

ANDERS RUNESSON

Judaism for Gentiles

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

494

Mohr Siebeck

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Reading Paul Beyond the Parting
of the Ways Paradigm

In collaboration with

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For Rune and Lisbeth Svenson

Salt of the earth

and in memory of Ann-Marie Christiansson (1931–2021)
whose work among the less fortunate throughout her life
has always been, and remains, an inspiration

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Prologue

For the historian it is a worthy goal to show us
a past as complex as the present.
Martha Himmelfarb¹

My first academic encounter with Paul was angry. Perhaps “academic” is not quite the right word, since this confrontation took place in a religious studies course in high school. And it wasn’t Paul I was angry at; it was Augustine. Or rather, the authors of the (otherwise excellent) textbook, who seemed to present the latter’s interpretation of Romans 9–11 as if it were Paul himself speaking.² How could anyone possibly read these chapters as a theological tractate on predestination? I couldn’t understand it, and for some reason this upset me. I think it may have had something to do with the fact that I found the idea of a god somewhere beyond time determining the fate of human beings – and then judging them based on actions they couldn’t control – peculiar and ethically challenging.³ It may also be that, more generally, in the context in which I transitioned from childhood into adulthood in Sweden in the mid-1980s, a thoroughly secularized society, such theological or philosophical ideas were downright bizarre and embarrassing, as was, indeed, the very thought that God (undefined, but by default the Christian God) could be anything but a figment of human imagination, the outcome of naïve wishful thinking. Regardless, the Pauline text itself seemed to me to be about something else, about the Jewish people understood from the perspective of a writer I, at the time, understood as a Christian.

¹ 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 J. Fisher (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 47–61, here 57.

² Rudolf Johannesson and Martin Gidlund, *Vägar och livsmål: Religionskunskap för gymnasieskolan*, 3rd ed. (Stockholm: Verbum, 1979; in Swedish), 167.

³ As if truth – or a god – somehow had to be ethically acceptable to humans to be believed. Today, I would argue for a close relationship between truth, in its ultimate otherwise concealed forms, and patterns of human and divine behaviour. This is not the place to delve deeper into this subject, however, but cf. discussion below in Ch. 13. (To be fair to Johannesson and Gidlund, they do acknowledge that Augustine’s thoughts on predestination are debated, and that he is more nuanced than many of his readers would lead us to think.)

I channeled my indignation into a term paper I wrote together with a friend, arguing my case in ways only an 18-year old can.⁴ Paul was not writing about any doctrinal issue here, or predestination (as the church had understood it); neither was he presenting his solution to the problem of theodicy or discussing his philosophy of history, all of which had been suggested, too, in the (limited) literature I had read. Instead, I was convinced, Romans 9–11 represented Paul’s attempt at explaining “the relationship between God’s promises to Israel and [the theology of] righteousness through faith,” claiming that there is no contradiction between these two theological entities.⁵ Partly assisted by Anders Nygren’s commentary on Romans from 1947,⁶ I argued that the process supposedly involving divine rejection of the part of Israel that did not accept Jesus as the messiah (Rom 9:30–10:21) was not to be understood as final, but in fact creates the preconditions for the ultimate redemption of Israel as a whole (Rom 11:1–36).⁷

While I certainly would word many of the things I wrote then differently today – quite a few of my statements in that essay still make me cringe – I include this brief autobiographical note to highlight the issue of bias that is today debated especially in relation to the so-called Paul within Judaism (PwJ) perspective. In this debate, some scholars who do not identify with such readings of Paul accuse scholars convinced otherwise of unhistorical interpretations biased in favor of Jewish/Christian dialogue, especially in light of the catastrophic events during World War II and the churches’ attempts thereafter at changing their relationship to the Jewish people for the better.⁸ The third section in Chapter 1 below is dedicated to problems involved in such discussions of bias. In anticipation of that conversation, and in the interest of transparency, recognizing that scholarship is situated,⁹ it may be worth noting already at this point, though, that someone who has never heard of religious dialogue but wants to understand Paul beyond normative church teachings that he finds awkward – such a person can in fact unintentionally end up with a reading that is somewhat similar to some aspects of the PwJ perspective. Bias is inevitable, including my own as described above, but it is difficult to identify and associate with certain results, and should, in any case, never be used as an excuse for abandoning historical discourse or avoiding to engage historical claims with historical argu-

⁴ Torbjörn Sjöholm and Anders Svenson, “Paulus.” Term paper (Kristianstad: Söderportskolan, 1986; in Swedish).

⁵ Sjöholm and Svenson, “Paulus,” 14–15.

⁶ Anders Nygren, *Pauli brev till romarna*, Tolkning av Nya testamentet 6, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1947; in Swedish).

⁷ Sjöholm and Svenson, “Paulus,” 15.

⁸ See below, p. 32–33.

⁹ Cf. the more detailed discussion on situated scholarship by Eric C. Smith, *Jewish Glass and Christian Stone: A Materialist Mapping of the “Parting of the Ways”* (London: Routledge, 2018), 1–6.

ments. In many ways, the present volume continues my early attempts at finding a way back to Paul's voice.

Over the years, I have become convinced that, if our aim is to conjure up a historical Paul based on the letters he wrote, and if we proceed with this project through placing him in a historical and institutional first-century, pre-Rabbinic socio-religious context, then what emerges from the shadows of the past is a Jew proclaiming a Jewish understanding of redemption to non-Jews as divine judgment awaits them around the corner; a Judaism for gentiles to save the world. I have also become convinced through engagement in inter-religious relations and dialogue since the early 1990s that such PwJ readings may assist contemporary Christians as they reposition constructively and in life-affirming ways the Jewish people in their theologies and in their encounters with Jews and Judaism, understanding anew the interdependence of Jews and Christians in their efforts to reimagine the world and build a better future. Likewise, I'm persuaded that Jews learning more about Paul as part of their own pre-Rabbinic history are in a better position to appreciate the ways in which their traditions are intertwined with, and thus also dependent on those they share with Christians. Further, as for contemporary philosophers working with Paul – Jewish, Christian, or secular – while their mission is not and should not be historical readings of Paul, a more clearly articulated awareness of Paul as the historical Jewish Other may influence in productive ways the political dimensions of their discourses. The same, I believe, is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of political discourse more generally, as recent debates on circumcision in Europe and North America have shown when Paul is called upon to support certain legislation.¹⁰ But, and this is a point elaborated further in Chapter 1, the usefulness of exegesis in the contemporary does not invalidate or undermine the historian's profession. Rather, clarifying the orientation and direction of such uses helps us to conceptualize the nature of the historical as related to but unbound by the present, sharpening the tools we use, and, indeed, legitimizing historical research beyond denominational preferences.

It is on the basis of such considerations the present volume is structured, combining essays discussing theology, bias, and terminology with historical chapters placing Paul in context. While far from claiming the final word in the interpretation of Paul in his own time and his use in theology and other contemporary contexts, this book aims to situate the apostle to the nations in the past and present beyond recourse to more traditional understandings of the process usually, and problematically, referred to as the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity.

The book has four parts, which describe a narrative trajectory combining foci on the present context in which research takes place, including issues relating to

¹⁰ On this, see discussion in Ch. 1 below, p. 29–30.

bias, theology, and terminology (Part I), the past that the historian reconstructs and in which we place Paul and those who came after him, from the first to the fifth centuries (Parts II and III), and, finally, a suggested reading of the first-century apostle for a twenty-first century theology, applying insights from the previous chapters (Part IV).

As will be discussed further in the Epilogue, the book's narrative sequence, the *via expositionis*, is not identical to the research process, the *via inventionis*. The latter process, in my view, should ideally follow an "archaeological" procedure starting with the work to be done at the surface before proceeding through the various historical layers. Such a procedure allows us to look carefully at the questions we ask in our contemporary context before we follow them down the rabbit hole, noting along the way how the historical settings we pass through will change the way we perceive our initial query. After an initial attempt at destabilizing common assumptions and uses of terms more generally (I: "Approaching Paul"), it seemed to us better, however, to proceed chronologically when presenting the research, so that the reader may move from Paul into the period when what we call Judaism and Christianity emerged (II: "Reading Paul," and III: "After Paul"). Since most readers of Paul wish to understand him because they believe that what he writes provide explanatory input into the human quest for knowledge about issues of ultimate concern, and since it is not self-evident exactly what a historically reconstructed first-century figure has to do with contemporary theology, the final section suggests a way to integrate this Jewish thinker into Christian theology, with special attention given to theology of religion (IV: "Theologizing Paul"). The chapter included in that section picks up on some of the issues discussed in Chapter 1 and 8, and thus contributes to the wider frame for the collection as a whole.

Taking a closer look at and summarizing the chapters, the following can be said. The purpose of the chapters in Part I, *Approaching Paul*, is to discuss some of the concepts and themes that have had a significant impact on our understanding of the historical Paul, both in terms of methodological strategies and the terminological minefields that lay between us and Paul. Approaching Paul, we need to acquire first of all a sense of where we stand, our own time and place, and perhaps most of all our own wishes for the journey ahead. Without considering such aspects of historical study, our efforts to enter into the process of defamiliarization, which is key to any historical investigation, are easily frustrated, and we are bound to end up gazing at our proverbial mirror image at the bottom of the well. As exegetes and historians, we need to not only delve deeply into the particular problems and aspects of a text that happens to interest us; our relationship to the ancients also requires of us that we take a step back and consider the larger historiographical and methodological contexts that have determined which questions we ask, how we ask them, and what language we use

to answer them. If we do not first attend to such larger issues, the framework for our exegetical inquiries risks skewing the results of our labor.

The chapters that make up Part I, then, constitute the backbone of the more specific work on Paul to follow in Part II. Or perhaps better: they may be approached as an invitation to reposition and reorganize some of the important scenes of the landscape, the backdrop, in which we conjure up the historical Other; the historical Paul. While the issues dealt with in this section are certainly not comprehensive, they are meant to contribute to, a) a foregrounding of our intentions as historians, b) new ways of speaking of historical phenomena we think we know based on current discursive habits, and c) a destabilizing of common ideas about what went on in antiquity more generally as this first-century Jew launched his effort to save the nations from destruction in the soon to come divine judgment. Reflection on matters such as this will, regardless of the conclusions we draw, have important consequences for how we read the letters and understand the person.

Chapter 1 (“Understanding Paul as a First-Century Jew in the Twenty-First Century”) highlights two of the basic convictions upon which the book as a whole rests. First, that historical discourse is possible and legitimate, contains within it an ethical dimension, and constitutes an important part of contemporary theological, philosophical, and other conversations in which recourse to the past is perceived as useful. Second, as the historical always represents the Other in relation to the present, historical study requires analysis of developing trajectories and changes in discursive habits, which constitute assumed links between the past and the present. More often than not, such developments over time describe a pattern where (a) is related to (b), and (b) to (c), but where (c) has very little to do with (a). Uses of the past in the present, in normative contexts, are therefore often subjected to imaginative hermeneutical efforts aiming to establish essential continuity between the ancient and there here and now, cultivating a sense of familiarity and thus ownership.

Consequently, historical understanding of Paul necessitates, I believe, a discussion of terminological issues highlighting key problems and assisting us in the task of *defamiliarizing* ourselves with historical ways of speaking of, relating to, and categorizing the world. This is the purpose of Chapter 2 (“Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity?”), as some of the most common terms used in relation to Paul – “universalism” and “particularism” – are problematized and shown to be unhelpful, indeed misleading, in the study of ancient Judaism and Christianity. The topic of Chapter 3 (“Was there a Christian Mission Before the Fourth Century?”) follows from this, as “mission” is deeply intertwined with such terminology. Here, my aim is to undermine common ideas about what “mission” was or could have been in antiquity. Paul is, very likely, the most famous “missionary” in Christian history, and much of what has been done and proclaimed throughout the centuries has held forth this

person as an example to follow. While, traditionally, Christian scholarship on “Paul the missionary” has served the purpose of positively asserting Christian uniqueness, many scholars today, including Jewish researchers, affirm the uniqueness but without the theological approval. This is likely because mission today, intertwined as it has been with colonial practices, has been seriously challenged on ethical grounds. In the early 1900s (and later), however, several Jewish and Christian scholars argued in favor of the existence in antiquity of Jewish missionary activities.¹¹ At that time such activity was perceived of more generally as indicating the strength of a “religion,” which may explain, at least partly, aspects of these discourses.¹² In this chapter, I suggest a definition of “mission” and argue that phenomena usually collected under this umbrella-term were quite common in antiquity, also among Jews and other Greco-Roman cults. The “missionary” practices that can be reconstructed from Paul’s letters and other texts authored within the Jesus movement, including Acts, were variants on a theme, I suggest, rather than a unique, idiosyncratic phenomenon bursting forth from the minds of a few followers of this Messiah. Of course, if we understand Paul and other Christ-followers at this time as Jews proclaiming a form of Judaism for gentiles, what we see in these texts are, indeed, examples of “Jewish mission.” “Christian” mission, on the other hand, develops in Late Antiquity in partly other directions, which signal more clearly continuity with

¹¹ See, e.g., George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, vol. I: *The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927); Bernard J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1939); Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 1. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952). Pau Figueras, “Epigraphic Evidence for Proselytism in Ancient Judaism,” *Immanuel* 24/25. *The New Testament and Christian-Jewish Dialogue: Studies in Honor of David Flusser* (1990), 194–206, claims, referring to a range of scholars, that “[i]n the periods of the late second temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud, Jewish proselytism is a well established fact” (194); so also Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interaction from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). Note the tendentious argument by D. Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1903), about Jewish mission, which he understood as existing in the Second Temple period but then being replaced by Christian mission after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple: “das Christentum nahm den Judentum die Mission mehr und mehr aus der Hand [...] Das Judentum wird eine Religion der Observanz und des absoluten Beharrens. Das Christentum wird der Erbe des Judentum” (86). Most scholars would understand Jewish mission to be active in the Talmudic period, if not before; cf. Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pointing to the third century as the beginning of real Rabbinic interest in mission to non-Jews (152). For the view that Judaism was probably never missionary, see Shaye J.D. Cohen, “Conversion to Judaism in Historical Perspective: From Biblical Israel to Postbiblical Judaism,” *Conservative Judaism* 36.4 (1983): 31–45.

¹² As the quote from D. Wilhelm Bousset in n. 11 above shows, ideas about the non-existence of Jewish mission after the fall of the Jerusalem temple have been used supersessionally to explain the “victory” of Christianity over “Late Judaism,” the former about to take over the world as the latter recedes into the shadows of its own community.

the phenomena with which we are more familiar today. Chapter 4 (“Entering the Conversation on Paul: Was he a Christian and did he Attend Church?”) closes Part I with a discussion of how we imagine Paul as we speak of him in English and other languages today.

While the chapters in Part I are targeting more general topics with specific relevance for Paul, Part II, *Reading Paul*, narrows the scope to placing Paul in specific contexts and interpreting his letters in those contexts. The purpose of Part II is to show that through reconstructing, from sources other than Paul, first-century Jewish institutional and other spaces and placing Paul in them, Paul materializes not in contrast to those settings but as a Jewish person participating in a Jewish discourse aiming at transforming the non-Jewish world. There is no “Christianity” yet to be found in Paul’s time. Having answered the question in the title of Chapter 4 in the negative, Chapter 5 (“Entering a Synagogue with Paul: First-Century Torah Observance”) is an invitation to shift the conceptual setting from a Christian to a first-century Jewish social and discursive world, and to understand Paul’s Torah observance in institutional contexts beyond the Rabbinic halakhah that later came to define Judaism.

Elaborating on the importance of the institutional settings available to Paul for a historical understanding of him, Chapter 6 (“Paul’s World: Women, Men, and Power”) then argues that mixed membership and women leadership in the *ekklesiiai* Paul took an interest in was not only a matter of fact but also not unique to Christ-groups. While followers of Jesus could organize in different types of associative settings, some of which were exclusively male, others exclusively female, and yet others mixed – the latter being the most common – other Jews and non-Jews did the same. Contrary to much previous research, the argument here is that such women leadership positions in some Christ-groups should not be construed against a “dark background,” neither in Greco-Roman society more generally, nor in Jewish contexts more specifically. Christ-followers were very much part of and integrated into the institutional patterns that existed before they arrived on the scene of history. This chapter thus highlights that by paying close attention to the nuanced “layers” that existed in ancient society, we also gain a more plausible understanding of the diverse roles women played in antiquity, roles that included association leadership, participation in guilds and trade networks, as well as elite patronage. Such insights hold significant bearing when we consider the different ways in which women appear in the Pauline letters, and how we should interpret these.

Understanding the socio-institutional integration of Paul in Jewish and Greco-Roman society leads not only to a more realistic reconstruction of his behavior and the various instructions he sent to the groups he interacted with but may also shed light on the theology he gives expression to in his letters. Chapter 7 (“Placing Paul: Understanding Theological Strategy in Institutional Context”) is devoted to this topic, focusing especially on Gal 3:28 and arguing that Paul is

here theologizing common aspects of associative settings. The effect is a “three-dimensional” theology; the embodied experience of being “in-Christ” in such settings reinforces the ideology surfacing in these verses, and vice versa: the asserted theology explains, controls, and legitimizes the organizational structure of the group as an expression of the eschatological reality proclaimed.

Chapter 8 (“Paul’s Rule in all the *Ekklēsiai*: Finding a Core in his Message”) continues the search for historical Pauline theology. The point of departure for this chapter is the hypothesis that, even if a systematic theology as a modern approach is beyond the range of ancient intellectual habits, understanding ambiguous passages in Paul’s letters requires the identification of a core consisting of key ideas on the basis of which they may be approached. The argument is made that when Paul speaks of a “rule” identified as his own and applied to all Christ-groups (in which he has influence), such a rule contributes to locating aspects of that socio-theological core. First Corinthians 7:17–24 therefore takes center stage in this quest, the analysis of which highlights Paul’s critical understanding not only of ethnicity but also of the relationship between the work of God’s spirit and the human response it stimulates. A reaction which aims to improve on God’s initiative through making individuals ethno-ritually and socially more acceptable in the eyes of God is, for Paul, tantamount to rejecting grace itself, and therefore also the Christ.

As the chapters outlined above will show, submitting Paul to first-century conditions and environments in no way removes him from his Jewish identity and social context, but rather confirms him as a Jewish thinker with an urgent message for non-Jews. This message reveals concerns not to introduce a “parting” between “religious” groups, but in fact the opposite. Chapter 9 (“Paul and the Joining of the Ways”) argues that the ultimate goal of the Pauline program is to establish common ground between Jews and non-Jews and through this unity in diversity produce a world ready to meet the final judgment of the God of Israel, the outcome of which will initiate a new era of human existence through a transformation of creation as such.

This Pauline program aimed at unity in diversity under one God cannot, however, carry the explanatory weight of that which happens next, when joining is turned into parting and ethnic groups are redefined as religious communities. We simply cannot explain the emergence of Christianity based on first-century readings of Paul. In order to understand this eschatologically oriented person and our current relationship to him it is necessary to re-direct our attention to the complex processes extending over several centuries in which apostolic and non-apostolic Jews and non-Jewish Christ-followers come to define their cultic identity and Otherness in relation to one another. As we engage these developments, the historical Otherness of Paul in relation to all Late-Antique parties involved will also emerge, implicitly, in greater clarity. The aim of Part III, *After Paul*, is to engage various relevant developments in this regard. In

the three chapters included here, we shall thus focus on some – but far from all – of the key aspects involved as we try to draw the initial lines of a map through which we can orient ourselves in this territory that lay the foundations for what was to come in the medieval and modern periods.

Chapter 10 (“Jewish and Christian Interaction from the First to the Fifth Century CE”) lays the groundwork for understanding these processes through an analysis of interaction between Jewish and non-Jewish Christ-followers and other Jews until the fifth century, showing how changing social and institutional parameters affect what we would call the “religious.” Archaeological remains are used together with literary texts as issues dealt with include not only Late-Antique Christian “Judaizing” but also Jewish “Christianizing” during a period when the empire tries to turn itself into a mono-religious political culture. Within this broader context, Chapter 11 (“Inventing Christian Identity”) then traces more specifically the historical trajectory from Paul to Theodosius I, who, attacking and persecuting Greco-Roman (‘pagan’) ancestral traditions, elevated (non-Jewish) Christianity to state cult. Finally, in Chapter 12 (“The Rise of Normative Judaism and Christianity”), issues of normativity are addressed in relation to the discursive and physical violence that emerges when the theological and the colonial merge. In these processes, and the reactions to them, the two related but distinct traditions we know today as Judaism and Christianity begin to materialize, marginalizing other expressions of the cult of Israel’s God. The key – indeed classic – question here is the same as the historical concern that underlies the volume as a whole, placing Paul at its center: How did it come to pass that a small messianic movement in the first century, whose leader had been executed by the Roman Empire, rose to power in that same Empire just a few centuries later and was proclaimed state cult in a process which involved an absolute rejection of Judaism, including its messianic forms? The answer to this question, it is argued, will show that not only is the search for the origin of Christianity dependent on the study of Judaism, but also that the rise of Rabbinic Judaism, and thus also of modern forms of Judaism, cannot be understood in isolation from Christianity.

Part IV, *Theologizing Paul*, shifts the focus to modern theological receptions of Paul, in this way bringing us back to the present and the issue of possible uses of a first-century Paul in contemporary theological and political contexts. Chapter 13 (“Reforming the Reformer: Reading Paul with Luther in Contemporary Europe and Beyond”) began its life as a conference presentation in Bratislava, Slovakia, where, as in many other places in Europe and the US today, anti-Semitism is a reality and anti-Jewish theology is as widespread as its preachers seem unaware of its potential disastrous consequences. The focus on Luther here is motivated not only by the European context but also by the undeniable influence the Reformer has had on theology and its historical claims far

beyond the Lutheran churches.¹³ The chapter takes as point of departure that theology for the Reformer, as for so many other interpreters of holy scriptures, is not a disinterested intellectual exercise but a matter of life and death. Drawing on insights from especially Chapters 1 and 8, this essay suggests, tentatively, how Luther can be used against Luther in the search of a life-affirming Christian theology of Jews and Judaism. Theology is always about choice, and with choice comes responsibility. In light of such responsibility, a theological imperative is formulated.

In the Epilogue, finally, I offer a wider discussion of the aims and implications of the volume as a whole. Expanding on themes discussed in Chapter 1, this section orbits questions related to history, text, and intentionality as beyond the normative, since the normative – like choice – always resides in the present. A complicating factor is that history has, in our time, received an authoritative voice based on (secular) methodologies not controlled by doctrinal or ideological parameters, on the one hand, but, on the other hand, reconstructing historical meanings by definition results in conclusions that simply do not fit contemporary matrices of rationality and reasonableness. Our ability to read a first-century Paul in the twenty-first century depends, then, entirely on how we choose to solve the hermeneutical difficulties that follow from this conundrum of which we, ourselves, happen to be part. And this, in turn, makes historians dependent on theologians and philosophers just as much as theology and philosophy are conditioned by the historical.

The research presented in this book has been in the making for many years. Chapters 1 and 13 are new and offered here for the first time, as are the Prologue and Epilogue; the remaining chapters (2–12) represent significantly revised and updated versions of thoughts that have previously appeared in different forms elsewhere.¹⁴ Bringing these studies together here creates, it is hoped, a coherent narrative through the combination of a range of inter-related research trajectories, all of which shed light, from different angles, on the historical Paul and his audiences and thus offer the reader more than the individual parts would be able to when read in isolation. Some approaches and analytical lenses reappear in several chapters, as they represent a basic point of departure for discussing the

¹³ Of course, the Catholic church has its own problems in this regard, even as reforms have taken place continuously since the Second Vatican Council. One of the problems is, as Michael Peppard, “Paul Would be Proud: The New Testament and Jewish–Gentile Respect,” *TS* 76.2 (2015): 260–279, here 269–271, points out, that the official teaching of the church does not reach enough people in the pews. One solution that Peppard points to, beyond educating those who preach, is the necessity of lectionary reform (270–271); on this, see also Eileen Schuller, “Biblical Texts about Purity in Contemporary Christian Lectionaries,” in *Purity and Holiness in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, ed. Carl Ehrlich, Anders Runesson and Eileen Schuller, WUNT 1.305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 283–300.

¹⁴ For details, see List of Original Publications.

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