

JÖRG FREY

Qumran, Early Judaism,  
and New Testament  
Interpretation

Edited by  
JACOB CERONE

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament  
424*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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424





Jörg Frey

# Qumran, Early Judaism, and New Testament Interpretation

Kleine Schriften III

edited by

Jacob N. Cerone

Mohr Siebeck

JÖRG FREY, born 1962; 1996 Dr. theol.; 1998 Habilitation; since 2010 Professor for New Testament at the University of Zurich.

JACOB N. CERONE, born 1985; 2011 M.Div., 2015 Th.M. from Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary; since 2016 PhD student at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich.

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*M. E. G.*



## Preface

It is with great joy and gratitude that I present the third volume of my collected essays – which follows “Die Herrlichkeit des Gekreuzigten” (WUNT 307) on the Johannine Literature and “Von Jesus zur neutestamentlichen Theologie” (WUNT 368) on various topics of New Testament theology – a volume containing studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls and their relevance for understanding the New Testament. Although I am primarily a New Testament scholar, and my main duty is teaching New Testament exegesis, the Qumran discoveries have been a particular source of fascination from the very beginning of my studies, and the community of Qumran scholarship has been a source of joy up to the present. In spite of all the scholarly calls for critical sobriety, this volume also intends to show that the scrolls are still a source of surprising discoveries and inspirations, and that the insights from the Dead Sea discoveries are still not sufficiently taken into consideration in New Testament scholarship.

Unlike the two earlier volumes of my “Kleine Schriften,” this volume is completely in English. I am particularly grateful that Jacob Cerone, who has worked for me as a language corrector and editor for a few years, was willing not only to translate hundreds of pages of rather technical texts, but also to take the editorial responsibility for the present volume, including the index of ancient sources and the preparation of the camera-ready version. Without his skillful, diligent, and meticulous work, the volume would not have been possible. I am also grateful to the Theological Faculty of the University of Zurich for granting support for the translation costs, to my co-editors in the WUNT series for accepting the suggested volume, and to Mohr Siebeck publishers, in particular Katharina Gutekunst, Elena Müller, and Matthias Spitzner, for all their support. All publishers of the original publications of the article presented here have generously expressed their consent for republication.

The volume is dedicated to the lovely person who did most to make me feel at home in Switzerland. She looked for evil and its origins, and thereby found me, and through her love she makes my life enjoyable and bright.





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## Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible Commentary
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ABIG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
<i>ABW</i>	<i>Archaeology in the Biblical World</i>
<i>AcT</i>	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
<i>ALOB</i>	<i>Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia</i>
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
ANTC	Abingdon New Testament Commentaries
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASAWH.PH	Abhandlung der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historischen Klasse
<i>Asp</i>	<i>Asprenas: Rivista di scienze teologiche</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUL	Lunds Universitets Årsskrift
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis
AVTRW	Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAC	Biblioteca de autores cristianos
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BAZ	Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BCES	Bibliothèque des Centres d'Études supérieures spécialisés
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament



BeO	Bibbia e oriente
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BH	Bibliothèque Historique
BHH	<i>Biblich-historisches Handwörterbuch: Landeskunde, Geschichte, Religion, Kultur</i>
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown University Judaic Studies
<i>BK</i>	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BMSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BRev</i>	<i>Bible Review</i>
BSAW.PH	Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-Historische Klasse
BThSt	Biblich-theologische Studien
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CB.OT	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Monograph Series
CJA	Canadian Jewish Archives
CJAn	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity
<i>CNS</i>	<i>Cristianesimo nella storia</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica or Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRHPhR	Cahiers de la Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSPac	Colectánea San Paciano
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>CV</i>	<i>Communio viatorum</i>
DBAT.B	Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche, Beihefte
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i>
<i>DCH</i>	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
DiKi	Dialog der Kirchen
DJDJ	Discoveries of the Judean Desert of Jordan
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui

<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSR</i>	Dead Sea Scrolls Reader
<i>EBib</i>	Études bibliques
<i>EdF</i>	Erträge der Forschung
<i>EDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>EgT</i>	<i>Eglise et théologie</i>
<i>EHS.T</i>	Europäische Hochschulschriften. Theologie
<i>EKKNT</i>	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
<i>ErJb</i>	<i>Eranos-Jahrbuch</i>
<i>Est</i>	Eichstätter Studien
<i>Est.NF</i>	Eichstätter Studien, Neue Folge
<i>EvK</i>	<i>Evangelische Kommentare</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum NT</i>
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>FAT</i>	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>FB</i>	Forschung zur Bibel
<i>FF</i>	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FSThR</i>	Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie und Religionsphilosophie
<i>GAT</i>	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
<i>GOF</i>	Göttinger Orientforschungen
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
<i>HBS</i>	Herders biblische Studien
<i>HDO</i>	Handbook of Oriental Studies
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HKAT</i>	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>HNT</i>	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
<i>HR</i>	Historia Religionum
<i>HR</i>	History of Religions
<i>HSM</i>	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTKNT</i>	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HTS</i>	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HUCM</i>	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
<i>HUT</i>	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
<i>ICC</i>	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Society</i>
<i>ISACR</i>	Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAC</i>	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
<i>JASup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplemental Series
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JBR</i>	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JBW</i>	<i>Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft</i>
<i>JCPH.S</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Supplementband</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JSDI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSJ.S</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSPSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal for Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAT</i>	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KAWA ALNR</i>	Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde
<i>KEK</i>	Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar
<i>KIT</i>	Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen
<i>KStTh</i>	Studienbücher Theologie
<i>KuI</i>	<i>Kirche und Israel. Neukirchener theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>KuK</i>	Kirche und Kunst
<i>KZG</i>	<i>Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte</i>
<i>LAPO</i>	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
<i>LeDiv</i>	Lectio Divina
<i>LHB</i>	Library of the Hebrew Bible
<i>LSTS</i>	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>NEAEHL</i>	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i>
<i>NEB.ATE</i>	Neue Echter-Bibel. Kommentar zum AT Ergänzungsband
<i>NEDTT</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NHMS</i>	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
<i>NP</i>	<i>Neophilologus</i>
<i>NT.S</i>	Novum Testamentum Supplements
<i>NTAbh.NF</i>	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Neue Folge
<i>NTApo</i>	Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung
<i>NTD</i>	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
<i>NTM</i>	New Testament Monographs
<i>NTOA</i>	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NTTS</i>	New Testament Tools and Studies
<i>OA</i>	Orbis Academicus
<i>OAI</i>	Orient ancien illustré
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis biblicus et orientalis

<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuchkommentar zum Neuen Testament
OTP	Old Testament Pseudepigrapha
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PG	Patrologia Cursus Completus Graeca
PL	Patrologia Cursus Completus Latina
PO	Patrologia orientalis
<i>PRE</i>	<i>Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft</i>
<i>PRE.S</i>	<i>Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft – Supplement</i>
<i>PSB</i>	<i>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
PTSDDSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>QC</i>	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
QM	Qumranica Mogilensia
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RCT</i>	<i>Revista catalana de teologia</i>
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RIDC</i>	<i>Revue internationale de droit comparé</i>
RM	Die Religionen der Menschheit
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SAC	Studi di antichità cristiana
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBEC	Studies on the Bible and Early Christianity
SBF.Cma	Studii biblici Franciscani Collectio Maior
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien
SBW	Studien der Bibliothek Warburg
<i>ScEs</i>	<i>Science et esprit</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk årsbok
<i>Sef</i>	<i>Sefarad</i>
SHAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der

	Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Tradition
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to Numen)
SJ(S)	Studies in Judaica (Sydney)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SNTSU</i>	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
<i>SNTU</i>	<i>Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments</i>
SPB	Studia Patristica et Byzantina
SPHKHAW	Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SSA	Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft
SSAW-PH	Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>StGen</i>	<i>Studium generale</i>
StHier	Studia Hierosolymitana
StPB	Studia post-biblica
StT	Studi e testi
<i>StTh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
<i>TAD</i>	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English</i>
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TB	Theologische Bücherei
<i>TBei</i>	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
TBT	Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann
<i>TD</i>	<i>Theology Digest</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>THAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThBLNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament</i>
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThSt	Theologische Studien
ThTS	Theologische Texte und Studien
ThW	Theologische Wissenschaft
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
<i>TRev</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
U-TB	Urban-Taschenbücher
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>

<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>



## Introduction: Qumran, Ancient Judaism, and the New Testament

The present volume – the third volume of my collected essays or “Kleine Schriften”<sup>1</sup> – collects my work on the Dead Sea Scrolls and their relevance for and relation to the understanding of New Testament texts. The studies presented here, some for the first time in English translation, cover a time span of over 20 years, from the mid 1990s until the present. In this period, the official edition of the Qumran corpus was completed and fervent debates on archaeological issues were performed in a greater public, but due to the larger database and to refined methodologies or research also the insights concerning a large number of texts were considerably multiplied. Although the number of scholars occupied with the Dead Sea Scrolls has increased considerably on an international level with a much more intense involvement of Jewish colleagues and Hebrew language scholarship, Qumran scholarship has also become a highly specialized area, whose issues and problems are often hidden to scholars without this specialization, so that their knowledge and even the basic knowledge spread in classroom books often is outdated and untouched by the insights gained in the last 25 or 30 years.

The studies collected in the present volume are an attempt to bridge the gap between Qumran and Biblical or New Testament studies. Presented partly in the context of specialized Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship, partly in a wider context of biblical scholars or theologians, they aim at transmitting new textual observations and refined methodological considerations into biblical scholarship in order to enable biblical scholars to adequately perceive the insights from the Qumran corpus and the benefits they lend to the understanding of early Christian texts.

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<sup>1</sup> I owe the subtitle to my academic teacher, Martin Hengel, whose collected essays also appeared as “Kleine Schriften” in seven volumes in the WUNT series. Cf. my first two volumes on Johannine Literature and on selected historical and theological issues in the New Testament: Jörg Frey, *Die Herrlichkeit des Gekreuzigten: Studien zu den johanneischen Schriften 1* (ed. J. Schlegel; WUNT 307; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); idem, *Von Jesus zur neutestamentlichen Theologie: Kleine Schriften 2* (ed. B. Schliesser; WUNT 368; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).



## A. My Story with Qumran

My own interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls was stimulated quite early. In my first semester of studying theology at the University of Tübingen, in the autumn semester of 1983, I attended Martin Hengel's lectures on "Christology of the New Testament," and in these unforgettable dense lectures, I was quickly confronted with evidence from the wealth of early Jewish texts, from the late layers of the Hebrew Bible, the Enochic tradition and Apocalypticism, from early Rabbinic traditions and the Hekhalot literature and – within this wide spectrum – also from the Qumran discoveries. When I was asked to serve as Hengel's student assistant in the following year, for proofreading his articles and checking references, I came across a great wealth of texts and scholarly views and so became aware of the crucial importance of the Qumran corpus. However, the period in the mid-1980s was still a time in which the majority of the fragmentary documents was not yet accessible to the greater scholarly public, but only to an 'inner circle' of the editors entrusted with the texts. In addition, some privileged younger scholars were asked to assist the editors, and were thus granted limited access to certain texts. I still remember Hengel's polemical remarks about the slow speed of the editorial process and the alleged laziness of some of the editors who – according to his words – just 'sat' on their texts, instead of making them accessible to the interested scholarly public. When I studied for a year in Jerusalem, in 1987–88, in the German study program at the Dormition Abbey on Mt. Zion, I was fascinated by a lecture by the late John Strugnell in the École Biblique on a text which was then called an "Angelic Liturgy" and is now well-known as the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. I eagerly captured some information about an alleged letter of the Teacher of Righteousness now known as 4QMMT which immediately stimulated the interest of Pauline scholars, but then became the object of a fervent legal battle about the authorial rights of the scholars entrusted with editing them, in conflict with the public eagerness for information and access.<sup>2</sup>

This was also the period in which conspiracy theories flourished, mostly focused on the alleged obscurantists in the Vatican who were readily accused of hiding the truth about the historical origins of Christianity or even hiding some important documents from the greater public.<sup>3</sup> The book market in those years was dominated by pseudo-scholarly unveiling literature, and

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<sup>2</sup> On the text and the circumstances of its publication, see the article on "MMT and the New Testament" in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> The most successful work was the novelistic but purportedly historical book by M. Baigent and R. Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (New York: Summit Books, 1991), with its German translation entitled *Verschlussache Jesus: Die Qumranrollen und die Wahrheit über das frühe Christentum* (trans. P. S. Dachs and B. Neumeister-Taroni; Munich: Droemer Knaur, 1991).

scholars had a hard job cultivating a sober discussion oriented on facts in contrast to such fabricated claims, as long as the bulk of the hitherto unedited fragments was still not publicly accessible. I still remember well how, during that time, when I worked as a doctoral student and as a vicar in southern Germany, there was a widespread interest and concern about what the ‘hidden’ texts could reveal about Jesus and early Christianity, and I was frequently asked for information about the contents and possible relevance of the finds for a comprehensive understanding of early Christian history and doctrine.

Times changed rapidly, and with the release of the microfiches of the scrolls and fragments entrusted to several libraries in the world for security reasons, by the California based Huntington Library and the publication of the facsimile edition in 1991,<sup>4</sup> the door was open to a new period in Qumran scholarship, a new “Qumran springtime,” with the quick release of editions of a large number of new texts by the enlarged editorial team under the leadership of Emanuel Tov. When I returned to Tübingen university in 1994 to work as an Assistant (lecturer) to Prof. Hermann Lichtenberger, the successor of Martin Hengel at the Tübingen *Institut für Antikes Judentum und Hellenistische Religionsgeschichte*, I became involved in the rapid development of Qumran scholarship and the conceptualization of new projects, e.g., of a synoptic edition of the biblical texts from Qumran conceptualized by Hermann Lichtenberger with my then colleague Armin Lange and some other colleagues from the institute, such as Friedrich Avemarie and Gerbern S. Oegema.<sup>5</sup> In Lichtenberger’s research seminar we started to read the newly released texts, first from the famous Wacholder-Abegg edition<sup>6</sup> compiled electronically from a privately printed preliminary concordance that had been crafted in the 1950s by some members of the first editorial team.<sup>7</sup> With that edition, legible Hebrew texts were available long before the ‘official’ edition of those texts appeared. For my own studies, the reading of the new Wisdom texts was particularly enlightening. In these texts, I discovered hitherto un-

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<sup>4</sup> R. H. Eisenman and J. M. Robinson, eds., *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Prepared with an Introduction and Index* (2 vols.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991); cf. later E. Tov, ed., with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> The first volume of that presentation appeared not before 2005: B. Ego et al., eds., *Minor Prophets* (Biblia Qumranica 3b; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> B. Z. Wacholder and M. G. Abegg, Jr., eds., *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four* (3 fasc.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–1995).

<sup>7</sup> On these editions, see E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 26, Leiden: Brill, 2001, 7–9.

known parallels to the Pauline language of “flesh” (and the opposition of “flesh” and “spirit”) which I first presented in my Habilitation lecture in 1998 at the Faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Tübingen.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas my main scholarly work in those years was about New Testament texts, in particular the Johannine Literature,<sup>9</sup> but also Revelation<sup>10</sup> and Hebrews,<sup>11</sup> I was introduced into the ongoing progress of the edition and early evaluation of the ‘new’ texts from Qumran, through the collaboration with Hermann Lichtenberger and his second assistant, my then colleague Armin Lange. While Lange wrote his dissertation on the issue of determinism and predestination in the new Wisdom texts from Qumran,<sup>12</sup> I developed an analysis of the various types of dualism in the Qumran corpus with the main aim of refining the comparisons between the dualism in Qumran and the dualism in the Johannine literature. Again, the Qumran Wisdom texts could shed new light on the origins of Qumran dualism and also help to see the diversity of dualisms in the Qumran corpus which had to lead to a considerable modification of some earlier comparisons between Qumran and the New Testament. My initial research, presented in 1995 at the meeting of the IOQS in Cambridge was, then, developed into a large article<sup>13</sup> which provided the basis for

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<sup>8</sup> The lecture was published in German in 1999: J. Frey, “Die paulinische Antithese von ‘Fleisch’ und ‘Geist’ und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition,” *ZNW* 90 (1999): 45–77; cf. also the slightly shortened English conference paper (presented at the meeting of the IOQS in Oslo in 1998, under the title “The Notion of ‘Flesh’ in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *Poetical, Liturgical, and Sapiential Texts: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 197–226, and the more extensive presentation from a Tübingen conference: “Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and Its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, Ancient Judaism, and the New Testament* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 367–404, republished in this volume 701–741.

<sup>9</sup> See in particular J. Frey, *Die johanneische Eschatologie* (3 vols.; WUNT 96, 110, 117; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997, 1998, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> J. Frey, “Erwägungen zum Verhältnis der Johannesapokalypse zu den übrigen Schriften im Corpus Johanneum,” in M. Hengel, *Die johanneische Frage. Ein Lösungsversuch, mit einem Beitrag zur Apokalypse von Jörg Frey* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 326–429.

<sup>11</sup> J. Frey, “Die alte und die neue διαθήκη nach dem Hebräerbrief,” in *Bund und Tora. Studien zu ihrer Begriffsgeschichte im Frühjudentum und Urchristentum* (ed. H. Lichtenberger and F. Avemarie; WUNT 92, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 263–310.

<sup>12</sup> A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> J. Frey, “Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the*

two other extensive German articles focusing on the comparison with Johannine dualism<sup>14</sup> and the function of dualistic language in the Gospel of John. These three extensive articles (two of them now available in English)<sup>15</sup> form a kind of successive ‘trilogy’ on dualism in Qumran and John.

During my time in Tübingen (1993–1997), I benefited immensely from the collaboration with Hermann Lichtenberger and Armin Lange, and since the IOQS conference in Cambridge in 1995, where I encountered a very friendly and helpful discussion of my considerations by John Collins, Joseph Fitzmyer, and Florentino García Martínez, I happily experienced the friendly and collegial atmosphere in the community of Qumran scholars, a relatively limited circle of researchers specialized on different texts but always open for exchange of information and mutual support. From German professors, I could never have expected such friendly and non-hierarchical responses as those I received among the scrolls scholars’ community, e.g., from John Collins, George Brooke, Hanan and Esther Eshel, Charlotte Hempel, Larry Schiffman, Eileen Schuller, Annette Steudel, Eibert Tigchelaar, and many others.

After I had been called in 1997 to the Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena, and then in 1999 to the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München as successor of the Qumran scholar Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, the Dead Sea Scrolls were a regular part of my teaching program in the field of New Testament

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*Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335 (in this volume, 243–299).

<sup>14</sup> J. Frey, “Licht aus den Höhlen? Der ‘Johanneische Dualismus’ und die Texte von Qumran,” in *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums: Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (ed. J. Frey and U. Schnelle, in collaboration with J. Schlegel; WUNT 175; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 117–203, where the widespread assumptions of a close relationship between Qumran and the Gospel of John are thoroughly questioned, and idem, “Zu Hintergrund und Funktion des johanneischen Dualismus,” in *Paulus und Johannes: Exegetische Studien zur paulinischen und johanneischen Theologie und Literatur* (ed. D. Sänger and U. Mell; WUNT 198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 3–73 (English translation: “Johannine Dualism: Reflections on Its Background and Function,” in idem, *The Glory of the Crucified One: Theology and Christology in the Fourth Gospel* (trans. W. Coppins and C. Heilig; BMSEC; Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2018), 101–167. See also the shorter presentation: idem, “Recent Perspectives on Johannine Dualism and its Background,” in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (ed. R. A. Clements and D. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 127–57 (in this volume, 763–790), and idem, “Dualism and the World in the Gospel and Letters of John,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Johannine Studies* (ed. J. M. Lieu and M. C. de Boer; Oxford: OUP, 2018), 274–291.

<sup>15</sup> Instead of translating the extensive second article, “Licht aus den Höhlen? Der ‘Johanneische Dualismus’ und die Texte von Qumran,” we decided to include in the present collection a shorter version of those considerations, the article, “Recent Perspectives on Johannine Dualism and its Background.”

and Ancient Judaism. In 1999, I was asked to give a comprehensive paper on the relevance of the Qumran texts for the understanding of the New Testament at a symposium held in connection with a Qumran exhibition in the beautiful monastery library (Stiftsbibliothek) in Sankt Gallen (Switzerland), and I organized an excursion with some of my students from Jena to attend the conference and visit the exhibition. My paper, first published in German,<sup>16</sup> was the basis for a number of other shortened or more expanded and updated further publications on what now became my main focus in Qumran research: the impact of the new discoveries on New Testament scholarship and their relevance for understanding New Testament texts.<sup>17</sup>

In Munich I first considered joining the project to create a new catena of Qumran parallels to the New Testament, conceptualized but worked out only for the authentic Pauline epistles by my predecessor Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, but I soon got the impression that the problems had to be presented in a different form and that the structure of a catena was too inflexible for the presentation of the new texts and insights that could be gained from the rapidly edited new texts. This was particularly evident after a sounding conference had also brought the insight that the project of a “New Billerbeck” including the Dead Sea Scrolls and a variety of other ancient Jewish texts was not feasible for various reasons.<sup>18</sup> In 2002, I received a call to the University of Göttingen to take up the chair of the distinguished Qumran scholar Hartmut Stegemann, but the *Qumran-Forschungsstelle* had already been transferred to the Old Testament department and to Reinhard G. Kratz, and for various reasons I declined the Göttingen offer and remained several more years at the

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<sup>16</sup> J. Frey, “Die Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments,” in *Qumran – die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer: Vorträge des St. Galler Qumran-Symposiums vom 2./3. Juli 1999* (ed. M. Fieger, K. Schmid, and P. Schwagmeier; NTOA 47; Freiburg [Switzerland]: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 129–208.

<sup>17</sup> See the shorter versions: J. Frey, “Zur Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments,” in *Qumran – Bibelwissenschaft – Antikes Judentum* (ed. U. Dahmen, H. Stegemann, and G. Stemberger; Einblicke 9; Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, 2006), 33–65, and idem, “The Relevance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for New Testament Interpretation. With a bibliographical appendix,” *AcT* 23/2 (2003), 86–116, as well as the partly expanded version “The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on New Testament Interpretation: Proposals, Problems and Further Perspectives,” in *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, vol. 3 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 407–461, which is republished in this volume 527–578.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. my contribution to that sounding conference in Jerusalem: J. Frey, “On the Character and Background of Mt 5:25–26: A Case Study for the Value of Qumran Literature in New Testament Interpretation,” in *The Sermon on the Mount and Its Jewish Setting* (ed. H.-J. Becker and S. Ruzer; Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 60; Paris: Gabalda, 2005), 3–39, republished in this volume 649–676.

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich until I moved to Zurich in 2010 and Loren T Stuckenbruck became my successor in Munich.

An important stimulus for my continuous occupation with Qumran issues was the series of Qumran conferences, originally conceptualized by Hartmut Stegemann as a platform for intellectual exchange for German speaking Qumran scholars, in the Katholische Akademie Schwerte, an enjoyable conference destination near Dortmund. Having already contributed to the first two conferences,<sup>19</sup> I was, then, commissioned to succeed Hartmut Stegemann in organizing those conferences on a biennial basis. The subsequent conferences on the topics “Qumran and Apocalyptic” (2003),<sup>20</sup> “Qumran and the Biblical Canon” (2006),<sup>21</sup> “Qumran and Archaeology” (2008),<sup>22</sup> “Jesus, Paul and the Texts from Qumran” (2009),<sup>23</sup> “Dualism, Demonology, and Evil Figures” (2013),<sup>24</sup> “Women in Early Judaism and Early Christianity” (2015),<sup>25</sup> “Recent Perspectives on the Qumran Community” (2017),<sup>26</sup> and “Purity in Early Judaism and Early Christianity” (2019)<sup>27</sup> enjoyed increasingly international representation and, at the same time, focused on including and introducing upcoming scholars into the field of Qumran studies and its wider context. In the organization of the conferences, kindly supported by the Schwerte academy, I could collaborate with the Göttingen Qumranforschungsstelle, represented by Annette Steudel, with Heinz-Josef Fabry

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<sup>19</sup> J. Frey, “Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte: Ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Roland Bergmeier,” in *Qumran kontrovers* (ed. J. Frey and H. Stegemann, with M. Becker and A. Maurer; Einblicke 6; Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, 2003), 23–56; idem, “Zur Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis des Neuen Testaments,” in *Qumran – Bibelwissenschaft – Antikes Judentum* (ed. U. Dahmen, H. Stegemann, and G. Stemberger (Einblicke 9; Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, 2006), 33–65.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. J. Frey and M. Becker; Einblicke 10; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Qumran und der biblische Kanon* (ed. M. Becker and J. Frey; BThSt 92; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte* (ed. J. Frey, C. Claußen, and N. Kessler; WUNT 278; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran* (ed. J. Frey and E. E. Popkes, with S. Tätweiler; WUNT II/390; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Dualismus, Dämonologie und diabolische Figuren: Religionshistorische Beobachtungen und theologische Reflexionen* (ed. J. Frey and E. E. Popkes, in collaboration with S.-C. Hertel-Holst; WUNT II/484; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Frauen im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. J. Frey and N. Rupschus; WUNT II/489; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

<sup>26</sup> The conference volume is scheduled in 2020/21 under the title *Recent Perspectives on the Qumran Community* (ed. J. Frey and S. Tätweiler; WUNT II; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

<sup>27</sup> The conference volume is scheduled in 2020/21 under the title *Purity in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. L. Doering and J. Frey; in collaboration with Laura von Bartenwerffer; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

from the University of Bonn, and in 2019 with Lutz Doering from the *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* in Münster, and include also my own doctoral and habilitation students, such as Michael Becker, Carsten Claußen, Enno E. Popkes, Nicole Rupschus, Michael R. Jost, and Sophie Tätweiler. The introductions written for the conference volumes provided me with the opportunity to comprehensively discuss the problems within the field and to develop my own views on the topics and on the relevance of the Qumran findings for an appropriate understanding, e.g., of apocalyptic in early Judaism and early Christianity,<sup>28</sup> the relevance of the insights from Qumran for the conception of the biblical canon and the “canonical process,”<sup>29</sup> the interpretation of the archaeological remains at Qumran,<sup>30</sup> and the relevance of the Qumran discoveries for scholarship on Jesus and Paul.<sup>31</sup> In the Schwerte conferences, I have increasingly aimed at widening the scope beyond the Qumran corpus to include other testimonies from ancient Judaism, its Greco-Roman context, and from early Christianity. Other conferences organized in Zurich also covered a wider range of early Jewish testimonies, including the Samaritan traditions,<sup>32</sup> Apocalypticism,<sup>33</sup> Jewish and Christian concepts of angels,<sup>34</sup> and the interpretive processes in the making of ‘para-scriptural’ texts.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. Frey, “Die Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis der Apokalyptik im Frühjudentum und im Urchristentum, in *Apokalyptik und Qumran* (ed. J. Frey and M. Becker; Paderborn: Bonifatius-Verlag, 2007), 11–62 (English translation in this volume under the title “Qumran and Apocalyptic”).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. J. Frey, “Qumran und der biblische Kanon: Eine thematische Einführung,” in *Qumran und der biblische Kanon* (ed. M. Becker and J. Frey; BThSt 92; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 1–63 (English translation in this volume under the title “Qumran and the Biblical Canon”); cf. also more briefly idem, “Die Herausbildung des biblischen Kanons im antiken Judentum und im frühen Christentum,” *Das Mittelalter* 18 (2013), 7–26.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Frey, “Qumran und die Archäologie. Eine thematische Einführung,” in *Qumran und die Archäologie* (ed. J. Frey; C. Claußen, and N. Kessler; WUNT 278; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 3–49 (English translation in this volume under the title “Qumran and Archaeology”).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. J. Frey, “Jesus, Paulus und die Texte vom Toten Meer. Forschungsgeschichtliche und hermeneutische Perspektiven,” in *Jesus, Paulus und Qumran* (ed. J. Frey and E. E. Popkes, under collaboration of S. Tätweiler; WUNT II/390; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 1–29 (in this volume under the title “Jesus, Paul, and the Texts from the Dead Sea: Research History and Hermeneutical Perspectives”).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Die Samaritaner und die Bibel. Historische und literarische Wechselwirkungen zwischen biblischen und samaritanischen Traditionen – The Samaritans and the Bible. Historical and Literary Interactions between Biblical and Samaritan Traditions* (ed. J. Frey, U. Schattner-Rieser, and K. Schmid; Studia Samaritana 7; Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2012).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten* (ed. J. Frey, M. Jost, and F. Tóth, with Johannes Stettner; WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

Not only in the organization of conferences but also in the strife for new insights, I have benefitted enormously from the collaboration with my assistants and habilitation students in Munich. Michael Becker who had already been involved in the Qumran project of my predecessor Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn published his important PhD work on miracles in the early rabbinic tradition and in Josephus and their relevance for the Jesus tradition,<sup>36</sup> but also on 4Q521<sup>37</sup> and the framework of the acts of Jesus,<sup>38</sup> the relation between 4 Ezra and the early rabbinic tradition,<sup>39</sup> on the making of the Hebrew Canon,<sup>40</sup> ancient Magic,<sup>41</sup> and on Qumran meals.<sup>42</sup> Carsten Claußen who had done his

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<sup>34</sup> *Gottesdienst und Engel im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (WUNT II/446; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

<sup>35</sup> *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts: Processes of Reception, Rewriting and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. J. Frey, C. Clivaz, and T. Nicklas, in collaboration with J. Röder; WUNT, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

<sup>36</sup> M. Becker, *Wunder und Wundertäter im frührabbinischen Judentum: Studien zum Phänomen und seiner Überlieferung im Horizont von Magie und Dämonismus* (WUNT II/144; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); idem "The Miracle-Traditions in Early Rabbinic Literature: Some Questions on their Pragmatics," in *Wonders never Cease: The Purpose of Narrating Miracle Stories in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment* (ed. M. Labahn and B. Jan Lietaert Perbolte; JSNT.S 288; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2006), 48–69.

<sup>37</sup> M. Becker, "4Q521 und die Gesalbten," *RevQ* 18/1 (1997): 73–96.

<sup>38</sup> M. Becker, "Die 'messianische Apokalypse' 4Q521 und der Interpretationsrahmen der Taten Jesu," in *Apokalyptik und Qumran*, 237–303.

<sup>39</sup> M. Becker, "Apokalyptisches nach dem Fall Jerusalems: Anmerkungen zum frührabbinischen Verständnis," in *Apokalyptik als Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie* (ed. M. Becker and M. Öhler, WUNT II/214; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 283–360.

<sup>40</sup> M. Becker, "Rewriting the Bible – 4 Ezra and the canonization of Scripture," in *Rewritten Bible reconsidered: Proceedings of the conference in Karkku, Finland, August 24 – 26, 2006* (ed. A. Laato and J. van Ruiten; Studies in Rewritten Bible 1; Turku: Åbo Akad. Univ. 2008), 79–101; idem, "Grenzziehungen des Kanons im frühen Judentum und die Neuschrift der Bibel nach dem 4. Buch Esra," in *Qumran und der biblische Kanon*, 195–253.

<sup>41</sup> M. Becker, "Die 'Magie'-Problematik der Antike: Genügt eine sozialwissenschaftliche Erfassung?" *ZRGG* 54 (2002), 1–22; idem, "MAGOI – Astrologers, Ecstatics, Deceitful Prophets: New Testament Understanding in Jewish and pagan context," in *A kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and its Religious Environment* (ed. M. Labahn and B. Jan Lietaert Peerbolte; LNTS 306; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 87–106.

<sup>42</sup> M. Becker, "Mahlvorstellungen und Mahlpraxis in der Yaḥad-Gemeinschaft," in *Der eine Gott und das gemeinschaftliche Mahl: Inklusion und Exklusion biblischer Vorstellungen von Mahl und Gemeinschaft im Kontext antiker Festkultur* (ed. W. Weiß; BThSt 113; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2012), 44–75; idem, "Zwischen Kult, Verein und Eschaton. Zur Diskussion der Mähler in der yaḥad-Gemeinschaft," in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, 331–357.



dissertation on diaspora synagogues<sup>43</sup> and then worked for two years in Princeton with James Charlesworth where he got involved in the Princeton Dead Sea Scrolls project,<sup>44</sup> contributed on archaeological issues<sup>45</sup> and on the relationship between Qumran and the Fourth Gospel.<sup>46</sup> Enno E. Popkes not only collaborated in the organization and edition of the Schwerte conferences but also occasionally published some work on the Scrolls and the New Testament.<sup>47</sup>

After being called to the University of Zurich in 2010, I received funding to encourage doctoral students to work with texts from ancient Judaism and, in particular, from Qumran. The studies finished under my supervision include a comprehensive discussion of early Jewish and early Christian concepts of the origins of evil,<sup>48</sup> a comprehensive and thorough evaluation of the regulations for women in the sectarian texts compared with the archaeologi-

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<sup>43</sup> C. Claußen, *Versammlung, Gemeinde, Synagoge. Das hellenistisch-jüdische Umfeld der frühchristlichen Gemeinden* (SUNT 27; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002); cf. idem, “Meeting, Community, Synagogue – Different Frameworks of Ancient Jewish Congregations in the Diaspora,” in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins until 200 C.E.* (ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm; ConBNT 39; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003), 144–167.

<sup>44</sup> J. H. Charlesworth and C. Claußen, “Halakah A (4Q251),” “Halakah B (4Q264a),” “Halakah C (4Q472a),” “Harvesting (4Q284a),” in *Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents*, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and H. W. M. Rietz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 271–297.

<sup>45</sup> C. Claußen, “Synagogen Palästinas in neutestamentlicher Zeit,” in *Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments* (ed. S. Alkier and J. Zangenberg; TANZ 42; Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 2003), 351–380; idem, “Die Identifizierung der Grabungsstätte Khirbet Qumran. Eine forschungsgeschichtliche Annäherung,” in *Qumran und die Archäologie*, 51–72.

<sup>46</sup> C. Claußen, “The Concept of Unity at Qumran and in the Johannine Literature,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2007), 232–253; idem, “John, Qumran, and the Question of Sectarianism,” *Perspectives in religious studies* 37/4 (2010), 421–440.

<sup>47</sup> E. E. Popkes, “About the differing approach to a theological heritage: Comments on the relationship between Qumran, the Gospel of John and the Gospel of Thomas,” in *Qumran and Christian Origins*, 271–309; idem, “Vorstellungen von der Einwohnung Gottes in der Tempelrolle: Beobachtungen zu 11QT 29,7b–10 und möglichen traditionsgeschichtlichen Vergleichsgrößen,” in *Das Geheimnis der Gegenwart Gottes: Zur Schechina-Vorstellung in Judentum und Christentum* (ed. B. Janowski and E. E. Popkes; WUNT 318; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 85–101; idem, “Essenisch-qumranische Psalmen-Rezeptionen als Kontrastgröße zur paulinischen Psalter-Hermeneutik,” in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, 231–250.

<sup>48</sup> M. E. Götte, *Von den Wächtern zu Adam: Frühjüdische Mythen über die Ursprünge des Bösen und ihre frühchristliche Rezeption* (WUNT II/426; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

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