## Contents

| Preface   | VII<br>XI  |
|---|------------|
| Abbreviations, Signs, Transcription, and Transliteration              |            |
| Introduction: The Emergence of a Jewish "Mystical" Literature         | 1          |
| Reading Early Jewish Mystical Literature                              | 3          |
| Heikhalot Literature  | 6          |
| Martyrs, Mystics, and the Legacy of Late Antique Jewish Literature    | 13         |
| 1. Heikhalot Literature and Rabbinic Martyrology                      | 15         |
| The Problem of Heterogeneity in the Study of Heikhalot Literature     | 16         |
| Early Jewish Mysticism from the Perspective of Material Culture       | 23         |
| The Limits of Reception-History                                       | 26         |
| Heikhalot Rabbati and The Story of the Ten Martyrs: Toward a Literary |            |
| History   | 30         |
| Heikhalot Rabbati: Origins, Transmission, and Reception               | 36         |
| Evidence for Heikhalot Rabbati from the Cairo Genizah                 | 46         |
| Conclusion  | <b>4</b> 7 |
| 2. From Individual Guilt to Collective Sin: The Formation of the      |            |
| Post-Talmudic Martyrological Anthology                                | 51         |
| Rudimentary Martyrological Compilations in Classical Rabbinic         |            |
| Literature  | 55         |
| Martyrdom and Sin: The Individualistic Theodicy of Rabbinic           |            |
| Martyrology   | 60         |
| The Peccadillo Motif  | 63         |
| Individual Culpability in the Martyrologies in the Babylonian Talmud  | 67<br>69   |
| The Limits of Theodicy: "This is Torah and this its reward?"          |            |
| The Shifting Identities of Two Rabbinic Martyrs                       | 71         |
| The Rivalry between the Patriarch and the High Priest in Rabbinic     | 77         |
| Martyrology   | 77         |

|    | The Sale of Joseph, Collective Sin, and Vicarious Atonement in  Midrash Shir ha-Shirim   |
|----|--|
|    | The Amalgamation of Rabbinic Martyrology and Yom Kippur  |
|    | Traditions   |
|    | The Frame Narrative of <i>The Story of the Ten Martyrs</i>   |
|    | Conclusion   |
| 3  | . The Hagiographic Vita of a Priestly Rabbinic Martyr:   |
|    | The Figure of Rabbi Ishmael in The Story of the Ten Martyrs 99   |
|    | Rabbi Ishmael in Classical Rabbinic Literature   |
|    | The Miraculous Conception of Rabbi Ishmael   |
|    | Rabbi Ishmael's Heavenly Ascent  |
|    | Rabbi Ishmael's Execution  |
|    | Rituals of Redemption: Rabbi Ishmael's "Death Mask"  |
|    | The Martyrdom of Rabbi Ishmael and Jewish-Christian Competition 130  |
|    | Metatron and Melchizedek as Priestly Prototypes  |
|    | Conclusion   |
| 4. | . The Heavenly Cult of the Martyrs: Apocalyptic Forms in   |
|    | Rabbinic Martyrology   |
|    | Jewish Martyr Cults in Late Antiquity: From Literature to Practice 151<br>Atonement without Temple Cult: The Vicarious Suffering   |
|    | of the Righteous   |
|    | The Blood of the Martyny A Martin Strick Str |
|    | The Blood of the Martyrs: A Motif in its Shifting Literary Contexts 173  |
|    | The Blood of Eschatological Vengeance in Late Palestinian Midrash 182 The Demonization of Empire: The Fall of Sama'el and the  |
|    | Scapegoat Ritual   |
|    | Conclusion   |
| ī. | Apocalypse Now: Genre Inversion and Identity Reversal in   |
|    | Heikhalot Rabbati  |
|    | The Story of the Four Martyrs in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i> § 107: Vestige or Adaptation?  |
|    | The Yeridah of Rabbi Ishmael in Heikhalot Rabbati § 108  |
|    | \$\\$ 108-110  |
|    | A Day of Pure Celebration in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i> § 111  |
|    | The Castigation of Emperor Lupinus in Heikhalot Rabbati §§ 112–119 226   |
|    |  |

| The Martyrdom of Emperor Lupinus in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i> §§ 120–121 The Miraculous Power of the <i>Yored la-merkavah</i>                   |     |
|--|-----|
| 6. The Making of the Merkavah Mystic: The Function of Post-Talmudic Martyrology in Heikhalot Rabbati   | 245 |
| , ,,   | 243 |
| Reading Across the Seams: Narrative Framing Strategies in the  | 240 |
| Havurah-account  | 248 |
| Martyrological Material and Narrative Framing in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i> §§ 198–203   | 252 |
| Martyrological Material and Narrative Framing in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i>  | 232 |
| §§ 237–240   | 259 |
| The Competing Representations of Rabbi Ishmael in Heikhalot  |     |
| Literature   | 264 |
| i. The Crown of the Priesthood in the Frame Narrative of 3 Enoch   |     |
| (Synopse, §§ 1–3)  | 266 |
| ii. Priestly Lineage and Ritual Praxis as Complementary Alternatives iii. Egalitarianism and Anti-Priestly Polemic in <i>Heikhalot Rabbati</i> |     |
| Foundation Narratives and Inter-Communal Polemics in the   | 2,5 |
| Geonic Period  | 281 |
| Conclusion   |     |
|  |     |
| Conclusion: Toward the Middle Ages   | 289 |
| Appendix A: The Thematic Evolution of Post-talmudic Martyrology:   | ••• |
| A Schematic Diagram  |     |
| Appendix B: The Heavenly Trial Scene in The Story of the Ten Martyrs   | 295 |
| Bibliography   | 303 |
| Source Index   |     |
| Modern Author Index  |     |
| Subject Index  |     |
| •  |     |