

from other Jewish groups and then from "Judaism" more broadly.

Nevertheless, it is perhaps not coincidental that so many Second Temple Jewish writings were preserved and transmitted by late antique and medieval Christian scribes (e.g., *Apocrypha; *Pseudepigrapha; writings of *Philo and *Josephus). Nor should it be surprising that there are so many parallels to early Christian traditions in Second Temple Jewish literature. The Jesus movement's origins in Second Temple Judaism continued to resonate in Christian belief and practice, leaving open lines for contact, conflict, and competition between Christians and Jews for many centuries.

Recent research includes P. Fredriksen, *Jesus of Nazareth* (1999); J. G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (2002); A. J. Levine, *The Misunderstood Jew* (2004); and S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul* (2004).

ANNETTE YOSHIKO REED

Christians, Christianity: See CHRISTIAN HEBRAISM; CHRISTIANITY AND SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM; CHURCH FATHERS: ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS AND JUDAISM; INQUISITION, SPANISH; INTERFAITH DIALOGUE: UNITED STATES; NEW TESTAMENT; MIDDLE AGES: JEWISH - CHRISTIAN POLEMICS; REFORMATION

Chronicles is the final book in the *Writings section of the Hebrew *Bible. An account of history from creation to the downfall of *Babylon, it is also known by the titles "Events of the Days" (Hebrew, *Divrei Hayyamim*) or "Supplements" (Greek, *Paraleipomena*). Although it is now generally separated into two books (1 and 2 Chronicles), Chronicles was originally a single historical work composed in the post-exilic period, most likely in the fourth century BCE. It appears to have some relation to *Ezra-Nehemiah (which begins where Chronicles leaves off), but most likely was not written by the same author. The book opens with an extensive set of genealogies (1 Chron 1-9) starting with *Adam that focus on the descendants of *Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. Chronicles initiates the narrative proper with a brief condemnation of *Saul's reign (1 Chron 10) and continues with an account of *David's career (1 Chron 11-29) and *Solomon's reign and efforts to build the Jerusalem *Temple (2 Chron 1-9). The last major section is a history of the kingdom of *Judah, in which there are virtually no references to the northern kingdom of *Israel (2 Chron 10-36).

Chronicles makes extensive use of known written sources, including *Psalms and *Joshua. Most prominently, it contains lengthy near-verbatim passages from the books of *Samuel and *Kings or from precursors of those books. Notwithstanding its reliance on earlier texts, Chronicles tells a story all its own in which David, Israel's quintessential political and religious leader, becomes the central figure. In this version, which contains little of the intrigue and precariousness of the Samuel account, David ascends the throne to overwhelming popular acclaim, consciously designates his son Solomon as his heir, makes extensive preparations for the construction of the Temple, and presides over the establishment of the duties and rotations of priests, Levites, singers, and gatekeepers. Yet the David of Chronicles is not a flawless, one-dimensional character; he is also a leader capable of sin and *repentance. Among other notable divergences from Samuel and Kings are the recounting of *Hezekiah's extensive physical and spiritual preparations

for Sennacherib's siege, culminating in a celebration of the long-neglected *Passover festival, as well as the story of Manasseh's exile to *Assyria where he humbles himself for his transgressions (see also the *apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh).

The narrative related in Chronicles is not disconnected from the realia of the past, but it offers a vision of Israel's history that is deeply imaginative, perhaps utopian. In this account, the turbulent history of the northern kingdom is irrelevant, and Judah was always Israel's predominant tribe. Additionally, the central aspect of Israel's public life is and always has been centralized Temple *worship - not sacrifice alone, but also the liturgies of *prayer and *music. Although formally a history, Chronicles marks a break from its past and present contexts and deemphasizes corporate and generational responsibility for sin. Written in an era when *Persia and its Judean governors exercised control over Judah's political and religious institutions, Chronicles theologially liberates the cult, reclaiming it as Israel's own.

SEAN BURT

Church Fathers: Attitudes Toward Jews and Judaism. By the Middle Ages, mainstream churches throughout Europe and the Near East ("Catholic" and "Orthodox" Christians, respectively) understood their religion to be substantively different from *Judaism. When compiling the writings of authoritative early Church Fathers on whom they might rely for guidance, these medieval churches selected those authors who would bolster and reflect their sense of religious distinction.

Ineligible for this collection, therefore, were ancient Christian groups, now practically lost to history, who attempted to view Christianity and Judaism as continuous or even identical. These included the so-called Ebionites, who observed the *Torah and believed in Jesus as the *messiah; the readers of such texts as the *Clementine Homilies*, who rejected the anti-covenantal stance of the apostle Paul; or even urban Christians who found power and mystery in the rituals of the *High Holidays and *Passover well into the fourth century. It has even been argued that a great many so-called Christians and Jews throughout late antiquity viewed their practices and beliefs along a continuous spectrum, which was only broken apart by the polemical discourse of hard-line Christian bishops and Jewish Rabbis.

For later Christians, however, the "fathers of the faith" who became authoritative were those who made suitable distinctions between Christianity and Judaism. Such voices, which appear early on, include Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165 CE). Writing in the Greek-speaking East, he laid down some of the fundamental patterns of "orthodox" Christian anti-Judaism that prevailed throughout the late ancient period. Justin was one of the earliest sources to look to a common Scripture (the Jewish *Tanakh*/Christian Old Testament) as a dividing line between Christian truth and Jewish falsity. Thus, Justin insisted that *Isaiah 7:14 speaks of a virgin birth; he and his younger contemporary Melito of Sardis (d. ca. 180 CE) also vigorously argued against Jewish literal observance of the "Law." Melito's Easter homily *On the Pascha* not only insisted that the Christian Easter had forever fulfilled and abnegated the Jewish Passover (an approach known as supersessionism) but also introduced the insidious accusation of Jewish deicide.

Stereotypes hardened. In the Christian imagination, Jews continually replayed their gospel roles: In treatises *adversus Iudaeos* (against the Jews) they were represented as deniers of the faith who must be refuted, like the *Pharisees, or as shadowy crowds calling for the death of Christian martyrs in chilling echoes of the Passion. At the same time, early Christian apologists appropriated Judaism's antiquity and authenticity in defending the new religion against accusations of novelty and illegitimacy by pagan detractors. Even though it was rejected, Judaism remained fundamental to Christianity because of what both religions shared: common Scriptures, common ritual patterns, and common beliefs in the singularity of divinity and the inexorable path of history.

The public promotion of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire after Constantine the Great (d. 337) added urgency to the desire among Christian leaders to distinguish the new faith from the old, but a deep ambivalence surrounding Judaism remained. By the fourth century, the otherness of Judaism had become so internalized that Christians who held insufficiently orthodox positions on Christological doctrine could be tarred as "Judaizers." Some Christians did indeed "judaize," deliberately introducing Jewish practices into Christian life and ritual. Well into the fifth century, some Christians still regularly consulted their Jewish neighbors to determine the date for Easter in relation to the date for Passover (they were frequently condemned as *quartodecimani* or *tessareskaidekatitai*, "fourteeners" who calculated Easter around the fourteenth day of the Jewish month of *Nissan). John Chrysostom's venomous sermons "Against the Judaizers" (delivered in 386–87) attacked Christians who frequented *synagogues at festival times; his condemnations speak both to the horror that "orthodox" leaders felt at the otherness of Judaism and the allure that Jewish customs retained for Christians.

Ambivalence persisted. The hymnist and preacher Ephrem (d. 373), who wrote in Syriac on the Roman/Persian border, regularly lambasted Jews in his public hymns as blind and reprobate and having committed deicide; however, he had close contact with Jewish informants when composing his prose commentaries. The ascetic scriptural scholar Jerome (d. 420), who migrated from *Rome to Bethlehem in the 380s, consulted with Jews in producing his biblical commentaries and his new translation of the Jewish Scriptures from Hebrew to Latin, even as he castigated them and preached their eternal exile from Jerusalem. Perhaps no one encapsulated more acutely the ambivalent attitude of the Church Fathers toward Jews as reviled yet desired than Jerome when he wrote, "If it is expedient to hate any people and to detest any nation, I have a notable hatred for the circumcised [Jews]... Yet, can anyone object to me for having had a Jew as a teacher?" (Jerome, *Letter* 84.3)

There seem to have been few incidents of outright conflict between Jews and Christians, although fantasies of persecuting Jews lasted throughout antiquity. Only one account from the early fifth century, left by Bishop Severus of Minorca, describes what may have been the forced conversion of a Jewish community. Nonetheless, as the world became more Christianized, the place of Jews and Judaism (desired yet feared, necessary yet abominated) grew increasingly incongruous. If Christianity had "triumphed," some asked, why were there still Jews in the Christian world?

The brilliant Christian thinker Augustine (d. 430), notable for his innovative theologies, attempted to address this incongruity. Augustine maintained that Jews must exist in a Christian world as witnesses to the truth of the Scriptures and the God of creation; in their subordinated state, increasingly marginalized by Christian governing powers, they also testified to the fate of a people once divinely chosen who had rejected God's final *redemption. Although this position may have been mainly theoretical in Augustine's own days, his "witness theology" later became standardized doctrine toward the Jews in the Catholic West. It led eventually to a dual policy, combining limitations and marginalization with preservation of Jewish life and property; this compromise position lasted well beyond the medieval period. In the Orthodox East, the militant Christian authority of the *Byzantine Empire seemed poised to move in less tolerant directions, as when Emperor Heraclius (d. 641) attempted a forced conversion of Jews. The rise of a new monotheistic power, however, altered interreligious relations in the East, and the views of the Church Fathers on Jews and Judaism were ultimately appropriated to shape Christian responses to Muslims and *Islam.

For further reading, see A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (2007); D. Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (2004); P. Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: The Story of Christianity's Great Theologian and His Defense of Judaism* (2008); and A. L. Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian "Apologiae" until the Renaissance* (1935).

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Circumcision. Male circumcision is the first *commandment specific to Jews mentioned in the *Torah. In Genesis 17 *Abraham is commanded to circumcise himself and his older son *Ishmael and to circumcise *Isaac on the eighth day after birth. *Berit milah* (literally "covenant of circumcision") may be the most universally observed commandment. Although mandated to occur on the eighth day, circumcision can be postponed for health reasons. The biblical text sees it as a physical sign of the covenant between God and the Jewish people rather than as a hygienic measure. Circumcision is traditionally performed as a home ceremony, by a *mohel*, a pious, observant Jew educated in the relevant Jewish law and in surgical techniques. *Blessings are recited, including one over wine, and a drop of wine is placed in the infant's mouth. The child is then given a formal Hebrew name. A festive meal follows, with special prayers incorporated into the blessings after the meal. Male *converts to Judaism undergo circumcision as part of the conversion rite. If they have already been circumcised, a symbolic drop of blood is drawn by a *mohel*. Although women are permitted to perform circumcisions, only the Reform and Conservative movements in North America have sponsored training programs that prepare both *mohalim* and *mohalot* (see JUDAISM entries).

Despite the antiquity and centrality of *berit milah* in Jewish tradition, twenty-first-century Judaism is facing increasing challenges to this practice. These challenges include Jewish feminist demands to eliminate male circumcision on the grounds of gender equity, growing attacks from the larger culture that routine male circumcision is a form of mutilation, and ongoing debates over whether circumcision