The Internal Foe

The Internal Foe:
Judaism and Anti-Judaism
in the Shaping of Christian Theology

By

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For Peter Worthen (1938-2002)

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FOREWORD

The Old City of Jerusalem is perhaps among the most resonant places on earth for attending to the presence of the past. Certainly that was my experience when I visited it for the first time during the final stages of writing this book. The remarkable excavations in the grounds of the Crusader church of St Anne enable one to gaze down precipitously at buildings from the Middle Ages and late antiquity and rest one's eyes on pavement and pools far beneath even them, which date from more than two thousand years ago. This is but one confirmation of the reality continually encountered in and around the City: that the ground on which we stand, apparently enduring and stable, is only the latest stratum in a series of layers going back over many centuries.

Nor is the sedimentation of these multiple levels simply the result of the cumulative process of intensive human habitation across the millennia. What was built at one level may have been deliberately destroyed by new powers, whose representatives either raised or left others to raise on the remains new monuments to new orders. Or then again it may have been appropriated, its use redefined. The Romans flattened the temple in 70 CE as a mark of the permanent defeat of the Jewish nation. When a Christian emperor became interested in the places most directly related to his new faith's history in the fourth century, the blank ruin where the temple had once stood was carefully preserved as a theological symbol of the end of the former covenant and the replacement of Jewish Israel by the "Catholic" Church. That Church's worship was focused instead on Constantine's immense Basilica of the Resurrection, from which the empty site of the former temple could be properly contemplated. By contrast, the Islamic rulers of Jerusalem in the seventh century eventually turned the Temple Mount into a new holy place, a centre for devout pilgrimage and learning whose twin foci are the still breathtaking Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa mosque. When Christian Crusaders then occupied Jerusalem in the twelfth century, rather than destroying or ignoring what the Islamic empire had created on the site they brought an altar into the Dome of the Rock and rendered it a church for several decades, before, conquered again, it reverted to its original use.

The buildings of Jerusalem's Old City, hidden, excavated and fully standing, testify to the complex processes of negation, adaptation and

assimilation by which the power of the present engages with the given, the resistance of the physical past. Yet that by itself is too bloodless, because for each successive wave of occupation the stones that had been established represented also the lives of those opponents who may have killed and been killed in the battle for supremacy. The ground on which one stands today therefore is not only a complex archaeological record; it has been stained with blood shed in violence many times over, and not just in the distant past. The cost of the beauty that is radiantly present in so many places here is not comfortable to consider. The stones of centuries are traces of human lives and the deaths that ended them.

Yet just as physical remains were not simply erased in their totality but contributed in various ways to the creation of the next new order, so too there was, at different levels in different periods, a cohabitation of peoples and a rich exchange of cultures in this place. In another Crusader church, some distance from Jerusalem itself at Abu Ghosh, Islamic elements show through the stonework and Eastern and Western styles of Christian art come together in the still largely visible frescoes; the conquerors preserve as well as destroy what they sought to overcome, may even indeed arrive at a certain appreciation of it through the very proximity of occupation. Jerusalem itself can be considered a symbol of meeting as well as of conflict, not least between the religious traditions that have contested it and for which it remains a place of intense significance: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

How these—and other—traditions can relate to one another today without violence and the replication of historic hostility, yet also without dissolving their distinctive identities and claims about truth into the corrosive relativism that too easily accommodates a pluralist human world, is a question of great importance, and not only in Jerusalem.[1] For the past fifty years it has steadily progressed into the mainstream of institutional and scholarly attention, as an area of concern not just for adherents of those traditions but for national and even international politics. This study both reflects and hopes to contribute in a small way to that wider discussion.

It does so as a historical study that focuses on Christianity and its relation to Judaism, a relation which remains arguably decisive for the way that Christianity situates itself with regard to all subsequent religious "others", including Islam. In his correspondence during World War I with his friend Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy, Franz Rosenzweig wrote of the Judaism with which he had re-identified in relation to the Christianity to which Rosenstock-Huessy had converted:

> We are the internal foe; don't mix us up with the external one! Our enmity may have to be bitterer than any enmity for the external foe—but all the same—we and you are within the same frontier, in the same Kingdom.[2]

Of course, there would be differing evaluations of the theological position indicated here. And which foe, which other, is ever wholly external? Yet Rosenzweig was convinced that the relationship between Christianity and Judaism differs from the relationship between Christianity and its many subsequent opponents and partners because it is somehow interior to Christianity's identity and development. As an "internal foe," Judaism is both uniquely provocative and uniquely generative for Christianity. Anti-Judaism keeps the Church facing Judaism even as it seeks to push it away: "we are the louse in your fur," as Rosenzweig says in the same passage. The book that follows is perhaps best understood as an attempt to test the value of Rosenzweig's insight with regard to the history of Christian theology.

The findings of such historical inquiry matter not only to scholars but also to all those who speak about and on behalf of Christianity in the contemporary context, because they need to attend with great care to the ground beneath their feet when they do so. Christian theology—the discourse invoked consciously or less consciously by those speaking about or on behalf of Christianity—is itself shaped by a complex series of engagements, often though not always characterized by hostility and violence, with what has been rendered as "other", beginning with Judaism itself. Although those engagements may not be easily visible or accessible to us now, those who would seek to address issues today of religious identity and difference from the perspective of Christian theology need to be aware of how that perspective is itself generated by the shifting and conflicted construction of identity and difference in relation to the other over two thousand years. The more conservative may be fearful of influence through interaction with other religions while the more liberal eagerly anticipate enlightenment from it, but neither may fully appreciate the extent to which the very position from which they approach such interaction in the present has been shaped beneath the surface by a dense maze of intersecting exchanges from the past.

Notes

[1] See e.g. Richard Harries, Norman Solomon and Tim Winter, eds., *Abraham's Children: Jews, Christians and Muslims in Conversation* (London: T & T Clark, 2005); David F. Ford and C. C. Pecknold, eds., *The Promise of Scriptural Reasoning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); David Burrell, *Faith and Freedom: An Interfaith Perspective* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

[2] In Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, ed., *Judaism despite Christianity: The "Letters on Christianity and Judaism" between Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969), 130.

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I started work on the early stages of this book while sitting with my sleeping father in the autumn of 2002, not knowing that the reason for his constant drowsiness was a terminal illness that would soon kill him. Not having had the opportunity to share it with him in any other way, yet knowing that without the wonderful things he gave me it could not exist, I dedicate the book to him.

INTRODUCTION

The book that follows this Introduction is a study of the past for the sake of the present. It offers a partial and inevitably highly selective engagement with the vast topic of Christianity's interaction over two thousand years with Judaism as, in Rosenzweig's phrase, its "internal foe"—Judaism defined by the end of the second century CE as an enemy but one somehow uniquely positioned inside and across the borders of Christian self-understanding. It focuses on theological writings that would only have been accessible to a small number of people at the time yet have remained in many cases profoundly influential. Through reflecting on the history of Christian thinking in relation to Judaism, it hopes to clarify some of the urgent questions facing Christian theology today in our particular context of religious pluralism.

The idea that a richer appreciation of historical realities, however painful the truths with which it confronts us, can enable a more constructive approach to present challenges in inter-religious dialogue, and specifically dialogue between Christians and Jews, is hardly a novel one. Since the 1960s, Christian scholars and formal Church statements have sought to identify what material from the accumulation of theological traditions might need to be rejected or reinterpreted in the light of the imperative to overcome antisemitism and anti-Jewish prejudice within Christianity. The first section of the Introduction presents a brief review and analysis of this literature.

On the other hand, Christian animosity towards Jews and Judaism is only one dimension of the history of Jewish-Christian relations. The significance of the complex processes of interchange between Judaism and Christianity for both religious traditions, not least when attitudes were apparently characterized by violent hostility or resolute indifference, is a theme that has come strongly to the fore in a number of recent historical studies spanning the entirety of Christian history and is perhaps likely to grow more prominent with further exploration.[1] Yet it is not clear that the consequences of that theme for the self-understanding of Christianity in the present and for its deployment of theological resources in dialogue with others have really begun to be grasped.

This book seeks to sketch out new ground in relating these two areas of inquiry not only to one another but to important developments within

Christian theology itself. It attempts to show that the actuality of exposure to Judaism (always mediated through the prior assumptions and expectations of Christians) and the deep commitment to maintaining as (theologically) rational a stance of anti-Judaism together contributed to significant shifts in the articulation of Christian doctrine, not least as dominant forms of rationality themselves changed and brought various degrees of disorientation. Christian thinking is committed to making claims about newness and to situating these claims in relation to Israel—and thereby to engaging with the enduring Judaism that identifies itself as Israel and yet resists them. The second section of the Introduction sets out this approach in more detail while the third provides an overview of the chapters that follow. Their clear implication is that we need to attribute a much more active role to both Judaism and anti-Judaism in the shaping of Christian theology over two thousand years than has previously been recognized.

Christian-Jewish Dialogue and the Interpretation of Christian History

"The Christian-Jewish debate that started nineteen hundred years ago," writes Israel Yuval, "in our day came to a conciliatory close." He gives as the primary factors here the Nazis' Final Solution and the founding of the State of Israel: because of the first, "the anti-Jewish position of Christianity became reprehensible and illegitimate" while the second "made the Christian exegesis of exile and destruction irrelevant."[2] Although forcefully expressed, the general accuracy of this statement needs to be acknowledged. Since the Second World War, a series of important church statements have not only emphatically rejected racist antisemitism but also renounced anti-Judaism in the sense of condemnation of the continuing existence of Judaism as a form of religion, thereby repudiating much that would have passed for normal Christian teaching about Judaism for close to two millennia.[3] These documents are concerned to make it clear that God has not abandoned Israel as his people for the sake of the Church since the coming of Christ, that Jews through history and today are not to be held collectively accountable for the death of Christ, and that therefore in no sense can their sufferings be claimed to reflect God's desire to punish their rejection of him, as if anyone adding to those sufferings might be deemed to be doing something meritorious.[4] There is an evident determination here to cut the connection between Christian theology and the legitimation of any kind of antisemitic attitude or behaviour. This determination and the theological commitments

underpinning it are today shared by influential theologians from across the whole range of major Christian denominations.[5] Sweeping assertions about the legalistic decadence of Judaism by the first century CE, for instance, or Jewish culpability for Jesus' crucifixion, commonplaces of academic Christian theology well into the 1960s, have disappeared from mainstream scholarship, if not necessarily from popular preaching and teaching.[6]

Yet while Christian theologians and church leaders can agree on the rejection of the most prominent aspects of the anti-Judaism that has been a feature of virtually all Christian culture in the past, they find it harder to reach consensus on just what such a rejection might actually entail. Does the negation of those theses about Judaism associated with the "teaching of contempt" have any deeper implications for Christian doctrine, or can they simply be sloughed off and left behind while the enterprise of Christian teaching continues essentially unaffected?[7] It is at this point that historical analysis becomes clearly relevant, because the extent to which other features of Christian doctrine are bound up with a discredited anti-Judaism is at least at one level an invitation to careful historical investigation.

In one of the seminal contributions to the debate within the churches from over thirty years ago, Rosemary Radford Ruether traced the failings of Christianity in its relationship to Judaism right back to the incipient high Christology of the New Testament documents themselves, famously describing anti-Judaism as the "left hand" of (what became) the orthodox doctrine of Christ: if he is the divine Son of God allegedly foretold in the Hebrew scriptures, then those who continue to read those scriptures after his coming and yet still reject him can only thereby render themselves wilfully blind, culpably disobedient and therefore rightly rejected by their God.[8] In line with this analysis, many contemporary advocates of the need for a "post-Holocaust theology" would make the adoption of a "modest" Christology and the abandoning of claims about scriptural fulfilment necessary points of departure for such an endeavour.[9] Ruether's approach might be compared with that of others who, while focusing on different cardinal points of Christian doctrine, such as the resurrection of Christ or salvation through him alone, concur in diagnosing the cause of anti-Judaism in the "absolute" claims of historic Christianity, and therefore recommending a cure that amounts to their relativization.[10] In its assumption that less doctrine means less anti-Judaism, her approach might also be said to find a parallel in the curious argument of Stephen Haynes that the problem with all Christian theological understandings of Judaism is that they understand Judaism in terms of Christian theology. For

Haynes, such theology can only be read as fluctuating expressions of an abiding "witness people myth" whose existence is inherently threatening for Jews.[11]

This kind of response has not however met with universal endorsement in contemporary writing about Christian doctrine, let alone official church statements, even if it retains much currency in liberal circles. Relativism may indeed effectively blunt traditional condemnations, but the same acid equally erodes the value of any theological affirmations Christianity might seek to make. As John Howard Yoder noted,

> Christian shame about Auschwitz is clear, but seldom is it clear what the needed correction is, or why the adjustments that some propose (abandoning Christology? abandoning theology? abandoning God language?) would be good news.[12]

Yoder himself was not entirely unsympathetic to the suggestion that part of the necessary "correction" might involve re-examining some of the inherited Christological language of the Christian churches. Yet this was not because of any willingness on his part to dilute the decisive significance of Jesus as Lord and Christ in the manner that Ruether advocated. It was rather because, according to Yoder, the separation of Christianity from the Judaism within which it originally grew and the consequent development of supersessionism (the notion of the "supersession" or replacement of Israel by the Church as the people of God) as what might be termed an ideology of self-legitimation involved a decisive and regrettable turn toward the Hellenistic, Gentile world in the latter half of the second Christian century, and the attempt to find there the primary resources for Christian theology.[13]

Yoder's identification of the root of supersessionism and therefore anti-Judaism not in the Bible or the claims of historic orthodoxy as such but in the post-biblical development of doctrine in a Hellenizing key can be paralleled in some other influential recent works. For R. Kendall Soulen, for instance, the bracketing out of Israel's history and scripture in the "standard canonical narrative" of creation, fall, redemption and consummation that took hold in the course of the second century left Christian doctrine marked despite its best efforts by the Gnostic tendencies it was struggling to overcome; the Enlightenment then pushed still further the process of removing God from actual history with its contingency and physicality.[14] Dawson, following Hans Frei, tries to identify an understanding of scriptural fulfilment in early Christian sources (from Paul to Origen) that is quite different from Hellenistic allegorizing and its intellectual successors, in order to argue that the fulfilment hermeneutics

encountered here are not in fact generative of supersessionism.[15] If supersessionism, understood as the core of theological anti-Judaism, can be linked to the distortion of Christian teaching by Gnosticism and Hellenism, subsequently compounded by the Enlightenment, then its overcoming can be fruitfully tied to the wider project of re-appropriating biblical and traditional teaching by identifying the misleading effects of those various alien lenses. This is, broadly speaking, the approach of recent contributions by Robert Jenson and Scott Bader Saye as well as Yoder and Soulen.[16] For these theologians, the price of abandoning supersessionism is not the relinquishing of historic Christian orthodoxy but the careful restatement of that orthodoxy from its original texts and sources.

We might note at this point some potential limitations of the perspective represented by these writers, despite the undoubted value of their contributions. To begin with, the terminology of supersessionism itself is open to question, despite its pivotal role in much of the writing on this topic. Rowan Williams' comment about the need for "a better typology of anti-Judaism" is relevant here.[17] One might begin by noting that it is not an inconsequential difference as to whether one speaks of people or of covenant as being superseded. As will be shown in the course of this book, a case can be made that the normative position of pre-modern Christianity at least and of much that follows it is that the Jewish people after Christ remain within God's covenant with Abraham. If they do not accept Jesus as Lord and Messiah, then they remain in it as disobedient children, liable to God's wrath and judgment, but children of the covenant nonetheless. On the other hand, that normative position also takes it absolutely for granted that the covenant made at Sinai with Moses *has* come to an end with the coming of Christ. In other words, the Jewish people as such has not been superseded by the Church, because the covenant with Abraham remains and now includes *both*, but the covenant to which "unconverted" Jews (if religious) think they adhere has indeed been superseded by Christ. Hence their religious way of life is superseded and therefore theologically redundant, but their status as children of Abraham is definitely not.

Such observations are congruent with the argument of George Lindbeck that supersessionism does not stand still but takes significantly different forms over time, particularly before and after the advent of modernity in the seventeenth century.[18] This may be relevant for unravelling the disagreement among contemporary writers wishing to articulate a Christian position "beyond supersessionism" as to whether Christian theology should now be affirming two distinct (if related and

complementary) covenants, for Israel and the Church, Jews and Gentiles, or rather a single covenant within which the currently divergent paths of Israel and Church are nonetheless somehow included. A lack of conceptual clarity about the initial terms of discussion and their historical development perhaps hampers constructive discussion, and the chapters that follow may have something to contribute in this regard.[19]

Another arguable limitation of the perspective offered by Yoder and others is that the historical narratives deployed by these writers could all be described as variations on a version of theological historiography oriented towards establishing a point of "fall", of disintegration or distortion away from some kind of wholeness and balance that can be located in the original witnesses of the tradition. It also tends to be assumed that after this point the same anti-Jewish themes are repeated with only minor variations until the events referred to by Yuval begin to shake theology out of its fateful complacency. As this point of "fall" is judged to lie somewhere between the earliest New Testament texts and the reign of Constantine (earlier for Ruether, later for e.g. Yoder), historical attention tends to be focused on the first three centuries in particular. Beyond what is presumed to be the definitive separation of Christianity and Judaism and the former's adoption of supersessionism as essential teaching, there may be—as Soulen's approach in particular suggests—interest in how that teaching is affected by wider developments within subsequent Christian theology, such as the rise of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and liberal Protestantism in the nineteenth, but these are seen as essentially secondary matters. Moreover, anti-Judaism is taken to be the result of the successive infection of the purity of original sources by various kinds of malign "outside" influence (Gnosticism, Hellenism, the Enlightenment). This seems to close down a number of important questions before they can be properly explored, on the one hand about Christian origins and the extent to which anti-Judaism arises directly from their inherent dynamics rather than from some subsequent process of cultural importation, and on the other about Christian history beyond the supposed site of "fall" and the intertwining of Judaism and anti-Judaism with its subsequent unfolding in ways that remain significantly creative as well as deadening or merely repetitive. One of the ways in which this study seeks to offer a fresh account of theological history is in opening up precisely these areas for careful inquiry.

Jewish-Christian Exchange and the Shaping of Christian Theology

The chapters that follow assume that drawing on some of the more recent historical research about Jewish-Christian interaction, as well as a close reading of specific Christian texts, can enhance the interpretation of the past development of Christian theology in relation to Judaism in important ways. Not least, such research has significantly undermined one of the assumptions that pervaded earlier historical analysis and tends to be reflected also in the work just discussed of Christian theologians when they turn to history: that Jews and Judaism themselves were not significant participants in relevant developments within Christian thought, functioning primarily as the unwilling objects of Christian speculation. That assumption can yield at best a "two-dimensional" view of theological history, in which there is a relationship between Christian theology *about* Jews and internal shifts *within* Christian theology as such.

This book advocates instead the investigation of a "three-dimensional" historical process in which major changes *within* Christian theology, the theological exchange *between* Judaism and Christianity and the (more or less hostile) Christian understanding *of* Judaism are inseparable from one another in their dynamic development. The insertion of theological exchange as a "middle term" here is critical, for it will be argued in the individual chapters that follow that significant shifts in Christian theology cannot in fact be adequately comprehended without some attention to this. As this process of exchange has continued—with peaks and troughs of activity—throughout the history of Christianity in the West, acknowledging its potential importance means attending to periods where it has been particularly intense and creative, periods that have not necessarily received extensive treatment in previous work on Christian theology and anti-Judaism. It is not therefore simply a question of plotting changing Christian understandings of Judaism, or even correlating them with shifting patterns in Christian theology itself. Rather, the internalized anti-Judaism of Christian thinking paradoxically left it open to continual challenge and disturbance from the persisting Jewish "other", encountered both as a cultural force (manifested in texts, learned exchanges and formal debates) and as a presence actual, reconstructed and amplified in the Christian imagination.

This perspective makes it apparent that contemporary dialogue between the two religions, for all the changing terms of reference rightly highlighted by Yuval, nonetheless remains the continuation of a long-standing conversation. The fact that the discourse by which it was

conducted was, from a modern point of view, for the most part disfigured by polemic, misunderstanding and prejudice until very recently cannot render it of no interest to the historian of Christian thought, or allow this interaction to be regarded as therefore inherently valueless and unproductive.[20] The classic writings from the fourth and fifth century doctrinal controversies of Christianity are by and large no better in the handling of their opponents. Polemic was the ordinary mode of self-conscious theological exchange on major issues in the pre-modern period and, to a considerable extent, beyond it. The setting aside of such exchanges and the presentation of Judaism and Christianity instead as parallel but essentially discrete and quite separate religious realities blinkers our reading of this rich history of interaction between the two.[21] However much regret we may have for the ways in which the conversation between Jews and Christians has been conducted in the past, there is nothing to be gained from the illusion that we are doing something wholly original in engaging in dialogue today, not least because the language of our present conversation will have been profoundly shaped by earlier layers of interaction, whether or not we attend to them and no matter how stridently we may repudiate them. To return to the image of the Foreword, we need to understand the shifting levels that constitute the ground on which we stand—and the encounters, conflicts and exchanges that are expressed in that bewildering stratification.

In order to trace this dynamic three-dimensional process and relate it to broader issues in cultural history, the book, after the opening chapter on Christian origins from the New Testament to the second century, deals at some length with three critical periods in the development of Western Christianity: from the later eleventh to the thirteenth century; from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century; and the first half of the twentieth century. These periods are recognizable as times of major transition both for Western Christian theology and for the wider culture in which it was embedded—and as times where the process of Jewish-Christian exchange just referred to acquired particular momentum, which prompts the question of how adapting to new forms of theological reason and responding to new realities of experienced Judaism might be correlated in the development of Christian theology. The "three-dimensional" historical approach, then, will seek to relate transitions in Christian thinking both to the encounter with Jews and Judaism and the exchanges that it generated, and to attempts to make sense of Israel's place in the divine purpose in the past, present and future. One implication of this analysis is that it is misleading to narrate the history of Christian theology—at any point—as the progressive working-out of a set of internally generated questions, rather than as a

story which always involves contingent interaction between a diversity of Christian and non-Christian characters, including, at crucial points, Jewish critics and commentators. The approach taken is, to repeat a point made earlier, necessarily selective; to revert again to the image of the Foreword, the book is better understood as a series of attempts to dig down and thereby shed light on a few of the major layers in the shaping of Christian theology that disclose the importance of Judaism and anti-Judaism in that process, rather than as any kind of comprehensive excavation.

Overview of Chapters

An attempt to interpret the shaping of Christian theology in terms of its interplay with Judaism and anti-Judaism could be seen as a minor scholarly variation on Tom Stoppard's rereading of Hamlet in *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead*: by taking the perspective of some minor characters and viewing the story through their eyes, one might show ingenuity and gain peripheral insights, but little else. The approach that is taken in the chapters that follow, however, reflects my concern to test a specific hypothesis as to why the three-dimensional process of exchange just described might be of much more than marginal significance for the development of Christian theology. The first part of the hypothesis is that since Christian faith begins with the proclamation of good news about Jesus as the Christ, Christian thinking has to produce and explore assertions about what is made new in this Christ. The second part is that because Christian thinking cannot forget that "Christ" means the one though whom God's promises to Israel would come to pass, it also has to consider what account to give of those who identify as Israel after Jesus and yet do not accept him as Christ. The third is that these two subjects are interrelated in Christian thinking: newness in Christ, as the primary subject of Christian theology, cannot easily be severed from the secondary subject of (apparently) enduring, "old" Israel without Christ. Finally, thinking about this secondary subject, in turn, happens in tension with Christians' actual experience (including interpretive prejudgments) of Jews.

If this hypothesis is right, then changing perceptions of Jews might lead to changing theological evaluations of Judaism and hence to shifts in the understanding of the primary subject for Christian theology, newness in Christ. Equally, the direction of influence might run the other way: how newness is understood theologically might shift with implications both for Christian discourse about Judaism and for Christian interaction with, and treatment of, contemporary Jews. In either case, the shaping of Christian theology via exchanges with Judaism and rationalization of anti-Judaism

would be of considerable significance. In fact, I will argue, the influence works in both directions.

The first chapter, "Origins: Towards the Classic Framework," begins by tracing various ways in which the texts of the New Testament negotiate resistance to the central claims about newness made by their writers and communities. Through a reading of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* it then shows how in the second century claims about newness and judgments about resistance begin to crystallize in relation to three major issues: scripture, covenant and people. In relation to scripture, the claim is that Jesus Christ is the definitive fulfilment of the scriptures (fulfilment in Christ), with the emerging judgment that Judaism without faith in Christ cannot understand its own Bible (interpretive blindness). In relation to covenant, the claim is that the covenant with Israel has been renewed by God for Jews and Gentiles through Jesus' death and resurrection (renewal in Christ), with the judgment that the Torah has now been removed from its temporarily central place as the matrix for the divine-human covenant (displacement of Law). In relation to people, the claim is that God's purpose of blessing is being restored in present history through the Christian assemblies / churches (restoration in Christ), with the judgment that history is now marked by a separation between the Church as the faithful people of God and recipient of divine blessing, and the Judaism that holds onto the Law and rejects Jesus Christ as a disobedient people henceforth subject to divine punishment (division of history). This set of claims and corresponding arguments becomes the "classic" framework in Christianity for understanding the newness of Christ in relation to an enduring Judaism that is now conceived as external and hostile to the Catholic Church. It is at this point that facing the other of Judaism and perpetuating a legitimating anti-Judaism both become embedded in the practice of Christian theology.

The second chapter, "Before Modernity: Questions and Continuity," focuses on the Western Middle Ages, in particular the critical period 1050-1300. It argues that the "three-dimensional" interaction between the development of Christian theology, its encounter with Judaism and its perpetuation of anti-Judaism can be traced in the shifts that occurred in explication of the covenant claim and judgment (renewal in Christ / displacement of Torah) and in the process of questioning generated by the people claim and judgment (restoration in Christ / division of history). The emerging preoccupation with reason at this point in Christian theology can be seen as in part provoked by increased awareness of the religious "other" (Islam as well as Judaism) and as fostering modes of theological thinking that tended to be either more rigorously abstract (Anselm on salvation) or

more rigorously historical (Aquinas on the Mosaic Law) than in the first millennium. Ultimately, however, confidence in the scripture claim and judgment (fulfilment in Christ / interpretive blindness), with the practice of allegorical interpretation linking them together, guided Christian theologians in their negotiation of the emerging tensions in this area. It ensured that history in its totality remained the subject of a sustained theological hermeneutics and hence underpinned the adjustments to the classic framework that contributed to its endurance.

The third chapter, "Modernity: Against Fulfilment," considers the very different situation that began to obtain from the seventeenth century onwards. The growing prominence of historical approaches to the Bible decisively affected the normative framework of pre-modernity by undermining confidence in the scripture claim, its attendant judgment and the related principle of scripture's pervasive figural meaning. Instead, what had been a subordinate strategy for articulating Christ's newness, the claim that he represented the culmination of progressive revelation, became the primary way to restate what was "new" about the good news. As in the previous chapter, a dynamic process of interaction is described, centred on the relationship between polemical Jewish-Christian theological exchange, the revolution in the interpretation of scripture within Christian theology and the changing evaluations of Judaism in "modern" theology. The effective replacement of prophetic fulfilment by narratives of historical development (immediately contested) in modernizing Christianity had profound implications, as writers sought to resist the relativization of particular religions by Enlightenment thinkers such as Lessing with the Enlightenment tools of supposedly objective historical scholarship.

"At the End of Modernity: What Is New?" is the title of the fourth chapter. It considers the first five decades of the twentieth century, a period when Judaism and anti-Judaism became conscious subjects for Christian theological consideration in an unprecedented way. It begins with Harnack's *Essence of Christianity* as a revealing summation of the project of "modern" Christian theology outlined in the previous chapter, a project that radically revised claims about newness in Christ while replicating and even intensifying the three judgments about enduring Judaism from the classic framework. Ultimately, Harnack advocated a Christian canon without the Old Testament and Christian history as an era with no use for a Jewish presence. Although they both rejected the liberal world view of nineteenth-century modernity represented by Harnack and both came from Jewish backgrounds, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig reached sharply divergent conclusions in their 1916

correspondence regarding the enduring significance of Judaism for Christianity, eventually leading Rosenzweig to propose a remarkable analysis of the relationship between Christian theology, Jewish reality and anti-Jewish attitudes. Karl Barth's radical re-description of the newness proclaimed by the Christian gospel enabled him to engage in a sustained re-examination of critical elements from the classic framework, a task for which the rise of state sponsored antisemitism in Germany provided the catalyst. Yet the dynamics of that framework in correlating the claim of the gospel with judgment on Judaism continued in his thought. Finally, writings of three Roman Catholic thinkers from these decades, Jacques Maritain, Henri de Lubac and Edith Stein, are shown both to parallel some of the theological moves already identified in the chapter and to suggest points of tension emerging between new theological insights forged in the confrontation with Nazism and the pre-modern framework which none of these writers explicitly repudiated.

"The Misshaping of Christian Theology?" takes a step back from Christian theology to review writings on Christianity by Leo Baeck and Martin Buber, two contrasting Jewish writers from the same period just considered, the first half of the last century. It argues that in their presentation of Christian theology's rejection of elements of Judaism as historically decisive and enduringly problematic, they provide a significant precedent for the current work in its attempt to show the importance of anti-Judaism in the shaping of Christian theology. Yet they also mirror the assumptions of many Christian writers about the essential externality of Judaism to Christianity. Ultimately, their "critical histories" of Christianity in relation to Judaism cannot accommodate the important insights of the preceding chapters.

The final chapter, "Conclusion: The Internal Foe," therefore returns to the model initially proposed by Franz Rosenzweig in his correspondence with Rosenstock-Huessy. It compares this model with two alternative and influential models for understanding the relation of Judaism to Christianity, the "exterior other" and the "estranged sibling". Reflection on the book as a whole, particularly with regard to the important themes of the hermeneutics of history and of reason, ethics and Law, underlines the interpretive power of Rosenzweig's approach. The deep intertwining of Christian self-understanding with Christian understanding of Judaism, and hence experience of Judaism, confirms the initial hypothesis sketched out above as a productive way of developing Rosenzweig's insight through the study of theological history. Yet that approach also leaves us with the uncomfortable question of whether anti-Judaism is indeed intrinsic to Christianity: is Christian theology always bound to regard Judaism as its

"foe", however much it struggles for reconciliation? Two responses are briefly outlined, deriving from contrasting views as to whether Christian claims about the gospel must always generate judgment about the Judaism that does not appear to heed them.

Notes

[1] Judith Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); David N. Myers, *Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[2] Yuval, *Two Nations*, 20-21.

[3] See Helga Croner, ed., *Stepping Stones to Further Jewish-Christian Relations: An Unabridged Collection of Christian Documents* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977). For a collection of Roman Catholic texts including more recent pronouncements, see *Catholic Jewish Relations: Documents from the Holy See*, introduction by Eugene J. Fisher (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1999). The process leading to the statement of the 1988 Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops on "Jews, Christians and Muslims: The Way of Dialogue" is reviewed by Richard Harries, in *After the Evil: Christianity and Judaism in the Shadow of the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 119-124. There are no obvious parallels to be drawn in relation to the Orthodox Churches; cf. the comments of Yves Dubois, "An Orthodox Perspective," in *Christian-Jewish Dialogue: A Reader*, ed. Helen P. Fry (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), 32-35.

[4] E.g. WCC Resolution on Anti-Semitism 1961 and the report of Faith and Order recommended for study in 1968, in Croner, ed., *Stepping Stones*, 72-85; "Notes on the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church (June 24, 1985)," in *Catholic Jewish Relations*, introduction by Fisher, 34-49.

[5] See e.g. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds., *Jews and Christians: People of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Judith H. Banki and John T. Pawlikowski, eds., *Ethics in the Shadow of the Holocaust: Christian and Jewish Perspectives* (Franklin: Sheed & Ward, 2001).

[6] Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology*, trans. Edward Quinn (London: SPCK, 1978).

[7] For an excellent survey of the different positions taken in response to this basic question, see Stephen R. Haynes, "Beware Good News: Faith and Fallacy in Post-Holocaust Christianity," in *Good News after Auschwitz? Christian Faith within a Post-Holocaust World*, ed. Carol Rittner and John K. Roth (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001), 3-20.

[8] Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-semitism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974).

[9] Mary C. Boys, *Has God Only One Blessing? Judaism as a Source of Christian Self-Understanding* (New York: Paulist Press, 2000); cf. Stephen R. Haynes, *The Bonhoeffer Legacy: Post-Holocaust Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), xi, 89 and 97-98.

[10] On the resurrection, see the work of A. Roy Eckhardt, for instance "Salient Christian-Jewish Issues of Today: A Christian Exploration," in *Jews and Christians: Exploring the Past, Present and Future*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 151-184. On soteriology rather than Christology as the critical issue, see Helen Fry, "Towards a Christian Theology of Judaism," in *Christian-Jewish Dialogue*, ed. Fry, 27-30. On the wider question of whether a dose of relativism is the cure to supersessionism, see the remarks of Harries, *After the Evil*, 95-105, commenting on comparable issues in van Buren and Pawlikowski.

[11] Stephen Haynes, *Reluctant Witnesses: Jews and the Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995).

[12] John Howard Yoder, *The Jewish-Christian Schism Revisited*, ed. Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs (London: SCM, 2003), 111.

[13] See especially chapter 1, "It Did Not Have To Be," in Yoder, *Jewish-Christian Schism*, 43-66.

[14] R. Kendall Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996).

[15] John David Dawson, *Christian Figural Reading and the Fashioning of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). At one point, Dawson appears to trace supersessionism to "the failure of trinitarianism" stemming from the philosophy of Hegel (134).

[16] See for instance Robert W. Jenson, "Towards a Christian Theology of Judaism," in *Jews and Christians*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 1-13; Scott Bader-Saye, *Church and Israel after Christendom: The Politics of Election* (Boulder: Westview, 1999), e.g. 53-55.

[17] Rowan Williams, "Bulgakov and Anti-semitism," appendix to *Towards a Russian Political Theology*, by Sergii Bulgakov, ed. Rowan Williams (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 300.

[18] See for instance George Lindbeck, "The Church as Israel: Ecclesiology and Ecumenism," in *Jews and Christians*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 78-94. Cf. Michael G. Cartwright, "'If Abraham is Our Father. . .' The Problem of Christian Supersessionism *after* Yoder," Afterword to *Jewish-Christian Schism*, by Yoder, 207-214, on attempts to differentiate various types of supersessionism.