

# Above, Below, Before, and After

Edited by  
RA'ANAN BOUSTAN,  
DAVID FRANKFURTER, and  
ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED

*Texts and Studies in  
Ancient Judaism*  
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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Studies on Judaism and Christianity  
in Dialogue with Martha Himmelfarb

edited by

Ra'anan Boustan, David Frankfurter,  
and Annette Yoshiko Reed

Mohr Siebeck

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## Table of Contents

RA‘ANAN BOUSTAN, DAVID FRANKFURTER, AND ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED Tours by the Light of Martha Himmelfarb . . . . .	1
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### *I. Rethinking Second Temple Judaism*

ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED Hellenistic Judaism beyond Judaism and Hellenism . . . . .	15
BENJAMIN G. WRIGHT Ben Sira and Cat Stevens: Raising Sons to Stand in the River of Tradition	43
STEVEN FRAADE Leadership in the Damascus Document and Related Texts: A Tale of Two Titles . . . . .	61
ARYEH AMIHAY Social Distancing: Between Sectarianism and Unity in Second Temple Judaism . . . . .	83

### *II. At the Intersections of Judaism and Christianity*

JOHN W. MARSHALL Jewish? Judean? Naming John’s Apocalypse . . . . .	109
ELAINE PAGELS “The Innumerable Multitude”: Converted or Coerced? . . . . .	123
ABRAHAM JACOB BERKOVITZ On Mechanics and Meaning in Rabbinic Exegesis: Revelation, Gentiles, and Psalm 29 in Tannaitic Midrash . . . . .	131
PETER SCHÄFER O Felix Culpa: Curse and Blessing of the Expulsion from Paradise . . . . .	161

HAYIM LAPIN	
Amulo of Lyon, the Two Messiahs, and the Dissemination of Rabbinic Culture . . . . .	183
WILLIAM ADLER	
“Should We Pay Heed to Those Who say that Jesus was Appointed as a Priest by the Jews?”: Michael Glycas’s Refutation of the “Secret Codex” in Tiberias . . . . .	203

### *III. Priesthoods and Liturgies in Transformation*

RICHARD BAUCKHAM	
Priests and Levites in the Jerusalem Necropolis . . . . .	235
MICHAEL D. SWARTZ	
Priests and Strangers: The Role of the Laity in Yerushalmi Yoma . . . . .	257
OPHIR MÜNZ-MANOR	
Singing Rabbis? Reconsidering the Relationships between Rabbinic Literature and <i>Piyyut</i> . . . . .	281
MIKA AHUVIA	
A Woman of Valor in the Late Antique Synagogue . . . . .	291
DAVID FRANKFURTER	
Heavenly Liturgy and Its Materialization in Early Coptic Magical Texts . . . . .	311

### *IV. Material Texts*

ANNEMARIE LUIJENDIJK	
“Embalm Them with Cedar Oil”: Maintenance of Manuscripts with Oil of Cedar . . . . .	333
NICOLA DENZEY LEWIS	
Reconsidering the Logic of Nag Hammadi’s Codex II . . . . .	357
JOHN C. REEVES	
’Otot Ha-Mashiah (Signs of the Messiah) According to Oxford Ms. Bodl. Or. 135: A Transcription and Translation . . . . .	379

*V. Apocalyptic Afterlives*

ELENA DUGAN On Late Ancient Readers of 1 Enoch: Suspected, Suspicious, and Supposed .....	399
JAMES C. VANDERKAM Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer and the Book of Jubilees .....	419
SARIT KATTAN GRIBETZ The Abraham Discords: Eschatology and Ancestry in Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer's Binding of Isaac .....	433
DAVID STERN An Apocalyptic Scroll .....	459
RA'ANAN BOUSTAN Hekhalot Literature, Scholastic Ritual, and Intercessory Prayer in Midrash Mishle .....	475
GIDEON BOHAK Divination and Eschatology in Late Antique Judaism .....	493
List of Contributors .....	519
Index of Primary Sources .....	523
Index of Modern Scholars .....	537





## Tours by the Light of Martha Himmelfarb

*Ra'anan Boustan, David Frankfurter, and Annette Yoshiko Reed*

Martha Himmelfarb took up her post at Princeton University in 1978 – just four years after receiving her bachelor of arts degree from Barnard College with a major in Greek and three years prior to completing her doctoral studies under the mentorship of Bob Kraft at the University of Pennsylvania. She defended her stunningly wide-ranging PhD dissertation on “Tours of Hell” in January of 1981.<sup>1</sup> The start of her career thus corresponds with an era often celebrated as marking a new stage in the study of ancient Judaism and Christianity, particularly in North America. The present volume reflects on these methodological and historiographical developments in dialogue with her oeuvre, building upon her distinctive approach to the transmission and transformation of texts and traditions within and across the boundaries of language, culture, and religion.

In the nearly 45 years since Himmelfarb began at Princeton, there are few developments in the study of ancient Judaism and Christianity that she has not meaningfully addressed and advanced in her work – always in her own distinctive fashion. Her scholarship is exemplary of the late-twentieth-century shift toward experimenting with new approaches to the study of Christianity as intertwined with the study of Judaism. In addition, she has contributed to yet another major development that has reshaped the field, namely, the reassessment of ancient Judaism in the wake of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Himmelfarb has been at the very forefront of research on the ramifications of the Aramaic Enoch fragments for the study of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. Not only has she demonstrated the value of focusing on new and neglected sources, but she has pioneered novel approaches for studying ancient Jewish and Christian literature without subordinating the former to the latter. She attends to the Christian forms of many of the Jewish writings that survive from the Second Temple period, while simultaneously exploring their significance within the full history of Judaism, including but not limited to Rabbis. The impressive range of her scholarly interests spans the Dead Sea Scrolls, “Old Testament pseudepigrapha,” and “New Testament apocrypha,” but also Hekhalot literature and late midrashim.<sup>2</sup> In the process, her oeuvre has been progressively

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<sup>1</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, “Tours of Hell: The Development and Transmission of an Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> See esp. her classic article on “Heavenly Ascent and the Relationship of the Apocalypses

reshaping our understanding of Second Temple Judaism in relation to the forms of Christianity and Judaism that emerged subsequently during late antiquity and the early medieval period.

During the course of her career, Himmelfarb has weighed in on every major topic pertaining to the history and literature of Second Temple Judaism – including scribes and priests,<sup>3</sup> “Hellenism” and “Judaism,”<sup>4</sup> biblical prophecy and early apocalypses,<sup>5</sup> the Maccabean Revolt and its historiography,<sup>6</sup> purity and sectarianism,<sup>7</sup> and even shifting attitudes towards the Second Temple itself.<sup>8</sup> Yet

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and the Hekhalot Literature,” *HUCA* 59 (1988): 73–100, together with her follow-up, “Merkavah Mysticism since Scholem: Rachel Elior’s *The Three Temples*,” in *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung/Mystical Approaches to God*, ed. P. Schäfer (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), 19–36.

<sup>3</sup> Culminating in her book *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), but also including: Himmelfarb, “‘A Kingdom of Priests’: The Democratization of the Priesthood in the Literature of Second Temple Judaism,” *JJTP* 6 (1997): 89–104; Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt,” *JSQ* 6 (1999): 1–24; Himmelfarb, “The Wisdom of the Scribe, the Wisdom of the Priest, and the Wisdom of the King According to Ben Sira,” in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, and R. A. Werline (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2000), 89–99; Himmelfarb, “Priests in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*,” *Hen* 24 (2002): 131–35; Himmelfarb, “‘Found Written in the Book of Moses’: Priests in the Era of Torah,” in *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?* ed. D. R. Schwartz and Z. Weiss, in collaboration with R. A. Clements, *AJEC* 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 23–41.

<sup>4</sup> Himmelfarb, “Judaism and Hellenism in 2 Maccabees,” *Poetics Today* 19 (1998): 19–40; Himmelfarb, “‘He Was Renowned to the Ends of the Earth’ (1 Maccabees 3:9): Judaism and Hellenism in 1 Maccabees,” in *Jewish Literatures and Cultures: Context and Intertext*, ed. A. Norich and Y. Z. Eliav, *BJS* 349 (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2008), 77–97. See also Himmelfarb, “The Torah between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Difference in Antiquity,” in *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*, ed. C. Bakhos, *JSJSup* 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 113–29.

<sup>5</sup> Himmelfarb, “From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The *Book of the Watchers* and Tours of Heaven,” in *Jewish Spirituality I: From the Bible through the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Green (New York: Crossroads, 1986), 145–65; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Esp. Himmelfarb, “Elias Bickerman on Judaism and Hellenism,” in *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians*, ed. D. N. Myers and D. B. Ruderman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 199–211.

<sup>7</sup> Himmelfarb, “The Purity Laws of 4QD: Exegesis and Sectarianism,” in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*, ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R. A. Clements, *JSJSup* 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 155–69; Himmelfarb, “Jubilees and Sectarianism,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 129–31. See also Himmelfarb, “Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*,” in *A Multi-form Heritage: Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*, ed. B. G. Wright (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 19–30.

<sup>8</sup> Himmelfarb, “Temple and Priests in the *Book of the Watchers*, the Animal Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse of Weeks,” in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219–35; Himmelfarb, “The Garden of Eden and the Temple in Ezekiel, the *Book of the Watchers*, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” in *Sacred Spaces and Profane Places:*

despite the broad scope of her interests and expertise, her scholarly writing is marked by rhetorical restraint and epistemological caution as well as by a constant movement of both the lens and *telos* for studying Second Temple materials. While other scholars were making methodological pronouncements and penning grand correctives to traditional approaches, she has spent decades publishing rigorous explorations of key sources and themes that speak to the pressing historiographical issues of our times. She not only explores the challenges and opportunities created by new perspectives, but above all models what a different approach could look like in practice.

In her decades-long attempts to come to grips with Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, for instance, Himmelfarb has demonstrated again and again the value of precise comparison, close reading, and attention to literary form. She has published on the full range of Jewish apocalypses.<sup>9</sup> Yet her studies focus on recovering the highly localized contexts within which each text was produced. She has shown us that the accounts of heavenly ascent in the early Jewish apocalypses can reveal a great deal about the intellectual ambitions, institutional interests, and scribal habits of the priestly elite of Hellenistic and Roman Judaea.<sup>10</sup> From her 1985 *Tours of Hell* to her 1991 *Ascent to Heaven*, Himmelfarb has outlined an approach to apocalyptic texts that emphasized otherworldly travel and human transformation over and against a narrower focus on eschatological beliefs and movements.<sup>11</sup> She has explored the various ways that the priesthood, the Temple, and even priestly sacrifice became articulated into heavenly frameworks.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, she has pioneered a methodologically rigorous approach to narratives of personal transformation that sidesteps speculation about an author's religious experiences and instead attends to the literary

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*Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. J. S. Scott and P. Simpson-Housley (Westport: Greenwood, 1991), 63–78.

<sup>9</sup> See her accessible synthesis in *The Apocalypse: A Brief History* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> See sources cited above as well as Martha Himmelfarb, "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, ed. J. J. Collins and M. Fishbane (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 121–37.

<sup>11</sup> Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Himmelfarb, "The Experience of the Visionary and Genre in the Ascension of Isaiah 6–11 and the Apocalypse of Paul," *Semeia* 36 (1986): 97–111; Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 79–90.

<sup>12</sup> Himmelfarb, "Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Influence: The Law of the Priesthood in Aramaic *Levi* and *Jubilees*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, ed. R. S. Boustany and A. Y. Reed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 103–22; Himmelfarb, "What Goes On in the Heavenly Temple?" in *Atonement: Jewish and Christian Origins*, ed. M. Botner, J. H. Duff, and S. Dürr (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2020), 171–92.

fabric and rhetorical function of these accounts.<sup>13</sup> Her approach has highlighted the porous boundaries between the human, the angelic, and the divine in the heavenly world.

What Himmelfarb has shown us, in short, are the possibilities that open up when we stop treating these sources as *either* universal expressions of mystical yearnings *or* as records of the revolutionary fervor of the oppressed. We are able to re-encounter their authors and tradents as creative *bricoleurs* of Jewish, Mesopotamian, Greek, and other traditions – as scribes imagining the structure of the divine world, the potentialities of folk-heroes like Enoch, and the very nature of knowledge. And when we do, apocalypses and related Scrolls and “pseudepigrapha” can be recovered as sources for understanding broader trends in ancient Judaism as well. By studying early Jewish apocalypses no less in relation to the Hebrew Bible than to the New Testament, she has traced the transformation of the visionary tradition from the theophanies of Isaiah and Ezekiel to the tours of heaven in the Book of the Watchers.<sup>14</sup> And in her work on Sefer Zerubbabel and other post-70 apocalyptic traditions, she has further shown how biblical prophecy continued to inspire new forms of Jewish messianic and eschatological writing long after 70 CE and the rise of Christianity, albeit in new ways.<sup>15</sup>

Within and beyond her studies of apocalypses, Himmelfarb’s scholarship is characterized by an acuity and precision that guides the questions she formulates and the answers she finds most persuasive. The breadth of her knowledge is astonishing, ranging across more than a millennium of history, spanning from Near Eastern and Mediterranean antiquity to the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities of the Middle Ages. She has pulled off the near impossible, cultivating a distinctive scholarly voice while also generating research paradigms within which others could find their own voices. While her work cannot be squeezed into any conventional scholarly boxes, she has nonetheless modeled for the field as a whole – and for her students in particular – a style

<sup>13</sup> See esp. the pair of chapters on “Heavenly Ascent and Priestly Investiture” and “Transformation and the Righteous Dead,” in Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 29–71.

<sup>14</sup> Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*; Himmelfarb, “From Prophecy to Apocalypse.”

<sup>15</sup> Culminating in her book *Jewish Messiahs in a Christian Empire: A History of the Book of Zerubbabel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), but also including: Himmelfarb, “Sefer Zerubbabel: Introduction and Translation,” in *Rabbinic Fantasies: Imaginative Narratives from Classical Hebrew Literature*, ed. D. Stern and M. J. Mirsky (Philadelphia: JPS, 1990), 67–90; Himmelfarb “The Mother of the Messiah in the Talmud Yerushalmi and Sefer Zerubbabel,” in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Greco-Roman Culture III*, ed. P. Schäfer, TSAJ 93 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 369–89; Himmelfarb, “Revelation and Rabbinization in *Sefer Zerubbabel* and *Sefer Eliyyahu*,” in *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity*, ed. P. Townsend and M. Vidas, TSAJ 146 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 217–36; Himmelfarb, “The Messiah Son of Joseph in Ancient Judaism,” in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. R. Boustan, et al., 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 2:771–90

of scholarship that is ambitious yet judicious, bold yet cautious, sweeping yet detailed.

Another recurrent feature of Himmelfarb's work (and her teaching!) over the years has been her challenge to the categories "Jewish" and "Christian" – or at least a tautological dependence on the contrast between these categories.<sup>16</sup> It has long been habitual in the study of apocalyptic literature to treat the rise of Christianity as if it were the *telos* of Jewish messianism. The reward for breaking this habit, as Himmelfarb has shown us, is the opening of new perspectives on the texts themselves as well as on the ongoing contact between Jewish and Christian textual cultures that so often shaped messianic imagery within both.<sup>17</sup> In addition, in the tradition of Kraft, Himmelfarb has steered us away from those old-fashioned theories of Christian interpolation that imagined early Byzantine scribes intrusively adding Christian "clarifications" to pre-70 Jewish compositions. Instead, she led us to imagine more complex situations in which Christians themselves (broadly conceived) would compose testaments and visions in the name of biblical heroes.<sup>18</sup> What kinds of Christian interests emerge through the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs? Why would secret visions of Elijah inspire both Christian and Jewish authors? What happens if we read the Book of Revelation or the Apocalypse of Peter as Jewish texts – or 2 Baruch or the Testament of Job as Christian? What kinds of Christian subcultures maintained ancient Jewish interests in tours of heaven and hell, or transfiguration, or the details of a heavenly or eschatological temple? How did the elaborate priestly symbolism in texts like Ascension of Isaiah or Testament of Levi work for Christian readers and audiences? In the diverse materials that Himmelfarb covers in

<sup>16</sup> See esp. her reflections in "The Parting of the Ways Reconsidered: Diversity in Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations in the Roman Empire: 'A Jewish Perspective,'" in *Interwoven Destinies: Jews and Christians Through the Ages*, ed. E. J. Fisher (New York: Paulist, 1993), 47–61.

<sup>17</sup> See, e. g., Himmelfarb, "*Sefer Eliyyahu*: Jewish Eschatology and Christian Jerusalem," in *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition 400–800 C.E.*, ed. K. G. Holum and H. Lapin, Meyerhoff Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2011), 223–38; Himmelfarb, "*Sefer Zerubbabel* and Popular Religion," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. E. F. Mason, 2 vols., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:621–34; Himmelfarb, "'Az milifnei vereishit': The Suffering Servant in the Seventh Century," in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift for Mark R. Cohen*, ed. A. E. Franklin, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 369–84; Himmelfarb, "Abraham and the Messianism of *Genesis Rabbah*," in *Genesis Rabbah in Text and Context*, ed. S. Kattan Gribetz, et al., TSAJ 166 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 99–114.

<sup>18</sup> See Himmelfarb, "Parting of the Ways Reconsidered," and for more recent examples, her "3 Baruch Revisited: Jewish or Christian Composition and Why It Matters," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* 20 (2016): 41–62; Himmelfarb, "The Pseudepigrapha in Greek: Translation, Composition, and the Diaspora," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Fifty Years of the Pseudepigrapha Section at the SBL*, ed. M. Henze and L. I. Lied (Atlanta: SBL, 2019), 263–86.

her publications, texts, fragments, and narrative traditions travel so fluidly across the putative “Jewish”/“Christian” divide that any simple insistence on “identity markers” seems almost untenable. Does a text become simply “Christian” and no longer Jewish as soon as Christ is mentioned, even if it advances this figure through apocalyptic disclosures? Do we presume a text was Jewish before it was Christian because we can easily *extricate* Christ? Does interest in the Temple and its cult or in priestly purity somehow contradict Christian values?

Few scholars are able to move with such fluidity between Jewish and Christian literatures, on the one hand, and across ancient and medieval periods, on the other – typically with a focus on neglected materials.<sup>19</sup> This scope is evident already in her 1981 dissertation on tours of hell, which treated a sweeping set of texts, from the Apocalypse of Peter to Gedulat Moshe, and resituated what had been assumed to be a Christianized Hellenistic trope in relation to the third-century BCE Book of the Watchers, understood in light of the Aramaic Enoch fragments.

Questions of transmission, continuity, and rupture recur throughout her scholarly writings. Her 1993 *Ascent to Heaven* traced a similarly important historical trajectory, in this case from Ezekiel and the Book of the Watchers to Christian ascent apocalypses like the Apocalypse of Paul, recovering in the process the activities of Jewish scribes and their writings. By contrast, her 2006 *Kingdom of Priests* drew out a different set of ramifications from the Aramaic Enoch fragments by demonstrating the productive tensions that arose within Second Temple Judaism between, on the one hand, ancestry and merit as criteria for priestly holiness and, on the other, the formative role that these two virtues played in subsequent Jewish and Christian conceptions of communal boundaries and belonging. Her work paid equal attention to the *longue durée* processes of transmission and reception through which religious traditions are constituted and reconstituted and to the precise social and historical contexts within which texts and ideas do their cultural work. Thus, while her 2010 synthetic history of apocalyptic literature *The Apocalypse* showed the value of charting transformations of a literary form over more than two millennia, Himmelfarb’s work has also underscored the pitfalls in tracing continuities forward, including in her 2017 *Jewish Messiahs in a Christian Empire*.

Himmelfarb’s work challenges us to take texts of the Second Temple period seriously, on their own terms, while also not severing them from the study of later literature – both Jewish and Christian. Following her example, her students

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<sup>19</sup> Other examples include Himmelfarb, “The Ordeals of Abraham: Circumcision and the *Aqedah* in Origen, the *Mekhilta*, and *Genesis Rabbah*,” *Hen* 28 (2008): 289–310; Himmelfarb, “The Virgin Mary and Ancient Jewish Literature,” in *The Early Middle Ages*, ed. F. E. Consolino and J. Herrin (Atlanta: SBL, 2020), 103–20. See also Himmelfarb, “The Apocrypha in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in *The Jewish Annotated Apocrypha*, ed. J. Klawans and L. M. Wills (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 598–602.

and colleagues have learned to follow the history of the reception of these texts beyond the period of Christian Origins into late antiquity and the medieval period. Even as she considers materials from a startling range of time periods, she is always attentive to the challenges of establishing as precisely as possible the nature of the relationships among texts and the communities that produced them. Within specialist subfields that are contested or polarized, she has stood out for navigating reasonable positions that cut through debates. In this way, she has been able to create bridges among multiple such subfields while still remaining true to her sense that acts of comparison should always sharpen our understanding of the texts in question rather than dilute their peculiarities or blur their distinctions.

Himmelfarb's articles on apocalyptic and related literatures have always resisted telling a single story with a single trajectory that unfolds from the Book of the Watchers forward to the Ascension of Isaiah, Apocalypse of Paul, Hekhalot literature, late midrashim, and Sefer Zerubbabel. What we see in her tours through apocalyptic literary history is not the story of a "diverse" Second Temple Judaism supposedly filtered by later rabbinic or ecclesiastical authorities into the canonical forms of Judaism and Christianity conventionally imagined in scholarship. Rather, Himmelfarb follows unusual routes and themes from the Second Temple period up through – and beyond – late antiquity that also show the enduring power of the biblical past.

To see the Second Temple period through the lens of Himmelfarb's scholarship is to be challenged to treat the *why* and *what* and *how* of its study as questions in need of answers, as problems to turn and ponder anew. And she accomplished this scholarship over the very same decades in which most work on Second Temple Judaism framed its meaning and significance in altogether triumphalist terms – with tales of discovery and recovery, with lost books found, old assumptions overturned, old prejudices shed, and the restoration of a forgotten past. By contrast, Himmelfarb has approached the very definition and scope of Second Temple Judaism as an open question, one continuously shaped and reshaped by ever-evolving scholarly discoveries and frameworks.

Partly as a result, Himmelfarb's work never ceases to surprise. Much of the work for which she is most famous, for instance, centers on ascent apocalypses. Yet this is precisely what she unsettles in a new article on "Heavenly Ascent Revisited," asking what we do and do not see by virtue of this particular focus.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the question of the recovery of Second Temple Jewish traditions within medieval Judaism has been a theme in Himmelfarb's work, beginning from her 1984 article on "R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve

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<sup>20</sup> Martha Himmelfarb, "Heavenly Ascent Revisited," in *Reimagining Apocalypticism: Apocalypses, Apocalyptic Literature, and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. DiTommaso and M. Goff (Atlanta: SBL, 2023), 429–70.



Patriarchs.”<sup>21</sup> But she resists a simple answer to this question of whether earlier texts can be recovered from later ones. In her 2017 *Jewish Messiahs in a Christian Empire*, for instance, she shows how what is often called a “Medieval Hebrew Apocalypse” is less a return to Second Temple precedents than an extension of biblical models informed by late antique Jewish messianic traditions. And in her contribution to the 2019 *Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission* (a volume in which her essay is the only piece written by a woman and the only piece on post-Christian Judaism), Himmelfarb gathers “Rabbinic and post-Rabbinic Jewish” evidence related to “pseudepigrapha” and shows the evidence to be fundamentally heterogenous.<sup>22</sup> The problem, again, is not with our data; it is with the scholarly assumption that we should be able to reduce the Judaism of the Second Temple period to one thing and, moreover, that its historical significance is tied to what later generations did with it. In the process of unsettling the field, Himmelfarb also helps to point the way ahead and open up much more interesting questions.

Many of what we think of as “new” trends, moreover, are approaches that Himmelfarb has already tried. Her longstanding concern for the Christian forms in which Jewish texts and traditions are preserved, for instance, anticipates what we now think of as an “New Philology” approach that takes seriously manuscripts and settings of transmission. Much of her work also presaged what we now call “Reception Studies.”<sup>23</sup> Perhaps needless to say, she has long taken purity, sacrifice, and priesthood very seriously.<sup>24</sup>

Himmelfarb’s distinctive approaches to the literature and history of Judaism and Christianity in antiquity have proven influential not only with her peers, but has also with the coming generations of scholars. Through her exemplary teaching, advising, and mentoring, she has helped to cultivate an intellectual community – at Princeton and beyond – for whom Jewish and Christian histories can be studied in a manner entangled, intertwined, and even “un-parted.”

<sup>21</sup> Himmelfarb, “R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *AJS Review* 9 (1984): 55–78.

<sup>22</sup> Himmelfarb, “Alternative Modes of Transmission: Rabbinic and Post-Rabbinic Jewish,” in *A Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission*, ed. A. Kulik, et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 431–48.

<sup>23</sup> E. g., Himmelfarb, “R. Moses the Preacher”; Himmelfarb, “A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature,” *SBL Seminar Papers* 13 (1978): 259–69; Himmelfarb, “Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves, *SBLEJL* 6 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 115–41.

<sup>24</sup> See above as well as Himmelfarb, “Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Influence”; Himmelfarb, “Sexual Relations and Purity in the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 11–36; Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, IQS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 9–37; Himmelfarb, “‘Greater Is the Covenant with Aaron’ (Sifre Numbers 119): Rabbis, Priests, and Kings Revisited,” in *The Faces of Torah: Studies in the Texts and Contexts of Ancient Judaism in Honor of Steven Fraade*, ed. M. Bar-Asher Siegal, T. Novick, and C. Hayes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 339–50.

Just as it is no longer surprising to see Jesus but also Paul and John of Patmos re-read and recovered as Jews, so there is also a growing consensus that Christian manuscripts of so-called “Old Testament pseudepigrapha” can be productively situated in their Christian contexts of copying and transmission – all without occluding the formative and ongoing Jewish histories of these texts.

The present volume showcases the intellectual community of scholars that her ideas and questions have helped to create. The four essays in the first section (“Rethinking Second Temple Judaism”) revisit key issues in the study of Second Temple Judaism in conversation with Himmelfarb’s work. Annette Yoshiko Reed rethinks the scholarly debate on “Hellenism” and “Judaism” from the perspective of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls, extending Himmelfarb’s own extension of the ideas of Elias Bickerman. Benjamin Wright takes a fresh approach to testamentary traditions and Ben Sira beyond “authorship” by reflecting on comparable wisdom transmitted between the generations in the folk-rock classic “Father and Son” by the 1970s singer-songwriter Cat Stevens. Steven Fraade and Aryeh Amihay reconsider the ramifications of the Dead Sea Scrolls for our understanding of Jewish communal structures in the Second Temple period: Fraade analyzes the conception of religious authority and leadership in the Damascus Document and other texts from Qumran, while Amihay revisits the tension between inclusivity and exclusivity within the sectarian ideologies of the period.

The essays in the second section (“At the Intersections of Judaism and Christianity”) take on problems of “Jewish” and “Christian” identities. The first two articles, by John Marshall and Elaine Pagels, do so with a focus on the Book of Revelation. Marshall engages recent debates about the translation of *Ioudaioi* in “religious” and/or “ethnic” terms, so as to draw out the complex historical identities presumed by John of Patmos’s apocalypse, which cannot readily be reduced to our categories of “religion” – and, indeed, point even to the challenge of reading Revelation, not just as a Jewish apocalypse, but also as a book that is Greek, Eastern, and Asian as much or more than it is geographically Judean. Pagels illumines the identities of those included within Revelation’s eschatological predictions, challenging traditional interpretations that read its “innumerable multitude” retrospectively in terms of later Christian universalist, triumphalist, and supersessionist ideas about “the Church.” Just as Pagels recovers Revelation as a Jewish reflection on the end-time fate of gentiles, so AJ Berkovitz demonstrates the early rabbinic transformation of Psalm 29 into a site for thinking about gentiles and revealed knowledge. Rather than simply a matter of polemics, Berkovitz shows its workings within the mechanics of rabbinic biblical interpretation.

Just as Berkovitz shows how Jewish reflection on gentiles goes far beyond the “background” to Jesus and Paul, the following three articles reveal unexpected twists in the interactions between Jews and Christians in and beyond

late antiquity. Peter Schäfer revisits the history of interpretation of Genesis 2–3. But rather than stop with Paul and Augustine, as the usual *telos* of Christian doctrines of original sin, he explores rabbinic discussions that intriguingly posit the very inverse, casting the human capacity to sin positively in relation to human rivalry with angels. Hayim Lapin explores Christian evidence for rabbinization with a focus on Amulo, showing how Carolingian writings in Latin attest the migration of distinctively rabbinic traditions to Christian Europe. William Adler presents a translation of a passage from Michael Glycas connecting Jesus with the Jewish priesthood, thereby demonstrating the intriguing persistence of Christian interest in the Jerusalem Temple and its Jewish priesthood in Byzantium.

The third section of the volume (“Priesthoods and Liturgies in Transformation”) illuminates both the historical reality and enduring religious significance of priesthood, sacrifice, and ritual across a range of both Jewish and Christian contexts. At a time when many scholars still regarded apocalypticism as the impulse of the disenfranchised, Himmelfarb recognized the critical importance of the Jewish priesthood and its values in Hellenistic times for shaping the details and preoccupations of Jewish apocalypses. The five articles gathered together in this section exemplify some of the directions in which scholars have taken this nuanced regard for Jewish priestly culture. Richard Bauckham lays out epigraphical evidence for priestly families among provenanced ossuaries in Palestine. Michael Swartz discusses rabbinic appropriations of priestly authority and intimations of lay ritual authority, looking especially at their retellings of the Yom Kippur Temple ritual. Ophir Münz-Manor moves into the related topic of liturgy, seeking to locate the composers and singers of *piyyut* within the social and institutional landscape of late antique Judaism. His article considers whether these little-understood figures operated from within rabbinic Judaism or, rather, at and beyond its boundaries, even raising the possibility that they could have been priests. Mika Ahuvia discusses one particular *piyyut* that describes, in elevated terms, a woman’s pious responsibility for monitoring her menstrual cycle and thus her own ritual status. Finally, David Frankfurter demonstrates how the symbolism of heavenly/angelic liturgy – its otherworldly sights, sounds, words, and images – were materialized as mundane substances, such as water, oil, bread, and wine, within the rituals prescribe by the Coptic mystical incantations from late antique and Byzantine Egypt.

The fourth section (“Material Texts”) reflects Himmelfarb’s long-standing interest in the transmission of Second Temple sources within later Jewish and Christian manuscript cultures. Anne-Marie Liujendijk explores the practice of applying cedar oil to book manuscripts in antiquity in order to protect from them from the damage caused by insects. This mode of caring for books, which left traces both in the literary sources of the period and as physical marks on the manuscripts themselves, attests the energy that was invested in the project of preserving these precious vehicles of knowledge. Nicola Denzey Lewis similarly

## Index of Primary Sources

### Hebrew Bible/Tanakh

Genesis		7:19	80n90
1–3	162–68	14:13	393
1:1	303	14:15	442n30
1:1–5	421	15:2	154
1:26	178	15:13	155, 156n97
2:10–14	52	15:26	481n25
2:18	300n59	17:18	141n41
3	173	18:1	141–42
3:16	303	19:2	144
3:22	180	19:6	257
6	204	19:16	145
6:5	168–69	20:2–3	140, 179, 391
9:1–5	169	20:14	149
9:11	169	20:18	148–49
9:15	143, 144n50	24:9	77n69
9:16	169	28–29	342n43
12	426–27	28:17–20	395n73
14	427	30:33	264
15	427–28	39:10–13	395n73
15:2–3	451		
15:6	423n20	Leviticus	
16	451	1:3	266
17:1	427	4:12	278
20	426	4:21	278
21	453	4:30	443n33
22	428, 442n28, 445–47, 454	6:2–3	270
22:1	423, 427, 451n57	6:4	271
22:2	452n63	11:9	179
22:3	439n16, 449	13	67
22:5	452	14:54	67n33
22:15–18	442n27	14:57	67n33
25:6	454	15	294n9
28:9	453	15:1–32	301
38:14	300n60	15:20	295
49:10	214, 222	15:25	292–93, 295n14
49:11	515n92	16	257, 260, 279
		16:2	264
Exodus		16:2–28	237
4:20	439n17	16:11	273
5:11	154n90	16:20–22	276–77
6:2	442n30	16:28	278
6:23	214	16:30	443n33
		16:32	264

19:4	179	2 Kings	
20:26	387	11:3–17	265n30
22:2–16	264	12:30	265n30
22:10	264n25		
22:27	442n27	Isaiah	
25:25	294	2:19	388
26:39	298n38	3:10	300n65
		4:4	296
Numbers		6:3	292
3:19	256	9:4	295, 297n37, 302
3:27	256	11	460
6:22–27	247	11:11–12	508n59
6:27b	155	13:10	494n4
7:89	150	13:13	494n4
10:12	136n15	17:11	294, 297n30
17:4	264	21:7	455
18	264	24:18–23	494n4
18:7	270	25:8	396
19	274–75	27	440n21
19:14	179	27:13	393
24:23	389	33:24	396
25:11–13	252	35:3	393
27:17	67n32	35:6	395
31:23	295n17	40:5	396
		40:29	295, 302
Deuteronomy		41:18	395
1:1	71	49:3	154n90
4:7–8	154n90	49:10	395
5:6–7	391	49:23	127
6:4	154n90	53	186
7:6	387	53:5	184
14:2	387	54:9	138, 144n50
26:18	387	54:11–12	185, 187
27:14–26	68n34	54:12	395
30:1–5	508n59	57:17	298n38
32:1	74–75	59:15	387
32:18	151	59:16	389
33:2	143, 147–48	60	127–29
33:29	154n90	60:11–12	124, 126
		60:12	395
Joshua		61:1	230, 387
1:8	67n31	61:4–6	128
15:51	254	62:8	156n97
21:15	254	63:1	389
		63:7	230
Judges		64:5	295, 302
5:4–5	140	65:20	396
		65:22	396
1 Samuel		66:20	394
2:10	510		
3:14	388	Jeremiah	470
18:16	67n32	3:14	390
		4:23–24	390

4:28	390	Micah	
29:14	508n59	2:13	395
31:7	395	5:2	388
31:9	188, 192	5:8	456
32:14	334n5		
		Nahum	
Ezekiel	4, 6, 469	3:6–7	101
1	487		
1:3	248	Habakkuk	
1:4	485n42	3:4	154n90
1:27	485n42		
8–10	487	Zephaniah	
8:2	485n42	3:9	396
16:6	443n33		
16:9	295	Zechariah	
20:38	392	3:5	300n60
20:41–42	508n59	9:9	439n17, 455
23:41	299n56	10:8	515
25:14	396	11:8–10	508n59
26:1–28:18	493n1	12	188–90, 199, 201–2
27:24	468n3	13:9	392
28:13	395n73	14:1	129
29:17–19	493n1	14:2–9	129
36:16–18	301	14:3	393
36:26	396	14:16–20	129
36:35	394n70	19:9	440n21
38:19–20	494n4		
38:22	393	Malachi	
39:25–48:34	493n1	3:20	389
39:27	508n59		
47	129	Psalms	
47:12	130	1:2	67n31
		1:6	178
Hosea		2	127
2:16	392	2:2	189
10:12	299n48	8	134n7, 137
14:6	389	8:3	154n90
		18:30	428
Joel		20	193–94
2:3	394n70	21:2	154n90
2:10	494n4	22:4	296
3:1	396	25:14	287
3:3	389	28:7	154n90
3:4	389, 494n4	29	9, 131–32, 135–59
4:14	391	40:9	223
		48:6	231
Obadiah		50–51	175
1:18	394	62:12	153–54
		66:12	295n17
Jonah		68:29	153, 155
2:9–10	389	68:35	154n90
		74:13	154n90

78:61	152n83, 156n97	Song of Songs	294n12, 301–2
84:6	156n97	1:16	299n56
85:10–12	178	5:11	294
89	127	5:16	390n39
89:18	154n90	7:3	299n49
89:20	287		
89:52	464	Ecclesiastes/Qohelet 17	
90	151n78	1:4	388
95:7	428	2:23	295
99:4	153–56	7:26	300n58
99:6	80n90	8:1	156n97
104:24	485	10:18	294, 297n35
105:4	156n97		
109:4	229	Esther	
110:1	393	3:9	468n35
114	134n7		
119:32	287	Daniel	17, 26, 42, 118, 460, 507
131:11	227	3	117
132:8	152n83, 156n97	4:1	117
132:17	510n68	5:19	117
133:1	92n41	6:25	117
139:5	179	7	487
144:12	300n57	7:13	186, 188
145	194	7:14	117
152	152–53	9:25–26	214
		11:33–35	70, 72
Proverbs	49, 309, 477	11:42	392
1–9	44	11:45	392
3:1	483n34	12:1	392
3:14	299n50	12:2	395
3:18	483n34	12:3	70, 72, 389
4:12	294n12	12:10–12	70, 72, 392
5:18	299n52		
7	298n41, 300n57	Ezra	
8:6	490n69	5:17	468n35
10:2–3	477, 483	6:1–2	468n35
10:17	483n34	8:2–3	255n105
18:20	300n65	8:5	255n105
18:22	300n58	8:9	241n33
22:11	387	9:10–12	301
30:19	298n45	10:2–4	255n105
31:10–31	291, 293, 304–6	10:26	241n33
31:25	156n97	10:34	256
Job		Nehemiah	
4:18	391n44	3:29	255n105
12:16	143, 144n50, 153–56	6:18	255n105
22:19	387	10:16	241n33
37:6	154n90	11:10	251
38:4–6	30	11:17	241n33
38:41	194n12	12	252, 255n105

1 Chronicles	17	6:41	154n90
17:21	154n90	15:3	294, 295n14, 301
		26:18	208, 227
2 Chronicles	17		
4:9	265		

## Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Animal	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 85–90	14–16	406n17
Apocalypse		17	402, 405n14
		18:1–5	30
Apocalypse of Abraham	312–13	19	404nn10–12, 406n16
		21:1	404n12
		32–36	404n12
Apocalypse of Elijah	137n19	37–71 (Book of Parables/Similitudes)	311, 403, 406n16, 408n23, 410
Apocalypse of Weeks	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 91–93	61:5	406n16
		72–82 (Astronomical Book)	26–27, 30, 33, 400nn1–2, 403, 404n12, 405n13, 406n16, 407, 408n23, 409, 411–12, 414, 417
Ascension of Isaiah	5, 7, 311, 313, 355–56n110	80	406n15
		82	406n16
Assumption of Moses	333–34, 339, 349, 352–53, 470n42	83–90 (Book of Dreams)	400nn1–2, 403, 405, 408n23, 414
Astronomical Book	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 72–82	83–84	414
		85–90 (Animal Apocalypse)	38n116, 405–6n15, 409, 414–15, 417
2 Baruch	5, 137n19, 171–72, 463	91–93 (Apocalypse of Weeks)	415
Ben Sira/ Ecclesiasticus	17n9, 22–25, 44–58, 77, 170–71, 265, 305, 466n25, 469n40, 472, 510n68	91–108 (Epistle of Enoch)	400nn1–2, 403, 405n15, 406, 408
		91:13	405–6n15
		99:6–7	406n16
Book of Dreams	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 83–90	2 Enoch	342, 343, 352, 356, 411–13, 417–18
Book of Parables	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 37–71	3 Enoch	137n19, 194, 195n51, 313, 487n53
Book of the Watchers	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 1–36	Epistle of Enoch	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 91–108
1 Enoch	11, 399–403, 407–18; <i>see also</i> 4Q201-212	4 Ezra	171–72, 422n16, 463
1–36 (Book of the Watchers)	4, 6–7, 24–26, 28, 30, 34, 36, 39–40, 42, 400nn1–2, 402–12, 417	Jubilees	11, 17, 22–23, 36, 83–87, 95n52, 99–100, 103–4, 209–10, 344n53, 355, 413–27, 429–32, 442; <i>see also</i> 11Q12
1:9	404n9		
4:4	408n23		
6	405n13, 406n17		
8–10	406n16-17		



1 Maccabees	23–24, 27, 29, 38, 423n20	Oracles	
2 Maccabees	22–24, 27, 29, 38, 110– 13, 117n39	Similitudes	<i>see</i> 1 Enoch 37–71
4 Maccabees	110–13	Testament of Job	5
Psalms of Solomon	137n19	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	5, 214n40, 403n8, 414n42
Sibylline	37, 39–40, 42, 119	Wisdom of Solomon	153n86, 170–71

### Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic Jewish Literature

4Q534-536	494n5	<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>	22, 42, 210, 236–37, 243n45, 246, 252n86, 256, 344n508, 503n398
4QAgnes of Creation		<i>Jewish War</i>	66, 89, 237–38, 240–41, 243n45, 252n86, 468n38, 503n39
4Q181	90	<i>Life</i>	241, 243n45
4QBrontologion/ 4Q318	503–4	Jubilees, Hebrew fragments of 11Q12	430
4QInstruction	92n42	Pesher Habakkuk 1QpHab	95
11QPsalms <sup>a</sup> /11Q5	153n86	Pesher Isaiah 4Q162	90
Aramaic Enoch fragments		Pesher Nahum 4QpNah	101, 102, 105
4Q201-212	400n2	Philo	
4Q212	415	<i>De Abrahamo</i>	335–36, 441
Aramaic Levi Document	17, 34	<i>De opificio mundi</i>	305
Book of Giants	34, 410n28	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	335–36
Community Rule	100–1, 105	Pseudo-Jubilees (?)	416–17
1QS	63, 65n20, 67n31, 68n34, 74, 76, 80n92, 90–93, 95, 101, 104, 153n86	4Q225	442n28
4QS <sup>d</sup>	93	4Q227	416–17
Damascus Document	9, 61–73, 77–79, 84, 95–96, 105	Pseudo-Philo, <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>	442
Epistle of Aristeas	17–18, 37, 39	Septuagint/LXX	17–18, 17n9, 37, 40, 42, 136, 164
Halakhic Letter/ 4QMMT	102–4		
Hodayot	76		
1QH <sup>a</sup>	90		
Josephus <i>Against Apion</i>	516n54		

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice	311–12, 314, 485n42, 487n52	Temple Scroll	83–84, 265
4Q403	153n86	War Scroll	
4Q405	485n42	1QM	104
11QShirShabb	313		

## New Testament

Gospel of Matthew		Romans	
	86, 216, 220	2:17	116
3:15	228	5:12	172–73, 176
5:17	227	9:6–9	452n62
6:19–20	335n9		
9:20–22	297n32	1 Corinthians	
12:41–42	208, 230	3:21–22	241n33, 255n105
21:23	208, 225	5:7	442n28
		6:3–4	256
Gospel of Mark		9:10	251
1:9	228	9:16	241n33
5:25–34	297n32	14:13	229
		15:50	369
Gospel of Luke	216	24	241n29
1:69	510n68	24:16	248
2:11	209, 230	24:17	251
2:52	219	24:20	256
3:23	225	26:23–28	256
4:17	226		
4:18	219, 229	Galatians	110, 112–13, 157
5:14	228	4:21–31	452n62
5:24	209	4:28	444
8:43–48	297n32		
11:31–32	208	Ephesians	
11:32	230	5:2	228
22:28–30	130	6:12	375
Gospel of John	212, 219–20, 349	Philippians	
1:26	208, 224, 225, 228	3:20	119
1:31	226, 229		
1:33–34	229	Colossians	
2:4	226, 229	1:13	373
2:11	226	6:12	373
6:41–42	225		
8:2–11	219–20	Hebrews	213, 215, 222
19:37	190, 208, 230	7	228
		9	229
Acts	220		
1:22	224	James	
7:2	137n19	5:16	224
8:26–40	207		
8:27–39	228	Jude	
		14–15	404n9

Revelation	5, 9, 42, 109–10, 114–26, 130, 312–14	12:17 13:7 14:1–5 14:6–7 14:12 15:2–4 16 18:9–15 20:4–6 21 21:22 21:24–26 21:27 22:2 22:19	121 118 123, 125 118, 129 121 130 323 129 130 126–27, 129–30 121 123–24, 127–29 121 130 123
1:5	127		
1:7	230		
2:9	116		
3:9	116, 127		
5:9	117		
5:10	130		
7:1–9	118		
7:4–8	123		
7:9	126		
7:9–17	123, 129		
8:1–4	312n6, 323		
11:9	118		
11:13	129		
11:19	121, 314, 323		

### New Testament Apocrypha and Nag Hammadi Literature

Apocalypse of Paul	6–7, 323, 353–54	Gospel of Thomas	361–62, 365–73
Apocalypse of Peter	5–6, 376	Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit	359
Apocryphon of John	359, 361–65, 367, 372–74, 376–77	Hypostasis of the Archons	361–62, 372–75
Book of Thomas the Contender	361–62, 375–76	On the Origin of the World	358, 361–62, 372–74
Exegesis of the Soul	361–62, 374–75	Protevangelium of James	209, 211, 213
Gospel of Philip	361–62, 367–73, 375–76	Treatise of Shem	498, 501–2, 507–9
Gospel of the Egyptians	359n6	Treatise on the Two Spirits	91

### Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah	263, 265, 284, 460–62, 466, 484	<i>Sheqalim</i>	6:1–2 468
<i>Hallah</i>		<i>Yoma</i>	257–61
1:9	266n39	1:3	260, 275n66
<i>Shabbat</i>		1:5	260, 275n66
2:6	300n61	1:7	275n66
		2:1–2	269
		3:7–8	273

4:1	275n66	<i>Yadayim</i>	
6:3	266, 276–77	3:5	471n48
6:4	278	<i>Uqtzin</i>	132n2
<i>Rosh Hashannah</i>		<i>Tosefta</i>	278–79, 460, 462, 465
2:9	95n52	<i>Berakhot</i>	
<i>Ta'anith</i>		3:25	132n2
2:1	442n27, 443n32	<i>Shabbat</i>	
2:6–7	241n29	13:5	193n46
<i>Megillah</i>		<i>Sheqalim</i>	
3:1	471	2:14	267n43
<i>Yevamot</i>		<i>Kippurim</i>	257, 260
6:4	237	1:16	238
<i>Ketubot</i>		1:32	269n51
5:5	298n44	3:13	278n77
<i>Sotah</i>		<i>Sukkah</i>	
9:11–13	463	2:6	514n88
9:15	386n23, 463–64	<i>Ketubot</i>	
<i>Bava Metsia</i>		5:9	300n59
2:8	337–38	<i>Sotah</i>	
5:3	237n8	6:2	134n7
<i>Sanhedrin</i>		6:6	453nn69–70
9:6	266	7:20	299n54, 481
<i>'Eduyot</i>		10–15	466n25
8:6	246	13:1	468
<i>Avot</i>		Palestinian Talmud (Yerushalmi)	
5:3	423, 429		187, 260–63, 265, 267, 465
5:6	439n18	<i>Terumot</i>	268n46
<i>Menahot</i>		<i>'Orlah</i>	268n46
1:2	266	<i>Shabbath</i>	
<i>Zevahim</i>		1:3 (3c)	465
2:1	266n39	<i>Sheqalim</i>	
3:1	273	3:2	386n23
3:20	266n39	3:47	386n23
<i>Tamid</i>		<i>Yoma</i>	
7:4	259, 262		257, 260–62, 267–69, 279–80
<i>Kelim</i>		1:5 (39a)	269n51
1:1–5	265	2:1 (39b–c)	268–72, 276
1:6–9	265–66	3	276
7:6	298n42	3:7 (41a)	273–76
<i>Parah</i>		3:8 (40d–41a)	268
3:8	275n66	4:1 (41c)	268
4:4	275	5:1 (42a)	268
11:10	275	6:3 (43c)	268, 276–78
<i>Niddah</i>			
2:4	298n46		
2:6	297n37, 303		

6:4 (43d)	278n76	<i>Ḥagigah</i>	487n52
6:7 (44a)	268, 278	12b	468
<i>Ta'anit</i>		13a	469, 485n42
65a	443n32	<i>Yevamot</i>	
2:4 (65d)	442n27	61a	237–38
<i>Ḥagigah</i>	487n52	<i>Ketubot</i>	
Babylonian Talmud (Bavli)		67b	299n53
	12, 80, 179–80, 184, 189n25, 192–93, 199, 261–63, 265, 267, 338, 356, 448–49, 462, 465– 69, 495	<i>Nedarim</i>	
<i>Berakhot</i>		32a	504
8a	300n58	<i>Gittin</i>	
29a	510n68	56a	238
56b–57b	514	<i>Bava Qama</i>	
57a	515n92	16b–17a	352n92
<i>Shabbat</i>		<i>Bava Metsia</i>	
13b	469	29b	338
116a	193n46	<i>Bava Batra</i>	
118a	455n75	147a	514
118b	299n54	<i>Sanhedrin</i>	
129b	514	38b	179
156a	514, 515n91	89b	429, 448n50, 448n52, 451n57
156a–b	504	96b–99a	467–68
<i>'Eruvin</i>		97	469
56a	514	97a	465
100b	303n77	97b	471–72
<i>Pesaḥim</i>		98a	186, 189n27, 190, 455n75
54a	439n18	98b	185–86, 470n44
112b	514	100b	305
118ba	455n75	107b	192
<i>Yoma</i>		109a	468
18a	257	<i>'Avodah Zarah</i>	
22a	272n58	5a	180
43b	275n67	9b	469–70n42
53b	158n104	20b	386n23, 465
66b	277nn73–74, 278n76	<i>Zevaḥim</i>	
<i>Sukkah</i>		16a	267
29a	514n88	<i>Menahot</i>	
52a	188	45a	469
<i>Rosh Hashannah</i>		<i>Ḥullin</i>	
16a	443n33	63a	515
<i>Ta'anit</i>		<i>Arakhin</i>	
23b	299n53	11b	267n43
		<i>Keritot</i>	
		14a	277n73

<i>Niddah</i>		97	189n24
31b	297n27	100:2	189n24
Avot de-Rabbi Natan A	179	Lamentations Rabbah	187, 437
33	428	1:50	238
Avot de-Rabbi Natan B	439n18	2:3	510n69
36	428	25	352
Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael	138, 141, 437, 442n30, 481n25	Leviticus Rabbah	284
<i>Bo</i> 1	514n88	9:3	131n*
<i>Pisha</i> 7	442	19:1	294n12
<i>Shirata</i> 3	154	19:3	294n9
<i>Shirata</i> 9	155	31:5	156n97
<i>Va-yassa</i> 6	455n75	32:2	515n93
<i>'Amalek</i> 3	141–42, 146	Midrash Mishle	12, 309n101, 476–91
<i>BaHodesh</i> 1	144–46	8	490n69
<i>BaHodesh</i> 5	138n27, 139–40, 142, 146	10	480–83
<i>BaHodesh</i> 9	148–50	Midrash Tadshe	419, 421n10
Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simeon bar Yoḥai	442n30	Midrash Tanḥuma	284, 451
		Hayei Sara 3–4	309n101
		Vayera 17	445n44
		Vayera 18–23	443
		Vayera 42	451n57
Mekhilta Deuteronomy	132n2	Pesiqta Rabbati	461
Exodus Rabbah		34:8	192
15:11	444n35	36–37	192
Genesis Rabbah	284, 430, 437, 442, 444n40, 446, 448, 450–51	Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana	440n23
1:3	421	25	179
3:8	421	Pirque Rabbi Eliezer	11, 284, 420–23, 426–27, 429–58, 515
8:4–5	178	3	420
8:5	180n33	3–32	422
9:5	180n33	7	514
20:6	296n22	14	420
35:2	186n11	18	439
39:9	448n50	19	438
49:11	442n27, 443n32	23	420
53:11	453n69	26–31	426–27
55:4	451n57	28	438
55:6	448n52	30	446–47
55:7	448n50	31	439n18
56:1–2	452n64–65	32	427
56:11	429	35–39	422
66:10	442–43	37	420

38	438	124	274n64
48	420, 456		
Sifra		Sifre	138
<i>Ahare Mot</i> 4:8	277n74	Deuteronomy	
<i>Tsav</i> 2:6	271–72	40	132n2
		306	481n25
		313	481n25
Sifre Numbers		319	132n2, 151
19:5	274n65	343	143, 144n52, 145–48,
42	155		149n71, 155
116	267		

### Hekhalot and Magical Literatures

Hekhalot Rabbati	313	Sar Panim	
§§ 83–92	489	§ 636	487n53
§ 95	489n63		
§§ 107–121	488n56	Seder Rabbah	487
§ 154	487n53	di-Vereshit	
§ 198	487–88		
§§ 198–248	488n56	Shi'ur Qomah	
§§ 246–248	489	§ 480	487n53
§ 251	489n63	§§ 688–704	489n60
§ 260	489n63	§§ 939–953	489n60
§ 270	489n63	§ 948	487n53
		§ 978	489n60
Hekhalot Zutarti	487n53		
		Tefillat Rav	482–83
Ma'aseh Merkavah		Hamnuna Sava	
§ 546	487n54		
§§ 558–559	487n54	Sefer ha-Razim	354
§ 577	490n67		
		Treatise of Shem	498
Ozhayah fragment	486		
		Massoret Ezra	498
Sar ha-Torah	482		
§ 303	490n67		

### Targumic Literature

Targum Neofiti	423	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan	443, 451, 453n70
----------------	-----	------------------------	------------------

### Piyyut

'Oto ha-yom	199	'Az mi-li-pene bēre'shit	187, 199
-------------	-----	--------------------------	----------

### Late Antique and Medieval Hebrew Apocalypses, “Minor” Tractates and Midrashim, and Early Hebrew Narrative Literature

Alphabet of Ben Sira	58, 379–80	Prayer of R. Shim‘on b. Yoḥai	390n41
Baraita de-Niddah	308	Secrets of R. Shim‘on b. Yoḥai	186n14, 190, 455
Future Things of R. Shim‘on b. Yoḥai	189–90	Sefer Eliyahu	494nn4–5, 508
Gedulat Moshe	6	Sefer ha-Yashar	469n38
Midrash of the Ten Commandments	380	Sefer Zerubbabel	4, 7, 143, 151n78, 183, 186n14, 187, 189, 199, 437, 461, 466, 494n4, 508
Midrash of the Ten Kings	189	Toledot Yeshe	192–93, 199
’Otot Ha-Mashiah	11, 379–96		

### Christian and Other Premodern Literature

Amulo, <i>On the Perfidy of the Jews</i>	184–95, 198–200	Eusebius, <i>Quaestiones ad Stephanum</i>	214
Antiochus Cylinder	32	George Syncellus, <i>Ecloga chronographica</i>	402, 406n17, 407–9
Augustine, <i>De Civitate Dei Enchiridion</i>	175, 444n40 176, 181	John Chrysostom, <i>Homilies on Genesis</i>	444
Cologne Mani Codex	343	John of Euboea, <i>Sermon on the Conception of the Mother of God</i>	221n57
Demotic Chronicle	32	Julius Africanus, <i>Epistle to Aristides</i>	216
Enuma Elish	32	Lucian, <i>The Ignorant Book-Collector</i>	336
Epic of Gilgamesh	168	Manetho, <i>Aegyptiaca</i>	32–33
Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>	215–17, 220n54		
Epistle of Barnabas	121, 405–6		



Michael Glycas, <i>Annales</i>	203–4, 209, 210n19–21, 211n24–25, 212n33	Suda	206, 220–21
<i>Questions on Sacred Scriptures</i>	203–13, 219, 223–31	Tertullian <i>Adversus Marcionem</i>	444
Oracles of Hystaspes	119	<i>De Idolatria De cultu feminarum</i>	406, 408, 410 305, 406, 408, 410
Origen <i>De principiis</i>	404, 408	Uruk List of Kings and Sages	35
<i>Selecta in Numeros</i>	214n40		
Qur'an	445, 450		

## Papyri and Genizah Fragments

ACM 113	321n34	P. London	316
ACM 122	325–27	Or. 5487	
ACM 127	322n35	P. London	320–21
ACM 131	327	Or. 6796	
ACM 132	317	P. Macquarie 1	316, 320n28, 322, 327
ACM 133	327	P.Fam. Tebt.	336
ACM 135	317n26	P.Oxy XXXVI	348
ACM 56	322n36	2747	
ACM 70	316	P.Oxy. XIV 1727	340
ACM 79	321n33	PGM LVII	339n28
ACM 81	326n50	PGM LXII	339n28
Ben Sira, Hebrew fragments of (MSS A, B, E)	57n32	PGM XII 432	339n28
Heidelberg	316	T-S 143.182	497n17
kopt. 685		T-S AS 143.182	502n32, 502n34, 509n64, 511
Heidelberg	317–20	T-S AS 143.183	497n17, 502n32, 502n34, 509n64
kopt. 686		T-S AS 143.67	497n17, 502n32, 502n34, 509n64
P. Berlin 5527	316	T-S AS 144.182	497n17, 502n32, 502n34, 509n64, 511
P. CtYBR	325–27	T-S AS 82.17	141n41
P. Gen Inv 187	405n14	T-S K 1.133	502n35
P. London 4714	317	T-S K 1.149	507nn55–57
P. London 6796	317	T-S K 1.50	502n35
P. London 737	482	T-S K 2.51	510n71, 511
P. London Hay	326n50	T-S Misc. 28.158	507n55
EA 10122		T-S NS 309.51	502n35, 507nn55–57
P. London Hay	321–22	T-S NS 317.42	503n37
EA 10391		Zenon Papyri	38
P. London Hay	321n33		
EA 10414			

## Index of Modern Scholars

- Abrahams, Israel 468n33  
Adelman, Rachel 431, 433n2, 437–38, 455–56  
Adler, William 406n17, 409n23  
Alcock, Susan 35  
Alexander, Philip S. 462n14, 464–65  
Alfonso, Esperanza 309  
Amorós, Asensi 338n21  
Andersen, F. C. 412  
Aptowitz, Avigdor 215n41  
Aune, David 124, 126–28
- Bagnall, Roger 350  
Bagnoud, Marie 405n14  
Bainbridge, William 88, 92, 94, 96  
Bakhos, Carol 435, 446, 452, 456–57  
Balberg, Mira 259  
Barth, Louis (Eliezer) 423n19  
Bashear, Suliman 450n54  
Baskin, Judith 310  
Bauckham, Richard 123–27, 130, 312n6  
Baumgarten, Albert I. 71, 87–89, 92  
Baynes, Leslie 355n109  
Beer, Bernhard 419  
Berger, Klaus 425  
Betz, Hans Dieter 112  
Bhayro, Siam 405n13  
Bickerman, Elias 9, 16, 19–25, 30–33, 41  
Black, Matthew 404n11, 405n15  
Bohak, Gideon 475n3  
Böttrich, Christfried 412  
Boustán, Raʿanan 281–82  
Boyarín, Daniel 114  
Brewer, David I. 133n5  
Brock, Sebastian 405n13  
Brody, Robert 200n75  
Bronznick, Nachum Meir 293, 294n12, 295n18, 296n25, 299n55, 299nn49–50, 301n67, 306  
Bynum, Caroline Walker 328
- Calhoun, Robert Matthew 328  
Caseau, Béatrice 344n53  
Cavell, Stanley 51  
Charles, R. H. 405n15, 418, 420, 425
- Chilton, Bruce D. 441n24  
Claussen, Carsten 91, 92n41  
Coblentz Bautch, Kelley 405n14  
Cockle, Walter 337, 346–48, 349n79, 350  
Cohen, Chaim 135n12  
Cohen, Hermann 18  
Cohen, Shaye 15, 289, 308  
Cohn, Naftali 259  
Collins, Adela Yarbro 119  
Collins, John 27, 30n82, 36  
Colomo, Daniela 336n13  
Cook, Edward 28n68  
Dagron, Gilbert 206
- Davies, Philip R. 87, 441n24  
Davies, Stevan 365  
Davis, Michael 91, 92n41  
Debié, Muriel 436  
De Bruyn, Theodore 328  
Delamarter, Steve 137n19  
Dilley, Paul 354n97  
Dillmann, August 404n11, 419, 426  
Dimant, Devorah 27, 415  
Donaldson, Terence L. 118n45  
Droysen, Johann Gustav 18, 21  
Duff, Paul 124
- Elgvin, Torleif 77  
Ellis, Teresa Ann 305  
Emmel, Stephen 358  
Epstein, A. 419  
Epstein, J. N. 135n12, 465  
Erskine, Andrew 30, 33
- Farrell, Joseph 351n86  
Firestone, Reuven 445, 450, 456n82  
Fonrobert, Charlotte 307  
Fraade, Steven D. 134–35n8, 143n47, 144nn51–52, 148n68  
Frankel, Zacharias 18  
Frankfurter, David 115–16, 124  
Friedlander, Gerald 420–21, 429, 432  
Friedlander, Shlomo Yehudah Algazi 267n42  
Friesen, Steven 124  
Funk, Wolf-Peter 358

- Garcia Martinez, Florentino 355n103  
 Gil, Moshe 200n75  
 Ginzberg, H. L. 136  
 Goldhill, Simon 19  
 Goodblatt, David 85  
 Goodman, Martin D. 66  
 Grenfell, Bernard 345–46  
 Grypeou, Emmanouela 456–57
- Hagen, Joost L. 412n36  
 Hanson, A. T. 437  
 Harkins, Angela Kim 76n62  
 Harnack, Adolf 222–23  
 Harrill, J. Albert 339n26  
 Harris, Marvin 114–15  
 Harrison, Carol 344  
 Haubold, Johannes 32  
 Hawley, Robert 79  
 Heinemann, Isaac 18, 157–58n102, 437  
 Heinemann, Joseph 452  
 Hengel, Martin 15, 19  
 Herrmann, Klaus 482  
 Himmelfarb, Martha 1–12, 16, 20–26, 30–31, 33, 36, 40–41, 43, 83–86, 95–96, 99, 102, 104–5, 109, 125n6, 130, 152, 183, 186, 190, 235, 257, 289, 311–12, 323, 333, 335, 342, 344–45, 355, 357, 382, 399, 430, 436–37, 445, 466, 476–78  
 Holtz, Gudrun 92  
 Holtz, Shalom 91  
 Houston, George W. 337n16, 351n83  
 Hoyland, Robert 436  
 Hunt, Arthur 345–46, 347nn66–67
- Ibáñez Dominguez, Maria Cristina 337  
 Iricinschi, Eduard 362
- Jacobs, Irving 152n83  
 Jaffee, Martin S. 50–51, 286, 352, 481n25  
 Jellinek, Adolph 380–81, 419  
 Jenott, Lance 324, 377  
 Johnson, William 344  
 Johnstone, Steve 30, 33  
 Jokiranta, Jutta 87–89, 92  
 Judge, Erwin A. 328
- Kahana, Menahem 155n96  
 Kaler, Michael 359n5  
 Kampen, John 86  
 Kanter, Rosabeth Moss 93  
 Katsumata, Naoya 304  
 Keim, Katharina 454  
 Khosroyev, Alexandr 362n13
- King, Karen 366n21  
 Kister, Menahem 75, 420  
 Klauck, Hans-Josef 362n12  
 Klein, Ezra 98–100  
 Knibb, Michael 411n31, 414  
 Korner, Ralph 125  
 Kosmin, Paul 32–33, 36  
 Kosovsky, Moshe 268n45  
 Kraft, Robert 1, 5  
 Krakowski, Eve 308–9  
 Krause, Martin 377  
 Krumbacher, Karl 203n2  
 Kugel, James L. 133–34n5, 423n20, 425  
 Kuhrt, Amélie 31  
 Kurtz, Paul Michael 19
- Lambert, Cat 335n8  
 Landes, Yitz 284, 288  
 Larson, Erik W. 406–7n18  
 Lawlor, Hugh J. 401–2, 404n11, 406n15, 410n29  
 Lehman, Marjorie 263  
 Lehmhaus, Lennart 479  
 Leiman, Sid Z. 469  
 Leonhardt-Balzer, Jutta 364, 367  
 Leslau, Wolf 426  
 Levine, Baruch A. 263  
 Levine, Lee I. 111  
 Lieber, Laura 284–85, 293, 303, 306  
 Lieberman, Saul 15, 283–84  
 Littmann, Enno 419  
 Longenecker, Richard 112  
 Lundhaug, Hugo 324, 377
- Magdalino, Paul 203n2  
 Marshall, John W. 124  
 Mason, Steve 110–15, 117n39, 118–20, 122  
 McDowell, Gavin 431–32n49, 438  
 McLean, Bradley H. 137n19  
 Meshel, Naphtali 104  
 Meyer, Birgit 328  
 Meyer, Marvin 366n21  
 Mihálykó, Agnes 315–16n18  
 Milgrom, Jacob 265  
 Milik, Józef T. 26–27, 404nn11–12, 406n15, 408, 410n28, 416  
 Miller, Stuart S. 277  
 Momigliano, Arnaldo 15–20, 23, 26, 33n95, 37  
 Monger, Matthew 415, 417  
 Morgan, David 328  
 Moyer, Ian 32–33, 35

- Mroczek, Eva 56, 353  
 Münz-Manor, Ophir 10, 281–90, 293, 306–7
- Navtanovich, Liudmila 412n35  
 Neander, Augustus 18  
 Neubauer, Adolph 380  
 Neusner, Jacob 260, 461  
 Newman, Hillel I. 95n53, 189n25  
 Newman, Judith H. 76  
 Newsom, Carol 44, 46, 93  
 Nickelsburg, George 402n5, 405n15, 411  
 Novick, Tzvi 284, 293
- Oegema, Gerbern 112–13  
 Ophir, Adi 279–80
- Pagels, Elaine 116  
 Painchaud, Louis 115–16, 359n5  
 Pardee, Dennis 135n12  
 Paz, Yakir 195n51  
 Penn, Michael 436  
 Perrin, Andrew 28n68  
 Petrie, Flinders 334n5  
 Pfann, S. J. 75  
 Pike, Kenneth 114–15  
 Popkes, Enno 367  
 Portier-Young, Anatheia 38n116  
 Praver, Joshua 380n6  
 Prodi, Enrico 347
- Qimron, Elisha 71
- Rabin, Ira 346–47  
 Rabinovitz, Zvi Meir 282–84, 293, 294n9, 294n11, 299n49, 299n55, 300n58  
 Reed, Annette Yoshiko 401, 402n5, 406n15, 410n30, 431n48  
 Reed, Ronald 346–47  
 Reeves, John C. 343, 401, 402n5, 406n15, 434, 438  
 Regev, Eyal 88, 92  
 Reinard, Patrick 336n13  
 Ritmeyer, Kathleen 240  
 Roberts, Colin 350n82  
 Robinson, James M. 359, 377  
 Rönsch, Hermann 419, 425  
 Rosen-Zvi, Ishay 280, 466n25  
 Rubenstein, Jeffrey 515n91  
 Rudolph, Kurt 368n25
- Saldarini, Anthony J. 89  
 Sanzo, Joseph 328
- Schäfer, Peter 158n104, 191–92, 194, 312  
 Scherer, Jean 346n59  
 Schiffman, Lawrence 461–62  
 Scholem, Gershom 310, 459–63, 472, 477, 481  
 Schwartz, Daniel R. 105, 113  
 Secunda, Shai 307  
 Segal, Michael 83n1, 417n49  
 Segond, Louis 116  
 Shaw, George Bernard 50  
 Sherwin-White, Susan 31  
 Shoemaker, Stephen 434–35  
 Sommer, Benjamin 133  
 Sperling, Helen 456–57  
 Stark, Rodney 88, 92, 94, 96  
 Stemberger, Günter 467  
 Stern, Sacha 286  
 Stone, Michael E. 27, 33, 37, 346n59  
 Strack, H. L. 467  
 Strootman, Rolf 31, 35  
 Strugnell, John 61  
 Sussman, Yaakov 199n70, 465n22, 468n37  
 Swartz, Michael 289, 482  
 Szirmai, János Alexander 348n72
- Tannous, Jack 436  
 Taylor, Joan E. 346n59, 353  
 Tigchelaar, Eigbert J. C. 417  
 Toch, Michael 195n52, 198  
 Troeltsch, Ernest 89, 100  
 Tromp, Johannes 334n3, 334n6  
 Tropper, Amram 95n52  
 Tyrrell, George 222  
 Tzoref, Shani 101–2
- Urbach, Ephraim 469n41, 470  
 Urowitz-Freudenstein, Anna 422, 431  
 Uusimäki, Elisa 79–80
- van Bekkum, Wouter Jacques 304  
 VanderKam, James C. 85–86, 355n110, 401–2, 404nn11–12, 406nn15–16, 413, 416n47  
 van Regemorter, Berthe 348  
 van Ruiten, Jacques 415  
 Vermes, Géza 66  
 Visotzky, Burton 480
- Weber, Max 89, 100  
 Weinberg, Joanna 18n10  
 Weiss, Zeev 288  
 Weitz, Lev 436  
 Whitmarsh, Tim 30

Williams, Michael Allen 360–62

Wilson, Bryan 89, 96

Yadin, Yigael 238n16

Yahalom, Yoseph 287

Yassif, Eli 380n5

Zahn, Molly 414n43, 416

Zahn, Theodor 404n9

Zeitlin, Solomon 470n42

Zulay, Menachem 283

Zunz, Leopold 283