Levites, the Zadokites would teach the people how to make a distinction between holy and profane, between pure and impure (Ezekiel 44:23). Cook (1995) notes that apparently the Zadokites held to a more rigorous scheme of holiness gradation than other contemporary priestly groups. That understanding of the Zadokites explains why the terminology was adopted for sectarian use. It emphasizes the opposition between their loyalty to the Torah of Moses and the turning aside of 'historic Israel'. Hempel (2013) notes that the references to the sons of Zadok are largely in the Admonition whilst the sons of Aaron references are only in the Laws. She further notes that the 4QD reference to the sons of Zadok (4Q266 5 i9-19// 4Q267 5 ii) is closer to the original Ezekiel source text for the pesher-like interpretation than the CD4 example noted above. For my purpose, it is important to note the very particular use of the root שוב, to imply turning away from a particular sin. The insufficient attention to purity concerns outlined in the Ezekiel text underlines its suitability for a sectarian interpretation as meticulous attention to purity was one of their core concerns. Goldman suggests that the,

> Discourses of the Damascus Document are literary units of thematic pesharim dealing with the history of a group in possession of the true meaning of the Law, the true understanding of the words of the prophets and a comprehensive account of why and how these interpretations were revealed to them (Goldman, 2018, 393).

These uses of the root שוב relates to a very definite turning aside from a source of sin or defilement. The Zadokite priests who 'kept charge of the sanctuary whilst the children of Israel went astray', to quote Ezekiel 44:15, had the duty to care for the sanctuary, but because of that, they were particularly vulnerable to those who would derail this process, what the Damascus Document calls 'border-shifters'.

[148] Davies (2020) suggests that this use of the Ezekiel text reaffirms the significance of the Zadokites, only they are entitled by birth to be priests. However, the version in CD denies the hierarchy assumed by Ezekiel, instead using the terms 'priest *and* levites *and* sons of Zadok' to convey a historical process within the sect.

8.4 The Separation Needed in a New Movement Aware of its own Vulnerability

This self-defined movement of volunteers shows awareness of its own vulnerability, particularly at the beginning of their movement when those who would lead Israel astray, 'border-shifters' in the language of CD, could destroy the purity of life sought by those who would return to the commandments of God. Hogeterp (2008) notes that the image of moving the boundaries can also be found in the Damascus Document texts.

ובקץ חרבן הארץ עמדו מַסִיגֵי הַגְבוּל ויתעו את ישראל 21 ותישם הארץ כי דברו סרה על מצות אל ביד משה וגם 1 במשיחי הקודש וינבאו שקר להשיב את ישראל מאחר 2 אל

CD-A 5:20-6 :2a

> And in the time of the destruction of the land, there arose boundary shifters and they caused Israel to err and [21] the land was devastated for they spoke rebellion against the commandments of God by the hand of Moses and also against His holy 1 anointed ones and they prophesied falsehood to turn Israel aside from after 2 God.

The phrase 'boundary shifters' comes from Hosea 5:10 where it is part of a searing indictment of the princes of Judah for their treachery against God. The prophetic text would have had particular resonance for those that heard it, as already an acknowledged part of the scriptural tradition. In Hosea Chapter 5, there is a condemnation of those false prophets who lead the people astray,[149] and so it is a useful echo for the sectarian text, in which the root שוב is used in a negative sense, illustrating its flexibility and ambiguity. Not only can it mean 'to turn' and 'to return', it also can be used in a negative sense 'to turn away from', understood in this context as 'turning away from good and towards evil'. The fact that this text from the Damascus Document echoes the use of the same phrase in Hosea 5 reminds us of the Bakhtinian insistence on 'dialogics', each text was in dialogue with what was there before and what would come afterwards. I suggest that this dialogic relationship was particularly significant in the late Second Temple period when most people *heard* their sacred texts recited by another rather than reading them themselves.

The language of Hosea 5 resonates with the concerns of the Damascus Document, verse 4 notes

לא יתנו מעלליהם לשוב אל-אלהיהם כי רוח זְנוּנִים בקרבם ואת-יהוה לא ידעו

Their actions do not permit them to return to their God; for the spirit of harlotry is in their midst, and they have not known the Eternal One.

[149]Goldman (2018) shows how the danger of those who 'shift the boundaries', the false prophets is underlined by what she calls an 'integrative pesher' that recalls the language of Deut 19:14 and Zeph 1:6.

The root שוב is used here, as well as the root זנה, noted by a dotted underlined, which shows the prophetic concern, typified in Hosea, for sexual impropriety symbolizing a break in their relationship with God.

A pattern emerges, that I will address from a psychological perspective of the 'internal opponent', who leads the sectarian astray. Such a person presents an ongoing danger because they tempt the sectarian to transgress boundaries that are there to help them stay within the proper boundaries of one who wishes to 'volunteer to return to the Torah of Moses.' It is what Jung referred to as 'the shadow'. He notes that,

> Although with insight and goodwill, the shadow can to some extent be assimilated into the conscious personality, experience shows that there are certain features which offer the most obstinate resistance to moral control and prove almost impossible to influence. These resistances are usually bound up with projections, which are not recognized as such, and their recognition is a moral achievement beyond the ordinary (CW9,2 para16).

8.4.1 The Projection of Shadow onto the Boundary Shifters in the Damascus Document

I have noted above the devastation wrought by those described as "boundary shifters', as princes of Judah they had authority to return people to the Torah of Moses, but they chose to do the opposite. They function in the Damascus Document as ideal pegs for projection of what Jung called the 'shadow'. Reluctant to accept their own resistance to boundaries, it is understandable that instead they project their own limitations onto those who incite rebellion. A particular hostility was evident to those within the collective, a closer and more dangerous focus for projection of the 'shadow.' It will be seen in the text below from CD-B 19 that the fear of those who are hypocrites within the sectarian collective leads to the unusual usage of three Hebrew verbs together to highlight their danger, these are people who 'turn away', 'reject' and 'turn aside' from the proper conduct of a sectarian. The inherent ambiguity in the use of the root שוב allows it to be used in a context that suggests that even those who enter the new covenant can still 'turn away from good and towards evil', rather than 'returning to the law of Moses.'

כן כל האנשים אשר באו בברית 34 החדשה בארץ דמשק ושבו ויבגדו ויסורו מבאר
מים חיים[150] 35 לא יחשבו בסוד עם ובכתבם לא יכתבו

CD-B 19:33b-35b

[150] The same phrase 'a well of living waters' is used in Song of Songs 4:15, understood as depicting the loving relationship between God and the Jewish people. The same chapter depicts the lover asking his bride to 'come with me from Lebanon', an intriguing echo of the geographical metaphors used in the Damascus Document.

So, all the men who came into the [34] new covenant in the land of Damascus and turned away and betrayed and turned aside from the well of living waters,[151] they will [35] not be accounted in the core of the people or written down in their writings.

The transgression of those boundaries by those who had impure motivation was a genuine concern. Any hypocrisy endangered the community. The use of the ambiguous verb שוב suggests the need to examine the motivations of those who entered into the new covenant in the land of Damascus. The dotted underline shows the strength of the vocabulary used to condemn those were threats from *within* the sectarian collective. Their betrayal was to be further condemned because they might influence others.

8.5 A Psychological Interpretation of the Texts of the Damascus Document Suggesting Vulnerability

The texts reviewed in this chapter from CD manuscripts A and B and from parallel texts from Cave 4 demonstrate the vulnerability of a new movement as it begins to establish itself. They display the need for there to be in place an appropriate defense mechanism to protect those who wish to act with purity to fulfil the Torah of Moses. The texts demonstrate that the mechanism used is 'projection', that psychological process when the characteristics that the ego, in this case of the sectarian collective, can't accept are projected onto the perceived 'other', particularly when that 'other' threatens the integrity of the sectarian grouping(s). Deep concern is evident with the position of the hypocrite or pseudo-sectarian, who appears to have integrity on the surface, but is motivated only by stubbornness of his own heart. Their own interpreters who had access to the hidden Torah as well as the revealed (see 8.3.1) had the ability to enable the sectarians to act at the appropriate time to avoid a failed individuation process (see 8.3.3). The vulnerability of the sectarians as they sought to establish and maintain themselves is evident in their fear of 'boundary shifters' (see 8.4), a term which would resonate for those that heard it with its occurrence in Hosea chapter 5. Such people provided the opportunity for a projection of the 'shadow' of the

[134]The reference to the fountain of living waters is in a dialogic relationship with Jeremiah 2:13 where the children of Israel are castigated for forsaking God, described as a fountain of living waters. It is particularly appropriate in the context of the sectarian fear of hypocrites and internal opposition, those who 'move the boundaries', because the prophet describes how the Israelites dig themselves broken cisterns instead, that can hold no water.

sectarians as the people who would turn aside and betray the new covenant (see 8.4.1).

The Hebrew verb שוב is particularly appropriate to express these concerns because of its inherent ambivalence. In the texts from the Damascus Document quoted in this chapter, it can mean 'to return', 'to turn towards' and to 'to away from', dependent on its contexts. In the next chapter I will examine the use of the same verb in the Serekh Texts.

9 Separation in the Serekh ha-Yahad

9.0 Introduction

The use of the phrase 'Serekh texts' is a heuristic device to facilitate discussion of texts that describe the establishment of particular rules for the community/(ties) who kept the textual remnant at Qumran. As Hempel (2019) reminds us, we need to avoid the assumption that this categorizes whole works, it is not unusual for the phrase *serekh* to describe a *particular* rule rather than a genre of text.

In examining the use of the ambiguous verb שוב in the Serekh Texts, it is important to note that the nature of the groups described in the Serekh ha-Yahad and the Damascus document is somewhat different (see Section 7.0 above), thus the use of the language of separation needs to be examined separately. Metso notes,

> I share the conviction of those scholars who have argued that the Qumran texts reflect the life and thought of more than one community and find it useful to think of these in terms of a parent movement and an off-shoot community (Metso, 2004, 317 n.7).

The publishing of the 4QD textual remains resulted in a flourishing of scholarship that highlighted similarities between the D and S communities. Kapfer (2007) noted the similarities between the admission oath in IQS5:7c-9a and the simple one found in the Damascus Document. Hempel (2010) noted the similarity in genre and form between the penal codes in the two sources. The language of the textual tradition needed to be attractive enough to encourage volunteers for an exceptionally demanding lifestyle as well as reminiscent of the scriptural vocabulary that was a shared experience with the wider collective of Second Temple Judaea.

In examining the texts of an ancient movement, it is important to be aware that they cannot function as windows to an actual historical reality. How much it was a reflection of historical reality and how much an idealised version of what the past had been or what the future might be is unclear. This is well expressed by Metso who says:

> As a whole I see the texts as neither fictional, nor transparently mirroring history. I rather aim at a balanced picture that appreciates the variegated texture of the preserved material (Metso, 2009, 38, note1).

The beginning of 1QS shows a layering of scriptural language with the additional requirements of those within the sect.[152] Those listening would have heard a shared vocabulary of familiar religious language which then enabled them to be open to the added elements, in particular to make a separation between themselves and outsiders. [153]

9.1 The Adaptation of 'scriptural' Language to a New Sectarian Reality

As Deuteronomy recapitulated some of the earlier laws of the Torah, it can be seen as a paradigmatic example of initiating new understanding by the reworking of ancient texts.[154] The work of the Deuteronomists on earlier traditions allowed and legitimized the later expansion and development and renewed understanding of scriptural texts. By rooting their new interpretations in scriptural texts, they enabled those who read or heard them to accept that the new exegesis was hallowed by scriptural authority. The Deuteronomic example is helpful in examining the ways in which sectarian movements might adapt the shared vocabulary of their environment. The gradual accustoming to the use of a 'sectarian accent' in the language of his community would function in a way that moved the new volunteer towards a subtly distinctive use of language that brought him within the new boundaries of his sectarian awareness. Repeated use of terminology that signified those who were within his community and those who were outside would strengthen the boundaries between the two. Scriptural language would give the authority of time-honoured tradition to the establishment of new boundaries between the sectarian and the wider world.

9.1.1. The Use of Scriptural or Biblicizing Language in a Sectarian Context

As early as 1951 Brownlee noted the significance of what he calls 'biblical interpretation' in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Fitzmyer (1961) highlighted the plethora of quotations from the Hebrew scriptures that appear in the Qumran scrolls that had then been deciphered, focusing particularly on isolated quotations. Since that time, there have been investigations too numerous to list (including Elwolde 2000, Mandel 2001, Dimant 2007, Machiela 2012 etc.) on the link between the Qumran

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[152] Newsom, in describing the introduction to the Serekh explains that "The linguistic world, like the social world of the sectarian, is constituted by the paired actions of separating and uniting" (Newsom, 2004, 110).

[153] In a discussion of the gentile king as God's 'other', Newsom discusses the nuances of the term. There she says that "in poststructuralist discussions of identity formation, the other is the devalued half of a binary opposition. What is helpful about these perspectives is that they recognize that identity is always dialogical-the other is necessary for the self to exist" (Newsom, 2011,34).

[154] Levinson, in describing legal innovation in Deuteronomy, says that "They therefore turned to the earlier code in order to anchor their departure from legal convention in the very textual heritage from which they cut themselves free in substantive terms" (Levinson, 1997, 3).

textual remnant and what later became the Hebrew Bible. Another question arose when it became evident that of the remnant discovered, around a thousand works were represented, a disproportionate number were in the Hebrew language, even though the lingua franca of Judaea was by then Aramaic. Gzella (2019) notes that about seven eighths of the extant scrolls at Qumran are in the Hebrew language, but not of a unified type. He described diversity amongst the non-biblical texts of such a degree that the well-known epithet 'Qumran Hebrew' cannot refer to a unified linguistic stage. 'Attempts to imitate biblical literary prose' are also noted (p 193), a fact that is of particular interest in a period when it was assumed that Aramaic was the spoken language in ancient Judaea.

Schniedewind (1999) goes so far as describing Qumran Hebrew as an 'anti-language', in that its archaizing tendency moved the sectarian away from the common language and thus the worldview of his own time.'[155] I would concur rather with Philip Alexander who said that, "What we have in the *Serekh* and the other sectarian texts is probably a distinctive, effective, sectarian form of literary Hebrew, a sort of sectarian idiolect" (Alexander 2003,22). In other words, by their use of a distinctive form of Hebrew, the sectarians developed their own identity, and it became distinguishable from those outside their own group(s).

It is instructive to remember the insistence of Bakhtin that language is inherently dialogic, it is formulated by its interactions and understandings in different historical time periods and between different groups.[156] A Bakhtinian understanding of the Qumran movement would see it as partaking in the "heteroglossia" that was part of the world of Second Temple Judaism, they would use the same words, but accent them in their own particular fashion.

[155] In a response given as a lecture to the IOQS in 2013 Eilbert Tigchelaar questions the use of the sociolinguistic phrase 'anti-language' in respect to Qumranic texts because of their inconsistency, variety, and the fact that they are archaizing whilst the modern examples given in the literature use 'anti-language' to describe sub-groups that create their own linguistic forms. Whilst the Schniedewind neologism of 'anti-language' is helpful in drawing attention to the particular formation of Hebrew in the Qumranic texts, I would agree that the phrase itself is too vague to add real insight.

[156] He explains that "actual social life and historical becoming create within an abstractly unitary national language a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems; within these various systems (identical in the abstract) are elements of language filled with various semantic and axiological content and each with its own different sound "(Emerson and Holquist, 1981,288).

The example below from 1QS1 exemplifies the dialogic nature of the sectarian material. By requiring the volunteer to 'walk before God in perfection', it exists in a dialogic relationship with the scriptural command to Abram in Genesis 17:1 where God tells him to 'walk before me and be perfect'. The same root תמם is used, which could also be translated as 'to be whole'.

The scriptural resonance is given a sectarian 'accent' by its further requirement to love the sons of light, assumed to be the individual's fellow volunteers for a demanding sectarian lifestyle, whilst hating the sons of darkness who may be assumed to be either those who were backsliders from the sectarian fellowship or those who are complete outsiders, what I have described above as 'historic Israel.'

ולהבי את כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל 8 בברית חסד להיחד בעצת אל ולהתהלכ לפניו תמים כול 9 הנגלות לַמַּועֲדֵי תַעֲודָתָם ולאהוב כול בני אור איש 10 כגורלו בעצת אל ולשנוא כול בני חשך איש כאשמתו

1QS1:7b-10

To bring all those that volunteer[157] to do the statutes of God into the [8] covenant of lovingkindness to be as one in the council of God and to go before him in perfection, by all that has been [9] revealed to them at their appointed time and to love all the sons of light, each according to [10] his lot in the council of God and to hate all the sons of darkness, each man according to his sin.

9.1.2 A Psychological Interpretation of the Dialogic Language Used in 1QS1

The language used, as Bakhtin reminds us, is never '*de novo'*, but rather in dialogue with the other shared vocabulary that existed at the end of the Second Temple period in Judaea. The would-be new volunteer for the demanding sectarian lifestyle is supported by the resonance with scriptural language. As noted by Dimant (2014) and others, the root נדב is used in the book of Exodus to denote that which is given as a voluntary donation to the service of the tabernacle. The new sectarian is choosing to cross a boundary into a more demanding lifestyle. They are volunteering to do so at a time when the body politic of the whole of Judaea experienced the vulnerability of being buffeted between more powerful neighbours. In addition to that, the new sectarian volunteer has the additional vulnerability inherent in leaving the collective to pursue a new path. A defense mechanism against this opening of the self to vulnerability was achieved by the psychological process of splitting and projection. What is called by Melanie Klein the 'good internal object', as described above in Chapter 2, is kept within the sectarian collective and the 'bad internal object' is

[157] Dimant notes that, "the Qumranites appear to have borrowed the participle *mitnadevim*, cognizant of its particular cultic meaning, for they were certainly familiar with the accounts of Ezra and the chronicler. At Qumran, the concrete cultic vocabulary of the biblical texts was transformed into figurative terminology, yet it never lost its cultic flavour," (Dimant, 2014, 293)

projected outside into those that don't meet their high standards of purity. The unusual demand that the sectarians were required to 'hate all the sons of darkness' suggests that this is something more than just the projection of the 'bad internal object' described by Melanie Klein. It comes under the rubric of what Jung called 'shadow projection', when what is unacceptable to the individual (usually their negative characteristics), is rejected and projected onto an outside target which is then hated and rejected.

9.1.3 The Significance of Emotion in Forming Sectarian Boundaries

The use of a particular sectarian idiolect would, with constant repetition, enable the new volunteer to begin to structure his world in a way that conformed to the 'in group' and rejected the 'out group.' It meant that he would become part of the process of interpreting the scriptures in a way that was appropriate for that particular time, and that he would learn the appropriate emotion in relation to outsiders which was to hate them as the 'sons of darkness**.'** In this way his nascent sectarian self would begin to develop secure boundaries**.** Mermelstein (2013) underlines the use of the language of emotion to structure the sectarian's world view with clear boundaries that highlighted the distancing of outsiders and the love due to those who shared their commitment to return to the law of Moses. In a more recent discussion (2021) he notes that the feelings inculcated in the sectarians by the emotions expressed in textual form defined the boundaries of group membership and their relationship with outsiders.

9.2 The Use of שוב in the Serekh ha-Yahad to Signify Turning Away from Evil

I have shown above that the ambivalence of the meaning of שוב means it can be used to signify different responses of the sectarians to those who they wish to categorize as 'outsiders.' [158] This use of the verb refers to the world outside their boundaried community, as well as to those within it who seem to be hypocrites, following the perversity of their own hearts whilst appearing to be committed to the Law of Moses. The form of the verb used in different circumstances is worthy of note. Newsom (2004) notes the prevalence of infinitives in the Serekh and suggests it is a deliberate stylistic strategy to suggest purpose and intention. This suggestion that the infinitive has a rhetorical purpose is helpful when examining its use in 1QS5. It should be noted that the שוב element shown below is present in some *but not all* of the Cave 4 manuscripts which contain parallel material, e.g. it is present in 4Q258 (S^{d}) but not in 4Q256 (S^{b}). Hempel (2021) notes in a chart form the areas in common between the twelve S manuscripts in such a way that it is possible to see at a glance the

[158] Newsom (2008) suggests that the terminology of group formation for the Yahad at Qumran was a self-conscious enterprise to make a clear distinction between 'we'and 'others'.

differences as well. In the material brought below I will be focusing largely on the 1QS text with comparison with other manuscripts from Cave 4 as appropriate.

Column 5 of 1QS begins

וזה הסרכ לאנשי היחד המתנבדים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו

1QS5:1

And this is the rule for the men of the Yahad who volunteer themselves to turn aside from all evil and to cling on to all He commands according to His will.

A comparison with a Cave 4 fragment 4Q258 9:1-2 reveals minor variations, it is described there as an explanation for the maskil

מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה המתנבדים להשיב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול.

2 אשר צוה להבדיל מעדת א[נשי העול

This is the explanation for the maski*l* concerning the men of the Torah who volunteer themselves to cause a turning away from all evil and hold fast to all [2] which He commands and to make a separation from the congregation of the men of perversity

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9.2.1 The Person of the Maskil in the Rule Texts

The addition of the person of the maskil in the Cave 4 fragment highlights the purpose of this functionary in enabling those who 'volunteer themselves' to stay within proper boundaries. The *maskil* appears in many texts from the Qumran remnant, notably the Hodayot, and much scholarly work has been done to track the use of this term in texts from the Second Temple period.

The description of a person who functions as a maskil appears in Daniel chapters 2 and 12 (as well as in superscriptions to a number of Psalms). In a review of post-exilic texts Blenkinsopp describes how

> The Daniel of chapters 2,4 and 5 also engaged in the same kind of pesher-like interpretation as the visionary Daniel of chapters 7-12 and, for that matter, the Qumran sectarians. (2017,212).

Hempel (2019) clarifies the similarities between Daniel and the Community Rule, in particular their concern with interpretation and mystery, noting the use of *pesher/peshar* terminology in both texts. Jost (2019) focuses on different roles and functionaries within the scrolls texts and underscores the hierarchical nature of the community detailed in 1QS. Having made this important point, he highlights the *maskil* as the exception to the rule, the one who is the teacher of the Treatise on the Two Spirits, the supervisor described in 1QS9 and a liturgical performer in the closing Hymn of Praise.

Elisa Uusimaki's (2017) study of the maskil alongside other Hellenistic Jewish sages suggests that the maskil's purpose in the Serekh texts, as outlined in the treatise on the two spirits, was to teach the new sectarian his place in the divine plan. That pedagogical function appears again in the quotation from 4Q258 seen in the previous section. The relevant photo from the Leon Levy digital library doesn't make it clear whether the use of the verb שוב, underlined in the text above is in the Qal form or perhaps in a Hiphil (causative) form. If it were to be in the causative form, it would underpin the pedagogic role of the maskil, he was required to teach the whole collective of volunteers committed to the Torah of how to keep away from all evil.

9.2.2 The Function of the Maskil in Examples from the Serekh Texts

The root בדל, used here in the causative form appears to be requiring something more complex from the maskil, he needs to be aware of the need to keep the boundaries of the collective safe from those who would threaten their whole endeavour, the men of perversity. The very use of the word 'congregation' seems to hint at an unsettling level of conscious organisation amongst this problematic group. A comparable text in column 6 of the Cave 1 document uses the infinitive of שוב to suggest purpose and intent to return to the good and abandon evil.

ואם ישיג מוסר יביאהו 15 בברית לשוב לאמת ולסור מכל עול

1QS6: 14c-15b and if he is able to respond to discipline, they bring him [15]
into the covenant to turn back to truth and to turn away from all
perversity.

The presentation of the rules for life in the community begins by stressing the need to step over the symbolic boundary that separates the volunteer from the wider world of Second Temple Judaism and therefore insulate themselves from bad influences. The infinitive forms of the verbs used in the statements from IQS6/4QS256, 'to turn' and 'to cling to' imply physical movement, thus emphasizing the need to move away from potential bad influences and so to move closer to the sect's interpretation of that which God desires, and to do so with purpose and intention. Newsom (2004) underlines the significant presence of infinitives in 1QS and suggests that their prevalence in the document is to express the 'vocabulary of pure intention' (p.109). To move across that clearly delineated boundary allows the men of the Yahad to avoid the congregation/community of the men of perversity as described in the following section. The root שוב is used here to instruct a turning from a clear evil, whilst the root בדל is used in the context of making a separation from a potential bad influence.

9.3 The Use of בדל in the Serekh ha-Yahad to Indicate Making a Separation from Negative Influences

The hypothesis suggested above, that בדל indicates a separation from a potential source of perversity or bad influence will be examined in the context of its use in IQS and parallel texts.

להבדל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון

> To separate from the community of the men of perversity and to be as one in matters of Torah and of wealth (1QS1b-2a) // 4Q256 9: 2-3

The language of the Serekh ha-Yahad is used to formulate the boundary making mechanisms of the new sectarian. It enables him to understand the need to separate from those who are not behaving in accordance with the desire of the movement behind the text which is "to seek God with all heart and all soul to do that which is good and straightforward before Him as He commanded by the hand of Moses and the hand of all His servants the prophets" (1QSI:1-3). The mechanism that allows for the formation of a sectarian and his discipline within the group is separation. If he is able to separate from the source of distraction, he will then be as one (the root meaning of the word yahad) in matters of Torah and of wealth. If he transgresses the boundaries of his own group, he is again required to separate himself.

המתנבדים יחד לאמתו ולההלכ ברצונו אשר יקים בברית על נפשו להבדל מכול אנשי העול[159] ההולכים 11 בדרכ הרשעה כיא לוא החשבו בבריתו כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשוהו בחוקוהי לדעת נסתרות אשר תעו 12 בם לאששמה והנגלות אשר עשו ביד רמה

1QS5:10-12

Those that freely volunteer[160] together for His truth and to conduct themselves according to His will, the one who puts the covenant upon his soul to separate from all the men of perversity that go [11] in the way of wickedness for they are not counted in His covenant for they have not sought Him or enquired in His statutes to know the secret things [12] in which they have erred for guilty shame or the revealed things that they have done in a high handed fashion. [161]

Those who do not seek God or enquire of Him, according to the source text (Zephaniah 1:6), bring destruction upon the face of the earth, only a righteous remnant will be left. The danger of the men of perversity to the Yahad, who saw themselves as the righteous remnant, is a very powerful one.

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[159] Clines (2009) suggests the word *avel* also has meanings of evil, dishonesty and deceit.

[160] The participle, according to Dimant, "occurs only in sectarian texts and always designates members of the Qumran community" (Dimant, 2014, 291).

[161] In her discussion of the community and its rivals (2003) Hempel notes that a crucial separation has to be made from those who would act with injustice at the moment of appointing people to the council of the community. This is highlighted both in 1QS and parallel texts from 4QS$^{d/b}$.

Levin's 2011 commentary on Zephaniah describes how this verse relates to the conflict in later Persian and Hellenistic times between those that strictly adhered to the worship of YHWH and those who did not do so.

The need to have physical distance from the men of perversity is clearer when the text explains that they are, as it were, a morally corrupting influence, because of their arrogant attitude to the central concerns of the sectarians. Inherent in the text above is the different attitude between the sectarians and the group regarded with suspicion in their attitude to the 'hidden things' that are so important to the functioning of the movement.[162] The men of perversity have erred in their attitude to them, and even their attitude to the 'revealed things' is characterized by high-handedness. Their potential access to the hidden things may hint at the fact that they are not distant from the sectarians, but rather a contrary group within the sect itself.

9.3.1 The Scriptural Basis for Consideration of High-Handedness as a Sin for a Sectarian Community

Reynolds (2013) has shown that the concept of functioning in a high-handed fashion has undergone a change between the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The expression ביד רמה is used only three times in the Hebrew Bible. It should be noted that its literal meaning is 'with a high hand', a phrase that is open to both positive and negative interpretation. In Exodus 14:8 and in Numbers 33:3 it has a positive connotation, referring to the Exodus and meaning something like 'with bold defiance' as the Israelites escaped captivity. The third time that the expression is used, in Numbers 15:30 is much more significant in terms of its development in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The previous section explains that one who commits a wrong act by ignorance can atone for that by bringing the correct offering. However, verse 30 states, 'But the soul who acts ביד רמה, in a high-handed fashion, whether homeborn or a stranger, such a person dishonours the Eternal One, and that soul shall be cut off from amongst its people.'[163] The clear statement in the following verse is that such a person has committed the sin of arrogance and despised the word of God. The use of the phrase in 1QS 5 quoted above, where it is paired with the root בדל, develops this connotation of one who has acted with an arrogant disregard for the norms of his community. Numbers 15:31 condemns the individual who acts with arrogant high handedness as having *despised the word of the Eternal One and broken His commandment*, for that sin he suffers the punishment of *karet,* that his soul shall be

[162] According to Vanderkam, "in the parlance of the group 'hidden things' refers to what they alone had divined from the Scriptures, matters to which all others from Israel were blind" (Vanderkam, 1998, 48).
[163] Reynolds cites 14 occurrences in Qumran literature that develop the Numbers 15 source meaning as that which is done arrogantly or intentionally (Reynolds, 2013).

cut off from his people. A punishment is then detailed for one who gathers sticks on the Sabbath, ignoring the special time and thus incurring a communally enacted death penalty.

The above section mirrors the concern of the Damascus Document of those who appear to share the group(s) meticulous care for the inspired exegesis of the hidden Torah and yet are hypocrites, acting with arrogance in a high-handed fashion to follow their own agenda. David Katzin's 2019 article suggests a parallel between the wilderness testing described in the book of Numbers and the three nets of Belial described at Qumran. He concludes that failing these tests proved that such an individual was of the 'lot of Belial' and as such did not warrant acceptance into the sectarian collective.

9.3.2 Separation of those who make an Arrogant Decision to Move Outside the Norms of the Movement

Column 9 of 1QS also makes a moral distinction between those who err by mistake and those who make a conscious choice to move outside the norms of the community. The same phrase ביד רמה, in an arrogant fashion, discussed above, is used to describe them.[164]

יבחן 2 וכיא על שגגה אחת יענש שנתים ולעושה ביד רמה לוא ישוב עוד אכ השוגג
שנתים ימים לתמים דרכו ועצתו על פי הרבים ואחר יכתוב בתכונו ליחד קודש
1QS 9:1-2

And so, because of one mistake, a person will be punished for two years, but one who does something in a high-handed way shall never return. Furthermore, the one who made a mistake [2] shall be tested for two years as to the perfection of his way and his counsel by the authority of the many, and afterwards he will be written in his appropriate place in the Yahad of holiness.

As noted above, the use of the phrase ביד רמה , has particular nuance in its use in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which develops the use in Numbers 15:30 which focuses on the punishment for an individual who sins intentionally 'with uplifted or high hand.'[165] The Numbers text focuses on the responsibility of an individual and so was an appropriate source text for a sectarian collective that gave great responsibility to their individual members as self-selecting volunteers.

The overwhelming concern of these texts on separation as punishment appears to be the coherence of the community/(ties) of adult volunteers. One who doesn't submit to the discipline inherent in the movement, who goes after the waywardness of his heart or acts in a high-handed fashion, is a threat to their sense of purpose in seeking a life of purity and dedication to the Torah of Moses. The greatest threat seems to be one who claims to be one thing but is a hypocrite in his heart. Such a

[164] Shemesh (2002) notes that the phrase I have translated as 'in a high-handed way' above is missing from 4QS^{e}.
[165] The same phrase is used to denote the Liar, the opponent of the Yahad by the Pesherist in 4Q171.

person threatens the very concept of a movement formed by separation from those with a lesser sense of purity and dedication and so is threatened with the anger of God.

The development of the idea of the unacceptable nature of one who acts with arrogant high handedness is further enhanced by the concentration on timeliness, a person who is to function as a sectarian has to be guided to respond to events and interpretation of scriptural texts at the appropriate time.

9.4 The Necessity for Timeliness in Matters of Separation in the Serekh ha-Yahad

The details of the sectarians' self-perception of their history, as well as their need to act in response to events, are linked both to acting appropriately and *at the proper time*. This is a natural result of the study of the 'hidden things', the inspired exegesis of the Torah appropriate for *that particular time.*[166] The need for responding at the appropriate time is also a core element of the Pesharim that interpret more ancient prophecies to refer to the exigencies of their own time, (see for example, DImant,2009). This awareness of what I have called 'timeliness', the appropriate response to the situation the sectarian collective found itself in, can be seen in the well-known section from IQS 8.

יבדלו מתוך מושב אנשי העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרכ הואהא 14 כאשר
כתוב במדברר פנו דרך ---ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו 15 היאה מדרש התורה א[ש]
ר צוה ביד משה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת

1QS8 13-15

They shall separate from the session of the men of perversity [167] to go to the desert to prepare there the way of Him [14] just as it is written, 'in the wilderness prepare the way ****, make straight in the desert a highway for our God' (Isaiah 40:3). [15] This is the interpretation of the Torah which was commanded by the hand of Moses to do according to that which is revealed from time to time.

In the parallel text 4Q259 (4QS^{e}) the separation and journey to the desert is required to prepare the way of *truth*.

The proof text from Isaiah outlines the time of redemption which comes from the wilderness.[168] There has been a great deal of scholarly discussion about the symbolic function of the desert/wilderness in Second Temple Judaism. (e.g., Talmon 1966, Knibb 1981, Hacham 2010 etc). It

[166] Najman (2010) notes that for the sectarians who heeded the words of 1QS, the wilderness was not only the place for God (where the Torah had been given), but also the place to find the path to God through following the inspired interpretations of the teacher.
[167] 4QS^{d} has the form *anshei*.
[168] Najman addresses the complexity of the imagery of the desert as both a place of exile and one of potential transformation. In looking at a variety of Qumranic texts she says, 'It is clear that the qumranic texts appropriate and continue the use of the word *midbar* as the wilderness of suffering that is a result of God's wrath' (Najman, 2006, 104).

is particularly helpful to note, following Najman (2006) that the desert/wilderness is a complex and ambivalent symbol in the preserved writings of the period, representing in different contexts suffering, purification and the potential locus for revelation. For the sectarians the redemptive process is two-fold, first to separate from the corrosive influence of the men of perversity and then to study new interpretations of the Torah that are revealed to them. The same two-fold focus, separation from those that represent a negative influence followed by sectarian revelation can also be noted in1QS 5.

A comparable text in 1QS9 links together the need to study that which has been revealed *for that specific time*, *as* the task of those who would strive for perfection. In order to concentrate on this process of development, it is again outlined that they have to separate from those who might corrupt them with their perversity. The first section addresses the task of the Maskil:

12vacatאלה החוקים למשכיל להתהלכ בם עם כול חי לתכון ולמשקל איש ואיש 13
לעשות את רצון אל ככול הנגלה לעת בעת ולמוד את כול השכל הנמצא לפי העתים
ואת 14 חוק העת להבדיל ולשקול בני הצדוק

1QS9:12-14

[12] And these are the statutes for the Maskil to walk in them with everything that lives according to the precept appropriate to the time and to weigh up every person and [13] to do the will of God according to everything that is revealed appropriate to the time and to learn all knowledge that is found, according to the time and [14] the statute of the time to make a separation and to weigh up the sons of Zadok

It should be noted that the parallel text 4QS^{e} (4Q259) describes them as the 'sons of righteousness' at this point. There is much scholarship on the focus on sons of Zadok in 1QS, for example Kugler (1996) notes a similar phrase in 1QS 2:19-20 which argues against emending this phrase to reflect the 4Q manuscripts. Instead, he suggests that the later recension of 1QS introduces the sons of Zadok as influential over the sectarian collective, but themselves subject to the decision making of the Maskil.

If we accept, with Schiffman that the sect believed that God's revelation was to be expounded for each generation, then the role of the Maskil requires a continual awareness of that need to develop his interpretations in a timely fashion. What is appropriate to one time in their development as a group may not necessarily be right for a later time. So, the Maskil needs to be constantly aware of the ongoing needs of the sectarians.

וכן להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בכול 19 אנשי היחד לה[ ]כ תמים איש את רעהו בכול
הנגלה להם [ה] היא עת פנות הדרך 20 למדבר ולהשכילם כול הנמצא לעשות בעת

הזאת והבדל מכול איש ולוא הסר דרכו 21 מכול עול ואלה תכוני הדרכ למשכיל בעתים האלה לאהבתו ולשנאתו

1QS9: 18b-21b

And so he should enable them to understand the marvellous true mysteries, together with all the [19] men of the Yahad to go in perfection, each man with his neighbour, according to that which is revealed to them, that is a time to turn the way [20] to the wilderness to enable them to understand everything which is found to do at that time and to make a separation from any man who has not turned his way [21] from any perversity. These are the rules of the way for the Maskil concerning these times as to his loving and his hating.

This second extract from column nine introduces the concept of separation as a movement away from those who might turn them from their pursuit of perfection. The proof text from Isaiah 40:3 is slightly altered to read 'prepare a way *to* the wilderness', implying perhaps that there is a physical rather than just a symbolic necessity for movement to the desert.[169] Part of the mechanism of separation for the would-be sectarian is related to timeliness, appropriate awareness of the needs of different times and to act according to those needs.[170] The use of the root בדל in this context describing the function of the Maskil is preferred over the root שוב which usually means a more negatively valued choice has already been made. The one who must be avoided is he who has not (yet?) separated his way from all perversity. The sectarians demonstrate awareness of the need to be sensitive to time, as well as to their own interpretations that are time appropriate, the Sabbaths and festivals that need to be celebrated in the right way and at the proper time are then properly carried out in imitation of God.

The quote below from 1QS1:13b-15a builds up the terminology of timeliness. It is not enough just to separate from those who are men of perversity, it must be done exactly according to the words of God, the discipline inherent in the sect means that they cannot turn aside from it in any way if their religious life is to remain properly ordered and they are to avoid blurring boundaries.

ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד 14 מכול דברי אל בקציהם ולוא לקדם בעתיהם ולוא להתאחר 15 מכול מועדיהם

And not to step away [14 from] even one of all the words of God in their age and not to bring

[169] According to Brooke, "The likelihood then is that the reader of יבדלו in 1QS8:13 would understand that physical movement was involved" (Brooke, 1994, 121).
[170] According to Schiffman," to the sect, God's revelation was eternal and continual, so that in each generation, the expounders of the law could derive from Scripture the regulations to be followed in their time" (Schiffman, 1983, 16).

Those in a position of leadership in the community have a particular responsibility to make the sectarians aware of their boundaried existence. To prepare for the final age in the time of Belial requires a conscious distancing from those who are less rigorous in their discipline.

בעת 5 [להזאת להבדל] מכול איש אשר לא הסיר דרכיו מכול עול vacat ואלה תכוני הדרך למשכיל בעת[ים]

4Q258 Viii 4c-f:2 4c-5

> At this [5] time to make a separation from any man who has not turned aside from the path of perversity. These are the rules of the way for the *Maskil* at the appropriate times.

[הנמצא לעשות] בעת ה[זאת ו] הב[דל] מכול איש אשר לא הסיר דרכו 2 מכול עול

4Q259(4QS^{e}) IV (4a-d):1

> That which is found to do at this time [171] and to separate from any man who has not turned aside his way from all perversity.

These texts adduce the particular responsibilities for the Maskil as a leader of the movement. It is important to follow appropriate procedure and at the proper time. Timeliness in response to inappropriate activity is one of the requirements for the behaviour of the Maskil. The time orientated texts quoted above underline the sense of immediacy in separating from the men of perversity, because their influence is so deleterious to the purpose of the sectarians. They must behave according to their own understanding of what God requires of them and to do so appropriately and at the proper time.

9.4.1The Scriptural Basis for the Need for Timeliness in Sectarian Understanding

It has long been noted by scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls that their understanding of timeliness was that each purpose has to be fulfilled *in its due season*. Brin (2001) traces this back to the Pentateuchal terminology for the setting out of the seasons of the year eg. Leviticus 23:4

אלה מועדי יהוה מקראי קדש אשר-תקראו אתם במועדם

> These are the feasts of the Eternal One, holy gatherings, which you shall proclaim in their due seasons.

[171] Stern emphasises that the "centrality of the calendars to Qumran culture and more particularly sectarianism was recognised already in the first decade of Qumran scholarship" (Stern, 2010, 232). Whilst he goes on to argue that there is a tendency to overemphasise the importance of calendrical differences, their very presence at Qumran underlines the sectarian sensitivity to timeliness.

Brin notes that the movement(s) behind the scrolls understood that God determined from the beginning the duration of each time unit and that it was the sectarians' responsibility not to stray from God's orders concerning each time unit (Brin, 2001, 219). The clearest manifestation of this is within the Pesharim when the hermeneutic assumes that scriptural texts are susceptible to the discovering of inner meaning for a *different time period*. Shani Tzoref expresses it with admirable clarity when she says,

> The essence of the production of *pesher* compositions is the transmission of revealed truths that are believed to have been encoded in scripture for the purpose of those future revelations about future events and people (Tzoref, 2011, 142).

She alerts us to an attitude to timeliness that is encoded into the pesharim as a genre. The inner message of a prophetic statement would not become evident until the appropriate time for it to manifest, not even necessarily to the prophetic writer. Jokiranta (2012) addresses this issue of Pesharim and sectarian identity with reference to the pesher on Habbakuk . She suggests that what the Teacher knew was the inner message of the prophet that the duration of the final period could not be known, the secret was to retain loyalty to the law as expounded by the Teacher.

9.4.2 A Psychological Interpretation of the Need for Timeliness in a Sectarian Understanding

A post-Jungian interpretation of the concern with things taking place in their due season would relate it to the concept of individuation. Ruth Williams defines this core idea in Jungian psychology with clarity, "Individuation is the process by which we become a separate psychological individual, distinct from all others" (Williams, 2019, 62). The post- Jungian view of the individuation process (see Chapter 1 above) is that it is never completed in an individual's lifetime, it begins with the separation of the infant from the mother in the early months of life and continues as the child matures. If the individuation process is to continue in a positive fashion, Edinger (1972), describes how the individuating ego needs to maintain a contact with the Self, the core of the whole personality, by what he calls the ego-self axis. If this is disturbed in some way, such as by a complex that disturbs its unfolding, there will be a failed individuation process. Part of the healthy development is for the ego to move away from its early containment in the self at the appropriate time for psychic development.[172]

It is possible to see an analogy with the development of the nascent sectarian ego. He (or she) needs to make the separation from the outer world of Second Temple Judaism, whilst retaining their

[172] Rowland (1996,160) defined individuation as "the process of the unconscious creating reality and re-shaping the ego".

connection with it. If this unfolding of the process of individuation is not responded to at the appropriate time, then there will be a failed individuation. In such a situation, the separation from the wider collective will not have succeeded, the language of the would-be initiate will not have engaged in the dialogic process that enables it to begin to approach the world with a newly acquired 'sectarian accent.' The post-Jungian writer Rosemary Gordon, addresses the centrality of separation in the process of individuation when she describes how,

> It encompasses an ever-growing consciousness of one's separateness, the development of oneself as a whole and complete person, relatively detached from personal and social origins and concerned to discover personal values (Gordon, 1998,267).

The post-Jungian use of the term 'self' describes the process of growing into an awareness of one's own separateness from the collective whilst maintaining a contact with it, as well as with the inner core of the individual, usually capitalized as the 'Self'. In an analogous use of the same terminology, Newsom (2004) describes the making of a sectarian and the importance of the language used in formulating the 'sectarian self.' Since the individuation process for a sectarian, what Newsom calls the formation of a 'sectarian self' is so dependent on language, if those in their ambit use language perversely or hypocritically, they pose a danger to the whole sectarian endeavour.

9. 5 The Danger of Those who 'Go after the Stubbornness of their own Hearts' and Function as Rivals

It was stated above that the formation of a sectarian and the maintenance of the boundaries of purity around the community is facilitated by their use and understanding of nuanced language, what I have described as language with a 'sectarian accent'. The nature of such a collective means that they are particularly susceptible to the danger of those who enter in a hypocritical fashion, seeming to adhere to the boundaries required by the sectarians, whilst secretly going after their own desires (see section 8.3). In a collective defined by their commitment to purity, such a person is, as it were, an inner form of corruption and so the threat that they pose has to be dealt with in particularly strong terms.[173]

As explained in the previous section, such a person functions as a counter pole to the process of individuation in the sectarian collective, he can, as it were, 'derail' the whole process if not challenged directly.

אפ אל וקנאת משפטיו יבערו בו לכלת עלמים ודבקו בו כול 16 אלות הברית הזות
ויבדילהו אל לרעה ונכרת מתוך כול בני אור בהסוגו 17 מאחרי אל

[173] Newsom (1990,139) explains that 'such a person poses a mortal danger to the community because he is immune to the rhetoric of distribution, division, separation and purification that stands at the centre of the linguistic world of Qumran'.

The anger of God and zeal for His commandments will burn in him to finish him off forever and there will cling to him all the [16] curses of this covenant and God will separate him for evil and he will be cut off from all the Sons of Light in his apostasy from [17] following after God.

1QS 2:15a-17a

There seems to be a concern that those who look outwardly as if they are genuine members of the group are hypocrites who pretend to share their values but are actually a corrosive influence. It is important at the point of entering the covenant to underline the penalties for those who are insincere.[174] Each would-be member of the movement had to be aware of his own personal responsibility to act with integrity and keep far from hypocrisy.[175] The use of the causative form of the root בדל at this point highlights the importance of this separation in that it will be affected by God.

9.5.1 The Need for Awareness of the Result of Acting with Hypocrisy

The awareness of the wrongdoer about his sin has an impact on the punishment that he will receive. He should be aware of the impact of seeming to act in one way, whilst choosing a different course, in other words deliberate hypocrisy and deception, would have on a self–selecting group of sectarians.

אם ימצא בם איש אשר ישקר 25 בהון והואה יודע יבדילהו מתוכ טהרת הרבים שנה אחת ונענשו את רביעית לחמו

1QS6:24c-25b

If there is to be found among them a man who lies about [25] money and he knows it (i.e.acts consciously rather than by mistake), they should separate him from the midst of the purity of the many and he should be punished by (the loss of) a quarter of his bread.

The most serious punishment is for one who has used the special name of God inappropriately. This involves both making an incorrect choice and something that is very negatively valued. The root בדל is used for the bad choice and the root שוב for the one so negatively valued that it destroys the connection with the council of the community.

וא]שר יזכר דבר בשם הנכבד על כול ה-[ ] 1 ואם קלל או לבעת מצרה או לכול דבר אשר לו [ ] הוא קורא בספר או מברכ והבדלהו 2 ולוא ישוב עוד על עצת היחד

[174] Hempel explains that the covenant ceremony is very much indicative of tensions by devoting considerable attention both to those who refuse to enter the covenant and insincere membership' (Hempel, 2015,17).
[175] Knibb (1987) suggests that the references to the need to separate from the people of injustice in 1QS 5:13b-15a refers to those whose conversion is insincere. Such a person endangered the coherence of the collective.

1QS6: 27b-7:2a As for a person who recalls a matter using the special name of God on any { } [1]And if he swears or blurts it out under pressure or any situation that he has, whether he is reading in a book or blessing they should separate him out and [2] he may not return again to the council of the Yahad.

The hypocrite it seems is a particular danger to the sectarian collective, the very existence of a group of self-selecting volunteers is under threat by an individual who knows the rules of the group and yet chooses to flout them.

9.5.2 Differential Use of בדל and שוב to Heighten Awareness of the Serious Nature of Gossip Against the Whole Sectarian Collective rather than an Individual

A similar distinction is made in the differential punishment made against one who gossips against his neighbour, a risk in any community, albeit one specifically prohibited in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 19:16), and one who gossips against the whole community, thus risking the survival of a sectarian ideology based on choosing to be part of a group of self-selecting volunteers. The consequence of the bad choice is described using the root בדל. The highly negatively valued choice with its stronger implications is described using the root שוב.

והאיש אשר ילכ רכיל ברעהו 16 והבדלהו שנה אחת מטהרת הרבים ונענש
ואיש ברבים ילכ רכיל לשלח הוא מאתם ולוא ישוב עוד

1QS7: 15c-17a

and the man who goes as a talebearer against his neighbour, such a one should be [16] separated for a year from the purity of the many and punished. But the one who gossips against the many, that person should be sent away [17] and never return again.

The undermining of the coherence of those that volunteered for the Yahad seems to have been regarded with particular concern and was punished by banishment.

[ ]כול אשר יהיה בעצת היחד [ ] על מלואת עשר שנים 23 vacat [ ]
vacat ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד ויצא מלפני 24 הרבים ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב אל עצת היחד עוד

1QS7:22-24b

And anyone who is in the council of the Yahad for a full ten years and his [23] spirit is turned to rebel against the Yahad, and he goes out from before the [24] many to go in the waywardness of his own heart such a person shall never return again to the council of the Yahad.

The danger of a wayward heart is particularly evident in an individual who has been part of the collective for ten years, a person who acts to rebel in such a situation is potentially very destructive to the sectarian collective and must be punished severely.

9.5.3 A Psychological Interpretation of the Punishment of the Hypocrites and Gossips within the Sectarian Collective

A post-Jungian interpretation of the punishment narrative against the hypocrites and the gossips in the sectarian collective would examine its function as a projection of what Jung called the "shadow", usually understood as the negative aspects of the human psyche that an individual is reluctant to own. The nature of the sectarian collective meant that the individuals had *volunteered* to separate from the wider world of Second Temple Judaism. The Rule Texts describe the hierarchical and boundaried world that the sectarians had volunteered to enter in order to fulfil their desire to return to the Torah of Moses. Owning their own impatience or lack of integrity was a risky endeavour that may have led to them being expelled, so instead they projected their shadow onto those perceived as 'others', the hypocrites and pseudo-sectarians who it became legitimate to seek to expel. Having thus defined the threat, those who gossip or lie or swear, then suitable action can be taken to separate them from the core sectarian grouping(s). Rosemary Gordon Montagnon notes,

> The discomfort of living with this shadow can be alleviated, if not totally undone, if we can actually unburden ourselves of it by projecting it, by investing it and pouring it into someone else. And who else would be more appropriate for this particular psychic transaction than the enemy. Investing him/her with our shadow qualities makes him even more truly detestable but also frightening. The enemy becomes the person we must really oppose, and who facilitates that delicious sense of righteous indignation (Gordon Montagnon, 2005, 29).

Her comment about the detestable nature of the enemy brings to mind the Kristevan concept of 'the abject', that which elicits a feeling of horror, the place where meaning collapses. For the sectarian collective, their boundaries were a place where meaning was confirmed, and so gossip, talebearing or disingenuous behaviour by a 'pseudo-sectarian' would threaten their sense of identity. Such a person had to be disciplined, so that their corrupting influence was mitigated, or in the worse examples, expelled from the collective.

9.6 The Purpose of Separation within a Sectarian Movement

The above sections have looked at the different uses of two verbal roots שוב and בדל to examine the separation made in the establishment of a sectarian understanding of what the Law of Moses required. The very nature of such self-awareness requires that the volunteers define their own religiosity over against other elements of Second Temple Judaism. As noted above, by choosing to live according to an extra- demanding level of purity, they are going through an analogous process to the biblical Nazirites (Numbers 6), by taking on greater strictures than those usually required of those outside of the priesthood. The text utilizes cultic language to highlight this core value of separation and dedication within the sectarian movement.

The hierarchical nature of the movement facilitated the awareness that it was possible to set up a place for those who strove for greater holiness to have a Temple-like experience, where, just as in the Temple, leadership would be taken by the priests.

בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי 6 היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קדש קדשים ובית יחד
ישראל ההולכים בתמים 7 רק בני אהרון ימשלו במשפט ובהון ועל פיהם יצא הגורל
לכול תכון אנשי היחד 8 והון אנשי הקודש ההולכים בתמים אל יתערב הונם עם הון
אנשי הרמיה אשר 9 לוא יזכו דרכם להבדל מעול וללכת בתמים דרכ

1QS9: 5b-9b
At that time, they should separate the men of the [6] Yahad as a holy house for Aaron to be together as a holy of holies and a place of community for Israel that walk in perfection. [7] Only the sons of Aaron would rule concerning law and money and by their mouth should go out the lot for every set up for the men of the Yahad. [8] And the money for the men of holiness that walk in perfection should not be mixed up with the men of cunning who [9] do not render their way pure to separate from perversity and to go in the perfection of the way.

On each occasion when the requirement to make a distinction between the sectarians and their opponents is expressed, the root בדל is used. The sectarian collective is called 'holy of holies', a phrase that was used in the Torah to describe the sanctuary. It enabled those that heard this familiar phrase to give it what I have called a 'sectarian accent', in other words the phrase set up a dialogic relationship with the texts of their tradition. Himmelfarb (2006) notes the tension in both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community between the ranking of members according to their deeds and the preservation of the traditional prestige of the priesthood. There is a dialogic tension to be noted here too, the language of the cult was well-known in Second Temple Judaism and would have been appreciated by those who heard it with its implications of a deeper commitment to purity and holiness.

9.6.1 The Significance of Language Associated with the Temple and its Relevant Usage in Sectarian Texts

This use of cultic metaphors has long been noticed in Qumran scholarship. For example, the definition of the sectarian collective as those who 'volunteer themselves' for its demanding lifestyle was noted by Dimant as being derived from NDV, a root used in the Hebrew Bible to denote a voluntary donation to the cult. In an assessment of the 'temple-related' language used in the Qumran scrolls and the New Testament, Regev (2018) highlights the use of allusive language in the Qumran examples that he cites.

This chapter has shown the significance of language in formulating a sense of identity for those who had volunteered as adults to become part of a sectarian understanding of Jewish living. I have shown that the initial formation of a sectarian group functioned by moving the volunteers from an understanding of language that would have been shared with other Second Temple Jews, one that is scripturally based, to one that was infused with the vocabulary of separation. Part of the setting up of boundaries between them and those outside their movement was using emotional language, to 'love the sons of light and hate the sons of darkness.' (1QS1:9-10) Such a dualistic terminology has an emotional impact on repetition, a performative function that would strengthen the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. To step over the symbolic boundary between the wider collective of Second Temple Judaism and the sectarian grouping(s) was a *voluntary* choice made largely by adults (though the Damascus Document also refers to families), who wished to return to the Torah of Moses with a heightened purity and devotion. This was a reformulation of the sectarian ego that required an awareness of the boundaries so that they could avoid 'blurring the boundaries' between themselves and those outside. The language of separation used in these texts can be examined using the insights of a postmodern approach, in particular that of psychological exegesis, in order to deepen our understanding of the processes involved.

10 Conclusion

10.0 The Insights Offered by a Postmodern Approach

This work has utilized a postmodern approach that accepts the view that there is no overarching explanation for the ancient texts I have explored. I would concur with Collins who suggested that,

> The meaning intended by an ancient author can, at best, only be reconstructed tentatively, and few historical critics would deny that a text may take on new meanings in changing circumstances (Collins, 2005, 4).

He further supports the principle of analogy, when to understand an ancient text requires sympathetic analogies being made between the ancient and modern situations. However, he does express concern with some of the more radical versions of postmodernism that appear to suggest that there are no limits to what can be considered as a valid interpretation. In doing so, he is in tune with Hendel (2014), quoted in my introduction, who suggests that radical postmodernism opens the door to interpretative anarchy. His criticism parallels the critique by Jagger (2008) of Butler's (1990) declaration that 'gender is performative', she suggests that the statement denies the individual coherence. A more nuanced acceptance of the significance of language in structuring identity is helpful in considering ancient identity categories, only accessible via their description in writing.

For that reason, I have shown that a careful consideration of the new insights offered by a *limited* postmodernism can deepen and broaden our understanding of an ancient text. It needs to be done in accordance with the insights of Gadamer (2010) who stated clearly that every interpreter needs s to own what he calls our 'reception horizon', in other words that we cannot but regard an ancient text from the vantage point of our own historical time. In doing so consciously, we have access to a variety of more recent understandings of interactions with the text that allow a renewed understanding of the work under consideration. I have benefitted in particular by consideration of the insights of queer theorists such as Deryn Guest and the Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin. They encourage renewed layers of understanding when considering a text under review. Guest (2005) defines queer theory as a way of 'unsettling the text.' In her 2018 study of the Book of Judges she uses this commitment to looking at the text in a disruptive way in her consideration of the unsettling story in Judges 19 where the secondary wife is cut into pieces. Guest's exegesis looks from the margin, as it were, the position that queer theory takes, without having to find a way to make that cohere with the traditional understanding of a just God. Bakhtin has been the most important of

these interpreters of the text for my work. Not only because he himself lived most of his life in exile, and so had his own experience of separation from the mainstream but also because of his introduction of two significant terms into literary analysis, heteroglossia and dialogics. Though these terms were introduced in his study of the Russian novel (translated into English by Emerson and Holquist in 1984), they were soon taken up by biblical studies (see for example Boer 2007). The particular importance of his terminology was to remind biblical scholars that most texts are dialogic, that is to say that they take up an interaction between two or more voices. His insight was further developed by biblical scholars (e.g., Buss 2007) to deepen their understanding of the interactions in the text they are studying.

The postmodern understanding that it is not possible to uncover a final, single, objective truth is sometimes traced back to Freud's (1900) assertion that there is an unknowable core to a dream. Freud and the post-Freudians work on unconscious motivations has been important in adding another layer to understanding of textual material, especially after the institution of a programme on 'psychology and biblical studies' by the Society of Biblical Literature in 1991.

10.0.1 The Insight from Psychoanalytic Studies

The most significant work on psychoanalytic understanding of texts came from Freud and the post-Freudians, in particular Melanie Klein, Jacques Lacan and Julia Kristeva. A survey by Rollins (2002), reveals the defence mechanisms of the individual psyche as understood to be denial, sublimation, projection, regression, displacement and reaction formation. These characteristic mechanisms can be considered in examining a text. Melanie Klein hypothesized the two stages of separation from the mother or caretaker in early childhood, the paranoid-schizoid phase and the depressive phase. The maturation to the depressive phase is reliant on the infant understanding that both the 'good object' and the 'bad object' are contained within the same individual (usually the infant's mother). Klein believed that the tension between the two phases and the difficulty in understanding that both good and bad can come from one external individual is a lifelong struggle for the individual as it matures to achieve greater separation from its mother. [176] Her work gave rise to object relations theory which has been used in biblical studies to understand concepts such as the Jerusalem temple as 'good object'(see Cataldo 2017). Part of their differentiation from classical Freudian analysis, was that both Lacan and Kristeva located their area of particular interest in the preverbal stage. For Lacan, who described that as the 'Real', some of its unitary wholeness was lost when the infant separated still further from the mother and entered what he called the 'Symbolic', a stage mediated

[176] Klein's underpinning of object relations theory with the concept of 'good' objects and 'bad' objects and the tension between the paranoid -schizoid position and depressive position offers a perspective with which to read the Dead Sea Scrolls and their separation from the wider collective of Judaea and the Temple.

by language when the child negotiates its relationship with the culture it inhabits. Perhaps the most significant post-Freudian for an understanding of biblical studies is Kristeva, who herself experienced separation from her homeland of Bulgaria when she went to live and work in France. Her most influential work was to introduce the concept of abjection. She says,

> What is *abject*, on the contrary, the jettisoned object, is radically excluded and draws me to the place where meaning collapses. A certain "ego" that merged with its master, a superego, has flatly driven it away. It lies outside, beyond the set, and does not seem to agree to the latter's rules of the game. And yet, from its place of banishment, the abject does not cease challenging its master (Kristeva, 1982,2).

Kristeva herself (1982) introduced a chapter on "Semiotics of Biblical Abomination', when she considered the food laws of Leviticus and the description of food stuffs that were forbidden to the Israelites as 'an abomination'.[177]

Her description of the abject as being 'in a place of banishment', and 'the place where meaning collapses', has been part of its attraction to biblical scholars who seek to deepen and widen their perception of the task. The common presence in the Hebrew Bible of vocabulary associated with abhorrence and abomination e.g., Leviticus 11, Ezra 9, makes Kristeva's description of the 'abject' particularly appropriate for deepening our understanding of these biblical texts. For example, Washington (2003) uses the concept of abjection to explain Ezra-Nehemiah's disgust at the foreign wives who would pollute the 'holy seed' by mixing with it (see Ezra 9:2). The awareness of object relations theory and the Kristevan adaptation to Freud's understanding of the development of the individual was broadened still further by the work of post-Jungian theorists such as Rosemary Gordon and Christopher Hauke.

10.0.2 The Significance of a Post-Jungian Interpretation

Andrew Samuels (1986) definition of post-Jungians as being attached to Jung's classical theories whilst maintaining a critical distance has continued to be of importance in the post-Jungian scholarly environment. Crucially, for my purpose, the work of African-Americans such as Samuel Kimbles (2014) Fanny Brewster (2019, 2020) and Christopher J. Carter (2021) address the cultural complexes exhibited in Jung's own work where, for example, he talks about the 'shadow', the negative side of the personality, as having an affect that causes one to behave 'like a primitive, the passive victim of his own affects' (Jung, 1981, 9). Carter owns his own reception horizon as being both a Jungian analyst and an individual from an African-American-Native American background. He speaks for other analysts from minority backgrounds and their allies in the post-Jungian world when he affirms

[177] See for example Leviticus 11, v 10, 11, 12, 13, 23, 41.

his embrace of Jung's theory but rejects the racialized subtext in Jung's writings. One of the arenas in which Jung's contribution was significant, but also susceptible to criticism, was in his concept of the archetype of the 'shadow'. Jung's work described how the individual unconscious contained a variety of archetypes, that can be understood as being like crystalline structures which can be filled in with archetypal images that are pertinent to an individual. Knox et al (2003) found that modern research identifies archetypes as emergent structures resulting from a developmental interaction between genes and the environment (p.8). The archetype that I have focused upon in this study is what Jung called 'the shadow'. As described above (section 1.1.3), the shadow is the negative side of the personality, one's dark side, where we put all that we don't wish to be. The challenge then is to own the shadow aspects of our personality, rather than displace it onto others by a process known as 'projection'.

10.0.3 The Post-Jungian Embrace of other Psychoanalytic Concepts

I have shown above (section 1.2.4) that as early as 2000 Andrew Samuels acknowledged that his delineation of the parameters of post-Jungian psychology needed to be further clarified as the parameters between archetypal, developmental and classical had changed. Post-Jungian authors such as Hauke (2000) in his introduction to *Jung and the Postmodern: The Interpretation of Realities*, highlights once again that whilst the classical Jungian concepts such as archetypes and individuation continue to be a lens through which to study the psyche itself as well as literature and the arts, there is much that has to be looked at from a new reception horizon more appropriate for the twenty-first century.

The dialogic aspect of postmodernism can be seen in the creative interaction between post-Jungian writers with other psychoanalytic theorists. Hauke (2000) embraces object relations theory and the Kristevan concept of the *abject* to suggest part of the establishment of a good internal object (the achievement of the depressive phase) is associated with the abject experience of degrees of separation, first from the body of the mother and then the additional level of separation achieved through the acquisition of language.[178] Whilst utilizing the additional layers of understanding achieved by integration with other psychoanalytic concepts, post-Jungians such as Ruth Williams (2019) do knit them together with classical Jungian ideas such as individuation.

10.0.4 The Significance of Individuation as a Mechanism of Separation

Individuation was described by post-Jungian Rosemary Gordon (1998) as being 'a process not a state'. She clarifies that it is a process that can take a lifetime when, by accretions of consciousness

[178] This terminology and its use to describe the additional level of separation achieved through language acquisition parallels the Lacanian division between the stages of the Real and the Symbolic.

and encounters with the archetypes such as the 'shadow', a person develops an increasing awareness of their own separateness, relatively detached from personal and social origins, related to the collective but as a separate individual. The Jungian and post-Jungian study of the Bible has seen the development of a relationship between the human being and the divine as a mirror of the developing relationship between the ego and the Self (the centre of the whole personality). This enabled Jungian authors such as Luigi Zoja (1995) to see the struggles of the individuation journey mirrored in the stories of the Hebrew bible. He gives the example of the loss of paradise after the encounter with the snake in Genesis 3 as a paradigm for the birth of consciousness and the sacrifice inherent in each additional acquisition of consciousness.

The texts of the Hebrew Bible have proved to be a particularly fruitful area of research for writers of Jewish origin. It is possible to discern a trend whereby they bring together a psychological and textual approach to their analysis of the Hebrew Bible.

10.1 The Combination of a Psychological and Textual Analysis of the Hebrew Bible

I have shown above (section 2.0.3) that there is a classic Jewish approach to the text of the Hebrew Bible that affirms that 'the verse does not depart from its plain meaning' (Shabbat 63a). Eran Viezel (2019) demonstrated that, though the great medieval commentators such as Rashi and Rashbam focus on the *peshat*, the simple explanatory level, they claimed that the midrashic exegesis was also included in their understanding of the 'plain meaning of the text'. Their work reminds us that Jewish Bible exegesis is at home with ambiguity when both the *peshat* and the midrashic interpretation are true at one and the same time. Lewis Aron (2007) and Philip Cushman (2007) comment upon this ease with ambiguity, suggesting that it facilitates the forging of a link between the insights of the midrash and of psychoanalysis. Both of them are looking for layers of meaning in the narrative with which they are presented, whether that be the text of the Hebrew Bible or the ebb and flow of language in a psychotherapy session.

An additional level of meaning is added to this postmodern approach to the text by scholars such as Moshe Halevi Spero and Avivah Zornberg who have profound knowledge of the functions of classical Hebrew vocabulary as well. For example, Zornberg (2008) uses her knowledge of the Mechilta (the second century C.E. midrash to the book of Exodus), and its suggestion that Jonah had a suicidal wish to get lost in the sea, together with her understanding of the Hebrew verbs of the narrative to suggest that the wordplay on verbs of descent involve him in a withdrawal from consciousness. Aron (2008), in his response to her paper as a psychoanalyst, notes that her analysis of Jonah is helpful to the clinician as it connects Jonah's flight with concerns they see in the consulting room

about trauma, enactment, memory and dissociation (p302). For him, her exegesis of the Jonah story allowed a renewed understanding of psychological distress.

The bringing together of psychoanalytic perspectives with textual analysis is particularly prominent in the analysis of Genesis 3 when the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden, with a flaming sword preventing their turning back is interpreted as showing the necessity to separate or disengage from parental figures as part of the maturation of the human species. Utilizing this psychological understanding of the creation myths, Ricoeur (2009) suggests that separation is of the essence of creation. My thesis is to develop this analogy further, suggesting a connection can be made between the separation necessary for a human infant to develop and the separation at the beginning of a new stage in collective development. To develop this analogy, it is important to combine a psychological analysis with an awareness of the classical Hebew vocabulary to be found in the Hebrew bible. In examining texts from the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature, I am indebted to Rosenberg (2015) who used queer theory to look at the language used in the Hebrew original. He suggested that queer theory allows a 'both-and' approach to complex texts. He adopts a detailed analysis of the Hebrew in texts such as Micah chapter 4 to demonstrate that the *gender* of the verbs, and their switching around from masculine to feminine and back again encourages a more open approach, what he would call queer text criticism. My focus is on the verbs of separation used in the[179] Rule Texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls to trace their meaning through the Second Temple Period and ascertain their nuances and difference in meaning.

10.1.1 Choice of Verbs to be Studied

The focus of this work is to consider the analogy between the repeated experiences of separation that are part of the development of the human psyche from infancy to adulthood and the experiences of separation that are constitutive in the formation a collective such as the people of Judaea in the Second Temple Period. In order to show the differential meaning of the verbs of separation it is important to have clear definitions to consider their use in the scriptural texts as well as the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls. I have used the Clines (2009) definitions that include material from Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as the scriptural texts. The purpose of the examination will be to consider how their dictionary definitions cohere with their use in the texts and whether a difference can be seen in their usage. It is immediately evident that, though they are often translated as 'separate', the nuance of meaning in the Hebrew verbs themselves is different. The root פרש is considered to imply *separation to achieve clarity*, or *to separate out*. The examination of those examples in the texts will consider whether that distinction is maintained.

[179] As described by Hempel (2013, 1).

The root פרד means separation in terms of *being spread out or divided*. The root בדל means to be *divided up*, *one thing from another*. It becomes evident that the choice of verb in each context may have implications for the kind of separation that is being described. This is even clearer with the translation of the root שוב, which means a particular kind of separation, to *return*, *turn away* or even *to turn back*. The texts under examination will be considered for the linguistic and the psychological implication of the choice of verb used to indicate separation.

10.1.2 **Separation in Order to Achieve Clarity**

I have shown above (section 10.0.3) that the post-Jungian interpretation of the psyche accepts the validity of the insights of Klein about the stages of separation in infant development. Even though the child should move from the paranoid-schizoid to the depressive position within the first months of life, the oscillation between the two is part of a lifelong journey to accept the 'good object' and the 'bad object' as being part of one and the same individual. The same process could be described in more classical Jungian terms as the development of the ego-self axis. The stages of developmental separation for the Israelite polity in the Hebrew bible can be examined for the use of the root פרש, to separate in order to achieve clarity. This does cohere with its use in the punishment narratives. from Leviticus and Numbers (see section 3.0.1). The Israelite grouping has to separate from the malefactors in order to achieve clarity as to its own identity, what is acceptable and what is not. The use of the same verb in Nehemiah 8:7b-8 can be seen to be more constitutive for the ego development of the newly developed Judahite grouping after the return from the exile. Verse 8 describes how the Torah must be recited *m'forash-clearly*, followed by explanation so that the people gathered there understand its meaning. Fishbane (1988) notes, by comparison with cognate words in Aramaic and Persian, that the root פרש implies that the Torah was read out carefully and precisely, including its intonation and phrasing. That need to achieve clarity and understanding is appropriate for a polity reliant on the returnees from exile making a renewed connection with the texts of their tradition to ground them in their newly re-established Judahite polity.

This use of פרש to describe separation *in order to achieve clarity* would enable the ego development of the renewed Judahite polity to become grounded and more secure. It functions in such a way that enables a connection to be made with the idealized pre-exilic monarchic Israel, functioning in this image as what, in post-Jungian terms would be called a 'Self symbol'. *Clarity of understanding* of the Torah, the essential meaning of the root פרש in this verse would function to establish a secure ego-Self axis. Timothy Hogue (2018) reminds us that there was what he calls a 'Language Ideology in Ezra -Nehemiah' and the accusation of not speaking Judahite in Nehemiah 13 is an example of language

as an index for ideological commitment. This coheres with the meaning of פרש in Nehemiah 8:7b-8, it was indeed essential for those who heard the words being proclaimed to understand exactly what they meant. The making of clear divisions can also be seen in the usage of the root פרד in the Hebrew Bible.

10.1.3 Separation to Achieve Division

The development of an individual, or indeed or a nation, entails making a division from the body of the mother or from the previous entity. This is reliant upon a *physical* separation as I have shown from an examination of examples of the root פרד in the Hebrew Bible. The two elements exist together in the description in Genesis 25:23 of the struggle of the twins Jacob and Esau before Rebecca gives birth. The struggle is so painful for her that she goes to enquire of God and is told 'two peoples are in your womb and two nations *will be separated out from* your bowels, and one nation will be stronger than the other and the older will serve the younger.' The struggle and the pain remind us of the definition of abjection as the place where meaning collapses and that Hauke (2000) describes birth as the prototypical abject experience. To experience oneself as separate is part of the ego development of an individual or the growing of a collective, but it is often an abject and painful time.

This may be demonstrated by another use of פרד, in the book of Esther when Haman seeks to sow hatred against the Jews by telling the king 'There is a certain people scattered *and divided* amongst the peoples in all the provinces of your kingdom; and their laws and different from those of every other people; and they do not keep the kings laws; therefore it does not profit the king to tolerate them.3:8'. Haman[180] is encouraging a shadow projection upon the Jews because they are ethnically different and so a good focus for 'othering'. [181] The distinctions made by separation cause division by their very nature, and that creates a sense of anxiety that may be expressed by the projection of shadow onto those who are different. The shadow projection in Genesis 25 is onto the firstborn Esau, it justifies the promotion of the younger twin. In the case of Esther chapter 3, the that the Jews are divided amongst the peoples of Persia and Medea makes them the perfect hook for a shadow projection. If the divisions described in these two biblical texts cannot be negotiated as an experience of personal growth, what Jungians call individuation, it is likely that instead the time of separation will be a place of alienation and shadow projection. This can be seen in the denouement

[180] Ben Zvi (2014) notes that othering can be used as a manifestation or instrument in power relations, as indeed is the situation with Haman's exaggeration of the differences of the Jews in Chapter 3 of the book of Esther.

[181] Edelman (2014) reminds us that othering is a process of establishing identity through separation and the establishment of boundaries.

of the Jacob/Esau birth narrative in Genesis 25. The twins grow up alienated from one another and the narrative relates a split twinship[182] where the older twin Esau is his father's favourite because he is a gifted hunter and Jacob is his mother's favourite, described as *ish tam*-a simple or straightforward man. In such a twinship it is common to find the defense mechanism of splitting and projection. This mechanism is acted out in Genesis 25 when Jacob tricks his twin out of the birth-right. The text uses five verbs in a row, the only occurrence of this in the Hebrew Bible, to describe how Esau eats, drinks, gets up, leaves and despises his birth-right. This division between the twins is an example of a failed individuation process, each has lost the aspects of a maturing personality represented by the other. In contradistinction to this failed moment of separation, a different concept of separation, expressed using a different verb, may enable positive changes to be enacted as occurs in the creation story.

10.1.4 Separation in Order to Make Distinctions

I have shown above (section 3.2.1) that distinction between one thing and another is the method by which the creation of the world is achieved, according to Genesis 1. Ophir and Rosen-Zvi (2018) confirm that much is created through separations. The root בדל is used to underline the purpose of separation in order to create correct boundaries for the holy people. The continual requirement to make distinctive boundaries is the work of the priests, as described in Leviticus 20:24c-26. They have the obligation to enforce continued acts of separation between opposites, to ensure that Israel is holy in imitation of God and separated from other peoples. The priestly leadership role requires constant vigilance that the proper distinctions between one thing and its opposite, pure and impure, are continually being achieved and maintained.

Efthimiadis-Keith (2017) notes the use of בדל in Genesis 1 to describe what she calls 'conscious differentiation'. The challenge of achieving conscious differentiation may be seen in the use of BDL in Numbers 16. There it is used both to challenge Korach and his supporters to own their obligation as priests to maintain holiness, and also addressed to the wider community to focus on their own need to achieve conscious differentiation from those who have sinned. They are required to move aside from the rebellious group, who have failed in their priestly task to maintain holiness, so that God can destroy the failed priests. Their function of creating holiness through continued acts of separation has been failed. The danger of such a failed initiation, the failure of the process of individuation, is expressed using the same root in Ezekiel 22:26. It utilizes the same core vocabulary as Leviticus 20, the lack of commitment to making the proper separations between holy and profane, impure and pure has caused a profanation of the name of God. The priestly function,

[182] Helen Freeman (2010) from *The Tapestry of Twinship* unpublished thesis.

according to Ezekiel 42 in its description of the rebuilt Temple, itself a symbol of the Self (see Cataldo 2017), is to make the proper distinctions between the holy and the profane. The root בדל may be used to mean 'to make a distinction', for both good and bad purposes. The nuances of translation of the Hebrew verbs that cluster around the English term 'separation', will be examined below in the uses of the root שוב.

10.1.5 Separation in Order to Turn or Return

The root שוב is especially complex if we consider its possible meanings, to 'turn', 'to turn away from' and 'to return'. It is helpful to recall with Lambert (2015) that its use in the Hebrew bible implies movement or behavioural change, the implied meaning of 'return' as repentance belongs to the rabbinic period according to Lambert. Turning/ returning/turning back may be considered in their behavioural/psychological implications. A post-Jungian examination of its usage in the Hebrew Bible may be examined as a reflection of the journey of the individual psyche along the ego-self axis as it seeks to orientate itself towards God as a symbol of the Self. Edinger (1984) suggests that the Hebrew Bible represents a vast individuation process unfolding in the collective psyche. I will now consider how the verb שוב functions within those parameters. An important fulcrum seems to be its use in Deuteronomy 30:2-3. There, it makes clear the relational part of that journey described as individuation by Jungian and post-Jungian authors. If the individual turns toward God, then there will be immediate reciprocity. Part of that reciprocal relationship is achieved through the medium of words, a usage of שוב evident in Hosea 14:2-3.

The prophets use of שוב shows the necessity for the individual to *turn away from* the negative and make a conscious choice to choose the good, see for example Ezekiel 18:21. In the terminology of post-Jungian psychology, this behavioural change is underpinned by a rejection of the shadow. The prophet underlines that the wicked person who turns away from his sins to do what is lawful and right, will live and not die.

Third Isaiah gives an example of this behavioural use of שוב and the rejection of the shadow in Isaiah 59:20. When 'a redeemer will come to Zion and to the *shavei pesha'-those that turn away from sin*, a designation that will appear again in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The work of turning away from the shadow aspects of sin and transgression and towards the separation necessary for a holy people is highlighted by Olyan (2000). His affirmation that the 'other' challenges the self-definition of the group may be seen particularly in the texts of Ezra-Nehemiah.

10.2 The Significance of Separation in Ezra-Nehemiah

The use of separation narratives to make a distinction between the inner group and the 'other' is of particular significance in the Ezra-Nehemiah narratives. Their focus is on the demand of the returnees from the Exile to avoid admixture with the people of the lands which would render the holy seed impure. Ezra 9:2 is the first occurrence of the phrase *zera hakodesh*, the holy seed, and as predicted above in section 10.1.4 this need for conscious differentiation to make a proper distinction is expressed using the root בדל.[183] The separation demanded using the root בדל in Ezra 9:1-2 marks the rejection of the perceived boundary infringement for the community of the returnees. The force of the ban on exogamy (see Ophir and Ben-Zvi 2018), is expressed using a list of gentile nations, many of whom had long ceased to exist. But their presence in the list was there for a dialogic purpose, to remind the listening Judahites of the abominations of their ancient ancestors when they too committed sacrilege by mixing with the gentile nations.

I have noted above, section 4.3 that there is a 'shadow projection' onto the foreign women in Ezra-Nehemiah. This functions as a defense mechanism for the group of returnees from exile as they seek to re-establish their polity in Persian-era Yehud. The emotional nature of the language used to express their vulnerability and fear and thus the need to project their shadow onto the 'other' would have been visible as a performative interaction for those who witnessed these events. There is a dialogic nature to the choice of words, their resonance with the priestly narratives of the Pentateuch would have had meaning for the Judahites. For example, in Ezra 9: 2, the word used to describe the sin of the people and their leaders in marrying foreign women is *ma 'al-trespass*. Clines (2009) notes that it can mean 'to commit sacrilege, especially as might be redressed by a sin offering'. In other words, the intermarriage crisis is compared with what was usually a priestly sin, failing to make a distinction between holy and profane. The very essence of sacrilege, *ma'al*, now took on a new meaning that had an impact on the whole collective, to marry out was to commit a sacrilege.

In order to underscore the importance of recognizing this sin, the failure to distinguish between holy and profane, Ezra becomes emotional,[184] tearing his robe, falling to the ground before God and declaring he was ashamed of the iniquities of the people (Ezra 9:5-6). Angela Kim Harkins (2010) notes the performative nature of Ezra's display of grief and shame. It has the effect of putting the people who witness his prayer in touch with their own shame. The impact is immediate, Ezra 10:1 relates that whilst Ezra is still weeping, a whole host of Israelites appear before him, themselves

[183] Olyan (2004) notes the use of the root בדל and suggests it is adapted from the Holiness Source.
[184] Mermelstein (2021) suggest that new forms of religious piety in the Second Temple period assumed great significance and became the basis for strife between different groups and the potential for sectarian schism.

weeping, moved to such an extent that they then acknowledge their sin and make a covenant to put aware their foreign wives. A comparison may be made with the actions in Nehemiah 13:25 a-b. There, instead of 'acting in', communicating his own despair as Ezra had done, Nehemiah 'acts out', attacking some of the misbehaving Jews both physically and verbally. His pain is externalised and becomes their pain as he pulls their hair. In an expression of horror, even abjection Nehemiah 13:30a declares 'I cleansed them from all foreigners'. The verb utilized, טהר , is indicative of ritual purity, a reminder that the sin of exogamy has brought the whole community into the taint of blurring the boundary between the pure and impure.

10.2.1 A Defence against Blurring the Boundaries

By the second century B.C.E., around the time of the writing of the book of *Jubilees* (see Vanderkam 2008, Himmelfarb 2006), Judaea experienced increased vulnerability, situated at the crossroads between hostile forces. Studies of the polemic in Jubilees against intermarriage, (e.g. Werman 1997, Olyan 2000, Hayes 2002), note the use of the language of defilement to describe exogamy. The hallowed text of the Pentateuch that condemns a person who 'hands over his seed to Molech' (Leviticus 20:3), the punishment for which is death by stoning or extirpation, has now been extended to anyone who allows their child to intermarry. The vehemence of the prohibition functions as a defence against the blurring of boundaries between Judaea and the gentile nations. The force of the prohibition expressed in Jubilees 30:7-16 has entered the realm of abjection, the sin of intermarriage is 'an abomination, disgraceful and defiling'. Hayes (2002) notes that it is also what she calls *genealogical impurity*, the stain of exogamy is irredeemable, it passes down the generations. We may speculate that the reinforced boundaries, and the condemnation of anyone that blurs those boundaries, reflects the fact that intermarriage was a real threat to the coherence of the Judaean collective in late Second Temple Judaism.

10.2.2 An Additional Defence against Blurring the Boundaries

The defense mechanism described above in the book of Jubilees is *what* would be called in post-Jungian psychology 'splitting and projection' Such was the fear and sense of abhorrence of exogamy, that the experience of it was split away from those who accepted the strictures of Jubilees and projected onto the gentile 'other'. The emotive language of this defense mechanism functioned to reinforce boundaries between those with a particular commitment to maintaining the purity of the Judaean collective and the wider world of Second Temple Judaism, even though they were not aliens but other Jews. Baumgarten (2015) notes that the strictures applied by some groupings at the end of the Second Temple period functioned to create a new class of aliens out of fellow members of the group. This process allowed them to apply the same patterns to relationships with this new group as

had previously been applied to true outsiders. This marks a nascent sectarianism, those who *chose* to volunteer for a more scrupulous adherence to purity laws would need to be consciously aware of the choices before them. Such a choice would require them to cross over a boundary that would be defining for their own identity and avoid the blurring of boundaries with the wider collective. In post -Jungian terms, we can identify this as a move towards individuation, the new sectarian was renegotiating their boundaries with the collective, to become a new sectarian self. Newsom (2004) shows that the establishment of a sectarian self is facilitated through a renewed use of language. We might say to give the familiar language of Second Temple Judaism a 'sectarian accent.'

10.2.3 **Enabling an ongoing Defence against Blurring the Boundaries**

Part of the work of developing what I have called a 'sectarian accent' was to be taught how to distinguish between the sectarian collective and those who didn't share their commitment to a lifestyle dictated by purity concerns. This was enabled by what, in Bakhtinian terms, would be described as a 'dialogic interaction'. The new sectarian had to learn to distinguish between different uses of the same terminology. Davies (2007) notes that the term "Israel', a core element of their vocabulary, could mean the discredited Israel of the past, punished for their sins by exile, the contemporary Jewish society, discredited by their sinful behaviour, and finally the sect themselves. I have shown above, section 8.1, that the term "Israel", is used in CD-A3:12b-14 to mean *both* the sectarians, who had the advantage of knowledge of the 'hidden matters'', revealed to them by their sectarian leaders, and those outside their collective, also named as "Israel" who had erred. Those who had *volunteered* to join the sectarian group(s) were under an ongoing obligation to be in a dialogic relationship with their leaders and with the sacred tradition they had inherited, in order to learn a 'sectarian accent' that would mean they could avoid blurring the boundaries.

10.3 Early Use of the Language of Separation in a Dialogic Interaction

The document now known as 4QMMT, of which 6 copies were discovered at Qumran, originally published in DJD X, was known as 'the Halakhic Letter'. It was described this way as it appeared to be a communication from those within the sect to a leader in Jerusalem, to persuade them to make common cause against a third group who were perceived to be mistaken, particularly about halakhic matters. Much has been written about the genre of 4QMMT, with Fraade (2000) suggesting it might be an intramural educational document. Its lack of clearly sectarian terminology led many to date it to a 'pre-sectarian' or 'proto-sectarian' period in the second century B.C.E. Kratz, the editor of the 2020 edition, cautions against that reasoning as other documents of a sectarian nature also lacked specific vocabulary. He dates it to the late second or early first century B.C.E. Much has been written about the section from 4Q398, frg14-21 that uses the root פרש to describe a separation from

the majority of the people. The Kratz 2020 edition, based on the most complete 4Q394 manuscript is less definitive, translating the section in question "we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people[e/es?]". It places it at the conclusion to the halakhic section B, thus noting the sectarian collective was separating from sources of impurity and abomination. Previous reconstructions had placed this important statement at the beginning of the paraenetic Section C, but its positioning as a concluding statement to the halakhic section functions well with its choice of the root פרש, meaning to *separate for the purpose of clarity*, thus enabling the sectarians to be distanced from the impure practices that lead to abjection.

10.3.1 The Function of Division in Avoiding a Blurring of Boundaries

I have shown above, (section 3.1) that the root פרד is utilized in the Hebrew bible to express division, both literally and symbolically. Dividing up away from those who are a source of contention would allow the sectarians to maintain their purity boundaries and avoid contamination. That seems to be its purpose when used in CD7:11c-13. The text of the Damascus Document at this point is in a dialogic relationship with the prooftext from Isaiah 7:17. Just as the prophetic text warns of a situation of loss and distance between Ephraim and Judah, so the Damascus Document uses the root פרד to underline a division between the sectarians and those who have not volunteered for their life of purity and holiness. The root occurs also in 4Q instruction where it appears to function in accordance with the statement of Wold (2018) that the document approaches learning *through making divisions.*

10.3.2 The Significance of Timing in Avoiding the Blurring of Boundaries

Brin (2001) notes that there is a Torah source for the requirement to fulfil functions in their due season (see Leviticus 23:4). The necessity to respond in a timely function is underscored further by the *Pesher* genre, which offers what Tzoref (2011) calls 'performative contemporization' it enabled the sectarians to understand the unfolding of events at their determined times. Timeliness was important both to understand how to celebrate God's festivals in due season (see CD-A3:14b-16a) and also to appreciate the appropriate time to turn away from the path of wickedness (see CD-A 15:6c-8a). When there is a pesher-like interpretation of who must understand the Torah and behave with purity (see section 8.3.4 and 8.3.7), the text describes those who 'dig the well' (of Torah) or those who sacrifice appropriate offerings as the *shavei Yisrael-returners of Israel*. Each pesher-like section uses the root SHWB to describe the turning away from evil and towards good. This describes a process of self-actualization that is part of what post-Jungian psychology would call individuation. It is a difficult path to take because it requires conscious individual choices from the sectarian as

they become part of the group. There are various named groups that might function to make this individuation process a failure and the Rule Texts name those that seek to blur the boundaries.

10.3.3 The Importance of Naming those who would seek to Blur the Boundaries

I have shown above that the would-be sectarian volunteered to enter their life of increased purity and holiness. Dimant (2014) suggests that the sectarians used the participle *mitnadevim-volunteering*-with an awareness of its cultic context in the Hebrew scriptures. She notes further that only in the Qumran texts is it used as an intransitive verb. The image of the sectarian collective as a substitute for the Temple is clarified by the text in 1QS9:4c-6 "and the proper offering of the lips is like an acceptable freewill offering-at that time the men of the community shall separate themselves as a holy house for Aaron, that they might be united as a holy of holies, and as a house of community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection". This terminology has long been seen as a declaration that the movement had turned its back on the Jerusalem Temple in favour of prayer. I would concur with Hempel (2020) who rejects this binary approach and suggests instead that the cultic language used suggests an ongoing relationship with the Temple tradition which was core to all Second Temple Judaism, together with a commitment to prayer and praise that could be achieved within the Movement at Qumran. Schofield notes that

> The authors of S described their leaders not only with the terminology of temple sacrifices, but also as if they were spatially structured along the lines of increasingly sacred space. Members themselves were ordered according to their relative degree of holiness with the priests in the centre (Schofield, 2019, 535).

This structure, that allowed members access to appropriate degrees of holiness was at risk from internal opponents that would put at risk their desire to 'separate themselves' and 'walk in perfection'. The terminology for these internal disruptors is various and exists in the Damascus Document and its parallels at Qumran as well as in the S tradition. They include the 'boundary shifters' of CDA5:20-6:2a; the 'hypocrites' described in CDB 19:33b-35b as well as the 'men of perversity' who feature in 1QS1b-2a. The 'men of perversity' must be turned away from by the sectarians for an additional reason, they are 'high-handed', even towards the revealed Torah that is the inheritance of all Israel, as described in 1QS 9:1-2. The layering of different descriptors for these perverse individuals is noticeable also in 4Q258 9:1-2 when the maskil has the responsibility of distancing his community from the congregation of the men of perversity. Uusimaki (2017) notes that the maskil marks boundaries and further that he may evaluate a person's position based on their spirit (see 1QS9:14b-16a). It is the maskil as community administrator who has the responsibility to keep them far from internal corruptive influences. The danger of the pseudo-sectarian, the person who appears to be a genuine volunteer for a life of greater piety but

is actually following the stubbornness of his own heart, suggests that such a destructive possibility was a genuine danger to the integrity of the sectarian collective. In a group dependent upon volunteers who separate from the wider collective of Second Temple Judaism because of their supposed commitment to a life dedicated to 'walking in perfection', such proximate enemies threatened their very endeavour.

10.4 The Response to Those who Seek to Blur the Boundaries

This work has examined the different language terminology used to describe the mechanisms of separation in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish literature. It has become evident that the Hebrew terminology used describes different forms and purposes of separation. There is separation to ensure clarity, expressed by the root פרש, separation for the purpose of division, expressed by the root פרד, separation in order to achieve conscious differentiation, expressed by the root בדל and separation that can imply turning and returning, expressed using the root שוב. The examples that I have given from Ezra-Nehemiah, Jubilees, MMT and the D and S traditions of the Dead Sea Scrolls show that there was an increasing arc of separation from those outside of their particular movement(s), such that the rhetoric of separation from gentile others eventually became used of other Jews outside of their collective (see for example Baumgarten 2015). I would concur with Edelman (2014) in her suggestion that 'othering' is a psychological strategy for establishing and maintaining individual or group identity. The way in which it is achieved within the scrolls' texts against the 'boundary shifters', the 'hypocrites' and the 'men of perversity' suggests that these groups performed a particular function within the understanding of the movement behind the scrolls. Boundary shifters, according to CD-A 5:20-6:2a, caused others to err, they spoke rebellion against the commandments of God, and prophesied falsely. The hypocrites, according to CD-B 19:33b-35b are those who turn away, turn aside and betray God, the well of living waters. Such people represent a danger to the collective and cannot be counted within it. The men of perversity, according to 4Q258 9:1-2, functioned as a group and the maskil was instructed to turn away from all evil and to make a separation from the community of the men of perversity.

This layering of the dangers posed by internal enemies suggests that they posed a real danger to the sectarians, particularly those who had an insecure attachment[185] to the strictures of their lifestyle of purity and holiness. A response was necessary to avoid blurring the boundaries with this corruptive influence. The insights of post-Jungian psychology allow an explanation for the response to this series of inner threats to the sectarian collective. The proximate others invoke a feeling of disgust

[185] Knox and Fonagay (2003) describe how Bowlby's attachment theory, based on what he called an 'internal working model', brought the classical Kleinian formulation of good and bad objects into accordance with modern cognitive science.

and horror, they are the place of abjection, where meaning collapses (see Kristeva 1982). They blur the boundaries of purity and holiness set up by the sectarians in their pursuit of being a 'holy house for Aaron, that they might be united as a holy of holies, and as a house of community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection' (IQS9:5-6). The very unity of the sectarians, the core meaning of the term Yahad is threatened by such inner corruptive influences. They allow for what Gordon Montagnon (2005) calls shadow projection. She describes the psychic transaction whereby the shadow qualities (all the negative aspects of the individual that they wish to deny) are projected onto the enemy who may then be legitimately loathed. The function of shadow projection onto the inner enemies of the sectarian collective can thus be explained. The sectarians had made a conscious decision to make a separation from 'historic Israel', stepping over the boundary into the Yahad which they believed alone was the legitimate Israel, benefitting from their inspired leaders who gave them access to the hidden Torah as well as the revealed one. Their own rebellion and perversity and high-handed resistance to the strictures of a demanding lifestyle had to be contained within the punishment narratives of 1QS6-7. It relates the punishments for one who gossiped, lied, insulted his neighbour, dressed raggedly, fell asleep during a session of the many, used God's name inappropriately to name but a few. The intensity of their perusal of each other's adherence to the high standards required by the sectarian lifestyle, and the communal tensions it brought, is obvious in this list of potential punishments for misdemeanours. The most severe punishment, described in 1QS7:22-24b for one who rebelled against the Yahad after ten years, preferring to go after the perversity of his own heart, is that such a person should leave and never return. My study of separation narratives in the Hebrew scriptures and early Jewish literature has been facilitated by insights from postmodernism, which accepts that there is no overarching narrative to explain ancient texts, but rather that a combination of careful textual analysis and the insights of other modalities can deepen and broaden levels of understanding.

10.4.1 The Insights of Postmodern Techniques in Considering the Response to those who would Blur the Boundaries

In utilizing the techniques of postmodernism, I have benefitted from the insights of queer theory which, as Guest (2005) describes, seeks to unsettle the text.[186] It encourages what Pullen, Thanen, Tyler and Wallenberg (2016) describe as taking apart assumptions around power, knowledge and identity. The language of separation that I have examined looks as the different Hebrew verbs and examines anew the purpose they are fulfilling in boundary formation in the texts of the Hebrew

[186] Queer theory offers a new perspective with which to examine the Dead Sea Scrolls texts. It would seek to set aside assumptions about the power dynamic within those described in the extant text and consider, as it were 'the view from the margins'.

scriptures and early Judaism. The dialogic approach associated in particular with Mikhail Bakhtin facilitates an awareness that no text and no context exist in isolation, they are each in dialogue with what came before. The manner of that dialogue can be usefully considered through the medium of psychological analysis. I have shown that the insights of post-Jungian psychology are particularly appropriate in considering the mechanisms of separation in the ancient texts under consideration. The core value of individuation is the purpose of an individual life, as defined by Gordon (1998) who reminds us that individuation encompasses an ever-growing consciousness of one's own separateness. Because she reminds us that individuation is a process, not a state, the individual is both in contact with their inner Self, the core of the psyche, and also negotiating degrees of separation from the collective. That is what Edinger (1992) described as the ego-Self axis which the psyche negotiates as the individual matures. The process of conscious separation that is part of developing maturity is impacted by encounter with complexes such as the 'shadow', described by Freeman (2015) as the unconscious part of ourselves where we put all that we most dislike, which is then experiences by projection onto other people. The reason for shadow projection is the reluctance of the individual to own the negative parts of their psyche.

I have shown that this insight from post-Jungian psychology can add to our understanding of the mechanisms of separation that functioned to avoid blurring boundaries in the texts I have examined from the ancient world. Whilst it should be recalled that the texts are not a window into the ancient communities, but rather a curated view of their functioning from those who wrote and maintained the textual remnants, a productive analogy can be made. It is revealing to consider the individuation process of a sectarian grouping and how it develops in connection with the previous grouping, but along its own path that fulfils its need to turn away from perceived sin and return towards the Torah of Moses[187]. The need for separation to afford clarity and conscious differentiation from those who would impact their desire for purity and holiness can be understood in a more nuanced way with the additional insights of post-Jungian psychology. The tendency of the sectarian groups to project their shadow onto those who would render their endeavours impure highlights what Kristeva (1982) called abject, the place where meaning collapses. Such a blurring of boundaries endangered the individuation process of the group members who had already made a decision to volunteer for a life of greater purity. This need to avoid blurring the boundaries underpins their critique of the named inner groups who risked the coherence of their sectarian collective. This study has shown that additional exegetical methods can deepen our understanding of ancient texts if used in conjunction with careful study of the texts themselves.

[187] The Torah of Moses functioned for the Judaeans as what Jungians call a 'Self-object', a symbol of that which was at their core and their deepest concern.

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