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***Qumran – History and Theology
(Documentary Reconstruction, Exegetical Approach and
Critical/Polemical Development)***

PhD. Thesis – Abstract

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological research from the modern era have brought to light an explosion of theological information that would enrich, with theories and proof, contents that seemed to belong to a matrix of stability up to that moment. It all began between 1844-1859 when it was discovered the thesaurus of manuscripts from the Monastery Saint Catherine on the Mount Sinai. Between 1896-1897, among the old documents and books that were stored in the Ben Ezra Synagogue from Cairo, there were also found two incomplete medieval copies of the Document of Damascus. Another certain and impressive testimony of the past was the discovery in 1945, in the upper Egypt of a real library that contained gnostic writings.

As a coronation of the previous discoveries, new information will shock the theological world. In 1947, in the desert of Judaea, not far from the north-west shore of the Dead Sea, there were accidentally discovered, ancient religious manuscripts, texts partially canonical but also apocryphal, known today as the Qumran Scrolls.

In the context of the evolution of the archaeological discoveries, of the development of the research in the field of theology and of the growing interest towards these scrolls, the research of the Dead Sea Scrolls is inciting and desirable, firstly because they brought to light biblical texts written in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek, these writings having been dated back as far as before the birth of Christianity, very close to the period during which the Holy Scripture was translated into Greek (3rd-2nd century B.C.).

Although the discoveries from the Dead Sea have been, for the past 70 years, the focus of the Romanian theologians, still there were not very many that chose to study them thoroughly. Analyzing the situation more attentively, one may conclude that those years, during which the communism tried to repress besides the Christian faith and living the Romanian theology as well, have left a trace to a certain extent upon the study of the Qumran scrolls within the Romanian space. By contrast with what I have already said, foreign scholars have come into contact with the scrolls more easily and the opportunities that they had were much more numerous,

materializing in a rich series of books, studies and articles. Taking all this into account, I consider it to appropriate bringing up-to-date this subject within the Romanian theological space, where the preoccupation for this subject is still frail.

In the present thesis, called **QUMRAN – HISTORY AND THEOLOGY (documentary reconstruction, exegetical approach and critical/polemical development)** I have tried to investigate the manner in which the explosion of information launched by the discoveries from Qumran generated changes of the theological discourse. The thesis is structured in introduction, four main chapters, each with the pertaining subchapters, conclusions, bibliography and addendum.

In the first chapter, named Historical and Methodological Preliminaries, I present the chronological and historical marks of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the archaeological context of the Qumran discoveries and the archaeology of the site. Known to the archaeologists long before 1947, the Qumran settlement (Hebrew: חִירְבַת קוֹמְרָן) became famous once the scrolls have been discovered. 3 km from the north-western shore of the Dead Sea (31°45'N, 35°26'E), at a distance of 25 km East from Jerusalem and 12 km South from the nowadays Jericho, lay the ruins named Khirbet Qumran by the locals.

Hereinafter the journey of the scrolls is presented, from the Bedouins that found them accidentally to the tables for study of the scholars and the volumes, smelling of fresh ink that we know have access to. I presented in detail the famous caves and their content. Thus, 11 caves contain approximately 900 different scrolls, many of the fragmented, were discovered close to Qumran. These have been numbered from 1 to 11. Besides this, 30 other caves covering 2 miles north and south from the site contained ceramics similar to that discovered in Qumran. The caves 5, 7-10 were found on the clay (marl) terrace. Cave 11, which was discovered by the Bedouins in 1956 contained several scrolls almost as complete as those from Cave 1. Together, the Bedouins have discovered 5 of the caves (1, 2, 4, 6, 11) including the richest and most important materials. The others were discovered by the archaeologists (3, 5, 7-10).

The settlements close to Qumran were not ignored, since a lot of manuscripts have been discovered there as well. Thus we present the sites Ein Feshka and Ein Ghuweir, of which most of the specialists say that they were satellite-sites for Qumran. Also, I presented the archaeological discoveries from the Judaic Desert and Egypt. The first researched discovery was that from Masada (מַצְדָּה), which is a fortress, placed in the Judaic desert, close to the Dead Sea,

approximately 16,5 km South from En-Ghedi. This is placed along the famous African-Syrian tectonic dike, and has the form of a rocky mountain, placed in such a manner that it seems to form a natural fortress. The only documentary sources for the study of the Masada are Josephus Flavius and the archaeological discoveries.

Then follow the discoveries from Nahal Hever, a river that flows in the desert, close to Masada and Ein Gedi into the Dead Sea. On the rocky surface, above the river, two caves have been discovered: “Cave of Letters” (מערת האגרות) and above, “Cave of Exhortation” (מערת האימה). These caves were used as hiding places for the Hebrew rebels during the revolt of Bar-Kokhba against the Romans. The Roman siege camps were built in the superior part of the rocks, above each of the caves. The name “Cave of Letters” was given after the diggings from 1960-1961, when letters and papyrus fragments were found, dating from the period of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

The next place of interest, the archaeological site from Wadi Murabba'at is situated at approximately 18 km South from Qumran, in the North of the Judaic Desert, close to the shores of the Dead Sea, 33 km South from Jericho and 27 km South – South-East from Jerusalem. In the caves from Murabba'at several scrolls were found, including letters that describe the events connected to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt and mention the leader of the revolt, Simon bar Kokhba.

On the other hand, the discovery from Egypt, from Nag Hammadi, where 52 texts were found in a cave, near the ancient Monastery Saint Pachomius, in December 1945 by an Arab countryman, created a stir at that time.

Moreover I present the archaeology of the Qumran site, mentioning the digging that started within the site in 1951 and continued through the years 1953-1956. The biblical archaeology focused its attention and nowadays research on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran community. The first season of the diggings was lead jointly by Gerald Lankester Harding for the Jordan Department of Antiquities and by Père Roland de Vaux for the French Biblical and Archaeological School from Jerusalem. The following digging seasons were conducted by Père R. de Vaux, who also conducted the digging in the nearby settlement of Ain Feshkha in 1958. The results of the research as well as the hypothesis that identified the settlement from Qumran as a sectarian one, fortress, or rustic villa and the occupation periods of the settlement are then presented.

In this first chapter I also present an analysis of the nowadays status of the research of the Qumran scrolls and a brief review of the bibliography, with a short mentioning of the most important Romanian and foreign contributions connected to this subject.

The second chapter speaks about the problem of the Qumran community. Thus, the problem of the identity of this community is approached followed by the manner in which it was organized. Several theories are analyzed regarding the identity of the Qumran community, each one with its arguments. The doctrine of the Qumran community is studied, the relationships between its members and other communities, I analyze their belief in the life after death, the Christhood from Qumran, the importance that the Law had within the life of this group, the manner in which it respects the laws of Sabbath and the ritual for entering the community.

Three of the texts found at Qumran are of utmost importance regarding the identification of the Dead Sea community. I refer to QS (Rule of the Community), CD (Damascus Document) and the Halkhic Letter or 4Q Miqsat Ma'asei ha Torah. The Teacher of Righteousness is identified with the founder or refounder of the sect. The members of the sect believed that God revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness the secrets of the biblical prophecies. As in the case of other historical personalities mentioned by the papyruses, the identity of the Teacher is hidden through the use of an agnomen. There are agnomens for other persons too, such as the Wicked Priest, Man of the Lie, Angry Lion or Kittim. The scholars try to identify these agnomens with known historical persons. For example, they agree with the statement according to which Kittim represents in fact the Romans. However there is no agreement regarding the real identity or the years when these personalities lived. For example, it has been suggested that the Wicked Priest is John or Simon, one of the brothers of Judas Maccabeus. There is the possibility that the Teacher of Righteousness is not mentioned in the contemporary historical sources, that is why, his identity could not be established. Contrary to the statements of some scholars, between the agnomens of these personalities and Jesus, together with His disciples, there is no connection, for the sources which mention them were written before they even existed.

Many of the researchers have identified the Qumran community with the Essenes although in the Dead Sea Scrolls this name is not mentioned at all. Neither the New Testament nor the Talmudical literature refer directly to the Essenes. Rather the information on the Essenes comes to us from several Greek and Latin writers. The most important are Josephus Falvius, Philo and Pliny the Elder. Besides, we could also mention, in Hippolytus' work *Refutation*

omnium haeresium, a fragment that reproduces many of the information that come from Josephus Flavius and seem to have the same source.

Moreover, this chapter presents the other Jewish groups from Qumran and their political and religious views, based on the writings of Josephus Flavius, who describes the three main sects of this period the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the Essenes. The sects rivaled between them in order to draw more followers from the population. Although they were all Jewish and considered Torah as a final source of the Hebrew Law, they each had a different approach or interpretation of the Law and considered the other interpretations to be illegitimate. Their positions were divergent also regarding theological problems, such as the nature of the divine revelation, the free will of the human beings and the idea of the divine recompense. They also had different opinions concerning the level of assimilation of the Hellenism which they were ready to tolerate.

The Temple, the fundamental symbol of the religious and individual life, was the biggest source of conflict. When a group considered as illegitimate the sacrifices performed by the priests that were in charge with it, or when it accused it of celebrating the ceremonies erratically, violent conflicts burst between the sects. The Pharisees and Sadducees fought over the laic powers which gave a sect or the other the right to determine the manner in which the priests had to perform their function within the Temple. The Sadducees formed a distinct group starting with the year 150 BC, mainly of aristocratic origin, most of them were priests, or were married to members of the families of the higher priesthood. They were of a moderate Hellenizing tendency, their main precept was loyalty to Israel's religion, but their culture was deeply influenced by the Greek world in which they lived.

In the same epoch, a certain number of sects with apocalyptic or ascetical tendencies have also contributed to the formation of the Palestinian Judaism. Others, such as the Pharisee, were the centre for the development of the mystical ideas that will end up by entering within the rabbinic Judaism. What characterizes each of these groups is their complete commitment to the interpretation of the Torah and the connected teachings that were proposed to them.

Despite the numerous documents that were brought to the light of the researchers from different scientific fields, there still are multiple discussions regarding the motions of "Qumran library" and "Qumranian Corpus".

The third chapter is named The Qumran Library. In this chapter I have presented synthetically the documents discovered and I have classified them according to different criteria, I have presented analytical/exegetical examples on several documents belonging to the corpus of the biblical manuscripts.

In the caves near the Dead Sea there were also found other documents which are very old, but are not included in the category of the Dead Sea Scrolls when they are mentioned. This name is given only to the documents found in the caves nearby Qumran and which are the richest source of Jewish religious manuscripts. Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls were written on parchment, big pieces of tooled leather. The rest, approximately 100 texts, or approximately 13% of the whole were written on papyrus. The Copper Scroll is engraved on bronze plates. The writing was usually on one side of the manuscript, using a nib that was dip in ink, similar to the modern scrolls of the Torah, which maintains this Greek-Roman tradition. None of the scrolls that were found were written on both sides and tied together.

Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls are written in Hebrew, approximately 20% in Aramaic and a small number in Greek. For most of the scrolls written in Hebrew and Aramaic, the Aramaic writing was used, more precisely the Aramaic letters, which are a primary form of the Hebrew alphabet used today. In biblical times, Hebrew was written using a form of the Phoenician alphabet. During the Babylonian exile and the Persian Kingdom which followed the fall of Judah's kingdom in 586 BC, the Jewish abandoned the biblical Hebrew and adopted the Aramaic alphabet. Later on, on several occasions, the Jewish returned to the biblical Hebrew writing for example on the coins issued during the first and the second Jewish revolt against Rome. Interestingly, this writing was used in some of Moses' and Job's books found in Qumran or sometimes just for God's name (YHWH), obviously as a sign of veneration for the authority of these old books. The types of works found in Qumran may be classified or described in different manners and according to different criteria all depending on the point of view of those that analyze them. Most of the researchers suggest dividing the manuscripts into three categories: the first category comprises biblical manuscripts, the second category comprises the works that contain a terminology regarding Qumran and the last category consists of works that do not contain such a terminology.

As an element of novelty, the study of the documents of pesharim type is approached which presents an original technique of interpretation of the biblical text, characteristic to the

members of the Qumran sect, the manuscripts are classified and analyzed. The pesher is a system of interpretation completely different of what was used until the finding of the scrolls. This form of commentary represents a method which is characteristic to the Qumran sect, although it presents a few similitudes with the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and with the aggadic Midrash. The sequence of pesher interpretations that we often call pesharim usually follows the fragment of a biblical book. In the same stage of preservation were the continuous commentaries to biblical texts, mainly to the posterior prophets. Although they are read as commentaries, they are developed starting from this special type of interpretation which is the pesher.

The Jewish tradition, despite of its periods and phases, despite of its complexity and diversity, usually considered that the prophets' message addresses to each generation, it did not place the prophecies in another historical context, they were preserved in their original epoch. In the pesher interpretation the original context no longer exists. Habakkuk or the Psalms are understood as if their original sense applied directly to the epoch in which the sect existed and they predicted its history. In fact, in this sense, the pesher is linked to a great deal of the quotations and interpretations of the Hebrew Bible by the authors of the New Testament. The first Christians thought especially that the books of the prophets of the past referred to the events of their own epoch. The specificity of the pesher exegesis makes this a precious source of historical information. This exegesis often looks to establish a connection between the words of the Scripture and the events of the epoch meaning contemporary, it alludes directly to real persons that have lived during the Hasmonean period.

The pesharims can be globally divided into three categories:

(1) The first type would be “continuous pesher”, meaning essentially an interpretation of the biblical material followed verse by verse in a manner which evokes that of the commentary. The continuous pesher was applied to some of the prophetic books, such as Psalm 37.

(2) A second type of pesher could be called “thematic pesher”. In this category we may include certain texts in which the passages that refer to the same major theme, such as the end of times, are interpreted within a particular text.

(3) Finally, there is the “isolated pesher”, which consists of inserting a pesher interpretation within a larger text on a different subject. Some researchers consider that these

pesharim interpretations that we find in other categories of texts originate from disappeared pesharim documents.

A subchapter was dedicated to the study of the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphs, rules and other documents. Moreover the types of Qumran biblical commentaries are presented and examples are offered on manuscripts from Torah, Prophets and Psalms.

The moment of the discoveries from Qumran brought with it the interest of the scientists and their hypothesis regarding the dating of the manuscripts and of the other objects found after the archaeological diggings and this work of reconstruction and dating of the manuscripts was emphasized. The methods used to date the scrolls were: paleographically, Carbon dating, then spectrometry of the acceleration of the particles and internal methods of dating, based on the content of the text. The scrolls were written on leather, which unfortunately does not help to their dating, because in West Asia the leather was used for writing from ancient times. Only in Western paleography the parchment appears late, because the oldest Greek parchment preserved, of Syrian origin, contains the date 185 BC. I must mention the fact that the efforts made for the reconstruction of the scrolls was titanic.

The last chapter, with the title *Theological Qumran Research*, contains the research directions approached between 1948 and 2001, controversies and perspectives in the Qumran research, the contribution of the Qumran manuscripts to the development of a new direction in the theological research. I started this presentation from the most recent studies, comparatively with the oldest, I tried establishing the main polemics generated by the scrolls, the manner in which these determined or not newness from theological perspective, the scientific support of the argument as well as their real contribution to the consolidation of some proofs that existed before. In this chapter the coordinates and characteristics of the Qumranology were established, and the answer to this question was searched: Is Qumranology a new discipline of the theology of the Old Testament?

The “discipline” in itself is fascinating, both for the researchers from different fields and for the larger audience. One may ask the question: Except for this fascination of the discipline, what is the scientific input of Qumranology? To this question answers were given for more than 60 years and many other are to be given. The more than 60 years of research, besides the fact that they generated an enormous editorial and historiographic production, can be divided into five important directions:

1. The activity of editing the “manuscript” and the “text”;
2. The investigation of the hypothesis regarding the identity of the authors and even of the owners of the manuscripts, this investigation being obviously strictly linked to the analysis of their content;
3. The analysis of the manuscripts in terms of “corpus” or “library”;
4. Assigning the epistemological status of “missing link”, status received by the manuscripts in the early days from their discovery;
5. The analysis of the manuscripts in terms of the main theories that were generated by their content.

As working technique I used the following methods: historical reconstruction, cataloging, analytical approach and theological synthesis. If the last three techniques are very clear, regarding the first one may take into account the fact that the main objectives that must be followed within the historical reconstruction are: a) reproducing the reality in its materiality, in its contingency, with its force and spirituality, representing the entire historical reality as much as the sources and facts allow us; b) interpreting the reality of an event in the complexity of its material and spiritual horizon, which means placing the historical detail within a context, following its evolution and taking care that its importance is not under or overrated.

From the researches performed until now one may conclude that the polemics generated by the Dead Sea Scrolls have their positive side, leading to the presentation and elucidation of some of the most passionate problem of history and theology. The manuscripts are not “dead objects” thrown on the shelves of the libraries, but they are testimonies of the alive traditions of certain communities and the authentic biblical researcher considers the manuscripts to be a part of the historical flow, of the traditions which are moving constantly.

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