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Edited by ADAM H. BECKER and ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED

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and the Early Middle Ages

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Foreword

This volume arises from the fortuitous and fortunate coincidence of two originally unrelated events. The first is a series of workshops and colloquia initiated by Peter Schäfer in 2000, with generous funding from John Wilson, formerly Dean of the Princeton University Graduate School. The aim was to foster collaborative research between faculty and doctoral students in the Religions of Late Antiquity subfield of the Department of Religion, while providing the Department's students with unique opportunities for professional development. Each year, two graduate students choose a topic of interdisciplinary interest and, under the guidance of Peter Schäfer, organize a series of workshops on that theme, followed by a colloquium. At each workshop, a graduate student paper is presented, followed by discussion geared towards providing the student with guidance about how best to rework the paper into a formal conference presentation. The student papers are finally presented at the concluding colloquium, alongside papers from the faculty participants and invited scholars from other institutions, who are selected by the two organizers. Following the success of the first colloquium, "In Heaven as it is on Earth: Imagined Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religion" (January 14–15, 2001),[1] planning soon began for a second workshop and colloquium, this time organized by Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed. For this, they conceived of a timely topic that draws on the special strengths of Princeton's Department of Religion: an exploration of the continued interchange between late antique and early medieval Jews and Christians, which approaches the two religions as "Ways that Never Parted."

The second event was the creation of a formal Research Partnership between Princeton and Oxford in April 2001. One of the first twelve projects approved by that Partnership was on "Culture and Religions of the Eastern Mediterranean." Convened by Simon Price at Oxford and Fritz Graf at Princeton, this project seeks to make use of the ample resources of both universities in the area of late antique religions, in order to promote interdisciplinary research and to enhance the excellence of graduate studies through joint projects and graduate student exchanges.[2]

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[1] The papers from the 2001 colloquium will also be published as a volume: *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions,* ed. Ra'anan S. Abusch and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, forthcoming).

[2] For more information, see http://www.classics.ox.ac.uk/faculty/oxprinceton.html.

It soon became clear that the "Ways that Never Parted" project was an ideal fit for the new Oxford–Princeton partnership. Martin Goodman and Simon Price organized a seminar on the same topic, involving Oxford students and faculty from a broad range of related fields, and they oversaw the planning for a group of the Oxford participants to travel to Princeton for the culminating conference on January 9–11, 2002.

As the first event in the Oxford–Princeton Research Partnership, the conference brought together faculty and students from Princeton and Oxford, along with selected speakers from other institutions. As part of the unique combination of interdisciplinary research and graduate student training in the "Culture and Religions of the Eastern Mediterranean" project, Martin Goodman and Simon Price also worked with Fritz Graf to arrange two evening workshops during the conference, at which doctoral students from Oxford and Princeton shared their dissertation research with a group of faculty and students from both institutions. Together with the conference itself, these sessions helped to lay the groundwork for further cooperation and collaboration, strengthening the connections between scholars and students from different fields between (and even within) the two universities. The conference itself was organized by the editors of the present volume, under the guidance of Peter Schäfer, and the expenses were met jointly by Princeton and Oxford. The costs of the conference were covered from the fund established to support the yearly workshops and colloquia in Princeton's Department of Religion, while the Oxford visit and graduate student sessions were generously funded by the Oxford–Princeton Research Partnership.

The "Ways that Never Parted" proved to be a wonderful theme for a conference. A great deal of intellectual excitement was generated by the participation of scholars and students from Princeton, Oxford, and other universities, representing an unusually broad array of fields: Jewish Studies, Christianity, and even Paganism. The present book results from this conference. We believe that it successfully conveys the intellectual vigor of this event and, moreover, offers an excellent indication that the Oxford–Princeton project will go from strength to strength, revolutionizing our understanding of the culture and religions of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

Martin Goodman
Simon Price
Peter Schäfer

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Introduction

Traditional Models and New Directions

by

ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED & ADAM H. BECKER

For those who seek the origins of our modern conceptions of Judaism and Christianity as ultimately related yet essentially distinct religions, the idea of the "Parting of the Ways" proves powerfully attractive, offering a reassuringly ecumenical etiology of the religious differences between present-day Christians and Jews.[1] In this model Judaism and Christianity are likened to two paths that branched off from a single road, never to cross or converge again.[2] Even as their common origin is affirmed, the allegedly fundamental distinction between the two is explained as a result of a mutual decision, long ago, to part their fates and go their separate ways.

Scholars still debate the determinative catalyst for this "Parting" and whether or not such a split was inevitable.[3] Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that there was a fateful turning point in the first or early second century CE, after which "there were no relations between Jews and Christians except hostile ones."[4] As a result, most research on Late

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[1] On the place of contemporary ecumenical concerns in the "Parting" model, see Judith Lieu, "'The Parting of the Ways': Theological Construct or Historical Reality?" *JSNT* 56 (1994): 106–9. On the use of various familial metaphors to communicate the same concepts, see Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Judaism and Christianity* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999), esp. 1–6.

[2] I.e., as illustrated by Figures 1 and 2 in Martin Goodman's piece in this volume, "Modeling the 'Parting of the Ways.'"

[3] See further: James J. D. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1991), esp. 238; idem, ed., *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways, AD 70 to 135* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1992), esp. 367–68; Lawrence Schiffman, "At the Crossroads: Tannaitic Perspectives on the Jewish–Christian Schism," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 155–56.

[4] George Dix, "The Ministry in the Early Church," in *The Apostolic Ministry: Essays on the History and Doctrine of Episcopacy*, ed. K. E. Kirk (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1946), 228. In his view, this situation came into being "after 70."

Antiquity and the early Middle Ages has progressed on the assumptions that (1) Judaism and Christianity developed in relative isolation from one another and (2) the interactions between Jews and Christians after the second century were limited, almost wholly, to polemical conflict and mutual misperception.

Our literary and archaeological data, however, attest a far messier reality than this unilinear spatial metaphor allows. Contrary to the "Parting" model, our sources suggest that developments in both traditions continued to be shaped by contacts between Jews and Christians, as well as by their shared cultural contexts.[5] Even after the second century, the boundaries between "Jewish" and "Christian" identities often remained less than clear, consistent with the ambiguities in the definition of both "Jew" and "Christian."[6] Likewise, attention to the entire range of our extant evidence suggests that the continued diversity of Judaism and Christianity found expression in the variety of ways in which Jews and Christians interacted in different geographical, cultural, and social contexts.[7] Accordingly, a growing number of scholars have begun to challenge the "Parting" model, citing its methodological paucity, its inadequacy as an historical account, and its inability to explain much of our primary evidence.[8] Spurning the simplicity of the notion of a single,

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[5] See, e.g.: Marc Hirshman, *A Rivalry of Genius: Jewish and Christian Biblical Interpretation in Late Antiquity*, trans. B. Stein (Albany: SUNY, 1996); Israel Yuval, "Easter and Passover as Early Jewish–Christian Dialogue," in *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times*, ed. P. Bradshaw and L. Hoffman (Notre Dame: U. of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 98–124; idem, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Dual Perceptions of the Jews and of Christians* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2000) [Hebrew]. Other examples are discussed by Abusch, Koltun-Fromm, Salvesen, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Tropper in this volume.

[6] Ignatius's comments in *Magnesians* 10.3 often serve as the representative example for those who claim that "Jew" and "Christian" became clear-cut and mutually exclusive religious identities in the first century CE. However, counter-examples abound, both from this period and well beyond; see Lieu, "Parting of the Ways," 110–14; Daniel Boyarin, "Semantic Differences; or 'Judaism'/'Christianity'," in this volume.

[7] E.g.: Leonard Victor Rutgers, "Archaeological Evidence for the Interaction of Jews and non-Jews in Antiquity," *AJA* 96 (1992): 101–18; John G. Gager, "Jews, Christians, and the Dangerous Ones in Between" in *Interpretation in Religion*, ed. S. Biderman and B. Scharfstein (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 249–57; W. Kinzig, "'Non-Separatists': Closeness and Co-operation between Jews and Christians in the Fourth Century," *VigChr* 45 (1991): 27–53; R. Kimelman, "Identifying Jews and Christians in Roman Syrio-Palestine" [http://www2.bc.edu/~cunninph/kimelman_identifying.htm]. See also Paula Fredriksen, "What 'Parting of the Ways'? Jews, Gentiles, and the Ancient Mediterranean City," in this volume

[8] Important critiques of this model include Boyarin, *Dying for God*; Lieu, "Parting of the Ways"; P. S. Alexander, "'The Parting of the Ways' from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism," in *Jews and Christians*, 1–26; Steven Katz, "Issues in the

early, and decisive separation between the two religions, many have turned to explore new approaches for understanding the relation-ship(s) between Jews and Christians in the centuries after their purported "Parting."[9]

The present volume seeks to further the discussion and debate about the "Parting of the Ways" by demonstrating what we stand to gain by approaching Judaism and Christianity as "Ways that Never Parted" – or, in other words, as traditions that remained intertwined long after the Second Temple had fallen and the dust had settled from the Jewish revolts against Rome. Whereas most treatments of early Jewish–Christian relations focus on the first and early second centuries CE[10] and/or limit their discussions to the conflicts of later centuries,[11] the articles in this volume consider the points of intersection, sites of interaction, and dynamics of interchange between Jews and Christians in the period between the Bar Kokhba Revolt and the rise of Islam. Rather than approaching Judaism and Christianity as monolithic entities that partook in a single act of separation, we here attempt to illuminate the broad range of regional and cultural variation in the encounters between different biblically-based religious groups – including Jews and Christians, but also those so-called "Jewish Christians" and "Judaizers" who so strain the dichotomous definitions of modern scholarship. In the process, we hope to highlight the value of studying Judaism and Christianity as traditions that continued to impact one another, in constantly changing but consistently meaningful ways, throughout Late Antiquity and into the Middle Ages.

Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70 CE: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 103 (1984): 43–76; Martha Himmelfarb, "The Parting of the Ways Reconsidered: Diversity in Judaism and Jewish–Christian Relations in the Roman Empire, 'A Jewish Perspective'," in *Interwoven Destinies: Jews and Christians Through the Ages*, ed. Eugene Fisher (New York: Paulist, 1993), 47–61; John G. Gager, "The Parting of the Ways: A View from the Perspective of Early Christianity: 'A Christian Perspective'," in *Interwoven Destinies*, 62–73. See also Boyarin, Fredriksen, and Becker in this volume.

[9] Lieu, for instance, stresses that "The problem with the model of the 'parting of the ways' is that, no less than its predecessors on the pages of Harnack or Origen, it operates essentially with the abstract or universal conception of each religion, whereas what we know about is the specific and the local" ("Parting of the Ways," 108).

[10] One refreshing exception to this tendency is the volume, *Christian–Jewish Relations through the Centuries*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), in which contributions about Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages bridge the usual gap between discussions of the New Testament and of the modern period.

[11] A recent example: William Horbury, *Jews and Christians in Contact and Controversy* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).

From Supersessionism to Common Origins and "Parted Ways"

In speaking of the "Parting of the Ways" as an historical model, we here mean to denote the notion of an early and absolute split between Judaism and Christianity, but also the "master narrative" about Jewish and Christian history that pivots on this notion. In its basic parameters, this narrative can be summarized as follows: in the first century CE, Judaism was characterized by great diversity, and the Jesus Movement was still negotiating its relationship to Jews and Judaism, both inside and outside the (still fluid) boundaries of its own communities. As a result, Christ-believers of both Jewish and non-Jewish ethnicities engaged in a range of exchanges with non-Christian Jews, such that even the conflicts between them were typically predicated on close contact and competition. In the wake of the destruction of the Second Temple and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, however, the two religions decisively institutionalized their differences. With the Jerusalem Church's alleged flight to Pella, apostolic "Jewish Christianity" lost its last bastion of authority, and the church would thenceforth be dominated by the antinomian "Gentile Christianity" espoused by the apostle Paul and embraced by non-Jews throughout the Roman Empire. Concurrent with the church's geographical shift from the Land of Israel to the urban centers of the eastern Mediterranean, Christianity emerged as a fully independent system of belief and practice, self-defined as non-Jewish in its theology, its ritual practice, and the ethnicity of its adherents. Instead of dwelling on contemporary forms of Judaism, followers of this religion turned to grapple with their ambivalent relationship to Greco-Roman culture. From that point onwards, Judaism's relevance for Christian self-definition would be limited to the Jewish scriptures that the church appropriated as its Old Testament and to the "literary Jews" of the Christian imagination, constructed from biblical paradigms to serve as pawns in intra-Christian debates.

According to this "master narrative," the parallel developments in Judaism were no less momentous or monolithic.[12] With the rise of the rabbinic movement, it is asserted that the diversity of Second Temple Judaism all but disappeared. The "Council of Yavneh," allegedly convened by Rabban Gamaliel II around 90 CE, put an end to sectarian disputes among the Jews; not only were the Pharisees/Rabbis empowered as the leaders of the whole nation, but they expelled the Christ-believers who remained in their midst by means of the *birkat ha-minim* ("blessing [= curse] on the heretics"). Under the religious leadership of the Rabbis, Jews would choose to live in self-imposed isolation from the rest of the

[12] For a more extensive account of the (rabbinic) Jewish side of the story of the "Parting of the Ways," see Schiffman, "At the Crossroads," 115–56.

Greco-Roman world, just as indifferent to Christians and "pagans" as these Gentiles allegedly were to Jews and Judaism. Even when the Roman Empire became Christian and the enemy "Esau/Edom" truly took on the garb of a brother, Christians and Christianity remained far outside the bounds of Jewish concern, interest, or even curiosity, such that classical Judaism successfully resisted any influence from Christian traditions, beliefs, or practices. And hence – according to the view of early Jewish and Christian history that still dominates the scholarly discourse – these two religions came to be separate, conflicting, and categorically different, even despite their common origins in Second Temple Judaism.

The historicity and plausibility of many elements in this account have been questioned in recent years. For instance, the very concept of a mutual "Parting" owes much to the claimed correspondence between rabbinic traditions about the institution of the *birkat ha-minim* at Yavneh (*b. Berakhot* 28b–29a) and early Christian traditions about the expulsion of Christ-believers from synagogues (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2). However, Peter Schäfer, Daniel Boyarin, and others have convincingly established that the "Council of Yavneh" was a much later construct, rather than an historical event.[13] As such, scholars can no longer point to 90 CE as the end of all early intra-Jewish diversity nor appeal to the *birkat ha-minim* as a Jewish counterpart to (and cause for) Christian anti-Judaism. At the same time, New Testament scholars such as Raymond Brown have shown that the Judaism of the Jesus Movement was hardly limited to a single, Torah-observant "Jewish Christianity" in conflict with a single, anti-nomian "Gentile Christianity," dismissing the traditional assumption that early Christian attitudes towards the Torah were wholly determined by ethnicity.[14] Likewise, Gerd Lüdemann and others have deconstructed the

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[13] See further: Peter Schäfer, "Die sogennante Synode von Jabne," *Judaica* 31 (1975): 54–64 [1: Zur Trennung von Juden und Christen im 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr.], 116–24 [2: Der Abschluss des Kanons]; Daniel Boyarin, "A Tale of Two Synods: Nicaea, Yavneh, and Rabbinic Ecclesiology," *Exemplaria* 12 (2000): 21–62; idem, "Justin Martyr Invents Judaism," *Church History* 70 (2001): 127–32. Furthermore, Reuven Kimelman has shown that the NT and patristic sources traditionally cited in support are far less univocal on this point than some scholars have made them out to be ("*Birkat Ha-Minim* and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, *Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. E. P. Sanders with A. Baumgarten and Alan Mendelson [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981], 234–40). See also Katz, "Issues," 48–53; Günter Stemberger, "Die sogennante 'Synode von Jabne' und das frühe Christentum," *Kairos* 19 (1977): 14–21.

[14] Raymond E. Brown, "Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 74–79.

myth of the Jerusalem Church's flight to Pella,[15] thereby shedding doubt on the widespread view of the demise of authentically apostolic "Jewish Christianity" during the first Jewish Revolt.[16] Furthermore, a variety of scholars have demonstrated that a critical reading of our late antique and early medieval sources does not support any simple model of separation; for even those authors who most vigorously assert the mutual exclusivity of "Judaism" and "Christianity" provide us with many clues about the continued complexity of the situation "on the ground."[17]

Nevertheless, the notion of the "Parting of the Ways" continues to influence contemporary scholarship, particularly with regard to the relationship between Jews and Christians after the second century. When faced with cases in which Jews and Christians clearly interacted, scholars tend to presume as a matter of course that any post-"Parting" contacts must have been exceptional in nature and polemical in thrust. When common traditions are discovered in Jewish and Christian sources, it is usually assumed that these are isolated examples of the unidirectional "influence" of one self-contained entity on another, as opposed to the products of any substantive intercredal interchange or the fruits of their common participation in a shared cultural or discursive context.[18] Evidence that Judaism continued to hold an attraction for some Christians is typically explained away as the idiosyncratic propensities of isolated and individual Judaizers, who are merely "exceptions to the rule" in a church to which "living" forms of Judaism had long become irrelevant. Likewise, evidence for the existence of authors and groups who blurred

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[15] See esp. Gerd Lüdemann, "The Successors of Pre-70 Jerusalem Christianity: A Critical Evaluation of the Pella-Tradition," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 1, *The Shaping of Christianity in the Second and Third Centuries,* ed. E. P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 161–73. For further references, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, "'Jewish Christianity' after the 'Parting of the Ways'," in this volume.

[16] On the problems with the generalizations about the early demise of "Jewish Christianity," as well as the traditional concept of "Jewish Christianity" more broadly, see the contributions by Frankfurter, Gager, and Reed in this volume.

[17] Note the repeated efforts by certain Christians to discourage others from adopting Jewish practices (e.g., *Didascalia* 26), frequenting synagogues (e.g., Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus* 5.8; Chrysostom, *Homilies Against the Jews*, passim), and even calling themselves "Jews" (e.g., Augustine, *Epistle* 196; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 10.16). See further: Judith Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), esp. 39–56; Robert Louis Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1983), esp. 66–94; Gager, "Dangerous Ones in Between."

[18] In most modern scholarship, it is only the "mother religion" Judaism that exerts "influence" on the "daughter religion" Christianity. For the methodological problems with this tendency (and the scholarly category of "influence" more broadly), see Peter Schäfer, *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbala* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002), 217–43, esp. 229–35.

the supposedly firm boundaries between "Jewish" and "Christian" identities is lumped together under the rubric "Jewish Christianity" and dismissed as an anachronistic remnant of an age long past. In short, our data for the complex relationship between Judaism and Christianity in the late antique and early medieval periods are too often read through assumptions about their "parted ways."

To understand the enduring popularity of the concept of the "Parting of the Ways," it is helpful to consider its origins in the reaction against the supersessionist views that once dominated research on post-biblical Judaism and Christian Origins.[19] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the academic discourse on these topics was dominated by Protestant Christian voices, and most scholars viewed Jesus as the founder of a new religion that was, from the very moment of its inception, categorically opposed to the Judaism of its time. Reading the triumphalism of ancient Christian literature as an expression of historical fact, they reconstructed post-biblical Judaism in the image of a religion ripe for replacement by emergent Christianity. The result was the so-called *Spätjudentum* ("late Judaism") described by influential historians such as Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920) and Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930): an allegedly ossified system of belief and practice, a pale reflection of Israel's glorious patriarchal and prophetic past, a legalistic religion purportedly devoid of spiritual value and lacking in any attraction for non-Jews.[20] Inasmuch as this "late Judaism" was dismissed as largely irrelevant to the subsequent growth of the church,[21] it is perhaps not surprising that so few students of Christianity felt any need to peer over – let alone to cross – the disciplinary boundaries that separated

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[19] On the images of Jews and Judaism in earlier research and their relationship to the often vitriolic anti-Judaism/anti-Semitism of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Testament scholarship, see George Foot Moore, "Christian Writers on Judaism," *HTR* 14 (1921): 197–254; Susanna Heschel, "The Image of Judaism in Nineteenth Century New Testament Scholarship in Germany," in *Jewish–Christian Encounters over the Centuries; Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue*, ed. Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 215–40.

[20] See Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums in neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Ruether and Reichard, 1903); see discussion in Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Adolph Harnack's 'The Mission and Expansion of Judaism': Christianity Succeeds Where Judaism Fails," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 163–69; and Andrew S. Jacobs, "The Lion and the Lamb," in this volume.

[21] A related trend is the tendency to depict Christianity – even in the apostolic period – as a Greco-Roman cult with no special link to Judaism at all; see the discussion in Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, "Why the Split? Christians and Jews by the Fourth Century," *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000): 103–7.

them from their counterparts in the field of Jewish History.[22] And, indeed, in light of the bleak image of Judaism once current in Christian scholarship, the lack of movement in the other direction should surprise us even less.[23]

The metaphor of "parted ways" has some precedent in scholarship from this period: in at least one case – a 1912 collection of essays entitled *The Parting of the Roads* – the title of a work compares post-biblical Judaism and early Christianity to two divergent paths, even as the articles therein remain mired in the supersessionist assumptions of the time.[24] The image of "parting" did not become linked to a competing model until decades later, when questions about the origins of anti-Semitism were brought to bear on the study of the New Testament and early Christianity. For this, the key figure was James Parkes (1896–1981), a British clergyman who over his lifetime produced a number of books on Jewish–Christian relations and the history of anti-Semitism.[25] Parkes' interest in these topics was first sparked in the late 1920s, in reaction to the rise of anti-Semitism among nationalist students across Europe.[26] In 1930 he published the first of his many books: *The Jew and his Neighbor*, an exploration of the history of anti-Semitism, which approaches the

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[22] Important exceptions include August Friedrich Gfrörer in the nineteenth century (see e.g. *Kritische Geschichte des Urchristentums* [2 vols.; Stuttgart: Schweizerbart, 1835]) and George Foot Moore in the early twentieth (see esp. his seminal article "Christian Writers on Judaism," on which see below).

[23] The most important exception is Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), whose books were widely read by Christian scholars at the time; furthermore, his approach to Jesus and early Christianity in *Das Judentum und Seine Geschichte* (3 vols., Breslau: Schletter, 1864–71) and other works presages many of the "new" postwar developments discussed below; see further Heschel, "Image of Judaism," 225–32; eadem, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1998).

[24] F. J. Foakes Jackson, ed., *The Parting of the Roads: Studies in the Development of Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: Arnold, 1912), cited in Lieu, "Parting of the Ways," 101, as an "anticipation" of the concept of the "Parting of the Ways." Despite the supersessionist stance of the book as a whole, it is notable that the contribution of Ephraim Levine ("The Breach between Judaism and Christianity") attempts "to trace the narrative of religious progress to the point where Judaism and Christianity parted company" (p. 285) and dates this development to 70 CE – contrary to the view of this development as the result of Paul's genius in understanding Jesus' true message as found, for instance, in the introduction to the book (pp. 11–12).

[25] Sidney Sugarman, Diana Bailey, and David A. Pennie, eds., *A Bibliography of the Printed Works of James Parkes, with Selected Quotations* (Southampton: U. of Southampton Press, 1977). On Parkes' broader project, see Robert Andrew Everett, *Christianity Without Antisemitism: James Parkes and the Jewish–Christian Encounter* (New York: Pergamon, 1993).

[26] For Parkes's memoirs on his "Involvement in the Jewish Question," see *Voyages of Discovery* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1969), 111–35, penned under the pseudonym John Hadham.

massacres of Jews during the First Crusade (1096 CE) as the background to the debates about the "Jewish Question" in his own time.[27] For his Oxford doctoral thesis, Parkes sought to uncover the very roots of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism by going back to the period of Christian Origins and by attempting to pinpoint the initial moment of Christianity's separation from Judaism. The result was his influential 1934 book, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*.[28]

By the time of its publication, Parkes' scholarly work on the prehistory of modern anti-Semitism had become even more relevant to the contemporary situation. On May 1, 1934, the Nazi party periodical *Der Stürmer* issued a special fourteen-page publication accusing Jews of using Christian blood in their Passover baking and other rituals.[29] In the same month of the same year, Parkes began the preface to his book with the following words:

> The publication of a study of the causes of anti-Semitism needs neither justification nor explanation at the present time. But a word may be said of the material offered in the present work. The progress of events from the mediaeval ghetto to modern Europe is fairly well known. That the roots of the present situation lie in the mediaeval past is generally agreed. The present work tries to go a stage further, and to answer the question: why was there a mediaeval ghetto?[30]

Insofar as *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* analyzed the period of Christian Origins as part of a broader inquiry into the causes of modern anti-Semitism, this book represented a radical departure from contemporaneous research on the New Testament, "late Judaism," and early Christianity, which continued to view these topics through the lens of Christian beliefs about the church's deserved status as the new and true Israel. Whereas such studies tended to assume the distinctiveness of Christianity vis-à-vis Judaism even in the lifetime of Jesus, Parkes stressed the continuity of the two in the apostolic age and prioritized the question of the precise moment of their divergence thereafter.

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[27] James Parkes, *The Jew and his Neighbour: A Study of the Causes of Antisemitism* (London: SCM, 1930). For a more recent investigation of Jews and Christians during the First Crusade, see Robert Chazan, *In the Year 1096: The First Crusade and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996); idem, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1987).

[28] James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Anti-Semitism* (London: Soncino, 1934).

[29] The Nazi appropriation of the blood libel myth, together with other traditional tropes of anti-Semitism, led many to seek the origins of Nazi anti-Semitism, despite its special virulence, in the Christian past. On this particular myth, see A. Dundes, ed., *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

[30] Parkes, *Conflict*, vii.

The resultant account of early Jewish–Christian relations anticipated, in nearly every detail, the "Parting" model that now dominates research on these topics. Most notable is the third chapter, which, in fact, bears the title "The Parting of the Ways."[31] Countering assertions about the inherent theological differences between Judaism and Christianity with a socio-political analysis of the events between the birth of Jesus and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Parkes concluded that "the definite separation into two religions took place towards the end of the first century,"[32] and he argued that "the end of the first century is the time of the definite emergence of Christianity as a new religion."[33] Although Parkes himself most often spoke of this critical moment as "the separation,"[34] he can be credited with innovating, articulating, and popularizing the concept of the "Parting of the Ways" as we now know it.[35] This model, in short, owes its origins to the integration of the study of Christian Origins into the historiography of anti-Semitism/anti-Judaism, whereby Christian hostility towards Jews (both modern and medieval) forms the impetus and

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[31] This, to our knowledge, is the earliest attestation of this phrase that reflects its current sense; cf. Lieu, "Parting of the Ways," 101–2, who expresses uncertainty about its exact origins and cites James Dunn's 1991 book as her earliest example. For a critique of Parkes' formulation, see Nicholas de Lange, "James Parkes: A Centenary Lecture," in *Cultures of Ambivalence and Contempt: Studies in Jewish–Non-Jewish Relations*, ed. Siân Jones, Tony Kushner, and Sarah Pearce (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), 42–44.

[32] Parkes, *Conflict*, 91.

[33] Parkes, *Conflict*, 92.

[34] Terms like "the separation" and "the split" would also used by Marcel Simon in his seminal 1948 book *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire Romain (135–42)* (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 1948); English version: *Verus Israel: A Study in the Relations Between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, AD 135–425*, trans. H. McKeating (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1986), xiv. Notably, Simon chooses to begin his inquiry "at the moment when the Church became fully conscious of its own autonomy and universal mission" (p. xii), which he dates to 135 CE, arguing against an earlier date of 70 CE (pp. xiv–xvi, plus his response to critiques of this choice in his 1964 Postscript, pp. 386–88).

[35] Already in the 1950s and 1960s, we find the "Parting of the Ways" used in titles of scholarly books and articles about the separation of Christianity from Judaism in the first or early second century CE; see, e.g., Abraham Cohen, *The Parting of the Ways: Judaism and the Rise of Christianity* (London: Lincolns-Prager, 1954), esp. ch. 5; Morton Scott Enslin, "Parting of the Ways," *JQR* 51 (1961): 177–97. More recent examples are cited above. See also: Robert Murray, "The Parting of the Ways," *Christian–Jewish Relations* 20 (1987): 42–44; Richard Bauckham, "The Parting of the Ways: What Happened and Why," *Studia Theologica* 47 (1993): 135–51; Vincent Martin, *A House Divided: The Parting of the Ways Between Synagogue and Church* (New York: Paulist, 1995).

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