Christian and Jewish Relations:
A Progress Report

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St Laurence Tract No. 8

St Laurence Press

First published by St Laurence Press, 2014
812b George St, Sydney NSW 2000

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry
Author: Giffin, Michael
Title: St Laurence Tract No. 8: Christian and Jewish Relations: A Progress Report
ISBN: 9780-9871342-9-5 (pbk)
Christ Church, St Laurence (Sydney, N.S.W.)

Series Editor: Helen Hewson
Series Designer: Daniel Mitterdorfer
Production: David Russell
Print: Catholic Education Office
Proceeds from the sale of this book support
the work of Christ Church St Laurence, Sydney, Australia.

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Prologue

Christian and Jewish relations entered a significant new phase after World War II, in recognition of the unprecedented tragedy of the Holocaust (*Shoah*). Among the influential documents of this new phase are the founding Statement of the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ), *The Ten Points of Seelisburg* (1947), reproduced as Appendix 1, and the Declaration of the Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate* (1965), reproduced as Appendix 2. The essence of these two documents is their mutual acknowledgment of Christian antisemitism and the urgent need to reverse its devastating consequences. As a result of these and similar documents, Christian and Jewish relations have improved, in remarkable and often unexpected ways; however, antisemitism continues in the twenty-first century, in many secular and religious disguises, all of which are sins against God, crimes against humanity, and dangers to civilisation. In recognition of this continuing reality, the ICCJ has issued *The Twelve Points of Berlin* (2009), reproduced as Appendix 3.

More recently, the ICCJ has issued further statements, *Let us have mercy upon words* (2010), and *As long as you believe in a living God, you must have hope* (2013), both of which discuss the persistent failure to resolve the Middle East conflict—between Israelis and Palestinians; between Israel and its neighbouring states—which is contributing to an increasing antisemitic, Islamophobic, and anti-Christian rhetoric, a dangerous and untenable polarisation, and a growing risk of widespread violence, as mounting frustration leads more and more people to embrace simplistic "solutions" to complex situations. Clearly, while Christian and Jewish relations have come a long way, they have a long way to go, and they are responding to larger global imperatives.

Apart from these global imperatives, Christian and Jewish relations are also responding to unprecedented advances in scholarship, as Christian and Jewish academics investigate the implications of two contemporary realisations: first, the Jesus movement was originally a variety of Second Temple Judaism; second, after the destruction of the Second Temple, over a period of several centuries, Christians and Jews gradually developed their current antithetical identities, under the Fathers and

the Rabbis, who kept a watchful eye on each other as they codified orthodoxy and heresy, while adapting to the imperial politics of different Roman, Christian, and Islamic Empires.

For Christians and Jews, these advances in scholarship are forceful reminders that the truth about "us" should never be a lie about "them" regardless of whether "they" are other Christians, or other Jews, or adherents of other faiths, or agnostics and atheists. The challenge here is to avoid—as much as possible—the tendency towards anachronism and presentism: that is, distorting our inter-dependent histories with chronological inaccuracies and present day beliefs. There is also the need for a shared commitment to learning more about the varieties of Second Temple Judaism and how they co-existed and adapted or died out. We need a greater understanding of the ways in which Jesus participated in the intra-Jewish debates of his century. We also need to accept the New Testament as Jewish literature, which fills an evidentiary gap in Jewish history, which Jews can understand as well as and often better than Christians.

In the academic world, a lot of reframing is happening, and while academics may disagree over the details they agree with the general thrust. For example, even Jewish academics are currently exploring the possibility that the messianic claims Christians have made about Jesus may be compatible with some varieties of Second Temple Judaism. This is a major realisation, as not long ago it was assumed that Christians borrowed from Greek metaphysics what Jewish metaphysics could neither conceptualise nor accommodate; that Christianity's universal claims owed more to Greek philosophy than Jewish theology; that Christianity was a gentile religion not a Jewish religion. These assumptions are no longer helpful, although the intra-faith and inter-faith consequences of countering them are vast.

If recognising the Jewishness of Christianity seems straightforward at first, the implications of the recognition are complex. In one sense, both Christians and Jews are returning to territory neither side has visited since the first century, and so caution is necessary, since academic advances are attached to methodologies that are easily misunderstood when taken out of their academic context. As far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, that brings us to two questions. First, who is dialoguing

with whom? Second, who is excluded from the official dialogue? It would appear those who have inherited the identity of Patristic Christianity, whether they are Orthodox or Catholic or Protestant, are dialoguing with those who have inherited the identity of Rabbinic Judaism, whether they are Orthodox or Conservative or Reformed.

Otherwise expressed, the official dialogue is between antithetical identities forged in late antiquity, which means antithetical identities that evolved after the first century, between those gentiles who accept Jesus as the messiah and those Jews who do not. These boundaries are respected, because academic insights are far in advance of confessional identities. For diplomatic reasons, official Christian and Jewish dialogue will continue to exclude modern Messianic Judaism—and Evangelical movements such as Jews for Jesus—until we know more about the varieties of Second Temple Judaism. Put another way: by its nature, official dialogue is diplomatic not polemical; it does not and should not revolve around the question of whether Jesus is or is not the messiah, since that is a matter of faith and there are other issues to consider apart from Jesus.

It remains to be seen whether Christians and Jews experience this official and academic dynamism as an opportunity or a threat. Much depends on their openness to their origins and ability to interpret their tradition in relation to other traditions. This openness has always been uneven, sporadic, and contingent, as there is no single Christian or Jewish tradition; instead, there are multiple traditions within Christianity and Judaism with similarities and differences. Further, the question of openness is convoluted by the reality that, although Christian identity is always religious, Jewish identity includes agnosticism, secularism, and claims that Judaism is neither a religion nor a faith but something else. Openness is further complicated by the secular and religious varieties of Zionism and anti-Zionism and the unfortunate reality that even valid criticisms of modern Israel easily elide into antisemitism.

There is also the persistent problem of erroneous preaching. For example, not long ago I went to Holy Communion with Lutheran friends, whose pastor preached on Luke 2.41–52, the gospel passage appointed for that Sunday in all mainstream Christian denominations—Catholic and non-Catholic—which follow an agreed

three-year ecumenical lectionary, which emerged after the reforms of Vatican II (1962–1965). In this passage, Joseph and Mary make their annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Passover and take their twelve-year old son with them. After the pilgrimage, a day into their homeward journey, they realise their son is not with them, and they return to Jerusalem to find him. After three days, they discover him in the Temple, sitting among the teachers, listening and asking questions. An astonished Mary asks him why he has treated them thus. His reply is: "Did you not know I must be in my Father's house?"

The first half of the sermon provided useful background. Because the roads were dangerous, pilgrims travelled in large groups for protection, which explains why it took a whole day to notice Jesus was missing. Also, returning to Jerusalem was hazardous, as Joseph and Mary would have to leave the safety of their group and look for their son among a great many thousands of pilgrims. Having set this necessary scene, the sermon went astray, for hard-to-fathom reasons, as the pastor was relatively young and seemed quite well informed. He made statements that, apart from being wrong, were potentially dangerous: first, he said Herod had recently rebuilt the Temple as a kind of Disneyland; second, he said Jesus would have been telling the teachers what was wrong with their Torah; third, he said Jesus' presence meant God was in the Temple for the first time; fourth, he said the Jews were not expecting the kind of messiah Jesus is.

What was going on in this pastor's mind? Was he simply teaching what he had been taught? Has he failed to keep up with what is being taught now? Was he consciously or unconsciously reinforcing his congregation's prejudices to win its approval? What can we do when we hear erroneous preaching from the pulpit? These are complicated questions, since preaching is difficult, and, if we are honest, most sermons contain something to disagree with.

It is easy to understand where his errors come from, since they represent a particular historical, theological, ecclesiological, and missiological agenda. Not long ago, these errors would have been more widely held in Christian circles. But they are untrue. Herod's Temple was not a kind of Disneyland. We have no idea what the pre-

adolescent Jesus was telling the teachers; we are only told all who heard him were amazed at his understanding and answers. It is outrageous to suggest God had never been in the Temple before Jesus. It is unwise for anyone to still preach that the Jews were not expecting the kind of messiah Jesus is.

This twenty-first century pastor was preaching potentially dangerous ideas and it is not an exaggeration to say those ideas differ in degree rather than in kind from the ideas that led to the Holocaust. We cannot dismiss what he preached as harmless. We need to distinguish between popular prejudices and public slanders. If we have little control over the former, we have more of control over the latter. The truth about "us" should never be a lie about "them."

The First Century

The first century came at the end of the Second Temple Period, a period of intense upheaval for the Jewish people. Following the Maccabean revolt against Seleucid rule (167–160 BC), the Land of Israel (*Eretz Yisrael*) enjoyed a brief period of independence under the Hasmonean dynasty; however, after the Siege of Jerusalem in 63 BC, the Land of Israel was incorporated into the Roman Empire as a client kingdom under Herod the Great. Because of this history of loss and gain, and ongoing vassalage, the first century—the century in which Jesus lived—was both an apocalyptic period and a time of messianic expectation.

At every level, Christian and Jewish relations are benefitting from inter-disciplinary advances in scholarship, which are contributing to a better understanding of the first century. While we know a great deal about the political landscape, between the Herodian dynasty and its Roman patrons, we know little of the varieties of Second Temple Judaism. A Talmudic reference (*Y. Sanh 29c*) suggests that, at the time the Temple was destroyed in 70 AD, there were twenty-four varieties. It is safe to assume the Jesus movement would have been one of these varieties, however, because there were several others, it is no longer possible to speak of a "normative" Judaism which Jesus supposedly liberated his followers from.

As they lived during a time of messianic expectation, Jesus' followers came to regard him as the messiah, whatever that meant to them. It was therefore natural that Christians of later centuries would systematise what his messiahship means, and that Jews of later centuries would systematise what his messiahship does not mean, as they developed their antithetical Patristic and Rabbinic identities; however, as far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, both sides must grapple with an important realisation: those antithetical identities were not fully-fashioned in the first century, either in the person of the historical Jesus, or in the New Testament, even in Paul's letters and John's gospel. We know these antithetical identities were formed later, in late antiquity, and academics are currently investigating the ways in which these antithetical identities were formed. This does not mean that either antithetical identity is false. It means we need to understand, without anachronism or presentism, the relationship between those identities and the varieties of first century Judaism from which they evolved.

Also, academics are increasingly aware of how difficult it is to generalise about a "religious establishment" which Jesus supposedly opposed. In *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (2001), Anthony Saldarini applies a sociological approach to the biblical and literary sources—the New Testament and Josephus from the first century and the Rabbinic literature from later centuries—to better understand the three groups Christianity has traditionally represented as Jesus' "roster of enemies". These three groups were not all enemies of Jesus, though, and as Jacob Neusner and Bruce Chiltern suggest, in the Preface to their anthology *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees* (2007), understanding the Pharisees is particularly important for two reasons: "First, they are mentioned in the synoptic gospels as contemporaries of Jesus, represented sometimes as hostile, sometimes as neutral, and sometimes as friendly to the early Christians represented by Jesus. Thus, in the history of Christianity they play a role. Second, they are commonly supposed to stand behind the authorities who, in the second century, made up the materials that come to us in the Mishnah, the first important document, after Scripture, of Judaism in its classical or normative form." However, the barriers we face—to understanding the Pharisees better than we do—are twofold, as they left no writings of their own, and the available sources give conflicting accounts of them.

Academics are also becoming increasingly aware of how difficult it is to generalise about Christianity appropriating the Old Testament and using it for non-Jewish purposes. To give one of many examples, the Talmudic scholar Daniel Boyarin uses a cultural studies approach to argue that the New Testament is more deeply embedded within Second Temple Judaism than previously thought, even in those moments we have taken to be most characteristically Christian as opposed to Jewish. While Boyarin is an Orthodox Jew, who does not believe Jesus is the messiah, his intention in *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (2012) is to reclaim some of the "possibilities cut off by authorities", by which he means the Fathers and the Rabbis of late antiquity. He makes the point, as an Orthodox Jew, that the gospels do not describe issues separating Christians from Jews; they describe issues Jews were arguing among themselves, even in their most radical christological moments, which may not be as radical as we have traditionally supposed them to be.

For Boyarin, the question is not whether Jesus is the messiah, since that is a matter of Christian faith; it is whether the messiah can be divine. In exploring this possibility, he retrieves the binitarian aspects of Jewish belief, which prefigure the trinitarian aspects of Christian belief. He provides a close reading of Daniel Chapter 7 to argue that the idea of a second god as viceroy to God the Father is one of the oldest theological ideas in Israel, hence it follows that ideas about God we identify as Christian are not innovations. By the first century, Jews had for centuries been talking, thinking, and reading about a new king—a son of David who would redeem them from Seleucid and Roman oppression—and they had come to think of that new king as a second, younger, divine figure on the basis of Daniel's reflection on an ancient tradition. When the followers of Jesus experienced the empty tomb—and understood him as the risen Christ—it was because they had a narrative that led them to expect the appearance, the appearance did not give rise to the narrative.

To highlight this point, Boyarin gives us a close reading of the Book of Enoch and Fourth Ezra, both of which depend on Daniel in different ways, to remind us of other Jewish groups expecting a messiah known as the Son of Man. In Enoch, the Son of Man would appear to become divine (apotheosis). In Ezra, the Son of Man would appear

to become human (theophany). He proposes that these two strands of the Jewish imagination—one in which the ancient binitarianness of Israel's God is preserved and transformed; one in which the ancient binitarianness has been suppressed—live side-by-side in halakhic tension. In Mark's gospel, Boyarin notices a similar tension between the Son of Man becoming divine (apotheosis) and the Son of Man becoming human (theophany) which helps him make sense of the Jesus story: his baptism, transfiguration, ministry, miracles, death, resurrection, and exaltation.

To Boyarin, it appears as if Mark has intentionally woven together two stories into the one plot: a first story of the God who became man, came down to earth, and returned home; a second story of the man who became God and ascended on high. This tension within the Jesus story parallels the tension between different christologies, low and high, and explains the trajectory of what the Fathers would later come to define as orthodox. Regardless of whether they are orthodox or not, Boyarin believes all ideas about Christ are old. His point is that Judaism has never spoken with one voice on the messianic question. The theology of the gospels was derived from the Torah. There is no Christian notion of a messiah versus a Jewish notion of a messiah. There is only one complex and contested messianic idea.

Likewise, it is widely held that the idea of a suffering messiah, who atoned for the sins of the world, was an after-the-fact response by Christians to rationalise the embarrassing reality of Jesus' humiliation and suffering. According to this view, the crucifixion set Christianity in motion as a new non-Jewish religion. It is also widely held that Christians distorted the original meaning of Isaiah 53—supposedly an allegory for the collective suffering of Israel—by opportunistically interpreting it as an allegory about the messiah as an individual. Boyarin rejects this view, arguing that the idea of a suffering and atoning messiah was not alien to Judaism; it was current among Jews until the modern period; it is deeply rooted in Jewish texts; it is one aspect of an entrenched messianic expectation. He is not claiming Jesus and his followers contributed nothing to the story of a suffering messiah; he is claiming that their innovation—if indeed they innovated—was within the spirit and method of Second Temple Judaism not a departure from it.

Of course, not all Jewish academics agree with Boyarin on the specifics; for example, in *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (2012), Peter Schäfer takes issue with Boyarin's chronology; however, they agree on the general thrust, and they are both committed to a reassessment of what the sources tell us about Christian and Jewish self-understanding, in the first century, in late antiquity, and now in the modern era.

Jerusalem and Rome

It is generally accepted that, at some point in late antiquity—long after the first century—the Jesus movement was no longer a variety of Judaism and became a separate religion which eclipsed Judaism and was non-Jewish when not anti-Jewish. It is also generally accepted that this evolution paralleled Christianity's emergence as a powerful religion within the Roman empire, culminating in an emperor's conversion in the fourth century, whereafter Christianity became the official religion of the empire, thereafter inheriting the empire's ambivalent attitude towards Judaism. As far as generalisations go, these generalisations are true, although they conceal three complex histories—the Christian–Jewish relationship, the Roman–Jewish relationship, and the Roman–Christian relationship—and they contain a range of anachronistic and presentist assumptions about the first century relationship between Rome and Jerusalem.

Martin Goodman begins *Rome and Jerusalem: The clash of ancient civilisations* (2008), with a description of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, before considering how it came about. Was there anything intrinsic in Roman or Jewish society that made coexistence impossible? Were dramatic tensions already apparent in 30 AD when Jesus preached in Jerusalem and died there on the order of a Roman governor?

Goodman believes these questions are difficult to answer, as the inhabitants of Rome and Jerusalem shared a political world fostered by alliances and patronage, and even friendships. Contrary to popular belief, there were many social and familial ties between gentiles and Jews, and, despite their differences, there were

striking similarities between Rome and Jerusalem. Both cities metamorphosed at the same time, from ramshackle agglomerations to shining testimonies to massive state expenditure. Both used the most up-to-date techniques of urban planning and borrowed architectural styles from the most impressive city of the previous generation: Alexandria. Both depended on imported wealth.

The glory of Rome was different from the splendour of Jerusalem. It was magnificent in the provision of public facilities and private indulgences; the gap between rich and poor was extreme; bread and circuses stabilised an impoverished population living in overcrowded tenements; the biggest danger was not from subject peoples of the empire but tensions among ambitious Roman nobles. By contrast, Jerusalem's greatness was not because of victory in war, success in commerce, political intrigue, or the harnessing of natural resources, but the religious loyalty of millions of Diaspora Jews. Life was shaped by the routines of the Temple. While the city housed a large proportion of poor living alongside the rich, there was an additional source of instability: the periodic influx of pilgrims who brought economic opportunities as well as the potential for political and social unrest.

The cohesiveness of the Roman empire depended on the consent of disparate societies—whether forced or voluntary—which created an underlying geopolitical fragility. As there was no decentralised imperial bureaucracy, government could only operate successfully by consent, and local administration was carried out by local urban elites in return for Roman support for their local status. The economic unity of the empire, as a series of local agrarian economies, depended on the ease with which goods could be traded throughout the empire, which is best understood not as a single Mediterranean market but as a series of linked local markets.

As many Jews came to be regarded as prominent Romans, and their Jewish ancestry was not an issue, why in the second half of the first century should the life of Jerusalem become so much more inimical to Rome than other cities in the empire? To answer that question, Goodman believes we need to understand the differences between Roman and Jewish attitudes to the world they shared.

In terms of citizenship, Romans could be Jewish and Jews could be Romans; however, then as now, the question "Who is a Jew?" was difficult to answer, since identity could be ethnic or religious and there was no coherent way to define the status of gentile converts to Judaism. In terms of communities, Romans and Jews conceptualised the state differently. For Romans, the state was *res publica*, "the public affair", individuals united for the common good, permitting the greatest possible freedom of private ownership and individual political action. For Jews, Josephus defined the state thus: "Some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however, was attracted to none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a 'theocracy', placing sovereignty and authority in the hands of God."

In terms of life, Romans regarded abortion as contraception and the treatment of newborns was left to the discretion of their parents. In fact, a Roman child was not accepted as human when it first breathed but when its father acknowledged its legitimate existence. As a result, an unrecognised Roman child could be killed, left to die, or sold as a slave. In contrast, Jews abhorred abortion, except in extreme circumstances, and in all cases infanticide, as they believed humans were made in God's image.

In terms of lifestyle, while it is too crude to describe Romans as libertarians and Jews as puritans, neither caricature is far off the mark. Roman attitudes to the body were extraordinarily relaxed, and, while some sexual activities might be deemed demeaning to one or other participant, nothing was ruled out. For Jews, the biblical purity system assumed there was nothing wrong or worrying about being impure, since bodily fluids and corpses are natural and unavoidable, but purification was required before entering the sanctuary.

In terms of government, Roman law was perceived as man-made, a product of decisions by assemblies and magistrates, of experience from case law, and of reasoning; at no point did jurists claim divine authority. Most Jewish law was different, since

the Torah, which covered all aspects of religious and secular life, was believed to come from God.

In terms of politics, Romans and Jews held different views about status and power. In Rome, political status derived from wealth, noble ancestry, age, and above all military glory; in principle, authority was shared between rich male aristocrats elected by the people as magistrates and senators, but in practice all power derived from the emperor as autocrat. In Jerusalem, political status depended on lineage, priestly or royal, learning in the law, and occasionally a claim to divine inspiration; however, as the first century progressed, the concentration of influence devolved from political status to those who could gain access to the ultimate source of brute power: the Roman governor.

Goodman argues that, before 66 AD, one looks in vain for any expression of Roman fear that Jews might act as a fifth column within the empire. He says the revolt that broke out in Jerusalem in 66 AD was not sparked by Jewish revulsion against Roman imperialism. It was a reaction against maladministration by an individual low-grade governor. The initial Roman response was little more than a police action, a show of force, but the punitive action planned in 66 AD escalated in 70 AD and became the intensive siege and eventual destruction of Jerusalem. Why? Goodman believes the cause was less the strength of the Jewish resistance than a series of coups d'état in Rome culminating in Vespasian's decision to seek supreme power. He needed total defeat of the Jews to provide him with the aura of a victorious general which might justify his rise to power. It was not the first time a foreign war had been used to disguise embarrassing domestic politics and it would not be the last.

It was also not the first time Rome had suppressed a Jewish uprising within the empire; however, in those cases it suppressed the Jewish sub-population of a larger population; in this case it destroyed Jerusalem, centre of the national and religious life of Jews in Judea and throughout the world, which created a crisis of identity for the Jewish people, which at that time included the Jesus movement. A range of humiliating measures were taken, including a new tax on all Jews, the *Fiscus Iudaicus*, directed to the Capitoline temple in Rome, a tax that initially included

the Jesus movement until it petitioned the emperor for an exemption. Eventually the tax was expanded to include anyone suspected of living a Jewish life, including proselytes and God-fearers.

As far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, these points are crucial for several reasons: first, the term God-fearer applies to gentiles who were interested in Judaism and attached themselves to it in varying degrees, an attachment that originally applied to the Jesus movement as well as any other variety of Judaism; second, Rome was not anti-Jewish as such, it was more worried about the potential influence of Judaism on paganism, hence gentile interest in Judaism would have been a source of concern; third, there is little evidence that, throughout the first century, Rome saw the Jesus movement as a separate religion from Judaism. Any distinction emerged gradually in later centuries.

The Jewish Diaspora

In the popular imagination, the Jewish Diaspora tends to be understood in generalised terms, as the two exiles following the destruction of the First Temple around 587 BC and the Second Temple in 70 AD. In both cases, these generalisations should be treated with caution. In the first exile, not all of the population was deported and not all who were deported chose to return when they could. Much the same can be said of the second exile. The Jewish Diaspora is, in fact, a complex phenomenon, as the Jewish people had been migrating throughout their known world, over a long period of time, for a broad variety of reasons. Why? In *The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans: A Diasporan Sourcebook* (1998), Margaret Williams points out that Israel lay on a geopolitical fault-line. Consequently, the Jews were conspicuously "on the move": as mercenary soldiers, prisoners of war, slaves, refugees, entrepreneurs, and economic migrants to the Hellenistic cities of the Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and Roman empires.

Diaspora studies is a specialised area of research, and Diaspora academics are focusing on what the biblical and extra-biblical sources tell us about the Diaspora as an inter-cultural phenomenon, about Jewish identity in a gentile world, about

gentile perceptions of Jews, about Jewish responses to those perceptions, and pre-eminently, about the all pervasive influence of Hellenism in the Graeco-Roman world. As far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, it is important to note that mainstream academics have adopted a pluralist approach and abandoned the old-fashioned notion of uncovering a unified Judaism within the Diaspora. Instead, they favour mapping the varieties of Judaism within the Diaspora, each of which varies over time and has shifting clusters of characteristics. One of the essential points here is that, regardless of the form these two exiles took, neither was the result of divine retribution. The first exile did not occur because the Jews disobeyed the God of Israel, although many Jews have interpreted it thus. The second exile did not occur because the Jews rejected Jesus as messiah, although many Christians have interpreted it thus.

In *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan* (1996), John Barclay explains the nature of the sources Diaspora academics have to work with and describes the contemporary character of their approaches to those sources. First, a new critical spirit abounds, which resists the temptation to fill any gaps in the evidence we possess, and also to question its adequacy and accuracy. Second, the Diaspora cannot be assumed to be congruent with the thought and practice of Jews in Judea, as Diaspora Jews defined their identity in many different and open-ended ways, some national and political, some ethical or philosophical, some even mystical. Third, just as the old notion of a unified Judaism within the Diaspora has been challenged, so has the assumption that faithful Jews lived largely in social isolation. Fourth, the Diaspora is increasingly studied in relation to the broader context of Graeco-Roman society and religion, hence Diaspora Jews can usefully be compared with other ethnic "diasporas" within particular local contexts. From this perspective, Judaism and Christianity may also be viewed alongside each other, within the Diaspora, as ambiguously related minorities in a vast religious mosaic. Indeed, precisely where to place early Christians alongside Diaspora Jews is an intriguing problem, and there are grounds for studying figures such as Paul alongside other Diaspora representatives of other varieties of first century Judaism.

The sources available vary from place to place and the richest source comes from Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Romans. To a lesser degree, sources outside Egypt provide a varied picture of Diaspora life elsewhere in the Mediterranean: Cyrenaica (Eastern Libya), Syria, the Roman Province of Asia (Asia Minor), and Rome itself. Where the sources permit, Barclay describes three anthropological scales available to academics, which allow them to measure the relationship between Diaspora Jews and the local gentile community in which they live. First, an Assimilation Scale moves from abandonment of Jewish social distinctiveness, to a gymnasium (Greek) education, to attendance at Greek athletics and theatre, to commercial employment with non-Jews, to social confinement within the Jewish community. Second, an Acculturation Scale moves from scholarly expertise (familiarity with Greek literature, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology), to acquaintance with common moral values, to no facility with the Greek language. Third, an Accommodation Scale moves between an integrative–oppositional binary, from submersion of Jewish cultural uniqueness, to a reinterpretation of Judaism that preserves some cultural uniqueness, to antagonism to Graeco-Roman culture.

Clearly, the Jewish Diaspora was a complex phenomenon, but does that mean no general principals can be applied to it? In *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2000), John Collins focuses on a leitmotiv expressed in Verse 4 of Psalm 137—"How shall we sing the song of the LORD in a foreign land?"—where the "song of the LORD" was also the story of the people. The problem of singing the song of the LORD in a foreign land was the problem of maintaining the identity of the people, and their survival as a distinct entity, in an environment dominated by gentiles who were, for better and for worse, "significant others" and Jewish identity would inevitably be modified by interaction with them. For the most part, also, Jews were not reluctant exiles. They were attracted by Hellenistic culture; eager to win the respect of the Greeks and Romans and to adapt to their ways.

Yet the Jews were a distinct people with their own irregular traditions, and therefore tension was inevitable. In the Hellenistic and Roman world, Judaism appeared as a strange phenomenon, a superstition with unfamiliar rites and observances. As such it was liable to be caricatured and mocked and subjected to suspicion and hostility.

While the Diaspora Jews staged occasional uprisings—over a range of issues that included taxation, status, idolatry, and messianic fervour—and while the Romans occasionally suppressed them, the Romans were relatively tolerant towards Diaspora Jews during the first century, even after the Alexandria Pogroms of 38 AD and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD. Both Barclay and Collins believe, however, that a permanent hardening of heart occurred during a little known Jewish uprising which occurred simultaneously in different places throughout the Diaspora—in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia—which left hundreds of thousands dead and became a desperate struggle for Jewish survival within the Diaspora.

According to Barclay, it is only on the assumption of a prolonged social alienation between Jews and non-Jews that we can explain the ferocity of this little known Jewish uprising and its equally ferocious suppression. In 115 AD some incidents in Alexandria, whose details are now obscured, revived the communal strife between Jews and Greeks, and Roman troops were called in to settle the matter. According to Collins, the surviving accounts of the revolt give no rational explanation of why it started, and modern authors have often suggested that the revolt had no more specific cause than the intensity of messianic expectation, as the Jews in Cyrenaica began to revolt simultaneously, and some of their number, led by their messianic "king" Loukuas, crossed the border into Egypt. A civil war ensued, which was quickly quelled in Alexandria but not so easily quelled in the countryside.

Overall, Collins believes there was no simple normative definition which determined Jewish identity in the Diaspora; however, there were persistent tendencies which moved between two poles. On the one hand, there were the constraints of the Jewish tradition. On the other, there were the values of the Hellenistic world. The pattern of "covenantal nomism"—the belief that one is brought into the covenant through birth and stays there through works—was certainly present, yet it was not the only or even the dominant pattern. The Jewish tradition could also be construed as the story of a glorious past which fostered ethnic pride with little regard for religious laws, or as a moral system which prized universal values. Also, Jews might still be the paradigm for righteousness but a righteous gentile was preferable to an unrighteous Jew. What mattered was the code of conduct not allegiance to a given people.

Collins believes the attempt of Jews to find common ground with their gentile neighbours suffered a setback in the uprisings of 115–117 AD, after which their attempt at cultural synthesis was undermined and could never again be pursued with such vigour. After that point, he argues, the legacy of the Hellenistic Diaspora was inherited not by Judaism but by the emerging Christian church. But while the Diaspora Jews failed to win the respect and acceptance they desired, their endeavour cannot be judged a failure because of its historical outcome. That outcome was due to social and political tensions within the Roman empire over which the Diaspora Jews had little control. The endeavour to find common ground between Athens and Jerusalem remains a noble effort, which attests a faith in the human community, which transcends national, ethnic, and religious boundaries.

John the Baptist

Who is John the Baptist? Why is he relevant to Christian and Jewish relations? These are important questions, as he is an excellent example of how the New Testament preserved a remarkable first century figure, who apart from Josephus would have otherwise disappeared from history. He is also an excellent example of redaction—the editing of multiple sources into a single document—through which the gospel authors made him little other than a messianic herald. While his function is similar in all four gospels, his role is slightly different in each gospel, as each has a distinctive purpose. Jews who do not read the New Testament may know him through Josephus (37–100 AD), where he appears not as a proto-Christian but as a good man who was killed by Herod Antipas for exhorting the Jews to practice virtue and righteousness, and, having done that, come together for purification by immersion.

Mark's gospel begins with the Baptist, which is consistent with what we know about the historical Jesus. As Matthew's gospel is a different genre from Mark, it introduces the Baptist after the genealogy and birth of Jesus, the visit of the wise men, and the journey to and from Egypt. Luke's gospel goes several steps further than Matthew, by integrating the birth of the Baptist with the birth of Jesus and making them relatives within salvation history. John's gospel does something similar to Luke, in

weaving the Baptist and Jesus together within his Prologue, where the Baptist was sent by God not to be the light but to be a witness who testifies to the light; Jesus is incarnated as the logos—the word made flesh—of whom the Baptist says: "This was he of whom I said, 'he who comes after me ranks ahead of me because he was before me'."

Josephus was born in Jerusalem to a Jewish family that may have had priestly and royal connections. An officer in the First Jewish–Roman War, he led the Jewish forces in Galilee, but surrendered in 67 AD, became a hostage and interpreter, eventually defected, and was granted Roman citizenship. He witnessed the destruction of Jerusalem, and, after the war, he found imperial favour and lived in Rome. He became a Jewish historian and although his history is often characterised as pro-Roman propaganda it is also an apology for the greatness of Judaism. As with the New Testament, the academic consensus is that we can learn a great deal about the first century from his histories, provided we appreciate his genre and take his context and pretext into account: for example, he claims that as a teenager he experimented with the Pharisees, the Saduccees, the Essenes, and an ascetic hermit named Bannus.

When comparing the New Testament accounts with Josephus's, academics are asking challenging questions. Who was John the Baptist? What was his relationship with the Essenes? What was the nature of his baptism? What were his teachings and predictions? What was his relationship with the Pharisees? Why was he opposed and executed? What was his relationship with Jesus, and in particular, why did Jesus need to be baptised? Finally, if John was a remarkable first century figure in his own right, why did the New Testament authors redact him in the way they did, and make him little more than a messianic herald, when narrating their stories about Jesus? Clearly, having admitted that the church's apostolic ministry begins with the baptism of Jesus by John, we need to understand why the gospels explain John away. Joan Taylor addresses these questions in *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* (1997).

Taylor demonstrates that John was an extraordinary and much admired figure who should be understood within the broader context of Second Temple Judaism not simply as a messianic herald. He may have come from a priestly family and was well educated in the Torah. He aimed to live a life of total obedience to God and encouraged others to do also. He went out into the wilderness to exist solely on what God provided and to demonstrate repentance and humility. He may have taken a vow as a *nazir* (Numbers 6:1–21) but there is no evidence that he was an Essene or had contact with the Qumran sect.

John seems to have based his teaching on the ethical prescriptions and eschatological expectations of the prophets, especially Isaiah. Probably by means of his disciples, John sent out a call for those who considered themselves unrighteous, to repent, to turn from the path of iniquity. This was urgent, for the end was imminent and God would consign those who did not obey the Torah to Gehenna, a destination of the wicked, often translated as Hell. After turning back to God one could be purified; one was cleansed outwardly only after one had been cleansed inwardly; in this sense John's baptism was wholly in keeping with Jewish immersions of the time. It was to purify the body from ritual uncleanness. It was a rite of initiation, unique in that it specifically followed repentance.

After immersion, John sent people back home to continue their own vocations, with advice about how they should go about their lives, given the expectation that they would not have to wait long before the end. In the meantime, they may have been expected to abide by the rulings given by the Pharisees to those who wished to live righteously, as the Pharisees had the greatest reputation for righteousness among the people of the time, and John seems to have accepted their ways.

The Pharisees also seem to have supported John and by the end of the first century, John's reputation as a good and holy man lived on among Jews who were highly influenced by Pharisaic traditions, particularly the educated elite. That is why Herod Antipas was thought to have done an evil thing in murdering him. Some thought John was a prophet but whether he thought so himself is not clear. If he did think of himself as a prophet, it was a minor one, for in relation to the coming one—the agent

of God—he considered himself less than a slave. He may simply have considered himself as someone who was acting on a reading of Isaiah; a sage, perhaps, but little more. He does not seem to have claimed to have been possessed by the Holy Spirit, nor did he perform any healings or exorcisms.

No one seems to have established a religious movement around John, although he was known throughout Israel and the Diaspora. If communities of John's disciples existed, they did not endure as a cohesive group for long. Some may have joined Jesus and ended up in the early church. Others may have continued within the Pharisaic tradition to influence the synagogue. If Taylor's summary adequately reflects the historical situation, it is easy to see why the early church sought to modify the picture of John the Baptist. As the church began to move away from the idea that Christians should follow the Torah, the call to repentance had to be detached from the Torah and John's baptism had to be understood not for the purification of the body but as a prelude for Christian baptism in water and Spirit.

Jesus' baptism by John remains an interesting phenomenon. In coming to John for immersion, Jesus must have counted himself among those in need of repentance; the inward cleansing that preceded the outward cleansing. Was this an unnecessary statement of humility? We do not know. But Jesus probably did have a spiritual experience at the time of his immersion; an experience of the rushing power of God, descending like a dove, in which he heard a voice announcing his prophetic commission. Also, immediately after his immersion and spiritual experience, he seems to have gone away to live in the wilderness, just like John.

Jesus seems to have thought John was Elijah, and when John was killed, Jesus obviously interpreted this as being foretold in scripture. He may have blamed the religious authorities for John's death, even though Herod Antipas acted alone in killing him. For Jesus, John was "more than a prophet", the greatest person who had ever lived; his immersion of repentance was authorised by God. It seems likely, then, that in continuing John's message, Jesus also continued John's immersion. After Jesus' own death, his disciples would find this same immersion supplemented by the imparting of the Spirit, which they understood in the light of their experience of Jesus' resurrection.

Taylor acknowledges the New Testament as a remarkable collection of documents. Not only does it include redactions that seek to convince us of a particular understanding of history, but those who wrote the gospels faithfully included material which could invalidate their interpretation of history; material that may not tally with their overall purposes or may contradict other statements they endorsed. However, if the gospel writers may have considered John's centrality at the origin of the church a threat, we do not need to continue to think so.

Jesus of Nazareth

Who is Jesus of Nazareth? What was his mission? Since the Enlightenment, academics have been using a variety of critical methods to understand those questions, in relation to his cultural context. As a result, there is widespread agreement that he existed but widespread disagreement over his historical identity. Was he a prophet, healer, philosopher, messiah, or liberationist? The only consensus is that he was immersed by John the Baptist, engaged in religious discussions with other Jewish teachers, performed some healings, gathered followers, and was crucified by Pontius Pilate. Beyond that, there is widespread criticism of the ways in which different methods have been used to tailor the interpretation of ancient sources to fit different religious and secular agendas. These agendas range from those that seek to confirm Christianity, or discredit Christianity, or interpret Jesus' life and teachings in order to promote this or that program for socioeconomic change.

The central fact about Jesus is his Jewishness. He lived wholly within Judaism and it was never his intention to replace it. According to Matthew 5.17–19, Jesus said: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have come not to abolish but to fulfil. For truly I tell you, until heaven and earth pass away, not one letter, not one stroke of a letter, will pass from the Law until all is accomplished. Therefore, whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments, and teaches others to do the same, will be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever does them and teaches them will be called great in the kingdom of heaven." While

some of Jesus' followers believed that Jesus replaced the Torah, Matthew does not agree, which is why he used this passage to confirm Jesus' Jewish credentials.

In *The Misunderstood Jew: The Church and the Scandal of the Jewish Jesus* (2006), Amy-Jill Levine—a member of an Orthodox Synagogue who is also Professor of New Testament and Jewish Studies at Vanderbilt University—argues that separating Jesus from his historical context has had dangerous consequences; although attempts to locate him in his historical context are provisional and incomplete. As she suggests, it difficult for us to hear what his century heard, as local congregations—scattered throughout Palestine and the Roman empire—had different sets of ears adapted to particular cultural situations.

What was Jesus' relationship with the Torah? Levine warns us against pitting a liberating Jesus against an oppressive Torah, since the Torah had not yet been codified and there was great debate and much flexibility around it. Also, there is no evidence that Jesus had a systematic approach to the Torah. The gospels suggest he responded to questions as they were posed to him, either by circumstances or by those seeking to learn from or test him. Therefore, Jesus is neither part of a later rabbinical tradition nor antithetical to it. In some cases, he agreed with the majority view; in other cases, he sided with the minority view; in a few cases, he offered his own view. He expected to be challenged and issued his own challenges. That he was willing to discuss the Torah shows how deeply he cared about it.

As Jesus is to Christians what Torah is to Jews, Levine believes he does not have to be unique to be profound. Example One: Mark, Matthew, and Luke each record Jesus' summary of the Torah, which is affirmed by a scribe, a Jewish expert in Torah interpretation. The first part of the summary combines texts from Deuteronomy and Leviticus, beginning with the Shema, a major part of the synagogue liturgy. The second part is a central verse in Jewish thought found in the Jerusalem Talmud, the *Testament of Dan*, and the *Testament of Issachar*. The third part is similar to Rabbi Hillel's summary of Jewish teaching found in the Babylonian Talmud, a sixth century commentary on the Mishnah. Example Two: Jesus dressed like a Torah observing Jew. He wore fringes (*tzitzit*), which the woman with the twelve-year

haemorrhage touched in the hope of healing. He wore phylacteries (*tefillin*), and, since he criticised the Pharisees and scribes because "they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long" we can assume his phylacteries were narrow and his fringes were short. Example Three: Jesus kept kosher and ate like a Torah observing Jew. While one verse in Mark states that Jesus declared all foods clean, this may be Mark's editorial comment not something Jesus said himself. Had Jesus actually declared all foods clean, the story in Acts about Peter's trance-vision, and the argument between Peter and Paul over table fellowship in Galatians, would not make sense.

In addition to his direct teachings, Jesus made heavy use of parables, a style of indirect teaching known to Jews. Rabbinic parables often reflect on the meaning of scripture. Jesus' parables are closer to those of the Prophets in that they reflect on the Kingdom of God; however, his parables have lost their first century context along with their punch. To recover their punch, they need to be heard with first century ears. That is not easy, as each gospel writer uses parables differently, depending on the proportion of gentile God-fearers in his congregation, and on his local congregation's relationship with the local Pharisees. There is also a problem with translation, as we miss out on whole levels of meaning generated by wordplay in the original language. Example One: Matthew and Luke both contain the Parable of the Leaven, which would have gotten more of a rise from Matthew's Jewish listeners, to whom leaven had both positive and negative associations, while Luke's gentile God-fearers may have found these associations remote. Example Two: Luke is the only gospel with the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, which has a particular resonance. No one likes paying taxes, regardless of the congregation one lives in, but being a tax collector who works for the Roman enemy in a local congregation of gentile God-fearers would not have the same shock value as being a tax collector who works for the Roman enemy in a more Jewish congregation. Luke's gentile listeners would have little difficulty hearing about a righteous tax collector, but a predominantly Jewish congregation would have been seriously challenged by righteous tax collector who worked for the Roman enemy and worshipped in the Temple.

In addition to his direct teachings and parables, Jesus prayed like a Torah observing Jew. Although scholars continue to argue over which lines of the Lord's Prayer are

original to Jesus, which translation is closer to the hypothetical Aramaic tradition, or which verses were adapted to church needs, there is no reason to think Jesus taught only one version of the prayer. Indeed, all versions fit within a Jewish context and each line is found elsewhere in Jewish scriptures or commentaries. Likewise, while it was fashionable in the twentieth century to believe Jesus was unique in referring to God as Father, other Jews did also.

Levine reminds us that identifying Jesus with Judaism has not been universally desired. Through a chic apologetic, which seeks to make him politically relevant to the twenty-first century, Christians find answers in him to whatever ails the body politic, whether it is war, ethnocentrism, capitalism, an institutional religion entwined with the state, misogyny, patriarchy, or homophobia. In order for Jesus to serve a liberationist role, he has to have something concrete to oppose. The bad "system" then becomes—in scholarship and in pulpit—whatever we want first century Judaism to be. In fact, the "problem" of a Jewish Jesus did not become theological until the Enlightenment, when Jesus lost his uniqueness and competed with other figures in antiquity whose biographies recorded divine births, healing powers, wise teachings, and resurrections. The "problem" of a Jewish Jesus did not become academic until literary-critical theory displaced historical and textual evidence, the interpreter became the sole determinant of what texts mean, and voices from the margins bullied their way to the moral high ground. The "problem" of a Jewish Jesus did not become pathological until the many overstatements about, misrepresentations of, and slanders against first century Judaism began to appear consistently in church and in classroom. While the goals of these overstatements, misrepresentations, and slanders are occasionally commendable their methods have been deplorable.

Levine ends her book with a hopeful observation from the Pontifical Biblical Commission: "In the past, the break between the Jewish people and the Church of Christ Jesus could sometimes, in certain times and places, give the impression of being complete. In light of the Scriptures, this should never have occurred. For a complete break between the church and the synagogue contradicts Sacred Scripture." The connections church and synagogue share, in their recognition of the

same sacred stories, and also in their similar interpretive understandings, necessarily hold the two movements together. If Isaac and Ishmael, and Jacob and Esau, can learn to live together in peace, there is hope for the church and synagogue as well. If the church and synagogue can both recognise their connection in Jesus, a Jewish prophet who spoke to Jews, they would be in a better place.

Paul of Tarsus

Who is Paul of Tarsus? In the late twentieth century, it was fashionable in many circles, secular and religious, to blame Paul for a wide range of phenomena afflicting Western civilisation: for introducing Hellenism to the Jesus movement, with disastrous consequences for humanity and the environment; for inventing Christianity as a separate gentile religion; for patriarchy, misogyny, homophobia, and slavery. According to this line of thinking, Christianity would be a better religion, and the world would be a better place, had Paul never existed. At the same time, however, Christian academics were doing something different within Pauline studies: trying to understand Paul as a Jew within his first century, messianic, apocalyptic context. As far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, it is remarkable that Jewish academics have entered this field and taken it in exciting new directions.

In *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (1994), Daniel Boyarin uses a cultural studies approach to further two aims. First, to reclaim Pauline studies as an integral part of Jewish studies, because Paul has left an extremely precious document, the spiritual autobiography of a first century Jew. Few documents, except for parts of Josephus and Philo, come close to Paul's letters. Also, if Paul is taken at his word, he was a member of the Pharisaic movement in first century Judaism, which Josephus may have been also but Philo certainly was not. In addition, Paul has had an enormous influence on the history of Judaism. Much of what is distinctive about Rabbinic Judaism, the ancestor of virtually all Judaisms since late antiquity, was formed in reaction to Pauline Christianity, which grew steadily in influence and culminated in the religious hegemony of Christianity since the fourth century.

Second, Boyarin wants to reclaim Paul as a thinker who lived and died convinced he was a Jew living out Judaism. He represented one option which Judaism could take in the first century; he challenged Jews in the first century; he continues to challenge Jews today. Boyarin believes Paul was motivated not by an abnormal psychological state but by a set of ideas and problems generated by his cultural and religious situation. As Paul was a cultural critic, Boyarin wants to explore what it was about Jewish culture that inspired his critique, and in what ways his critique is important for everyone today, including Jews. Further, he wants to consider the limitations, inadequacies, contradictions, and disastrous effects of some of Paul's solutions to the problems he identified.

According to Boyarin, in Paul's extremity and marginality, he is paradigmatic of "the Jew" as an interface between a self-identified essence and a construction constantly being remade; hence the tension in his cultural critique, and in his life, between his powerful self-identification as a Jew and his equally powerful self-identification as everyman. This tension, Boyarin says, is emblematic not only of Jewish identity but of all identity as such. When the Galatians wished to take on Jewish praxis, Paul cried out with real pathos: "Friends, I beg you, become as I am, for I also have become as you are." As the paradoxes of that sentence are those of identity itself, exploring Paul should lead to a richer appreciation of our own cultural quandaries as Jew or Greek, as male or female.

Boyarin's underlying assumption is that, in fundamental ways, Paul has set the agenda on ethnicity and gender for both Jews and Christians until this day, and he focuses on Galatians, because it is different from Paul's other letters. First, it does not speak, not even once, of the imminent Parousia, the Second Coming, because eschatology in Galatians is what we call "realised eschatology": that is, the ways in which the world has already changed through the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ. Second, in Galatians more so than Paul's other letters, the theme of new humanity—or rather new Israel—which includes both Jews and Gentiles, is most powerfully expressed. Third, Galatians includes the stirring declaration that there is no longer male nor female as all are one in Christ (3:28), the good news of which is unknown in Paul's other letters.

Paul was motivated by a Hellenistic desire for the One, which produced an ideal of a universal humanity beyond difference and hierarchy. This universal humanity, however, was and still is predicated on the dualism of flesh and spirit, such that while the body is particular, marked through praxis as Jew or Greek, and marked through anatomy as male or female, the spirit is universal. Paul did not, however, reject the body—as did the Gnostics—but rather he promoted a system whereby the body had its place subordinated to the spirit. Also, Paul's anthropological dualism was matched by a hermeneutical dualism; just as the human being is divided into a flesh and spirit, so is language, which is composed of outer material signs and inner spiritual significations. When these two dualisms are applied to the religious system Paul inherited, the physical signs of historical Judaism are reinterpreted as universal possibilities for humanity.

Boyarin believes that, while Paul's impulse towards a non-differentiated, non-hierarchical humanity was laudable, many of its effects on actual human lives were not. In terms of ethnicity, his system required that all human cultural specificities—first and foremost those of the Jews—be eradicated, whether or not the people in question were willing. Moreover, since there is no such thing as cultural non-specificity, merging all people into a common culture means merging all people into a hegemonic culture. Further, in terms of gender, for Paul, and for nearly everyone until now, autonomy and something like true equality for women were bought at the expense of sexuality and maternity, since the erasure of gender seems always to have ended up positing maleness as the norm to which women can "aspire".

Boyarin sees another aspect to this problem, as Paul's letters are primary texts for Christianity, which has been one of the most powerful systems of cultural hegemony in the history of the world. Paul and reactions to Paul are therefore major sources of the historicisation of our cultural predicament. His letters have generally served what is broadly called conservative cultural–political interests; they have been used as props in the fight against the liberation of slaves, women, and homosexuals, as well as major supports for theological anti-Judaism. But Paul does not need to be read this way; indeed, his letters support an alternative reading that makes him a passionate striver for human liberation and equality. In spite of such an alternative reading, however,

Paul's passion for equality led him to equate equality with sameness; therefore, in spite of his good intentions, his social thought was deeply flawed.

It is important to not misunderstand this claim. Boyarin is not suggesting Paul literally called for cultural uniformity in the sense that he demanded people speak alike, dress alike, and eat alike. Indeed, one could argue—and it has been argued—that Paul's declarations that observances of the Law are matters of indifference (*adiaphora*) and therefore represent a cultural "tolerance". This tolerance, however, deprives difference of the right to be different, dissolving all others into a single essence in which matters of cultural praxis are irrelevant and only faith in Christ is significant. Thus for a Pharisee of Paul's day, and for a religious Jew of today, to be told it is a matter of indifference whether Jews circumcise their sons or not, and there is no difference between Jews and Gentiles, hardly feels like regard for Jewish difference. Clearly, this remains a problem for many Jewish readers of Paul.

Those who contend that the maintenance of Jewish praxis is simply a lifestyle—and tolerance consists of insisting it is a matter of indifference whether or not Jews follow that lifestyle—are simply "buying into" Paul's ideology rather than commenting on it. Jewish difference is not simply a matter of permitting Jews to keep kosher or to circumcise within Christian communities; it means recognising the centrality and value of such practices for Jews as well as their right to remain unconvinced by the gospels. This does not constitute an accusation of intolerance on the part of Paul, since his message was one of tolerance, but his tolerance is itself flawed just as its opposite—insisting on the special value of particularity—is equally flawed. Boyarin argues that the claims of difference and the desire for universality are both necessary, but in contradictory ways, and both are equally problematic.

By taking Paul seriously as an internal critic of Jewish culture, the value of his work for cultural criticism can be revealed. Marginalising him as the founder of a new religion deflects the force of his cultural challenge, which, even when its answers seem totally unsatisfactory, nevertheless calls us to provide answers of our own. Both the passionate commitment to Jewish difference and the equally passionate

commitment to universal humanity are dialectical possibilities of Jewish culture in contact with, and in context of, the rest of the world.

The Reluctant Parting

There is an emerging consensus, among Christian and Jewish academics, that the New Testament is Jewish literature, which needs to be understood in its first century context. Quite obviously, such a consensus represents a challenge to Christian and Jewish self-understanding—and to Christian and Jewish relations—because it contradicts how both faiths have understood themselves, and each other, for nearly two thousand years. In *The Reluctant Parting: How the New Testament's Jewish Writers Created a Christian Book* (2005), Julie Galambush, Associate Professor of Religious Studies at the College of William and Mary—and a Jewish convert who was formerly a Baptist minister—explores what it means to call the New Testament Jewish literature. The result is a surprising—and surprisingly painful—story of the Jesus movement, as a variety of Second Temple Judaism, which sought to renew its Jewish identity and created a new religion instead.

When it is read as Jewish literature, the New Testament becomes the story of a reluctant parting before Christians ceased, sometimes angrily, sometimes sadly, to be a part of the Jewish people. For Christians, learning about the Jewishness of the New Testament is important, for if they fail to appreciate the context in which the New Testament was written, and the goals of its authors, they fail to appreciate what those authors tried to say. For Jews, learning about the New Testament can help explain not only what modern Christians believe but also the ways in which Christianity and Judaism are simultaneously joined and separated at the root.

In addition to giving Christians and Jews insights into overlooked aspects of the New Testament's original message, a Jewish reading can provide an awareness of its apparently anti-Jewish aspects. In arguing for their belief in Jesus as messiah, the New Testament authors frequently engaged in polemic against those who disagreed with them, and, because the Jesus movement was a variety of Second Temple Judaism,

this polemic was directed not only against other Jews but against other Jewish members of the Jesus movement itself. Over the centuries, the original context of this polemic has been lost, which explains why Christians have wrongly interpreted the polemic. Here is Galambush's understanding of how the polemic appears in the four gospels.

Mark's gospel, the first, was written shortly before or after the destruction of the Second Temple. He weaves together a range of messianic prophecies, as his community included some of Jesus' contemporaries who expected an imminent apocalypse. The evidence suggests his community was Jewish: first, it was capable of following his nuanced references to the Hebrew Bible; second, Mark has Jesus saying his followers will be handed over to councils and beaten in synagogues—something that would not happen to non-Jews—in an apparent reference to his community; third, Mark's distinctive portrayal of Jesus' disciples and his community as failures seems to require a Jewish audience; fourth, Mark was writing about his community's stake in the Jewish struggle with the Romans. Like the Rabbis, who spent the following centuries reclaiming and reshaping Jewish symbols in the wake of the Temple's destruction, Mark also salvages the Jewish symbolic world. Unlike the Rabbis, though, Mark is not creating a vision for the long run, as the time is near and the days are short.

Matthew's gospel was written after the destruction of the Second Temple but before a definitive parting of the ways between his community and the local synagogues. The author was Jewish, his gospel is the most Jewish, and his community was predominantly Jewish. Its members were concerned with how they were perceived in the local synagogues they continued to attend. The gospel sounds anti-Jewish not because it sees Jews as "other" but because it represents a volley in the ongoing argument over whether Matthew's community had forfeited its Jewish identity. The antagonism between Jesus and the Pharisees is anachronistic: a retrojection of the conflict between Matthew's community and the local Pharisees. What was the conflict about? Matthew portrays his community in competition with the local Pharisees to offer the most authentic version of Jewish life and belief. His threats and fulminations—culminating in an announcement that the Kingdom of God

will be taken away from the Jewish nation—acknowledge that his community's future is among the gentiles.

Luke's gospel was written after the destruction of the Second Temple during a period in which gentiles were becoming prominent in his community. During the same period, the Pharisees—who would eventually be known as the Rabbis—were beginning to stake their claim as the rescuers of Judaism; thus, as in Matthew's community, tension between Luke's community and the local Pharisees is evident. Luke addresses his gospel to Theophilus, which literally means God-lover or God-fearer: a gentile adherent to Judaism who had not undergone full conversion. As a Jewish leader, his goal is to provide security for God-fearers who were unsure whether gentiles should be allowed to join a sect they understood to be—and which understood itself to be—the true Israel. Luke's purpose is to prove his community is authentically Jewish and to convince God-fearers they may become members of this authentically Jewish community. To establish the community as a legitimate continuation of Israel, Luke organises his narrative as if it comprised two of three volumes in a three-volume history: the Hebrew Bible, the life of Jesus (in Luke), and the story of Israel in the messianic age (in Acts). This three-part scheme allows Luke to construct a seamless story running from Abraham and Moses, through Jesus and his disciples, all the way to Paul.

John's gospel is fundamentally different from Mark, Matthew, and Luke, because of its origins in a community in Asia Minor. Important in shaping Christian self-consciousness, it is also the most painful gospel for Jewish readers. Where Matthew's Jesus excoriates the Pharisees, John's Jesus calls the Jews children of the devil. Why is this so? The Johannine community is bitter about being rejected by a local Jewish group; beyond this, little is known and attempts to read the gospel as evidence of the definitive break between the Jesus movement and Judaism are over-reading. That John's gospel continues to generate controversy is anything but coincidental. Consummately sectarian literature, it was written to be obscure, arcane, and occasionally offensive. Composed for insiders, it was equally written against outsiders, and long centuries of Christian theology have domesticated its original shock value.

Who are "the Jews" in John's gospel? Some suggest the term refers to Jewish officials of various kinds, thus creating the division seen in Luke's gospel between bad rulers and innocent people, but this definition cannot be applied consistently. In some instances he means Judeans, which could refer to people who live in Judea, or to the Jewish nation; in other instances he simply means neighbours; in most instances, he is referring to those who do not accept Jesus and cannot see the light. The greatest irony here, though, is the likelihood that the Jews which John condemns were once members of his own community in Asia Minor: Jews who followed Jesus but were not willing to affirm the Johannine view of him. In this Johannine world of absolute light and dark, there is no middle ground.

Galambush reminds us that, in the New Testament's journey from Jewish literature to Christian scripture, its authors' portrayal of Jews has been distorted. Therefore we need to distinguish between the ways in which the gospel writers saw and depicted Jews and the ways in which modern readers perceive the Jews portrayed in the texts. This is difficult because the texts are two thousand years old and from a culture whose norms, customs, and idioms are only partially understood today. Whereas the gospels' authors originally wrote words of guidance for beleaguered communities, today those writings are scripture, and, because they have become scripture, what they say about Jews matters more today—and matters differently—than it did in the first century.

When read as Jewish literature, the New Testament becomes unfamiliar territory to modern Christians as well as modern Jews. One of its most remarkable characteristics is the passion with which its authors fought to affirm the legitimacy of their Jewish identity. This defence of their Jewishness came at a cost, however, as much of the New Testament's polemic takes the form of attacks against other Jews who are portrayed at best as misguided and at worst as demonic. These texts retain, however, not only traces of a primordial conflict but a primordial love. Difficult as it is to affirm today, the New Testament authors wrote out of a deeply grounded love of the heritage entrusted to them, Judaism, the tree of life. The task of taking the New Testament authors seriously as Jews is demanding, and often threatening, for Christians and

Jews alike. A new Jewish understanding of the New Testament will not—and should not—undo the parting of Christians and Jews, but it is fundamental that we should at least pause to appreciate how reluctant that parting was, and one day transform it into a parting of friends.

Us and Them

We now know the "reluctant parting" had not become a "final separation" with the writing of the New Testament or by the end of the first century. It is now widely recognised that Christianity and Judaism evolved their antithetical identities—as church and as synagogue—with an eye towards each other, throughout late antiquity, during which concepts such as "orthodoxy" and "heresy" emerge; concepts that do not apply to the first century, at least not in the way these terms are traditionally understood. The challenge, therefore, is coming to terms with a complex reality: As there was no such thing as "normative" Judaism in the first century, the traditional "family tree model"—which regards Judaism as the "normative" mother and Christianity as the "reforming" child—is no longer tenable. While many academics want to abandon the family tree model altogether, those who still use it prefer to describe Judaism and Christianity as siblings.

Apart from canonical and deuterocanonical scripture, and the pseudepigrapha, academics research the identity formation of these two siblings through a range of sources, chief of which are the commentaries of the Church Fathers, the study of which is called Patristics, and the commentaries of the Jewish Rabbis, the study of which is called Talmudics. Two influential Talmudic scholars who are exploring this fascinating territory are Daniel Boyarin in *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (2004) and Peter Schäfer in *The Jewish Jesus: How Judaism and Christianity Shaped Each Other* (2012). Although their methodologies are different, Boyarin and Schäfer ask similar questions, about the ways in which Christianity and Judaism came to define themselves and each other in late antiquity, as they gradually codified their respective scriptural canons and commentaries, their respective senses

of orthodoxy and heresy, and—as Boyarin intriguingly argues—even their respective senses of apostolic succession.

In *Border Lines*, Boyarin warms to this theme, introduced in *Sparks of the Logos* (2004), and developed in *The Jewish Gospels*. He traces the beginning of Christianity's sense of its orthodoxy, and its sense of Judaism's heresy, to Justin Martyr (c.100–165 AD), a Pagan convert to Christianity who apparently knew more about Greek philosophy than he knew about Second Temple Judaism. In his apologia, *Dialogue with Trypho*, Martyr sets up a circular argument with an imaginary Jew, Trypho, over the question of Logos theology, which accomplishes two things. First, it asserts that Christians are those who believe in the Logos; therefore, Jews cannot believe in the Logos. Second, it asserts that those who believe in the Logos are Christians; therefore, those who do not are heretics. What Boyarin sees here is an early attempt to define "us" and "them" which introduces the kind of anachronism and presentism that has plagued, and continues to plague, Christian and Jewish history.

Through this original anachronism and presentism, the Jewish pluralism of the first century is lost to a second century Christian apologist who attempts to appropriate Logos theology for Christianity and exclude it from Judaism. In demonstrating why the anachronism and presentism no longer carry weight, Boyarin shows how the Prologue of John's gospel—"In the beginning was the Logos"—functions as a Jewish Midrash, along with other examples of Logos theology in pre-Rabbinic literature. In fact, although Boyarin does not say so himself, it should be noted that a former Pope agrees with him. In Benedict XVI's widely misunderstood Regensburg Lecture of September 2006, he reminds us that Christianity is the religion of the Logos—which means both "word" and "reason"—however, even before Christ, biblical faith had achieved a rapprochement between Jewish revelation and Greek reason; whereupon the heart of revelation and the heart of reason were joined in faith; thereafter Logos—as both "word" and "reason"—became part of God's nature.

Boyarin is not suggesting the Rabbis of late antiquity were champions of first century pluralism or advocates of Logos theology (which they would have called Memra theology). In fact, he argues they too were defining their own "us" and "them"

by distinguishing between those who held Jewish versions of a binitarian Memra theology and those who did not, thereafter declaring those who believed in Memra theology—such as Rabbi Aviva—to be members of an imagined heretical group: "Two Powers in Heaven." Boyarin invents the term "Crucifying the Memra" to signify how binitarian Memra theology was "given up" to the Christians who would turn it into trinitarian Logos theology. What we have here are two heresiological projects which form a kind of mirror, in which antithetical identities are constructed along theological grounds, through which Logos theology becomes thoroughly identified with Christology and the Trinity, and the rejection of binitarian Memra theology becomes thoroughly identified with Rabbinic Judaism.

According to Boyarin's thesis, Rabbinic Judaism should no longer be understood as a single organic entity which gradually evolved out of biblical religion. Instead, he sees a series of near ruptures during which earlier Palestinian sources are significantly recontextualised by later Babylonian Rabbis. The Babylonian Talmud is particularly important here, as the scholars who produced it were significantly different from those who produced the earlier Palestinian sources: for example, they were members of formally organised academies; they faced new issues and tensions; they competed for rank and status; they placed a high value on skill in debate and the ability to construct hypothetical arguments. These characteristics, which evolved in Babylon, established much of the difference between Patristic Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. As a result, the Christianity and Judaism which finally emerged from late antiquity were not two species of the same genus. The essential difference between them consisted of opposing visions of what Judaism is.

Schäfer believes Boyarin overshoots the mark, with respect to his conclusions, and does not take sufficient account of the chronological and geographical distinction between these Palestinian and Babylonian sources. He argues this distinction is necessary because: "These two Jewish communities lived under very different political and social circumstances: the former under Roman rule with the growing influence of a Christian religion that would increasingly dominate and even suffocate Jewish life in Palestine, and the latter under Persian (that is, Sassanian) rule with the Christian community increasingly seen as the fifth column of the Byzantine Empire and

subjected to a series of persecutions by the Sassanian authorities. These remarkably dissimilar conditions under which the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews lived had a direct bearing on their attitude towards their Christian sister religion. Whereas the later Babylonian Jews were confronted with a more or less defined Christian religion, their Palestinian brethren witnessed Christianity *in statu nascendi*, that is, during its birthing process, which was not marked by a well-defined point in time but took place over an extended period until finally developing into a mature religion on its own." Schäfer argues this is why "the Palestinian sources are much less direct than their Babylonian counterparts—more restrained—and more often than not even ambiguous."

To preserve these necessary distinctions and ambiguities, Schäfer treats the earlier Tannaitic sources from the first and second centuries quite differently from later Amoraic sources from the third to the sixth centuries. Also, he starts with an assumption, that the Rabbinic boundaries between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" have been fluid for a long time; therefore, what academics are faced with, and are searching for, is an "unknown quantity" which is in constant flux and not always the same. Depending on the context, sometimes the "unknown quantity" is Christianity; sometimes it is Judaism itself. Sometimes the Rabbis saw their opponents as Roman and pagan polytheists, sometimes their opponents were Christians, and sometimes their opponents were other Jewish views. So, as far as Judaism is concerned, the categories of "inside" and "outside" become ever more blurred.

Schäfer has chapters devoted to the various problems the Rabbis of late antiquity faced when they were forced to comment on the challenging and controversial issues their opponents raised—whether those opponents were pagans, Christians, or other Jews—including the Different Names of God, the Young and the Old God, God and David, God and the Archangel Metratron, whether God has a Father or a Son or a Brother, God and Adam, the Birth of the Messiah, and the Suffering Messiah. Like Boyarin, his main thesis is that, throughout late antiquity, Christianity and Judaism remained sister religions which engaged in a profound interaction.

In spite of Schäfer's attempt to put a methodological distance between Boyarin and himself, they have a lot in common. Clearly, the specifics of the interaction between Patristic Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism in late antiquity need to be better understood than they are. While it remains true that each religion followed different trajectories within the Roman empire—one eventually becoming hegemonic, the other eventually becoming marginal—it is intriguing that, in spite of their methodological differences, eminent Talmudic scholars are proposing, in some cases, that Patristic Christianity retained aspects of first century Judaism, hitherto regarded as non-Jewish, and, in some cases, that Rabbinic Judaism reappropriated aspects of first century Judaism from Patristic Christianity. This is challenging territory for Christian and Jewish relations, which will no doubt stimulate further investigation of what the first century was actually like.

Fundamentalism and Supersessionism

By now it should be obvious that Christians and Jews have entered a new stage in their relations, which revolves around the mutual recognition that their antithetical identities developed gradually during late antiquity, under the Fathers and the Rabbis, who kept a watchful eye on each other as they codified orthodoxy and heresy, while also adapting to the imperial politics of different Roman, Christian, and Islamic Empires. If we accept that those antithetical identities were not fully-fashioned in the first century, it seems likely that some aspects of those identities do come from the first century. This is why we must learn more about varieties of Second Temple Judaism—and how they informed the Patristic Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism of later centuries—and as we do this we must try to avoid anachronism and presentism. In this two-way process, a great deal depends on how Christians and Jews interpret canonical scripture.

The word "canon" means "measuring stick" and the concept of canonical scripture is important, for Christians and Jews, as it forces us to distinguish between those texts that were canonised, and why they were, and those texts that were not canonised, and why they were not. Generally speaking, the Christian canon was fixed at some

point in late antiquity—perhaps by the middle of the third century—according to a range of agreed criteria included the recognition of a text's apostolic origin, the acknowledgement of a text's universal acceptance within early Christian communities, whether those communities used the text publicly during their weekly liturgies, and whether the text contained a consistent theological message which complemented other accepted texts. Within Judaism, the Law (*Torah*) and the Prophets (*Neviim*) were canonised before the first century and the Writings (*Kevutim*) may have been canonised at some point during the first or second century.

What do biblical canons measure? If they were written by a wide range of authors, and were redacted by a wide range of editors, over long periods of time, in different settings and contexts, then in what sense are they true? If canonical processes were collegiate, how did divine inspiration operated in those processes? Put another way: Is the fact that the texts of scripture were written by a wide range of authors, and redacted by a wide range of editors, not as important as understanding why the Jews codified a canon and why the Christians accepted the canonicity of the Jewish canon and codified its own complementary New Testament canon? Is the real point that not all ancient texts are of equal value—some are better "measuring sticks" than others—and Jews and Christians have made collective decisions about which texts are normative to Judeo-Christianity and which texts are not? Is that how divine inspiration operates?

How do we interpret canons? Biblical hermeneutics—the principles of interpreting canonical texts—is complex and varied. In the first century, during what we call the apostolic period, hermeneutics focused on prophecy fulfilment, which we see in the gospels and in Paul's letters, which made extensive use of the Septuagint—the Greek Old Testament written in Alexandria around the second or third century BC—to demonstrate that Jesus is the messiah. From the second to the early third century, during what we call the sub-apostolic period, prophecy fulfilment was still used to defend Christianity against the empire's dominant paganism, against emerging schismatic or heretical groups, and against a nascent Rabbinic Judaism. It is widely agreed that during this sub-apostolic period the idea of supersessionism

emerges: The view that the church is the new Israel which replaces the old Israel. It is anachronistic, however, to attribute supersessionism to the first century.

Following the sub-apostolic period, biblical hermeneutics experienced a period of diversity, splitting into two broad schools: the Antiochene school stressed literal readings; the Alexandrian school stressed allegorical readings. In the medieval period, biblical hermeneutics develop a fourfold model which distinguished between the letter and the spirit of a text: literal interpretation to denote that the text directly states or reports, allegorical interpretation to denote what the text means in light of church doctrine, moral interpretation which applies the text to an individual hearer's or reader's circumstances, and an anagogical interpretation to explain the text's implicit eschatological knowledge and metaphysical allusions. A similar fourfold model is found in rabbinic writings—direct interpretation (*peshat*), allegorical interpretation (*remez*), comparative interpretation (*derash*), and mystical interpretation (*sod*)—however, it is uncertain whether these rabbinic categories predate the medieval categories, or how much they owe to the emergence of the Kabbalah and the writings of Maimonides.

Biblical hermeneutics entered a new phase with Renaissance humanism, which analysed biblical texts in different ways, including the use of intrinsic evidence from within the texts themselves. The Protestant Reformation abandoned medieval hermeneutics in favour of interpreting the Bible as a book containing all knowledge necessary for salvation and holiness (*sola scriptura*). Martin Luther and John Calvin both emphasised the ways in which the Bible interprets itself (*scriptura sui ipsius interpres*) and Calvin believed the message of the biblical author should be communicated in the most concise, clear, and accurate manner possible (*brevitas et facilitas*). While biblical hermeneutics adapted to the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on reason, it is not true that the Enlightenment undermined biblical revelation. The real undermining of biblical revelation came in the late nineteenth century, with the challenges of modernity, advances in science, the theory of evolution, the rise of secularism, and the spread of communism.

During this period, biblical hermeneutics can be divided into two broad categories. Textual criticism—also known as "lower criticism"—was concerned with identifying and removing transcription errors which may have been introduced by ancient scribes when copying manuscripts by hand. The objective of textual criticism was to produce a "critical edition" of the text closely approximating the original. Historical criticism—also known as "higher criticism"—was concerned with establishing the authorship, date, and place of composition of the original text. The objective of historical criticism was to use a range of methods—source criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism—to understand the world behind the text or implied within the text. While the two methods are valuable, textual criticism tended to be conservative and favoured by those who accepted biblical revelation, while historical criticism tended to be liberal and perhaps inevitably played into the hands of those who questioned biblical revelation.

As a result, in the early twentieth century, biblical hermeneutics was unwittingly drawn into the anti-metaphysical ideologies of modernity, secularism, scientism, and positivism. The Protestant response was to adopt a pro-metaphysical stance which distilled the "fundamentals" of Christian belief, including: a belief that the Bible is divinely inspired and therefore true, a belief in Jesus' virgin birth, a belief that Jesus' death was an atonement for sin, a belief in Jesus' bodily resurrection, and a belief in Jesus' miracles as a historical reality. While Protestants who believe in these "fundamentals" are referred to as "fundamentalists" the term now tends to be applied pejoratively to anyone who takes their biblical faith seriously. In reality, however, Protestant "fundamentalism" was always less about believing the world was created in seven days and always more more about questions of God, his nature, his power, how he reveals himself to his people, and how he acts in the world.

In Israel, fundamentalism tends to be associated with: ultra-Orthodoxy within the Ashkenazim (Eastern European Jews) who enforce strict conformity to their interpretation of religious law, ultra-Orthodoxy within the Sephardim (Middle Eastern Jews) who also enforce strict conformity to their interpretation of religious law but who are, by and large, less educated and prosperous than the Ashkenazim and perceive themselves as second-class citizens within Israeli society, and, militant

religious Zionism—including the former Gush Emunim movement—who advocate the creation of a society based on strict conformity to their interpretation of religious law, and whose political activities are directed toward retaining and settling the land won in Six-Day War of 1967. Militant religious Zionists share with other religious and secular Zionists a nationalist sentiment and the conviction that antisemitism can only be opposed by force by the creation of a "new Jew" who will never submit to oppression.

Although fundamentalists are a minority, the majority tends to identify the minority as problematic, and link it with other groups which may be problematic for other reasons. For example, many Christian Zionists believe Jewish Zionists are fulfilling biblical prophecy and the creation of modern Israel is a prerequisite for the Second Coming of Christ. This focuses our attention on messianic beliefs, since most Jewish Zionists are secular, as is most of the State of Israel. As far as Christian and Jewish relations are concerned, we need to learn more about the range of messianic beliefs in the first century and whether those beliefs were focused on a person, on an age, on an event, or on a process. Ultimately, because Christianity is christocentric, and always has been, and always will be, the challenge Christians who are committed to Jewish relations face is how to be christocentric without also being supersessionist or even appearing to be supersessionist. While this is not impossible, it does involve Christians thinking outside their inherited frame and more like their forebears in the first century.

Israel and Democracy

In *The God that did not fail* (2010), Robert Royal argues that, since the Enlightenment, most contemporary accounts of Western civilisation give the ancient Greeks a central role as originators of everything distinctive about the West: representational democracy, philosophical speculation, economic efficiency, and physical science. This is misleading, he believes, since the West did not begin in Greece even if some aspects of it may have. It is therefore wrong, he says, to admire the Greeks as an earlier version of what we admire about ourselves. Ancient Greece was different from a

modern West that thinks of itself as rational, and, over the last two centuries, Greek reason has been overemphasised while Greek religion has been underemphasised. At the same time, there has been a tendency to pit Greek reason against Jewish revelation, but this dichotomy is false, as is the contemporary scholarship that sees Greece as a Western prototype.

In fact, the dichotomy of what we see as belonging to Greek reason and what we see as belonging to Jewish revelation is currently being re-framed in an exciting way by Christian and Jewish academics who study the Second Temple Judaism of the Hellenistic Period. This trend is important to Christian and Jewish relations, given the widespread and sustained undermining of the Judeo-Christian worldview conducted by modernity, secularism, scientism, and positivism since the Enlightenment. While the trend is important for Western religion specifically, it is also important for Western self-understanding generally; because the visual metaphors of the Enlightenment tend to be Greek instead of Jewish; because those pristine, white marble columns and pediments erase all memory of the bloody, violent, inequitable, and undemocratic aspects of ancient Greece; hence why the West needs to reclaim a sense of its Judeo-Christian origins. Against the fragmented hypotheses of "higher criticism", which have unwittingly supported a range of anti-metaphysical ideologies, Joshua Berman argues, in *Created Equal: How the Bible Broke with Ancient Political Thought* (2008), that the Hebrew Bible is a unified document of social and political theory; the world's earliest constitutional blueprint for an egalitarian order.

Bergman traces the ways in which biblical texts—primarily the Pentateuch in its canonical form—describe a new polity which stands in stark contrast with the primary polity throughout the ancient Near East: the divide between a dominant tribute-imposing class and a dominant tribute-bearing class. While the Pentateuch does speak of multiple classes within Israelite polity—making it a social order that cannot be termed egalitarian in our contemporary sense of the word—the laws of servitude were flexible, the distinctions between bondsmen and freedmen were fluid, and among the free members of Israelite polity, who were neither priests nor Levites, the Pentateuch eschews the divide between an exploiting class of tribute imposers,

which controls political and economic power, and an exploited class of tribute bearers. Instead, the Pentateuch articulates a new order, the first to be founded on egalitarian ideals, whose core is a single, uniformly empowered, homogenous class.

Elsewhere in the ancient Near East, the heavenly-terrestrial paradigm was metaphysically legitimised by a parallel suzerain-vassal paradigm, which Israel rejected during its major and unprecedented shift towards a theology of covenant. This theology is particularly evident in Deuteronomy, which offers an egalitarian prescription for the shape of Israelite society and its leadership. The prescription is egalitarian: first, in the way it diminishes the power of the monarchy in relation to the military, the cult, the judiciary, the economy, and the harem; second, in the way it stipulates land tenure, taxation, lending, ownership rights, debt easement, and relief of poverty. While it is true that the various legal corpora with the Pentateuch around these issues reveal an inner tension and discord, nevertheless, the feudal system of the ancient Near East is recast according to a communal agenda with the aim of ensuring that the citizenry remains landed and economically secure.

This line of thinking is developed in *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (2010), where Eric Nelson argues against the entrenched view that—while political thought in Medieval and Renaissance Europe was informed by applied theology—political thought in "modern" Europe was informed by a process of secularisation and the separation of church and state. He proposes instead that political thought in "modern" Europe, which influenced political thought in Britain and its North American colonies, owes more to the way the Reformation developed in the seventeenth century—the so-called "Biblical Century" of "New Israelites"—which focused on the Hebrew Bible and appealed to God's constitutional preferences embodied in scripture. The drivers of this major turning point were the Christian revival of the Hebrew language, the Christian acceptance of the Hebrew Bible as a political constitution, and the Christian discovery of the radical tradition of Talmudic (Rabbinic) exegesis.

Where Renaissance and Reformation republicans had inherited an antipathy towards wealth redistribution—grounded in their sense that the ancient Roman agrarian

laws had been unjust, seditious, and ultimately responsible for the collapse of the Roman republic—there was a major shift during the seventeenth century, which revolved around a reassessment of wealth redistribution, which placed agrarian laws at the centre of politics. The Rabbinic commentators were discovered to have found a distinctive theory of property in the Hebrew Bible: for example, Rabbi Rashi argued that the Pentateuch establishes propositions about the nature of property to vindicate the Israelite claim to the land of Canaan. The principle here is that, as God brought the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, the Israelites are to be God's servants and no one else's servants. As one needs one's own patrimony in order to not be a servant, an Israelite must have land.

Nelson also argues against the entrenched view that the rise of toleration depended on the advancement of secularisation; that only when religion lost its grip on the European imagination could theorists begin to contemplate protecting nonconformist belief and practice; that toleration depended on, and emerged from, a belief that church and state should remain separate. These assertions are largely mistaken, he believes, as the pursuit of toleration was nurtured by religious convictions not by their absence. Toleration emerged from the Erastian effort to unify church and state not from the desire to keep them separate. Once again, the Hebrew revival played a crucial role here, in forging a nexus between pious Erastianism and toleration. Toleration grew from an understanding of what Josephus meant by the term theocracy—mediated through a series of Rabbinic sources—which convinced a wide-range of seventeenth century authors that, in ancient Israel, God's own thoroughly Erastian republic had embraced toleration.

This, of course, brings the modern state of Israel into the frame of Christian and Jewish relations, along with a range of difficult but necessary questions about its past, present, and future. As Christians and Jews seek to frame their collective and individual responses to these questions, Robert Eisen's *The Peace and Violence of Judaism: From the Bible to Modern Zionism* (2011) ought to be compulsory reading. Eisen has chapters on the Hebrew Bible, Rabbinic Judaism, Medieval Jewish Philosophy, the Kabbalah, and Modern Zionism. Each chapter is divided into two sections: first, whether the subject of that chapter promotes violence; second,

whether the subject of that chapter promotes peace. In each case, arguments can be made for and against, which reflects a fundamental ambiguity about Jewish peoplehood. From the beginning, it would seem, Jews were conflicted about their place in the world and how they should behave towards other nations.

The ambiguities Eisen discusses do not belong to Judaism alone, however, as he concludes: "All of the world's major religions are plagued with ambiguities regarding peace and violence, and this is especially the case with the other two Abrahamic faiths that drew their inspiration from Judaism. Christianity and Islam have both inherited the question of what role Abraham's heirs should play in relation to the nations of the world because he is, after all, their forefather as well. These religions have also struggled throughout their respective histories to define the meaning of chosenness, and their definitions of this concept betray as much variety as we find in Judaism." If the violence that the Abrahamic religions have brought to the world in recent years is the greatest threat to the well-being of humanity—in our day and age—the most effective antidote may lie in the peaceful dimension of these three religions.

Epilogue

In October 1965, Paul VI promulgated *Nostra Aetate*—the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions—one of the most influential documents of Vatican II. In the course of its composition, the Declaration was expanded to include all religions; however, its original subject remained at the heart of the final document: the unique relationship between Christians and Jews. By officially repudiating the presentation of the Jews "as rejected or accursed by God", and by insisting that "God holds the Jews most dear", *Nostra Aetate* officially and permanently reversed previously unchallenged presuppositions, which influenced Christian attitudes for centuries, and paved the way for an increasingly positive relationship between Christians and Jews.

Relationships do not change by fiat, however. After such a long history of estrangement—and in view of the remaining fundamental differences between

Christianity and Judaism—it is inevitable that misunderstandings and controversies continue to arise. For that reason, when evaluating the progress of *Nostra Aetate*, the Vatican thought it best to discuss inter-faith issues at the academic level rather than at the diplomatic level. In 2006, about two dozen academics—primarily Catholic but including a few Lutheran and Jewish academics—met to consider challenging and still unresolved questions emerging from the Document. The evaluation was called "Christ and the Jewish People". It was essentially a Christian evaluation; however, the Jewish academics were there as auditors to ensure the accuracy of references to Jewish teachings and concepts, and to offer insights from within their own tradition.

The result of the evaluation is an important book of essays, *Christ Jesus and the Jewish People Today* (2011). It ought to be read by anyone interested in the current state of Christian and Jewish relations, because Christian academics are saying surprising things, and Jewish academics are saying surprising things too.

Regarding the death of Jesus, the Christian evaluators argue that *Nostra Aetate* does not go far enough in atoning for the church's historical role in Western antisemitism. Against this prophetic self-critique, Jewish auditor Rabbi Marc Saperstein defends the church, perhaps ironically, by pointing out that the catechism of the Council of Trent (1566) teaches that Christian sinners are more to blame for the crucifixion than those few Jews who brought it about, and this catechism is consistent with the spirit of *Nostra Aetate*. Saperstein explains how, until relatively recently, Jews never denied responsibility for Jesus' death. Throughout history, established Jewish leaders who accepted the doctrine of a coming messiah in principle almost invariably resisted anyone who claimed to implement it in practice, hence it is hardly surprising that some Jewish leaders wanted Jesus out of the way. The real problem for Jews, he argues, is the retrospective overlay of christological doctrine upon the crucifixion, a doctrine the Jewish leaders of Jesus' day could not have possibly known about. He believes it is more important to note *Nostra Aetate*'s statement, "The Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this follows from the Holy Scriptures", because *that* is what the church once taught.

Regarding the parting of the ways, the Christian evaluators argue that, as there was no fixed point where Christians and Jews parted company—and for centuries there were Jewish Christians who retained Jewish teachings—this raises several issues around how modern historiography influences Christian doctrine. For Christian fundamentalists, the choice is clear: if modern historiography contradicts Christian teaching it must be refuted, condemned, rejected, or ignored. For Christians committed to modern historiography, there is a preponderance of evidence to argue the historical Jesus had no intention of establishing a separate Christian church and throughout his life he remained within the spectrum of contemporary Jewish diversity. Does this mean the Petrine authority conferred by Matthew 16:18 was attributed to Jesus after his death to validate Catholicism? If so, how is that significant for the claims of papal authority throughout history and today? Saperstein does not believe this is an issue, however, as the challenge of modern historiography is not only a Christian challenge, since it also questions the accuracy of the Egyptian enslavement and the Exodus, which does not invalidate the Passover celebrated annually by Jews throughout the world. As Christians and Jews both share the challenge of modern historiography, this should be a fruitful avenue for inter-faith discussion.

Regarding the church's role in the history of antisemitism and anti-Judaism, the Christian evaluators lament the ways in which the accusation of deicide was not confined to academic realms and had terrible practical consequences throughout history. Saperstein does not disagree with this assessment, as he has taught it for decades; however, he believes a full understanding requires a balanced perspective not just recognizing the negatives. For more than a thousand years Christians had the power to eliminate Jews but chose to coexist with them instead. Why? Because official church teaching, formulated by Augustine and reiterated by the popes throughout the Middle Ages, was that God wanted Jews to remain within the Christian world, continuing to observe their own tradition, and it was a violation of God's will to harm or kill Jews. Of course, the rationale for this toleration does not pass muster by modern standards, but Saperstein guesses that, historically, Jews cared far less about the doctrine's rationale and far more about its practical conclusion. For example, the papal bull issued by Clement VI, as anti-Jewish riots swept through Europe in the wake of the Black Death, said: "Let no Christian dare to wound or kill the Jews."

Regarding the connection between Christianity and the Holocaust, some Christian evaluators argue that the church continued to engage in the worst offences of the past during the Nazi period and was directly implicated in the Holocaust; however, Saperstein believes no fair-minded reader will find this view persuasive. Other Christian evaluators see Nazism as a neo-pagan attack on monotheistic religion in general, including Christianity, and emphasise the novelty of Nazi antisemitism and the Holocaust as radical breaks with the past. Saperstein admits this is how the Nazi onslaught was generally understood, or at least presented, by Jewish leaders in the 1930s and 1940s. Between these extremes are intermediate Christian positions which recognise the novelty of Nazi antisemitism yet insist on some degree of continuity with the church's anti-Jewish past. Saperstein believes these intermediate positions lack nuance and their persuasive power relies on metaphors rather than data. We need to be persuaded by evidence and Saperstein is not persuaded such evidence exists. Instead, he believes we should re-examine and reclaim a position that places more emphasis on the restraints imposed by the church throughout the Middle Ages: restraints the Nazis (and the Communists) felt no longer applied to them.

Regarding the phenomenon of Christianity interpreting its scripture in anti-Jewish ways, the Christian evaluators argue that antagonism toward Jews is neither integral to nor a necessary development from the New Testament. While Jewish auditor Tamara Cohn Eskenazi is grateful for these reflections, questions must be asked. First, if Christian animosity towards Jews did not come from the New Testament, where *did* it come from? Second, how can we correct the tendency to use the New Testament as a weapon against Jews? The answer to the first question is beyond the scope of Eskenazi's response. The answer to the second question depends on the role of hermeneutics within and between the critical traditions of Judaism and Christianity. What is distinctive about current hermeneutical thinking, she argues, is the acknowledgment that texts are susceptible to multiple legitimate interpretations. Consequently, she believes we should become more self-conscious of the process of interpretation, more honest about the lenses we use, and more responsible for our choices of interpretive tools, the ways we use them, and the readings we end up with. If Jews and Christians are both on a pilgrimage, the unfolding of textual

meaning in light of changing circumstances can be acknowledged with integrity, without annulling or denigrating earlier understandings.

Regarding the significance of Jesus' Jewishness, the Christian evaluators admit this awareness still tends to be mere background for Christian identity formation. As a way of encouraging Christians to deepen their awareness of what Jesus' Jewishness means, they reflect on the significance of the Jewish Jesus through the prisms of covenantal membership, incarnational theology, and the varied and complex doctrinal discussions of the early church councils. Jewish auditor Edward Kessler finds this approach profound, as it explores Jesus' Jewishness in a broad religious sense rather than a narrow ethnic sense; however, their approach focuses on late antiquity and what is missing is a comparable examination of the varieties of first century Judaism among Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek-speaking Jews. Also, in the gospel accounts of Jesus' ministry, the Pharisees are prominent as his main rivals, yet Kessler notes they had more in common with him than other contemporary Jewish groups; they shared many beliefs in the coming of the messiah, life after death, the resurrection of the dead, immortality, and day of judgment. Likewise, we need to recognise what binds all Jews: A belief in the one and only God who accepts no rivals and makes behavioural demands, and, a belief that God elected and chose his own people in the call of Abraham, the Exodus from Egypt, and the giving of the Torah.

Regarding covenantal membership, the Christian evaluators argue that both Jews and Christians can justly claim to be chosen by God. Kessler notes this is not a new idea. Paul says the same thing in Romans. It is impossible for God to elect the Jewish people and later displace them. As the church's election derives from Israel, Jesus' Jewishness implies, theologically, that God's covenant with Israel remains irrevocable and unbroken. Yet Kessler notes a theological problem here. On the one hand, *Nostra Aetate* says "the church is the new people of God" while on the other hand "the Jews remain most dear to God because of their fathers, for he does not repent of the gifts he makes nor of the calls he issues". In a mysterious way, then, the Jewish people are still elect, even though the church understands itself as the new Israel, and the church discovers this bond of identity between Jews and Christians when it searches into the meaning of its own existence. Because of Christ, it has a

relationship with Judaism unlike any other religion. Finally, while so many ancient peoples have disappeared without trace, the permanence of Israel is a sign to be interpreted within God's design.

Regarding incarnational theology, the Christian evaluators argue that the incarnation of Jesus cannot be separated from his Jewishness without losing its meaning. God's son is not a generic human being, he is specifically Jewish. When compared with covenantal christology, however, Kessler wonders whether this incarnational christology exceeds the limits of Judaism, even though it develops central Jewish themes and cannot be left out of the inter-faith conversation. For Jews, one way to approach incarnational christology is to view it alongside the Jewish insistence on God being with his people, and the term *Shekinah* is the closest Jewish analogue to the Incarnation; indeed, the cloud and fire leading the people in the Exodus may be analogous with the tabernacling of the Word in John's Prologue.

Also, the Christian evaluators speak of Jesus as Torah, which has interesting Jewish analogies, since tradition holds the Torah was in existence before the creation of the world (Ben Sira 1:1–5), or even before the throne of glory (Genesis Rabbah 1:4). Similarly, Torah is equated with Wisdom (Proverbs 8.22), and Philo wrote of the pre-existence of the Logos, and its role in creation, which he identified with Torah. Of course, Rabbinic Judaism also personified Torah; however, the divine origin of Torah is never viewed as the self-manifestation of God, as Jesus is viewed within Christianity. Kessler believes the Rabbinic understanding of Torah, like the concept of Shekinah, may help Jews better understand incarnational christology and the theological significance of Jesus' Jewishness. Although incarnational christology is more difficult for Jews to grasp than covenantal christology, they cannot dismiss it out of hand without imposing external constraints on God's freedom: a notion fundamentally foreign to Judaism.

From a Jewish perspective, then, the key question is whether covenantal christology or incarnational christology imply the abrogation of God's promises to Israel. For the Christian evaluators, such an abrogation—leading to supersessionism—is no longer an option for Christian theology, a view supported by the modern papacy.

This is why they ask their Jewish partners to continue challenging theological doctrines, in their goal to establish a partnership (*chevruta*) in which we seek not only to build respect but also to further understanding. Kessler thanks them for that invitation. Separately and together, Jews and Christians must work to bring healing to our world. In this enterprise, both Jews and Christians need to be guided by the vision of the prophets of Israel.

Regarding the doctrine of the Trinity, the Christian evaluators take a fresh look at the trinitarian tradition and its implications for Christian and Jewish relations. In summarising their various discussions, Jewish auditor Adam Gregerman notes how impossible it is for these evaluators to conceive of divine activity—even of God's covenanting with Jews—separate from the triune God. It is, they write, in the nature of God to exist in three subsistents, at all stages of his relationship with the Jews, as at all stages of human life generally. According to this model, Jews as well as Christians remain actors in a theological drama; Jewish religious life is presented positively—and partly in terms a Jew would recognise—but always in trinitarian terms. To a Jew it is simultaneously scandalous but also, Gregerman recognises, unavoidable for Christian theologians to think this way. So, while the overall theological shifts they propose are enormous, these shifts are ultimately limited. They do not offer, and perhaps cannot offer, an alternative way of conceiving the divine activity apart from trinitarian theology; even at the end of days; even for those who reject a Christian understanding of that theology. While the historical areas of clash are minimised, and both Jews and Christians have central aspects of their religious identity affirmed, they do not deny that Christ is somehow active in Jewish covenantal life. They perceive Christian covenantal life in their own terms, which are not the terms Jews use to describe their covenantal life.

Still, Gregerman believes this fresh Christian look at the Trinity, which seeks to overcome centuries of anti-Jewish theology, has enormous implications for inter-faith relations if it can put forth deep roots. Can that happen? Perhaps not, he suggests, as the church's greatest growth is in places where Jews are almost entirely absent, where memories of the Holocaust are fading, and where the sense of responsibility to alter religious teachings in its wake is also fading. Also, many

perceive a growing conservatism that, if not hostile to Vatican II, is sceptical about some of its conclusions, including those regarding other religions. While the church will continue to promote dialogue, changes in demographics and trends towards conservatism may encourage backsliding. Further, there is much that is complex and elusive about trinitarian language, not just for Jews but for Christians too. For guidance—for a better compass—Gregerman argues we should return to Paul's vision. While these Christian evaluators now use different language than Paul did, his profound refusal to give up on the Jewish people offers a rare and heartening precedent for their fresh look at the trinitarian tradition, and for the way forward.

Regarding post-Vatican II ecclesiology and liturgy, evaluator Christian Rutihauser offers a focused exploration of a fundamental question: How can one understand the assertion that the Jewish people are in an eternal covenantal relationship with God and simultaneously maintain the church's understanding of the universal salvation offered through Christ? This is, Jewish auditor Rabbi Ruth Langer observes, an inner-Christian question, and the value of Rutihauser's proposals can only be fully evaluated by other Christians. However, Langer is grateful for Rutihauser's sensitivity; he fully understands that his fundamental question is an affront to Jews, given the history of Christian attempts, many successful, to undermine Judaism's integrity and bring Jews to baptism; however, Langer points out that—other than the few engaged in high level dialogue and those conversant with Christian theological issues—most Jews will easily misunderstand his discussion, so its presentation must be extremely and carefully nuanced if it is to contribute to future understanding.

Among his theological proposals, Rutihauser makes a series of important points. First, and from Jewish perspective the most fundamental, is his recognition that the Sinai Covenant, Torah itself, needs to be the focus of this discussion, including the specific commandments of how to live in relationship with God. The Sinai revelation is the most important manifestation of God's covenantal relationship with Israel, and the response to its halakhic directives—not just the Ten Commandments but all of God's commandments—is the essence of Jewish covenantal living. Second, he presents Jesus as the embodiment and personification of Torah, which could well be what John means when he refers to Jesus as Logos.

Langer admits we know little about theologies of the Logos in late Second Temple Judaism, but the sense that God's Word had an existence and a presence in people's lives seems to have been part of Greek-influenced Judaism. Rabbinic Jews ceased to speak in these terms in the course of Jewish and Christian differentiation but remnants remain in targumic discussion of God's Word (Memra); therefore, that Torah might be embodied within a particular manifestation of God has some roots in Judaism. Third, he suggests gospel references to Jesus being "handed over" (*paradidonai*) to the Romans be read not as betrayal but as God's positive act, literally of handing on his Word to the gentiles. He does this by suggesting an analogy with the Hebrew root *m-s-r*, to elicit its positive meaning, "that which is handed down as a tradition" (*mesoret*); however, Langer notes that *m-s-r* also has a negative meaning which Rutihauser does not mention, "an informer who hands something over inappropriately to someone else; one who betrays others" (*moser*). The Hebrew analogy is therefore less helpful than Rutihauser suggests but this should not negate his argument for a benign meaning of the concept.

As a Jew, Langer can be quite satisfied with the argument that God's handing his Word over to the Romans opens the covenant to the gentile world without affecting God's Sinai-based relationship with Judaism. This explains how both communities can fit into the divine covenantal framework. However, she is not certain that a Christian theologian would find this ultimate differentiation between Jew and gentile answering the question of how Christ functions for Jews. She feels Rutihauser is dissatisfied with his own answer, as he is critical of a response that pushes a solution off to the eschaton—the end of time, the day of judgement—but he sees no alternative.

Langer argues that, from a Jewish perspective, this eschatological solution is a nice piece of mental manipulation (*pilpul*) which allows us to achieve our immediate goal of living as two communities side-by-side in friendship. In practice, Jews can accept an expectation that we will discover at the eschaton whether Jews or Christians have been correct about the person of the messiah—whether the messiah is coming or whether the messiah is coming again—as this defers the issue indefinitely. However, there are several problems with this solution to the Christian theological conundrum.

The obvious one is that it is a practical solution not a philosophically rigorous one. More seriously, if we look at, for example, the revised prayers for the Good Friday liturgy, which seek to redress an important misconception about Jews, we are confronted with a practical impossibility. If the church's approved liturgical text has a potentially harmful plain sense meaning about Jews, which can only be obviated through complex acts of interpretation, then the community in the pews is being misled. As Langer points out, liturgy does not operate this way.

Rutihauser concludes his essay with a call for Jews to engage in a parallel process of theological thinking about Christianity: perhaps Jews could be expected to understand the church as also being in covenant with God; could ponder what their relationship to Jesus might be beyond historical controversy or polemic; could see a place for Jesus' teaching in Jewish tradition. Langer makes cogent observations here: First, while the rabbinic tradition has not developed a discussion of how other religions in their specificity are in relationship with God, the tradition does not presume to limit God by assuming he does not have a different covenantal relationship with other peoples. Second, does dialogue with Christians require Jews to have a relationship with Jesus, apart from understanding him in his historical context? Third, it is easy for Jews to locate Jesus' teaching in Judaism since most of those teachings, in their origins, were questions of how to apply Torah in the first century. Ultimately, therefore, the relationship Rutihauser wants Jews to consider having with Jesus clearly responds to a deeper theological need within Christianity than within Judaism. Also, while Jews have a historical reason to desire a repaired and improved relationship with Christians, their theological need applies to all the world's religions. An expectation that Jews give priority to Christianity—especially over Islam, which represents a more urgent if more a difficult priority for Jews—arises from a christocentric perspective of the world which Jews cannot share and should not have to share.

Even though this evaluation of *Nostra Aetate* is academic rather than official, what is on the inter-faith table is still impressive, as are the arguments put by both the Christian evaluators and the Jewish auditors. We have come a long way but there is a long way to go. We need to know more about the varieties of Second Temple

Judaism, especially in relation to the Logos–Memra. We need to know more about the relationship between the Jesus movement and other varieties of Judaism, since that first century relationship is more or less paradigmatic for the relationship Jews and Christians can hope to have in the future. We need to know more about the emerging identities of Patristic Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism as separate religions after the destruction of the Temple; whether they developed with an eye towards each other; whether there was official or unofficial dialogue between them.

Of course, Langer is right. Jews cannot be expected to share a christocentric view of the world; however, having said that, it seems ironic that, along with Daniel Boyarin, these Jewish auditors seem to admire the apostle Paul more than many of the Christian evaluators do, which suggests Paul may represent a common theological basis for Christian and Jewish dialogue. He was, after all, a Rabbinic Jew himself, and Christians could benefit from listening to what Jews have to say about the apostle to the gentiles.

Appendix 1: The Ten Points of Seelisburg (1947)

The following statement, issued in Seelisburg, Switzerland, and produced by the Christian participants at the Second conference of the newly formed International Council of Christians and Jews, was one of the first following World War II in which Christians, with the advice and counsel of Jews, began to come to terms with the implications of the Shoah.

We have recently witnessed an outburst of antisemitism which has led to the persecution and extermination of millions of Jews. In spite of the catastrophe which has overtaken both the persecuted and the persecutors, and which has revealed the extent of the Jewish problem in all its alarming gravity and urgency, antisemitism has lost none of its force, but threatens to extend to other regions, to poison the minds of Christians and to involve humanity more and more in a grave guilt with disastrous consequences.

The Christian Churches have indeed always affirmed the un-Christian character of antisemitism, as of all forms of racial hatred, but this has not sufficed to prevent the manifestation among Christians, in various forms, of an undiscriminating racial hatred of the Jews as a people.

This would have been impossible if all Christians had been true to the teaching of Jesus Christ on the mercy of God and love of one's neighbour. But this faithfulness should also involve clear-sighted willingness to avoid any presentation and conception of the Christian message which would support antisemitism under whatever form. We must recognise, unfortunately, that this vigilant willingness has often been lacking.

We therefore address ourselves to the Churches to draw their attention to this alarming situation. We have the firm hope that they will be concerned to show their members how to prevent any animosity towards the Jews which might arise from false, inadequate or mistaken presentations or conceptions of the teaching and preaching of the Christian doctrine, and how on the other hand to promote brotherly love towards the sorely-tried people of the old covenant.

Nothing would seem more calculated to contribute to this happy result than the following ten points:

1. Remember that One God speaks to us all through the Old and the New Testaments.
2. Remember that Jesus was born of a Jewish mother of the seed of David and the people of Israel, and that His everlasting love and forgiveness embraces His own people and the whole world.
3. Remember that the first disciples, the apostles and the first martyrs were Jews.
4. Remember that the fundamental commandment of Christianity, to love God and one's neighbour, proclaimed already in the Old Testament and confirmed by Jesus, is binding upon both Christians and Jews in all human relationships, without any exception.
5. Avoid distorting or misrepresenting biblical or post-biblical Judaism with the object of extolling Christianity.
6. Avoid using the word Jews in the exclusive sense of the enemies of Jesus, and the words "the enemies of Jesus" to designate the whole Jewish people.
7. Avoid presenting the Passion in such a way as to bring the odium of the killing of Jesus upon all Jews or upon Jews alone. It was only a section of the Jews in Jerusalem who demanded the death of Jesus, and the Christian message has always been that it was the sins of mankind which were exemplified by those Jews and the sins in which all men share that brought Christ to the Cross.
8. Avoid referring to the scriptural curses, or the cry of a raging mob: "His blood be upon us and our children," without remembering that this cry should not count against the infinitely more weighty words of our Lord: "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."
9. Avoid promoting the superstitious notion that the Jewish people are reprobate, accursed, reserved for a destiny of suffering.
10. Avoid speaking of the Jews as if the first members of the Church had not been Jews.

The complete text of this and other documents from the International Council of Christians and Jews can be found at www.iccj.org.

Appendix 2: Nostra Aetate (1965)

The following declaration on the relation of the Church to non-Christian religions was proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965.

1. In our time, when day by day mankind is being drawn closer together, and the ties between different peoples are becoming stronger, the Church examines more closely her relationship to non-Christian religions. In her task of promoting unity and love among men, indeed among nations, she considers above all in this declaration what men have in common and what draws them to fellowship.

One is the community of all peoples, one their origin, for God made the whole human race to live over the face of the earth.[1] One also is their final goal, God. His providence, His manifestations of goodness, His saving design extend to all men,[2] until that time when the elect will be united in the Holy City, the city ablaze with the glory of God, where the nations will walk in His light.[3]

Men expect from the various religions answers to the unsolved riddles of the human condition, which today, even as in former times, deeply stir the hearts of men: What is man? What is the meaning, the aim of our life? What is moral good, what is sin? Whence suffering and what purpose does it serve? Which is the road to true happiness? What are death, judgment and retribution after death? What, finally, is that ultimate inexpressible mystery which encompasses our existence: whence do we come, and where are we going?

2. From ancient times down to the present, there is found among various peoples a certain perception of that hidden power which hovers over the course of things and over the events of human history; at times some indeed have come to the recognition of a Supreme Being, or even of a Father. This perception and recognition penetrates their lives with a profound religious sense.

1 Cf. *Acts* 17:26

2 Cf. *Wis.* 8:1; *Acts* 14:17; *Rom.* 2:6–7; *1 Tim.* 2:4

3 Cf. *Apoc.* 21:23f.

Religions, however, that are bound up with an advanced culture have struggled to answer the same questions by means of more refined concepts and a more developed language. Thus in Hinduism, men contemplate the divine mystery and express it through an inexhaustible abundance of myths and through searching philosophical inquiry. They seek freedom from the anguish of our human condition either through ascetical practices or profound meditation or a flight to God with love and trust. Again, Buddhism, in its various forms, realises the radical insufficiency of this changeable world; it teaches a way by which men, in a devout and confident spirit, may be able either to acquire the state of perfect liberation, or attain, by their own efforts or through higher help, supreme illumination. Likewise, other religions found everywhere try to counter the restlessness of the human heart, each in its own manner, by proposing "ways," comprising teachings, rules of life, and sacred rites. The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions. She regards with sincere reverence those ways of conduct and of life, those precepts and teachings which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men. Indeed, she proclaims, and ever must proclaim Christ "the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6), in whom men may find the fullness of religious life, in whom God has reconciled all things to Himself.[4]

The Church, therefore, exhorts her sons, that through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, they recognise, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these men.

3. The Church regards with esteem also the Moslems. They adore the one God, living and subsisting in Himself; merciful and all-powerful, the Creator of heaven and earth,[5] who has spoken to men; they take pains to submit wholeheartedly to even His inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham, with whom the faith of Islam takes pleasure

4 Cf *2 Cor.* 5:18–19

5 Cf St. Gregory VII, *Letter XXI to Anzir (Nacir), King of Mauritania* (Pl. 148, Col. 450f.)

in linking itself, submitted to God. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also honour Mary, His virgin Mother; at times they even call on her with devotion. In addition, they await the day of judgement when God will render their deserts to all those who have been raised up from the dead. Finally, they value the moral life and worship God especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting.

Since in the course of centuries not a few quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this sacred synod urges all to forget the past and to work sincerely for mutual understanding and to preserve as well as to promote together for the benefit of all mankind social justice and moral welfare, as well as peace and freedom.

4. As the sacred synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock.

Thus the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ—Abraham's sons according to faith[6] —are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles.[7] Indeed, the Church believes that by His cross Christ, Our Peace, reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself.[8]

The Church keeps ever in mind the words of the Apostle about his kinsmen: "theirs is the sonship and the glory and the covenants and the law and the worship and the

6 Cf. *Gal.* 3:7
7 Cf. *Rom.* 11:17–24
8 Cf. *Eph.* 2:14–16

promises; theirs are the fathers and from them is the Christ according to the flesh" (Rom. 9:4–5), the Son of the Virgin Mary. She also recalls that the Apostles, the Church's mainstay and pillars, as well as most of the early disciples who proclaimed Christ's Gospel to the world, sprang from the Jewish people.

As Holy Scripture testifies, Jerusalem did not recognise the time of her visitation,[9] nor did the Jews in large number, accept the Gospel; indeed not a few opposed its spreading.[10] Nevertheless, God holds the Jews most dear for the sake of their Fathers; He does not repent of the gifts He makes or of the calls He issues—such is the witness of the Apostle.[11] In company with the Prophets and the same Apostle, the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and "serve him shoulder to shoulder" (Soph. 3:9).[12]

Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this sacred synod wants to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit, above all, of biblical and theological studies as well as of fraternal dialogues.

True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ;[13] still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures. All should see to it, then, that in catechetical work or in the preaching of the word of God they do not teach anything that does not conform to the truth of the Gospel and the spirit of Christ.

Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons

9 Cf. *Lk.* 19:44

10 Cf. *Rom.* 11:28

11 Cf. *Rom.* 11:28–29; cf. Dogmatic Constitution, *Lumen Gentium* (Light of Nations) AAS, 57 (1965) Pag. 20

12 Cf. *Is.* 66:23; *Ps.* 65:4; *Rom.* 11:11–32

13 Cf. *John.* 19:6

but by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone.

Besides, as the Church has always held and holds now, Christ underwent His passion and death freely, because of the sins of men and out of infinite love, in order that all may reach salvation. It is, therefore, the burden of the Church's preaching to proclaim the cross of Christ as the sign of God's all-embracing love and as the fountain from which every grace flows.

5. We cannot truly call on God, the Father of all, if we refuse to treat in a brotherly way any man, created as he is in the image of God. Man's relation to God the Father and his relation to men his brothers are so linked together that Scripture says: "He who does not love does not know God" (1 John 4:8).

No foundation therefore remains for any theory or practice that leads to discrimination between man and man or people and people, so far as their human dignity and the rights flowing from it are concerned.

The Church reproves, as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against men or harassment of them because of their race, color, condition of life, or religion. On the contrary, following in the footsteps of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, this sacred synod ardently implores the Christian faithful to "maintain good fellowship among the nations" (1 Peter 2:12), and, if possible, to live for their part in peace with all men,[14] so that they may truly be sons of the Father who is in heaven.[15]

The complete text of this and other documents from the Second Vatican Council can be found at www.vatican.va.

14 Cf. *Rom.* 12:18
15 Cf. *Matt.* 5:45

Appendix 3: The Twelve Points of Berlin (2009)

We, the International Council of Christians and Jews and our member organisations, resolve to renew our engagement with the Ten Points of Seelisberg that inspired our beginnings. Therefore, we issue these calls to Christians, Jews, and all people of good will:

A Call To Christians and Christian Communities

We commit ourselves to the following goals and invite all Christians and Christian communities to join us in the continuing effort to remove all vestiges of contempt towards Jews and enhance bonds with the Jewish communities worldwide.

1. To combat religious, racial and all other forms of antisemitism

Biblically

- By recognising Jesus' profound identity as a Jew of his day, and interpreting his teachings within the contextual framework of first-century Judaism.
- By recognising Paul's profound identity as a Jew of his day, and interpreting his writings within the contextual framework of first-century Judaism.
- By emphasising that recent scholarship on both the commonality and gradual separation of Christianity and Judaism is critical for our basic understanding of the Jewish–Christian relationship.
- By presenting the two Testaments in the Christian Bible as complementary and mutually affirming rather than antagonistic or inferior/superior. Denominations that use lectionaries are encouraged to choose and link biblical texts that offer such an affirming theology.
- By speaking out against Christian misreadings of biblical texts regarding Jews and Judaism that can provoke caricatures or animosity.

Liturgically

- By highlighting the connection between Jewish and Christian liturgy.
- By drawing upon the spiritual richness of Jewish interpretations of the scriptures.

- By cleansing Christian liturgies of anti-Jewish perspectives, particularly in preaching, prayers and hymns.

Catechetically

- By presenting the Christian–Jewish relationship in positive tones in the education of Christians of all ages, underlining the Jewish foundations of Christian belief and accurately describing the ways Jews themselves understand their own traditions and practices. This includes the curricula of Christian schools, seminaries and adult education programs.
- By promoting awareness of the long-lived traditions of Christian anti-Judaism and providing models for renewing the unique Jewish–Christian relationship.
- By underscoring the immense religious wealth found in the Jewish tradition, especially by studying its authoritative texts.

2. To promote interreligious dialogue with Jews

- By understanding dialogue as requiring trust and equality among all participants and rejecting any notion of convincing others to accept one's own beliefs.
- By appreciating that dialogue encourages participants to examine critically their own perceptions of both their own tradition and that of their dialogue partners in the light of a genuine engagement with the other.

3. To develop theological understandings of Judaism that affirm its distinctive integrity

- By eliminating any teachings that Christians have replaced Jews as a people in covenant with God.
- By emphasising the common mission of Jews and Christians in preparing the world for the kingdom of God or the Age to Come.
- By establishing equal, reciprocal working relationships with Jewish religious and civic organisations.
- By ensuring that emerging theological movements from Asia, Africa and Latin America, and feminist, liberationist or other approaches integrate an accurate understanding of Judaism and Christian–Jewish relations into their theological formulations.

- By opposing organised efforts at the conversion of Jews.

4. To pray for the peace of Jerusalem

- By promoting the belief in an inherent connectedness between Christians and Jews.
- By understanding more fully Judaism's deep attachment to the Land of Israel as a fundamental religious perspective and many Jewish people's connection with the State of Israel as a matter of physical and cultural survival.
- By reflecting on ways that the Bible's spiritual understanding of the land can be better incorporated into Christian faith perspectives.
- By critiquing the policies of Israeli and Palestinian governmental and social institutions when such criticism is morally warranted, at the same time acknowledging both communities' deep attachment to the land.
- By critiquing attacks on Zionism when they become expressions of antisemitism.
- By joining with Jewish, Christian and Muslim peace workers, with Israelis and Palestinians, to build trust and peace in a Middle East where all can live secure in independent, viable states rooted in international law and guaranteed human rights.
- By enhancing the security and prosperity of Christian communities both in Israel and Palestine.
- By working for improved relations among Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle East and the rest of the world.

A Call To Jews and Jewish Communities

We commit ourselves to the following goals and invite all Jews and Jewish communities to join us in the continuing effort to remove all vestiges of animosity and caricature toward Christians and to enhance bonds with Christian churches of the world.

5. To acknowledge the efforts of many Christian communities in the late 20th century to reform their attitudes toward Jews

- By learning about these reforms through more intensive dialogue with Christians.

- By discussing the implications of changes in Christian churches regarding Jews and their understandings of Judaism.
- By teaching Jews of all ages about these changes, both in the context of the history of Jewish–Christian relations and according to the appropriate stage of education for each group.
- By including basic and accurate background information about Christianity in the curricula of Jewish schools, rabbinic seminaries and adult education programs.
- By studying the New Testament both as Christianity's sacred text and as literature written to a large degree by Jews in an historical-cultural context similar to early Rabbinic literature, thereby offering insight into the development of Judaism in the early centuries of the Common Era.

6. To re-examine Jewish texts and liturgy in the light of these Christian reforms

- By grappling with Jewish texts that appear xenophobic or racist, realising that many religious traditions have uplifting, inspirational texts as well as problematic ones. The emphasis for all religious traditions should be on texts that promote tolerance and openness.
- By placing problematic texts within their historical context, in particular writings from the times when Jews were a powerless, persecuted and humiliated minority.
- By addressing the possible re-interpretation, change or omission of parts of Jewish liturgy that treat others in problematic ways.

7. To differentiate between fair-minded criticism of Israel and antisemitism

- By understanding and promoting biblical examples of just criticism as expressions of loyalty and love.
- By helping Christians appreciate that communal identity and interconnectedness are intrinsic to Jewish self-understanding, in addition to religious faith and practice, therefore making the commitment to the survival and security of the State of Israel of great importance to most Jews.

8. To offer encouragement to the State of Israel as it works to fulfil the ideals stated in its founding documents, a task Israel shares with many nations of the world

- By ensuring equal rights for religious and ethnic minorities, including Christians, living within the Jewish state.
- By achieving a just and peaceful resolution of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

A Call To Both Christian and Jewish Communities and Others

We commit ourselves to the following goals and invite Jews, Christians and Muslims, together with all people of faith and goodwill, always to respect the other and to accept each other's differences and dignity.

9. To enhance interreligious and intercultural education

- By combating negative images of others, teaching the foundational truth that each human being is created in the image of God.
- By making the removal of prejudices against the other a high priority in the educational process.
- By encouraging mutual study of religious texts, so that Jews, Christians, Muslims and members of other religious groups can learn both from and with each other.
- By supporting common social action in the pursuit of common values.

10. To promote interreligious friendship and cooperation as well as social justice in the global society

- By rejoicing in the uniqueness of each person, and promoting everyone's political, economic and social well-being.
- By recognising as equal citizens members of faith traditions who have migrated to new homelands where they may have become part of a religious minority.
- By striving for equal rights for all people, regardless of their religion, gender or sexual orientation.
- By recognising and grappling with the fact that feelings of religious superiority—and an accompanying sense that other religions are inferior—are present in each tradition, including one's own.

11. To enhance dialogue with political and economic bodies

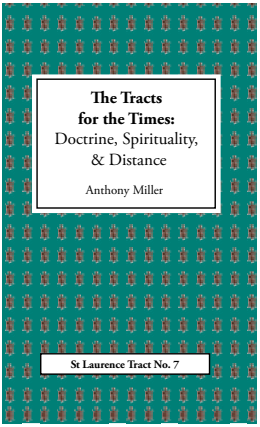
- By collaborating with political and economic bodies whenever possible to promote interreligious understanding.
- By benefiting from political and economic groups' growing interest in interreligious relations.
- By initiating discussion with political and economic bodies around the urgent need for justice in the global community.

12. To network with all those whose work responds to the demands of environmental stewardship

- By fostering commitment to the belief that every human being is entrusted with the care of the Earth.
- By recognising the shared Jewish and Christian biblical duty toward creation, and the responsibility to bring it to bear in public discourse and action.

To all these challenges and responsibilities, we—the International Council of Christians and Jews and its member organisations—commit ourselves.
Berlin, Germany, July 2009, at the International Conference and the Annual General Meeting of the International Council of Christians and Jews.

The complete text of this and other documents from the International Council of Christians and Jews can be found at www.iccj.org.



St Laurence Tract No. 7

Anthony Miller: Tracts for the Times: Doctrine, Spirituality, & Distance

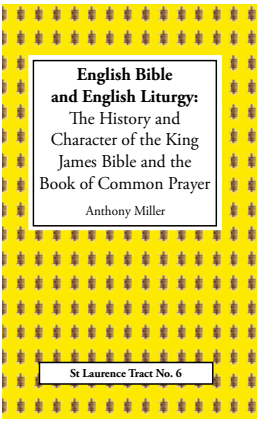
The Tracts for the Times, published between 1833 and 1841, were the founding documents of modern Anglo-Catholicism, and had a shaping influence on later Anglicanism in general. But though they are often referred to or summarized, they are today little read except by scholars.

This study returns to the original texts. It asks, what do they actually say about the church, the sacraments, the idea of the catholic, the spiritual life? It also asks, what features of presentation and style helped give the Tracts their extraordinary influence?

Like Anglo-Catholics today, the Tractarians took issue with a dominant Evangelicalism, arguing that it took a too limited view of what is truly evangelical. In emphasizing sacraments and priesthood, the Tracts took issue with an excessive emphasis on preaching. In these ways, the Tracts continue to speak to our time and situation. The study also puts the Tracts in a longer historical perspective, noting how the Tracts spoke to and from their own times, in ways that now put them at a distance from us.

Anthony Miller holds degrees from Cambridge and Harvard and was formerly Chair of the Department of English at Sydney University. He has published widely including works for St Laurence Press—*The Tracts for the Times: Doctrine, Spirituality & Distance* (2009) reprinted as Tract No. 7 (2013); St Laurence Tract No. 2: *How to be a priest: George Herbert's* Country Parson; Tract No. 3: *The Genesis of Catholic Anglicanism, John Jewel and Richard Hooker* (2011) and Tract No. 6: *English Bible and English Liturgy: The History and Character of the King James Bible and the Book of Common Prayer* (2012).

St Laurence Tract No. 7: 63 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 9-780987-1342-7-1



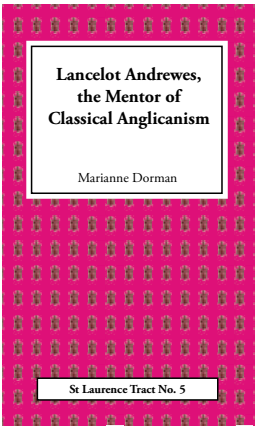
St Laurence Tract No. 6

Anthony Miller: English Bible and English Liturgy: The History and Character of the King James Bible and the Book of Common Prayer

These two books are twin pillars of Anglicanism. In the catholic tradition of Anglicanism the Book of Common Prayer holds a somewhat equivocal place thanks to its unabashedly protestant Eucharistic theology. But the book as a whole is enmeshed in catholic tradition, and the same is true of many aspects of its Communion rite. The Anglo-catholic alternative to that rite, the English Missal, of 1912, still incorporated much of the Prayer Book Communion, and its English translations of the Latin Mass were drawn where possible from the Prayer book, which means that its bible readings were drawn from the King James Bible.

Anthony Miller holds degrees from Cambridge and Harvard and was formerly Chair of the Department of English at Sydney University. He has published widely including works for St Laurence Press— *The Tracts for the Times: Doctrine, Spirituality & Distance* (2009) reprinted as Tract No. 7 (2013); St Laurence Tract No. 2: *How to be a priest: George Herbert's* Country Parson; Tract No. 3: *The Genesis of Catholic Anglicanism, John Jewel and Richard Hooker* (2011) and Tract No. 6: *English Bible and English Liturgy: The History and Character of the King James Bible and the Book of Common Prayer* (2012).

St Laurence Tract No. 6: 52 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 978-0-9871342-6-4



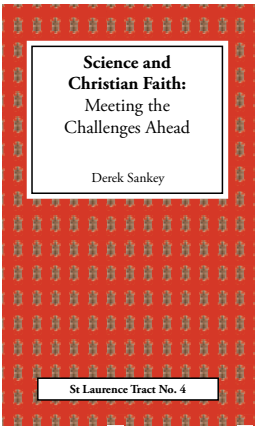
St Laurence Tract No. 5

Marianne Dorman: Lancelot Andrewes, The Mentor of Classical Anglicanism

Commemorating Andrewes' death in his diary, William Laud wrote, "About 4 o'clock I the morning died, Lancelot Andrewes, the most worthy bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian World". That day was the 25th September 1625.
Andrewes' ministry from catechist to bishop is often dismissed by historians who have regarded his friend, Richard Hooker, also a defender of the faith, as the first in the line of great Anglican theologians. Marianne Dorman makes the claim that "when one compares him with Hooker, and the influence he had among his contemporaries during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it is clear that the English Church is far more indebted to Andrewes, for turning the tide against Puritanism".

Marianne Dorman, B.A. M. Litt., M.A. (Hons), Ph.D., Th. A. and Dip. Ch. Ed is a Eucharistic and Pastoral minister. Her publications include *Lancelot Andrewes: Mentor of Reformed Catholicism; Lancelot Andrewes: the Perennial Preacher; Lancelot Andrewes: Teacher and Preacher; Lancelot Andrewes—Sermons* (2 vols.);
Mark Frank and His contribution to the Caroline Church, and *Seven Whole Days* on George Herbert's poetry. These books are available from Belltower Books at Christ Church St Laurence.

St Laurence Tract No. 5: 34 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 978-0-9871342-5-7



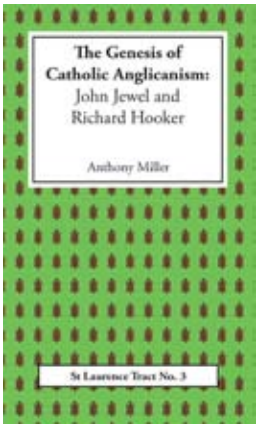
St Laurence Tract No. 4

Derek Sankey: Science and Christian Faith: Meeting the Challenges Ahead

The central task of Christian theology has been to interpret the gospel for each new age; beginning with the early church as it strove to comprehend the momentous events of Christ's life, death and resurrection. For the most part, throughout history, theology has attempted to harmonise the message of faith with the prevailing thought-forms of the day. From the onset of modern science in the seventeenth century, the aim of achieving harmony was progressively replaced by a need to resolve conflict. If we are to meet the considerable challenges ahead, those committed to the Faith need to be prepared. We need to get busy with our theology, reinterpreting the gospel for the new age of complexity science and neuroscience that is soon to be.

Derek Sankey completed a Bachelor of Divinity Honours Degree at the University of London in 1977, followed by a Master's degree, in 1979, at the University of Kent, Canterbury in the History and Philosophy of science. From 1983-86 he directed a prestigious national project at the Farmington Institute, Oxford, on the Teaching of Science and Religion in Schools. From 1986-95 he lectured at the University of London, where he also obtained his PhD, and from 1995-2006 at the Hong Kong Institute of Education, before moving to Seoul National University, Korea. He came to Sydney with his wife Dr. Minkang Kim in 2010. He is an Honorary Associate of the University of Sydney.

St Laurence Tract No. 4: 40 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 9-780987-1342-4-0



St Laurence Tract No. 3

Anthony Miller: The Genesis of Catholic Anglicanism: John Jewel and Richard Hooker

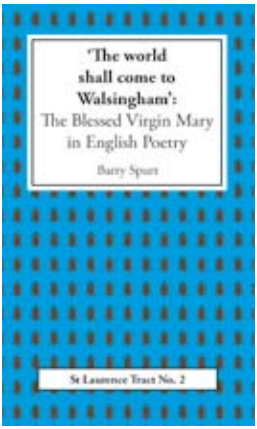
Jewel and Hooker established the terms that the seventeenth-century divines and the nineteenth century Oxford Movement would develop in their definition of Catholic Anglicanism.

As the Anglican church took shape in the reign of Elizabeth I, its nature was called into question from two sides, as it still is. The Roman church argued that it had forfeited the title of catholic; the puritan movement campaigned to make it more protestant in doctrine and practice. In answer to the Roman arguments, John Jewel wrote *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England* (1564), arguing the church is based on catholic tradition in the form of 'God's holy Gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive Church'.

Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593-97) is a massive treatise that answers puritan objections to the church's organization, the content of its prayer book, and its continuity with catholic tradition.

Anthony Miller holds degrees from Cambridge and Harvard and was formerly Chair of the Department of English at Sydney University. He has published widely including works for St Laurence Press— *The Tracts for the Times: Doctrine, Spirituality & Distance* (2009) reprinted as Tract No. 7 (2013); St Laurence Tract No. 2: *How to be a priest: George Herbert's* Country Parson; Tract No. 3: *The Genesis of Catholic Anglicanism, John Jewel and Richard Hooker* (2011) and Tract No. 6: *English Bible and English Liturgy: The History and Character of the King James Bible and the Book of Common Prayer* (2012).

St Laurence Tract No. 3: 36 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 978-0-9871342-2-6



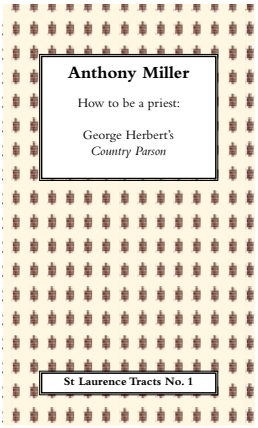
St Laurence Tract No. 2

Barry Spurr: 'The world shall come to Walsingham': The Blessed Virgin Mary in English Poetry

Spurr particularly focuses on some twentieth-century representations of Mary in verse, such as Robert Lowell's 'Our Lady of Walsingham' and T.S.Eliot's 'Lady whose shrine stands on the promontory…' from *Four Quartets*. But the tract ranges widely and, both in generous quotation and close analysis, will stir the reader's discovery of many wonderful poems about Mary in the English language, revealing in the process how the expression in poetry of religious ideas and spiritual experience can produce the most telling, evocative and memorable insights.

Barry Spurr is Professor of Poetry and Poetics (Personal Chair) in the University of Sydney. His most recent books are *See the Virgin Blest: The Virgin Mary in English Poetry* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007 and a study of T.S. Eliot's Christianity, *'Anglo-Catholic in Religion'* (Lutterworth, Cambridge, 2010), described in the Times Literary Supplement as 'a wonderful journey' into the 'byways, varieties, glories and contradictions' of Anglo-Catholicism. Both titles are available from the CCSL Bookshop.

St Laurence Tract No. 2: 34 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 9-780987-134202



St Laurence Tract No. 1

Anthony Miller: How to be a priest: George Herbert's Country Parson

Like the poetry of George Herbert (1593-1633) *Country Parson* is written in a style that expresses the modest piety, common sense, and tolerance that have come to be associated with the traditional Anglican clergyman. Indeed, it helped create this image. At a time when an Anglican parson would come from a higher social class and be much better educated than almost all his parishioners, Herbert shows in touching detail the ways in which he must enter into their everyday lives. This intimacy is necessary to successful religious teaching and moral guidance.

The Country Parson makes high claims for the religious and social role of priesthood. It includes a beautiful passage in praise of the sacrament of the Eucharist, and it assumes that the parson will take political and social as well as religious leadership in his parish. In a book written around 1630, these claims take their place in the sharpening debate between mainstream Anglicans and puritans over the role of priesthood and the nature of the church itself. Herbert navigates this debate in ways that do not align him exclusively with either side.

Originally a lecture delivered by Miller for the Oratory of the Good Shepherd, a community of Anglicans, ordained and lay, who share a common rule of life, which draws inspiration from the community established in the seventeenth century by Herbert's friend Nicholas Ferrar.

Anthony Miller's publications include several editions of Shakespeare, a monograph on *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (Palgrave 2001), and THE *TRACTS FOR THE TIMES: Doctrine, Spirituality & Distance* (St Laurence Press, 2009), reprinted as Tract No. 7 (2013).

St Laurence Tract No. 1: 32 pages, soft cover.
ISBN: 9-780958-751292