

Texts, Traditions and Transmission: Global and Local Transitions in the Late Second Temple Period

Abstracts (in alphabetical order)

Anneli Aejmelaeus “The Origins of the *Kaige* Revision”

The so-called *kaige* revision was discovered and first described by Dominique Barthélemy on the basis of the Naḥal Ḥever Minor Prophets Scroll (8HevXIIgr, 1st cent. BCE). This was the first time that evidence emerged concerning Jewish revisional activity on the Septuagint with the aim of approximating its wording to the Hebrew (practically proto-Masoretic) text. Traces of this activity have been found especially in the historical books (Judges B, 2 Samuel 10 – 1 Kings 2:11 and 1 Kings 22 – 2 Kings 25): in different areas of text or different witnesses in varying degrees of concentration. This paper wishes to inquire into the nature and origins of this activity, not only into (1) its geographical location and dating, but more importantly into (2) its exegetical and theological prerequisites and into (3) the question of which persons and institutions possibly were its initiators.

(1) In the scholarly literature, the *kaige* revision is often described as Palestinian and it is usually dated to the 1st centuries BCE and CE. This is also what the Naḥal Ḥever discovery suggests. Considering that knowledge of the Hebrew language and orientation by the Hebrew scriptures were declining among the users of the Septuagint in the Diaspora, it seems all the more plausible that the revisional activity was a phenomenon at home in Palestine or perhaps more precisely in Jerusalem.

(2) The *kaige* revision had an exegetical and theological motivation. It was connected with the rise of word-for-word interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures, and especially, with the emergence of the scriptural status of the historical books, which meant that these books were gaining interest as objects of exegesis. It is intriguing that greater interest in the historical books also meant increasing editorial activity on the Hebrew text, in order to render these books more suitable to be regarded as scripture and interpreted in matters of life and faith.

(3) The most intriguing question of all is the question concerning the initiators of the *kaige* revision. Where can we find those learned people who had the need for a “correct” Greek rendering of the Hebrew scriptures, who had good knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek, who were capable of reading Hebrew and reading and writing Greek, and who had the authority to do this kind of work? The place where I would look for them is the Greek-speaking synagogue. At least for the 1st century CE, there is evidence for the existence of Greek-speaking synagogues in Jerusalem. Authentic evidence is found above all in the so-called Theodotos inscription.

Lars Aejmelaeus “The early spreading of the Christian movement to a global religion”

The Christian message reached the capital of the Roman Empire already in less than twenty years after the basic events in Jerusalem in the year 30. Christianity was in strong development toward becoming the global religion. There were Jews and Gentiles in many cities of the Empire who worshipped Jesus as the Son of God and Heavenly Lord. How can we get the explanation to these facts from the textual material? Acts and Pauline letters are here the best sources.

The proclaimers of new message were very convinced that their message was important for the mankind. In the globalization process there were however two obstacles to be removed: one geographical and one religious-cultural. The believers could not remain in Jerusalem and they had to solve the problem what to do with the non-Jewish part of the mankind.

A special group of believers in Jerusalem, namely the “Hellenists”, Greek-speaking Jews and among them especially Stephen played here an important role. Stephen’s teaching was so radical that he was killed. Stephen was accused that he speaks “blasphemous words” against Moses, God, Temple and Law and claims that Jesus will destroy the Temple and change the customs which Moses gave. According to Acts, these accusations were false, but in Stephen's long speech in his defense, it becomes clear that the accusations were not totally false. Stephen crossed the border line where the other Jews could no longer handle the matter by merely discussing. The Hellenists had to flee from Jerusalem after Stephen’s death. The Gospel was therefore proclaimed also in areas outside Palestine at a very early stage.

The fact that Paul participated in harsh acts against members of the Hellenists is strong evidence for the big gap which had opened between mainstream Jewish religion and the teachings of the Hellenists. Very soon after Stephen’s death they accepted the Gentiles’ membership into the Christian church. Mixed congregations of Jewish-Christians and of Gentile-Christians were founded.

What Paul tells us about his new insights into the right way to worship God and about his own task in the new situation are like a mirror in which we can see the content of the teachings of the movement he had earlier persecuted. In his conversion Paul immediately understood that it was his task to proclaim Christ “among the Gentiles”. This proclaiming had most probably been one of the most important factors which made Paul persecute the members of Stephen's group.

The next important step in the globalization process of Christianity was the Apostles' Council in Jerusalem in the year 48. The congregation of Jerusalem was suspicious of the work among the Gentiles. After negotiations it also accepted the mission work among the Gentiles. Because the whole church was unanimous in this question, it was possible to proclaim the Gospel among the Gentiles without any hesitation that the preachers were dividing the church. The decisions of the Jerusalem Council were preconditions for the Christian movement to grow into a global religion.

Rick Bonnie ““We Shape Our Buildings and Afterwards Our Buildings Shape Us”: A Case of the Synagogue in the Late Second Temple Period”

Over the last 50 years, around six or seven synagogue buildings dating to the first century BCE and CE have been exposed archaeologically in the region of modern Israel/Palestine (e.g. Masada, Gamla, Magdala). The term “synagogue” is used here in an architectural typological manner, meaning a relatively large, stand-alone, rectangular columnar structure with rising tiers of seats (accompanied, occasionally, by rear landings) lined along its interior walls. What leads a community to decide at some point in time on building a somewhat monumentally-styled columnar structure as a place of gathering? And what, in fact, would have went on inside such places of gathering? These two questions are important for understanding the development of the institution of the synagogue in the Late Second Temple period in Palestine.

Nevertheless, I would argue that both questions have not been answered with much satisfaction. The first has received only marginal attention, often by pointing to influences of Hellenism. However, as I will show, the profound material change that went with it have not been given much consideration. The second question, it could be argued, has not been answered at all. Instead, contemporary and later textual sources have been used to suggest different functions for a sort of “model-type” synagogue in a hypothetical Jewish community.

Winston Churchill noted in 1943 upon rebuilding the Commons Chamber in London: “We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us.” Indeed, studying the dialectical nature of the relationship between humans and their built environment helps to explore the functioning and meaning of the monumentally-styled columnar structures—to which we refer to as “synagogues”—within their respective communities. This will be the focal point in my paper, as it sheds new light on the communities’ experience of these structures outside of what previous scholars have assumed from textual sources alone (Josephus, NT texts, Philo). In order to achieve this aim, I will examine how these buildings were integrated within the larger settlement, how accessible they were from the outside, and how visible their interior would have been. Moreover, I hope to integrate a developing archaeological picture with readings from a materialist perspective of relevant textual passages, notably from Josephus and New Testament texts.

Francis Borchardt ”Familial Networks and the Idealized Transmission of Knowledge in 1 and 2 Maccabees”

It has long been recognized that the relationship between master and pupil or sage and student is spoken of using filial terms. As scholars of ancient Judaism such as Benjamin Wright and Jacqueline Vayntrub have pointed out, the master, as father, is set up as the paradigmatic teacher, while the pupil, as son (and sometimes daughter) is the exemplary student. This relationship, it is said, both ensures a secure line of transmission of knowledge, and sets up a narrative context in which the value of that knowledge is realized. This idealized construction of transmission can be seen in texts as varied as Ben Sira, Ahiqar, Proverbs, and the entire genre of testamentary literature. It is often narratively extended so that multiple generations of “parents” and “children” curate and cultivate the knowledge that is transmitted through the narrative. This construction provides that knowledge with what Max Weber would term traditional authority. Yet, stories like those found in 1 and 2 Maccabees present a slightly different sort of construction of idealized education that remains largely unexplored. These stories do not only construct settings in which linear models of knowledge transmission are present, though they do contain these. But they also draw from the language of families to construct whole networks devoted to the cultivation and preservation of knowledge.

Irina Demetradze-Renz ”Carving Social History of Iberia”

Dating from the first century CE, the Vespasianic Greek inscription is the earliest inscription found in Iberia. Archaeology in Iberia further revealed second-third and fourth-fifth centuries artefacts inscribed in five different languages - Greek, Aramaic, Persian, Latin and Hebrew. The inscriptions made on such hard surfaces as stone and metal have survived the best. Cornelian seals or finger-rings, silver plates and bowls, a golden plaque, and sandstone epitaphs comprise the collection of inscribed artefacts. Writing tools (stylus and calamus) and inkpots have also been discovered in the urban centre of Iberia Mtskheta. To date, however, no papyri or parchments have been found. Taken together and

individually, the artefacts tell us the stories about how the ancient peoples of Iberia constructed their world. They reflect foreign customs and cultural trends that found fertile ground in Iberia and became mixed with local culture. The mix resulted from political and cultural relationships with Armenia, Romanized Asia Minor, Parthia, and Rome itself. These interactions structured Iberian society.

This paper will discuss the groups of inscribed artefacts that stretch across nearly five centuries and show social structure of Iberia. They reflect impulses of a Roman globalized world that reached this small, remote country during this time span.

Kristin De Troyer (University of Salzburg) “Esther – Reading, Writing and Correcting of Writing”

In this paper, I will first be outlining all the writing and writing procedures that take place in the book of Esther. Case one deals with Esther 1:19 and 22; case two deals with Esther 3:12-15; case three with Esther 8:9-14; case four with Esther 9:20-32. All four cases will be studied in the MT, the OG and in the A-Text. Then, I will ask the question Who did the writing? Who were the scribes that produced the different pieces of writing in the book of Esther? The next section of the paper will briefly also ask the question how translator and reviser deal with the different writings, and finally what we know about the writing of books.

Helen Dixon “Just North of ‘Local’: The significance of social and religious changes in Hellenistic Levantine Phoenicia for our understanding of Late Second Temple biblical text transmission and production”

This paper investigates the communities along the central Levantine coast to the north of late Second Temple period Palestine which have come to be known by the phrase “Hellenistic Phoenicia.” While the long-understudied transition between the Achaemenid and Greco-Roman periods in Phoenicia is receiving renewed scholarly attention, little of this scholarship has yet been brought to bear on questions surrounding social change and textual production. This paper will apply recent scholarly frameworks to existing archaeological and inscriptional evidence from Phoenicia and its colonies, exploring possible implications for understanding the processes underlying changes in sacred texts in contemporaneous Palestine.

Following the critiques of Herbert, Quinn, Bonnet, and other scholars, this study begins by problematizing both components of the phrase “Hellenistic Phoenicia,” and briefly synthesizing what we think we know about the region from the 4th century BCE through the turn of the millennium. A diverse range of regional responses (variously evasive, adaptive, or emulative) to new social and political realities in the central coastal Levant are evident in these communities where artistic, trade-based, and ideological connections to the western Mediterranean had long been the norm. In particular, this study will examine: (a) new formulations of collective identities, e.g., an inclination toward what may be manufactured genealogies of ideas, in order to emphasize their antiquity; and (b) Phoenician textual production (both by and about Phoenicians) in the periods in question, including discussion of an apparent surge in interest in the history of Phoenicia and its neighbor to the south in second century BCE Greek authors (e.g., Dios, Laetus, Menander of Ephesus, Theophilus, Eupolemos—and perhaps the source of the material preserved in Philo of Byblos).

Finally, this study suggests a few ways in which the changing cultic role of the Phoenician kings, the shifting sacred landscape, and other religious reorientations across the Phoenician Levant might inform or complicate our understanding of the social processes underlying

late Second Temple biblical text transmission and production (as a subset of religious textual development more broadly). Phoenician inscriptions, temple remains, and Greek-language historical texts form the basis for the original framework offered here, alongside insights from a growing body of scholarly and archaeological work on continuing Phoenician influence in the Galilee in the periods in question.

Sebastian Fink “What is Moses but Plato speaking Hebrew?”

My title is an inversion of the famous dictum of Aristobulus of Alexandria (3rd or 2nd century BC), who stated “What is Plato but Moses speaking Attic Greek?” While the Greeks usually claimed the invention of Philosophy for themselves, also alternative myths of origin existed. A broad tradition in the classical age of Greek culture attributes the invention of many arts to Egypt. In later times, especially fostered by Hellenistic and Roman rule over the Levant, also other actors entered the stage and claimed their part in the history of philosophy. Especially Jewish and Christian philosophers claimed that the divine knowledge was first revealed to them in their holy books. Plato’s philosophy obviously disturbed Jewish and Christian thinkers, because what Plato told about god seemed to be so close to the teachings of their sacred texts. In order to avoid the assumption of multiple revelations and especially to avoid the idea that their divinely revealed holy texts could have been influenced by Platonic philosophy, they accused Plato of plagiarism, or at least of literary borrowing: Plato somehow got a hand on Moses and used his texts for establishing his own philosophy. Therefore, Plato became a Moses speaking Attic.

As some scholars now date the Old Testament (or at least its final redaction) many years after Plato (who wrote his early dialogues in the years after Socrates’ death in 399 BC), it becomes possible to turn Moses into a Plato speaking Hebrew. In this talk I will investigate investigations about literary borrowings from antiquity and more recent times. My main example for a possible literary borrowing will be the creation of Eve out of Adam’s body and possible explanations for this rather unusual creation myth. Finally, I will discuss the methodological problems of establishing claims of literary borrowings and I try to illuminate how such claims can be driven by religious, political and ideological intentions from Antiquity until today.

Raimo Hakola “Were there Village Scribes in Galilee?”

According to the scholarly mainstream view, Matthew and Luke used in their gospels in addition to Mark a common source, the so-called Q-document that is mainly a collection of Jesus’ sayings. This reconstructed document contains various references to Galilean rural life and villages. For this reason, many Q-scholars think that the document has its origins in Galilee and reflects socioeconomic realities in the region. In recent scholarship, the document is increasingly taken as the product of a circle of village scribes who performed semi-official administrative duties in local villages.

The evidence used for the activity of Galilean village scribes comes mainly from papyrological material from Egypt. In this material, village scribes could be managers of private estates, priests in local shrines or variably trained experts whose skills were sometimes used by illiterate rural population. The Galilean village scribes behind the Q-document are defined as middling sub-elite, distinguished from rural illiterate population because of their writing skills. Their activity is seen as a response against the alleged socio-economic crisis in Galilee under the Romans.

The paper assesses the evidence related to Galilean village scribes. I argue that this hypothesis has emerged at least partly because Galilean society is understood to be in constant conflict with Jerusalem based temple hierarchy who is said to serve the interest of the Romans. However, there is now increasing archaeological evidence that Galilee was brought into the Hasmoneans' sphere of influence already in the first century BCE. The connections between Galilee and Jerusalem make it possible to compare the scribal production of the Q-source to various processes of copying, editing, and translating of scriptural texts that were going on among various scribal circles in Judea. The paper suggest that many organizing literary motifs in the Q-document such as Deuteronomistic view of history, divine judgment and criticism against Jerusalem reflect widely circulated themes of Judean scribal culture and production. This is a more obvious point of reference for the creation of the Q-source than the activity of Galilean village scribes.

Catherine Hezser (SOAS, University of London) “Jewish Scribes in the Late Second Temple Period: Differences between the Composition, Writing, and Interpretation of Texts

In the past, scholars of New Testament texts have often conflated the roles of scribes and editors of compilations and of scribes and Pharisees mentioned in the gospels. When discussing the roles of scribes in the late Second Temple period, varieties between different types of scribes and differences between the practices of composing, writing, and interpreting texts need to be taken into consideration. Besides variations in scribal specializations and practices, the more fundamental differences between the composing and writing of texts and between copying and interpreting them are crucial for a proper understanding of the development of ancient texts. Scribes were not authors, editors, or sages but paid professionals, whose skills were more or less limited to the (re)production of texts. Those who considered themselves scholars and were seen as intellectuals by others looked down on them. Only when these roles and functions are properly distinguished can we gain a better understanding of the creation of the Jewish and Christian scriptural texts.

In my paper I shall first investigate the various types of Jewish scribes who would have been active in Roman Palestine before 70 C.E. Important aspects to consider are the geographical and institutional contexts in which scribal functions would have been required, the use of languages and the specializations of scribes. In the second chapter I shall examine differences between tradents, composers, and writers in the development of literary texts. The third and last chapter will argue that scribes were not sages. The intellectual acumen on which the interpretation and application of texts was based required a different type of scholarly literacy that was considered superior to mere scribal practice. In late antiquity, when rabbis and scribes inhabited the urban centres of Galilee, rabbis' self-distinction from scribes was part of their self-fashioning as a particular type of Graeco-Roman intellectuals.

Paavo Huotari “The Stumbling Stone and the Cornerstone Quotations in the New Testament - Oral Tradition or Kaige?”

The question of the kaige revision is widely debated in the field of the Septuagint. The kaige revision is an early Jewish revision, earlier than the Christian recensions of the Septuagint. The kaige revision aims to bring the Old Greek translation of the Septuagint into a word for word correspondence with a (proto-)Masoretic Hebrew text.

My paper addresses this issue with special attention to the stumbling stone (Isaiah 8:14) and the cornerstone quotations (Isaiah 28:16; Psalms 117 [118]:22) in the early Christian writings (Romans 9:32-33; 1 Peter 2:6-8. cf. Matthew 21:42-44; Mark 12:10; Luke 20:17-18). Jesus is often identified as a stumbling stone, upon which unrighteous or Jews will stumble, or as the corner stone, in which the righteous can trust.

In these quotations some early Christian writers, such as Paul and the writer of 1 Peter, quote a text-type that is much closer to the Hebrew text (the Masoretic text) than the text in the Septuagint. Some scholars have argued, therefore, that the “stone” quotations and their identical text form may be a result of a kind of an oral or written tradition or even the translation from Hebrew, produced by the early Christian writers. This argument also presupposes the independence of 1 Peter and Romans, that is, both epistles are independently quoting this oral or written Christian tradition.

These perspectives, however, have not adequately addressed issues of a literary dependence or the kaige revision. I argue that the “stone” quotations, which are closer to the Hebrew text than to the Septuagint, might preserve a kaige text-type. The quotations in 1 Peter and Romans often agree also with the early Jewish translations (Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus). Although these literal Jewish translations, particularly Aquila, are later than the kaige revision, they show similar respect toward the Hebrew text. Furthermore, it is probable that the writer of 1 Peter made use of Romans.

New Testament quotations based on a kaige text-type do not tell us much about kaige revisers. They give, however, some hints about the distribution of the kaige-type texts, even among the early Christian circles.

Jutta Jokiranta “How costly are ritual practices? Scribal agencies in supervising ritual behaviour”

In search of the milieu of the kaige recension, Jan Joosten proposes on linguistic grounds that these scribes were similar or close to the ones who composed the Psalms of Solomon in the first century BCE. He further notes that the Psalms of Solomon are comparable to many Qumran scrolls in their liturgical colour and manner of drawing on scripture. We may present, together with other scholars, other links between the Psalms of Solomon and Qumran texts: for example, the opponents are characterized by similar sins, and the theology of discipline is important for both. This, however, does not mean that these texts were authored in the same circles. Rather, I propose that by comparing Psalms of Solomon and Qumran rule texts we learn from a significant phenomenon about the learned scribes: halakhic rules and practices emerged during this time where education, supervision, and discipline were key features. Neglecting or bypassing rules in the everyday life set new challenges for the “pious” of the society and their group maintenance and societal ambitions. This paper thus investigates scribal agency and potential scribal hierarchy and leadership in the observance of laws. One relevant and related aspect is the costliness of the observance. “Costly” is here used in two senses: costly in terms of cognitively difficult to learn, memorize, and/or apply, and costly in terms of resources (be it time, material resources, cooperation, etc). Costly rituals may function as efficient signals of commitment for the group. On the other hand, costly rules that are not sufficiently public lose their power to enhance group cohesion. These texts exemplify connections between the scribal mindset concerned on the details of halakhic practice, especially meticulous details of ritual purity, sexual behaviour, oaths and other laws, and the “narrative mind” interested in the divine plan for

history and the role of humans in that story, be it in the form of revealing divine truths or praising God with the right words.

Anna Kharanauli (Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University) “Tracing the Manuscripts of the Georgian Bible”

When, where, in what circumstances, and for how many times was the Bible translated into Georgian? Who translated it? What path did its texts take? In what ways were they changed? Was there a chaotic development of these texts or were they changed due to standardization process?

These questions are still open and answers to them can be exclusively given based on the manuscripts – biblical and liturgical codices, tiny fragments and palimpsest containing the texts of the Georgian Bible translations. The manuscripts that were originally compiled in various places – Georgia, Holy Land, Sinai, Athos, Constantinople, Antioch – have been spread all over the world: Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Vienna, Graz, Athos, Sinai, Erevan. However, most of them are kept in Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

In my presentation I invite the audience to follow me through 1500-year History of the Georgian Bible preserved in the manuscripts from 5th to 17th century.

Tuukka Kauhanen “Josephus' Sources and Motivations in Depicting Davidic Kingship”

In *Jewish Antiquities* (*Ant.*), book 7, Josephus (37–ca. 100 CE) retells the stories of David’s kingship in 2 Samuel. Instead of quoting the Samuel text, he paraphrases it in a fairly high-style Greek. Generally, the scholarly opinion is divided on whether Josephus based his exposition mainly on a Hebrew (so Nodet) or a Greek (Mez, Ulrich) text, or whether he used both (Rahlf’s, Brock). In this paper, a case will be made of Josephus being dependent on a Greek text in *Ant.* 7, but it is difficult to determine whether that Greek text was closer to the Lucianic (Antiochian) text than the B or majority texts (so Mez; Ulrich, Spottorno). The most decisive factors behind Josephus’ formulations are the needs to produce a good story and to present King David in a favorable light. However, details of the underlying Greek text affect Josephus’ choice of words in isolated cases, e.g., referring to King David as “the shepherd” of his people (2 Sam 24:17 // *Ant.* 7:328) and explicating that David chose the plague over other forms of punishment following the census (2 Sam 24:14 // *Ant.* 7:322–323). Both of these cases are based on a Greek reading absent from the MT.

In addition to details in the Greek text, Josephus’ choice of words or a free expansion are partly motivated by his own situation after the Jewish War. Josephus’ motivations can be detected when he deviates from the biblical narrative. Examples of this phenomenon include depicting David’s son Absalom as a demagogue who incited the mob to a rebellion (*Ant.* 7:196) and justifying the purportedly changed allegiance of David’s friend Hushai by prudence and acknowledgement of divine providence (*Ant.* 7:211–212).

The study on Josephus’ depiction of Davidic kingship must take into account both the sources and the personal motivations of the author. The study illuminates the impact of a large-scale political transition—the Jewish War and its aftermath—on the rewriting of scriptural texts and traditions.

Natia Mirotadze "Short Version of I Samuel in the Georgian Tradition – Local or Global Reworking"

A group of the Georgian manuscripts – Jer-113, A-570, H-885 – contains short versions of several Biblical books among them Samuel-Kings. Depending on the texts and sources, shortening has different character, e.g. in case of Esther and Judith MSS A-570 and H-885 lacks small mainly explanatory phrases and their inner-Georgian origin is clear, but omissions in Samuel-Kings in MS Jer-113 are more dramatic and in literature and research Jerusalem Version of I Samuel is named as short text or short version. Part of omissions of the Jerusalem Version has parallels in Greek sources, though there is not the Greek manuscript or textual tradition that would have represented all omissions of the Georgian. The paper aims to show what the character of shortening is and who is responsible for this kind of text – local Georgian editor who rewrote already existing old Georgian translation or short text was created on the Greek level and Georgian Jerusalem Version of I Samuel is a faithful translation of its parent text.

Ville Mäkipelto "How Scribes Rewrote History in the Hasmonean Period"

The text of the book of Joshua was in a fluid state at the end of the Second Temple Period. In recent research, textual evidence from various sources has been cumulating showing that in late Second Temple Period there were scribal circles that rewrote Joshua texts in various ways. In this contribution, I explore whether it is possible to identify the social and historical situations where Joshua traditions were rewritten.

The paper consists of an analysis of two documented cases of rewriting as witnessed by the MT, LXX, and Qumran scrolls. The case examples are: (1) the different location of the covenant making (Josh 24) in MT in relation to the LXX, which is likely related to the relationship with the Samaritans, and (2) the different interpretations of the curse upon the builder of Jericho (Josh 6:26) as witnessed in MT, LXX, 4Q379, and 4Q175, which can be connected with anti-Hasmonean polemics. Based on clues in the texts, an overall view of the textual history of Joshua, and other historical sources I argue that these rewritings can, with a modest degree of probability, be connected with polemics related to the Hasmonean period. This underlines the notion that social controversies in Second Temple Judaism resulted into textual changes. However, one must admit that the evidence does not allow the reconstruction of a precise social context for the usage of these texts.

Jessi Orpana "Representations of Priest in the Aramaic Qumran material"

The Aramaic corpus from Qumran has been under intense scholarly scrutiny after its publication was completed less than a decade ago. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly scholars, like Dimant, Machiela, Perrin, Tigchelaar, and Ben-Dov, have found many common elements in these literary works that seem to tie this material together as a distinct corpus, even apart from the shared language. These similarities have given rise to hypothesis not only concerning the use of similar literary strategies (Dimant, Ben-Dov) but also concerning the social setting of the authors of these works (Machiela). Especially the choice of language has been seen as either a literary device used for settings preceding Sinai and placed in foreign courts (Ben-Dov) or necessitated by the international context and audience of the actual authors (Machiela). As many of these works, such as the Aramaic Levi Document, Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram, share a distinct focus on priestly/levitical lines it has furthermore been suggested that this feature could reveal the social background of the authors of at least some of these works (Machiela, Drawnel). In this paper this priestly/levitical emphasis is

explored from the point of view of literary strategies of authorization and legitimation and whether the evident use of such strategies would strengthen or weaken the supposed linkage between the implied and actual authors of these works. Certain prototypes of literary voices, such as, priests, sages, kings, patriarchs, and prophets, were used in diverse combinations by Second Temple authors and the distinct features of the Aramaic corpus may reveal important clues as to the social setting of the actual authors of this corpus. Moreover, it is important to explore whether the texts contain other connections with priestly interests or writing style than the emphasis on priestly/levitical lines as the implied authors and transmitters of these works. Such an analysis will give a more comprehensive picture of these works and the interests shared by their authors as well as those potentially distinguishing them from each other. These results can then hopefully be used in further studies to more accurately define the social settings of the actual authors.

Mladen Popović (University of Groningen) “Scribes and Book Publishing in Ancient Judaism”

This lecture will explore the issue of how we envisage publishing and the publication of texts or books in ancient Judaism. What is publication? Does it help to know how books were published in Graeco-Roman culture? The lecture will explore possibilities in the Qumran context, also taking the scholarly category of pseudepigrapha into account.

Marika Pulkkinen “Traces of reading and writing in Paul’s letters: Case Study on Paul’s Use of Psalms”

This presentation focuses on Paul’s use of psalms particularly in Romans and 1 Corinthians from the point of view of reading and writing process. I examine what can be detected about the form of Paul’s source from his psalmic quotations and allusions. In previous scholarship, it is debated whether Paul includes in his letters pre-formed material or not – both from earlier traditions (early Christian and Jewish) and his own notes. The question of pre-formatted material on the one hand and citing from memory on the other hand is particularly interesting concerning the use of psalms. As a poetic text, psalms contain mnemonic patterns, such as *parallelismus membrorum*, which enables memorization. Nevertheless, comparative research suggests that Paul plausibly had a periodic access to the written form of the texts in order to copy their important parts for his own use. Still, besides written sources, it is probable that Paul have cited from memory.

In previous scholarship, it has been often assumed that the synagogue institution was already developed and that the psalms were used as a part of synagogue worship during the turn of the era. This assumption has further raised a hypothesis that the psalms were popular and well-known and thus also cited from memory, even if there is no textual evidence of such a use of psalms in synagogue is preserved from the late Second Temple period.¹ However, psalms were probably used in different type of gatherings as part of devotional life. A wide definition of “liturgy” views that, during the Second Temple period, liturgy may have comprised—in addition to temple offering—also study or praise. Thus, use of psalms in informal gatherings can be labelled as “liturgy” in a wide sense, as I will do in this presentation.

¹ The reading of psalms or prayer is mentioned more seldom in connection to synagogue compared to the Torah. For these instances, see Josephus, *A. J.* 14.260; *Vita* 295; *C. Ap.* 1.209; Philo, *Spec.* 3.171; Matthew 6:5). Runesson et al. mention (2008, 8, n. 15) that Josephus’ *Vita* 290 and *A. J.* 14.216 attest that prayer has possibly played a role as a part of public assembling or a festival.

First I will provide a brief survey of research history on psalms and liturgy. Second, I discuss the changing function of psalms during the given period (other than liturgical) which is reflected also on Paul's use of psalms. Finally, I assess the main focus of this presentation, namely the question what was the form of Paul's psalmic quotations and allusions.

Jason Silverman "The Concepts of 'Torah' and 'the Prophets': Are they Texts or Something Else?"

In STJ studies, it tends to be assumed that the Torah and the Prophets are the two collections of texts² that later became constitutive parts of the Tanak. There are, however, good grounds for considering this to be a late development. It may be better to understand both Torah and Prophets as originally non-textual concepts, ones that never quite escape their origins. To consider the appearance of these two text collections, we must ask: 1) What were "Torah" and "the Prophets" originally?; 2) How did the text collections come to be?; and 3) How did "Torah" and "Prophets" come to be associated with particular groups of texts? This paper can only begin to sketch some hypotheses towards answering these questions.

For the first question, I will argue that originally both "Torah" and "the prophets" were merely two, widespread, common sources of social "warrants" (or two of three "traditional sources of authority" to use common terminology).³ For the second question, I will argue that the Pentateuch was originally codified as a scribal curriculum (probably for purposes of advancing in the Persian administrative system), and the prophet were collected as an answer to Mesopotamian divinatory scholarship. For the third question, I will appeal to the processes of textual internalization,⁴ as well as the exigencies of communities dispersed through time and space.⁵

To develop these hypotheses, I plan to dialogue with Carr, Collins, Davies, Fitzpatrick, Nidich, and Satlow (Listed below).

Carr, David. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*

Collins, John J. *The Invention of Judaism*

Davies, Philip R. *Scribes and Schools*

Fitzpatrick-McKinley, Anne. *From Scribal Advice to Law*

Niditch, Susan. *Oral World, Written Word*

Satlow, Michael L. *How the Bible Became Holy*.

Cf. Heszer, Catherine. *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*

Jafee, *Oral Torah*.

Elisa Uusimäki "Educational Journeys in Greek and Jewish Antiquity"

² For clarity, I use the word "text" exclusively for written texts, not oral media.

³ I.e., the king, religious specialists, and elders or other tradition-bearing individuals. I will be trying to develop my thinking on "authority" as an index of the correlation of role behaviors and expectations between leaders and their groups.

⁴ As described by McLuhan and Ong.

⁵ As sketched by Robert Merton.

This paper examines the phenomenon of educational travel in Greek and Jewish antiquity. The starting point for the analysis is provided by the two passages in the book of Sirach which posit that travel fosters understanding (Sir. 34:9–13) and that the sage knows how to travel in foreign lands (Sir. 39:4). These references are discussed in the context of two ancient Mediterranean corpora—i.e., biblical and Greek literature. Although the evidence in Sirach is insufficient for demonstrating the existence of a specific social practice (i.e. that Jewish sages actually would have undertaken educational travels around the Eastern Mediterranean region), the text at least attests to an attitude of mental openness, imagining travel as a professional enterprise with positive and desirable outcomes. Following an analysis of the travel motif in biblical/Jewish and Greek writings, this paper argues that the closest thematic parallels to Sir. 34:9–13 and Sir. 39:4 are not to be found in the Hebrew Bible or Hellenistic Jewish literature but in (non-Jewish) Greek writings which refer to travels undertaken by the sages who roam around for the sake of learning. The shared travel motif does not indicate any direct literary dependencies, but it demonstrates that Sirach belongs to a wider Hellenistic Mediterranean context than just that of biblical literature.