CHANGES IN SACRED TEXTS AND TRADITIONS



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CHANGES IN SACRED TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

Methodological Encounters and Debates

Edited by

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1QH	Thanksgiving Hymns
1QM	War Scroll
1QS	Serek Hayaḥad or Rule of the Community
4QBer	Blessings Scroll
4QD	Damascus Document
4QMidrEschat	Midrasch on Eschatology
4QMMT	Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah
4QShirShabb	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
AAMT	Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AeL	Ägypten und Levante / Egypt and the Levant
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Akk.	Akkadian
ANEE	Ancient Near Eastern Empires (project)
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APAAA	Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological
	Association
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
Bib	Biblica

viii	Abbreviations
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BHK	Biblia Hebraica
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BMW	The Bible in the Modern World
BN	Biblische Notizen
BSNA	Biblical Scholarship in North America
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
Bull. Math. Bio.	Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testa- ment
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wis- senschaft
С. Ар.	Josephus, Contra Apionem
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CurBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
CDA	Black, Jeremy A., A. R. George, and J. N. Postgate. A
	Concise Dictionary of Akkadian. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden:
	Harrassowitz, 2000.
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CL	Computational Linguistics
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CoE	Centre of Excellence
CSTT	Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions (project)
DBS	Digital Biblical Studies
DCH	Clines, David J. A., ed. <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2014.
DDD	Toorn, Karel van der, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van
	der Horst, eds. <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible.</i> 2nd rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999.

DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DSI	De Septuaginta Investigationes
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ESV	English Standard Version
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und
I KLAIVI	Neuen Testaments
Front. Psychol.	Frontiers in Psychology
GBSOT	Guides to Biblical Scholarship, Old Testament Series
Ger.	German
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
GPBS	Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J.
	Stamm. The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old
	Testament. Translated and edited under the supervision
	of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994-
	1999.
HAR	Hebrew Annual Review
HBAI	Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HR	History of Religions
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testa-
	ment
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAJ	Journal of Ancient Judaism
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JHebS	Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JRF	Journal of Religion & Film
JSCS	Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
-	·

JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín
	Sanmartín, eds. Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.
	Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. 3rd enl. ed. of KTU: The
	Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani,
	and Other Places. Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald
	Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
KUSATU	Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments
	und seiner Umwelt
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MasShirShabb	Masada Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
MANE	Monographs on the Ancient Near East
masc.	masculine
MT	Masoretic Text
MWM	Melammu Workshops and Monographs
NCB	New Century Bible
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
NEAEHL	Stern, Ephraim, ed. The New Encyclopedia of Archaeo-
	<i>logical Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 4 vols. Jerusalem:
	Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon &
	Schuster, 1993.
NEB	Die Neue Echter Bibel
NedTT	Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift
NETS	Pietersma, Albert and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. A New
	English Translation of the Septuagint. New York: Oxford
Х	University Press, 2007.
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTOA/S	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus / Studien zur
	Umwelt des Neuen Testaments

NTS	New Testament Studies
OAC	Orientis Antiqui Collectio
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica
OEANE	Meyers, Eric M., ed. The Oxford Encyclopedia of
0211112	Archaeology in the Near East. 5 vols. New York: Oxford
	University Press, 1997.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or	Orientalia (new series)
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum
PCA	Proceedings of the Classical Association
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts
PSL	Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics
RB	Revue biblique
RBL	Review of Biblical Literature
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
RevQ	Revue de Qumran
RlA	Ebeling, Erich, et al., eds. Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
	Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SJOT	Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament
SLA	Studies in Late Antiquity
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPhiloA	Studia Philonica Annual
ST	Studia Theologica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StOr	Studia Orientalia
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum

xii	Abbreviations
SymS	Symposium Series
ŤA	Tel Aviv
TACL	Transactions of the Association for Computational Lin-
	guistics
ТВ	Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus
	dem 20. Jahrhundert
TCSt	Text-Critical Studies
THB	Textual History of the Bible
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchrist-
	lichen Literatur
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
Ug.	Ugaritic
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VL	Vetus Latina
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testa-
	ment
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZABR	Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsge-
	schichte
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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1

Scholarly Community at Work: What Have We Learned?

Martti Nissinen and Jutta Jokiranta

1.1. CSTT in Brief

Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions (CSTT) is the name of a major research project and an international community of fifty-three researchers—doctoral candidates, postdoctoral researchers, and senior scholars—working at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Helsinki during a six-year period from 2014 to 2019.¹ Thanks to CSTT, the University of Helsinki was hosting a unit of biblical and cognate studies that probably was the largest in the world during this period of time.

The key term *changes* points at the central element of the project's research agenda, which was to demonstrate how both texts and traditions were the subject of a constant process of transformation. Accordingly, the research of CSTT embraced textual and cultural plurality as driving forces in the emergence of sacred texts and traditions rather than the much appreciated but often illusory qualities of immutability, originality, and unity. The *sacred texts* refer mainly to texts that were held as sacred, were becoming sacred, or eventually became sacred in the Jewish and/ or Christian traditions. The analysis of changes in texts involved detailed microlevel study of the manuscripts and ancient translations of biblical texts, but it was not restricted to canonical texts only. The *traditions*, again, widened the scope to the Near Eastern and Greco-Roman world, requiring macrolevel analysis of cross-cultural phenomena and developments in

^{1.} See https://blogs.helsinki.fi/sacredtexts/; and Martti Nissinen, "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions: A Centre of Excellence of the Academy of Finland at the University of Helsinki," *HBAI* 2 (2013): 579–86.

the ancient Near East and eastern Mediterranean. Accordingly, the CSTT community consisted of Hebrew Bible scholars, Assyriologists, archaeologists, and New Testament scholars.

CSTT was one of the Centres of Excellence (CoE) funded by the Academy of Finland for the years 2014-2019. Units that are granted the CoE status by the Academy of Finland are "scientifically first-rate research communities that have capacity for renewal and high societal impact," selected on the basis of a two-stage application process with international reviewers and interviews and representing all fields of academic research conducted in all fourteen universities in Finland.² The groups that apply for funding may be put together in a number of ways; often they represent more than one field. A significant push for the CSTT application came from a 2010-2011 research evaluation where scholars were invited to form their own groups for the process. But the most important foundation of CSTT was laid by two large former projects: "Formation of Early Jewish and Christian Ideology," led by Heikki Räisänen (CoE of the Academy of Finland, 1995-2005), and "State Archives of Assyria," directed by Simo Parpola (CoE of the University of Helsinki, 1997-2001). Of the fourteen Centres of Excellence established by the Academy of Finland for the period 2014-2019, no less than two were based at the University of Helsinki Faculty of Theology, that is, CSTT and the CoE "Reason and Religious Recognition" (director: Risto Saarinen).³ Moreover, some members of CSTT were successful in establishing yet another CoE "Ancient Near Eastern Empires" (ANEE), funded by the Academy of Finland for the period of 2018-2025 under the leadership of Saana Svärd.⁴

The CoE programs have turned out to be of crucial importance for biblical, theological, and ancient Near Eastern research in Finland. They have enabled small disciplines in Finland, such as biblical studies and Assyriology, to develop and prosper considerably.⁵ This is essentially a matter of

^{2.} See http://tinyurl.com/SBLPress03116a1. CoE programs have been established every two or four years since 1995, first for a five-year-period, then for six-year periods since 2000, and for eight-year periods since 2018.

^{3.} See https://blogs.helsinki.fi/reasonandreligiousrecognition/.

^{4.} See https://www2.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/ancient-near-eastern-empires.

^{5.} Despite the internationally recognized status of Assyriology in Helsinki, this field was threatening to shrink, with no assigned professorship after Simo Parpola. Yet with ANEE, Saana Svärd has been appointed a tenured professor in ancient Near Eastern studies.

continuity—the CSTT community would not have emerged without the work of the previous Centres of Excellence led by Heikki Räisänen and Simo Parpola some two decades earlier. CSTT and its daughter ANEE testify to the continuing pattern of maintaining top-tier research communities whenever given sufficient resources.

The total funding received by CSTT was €7,124,416, of which 80 percent was granted by the Academy of Finland and the rest by the host institution, the University of Helsinki. A lion's share of the funding was spent on monthly salaries of researchers who were selected by way of three open international calls in 2013, 2014, and 2016. The calls attracted considerable attention, and the quality of applications was high, the acceptance rate being only 10–12 percent.

CSTT members represented ten nationalities (Austria, Canada, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Israel, Japan, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the United States). In addition, the CSTT visitor program brought in twelve scholars from Estonia, France, Georgia, Germany, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom to work in Helsinki for one to three months.

The CSTT community comprised four collaborative units called teams, each having a general subject to which the members contributed with their own research topics. Team 1, "Society and Religion in the Ancient Near East," was led by Martti Nissinen. Team 1 explored cultural, religious, and demographic developments in the ancient Near East preceding and accompanying biblical texts and traditions, the research topics of the members relating mainly to nonbiblical texts from the ancient Near East and archaeological evidence from the Southern Levant. Team 2, led by Anneli Aeimelaeus, focused on the formative phase of the Hebrew Bible under the title "Text and Authority." The team traced the gradual emergence of the authority of sacred writings by evaluating changes in the textual witnesses of the Hebrew Bible, especially the Masoretic Text, Qumran texts, and the Septuagint, and exploring the intertextual use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish and Christian texts, especially the Dead Sea Scrolls and the letters of Paul in the New Testament. Team 3, under the leadership of Juha Pakkala, focused on "Literary Criticism in Light of Documented Evidence" with the main goal of refining and improving conventional literary criticism (Literarkritik). Special attention was paid to documented evidence of textual witnesses, which also led the team to investigate the methodological borderline between textual and literary criticism. Team 4, "Society and Religion in Late Second Temple Judaism," led by Jutta Jokiranta, inquired into changes in practices and beliefs around the turn of the Common Era.

Apart from textual sources (Hebrew Bible, Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish literature, Greek textual evidence), the source materials consisted importantly of new archaeological evidence from the southern Levant. The research topics of Team 4 comprised changes in rituals and practices, intellectual changes, and changes in material culture, and its methodological toolbox even enabled social-scientific approaches.

Martti Nissinen was the director responsible for the whole project, but the management of the project was not entirely on his shoulders. During his sabbatical from 2015 to 2016, the project was led by the vice-director Anneli Aejmelaeus. Already before the beginning of the funding period, CSTT established a board to act as the principal decision-making organ. The advice and support from the two external members of the Scientific Advisory Board nominated by the Academy of Finland, Kristin De Troyer (Salzburg) and George Brooke (Manchester), was especially significant. They attended all six annual meetings and the closing conference, and their suggestions and recommendations were highly appreciated, clearly improving the work and achievements of CSTT.

The members of CSTT were initially divided into two categories, the salaried members with a fixed-term work contract and unsalaried members who were funded by other sources. Almost all members worked in Helsinki; however, a few unsalaried members were based in institutions outside Finland, such as Tartu, Münster, and Hongkong. The salaried members had certain duties, such as participation and presenting in CSTT events and using 5–10 percent of their work time for teaching and/or academic service; for other members, participation in CSTT activities was an expectation but not a duty. At a later stage, it was found necessary to establish a third membership category, that of an associate member, for those members whose contract was completed or who for other reasons moved away from Helsinki but wanted to remain members of the community. This membership category did not include any duties or expectations.

The six annual meetings and the concluding meeting were the main events that gathered the entire CSTT community around the crucial concepts and sources approached by the members from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Each team had regular team-specific meetings, which were open to all members. A CSTT lecture series was established with internal and external lecturers, often invited from among the CSTT visitors. CSTT summer meetings were designed to support career planning, funding applications, and work well-being. Altogether, CSTT or its members (co)organized fifty conferences and workshops during the six-year period of funding, mainly in Helsinki but also in other places such as Beirut, Hongkong, Jerusalem, Tallinn, and Tbilisi.

CSTT members were regular participants in the conferences of organizations such as the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), the European Association of Biblical Studies (EABS), the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT), and the International Association for Assyriology (IAA). Papers read by CSTT members in international conferences from 2014 to2019 amount to around nine hundred. Largely due to the participation by CSTT members, the University of Helsinki counted among the most active institutions world-wide in the Annual Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature 2014–2019. At the 2019 annual meeting in San Diego, for instance, the University of Helsinki was the sixth largest institutional concentration, presenting more papers that any other European institution.⁶

1.2. What Goals Did We Pursue?

The money, time, and freedom provided by the Centre of Excellence funding created ideal circumstances for pursuing ambitious goals, the main objective, of course, being the production of high-quality research under the title "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions." CSTT had a research plan that provided a general framework for the study without micromanaging the topics of individual researchers who were free to carry out the research plans the way they deemed best within their respective teams. The outcome of the six-year work period, published between 2014 and 2020 in sixty-seven books and nearly five hundred peer-reviewed articles is too large to be presented as a short list of results. While the large volume of books and articles is representative of the breadth and depth of CSTT research, we became increasingly aware of the importance of the community and its work culture when pursuing our ambitious goals together.

1.2.1. Methodological and Theoretical Encounter

One of the primary goals mentioned in the CSTT research plan was *methological encounter and cross-fertilization*. Since such a challenge can only

^{6.} Statistics provided by Christopher Hooker, the Society of Biblical Literature's Director of Membership and Programs, on 12 May 2020.

be met by a large multidisciplinary research community with a significant amount of expertise in different methodologies, the composition of CSTT was designed with this goal in mind. A few examples regarding the study of Judaism in the Second Temple period (mainly in Team 4) will suffice here to demonstrate how such encounters took place. The book Crossing Imaginary Boundaries was the first fruit of the attempt to focus on a common topic, that is, the Dead Sea Scrolls, from different methodological angles and with a conscious attempt to break through previous disciplinary and conceptual categories.⁷ The interdisciplinary methodological challenges in Second Temple Judaism were reflected in the joint article of seven CSTT members on changes in research of early Judaism.⁸ The archaeological and textual evidence of early synagogues was the object of a multidisciplinary evaluation in the volume The Synagogue in Ancient Palestine.9 Gender studies that many scholars employed in CSTT inspired a thematic issue of *Dead Sea Discoveries*.¹⁰ The most recent collection of essays, Scriptures in the Making, discusses texts and their transmission in late Second Temple Judaism from a contextual point of view involving different methodological approaches.¹¹

The methodological cross-fertilization by way of encounter and negotiation meant a considerable risk at the outset. Taking this risk could not have been possible without the financial resources that enabled us to create a large and globally active research community and the freedom to structure the research community in a way that enhanced methodological encounter and debate. Taking this risk resulted in important insights with regard to possibilities and restrictions of methodological encounter and cross-fertilization. This is reflected in the chapters of the volume at

^{7.} Hanna Tervanotko and Mika S. Pajunen, eds., *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, PFES 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015).

^{8.} Jutta Jokiranta et al., "Changes in Research on Judaism in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods: An Invitation to Interdisciplinarity," *ST* 72 (2018): 3–29.

^{9.} Rick Bonnie, Raimo Hakola, and Ulla Tervahauta, eds., *The Synagogue in Ancient Palestine: Current Issues and Emerging Trends*, FRLANT 279 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020).

^{10.} Jutta Jokiranta and Jessica Keady, eds., *Gender Studies and Dead Sea Scrolls*, DSD 26.3 (2019).

^{11.} Raimo Hakola, Jessi Orpana, and Paavo Huotari, eds., *Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism*, CBET 109 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022).

hand, which contain approaches to scholarly practices and ethics, methodological debates, and coauthored case studies on the use of different methodological tools for solving a common research problem. The content of the volume at hand is based on a digestion of things learned during the six years of collaboration, and it demonstrates that methodological encounters can be both rewarding and difficult.

While the cross-disciplinary work was one major goal, the research plan did not specify who was supposed to work with whom or which skills and expertise were needed for each task. The annual meetings were given general, abstract topics (such as "What Is Sacred?"; "What Is Text?"), to which every member found some link or approach. This work typically led to highly conceptual discussions rather than direct results. Therefore, if we wanted to measure to what extent CSTT achieved its goals, two issues need to be noted. Members came to CSTT with their own expertise, educational background, and, at least implicit, learned habits and assumptions about how to run a scholarly enterprise and what to expect. Interdisciplinarity is highly valued by today's funding agencies, but there are limited structures and resources to support it. Scholars who are by default curious and open-minded also need to feel competent and be goal-oriented. A certain element of insecurity, even sense of threat, is inevitable when scholars are made to overstep the boundaries of their natural habitat. CSTT taught us that scholars need time to build trust and get to know each other-and here all the collective events with community-building, formal and informal discussions, and focused time in different environments were crucial. CSTT could develop into a true community only through such events and the time and money invested in them.

Second, CSTT members know more than they realize they know by simply having spent years in the research community. We claim that the meta-knowledge that the members acquired—the sources they now know exist that they had never heard of before, the enthusiasm in a colleague's eyes when speaking on a matter they had not thought of, the people they now know from various parts of the world with their individual career paths and university cultures—is a significant part of the results, yet hard to measure or document. Meta-knowledge is valuable, although people sometimes feel frustrated when they do not see immediate results. For example, postgraduate students were rightly concerned whether extra writing projects or other assignments advanced their dissertations. The fun of learning together has to be sufficiently balanced by feelings of competence and freedom in one's own time management, but it helps if one learns to see the collective activities as an essential part of academic work, not something that moves the individual away from serious business.

1.2.2. Community Building and Collaborative Teamwork

It was our aim from the beginning to form an *inclusive, collaborative, and nonhierarchical community* of researchers who are open to mutual learning and ready to share their theoretical insights and methodological skills with others, both internally and externally. The team structure and mode of operation was fashioned accordingly, and the members were free to initiate activities, often in collaboration with other academic organizations and communities. The teams prompted a collaborative spirit that became visible in many ways: coauthoring articles and editing interdisciplinary collections of essays, organizing cross-disciplinary events typically focused on methodological issues, and even collaborative spire to create a sense of belonging among members by way of integration and identification, shared responsibilities, and equal opportunities.¹²

^{12.} Just a few examples for collaborative essays and essay collections in addition to the essays published in the volume at hand and the works mentioned in notes 8-11 above: Anneli Aejmelaeus, Drew Longacre, and Natia Mirotadze, eds., From Scribal Error to Rewriting: How Ancient Texts Could and Could Not Be Changed, DSI 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020); Mika S. Pajunen and Jessi Orpana, eds., Changes in the Study of Sacred Texts, BN 186 (2020); Raija Mattila, Sanae Ito, and Sebastian Fink, eds., Animals and Their Relation to Gods, Humans and Things in the Ancient World, Universal- und kulturhistorische Studien (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019); Juha Pakkala and Reinhard Müller, eds., Insights into Editing in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East: What Does Documented Evidence Tell Us about the Transmission of Authoritative Texts?, CBET 84 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017); Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy S. Penner, eds., Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period, BZAW 486 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017); Katja Kujanpää and Paavo Huotari, "Hebraizing Revision in Isaiah Quotations in Paul and Matthew," in Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism, ed. Raimo Hakola, Jessi Orpana, and Paavo Huotari, CBET 109 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 313-42; Saana Svärd and Martti Nissinen, "(Re)constructing the Image of Assinnu," in Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East, ed. Saana Svärd and Agnès Garcia Ventura (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018), 373-411; Hanne von Weissenberg and Elisa Uusimäki, "Are There Sacred Texts at Qumran? The Concept of Sacred Text in Light of the Qumran Collection," in Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of

CSTT provided *work opportunities* for a high number of young researchers. Thirty-seven postdoctoral researchers and PhD candidates were directly employed for varying terms, and, in addition, a few researchers funded by other sources were accepted as associate members with the right of participating in our activities and applying for travel grants. Even members who left Helsinki during the funding period, typically postdoctoral researchers who received funding from other institutions, were given the status of associate member.

One of the cornerstones of our community building was *postgraduate* education as a communal effort. A strong element of collective supervision and peer-support complemented the more traditional, bilateral teacher-student relationship: postgraduate students were appreciated as discussion partners and respondents equal to the postdoctoral and senior members in our events. Junior researchers were encouraged to take initiative in organizing workshops, teaching, and peer support. Fifteen CSTT members completed their doctoral degrees, while another five doctoral candidates are still writing their dissertations. Most PhD candidates spent a period from six weeks to a full academic year doing their research at other universities (e.g., Berne, British Columbia in Vancouver, Cambridge, Durham, Edinburgh, Emory in Atlanta, Göttingen, Jerusalem, Leiden, Madrid, McMaster in Toronto, Münster, Oxford, Tübingen), and one doctoral degree was based on a *cotutelle* agreement between the Universities of Helsinki and Leiden, the student (Tero Alstola) having been employed by the ERC-funded project "By the Rivers of Babylon" led by Caroline Waerzeggers.

CSTT contributed significantly to the emergence of *a new Centre of Excellence*, "Ancient Near Eastern Empires" (ANEE). The application for this international and interdisciplinary project initiated by four CSTT members (Saana Svärd, Rick Bonnie, Jason Silverman, and Helen Dixon) in collaboration with archaeologists at the University of Helsinki (Antti Lahelma) turned out successfully, receiving funding from the Academy of Finland for the years 2018–2025. CSTT gave full support to the initiative of its members who adopted and improved the organizational and operational model of CSTT. When ANEE was established, some members moved from one project to the other, and the Centres of Excellence mutu-

the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioat, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 21–41.

ally agreed on shared membership of those researchers whose research topics were considered relevant for both projects.

Significant emphasis was laid on *improving the academic work culture*. We wanted to create a model for an interdisciplinary and collaborative research unit in biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies, comprising biblical scholars, Assyriologists, and archaeologists. We strived for a tolerant and nonhierarchical mode of operation—a diverse, supportive, keen-to-debate and unprejudiced work environment that tolerated methodological disagreement and encouraged people to move outside their comfort zones. Time will show if and how the practices of our fields of study will improve globally when CSTT-based researchers adapt its mode of operation in the academic communities in which they will continue their work. If we have succeeded in moving our fields of study toward a change of paradigm in academic work culture, it has not only been about changes in sacred texts and traditions but also about changing scholarship.

1.3. What Have We Learned?

1.3.1. Work Culture

We think better together. This is doubtless the best legacy of CSTT that we can take with us wherever we continue our work. Research in the humanities is still mostly solitary work, and this was true even for CSTT. By the same token, we learned the benefits of continuous sharing and testing of research ideas, especially when supported structurally by the research community. While this is especially true for postgraduate students writing their doctoral dissertations, also more advanced members had the opportunity of regularly communicating their research interests, questions, and results within a community that was as critical as it was supportive.

Since CSTT members had varying disciplinary and theoretical backgrounds, we wanted to develop it into a community in which different methodologies and approaches come together as an ongoing forum for exchange and learning—an inclusive space where we could safely disagree without fear of becoming discredited. We learned that methodological cross-fertilization is not an easy and problem-free enterprise, but we also learned that if our encounters do not always lead to agreement, they may help to articulate the disagreement honestly and uncompromisingly in an atmosphere of respect and friendship. This is exemplified in this book by the conversations between Anneli Aejmelaeus and Juha Pakkala on the interface of textual and literary criticism; between Cynthia Edenburg, Juha Pakkala, Francis Borchardt, and Jason Silverman on the legitimacy of the diachronic type of historical criticism; and between Martti Nissinen and Dalit Rom-Shiloni on the historical study of prophecy and prophetic books. The reader will see that these conversations lead to varying degrees of agreement: while Aejmelaeus and Pakkala as well as Nissinen and Rom-Shiloni eventually find considerable common ground to move forward, it is harder for the representatives and challengers of (diachronic) historical criticism to convince each other about a viable common agenda.

Six years is certainly not enough to change scholarly paradigms, and it was not enough even to fulfil the objectives expressed in the initial research plan about creating a *synthesis* of the processes of tradition and textual production that prompted changes in the texts and traditions under scrutiny. However, many mechanisms of changes that took place in texts and in their sociocultural contexts were revealed, and we certainly took huge leaps toward a more comprehensive view of these changes.

1.3.2. Best Practices

Academic research projects, even major ones, are often not very explicit about their leadership and managements structures. Out of the conviction that transparent management is an important factor in the success and well-being of an academic community, CSTT established a board and wrote rules of procedure for itself well before the funding period started. The board consisted of the director as the chairperson, the vice-director, the other team leaders (later also vice team leaders), as well as one postdoctoral researcher and one postgraduate student chosen by their peers. The board decided on the internal distribution of the funding, was in charge of strategic planning, accepted new members, and decided on the annual program. The board was also responsible for maintaining best practices of leadership and communication within the community.

The procedural rules turned out to function well throughout the funding term. They were, however, soon found wanting with regard to the means and strategies of communication. Therefore, we established a media and communications group that wrote a strategy of communication and took responsibility of the maintenance of communicational channels such as the project's blog (www.cstt.fi) and Twitter account (@CSTT_Helsinki).

A work coaching group led by an external supervisor was established for postgraduate students, who were given the opportunity to reflect and assess their own work process and problems related to it. According to the participants, the group helped them manage their own research work. Encouraged by this experience, some postdoctoral members even took personal coaching at the partial cost of CSTT.

During our funding period, the problem of the trade with unprovenanced antiquities became acknowledged more widely than ever before in our fields (see the article by Rick Bonnie in this book). Therefore, a policy statement was authored that established standards of conduct for CSTT members regarding the ethics of work with unprovenanced artifacts to avoid any involvement with the illicit trade of antiquities and cultural objects. The members were instructed to be transparent when introducing data of uncertain reliability or authenticity, identifying unprovenanced objects appropriately in their publications. Since some publication projects started in good faith before awareness of the problems became more widespread, the members were expected to do their best to identify the background of any problematic objects and to decide on their own whether to finish their project and publish an artifact in question.

1.3.3. Gender Sensitivity

CSTT was committed to gender sensitivity in all its activities, attempting at equal representation in decision-making and supporting female researchers' careers. Two of the four team leaders were women, and the gender balance of 50 members was nearly perfect (26/27); however, in terms of person-months,¹³ the share of women is only one-third (354/1,097). Several other cases of gender imbalance are pointed out by Francis Borchardt, Saana Svärd, and Hanna Tervanotko, who, therefore, characterize CSTT as "an institution that was exceptionally gender inclusive with structural decisions (i.e., membership, leadership, governance, and guests), but reproduced the inequalities found throughout the field of biblical studies with respect to discretionary decisions (i.e., vice leadership, funding, and speaking opportunities)."¹⁴ It is disappointing that our outspoken commitment did not turn out better. Structural decisions are agenda-setting, while dis-

^{13.} *Person-months* is the term used by the project to indicate the amount of time spent by one person at work.

^{14.} See Francis Borchardt, Saana Svärd, and Hanna Tervanotko, "Gender and Gender Research in a Research Community: CSTT as a Case Study," chapter 15 in this volume.

cretionary decisions are more dependent on situation-specific factors—not least on human and budgetary resources that make the balance sometimes impossible to achieve. Since equitable structures do not automatically produce equitable outcomes, we learned the necessity of "elevated levels of attention and encouragement" for more equitable outcomes.¹⁵

To foster female scholars' careers and visibility, CSTT organized a writing retreat and career development seminar "Women's Academia." Moreover, its members organized a Wikipedia edit-a-thon "Women and the Ancient Near East" to encourage more Wikipedia entries written by female scholars and on female scholars. The session included training by a Wikipedia consultant. Similar sessions were organized at the Annual Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature in 2018 (Denver) and 2019 (San Diego).

1.3.4. Dissemination and Public Visibility

The study of ancient texts and traditions is typically not immediately relevant for questions that contemporary societies may have; hence, it is seldom of the type that would directly influence political decision-making, public services, or legislation. However, ancient sources can be used as documents of cultural memory, introducing a dimension of historical and epistemic depth into the discussion and debate of contemporary issues. This, indeed, is indispensable: if a society loses its memory, it effectively suffers from dementia. The best impact of a research community like CSTT is to help the historical- and epistemic-depth dimension to become a visible and conscious part of public decision-making as well as of the construction of personal identity.

The expertise of CSTT was particularly related to use and interpretation of sacred texts, especially the Bible, in public discourse and personal life. Therefore, the impact objective of CSTT was to stimulate knowledgebased awareness of and discussion on the implications of interpretation of sacred traditions. The members were very active in public dissemination of their research, making regular appearances on television and radio (47 times), always on channels with nationwide or even international coverage. They were interviewed 110 times by national and local newspapers and magazines, as well as by media with emphasis on religious

^{15.} See Borchardt, Svärd, and Tervanotko, "Gender and Gender Research," 529.

issues. The members themselves contributed 170 articles to magazines and professional journals—mostly written in Finnish but also in English, Japanese, and Hebrew. One example of the impact of popular writings is the lively discussion prompted by Juha Pakkala's article in *Tiede* "Raamatun sana on niin kuin se luetaan" ["The Word of the Bible Is What You Read"] (2015), which triggered over 2,000 reactions on Facebook alone.

CSTT maintained a blog and a Twitter account. With its nearly 100,000 visits by nearly 40,000 individual visitors, two-thirds of which from countries other than Finland, the CSTT blog has served as an easy-access channel of information on relevant topics. Likewise, the 1,332 Twitter followers and 443,000 views of 1,285 tweets indicate a good outreach. Another platform actively used by CSTT and its members is YouTube. CSTT is involved in eighteen YouTube videos that have been viewed circa 100,000 times.¹⁶

^{16.} Visits counted on 19 October 2022. Finnish: Martti Nissinen, "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions," YouTube, 7 November 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2JY0uzKj9vw&t=3s; Nissinen, "What Kind of a Bible Would You Put Together?," YouTube, 15 December 2014, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=ATtYC6N1IaE&t=22s; Ville Mäkipelto, "On the Academic Study of the Bible," YouTube, 30 September 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nni20csdGTQ; Martti Nissinen, "Is There Magic in Christianity?," YouTube, 11 February 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jzJNmR9ZV28&t=4s; Martti Nissinen, Mika Kajava, and Tom Sjöblom, "Contingency and the Divine Will," YouTube, 7 January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KC_U86ZWsk0&t=2254s; Saana Svärd and Ville Mäkipelto, "Women and Gender in the Ancient Near East," YouTube, 31 October 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H-hpMtXFEWc&t=24s; Juha Pakkala and Ville Mäkipelto, "Immigrants and Refugees in the Bible," YouTube, 28 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vY0gUGawGD8&t=406s; 2016, November Jutta Jokiranta and Ville Mäkipelto, "How the Dead Sea Scrolls Revolutionized Our Knowledge of the Bible," YouTube, 19 December 2016, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=X9WkIdXZS6A; Martti Nissinen, "Immigrants Changing the Society," You-Tube, 30 September 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qgUkyuLlrz0; Ville Mäkipelto, "Conference on Changes in Biblical Texts in Hong Kong," YouTube, 1 June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=imtXvXNCpOI; Saana Svärd, "Women in Egypt and Mesopotamia," YouTube, 13 September 2017, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=SSjcOrdulsI; Ville Mäkipelto, "Dissertation on Changes in Biblical Texts," YouTube, 25 January 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LZmbug7Y-sE; Martti Nissinen and Jessi Orpana, "How Changes in Biblical Texts Are Studied," YouTube, 11 December 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w5vIuhOIaxI&t=161s; Martti Nissinen, Antti Lahelma, and Sanna Saari, "How History Is Studied," YouTube, 8 May 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzWkdljUO9Q; Martti Nissinen and

A popular book in Finnish with the title Kiveen hakattu: Pyhät tekstit ja perinteet muutoksessa (Carved in stone? Changes in sacred texts and traditions) with thirteen articles by twenty-seven members of CSTT was published in the Academy of Finland series (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2018). The presentation of this book gathered a large audience at Helsinki Book Fair 2018. Moreover, the members gave some 130 talks altogether for general and professional audiences in Finland and elsewhere. The topics dealt with in popular writings, public talks, and interviews were related especially (but not exclusively) to the Bible and biblical traditions. The Bible-related issues were interwoven with a variety of contemporary topics, for instance, the history and contemporary situation of the Middle East; migration and refugees; prophecy and prediction; Qumran scrolls and forgery; archaeology in Israel from various angles, including climate change; war and peace in sacred texts and in their interpretation. These are topics that bring the historical- and epistemic-depth dimension to contemporary issues.

1.4. About This Volume

The present volume consists of methodological debates, coauthored research articles, reflections on practices and ethics, and more general reflections on wider changes in the field. The purpose of this somewhat unusual combination is to offer a glimpse into various aspects of work in the CSTT community: examples of how theoretical encounters took place in our research, ongoing debates on appropriate methodology, growing awareness of the need of ethical practices in scholarship, and the wisdom of senior scholars who followed intensively our work. In this way, we want to present research as an open-ended process, which continues to search for better ways of working as a scholarly community, thanks to the collaborative and conscious agencies of the individuals involved.

Tuomas Heikkilä, "Religion, Science, and Politics," YouTube, 19 November 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r0sPAc2O0iw&t=342s. Spanish/English: Martti Nissinen and César Silva, "Homosexualidad en la Biblia: Lo que no sabías," YouTube, 22 September 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jWIicsDeRZ8&t=1094s; Nissinen and Silva, "Adivinación y profecía en la Biblia," YouTube, 11 October 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMjjs_IWPP4&t=468s; English: Agnès Garcia Ventura and Saana Svärd, "Gender and Methodology in the Ancient Near East," YouTube, 28 March 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=12Fjmcz4Whc.

Part 1 gives voice to ongoing debates and conversations on themes where diverging opinions are a reality. The first debate (chapter 2) concerns the nature and usefulness of historical criticism as a method in biblical studies. While arguing for (Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala) and against (Francis Borchardt and Jason M. Silverman) this established scholarly practice, the authors explicate how they understand the purpose and underlying assumptions of historical criticism or, more precisely, *Literarkritik*. The reader is offered the opportunity to decide whether this method is essential for history writing, although in need of revision, or expendable as a flawed and poorly based method.

In the second debate (chapter 3), two scholars discuss the proper relation of textual criticism and literary criticism. Anneli Aejmelaeus sees textual criticism and literary criticism as fully integrated and belonging together, while Juha Pakkala considers them separate, even though closely linked methods. The debate brings a new perception of textual study to the fore that seeks to understand what happened to the text, whether or not changes were intentional, and to what extent the phases of its transmission are documented in the manuscript evidence.

In the third debate (chapter 4), Martti Nissinen and Dalit Rom-Shiloni address the problems of using the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible as historical evidence. Nissinen lays out different aspects of the problem, the manuscript evidence, the ancient Near Eastern comparative evidence, and the method of dating of the prophetic books. Rom-Shiloni argues for a change in prophetic activity and prophetic writing early on, not (only) in the Second Temple period. Both Nissinen and Rom-Shiloni understand prophecy as part of the wider phenomenon of Near Eastern divination and agree on the need for a diachronic analysis of biblical books. The differences between them become clear in the way in which they identify the process and dating of the textualization of prophecy, the distinction between the prophet and the scribe, and the use of comparative evidence such as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Ever since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, there has been an ongoing discussion on how a text can be defined as "Scripture." In chapter 5, Jessi Orpana and Christian Seppänen, instead of debating each other, identify and organize criteria for the "sacred" or "authoritative" status of texts that enjoyed special appreciation in late Second Temple Judaism. The usefulness of different criteria is evaluated with the result that scriptural status of a text is not an either-or question but may vary in different times and contexts, depending on the communities who used and produced it.

Part 2 comprises coauthored case studies on the benefits of methodological and interdisciplinary encounters, exploring the limits and boundaries of present methodologies. The first two essays concern the methodological interfaces of Assyriology with digital humanities and biblical studies. Tero Alstola and Saana Svärd (chapter 6) introduce new methodological developments for analyzing ancient Near Eastern texts, especially semantic domains in Akkadian lexemes. The authors combine elements from the study of cultures (emic-etic), linguistics (paradigmatic and syntagmatic categories), language technology (e.g., PMI and fastText), and network theory (visualizations). This combination of approaches is considered to yield good results for other ancient languages as well. Sebastian Fink and Gina Konstantopoulos (chapter 7) offer an overview of how past scholarship has viewed the relationship between biblical studies and Assyriology, providing helpful cornerstones and examples. The examples from more recent popular culture and new museums reveal the need to further unleash the ancient Near Eastern studies from biblical bondage.

Two essays connect textual criticism with methodologies not typically associated with it: archaeology and gender studies. Izaak J. de Hulster and Tuukka Kauhanen (chapter 8) reexamine 2 Sam 20:18–19, considering the archaeological findings of Iron Age sites at Tel Abel and Tel Dan and examining the textual and iconographic implications of the motif of the "woman on the wall." The plausibility of the historical settings implied in the story is evaluated in light of the textual and archaeological evidence. Timo Tekoniemi and Patrik Jansson (chapter 9) demonstrate how the Masoretic text and the Septuagint can be fruitfully compared for their gender constructions of the prophet Elijah, Queen Jezebel, and King Ahab in the stories of 1 Kgs 18, 19, and 21(20), and how the texts reveal less than straightforward performances of gender for each of these characters.

The next two essays explore the potential of more recently introduced tools in biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies, that is, cognitive science and evolutionary studies. Jutta Jokiranta, Ville Mäkipelto, and Miika Tucker (chapter 10) present a brief research history on anthropomorphism in the Septuagint, introducing new studies in cognitive science on depicting God in human terms. The authors argue that cognitive research helps us to understand how anthropomorphism in the Bible is to a certain extent unavoidable. Moreover, it is a different thing to avoid bodily depictions and to avoid mental depictions. The authors also propose that linguistic categories constrain thinking. Lauri Laine and Jutta Jokiranta (chapter 11) examine the ancient Near Eastern idea of a divine council from the perspective of cultural evolution. The authors challenge the assumption of the divine council as a declining remnant of earlier polytheist conceptions, offering an alternative methodology that examines transmission and inheritance of cultural entities.

The last essay of part 2 (chapter 12) develops a comparative view of Ps 29. Reinhard Müller and Joanna Töyräänvuori construct their view of the textual history of the psalm, comparing each constructed section and the theme of the psalm with a wide array of Near Eastern comparative material, textual as well as iconographic. Points of comparison are recognized in themes, terminology, *Sitz im Leben*, as well as in poetry, structure, and metaphors.

The three essays in part 3 arise from discussions in CSTT meetings, reflecting some crucial topics that concern scholarly practices and research ethics. Michael C. Legaspi (chapter 13) takes a fresh look at historical criticism from the ethical point of view. He reviews arguments for and against the use of historical criticism in biblical studies, calling for a common commitment to a new kind of scholarly virtue ethics that serves some larger vision of life. Rick Bonnie's (chapter 14) point of departure is the growing attention to unprovenanced objects, including text-bearing artifacts without a clear find-context or documentation of ownership. Biblical scholars are placed among other actors within the global antiquities trade, and the author outlines the harmful effects of such trade. In the name of intergenerational equity, work on the large amounts of documented artifacts in museum storages and archives should be preferred over the publication of new, unprovenanced artifacts. Chapter 15 reflects the ethics of gender inclusion and exclusion in research communities, using CSTT as a test case. Francis Borchardt, Saana Svärd, and Hanna Tervanotko provide statistics of the gender balance in the organization and representation in CSTT governance, activities, and events. Furthermore, they outline to what extent gender in the ancient world was studied within CSTT and how its work relates to the changes within gender and feminist studies and in biblical studies.

The volume concludes with two reflective essays by scholars who followed the work of CSTT closely over the years. George J. Brooke (chapter 16) argues that the study of the Bible should be part of the study of the humanities and social sciences, as it has much to offer that is worth considering by other disciplines and interacts responsibly with relevant developments in cognate areas. Christoph Levin (chapter 17) views CSTT itself as part of the processes of tradition formation and transmission that were the object of its research. In his estimation, CSTT demonstrates the lasting impact of interdisciplinary research, not only on research itself but also on the exchange among established researchers and on the training of young academics.

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