



# THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 45, Folder 6, Seton Hall convocation: Toward a Theology of Israel, 1968-1970.

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## Toward a Theology of Israel

### A CONVOCATION

Sponsored by



THE INSTITUTE OF  
JUDAE0-CHRISTIAN STUDIES and



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

OBSERVING THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY  
of the  
CONCILIAR STATEMENT ON THE JEWS

October 25-28, 1970  
Seton Hall University

### INTRODUCTION

On October 28, 1965, Vatican Council II adopted the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions which provided a new basis for mutual understanding and creative dialogue between Catholics and Jews.

Whatever the reservations about aspects of the declaration, many constructive results have developed from the Conciliar statement on the Jews. In November, 1966, a year after its promulgation, the Catholic Bishops of this country, in answer to a tribute by American Jewish Committee leaders, warmly reaffirmed the Vatican declaration and the "common heritage of Salvation in the covenant made between God and Abraham and his descendants," and pledged themselves "to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual understanding, of respect, and of cooperation."

In 1967, the American Catholic hierarchy adopted a set of guidelines which advanced Catholic-Jewish relations even further through specific recommendations for combating anti-Semitism, correcting distorted teachings about Jews and Judaism, and eschewing proselytism as a motive for dialogue.

In order to observe the Fifth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies have joined in convening this scholarly colloquium at Seton Hall University.

An anniversary is a time to look back to count one's blessings, and to take stock. We hope to do all this but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given our colloquium the title, "Toward a Theology of Israel."



### CONVOCATION CO-CHAIRMEN

Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

### CONVOCATION CO-ORDINATORS

Rabbi A. James Rudin  
Dr. Gerald Strober  
Sister Rose Albert Thering

### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25

6:45 P.M.

RECEPTION (for the Participants) . . . FACULTY LOUNGE

8:00 P.M.

OPENING PROGRAM . . . . . STUDENT LOUNGE

CHAIRMAN: . . . Monsignor Bernard Law, Executive Director  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical  
and Interreligious Affairs

WELCOME: . . . . . The Reverend Thomas Fahy, President  
Seton Hall University

Philip E. Hoffman, President  
The American Jewish Committee

MESSAGE: . . . . . Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President  
Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity

GREETINGS: . . . . The Most Reverend Charles H. Helmsing  
Bishop of Kansas City, Chairman  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical  
and Interreligious Affairs

OPENING LECTURE: . . . "THE VATICAN STATEMENT  
ON THE JEWS REEXAMINED"  
Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies  
Seton Hall University

RESPONDENTS: . . . . . Professor Manfred Vogel  
Northwestern University  
Dr. Suzanne Knoeffke, O.P., President  
Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisconsin

### MONDAY, OCTOBER 26

9:30 A.M.

CHAIRMAN: . . . . . The Reverend David Hunter  
Deputy General Secretary  
National Council of Churches

LECTURE: . . . . . "THE THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL  
IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE"  
Professor Jaroslav Pelikan  
Yale University

RESPONDENTS: . . . . . Professor Charles Fritsch  
Princeton Theological Seminary  
Professor Edward Synan  
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto

3:30 P.M.

CHAIRMAN: . . . . . Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Temple Israel, Great Neck, N.Y.

LECTURE: . . . . . "A THEOLOGY OF JUDAISM—  
A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE"  
The Reverend Cornelius Rijk, Director  
Vatican Office of Catholic-Jewish Relations

RESPONDENTS: . . . . . Professor Ellis Rivkin  
Hebrew Union College  
Professor Andre LaCocque  
Chicago Theological Seminary



8:00 P.M.

CHAIRMAN: ..... Professor Gerard Sloyan, Chairman  
Department of Religion, Temple University

LECTURE: ..... "A THEOLOGY OF CHRISTIANITY—  
A JEWISH PERSPECTIVE"

Professor Uriel Tal  
Hebrew University

RESPONDENTS: ..... Professor Asher Finkel  
New York University

Professor Marcian Strange, O.S.B.  
Saint Meinrad School of Theology

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27

9:30 A.M.

CHAIRMAN: ..... The Reverend John Sheerin, Editor  
The Catholic World

LECTURE: ..... "A SURVEY AND EVALUATION  
OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS  
SINCE VATICAN II"

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director  
Interreligious Affairs  
The American Jewish Committee

COMMENTS: ..... Rabbi James Rudin  
Dr. Gerald Strober  
The American Jewish Committee

Sister Rose Thering  
Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies  
Seton Hall University

3:30 P.M.

### DISCUSSION GROUPS

8:00 P.M.

CHAIRMAN: ..... The Reverend Patrick Gaffney, S.M.  
St. Louis University

LECTURE: ..... "THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF  
THE STATE OF ISRAEL:  
A JEWISH VIEWPOINT"

Professor Irving Greenberg  
Yeshiva University

RESPONDENTS: ..... Professor Shmaryahu Talmon  
Hebrew University

Professor David Silverman  
Jewish Theological Seminary

## WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28

9:30 A.M.

CHAIRMAN: ..... Dean Leon Jick  
Brandeis University

LECTURE: ..... "THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF  
THE STATE OF ISRAEL:  
A CHRISTIAN VIEWPOINT"

Dr. Charlotte Klein  
Frankfurt University

RESPONDENTS: ..... Professor Roy Eckardt  
Lehigh University

The Reverend Edward H. Flannery  
Executive Secretary, Bishops'  
Commission on Catholic-Jewish Relations

1:00 P.M.

### CLOSING LUNCHEON

CHAIRMAN: ..... Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice-President  
The American Jewish Committee

INVOCATION: ..... Rabbi Arnold A. Lasker, President  
Essex County Board of Rabbis

SUMMARY: ..... "ACHIEVEMENTS AND FUTURE NEEDS"

Professor Abraham Heschel  
Jewish Theological Seminary  
Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Seton Hall University

CLOSING: ..... The Most Reverend Francis J. Mugavero

REMARKS: Bishop of Brooklyn, Episcopal Moderator of  
the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations

BENEDICTION: ..... The Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland  
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## CATHOLIC PARTICIPANTS

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**Greetings by Philip E. Hoffman  
President of The American Jewish Committee  
Delivered at  
Seton Hall Convocation  
Sponsored By  
The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies and The American  
Jewish Committee**  
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**October 25-28, 1970  
Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey**

**Your Excellency, Bishop Helmsing, Reverend Clergy, Ladies & Gentlemen,**

**Our program reminds us that an anniversary is a time to look back and to take stock, and that this occasion is also a time to look forward, to "move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance."**

**Looking back, it is good to see, and to be able to say, how far we have come. I remember the weeks and months when the declaration on the church's relationship with the Jews was before the Fathers of Vatican Council II, and I recall the widespread interest in the Jewish community as to the fate of that document, which so many of us hoped would provide a new basis for Catholic-Jewish understanding. The American Jewish Committee felt it had a particular stake in that declaration for the AJC had brought together in March 1963 Jewish scholars and leaders under the chairmanship of Rabbi Abraham Heschel to meet with the late Augustine Cardinal Bea in our New York offices to discuss our hopes**



The American Jewish Committee is pleased and honored to cosponsor this Convocation, and I am personally delighted to welcome you to this assembly ... particularly since it takes place in my home state of New Jersey, among friends and neighbors. I extend you warmest greetings on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, and wish you success in your deliberations.



for a document which would put an end decisively to the deicide charge against Jews and recommend specific measures to open communication and fellowship between our faith communities. We also felt close to the Council for we had submitted, at the request of Cardinal Bea over a year before the Council opened, a number of scholarly research documents dealing with the image of the Jews in Catholic education documenting some of the inaccurate, prejudicial and, in some cases, hostile statements about Jews and Judaism found in textbooks and liturgy in current use in the United States and other parts of the world. Much of that documentation came from a study carried out by Sister Rose Thering who pioneered in this area through her invaluable study of religious textbooks which became a major part of the St. Louis University project.

Whatever reservations existed in Jewish circles about the final wording of the Declaration, we at AJC were encouraged at its adoption and we have been increasingly heartened by subsequent developments which indicate that Catholic authorities in this country take the Declaration seriously. Better an imperfect declaration positively and sensitively implemented than a perfect document ignored!

I hope that all of us here tonight share the view that the occasion we commemorate -- the promulgation of the Declaration -- represents a beginning, more than a culmination, a challenge for the future, as well as past achievement.



AN INTRODUCTION TO SETON HALL PROGRAM

On October 25, 1965, Vatican Council II adopted by an overwhelming vote the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions which became known popularly as "The Jewish Declaration". In the perspective of the several years during which the various texts of the declaration were considered and revised, the final document could be regarded as a mixed achievement. In the perspective of 1900 years of Jewish-Christian history, the declaration is to be considered as a monumental achievement and a turning point toward improved relations between Catholics and Jews all over the world.

Despite revisions about some of the wording in the final text, it is clear that the declaration became an historic new foundation on which has already been erected substantial accomplishment in uncovering the sources of anti-Semitism and in establishing the bases for deepened mutual understanding and respect between Christians and Jews. The following developments would have been impossible without the passage of the declaration and the entire reeducation process that it helped inaugurate:

The "Guidelines" adopted by the American-Catholic hierarchy in 1967 which spelled out in detail specific instructions for combatting anti-Semitism, correcting teaching about Jews and Judaism, and in general opening meaningful communication between the Catholic and Jewish peoples.

Various sets of guidelines adopted by local dioceses throughout the United States.

Whole new programs of revision of teaching materials and the introduction of new education programs in the religious school systems.

Perhaps the spirit of this movement forward was best summarized in a statement issued by the Catholic Bishops of this country in November 1966 in exchange of tributes between the Bishops and leaders of the American Jewish Committee at a ceremony held at Catholic University on the occasion of the first anniversary of the promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews. This Catholic message was entitled "To all our Jewish friends" and read as follows:

... the Catholic Bishops of this country warmly reaffirm the declaration of the Fathers of Vatican Council II, that Christians and Jews are all children of God, all sharing "His providence, His manifestation of goodness, His saving design."

We recall with deep satisfaction, the patient and friendly dialogue in which so many representatives of the Jewish faith participated during the Council. These personal conversations, extending over a four year period, enriched the Church's awareness of the "spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews," the common heritage of salvation in the covenant made between God and Abraham and his descendents.

In this exchange of tributes, we Catholic people of the United States salute our Jewish brothers anew, and pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual understanding, of respect and of cooperation. It is our prayer that this occasion may inspire further confidence that men of all faiths can aid one another in attaining peace and live as brothers.



In the spirit of this message, and in order to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies have joined in convening this scholarly colloquium at Seton Hall University.

An anniversary is a time to look back to count one's blessings, and to take stock. We hope to do all this but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward, to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given our colloquium the title, "Toward a Theology of Israel."



**"A SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS  
SINCE VATICAN COUNCIL II"**

**A Paper Presented by  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director  
of the American Jewish Committee, New York, New York**

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In cooperation with Sister Rose Albert Thering of the Seton Hall Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies; Mrs. Judith Banki, Rabbi James Rudin, and Dr. Gerald Strober, Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee.

"Toward a Theology of Israel" Convocation, Sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies Observing the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, October 25-28, 1970, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N. J.

The most significant fact in Jewish-Christian relations during the past five years that Vatican Council II inaugurated is that meaningful first steps have been taken to create an emergent new Christian culture within which anti-Semitism can no longer find official church sanction, and in which Judaism is beginning to be appreciated as a permanent source of truth and value for the Jewish people. In that emergent new Christian culture, the Jewish people are being perceived in their own terms, rather than as candidates for conversion, and that constitutes the most significant breakthrough which now makes it increasingly possible to have authentic communication between Judaism and Christianity as religious peers.

That period of five years has also witnessed a growing relaxation of suspicion and defensiveness against the Catholic community



among many Jews, and in this freer atmosphere Jewish thinkers and leaders are beginning to reevaluate seriously, also for the first time in centuries, the Jewish religious convictions about the legitimacy of Christianity as a valid form of salvation for Christians who stand in some true relationship with the Covenant of Israel. That many Catholics have struggled with integrity and sympathy to comprehend the complex but profound bonds that link Jewry with the land and people of Israel has been a strong motivation to many Jews to explore a reciprocal relationship that will contribute to genuine human community with Christians in which religious fellowship, cooperative study, and mutual aid can flourish.

Some in the Christian as well as in the Jewish communities would undoubtedly challenge these summary statements as unwarrantedly optimistic, suggesting perhaps that my judgments regarding "the spirit of the times" of the "emergent new Christian culture" are closer to Goethe's skeptical characterization of the Geist der Zeiten as the historians' "own spirit in which the times are reflected."

Indeed, the historian of ideas, H. Stuart Hughes (Consciousness and Society) says it is legitimate to question, "Who is bold enough to say exactly what this spirit is? Who is confident that he knows how to locate it or to define it?" Hughes answers his own questions, saying, "The paradoxical truth is that the discovery of the spirit of the times is at once a technical near-impossibility

and the intellectual historian's highest achievement."

The fact during the four sessions of Vatican Council II some 2,500 Council Fathers from throughout the inhabited world spent hours deliberating, many with utmost seriousness, the relationship of the Church to the Jewish people and of Christianity's rootedness in Judaism, and articulated its majority concensus through the adoption of the Statement on the Jews argues forcefully for the existence of such a new Christian spirit. Those conciliar deliberations represent in fact the most extraordinary "seminar in Jewish-Christian relations" ever held in the past 1,900 years. That is a far more significant reality than the specific final language of the text. An imperfect text that is vigorously implemented on the key substantive issues is to be preferred over a "perfect text" that is ignored.

The fact that groups of serious and recognized thinkers such as those assembled at this convocation, and at similar other colloquia that have met here and abroad since Vatican Council II, are moving toward sharing common attitudes regarding the respective validities of Judaism and Christianity as co-existing branches of the people of God suggests an emerging new critical consciousness on Jewish-Christian relations that is unique in the perspective of the past two millenia.

Nevertheless, it could be fairly argued, these examples of "the new spirit of the times" involve only a small number of individuals and a serious evaluation ought not to overestimate their



influence. Indeed, there should be no overestimation, but neither should there be underestimation, and I fear that we are frequently guilty of that failing which then sets into motion self-fulfilling prophecies of impotence. From the study of the history of ideas we have learned "only a small number of individuals are actually responsible for the establishment and maintenance" of the fund of ideas and civilized values. The enunciation and development of such ideas eventually will inspire the ruling minorities which Benedetto Croce identifies as "the governing elites." In this way there "filters down" a common store of social, moral, and religious ideas that become the characteristic popular beliefs and practices.

(It may be relevant to observe, as has H. Stuart Hughes, that the Germans, the Austrians, the French, and the Italians in general provided the fund of ideas that has come to seem most characteristic of our own time as reflected in our shared institutions and our intellectual heritage. The guiding pattern of thought of the last fifty years was shaped by the cluster of genius dominated by Sigmund Freud, Max Weber, Benedetto Croce, and Emile Durkheim.)

These observations are intended therefore to reinforce the first conclusion of the decisive importance of the first steps already taken toward the creation of a "new Christian culture" with regard to fresh ideas on Jews, Judaism, and Israel, and toward Christians and Christianity in "the new Jewish culture." Also intended is an underscoring of the indispensability of the "cluster"

of individual scholars who are responsible for establishing and maintaining these revised ideas and values without which nothing lasting or permanent will take place on "lower" levels of culture and society.

There are however at least two serious hazards that attend the work of Jewish and Christian scholars in this field:

The first has to do with the highly individualistic character of scholarship and the academic enterprise itself. A substantial measure of very solid work is being done in Biblical, theological, historical, liturgical and sociological studies directly or indirectly related to Judaism and Christianity and their interrelationship, but because it is being carried out by individuals who are relatively isolated in relatively isolated academic institutions, the impact of this work is either being frittered away, or muted, or is lost altogether. A survey of the scholarship and studies in Jewish-Christian relations discloses, in my opinion, the urgent need for establishing some effective communications center, well-staffed, well-financed, and of high status, that will help focus and augment the impact of the thinking and writing and research that is already going on or that can be stimulated. Ideally, if you will forgive the borrowed image, a "Manhattan Project" in Jewish-Christian relations (and Islamic relations as well) is required if we are at all serious about moving beyond our present halting, scattered probings in this area. During the past three years, I have been discussing such a proposal



with Christian, Jewish, and some Islamic scholars, somewhat in the form of an Institute for Advanced Studies in Jewish-Christian-Islamic Relations that will have both national and international centers, and the response was been quite positive. I have no doubt that such a vital project will come into being in the not too distant future, and I will certainly do everything in my power to help in its realization. Failure to provide such instruments for rational, systematic development of the field may well lead to a loss of the precious momentum released by Vatican Council II, or its diversion into pathways that in the end could demean the entire concern for Jewish-Christian-Islamic Relations as a priority.

The second hazard has to do with the "incestuousness" of scholars and scholarship in this field. As highly as I prize the centrality of academic work in Jewish-Christian relations, unless some more effective way is found for establishing direct, ongoing and effective connections between the "right" ideas about Judaism and Christianity that scholars formulate and the Jewish and Christian communities in which we are rooted, I fear we shall contribute further to perpetuating the crisis in the religious communities of having a group of ecumenical generals who blow their trumpets and find their infantry troops marching off in the opposite direction. We see evidences of such a crisis in the area of religious social action where religious leaders have developed a consensus on liberal social justice causes regarding peace and war, race, anti-poverty,



dissent, and not having paid adequate attention to forming the consciences of their constituents are startled to find at moments of decision that they speak only for themselves and their witness to their churches and synagogues, and to the nation at large, has become severely weakened. It is not inconceivable that scholars and religious leaders can repeat that error in relation to forming a new culture of Jewish-Christian relations.

Participatory democracy is as much an obligation of the academic community committed to Jewish-Christian relations as it is on the university campus. The closing of the gap between the scholars on seminary, college and university faculties and the religious and communal systems in the Christian and Jewish communities that have access to millions of our constituents is indispensable of our new theologies of Israel and of Christianity, and our new historical insights are to become formative forces in the lives of the people of God, and not remain just essays in esoteric journals with which we impress, as well as enlighten, one another. The obligations of participatory democracy is a two-way street - scholars have an obligation to come close to established religious and communal structures and to infuse their ideas into the vast systems of communication; religious institutional leaders have a parallel obligation to involve the academic community on a serious, systematic, and decision-making basis in conceiving programs and implementing them. "The Ethics of the Fathers spoke of "the raising up of

many disciples" as serious a mitzvah as the studying of the Torah itself.

This reflection is occasioned by the fact that Vatican Council II has not only fostered a "new spirit of the times" for the advancing of Jewish-Christian understanding, but has become the foundation on which a number of other important building-blocks have been constructed during the past five years. As has been noted by Father Cornelius Rijk and others, the Vatican Statement on the Jews has become the text around which an oral and written tradition has begun to develop, which in many ways has gone beyond the original declaration. The guidelines of the American Catholic Bishops on Catholic-Jewish relations have not only spoken clearly on such crucial issues as the rejection of proselytism, the uprooting of anti-Semitism in the teaching process, the overcoming of old polemics about the Pharisees, the law versus the gospel, etc. The guidelines have also sparked the creation of local ecumenical and interreligious commissions in dozens of dioceses around the country. Similarly, interreligious groups involving Protestants, Catholics and Jews have been established in numerous communities throughout the nation. Virtually in each instance the involvement of scholars in the deliberations of these bodies would be a vastly energizing contribution to local religious leadership, and at the same time would provide a setting in the reality of religious community life for testing and working out the ideas and conceptions of the scholarly community.



There is a major movement in the religious communities, as there is in other levels of government and voluntary activity, toward decentralization of programming toward the local communities. The adoptions of guidelines by the dioceses of New York-Brooklyn-Queens, of Albany, N. Y.; Cincinnati; Allentown, Pa., and a number of other communities suggests that there is emerging a pattern of strong church support, with parallel Jewish support, for growing and deepening interaction between Christians and Jews in most of the major communities throughout the United States. In 1969, the American Jewish Committee was involved in 104 Jewish-Christian programs. From the Jewish side, if you add the parallel programs of the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Chatauqua Society of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, local Jewish Community Relations Councils, and Rabbinical groups and you have some idea how extensive a network of interreligious relations has already been developed during the past five years.

These local interreligious dialogues have involved scholars (frequently on a single-lecture basis), clergy, religious teachers, seminarians, men, women, youth, mass media representatives. We must resist the urge in this survey to be encyclopedic, if for no other reason than that the data is far too heterogeneous, ranging over all levels and types of sophistication. The materials also are only in small part measurable since the whole range of human expression and interaction between Christians and Jews are involved--their scholar-



Tanenbaum, p. 10

ship, their writing, their speech, their routine social and commercial intercourse, their unorganized as well as their organized sentiments. Suffice it to say, virtually an entire new discipline has emerged in Jewish-Christian relations as well as the structures for the creation of a new culture. It is substantial enough, as well as potentially important enough for the life of our people and our society, to warrant far more attention, care, and intellectual involvement than most of us have given it thus far.



In order to enable scholars and religious leaders to assess the impact of Vatican Council II's Statement on the Jews, and to probe its implications for their future work in Jewish-Christian Relations, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaic-Christian Studies have just completed a detailed, systematic, nationwide survey of the specific changes in educational programming that have taken place during the past five years in response to the call for implementing the objectives of the Conciliar statement. The educational categories surveyed cover curricula courses, teaching methods, examination of textbooks and other materials, institutes on Jewish-Christian relations, use of specialized Christian and Jewish faculty, etc. While members of the AJC and the IJCS knew that some changes had taken place because they had themselves been involved in various programs of implementation in the academic and religious communities, at no time had there been any such systematic study to document and to evaluate the efforts to implement the Vatican Statement. This study is designed to meet that need.

Description of surveys - The surveys were limited to the American scene. Somewhat different surveys were sent to a representative sampling of four key Catholic groups: Catholic seminaries (100); Catholic colleges and universities (227); Catholic high schools (500); and offices of superintendents of diocesan schools (152). No investigation of the elementary curricula was done except that which was covered by the Superintendent's office.

Obviously, some questions directed to seminaries and universities were inappropriate for high schools, and vice versa. However, some key questions were asked of all four categories: whether courses in Jewish studies were provided in the schools, whether the school curricula dealt with present-day Judaism, whether it covered areas such as the Nazi Holocaust, and whether the history or the theological implications of the State of Israel.

Similar questionnaires were also sent to Protestant colleges (344) and seminaries (210).

A version of the questionnaire was also sent to Jewish educational institutions - seminaries, colleges, boards of Jewish education. Unfortunately, the results have not been compiled in time to be included in this survey. They will be included in the final publication of the study. (It should be noted that during this time a study of Jewish elementary and secondary textbooks was carried out by an Orthodox Jewish educator in consultation with AJC regarding the nature of Jewish teaching about Jesus, Christianity, and Jewish-Christian relations.)

The response percentages varied among the Catholic and Protestant groups, and this fact should be kept in mind in any evaluation of these responses. For example, since a smaller percentage of high schools than of colleges and universities responded to the survey, we may assume that only the more interested high schools responded - perhaps those which had already taken some steps to imple-



ment the Conciliar Declaration.

Responses to the survey were:

Catholic:

141 out of 227 colleges and universities, or 65%

31 out of 100 questionnaires for seminaries, or 30%

177 out of 500 high schools, or 35.4%

46 out of 152 superintendents of schools, or 30%

Protestants:

180 out of 344 colleges, or 52%

65 out of 210 seminaries, or 30%

Reviewing the survey responses may help to provide an understanding of the ways in which Christian students and seminarians learn about Jews and Judaism, a question related directly or indirectly to the Conciliar Statement on the Jews. Very few of the institutions have departments of Jewish studies. (For the Catholics, zero percent of the seminaries, and only 1.3% of the colleges; for the Protestants, zero percent of the seminaries and 4% of the colleges.) Nearly half of the institutions do provide separate courses in Jewish studies (44.8% of the Catholic seminaries and 43.2% of the Catholic colleges; 30.7% of the Protestant seminaries and 37.7% of the colleges. 27.3% of Catholic high schools treat Judaism in Comparative Religions. A high percentage of all these institutions (68.9% Catholic colleges; 82.7% Catholic seminaries; 82.1% Catholic high schools; 78.4% Protestant seminaries; and 81.1%

Protestant colleges) offer Scripture and/or Theology courses which specifically treat the relationship of Christianity to Judaism. Only 14.1% of Catholic colleges offer a course covering the intertestamental period, as compared with 50.2% of Protestant colleges; 48.2% of Catholic seminaries offer a course as compared with 26.1% of Protestant seminaries. 55.3% of Catholic high schools teach the Rabbinic background of New Testament in religion classes. 37.8% of Catholic colleges offer a special course on Judaism; 24.1% seminaries.

Do these institutions deal with (the meaning of) the Nazi Holocaust? Here the figures for the institutions of higher learning are much smaller, ranging from zero percent (Protestant seminaries), 2.2% (Protestant colleges), 1.3% (Catholic colleges), to 5.8% in Catholic seminaries. (Catholic high schools reported 23.2% treated the Nazi period in religion courses, and 13.6% did so in Church history courses.)

Courses on the history of Israel?

10.3% of the Catholic seminaries and 5.4% of the Catholic colleges and universities say yes, but only 1.5% of the Protestant seminaries and 6.8% of the Protestant colleges. Catholic high schools report 13.6% yes.

Courses dealing with the theological significance of the State of Israel are comparatively low: Catholic colleges (1.3%), Catholic seminaries (10.3%), Protestant seminaries (zero %), and



Protestant colleges (5.1%). (Catholic high schools - 25.3%).

On the question of whether Jewish scholars are teaching courses in the institutions, the figures are:

7% yes for Catholic seminaries; 42.5% for Catholic colleges; 12.3% for Protestant seminaries; and 20.5% for Protestant colleges. Only 5.3% of the Catholic high schools responded that they had Jewish scholars teaching courses, but almost 70% - a really remarkable figure - responded that they invite a local rabbi to join the class when specifically Jewish subjects are being discussed. Many high schools visit neighboring Temple or Synagogue for added lectures or Sabbath services (57.7%).

What are some of the implications of these figures and statistics?

One possible conclusion is that the two most decisive events which have forged the consciousness of contemporary Jews - the Nazi Holocaust and the rebirth of Israel - are relatively ignored in both Catholic and Protestant seminaries and colleges.

It can also be surmised from the responses that Judaism is taught essentially as a "religion" (in the Theology Dept. or the Dept. of Religious Studies of Catholic colleges, 75.6%; only 29% in History Dept.) and probably most specifically as background for, or prelude to, Christianity. Of course this does not mean that Judaism must necessarily be presented in a negative light. But it does seem appropriate to question whether certain aspects of Judaism which are

critical to Jews as they understand themselves receive full exploration, such as, Jewish historical continuity, the strong sense of Jewish peoplehood, and Jewish religious development in the post-Biblical period as reflected in the oral law and the opinions and decisions of the Talmudic and Rabbinic scholars and teachers.

In other words, even a sympathetic treatment of "Old Testament" Judaism in Christian educational institutions will not likely prepare students for an adequate understanding of contemporary Jews and Judaism.

Interestingly, Catholic high schools score somewhat better on these grounds. Understandably, a smaller percentage of them offer courses in Jewish studies (27.3%), but their responses showed a somewhat fuller treatment of the meaning of the Nazi Holocaust (either in religion or in church history courses). The Catholic high schools also scored a higher percentage on teaching the history of the State of Israel.

The high school responses, incidentally, appeared to be supported by the responses of the diocesan school superintendents. 50% of them responded that the treatment of present-day Judaism was covered in their schools; 56.5% indicated their belief that their religious textbooks carried an adequate and positive treatment of Judaism and its relationship to Christianity; 49% said that the theology of Judaism was part of the curriculum of the secondary schools; and 18% said the schools dealt with the theological sig-



nificance of the State of Israel.

While these questions may point to some negative findings of the survey, they must also be viewed in the light of the past. There is no pre-Vatican II study with which to compare our present results, nevertheless we have no reason to doubt that the responses are better today than they would have been five years ago - and the increased positive interest in Jewish studies and in institutes on Jewish-Christian relations is reflected in the kinds of comments made by the responding institutions. (A sampling of the answers given are carried in the appendix of the study).

For those who do offer courses on Judaism, their evaluation of the courses ranges from good to excellent. (A very small percentage indicated a "poor" response.)

Most institutions indicated visible rewards both in the courses on Judaism and in the institutes. As Sister Rose Albert Thering, O. P., summarizes these responses:

"Almost every college engaged in an implementation of the Conciliar Statement stated, in one way or another, that students, faculty, administration, and the community (both Christian and Jewish) surrounding the institution developed a deeper understanding, awareness, and appreciation not only of each other but of their own faith and tradition. Both Testaments of the Sacred Scripture became more meaningful to the Christians. In these classes, there was focusing on Jewish roots that apparently had not even been

guessed. A deep appreciation of Jewish spirituality resulted. A deep interest in Jewish thought was generated not only as it related to Christianity and present-day situations, but an appreciation of the grandeur of Judaism itself developed.

"An awareness of the injustices meted out to Jews throughout history helped remove latent prejudices, and attitudes moved toward real brotherhood."

In general, a high proportion of the respondents felt that the courses and institutes encouraged Jewish-Christian understanding and friendship; moreover, they appeared to evoke especially good responses among students.<sup>1</sup> A number of graduate students were stimulated to carry out research projects dealing with Biblical, Historical, or liturgical aspects of the interrelationships between Judaism

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<sup>1</sup> Question #27 asked for an evaluation of the institutions' efforts at implementation of the Vatican II Statement. Of Catholic colleges and universities, 27% responded "very good", 28.3% "good", 13% "fair", 6.7% "poor." Among the "very good" responses were such opinions as these:

"In the excellent atmosphere of Jewish-Christian relations here, we feel we have shown that Vatican II was 'for real'...."

"Our student response is excellent."

"Great progress has been made since Vatican II".

(Seminaries) "This institution recognizes its responsibility to implement Vatican II's Statement, and it has taken some significant steps to meet it; much still remains to be done, however."



and Christianity. (In one university, a M. A. comprehensive exam found very knowledgeable responses to the question: "How would you reconcile Matthew's handling of the Jews in the Passion narrative with the Statement of Vatican II?") From the comments of those who answered the questionnaire, it would seem that implementation of the Conciliar Statement was very rewarding. The sampling of Catholic institutions of higher learning (65.5%) shows an overall honest effort to implement the Conciliar Statement, and perhaps most encouraging, many of the institutions which have made beginnings, indicated their desire to do more, and many which have done little have indicated a desire to begin. (Seminaries - "Badly in need of further development and implementation. Hope to do so.") Several schools requested additional copies of the questionnaire as a basis for future programming. (The questionnaire itself has proven to be a tool of teaching, bringing faculty members to an awareness hitherto not present.)

Lack of qualified personnel, lack of funds, and lack of time in already crowded schedules appeared to be the major impediments, rather than lack of interest or leadership, for programming in Jewish-Christian studies.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

In light of the foregoing findings, the authors of this study recommend 1) Colleges, universities, and seminaries should consider including in their curriculum a course related to the Nazi Holocaust,

the history and theology of the State of Israel. These areas could very well be covered in a survey course on Jews, Judaism, or Jewish-Christian relations. A well-prepared faculty member could cover this material in a course on the history of Israel.

2) More attention should be given to the intertestamental period, particularly the Rabbinic background of the New Testament for seminary students who will be the future priests preaching homilies.

3) To help prepare faculty in these areas, institutes of Jewish studies - such as those conducted by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith - need to be continued.

4) High school textbooks, even those with good intergroup orientations, need to consider more adequate treatment of the Nazi period and the State of Israel.

5) A high school curriculum for the history of the State of Israel is needed.

6) High school faculties need to be given more opportunities for further preparation in this field of study so as to be able to teach more adequately courses on Jews and Judaism, the Nazi Holocaust, and the State of Israel. Institutes of studies in Judaism and Christianity offered during the summer months at universities and colleges can make possible the necessary education in these areas which many teachers never received when doing their graduate work in Theology, Sacred Scriptures, or History. Teachers should seek



in-service programs from their local diocesan or archdiocesan officials. School offices could co-sponsor these programs with the local university or college.

7) The Office of Superintendents should consider taking the initiative in providing in-service education in these areas.

8) The setting up of libraries on Jewish-Christian relations in Ecumenical Institutes and in various schools.



BISHOP'S OFFICE  
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Statement by Bishop Mugavero on the occasion of the  
Reception tendered by the American Jewish Committee on  
Thursday, September 17, 1970

I am deeply grateful to Mr. Philip Hoffman and to the other members of the American Jewish Committee who have arranged for this reception today.

The welcome which the Jewish Community has extended to me makes this moment memorable. I had looked forward to this meeting today knowing that I would have the opportunity to renew many old friendships. When I arrived here this afternoon, some of those who welcomed me were old friends and others were, I thought, strangers. I have been pleased to learn that they are not strangers at all but rather friends whom I had never met before.

The honor which the Jewish Community has given to me as a Bishop of the Catholic Church makes this day eventful. This distinguished group of national Jewish leaders has received me into their midst. They have opened their arms to welcome me and by that gesture they have reached out to embrace the entire Catholic Community.

The affectionate tribute which the Jewish Community has paid to me this afternoon as the Moderator of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations



of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops demonstrates that a new age has dawned. We are each the bearers of an ancient message of faith. The Torah and the Gospel have co-existed for almost two millenia. After these many centuries we have entered into a colloquy with each other. We have come here today to consider some of the questions which are of major concern in this dialogue.

The significance of this gathering can be gauged by the caliber of the people who have come here on this occasion. Jewish leaders from all parts of the country have placed this meeting first on their agenda and have journeyed to the Institute of Human Relations to be with us today. Catholics prominent in the field of Catholic-Jewish relations have given this meeting top priority and have travelled to the headquarters of the American Jewish Committee to share this afternoon with us.

The importance of this reception can be measured by the gravity of the questions we have considered. We have conferred on social questions of our day in the hope that, together, we might arrive at the best solutions to the worst of problems. We have directed our attention to the twin phenomena which affect the men of our times: the ebbing of morality and the waning of faith. We trust that the spirit of Western man can be revived at the wellsprings of the Judaeo-Christian Tradition. We have discussed Judaism and Catholicism

and, most of all, we have probed the mystery of our co-existence. Our two faith communities are irreducible; yet, neither of them can be fully understood without reference to the other.

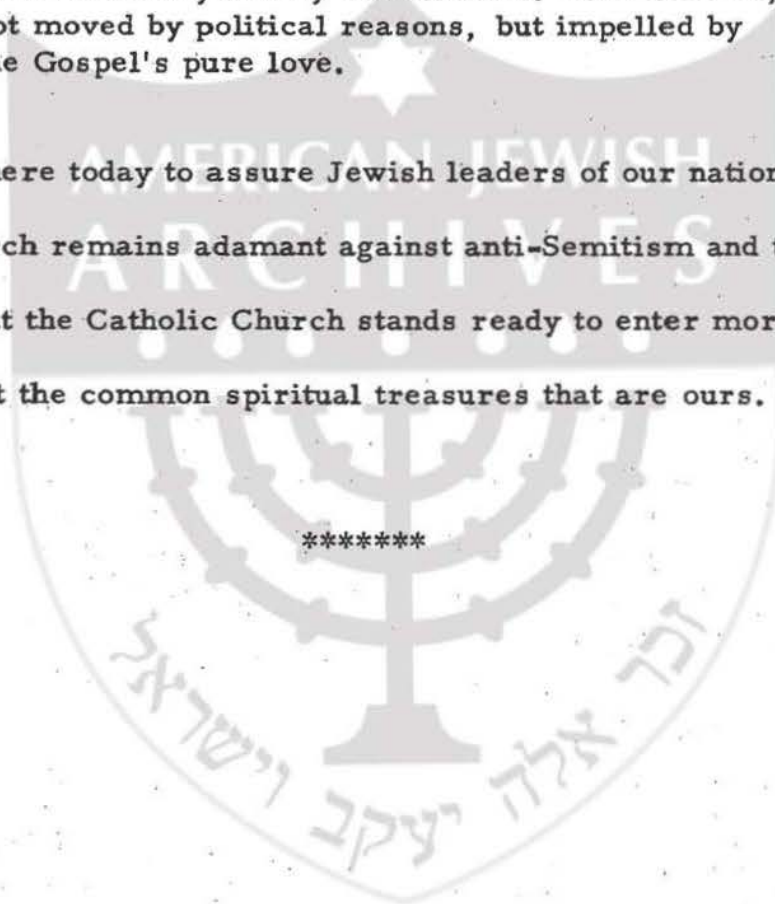
The symbolism of this meeting can be deduced from the very year in which it is taking place. Exactly nineteen hundred years ago Roman legions under Titus marched into Jerusalem. Pagan Rome destroyed the Lord's holy Temple and dispersed the Jews of the Holy Land to the ends of the earth. It is here in the Diaspora that I, a representative of the Church of Rome, have come into contact with Jews living today. By the streams of Babylon, I have seen people weeping as they remember Zion and I have heard people praying for the prosperity of Eretz Yisrael. Twenty-five years ago, Allied troops entered death camps where natural death had become unnatural and were horrified at the lethal machinery which bespoke man's brutality to man. During this last generation, the Holocaust has impressed itself on the mind of man and has made him resolute in the conviction that history will not repeat itself. Five years ago, the Second Vatican Council issued its Declaration on the Jews. The Catholic Church had reflected on the events of 1900 years and considered it necessary once again to re-affirm the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews. The Catholic Church in the light of the vestiges of anti-Semitism in the contemporary world deemed it necessary to state:



The Church, moreover, rejects any persecution against any man. For this reason and for the sake of her common patrimony with the Jews, she denounces hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, staged against the Jews at whatever time in history and by whomsoever. She does so, not moved by political reasons, but impelled by the Gospel's pure love.

I have come here today to assure Jewish leaders of our nation that the Catholic Church remains adamant against anti-Semitism and to give assurance that the Catholic Church stands ready to enter more deeply into dialogue about the common spiritual treasures that are ours.

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A Theology of Judaism - A Christian Perspective

The title of this lecture presents me with an almost impossible task. According to Professor Kurt Hruby from Paris, we are here "in front of a total absence in the Church of a real theology of Israel, which is faithful to the biblical view". (1) We all know the history of relations between Christians and Jews : many dark pages with a few favourable exceptions in which Jews and Christians lived harmoniously together. Although there has been "dialogue", theological disputes and occasional amicable conversations, serious, unbiased theological reflection on this relationship has scarcely ever taken place.

Theological manuals speak about the Old Testament but never about Judaism after the coming of Christ. The general, widespread conviction of Christians and Christian theology is simply that Jews belong to the Church, but refuse to admit it. The words of Cardinal Willebrands at a recent meeting of the Secretariat for Christian Unity : "Christians usually consider Jews either as a fossil of the past or as future Christians, but we must see them as they are", contain elements for a long-term and difficult programme. They indicate not only a new respectful social relationship, not only the elimination of the many conscious or unconscious prejudices which still exist, they also point out the task of discovering, in the light of divine revelation, the significance and the importance of the Jewish people and its religion today; of discovering its specific role in salvation history, of studying the relation between the Church and Judaism.

Undoubtedly, this discovery has begun to be made in recent years. The shocking experiences of the last 30 years have opened many eyes. Movements and organisations have started to create a new climate of relationship; the reality of the Jewish people has been impressed on the non-Jewish world, - a reality which can no longer be denied: Judaism exists as a strong, living, religious reality. This fact has gladdened some people, but has embarrassed and puzzled others. What does this mean ? What does this mean for Christians ? A Spanish



theologian said in 1938 : "if the Jewish people went back to Palestine and established a Jewish state there, this would mean the failure of Christianity".

Since then much has happened. Another social climate is being created in spite of the many problems which still exist, and the growing difficulties of recent years, the Jewish people as such is really beginning to be accepted in human society. Discussions cannot deny the fact of Jewish existence, nor end merely in emphasising its reality, ways must still be found for the co-existence of Jews and non-Jews in a human and harmonious society, - the same applies to Israel and the other nations. Theologians, however, remain silent. Of course, a small number of theologians are really struggling to resolve the question, but for Christian theology, particularly Catholic theology in the main, Judaism does not yet exist.

In such a situation, it is impossible to give a clear description of Catholic theology on Judaism. What I want to do is :

- I. Indicate some conditions of the present development of theological thinking, which seem to be creating a favourable climate for Christian reflection on the relation between the Church and Judaism.
- II. Against this background propose some reflections which might be helpful in finding some light in the mysterious ways of God with his people
- III. Describe a personal tentative of theological reflection on the relation between Judaism and the Church in the plan of God.

I. Elements in modern Christian thinking, favourable to a development of a Christian theology on Judaism

When one looks at the history of Christianity up to the 20th century and its attitude towards Judaism, one gets the impressions that it was almost impossible to develop a real theology on Judaism. I mean by this a real religious reflection on God's acting in and through the Jewish people. There are many historical reasons which seem to explain this fact, such as the deep cleavage between

Church and Judaism about the end of the first century, which led Christianity to separate itself, perhaps too completely, from its sources, at a time when it was confronted with the pagan world. The position of Marcion in the second century is significant in this respect, and his attitude was not only a personal opinion but represented a strong tendency in the Church, which, in one way or another, survived for many centuries. Later the close link between Church and State in Medieval "Christian" Europe, made the Jewish people almost automatically outsiders in every respect, - outsiders to whom the only possible attitude seemed to be that of integration or conversion. After the sixteenth century a defensive and apologetic tendency dominated Christian theology, which seemed to be so much concerned with its inner problem of self-preservation and juridical structure, that there was no room for reflexion on a positive attitude towards others.

In our time, the situation and the theological tendencies of the Church are changing rapidly. A new openness is creating new possibilities. The Church is developing a new awareness of her situation in the world. The Vatican Council has indicated several elements of a real renewal in attitude and thinking. According to Pope John XXIII's intention, this Council was biblical, pastoral and ecumenical, which means that it reflected anew on the origin of the Church in order to be able better to fulfil its mission in the world of today and tomorrow. It emphasised the importance, not only of theology, but also of the daily reality of Christian life and Christian presence in the world. Therefore, it carefully considered the relations between Catholics and other Christians; between Catholics and people of other religions and convictions, - and this in an open, respectful, religious way.

It seems to me that two elements in this picture are of utmost importance for the establishment of new relations with Judaism, and for a Christian theology of Judaism.

a) The Biblical renewal. This movement is, of course, older than the Vatican Council; however, the Council explicitly acknowledged and accepted a really biblical view of the Church and its situation in the world. Christian



thinking and theology are clearly becoming more biblical, in the sense that the whole biblical message and revelation are more seriously considered as the vital source of life and inspiration. Now, the relations between the Church and Judaism cannot be understood without the Bible. Tenach, the Hebrew Bible, reveals the basis, and the origin, of the Jewish people and its religion. Tenach, together with the New Testament, is the basis of the Church. This new awareness of the permanent importance of the Bible may help us to have more light on our relationship with Judaism. As the Council stated : "Like the Christian religion itself, all the preaching of the Church must be nourished and ruled by Sacred Scripture". (2) Here I want to make the following observations:

1. Most theologians who have in fact been interested in Jewish Christian relations, have, in general, studied only New Testament texts, and in particular, Romans 9-11. It must be admitted that these studies have helped to broaden the interpretation of Romans, which, for several centuries was limited to discussions between Catholics and Protestants about justification. All the same, the studies remain almost exclusively within the limits of New Testament texts.
2. There is a general problem among Christians with regard to the so-called Old Testament. I would put it this way : Christians are still struggling with the Old Testament and its meaning for Christians. Scientific, technical studies have always been made about the Old Testament, but its actual meaning for Christians is till very much a problem. Since the Council more Old Testament texts are read in the liturgy, and Christians are increasingly confronted with the books of the whole Bible. However, scholars have not yet been able to indicate clearly the meaning of their message for Christians. In general, the Old Testament is seen exclusively as a preparation and introduction to the New Testament. But, as the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation of the Vatican Council pointed out: "the principal purpose (so, not the exclusive purpose) to which ~~the~~

the plan of the Old Covenant was directed was to prepare for the coming both of Christ, the universal Redeemer, and of the Messianic Kingdom..." (3) The last part of this sentence concerns the establishment of the messianic kingdom, which, according to our Christian conviction, was already realised in Jesus, but still remains to be realised in the world at large. This means that the Church does not co-incide with the Kingdom of God, and that the Old Testament remains a permanent message for Christians too. But, how difficult it is to express the meaning of the Old Testament for Christians is shown for instance by the articles in Concilium, No.10, 1967. And, in general the Old Testament is mostly considered exclusively in function of the New Testament. It may be observed here that the period in which the Old Testament did not play an active role in Christian thinking, coincides with the impossibility of understanding Judaism. The re-discovery of Tenach accompanies a new awareness with regard to Judaism.

3. In this context, a few words on the permanent value of Tenach may be added. The whole Bible is Gospel - Good News - because the whole Bible throws the light of God's Spirit on human history; the whole Bible reveals God and man, God's intentions and man's response. According to the modern exegetical, more anthropocentric approach, we can say, that God revealed himself to Abraham and his descendants, or that Abraham and his stock, under the inspiring presence of the Lord, became clearly conscious of the guidance of the one true God in their history. In their covenant relationship with God they discovered in an ever increasing way, who God is, how he acts, and who man is. Their knowledge and understanding developed in and through daily historical experience. Thus, they knew that man is created by God in his image and that he has been made the master of creation. They knew that this creation and the history of man was incomplete, but that man had been given a task to achieve to complete creation ~~and~~



and history, always as the collaborator of the Lord, who must be respected as God and who always opens new perspectives for the future. This task of man, then, is one of re-creation, of redemption. The exodus from Egypt and Babylon became symbolic for human history, which, according to Israel's conviction, is on the way to paradise, to a new world and a new heaven; the people are always under the judgement of the Lord, to whom it must be faithful through the fulfilment of the mitzvot. Infidelity is punished; exile is a punishment; but the final word is always one of consolation and the vision of a new future. In this sense, the people always has a messianic role to play for the salvation of the whole world.

According to our Christian faith, Jesus came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and his disciples were given the task of accomplishing his work in the world, and in history, always following his example of absolute love and faithfulness to God, always acting in His Spirit. When seen in this way, it is clear that the whole of the Bible keeps an essential and permanent value for all Christians. But this view will, necessarily, have a favourable effect on Christian-Jewish relations, as well as on Christian thinking about Judaism.

b) A second element which I want to mention as indicative of a new possibility for the formulation of a theology on Judaism, is the new awareness of the Church of her relations with non-Christian religions.

It is remarkable how often in discussions about Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations, the question of relations with non-Christian religions is brought up. It is as though a vague awareness exists of the link between Israel and all other religions; an awareness that whoever touches Israel touches the whole world; it means a certain knowledge, or belief concerning the universalism, the link between Israel and the nations.

After much discussion, the Vatican Council put the question of relations

with Judaism in the broad context of world religions, at the same time clearly indicating the specific link between the Church and Judaism. The importance and the implications of this approach have not yet been fully studied, but the beginning of this Vatican Council document should be remembered here, which clearly states the new attitude of the Church towards other religions. Although as far back as the Church Fathers and Christian writers of the first Christian centuries such as Justin the Martyr, attributed all the truths in non-Christian religions to the Word of God who enlightens every man, "through the centuries missionaries often adopted the attitude that non-Christian religions were simply the work of Satan and the missionaries' task was to convert from error to knowledge of the truth". (4)

The Council took a positive stand when it declared "God's providence, his manifestations of goodness and his saving designs extend to all men (5), against the day when the elect will be united in that Holy City ablaze with the splendour of God, where the nations will walk in his light". (6) "From ancient times down to the present, there has existed among diverse peoples a certain perception of that hidden power which hovers over the course of things and over the events of human life; at times, indeed, recognition can be found of a Supreme Divinity and of a Supreme Father too. Such a perception and such a recognition instil the lives of these peoples with a profound religious sense". And the Council continued: "the Catholic Church rejects nothing which is new and holy in these religions. She looks with sincere respect upon those ways of conduct and of life, those rules and teachings which, though differing in many particulars from what she holds and sets forth, nevertheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men". "The Church therefore has this exhortation for her sons: prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture". (7)

It seems to me that these texts are important for a better understanding of relations between the Church and Judaism itself. In fact, this attitude of the



Much thinking and work are still necessary to develop these ideas of revelation and religions, as well as the Church's place and mission in this reality. In a very good article, Gregory Baum has pointed out the complexity of the question and the diversity of views which also appeared during Vatican Council II.

(10)

3) In this context one thing is sure. If the Council wanted to see Judaism in this positive aspect of her view on religious phenomena in the world, and if the paragraph on Judaism is the central point of this Declaration of the Council, then the positive appreciation of the values of other religions applies with much more force to Judaism. It has rightly been observed that Nostra Aetate speaks more about Judaism of the past than of today, but, because of its content, there can be no doubt, that this Church document represents a desire to recognise the values of revelation contained in Judaism of today as well.

## II. Some reflections on Jewish-Christian Relations against the background of biblical renewal and of new contacts with world religions.

A characteristic of the renewal in Christian thinking is its sense of reality. Increasing aversion is noticeable towards a theology which would only be the elaboration of an abstract system of truth, the exclusively speculative reflection on revealed aspects of the deepest reality. Theology is becoming more and more realistic; there is talk of social theology, political theology. This turn in theology is, no doubt, a reaction against the abstract way in which religious reality was dealt with in some centuries. But it is more. It indicates that theologians and Christians in general, have become more aware of the fact that God is acting in historic events, that theology is indeed reflection upon the dynamic presence of the Lord, who continues to reveal himself in history, who, therefore, wants us to read and to interpret the signs of the times. As a theologian recently remarked during the Congress of Concilium in Brussels : theology has left the university and has become part of daily reality.

If this is true and if this attitude finds its expression in a new approach to the Bible as a permanent source and rule of life, as well as in a new openness towards other religions, and in general, to reality, then the following remarks might be helpful as indicative of a development in Christian thinking about Judaism.

1) One has the impression that in Jewish-Christian relations the difficulties have increased in recent years, especially after the Six Days' War of 1967. Many political and politico-religious ideas and tendencies have influenced and complicated these relations. There has been a slowing-down in contacts and dialogues; much criticism of silence; accusation of lack of understanding and involvement, and afterwards increasing discussions and an ever growing field of opposing tendencies.

But the reality of this fact indicates that the question of Judaism, and particularly its essential link with Israel <sup>being</sup> is taken more seriously than ever before. This is seen in more serious studies and talks. It means that friendly social talks between Christians and Jews without real involvement in history are soon going to be things of the past. This may be considered as a new, positive development.

2) The Vatican Council Document on relations between Jews and Christians was certainly not the best possible declaration, but it was a good and quite revolutionary starting point. In the ensuing five years since its promulgation, a rather interesting development in Christian awareness of Jewish reality is noticeable. A certain number of documents and guidelines issued by Bishops' Conferences, or other Church bodies in different countries, show, in fact, an evolution in thinking which, again, is a sign of the reality of the Church, which may be of importance for the future of this relationship.

Let me mention just a few points :

a) One of the reproaches to the Vatican Document was that it spoke about Jews in Christian categories, and did not show any understanding of how Jews think, or how they see themselves. It is a general rule for any contact between people that first and foremost the other must be accepted as he is, not as we would



like him to be, or according to an idea that we cherish. These later documents show a development in thinking in this area. The Council has encouraged studies and dialogue; several sets of guidelines give more details on this point and emphasize reciprocity. They explicitly exclude all forms of proselytism, which means that the religious faith and convictions of the other must be sincerely respected.

- b) Sometimes it may seem that Jewish-Christian relations are important only in countries where Jews and Christians live together. Reflection on Nostra Aetate and the actual situation of the Church in the world have made it clear that this situation "concerns the Church as such, since it is in searching into its own mystery that it comes upon the mystery of Israel. These relations, therefore, touch the Christian conscience and Christian life in all its aspects (liturgy, catechesis, preaching etc.,) in all countries where the Church is established not only in places where it is in direct contact with the Jews". (11) This means that the field of interest is as large as the Church itself.
- c) Many of the later documents emphasise the permanence of religious values in Judaism. Jews and Christians can learn much from one another, and thus deepen their respective faith and tradition. Social collaboration is considered a task of primary importance because the two religions, based on divine revelation, have a conception of the dignity of the human person and of the world, which can contribute considerably to the creation of a society of liberty, peace and justice. A recent remark of Yves Congar (with a slight change, because he was speaking of collaboration among Christians) points out the importance of such collaboration: "It has become evident to me that common involvement in the service of the world in the name of justice, covenant and charity, is a very efficient way of understanding one another, even on the theological level". (12)
- d) Finally, experience and reflection have brought to the fore the significance of Jewish-Christian relations for Christian unity. This unity cannot be attained without returning to the sources of Christianity, and precisely ~~to~~ confrontation with Judaism leads Christians to reflect upon their origin and the sources of

their faith.

To conclude, I think it legitimate to say that the influence of a renewed approach to the Bible, a new openness to reality, to other religions and to Judaism is beginning to create a climate favourable to the elaboration of a Christian theology about Judaism.

After these remarks which indicate the background of a Christian theological view of Judaism (13), I would like to make some more precise observations concerning the permanent validity of Judaism.

1) If, as has already been observed, according to Christian theology, the world religions are a way of salvation for the nations, the Jewish religion is so even more. There can be no doubt that the books of the Tenach and the whole Jewish tradition look forward to the coming of the messianic age, the kingdom of God. And, if Christian faith and theology proclaim the coming of Jesus as the Messiah and the kingdom of God, they readily state that the messianic age is only fulfilled in the person of Jesus in principle, and is a beginning in the Church. It means that there is still room for expectation and preparation for the final kingdom. It is well known, that the fundamental Christian attitude as expressed in the New Testament books, is determined by an eschatological tension concerning not only the return of Jesus in glory, but also a real involvement of Jesus' disciples in history to prepare for that final kingdom. The words of Peter for example are very clear in this respect, when he exhorts Christians to live "in holiness and godliness, awaiting and hastening the coming of the day of God".(14) Jewish tradition and religion based on Tenach looks especially at this final realisation of the Kingdom of God. Through the Bible and liturgy God continues to address the Jewish people, to speak his word to them, a word which is always both active and saving.

Thus, Judaism is considered as it is in itself, an answer to the permanent presence of the Lord, is without any doubt, a legitimate world religion, with great values for the whole world. There is, of course, the question of the exact meaning of the relation between the Church and Judaism with regard to the messianic



reality, but we will see that later. Here it seems necessary to recognise, even from a Christian theological viewpoint, the value and validity of Judaism in itself. It is not my intention to enumerate these many values now, they can be found in descriptions of Tenach and of the continuing Jewish tradition. There may be special significance in the words of Pope Paul when, on April 19, 1968, he addressed the participants of the Congress of the International Organisation for the study of the Old Testament which brought together Jewish, Protestant and Catholic scholars : "the three families, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic<sup>ic</sup> equally hold it (the Old Testament) in honour. There are, therefore, able to study and venerate these sacted books together... It is fortunate that the initiative of this joint study has been taken... this is an authentic form of ecumenical work indeed". (15) He then went on to enumerate the immense value of the books of Tenach.

2) The continuity of the permanent validity of Judaism is fundmamentally based on God's fidelity to the world and to his people. Emil Brunner has rightly observed : "There is one God, one message, one revelation, one Word, one covenant". (16) Whatever we may think about the infidelity of the people of God, the Lord remains faithful. The distinction of two Gods, one of the Old Testament, and the other who reveals himself in the New Testament, is absolutely unacceptable. There is one God and one Creation, and, therefore, one revelation and one salvation history. In this context it may be useful to dwell a moment on the meaning of the new covenant as it is announced by Jeremiah 31: 31-33. This text is, of course, much used in Christian milieu<sup>s</sup>, as a proof text of the establishment of the new covenant in Jesus. In itself this is correct. But we should not forget the right meaning of the text. Jeremiah makes it clear that a new situation will come into existence, not because God is changing<sup>g</sup>, but because a change will take place in the people. God remains faithful to his one covenant, but the newness will be in men. We believe that in Jesus this newness was indeed realised, that he was really and entirely fulfilling the covenant in the deepest sense of the word. Thus he inaugurated the new era, but this does

not mean that the followers of Jesus all fulfil the covenant, nor that God has retired from those who do, or did not, follow Jesus in this newness. God does not terminate his unique covenant.

b) It is certainly unnecessary to recall to this audience the meaning of old and new in the whole Bible. (17) But it may be observed that a) the categories old and new belong to both Old and New Testament thinking, and that the New Testament authors, while believing in the newness realised in Jesus, speak about a newness still to come, thus indicating the real eschatological tension of the Church.

b) that, when the New Testament books speak about the new Covenant, the authors use the word "kai~~ne~~", which means "renewal" of the reality which existed before, and not "neos", which would mean "another" covenant, which not exist previously.

c) that old and new belong to the reality of the history of God's people at all times. And although a final and fundamental newness in history was realised in Jesus, according to Christian faith, which is still on the way to final accomplishment, of which the dimensions are not yet known.

4. A last remark concerns Jesus and Tenach. I think the text of Matthew 5:17: "I did not come to abolish the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them", should be taken seriously. Not only in this sense that Jesus according to our Christian faith in fact fulfilled the covenant with God in an exceptional and surprising way, but also in the sense that he really did not abolish it. I mean by this, that where his people, or the majority of his people did not accept him as the fulfilment, the Word of God, the promises and the gifts of God, the covenant relationship with God were not taken away from them, were not abolished, but continue to build up the covenant relationship between God and the Jewish people, in view of the final fulfilment of all the prophecies in the final establishment of the kingdom of God all over the world, in the whole of mankind.

### III. A personal tentative of theological reflection on the relation between Judaism and the Church in the plan of God.



In this third part of my conference, I will try to express some ideas which might have some value for Christian theological thinking about the mystery of Israel.

First of all, we should keep in mind that this relationship between Church and Judaism is put by St. Paul into the broad context of the salvation of the Gentiles and then called "mysterion", - which means a still hidden dimension of divine salvation history. But it is a mystery which should be lived with, which should belong to the deepest concern of Christian thinking and acting. In fact, this mystery has just been neglected and set aside. It has not played a role in Christian thinking and attitude. We may, perhaps, say it has been translated by "conversion". But, that is rather a poor translation of "mysterion".

#### Introductory remarks

- 1) Although the Church finds its direct historical origin in the Jewish people of the first century, and its basic expression in the New Testament books, she knows that she is essentially linked to the experience of the covenant people. Therefore, the books of the Hebrew Bible were officially honoured as the inspired Word of God. This means that the Church wants to be faithful to the whole of divine revelation, as expressed in the whole of the Bible. Jesus is recognised as the Messiah and Son of God, but not separate from the tradition and the Bible of his people. This point emphasises the fact that it is possible that in the course of history because of opposition, controversy and apologetic attitudes, values of the Hebrew Bible were neglected in Christian thought and life.
  - 2) We have already seen the essential eschatological tension and task which are basic to both Christian and Jewish existence. Jesus, according to Christian faith, is the true Messiah, but apart from the necessarily one-sided expressions in history of this Messiahship, Jesus himself has pointed out that still much has to be done, and much has to be revealed: "The Counsellor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things".
- (18) "I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now,

When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all truth". (19)

1) This means, I think, that Jesus, who spoke these words, and John, who wrote them down, were convinced that not all the dimensions of Jesus' Messiahship had yet been revealed; that this ongoing revelation continues even, as Gabriel Moran has rightly observed, in the world to come, since there is a permanent relationship between the transcendent God and human persons - the human community. The relation between the Church and Judaism must be seen in the light of the full revelation and realisation of the messianic kingdom.

3) Relations between the Church and Judaism must be studied and lived in a really ecumenical, deeply respectful spirit. This is clear from the Vatican Declaration on this relationship, and from the context in which Jewish-Christian relations are being developed. It is also clear that the Church wants us to develop this relationship in the eschatological perspective. The Council document, looking towards the future, states: "In company with the prophets and the same Apostle (Paul), the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all people will address the Lord in a single voice and serve him with one accord" (19).

After these remarks, and against the background of what has already been said, I will try now to develop some thoughts about this relationship between the Church and Judaism.

- 1) The New Testament does not give a clear answer. There, in fact, we find three different views on this relationship:
  - a) The Church is, in a special way, the continuation of Judaism,
  - b) The Church is a break with, and opposed to, Judaism (21)
  - c) The Church is the fulfilment of Judaism (especially in Matthew, Hebrews and, in a large measure, St. Paul) (22).

Therefore, we cannot simply speak in terms of continuity or discontinuity. Both are true. There is continuity, there is a break, and there is fulfilment. But all are aspects of a continuing history of salvation. As long as the final kingdom of God has not been established on earth, God acts in an explicit way through Israel



and the Church. The word of God is still addressed to Israel; Israel still receives the gifts of God, because "the gifts and the call of God are irrevocable". (22) And, although the majority of the Jews did not recognise Jesus as the Messiah, this people remains not only dear to God - for its election, beloved by God, - but its negative attitude, and refusal of Jesus as the Messiah, "means riches for the world and for the Gentiles". (23) If the Bible is really to be a permanent source of faith and life, if the message of the Bible remains a daily actuality, then relations between the Church and Judaism should always be considered in this wide context, in this deep perspective of the complete salvation of the whole of mankind. The Church of Jews and Gentiles, in recognising Jesus as the Messiah, is well aware of still being on the way to the final realisation of the kingdom. She knows that in Jesus the kingdom has indeed arrived, has indeed been realised, but this realisation, this newness, in a way this absolute newness, is not the final term, but a new, incomprehensible dimension of the ongoing divine action in human history. Therefore, in the relations between the Church and Judaism we will always encounter three elements : continuity, fulfilment and discontinuity, but all play a role in the preparation of the final kingdom of God in a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, it seems to me that God acts through the permanent value of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition, as well as through both Old and New Testaments and Christian tradition, in order to establish his kingdom fully.

The fundamental reason for this conception is God's fidelity to his covenant, to human history, to his people and to his revelation. In this context, I may mention the words of the late Cardinal Bea. Once asked what he thought about the meaning of the survival of the Jewish people, he answered: "One of the aspects is that through the Jewish people, the Old Testament remains a permanent message, otherwise, it might have become a dead letter". These words also indicate a programme of listening<sup>to</sup> and learning from a Church which wants to be faithful to the entire divine revelation, in order to work faithfully towards the kingdom as God wants it to be.

2. Thinking in the line of continuity and fulfilment in the eschatological perspective does not deny the difference, and even the discontinuity, between

Judaism and the Church. But it implies that for a Christian who thinks about Judaism, it is not allowed, on the basis of Scripture and divine revelation, to act as though the meaning of Judaism and Jewish religion had come to an end with the coming of Jesus; and as though Judaism were a fossil from the past.

In recent literature the differences between Church and Judaism have been called a schism in the one people of God. The coming of Jesus, then, caused a split within the covenant people, and henceforth there have been two parts of the one people of God, moving side by side towards the final and glorious coming of the Messiah. (2<sup>3</sup>)

More precision is certainly needed in this question. W.C. Davies has connected this problem with the dogmatic spirit of Christianity as against the halachic spirit of Judaism, and he has put it this way: "There is a Christological factor, however, expressed in Christianity which is non-negotiable even with its mother faith, just as there is a centrality of Torah in Judaism which is non-negotiable; the dogmatic development of Christianity, in short, remains as the barrier to reducing the relation between the two faiths to a mere schism. It is part of wisdom to recognise this. But this, in itself, is not the tragedy of the history of the relations between the two faiths. Rather is it that the spirit of the Halakah demanded by both has not been more truly pursued by both, so as to make possible, within their dogmatic difference, mutual tolerance, respect, learning and even affection". (2<sup>6</sup>)

Here several remarks can be made. Judaism and Christianity have both known a development, often in opposition and in an apologetical attitude to one another. After the separation at the end of the first century they became two separate world religions, but both remain based on divine revelation and continued to develop each in its own way, thought and life. At a time when we are beginning to realise anew the essential links by which the Lord of history binds us together, we are becoming more aware of the biblical basis of our existence and of the common expectation of the eschatological tendency of divine activity in history.

It is, furthermore, worth while dwelling a moment upon the way in which the Vatican Council struggled with the reality of the people of God. As is well



known the Council used once more the biblical concept "people of God", to express the reality of the Church. This necessarily brought up the question of relations between Israel as people of God, and the Church as people of God. The Church is called "the new people of God" (26<sup>7</sup>). But then, what about the "old" people of God? Does the new substitute for the old? Are there two peoples of God? The texts do not make this clear. But the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, speaking about the Jews of today, states: "Those, who have not yet received the Gospel, are related in various ways to the People of God (i.e. the Church). In the first place there is the people to whom the covenants and the promises were made, and from <sup>whom</sup> Christ was born according to the flesh. (27<sup>8</sup>) On account of their fathers, as regards the election, this people remains most dear to God, for God does not repent of the gifts he makes, nor of the calls he issues". (28<sup>9</sup>). The Declaration of the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian religions speaks, (after the coming of Christ) about "the Jews" and not about "the Jewish people", or "the people of God". But in the expensio modorum it is clearly stated that the Secretariat for promoting Christian Unity in doing so "in no way intends to decide in what sense the Jewish people, according to the words of the dogmatic Constitution "De Ecclesia" No.16, remains the beloved people by election, on account of their fathers". This means, according to the Vatican Council, that they remain the elect people, but the exact meaning of this must be further studied.

If we cannot speak merely of a schism, Jews as well as Christians are people of God, but the difference consists in the realised eschatology in Christ which has created a unique situation. Christians are linked to, are baptised into this eschatological event, but, at the same time, they must extend its meaning and historical dimensions to the whole of human history, in time and space. Jews, on the other hand, remaining faithful to their revealed heritage, and being thus a blessing for mankind, witnessing to the "not yet" of the entire messianic age, force Christians to become better aware of the dimensions of the final eschatological event. If, in this way, both Judaism and Church play a role in God's history with mankind, a necessary tension will exist between them; a tension such as that existing between the "not yet" and the "already", but both are on the way to, ~~and~~

and in the perspective of the final fulfilment. Considered in this way, there is, on the other hand, an urgent need for a positive relationship between Judaism and the Church, on the basis of divine revelation itself; a relationship, in which through real respect, mutual knowledge and learning, an eschatological, but very historic dynamism moves history towards its accomplishment.

3. An essential point in this dialectic relationship is the fact that Judaism is, first of all, a people; a people with a revealed religion, linked to a country, and that Christianity is a religion, linked neither to a country, nor to a people. Here, of course, the tension between particularism and universalism plays a role. But, from the very beginning, Judaism has always had a universalistic tendency; particularism does not necessarily exclude universalism, both belong essentially to salvation history. God does not save mankind in general; he saves this man, this people, and through this man, this people, he reaches the others. It means that there is a salvation history. History is always concrete. This salvation history and divine revelation take place in the concrete world, through and in events.

In Christianity, religion and faith are sometimes considered primarily as a doctrine, but then the danger exists that faith may become too separated from life; that it may become an abstract set of truths. Faith is first of all the expression of a real, existential covenant between God and man, which involves the whole of life, individually and in community. At the time that Christians are becoming more realistic, more seriously involved in history, we are confronted with a renewed expression of Jewish peoplehood in having a state of their own. There have been discussions about the religious dimensions of the link between the Jewish people and the land of the Fathers, but still much thinking about it remains to be done. It is not my intention to discuss this problem at length, but one thing is sure, the link between people and land belongs to the self-awareness of the Jewish people, and if we want to take our relations seriously, this link must be thoroughly studied. (29) We must ask ourselves what this link, based on the revelation given in Tenach, means in the plan of God, and what, therefore, it means for us Christians. This question touches many difficult social, political, historical problems, among



others, but they must not prevent us from seriously considering this dimension of existence. I venture to suggest that the open and religious study of this phenomenon may help us to realise better the realistic and historic character of divine revelation, and thus overcome the unnatural separation of life and faith; the tendency of modern theology to emphasise the involvement of the faithful in social and political realities, (<sup>31</sup>~~30~~) may be a meeting point with Jewish thinking, thus creating a better understanding between Jews and Christians. This may promote a deeper, common involvement in the preparation of the kingdom of God on earth. Furthermore, this reflection on salvation in history may have an impact on several aspects of Christian theology, e.g. on the concept of redemption and messianism, of which, through overspiritualisation, some dimensions, which are revealed in Scripture, may have been overlooked.

4. This more "worldly" approach of revelation and salvation underlines the human and horizontal aspects of revealed religion. This has, no doubt, something to do with today's secularisation tendencies, and with the efforts to make faith more relevant to people today. However, this tendency should not neglect or minimise the divine character of revelation and its tremendous and incomprehensible riches, as the Lord showed his people, and as it reached its culmination in Christ. There may be a difference in emphasis, or, better, there is a search for more complete, more total understanding and expression of divine revelation in human history. In order really to collaborate with the Lord in the best way for the establishment of his kingdom, it does not suffice to stress the importance of human and worldly values, but basic as they are, they are touched by the divine, dynamic presence. The Lord wants us, in his Spirit, to transform history and the world into a paradise according to his ideas. (<sup>2</sup>~~30~~) Revealing himself as the one, transcendent God, who brings salvation to his people, and who, in Christ, shows the glory of his own Son, the Lord prepares his people and mankind for his final revelation, when "all peoples will serve him with one accord". (<sup>3</sup>~~31~~) and "God will be everything to everyone". (<sup>4</sup>~~32~~). In this sense, God is indeed the future of man (<sup>5</sup>~~33~~). Here again we find a meeting place for Judaism and modern theological thinking. Dialogue

with the long Jewish experience of living a real history in faith in God, might help us to realise better both the horizontal<sup>At</sup>, worldly, and the divine vertical dimension of salvation history.

5. One more point of the relations between the Church and Judaism must also be briefly dealt with.

It is sometimes suggested that the Church has a priestly character and Judaism a prophetic character. In this view the Church is essentially centred on the sacrifice of Jesus; liturgy and spirituality express and celebrate this faith; the clergy, as a special, separate class, takes care of the ministry of sacrifice. This easily implies that this leading group in the Church has a tendency to be traditional, to maintain structures and institutions, since it must preserve what has been transmitted. So the conclusion could be that the Church leaders and clergy tend to lose the eschatological, prophetic tension and awareness; when, as sometimes happens, the Church is identified with God's kingdom, this tendency is strengthened still more. Judaism, on the other hand, is then seen as the people which looks to the future, which is always dissatisfied with the present and is aware of the divine promises of the world to come. It is the people of the future, les pèlerins de l'absolu, the people which bears witness to the prophetic, critical message and promises.

In studying the history of the Church and Judaism, one can indeed get this impression. The question is, whether this is all that can, and must, be said about the nature of the Church and Judaism. The actual renewal of the Church is beginning to make Christians aware of some neglected aspects of the Christian and biblical message. Already the fact that the Vatican Council again emphasised the title "people of God", implies an awareness of moving in an eschatological perspective. Furthermore, many Christians today, in opposition to an overemphasis of institution and structure, want to stress the prophetic task of the Church. This, they say, would be a more faithful answer to biblical revelation, which should always be, or become again, the actual source of Christian Life. Professor Haarsma in a recent article (34) argues that the ministry itself has an essential



prophetic aspect, because the ministry of the sacrifice, which cannot be separated from the ministry of the Word, is essentially aimed at the eschatological realisation of the kingdom. The celebration of Jesus' mysterious sacrifice of love, intends to sanctify the faithful and to inspire their efforts to re-create the world. On the other hand, the ministry of the sacrifice plays an important role in biblical Judaism. In rabbinical Judaism it has almost disappeared, at least in this form. But, in dialoguing with Judaism should biblical Judaism not be taken into account as well? Can the question be asked, in what way this biblical Judaism and its sacrificial ministry have a meaning for the development of Judaism? At any rate, the reality of Church life and Judaism being as it is, would a reciprocal contact and influence not contribute to deepen and to strengthen the understanding and the fulfilment of the revealed message?

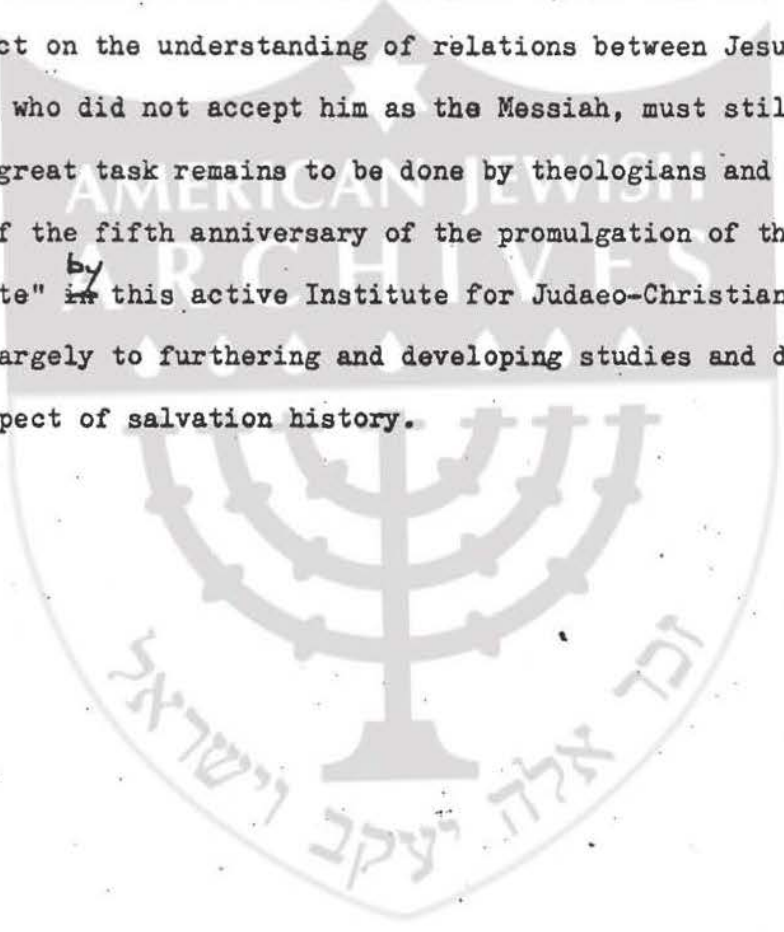
I have given a few thoughts on the way in which a Christian theological view of Judaism could be developed. Much work, study and dialogue are still necessary, but it seems to me that our time of research, of renewal and of openness offers a very important starting point for a real, deep understanding between the Church and Judaism.

I am aware of the fact that in this conference I have not dealt thoroughly with two questions. First, I have not examined in detail all the Church documents, which, in one way or another, touch this relationship. But, I think I have developed my ideas on the basis of some clear, official statements of the Church in the spirit of Vatican Council II, with the help of contemporary theological thinking. (35)

The second question which should be developed further is the exact meaning of some New Testament texts. A certain interpretation of these texts has been done, as we know, much harm to a religious understanding of God's mysterious plan of salvation. Antisemitism has made use of texts from the Bible to create misunderstanding, distance and hatred. Modern scholarship is engaged in

clarifying many points, not by explaining difficulties away, but through a better understanding of the author's attitude, the spiritual climate of his time and situation, and the limited value of some personal opinions. We may perhaps say that New Testament texts, in particular, have too often been interpreted as a kind of dogmatic statement, without taking into account the personal feelings and experience of the author, and the literary character of his writings. (36)

On the other hand, several texts, and even more the background tendencies and religious attitudes, which were self-evident to New Testament authors and which have an impact on the understanding of relations between Jesus and his followers and the Jews who did not accept him as the Messiah, must still be seriously studied. A great task remains to be done by theologians and exegetes. This commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the Vatican Declaration "Nostra Aetate" <sup>by</sup> ~~in~~ this active Institute for Judaean-Christian Studies, may well contribute largely to furthering and developing studies and dialogues on this essential aspect of salvation history.





# NOTES

- (1) p.1. L'Ami d'Israël, 1968, p.81
- (2) p.4. Dei Verbum, 21
- (3) p.5. Dei Verbum, 6
- (4) p.7. W. Abbott, The Documents of Vatican II, New York, 1966, p.662
- (5) " cf. Wis. 8:1; Acts 14:17; Rom. 2:6-7; 1 Tim. 2:9
- (6) " cf. Apoc. 21:23 f.
- (7) " See W. Abbott, p.661-663
- (8) p.8 See G. Moran, *Theology of Revelation*, London, Burns & Oates 1967; also: *Commentaries on "Nisra Beate"*
- (9) " See Daniélou, Les Saints Païens de L'A.T., etc.,
- (10) p.9. The Ecumenist, Vol.6, No.4, 1968, p. 145-151, The Doctrinal Basis for Jewish-Christian Dialogue.
- (11) p.11. See Information Service of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, No.9, 1970/1 p.19.
- (12) " Concilium, No.54, 1970, p.13 - French edition
- (13) p.12 The words of Bonhoeffer, quoted by G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology II London, 1965, p.338
- (14) " 2 Peter, 3:12
- (15) p.13 Osservatore Romano, April 20, 1968
- (16) " In - Bernard W. Anderson, The Old Testament and Christian Faith, Herder and Herder, New York, 1969, p.263-264
- (17) p.14 See KAIROS in Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament; also L. Dequeker "Pourquoi les Chrétiens croient-ils encore l'Ancien Testament" in Collectanea Mechliniensia, 1969, No.3., p. 329-341
- (18) p.15 See Apoc. 21:1 etc.,
- (19) p.16 See also G. Moran, Theology of Revelation, London, Burns & Oates, 1967
- (20) " Soph. 3:9., cf. Is. 66:23; Ps. 65:4; Rom. 11:11-32

- (21) p.16 Several texts in John's Gospel, end first century
- (22) " See W.D. Davies "Thorah and Dogma"- A Comment" - Havard Theological Press 61, 1968, 87-105
- (23) p.17 Rom. 11:29
- (24) " " 11:12
- (25) p.18 Thus P. Démann, and, from another standpoint Rosenzweig
- (26) " Harvard Theological Review, Vol. 61, 1968, p.105
- (27) p.19 e.g. in the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to non-Christian Religions, see Walter M. Abbott, S.J., The Documents of Vatican II, p.666
- (28) " cf. Rom. 9:4-5
- (29) " cf. " 11:28-29., See Walter M. Abbott, S.J., O.P. p. 24
- (30) p.20 See, e.g. the Declaration of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1970
- (31) p.21 See J.B. Metz and others
- (32) p.21 "Behold I make all things new", Apoc. 21:5; cf. Is. 43:19
- (33) § Edward Schillebeckx, God the Future of Men, Sheed and Ward, 1969
- (34) " 1 Cor. 15:28
- (35) p.22 Kerkelyk ambt als prophetisme (The Church's Ministry as Prophetism ) Tydschrift voor theologie, 10 Jrg. 1970, p.179-202
- (36) p.23 For a detailed and precise study of Church documents in this respect, see the interesting dissertation of Monika Hellwig, "Proposals towards a theology of Israel as a Religious Community contemporary with the Christian" Washington, 1968.
- (37) p.24 See, e.g. W.P. Eckert, L Ehrlich. Antisemitismus im Neuen Testament, John M. Eesterreicher, "Deicide as a theological problem", The Bridge V, p.190-207



## THE THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Lecture at the Convocation Celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, October 26, 1970, at Seton Hall University

by

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The Declaration *Nostra aetate*, as its opening words make clear, is a document of our time and for our time. What the late John Courtney Murray said of another Declaration of the Council would also apply to this one: "The issue that lay continually below the surface of all the conciliar debates [was] the issue of the development of doctrine," and the framers of the Declaration, as the writings of Cardinal Bea show, were conscious of participating in such a development. Any interpretation of the Declaration, therefore, must recognize, as the Director of this Institute has noted, that it reaches not only "horizontally, across the nations," but also "vertically, through the length of a centuries-old history." Most of the discussion at this Convocation will deal with the "horizontal" dimension, and properly so. But because much less is generally known about the history of the problem than we usually assume, I propose in this paper to examine the "vertical," historical dimension, placing the Conciliar Statement on the Jews into the context of the earliest stages in the dialogue (and the non-dialogue!) between Christians and Jews. This is, I take it, part of the process of "theological studies" (which, presumably, include historical studies) and of "brotherly dialogue" recommended by the Declaration; and in my concentration on the patristic

development I am following the exhortation of the Decree on Ecumenism to draw upon "the spiritual riches" of the Fathers of the Church, Eastern and Western.

The fundamental fact of church history to which the Conciliar Statement on the Jews points is contained in the reminder: "The Church recalls too that from the Jewish people sprang the apostles, her foundation stones and pillars." With this reminder the Council raises to the level of explicit formulation the historical contrast between the early Church and all subsequent eras. For according to tradition, only one of the writers of the New Testament, Luke, was not a Jew. As far as we know for certain, none of the Church Fathers was a Jew, although Her-  
 mas and Hegesippus, for example, may have been; Justin Martyr was born in Samaria but was a Gentile. The transition represented by that contrast had the most far-reaching of consequences for the entire development of Christian doctrine and is the presupposition for any assessment of the achievement of the Second Vatican Council in this crucial area.

The earliest Christians were Jews, and in their new faith they found a continuity with the old. They remembered that their Lord himself had said that his purpose was to fulfill, not to abolish, the Law and the prophets; and it was useless for heretics to deny this saying. From the early chapters of the Book of Acts we get a somewhat idealized picture of a Christian community that continued to obey the Scriptures, the worship, and the observances of Jewish religious life. The members of the church at Jerusalem, "the church from which every church took its

Albright:  
 proselyte  
 every  
 writer  
 or Jew

earliest  
 heretics  
 hostile to  
 Bible,  
 necessary  
 for early  
 church  
 to affirm  
 Bible -  
 fundamental

primacy of  
 Jerusalem



*metropolis*  
 start, the mother city of the citizens of the new covenant," followed  
*the brother of Jesus*  
 James, their "caliph," in refusing to acknowledge a fundamental cleavage  
 between their previous life and their new status. Clearly they recog-  
 nized that something very new had come—not something brand-new, but some-  
 thing newly restored and fulfilled. Even after the fall of Jerusalem, *in*  
 these "Nazarenes" maintained continuity with Judaism; they "wish to observe  
*Sustained:* *70 A.D.*  
 the ordinances which were given by Moses . . . yet choose to live with  
 the Christians and the faithful."

*Karnos*  
*not*  
*Neos*

The proper extent and scope of that continuity with Judaism produced  
 controversy between Peter and Paul, and it went on troubling the Church.  
 Various practical solutions were designed to meet immediate problems of  
 cultic and dietary observance, but these did not issue in a consistent  
 way of interpreting the key question in any Christian theology of Israel:  
*Traneu:*  
 What is new about the new covenant? Whatever else they may mean, the dif-  
 ferences between the way this question was answered in Acts 15 (with its  
*Western & Eastern*  
 intriguing textual variants) and the way Paul discussed it in Galatians  
 do suggest the continuing difficulty which the Church faced. The leaders  
*Peter vs. Paul*  
 of both sides were Christians of Jewish origin; despite their differing  
 answers, they asked the question of continuity between Judaism and Chris-  
 tianity with a deep personal poignancy. (*Romans 9 - echoes of Moses - cursed*  
*for his people*  
*sure*)

As converts began coming more from pagan than from Jewish ranks, the  
 poignancy lessened and the obverse side of the question became more pro-  
 minent. For Jewish Christians, the question of continuity was the ques-  
 tion of their relation to their mother; for Gentile Christians, it was the

apostolic missionary

in regard  
to pagan  
generalizing  
scandal  
of particularity

Christ  
fulfillment  
of nations  
series of OT  
of nations

question of their relation to their mother-in-law. What was offensive about Christianity in the eyes of Gentiles was, to a considerable extent, what it had inherited from Judaism. Pagan critics lampooned the claim that God had put in an appearance at, of all places, "some corner of Judea somewhere"; they scored the Jewish and Christian conception of God as "essentially the deity of a primitive and uncivilized folk." Not only the Gentile critics of Christianity, but also the Gentile converts to Christianity demanded a decision about just how much of the Jewish tradition they were obliged to retain. Marcion was a heretical instance of what may have been a rather widespread resentment <sup>of Judaism</sup> also among orthodox believers; for the Epistle of Barnabas, while not going as far as Marcion in its rejection of the Old Testament, did claim that the original tablets of the covenant of the Lord were shattered at Sinai and that therefore Israel had never had an authentic covenant with God. Tertullian's <sup>5th bk against</sup> declaration, in opposition to Marcion, that "today" there were more who accepted the authority of the Old Testament than rejected it raises the question whether the number of those rejecting it may not at one time <sup>indeed quite</sup> have been considerable.

By its disavowal of the idea that God's ancient people had been condemned [reprobati] or cursed [maledicti] and by its vigorously anti-Marcionite affirmation that "the Church cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in his inexpressible mercy deigned to establish the Ancient Covenant," the Declaration of the Second Vatican Council puts itself unequivocally on the



side of acknowledging the permanent truth of the revelation granted to Israel. It asserts, moreover, that God "does not repent of the gifts he makes nor of the calls he issues," and that therefore the other gifts and calls issued to Israel are permanent, too. But beyond the general question of revelation or of gift and call there is, unavoidably, the specific question of the permanence of the Law and of the abiding validity of the covenant, with which the inheriting of the land is ~~also~~ inseparably connected. On these specific questions the Declaration is almost silent, although *Lumen gentium* gives a conventional treatment of them.

Yet during the early debates between Judaism and Christianity these issues of Law and covenant were central. The Bible had declared that the Law was as permanent as the covenant with Israel; but the Christians, (Trophon) Tryphon in Justin "treating this covenant with rash contempt, spurn the responsibilities that come with it." This appeared to Jewish thought to be a repudiation of the Law and of the covenant. The answer was a stratification of the Law. The Christians claimed to retain that in the Law of Moses which was Justin "naturally good, pious, and righteous"—usually as much as conformed to a reductionistic conception of the natural law. Even among Jews, the Christians insisted, the law of nature took precedence over the Law of Moses, as for example when a woman gave birth on the Sabbath. Thus the "providence which long ago gave the Law [of Moses], but now has given the Gospel of Jesus Christ, did not wish that the practices of the Jews should continue." Hence Christians were not bound by anything that had been addressed to the old Israel as a people: there was a new covenant and a new Law.

Origen:

Allegory was way of handling differences - allegorized if you kept it -  
read literally as did Marcion and rejected it.

6

Although the Law and the prophets belonged together in the language of Jewish theology, early Christian theology identified its cause with that of the prophets against the Law. Ignatius argued that the prophets had observed Sunday rather than the Jewish Sabbath. In its interpretation of such passages as Psalm 110 and Isaiah 53 Christianity saw Jesus as the fulfillment of prophecy. The rabbis who disputed with Origen contended that Isaiah 53 "referred to the whole people[of Israel] as though a single individual," but in the Church it was interpreted unanimously and unambiguously as Christian Scripture. The "coming of the Lord" in later Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic also was taken to refer to Jesus as the Christ; but with the delay in the parousia it had to be divided into two comings, the first already accomplished in the days of his flesh and the second still in the future. Thus Christianity, the religion of fulfillment, joined Judaism in waiting for the Messiah! But even in this it was in fact taking over the Jewish Scriptures as its own, so that Justin could say to Trypho that the passages about Christ "are contained in your Scriptures, or rather not yours, but ours." So assured were Christian theologians in their possession of the Old Testament that they could accuse the Jews not merely of misunderstanding and misinterpreting it, but even of falsifying its text; so, to cite the most striking instance, in the choice between a yodh and a way in Ps. 22:16.

Thus Christian doctrine felt able to go its own way, without engaging the rabbis in that "brotherly dialogue" of which the Declaration speaks. Origen seems to have been one of the few Church Fathers to participate in

11m without of any feet 17/100 - they have presence  
Xan  
midrashim  
and sign from the tree -  
Josephus - Flaccus

Allegory was way of handling differences - allegorized if you kept it - read literally as did Marcion and rejected it.

most widely quoted in early church

700-800 B.C. messianism  
Xan not found at writing  
next to buy it about

↓ 2  
Terpulis  
↓  
Xan  
↓  
Pelle



such a dialogue. Origen may also have been the first Church Father to study Hebrew, "in opposition to the spirit of his time and of his people," as Jerome says; according to Eusebius, he "learned it thoroughly," but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of this report. Jerome, however, was rightly celebrated as "a trilingual man" for his competence in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Augustine clearly admired, perhaps even envied, his ability to "interpret the divine Scriptures in both languages." The testimony about the Hebrew knowledge of other Church Fathers is less conclusive. But it seems safe to propose the generalization that, except for converts from Judaism, it was not until the biblical humanists and Reformers of the sixteenth century that a knowledge of Hebrew became standard equipment for Christian expositors of the Old Testament. Most of Christian dogma developed in a Church unencumbered by any knowledge of the original text of the Hebrew Bible. It does seem a pity, therefore, that in the Council's Decree on Priestly Formation Latin is listed first among the linguistic requirements of the priest; then it is said that "the study of the liturgical language proper to each rite is to be regarded as necessary," but that the study of the biblical languages "should be strongly encouraged [valde foveatur]."

Nevertheless, when the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions asserts that the Church is "mindful [memor] of her common patrimony with the Jews," this does represent a long step forward from the anti-Jewish apologists of the early Church, who denied to the Jews any right to that patrimony at all. As time went on, they seemed to take their Jewish opponents less and less seriously; and what

how these  
won't  
much  
of it

their apologetic works may have lacked in vigor or fairness, they tended to make up in self-confidence. They no longer looked upon the Jewish community as a continuing participant in their "common patrimony," the holy history that had produced the Church. They no longer gave serious consideration to the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament nor to the Jewish background of the New. Therefore the urgency and the poignancy about the mystery of Israel that are so vivid in the New Testament have appeared only occasionally in Christian thought, as in some passages in Augustine; but these are outweighed, even in Augustine (not so speak of Chrysostom!), by the many others that speak of Judaism and paganism almost as though they were equally alien to what the Declaration still calls "the new people of God," which was for most of church history the Church of Gentile Christians.

But the loss of the "common patrimony" with Judaism has not expressed itself only in the place accorded to Judaism by Christian theologians. A more subtle and more pervasive effect of this process is evident in the development of various Christian doctrines themselves. Among these doctrines, the doctrine of God and the doctrine of man both bear marks of de-Judaization. In Judaism it was possible for the same chapter of 1 Samuel to ascribe <sup>Say - God repented → Is God</sup> change of purpose to God and to declare that God did not change, without resolving the paradox; for the immutability of God was seen as the trustworthiness of his covenanted relation to his people in the concrete history of his judgment and mercy, rather than as a primarily ontological category. But in the development of the Christian



Exodus 3

doctrine of God, immutability assumed the status of an axiomatic pre-supposition for the discussion of other doctrines. Hence the de-Judaization of Christian thought contributed, for example, to the form taken by the christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, in which both sides defined the absoluteness of God in accordance with the principle of immutability even though they drew opposite christological conclusions from it. Cyril of Alexandria - he suffered in an impossible way.

Similarly, the course taken by the development of the Augustinian tradition has been affected by the loss of contact with Jewish thought, whose refusal to polarize the free sovereignty of God and the free will of man has frequently been labeled Pelagian. But the label is not appropriate, for Judaism has a Pelagian doctrine of man but an Augustinian doctrine of God. Augustine accused the Pelagians of "putting the New Testament on the same level with the Old" by their view that it was possible for man to keep the Law of God, and Jerome saw Pharisaism in the Pelagian notion that perfect righteousness was attainable under the conditions of <sup>human</sup> existence. The development of Christian theology in the East, especially in the Antiochene school, manifested other ways of transcending the antitheses present in the West and of setting forth "a doctrine which cannot properly be called either Augustinian or Pelagian." But it, too, formulated the question in a manner alien to the Jewish tradition—even as it sought to find the answer for the question in the Jewish Bible.

Perhaps the most obvious marks of the "common patrimony" are to be seen not in the doctrinal formulas, but in the cultic, hierarchical, and

affirming of  
Jesus &  
Godhead  
of him  
Nathaniel  
for left  
squares

dictating laws

ethical structures of Christianity, whose growth necessitated the Christianization of many features of Judaism. Thus Justin argued that one of the differences between the old covenant and the new was that the priesthood had been superseded and "we [the Church as a whole] are the true high-priestly race of God." In the New Testament itself the concept "priest" referred either to the Levites of the Old Testament, now made obsolete, or to Christ or to the entire Church—not to the ordained ministry of the Church. But Clement, who was also the first to use the term "layman," already spoke of "priests" and of "the high priest" and, significantly, related these terms to the Levitical priesthood; there is a similar parallel in the *Didache* and in Hippolytus. For Tertullian, the bishop was already "the high priest," and for his disciple, Cyprian, it was completely natural to speak of a Christian "priesthood." And so by the time of Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood* it seems to have become accepted practice to refer to Aaron and Eli as examples and warnings for the priesthood of the Christian Church. Therefore the apostles, too, were represented as priests.

A prominent token of the "common patrimony" was the worship of the early Church. "None of our authorities give us clear information on the use of the Psalms and other hymns or chants in the primitive church," but we do know that "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets" were read in the Sunday service, and the eucharistic prayers of the Church gave thanks "for the holy vine of Thy son, David, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son, Jesus." Whether or not the liturgy of the early Church included the actual singing of the Psalms,

not sure about  
role  
Psalms  
De cantique



it was certainly replete with allusions to the Old Testament in its prayer, reading, and exhortation. Perhaps as important as the cultic service rendered by the Old Testament to the concrete life of the Church was the ethical service provided by the commandments of the Old Testament, especially by the Decalogue. For despite the strictures on the Jewish Law summarized earlier, the Decalogue, as summarized and reinterpreted by the ethical teachings of Jesus, was accorded a special place in the Church. Irenaeus said that "the words of the Decalogue . . . remain in force among us"; and even the Gnostic Ptolemy distinguished between the Decalogue and all the rest of the Law of Moses, seeing the former as fulfilled in Christ and the latter as either abolished or spiritualized. It is not clear what role the Decalogue played in Christian worship (although there is some indication that it was recited at certain services) or in Christian education (although certain passages in Augustine give the impression that it was used as a basis for instruction in ethics); but it is clear that the Decalogue was highly valued as a summary of the Law of God, both natural and revealed.

But this "re-Judaization" does not indicate any recovery of close association between Judaism and Christian theology; on the contrary, it shows how independent Christian doctrine had become of its Jewish origins and how free it felt to appropriate terms and concepts from the Jewish tradition despite its earlier disparagement of them. Now that Christian theologians were no longer obliged to engage in serious dialogue with Judaism, they were able to go their own Christian way in for-

mulating the universal claims of Christianity. Eventually these claims went so far that Judaism became one in a series of "non-Christian religions" to which Christian apologetics had to relate itself; it is one of the unfortunate implications of the Declaration that, in spite of what it says about Israel, Judaism is interpreted in the context of the world religions rather than vice versa. Together with the "other" religions, Judaism has an essentially preparatory<sup>ra</sup> function: even the exodus is said in the Declaration to "presignify [praesignare]" the Christian Church. To Eusebius, "it would be no departure from the truth to style [Adam, Noah, and Abraham] as Christians, in point of fact if not in name." The Church, therefore, regarded itself as the inheritor of the promises and prerogatives of Israel. "Just as Christ is Israel and Jacob, so we who have been quarried out of the bowels of Christ are the true Israelitic race," the "third Israel" spoken of in Isaiah. The Church was now "the synagogue of God" and even "the chosen people."

This appropriation of the Jewish Scriptures and of the patrimony of Israel helped early Christianity to survive the destruction of Jerusalem and to argue that with the coming of Christ Jerusalem had served its purpose in the divine plan and could be forsaken. It also enabled Christianity to claim an affinity with other religions besides Israel and to formulate such doctrines as the Trinity on a basis that claimed to include the best of both Jewish monotheism and Gentile polytheism. These and other advantages were cited by the defenders of Christianity against Judaism; they usually did not mention, even though they

imitate  
 alien



often exhibited, the impoverishment that came from the supposition that in the Old Testament and in the Jewish elements of the New Testament the Christian Church had as much of the tradition of Judaism as it would ever need. It is to be hoped that the beginnings of a new "theology of Israel" in the Declaration of the Second Vatican Council will lead to a new and deeper recognition that something integral has been lost from Christian doctrine itself by its isolation from Judaism, and that therefore a theology of Israel is essential to the proper formulation of a theology of Christianity.

(Bibliographical Note. The brief compass of a half-hour lecture does not allow for a discussion of either primary or secondary sources, but the following comments may be helpful. Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire romain 132-425* (Paris, 1948) is a competent summary. Karl Thieme, *Kirche und Synagoge* (Olten, 1945) is a study of Barnabas and Justin Martyr. A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), is, as its subtitle says, "a bird's-eye view of Christian apology until the Renaissance." Wilhelm Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandrien und Rom* (Göttingen, 1915) is still helpful. Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality* (Westminster, Md., 1960) and *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London, 1964) summarize a great deal of material. Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins* (Basel, 1946) analyzes the most influential "theology of Israel" in the Latin West. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition 100-600* (Chicago, 1971), contains a fuller presentation of the material set forth in this lecture.)

Remarks by Bishop Charles H. Helmsing  
at the opening program of the Convocation  
Observing the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews  
to be held at Seton Hall University  
October 25-28, 1970

Monsignor Law, Father Fahy, Mr. Hoffman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen!

My presence here tonight conveys, I hope, my deep interest in your convocation. My interest comes from the heart but it derives also from my office, as the Chairman of the Bishop's Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. To say it as simply as possible, I am happy and honored to be with you.

If I understand your purpose well, your celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Church and the Jewish people is not an attempt to dwell on the past but to look toward the future, to work toward a deepening of the bond that ties Jews and Christians to one another.

Since it was my privilege to be a member of the Council that so overwhelmingly adopted the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions, of which our Statement is the focal point, may I be the one who, for a few moments, tries to recall how it came about that the vast majority of the world's bishops gave the Statement on the Jews so enthusiastic an approval?

Assuming your consent, I should like to quote a few of the bishops who spoke in the Aula of St. Peter. Let me begin with a man to whom I owe much, the late Cardinal Ritter: "With all my heart I make this Declaration my own. Quite clearly, it meets a need of our time. The need I have in mind ... is simply a centuries-old injustice crying for reparation. For many centuries we Christians have been guilty of error and injustice towards the Jews. In many ways, we have assumed that God abandoned this people. Christians, even ecclesiastical documents, have charged the Jewish people with the suffering and death of Christ. In prayers they were called the 'perfidious,' the 'deicidal' people, who 'once called down upon themselves the blood of the Saviour.' We who are gathered here in this Ecumenical Council have today been given an opportunity to root out such errors and injustices and to make reparation."

Similarly, Cardinal Cushing demanded: "The Church must proclaim, through this Ecumenical Council, her sincere concern, universal respect, and true love for the whole world and for all men. ... In clear and unmistakable language we must deny that the Jews (as a whole) are guilty of Our Saviour's death. ... We must condemn especially those who seek to justify inequality of rights, hatred, and even persecution of Jews as Christian acts. All of us



have seen the evil fruit of this kind of false reasoning. In this august assembly, in this solemn moment, we must cry out. There is no Christian rationale--theological or historical--for any inequity, hatred, or persecution of our Jewish brothers.

"I ask myself, Venerable Brothers, whether we should not humbly confess before the whole world that Christians have all too often not shown themselves as true Christians toward their Jewish brothers, as true followers of Christ."

I have quoted from the speeches of two American bishops. I could mention others but I do not wish to be parochial. Let me, therefore, recall the words of the Archbishop of Westminster, now Cardinal Heenan: "The text contains these words: '(The Catholic Church) has a sincere respect for those ways of acting and living, those moral and doctrinal teachings which may differ in many respects from what she holds and teaches, but which nonetheless often reflect the brightness of Truth which is the light of all men! If then those (other religions) reflect the brightness of Truth, how much more does the Jewish religion which is, at the same time, the root of our faith. As Pius XI said many years ago: 'Spiritually, we are Semites!'"

Allow me to add that, though this saying is often quoted, it is rarely remembered that Pope Pius XI made his statement to underline his condemnation of Nazi Antisemitism. For a Christian to hate Jews is to hate his own flesh and bone or, rather, his own soul, the embodiment of the spirit whose heir he is.

Lest I give the impression that the Council Fathers spent their time only in denouncing the wrongs of the past, I should like to let the great Cardinal Lercaro take us from the depth of sin to the height of covenant love: "In the eyes of the Church, the Jewish people has a dignity that has supernatural roots and a corresponding value, not only in the past, at the time of the Church's beginnings, but also in the present, and that with regard to the most basic and divine elements of her daily life." The two sources of her existence, word and worship, Scripture and Eucharist, forever link her to Israel, Cardinal Lercaro continued, so that there exists, not only historically but also "even now, a certain union between the liturgical assembly, the Church, at the moment of her supreme action on earth, and the holy Kahal, the assembly of the sons of Israel."

The same sense of kinship was expressed by Bishop Elchinger of Strasbourg: "We believe with steadfast faith that God through all eternity does not recall His decrees. When he sealed the first Covenant, He foresaw already, in His love, the Covenant-to-come. Hence the second Covenant does not annul the first. On the con-

trary, the Lord Himself says, of the Law and the Prophets: 'I have come, not to abolish them but to fulfill them' (Mt 5:17). We Christians are therefore not permitted to look upon the Jews as rejected members of God's people. On the contrary, we are bound, so far as possible, to search out the treasures we hold in common, and together to put them in use in the present time. Anyone can see how effective this would be, precisely now when atheism has spread and flourishes everywhere."

~~Arch~~Bishop Elchinger continued on the blessings the common testimony of Jews and Christians, as worshippers of the One living God, would bring to the world at large. He stressed, no less, the great spiritual benefit that would come to Christians from a joint research and study by Jews and Christians. Jews, he said, "have an extraordinary sense of God's transcendence.... They render obedience to the prescriptions of the divine law and in particular the Ten Commandments--an obedience that is not only moral but also deeply religious. They trust in the liberation of God's people out of bondage. Divine worship and prayer, for which the liturgical setting is not only the synagogue but also the family itself, strengthen and sanctify the religious ties of family life." The ~~Arch~~Bishop did not hesitate to pay tribute to those Jews whose strong faith roused him to a better understanding and more vital love of the people of Israel and its fathers.

So I could go on, but all I wanted to do is to give you a glimpse of the mood and spirit that pervaded the Council at the time the Statement on the Jews was debated. I hope I have accomplished that. My only remaining duty is to wish you a part of that enthusiasm, devotion, and fellowship. May the Lord, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless your work so that it bear fruit and hallow His name.



The American Jewish Committee

TRANSMITTAL

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: *Marc Tanenbaum*

FROM: Sydney Kellner

Copies of this item have been sent to  
the following:

*Sent to chapter membership,  
board of JCC (non-members)  
selected Protestant clergy, rabbis  
etc. Clergy have personal invite.*

*cc Jim Rudin*

You are cordially invited to attend the  
opening session of the Academic Convocation

**"TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL"**

Observing the Fifth Anniversary of the  
Promulgation of the Vatican Council II

Statement on the Jews

Sponsored by The American Jewish Committee *and*

The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

at Seton Hall University

Sunday, October 25, 1970

8:00 P.M.

Student Center, 400 South Orange Avenue, South Orange, N.J.

This Card is your Ticket of Admission



**8:00 P.M.**

**OPENING PROGRAM ..... STUDENT LOUNGE**

**CHAIRMAN:** ... *Monsignor Bernard Law*, Executive Director  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical  
and Interreligious Affairs

**WELCOME:** ..... *The Reverend Thomas Fahy*, President  
Seton Hall University  
*Philip E. Hoffman*, President  
The American Jewish Committee

**MESSAGE:** ..... *Jan Cardinal Willebrands*, President  
Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity

**GREETINGS:** .... *The Most Reverend Charles H. Helmsing*  
Bishop of Kansas City, Chairman  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and  
Interreligious Affairs

**OPENING LECTURE:** .... "THE VATICAN STATEMENT  
ON THE JEWS REEXAMINED."  
*Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher*  
Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies  
Seton Hall University

**RESPONDENTS:** ..... *Professor Manfred Vogel*  
Northwestern University  
*Dr. Suzanne Knoeffke, O.P.*, President  
Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisconsin

**CONVOCATION CO-CHAIRMEN**

*Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher*  
*Rabbi Marc H. Tahenbaum*

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# Essex County Chapter NEWSLETTER

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE / 10 Commerce Court / Newark, N. J. 07102 / 642-1633

## AN HISTORIC EVENT IN ESSEX COUNTY

### 3-DAY INTERNATIONAL CONVOCATION ON CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

AJC Members and Guests Invited to Opening Session  
Sunday, October 25, 1970, 8 P.M. at Seton Hall University

## ARCHIVES

In the perspective of nearly 2,000 years of Catholic-Jewish history, the Ecumenical Declaration on Jews issued by Vatican Council II in October, 1965 had profound implications. As a forthright condemnation of anti-Semitism and a clear statement that the responsibility for the death of Jesus should not be attributed indiscriminately to all Jews living in the time of the Crucifixion or to the Jews of today, the document represented a definitive turning point in both Jewish and Church history and the beginning of a new era in relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish people throughout the world. However, the ultimate significance of the Declaration is dependent on the manner and vigor with which it is being translated into religious teaching.

To what extent the Declaration has become a catalyst for changes in Catholic-Jewish relations will be the subject of an International Convocation co-sponsored by the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies of Seton Hall University in New Jersey. The Convocation will coincide with the Fifth Anniversary of the Declaration, October 25-28th, 1970.

A formal session will open the Convocation on Sunday evening, October 25, 8 P.M., to which AJC members and guests are invited. Philip E. Hoffman, national president of AJC, and Msgr. Thomas Fahy, president of Seton Hall University, will be among the speakers.

Approximately 40 of the leading Catholic, Protestant and Jewish theologians and scholars from the United States and Europe will participate in the 3-day event exploring the history of the encounter between Catholicism and Judaism, evaluating current Christian-Jewish relations and identifying future needs and directions. Papers and panels will probe further the relationship of Judaism as a universal religion to the particularities of the Jewish people and the land of Israel.



The importance with which World Catholic authorities view this Convocation is underscored by the acceptance of the Rev. Cornelius A. Rijk, director of the Vatican office for Catholic-Jewish relations in Rome and Dr. Charlotte Klein, director of the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies of our Lady of Zion Order in London to deliver two of the major addresses. Bishop Francis Mugavero, Chairman of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations, will also participate, as will Father Edward Flannery and Msgr. John Oesterreicher, who is co-chairman.

Professors Uriel Tal, an authority on modern Jewish history, and Shmaryahu Talmon, a Biblical scholar, of Hebrew University will also present principal papers.

In preparation for the Convocation a series of surveys are being conducted to determine the efforts of the Catholic community to implement the Vatican II statement on the Jews in the five years since its promulgation. These studies, the first of their kind, will analyze the curriculum and teaching materials in the elementary and secondary Catholic schools to determine if adequate and positive treatment of Judaism and its relation to Christianity is included, how present day Judaism is handled and what references there are to the theology of Judaism and the State of Israel. Further studies of the high schools and institutions of higher learning will provide data on courses, programs and libraries in Judaism, Jewish Studies, etc. The information obtained will be the base for future activity in transforming the Declaration into living reality.

Parallel intensive surveys of Protestant teaching resources are being done, the findings of which will be the basis of a wide-ranging program of implementation.

# TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL

## A Convocation

Celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews  
to be held at Seton Hall University  
October 25-28, 1970

Sponsored by American Jewish Committee and  
Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies

### Sunday, October 25

7:00

6:45 P.M.

Reception for the Participants

Faculty Lounge

8:00 P.M.

Opening Program

Student Lounge

Welcome: The Reverend Thomas Fahy, President  
Seton Hall University

Phillip E. Hoffman, President  
The American Jewish Committee

Message: Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President  
Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity

Greetings: The Most Reverend Charles H. Helmsing, Bishop  
of Kansas City, Chairman, Bishops' Committee  
for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs

Opening Lecture: "The Vatican Statement on the Jews Reexamined"

Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies  
Seton Hall University

Respondents: Professor Manfred Vogel  
Northwestern University

Dr. Suzanne Knoeffke, O.P., President  
Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisconsin

Chairman: Monsignor Bernard Law, Executive Director  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and  
Interreligious Affairs

### Monday, October 26

9:30 A.M.

Chairman: The Reverend David Hunter, Deputy General  
Secretary, National Council of Churches



Monday, October 26 (continued)

Lecture: "The Theology of Israel in Historical Perspective"

Professor Jaroslav Pelikan  
Yale University

Respondents: Professor Charles Fritsch  
Princeton Theological Seminary

Professor Edward Synan, Pontifical Institute of  
Mediaeval Studies, Toronto

3:30 P.M.

Chairman: Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Jewish Theological Seminary

Lecture: "A Theology of Judaism--A Christian Perspective"

Dr. Cornelius Rijk, Director  
Vatican Office of Catholic-Jewish Relations

Respondents: Professor Ellis Rivkin  
Hebrew Union College

~~Professor Frank Cross~~  
~~Harvard University~~

*Professor Andre Jacocque*  
*Chicago Theological Seminary*

8:00 P.M.

Chairman: Professor Gerald Sloyan, Chairman  
Department of Theology, Temple University

Lecture: "A Theology of Christianity--A Jewish Perspective"

Professor Uriel Tal, Hebrew University

Respondents: Professor Asher Finkel  
New York University

The Reverend Marcian Strange, O.S.B.  
Saint Meinrad School of Theology

Tuesday, October 27

9:30 A.M.

Chairman: The Reverend John Sheerin, Editor  
The Catholic World

Tuesday, October 27 (continued)

Lecture: "A Survey and Evaluation of Christian-Jewish Relationships since Vatican II"

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director,  
Interreligious Affairs, The American  
Jewish Committee

Comments: Rabbi James Rudin, American Jewish Committee  
Dr. Gerald Strober, American Jewish Committee  
Sister Rose Thering, Institute of Judaeo-Christian  
Studies, Seton Hall University

3:30 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUPS

8:00 P.M.

Chairman: The Reverend Patrick Gaffney, S.M.  
St. Louis University

Lecture: "Theological Significance of the State of Israel:  
A Jewish Viewpoint"

Professor Irving Greenberg, Yeshiva University

Respondents: Professor Shmaryahu Talmon, Hebrew University

Rabbi David Silverman  
Jewish Theological Seminary

Wednesday, October 28

9:30 A.M.

Chairman: Dean Leon Jick, 2x  
Brandeis University

Lecture: "Theological Significance of the State of Israel:  
A Christian Viewpoint"

Dr. Charlotte Klein,  
Frankfurt University

Respondents: Professor Roy Eckardt  
Lehigh University

The Reverend Edward H. Flannery, Executive  
Secretary, Bishops' Commission on Catholic-  
Jewish Relations



Wednesday, October 28 (continued)

1:00 P.M.

CLOSING LUNCHEON

Chairman: Bertram Gold, Executive Vice-President,  
The American Jewish Committee

Invocation: Rabbi Arnold Lasker, President  
Essex County Board of Rabbis

Summary: "Achievements and Future Needs"

Rabbi Abraham Heschel  
Jewish Theological Seminary

Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Seton Hall University

Closing Remarks: The Most Reverend Francis J. Mugavero, Bishop  
of Brooklyn, Episcopal Moderator of the  
Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations

Benediction: The Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland, Archbishop  
of Newark

## SETON HALL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 25-28, 1970

### INTRODUCTION

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On October 28, 1965, Vatican Council II adopted the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions which provided a new basis for mutual understanding and creative dialogue between Catholics and Jews.

Whatever the reservations about aspects of the declaration, many constructive results have developed from the Conciliar statement on the Jews. In November, 1965, a year after its promulgation, the Catholic Bishops of this country, in answer to a tribute by Jewish leaders, warmly reaffirmed the declaration, recalled "the patient and friendly dialogue in which so many representatives of the Jewish faith participated during the Council," and pledged themselves "to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual understanding, of respect, and of cooperation."

In 1967, the American Catholic hierarchy adopted a set of guidelines which advanced Catholic-Jewish relations even further through specific recommendations for combating anti-Semitism, correcting distorted teachings about Jews and Judaism, and eschewing proselytism as a motive for dialogue.

In order to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaism-Christian Studies have joined in convening this scholarly colloquium at Seton Hall University.



**SETON HALL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 25-28, 1970**

An anniversary is a time to look back to count one's blessings, and to take stock. We hope to do all this but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given our colloquium the title, "Toward a Theology of Israel."

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



SETON HALL CONVOCATION OCTOBER 25-28, 1970  
JEWISH PARTICIPANTS

-----

Finkel, Asher, Rabbi, Professor of Religion, New York University,  
New York, New York

Friedman, Maurice, Professor of Religion, Temple University,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Grayzel, Solomon, Rabbi, Professor of History, Dropsie University,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Greenberg, Irving, Rabbi, Professor of History, Yeshiva University,  
New York, New York

Heschel, Abraham Joshua, Rabbi, Professor of Jewish Ethics and  
Mysticism, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York,  
New York

Jick, Leon, Rabbi, Director Philip Lown Center for Contemporary  
Studies, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts

Rivkin, Ellis, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew  
Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio

Rudin, A. James, Rabbi, Assistant Director, Interreligious Affairs  
Department, American Jewish Committee, New York, New York

Silverman, David W., Rabbi, Professor of Philosophy of Judaism,  
Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York

Tal, Uriel, Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew University,  
Jerusalem, Israel

Talmon, Shmaryahu, Professor of History, Hebrew University,  
Jerusalem, Israel

Tanenbaum, Marc H., Rabbi, National Director, Interreligious  
Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York, New  
York

Vogel, Manfred, Rabbi, Professor of Religion, Northwestern University,  
Evanston, Illinois

Waxman, Mordecai, Rabbi, Professor of  
Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York

Wyschogrod, Michael, Professor of Philosophy, Baruch College, City  
University of New York, New York, New York



**SETON HALL CONVOCATION OCTOBER 25-28, 1970**  
**PROTESTANT PARTICIPANTS**

-----

**Cross, Frank M, Jr., Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

**Eckardt, A. Roy, Professor of Religion, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania**

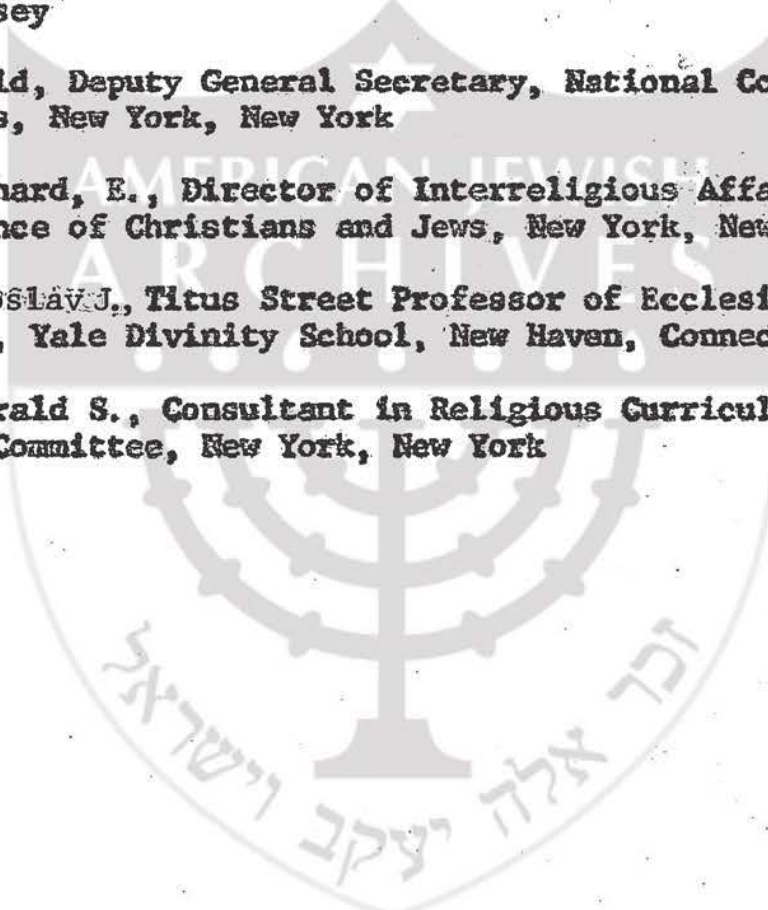
**Fritsch, Charles T., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey**

**Hunter, David, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Churches, New York, New York**

**Olson, Bernhard, E., Director of Interreligious Affairs, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, New York**

**Pelikan, Jaroslav J., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Connecticut**

**Strober, Gerald S., Consultant in Religious Curricula, The American Jewish Committee, New York, New York**



**CATHOLIC PARTICIPANTS SETON HALL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 25-28, 1970**

- Ellis, The Reverend Peter, Professor of Sacred Scripture, Department of Religious Education, Fordham University, New York, New York**
- Flannery, The Reverend Edward M., Executive Secretary, Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey**
- Fleischner, Svs, Doctoral Candidate of Theology, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin**
- Gaffney, S.M., The Reverend Patrick, Professor of Theology, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri**
- Klein, Dr. Charlotte, Professor of Scripture, Frankfurt University, Germany**
- Kearney, The Reverend Peter, Professor of Sacred Scripture, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.**
- Konrad, The Reverend Joseph, Co-Chairman, Catholic-Jewish Relations Brooklyn and Queens**
- Kugelman, C.P., The Reverend Richard, Professor of New Testament; Chairman, Department of Theology, St. Johns University, New York, New York**
- Moore, O.P., The Reverend G. Thomas, Professor of New Testament; Chairman, Department of Doctoral Programs, Aquinas Institute of Theology, Dubuque, Iowa**
- Morley, The Reverend John, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Hebrew Culture, New York University, New York, New York**
- Murphy, O. Carm., The Reverend Roland, Professor of Old Testament, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey**
- Noeffke, O.P., Sr. Suzanne, President, Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisconsin**
- Oesterreicher, Magr. John M., Director, Institute of Judaic-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey**
- Pawlikowski, The Reverend John, Professor of Theology, Catholic Union Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois**
- Rijk, The Reverend Cornelius, Director, Vatican Office of Catholic-Jewish Relations, Rome**



**CATHOLIC PARTICIPANTS SETON HALL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 25-28, 1970 - Pg. 2**

**Rudloff, Abbot Leo, Benedictine Monks, Weston, Vermont**

**Sheerin, The Reverend John, Editor, The Catholic World, New York, New York**

**Sloyan, The Reverend Gerald, Chairman, Department of Religion, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.**

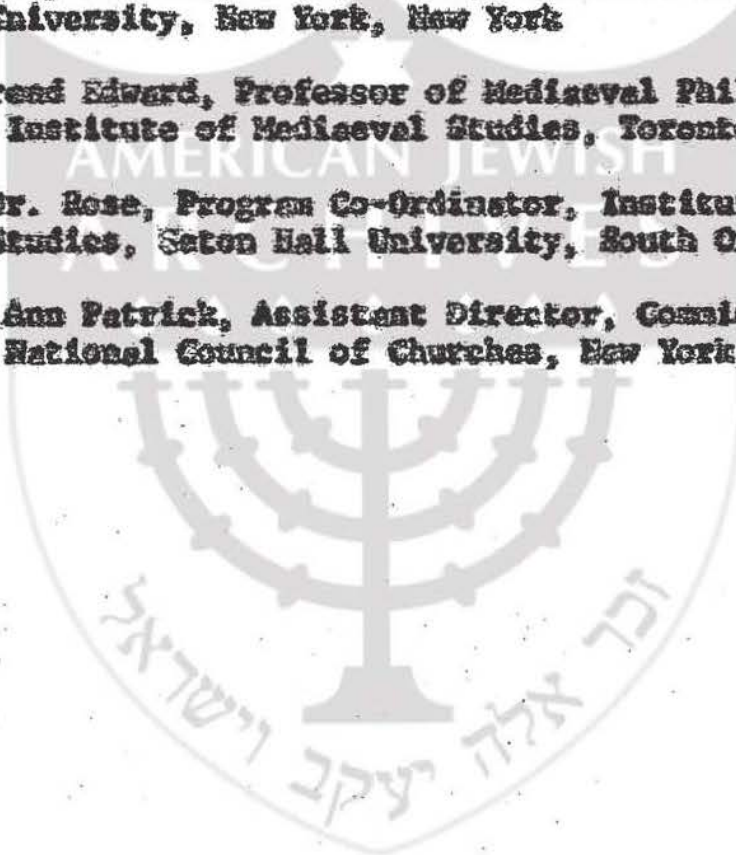
**Strange, O.S.B., The Reverend Mercian, Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Meinrad Seminary, St. Meinrad, Indiana**

**Stuhlmiller, C.P., The Reverend Carroll, Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Johns University, New York, New York**

**Synan, The Reverend Edward, Professor of Mediaeval Philosophy, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, Canada**

**Thering, O.P., Dr. Rose, Program Co-Ordinator, Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey**

**Ware, S.L., Dr. Ann Patrick, Assistant Director, Commission on Faith and Order, National Council of Churches, New York, New York**



**AN INTRODUCTION TO SETON HALL PROGRAM**

On October 25, 1965, Vatican Council II adopted by an overwhelming vote the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions which became known popularly as "The Jewish Declaration". In the perspective of the several years during which the various texts of the declaration were considered and revised, the final document could be regarded as a mixed achievement. In the perspective of 1900 years of Jewish-Christian history, the declaration is to be considered as a monumental achievement and a turning point toward improved relations between Catholics and Jews all over the world.

Despite revisions about some of the wording in the final text, it is clear that the declaration became an historic new foundation on which has already been erected substantial accomplishment in uncovering the sources of anti-Semitism and in establishing the bases for deepened mutual understanding and respect between Christians and Jews. The following developments would have been impossible without the passage of the declaration and the entire reeducation process that it helped inaugurate:

The "Guidelines" adopted by the American-Catholic hierarchy in 1967 which spelled out in detail specific instructions for combatting anti-Semitism, correcting teaching about Jews and Judaism, and in general opening meaningful communication between the Catholic and Jewish peoples.



Various sets of guidelines adopted by local dioceses throughout the United States.

Whole new programs of revision of teaching materials and the introduction of new education programs in the religious school systems.

Perhaps the spirit of this movement forward was best summarized in a statement issued by the Catholic Bishops of this country in November 1966 in exchange of tributes between the Bishops and leaders of the American Jewish Committee at a ceremony held at Catholic University on the occasion of the first anniversary of the promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews. This Catholic message was entitled "To all our Jewish friends" and read as follows:

... the Catholic Bishops of this country warmly reaffirm the declaration of the Fathers of Vatican Council II, that Christians and Jews are all children of God, all sharing "His providence, His manifestation of goodness, His saving design."

We recall with deep satisfaction, the patient and friendly dialogue in which so many representatives of the Jewish faith participated during the Council. These personal conversations, extending over a four year period, enriched the Church's awareness of the "spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews," the common heritage of salvation in the covenant made between God and Abraham and his descendants.

In this exchange of tributes, we Catholic people of the United States salute our Jewish brothers anew, and pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual understanding, of respect and of cooperation. It is our prayer that this occasion may inspire further confidence that men of all faiths can aid one another in attaining peace and live as brothers.

In the spirit of this message, and in order to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies have joined in convening this scholarly colloquium at Seton Hall University.

An anniversary is a time to look back to count one's blessings, and to take stock. We hope to do all this but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward, to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given our colloquium the title, "Toward a Theology of Israel."





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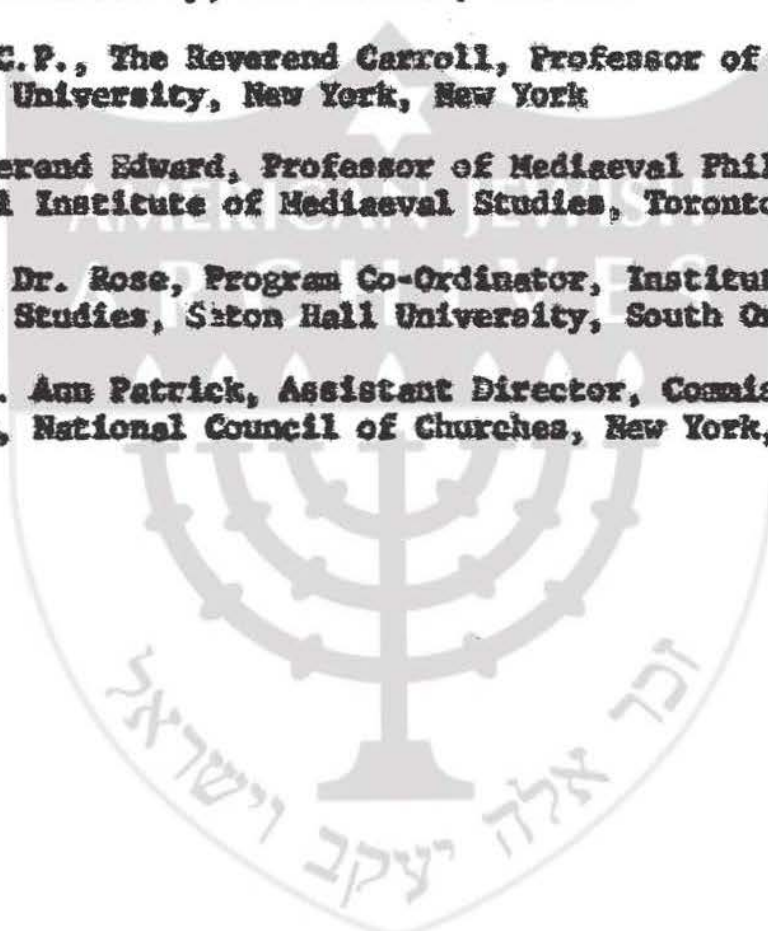
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**Ware, S.L., Dr. Ann Patrick, Assistant Director, Commission on Faith and Order, National Council of Churches, New York, New York**





## SETON HALL CONVOCATION, OCTOBER 25-28, 1970

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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Paris Office: 30, Rue La Boetie, 75 Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris • Zachariah Shuster, European Director

FO-Eur

June 23, 1969

### MEMORANDUM

To: New York Office (cc: Mr. Gold, Dr. Segal, Rados Tauscher)

From: Zachariah Shuster

Subj: Sperry Center

I received a report from the Sperry Center at Pro Deo University with regard to the activities of the Center for the period March 1 to May 31, 1969. A copy of it is enclosed herewith.

You will notice that research on the current study is now under way, and we hope to receive some reports about it in the course of the coming months.

The Vatican newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, recently printed a lengthy review of the study "Religion and Prejudice" published by the Sperry Center. A full translation of it is enclosed herewith.

The review is written in the usual style of the Osservatore Romano, which sounds rather involved to those who are not accustomed to it. The gist of it, however, may be summarized in a few words. While it praises the rigorousness of the methods and the seriousness with which the study was made, it has reservations with regard to the final conclusions, and on two groups: first, that the scholars who undertake such a study must look inevitably at the subject from a certain point of view which puts them in the center. The second, more important observation, is that respect to other religions and ethnic groups must not involve an obliteration of differences. Or, to put it more drastically, that negative remarks made by one religion with regard to another are not always a sign of lack of respect, but an emphasis of difference. This is the sense of the title of the review, that ethnocentrism can be either positive or negative; and the writer of this review seeks to find a balance between both of these attitudes.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, President

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## SPERRY CENTER FOR INTERGROUP COOPERATION

Report on the activities from March 1st to May 31

1 9 6 9

### Presentation of Study

The meeting for the presentation of the published volume "Religion and Prejudice" at the Libreria Paesi Nuovi on March 26 was very successful. Some 100 people attended the meeting, among whom were journalists, publishers and professors of pedagogy and sociology. Also Prof. Glock, from Berkeley University attended the meeting; and Professors Achille Ardigò, Mauro Laeng, Domenico Grasso gave a full report on the book and a discussion followed mainly on the problem of teaching and the way to combat prejudice in the schools. The judgment on the research was very favorable and people were very interested, considering the research a new start in a very important field. Articles on the book appeared in the newspaper Il Quotidiano, l'Osservatore Romano and ANSA, which is the most important news agency in Italy. Other reviews will appear on scientific journals.

A meeting is being prepared for September 1969 in Milan, at the Libreria Rizzoli.

### Research

Several meetings of the Sperry Center staff have taken place to discuss the items and methods of questionnaire. At the same time several pilot interviews were made. The results of these meetings was an agreement with regard to the version of the questionnaire, which is now being printed in 3000 copies for a first large sampling. The main problems posed by the questionnaire are the following:

- a) Is the "authoritative" attitude positively correlated with prejudice;
- b) A "tolerant" attitude can be abstract or practical: we must make a distinction between "ideological" tolerance and a "real" attitude free of prejudice towards others;
- c) There is correlation between prejudice and the following variables:
  - attitudes towards religion
  - attitudes towards the family and education
  - attitudes towards social classes
  - political attitudes

The research will be oriented to particular categories as for instance students in Universities, teachers in the schools, priests, members of the middle classes, workmen.

The research with the questionnaire will be completed by deeper free interviews with a sample of persons chosen among those who will answer the questionnaire.



Publishing

Further steps have been taken in order to prepare a contract for the Spanish edition of the text. We hope to reach an agreement in a short time.

Teaching

Prof. Klineberg has given his courses to students of the post-graduate School of Sociology and to the priests of MAPSO.

Seminars have been held on the volume "Religion and Prejudice" and the results of the research and the practical implications of it were fully discussed.



## TRANSLATION

From: L'Osservatore Romano  
April 1969 (exact date unknown)

### ETHNOCENTRISM YES-ETHNOCENTRISM NO

In the past few years there developed in the field of so-called humanities a profound change in opinion concerning the place that the scholar must and can occupy in carrying out investigations and in forming conclusions. It is not a matter of a Byzantine question to ask whether in changing place there is also a change in the point of view, a modification of relationship between the observer and the subject under examination, so that different and sometimes contrasting results are reached.

From the beginning -- and it is useless to try to find the exact time of such a beginning -- the scholar, the researcher and even those who were moved to investigation by simple curiosity, found themselves naturally at the center of the matter that was being treated; a "center" that requires some explanation. In the consideration of cultural phenomena of large or small scope, in judging problems or events that interest this or that group, this or that individual belonging to a certain race or a certain geographic area, the scholar considers and judges according to "his own" measure, that is with a method he usually employs in facing analogous problems and phenomena, which are part of his experience as a man belonging to a certain culture. All this is observed and annotated, explicitly or implicitly, by the researcher, against his own system of life and experience. The scholar, therefore, was at the center of his study, representing a valid point of comparison.

In the past years, as we said, this situation, which had been defined as historiographic ethnocentrism or egocentrism, has been more and more abandoned in the belief that it represented an irresponsible and unjustified pride, and was an obstacle to a correct understanding of the problems and phenomena of other individuals and other groups. Following this laudable re-structuring, inspired by an appreciable sense of modesty, or humility, or scholarship, there was left a vacuum in the center, without precisions as to who should fill it and, above all, where would be the new place from which to observe. Furthermore, while the "center" is an easily determined point and is the same for all, once it is considered inopportune, it cannot be substituted by another position equally common, and thus it is no longer possible to make a valid comparison in the case of discordant results. The ethnocentric position does not necessarily exclude the dutiful, maximum respect for all individuals and every culture.

Within the framework of such a respectful attitude, the four scholars -- Otto Klineberg, Tullio Tentori, Franco Crespi and Vincenzo Filippone Thaulero -- carried out a "content analysis of Catholic religious textbooks in Italy and in Spain," whose results were recently published by



Cappelli, with a presentation of the late Cardinal Agostino Bea, under the title: "Religion and Prejudice." In his presentation, Cardinal Bea underlined the "surprising insistence" with which, in many documents of Vatican Council II there is reference to "the need to destroy the barriers of prejudice and misunderstanding and to promote reciprocal knowledge among the followers of various creeds, among those who profess various religions, and also, more generally, among men of various social classes."

The analysis was conducted through a system of cards, executed as far as possible in an even manner through a rigorous questionnaire. The reading of the texts was "oriented toward all passages referring to religious groups, various ethnic groups described by tongue or race; and also according to political and cultural currents." The terms examined were nine: Jews, Protestants, heretics, Orthodox, Moslem, Buddhist-Hinduist, pagan-idolaters, political currents, racial groups. The countries taken under examination were appraised according to content, as negative, positive-negative, positive. There is nobody who would not realize the extreme difficulty and delicacy of such an analysis. The subject treated, the rigorosity of the questionnaire, the multiplicity of readers call for maximum prudence. To translate evaluations that concern a spiritual patrimony into cards can be dangerous to the point of gambling, if such work is not strictly controlled, as was responsibly done by the four scholars who signed the results of the analysis.

In addition, it should be said that in such a matter -- always reaffirming the absolute need for respect of the thoughts and feelings of others -- it is a bit difficult and perhaps inopportune to abandon the center position. Missionary activities would be necessarily compromised, since they are pivoted on the maxim of Euntes, docete. Now teaching and evangelization always presupposed a diversity of levels, or there would be no communication. This, obviously, becomes more evident in the texts of catechistic teaching. The four scholars -- who also consulted numerous personalities of various creeds -- did not underestimate this important aspect, so much so that they concluded their analysis with a series of interrogations, of which perhaps the most interesting are the last two: "Were we to try to see ourselves with the eyes of others, would we be able to safeguard our identity and also respect the identity of those who are different from us? Would we be able to rid ourselves of these differences, in order to be able to protect the common, human identity?"

Here, under another form, is again presented the eternal problem of the relationship among the one and the many. An answer, though a partial one, can perhaps be found in the very interesting work of Jean de Fraine: "Adam et son lignage," in which is illustrated the concept of the corporate personality, in the biblical dialectics of the individual and the collective. Recently printed in an Italian translation by the publishing house Città Nuova di Roma, it is perhaps the most clearly and profoundly written work on the concept of the "corporate personality," a personality created and defined by contemporary exegesis (to be more exact by H. Wheeler Robinson) and that surpasses the present moment in order to extend itself equally to the past and the future: a concept that is "eminently realistic, transcending the purely literary personification or idealization, and making the group a real entity, fully effected in each of its members." After having clarified the concept, Jean de Fraine considers the "corporate personality" in the text of the Old Testament (the father of the family



and his home; the influence of the representative individual for good or evil; the forefathers and their descendants; the influence of the fathers and sons for good or evil; the identification between the name of a clan and an individual name; the concrete personification of the people; the legal "thou" on the concrete applications of the notion of "corporate personality" (Adam: the king; the prophets, the servant of God; the "son of man"; the "I" of the psalms) and on the notion of "corporate personality" in the New Testament.

Particularly interesting are the pages in which de Fraine, analyzing the concept of corporate personality makes a clear and thorough "distinction" between the identification of the individual and the group and the terminology used by the sociological school of Lévy-Bruhl and Durkheim in order to define the so-called "primitive mentality." Lévy-Bruhl believes, in fact, that among primitives "the individual is not considered other than as an element of the group of which he is part; only this makes a true unity." The dogmatic affirmation of the French sociological tendency, according to which "primitives" constitute "an indistinct crowd, whose movements are impeccably insured by the play of collective representation" is a clear product of ethnocentrism, which could in effect bring about dangerous consequences. This is the case of "ethnocentrism no" as the preceding was, perhaps, the case of "ethnocentrism yes."

The establishment of the existence of differences -- actually easily perceived -- cannot and must not negate respect toward other individuals and other groups. But this respect and the obligation to protect an indisputably common, human identity, must not lead to the belief that an indisputably common, human identity must not lead to the too superficial belief that it is enough to ignore the existence of some differences in order that they really disappear. In a time like the present, when some small technological "gaps" are so highlighted (the 15 or 20 years that are said to be the distance between Europe and the U.S. alarm as the abysses of centuries) to deny the existence -- and perhaps the necessity, particularly for largely didactic ends -- of certain differences, may lead to behavior in which the laudable sense of respect may be easily confused with a sense of little responsibility. Between "ethnocentrism yes" and "ethnocentrism no" the choice may also be made case by case, with calm and guarded approach, with cautious "judgment" which should not be confused with the political opportunism of Ferrer, but which is awareness of duties, awareness of the precise responsibility of the one who has put himself in the center, found himself there or was put there because he really has something more to say, to teach and to make known.



# Rabbi Jacob B. Agus

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May 20, 1969

Rabbi Marc A. Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 E. 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc,

Enclosed is a copy of my article on "Israel and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue" in the recent issue of *The Journal of Ecumenical Studies*.

You will note that while I put the state and ecumenism in the Category of Fulfillment, I stress that this Category is part of a cycle, not the terminal point of history. I also point out the role that Christians have to play, and it is not simply to say, "Amen."

I read Heschel's book on Israel. As usual, he rhapsodizes and sings, but those who are not caught up in the same emotional ecstasy are more likely to be offended by his sentimentalism than to be convinced by the occasional arguments which are interjected in his exultant poetry. For some, his book will be a testament; for others, a regression to medievalism and "sanctified ethnicism." You will use your judgment, I am certain, in recommending it as one of the attitudes Jews take toward the State of Israel.

As you may have heard, I am continuing to serve as Rabbi of Beth El, and I shall be spending one day a week in Philadelphia, where I shall be teaching in the morning at the Recon. Rabbinical College and in the afternoon at Temple University.

Kindest regards to Helga.

Sincerely yours,

*Jacob Agus*

DR. JACOB B. AGUS  
Rabbi

JBA/rp  
enc.



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Paris Office: 30, Rue La Boétie, 75 Paris 8, France • Elysees 69-11, 83-63 • Cable: Wishcom, Paris • Zachariah Shuster, European Director

FO-Eur  
December 18, 1968

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

I carefully read your memorandum of December 5 with regard to the fundamental principles involved in Catholic-Jewish relations, and I should like to make some observations on this rather complicated subject, and Prof. Rijk's attitudes toward this problem.

I believe that Prof. Rijk, who is the head of the Vatican office on Catholic-Jewish relations, is fully aware of the need for a re-interpretation of Judaism as being more than a religion and that it is a unique entity which includes the essentials of peoplehood. As a matter of fact, his major effort since he was designated by Cardinal Bea to the position he now occupies, was to urge upon the Catholic world a change in the following two directions:

1. That Catholicism must face Judaism and the Jews not as a survival of an ancient past but as a living reality, the essence of which has not as yet been formulated by Catholic theologians.
2. That Jews and Judaism represent more than a religious group and embody within themselves elements of peoplehood, relations to Israel and cultural traditions.

The most comprehensive statement on the subject was made by Father Rijk in an address he delivered earlier this year at the Center for Biblical Jewish Studies in London, and then elaborated in an essay published in the review "New Blackfriars." I shall quote a few sentences from this essay, to demonstrate what I am trying to convey:

"Christians must acknowledge that their conception of Judaism was faulty, that they had placed Judaism in their own cate-

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gories of thinking; they had considered Judaism simply as a religion, but now it has become clear that Judaism is a very complex reality of which religion is one aspect..."

In another part of the same essay Prof. Rijk says:

"When we Christians consider Judaism seriously, according to its own self-awareness, it is clear that the first thing to do is to listen in order to discover what Judaism is. I think that at this stage of development, this is the main point for Christians - to discover the reality, and not a caricature of Judaism...."

Even more pointedly, Father Rijk urges upon Christians the realization that there is an essential link between the three elements of which Judaism is composed: "The revelation of God, the people, and the country."

In further development of this thought, Father Rijk says clearly that "Israel has its own authenticity, which it preserves"; and in summarizing his views he definitely states that the first point is "the recognition of Jewish identity with its essential aspects."

I have no doubt from my many conversations with Prof. Rijk that he fully comprehends the Jewish identification of themselves and that he agrees that the purely theological and religious aspects of Judaism do not cover all aspects of Jewish identity. On the theoretical level we have, therefore, not much to argue about with him.

There might be, however, differences with regard to the organizational aspects of the situation, namely as to whether the Church ought to establish contact primarily with Jewish religious bodies or also with other groups, which are more or less secular and conceive Judaism in non-religious terms, at least as far as their activities are concerned. In this respect I feel that the matter presents serious problems. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the Vatican wants to deal with religious bodies, like the Synagogue Council and others, regardless of whether they have the capacity to handle this problem. A religious Jew is certainly a Jew in every other respect too. Why is the Synagogue Council, let us say, which bases its existence on religious identity, less entitled to represent Jews in other aspects too than a non-religious organization which gives preference to the non-religious aspects? What reason is there for the Church, which is primarily a religious body, to deal with non-religious organizations in preference to those Jewish groups which put religion in the center of their self-understanding and activity, but not ignoring what you describe as "peoplehood?"

I believe that we haven't yet reached an answer to this question and that it requires further thinking before we are able to challenge Dr. Rijk's thesis.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Zachariah Shuster

cc: Mr. Gold  
Dr. Segal

P.S. If you do not have the text of Prof. Rijk's essay I shall be glad to photocopy it and send it on to you.





**COPY**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

Institute of Human Relations  
165 EAST 56th STREET NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

**PARIS OFFICE**

30, rue la Boétie

Paris VIII

**FO-Eur**  
**December 18, 1968**

**MEMORANDUM**

**To: New York Office**

**From: Zachariah Shuster**

**Enclosed is the copy of a letter I received today from Msgr. Willebrands, Secretary of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity.**

**As I indicated in a previous communication, it is believed by well informed circles in Rome that Msgr. Willebrands might be designated as the President of the Secretariat, and replace Cardinal Bea in this position.**

**Enclosure**

**cc: Mr. Gold  
Dr. Segal  
Rabbi Tanenbaum**

C O P Y

SECRETARIATUS  
AD CHRISTIANORUM UNITATEM FOVENDAM

CITTA DEL VATICANO

Roma, December 13, 1968

Mr. Zachariah Shuster  
30 rue la Boetie  
75 Paris 8  
France

Dear Mr. Shuster,

I want to thank you most sincerely for the various ways in which you have expressed your respect and homage to Cardinal Bea.

May I ask you to unite your prayers to ours as we thank the Lord for all that He willed to accomplish through Cardinal Bea and as we ask Him to bring to fruition the work the Cardinal began.

His memory will remain an inspiration to us all to continue efforts for creating a climate of understanding and respect.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

s/ J.C.M. Willebrands  
The Secretary



m HT

April 17, 1968

Father Cornelius A. Rijk  
Via Dell' Erba-1 - 2nd Fl.  
Rome, Italy 00193

Dear Father Rijk:

First let me express my sincere appreciation for your hospitality and cordial interview in which you gave so graciously of your time. I very much enjoyed our meeting and have passed on to Rabbi Tanenbaum both your greetings and the comments you wished conveyed.

I have not forgotten my promise to you--and to Mother Marie Edward--to seek material from Jewish sources dealing with the concept of peoplehood and the relationship of Judaism, Jewry, and the land of Israel.

I have spent much of my time since my return looking for material on the subject that would meet your desired condition of being essentially non political. Surprisingly, I have found very little. I believe there are several reasons for this. One is that much of the writing from Jewish sources was sparked by the concrete realities of June 1967, and thus dealt directly with the political context. Second, the relationship between religion, peoplehood and the land of Israel is I suspect so taken for granted among Jews, that no explicit formulation for it has been necessary, except perhaps recently, as a response to the questions of Christians. (The piece I have included falls into this category.) A third reason, perhaps the most essential, is that Jewish thought does not fall easily into distinctive categories of "religious" and "political"; as is the story with sacred and secular in Judaism, the distinctions simply do not exist. To quote from a more

authoritative source, "In the western world, where the separation between public and private starts from firmly established premises and the political and the religious aspects of life are separated with equal clarity, public affairs soon resolves itself into questions of the immediately or essentially political. Within the framework of Jewish civilization, however, the distinctions between public and private, political and religious, are substantially blurred."

(Incidentally, you might find of interest the article from which the above is quoted. It is, "The Pursuit of Community: Selections From the Literature of Jewish Public Affairs, 1955-1966, by Daniel J. Elazar, American Jewish Yearbook 1967. I believe the Sisters of Zion have a copy.)

I have, however, found one statement which I believe is eminently suitable. It was prepared as a background paper for an informal, off the record, dialogue group composed mainly of Protestant denominational officials and Jewish organizational representatives (Father John Sheerin has begun sitting in on the more recent sessions) which began meeting in the summer of 1967 largely as a result of the differences between Christian and Jewish viewpoints over the June war. It was prepared by Morris Laub, a Jewish layman who is Director of the Joint Commission on Social Action of the United Synagogue of America, the organizational body of Conservative Judaism in America. Mr. Laub is a personal friend, and I am sure he would agree to your using sections of this paper in the SIDIC Bulletin or elsewhere. (If you would like, I would ask for his permission.) Since I only have one copy on hand, may I ask you to share it with Mother Marie Edward.

I am also enclosing some other materials which may be of interest, including some materials descriptive of institutes or dialogues which Mother Edward may find useful for a coming issue of the SIDIC Bulletin. As other materials come along, I will pass it on to you without such lengthy explanation. But I did wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your gracious reception.

Incidentally, we received from Msgr. Higgins a National Catholic Press Service item referring to the lecture you gave at the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies in London. If you have a copy of that paper, we would very much appreciate seeing it.

Thank you for your consideration. With every good wish,

Yours most sincerely,

Judith H. Banki

JHB:as  
Enc.



# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, Plaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, October 7...The fifth anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews issued by the Second Vatican Council on October 28, 1965, will be observed at a major religious and academic Convocation of Christian and Jewish theologians and scholars from the United States, Europe and Israel. The Convocation will take place October 25-28 at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.

Under the co-chairmanship of Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher, Director of Seton Hall's Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, the meeting will seek to evaluate the impact that the Conciliar Statement on non-Christian religions has had on Catholic-Jewish relations during the past five years, and identify future needs and directions. Papers and panels will also probe the relationship of Judaism as a universal religion to the particularities of the Jewish people and the land of Israel.

Underscoring the importance with which world Catholic authorities view the Convocation, two of the Catholic participants are coming from Europe for the express purpose of delivering major addresses. They are the Rev. Cornelius A. Rijk, Director of the Vatican Office for Catholic-Jewish Relations, and Dr. Charlotte Klein, Director of the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies of our Lady of Zion Order in London.

-more-

Philip E. Hoffman, President; Max M. Fisher, Chairman, Executive Board; David Sher, Chairman, Board of Governors; Elmer L. Winter, Chairman, Board of Trustees  
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Among the Jewish participants will be Dr. Uriel Tal, Professor of Modern Jewish History at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Dr. Shmaryahu Talmon, Professor of History at Hebrew University, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism at Jewish Theological Seminary, and Dr. Irving Greenberg, Professor of Modern History at Yeshiva University.

In a joint statement, explaining the significance of the Convocation to interreligious understanding, Rabbi Tanenbaum and Monsignor Oesterreicher declared:

"In the perspective of 1900 years of Jewish-Christian history, the promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews five years ago is to be considered as a monumental achievement and a turning point toward improved relations between Catholics and Jews all over the world.

"The declaration became a new foundation on which has already been erected substantial accomplishment in uncovering the sources of anti-Semitism and in establishing the bases for deepened mutual understanding and respect between Christians and Jews.

"An anniversary is a time to look back, to count one's blessings and to take stock. Our Convocation hopes to do all this, but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward, to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given the Convocation the title, 'Toward a Theology of Israel.'"

Coordinators for the Convocation are Sister Rose Albert Thering, O.P., of the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, Rabbi James Rudin and Dr. Gerald Strober of the AJC.

-more-



In preparation for the Convocation, a series of surveys is being conducted by the Institute and the American Jewish Committee to determine the effects on Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities throughout the world of the Conciliar Statement in the five years since it was issued. These studies, the first of their kind, will analyze the curriculum and teaching materials in elementary and secondary Catholic schools to ascertain the extent to which Judaism and its relations to Christianity are included, how present-day Judaism is handled, and what references there are to the theology of Judaism and the State of Israel. Catholic high schools, colleges and universities will be queried on what they offer in courses, programs and libraries in Judaism and Jewish studies. Parallel intensive surveys of Protestant and Jewish teaching resources are also under way. The findings of the surveys will be released in conjunction with the Convocation.

During the four days of the Convocation, seven major papers will be read, reacted to and discussed.

The opening keynote lecture on Sunday evening, October 25, will be delivered by Monsignor Oesterreicher and titled "The Vatican Statement on the Jews Reexamined."

On Monday morning, October 26, Dr. Jaroslav Pelikan, Professor of Church History at Yale University, will present a paper on "The Theology of Israel in Historical Perspective: A Protestant View".

On Monday afternoon and evening, the meeting will consider Judaism and Christianity in their perspectives toward each other. In the afternoon, Dr. Rijk will discuss "A Theology of Judaism -- A Christian Perspective." The evening session will hear Dr. Tal present "A Theology of Christianity -- A Jewish Perspective."

Tuesday morning, Rabbi Tanenbaum will present "A Survey and Evaluation of Christian-Jewish Relationships Since Vatican II," which will be followed by plenary discussion at the morning session and further examination in small groups throughout the afternoon.

On Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, the Convocation will consider "The Theological Significance of the State of Israel," with a Jewish viewpoint being presented by Dr. Greenberg, and a Catholic viewpoint by Dr. Klein.

The final session at Wednesday luncheon will include a summary of "Achievements and Future Needs" by Rabbi Heschel and Monsignor Oesterreicher, and closing remarks by Most Rev. Francis J. Mugavero, Bishop of Brooklyn and Episcopal Moderator of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Catholic Bishops Conference.

Other participants to the Convocation, as session chairmen, respondents and other program functionaries will include: Most Rev. Thomas A. Boland, Archbishop of Newark; Professor Roy Eckardt, Lehigh University; Rev. Thomas Fahy, President of Seton Hall University; Professor Asher Finkel, New York University; Rev. Edward H. Flannery, Executive Secretary, Bishops' Committee on Catholic-Jewish Relations; Professor Charles Fritsch, Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. Patrick Gaffney, S.M., Saint Louis University; Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President, American Jewish Committee; Most Rev. Charles H. Helmsing, Bishop of Kansas City and Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs; Philip E. Hoffman, President, American Jewish Committee; Rev. David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Churches; Dean Leon Jick, Brandeis University; Rabbi Arnold Lasker, President, Essex County Board of Rabbis; Msgr. Bernard Law, Executive Director, Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs; Dr. Andre LaCocque, Professor of Old Testament, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Director of the Center for Jewish-Christian Studies; Dr. Susan Noeffke, O.P., President Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisc.; Mr. Edward Ring of Trenton, N.J., President of AJC's New Jersey Area; Professor Ellis Rivkin, Hebrew Union College; Rev. John Sheerin, Editor, The Catholic World; Rabbi David Silverman, Jewish Theological Seminary; Rev. Marcian Strange, O.S.B., Saint Meinrad School of Theology; Professor Manfred Vogel, Northwestern University; and Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Jewish Theological Seminary.

(NOTE TO EDITORS: YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED.)

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Rev. Msgr. Earl L. Whalen, Executive Secretary

Dear Marc,

Greetings and Prayers for the Convocation  
at Seton Hall. How those five years have  
gone by — happily, we make progress — slowly —  
but "heart speaks to heart" and we do progress.

Enclosed is some evidence of growth and progress  
in ☐ mid. America  
☐ The Heartland of America  
☐ The great mid. West

Please check one!

I'll keep you posted on this document. Greetings to Jim  
Rudin, Msgr. D., Fr. Sloyan, Eva Fleischner and Ellis Rivkin.  
What a noble assembly you'll all be.

As ever — Dan Kane

**AN INTRODUCTION TO SETON HALL PROGRAM**

On October 25, 1965, Vatican Council II adopted by an overwhelming vote the Declaration on Non-Christian Religions which became known popularly as "The Jewish Declaration". In the perspective of the several years during which the various texts of the declaration were considered and revised, the final document could be regarded as a mixed achievement. In the perspective of 1900 years of Jewish-Christian history, the declaration is to be considered as a monumental achievement and a turning point toward improved relations between Catholics and Jews all over the world.

Despite revisions about some of the wording in the final text, it is clear that the declaration became an historic new foundation on which has already been erected substantial accomplishment in uncovering the sources of anti-Semitism and in establishing the bases for deepened mutual understanding and respect between Christians and Jews. The following developments would have been impossible without the passage of the declaration and the entire reeducation process that it helped inaugurate:

The "Guidelines" adopted by the American-Catholic hierarchy in 1967 which spelled out in detail specific instructions for combatting anti-Semitism, correcting teaching about Jews and Judaism, and in general opening meaningful communication between the Catholic and Jewish peoples.



Various sets of guidelines adopted by local dioceses throughout the United States.

Whole new programs of revision of teaching materials and the introduction of new education programs in the religious school systems.

Perhaps the spirit of this movement forward was best summarized in a statement issued by the Catholic Bishops of this country in November 1966 in exchange of tributes between the Bishops and leaders of the American Jewish Committee at a ceremony held at Catholic University on the occasion of the first anniversary of the promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews. This Catholic message was entitled "To all our Jewish friends" and read as follows:

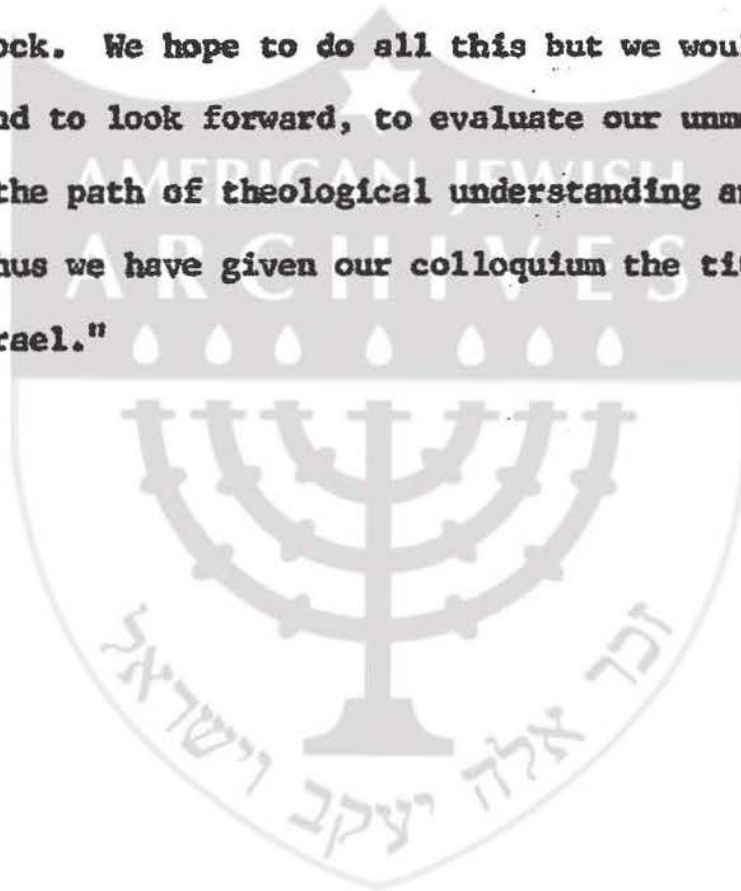
... the Catholic Bishops of this country warmly reaffirm the declaration of the Fathers of Vatican Council II, that Christians and Jews are all children of God, all sharing "His providence, His manifestation of goodness, His saving design."

We recall with deep satisfaction, the patient and friendly dialogue in which so many representatives of the Jewish faith participated during the Council. These personal conversations, extending over a four year period, enriched the Church's awareness of the "spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews," the common heritage of salvation in the covenant made between God and Abraham and his descendants.

In this exchange of tributes, we Catholic people of the United States salute our Jewish brothers anew, and pledge ourselves to continue fostering stronger and more extensive bonds of mutual understanding, of respect and of cooperation. It is our prayer that this occasion may inspire further confidence that men of all faiths can aid one another in attaining peace and live as brothers.

In the spirit of this message, and in order to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies have joined in convening this scholarly colloquium at Seton Hall University.

An anniversary is a time to look back to count one's blessings, and to take stock. We hope to do all this but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward, to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given our colloquium the title, "Toward a Theology of Israel."





DRAFT

PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GREETINGS BY PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, SETON-HALL CONVOCATION, OCT. 25 8 P.M.  
*Your Excellency, Bishop Heining, Reverend Clergy, ladies and gentlemen*  
Our program reminds us that an anniversary is a time to look back and to take stock, and that this occasion is also a time to look forward, to ~~look~~ <sup>"move"</sup> ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance."

Looking back, it is good to see, and to be able to say, how far we have come. I remember the weeks and months when the declaration on the church's relationship with the Jews was before the Fathers of Vatican Council II. <sup>I recall</sup> And <sup>interest</sup> the widespread concern in the Jewish community as to the fate of that document which so many of us hoped would provide a new <sup>basis</sup> ~~framework~~ for Catholic-<sup>Jewish</sup> understanding. The American Jewish Committee felt it had a

particular stake in that declaration, <sup>(A)</sup> for we had submitted, <sup>at the request of Card. Bea</sup> over a year <sup>research</sup> before the Council opened, a number of scholarly documents dealing with the image of the Jews in Catholic education, ~~documenting~~ <sup>documenting</sup> some <sup>of the</sup> ~~shockingly~~ inaccurate, ~~hostile and~~ <sup>and, in some cases hostile</sup> prejudicial statements about Jews and Judaism found in textbooks in current use in the U.S. and other parts of the world. Much of that documentation came from a study carried out by Sister Rose Thering who <sup>pioneered in this area</sup> through her invaluable study of <sup>religion textbooks which</sup> became a major part of the <sup>St. Louis University project.</sup>

<sup>for</sup> The AJC had ~~also~~ brought together Jewish scholars and leaders, <sup>in March 1963</sup> to meet with <sup>the late</sup> Augustine Cardinal Bea <sup>in our New York offices</sup> to discuss our hopes for a document which would ~~definitely~~ <sup>decisively</sup> put an end to the deicide charge against Jews and recommend specific measures to open communication and fellowship

<sup>under the chairmanship of Rabbi Abraham Heschel.</sup>

between our faith communities. We also felt close to the  
 Council for → (R)  
~~So we followed the ups and downs of the draft declaration with~~  
~~interest and concern.~~

Whatever reservations existed in Jewish circles about the  
 final wording of the Declaration, <sup>(at page 13)</sup> we were encouraged ~~x~~ at its adoption  
 and we have been increasingly <sup>heartened</sup> encouraged by subsequent developments which  
 indicate that <sup>authorities</sup> the Catholic Church in this country takes the Declaration  
 seriously. Better an imperfect declaration positively and sensitively  
 implemented than a perfect document ignored!





I hope that all of us here tonight share the view that the occasion we commemorate -- the promulgation of the declaration -- represents a beginning, <sup>more</sup> ~~rather~~ than a culmination, <sup>past</sup> a challenge for the future, as well as an achievement.

~~It is with this conviction that The American Jewish Committee is pleased and honored to co-sponsor this convocation.~~

~~I am pleased and honored to welcome you here on behalf of the American Jewish Committee.~~

The American Jewish Committee is pleased and honored to co-sponsor this convocation, and I am personally delighted to welcome you ~~here~~ to this assembly... particularly since it takes place in my home state of New Jersey, among friends and neighbors. I extend you warmest greetings on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, and wish you success in your deliberations.

**Greetings by Philip E. Hoffman  
President of The American Jewish Committee  
Delivered at  
Seton Hall Convocation  
Sponsored By  
The Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies and The American  
Jewish Committee**  
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**October 25-28, 1970  
Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey**

**Your Excellency, Bishop Helmsing, Reverend Clergy, Ladies & Gentlemen,**

**Our program reminds us that an anniversary is a time to look back and to take stock, and that this occasion is also a time to look forward, to "move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance."**

**Looking back, it is good to see, and to be able to say, how far we have come. I remember the weeks and months when the declaration on the church's relationship with the Jews was before the Fathers of Vatican Council II, and I recall the widespread interest in the Jewish community as to the fate of that document, which so many of us hoped would provide a new basis for Catholic-Jewish understanding. The American Jewish Committee felt it had a particular stake in that declaration for the AJC had brought together in March 1963 Jewish scholars and leaders under the chairmanship of Rabbi Abraham Heschel to meet with the late Augustine Cardinal Bea in our New York offices to discuss our hopes**



for a document which would put an end decisively to the deicide charge against Jews and recommend specific measures to open communication and fellowship between our faith communities. We also felt close to the Council for we had submitted, at the request of Cardinal Bea over a year before the Council opened, a number of scholarly research documents dealing with the image of the Jews in Catholic education documenting some of the inaccurate, prejudicial and, in some cases, hostile statements about Jews and Judaism found in textbooks and liturgy in current use in the United States and other parts of the world. Much of that documentation came from a study carried out by Sister Rose Thering who pioneered in this area through her invaluable study of religious textbooks which became a major part of the St. Louis University project.

Whatever reservations existed in Jewish circles about the final wording of the Declaration, we at AJC were encouraged at its adoption and we have been increasingly heartened by subsequent developments which indicate that Catholic authorities in this country take the Declaration seriously. Better an imperfect declaration positively and sensitively implemented than a perfect document ignored!

I hope that all of us here tonight share the view that the occasion we commemorate -- the promulgation of the Declaration -- represents a beginning, more than a culmination, a challenge for the future, as well as past achievement.

The American Jewish Committee is pleased and honored to cosponsor this Convocation, and I am personally delighted to welcome you to this assembly ... particularly since it takes place in my home state of New Jersey, among friends and neighbors. I extend you warmest greetings on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, and wish you success in your deliberations.





FROM THE

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

NEW YORK, October 7...The fifth anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews issued by the Second Vatican Council on October 28, 1965, will be observed at a major religious and academic Convocation of Christian and Jewish theologians and scholars from the United States, Europe and Israel. The Convocation will take place October 25-28 at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J.

Under the co-chairmanship of Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher, Director of Seton Hall's Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, the meeting will seek to evaluate the impact that the Conciliar Statement on non-Christian religions has had on Catholic-Jewish relations during the past five years, and identify future needs and directions. Papers and panels will also probe the relationship of Judaism as a universal religion to the particularities of the Jewish people and the land of Israel.

Underscoring the importance with which world Catholic authorities view the Convocation, two of the Catholic participants are coming from Europe for the express purpose of delivering major addresses. They are the Rev. Cornelius A. Rijk, Director of the Vatican Office for Catholic-Jewish Relations, and Dr. Charlotte Klein, Director of the Center for Biblical and Jewish Studies of our Lady of Zion Order in London.

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Among the Jewish participants will be Dr. Uriel Tal, Professor of Modern Jewish History at Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Dr. Shmaryahu Talmon, Professor of History at Hebrew University, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism at Jewish Theological Seminary, and Dr. Irving Greenberg, Professor of Modern History at Yeshiva University.

In a joint statement, explaining the significance of the Convocation to interreligious understanding, Rabbi Tanenbaum and Monsignor Oesterreicher declared:

"In the perspective of 1900 years of Jewish-Christian history, the promulgation of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews five years ago is to be considered as a monumental achievement and a turning point toward improved relations between Catholics and Jews all over the world.

"The declaration became a new foundation on which has already been erected substantial accomplishment in uncovering the sources of anti-Semitism and in establishing the bases for deepened mutual understanding and respect between Christians and Jews.

"An anniversary is a time to look back, to count one's blessings and to take stock. Our Convocation hopes to do all this, but we would like to do more. We intend to look forward, to evaluate our unmet needs, to move ahead on the path of theological understanding and mutual acceptance. Thus we have given the Convocation the title, 'Toward a Theology of Israel.'"

Coordinators for the Convocation are Sister Rose Albert Thering, O.P., of the Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, Rabbi James Rudin and Dr. Gerald Strober of the AJC.

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In preparation for the Convocation, a series of surveys is being conducted by the Institute and the American Jewish Committee to determine the effects on Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities throughout the world of the Conciliar Statement in the five years since it was issued. These studies, the first of their kind, will analyze the curriculum and teaching materials in elementary and secondary Catholic schools to ascertain the extent to which Judaism and its relations to Christianity are included, how present-day Judaism is handled, and what references there are to the theology of Judaism and the State of Israel. Catholic high schools, colleges and universities will be queried on what they offer in courses, programs and libraries in Judaism and Jewish studies. Parallel intensive surveys of Protestant and Jewish teaching resources are also under way. The findings of the surveys will be released in conjunction with the Convocation.

During the four days of the Convocation, seven major papers will be read, reacted to and discussed.

The opening keynote lecture on Sunday evening, October 25, will be delivered by Monsignor Oesterreicher and titled "The Vatican Statement on the Jews Reexamined."

On Monday morning, October 26, Dr. Jaroslav Pelikan, Professor of Church History at Yale University, will present a paper on "The Theology of Israel in Historical Perspective: A Protestant View".

On Monday afternoon and evening, the meeting will consider Judaism and Christianity in their perspectives toward each other. In the afternoon, Dr. Rijk will discuss "A Theology of Judaism -- A Christian Perspective." The evening session will hear Dr. Tal present "A Theology of Christianity -- A Jewish Perspective."

Tuesday morning, Rabbi Tanenbaum will present "A Survey and Evaluation of Christian-Jewish Relationships Since Vatican II," which will be followed by plenary discussion at the morning session and further examination in small groups throughout the afternoon.

On Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, the Convocation will consider "The Theological Significance of the State of Israel," with a Jewish viewpoint being presented by Dr. Greenberg, and a Catholic viewpoint by Dr. Klein.

The final session at Wednesday luncheon will include a summary of "Achievements and Future Needs" by Rabbi Heschel and Monsignor Oesterreicher, and closing remarks by Most Rev. Francis J. Mugavero, Bishop of Brooklyn and Episcopal Moderator of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Catholic Bishops Conference.

Other participants to the Convocation, as session chairmen, respondents and other program functionaries will include: Most Rev. Thomas A. Boland, Archbishop of Newark; Professor Roy Eckardt, Lehigh University; Rev. Thomas Fahy, President of Seton Hall University; Professor Asher Finkel, New York University; Rev. Edward H. Flannery, Executive Secretary, Bishops' Committee on Catholic-Jewish Relations; Professor Charles Fritsch, Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. Patrick Gaffney, S.M., Saint Louis University; Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President, American Jewish Committee; Most Rev. Charles H. Helmsing, Bishop of Kansas City and Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs; Philip E. Hoffman, President, American Jewish Committee; Rev. David Hunter, Deputy General Secretary, National Council of Churches; Dean Leon Jick, Brandeis University; Rabbi Arnold Lasker, President, Essex County Board of Rabbis; Msgr. Bernard Law, Executive Director, Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs; Dr. Andre LaCocque, Professor of Old Testament, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Director of the Center for Jewish-Christian Studies; Dr. Susan Noeffke, O.P., President Dominican Sisters, Racine, Wisc.; Mr. Edward Ring of Trenton, N.J., President of AJC's New Jersey Area; Professor Ellis Rivkin, Hebrew Union College; Rev. John Sheerin, Editor, The Catholic World; Rabbi David Silverman, Jewish Theological Seminary; Rev. Marcian Strange, O.S.B., Saint Meinrad School of Theology; Professor Manfred Vogel, Northwestern University; and Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Jewish Theological Seminary.

(NOTE TO EDITORS: YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED.)

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## **TOWARD A THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL**

### **A Convocation**

**Celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews  
to be held at Seton Hall University  
October 25-28, 1970**

**Sponsored by American Jewish Committee and  
Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies**

#### **Sunday, October 25**

**6:45 P.M. Reception for the Participants Faculty Lounge**

**8:00 P.M. Opening Program Student Lounge**

**Welcome: The Reverend Thomas Fahy, President  
Seton Hall University**

**Philip E. Hoffman, President  
The American Jewish Committee**

**Message: Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President  
Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity**

**Greetings: Most Reverend Charles H. Helmsing, Bishop  
of Kansas City, Chairman, Bishops' Committee  
for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs**

**Opening Lecture: "The Vatican Statement on the Jews Reexamined"**

**Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Seton Hall University**

**Respondents: Professor Manfred Vogel  
Northwestern University**

**Professor Gerald Sloyan  
Temple University**

**Chairman: Monsignor Bernard Law, Executive Director  
Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and  
Interreligious Affairs**

#### **Monday, October 26**

**9:30 A.M.**

**Chairman: The Reverend David Hunter, Deputy General  
Secretary, National Council of Churches**

Monday, October 26 (continued)

**Lecture:** "The Theology of Israel in Historical Perspective"

Professor Jaroslav Pelikan  
Yale University

**Respondents:** Professor Charles Fritsch  
Princeton Theological Seminary

The Reverend Edward Synan, Institute of  
Mediaeval Studies, Toronto University

3:30 P.M.

**Chairman:** Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Jewish Theological Seminary

**Lecture:** "A Theology of Judaism--A Christian Perspective"

Dr. Cornelius Rijk, Director  
Vatican Office of Catholic-Jewish Relations

**Respondents:** Professor Ellis Rivkin  
Hebrew Union College

Professor Frank Cross  
Harvard University

8:00 P.M.

**Chairman:** Dr. Monika Hellwig  
Georgetown University

**Lecture:** "A Theology of Christianity-A Jewish Perspective"

Professor Uriel Tal, Hebrew University

**Respondents:** Professor Asher Finkel  
New York University

The Reverend Marcian Strange, O.S.B.  
Saint Meinrad School of Theology

Tuesday, October 27

9:30 A.M.

**Chairman:** The Reverend John Sheerin, Editor  
The Catholic World



Tuesday, October 27 (continued)

**Lecture:** "A Survey and Evaluation of Christian-Jewish Relationships since Vatican II"

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, National Director  
Interreligious Affairs, The American  
Jewish Committee

**Comments:** Rabbi James Rudin, American Jewish Committee  
Dr. Gerald Strober, American Jewish Committee  
Sister Rose Thering, Institute of Judaean-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University

3:30 P.M.

**DISCUSSION GROUPS**

8:00 P.M.

**Chairman:** The Reverend Patrick Gaffney, S.M.  
Saint Louis University

**Lecture:** "Theological Significance of the State of Israel: A Jewish Viewpoint"

Professor Irving Greenberg, Yeshiva University

**Respondents:** Professor Shmaryahu Talmon, Hebrew University

Rabbi David Silverman  
Jewish Theological Seminary

Wednesday, October 28

9:30 A.M.

**Chairman:** Dean Leon Jick, Brandeis University

**Lecture:** "Theological Significance of the State of Israel: A Christian Viewpoint"

Dr. Charlotte Klein, Frankfurt University

**Respondents:** Professor Roy Eckardt, Lehigh University

The Reverend Edward H. Flannery, Executive  
Secretary, Bishops' Commission on Catholic-Jewish Relations

Wednesday, October 28 (continued)

1:00 P.M.

**CLOSING LUNCHEON**

**Chairman:** Bertram Gold, Executive Vice-President  
American Jewish Committee

**Invocation:** Rabbi Arnold Lasker, President  
Essex County Board of Rabbis

**Summary:** "Achievements and Future Needs"

Rabbi Abraham Heschel  
Jewish Theological Seminary

Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher  
Seton Hall University

**Closing Remarks:** Most Reverend Francis J. Mugavero, Bishop  
of Brooklyn, Episcopal Moderator of the  
Secretariat for Catholic - Jewish Relations

**Benediction:** Most Reverend Thomas A. Boland, Archbishop  
of Newark.



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A Theology of Christianity - A Jewish-Israeli Perspective.

I limit myself tonight to a Jewish-Israeli view of only one trend in contemporary Catholic theology, a trend which may pave a way toward a new understanding of Judaism and Israel, of Jewish peoplehood and Jewish statehood - it is the renewed confrontation of the Church with the realm of earthliness. One of the important changes in Catholic religious thinking, so it seems to a Jewish observer, is the growing preoccupation with ~~earthly~~ man's activity, with humanistic and scientific endeavors to shape physical reality in accordance with metaphysical standards. In short, a Jewish and an Israeli student of Christian theology is primarily interested in the renewed concern of Christianity with human history and its relationship to the realm of the spirit.

The essence of this trend in contemporary theology has been clearly pointed out in the Second Vatican Council's "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World", entitled "Gaudium et Spes", Chapter III, the chapter that deals with the theological significance of earthly affairs and their relative autonomy. Article 36 says: "For earthly matters and the concerns of faith derive from the same God. Indeed, whoever labors to penetrate the secrets of reality with a humble mind, is, even unawares, being led by hand of God who holds all things in existence, and gives them their identity" <sup>(1)</sup>.

Similarly, the Second chapter of that Constitution, the chapter that deals with the theological dimension of "proper development of culture" affirms that "when by work of his hands or with the aid of technology, man develops the earth so that it can bear fruit and become a dwelling worthy of the whole human family, and when he consciously takes part in the life of social groups, he carries out the design of God" <sup>(2)</sup>.

This renewed and reaffirmed involvement of Christian theology with the realm of earthly things, has its immediate historical roots



in the teachings of a number of 19th and 20th Century Christian theologians, philosophers and leaders of social movements - thinkers like Lammenais in the first half of the 19th century, Doellinger and von Ketteler from the middle of that century on, and Alfred Loisy towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th Century. As Thomas O'Dea has pointed out, these men attempted to work for the reconciliation of the Church and modern civilization in Europe and then in America, especially in view of the distinctive form that American Catholicism had developed<sup>(3)</sup>. But this trend in contemporary theology is also reflected in official Church documents, starting primarily with the reactions to Pope Pious IX's negation of modernism, and to some of the declarations proclaimed in 1870 by the First Vatican Council.

A growing endeavor to come to terms with the modern world has been evident at least from the end of the 19th century on when Leo XIII made his statements on social issues. This effort has continued until, as #23 of the Constitution on the Church today declares, the "recent documents of the Church's teaching authorities" which "have dealt...with Christian doctrine about human society"<sup>(4)</sup>, documents such as John XXIII's encyclical letters "Mater et Magistra" (May 1961) and "Pacem in Terris" (April 1963), and Paul VI's encyclical letter "Ecclesiam Suam" (Aug. 1964)<sup>(5)</sup>.

This development in theology culminates in those constitutions promulgated by the Second Vatican Council which deal with the Church's relationship to the world. Special note should be taken of the following three:

- A) The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium).
- B) The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes), to which we have already referred and which is at the core of our analysis today, mainly because this constitution is addressed, according to #2, "not only to the sons of the Church and to all who invoke the name of Christ, but to the whole of humanity"<sup>(6)</sup>.

C) The Declaration on Religious Freedom (Dignitas Humanae), which like John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris" is addressed to the whole world, and which as Franklin M. Littell said, marks a step

in the development of the religious



The cognitive structure of this renewed preoccupation of theology with earthliness, is one of a mutual complementary duality. On the one hand, the relevance of concrete, empirical, and social realities and, according to §§ 73-90, even of political realities is gaining new recognition, and the responsibility of the Church for thisworldliness has been reaffirmed. At the same time, however, the Church has been explicit in emphasizing the limitations of earthliness. Thanks to its very ontological status as God's and not man's creation, earthliness should never be exalted into the absolute.

While, on the one hand, the Church emphasizes the duty of the "Christian conscience to see that the Divine law is inscribed in the life of the Earthly City",<sup>(8)</sup> she at the same time warns her children, and perhaps mankind in general, not to attribute to the Earthly City the authority of the Heavenly City - that is, not to absolutise the same human, social, or political reality which has now become a matter of renewed concern to Christian theology.

This balanced approach, the affirmation of the World and the warning, speaking with #37, "Be not confronted to this world (Rom. 12:2)", elevated the theological trend with which we are concerned here into a struggle with one of the most delicate ontological difficulties inherent in monotheism. It is the dilemma between finitude and infinitude, earthliness and ~~minimally~~ holiness, between thisworldliness and otherworldliness. The question this trend in Christian theology ~~must confront~~ <sup>must confront</sup> is not simply whether these two realms are interrelated, but rather -- since in any case they have to be interrelated, since the world must be the concern of religion -- how is earthly, physical reality to become theologically relevant, how is it to bear Divine grace, and yet not be exalted into a heavenly, metaphysical absolute. How is theology to harmonise faith in the limitation and relativity of man's autonomy, faith in what Christian doctrine sees as man's dependence on Christ for redemption from his fall, as against the modern rationalistic interpretation of man as the active, the responsible, and to some extent the autonomous agent of his temporal destiny, of history?<sup>(9)</sup>

Not a few theologians and Churchmen, especially since the times of



Leo XIII, have ~~many~~ raised doubts as to the legitimacy, the wisdom, or the theological consistency of this growing preoccupation with social, economic or political matters, with human rather than supra-human affairs. The discussions provoked by one of the central concepts in John XXIII's *Mater et Magistra*, the term "socialization"<sup>(10)</sup> may exemplify this inner conflict in theological circles.

Now, it is no secret that the opposition to this worldliness and doubts raised about the increasing tendency to acknowledge the evolutionary character of man and history -- and consequently also of living religion -- are frequently motivated by political interests, by power considerations, or just by a widespread fear of change and renewal, both in doctrine and in society.<sup>(11)</sup> Yet it would be a grave mistake to narrow our view of this dilemma to those obvious political considerations. The deeper aspect of this dilemma is an ontological one. It is a difficulty inherent in any metaphysical discipline which deals with limited, relative, physical phenomena, and it has been clearly articulated in #40 of the Constitution on the Church today: "that the earthly and the heavenly city penetrate each other is a fact accessible to faith only".<sup>(12)</sup> The solution to the duality of the two cities, of the spiritual and the natural order, in terms of incarnation and transformation, is unique to Christianity, but the very need for a visible manifestation of God in the world and the concomitant danger of an absolutisation of the world, are shared by all true monotheists.

Indeed, a careful analysis of the Documents of the Second Vatican Council will show that those constitutions and declarations in which the human dimension has been emphasized are consistently counterbalanced. Thus, #25 of *The Church Today*, proclaims that man "develops all his gifts and is able to rise to his destiny"<sup>(13)</sup> by faith of course, but also through "social institutions, social life", through ~~human~~ civic and political communities including historical nations and political states, culture, science, art, and additional areas of human creativity. This statement is carefully complemented by #57 of that same Pastoral Constitution, in which the Church warns that "man confiding too much in modern discoveries, may even think that he is sufficient unto himself and no longer seek any higher



~~XX~~ We may now define the renewed concern of Catholic theology with earthly matters as follows: A) The affirmation of earthliness, as declared in John XXIII's Mater et Magistra: "We reaffirm strongly that Christian Social Doctrine is an integral part of the Christian conception of life" <sup>(15)</sup>, and as repeated by the Second Vatican Council: "Christian revelation leads us" not merely to divine salvation, but also "to a deeper understanding of the laws of social life which the Creator has written into man's spiritual and moral nature" <sup>(16)</sup>; B) The affirmation of the limitation ~~of the~~ inherent in that very earthliness, as declared, among others, in #39 of The Church Today. This article states that "society... is of vital concern to the Kingdom of God," <sup>(17)</sup> but does not let the matter rest there. It goes on to insist that earthly progress must be carefully distinguished from the growth of Christ's Kingdom lest, "man's pride and selfishness," <sup>(18)</sup> man's "spirit of vanity and malice" <sup>(19)</sup> bring about idolatry, the worship not of God but rather of man himself, of his own relativity.

B

Against this conceptual and historical general background, let us turn now to the analysis of <sup>some</sup> the central motifs which might chart a new path toward a better understanding of Judaism and Israel. The main ~~motif~~ motif is the affirmation of the Divine justification of human creativity, of culture, as the realization ~~of~~ both, of man's "authentic and full humanity" <sup>(23)</sup> and of his responsibility to God. On the one hand, the Constitution on The Church Today teaches that "by his innermost nature" <sup>(24)</sup> man "is a social being, and unless he relates himself to others; /unless he creates culture," he can neither live nor develop his potential" <sup>(25)</sup> On the other hand, the documents of the Second Vatican Council warn repeatedly that human culture should not be assessed as completely autonomous and self-sufficient; that man should not in the words of Roman 1:21-25 serve creature but Creator. Scripture — declares the Constitution, quoting Genesis 1:26, teaches that man ~~was~~ was created "to the image of God", ~~and that not~~ ~~not, man himself~~ and not an autonomous rationalistic order of nature, but God, appointed man "the master of all creatures that he might subdue them and use them", again not for human benefit only, but rather "to God's glory" <sup>(26)</sup>



It is from this conception that theologians derive the new legitimisation of man's creativity, of sciences, art, social and political life, even of humanism. Since, however, culture is God-related, humanism too cannot but be justified as a "new humanism"<sup>(27)</sup>, one which is not "merely earthbound"<sup>(28)</sup> or "contrary to religion," but a humanism by which man serves God, a humane religion. Human creativity, including, as §§63-90 clearly specify, socio-economic and political activity, is therefore recognized and even sanctified, not on its autonomous, human terms, and not in order to strengthen man's bondage to earth, to himself, to society -- but in order to liberate man from his bondage, from the fleshpots of Egypt, from his immediate, undifferentiated attachment to materialism. Freeing himself, by his own responsible activity and creativity, man will come closer to God. From the pontificate of Leo XIII on, Christians have been ~~unhappily~~ exposed to this affirmation of reality, and have been taught, with an increasing frequency that the more man learns about the world, and the more man creates in the world, the better able he will be to acknowledge the entire redemptive rhythm of Christianity. The Christian doctrine of God becoming Flesh in order to save all things and to sum them up in Himself, is now also conceived as the prototype of the divine commandment to be in the world, to subdue the world, to cultivate creation and to shape ~~man's~~ reality in "the true light that enlightens every man"<sup>(29)</sup>.

Building on this basic conception, the documents of the Second Vatican Council affirm, ~~affirm~~ culture, human creativity, in two spheres, the personal and the social.

In the personal sphere, culture is understood to mean "all those factors by which man refines and unfolds his manifold spiritual and bodily qualities"<sup>(30)</sup>. Cultural activity is a process by which man tries consciously to shape, to refine, to elevate his immanent faculties, so that by his own human endeavors, by his self-expression, he may attain a higher degree of purity and fulfillment// ." For when man works" declares §35, "...he not only alters things and society, he develops himself as well "<sup>(31)</sup> By cultivating his own personal resources," he goes outside of himself and beyond himself"<sup>(32)</sup>. Here again we encounter the liberating power with which culture is blessed, not on the basis of a rationalistic autonomy such as the classical Enlightenment



posited, but rather on the basis of religious ethics. By developing culture or science, man frees himself from un-cultivated powers, be they outside himself in his natural surroundings<sup>(33)</sup>, or inside himself in terms of his enslavement to primitive urges<sup>(AKI)</sup>, as we learn from the Declaration on Religious Freedom and from the late John ~~Mumma~~ Courtney Murray's impressive commentary on it<sup>(34)</sup>. Hence, human creativity is been recognized as one of the ways by which man frees himself, redeems himself, and carries out his own personal exodus from ~~the~~ <sup>his own</sup> Egypt, ~~and~~ <sup>from</sup> his estrangement from the Kingdom of God.<sup>(35)</sup>

In the social sphere, culture is understood as an extension of man's achievement in the personal sphere. Culture implies a continuing effort to bring the natural world under man's control. This vocation, if carried out properly and honestly -- according to #57, in terms of a realization of a Divine, not a human, plan -- will enable man to render even "social life more human both within the faith and in the civic community"<sup>(36)</sup>. This acknowledgement of the religious legitimacy of the social sphere and the civic community has brought about a new emphasis on what # 53 calls the "sociological and ethnological" justification of the realm of man's creativity. Moreover the theological relevance of civic communities is applied, not to one culture but to a "plurality of cultures," and to custom handed down not by one tradition, but by various ethnic traditions, so that <sup>ultimately</sup> "each human community" will be able to create, to maintain, to strengthen, to safeguard, freely and equally "its proper patrimony"<sup>(37)</sup>. Culture, in this context, in the framework of a pluralistic human history, is seen as an essential condition for the proper and authentic unfolding of -- as declared in #53 "the men of every nation..."<sup>(38)</sup>

C

This affirmation of the theological relevance of culture and scholarship, of civic and political endeavor, is rooted in a truly profound renewal of the total relationship between the Church as both a mystic and an empirical entity<sup>(39)</sup>, and the world with all its shortcomings, sins and hardships.



Suffering and deprivation, hunger and sickness, affliction and hardship, fear, anxiety, insecurity, persecution, poverty in the goods of this world -- these are no longer considered exclusively in terms of a divine punishment; in terms of an exhortation of ~~man~~ the wicked, the sinners, the infidels; in terms of divine witness to the justification of those who are not in pain; in terms of the results of estrangement from faith or even of a total refusal to acknowledge Jesus as the Christ. Now they tend to be seen, not only as a result of lack of ~~Christian~~ faith but also as stumbling block on the road to faith.<sup>(40)</sup>

Following the teachings of Leo XIII, Pious XII<sup>and</sup> John XXIII, the Second Vatican Council stressed in various ways that scarcity and poverty and all the other conditions characteristic of underdeveloped conditions of life, also that political and intellectual enslavement to dictatorial regimes, that existence amidst prejudice, hatred or persecution -- do not arouse man to faith, but on the contrary can not but block his way to God. Living in deprivation disrupts man's proper relationship to himself, to his fellowmen and neighbours, to the world and thereby to God. The challenge of the attainment of faith, according to the Constitution on The Church Today, can hardly be met as long as man suffers and remains deprived of adequate living conditions and intellectual development. True faith can not be reached until man's socio-economic and political situation enables him to acquire an awareness of his dignity, both as a being created in God's image, and as a rational being endowed with inalienable rights. As long as he is "in need of food and drink, clothing, housing, medicine, employment, education, whenever man lacks the facilities necessary for living a truly human life, or are tormented by hardships or poor health, or suffer exile or imprisonment... help should be given in such a way that the recipients may gradually be freed from dependence on others and become self-sufficient"<sup>(41)</sup>

#### ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Social necessities and the unavoidable requirements of life in the modern world, far from being irrelevant to the realm of metaphysics and of otherworldliness, or to the duty of the Christian, are now considered of the utmost concern to the Church. Already the first articles of the Constitution of The Church Today emphasises that



" for the first time in human history, all people are convinced that the benefits of culture ought to be, and actually can be, extended to everyone." (42)

The classical, metaphysical interpretation of suffering continues of course to be seen as praiseworthy both, for its sense of the Church's mystic unity with the suffering Christ underwent for the salvation of the world, as well as for its expression of a voluntary undertaking of practice of poverty and obedience, the evangelical counsels of chastity dedicated to God in accordance with the special grace bestowed upon the religious. (43) Moreover, various documents of the Second Vatican Council, as also some of the letters and addresses and sermons of Pope VI, emphasize the original theological significance of poverty and martyrdom. Suffering in this framework is reaffirmed as being a reflection of the poverty of Christ, and, as Paul VI says as " the most intimate expression of interior kingship which He could offer man." (44) In this connection, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium) #42 and the Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life (Perfectae Caritatis) again make it amply clear that " the Church also keeps in mind the advice of the Apostle, who summoned the faithful to charity by exhorting them to share the mind of Christ Jesus, He who '...emptied himself taking the nature of a slave...becoming obedient to death...' (Phil. 2:7-8), and 'because of us 'being rich he became poor' (Cor. 8:9)." (45)

It is noteworthy, however, that this classic tradition of Christianity, while definitely reinforced for the Church and her inner life, for her hierarchy and the ministry of her priests, is rooted in, and perhaps to some extent been transferred to, the realm of eschatology, the realm which speaks through sources such as Ro. 8:13 (cf. 2 Tim. 2:11-12). Whenever the Church turns to physical reality, especially in addressing herself to Christian laymen or even more so to non-Christians, to underdeveloped countries, to political communities in which non-religious or anti-religious ideologies are preached and enforced -- she shows herself ready to interpret suffering in a different, a renewed way, as we have already noted. She shows herself ready to construe deprivation not as a means, but as an obstacle to the attainment of faith.



D

Studying the rich documentation on this renewal toward an affirmative doctrine of empirical reality, one encounters so explicit a pronouncement as #75 where the Church states that "it harms humanity when government takes on totalitarian or dictatorial forms injurious to the rights of persons or social groups".<sup>(46)</sup> We people outside the Church, we to whom these documents have been explicitly addressed, cannot but realize that a way has been opened toward a new Christian understanding, not only of developing countries, of Asian culture and tradition, ~~and non-democratic regimes in the eastern block, and Latin American societies~~ --- but also of Judaism and Jewish Statehood. New theological possibilities may have emerged, or perhaps may be emerging, to render more understandable ~~to~~ (not necessarily acceptable) to Christians the traditional preoccupation of the Torah with the realm of earthliness, and the endeavors of Zionism to redeem victims of deprivation and suffering, to rescue the persecuted from backward countries or totalitarian regimes, to establish living conditions in which Jews too ~~can realize~~ can realize, in their own way and as part of their Autos-Nomos, what Christians for their part have been urged to do by John XXIII in his Mater et Magistra, and by the Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, Ch. IV #43: "in the exercise of all their earthly activities they can hereby gather their humane, domestic, professional, social and technical enterprises into one vital synthesis with religious values, under whose supreme direction all things are harmonised unto God's glory."<sup>(47)</sup>

Judaism as a normative as well as a contemplative religion, as a people and as a theology, Judaism in its legalistic and rationalistic as well as ~~and~~ mystic and pietistic forms, is concerned less with the immanent mystery of God (although considerable thought, prayer and emotion have been devoted to this ~~area~~ area) than with the ways in which God's immanence has entered history. Judaism is mainly preoccupied with the ways whereby God unfolds his indwelling essence in a ~~dynamic~~ dynamic and developing world, in his creation, on the one hand and, on the other, with the daily commandments, the commitments God's immanence in the world, meaning God's self-exile into reality,

requiring.



According to the Jewish view -- a view contrary to Christianity -- this act of revelation did not occur in a kerygma, nor through the establishment of God's Kingdom in Christ and the Proclamation of the Word made Flesh, nor through his Spirit as manifest in the Church. Instead, the ontological framework within which the ~~same~~ human reality now reaffirmed by the Church is of legitimate concern for Judaism, is the Torah. The agent called to fulfill this framework, to accept with love its yoke, the burden of its discipline, is ~~the Jewish~~ Jewish Peoplehood, Jewish nationhood, and under strict limitations of authority: Jewish statehood. The very verse in Genesis (1:28) -- which contains the first commandment of the Torah "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," -- conveys to us also the basic feature of the Jewish religion: "...and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." It is man's destiny to rule over the created world, not to withdraw from it nor to keep others from it; it is man's vocation to have dominion over reality -- that is, to bestow form and order, to impose norms on the worldly spheres, including society, hence necessarily also statehood. The Torah, therefore does not confine herself to prescribing moral conduct in the realm of spiritual values; it also prescribes man's relationship to things, to the land, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ not only to heaven. Hence, one of the essential concepts of the Jewish religion is the term // "Avodah" -- literally "labour", "work" the meaning restored to it in modern Hebrew, while historically and theologically it refers to "sacrifice" and subsequently to "worship", "service", "prayer", and "sanctification".

The concern with reality, which the Jewish religion shows in its Law and Lore, has been realized in the realm of study and juridical elaboration, as well as in the ~~realm of allegory, symbolism and mysticism.~~ That concern has acquired in our days an additional dimension -- Israel, in her renewed combination of physical and metaphysical components, land and religion, peoplehood and statehood. While this combination ~~perhaps~~ perhaps differentiates Judaism from other religions, the renewed concern with earthliness in the Church may render this uniqueness of Judaism much more understandable compared with the Church's teachings in previous times. ~~For the theological dimension of the state of Israel is~~ <sup>not</sup> rooted ~~in the eschatological~~ ~~dimension of the state of Israel is~~ ~~not~~ rooted in the eschatological dimension between Israel as Flesh versus Israel as



according to the Spirit; nor in the eschatological question as to the status of the Jews in the Christian Economy of Redemption, whether they are <sup>the</sup> descendants from Abraham only according to the Flesh and therefore they can not claim any rights on the Land of Abraham; or whether their circumcision too is only that of the flesh and their adherence to the Law, to Scripture is just a sign of the Veil Upon Their Hearts so that again no rights whatsoever on the Land can be claimed on the basis of the Scripture; nor is the theological self-understanding of a renewed Jewish statehood to be found in the eschatological question whether the loss of the Holy Land was the divine sign that Israel's universal mission had to come to close, and consequently handed over to the fellowship which Christ gathered around him, so that the purpose of God in history is now carried out by the Christ. Therefore, according to the Israeli self-understanding, <sup>there seems to be no basis for</sup> the very difficulty many Christians feel ~~hesitation~~ to acknowledge Jewish statehood in Israel, fearing that this acknowledgement would upset the direct causal connection between the crucifixion of Jesus and the whole history of Judaism ~~therefore~~, fearing that ~~that~~ damage will be caused to the Christian tradition according to which the fate of the Jews is the divine punishment for their rejection of the Messiah, so that The True Israel are not anymore the Jews or the Israelis, but rather those who accepted The Good News of redemption in Christ. (a)

Instead, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the theological dimension of the State of Israel is derived from an entire different context, one that is neither pure secular nor pure eschatologic. This context is derived from the same concern with reality, with human life and safety and spiritual fulfillment on the basis of an acknowledged and religiously justified earthliness, that had been affirmed and reaffirmed in contemporary Catholic theology -- as we have seen before. Only now, in a sovereign Jewish state, that same concern is shaped in a different way, on terms of the Jewish Autos-Nomos, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Hence, the state of Israel is in essence both: an extension and a transformation of the traditional Jewish preoccupation with reality, with the world of things, though not for the sake of reality, but rather for the Glory of God.

3 pages more.



An extension, because whole sections of the Torah, which cannot be observed in the Diaspora, are now in the process of re-enactment. A transformation of Judaism's concern with reality in that Zionism has tried to reshape Jewish worldliness, to transplant it from the realm of study, of rational and mystical elaboration, into the realm of physical realization, and more so to modernize it, whether as ~~and~~ a part of orthopraxy and as such under Rabbinic authority, or quite outside and even in conflict with orthodoxy, simply in terms of a new Hebrew civilization.

The basic ideological category of this extension and this transformation, both of them inherent in Zionism, is the category of autonomy and sovereignty. This category implies a way of life in which the Jew accepts full responsibility for his entire existence, as man and as citizen. Owing to this basic category, the Zionist self-understanding which is shared by the majority of Israelis, has produced as its chief end and justification the fullness of reality rather than that of spirituality, leaving this last for the realm of eschatology. In the words of Aaron David Gordon, one of the spiritual leaders and founding fathers of Labor Zionism, Israel's return to his land is symbolized in Genesis: "and behold a ladder set up on the earth and the top of it reaches to heaven...and what are we seeking? Is it not a foothold for the ladder...?"<sup>20</sup> According to Gordon, and indeed most Zionist thinkers and leaders,<sup>21</sup> heaven -- the fullness of spiritual life, can be reached only if man has a firm base on earth. Man, by his very creation, was endowed with all the requisite faculties for a spiritual life; yet, as Zionists have understood it, the sine qua non of such a life is the creation of a full earthly or, as Gordon put it, natural life -- a foothold for the ladder. It is that very foothold which Zionism seeks to reconstruct -- a foothold for the sake of a redemptive fullness to come, a future kingdom of God, though not yet for the kingdom itself. As Gordon said: "It is not a new seed that is being planted in Palestine, but a full grown tree with many roots and branches that is being transplanted into its own soil, where it will blossom and live again."<sup>22</sup>



When the Church affirms that the Flesh, in the sense of basic human needs and requirements (not in its metaphysical meaning), is a legitimate Christian concern, that in fact it is the Christian's "sacred obligation to count social necessities among the primary duties"<sup>(48)</sup> a road may have been paved toward a better understanding of the Zionist interpretation of the Flesh. Achad Haam, one of the founders of ethical and cultural Zionism, defined in his treatise "Flesh and Spirit", that essay on which three generations have been raised, the mutual interrelationship between concrete reality and its spiritual meaning: "The two elements in man, the physical and the spiritual, can and must live in perfect accord, not as enemies...the spiritual element is to penetrate into the very heart of the material life, to purify it and cleanse it...Such union does not degrade the spirit, but uplifts the flesh, which is irradiated by the spirit's sanctity. And the joint life, each linked with and completing the other, brings man to his true goal..."<sup>49</sup> Achad Haam interpreted the dualism between the spiritual and the physical life in terms of an ethical positivism, but other spokesmen of Zionism have elevated the body and the spirit to mystical and organistic planes. For example, Rav Kook, the greatest mystic in Zionism and perhaps contemporary Judaism, a man whose teachings command a growing influence today, even in the realm of a messianic self-understanding among some members of the Six Day War generation, elaborated a pantheistic Weltanschauung. The very separation between matter and spirit, and as Nathan Rotenstreich has pointed out, even the divorce of the cognitive process and the faculties of the soul,<sup>50</sup> all this has been set aside. Instead, materiality emerges from its unrelated, isolated state and becomes a part of the harmonious structure of the world. The harmony produced by the spirit as it penetrates matter is an important element in the understanding of Rav Kook's conception of Jewish nationalism. Spirituality can be attained in our generation only through a material fulfillment; hence, spirit unrelated to materiality is defective, just as matter is defective when unrelated to spirit.



In the same way we could now continue studying many additional areas of the renewed concern of the Church with earthliness and empirical reality, those that may pave a new path towards a better understanding of Judaism and Israel. I therefore would like to conclude by quoting the impressive words of Dr. Cornelius Rijk which give the essence of what I had in my mind. Dr. Rijk said:

"The tendency of modern theology to emphasize the involvement of the faithful in social and political realities may be a meeting point with Jewish thinking, thus creating a better understanding between Jews and Christians. This may promote a deeper, common involvement in the preparation of the kingdom of God on earth."





[end]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



Dr. Charlotte Klein

THE THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF  
THE STATE OF ISRAEL

We are gathered here to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, at least that part of it, Chapter 4, which deals with Judaism. Despite its defects which no one here would wish to dispute or to belittle, we have reason to celebrate, for it is the first time in its two thousand year long history, that the Catholic Church, through its official representatives, has promulgated a document on Judaism which is not wholly negative. I have been set the task - so it seems to me - to fill in one of the most obvious lacunae of this document: it speaks of Judaism of the past, and in at least one passage it looks forward to the distant future, to eschatological times, as we call them, but what of the present? What of the Jews and Judaism as we encounter them daily, and most of all what about THE event of Jewish history in our own time, the return of many Jews to the land of their fathers and the establishment of the Jewish state? The Vatican Declaration is silent on this



issue. An interpretation of the Declaration, elaborated by noted churchleaders and theologians about a year ago, which contained some explanation as to the significance of the land for all Jews, never saw the light of day, except for the fortunate discretion of an American cardinal who communicated the text to the press.

As to the reasons for this persistent silence - the Vatican is also one of the states which has not recognised the state of Israel - the following is trying to set out an answer, mainly but not exclusively in theological terms. I should like to begin with a personal experience. I lived in the Ecce Homo convent in the Old City of Jerusalem at the time the state was founded, and I well remember our firm conviction that it would never come into being. This conviction was only partly derived from the fact that the Arabs surrounding us were sure of an easy military victory once the British were gone; this conviction was, on the deepest level, based on the theological argument - pseudo-theological would be a more accurate term - current in the Church since the first century, that in the year 70 A.D. the Jewish people had lost, with the Temple and their independence, the land for all times. It had become a firm tradition in all the churches that the destruction of the Temple and the loss of Jewish national independence was a sign for both Jews and

Christians, something like a divine revelation, that spelt the end of Judaism and the substitution of the "new Israel", the Church, for the "old." Even after almost two thousand years this belief was so strong that the coming into being of the state on the 15th May 1948 met at first with the incredulity, then the consternation and finally the hostility of Christians - a hostility which, at least latent, continues and which became again articulate and even virulent after the Six Day War and the Israeli conquest of all Jerusalem.

## I ARCHIVES

The above argument of a negative theology - as I would call it - on Israel the people and the land seems mainly to be based on a few passages in the syoptic gospels, f. inst. Mk. 13, the so-called 'little apocalypse', where the destruction of Jerusalem and its consequences are, or seem to be, interpreted as a divinely ordained punishment for the Jewish rejection of Jesus as the Messiah. These passages are found in an apocalyptic context, they are almost certainly a vaticinium ex eventu, and it is very difficult to disentangle what refers to the end of Jerusalem and what points to the cosmic upheaval, expected in apocalyptic circles to usher in the eschatological age and the final redemption of the universe.



We are today better equipped than exegetes of former generations to discern the literary genres of the material that goes to make up a gospel; we are also better informed about the historical situation in which the gospels were finally edited, a situation of much fiercer hostility between Jews and the followers of Jesus than that prevailing in his own time.

Yet this alone would perhaps not warrant the new and different overall interpretation given to these as to several other passages in the New Testament, which have been at the root of the anti-Jewish Christian theologising about Jews for the past centuries. It is with gratitude that I would like to mention here the brilliant work done by a German scripture scholar, Norbert Lohfink, in several of his writings.<sup>1</sup> To put it briefly, he argues that when one deals with the concepts of inerrancy of scripture and inspiration a final meaning cannot be deduced from this or that passage, taken by itself and in isolation from the rest, but only from the Bible as a whole, when all its often contradictory and seemingly irreconcilable statements are taken into account. If this is done, then one has to pay attention to the promise and the blessing as well as to the threat and the condemnation. Thus Rom. 9,4f. affirms categorically the permanent validity of the promises to Israel, and these

promises, from the very beginning of their history, have included the gift of the land. But of this more later.

What the Churchfathers and Christian theologians have done was to separate the two kinds of pronouncements on Israel and to assume for themselves the role of inspired interpreter of Jewish destiny, past and future. It is revealing to quote from a semi-private article by an outspokenly pro-Israeli Christian theologian living in Jerusalem and deeply concerned with its fate: "If the Christian enters into these problems (of Jewish existence in Israel)...it is ... because he is persuaded that he possesses, in his faith, the light which can illuminate Israel's destiny by penetrating its darkness and its contradictions." In charity I prefer to let this quite well-known author remain anonymous. The quotation was chosen because it was made only a short while ago, by a comparatively young man and a great friend of Israel, it is therefore all the more relevant. It is typical for the Christian attitude towards Jews, Judaism and Zionism, which is so deeply ingrained that it can not be altered in a short time. The sheer presumption of the above affirmation should come as a shock if one had not met with it so often, yet one gratefully adds that it has become less frequent of recent times. It still expresses the old belief that to Christians has been granted a privileged knowledge



of the pattern of Jewish existence; to this pre-ordained pattern Israel had to conform.

## II

It is without pleasure - except that of the research student who taps, at least in the first instance, comparatively little used sources - that I refer to three examples of the Christian claim to hold the key to the understanding of Jewish history. The first reveals the a priori biased stance, held from the very beginning, as to the possible significance of Zionism. It comes from the articles on the subject in the authoritative semi-official Roman periodical Civiltà Cattolica, which, so it would seem to me, contains any amount of source material for future doctoral theses! The first article from which I am quoting was written in 1897, the year of the first Zionist Congress. Its very title is significant: "La Dispersione D'Israello Pel Mondo Moderno". It begins by saying that:

"1827 years have passed since the prediction of Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilled, namely, that Jerusalem would be destroyed . . . that the Jews would be led away to be slaves among all the nations, and that they would remain in the dispersion until the end of the world."<sup>2</sup>

The project of a return to Palestine is then examined and the question asked whether "we could ever entrust the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre to the Synagogue."<sup>3</sup> The very idea of such a possibility is rejected with scorn, for

"according to the sacred Scriptures the Jewish people must always live dispersed and vagabondo (wandering) among the other nations, so that they may render witness to Christ not only by the Scriptures. . . but by their very existence."<sup>4</sup>

It continues in no uncertain terms:

"As for a rebuilt Jerusalem which might become the centre of a reconstituted state of Israel, we must add that this is contrary to the predictions of Christ himself who foretold that 'Jerusalem would be trodden down by the Gentiles until the time of the Gentiles is fulfilled' (Lk. 21,24), that is . . . until the end of the world."<sup>5</sup>

At that time Israel would join the Church, yet there was nothing to ensure that even then they would return to their former country.

On the 25th January 1904 Theodore Herzl had his well-known interview with Pius X, who to his pleading for a



sympathetic understanding of the Zionist cause opposed an unyielding non possumus.

"We are unable to favour this movement. We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem - but we could never sanction it. The ground of Jerusalem . . . has been sanctified by the life Jesus Christ. As the head of the Church I cannot answer you otherwise. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people."<sup>6</sup>

He added that:

"the Jewish faith was the foundation of our own, but it has been superseded by the teachings of Christ, and we cannot admit that it still enjoys any validity."<sup>7</sup>

Two long articles in the 1922 issues speak the same language; rather, as they comment on the Balfour Declaration and on the Jewish immigration which had meanwhile taken place, their tone is more biting, their condemnation of Jewish settlers in Palestine as unrelenting as it is ignorant and prejudiced. Here as in the articles of the following years and right through the reports of the fighting in 1948 the position is unequivocally pro-Arab and anti-Jewish. By evicting the Arab proprietors from their soil the Jewish

colonists have committed a grievous wrong and/

"forgotten that more than 1800 years have passed since their fathers, smitten by the divine malediction, or, if this sounds unpleasant, subjugated by a hand stronger than theirs, were expelled and dispersed over the whole earth."

My second example is taken from the famous Advent sermons, preached by Cardinal Paulhaber in Munich in 1933. Few people at the time discerned beneath his impassioned defence of the Old Testament as a book, which, forms an integral part of Christian revelation, though it treats of Jewish history, the outright denial of the validity or significance of Jewish present-day existence, religious or national. He only acknowledges the "Israel of the early biblical period." For/

"after the death of Christ, Israel was dismissed from the service of Revelation. She had not known the time of her visitation. She had repudiated and rejected the Lord's Anointed, had driven Him out of the city and nailed Him to the Cross. Then the veil of the Temple was rent, and with it the covenant between the Lord and His people. The daughter of Sion



received the bill of divorce, and from that time forth Assuerus wanders, for ever restless, over the face of the earth." <sup>9</sup> (italics mine)

It is of interest to add that when the World Jewish Congress thanked Cardinal Faulhaber for these sermons, which do contain some very outspoken judgments on contemporary Nazi Germany, he indignantly declined to receive their congratulations, for he had had no wish to speak in defence of present day Judaism. To be mentioned in passing: just while I was writing this paper I saw a religious television program on Moses, in which a rabbi and Jewish students participated. When it came to the period between the year 135 A.D. and modern times there was shown Gustave Doré's repulsive drawing of the Wandering Jew, pack, nose and all. One wonders if myths and stereotypes will ever die!

The third example can be found in Cardinal Bea's book, The Church and the Jewish People (1966). I certainly do not wish to belittle the merits of this great man, but today we can consider him only a forerunner, both prudent and courageous, who pointed a way on which, if we want to be faithful to his idea of the Church as a living, evolving organism, we have to overtake him and to go much further.

Even for him the Hebrew Scriptures were, on the whole, a shadow that was eclipsed by the Christian reality; thus "the fate of Jerusalem constitutes a sort of final reckoning at the end of a thousand years of infidelities and opposition to God."<sup>10</sup> For our purposes here the quotation must stand as expressing the interpretation of this event as it has been customary in Christian exegesis until recently, though there is much in Cardinal Bea's book which attenuates, but does not essentially invalidate, this statement. It is characteristic of the Church's explanation of the year 70 A.D. from the early Churchfathers to our own times. The destruction of the Temple and the loss of the land were a divine judgment on Jews and Judaism; from then onwards they merely existed as a "witness to their iniquity and to the truth of our (Christian) faith." This is why the establishment of the state of Israel met with the profound consternation and veiled hostility to which I alluded earlier in this paper.

Having cited the testimony of authoritative Christian theologians of the last eighty years, who echo the opinion of their predecessors of all centuries, it seems unnecessary to give a full list of similar statements to be found in the Patristic literature itself. A list of these can be found in A. Lukyn Williams, Adversus Judaeos and in



K.H. Schelkle, "Kirche und Synagoge in der fruhen Auslegung  
des Roemerbriefes."<sup>11</sup>

It would be only fair to add here that, according to  
an article by Dr. M. Berkhof in the Journal of Ecumenical  
Studies<sup>12</sup> the record of the other Christian churches is not  
better than ours - a small consolation! I prefer to see  
the log in our own rather than the speck in the eye of our  
brothers.

III

The negative theology on Israel may take, and in fact  
has taken, a different form. According to the views of a  
number of mainly British Christian enthusiasts of Zion in  
the nineteenth century the ingathering of Israel in its  
own land was to be welcomed and furthered because it would  
be the first providential step towards their conversion to  
Christianity. It was symbolic for their hope that the  
first Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem (1841) was in fact  
Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew and a zealous  
member of the London Society for Promoting Christianity  
among the Jews. A number of contemporary articles in  
widely read periodicals and some novels of the mid-nine-  
teenth century reflect this desire for the restoration of  
the Jews to Palestine in view of their final reconciliation.

to Christianity; the best known of these is Disraeli's own <sup>13</sup>  
Tancred (1847).

This movement is of interest not only because it paved the way for the sympathetic welcome given to Zionism by certain Christian circles in Britain at the end of the century, but because these same ideas were worked out independently by one of the most influential theologians in our own days, a pioneer in the field of ecumenism, the famous French Dominican Yves Congar. He was groping his way towards a Christian understanding of the foundation of the state of Israel and the solution he tentatively proposed - I should wish to do him justice by stressing the term 'tentatively' - was precisely this: the Jews gathered in their land were representative of the people of Israel living all over the world. On experiencing the disappointing reality of their settlement in the country they would come face to face with the fact that this return was not the fulfilment of the visions of the prophets, was not a messianic event at all, and therefore they would be obliged, so he says, to come to grips with the problem of Jesus Christ. To quote him, the ingathering of the exiles in Palestine was possibly "a blind alley of grace," a last preparation for the moment when the proverbial veil would be drawn away from the eyes of the blind synagogue - we are



all familiar with the medieval representations of the two figures, Ecclesia and Synagoga - and Israel would perceive that their "house was forsaken and desolate" until they were able to say "Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord" (Mt. 23,39), that is, acknowledge Jesus as the<sup>14</sup> Christ.

The fact that a man as open and daring in his thinking as Yves Congar could propose such a theory on the meaning of the state of Israel indicates on the one hand how profoundly disturbed Christian theology was by the establishment of the State; on the other it proves the strong grip which the traditional view of Israel's role in the world retained on the Christian imagination. In 1904 Pius X himself had concluded the already mentioned interview with Hersl by saying: "And so, if you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we will be ready with churches and priests to baptize all of you."<sup>15</sup>

It deserves to be mentioned here that the very recent political phenomenon of the New Left, be it Christian or humanist, appears to have been strongly influenced by the "old right" theological presuppositions about Jews. Thus a group of theologians, some of whom are known for their radical position on other issues, published a number of these which they consider to represent the only possible

Christian view on Israel. In a memorandum of June 1967, they state among other quasi dogmatic affirmations that

"the Jewish people is prophetic, not a nation but the witness of God among the nations; that from the viewpoint of the Christian faith it is clear that the creation of an exclusively Jewish state of Israel is diametrically opposed to God's purposes both for the Jews and for the world; that the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. and the dispersion of the Jewish people are represented by Jesus as a precursory sign of the establishment of the kingdom. The political disappearance of the Jewish people as a political entity signifies the first coming of the Son of Man and the arrival of the kingdom. From that time, for a Christian, to desire to re-establish the Jewish nation as an exclusively political entity would be an utter misunderstanding of the history of salvation and a perversion of God's plan."

16

One could not go further in arrogantly claiming to hold the only valid interpretation of Jewish history. In its attitude to Israel, this New Christian Left, has come round full circle and is merely repeating anti-judaistic arguments of the Fathers; for these latter ones might



perhaps find some attenuating circumstances in their contemporary social and religious situation, while it would be difficult to believe in the former's bona fide when they distinguish between a so-called anti-Zionism and the good, oldfashioned antisemitism.

#### IV

In this first part I have tried as frankly as possible to survey the traditional Christian theological positions towards the fate of Israel, in what concerns their dispersion and the return to Palestine. I certainly reject most strongly the theories outlined so far. They have erred principally for two reasons: they impose on Israel, both state and people, a preconceived Christian interpretation of the events concerning them and try to make them fit a mistaken, artificially constructed so-called "history of salvation." Furthermore, theologians have seen - and still continue to see - the events of the first century A.D. and the written records thereof, as standing by themselves, in a kind of <sup>u</sup>vacuum, totally disregarding two thousand years of history. It is impossible to understand these writings, what we call the New Testament, and Jewish existence today, without taking into account the insights provided by this long history. It is moreover not only impertinent but

absurd to theorise about Israel, state, people or religion, without being first and foremost prepared to listen to and take into account their own interpretation of their destiny and of their return to the land.

Any student of Judaism, biblical and post-biblical, will very soon come up against the fact that Jews, except for one brief period in the western diaspora to which we will return in a moment, have never conceived of their existence independent of two factors, closely connected with each other - their election and the promise of a small strip of land on the shores of the western Mediterranean. One might go further and say that the election, as expressed in the covenant with Abraham and later with the whole people at Sinai, was in view of life in the particular country. It would be tedious, and in this assembly superfluous, to go over all the passages, biblical, rabbinical and liturgical, where this self-understanding finds expression. Even when far from the land - and as we know the diaspora began many centuries before the year 70 A.D. - the country of Palestine was always considered the homeland to which one day they would return. Living among the nations, for however long a period of time, and however brilliant the contemporary historical situation might be - one could think here of the golden age in Spain when Jehuda Halevi



wrote his Kusari, in which, in perfect agreement with all preceding and subsequent tradition, he affirmed that the Jewish people can serve God perfectly only in this one chosen country - <sup>any foreign country</sup> ~~it~~ remained still the exile and Palestine the centre, towards which all synagogues were directed, the focus of hope, the "home of our life," as the liturgy calls it. Throughout the ages individuals as well as whole groups have returned to the land, and it would be exact to state that at no time of its history has Palestine ever been without Jews.

Yet far more significant than the presence of some Jewish groups there throughout the centuries is the phenomenon that in the Jewish mind the consciousness of their identity was ever closely bound up with the country; that is where their roots were and to these roots they must one day go back, even if this was for centuries only symbolically expressed by the handful of earth from Palestine mingled with the soil of their burial ground, if it meant waiting for the days of the Messiah, or even anticipating his coming by selling everything and following a messianic pretender back to Zion, as in the days of Shabbethai Zevi.

Martin Buber in his Israel and Palestine<sup>17</sup> has so comprehensively described this "History of an Idea," - his subtitle - that it is sufficient here merely to refer to it.

Less well known probably are the sporadic but sincere recent attempts of some Christian authors, like F.W. Marquardt's Die Bedeutung der biblischen Landesverheissungen fuer die Christen<sup>18</sup> and his contribution to Gerechtigkeit in Nahost,<sup>19</sup> then, ed. by C. Thoma, Auf den Truemmern des Tempels<sup>20</sup> and essays by Jews and Christians, ed. by W. Molinski, Unwider-<sup>21</sup> rufliche Verheissung. These publications as well as some others try to assess the significance of the state of Israel in a new manner, to a certain extent at least they all fulfil the a priori conditions for an understanding of Israel, for they take into account Jewish self-understanding and abandon former exegetical and theological positions, which allowed Christians to determine what part Israel was to play in the scheme of things.

The topic set for this lecture could certainly induce me to fall into the same trap. In fact, however hard I try I cannot completely avoid contributing, be it ever so little, to an up-to-date tractatus de Judaeis, under the lack of which all Christian Churches suffer today. Had we got such a tractatus, written with the help of Jews who after all should best know the Hebrew scriptures and their interpretation, the compendia in the hands of all scripture scholars - like Strack-Billerbick and Kittel - would not continue to perpetuate, in spite of their excellent source material,



such a distorted, totally inadequate image of Judaism. To avoid the obvious pitfalls I shall try not to artificially impose a "theological dimension" on Israel, state and people, but to point out the sign value it possesses for the Christian today.

## V

At this point I must trespass on the territory reserved by rights to Dr. Rijk and attempt to outline briefly some points of a valid theology of Israel, without which we would be unable to understand the "theological dimensions" of the state, or even to postulate that the state may possess any such dimensions. To support what will be my final position I have to go back to two points I have already alluded to earlier. The first is what is called in German the Landesverheissungen, a term more forceful than the English "biblical promises of the land." There is, I think, a general consensus among all Christians that the election and the covenant, the whole history of Israel as we read it in the Hebrew Bible, is bound up with the land. However much Israel's awareness of herself has changed in the course of the centuries before the final canonisation of her scriptures, however differently certain concepts were re-interpreted in the light of new events - f. inst. the concept of personal and collective responsibility or the problem of the

suffering of the just - there was never any doubt as to the validity of her claim to the land. From the earliest, so-called Yahwist tradition to the much later Priestly, from the Deuteronomist to the authors of the Psalms, it was firmly held that the country later called Palestine was bound up with its existence. One can go as far as to say that the Hebrew tribes were made into a people in order to live in this land. This conviction was so overwhelmingly strong that the exile in the sixth century B.C. only served to strengthen this bond. One prophet, Deutero-Isaiah, could for a moment see in Cyrus a messianic figure because of his edict which allowed the captives to return there. For to live away from the land was always the "galuth", the exile, even when, in Babylonia as in many other parts of the world later, the Jewish community enjoyed periods of peace and prosperity. It will be sufficient to mention here only one or two quotations which highlight the role of the land in post-exilic times:

"And when all these things come upon you, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before you, and you call them to mind among all the nations where the Lord your God has driven you and you return to the Lord your God . . . then the Lord your God will



restore your fortunes, and have compassion upon you, and he will gather you again from all the peoples where the Lord your God has scattered you. If your outcasts are in the uttermost parts of heaven, from there the Lord your God will gather you, and from there he will fetch you, and the Lord your God will bring you into the land which your fathers possessed, that you may possess it." (Dt. 30,1-6).

In the Psalms which re-interpret the events of Israel's history not only the covenant is eternal but the promise of the land forms an integral part of the God-Israel relationship:

"He is mindful of his covenant for ever, . . . an everlasting covenant, saying: 'To you I will give the land of Canaan as your portion for an inheritance'." (Ps. 105, 8,11).

The problem therefore turns on the concepts of election and covenant. If one is prepared to accept that these have not been abrogated, then it follows that the bond which links Israel to the land has to be accepted as equally still in force. And here is the rub! If we can admit - and I think we must - without being unfaithful to our own Christian

faith, that the Jewish people have never been released from the covenant relationship with the one true God, if we accept post-biblical Judaism as valid - in whatever manner this Judaism wishes to interpret itself and its role - then I do not see how one can deny equal validity to the part played by the land in their religious self-understanding throughout the ages until the return to it in our own days. It is not my task to work out such a theology; there are signs of it in the reflexions of all the churches today, and we have among us here today some of the pioneers of these recent theological developments. Yet I am unable to propose even a tentative conclusion on the possible theological dimensions of the state of Israel without briefly mentioning one more argument pointing towards a theological opinion on Israel's significance as a people and of Judaism as a religious reality for us.

In one of the ancient manuscripts of Luke's gospel, Codex D., the Beza Codex at Cambridge, which possibly records an authentic oral tradition, there can be found an addition to Lk. 6, 1-4, the episode relating how Jesus' disciples plucked the ears of corn on the Sabbath. Codex D continues to tell how Jesus, on this same Sabbath, met a man working in the fields; he said to him that he was blessed if he knew what he was doing, but that if he did not,



he was condemned as transgressing the commandment of God. This means that for those who had encountered Jesus as the Christ much of the former dispensation had come to an end. Yet those who did not recognise Jesus - and according to Rom. 11 this is not culpable blindness but part of the scheme of God which in the last analysis escapes human understanding - for them the covenant, which in many biblical passages is termed "eternal", is by no means abrogated. The history of the last two thousand years teaches us that it has been kept with a rare fidelity, the gifts of God being indeed "without repentance" (Rom. 11,29).

It remains the unavoidable task of Christian theologians and exegetes to work out in full how the Churches, without giving up the claim to the universality of salvation in and through Christ, must yet acknowledge Judaism as of permanent validity and as the particular way to God of this people side by side with the churches, as far as we can see until the end of time. Valuable contributions towards such a theology have already appeared, but it was a passage by a professor of missiology at the Catholic University in Washington that struck me, because he speaks of Israel in the context of conversion and of the Church's missionary task in the world. Yet the author is definite that despite all the past efforts of proselytising/

"Judaism remains firm. If it were merely the work of men, would it not have perished? Christianity has not been able to overthrow it. Must we not conclude then that it exists precisely because Almighty God, for his own reasons, wishes it to continue?"<sup>22</sup>

And he applies to Judaism Rabbi Gamaliel's words as reported in Acts 5, 38-39, signifying that if this survival had been only the undertaking of men, it would have failed; but if it is of God, then nothing can overthrow it, and any attempt to do so would mean opposing God himself.

## VI

After this brief excursion into the field of a Christian theology on Judaism, I would like to return to Jewish self-understanding and to examine one particular period ~~in the~~ ~~period~~ in the history of the Jewish people which was alluded to earlier. A representative part of Jewry in the west, throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, nourished the dream that they might escape their Jewishness, at least in everything that distinguished them as a particular people from among the nations of whom they wished to become an integral part. They would know no other fatherland than the one in which they were born, and would be



Frenchmen, or Germans or Americans of "mosaic religion." Zion, Jerusalem, Palestine, belonged either to the past or became totally spiritualised. References to the ingathering of the exiles, to the return to their own land and the rebuilding of the Temple, were carefully eliminated from many prayerbooks. There was to be no Jewish nation, only a more or less adapted religious faith. Such was the short-lived dream of the period of emancipation and assimilation. It was at the very height of this dream, in 1862, that Moses Hess, formerly an ardent believer in universalism and a disciple of Karl Marx, published his Rome and Jerusalem, in which he rediscovered, almost intuitively and under totally unpropitious circumstances, the fact that Jews are a nation sui generis, and that in order to lead a creatively Jewish existence they would have to return to their land. Hess's inspiration was not mainly religious, yet he perceived in the depth of his being the permanent link between the country and the people. The true Jew, he says, needs his land to realise the historical ideal of the Jewish people, this ideal being the realisation of God's reign on earth.

Hess was a forerunner of the Zionist movement started by Herzl, a movement that can be called purely secular, at least in its inception. The Argentine, Uganda and a few other empty spaces around the world were all offered for the

choice of a Jewish homeland and Herzl himself was quite willing to opt for any that held some chances for a rapid colonization. As we know, the idea finally prevailed that it had to be the ancient home, Palestine - Zion, the name of which gave the whole movement its impetus, at the same time as it expressed its goal. Yet the men of the first Zionist congress were, like Herzl himself, partly assimilated Jews who knew little of the faith of their fathers; they did not belong to the "Lovers of Zion", theirs was apparently a movement created only in reaction to the then already visible failure of the emancipation and assimilation tendency. The historian might be inclined to see this movement as forming part of the strongly nationalistic currents which swept the European continent in the nineteenth and the African in the twentieth century. Herzl's own vision was, at least at first, limited and strictly practical - to found a refuge for those who encountered gentile hostility in the countries in which they lived. The Dreyfus experience in Paris had been decisive for him. Yet to the eyes of the believer, Jew or Christian, what he did went far beyond his expressed aim, particularly when evaluated seven decades after it was first stated.

Considered thus in retrospect, having before our eyes not only the history of emancipation and the almost pathetic



belief of many Jews in the possibility of perfect integration in the Western world, but also the twenty-two year old state of Israel, it is possible to discern in both Zionism and the state a more profound significance; perhaps one may speak here with great caution of a "theological dimension." Before doing so it would be well to firmly exclude certain interpretations. It will not do to see in the establishment of the state, or in the amazing victories of the Six Day War, a messianic event, an eschatological sign, or even a quasi miraculous divine intervention. Any such reading of political events is merely subjective speculation and highly unrealistic. We are neither prophets nor divinely inspired interpreters of the facts of secular history, least of all of contemporary history. What kind of theological dimension is one then prepared to discern in Zionism and Israel the state? It would be too facile to write it off altogether theologically and to see in it nothing but a purely secular affair.

## VII

It seems to me that both Jews and Christians could distinguish here two aspects which belong to the sphere of theology. The first would be that Zionism and its achievement in the state of Israel was a providential "salvation

of Israel." By this I do not mainly refer to the events in Central Europe between the years 1933-1945, though there is a link between Auschwitz and the proclamation of a sovereign Jewish state. What is meant here is that, thanks to the Zionist movement, Jewry and Judaism became conscious again of the inexorable fact of their separate identity, not merely as a religious denomination but as a people with a peculiar history and a special task in the course of this history. The hard fact of the existence of a Jewish state makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the vast majority of Jews who live among the nations to forget their Jewishness. This is of capital importance in a society which calls itself secular, or even "post-Christian" and therefore also "post-Jewish." I would be inclined to see in the state the most outstanding in a series of historical events - possibly their climax - which all tended to enable, better perhaps, to force Jews to survive qua Jews. It surpasses all such previous events because for the first time in almost two thousand years a mode of existence has become possible which guarantees them up to a point an independent political, cultural and religious existence, such<sup>as</sup> they have not enjoyed since the year 135 A.D.

If the state serves therefore today as a reminder to Jews that they are to remain Jews, it reminds Christians



even more forcefully that Judaism is a living reality. It is here that I would see the most fundamental "theological dimension" of the state of Israel for us. It is a sign which we Christians needed, a condemnation of our pseudo-theology of Judaism which goes back to at least the second century of our era. Christianity was not to substitute itself for Judaism, nor the "new Israel" for the "old"; Judaism is not a "fossilised relic of Syrian society" as Toynbee has it. The state is, if nothing else, proof of Judaism's dynamic vitality, of its right to exist and its right to choose its own form of existence, however contradictory this may seem to preconceived Christian ideas. It is precisely these ideas which stand in need of revision. It has come as shock to me in the last three years of course preparation that it is not mainly in the fields of catechetics that our teaching must be corrected but far more so in the field of Old and New Testament studies on the academic level. There is hardly a manual of an introduction to the Bible - I am thinking here mainly of the best known and most widely read writings of German scholars - that does not explicitly affirm the end of the Jewish people as such in the year 70. One quotation may stand for many similar ones:

"In him (Jesus) the history of Israel had come . . . to its real end. What did belong to the history of Israel was the process of his rejection and condemnation by the Jerusalem religious community. It had not discerned in him the goal to which the history of Israel had secretly been leading; it rejected him as the promised Messiah. Only a few joined him, and from them something new proceeded. The Jerusalem religious community imagined it had more important concerns, and kept aloof from this new movement. Hereafter the history of Israel moved quickly to its end."<sup>23</sup>

This passage is by one of the foremost Old Testament scholars of our time, the lately deceased Professor Martin Noth.

The state is evidence that Israel lives and that it is meant to survive; that rooted in the consciousness, and perhaps beyond, in the depth of the identity awareness of the Jewish people, there is a power at work which ensures its survival as a separate ethnic and religious entity. In the particular religious, political and sociological circumstances of our century - the holocaust, the gradual recognition of our false theological positions



towards Judaism, the general lack of faith in society at large - the establishment of the state seems the required sign of the God-willed perpetuity of Jews and Judaism. Even if Jewish life should assume another form and if the state - which heaven forbid - should cease to exist, it would still have fulfilled this task of proving to both Jews and Christians what hidden energies lie within this people. Even under the most adverse circumstances they are destined to survive, not just lingering on as an impotent minority but as a community which is resurrected again and again in the course of its history to a new life - being in a certain manner "a light to the gentiles" by their endurance and unconquerable hope.

#### VIII

As far as the topic goes I ought to end here. But it might be objected that I by-passed all political implications of the existence of the state. To this a brief remark: not assigning to the state of Israel a messianic significance, I do not see why its policies should be judged by the often ideal standards of the prophets who speak of eschatological times, when the lion will lie with the lamb. On proclaiming the state the Israelis entered the field of power politics; therefore they were, and still are

obliged to use the methods of such politics. It may be allowed to a Martin Buber, or more recently to a Nachum Goldmann, to declare themselves dissatisfied with the achievements or certain methods of Israeli policies towards f. inst. the Arabs, and to demand that Israel, because it is the covenanted people, should realise in its state an ideal situation of justice and peace for all. Such a demand seems to me both unjust and unrealistic. Our own bitter experience as Christians teaches us that any attempt to incarnate the ideal in the human situation is bound to fall short of its goal. The time to beat swords into ploughshares is not upon us yet.

It has been Israel's unfortunate experience that they had to conquer, or reconquer, and to redeem the land every time they came into it, be it in the period of the Judges, in the sixth century B.C. or in the twentieth century A.D. Military conquest and justice for all are mutually exclusive. <sup>24</sup> ~~However, even~~ I would however affirm that the Israeli state has tried to make the best of a very thankless job and that at least up to a point it has remembered what it feels like to be a ger. In fact it remembers it all the more because the great majority of Jews lives, and will very probably continue to live, among the nations. And to this apparently permanent diaspora situation there



is also, if not a "theological dimension", at least a theological lesson for Christians. A diaspora situation may very well be a blessing and not a curse as it was wrongly assumed for so long. It reminds us that we are not supposed to possess here a "permanent city", that we are pilgrims, continually on the move, not satisfied with what has already been achieved but striving forward towards a goal always beyond us. As a Jewish writer has recently put it <sup>25</sup> Israel cannot be compared to a circle but rather to an ellipse with two centres, the one being the state of Israel, the other the diaspora, and Jewish existence will have to lived in a delicate balance between these two forms.

It is not for us to judge but rather to delineate the pattern as it unfolds before our eyes and to fight all a priori views on the justification of the one or the other way of life. Our theology may well attempt to interpret the various forms of the existence of the Jewish people in history - we can hardly avoid doing so, for, to quote the not too felicitous terms of Nostra Aetate, as we search "into the mystery of the Church", we come up against "the spiritual bonds which tie the people of the New Covenant ~~thg~~ the offsprings of Abraham". Never again however must we impose upon the phenomenon of Israel our preconceived

notions as to the meaning of its destiny. The Jewish people are capable of being their own interpreters.





## THE THEOLOGY OF ISRAEL IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Lecture at the Convocation Celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of the Conciliar Statement on the Jews, October 26, 1970, at Seton Hall University

by

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The Declaration *Nostra aetate*, as its opening words make clear, is a document of our time and for our time. What the late John Courtney Murray said of another Declaration of the Council would also apply to this one: "The issue that lay continually below the surface of all the conciliar debates [was] the issue of the development of doctrine," and the framers of the Declaration, as the writings of Cardinal Bea show, were conscious of participating in such a development. Any interpretation of the Declaration, therefore, must recognize, as the Director of this Institute has noted, that it reaches not only "horizontally, across the nations," but also "vertically, through the length of a centuries-old history." Most of the discussion at this Convocation will deal with the "horizontal" dimension, and properly so. But because much less is generally known about the history of the problem than we usually assume, I propose in this paper to examine the "vertical," historical dimension, placing the Conciliar Statement on the Jews into the context of the earliest stages in the dialogue (and the non-dialogue!) between Christians and Jews. This is, I take it, part of the process of "theological studies" (which, presumably, include historical studies) and of "brotherly dialogue" recommended by the Declaration; and in my concentration on the patristic

development I am following the exhortation of the Decree on Ecumenism to draw upon "the spiritual riches" of the Fathers of the Church, Eastern and Western.

The fundamental fact of church history to which the Conciliar Statement on the Jews points is contained in the reminder: "The Church recalls too that from the Jewish people sprang the apostles, her foundation stones and pillars." With this reminder the Council raises to the level of explicit formulation the historical contrast between the early Church and all subsequent eras. For according to tradition, only one of the writers of the New Testament, Luke, was not a Jew. As far as we know for certain, none of the Church Fathers was a Jew, although Hermas and Hegesippus, for example, may have been; Justin Martyr was born in Samaria but was a Gentile. The transition represented by that contrast had the most far-reaching of consequences for the entire development of Christian doctrine and is the presupposition for any assessment of the achievement of the Second Vatican Council in this crucial area.

The earliest Christians were Jews, and in their new faith they found a continuity with the old. They remembered that their Lord himself had said that his purpose was to fulfill, not to abolish, the Law and the prophets; and it was useless for heretics to deny this saying. From the early chapters of the Book of Acts we get a somewhat idealized picture of a Christian community that continued to obey the Scriptures, the worship, and the observances of Jewish religious life. The members of the church at Jerusalem, "the church from which every church took its



start, the mother city of the citizens of the new covenant," followed James, their "caliph," in refusing to acknowledge a fundamental cleavage between their previous life and their new status. Clearly they recognized that something very new had come—not something brand-new, but something newly restored and fulfilled. Even after the fall of Jerusalem, these "Nazarenes" maintained continuity with Judaism; they "wish to observe the ordinances which were given by Moses . . . yet choose to live with the Christians and the faithful."

The proper extent and scope of that continuity with Judaism produced controversy between Peter and Paul, and it went on troubling the Church. Various practical solutions were designed to meet immediate problems of cultic and dietary observance, but these did not issue in a consistent way of interpreting the key question in any Christian theology of Israel: What is new about the new covenant? Whatever else they may mean, the differences between the way this question was answered in Acts 15 (with its intriguing textual variants) and the way Paul discussed it in Galatians do suggest the continuing difficulty which the Church faced. The leaders of both sides were Christians of Jewish origin; despite their differing answers, they asked the question of continuity between Judaism and Christianity with a deep personal poignancy.

As converts began coming more from pagan than from Jewish ranks, the poignancy lessened and the obverse side of the question became more prominent. For Jewish Christians, the question of continuity was the question of their relation to their mother; for Gentile Christians, it was the

question of their relation to their mother-in-law. What was offensive about Christianity in the eyes of Gentiles was, to a considerable extent, what it had inherited from Judaism. Pagan critics lampooned the claim that God had put in an appearance at, of all places, "some corner of Judea somewhere"; they scored the Jewish and Christian conception of God as "essentially the deity of a primitive and uncivilized folk." Not only the Gentile critics of Christianity, but also the Gentile converts to Christianity demanded a decision about just how much of the Jewish tradition they were obliged to retain. Marcion was a heretical instance of what may have been a rather widespread resentment also among orthodox believers; for the *Epistle of Barnabas*, while not going as far as Marcion in its rejection of the Old Testament, did claim that the original tablets of the covenant of the Lord were shattered at Sinai and that therefore Israel had never had an authentic covenant with God. Tertullian's declaration, in opposition to Marcion, that "today" there were more who accepted the authority of the Old Testament than rejected it raises the question whether the number of those rejecting it may not at one time have been considerable.

By its disavowal of the idea that God's ancient people had been condemned [reprobati] or cursed [maledicti] and by its vigorously anti-Marcionite affirmation that "the Church cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in his inexpressible mercy deigned to establish the Ancient Covenant," the Declaration of the Second Vatican Council puts itself unequivocally on the



side of acknowledging the permanent truth of the revelation granted to Israel. It asserts, moreover, that God "does not repent of the gifts he makes nor of the calls he issues," and that therefore the other gifts and calls issued to Israel are permanent, too. But beyond the general question of revelation or of gift and call there is, unavoidably, the specific question of the permanence of the Law and of the abiding validity of the covenant, with which the inheriting of the land is also inseparably connected. On these specific questions the Declaration is almost silent, although *Lumen gentium* gives a conventional treatment of them.

Yet during the early debates between Judaism and Christianity these issues of Law and covenant were central. The Bible had declared that the Law was as permanent as the covenant with Israel; but the Christians, "treating this covenant with rash contempt, spurn the responsibilities that come with it." This appeared to Jewish thought to be a repudiation of the Law and of the covenant. The answer was a stratification of the Law. The Christians claimed to retain that in the Law of Moses which was "naturally good, pious, and righteous"—usually as much as conformed to a reductionistic conception of the natural law. Even among Jews, the Christians insisted, the law of nature took precedence over the Law of Moses, as for example when a woman gave birth on the Sabbath. Thus the "providence which long ago gave the Law [of Moses], but now has given the Gospel of Jesus Christ, did not wish that the practices of the Jews should continue." Hence Christians were not bound by anything that had been addressed to the old Israel as a people: there was a new covenant and a new Law.

Although the Law and the prophets belonged together in the language of Jewish theology, early Christian theology identified its cause with that of the prophets against the Law. Ignatius argued that the prophets had observed Sunday rather than the Jewish Sabbath. In its interpretation of such passages as Psalm 110 and Isaiah 53 Christianity saw Jesus as the fulfillment of prophecy. The rabbis who disputed with Origen contended that Isaiah 53 "referred to the whole people[of Israel] as though a single individual," but in the Church it was interpreted unanimously and unambiguously as Christian Scripture. The "coming of the Lord" in later Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic also was taken to refer to Jesus as the Christ; but with the delay in the parousia it had to be divided into two comings, the first already accomplished in the days of his flesh and the second still in the future. Thus Christianity, the religion of fulfillment, joined Judaism in waiting for the Messiah! But even in this it was in fact taking over the Jewish Scriptures as its own, so that Justin could say to Trypho that the passages about Christ "are contained in your Scriptures, or rather not yours, but ours." So assured were Christian theologians in their possession of the Old Testament that they could accuse the Jews not merely of misunderstanding and misinterpreting it, but even of falsifying its text; so, to cite the most striking instance, in the choice between a *yodh* and a *way* in Ps. 22:16.

Thus Christian doctrine felt able to go its own way, without engaging the rabbis in that "brotherly dialogue" of which the Declaration speaks. Origen seems to have been one of the few Church Fathers to participate in



such a dialogue. Origen may also have been the first Church Father to study Hebrew, "in opposition to the spirit of his time and of his people," as Jerome says; according to Eusebius, he "learned it thoroughly," but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of this report. Jerome, however, was rightly celebrated as "a trilingual man" for his competence in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and Augustine clearly admired, perhaps even envied, his ability to "interpret the divine Scriptures in both languages." The testimony about the Hebrew knowledge of other Church Fathers is less conclusive. But it seems safe to propose the generalization that, except for converts from Judaism, it was not until the biblical humanists and Reformers of the sixteenth century that a knowledge of Hebrew became standard equipment for Christian expositors of the Old Testament. Most of Christian dogma developed in a Church unencumbered by any knowledge of the original text of the Hebrew Bible. It does seem a pity, therefore, that in the Council's Decree on Priestly Formation Latin is listed first among the linguistic requirements of the priest; then it is said that "the study of the liturgical language proper to each rite is to be regarded as necessary," but that the study of the biblical languages "should be strongly encouraged [valde foveatur]."

Nevertheless, when the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions asserts that the Church is "mindful [memor] of her common patrimony with the Jews," this does represent a long step forward from the anti-Jewish apologists of the early Church, who denied to the Jews any right to that patrimony at all. As time went on, they seemed to take their Jewish opponents less and less seriously; and what

their apologetic works may have lacked in vigor or fairness, they tended to make up in self-confidence. They no longer looked upon the Jewish community as a continuing participant in their "common patrimony," the holy history that had produced the Church. They no longer gave serious consideration to the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament nor to the Jewish background of the New. Therefore the urgency and the poignancy about the mystery of Israel that are so vivid in the New Testament have appeared only occasionally in Christian thought, as in some passages in Augustine; but these are outweighed, even in Augustine (not so speak of Chrysostom!), by the many others that speak of Judaism and paganism almost as though they were equally alien to what the Declaration still calls "the new people of God," which was for most of church history the Church of Gentile Christians.

But the loss of the "common patrimony" with Judaism has not expressed itself only in the place accorded to Judaism by Christian theologians. A more subtle and more pervasive effect of this process is evident in the development of various Christian doctrines themselves. Among these doctrines, the doctrine of God and the doctrine of man both bear marks of de-Judaization. In Judaism it was possible for the same chapter of 1 Samuel to ascribe change of purpose to God and to declare that God did not change, without resolving the paradox; for the immutability of God was seen as the trustworthiness of his covenanted relation to his people in the concrete history of his judgment and mercy, rather than as a primarily ontological category. But in the development of the Christian



doctrine of God, immutability assumed the status of an axiomatic pre-supposition for the discussion of other doctrines. Hence the de-Judaization of Christian thought contributed, for example, to the form taken by the christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, in which both sides defined the absoluteness of God in accordance with the principle of immutability even though they drew opposite christological conclusions from it.

Similarly, the course taken by the development of the Augustinian tradition has been affected by the loss of contact with Jewish thought, whose refusal to polarize the free sovereignty of God and the free will of man has frequently been labeled Pelagian. But the label is not appropriate, for Judaism has a Pelagian doctrine of man but an Augustinian doctrine of God. Augustine accused the Pelagians of "putting the New Testament on the same level with the Old" by their view that it was possible for man to keep the Law of God, and Jerome saw Pharisaism in the Pelagian notion that perfect righteousness was attainable under the conditions of existence. The development of Christian theology in the East, especially in the Antiochene school, manifested other ways of transcending the antitheses present in the West and of setting forth "a doctrine which cannot properly be called either Augustinian or Pelagian." But it, too, formulated the question in a manner alien to the Jewish tradition—even as it sought to find the answer for the question in the Jewish Bible.

Perhaps the most obvious marks of the "common patrimony" are to be seen not in the doctrinal formulas, but in the cultic, hierarchical, and

ethical structures of Christianity, whose growth necessitated the Christianization of many features of Judaism. Thus Justin argued that one of the differences between the old covenant and the new was that the priesthood had been superseded and "we [the Church as a whole] are the true high-priestly race of God." In the New Testament itself the concept "priest" referred either to the Levites of the Old Testament, now made obsolete, or to Christ or to the entire Church—not to the ordained ministry of the Church. But Clement, who was also the first to use the term "layman," already spoke of "priests" and of "the high priest" and, significantly, related these terms to the Levitical priesthood; there is a similar parallel in the *Didache* and in Hippolytus. For Tertullian, the bishop was already "the high priest," and for his disciple, Cyprian, it was completely natural to speak of a Christian "priesthood." And so by the time of Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood* it seems to have become accepted practice to refer to Aaron and Eli as examples and warnings for the priesthood of the Christian Church. Therefore the apostles, too, were represented as priests.

A prominent token of the "common patrimony" was the worship of the early Church. "None of our authorities give us clear information on the use of the Psalms and other hymns or chants in the primitive church," but we do know that "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets" were read in the Sunday service, and the eucharistic prayers of the Church gave thanks "for the holy vine of Thy son, David, which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son, Jesus." Whether or not the liturgy of the early Church included the actual singing of the Psalms,



it was certainly replete with allusions to the Old Testament in its prayer, reading, and exhortation. Perhaps as important as the cultic service rendered by the Old Testament to the concrete life of the Church was the ethical service provided by the commandments of the Old Testament, especially by the Decalogue. For despite the strictures on the Jewish Law summarized earlier, the Decalogue, as summarized and reinterpreted by the ethical teachings of Jesus, was accorded a special place in the Church. Irenaeus said that "the words of the Decalogue . . . remain in force among us"; and even the Gnostic Ptolemy distinguished between the Decalogue and all the rest of the Law of Moses, seeing the former as fulfilled in Christ and the latter as either abolished or spiritualized. It is not clear what role the Decalogue played in Christian worship (although there is some indication that it was recited at certain services) or in Christian education (although certain passages in Augustine give the impression that it was used as a basis for instruction in ethics); but it is clear that the Decalogue was highly valued as a summary of the Law of God, both natural and revealed.

But this "re-Judaization" does not indicate any recovery of close association between Judaism and Christian theology; on the contrary, it shows how independent Christian doctrine had become of its Jewish origins and how free it felt to appropriate terms and concepts from the Jewish tradition despite its earlier disparagement of them. Now that Christian theologians were no longer obliged to engage in serious dialogue with Judaism, they were able to go their own Christian way in for-

mulating the universal claims of Christianity. Eventually these claims went so far that Judaism became one in a series of "non-Christian religions" to which Christian apologetics had to relate itself; it is one of the unfortunate implications of the Declaration that, in spite of what it says about Israel, Judaism is interpreted in the context of the world religions rather than vice versa. Together with the "other" religions, Judaism has an essentially preparatory<sup>ra</sup> function: even the exodus is said in the Declaration to "presignify [praesignare]" the Christian Church. To Eusebius, "it would be no departure from the truth to style [Adam, Noah, and Abraham] as Christians, in point of fact if not in name." The Church, therefore, regarded itself as the inheritor of the promises and prerogatives of Israel. "Just as Christ is Israel and Jacob, so we who have been quarried out of the bowels of Christ are the true Israelitic race," the "third Israel" spoken of in Isaiah. The Church was now "the synagogue of God" and even "the chosen people."

This appropriation of the Jewish Scriptures and of the patrimony of Israel helped early Christianity to survive the destruction of Jerusalem and to argue that with the coming of Christ Jerusalem had served its purpose in the divine plan and could be forsaken. It also enabled Christianity to claim an affinity with other religions besides Israel and to formulate such doctrines as the Trinity on a basis that claimed to include the best of both Jewish monotheism and Gentile polytheism. These and other advantages were cited by the defenders of Christianity against Judaism; they usually did not mention, even though they



often exhibited, the impoverishment that came from the supposition that in the Old Testament and in the Jewish elements of the New Testament the Christian Church had as much of the tradition of Judaism as it would ever need. It is to be hoped that the beginnings of a new "theology of Israel" in the Declaration of the Second Vatican Council will lead to a new and deeper recognition that something integral has been lost from Christian doctrine itself by its isolation from Judaism, and that therefore a theology of Israel is essential to the proper formulation of a theology of Christianity.

(Bibliographical Note. The brief compass of a half-hour lecture does not allow for a discussion of either primary or secondary sources, but the following comments may be helpful. Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire romain 132-425* (Paris, 1948) is a competent summary. Karl Thieme, *Kirche und Synagoge* (Olten, 1945) is a study of Barnabas and Justin Martyr. A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), is, as its subtitle says, "a bird's-eye view of Christian apology until the Renaissance." Wilhelm Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandrien und Rom* (Göttingen, 1915) is still helpful. Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality* (Westminster, Md., 1960) and *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London, 1964) summarize a great deal of material. Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins* (Basel, 1946) analyzes the most influential "theology of Israel" in the Latin West. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition 100-600* (Chicago, 1971), contains a fuller presentation of the material set forth in this lecture.)