

A Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations

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atonement obtained. A key New Testament passage here is Heb. 9.22, which ends with the proviso 'without the shedding of blood, no forgiveness occurs', a 'cultic maxim well known in Jewish tradition' (Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 258). Christianity departs from Judaism with the notion that Jesus' shed blood serves as a sacrifice (propitiatory and/or expiatory) for the forgiveness of the world's sins. At Rom. 5.9 Jesus' death is referred to as 'blood' (Tuckett, 'Atonement in the NT'). When the early Church was deciding which laws or customs from Judaism should carry over into Christianity, abstention from eating blood was an important inclusion (Acts 15.20–29). Likely here we see an early manifestation of what later came to be called **Noachide laws**, requirements that many ancient Jews felt were binding on Gentiles (or necessary for aliens living among Israelites according to Mosaic Law). This prohibition is attested for centuries within the church (Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches*, 166–7). Its historically strictest application is among **Jehovah's Witnesses**, who extend it to the sphere of medicine, forbidding whole blood transfusions, though they do permit some blood products and therapies.

See also **blood libel**; **dietary laws**; **eucharist**; **food**

FRANK SHAW

Blood libel

Blood libel refers to the accusation that Jews kill a young Christian boy and use his blood in the ritual preparation of unleavened bread or *mazzah* for the **Passover** ritual. Although there is some indication that it may be traced to eleventh-century **Germany**, the earliest direct evidence is the case of **William of Norwich** in 1144. Charges spread from England to **France** (1171) and **Spain** (1182) and throughout Europe by the seventeenth century. Despite official secular and ecclesiastical investigations in the thirteenth century by Emperor Frederick II (r.1215–50) and Pope **Innocent IV** that denied any possibility that Jews used human blood, accusations continued against the Jewish community in Western and Eastern Europe into the twentieth century. The Nazis revived the charges that Jews killed children and used their blood. The blood libel has also become part of the arsenal of anti-Jewish agitation in extreme forms of contemporary **Islam**. The origins of blood libel appear in antiquity, where **Josephus** relates that Antiochus Epiphanes (r.175–164 BCE) was told that Jews engage in human

sacrifice and cannibalism within the precincts of the Temple. Ironically, **Tertullian** reports that early Christians were also accused of eating human flesh. By the Middle Ages the blood libel incorporated the idea that Jews engaged in conspiracy to lure Christian boys; that they used the blood in the preparation of matzah, or to engage in **magic**. By extension of the blood libel, Jews were accused of stealing the consecrated wafer of the **eucharist** and mutilating it until blood flowed. Jews were also accused of poisoning water wells during the period of the **Black Death**. Scholars have been unable to explain the persistence of this perduring invention. It may have its origins in xenophobia, fuelled by the psychology of projection and inversion, where a central principle such as the real presence in Christianity is projected onto the Jewish community, whose scripture provides details of blood sacrifice (Leviticus). Irrespective of its origins, the blood libel has served as an explanation for the continuing existence of the Jewish people as enemies of Christ: Jewish success despite persecution is attributed to furtive practices that subvert the truth of Christianity and weaken it.

See also **Hugh of Lincoln**; **Rozanov, Vasily Vasilevich**; **Russia**

MICHAEL A. SIGNER

Bonhoeffer, Dietrich (1906–45)

Protestant Pastor and theologian hanged for involvement in an attempt to assassinate **Hitler**. His view of Judaism is controversial. He qualified as a lecturer in 1930 and was ordained in 1931. He helped form the **Confessing Church**, which resisted state interference in Church life. From 1935 he led an illegal seminary and from 1939 worked for German military intelligence while exploiting ecumenical contacts on behalf of the resistance. Arrested in 1943, partly for smuggling Jews to Switzerland, he was hanged at Flossenbürg when evidence of complicity in the 1944 plot against Hitler emerged.

Bonhoeffer's 1933 essay 'The Church and the Jewish Question' echoed **Luther** in asserting that the 'chosen people' crucified Christ and must bear a curse in history. But it admonished the state for failing to protect Jews against persecution, insisted the Church is responsible for victims of persecution irrespective of religious confession, and advocated direct action for victims. Bonhoeffer resisted the trend in German Protestantism theologically to marginalise or abandon

Christian claims in the eyes of Jewish readers. It is no exaggeration to acknowledge that fear of Christian missionising and conversionism underlies much Jewish mistrust of Christians to this day.

Many Christian theologians today, however, are increasingly questioning the formerly presumed need for Jews to 'convert' to Christianity. This thinking is relatively advanced in official Catholic teaching, which proclaims that 'the Jewish faith, unlike other non-Christian religions, is already a response to God's revelation' (Catechism of the Catholic Church, no. 839). Thus, the one prayer for the Jews in the Catholic liturgy, which before **Vatican II** was a prayer for their conversion, the **Good Friday Prayer for the Perfidious Jews**, is now a prayer that Jews will be deepened in the faith given to them by God, and the Catholic Church has no sanctioned groups whose purpose is the conversion of the Jewish people to Christianity. While the implications of *Nostra Aetate* for this question have not yet been worked through sufficiently to become established doctrine in Catholic tradition, in 2002 two major statements, one (*Reflections on Covenant and Mission*) by Catholics involved in ongoing dialogue with the US National Council of Synagogues (which exists primarily as a vehicle for dialogue with Christians) and one by a joint group of Protestants and Catholics, the Christian Scholars Group on Christian-Jewish Relations, have questioned Christian efforts aimed at converting Jews not only from a pastoral, but also from a theological point of view. Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Christian traditions have a variety of theological positions on this question and have not yet reached internal consensus in their official documents.

See also mission

EUGENE J. FISHER

Conversos

The term **Conversos** refers to those members of religious minorities in **Spain** and **Portugal** who adopted Christianity, voluntarily or under pressure, in the late Middle Ages, and to their descendants. Although there were many Muslim Conversos by the mid-sixteenth century (also known as **Moriscos**), the first wave of converts was predominantly Jewish; large numbers of Jews accepted baptism during and after the pogroms of 1391, including the senior rabbi of Burgos, and a new wave of converts was created by the decree of **expulsion** in 1492. The term **Marranos**, also used for the Jewish Conversos, was originally an opprobri-

ous one, but can be used helpfully to describe those Conversos who retained some knowledge of and interest in Jewish practices, although considerable numbers of Conversos became integrated into Iberian society and shook off any memory of their Jewish past, sometimes by adopting Spanish names at baptism. Two difficulties faced the Conversos, whether or not they remained secret Jews: the **Inquisition** had become a powerful arm of the government in Aragon and Castile after 1484, and relentlessly pursued false converts, who were seen as **Judaising** heretics; and popular opinion increasingly marginalised those with Jewish blood, leading officially to their exclusion from the universities and from high office on what can only be described as racial grounds. This could in fact stimulate a greater awareness among the excluded of their Jewish origins, as happened among the **Xuetes** ('little Jews') of Majorca in the seventeenth century; and many others, including noble families, successfully hid the fact of Jewish ancestry. For the Conversos were often seen as unwelcome competitors by those seeking a position at court and in society. Portugal remained a livelier centre of secret Judaism, which has survived to the present day at Belmonte. Some historians, such as Benzion Netanyahu and Henry Kamen, have denied that secret Judaism existed on a large scale, but most agree that the Conversos included many who knew or cared little about their new religion and maintained some Jewish practices.

DAVID ABULAFIA

Convivencia

The term **Convivencia** is used to describe the relatively easy coexistence, literally 'living together', of Jews, Christians and Muslims in medieval **Spain** and **Portugal**. It can be applied to the early Middle Ages, when, under Muslim rule, Umayyad Córdoba was the capital of a powerful state with a large Christian population (until about 900 probably a Christian majority) and an influential, though much smaller, Jewish community. Jews were present at court as royal physicians, and in the eleventh century, when the Córdoba state had fallen to pieces, Jews served as viziers to the Berber kings of Granada. It is important not to idealise this relationship: non-Muslims were *dhimmis*, subject to restrictions such as heavier taxation; on the other hand, there was no attempt to insist on the full rigour of these restrictions. With the coming in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries of the

uncompromising Almoravid and Almohad rulers, Moroccan Berbers who had little experience of religious minorities, the outlook for Jews became darker, and many migrated to Christian Spain, where similar openness was visible at the courts of Aragon, Castile, Portugal and Navarre. By the fourteenth century, however, revived ecclesiastical legislation of the early Middle Ages excluded Jews from office, and rulers began to encourage their enclosure in ghettos. Jewish officials remained at court (Samuel Abulafia (c.1320–60) under Pedro the Cruel in the 1350s, Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508) under Ferdinand and Isabella in the 1480s), but they became the target of bitter critics. The age of Convivencia was dealt its death blow not by the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, but by the pogroms of 1391, which resulted in mass conversions and the increased marginalisation of those Jews who remained; Islam, too, was suppressed (Castile, 1502; Aragon, 1525), and Spain rejoiced in its special reputation as the most Catholic of monarchies.

DAVID ABULAFIA

Coptic Church

The words 'Copt' and 'Coptic', from the Greek (*Aigyptos*) and Arabic (*qibt*) words for 'Egypt', designate the Christian inhabitants of Egypt and the language used by them in their liturgy. The history of Jewish-Christian relations in Egypt is largely a story of the respectful coexistence of two *dhimmis* ('protected' minorities) that shared a common struggle for survival under Islam, as well as many linguistic, cultural, religious, liturgical and even national affinities. The Copts' Christian heritage includes the biblical interpretation and Christological debates of the Church Fathers of Alexandria, including the anti-Judaism in the writings of Origen, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria. But the Coptic Church's reverent deference to the monastic ethos of the desert fathers, foremost among them St Antony (c.251–356), and its sad experience of frequent martyrdom and persecutions – by Romans, Byzantines, Muslims and Crusaders alike – mitigated any triumphal posture or purpose regarding Jews and Judaism. Coptic piety emphasises the possibility of transformation through participation in the risen Christ present in the Divine Liturgy, rather than atonement and salvation through the propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God on the cross, which dominated Western Christian thought and engendered the charge of *deicide* against Jews. The linguistic

proximity of Coptic, Arabic and Hebrew, the mutual influence of Copts and Jews on each other's religious architecture, liturgical practices and communal structures, and the preservation by the Coptic Church of many elements of ancient Jewish rites and rituals, all nourished a cordial Coptic-Jewish nexus throughout most of the last 15 centuries. Like Jews, Copts have a sense of **nationhood** derived from their link with the legacy of pharaonic Egypt. Only in the wake of modern-day conflicts in the Middle East have tensions surfaced in the relations of the Coptic Church and the State of Israel, but they have not adversely affected Coptic-Jewish relations in Egypt.

See also **Orthodox Christianity**

DANIEL ROSSING

Cosmology

Cosmology (*kosmos*, world; *logos*, knowledge of) is the study of the original, constituent and final cause(s) of the world or material universe. It therefore studies the ultimate, metaphysical purpose(s) of the entire universe. Jews and Christians generally begin their cosmological study with the first chapter of Genesis. They see in this text that God is not only the ultimate cause or purpose of all that is, but is also intimately involved in creation (divine participation) and especially in human lives and history. **Creation** is a manifestation of God's love and concern for the universe. Everything in creation came to be because it was so willed by the Creator. The cosmos is God's gift to humanity. In the Christian vision of the world Jesus Christ plays a major role at the beginning of creation and also at the end of time, when all of creation will experience its final transformation and renewal. There is also in the Christian tradition the tendency to see creation as a sacramental manifestation of God, especially within the vision of Francis of Assisi (1182–1226) according to Saint Bonaventure (c.1217–74). Francis saw vestiges of God in all things that reflect God in their own way. Creation becomes a mirror that allows humanity a limited but dynamic vision of God. Francis saw everything in creation as interrelated and connected to the one source of all things. In the Jewish tradition cosmology more strongly emphasises the difference between creator and creation, and it is connected strongly with the prohibition against creating on the Sabbath and upholding God's involvement with the Jewish people in the covenant relationship. Jewish cosmology also

against all Jews, past and present. Augustine, addressing Jews at the beginning of the fifth century, wrote, 'You, in your parents, killed Christ' (*Adv. Jud.* 7.10). But modern scholars, while recognising the part played by the Jewish leaders in the crucifixion, object to the total exoneration of the Romans. In their attempt to pacify Judea the Romans made extensive use of crucifixion, primarily because of its propaganda value. Josephus reports how Varus, governor of Syria, quelled a revolt in Jerusalem in 4 BCE by crucifying 2,000 of the inhabitants (*Ant.* 17.295). Ancient authors testify to its efficacy as a graphic warning to others of what will happen to them if they cause trouble (Quintilian, *Decl.* 274). If the Romans regarded Jesus as a disturber of the peace, nailing him to a cross would have seemed appropriate punishment.

Since crucifixion served as a public reminder to Jews that they were in bondage to a foreign power, it is hardly surprising that the most prominent feature of the crucifixion of Jesus, as far as they were concerned, was its shameful nature. The author of Heb. 12.2 refers to the 'shame' of the cross. Paul describes the crucified Christ as 'a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles' (1 Cor. 1.23). In Jewish thought the long-awaited Messiah would be a victorious king; there was nothing to indicate that he would endure a slave's death. The disgrace of crucifixion prompted Celsus to dismiss the redemptive work of Christ because he had been 'bound in the most ignominious fashion' and 'executed in a shameful way' (Origen, *Cels.* 6.10). Jesus did not fit Jewish Messianic expectations. Subjection to the greatest dishonour possible demonstrated that the victim was 'accursed by God'. According to Deut. 21.22–3, the body of a man convicted of a capital offence was to be 'hanged' on a tree. Evidence from Qumran (4QpNahum 3–4; 11QTemple 64.6–13) indicates that in Jewish tradition this text was applied to those who died on a cross. This form of the death penalty was brought into Judaism from the Gentile world. However, it would have been unacceptable to Jews as a means of execution as soon as direct rule from Rome began. Though thousands of Jews were crucified, the cross never became a symbol of Jewish suffering, primarily because of Deut. 21.23, but also because of its significance for Christians. The paradoxical claims about a crucified saviour are at the heart of Christian teaching

and are expressed clearly in the early hymn found in Phil. 2.6–11.

See also Passion narratives; trial of Jesus

GARETH LLOYD JONES

Crusades

The Crusades (eleventh to sixteenth centuries) were holy wars preached by the papacy against those who were deemed to be the enemies of Christ and his Church and have been of profound significance in the history of Jewish–Christian relations. Holy wars were considered to be just because they were promulgated by authority against those who were seen to have caused injury to Christendom and because they were waged with the right intention, namely love for God. The Crusades appealed widely to Latin Christendom. The First Crusade was preached by Pope Urban II (r.1088–99) at Clermont in 1095 as an armed pilgrimage to the East to free Jerusalem from the Saracens. The Second and Third Crusades were expeditions aimed to re-establish the successes of the First in the Holy Land. Other crusades were aimed at conquering pagan lands, as for example from the middle of the twelfth century in the Baltic. The Albigensian Crusade, which was preached in 1208 by Pope Innocent III, was aimed at destroying Cathar heresy. In 1241 Gregory IX preached a crusade against the Mongols for the first time. Political crusades of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were wars promulgated by popes against their internal Christian enemies. Much of the Christian conquest of Spain from Islam was couched in crusading language. Crusading preaching concentrated on whipping up Christian emotions against unbelief or deviant forms of Christian belief. As crusading successes diminished in the Holy Land, sermons emphasised the need for Christian introspection and the purification of Christian society to regain God's favour. It is hardly surprising that this kind of language affected Christian attitudes towards Jews (and so-called unbelievers).

Urban's call to crusade in 1095 did not just result in the gathering of a number of princely armies. Unofficial bands of crusaders were recruited in north-eastern France, Flanders, Normandy and the Rhineland. Their departure for the Holy Land in spring and early summer 1096 preceded that of the official crusaders. On their land route through Germany they encountered prosperous Jewish communities in cities like Speyer, Worms, Mainz, Cologne and Trier. In all these cities the

(arch)bishops concerned tried to prevent anti-Jewish violence. Not only were they anxious to uphold public order in their cities, they were committed to maintaining official Church policy, which did not permit Jews to be attacked or forcibly converted. In Speyer casualties stayed low, but many Jews died in Worms and Mainz and in the villages outside Cologne to which the archbishop had sent them for safety. Many of these Jews were killed or forcibly baptised by the crusaders and townsfolk who joined forces with them. Others died by their own hands as martyrs sanctifying God's holy name (*Kiddush ha-Shem*) rather than undergoing baptism. Three extant Hebrew narratives of the 1096 pogroms, which were written within about 50 years of the event, graphically depict the ritual slaughter of whole Jewish families. Although there is much scholarly debate about the historical reliability of these sources, corroboration from the Latin sources confirm that many Jews died in this way. At the same time it is probably true that the Hebrew narratives say as much about the feelings of those who survived the pogroms as about the feelings of those who did not. In Trier it seems that the majority of the Jewish community was forcibly converted. After the Crusade Emperor Henry IV permitted those who had been baptised against their will to return to Judaism. His ruling clashed with canon law which, notwithstanding its position against forced baptism, stipulated that anyone who had been baptised was a Christian. The princely armies did not persecute Jews in Europe. When Jerusalem fell to the crusaders in 1099 numerous Jews were killed alongside Muslims. Recent work has suggested, however, that wholesale slaughter of Jews did not occur.

Extensive loss of Jewish life was prevented by Bernard of Clairvaux during the Second Crusade in 1146. He put a stop to the anti-Jewish preaching of Ralph, one of his own Cistercian monks. Bernard firmly expected Christians to adhere to traditional Church policy protecting Jews. In the Third Crusade the Jews of York were massacred in 1190 in Clifford's Tower, while King Richard I (r.1189–99) was absent from England organising his own departure for the Holy Land. As far as later crusades are concerned, major violence against Jews was usually stemmed by those in authority. Some exceptions are the persecutions accompanying the

preaching of the Crusade of 1309 in Brabant and the violence unleashed by the second Crusade of the Shepherds of 1320 in France to the south of the Loire.

What explains anti-Jewish violence by crusaders? Crusading preaching, calling upon Christians to wreak vengeance on the Muslims for dishonouring Christ, could easily spill over into the desire to avenge the death of Jesus on those who were judged to be guilty of the crucifixion. Growing identification of Christians with the figure of Jesus increased the likelihood of this happening. Our sources tell us how crusaders wondered why they should seek out Muslims in the Holy Land when there were Jews at home. In addition, the reality of crusading meant that large armies needed to get hold of provisions along the way. It is likely that crusaders felt it only right that Jews should in this way help finance the Crusades. The idea that Jews should suffer financially on behalf of crusading endeavours intensified as, by the end of the twelfth century, Jews had become important players in providing crusading loans (see *usury*). After the Jews died in Clifford Tower, the evidence held in York Minster of debts to Jews was destroyed.

The pogroms of 1096 mark the earliest serious well-documented medieval Christian attack on Jews (barring Visigothic persecution of Jews in seventh-century Spain). Although they do show how vulnerable their position was at times of heightened Christian fervour, it is important to note that they do not constitute a watershed in Jewish history. Jewish communities continued to develop during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Crusading hostility against Jews is only one factor among many that determined medieval Christian–Jewish relations.

Crusades have, nevertheless, had a continuing impact on Jewish–Christian relations. While 'crusade' is commonly used to denote a righteous endeavour, the word conjures up for Jews (and Muslims) the image of unjust religious persecution. Some Jews cite the Crusades as a reason not to engage in Jewish–Christian dialogue, others are convinced by the Crusades that the only purpose of dialogue is to prevent antisemitism. In 1999 some Christian pilgrims commemorated the 900th anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem by asking forgiveness for the violence perpetrated by the crusaders.

ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA

on the unity of God, the centrality of Torah as the expression of divine teaching and will and Israel's vocation to witness to God's holiness required a less expansive doctrinal system. In the course of the centuries the Church forms statements about what it understands 'till what was an impression on the Imagination has become a system or creed in the Reason' (J. H. Newman, 1843). Hence orthodox Christianity recognises revealed truths, taught under divine guidance and not necessarily accessible to unaided reason, which through authoritative offices within the Church (councils, popes and bishops) come to be binding on believers.

Judaism too is concerned to express its interpretive beliefs and what is intellectually implied in them: Philo's five principles (*Opif.* 61) and Maimonides' 13 principles are the classic ways of identifying the distinctive doctrines of Judaism. Maimonides, in a context of medieval scholastic intellectual systems which align revelation and reason, presents a taxonomy of Jewish beliefs centring on the one, eternal and incorporeal God, the divine origin of Torah and eschatological completion. By contrast, Moses Mendelssohn proposed that Judaism is free from binding doctrines; instead it is to be regarded as 'revealed law', whose central doctrinal tenets (the unity of God, providence and the immortality of the soul) come not from revelation, but from universal natural religion: 'faith accepts no commands; it accepts only what comes to it by way of reasoned conviction'. Although to a lesser extent than Christianity, Judaism thus also has its characteristic doctrines. JOHN MCDADE

Dominicans

Roman Catholic missionary order established (1216) by St Dominic (1170–1221) which formerly championed orthodox Christian anti-Judaism. Founded with the primary aim of extirpating heresy (initially that of the Gnostic Albigensians), the Dominican Order abandoned manual for intellectual labour and devoted itself to scholarship, preaching and education. Committed to corporate poverty, Dominican houses were established in larger cities and especially in universities. Renowned Dominican scholars included the leading philosophers Albertus Magnus (c.1200–80) and Thomas Aquinas.

In 1233 Pope Gregory IX appointed papal inquisitors, chiefly Dominicans and Franciscans, to root out Christian heresies. Inevitably, the eradication of

Judaising and the conversion of Jews soon became key foci of Dominican activity. Already in 1233 Dominicans burnt Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* at Montpellier. Thibaut de Sezanne, one of many converts from Judaism, accused Jews of prioritising the Talmud over the Bible, thus adding myth to myth and fostering heresy. In 1240, on papal command, Jewish books were forcibly confiscated in France and the first public disputation between Christians and Jews was held in Paris. Following inquisitorial condemnation of the Talmud in 1242, 24 wagonloads of rabbinic commentaries were burned in Paris under Dominican auspices.

Ramon de Penyaforte (c.1185–1275) instigated anti-Jewish legislation in Aragon from 1228 and pioneered the study of Arabic and Hebrew for missionary purposes. Dominican Hebrew scholarship fostered biblical exegesis, underpinned polemics against Judaism and attracted apostates. Compendia of Latin translations of talmudic and rabbinic commentary were compiled, sometimes by converted Jews (Thibaut's *Quiver of the Faith, against the Jews*), sometimes by Christian polemicists (Raymond Martini's *Pugio fidei*, 'Dagger of faith'), these testimonies providing an arsenal of anti-Jewish weapons to support Christianity and attack Judaism. Martini, with fellow Dominicans including Penyaforte and the convert Paul the Christian, had engaged in the momentous 1263 Barcelona disputation against Nahmanides, following which Dominicans enforced censorship of Jewish books.

While some Dominicans, including Berthold of Freiburg (thirteenth century), whose *Summa* in 1295 contested the validity of forced conversions, fostered relatively mild attitudes towards Jews, the Dominican Order was generally strongly hostile. It hunted out suspected Judaisers and their accomplices, and regularised conversionist sermons, which from 1278 were forcibly imposed on Jewish communities by papal decree. Raymond Llull, who probably knew Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari*, Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, and the *Kabbalah*, wrote model conversionist sermons and Christian doctrinal treatises for Muslims and Jews. St Vincent (Vicente) Ferrer (1350–1419), whose popular sermons often provoked anti-Jewish violence, inspired anti-Jewish legislation in Aragon and Castile following the 1391 persecutions and

encouraged expulsion of Jews to prevent their influence on *Conversos*. The Dominican convert Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–1522) led early sixteenth-century Dominican attacks on the Talmud, culminating in the Dominican Inquisitor-General, Cardinal Caraffa (1476–1559), instigating throughout Italy the seizure and burning of all copies of the Talmud in 1559. Dominican anti-Jewish activity was eclipsed by that of Jesuits following the Counter-Reformation. Its apogee had lain, perhaps, in the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, particularly under its first head, Tomas de Torquemada (?1420–98), Dominican confessor to Ferdinand and Isabella and instigator of the general decree of expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492.

The Dominican Order still contains a significant number of converted Jews, but has relinquished missionary activities among Jews while yet maintaining fine Hebrew scholarship, exemplified by the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem with its *Revue Biblique*.

MARGARET BREARLEY

Domus Conversorum

'House of Conversion', home to Jews who converted to Christianity, established by Henry III in Chancery Lane, London, in 1232 as part of a wider process of reduction of civil liberties for Jews and abolished as an institution in 1891. It accommodated about 40 people and paid pensions to converts who lived outside, generally around 60 people. On conversion, Jews retained half their property with the remainder used for the upkeep of the *Domus*, which was also maintained through a poll tax levied on Jews. Although it declined after the expulsion of Anglo-Jewry in 1290, it was regularly used by converts visiting London. The office of Keeper of the *Domus Conversorum* was later combined with the judicial office of Master of the Rolls. Communal life in the *Domus* was based on monastic organisation with daily worship and offered support to Jewish converts who were regarded with scorn by Jews and with suspicion by Christians. The site later became the Public Record Office and is now a library of University College, London.

EDWARD KESSLER

Donin, Nicholas (fl. first half of thirteenth century)

French Franciscan. He converted from Judaism after having been placed under the ban for deviant beliefs. In 1236 he presented to Pope Gregory IX a list of charges against the Talmud, most seriously

that it contains blasphemous statements about Jesus and is filled with expressions of hostility against Gentiles. The pope ordered that copies of the Talmud be seized and examined. King Louis IX of France complied; at Paris in 1240 leading rabbis tried to rebut the charges made by Donin in a public disputation and inquisitorial investigation, following which all the confiscated texts were burned. In the account written by R. Jehiel of Paris (d. c.1265), Donin is characterised with contempt as an 'ignorant heretic'.

MARC SAPERSTEIN

Dress

Distinctive dress or uniforms set a group apart, but also tend to divest its members of their individuality, as, for example, in monasticism. In the history of Jewish-Christian relations, specific garments have sometimes served to distinguish between members of the two faiths, as well as to facilitate discrimination against Jews. Both Jewish and Christian leaders repeatedly attempted to segregate Jews and Christians by entreating or forcing the former to don special clothing, which suggests that in practice the two populations tended to dress similarly and that their common attire blurred the social borders between them.

The efforts of Rabbinic Judaism to preserve and protect Jewish particularism through communal dress regulations, no less than anti-Jewish discriminatory decrees of Church councils and Christian rulers, did produce specifically Jewish attire, which varied from one country or period to another. A well-known midrash argues that the children of Israel were redeemed from bondage because they did not abandon their traditional costume and customs during their forced sojourn in Egypt. In modern times ultra-orthodox Jews set themselves apart from both Gentile society and secular Jews by maintaining a distinctive dress that derives from a sixteenth-century adaptation of the characteristic apparel of Gentile nobility and upper classes. Christian rulers in many places reacted at the time to this Jewish adoption of Christian attire by compelling Jews to wear a distinctive mark, such as the yellow badge.

The practice of demarcating a religious minority by requiring its members to wear a distinctive vestment or emblem originated in Islam, which imposed dress restrictions on both Jews and Christians as early as the time of Caliph Omar II (717–20). Discriminatory dress regulations first entered

Supper a domestic meal on the night before the Passover), the relationship between the crucifixion/resurrection of Jesus and the Passover is undisputed, and the redemptive activity of God is Easter's overarching theme. For the earliest Christians, the blood of Jesus shed on the cross was likened to the blood on the doorposts of the Israelites in Egypt, a mark of God's persistent willingness to save. Because of this connection, Easter was in the early centuries of the Church the pre-eminent occasion for the baptism of new Christians, whose passage through the waters of baptism mirrored the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea as a sign and guarantor of God's redemptive promises. During the next several centuries, however, these symbolic associations between Easter and Passover were gradually forgotten as Christianity lost touch with its Jewish roots, although some scholars would like to see a direct connection between a number of Easter and Passover ceremonies, such as the hiding of the *afikomen* during the Passover seder and the sequestering of the communion bread in a model sepulchre during the three days from Good Friday until the first eucharist at Easter. Indeed, during the Middle Ages the Easter Triduum (Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday) became the annual occasion for the intensification of Christian anti-Judaism and acts of violence, fuelled by the Easter readings (which tended to cast Jews in the role of the murderers of Jesus; see **deicide**, **charge of**), and the reading appointed to be said responsively between clergy and people called the 'Reproaches' which prayed for God's vengeance against Jews, infidels and heretics.

In the modern period, and particularly since the Second World War, the ancient Paschal roots of Easter have been researched and reclaimed by scholars of Christian worship. As a result, in many Christian denominations the Easter Vigil has been transformed into a service during which the whole sweep of God's dealings with the Jews, beginning with the Creation, and moving on through the Exodus, the Exile and the Prophets, is told in full as an indispensable part of the story of the Resurrection of Jesus. At the same time, as each Sunday Service has come to be understood as a 'little Easter', a weekly celebration of the Resurrection, the Hebrew Bible is more routinely read in ordinary services of Christian worship. New challenges are periodically raised to the dating of Easter,

which can be as early as 22 March and as late as 25 April, and calls have been made for the establishment of a fixed date for the sake of convenience. As the work of theologians, biblical scholars and liturgists on Jewish ritual and the theological context of the Christian Passover has begun to be appropriated by pastors of churches, many Christians have been encouraged to join with Jews in Passover seders, and to hold their own seders during the days before Easter. Although there has been some tendency to 'baptise' or 'Christianise' the seder for use in Christian congregations, adding **New Testament** readings and casting Jesus as the host of the meal, this has been strenuously resisted by those concerned with interfaith relations between Jews and Christians. Preachers have also been encouraged to treat with caution scripture readings appointed for the Easter period that suggest collective Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death (see *hoi Ioudaioi*). Cognisant of the place of Easter in the history of Christian anti-Judaism, many denominations and interfaith groups have issued guidelines for Christian worship during the Easter period. Many of these guidelines exhort Christians to a proper reverence for the Hebrew Bible and a respect for the Jewishness of Jesus during the celebration of Easter. More recently, the Easter season (the 50 days from Easter to Pentecost) has been commended as the most appropriate time for liturgical responses to the Holocaust in Christian churches.

See also **Good Friday Prayer for the Perfidious Jews**

SUSAN WHITE

Eastern Orthodox Christianity see **Orthodox Christianity**

Ebionite see **Jewish Christianity**

Ecclesia/Synagoga

Christian artists in the Middle Ages fashioned these female figures to represent Christianity's relationship to Judaism. The figures of triumphant 'Ecclesia' and defeated 'Synagoga' symbolised the Christian claim that Christ made Judaism obsolete. Well-known depictions represent the proud Ecclesia standing erect in contrast to the bowed, blindfolded figure of the defeated yet dignified Synagoga (e.g. the thirteenth-century stone figures in the cathedrals of Strasbourg, Freiburg, Bamberg, Magdeburg, Reims and Notre Dame, Paris). Like Leah of the weak eyes (Gen. 29.17), Synagoga was blind, failing to recognise the light of Christ. Her crown has fallen, her staff is broken, and the Torah has fallen

to the ground. Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) images Synagoga as the dawn that recedes before the sun's brightness. One miniature from the *Bible moralisée* (c. 1410) shows Synagoga lying helpless on the ground. Another represents her as a corpse in a sarcophagus, with Ecclesia at her head and Christ at her feet. In the Late Middle Ages Synagoga becomes a more contemptible figure. In a fifteenth-century portrayal of the crucifixion, Ecclesia holds a chalice to receive the blood from the pierced heart of Jesus; Synagoga turns away from him, in the clasp of a devil who rides on her neck and blinds her to the Christ by covering her eyes. The association with the devil evokes a malevolent Synagoga. Few Christians of the Middle Ages would have read the *Adversus Iudaeos* literature, but the many who viewed these figures would have learned what those earlier writings taught: Christianity superseded Judaism, and thus Judaism no longer had reason to exist. In the present era, however, some artists are refashioning Synagoga and Ecclesia to represent the dramatically changed relation between Jews and Christians.

See also **Church and synagogue; supersessionism**

MARY C. BOYS

Ecology see environment/ecology

Ecumenical deal

A term coined by Marc Ellis (b. 1952), a North American Jewish liberation theologian, in his book *Unholy Alliance* (1997). Ellis condemns contemporary institutionalised Jewish–Christian **dialogue** for its readiness to operate according to strict, albeit unwritten, 'rules' which privilege particular voices (primarily those of white European and North American males) and limit the scope for discussion. He argues that institutional Jewish–Christian dialogue largely excludes significant perspectives (e.g. those of Palestinian Christians) and is unwilling to confront controversial or divisive issues (such as the challenges posed by **feminism**, postcolonialism and institutionalised racism). This 'ecumenical deal' reflects a new, disconcerting social and political reality in which Jews and Judaism emerge as part of the religious establishment in the West: 'it is strange for Jews to be grouped with dominant Christians over against struggling minorities . . . Jews are no longer an unempowered minority but rather an empowered one, which in America means identification with whiteness' (*Unholy Alliance*, 58).

A recurring theme in Ellis's work is his call for Jews and Christians to extend their discussion

of power and institutionalised injustice beyond traditional historical and theological questions relating to Christian **anti-Judaism**, **antisemitism** and the **Holocaust**. Drawing upon feminist and postcolonial criticism, he draws attention to the failure of many participants in formal and informal Jewish–Christian dialogue fully to acknowledge their position of relative privilege and/or seriously to confront contentious issues such as **Black Christian–Jewish relations** (particularly in the **United States**), the role of Palestinian Christians, and the continuing perpetration of injustice both by and within institutional forms of Judaism and Christianity.

See also **liberation theology; Palestinian liberation theology**

ISABEL WOLLASTON

Ecumenism

Ecumenism within the Christian Churches is a very recent movement. One convenient date for its inception is 1910 when a World Missionary Conference took place in Edinburgh. There for the first time Anglican representatives took their places alongside the churches of the Protestant Reformation. In 1948 these churches came together in Amsterdam for the founding of the **World Council of Churches** (WCC). Not until 1961 did the Orthodox Churches join the WCC and still today the Roman Catholic Church sends only observers to WCC Assemblies. Ecumenical Jewish–Christian relationships may be discussed from two aspects: (1) the ways in which the world ecumenical movement has attempted to relate to the Jewish community whether in **mission** or in **dialogue**, and (2) the larger question of how far the Jewish community should be seen to be intrinsically part of the ecumenical movement, as it seeks for the unity of humankind. Originally the ecumenical movement paid significant attention to Jews only as the objects of mission. The 1948 WCC Assembly condemned **antisemitism** but affirmed that the Jewish people were included in the Churches' evangelistic task, and this was reaffirmed at the Second Assembly in Eavaton, 1954: 'The Church cannot rest until the title of Christ to the kingdom is recognized by his own people according to the flesh.' But two factors caused a profound change of heart. First, the great Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968) insisted against the weight of all previous tradition that the Jews were *verus Israel*, the true Israel, and that it was appropriate to speak of 'the Church and Israel'.