

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY:
JUDAISM ON CHRISTIANITY:
CHRISTIANITY ON JUDAISM *

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The following list, comprised of source collections, historical and theological works, polemical writings, etc., represents the two-thousand-year development of the image of Christianity in the eyes of Judaism and that of Judaism and the Jews in the view of Christianity. The material is organized wherever possible by period (late antiquity, Middle Ages, modern times) although a number of works overlap and may be mentioned more than once. Works are cited in the text by author and title only, with full bibliographic information provided in the numbered list at the end. A supplementary list of titles not discussed in the text is appended.

A. VIEWS OF JESUS

1. *Rabbinic and Medieval Periods*

References or alleged references to Jesus, New Testament figures, or Christians in Talmud and Midrash have been the object of prolonged speculation and controversy among both Jewish and Christian scholars. The problem was rendered more complex by the fact that much of this material, sufficiently obscure in itself, was censored out of the printed editions by Church authorities. The best known and classic attempt to sift through and organize this material is Travers Herford's *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (32) in which all the relevant passages are collected in the original Hebrew and Aramaic, translated, and carefully annotated. Herford set himself a twofold task. He first attempted to identify those passages actually referring to Jesus on the basis of philological analysis, from which he proceeded to an examination of the ma-

* Reprinted from *The Study of Judaism: Bibliographical Essays*, New York, ADL, 1972, not updated.

terial concerning the *minim*, whom he generally identifies with early Jewish Christians. A correction of certain technical failings in Herford such as mistranslations and inadequate use of manuscripts was essayed by Morris Goldstein in *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition* (28). This volume has the advantage of having the passages sorted by period and classified into the three categories of authentic references to Jesus, references incorrectly identified with Jesus (e.g. others by the name of Yeshu, Ben Stada, etc.), and indirect allusions. Possible references to Christianity and Christian doctrine are examined with the constant awareness that "with regard to . . . [our positive identifications], too, we deal with probabilities." In addition to the rabbinic material, the author adds an English rendition of one of the medieval Hebrew "biographies" (*Toledot Yeshu*) of Jesus and a review of the medieval polemical literature. The fairly thorough bibliographic treatment is helpful.

Although not as conveniently arranged as Goldstein, the most technically competent and thorough treatment of the subject is Jacob Zallel Lauterbach's essay "Jesus in the Talmud" in his *Rabbinic Essays* (40). In his effort to show that the rabbinic material has no historical value whatsoever for a study of Jesus and Christian origins, Lauterbach is even more conservative than his predecessors in admitting rabbinic references to Jesus of Nazareth. Especially important is his reexamination of the historical background of the passages in which a number of long-accepted interpretations are dismissed, though in some instances they are replaced by others equally conjectural.

2. *The Modern Period*

Modern Jewish interest in Jesus may be traced from the early nineteenth-century writers, who, out of apologetic motives, frequently sought to couple a "reclamation" or "re-judaization" of Jesus with a negative evaluation of Christianity, through more recent scholarship which interests itself in Jesus as a historical and religious figure within the framework of the history of Judaism. A most exhaustive and erudite literary history of this problem is Gösta Lindeskog's *Die Jesusfrage im neuzeitlichen Judentum*

(41) which covers the period from the Emancipation to the outbreak of World War I. The author first surveys the literature from the period of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* through the writings, historical, theological, and belletristic, of the thirties. Then typically, he treats, in addition to the major questions of Jewish attitudes towards the religion of Jesus and its relation to Judaism, the problems of historiography of the intertestamental period, the person and role of Jesus, the trial and crucifixion, and the founding of Christianity. Each chapter is well endowed with full bibliographic annotation including references to works written in Hebrew.

A much smaller volume in English, Thomas Walker's *Jewish Views of Jesus* (68) ably summarizes the views of selected Jewish thinkers still significant at the time of writing (1931), allowing them insofar as possible to speak for themselves. These include two orthodox writers (Paul Goodman, Gerald Friedlander), two liberal thinkers (Claude G. Montefiore, Israel Abrahams), and two "portraits" (Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Klausner).

An actual example of the kind of writing done by the liberal-apologetic school of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is Ernest R. Trattner's *As a Jew Sees Jesus* (67). Without real scholarly merit, the work is of some interest in its reflection of prevailing attitudes. Of some value is the extensive bibliography (pp. 200-208) of books, tracts, and articles in English by Jewish writers on the subject of Jesus.

Joseph Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth* (38) remains the classic work from the Jewish nationalist point of view. Highly dependent upon liberal Protestant scholarship (it was roundly condemned in Roman Catholic circles), the chief significance of the work lies less in its advancement over previous scholarship than in the fact that it clearly marked the transition from the liberal-apologetic approach to that of historical criticism. Indicative of this, in part, is the fact that the author wrote the volume in Hebrew intending it for members of the *Yishuv* (Palestinian Jewish community). Klausner's view of Jesus is one that perceives him as a nationalist whose goal was the redemption of his people, but who rendered a disservice to Judaism instead by sapping it of its peculiarly

Jewish content and abstracting it into an ethico-religious system. Seeing himself as the awaited redeemer, Jesus was frustrated in his approach to the people who refused to recognize him because of his failure to provide a concrete plan of redemption. A similar approach is found in the chapter on Christianity in another Hebrew work, Yehezkel Kaufmann's *Golah ve-nekhar* (36). Kaufmann brings a heavily documented account of Jesus' unswerving faithfulness to the *halakhah* on the one hand and his deviation from Judaism, on the other, in his role as apocalyptic Messiah.

Less a study of Jesus than of first-century Palestinian Judaism is Robert Aron's *Jesus of Nazareth: The Hidden Years* (1), an exploration of the kind of life Jesus probably led in the years between his early youth and ministry, concerning which the Gospels are silent. In setting Jesus against his Jewish background, Aron presents Jewish life and institutions (despite certain anachronisms) in a way which should prove enlightening for the Christian reader. Of special interest is the chapter on language in which the author points out the influence of Semitic linguistic structure and modes of thinking on Jesus' thought and preaching.

The most recent critical study of Jesus by a Jewish scholar is David Flusser's *Jesus* (27). Succinct, but highly eloquent, Flusser brings to bear on the work his considerable erudition in both New Testament scholarship and Christian origins on the one hand, and in Rabbinic Judaism on the other. According to the author, "the main purpose of this book is to show that it is possible to write the story of Jesus' life." In doing so, he employs the method of isolating the old Markan account and the logia from the later revisions in the Synoptics. This plus his recoveries of Hebrew idiom behind the Greek lead him to his attempted restoration of Jesus' role and mission as he himself understood it.

Among popular or semi-popular writings, most deserving of mention is *Jésus et Israël* (33) by the Franco-Jewish writer Jules Isaac. Isaac presents a Jesus who loves and is loyal to his people and with consummate irony contrasts his own words as found in the Gospels with the attitudes towards the Jews expressed by the Church Fathers and Christian theologians up to the twentieth century. The material so presented attains a particular poignancy when it is recalled that he is writing in the aftermath and as a

result of the Nazi holocaust. "This interesting book," writes David Flusser, "which is not written by a professional scholar and which is the product of apologetic enthusiasm deserves to be read by specialists because of the author's acumen and the penetrating analyses of his sources."

Two other semi-popular studies are worthy of mention. Samuel Sandmel's *We Jews and Jesus* (58) contains useful reviews of nineteenth- and twentieth-century New Testament scholarship and an analysis of the Jewish background of the Gospels. Written for Jews as a sort of *praeparatio dialogica*, the author firmly rejects any attempt to reclaim Jesus. Schalom Ben-Chorin's *Bruder Jesus* (9) is, as the title indicates, inspired by Martin Buber's picture of Jesus. The author sets himself the task of portraying Jesus as his Jewish brother in order to demonstrate to Christians how "the belief of Jesus unites us . . . but the belief in Jesus separates us."

3. *The Crucifixion*

The most sensitive topic in the discussion of Jesus' life and ministry is undoubtedly that of the trial and crucifixion. The charge, a major factor in the development of anti-Semitism, has been sounded by Christian theologians and historians from antiquity through to the twentieth century. With the perhaps naive hope that a demonstration of the lack of Jewish, or at least of popular Jewish, complicity in Jesus' death would lead to an amelioration of Christian attitudes, a number of writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries began the work of compiling apologies on the subject. While few of these works are of especial interest in themselves any longer, the account of their development is. This has been charted by Lindeskog in his *Jesusfrage* (41). Lindeskog distinguishes between this first apologetic stage and a second phase, the historical, which was still no doubt prompted by apologetic motives, but is characterized by critical evaluation of the sources. Representative of the prevalent point of view is Joseph Klausner, in *Jesus of Nazareth* (38), who advances the basic theory of a Sadducee-controlled Sanhedrin, concerned over Jesus as a possible political revolutionary, and who hand him over to the Romans to prevent the situation from getting out of control. A refinement of

this position came with the development of the two-Sanhedrin theory, which originated with Adolph Büchler but was most ably articulated by Solomon Zeitlin, in *Who Crucified Jesus?* (71). As in other writings, Zeitlin notes that two different types of organizations appear to be spoken of in contemporary Hebrew literature, on the one hand, and in Greek literature, on the other. On the basis of this and other observations, he posits the existence of two bodies, a religious Sanhedrin, the *Bet Din*, composed of scholars and authorized to deal with "religious" matters, and a separate organization of a political nature. It was the latter body composed of the Sadducee minority which tried Jesus in league with the Roman authority. Although the subject of Jesus' death is dealt with only tangentially, the treatment in Hugo Mantel's *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin* (42) is well worth the reader's attention because of the new light shed on it by his detailed and careful review of previous scholarship and his own critical reexamination of the problem.

The most recent major study in this area written by a Jew is a work of considerable scholarly sophistication, Paul Winter's *On the Trial of Jesus* (70). Winter follows the fruitful method of combining literary with historical analysis. Allowing the Gospel materials less credibility than is customary, he attempts to isolate the historical event from the primary report as found in the Gospels and the secondary tradition of the editors. This leads him to distinguish between reasonably certain facts, probable facts, and issues which must remain unanswered. To the first group belong Jesus' arrest by the Romans, his trial by a Jewish administrative authority during the night, his sentencing by the procurator, and his execution according to Roman procedure. Of high probability are the interrogation by the high priest's representatives and the derision of the Roman soldiers. Points which cannot be determined are the immediate cause of Jesus' arrest, the identification of those who initiated this action, and the deeds that Jesus performed to provoke action against himself.

This most sober treatment of the subject may finally be contrasted with the rather novel approach taken by Haim Cohn of the Israel Supreme Court in his *Reflections on the Trial and Death of Jesus* (16). Attacking the problem from the point of view of the

legal historian, the author rejects the two-Sanhedrin theory and sees the night meeting of the Sanhedrin, an investigative body conducted under Sadducean Law, as an eleventh-hour attempt to save Jesus by acquitting him before Pilate. According to Cohn, the attempt proved abortive because of Jesus' refusal to cooperate.

B. VIEWS OF CHRISTIANITY

1. *The Middle Ages*

The Middle Ages saw a continuous output of anti-Christian polemical literature, both in the form of protocols of compulsory disputations, such as those of Barcelona and Tortosa, and of textbooks for combating Christian missionaries or for the dissuasion of potential apostates. Several of these texts have been made available in English translation. Oliver S. Rankin's *Jewish Religious Polemics* (54) presents a selection of polemical texts of several literary genres including the midrashic *Chronicle of Moses* (narrative), *The Book of Contention* of Rabbi Yom Tov Lippman Muelhausen (poetry), the "Letters" of Rittangel and the Jew of Amsterdam (epistolary), and the disputation of Nahmanides with Pablo Christiani (debate). Each of these texts is put into context with a thorough historical and literary introduction and extensive annotation. In addition to these, the three classic medieval disputations of Paris, Barcelona, and Tortosa are presented in Morris Braude's *Conscience on Trial* (13).

A comprehensive study of medieval Jewish polemic remains a desideratum.¹ In addition to the older studies of Isidore Loeb (41a, 41b), Salo Baron's treatment in his *Social and Religious History* (4) will serve as the best introduction to the subject. Two chapters, one devoted to the mechanics of the public disputations and the other to literary polemics, take into account the socio-religious factors and consequences of these controversies. Of special value are the bibliographic annotations which, in themselves, read as a literary history of the material. A briefer thematic study of the material is to be found in Hans Joachim Schoeps'

¹ A comprehensive bibliography of this literature has been prepared by J. Rosenthal in *Aresthet II*, pp. 130-179; III, pp. 433-437.

lucid *Jewish-Christian Argument* (59). In his chapter on the medieval polemic, he indicates the place of such central issues as the election of Israel, Law and faith, the destruction of the Temple, and the messiahship of Jesus.

The Bible was no doubt the major battleground of the Jewish-Christian argument, and biblical commentaries frequently contained polemical excursions. An indication of the exegetical procedures and of such motifs as the status of Israel and the nations in the divine economy, christological interpretations, etc., may be found in my "R. David Kimhi as Polemicist" (65), a study of the thirteenth-century Provençal exegete.

The Christian assertions of the degenerate character of Judaism and the negation of its right to exist, certainly brought forth responses in kind on the part of the Jews. Nevertheless, certain major theoreticians of the Jewish faith accorded to Christianity and its founder a rather high status in their view of the religious development of mankind. The interesting views of the most distinguished of medieval Jewish thinkers, Moses Maimonides, are expanded in Gershon Tchernowitz's brief Hebrew work *The Relation between Israel and the Gentiles According to Maimonides* (66), which also reviews his attitudes towards Islam. Rabbi Menahem ha-Meiri declared unequivocally that Christianity was in no sense to be classed as an idolatrous religion and was to be esteemed for its "practical" ethical norms. Ha-Meiri's ideas are very competently discussed in Jacob Katz's Hebrew study, "Religious Tolerance in the Halakhic and Philosophical System of Rabbi Menahem ha-Me'iri" (35) which appeared with an English summary in *Zion*.

2. *The Modern Period*

Treatments of Christianity by European Jewish writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have generally followed the pattern set by Christian interpreters of Judaism which may be characterized as a typological approach. According to this, Judaism would be seen as the embodiment of the finest ideas of Western culture, with Christianity viewed as a poor imitation falling somewhat short of the mark. This trend, which may be said to have begun with Moses Mendelssohn and to have reached a turning

point of sorts in the writings of Franz Rosenzweig, is surveyed in two works which commend themselves to the reader. The first is the above mentioned *Jewish-Christian Argument* (59) by Schoeps which gives a brief history of these discussions. The second is the far more exhaustive and highly competent treatment of Jacob Fleischmann, *The Problem of Christianity in Modern Jewish Thought* (Hebrew: [26]). The work analyzes the thought of ten representative Jewish thinkers of the modern period—Mendelssohn, Ascher, Salvador, Formstecher, Hirsch, Steinheim, Geiger, Benamozegh, Cohen, and Rosenzweig. The attempt on the part of all of these to define Judaism in terms of, or at least vis-à-vis, Christianity may be followed throughout the work to its conclusion in the important discussion of Rosenzweig. In his view of Judaism as the Life and of Christianity as the Way, Rosenzweig tried to abandon the apologetic approach and establish a correlationship with Christianity which would affirm the necessity of each. Much of Rosenzweig's approach to Christianity, if not his fully developed doctrine, has recently been made available in *Judaism Despite Christianity* (55), the English translation of his correspondence with Eugen Rosenstock-Heussy, the editor of the volume. Of great interest is the tone of immediacy in which the correspondence is couched, revealing one of those very rare instances of genuine preparedness for dialogue. The volume is enhanced by the illuminating introductions of the editor, of Dorothy Emmett, and of Professor Alexander Altmann.

Two twentieth-century theologians not mentioned by Fleischmann who are concerned with the relative characterization of Judaism and Christianity are Leo Baeck and Martin Buber. Baeck's effort to distill the "essence" of Judaism in response to Harnack's definition of the essence of Christianity led to the famous formulation of Judaism as the classical religion and Christianity as the romantic religion which came to expression in his *Judaism and Christianity* (2). For an analytical approach to Baeck's writings concerning Christianity, the reader may consult Reinhold Mayer's detailed *Christentum und Judentum in der Schau Leo Baecks* (44). Christianity is considered in many places throughout Martin Buber's work, but the central discussion is to be found in his *Two Types of Faith* (14), where faith as trust (Judaism) and faith as

pistis, the belief that something is true (Christianity), are contrasted. An analysis of Buber's views on the subject together with his evaluations of Jesus and Paul are found in an essay, "The Jewish Jesus and the Christ of Faith," in Malcolm Diamond's *Martin Buber: Jewish Existentialist* (18). Of some interest is the reply to Buber from a Roman Catholic point of view in Hans Urs von Balthasar's *Martin Buber and Christianity* (3).

Once again from the "nationalist"-historical point of view, Joseph Klausner continued his examination of Christian origins in his sequel to *Jesus of Nazareth, From Jesus to Paul* (37). The work was able to arouse the enthusiasm of no less a critic than Arthur Darby Nock who was moved to comment that "Klausner has written with a scholar's depth and prophet's passion of issues which for him are never bloodless abstractions. The result is a piece of religious history as well as a study of it." Klausner surveys the history of the first and second centuries to provide the background for his analysis of the role and thinking of the apostle Paul. As in *Jesus of Nazareth*, Klausner's concerns are Jewish-oriented and the object of his effort is to answer the question why Pauline Christianity could never have been accepted by the Jews. Yehezkel Kaufmann in *Golah ve-nekhar* (36) proceeds from his evaluation of Jesus to a critique of Christianity. While his interpretation may not be altogether original, it is forcefully and boldly stated. Kaufmann sees in the Christian emphasis on ethics and love a "great deception" in that, unlike Judaism, Christianity created an illusion of spirituality and other-worldliness by "secularizing" its law and ritual. The success of Christianity lies not in its innovations but in its continuing the task of Judaism, viz., the combating of paganism.

Christian interest in "dialogue" with the Jewish people in the wake of the Christian ecumenical movement has evoked a re-evaluation of the temper of the Jewish stance towards Christianity on the part of a number of Jewish thinkers. Still operative, of course, is the traditional apprehensiveness that any overtures on the part of Christians towards Jews are a cover for missionary ambitions. Such concerns are the subject of an essay by Leo Baeck—"Some Questions to the Christian Church from the Jewish Point of View"—in Göte Hedenquist's *The Church and the Jewish People* (31) in which the very premises of Christian evangelism are

questioned. Martin Buber's essay "The Two Foci of the Jewish Soul" which appeared in *Israel and the World* (15), is to be commended to any Christian interested in undertaking a program of dialogue. Written shortly after World War II, it is one of the most eloquent responses to the concept of the mission to the Jews.

In addition to this traditional concern, other fundamental questions have been raised with respect to the possibility and desirability of the dialogical enterprise. At issue here are not only attitudes but actions, with the consensus being that the bi-millennial history of Christian complicity in or, at best, indifference to Jewish suffering provides a poor background for conversation at this time. In an essay included as a "Jewish contribution to a Christian-secularist dialogue" in *Quest for Past and Future* (24), Emil Fackenheim raises and examines the charge that "throughout the long struggle for Jewish human rights the secularist liberal has usually fought alongside the Jew, while the established Christian forces were—on the whole, but with very notable exceptions—ranged against him." That this is so, and that no fundamental change in this situation has been brought about, has been noted too by Eliezer Berkovits. In an article entitled "Judaism in the Post-Christian Era" in *Judaism XV* (10) Berkovits ascribes any apparent softening in Christian attitudes to the fact that Christianity realizes itself to be only one world force among many and, of these, not the most powerful. Because of the events of recent history which represent the culmination of Christian traditions of persecution, the Jew could not at this time emotionally face the prospect of Jewish-Christian dialogue. Rather, he suggests, stress should be placed on an "inter-human," non-theological type of dialogue. Stevens S. Schwarzschild, in "Judaism, Scriptures, and Ecumenism" in *Judaism XIII* (61) couples similar reservations with the traditional mistrust of Christian motivations as discussed above. Schwarzschild, in rejecting contemporary ecumenism speaks instead of an eschatological ecumenism implying a loyalty to Scriptures at the end of time. The event which created the heaviest impact on Jewish attitudes towards the question of dialogue was, of course, the 1967 Israel-Arab war. The general silence of the churches in the face of what appeared to be the imminent destruction of the Jewish state, coming as it did only twenty-five years

after a similar silence concerning the Jews of Europe, caused many to feel a loss of optimism "in the hope that the long age of Christian triumphalism over Judaism is truly being superseded by an age of Jewish-Christian dialogue." Emil L. Fackenheim, writing in *Commentary* XLVI ("Jewish Faith and the Holocaust") (23) states that the Christian "failed to recognize the danger of a second Holocaust because he has yet to recognize the fact of the first." This he cannot do because "he knows that as a Christian he should voluntarily have gone to Auschwitz where his own Master would have been dragged . . . and he is racked by a sense of guilt the deeper the less he has cause to feel it." The shift in mood created by the Six Day War is poignantly expressed, too, in the two letters of Jacob Neusner in *Judaism* XV (47), one written before and the other after the war, in reaction to the Berkovits article cited above (10).

In conjunction with these statements, it is of profit to examine a closely aligned Christian point of view, A. Roy Eckardt's "Can There Be a Jewish-Christian Relationship?" in the *Journal of Bible and Religion* XXXIII (19). For such reasons as the lack of contribution on the part of the church, the failure of the church to root out anti-Semitic ideology, and the refusal to see anti-Semitic elements in the Gospels, there cannot yet be a relationship "of human equality and justice" between Jews and Christians.

More positive points of view are to be found of course. Representative of these is Abraham Joshua Heschel's "No Religion is an Island" (32a) which calls for the ordering of an association of religions on the model of the United Nations. While the autonomy of each religion would be respected (again an answer to missionary claims), one would "regard a divergent religion as His Majesty's loyal opposition," conceding that "one truth comes to expression in many ways of understanding." Interreligious cooperation is needed for, among other things, finding "ways of helping one another in the terrible predicament of here and now." A similar optimistic—yet nonconciliatory—attitude towards the future of Jewish-Christian dialogue may be seen in the address of Arthur Gilbert (27a) to the Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People sponsored by the World Lutheran Federation at Logumkloster, Denmark in 1964. Rabbi Gilbert's views are expressed with a full consciousness of and perhaps despite the strong currents of opposition to interfaith confrontation at the time.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF JUDAISM

The principal document which was to shape and mold Christian attitudes towards the Jews is, of course, the New Testament and any statements made by Christians forever after on this topic are in the nature of a commentary upon it. However, in this survey our main concern is not what the New Testament itself says concerning the Jews, a subject which would form the basis of a bibliography of New Testament exegesis, but rather what Christians from antiquity to the present believed it or declared it to say. This section will therefore begin with the period of the Fathers and the Middle Ages.

A. THE PATRISTIC AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

The missionary overtones behind A. Lukyn Williams' *Adversus Judaeos* (69) do not vitiate its usefulness as a compendium of the anti-Jewish polemic of the patristic period and the high Middle Ages. No systematic arrangement of the material is presented. Rather the anti-Jewish works of each author, listed under one of the rubrics, Latin, Greek, Syriac, or Spanish, are outlined and summarized. Both subject and scriptural indices make the work a particularly valuable tool in researching the literature. An excellent collection of texts is Solomon Grayzel's *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (29). This source book presents statements of attitude and policy on the part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the period in both the original Latin and in English translation. *Aphrahat and Judaism: The Christian-Jewish Argument in Fourth Century Iran* (47a) by Jacob Neusner includes a translation of this early Christian monk's "Demonstrations" plus studies of pertinent issues.

For a good introductory survey to the literature of the period, one would do well to consult George Foot Moore's very competent essay "Christian Writers on Judaism" (45) in the *Harvard Theological Review*. Approaching the subject from the point of view of literary history, the author traces the anti-Jewish polemic as it develops into the Middle Ages.

In terms of more detailed analysis of the material of this period, three major works may be cited. James Parkes' well-documented *Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (50) is devoted to an

examination of the relationship between the stance and teachings of Christianity with respect to the Jews and anti-Semitism. The work begins with a discussion of the rise of Christianity and Jewish resistance towards it and then moves into the topic of the relationship of the Church to the Jews in Rome and Byzantium. Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel* (62) is a somewhat more systematic treatment of Jewish-Christian relations in the Roman Empire. The patristic polemic against the Jews is discussed both methodologically and topically. The author evaluates the chief uses of the polemic, viz., the status of Israel under the new dispensation, the law, etc. Of particular importance, especially for an understanding of later phenomena, is his analysis of the implications of Christian theology for Christian anti-Semitism. Bernhard Blumenkranz's excellent *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental. 430-1096* (11) does the same for the medieval period through the eleventh century. Blumenkranz deals with the theological issues—the mission to the Jews, polemics, use of the Bible, the questions of the crucifixion, election of the gentiles, etc.—against the background of the legal and political status of the Jews, their social position, and their religious life.

A particular aspect of the status of Judaism in the eyes of the early and medieval church is the relationship of Christianity to rabbinic literature. Louis Ginzberg's investigation of *Die Haggada bei den Kircheng Vätern* (27b) and Ch. Merchavia's recent comprehensive study of the treatment of Talmud and Midrash by patristic and medieval Christianity from 500-1248 (44a) are additional volumes in which the rather ambivalent stance of the church towards this literature may be traced. On the one hand, it was condemned for being blasphemous and anti-Christian while on the other, it was carefully combed for any possible "proofs" of Christianity which it might contain.

Three highly significant volumes, two by Roman Catholics and one by a Jew, deal with the materials discussed in the above works from the point of view of their influence upon the development of modern anti-Semitism. Malcolm Hay, a Scottish historian, had interested himself early in his career in correcting popular misconceptions and "chains of error" in British history. Following his experience in World War II which made him acquainted with the

Jewish problem, he saw fit to study yet another "chain of error," the anti-Semitic tradition in Christian theology. Hay's *Foot of Pride or Europe and the Jews* (30), the result of his research, is a spirited and provocative work which makes its points by juxtaposing medieval and modern texts and accounts and demonstrating thereby how all the stereotypes of both modern Christian and non-Christian anti-Semitism are direct metamorphoses of earlier attitudes. Edward H. Flannery's *Anguish of the Jews* (25) complements Hay's work in that it follows a chronological rather than a thematic arrangement, starting with pre-Christian anti-Semitism and proceeding century by century until modern times. The evolution of modern anti-Semitic attitudes from Christian teachings, finally, is the subject of Jules Isaac's *Teaching of Contempt* (34). As does Hay, Isaac arranges his material topically and follows the method used in *Jésus et Israël (Jesus and Israel)* of allowing the sources to speak for themselves. A wide range of materials, especially from the French scene, is used.

One may conclude this section with a reference to an article surveying the subject of "Luther and the Jews" (62a) which appeared in *Lutheran World*. Aarne Siirala presents this well-known saga from both the non-Lutheran and Lutheran perspectives. The former sees the negative turn in Luther's thinking as a result of frustration in his failure to convert the Jews; the latter, as being rooted in his exegesis of Scripture. Siirala raises questions concerning both the assumptions of the latter approach and some of the larger implications of this approach for Lutheranism in general. Of considerable interest in this connection is Haim Hillel Ben Sasson's study of Jewish awareness of and reaction to Lutheran initiatives in *Harvard Theological Review* LIX (9a).

B. THE MODERN PERIOD

The writings of Hay, Flannery, and Isaac trace the continuity of thought patterns and prejudicial attitudes from the patristic and medieval periods into modern anti-Semitism in both its Christian and non-Christian varieties. A number of studies have been done, attempting to evaluate the effect of Christian preaching and teaching on the attitudes of parishioners towards the Jews, which generally measure the relationship of prejudicial attitudes to degrees

of orthodoxy. *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* (27b), a study by two sociologists, Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, records the results of their survey of the "religious roots of anti-Semitism" and establishes "religious particularism" as a direct cause of anti-Jewish prejudice. Bernhard Olson's excellent study, *Faith and Prejudice* (49) remains one of the best of all these studies, however, in that it does not rely on analyses of responses to black-and-white form questions but rather examines the catechetical literature of four basic theological viewpoints: fundamentalist, conservative, neo-orthodox, and liberal. Its analysis demonstrates that an attempt to establish a direct correlation between orthodoxy and anti-Semitic belief must be branded as simplistic. An important deficiency, however, in the Olson work, which has been corrected in the Glock-Stark study, is the failure to assess properly the role of Christian teachings to reinforce and foster anti-Semitic attitudes. This is particularly significant at a time when an increasing number of Christian theologians are becoming aware that anti-Semitism cannot be seriously combated without coming to grips with this problem. The reader is referred too to A. Roy Eckardt's penetrating study "The Theology of Anti-Semitism" (22) in *Religion in Life* XXXI. The author concludes that doctrinal modifications in themselves, except where such doctrines be overtly anti-Semitic, is not the solution to anti-Semitism. Rather the emphasis should be on the correction of distortions of doctrine stemming from subconscious mechanisms. (See below, "Zionism and the State of Israel.") Finally, Alfred de Quervain's *Das Judentum in der Lehre und Verkündigung der Kirche Heute* (53) in the series *Theologische Existenz Heute* discusses the current situation in this area on the European scene, and the Lutheran perspective is presented in Rudolph Pfisterer's "Judaism in the Preaching and Teaching of the Church," in *Lutheran World* (52a).

The legacy of the patristic and medieval periods had its influence, of course, not only on the pulpit and on popular attitudes, but in the academy as well. Recasting the old attitudes into a new mold, nineteenth-century scholarship waged a new polemic against Judaism in its efforts to stress the advance of Christianity over the parent religion. George Foot Moore's essay, "Christian Writers on Judaism" (45) which has been mentioned above, traces the

techniques and themes of this polemic which centered around the contrast between Christian piety and Jewish legalism on the one hand, and the theme of the impassable transcendental Jewish view of the Diety on the other.² Moore singled out for criticism one work which had and has been most influential in shaping Christian ideas of Judaism, viz., Emil Schürer's *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* (60). While the history of the second commonwealth could not be gainsaid, Moore rejected what he felt were Schürer's attempts to prove "that the strictures on Judaism in the Gospels and the Pauline epistles are fully justified." There were, to be sure, correctives to the work of Schürer and similar investigators, written by Christians, notably, Travers Herford, James Parkes, and Moore himself. Worthy of special mention in this regard is the latter's *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (46), a work which gave Christian readers a view of rabbinic theology disembarassed of prejudicial distortions.

An outstanding study of the fruits of the medieval and patristic legacies is Uriel Tal's *Christians and Jews in the "Second Reich" (1870-1914): A Study in the Rise of German Totalitarianism* (Hebrew; 64a). With a preference for middle-brow writers such as students, the "man in the street," and the average intellectual, Tal presents a careful analysis of the dilemma in which the Jews (especially the liberals) found themselves in their double striving after integration into German society and preservation of their identity as Jews. On the one hand, one encounters the opposition of Christian conservatives who did not trust the Jews to be good Germans since, by rejecting their own nationhood, they had not been good Jews. On the other hand, the very similarity and proximity of liberal Judaism to liberal Christianity provoked the Christian liberals to reject the logic of a separate existence for the Jew. The author treats in detail the development from Christian anti-Semitism to racial anti-Semitism which, in itself, becomes anti-

² This survey has been brought up to date in the first chapter of E. E. Urbach's *HaZal Pirke Erunot ve-De'ot* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1969), pp. 1-14. See also L. H. Silberman, "Judaism and the Christian Theologian," *Journal of Religion* XXXVII (1957), 246-53 in which the author shows "the dangers involved in assuming the 'possibilities of man's present understanding of existence' have a point-to-point correspondence with the 'phenomena of past history' and in then dealing with the past as though it were the present."

Christian. One sees the latter's theoreticians employ traditional Christian critiques of Judaism as a weapon against Christianity itself in their effort to show that the latter was right in trying to extirpate Judaism but wrong in not going far enough. Christianity had to be purged of its Jewish elements—its universalism; its soppish ethics; its squelching of the *joie de vivre* and spontaneity of natural man; its failure to carry the equation "God equals man" to the conclusion that Jesus become the Aryan and the Kingdom of Heaven the German State. In this analysis, the line from the invective of the Second Reich to the slaughter of the Third is clearly traced.

The one event in our time which had the greatest potential for causing a rethinking of Christian attitudes towards the Jews was of course the European Holocaust. In 1948, three years after the end of World War II, the World Council of Churches, meeting in Amsterdam, promulgated a statement concerning the Jews which, while decrying anti-Semitism and expressing similar appropriate sentiments, showed little evidence of a modification of attitudes on basic questions. The report is available in the anthology edited by Göte Hedenquist, *The Church and the Jewish People* (31), a collection of essays by Jews and Christians on contemporary Judaism and the stance of the Church toward it. Most of the essays explore the theological status of the Jewish people as primarily a subject for evangelization, and the discussions center around the proper approach to take to achieve this end, especially in the new State of Israel.

Of roughly the same vintage and the same line is Karl Barth's best known essay on the Jewish question, "The Jewish Problem and the Christian Answer" (5). He too laments the events of the recent past, denounces anti-Semitism, and even gives lip service to Jewish nationalism although rejecting the meaning of Jewish nationhood unless it fits Christian categories of thought. Remarkable is his hypothesis that anti-Semitism stems from the Gentile's resentment of Israel's election when viewed in the light of his failure to mention at all the influence of Christian anti-Jewish teachings. While evangelism is not advocated, the unredeemed character of the Jewish people is made evident as Barth celebrates the mystery of Israel's blindness. One still hears the echo of Fred-

erick the Great's pastor who, on being asked for a proof of Christianity, replied, "Your Majesty, the Jews." Barth's other writings and statements concerning the Jews have been analyzed in detail in *Die Entdeckung des Judentums für die christliche Theologie* (43) by Friedrich Wilhelm Marquardt.

A formal Roman Catholic statement on the Jews took much longer in coming than the report of the World Council of Churches. When it did come in the form of the Vatican II "Declaration on Non-Christian Religions," many among the Jewish people anticipated that it would herald a dramatic change in Jewish-Christian relations while others regarded it with apathy or even indignation. The central issue was, of course, the "deicide" question and the appropriateness of an "exoneration" of the Jews by the Church, again without the slightest hint of contrition for the injustices of two millennia, was held in question. As it turned out, even this "exoneration" was attenuated, and the declaration, in other areas, also, fell short of its anticipated aims. The text of the document with an extensive commentary is found in *The Church and the Jewish People* (8) by Augustine Cardinal Bea, one of the chief and most liberal architects of the schema. The reader is here advised not to read between the lines but beneath them for the footnotes frequently contain revealing *apologiae* for discrepancies between the original and final drafts.

The Church and the Jewish People as a blueprint for action points in the direction of dialogue. Yet the direction and tone which Vatican II-inspired dialogue might take may vary widely as two recent publications would indicate. The one is that of the New Testament scholar Father Jean Daniélou entitled *Dialogue with Israel* (17), a collection of brief essays dealing with a variety of themes, e.g., early Judaism and Christianity, some Jewish views of Jesus, anti-Semitism, and so forth. Although it is, as the title indicates, intended as a contribution to dialogue, the book is a clear example of the kind of impasse reached in an understanding of Judaism when approached by a rigid traditionalist. Of interest is the appended response of Rabbi Jacob B. Agus to several excesses of the work. Dialogue would seem to take on a very different meaning in Father Gregory Baum's "The Doctrinal Basis for Jewish-Christian Dialogue" (7) which appeared in the journal *Dialog*.

The author probes the possibilities of a reevaluation of Judaism in Roman Catholic theology and concludes that the "destiny" of Judaism is not to disappear and give way to Christianity. Judaism continues to exercise a positive role in God's "plan of salvation."

This concession, which radically alters the notion of the Church's mission with respect to the Jews has been as rarely heard in Protestant circles as in Roman Catholic. To be sure, there are important Protestant theologians who have decried attempts at evangelization such as Reinhold Niebuhr ("Christians and Jews in Western Civilization" in *Pious and Secular America* [48] and Markus Barth (*The Broken Wall: A Study of the Epistle to the Ephesians* [61]). Yet their point of view may be far from that of Baum's. Niebuhr, for example, claims that the two faiths, despite differences, are sufficiently alike for the Jew to find God more easily in terms of his own religious heritage than by subjecting himself to the hazards of guilt feelings involved in "conversion to a faith which, whatever its excellencies, must appear to him as a symbol of an oppressive majority culture. . . ." This, coupled with his praise in *Christianity and Crisis* (48a) for "Vatican II's ignoring Pauline authority and thereby satisfying the demand of a Jewish minority for a recognition of its authentic autonomy" indicates that he has little sensitivity to what the "autonomy" demand by the Jews really means. (See the strictures of Steven S. Schwartzschild in "Judaism, Scriptures, and Ecumenism" cited above [61]; also G. Harder, "Christian/Jewish Conversation" in *Lutheran World XI* (1964), 326-336. Harder's remarks are put into perspective through a comparison with K. H. Rengstorff's "The Place of the Jew in the Theology of the Christian Mission," in the same issue (pp. 279-295).

The finest expression of a Protestant Christian recognition of the legitimacy of Judaism and of Israel's existence is A. Roy Eckardt's *Elder and Younger Brothers* (20). Eckardt reviews the theological implications of the role of Jews as the consenting people in the "unbroken Covenant God has made with Israel." He shows that "the messiahship of Jesus is both grounded in and yet discontinuous with the salvation-history of Israel. The existence of the Christian Church in no way annuls Israel's abiding meaning and independent destiny" (from the dust jacket). In a different

formulation, James Parkes ("A Reappraisal of the Christian Attitude Toward Judaism" in *Journal of Bible and Religion XXIX* [52]), affirms Judaism's existence in his thesis that both Judaism and Christianity are needed as complements in that Christianity stresses man as a person while Judaism sees man as a member of a natural community. Finally, Krister Stendahl ("Judaism and Christianity: Then and Now" in *New Theology No. 2* [63]) calls for a reexamination of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity seen as "peoples" rather than "religions," and on the basis of a new scholarly understanding of both Testaments, the contribution of Paul, etc.

C. CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL

A subject worthy of special treatment is the attitude of Christianity towards Zionism and the establishment and existence of the Jewish state. The loss of Jewish national independence early in the Christian era and the stateless condition of the Jewish people became for the Church a cardinal proof of the truth of Christianity. The Jew, who never lost hope in the eventual return, wrote often of the folly of Muslims and Christians who believed that Eretz Israel had become their possession, although he was to wait many centuries before his own hopes could be realized. Although there were notable exceptions, Christianity as such showed little sympathy and considerable scorn for Zionist aspirations. Judah Rosen- that has traced the history of this relationship in two essays, "The State of Israel and the Christian Church" (56) and "The State of Israel in the Light of Christian Theology" (57) which have appeared most recently in his *Hebrew Texts and Studies*. The essays chart the development and significance of the idea of Israel's eternal exile and wandering in Christian theology and document the attitudes and pronouncements of ecclesiastical leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, from the inception of modern Zionism through the establishment of the State. The material in these studies sheds a great deal of light on the indifference or even hostility displayed towards the State of Israel on the part of certain North American churches, especially at the time of the 1967 war. No full study of this problem is available in English, but much of the material is fortunately to be found in Hay's *Foot of Pride*

(30) which analyzes the posture of Europe and America towards the emergence of the State of Israel against this theological background. Of interest too is the material in Pinchas Lapide's *Three Popes and the Jews* (39) which outlines the historical hostility of the papacy (with the exception of Benedict XV) toward the Zionist movement.

Perhaps ironically, Christian fundamentalism, which is often most vocal about the unredeemed character of the Jewish people tends to be most enthusiastic about the State of Israel, seeing in it a fulfillment of biblical prophecy and a sign of the imminent return of Christ. It comes as less of a surprise, then, to discover that at the opposite end of the theological spectrum the situation may find itself reversed.

In *The Crime of Christendom: The Theological Sources of Christian Anti-Semitism* (12), Fred Gladstone Bratton presents a Unitarian-Universalist version of the writings of Hay and Flannery. The work seems less an attempt to heal the wounds of the Jews than to scourge orthodox Christology. The author sees in the latter the principal cause of anti-Semitism which, he claims, will persist until the churches radically revise (or abandon) creed. What follows may suitably be described by what Niebuhr has termed "provisional tolerance." The author stipulates that in order to benefit from an amelioration of Christian attitudes, the Jews will have to abandon their own form of particularism, viz., Zionism, and in effect subscribe to a Jewish counterpart of Unitarian-Universalism. In this context, the following remarks of A. Roy Eckardt are especially relevant: "Is it not conceivable that traditional forms of faith may possess greater insight into the perversity of men, into the bond between inhuman behavior and inhuman idolatry, and into the mysteries of God's work than do less traditional and more rationalistic views? Is it really the case that religious liberals know more or do more about social maladies as discrimination against Jews than traditionalists know or do?" (*The Theology of Anti-Semitism, Religion in Life* XXXI [1962], p. 566.)

Thus do we find on the part of certain representatives of more conservative churches greater sympathy in this regard. Long known is James Parkes' *History of Palestine from 135 A.D. to Modern Times* (51) in which he sets as his task the tracing of the un-

severed connection of the Jewish people with the Holy Land throughout the centuries of the dispersion. A. Roy Eckardt closes his *Elder and Younger Brothers* (20) with a supplement, originally published in *Christian Century*, entitled "Again, Silence in the Churches." The essay reproves the churches for their silence during the Six Day War and advances the case for the State of Israel from a Christian point of view. In this regard, see his *Midstream* article, "Eretz Israel: A Christian Affirmation" (21), in which the author explains his commitment on "Christian grounds to bespeak the integrity of Israel among Jews as among Christians," and his latest volume, *Encounter With Israel: A Challenge to Conscience*, (22a) written in collaboration with his wife. Krister Stendahl's "Judaism and Christianity II: After a Colloquium and a War" (64) in the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* is a continuation of his discussion of the article in *New Theology* No. 2 (63) in the light of the Harvard Jewish-Christian Colloquium of 1966 and the 1967 Israel-Arab war. Of particular interest is the author's position concerning the desirability of a united Jerusalem from a Christian standpoint.