

A Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations

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evaluations of traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations of scripture.

See also biblical criticism; biblical interpretation; linguistics

JOHN F. A. SAWYER

Exorcism *see* consecration; demon/devil; magic

Expatriate Christians in Israel *see* Israel,

expatriate Christians in

Expulsions

Expulsions of Jews have occurred since antiquity, but the most significant for Jewish-Christian relations are the two great waves of expulsion that took place at the end of the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries. The former period reveals several types of expulsion. The expulsion of the Jews from Anjou, Gascony and England in 1289–90 involved the clearance of Jews from large areas by the decree of the ruling prince. In these cases the ruler cited Jewish **usury** as a central reason for expelling the Jews, but religious motives were also apparent: the expulsion decrees insist on the offence caused to Christians by the presence in their midst of those who denied Christ. The expulsions must be seen as the end of a process of marginalisation of the Jews, beginning with attempts at **conversion**, public **disputations** and the condemnation of the **Talmud**; the impetus came from the higher levels of society – rulers wished to curry favour with nobles and knights indebted to Jews, and also saw themselves as standard-bearers of Christianity, **crusaders** whose **mission** against unbelief should include Jews as well as Muslims. However, some rulers, such as the French kings, expelled Jews (1306) only to readmit them. The king of Naples expelled those Jews who refused to convert in 1290, apparently because of stories of ritual murder attributed to Jews which fanatical preachers

had brought to his attention. England was unusual at this point in the completeness of the expulsion (*see* Edward I). In the late fifteenth century popular hostility to the Jews seems more noticeable. Tales of ritual murder of Christian children by Jews were revived (*see* blood libel), such as that of Simon of Trent (1475). Anti-Jewish riots in areas such as southern **Italy** were increasingly frequent, and the nobles and leading citizens often sought to protect the Jews from those calling for their expulsion (as in Sicily in 1492–3). The mass conversions in **Spain** were seen by the Crown as a model that could be imitated: the expulsion decrees of 1492 sought not so much to rid Spain of Jews as to encourage them to stay, but as Christians; its character was emphatically religious and not racial. Several rulers took advantage of expulsions to welcome Jewish craftsmen into their lands, as happened in Naples, Ferrara and even in Papal Rome. In the same few years several German and north Italian states decreed the expulsion of the Jews; the Polish king was the beneficiary of the flight eastwards of German Jews. Nor was blanket expulsion of all Jews the only method adopted by late medieval rulers for taking Jews out of society. Enclosure in Jewish quarters, surrounded by high walls, was practised in Majorca at the end of the thirteenth century as an alternative to expulsion (*see* ghetto). This way rulers could still draw benefit from the economic activities of the Jews. Indeed, the expulsion from Spain was criticised from the start for its deleterious effects on the economy. It is therefore not surprising that several expelled communities were allowed to trickle back, as in Milan at the end of the fifteenth century, or that expulsion could exclude the richest Jews, as in Naples in 1510.

DAVID ABULAFIA

a similar fate by papal intervention. Indeed the Jewish communities in that region were known as 'the Pope's Jews' and flourished.

From the 1500s Marranos settled in France, followed by Jews from Poland and Ukraine fleeing the Chmeilnicki massacres of 1648. Anti-Jewish laws began to be repealed in the 1780s, and the French Revolution granted Jews citizenship as individuals while depriving them of their group privileges. Voltaire called for religious tolerance but also described Jews in ways that suggested they had innate negative qualities. Napoleon considered the Jews 'a nation within a nation' and decided to create a Jewish communal structure sanctioned by the state, ordering the convening of a Grand Sanhedrin which paved the way for the formation of the consistorial system, making Judaism a recognised religion under government control.

While the situation improved for Jews thereafter, the 1840 Damascus Affair, which was one of the latest examples of the **blood libel** charge, led to outbreaks of anti-Jewish disorder in 1848. An upsurge of antisemitism began in the late 1800s, and Jews were blamed for the collapse of the Union Générale, a leading Catholic bank. The Dreyfus affair took place against this background, motivating Theodor Herzl to write his book *The Jewish State* in 1896 and Emile Zola (1840–1902) his article *J'accuse...* and eventually led to the 1905 law separating Church and state.

When Germany invaded on 10 May 1940 an estimated 300,000 Jews lived in France. Twenty-five per cent perished in the Holocaust, a significantly lower proportion than in other European countries. France became a haven for postwar refugees, and within 25 years its Jewish population tripled. In 1948 the Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne was founded with the aim of improving relations between Christians and Jews, but the Finaly Case demonstrated ongoing obstacles, as did Jean-Paul Sartre's (1905–80) influential book *Anti-Semite and Jew*, in which he wrote that antisemitism 'derives not from thought but from fear of oneself and of truth... In a word, anti-Semitism is fear of being alive.' Nevertheless, individual figures such as Jules Isaac made a significant contribution to fostering better relations between Jews and Christians, and since 1965 and the publication of *Nostra Aetate* the Catholic Church in France has been at the forefront of con-

demning antisemitism. In 1997 the French bishops issued a 'declaration of repentance' for Catholic failings during the Holocaust. The Jewish community is currently facing growing antisemitism, notably among some French Muslims, stimulated in part by the increasing violence in the Middle East since 2002.

EDWARD KESSLER

Franciscans

Roman Catholic missionary order founded (1209) by St Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226) which formerly promoted Christian anti-Judaism. From 1232 the Franciscan Order, based on poverty, preaching and mendicancy, was entrusted, together with the Dominicans, by Pope Gregory IX with the task of rooting out heresy (considered to be treason against God) by inquisitors. Like Dominicans, Franciscan friars were specifically trained for controversy with Jews and Muslims, studying Hebrew, Arabic and rabbinic commentaries, and having influence within universities. Mendicant friars, including apostate Jews such as Nicholas Donin, led Church denunciation of the Talmud. The papal bull *Turbato corde*, issued in 1267 by Clement IV and reissued by later popes, gave Franciscan and Dominican inquisitors permanent permission to use ecclesiastical punishment and the secular arm against Christian heretics, converted Jews who reverted to Judaism and their Jewish accomplices. The first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV (1288–92), was stridently anti-Jewish, legislating that forcibly converted Jews who reverted were equivalent to heretics and that archbishops and bishops should aid the Inquisition. The Spanish Inquisition itself was founded by a Franciscan, Alonso de Espina, who wrote *Fortalitium fidei* ('Fortress of the Faith'), an influential treatise against the 'Jewish heresy' which urged expulsion of Jews.

A key Franciscan aim was to convert Jews. Nicholas of Lyra used his vast knowledge of rabbinic commentaries, including Rashi, to promote understanding of the literal biblical sense and to attempt methodically to convert Jews. Aggressively conversionist sermons were promoted, promulgated by the papal bull *Vineam sorec* in 1278 and forced compulsorily on many Jewish communities.

Virulently anti-Jewish sermons, like those of Berthold of Regensburg (before 1210–72), who claimed that Jews awaited Antichrist and were the devil's allies, were matched by aggressive political

policies, such as Duns Scotus's (c.1265–1308) urging the kidnap and forcible **conversion** of Jewish children. Such views hardened in the late fourteenth century due to internal pressures for reform and increasing opposition to Christian impoverishment attributed to Jewish moneylenders, especially in **Italy**.

The Order promoted implementation of all canonical anti-Jewish legislation, including segregation, wearing the Jewish badge (*see yellow badge*) and economic restrictions. Fiercely anti-Jewish sermons by Bernardino di Siena (1380–1444) typically conjured a vision of Christendom endangered, even destroyed, by poverty due to Jewish **usury** and the poison of Jewish influence. Such sermons to mass audiences, like those of St John of Capistrano (1386–1456), and St Bernardino da Feltre (second half of the fifteenth century), promoted and achieved expulsion of Jews from Italian and North European cities. In consequence of Franciscan anti-Jewish agitation, Jews were violently persecuted, as during allegations of the **blood libel** (Breslau, 1453 under Capistrano) and **host desecration** (Trent, 1475 under da Feltre), following which many Jews were tortured and executed, often by burning. While one or two Franciscans converted to Judaism, and **mysticism** within medieval Spanish Jewry was possibly influenced by the Spiritual Franciscans, several apostate Jews became Franciscans and expert anti-Jewish agitators.

In the modern period Franciscans, like Dominicans, abandoned any anti-Judaic agenda, and some Franciscan religious courageously saved Jews during the **Shoah**. In **Israel** the Franciscans, established in **Jerusalem** since 1229, are Custodians of the Christian Holy Places.

MARGARET BREARLEY

Frank, Anne (1929–45)

Teenage diarist. In 1942 the Frank family, including schoolgirl Anne, hid from Nazi persecution in an Amsterdam office building. Assisted by Christians, they survived until discovery in 1944. Anne went (via Westerbork and **Auschwitz**) to Belsen, where she died (March 1945). She is remembered for her diary, begun in 1942, and revised by her in anticipation of publication, following a radio appeal for people to record their wartime experiences for posterity. Its contents, reception and the devel-

opment of Anne as a symbol of Jewish suffering in the **Holocaust** are relevant to Jewish-Christian relations.

The diary is a complex work, detailing the routine events and strains of life in hiding as much as more profound matters. It reflects Anne's upbringing in an assimilated Jewish family: she observes **Hanukkah** and **Christmas**, reads the **New Testament** and stresses the value of the individual's conscience. But Anne also rejects **conversion** to Christianity. She believes in God, and in a form of Jewish **chosenness** and **mission**. She locates her experiences within a broader history of Jewish persecution.

MELANIE J. WRIGHT

Frank, Jacob (1726–91)

Polish Jewish religious leader and Messianic claimant. After travelling through Turkey, the heartland of Shabbetaianism (*see Shabbetai Zvi*), he returned (c.1755) home to Podolia (then in Poland, now in Ukraine) and gathered a following from local sectarian circles of the same origin. After 1763 he selected 12 apostles and assumed the role of the **Messiah**. Seeing Christianity as a transition stage on the way towards the future 'Messianic religion', he led his followers into **baptism**. Rejecting **Talmud** and claiming to find the doctrine of the **Trinity** in Kabbalah (*see mysticism*), the movement was originally accepted and supported by Christian political and religious leaders in Poland, Moravia and Germany as a disseminator of Christianity among Jews, but was eventually recognised as a sect. After 1816 Frankists were absorbed into the Roman Catholic Church.

PETR FRYŠ

Frederick II of Babenberg (c.1210–46)

'The Quarrelsome'; last duke of the Babenberg dynasty in **Austria** (r.1230–46). In his struggle with Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (r.1215–50), he took both sympathetic and unsympathetic measures towards Jews: he secured himself the support of the citizens of Wiener-Neustadt by barring Jews from office, but in his famous charter from 1244 benevolently regulated the position of Jews, subjecting them directly to his own ducal, rather than imperial jurisdiction. The charter secured fair transit, trading and moneylending conditions, allowed some self-government, raised the value of Jewish oaths and protected Jewish children, synagogues and cemeteries. For almost two centuries similar charters in **Hungary**, **Poland**,

NNNN

Nahmanides (1194–1270)

Moses ben Nahman, referred to in Hebrew sources by the acronym Ramban or as Moses Gerondi, was the dominant philosophical voice among Spanish Jewry in his day, and an important leader who withstood attempts to spread Christianity among the Catalan Jews, building on his apparently warm relationship with King James I. As a young man he became involved in the bitter controversy over Maimonides' writings that wracked the academies of southern France. Alongside many shorter talmudic and halakhic tracts, his major work was a Bible commentary that has a strongly prophetic streak; the theme of redemption was also the subject of his *Sefer ha-Geullah* of c.1263. His works were among the first to be printed by the Hebrew printers of late fifteenth-century Naples and Rome.

Late in life Nahmanides was summoned by James I to defend Judaism against the argument that the Messiah had already come. The disputation of Barcelona of 1263, held in the king's presence, is recorded both in Nahmanides' version and in a Christian polemic which, not surprisingly, awards victory to the rabbis' opponent, Paul the Christian. The disputation marked a new intensification of attempts at conversion of the Jews in which the friars were notably active and in which attacks on the Talmud became increasingly intense, following the mass burning of the Talmud by Louis IX in France. Nahmanides was treated courteously by James I, who gave him money but, following attempts to have Nahmanides tried for insulting Christianity, the king made it plain that he would do well to leave Spain. In 1267 Nahmanides travelled to the Holy Land. He established a small community in Muslim-ruled Jerusalem, but became rabbi of Acre, the seat of government of the Latin kingdom, where he died soon after.

DAVID ABULAFIA

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821)

French emperor (1804–1814/15) whose ambiguous attitude towards the Jews was profoundly shaped

by Christian assumptions. Napoleon was inclined to link contemporary Jews with institutions from their distant past; in 1798 he proclaimed the leaders of the Cairo Jewish community High Priests of the Jewish Nation and in 1807 he attempted to resurrect the Sanhedrin. Prepared to believe traditional anti-semitic complaints about the moneylending activities of the Jews of Alsace from 1801 (see *usury*), Napoleon called for an Assembly of Jewish Notables in Paris in 1806 to agree publicly a kind of declaration as to the limits of Jewish tradition upon loyal Jewish European nationals. These principles were to be confirmed as a set of religiously binding decisions by the creation of the French Sanhedrin the following year, it having supposedly the authority to establish a second body of legislation after Moses. During his unsuccessful campaign in Palestine (1799), the first sustained contact between the Christian West and the land's inhabitants since the Crusades, rumours had spread that Napoleon had issued a public proclamation that the Jews were free to return to their biblical homeland. This was almost certainly campaign propaganda, but the image of Napoleon as a new Cyrus was to prove enduring. The Sanhedrin itself was a failure, its rulings ignored by most European Jews. But there would be a lasting legacy. In his determination to fix the limits between religion and the state, Napoleon had attempted to regularise Jewish life under the authority of a Central Consistory (a term borrowed from their fellow minority group, the Protestants). In doing so he had assumed that Judaism could be redefined as a Christian-like religion and organised hierarchically. These ideas would later resonate with Reform Judaism and the State of Israel respectively.

DANIEL R. LANGTON

Nationhood/nationality

The Hebrew scriptures tell the story of a nation strongly aware of its identity. The focus of that identity is a covenantal relationship with its God, analogous to the relationships the surrounding nations

the Talmud is addressed exclusively to a Jewish rabbinic readership. It is difficult to relate these stories to anything contained in the Gospels, the detailed contents of which are ostensibly unknown to the talmudic authors (save for one paraphrase of the **Sermon on the Mount**, and a pun on the word *evangelion*, in *b. Shabbat* 116a–b). Talmudic stories about Jesus are certainly polemical (e.g. the gibe, in coded language, on the virginity of Miriam/Mary: *b. Sanhedrin* 67a), but their source remains unclear; they are more likely to represent later literary creations than the legacy of some early historical tradition. These stories later formed the basis of the medieval compilation *Toledot Yeshu*.

Besides the passages so far discussed, the Talmud appears in some places to polemicise against Christianity, but without any explicit mention of Christianity or Jesus. The identification of these passages as **anti-Christian** polemics is naturally contentious; but we may point, for example, to a saying attributed to R. Abbahu that if someone claims to be God or the 'son of man', he is a liar (*y. Ta'anit* 2.1, 65b) – this saying is more likely aimed at Jesus than at pagan, deified men. In *b. Sanhedrin* 46b a **parable** is cited of a robber who was hanged, but whom onlookers mistook to be the king. This source (already attested in the third century Tosefta) may well be a parody of the **Crucifixion**, not least because it is part of an exegesis of Deut. 21.22–3, and may thus be a covert response to Gal. 3.13. Implicit **polemics** of this kind, however, are far more frequent in the contemporary and later works of **midrash**; even if correctly identified, their historical significance and *Sitz im Leben* is yet to be established.

From the thirteenth century the Talmud became the object of Jewish–Christian controversies and **disputations**. In 1240 the disputation in Paris of Nicholas **Donin** led, two years later, to the public burning of 24 cartloads of Talmud (and presumably other books). The Talmud suffered further repression from Christian authorities (e.g. **Innocent IV**) in this and subsequent centuries, and was included in the first Index of forbidden books in 1559, although **Christian Hebraists** such as Johannes **Reuchlin** attempted to defend it. The text of the Talmud also suffered from **censorship**, either at the hand of Christians, or by Jews anticipating Christian censors. The Basel edition of 1578–80 was particularly mutilated by Christian censorship. This led to the

expurgation from standard editions (including the now standard Vilna edition of 1880–6) of all explicit references to Jesus and Christians (i.e. the passages referred to above), as well as of words considered offensive such as *min*, 'non-Jew', or even 'Talmud'.

See also **Talmud trials**

SACHA STERN

Talmud trials

Allegations against the Talmud had already been made in the twelfth century by, for example, Peter **Alfonsi** and Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. What is new in the thirteenth century is much greater first-hand knowledge of Jewish post-biblical writings amongst Christians. In 1236 the Jewish convert Nicholas **Donin** wrote to Pope **Gregory IX** accusing the Talmud of blaspheming Jesus and the Virgin, maligning non-Jews and altering scriptural precepts. The charge that Jews followed precepts of the Talmud rather than those found in the Bible was an especially serious threat to the Jews whose presence in Christian society was safeguarded by the principle, formulated by **Augustine of Hippo**, that they bore witness to the truth of Christianity by upholding the books of the **Old Testament**. Pope Gregory instructed the **Dominicans** and **Franciscans** to confiscate the Talmud. In France the Talmud was put on trial in Paris in 1240. After Rabbi Jehiel ben Joseph of Paris (d. before 1267) was unsuccessful in combating the allegations brought against it, and an ecclesiastical court headed by Eudes (Odo) of Chateauroux (d. 1273), chancellor of the University of Paris, condemned it, cartloads of volumes of the Talmud were publicly burnt in 1242. Some years later Pope **Innocent IV** commissioned Eudes, by then cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, to reinvestigate the Talmud. This led to further condemnation of the text. The remainder of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries witnessed various instances of confiscation, burning or **censorship** of the Talmud. In general, however, it seems as if popes were hesitant to deprive Jews permanently of their sacred texts altogether, however much they were concerned about their contents. Traditional papal policy towards the Jews did ensure that Jews were allowed the wherewithal to practice their religion.

In 1263 the Talmud was subjected to another public investigation in the **disputation** of Barcelona between Paul the Christian, a convert from Judaism, and Nahmanides in the presence of

James I of Aragon. By this time Christian scholars did not just reject the whole Talmud as an affront to Christianity, they incorporated the Talmud in their efforts to convert Jews by interpreting various passages as attesting to Christian belief. Thus in Barcelona Paul attempted to demonstrate that the Talmud proved that the Messiah had come and that Christian teaching was therefore correct. Nahmanides' long Hebrew report reflects the earnest attempts made by the Jewish community to deflect this new and dangerous conversionary tactic. Subsequent work by the Dominicans greatly perfected Paul's jejune efforts. In his *Pugio Fidei* ('Dagger of Faith', c.1278) the Dominican Raymond Martini quotes countless passages of post-biblical Jewish writings in Hebrew and Aramaic in order to prove the veracity of Christianity to Jews. Condemning the Talmud whilst at the same time identifying proof-texts from it for Christianity was once again on the agenda at the public disputation staged in Tortosa in 1413–14 by anti-pope Benedict XIII (r.1394–1417). Over a period of almost two years of relentless conversionary effort many Jews were converted. Later Joseph Albo (c.1380–c.1435), who took part in the disputation, wrote his *Sefer ha-Ikkarim* (Book of Principles) in an effort to bolster Jewish confidence.

ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA

Tanakh see **Hebrew Bible; Old Testament**

Tantur Ecumenical Institute

On the border between south Jerusalem and the Palestinian West Bank, the Tantur (literally 'hill-top') Ecumenical Institute embodies the shared dream of Paul VI and the official observers at Vatican II: an international, intercultural, ecumenical community of prayer, study and dialogue in the Holy City. The institute, under the guidance of both Protestant and Roman Catholic rectors, focusses ecumenical and interfaith relations through study, research and international or local meetings with Christians, Jews and Muslims. Since Tantur's opening in 1973 over 4,500 scholars, teachers, parish clergy and other Church workers have participated in its programmes, conducted principally by local Christian, Jewish and Muslim teachers, on topics such as biblical studies, field trips, Abrahamic spiritualities, the bases and practices of ecumenical and interreligious relations, human rights and non-violent conflict resolutions in the Holy Land.

MICHAEL MCGARRY

Targum

A Jewish translation of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic, dating from Late Antiquity (first to eighth centuries CE). There are Targums for all the biblical books, with the exception of Ezra–Nehemiah and Daniel, which already contain substantial portions in Aramaic. In many cases several Targums, either in whole or in part, are extant for the same books. For example, besides the official Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch known as Onkelos, a complete Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, known as Codex Neofiti 1, survives, as well as several incomplete Palestinian versions (the Fragmentary Targum and the Cairo Genizah fragments), and a curious late text, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, which combines elements of both Onkelos and the Palestinian tradition. The institution of the Targum originated in the early synagogue's practice of orally rendering the Hebrew biblical lections into the vernacular. Many Targums contain paraphrases and expansions of the biblical text which make them valuable repositories of early Jewish exegesis, on which Rashi and other medieval Jewish Bible commentators draw from time to time.

The Targums have long attracted the interest of Christian scholars. It is possible that Jerome's knowledge of Jewish Bible exegesis was derived, at least in part, from a Targum, known either to himself, or to one of his Jewish informants. Medieval Christian Hebraists such as Nicholas of Lyra also studied the Targums, but it was not until the Reformation, with its return to the Bible in its original languages, that Christian scholars truly mastered this literature. Texts of the Targums were included in the great Christian polyglot Bibles, starting with the Complutensian Polyglot (Alcalá de Henares, 1514–17), and culminating in the London Polyglot, edited by Brian Walton (1665). They can also be found, without Latin translations, in the Rabbinic Bibles printed by Daniel Bomberg and others (1525 etc.). Though printed under Christian auspices, the texts of the Targums were prepared by Jewish scholars, who in some cases were converts to Christianity (e.g. the Spaniard Alfonso de Zamora (d. 1531), whose editions of the Targums, still preserved in manuscripts in Madrid and Salamanca, were used in the Complutensian Polyglot and the Biblia Regia, Antwerp). Christian scholars pioneered the study of the Targums, and as a result they were rather

inserting in its name the qualification 'religious' relations.

LUCY THORSON AND MURRAY WATSON

William of Norwich

The traditions associated with the life-story of William of Norwich told that his 12-year-old body was found in Thorpe Wood outside Norwich, England, on 24 March 1144. His mother claimed that he had been taken away by a man who offered the boy employment; his uncle, Godwin Sturt, blamed the Jews of Norwich, but this accusation did not result in any action. It was with the arrival at Norwich Cathedral priory in 1150 of the monk Thomas of Monmouth (fl. 1150–60) that the local tale became a notorious one. For Thomas wrote an account of the life of William of Norwich, a history of his passion (*Passio*). This was a hagiographical treatment, which claimed to be based on careful research conducted by Thomas, and to be based on the testimony of a Jewish convert, Theobald. Thomas attributed sanctity to the body, which had not been touched by the birds of the forest and was left intact and incorruptible. Thomas's account, in a manuscript of around 1170, also recorded tens of miracles that were believed to have taken place around William's tomb, and later around the shrine that was built for it once the body was moved to Norwich cathedral. William of Norwich attracted pilgrims who sought in particular cure for children's diseases and the ailments of women.

This early tale established a narrative that imputed to Jews the desire to 're-crucify' Christ in the figure of an innocent Christian boy. Although it did not gain official recognition, the following decades saw similar cases enacted in English towns—Harold of Gloucester in 1168, Robert of Bury in 1181, Adam of Bristol in 1183—and later in France. The narrative was also elaborated further as the **blood libel**. The cult of William of Norwich ebbed and flowed, particularly in East Anglia, where a number of fifteenth-century roodscreens included him among martyrs and saints (as in Litcham and Loddon).

MIRI RUBIN

Wine

By the first century CE, when Jesus shared wine with his disciples at the **Last Supper**, most known Jews marked certain elements of domestic life as sacred by performing rituals in conjunction with a cup of wine. As documented in early rabbinic

texts, such rituals included the inauguration and conclusion of Sabbaths and festivals, most lifecycle rituals, the Grace after Meals (*birkat hamazon*), particularly in a festive setting, and parts of the Passover seder. Their thick wine always required dilution, so cups were always 'mixed'. The origins of this ritual practice are unknown, but among the factors that doubtless led to its emergence were that wine, a local and high-quality product in Israel, was widely considered a choice drink both for human consumption and for ritual use in temple contexts. Pagan and Jewish sacrificial rites involved wine libations. All of these rabbinic rituals required a **blessing** (*berakhah*) over the wine in conjunction with the blessing(s) appropriate to the specific ritual that addresses the actual content of the event. The prayer of **sanctification** (*Kiddush*) before a Sabbath or festival meal and the grace after that meal bracket it with wine-related rituals, marking the whole as particularly sacred time.

Jesus and his disciples were clearly familiar with this structure, particularly with the integration of a ritual cup of wine into a meal setting. The Synoptic Gospels all record that at the Last Supper Jesus 'took a cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them . . .' (Mark 14.23; cf. Matt. 26.27; Luke 22.17). He continues with an explanation of the meaning of the cup. However, it is with this explanation that Jesus and his followers broke with the Jewish model; at this meal and in subsequent Christian eucharistic rites it is the cup's contents, the fruit of the vine, that holds symbolic value rather than wine's creating the context for another ritual. This wine combines the Jewish domestic and sacrificial rituals. While derived from a home table setting, as the blood of Christ it echoes distantly the libations of the Temple, but even more so the blood of the sacrificial animals that was ritually sprinkled on the altar as part of the offerings. However, humans consumed neither the libations nor the sprinkled blood; the shared eucharistic wine therefore maintains elements of its original social function. Requirements in most Churches that the wine be mixed with water, although explained Christologically, also derive from the ritual's cultural origins.

Rabbinic concern that Jews might consume wine intended for pagan libations led to **halakhic** requirements that Jews only drink wine prepared by other Jews. This, along with other **dietary laws**, severely limited socialisation between Jews and