

Envisioning Judaism

Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer
on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday

Vol. 1



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*Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer
on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*

Edited by

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with the collaboration of

Alex Ramos

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The editors

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Abbreviation List

Following Peter Schäfer's customary editorial practice, we have not imposed any single style upon all of the contributions. The footnote style for English articles generally follows the Chicago Manual of Style, while the footnote style for German articles is different but self-consistent. Apart from some basic standardization, we have mostly allowed for each contributor to conform to the specialist conventions in the relevant subfield. Hence, for instance, the reader will notice different conventions for abbreviations of various text titles, for tractates of the Talmud, and so on. Likewise, abbreviations for journals and book series have been limited to the following:

<i>AJS Review</i>	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>DJD</i>	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>FJB</i>	<i>Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>J ECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JPS</i>	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSupp</i>	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplement Series
<i>JSJT</i>	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia Graeca

PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae
PL	Patrologia Latina
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Études Juives</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSMJ	Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplement Series
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Imre Shefer

For Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

On the occasion of Peter Schäfer's 70th birthday, the present volume brings together an international array of scholars – his students, colleagues, and friends – to honor him for his unparalleled contribution to the study of Judaism, and to express gratitude for his tireless mentorship, intellectual generosity, and inspiring model of what a scholar and teacher should be. Created by a trans-Atlantic editorial team – spanning the United States, Israel, and Germany – this Festschrift includes contributions from many of his numerous students from the Universität zu Köln, the Freie Universität Berlin, and Princeton University, but also contributions from colleagues from all over the world. It is with gratitude and affection that we are here united in the aim of honoring him with these *imre shefer*, “words of beauty.”

Schäfer's training and teaching has crossed and connected continents. During the 1960s, he studied at the University of Bonn, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the University of Freiburg. He pursued doctoral studies at Freiburg, where he received his Dr. Phil. in 1968 for a dissertation prepared under the mentorship of Arnold Goldberg (1928–1991).¹ This was followed by his Habilitation from the University of Frankfurt, completed in 1973. From 1974 to 1983, he served as Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Cologne, after which he took up the position of University Professor of Jewish Studies and Director of the Institut für Judaistik at the Freie Universität Berlin. Beginning in 1998, Schäfer served also as Ronald O. Perelman Professor of Jewish Studies and Professor of Religion at Princeton University – initially splitting his time between Berlin and Princeton but eventually full-time at the latter. From 2005, he served as Director of Princeton's Program in Judaic Studies as well. Alongside those appointments, he held visiting positions at Oxford, Hebrew University, Yale, JTS, and the Institute for Advanced Study.

¹ Schäfer co-edited a two-volume collection of Goldberg's articles, *Mystik und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums: Gesammelte Studien* [1997, 1999] with his colleague and friend Margarete Schlüter (1947–2008). In addition, he published a penetrating study of one important facet of his teacher's work, “Arnold Goldberg's Bible Translation” [2007].

In the forty-five years between his Dr.Phil. and his retirement from Princeton in 2013, Schäfer has published dozens of single-authored books and co-edited volumes, as well as nearly a thousand journal articles, book chapters, encyclopedia entries, and reviews. For these prodigious labors, he has received numerous awards – including the Leibniz Prize in 1994 and the Mellon Distinguished Achievement Award in 2006. He has been the recipient of honorary degrees from the Universities of Utrecht and Tel Aviv, and he is a regular member of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

His impact on international scholarship, however, has gone well beyond his trans-Atlantic institutional shifts and the reach of his ample publications. Schäfer's integrative vision of Jewish Studies has been matched by his tireless dedication to supporting younger scholars and to establishing the infrastructure necessary for advancing and disseminating research. Throughout his career, he has overseen large-scale collaborative projects to produce textual editions and other innovative textual tools (e.g., Hekhalot literature, Talmud Yerushalmi, Jewish magical texts, *Sefer Hasidim*). He founded the journal *Jewish Studies Quarterly* with Joseph Dan in 1983. In addition, he created multiple book-series, including *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* / *Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* with Martin Hengel in 1981 (TSAJ; Mohr Siebeck), *Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism* with Ivan Marcus in 1986 (TSMJ; Mohr Siebeck), and *Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World* with Michael Cook and William C. Jordan in 2001 (Princeton University Press).² Such efforts, moreover, represent only a fraction of his scholarly collaborations, which also include his organization of numerous conferences and his editing of volumes.

Schäfer models an ideal of academic work that pairs intensive critical rigor with collegial generosity, even as he has helped to set key questions for debate in multiple subfields of Jewish Studies and Religious Studies. His interventions have ranged in topic from the appropriate forms for producing editions of pre-modern texts, to the challenges of situating rabbinic sources in their cultural contexts, to the historiography of Jewish mysticism, to the character of Jewish-Christian relations in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the process, he has consistently pushed specialists to

² Since 2004, he has edited *JSQ* with Leora Batnitzky, and since 2007, he has edited TSAJ with Annette Yoshiko Reed, Seth Schwartz, and Azzan Yadin-Israel. In addition, he served as an editor for the Brill series *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums* from 1976 to 2003. Also noteworthy are his editorships since 1975 with M. Hengel, H.-J. Becker, and F. Hüttenmeister of *Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi* for Mohr Siebeck, and from 2001 to 2011 with Paul Mendes-Flohr of *Martin Buber Werkausgabe* for Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

engage broader questions and generalists to engage specialist findings. He has brought literary processes to the attention of historians and historical context to the attention of textual scholars.

By way of introduction to this Festschrift, we shall forgo any attempt at a synthetic intellectual biography of the honoree. After all, much of the story is yet to unfold. Not only does Schäfer's work resist any simple summary, but it remains to be seen what new shifts and surprises still lie ahead. In what follows, we point to some of the influential and enduring insights of his work so far, by highlighting those elements of his scholarship engaged by the contributors to the present volume. Through a summary of the volume's contents, we trace some of the trajectories in Schäfer's scholarship, while also using his scholarship to introduce the Festschrift, its structure, and its contents.

The structure of the present volume has been shaped by a "ground-up" approach, guided by the articles herein as they intersect with Schäfer's own contributions to the study of Judaism. We have clustered contributions into sections inspired by the titles and themes of his publications. Within many of the sections, moreover, the scope of contributions traverses the divisions of periodization and discipline that the work of our honoree has so persistently crossed and blurred.

The title of Section I – "The History of the Jews in Antiquity" – takes its inspiration from Schäfer's concise summary of Jewish history from Alexander to the rise of Islam, *Geschichte der Juden in der Antike* [1983]. Translated into French, English, and Czech and re-issued in updated forms in German and English, that work has been widely used as a textbook and reflects Schäfer's rigorous reassessment of conventional narratives. This historiographical approach – which Seth Schwartz has termed "skeptical positivism"³ – has been a hallmark of Schäfer's own work as well as of a number of the studies published in his TSAJ series. Yet, far from merely problematizing older narratives, he has also answered the need for new syntheses that are more solidly grounded, offering fresh assessments of key events in ancient Jewish history – including but not limited to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.⁴

³ S. Schwartz, "Historiography on the Jews in the 'Talmudic Period': 70–640 CE," in *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. M. Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 104.

⁴ His studies of the Bar Kokhba revolt include "R. Aqiva and Bar Kokhba" [1980]; "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt" [1981]; "Hadrian's Policy in Judaea and the Bar Kokhba Revolt: A Reassessment" [1990]; "The Bar Kokhba Revolt and Circumcision: Historical Evidence and Modern Apologetics" [1999]; and "Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis" [2003] – as well as two edited volumes: *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand: Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom* [1981] and *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* [2003]. That is not to say his historical

As with Schäfer's own historical studies, the contributions collected in Section I span the Second Temple and late antique periods and include methodological reflections alongside historical reconstructions. The historiographically-oriented papers in this section suggest novel approaches to reading Greek-Jewish historical texts (Doron Mendels), reflect on competing reconstructions of social and cultural cohesion in Jewish society pre- and post-70 (Seth Schwartz), and review the nature of the evidence for Jewish life in Late Antiquity (Nicholas de Lange). Among the contributors more oriented towards historical reconstruction are a number that discuss the *realia* of ancient Jewish life, including everyday experiences with dirt and garbage (Catherine Heszer), attitudes toward and engagement with gambling (Joshua Schwartz), and the rendering of names in inscriptions (David Goodblatt). In addition, one paper addresses the nature of Romanization in Palestine (Werner Eck), while others deal with the historical transformation of key ideas and ideals within Judaism, such as the liturgical commemoration of destruction (Philip S. Alexander), the social experience behind martyrological narratives (Tessa Rajak), and the impact of Mediterranean urban life on attitudes toward the Jerusalem Temple (Daniel R. Schwartz).

Section II – “History and Theology of Rabbinic Judaism” – takes its title from Schäfer's early collection of essays *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* [1978], and encompasses a comparable scope of topics related to the history of the rabbinic movement and its distinctive discourses, attitudes, and practices. On the one hand, Schäfer's studies have been influential in uprooting various traditional narratives about early rabbinic history and calling for cautious and critical use of rabbinic sources for reconstructing historical events and processes.⁵ On the other hand, he has pursued inquiries into rabbinic midrash and intellectual history, exploring topics such as pneumatology, angelology, and cosmology.⁶ Uniting and further developing these lines of research has been his efforts to

studies have been limited to this event; see also, e.g., “The Hellenistic and Maccabean Periods” [1977]; “Juden, Griechen, Römer” [1983]; “Der Aufstand gegen Gallus Caesar” [1986]; and “‘From Jerusalem the Great to Alexandria the Small’: The Relationship between Palestine and Egypt in the Graeco-Roman Period” [1998]. Note also his edited volume with A. Carmel and Y. Ben Artzi on *Jewish Settlement in Palestine (634–1881)* [1990].

⁵ Esp. “Die sogenannte Synode von Jabne: Zur Trennung von Juden und Christen im 1./2. Jh. n. Chr.” [1975]; “Die Flucht Johanan b. Zakkais aus Jerusalem und die Gründung des ‘Lehrhauses’ in Jabne” [1979]; “Der vorrabbinische Pharisäismus” [1991]. See also “Rabbis and Priests, or: How to Do Away with the Glorious Past of the Sons of Aaron” [2008].

⁶ E.g., *Die Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* [1972]; *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* [1975]; “In Heaven as It Is in Hell: The Cosmology of *Seder Rabba di-Beresbit*” [2004]; “From Cosmology to Theology: The Rabbinic Appropriation of Apocalyptic Cosmology” [2005].

understand the rabbis within the “discursive space” of the cultures in which they lived – an aim especially exemplified by his conferences and volumes on the Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman culture.⁷

Accordingly, Section II includes historically-oriented studies of key institutions with a direct bearing on the rabbinic movement (Lee Levine) and the *realia* of rabbinic life (David Kraemer, Aharon Oppenheimer), but also inquiries into the discursive practices, attitudes, and concerns characteristic of the rabbinic movement in Late Antiquity (Gregg E. Gardner, Moulie Vidas, Ronen Reichman). Likewise, inquiries into the rabbinic remaking of the biblical past (Stephen D. Fraade, Maren R. Niehoff) are here juxtaposed with inquiries into the ongoing and often unpredictable reformulation of rabbinic norms and traditions in the course of their transmission during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages (Holger Zellentin, Ra’anan Boustan, Martin Jacobs).

Section III – “Tradition and Redaction in Rabbinic Literature” – highlights another facet of Schäfer’s engagement with rabbinic sources, namely, his analysis of their literary forms, textual units, and transmission histories and his resultant experimentation with methods for the production of editions. The title of this section is a play on his classic 1983 article exploring the textual and literary formation of the Hekhalot literature⁸ – thus pointing to the wider implications that his work in that area has had on his scholarship on other genres and corpora as well.

Studies of rabbinic literary forms were among Schäfer’s first publications,⁹ and his work in this domain includes the collaborative project that resulted in the six-volume *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi* published from 1991 to 2001.¹⁰ Yet he is perhaps best known – in and beyond the study of Jewish literature¹¹ – for his methodological discussions of how best to edit rab-

⁷ I.e., *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture* [1998]; (ed. with C. Hezser), *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture II* [2000]; *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman III* [2002]. See especially the programmatic statement in his introduction to the first volume as well as his article in the third on “Jews and Gentiles in Yerushalmi Avodah Zarah” [2002].

⁸ “Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature” [1983].

⁹ Beginning already with “Die Peticha – ein Proömium?” [1970]. For a later example showing the persistence of such concerns, see also “Text, Auslegung und Kommentar im rabbinischen Judentum” [1995].

¹⁰ With H. J. Becker, G. Reeg, A. Engel, K. Ipta, U. Lohmann, M. Urban, and G. Wildensee: *Ordnung Zera'im – Traktate Berakhot und Pe'a* [1991]; *Ordnung Zera'im – Traktate Demai, Kil'ayim und Shevi'it* [1992] *Ordnung Zera'im – Traktate Terumot, Ma'aserot, Ma'aser Sheni, Halla, 'Orla und Bikkurim* [1992]; *Ordnung Mo'ed – Traktate Shabbat, 'Erwin, Pesahim und Yoma* [2001]; *Ordnung Mo'ed – Traktate Sheqalim, Sukka, Rosh ha-Shana, Beša, Ta'anit, Megilla, Hagiga und Mo'ed Qatan* [2001]; *Ordnung Nashim* [1998]; *Ordnung Neziqin, Ordnung Toharot: Nidda* [1995].

¹¹ See, e.g., J. Silk, “What Can Students of Indian Buddhist Literature Learn from Biblical Text Criticism?” Numata Lecture, Oxford University, 19 May 2008; C. Cantwell and

binic texts. Questioning the “default assumption” of an original *Urtext* or singular *Vorlage*, he has argued for the appropriateness of synoptic editions for many rabbinic as well as Hekhalot texts.¹² Accordingly, the articles in Section III include contributions that pick up on practical questions related to the production of textual editions (Hayim Lapin), alongside close literary and philological analyses of key sources (Gottfried Reeg, Judith Hauptman, Leib Moscovitz) and reflections on the redactional processes (Günter Stemberger) and the relationships among corpora (Richard Kalmin) that lent rabbinic literature of Late Antiquity its distinctive forms.

Section IV – “Hekhalot and Magical Studies” – plays upon *Hekhalot-Studien*, the title of Schäfer’s 1988 collection of seminal essays, but the rubric is here expanded to encompass studies of magical texts as well. The study of Hekhalot literature is an area in which Schäfer has been extremely influential, not least due to his publication of *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [1981], *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [1984], and the related translations and textual resources; these volumes have served as the bases for all Hekhalot scholarship since their publication.¹³ Schäfer has also written extensively on the Hekhalot literature, particularly in relation to problems of redaction and “textual identity,” on the one hand,¹⁴ and the place of these materials in the history of Jewish mysticism, on the other.¹⁵ The latter has

R. Mayer, “A Noble Noose of Methods, the Lotus Garland Synopsis: Methodological Issues in the Study of a Mahāyoga Text from Dunhuang,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 5 (2009): 1–51 at 10.

¹² “Research into Rabbinic Literature: An Attempt to Define the Status Quaestionis” [1986]; “Once again the Status Quaestionis of Research in Rabbinic Literature: An Answer to Chaim Milikowsky” [1989]; “Current Views on the Editing of Rabbinic Texts of Late Antiquity: Reflections on a Debate after Twenty Years” [2010]. Note also “Der Grundtext von Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Eine synoptische Studie zu Gen 1” [1971–1972].

¹³ I.e., the concordance produced in collaboration with G. Reeg, *Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 2 vols. [1986, 1988]; and the German translations and extensive textual notes produced with a shifting team of collaborators, *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*, 4 vols. [1987, 1989, 1991, 1995].

¹⁴ Among his many articles on Hekhalot literature – some but not all of which were collected in the 1988 *Hekhalot-Studien* – are discussions of the medieval manuscripts and Genizah fragments (e.g., “Handschriften zur Hekhalot-Literatur” [1983]; “The Hekhalot Genizah” [2013]), editions and translations (e.g., “Die Beschwörung des sar ha-panim: Kritische Edition und Übersetzung” [1978]; “Mahadurah biqqortit shel Hekhalot Zutarti” [1984]), reflections on problems of textual identity and redactional activity (e.g., “Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Edition und Analyse der Merkava Rabba” [1977]; “Aufbau und redaktionelle Identität der Hekhalot Zutarti” [1982]; “Be‘ayyat ha-zehut ha-‘arikhatit shel sefer ‘Hekhalot Rabbati” [1987]; “Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature” [1983]; “Tiḥumah shel sifrut ha-hekhalot” [1986]; “Zum Problem der redaktionellen Identität von Hekhalot Rabbati” [1985]), and broad assessments of the state of the field (e.g., “Jewish Mysticism in the Twentieth Century” [1998]; “Research on Hekhalot Literature: Where Do We Stand now?” [1993]).

¹⁵ For an early synthetic treatment of Hekhalot literature and its place within the history of early Jewish mysticism, see *Der verborgene und offenbare Gott: Hauptthemen der*

entailed exploring connections to other materials, including apocalyptic literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls, classical rabbinic literature, and the literature of medieval Kabbalah.¹⁶ Foremost, however, has been the question of the relationship of this material to Jewish magic. For Jewish magical texts, Schäfer has similarly produced editions and text tools,¹⁷ as well as reflecting on broader historical and methodological problems.¹⁸

Rather than frame the connection between the two in terms of the problem of “Merkavah Mysticism and Magic” (as Schäfer himself put it in a 1993 article), the papers in Section IV follow the implications of his own findings and focus on the fluid nature of the textual evidence; contributors here highlight the shifting literary expressions through which these traditions are known and the dynamics of use and re-use. This section opens with sustained reflection on the methodology underlying the *Synopse* and the implications of this edition for the study of Hekhalot literature (Michael D. Swartz). Especially crucial to our ability to reconstruct the histories of Jewish mysticism and magic is the ongoing work of recovering materials from the Cairo Genizah, here exemplified by a series of careful philological studies (Gideon Bohak, Mark Geller, Dorothea M. Salzer, Klaus Herrmann). These are further illuminated by studies of the subsequent transmission-histories of Hekhalot literature in Ashkenaz and Yemen (Ulrike Hirschfelder, Bill Rebigier) and are juxtaposed with thematic analyses of key facets of early Jewish mysticism and magic (Annelies Kuyt, Michael Meerson, Yaakov Shavit).

Section V – “Paths to the Divine” – takes its cue from Schäfer’s edited volume *Wege mystischer Gotteserfahrung: Judentum, Christentum und Islam* [2006]. Together with other volumes, such as *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco* [1998; ed. with M. R. Cohen], this volume exemplifies his commitment to bringing Jewish Studies into conversation with Religious Studies. Although Schäfer is far from a theolo-

frühen jüdischen Mystik [1991]; and, more recently, *Origins of Jewish Mysticism* [2009], esp. 243–355; also the volume edited with R. Boustani and M. Himmelfarb, *Hekhalot Literature in Context: Between Byzantium and Babylonia* [2013].

¹⁶ E.g., “Merkavah Mysticism and Rabbinic Judaism” [1984]; “Metatron in Babylonia” [2013]; “Hekhalot Literature and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism” [2013].

¹⁷ Especially noteworthy are his editorial projects with Shaul Shaked on *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, 3 vols. [1994, 1997, 1999]; and with Bill Rebigier on *Sefer ha-Razim I und II – Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II*, 2 vols. [2009]. See also “Ein neues Fragment zur Metoposkopie und Chiromantik” [1985] and “Qeta‘im magiim ḥdashim me-ha-genizah” [1990].

¹⁸ E.g., “Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages” [1990]; “Merkavah Mysticism and Magic” [1993]; “Jewish Liturgy and Magic” [1996]; “Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism” [1997]; and the volume he edited with Hans Kippenberg on *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* [1997]. See also “The Magic of the Golem: The Early Development of the Golem Legend” [1995].

gian, among the hallmarks of his work is a historical and critical approach to Jewish religious sources that does justice to the sources' own concerns for discussing the divine. Schäfer's interest in images of the divine and the problem of divine multiplicity can be found already in his early work on the Holy Spirit in rabbinic Judaism, on the one hand,¹⁹ and on ancient Jewish angelology, on the other.²⁰ In later work, he returns repeatedly to themes concerning cosmogony and cosmology,²¹ as well as to problems related to the unity of God within Judaism as it relates to femininity, multiplicity, and messianism.²²

This section of the Festschrift collects studies that illuminate Jewish conceptions of God and his messianic representatives. In keeping with the analytical rigor Schäfer has brought to a range of philosophically sophisticated and theologically rich texts, the articles in this section variously explore the intellectual genealogy, literary expression, and authoritative or contested status of important areas of ancient and medieval religious thought. Consideration of the role of skepticism in the relationship between the Jewish people and God (Giuseppe Veltri) stands in productive contrast to the deep veins of mystical (William Horbury, Joseph Dan) and messianic speculation (Martha Himmelfarb, Gerold Necker) in other strains of the Jewish tradition. While certain thinkers sought to domesticate the visions of works in the Christian canon (Elaine Pagels), others produced new conceptions of the divine informed by long-standing philosophical tradition (Rainer Enskat) or by idioms of gender and embodiment (Eduard Iricinschi, Carlos Fraenkel).

¹⁹ "Die Termini 'Heiliger Geist' und 'Geist der Prophetie' in den Targumim und das Verhältnis der Targumim zueinander" [1970]; *Die Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* [1972].

²⁰ *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen* [1975]; "Taḥarut ben mal'akh le-ʾadam bi-tefillat Joseph ha-ḥisonit u-ve-sifrut ḥaza" [1977]; "Engel und Menschen in der Hekhalot-Literatur" [1980]; "Communion with the Angels: Qumran and the Origins of Jewish Mysticism" [2006].

²¹ E.g., "Creation and cosmology in *Bereshit bara' 'elohim*: Zur Interpretation von Genesis 1,1 in der rabbinischen Literatur" [1971]; "In Heaven as It Is in Hell: The Cosmology of *Seder Rabba di-Bereshit*" [2004]; "From Cosmology to Theology: The Rabbinic Appropriation of Apocalyptic Cosmology" [2005]; "*Bereshit bara' 'elohim*: Bereshit Rabba, Parashah 1, Reconsidered" [2008]. Note also "Tempel und Schöpfung: Zur Interpretation einiger Heiligtumstraditionen in der rabbinischen Literatur" [1974].

²² On messianism, see "Die Torah der messianischen Zeit" [1974]; "Die messianischen Hoffnungen des rabbinischen Judentums zwischen Naherwartung und religiösem Pragmatismus" [1976]; "Diversity and Interaction: Messiahs in Early Judaism" [1998]. On divine multiplicity and femininity, see *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah* [2002]; see also "Tochter, Schwester, Braut und Mutter: Bilder der Weiblichkeit Gottes in der frühen Kabbala" [1998]; "Daughter, Sister, Bride, and Mother: Images of the Femininity of God in the Early Kabbalah" [2000]; "The Virgin Mary and the Shekhinah" [2005].

The title of Section VI – “The Birth of Judaism from the Spirit of Christianity?” – echoes the German title of Schäfer’s recent *Die Geburt des Judentums aus dem Geist des Christentums: Fünf Vorlesungen* [2010]. This section encompasses studies that put Jewish and Christian sources into conversation in ways shaped by – and often directly responding to – his recent series of publications related to Christianity’s impact on the development of Judaism. Schäfer, of course, has long warned of the potential pitfalls of bringing Jewish sources to bear on the study of the New Testament and Christian origins, such as in his classic article on “New Testament and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and Merkavah Mysticism” [1984]. More recently, however, he has also explored the converse – how Christian sources might enrich the study of late antique and medieval Judaism. In *Mirror of His Beauty* [2002] he charted the emergence of a female manifestation of God within medieval Judaism precisely at a time and in a place that saw a flourishing of Christian veneration of the Virgin Mary. Moving beyond the notion of “influence,” Schäfer offered a broad framework for interpreting trans-communal participation in shared idioms of religious piety and practice. He has taken these insights yet further in *Jesus in the Talmud* [2007] and especially in *Die Geburt des Judentums* and its English version, *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* [2012]. As in other areas of Schäfer’s scholarship, his far-reaching methodological principles and historiographic interventions are here paired with cutting-edge textual work – in this case on the multilingual and multifarious *Toledot Yeshu* literature.²³

The articles in this section tackle the historiography of Judaism and Christianity in a variety of ways that sidestep traditional debates about who originated which ideas or the directionality of “influence.” Like Schäfer, they turn the study of early Jewish / Christian relations away from the question of the Jewish “background” to Jesus and focus instead on the trans-creedal interactions and shared cultural contexts of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays in this section include methodological reflections on the use of Christian sources for the study of rabbinic history (Annette Yoshiko Reed) and early Jewish mysticism (Adam H. Becker), as well as articles exploring affinities, commonalities, and contrasts between the New Testament gospels and the Talmud Bavli (Daniel Boyarin, Shaye J. D. Cohen) and between the *Toledot Yeshu* and other gospel traditions (John Gager, Mika Ahuvia, Sarit Kattan Gribetz).

²³ That this work has already stimulated scholarship is clear from his edited volume with Michael Meerson and Yaacov Deutsch on *Toledot Yeshu* (“*The Life Story of Jesus*”) *Revisited: A Princeton Conference* [2011]. Note also his contribution therein on “Agobard’s and Amulo’s *Toledot Yeshu*” [2011].

The final section of the Festschrift – “Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages and Beyond” – takes its title from Schäfer’s 2004 article on *Sefer Hasidim*,²⁴ albeit extending the interests there in both space and time to encompass a variety of texts and figures from the medieval and modern periods. Schäfer’s own work in medieval and early modern materials has often been geared toward the reception, collection, and transformation of ancient Jewish texts and traditions. He has considered the Hekhalot literature and its reception among the Haside Ashkenaz,²⁵ but also the evolving Jewish / Christian encounters that shaped the reception of these and other “mystical” materials into modern times.²⁶ Likewise, he always has exhibited a vivid interest in the history and pre-history of modern scholarship on Judaism and the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*,²⁷ as well as for modern Jewish thinkers such as Sigmund Freud and Martin Buber.²⁸

Accordingly, it is significant that this section comprises articles written by students and colleagues who specialize in fields seemingly remote from Schäfer’s own interests, but for whom he nevertheless has been a partner for lively academic dialogue and intellectual exchange. Some of the contributions concentrate more on aspects of the history of Jewish literature, Jew-

²⁴ I.e., “Jews and Christians in the High Middle Ages” [2004].

²⁵ Coming out of this trajectory of his work on medieval Judaism are “The Ideal of Piety of the Ashkenazi Hasidim and its Roots in Jewish Tradition” [1990]; “Juden und Christen im Hohen Mittelalter: Das *Buch der Frommen*” [2004]; and the *Princeton University Sefer Hasidim Database (PUSHD)* (ed. with Michael Meerson). See also “Das Böse in der mittelalterlichen jüdischen Mystik” [1993].

²⁶ His works on the history of the study of the Kabbalah and Jewish mysticism include his edited volume with Irina Wandrey on *Reuchlin und seine Erben: Forscher, Denker, Ideologen und Spinner* [2005]; as well as *Johannes Reuchlin: Sämtliche Werke*: vol. I.1 [1996], vol. IV.1 [1999], and vol. II.1 [2010] (ed. with W.-W. Ehlers, L. Mundt, H.-G. Roloff).

²⁷ Perhaps most prominent has been his examination of the history of research on the Kabbalah from Graetz to Scholem. On Graetz, see “Ex Oriente Lux? Heinrich Graetz und Gershom Scholem über den Ursprung der Kabbala” [2004]; “*Adversus cabbalam* oder Heinrich Graetz und die jüdische Mystik” [2005]. On Scholem, see “Gershom Scholem Reconsidered” [1986]; (ed. with J. Dan) *Gershom Scholem’s Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism: 50 Years After* [1993]; “Gershom Scholem und die Wissenschaft des Judentums” [1995]; (ed. with G. Smith) *Gershom Scholem: Zwischen den Disziplinen* [1995]; “‘Die Philologie der Kabbala ist nur eine Projektion auf eine Fläche’: Gershom Scholem über die wahren Absichten seines Kabbalastudiums” [1998]; “Gershom Scholem und das Christentum” [2003].

²⁸ On Freud, see *Der Triumph der reinen Geistigkeit: Sigmund Freuds “Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion”* [2003] and related articles. Buber’s collected works in 21 projected volumes, which Schäfer is co-editing with Paul Mendes-Flohr and Bernd Witte (since 2010), are being prepared through the Martin Buber Werkausgabe with the financial support of the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (until 2009) and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf (since 2010), and published by Gütersloher Verlagshaus. The following volumes have been published to date: vol. 1 [2001], vol. 6 [2003], vol. 8 [2005], vol. 3 [2007], vol. 10 [2008], vol. 19 [2009], vol. 9 [2011].

ish thought, and Jewish history (Michael Fishbane, Hannah Liss, Andreas Lehnardt, Yaacob Dweck, Peter Kuhn, Matthias B. Lehmann), whereas others reflect aspects of Jewish/Christians historical and intellectual encounters (William Jordan, David Stern, Reimund Leicht, Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann). The section is concluded by a paper on the history of Genizah studies (Stefan C. Reif).

We do not purport to comprehensiveness – even of Schäfer’s work up to now. Rather, we have attempted to showcase some of the major ways in which his publications – present and past – continue to play a vital role within multiple overlapping subfields. Indeed, certain areas of his scholarship are notably absent or under-represented in the present volume. In some cases, such as his important studies of ancient anti-Judaism, his contribution has advanced a specific line of discussion, helping to establish a new consensus that has stabilized since then.²⁹ In other cases, such as his work on Jewish cosmology, scholars are just beginning to pick up and extend his work. Even these cases, moreover, do not exhaust his contributions to Jewish Studies, Religious Studies, and cognate fields – let alone what may lie ahead.

The range and variety of topics in this volume attest the startling breadth of Schäfer’s own publications and interests but also the impact of his historiographical and methodological insights well beyond the study of the specific texts on which he has most published. Likewise, the quantity and quality of contributions herein speaks to the outpouring of enthusiasm with which this project was received; indeed, our initial call for contributions was met with many moving expressions of gratitude for Schäfer’s practical, institutional, and scholarly contributions to the field at large – both from those able to contribute and from those listed in the *tabula gratulatoria*.

It is admittedly not easy to find a phrase that gives due expression to the rich diversity and the inner unity of Peter Schäfer’s scholarly work – and thus also to the present volume. Ten years ago, a group of his students from his time at the Universität zu Köln and the Freie Universität Berlin honored him on the occasion of his 60th birthday by publishing a collection of articles under the title *Jewish Studies between the Disciplines – Judaistik zwischen den Disziplinen*.³⁰ That volume was presented as a token of gratitude by his students and celebrated his formative role in shaping the institutional,

²⁹ Esp. *Judeophobia: Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* [1997]. See also “The Exodus Tradition in Pagan Greco-Roman Literature” [1996]; “Die Manetho-Fragmente bei Josephus und die Anfänge des antiken ‘Antisemitismus’” [1997]; “The Roots of Antisemitism” [Hebrew; 2005].

³⁰ K. Herrmann, M. Schlüter, and G. Veltri, eds., *Jewish Studies between the Disciplines – Judaistik zwischen den Disziplinen: Papers in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). It is with sadness that we remember a co-editor of that volume, Margarete Schlüter – a pioneer in Peter Schäfer’s projects from the very beginning – who died prematurely in 2008 and who we wish could have partici-

intellectual, and pedagogical frameworks of Jewish Studies in Germany.³¹ In selecting a title for the present volume, we have highlighted another element of Schäfer's contribution to Jewish Studies, taking our inspiration from a volume that he edited with Hans Kippenberg on *Envisioning Magic* [1997]. That volume was an attempt to achieve a double aim: *both* to draw scholarly attention to a long neglected aspect of religious practice *and* to make the hidden aspects of this phenomenon visible and comprehensible to specialists and non-specialists alike. Indeed, since its beginnings, Jewish Studies has pursued much the same two-fold agenda – making Judaism visible as an inseparable part of the humanistic disciplines *and* unveiling the shifting expressions of Jewish culture in their manifold historical contexts.

Peter Schäfer has greatly contributed to this double project, and his contribution has gone far beyond his publications. As the diverse and international set of contributors to this Festschrift amply attests, he has succeeded in crossing and bridging distinctive national scholarly traditions and creating collegial ties and communities of knowledge within Jewish Studies and beyond. May the present volume – a product of intensive collaboration across subfields and continents – be a fitting token of our gratitude and affection.

pated in this volume as well. On her life and scholarly career see the obituary by Schäfer in *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 34 (2007/2008): VII–XI: “Margarete Schlüter ל”א.”

³¹ For Schäfer's own reflections on such issues, see “Judaistik – jüdische Wissenschaft in Deutschland heute: Historische Identität und Nationalität” [1991], “Jewish Studies at European Universities: Actual and Potential” [1991], and “Jewish Studies in Germany Today” [1996].

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