

SAMUEL KRAUSS

The Jewish-Christian Controversy

Volume I
History

Edited and revised by
WILLIAM HORBURY

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

56

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

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56



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from the earliest times to 1789

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978-3-16-158785-6 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

ISBN 978-3-16-149643-1

ISSN 0721-8753 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Unrevised Paperback Edition 2008.

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The book was typeset by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen using Sabon typeface, printed on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Held in Rottenburg.

Printed in Germany.

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	VII
<i>Editorial Note</i>	XI

Chapter I

The Ancient World

i. The Subject-matter of Polemic	1
1. Pre-Christian Background	1
2. Christian Origins	3
3. Rabbinic Apologetic	5
4. Anti-Jewish Argument	13
ii. The Early Christian Controversialists	26
iii. Public Religious Discussions	43

Chapter II

Mediaeval and Later Controversy

i. History of the Controversy	53
1. The background of mediaeval debate	53
2. Early mediaeval Gaul, Italy and Spain	56
3. Byzantium and Russia	61
4. France and England	68
5. Spain in the later Middle Ages	90
6. Italy in the mediaeval and later periods	101
7. Germany: Hebraists and Reformers	109
8. Poland and Transylvania	123
9. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in northern Europe	127
ii. Public Disputations, Sermons and Lectures	149
1. Disputations	149
a. Nathan Official	150

b. Paris, 1240	153
c. Barcelona, 1263	161
d. Avila, 1375	165
e. Pamplona, 1379	167
f. Tortosa, 1413–1414.	169
g. Ferrara, 1487	176
h. Ferrara, 1617	178
i. Hanover, 1704	180
j. The Jewish debate at Nagy-Ida, 1650.	183
k. Two disputations with the Frankists, 1757 and 1759	184
2. Conversion Sermons	186
3. Lectures.	197
iii. The Jewish Polemists of the Middle Ages	201
1. Hebrew Texts under Authors' Names	202
2. Anonymous Hebrew Works	245
3. Writers and Works in Languages other than Hebrew	249
<i>Bibliography</i>	262
1. Library Catalogues and Bibliographical Works.	262
2. Sources and Literature	264
<i>Index of Persons</i>	285
<i>Index of Places</i>	298
<i>Index of Subjects</i>	302

Foreword

It is for me a singular privilege to be invited to contribute a brief introduction to this distinguished piece of scholarship, particularly since it has been my good fortune to have known both the authors. I have watched with admiration, over many years, the progress of Dr Horbury's career; Krauss I knew when I was young. I am, by now, one of the very few (perhaps two only) of those professionally involved in Jewish studies who remember him personally, and I was myself, in an informal sense, his last pupil. It is therefore not appropriate that I should begin by giving a brief account of his life and achievements.

Samuel Krauss (1866–1948) was born in a Hungarian village whence he was sent away, as a boy, for education in talmudic schools prior to proceeding in 1884 to Budapest to enter its important rabbinical seminary, whilst also attending lectures at the university. He subsequently studied at the rabbinical Lehranstalt and at the university of Berlin, as also at Giessen, where in 1893 he earned a *Ph.D* with a thesis on Jewish sources for Greek and Latin lexicography. This led to an appointment at the Jewish teachers' seminary in Budapest, whence he transferred in 1906 to the Vienna rabbinical seminary. In Budapest he had been a pupil of David Kaufmann and Wilhelm Bacher, and the fellow-student and I believe room-mate of Adolph Büchler. In Vienna he became the colleague of Me'ir Friedmann ("Ish shalom") and V. Aptowitz. In 1937 he was appointed Rector of the seminary.

Anti-semitism in Austria – never a negligible force – became the order of the day with Hitler's occupation of the country early in 1938; and in the summer of that year, as a student engaged on refugee work prior to entering Cambridge university, I visited Krauss in his home in Vienna. Arising out of that preliminary contact my Father, Herbert Loewe, who was working indefatigably to help academics dismissed by the Nazis as Jews (or defined by them as such) to emigrate, managed to arrange some financial support for him and the provision of a small flat in Cambridge, whither he came with his widowed daughter and grandson. He remained in Cambridge until his death, and is buried there. Although he occupied no official position, his participation in and contributions to discussions and seminars organised amongst members of the oriental and divinity faculties in the university was welcomed; and I have myself sketched elsewhere (*JJS*, Special [David Daube] Issue, 1974, p. 137) his part in my Father's midrash study-group which met in our house on Saturday afternoons.

Whilst Krauss' scholarly interests centred round the study of Judaism and Jewry in late antiquity, the function of the Synagogue as the integral link connecting faith, ideas, and community led him to wide-ranging exploration of

institutions etc connected with it, e. g. Sephardic hymnology, local Jewish history and social provisions, even straying very occasionally into contemporary issues such as the question of the admissibility of organ-music in Jewish congregational worship. An outline of his major publications is included in the article on Krauss in *EJ* 10, 1248–1250, and this is not the occasion on which to repeat its contents. But I cannot pass in silence over the works on which his reputation mainly rests, viz. his *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (1898–99); *Monumenta Talmudica* (1914) and *Qadmoniyoth ha-talmud* (1914–23); and his *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte (Jahresbericht der israelitisch-theologischen Lehranstalt [in Wien], 21, 1914)*. The last-mentioned appeared when little scholarly attention had yet been given to the history (other than the poetry) of Jews under Byzantine rule. The value of the first, which was an epoch-making achievement, is not significantly impaired by its inclusion, in the first volume, of address to the morphological implications for Greek and Latin of the representation of words in Hebrew transliteration – an approach which really lay beyond Krauss' expertise (see the devastating criticism, combined with a positive appraisal of the *Wortschatz* itself, by G. Zuntz in *JSS* 1, 1956). Krauss published this work a quarter of a century before Preisigke's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* began to appear: had their priorities been reversed, it would have been substantially enriched. As a measure equally of Krauss' scholarly importance and his dedicated application we may note that the bibliography of his publications 1887–1937, by Elie Strauss (later Ashtor), published in that year in Vienna, runs to 1315 items; E. R. Malachi's posthumous edition of Krauss' *Qoroth battey ha-tephillah be-yisra'el* (1955), which supplements his *Synagogale Altertümer* (1922), lists subsequent publications.

From Krauss' study of patristic references to post-biblical Jewish institutions and exegesis (*JQR* 5–6, 1892–93) and his interest in the *Toledoth Yeshu'* (*Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen*, 1902) it was a natural step to the examination of the literary history of Jewish-Christian controversy and apologetics, and several of the items listed under his name in the Bibliography bear directly upon this. In his later life he was working on a comprehensive study of the subject, and at his death left not only his original German version but also an English one, which he considered ready for publication. For many years his family were looking for a scholar who might be approached with a view to editing it; eventually it was entrusted to Dr Horbury, to the professionalism of whose *Ph. D* thesis on the *Toledoth yeshu'* (modestly omitted from the Bibliography) I am able, as its examiner, to bear testimony. The book now appears nearly half a century after Krauss completed his own work – a period which has seen enormous progress in the various disciplines – rabbinic, theological, historical, ecclesiastical, bibliographical, to name but the central ones – into the territories of which its subject reaches. It is rare to find a scholar of first-rate competence in

more than one of these fields; Dr. Horbury's familiarity with rabbinic and later Jewish sources is paralleled by his knowledge of Christian theology and church history, and these are accompanied by an enviable thoroughness in matters bibliographical. In consequence, not only has Krauss' own text been substantially augmented by supplementary matter [enclosed between square brackets], but the Bibliography itself must be hailed as a major contribution to the subject. No one would have been more pleased with the result than Krauss himself, who was always happy to embody in later publications, with generous acknowledgment, corrections and supplementary information received from fellow-scholars.

The book, as it now stands, will prove of value not only to specialists immediately or closely concerned with its topic, but also (provided that it receives the type of index which it merits) to others, its influence thus extending outwards like ripples on a pool. To cite one example: it is, I must suppose, to break wholly new ground to point (p. 50) to the declamation in by two or more speakers of Jewish-Christian literary controversies, in monastic refectories, as the starting-point for mediaeval drama as it emerged in the miracle-plays. Within its own terms of reference, the book will now surely be regarded as the standard work, and – as it seems to me – is unlikely to be replaced. Ours is an age not of *Götterdämmerung* but rather of *Menschheitsdämmerung*, and future interest in the source-material will no longer address itself, perhaps indeed will not be capable of addressing itself, to the theological categories within which Jewish-Christian dialogue must necessarily be conducted, ideally by participants properly equipped also to understand and appraise the work of speculative thinkers whose starting-point is humanistic premises only. Future students may be expected to approach the evidence from a purely sociological or economic standpoint – aspects which, it is true, neither the theologian nor the historian of religion can afford to ignore: but if these are elevated into a position of dominance, any address to considerations such as preparedness for martyrdom, or conversion to the minority religion, becomes meaningless. The only source whence a redress to the inadequacy of such an approach might be forthcoming is a deeper insight than at present prevails into the anguish of such of those who in Hitler's concentration camps found, in the spiritual dimension, a sheet-anchor to sustain them, whether in contemplation of survival or of death.

I may conclude with two rabbinic citations. Commenting on *Song of Songs* 7,10(9), *dobeb siphthey yeshenim* (King James' Version: *causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak*), Rabbi Yoḥanan quoting Rabbi Simeon b. Yehošadaq said (TB *Sanhedrin* 90b) that "whenever the halakhic opinion [*sc.* of a deceased scholar] is cited, his lips mutter in the grave". Dr Horbury, by his scrupulous distinguishing of Krauss' basic text from his own supplementation, has not only served his predecessor loyally and well, but he has set us all an example in *pietas*. As the corollary of this rabbinic commendation of citatory integrity, I refer to the statement of Rab Huna, quoting Rabbi Eliezer b. Jose the Galilean (*Genesis*

Rabbah, 85,3, on *Gen.* 38,1, ed. Theodor pp. 1034f.) to the effect that when a *mišwah* (here meaning a *meritorious act*) is initiated by one person but completed by another, it is credited to the latter (*hi niqre'th 'al shemo shel sheni*) – an observation occasioned by the correlation of *Ex.* 13,19 (Moses took Joseph's bones from Egypt) with *Joshua* 24,32 (the Children of Israel buried them). Dr Horbury would be the last to minimize Krauss' share in the book as it now appears, but the book is now so much more valuable an instrument of scholarship than it was as he left it, that those who use it would be most remiss if they failed to acknowledge the editor's own contribution: it is right that the book should be cited not as Krauss, but as Krauss-Horbury, *The Jewish Christian Controversy*.

Raphael Loewe

Editorial Note

The text presented here is based on a comparison of the German original with the English version in the final form given to it by Samuel Krauss, for the most part between a year and six months before his death in 1948. The author's autograph MS. of the German text, and a typescript of the English translation, have been made available to me through the late Dr David Goldstein. I owe much to encouragement from Dr Goldstein and from the author's grandson, Mr Philip Krauss, and from my wife Katharine and our daughters Kate and Mary. I have freely revised the English stylistically, often retranslating, and sometimes re-ordering the material. Transliterations of Hebrew follow the system of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), save that Qoph is represented by *q* rather than *k*. Full details of works cited by author and title are given in the bibliography. Publications which reached me too late for citation include two important works of reference: the third volume of Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte* and the *Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda* to A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, i (1886), compiled under the direction of M. Beit-Arié and edited by R. A. May (Oxford, 1994). The indices of Persons and Places printed below have been made by Mr. J. S. Park (Peterhouse, Cambridge), to whom I am most grateful.

Editorial contributions in text and notes are enclosed in square brackets. The supplements seek to offer signposts to the literature of the subject since 1948, but new matter is also introduced. The editorial aim has been to allow this encyclopaedic compendium by a great scholar to play its part in contemporary study and inquiry.

William Horbury

Abbreviations

ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands (University) Library</i>
CCL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CHB	S. L. Greenslade, G. W. H. Lampe, P. R. Ackroyd & C. F. Evans (edd.), <i>The Cambridge History of the Bible</i> (Cambridge, i (1970), ii (1969), iii (1963))
CHJ	W. D. Davies & L. Finkelstein (edd.), <i>The Cambridge History of Judaism</i> , i–ii (Cambridge, 1984–9)
CHLGP	A. H. Armstrong (ed.), <i>The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy</i> (Cambridge, 1967; corrected reprint, 1970)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EEC	A. di Berardino (ed.), <i>Encyclopedia of the Early Church</i> (E.T. by A. Walford, with bibliographical amendments by W. H. C. Frend, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1992)
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica [dates are added in references, to distinguish the two works bearing this title]
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
HB	<i>Hebräische Bibliographie</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JE	The Jewish Encyclopedia
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JJLG	<i>Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft</i> (Frankfurt a. M.)
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MagWJ	<i>Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MGWJ	<i>Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
ODCC	F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (edd.), <i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> (London, 1974)
PAAJR	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RMI	<i>Rassegna mensile di Israele</i>

SC	Sources chrétiennes
SEA	<i>Svensk exegetisk Årsbok</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TJHSE	<i>Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZHB	<i>Zeitschrift für hebräischen Bibliographie</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Chapter I

The Ancient World

i. The Subject-matter of Polemic

1. Pre-Christian Background

Jewish polemic is as old as the Jewish religion itself. This does not mean that the ancient Hebrews used to have learned discussions on their distinctive religious position, but that this distinctive position was clearly noticeable to their neighbours as well as themselves. It is in accordance with this underlying idea that Abraham is imagined in the midrash as destroying his father's idols and arguing with him on the vanity of the heathen gods.¹

The Hebrews, or at least the best of them, are firmly convinced of the truth and value of their religion, and this leads of itself to polemical tendencies. Attacks on foreign gods are found even in the legislative parts of the bible, and this attitude is fully developed in the prophets and in such psalms as cxv; Deutero-Isaiah is especially strong here.² The apocryphal Epistle of Jeremy is highly effective in its attack on the ancient (Babylonian) pantheon.³ The miracles reported in Daniel and some of the Apocrypha are well suited to strengthen believers and dismay the godless. This is the style of narrative which continues throughout the later period. Literature of this kind was never lacking. It is the distinctive feature of these miracle-stories that they appeal for their effect to facts rather than words.

In this early Jewish polemic, however, there is as yet no common ground on

¹ K. Kohler, 'Disputations', *JE* iv 614, rightly says that the serious nature of the subject compelled discussion. On Abraham envisaged as polemist see B. Beer, *Das Leben Abrahams nach der Auffassung der jüdischen Sage* (Leipzig 1859), 11–12; [L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols., Philadelphia, 1909–38), i, 189–217; W. Adler, 'Abraham and the Burning of the Temple of Idols: Jubilees' Traditions in Christian Chronography', *JQR* N.S. 77 (1986–7), 95–117; M. Kister, 'Observations on Aspects of Exegesis ...', in J. C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Atlanta, 1994), 1–34].

² Cf. S. L. Steinheim, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriff der Synagoge* (4 vols., Leipzig 1835–65), iii (1863), subtitled *Der Kampf der Offenbarung mit dem Heidentum, ihre Synthese und Analyse* ('The Struggle of Revelation with Paganism, their Synthesis and Analysis'); also J. Pedersen, *Israel* iii–iv (London & Copenhagen, 1940), the chapters 'Yahweh and Baal' and 'The Prophet's Fight for Yahweh'; [M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco, 1990)].

³ W. Naumann, *Untersuchungen über den apokryphischen Jeremiasbrief* (BZAW 25, Halle a. S. 1913), i 'Richtung der Polemik'; [Schürer revised (see bibliography), iii.2, 743–5 (literature on the Epistle, and its Greek fragments from Qumran Cave VII)].

which discussion could be based. The Jew of Babylon, for instance, who refused to worship the Babylonian gods, used arguments which seemed strange and unsuitable to his opponent. Similarly, the Greeks and Romans did not understand the character of Judaism at all; the two parties lived, so to speak, in two different worlds. [The Greek philosophical and literary tradition could mediate between them, as shown in Philo's use of Greek theology and in a series of appreciative non-Jewish references to Jewish philosophy and wisdom by Hecataeus of Abdera, Theophrastus and later writers;⁴ but unsympathetic opposition was prominent.] When Celsus argues against Christianity, which for him is not yet detached from Judaism, or Horace, Juvenal and many others biting criticize the Jewish faith, they do so in an almost Voltairean manner.⁵ Thus Apion of Alexandria, Apollonius Molo and others could write against Judaism with gross slanders and ludicrous accusations. In Rome the historian Tacitus followed suit. The Alexandrian polemicists were ably answered by Flavius Josephus.⁶ All this fell into oblivion with pagan Rome; [but for the survival in

⁴ [Quoted and discussed by M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (E.T. London, 1974), i, 255–61; see also the sources collected with commentaries by M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols., Jerusalem, 1974–84), and the survey of positive as well as negative Greek and Roman views in L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1993).]

⁵ So I. Loeb, 'La controverse religieuse entre les chrétiens et les juifs au moyen âge', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 17 (1888), 311–37, 18 (1888), 134–56 (317). [Note, however, that Celsus, the late second-century author of a Greek treatise against Christianity, answered by Origen (this chapter, section ii 7, below), was not a foe of religion, despite his sarcasm and irony; he presupposed a philosophical defence of traditional polytheism (H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1953, repr. 1965), xxi–xxii). Horace in Augustan Rome had indeed taken an Epicurean view of the gods as unconcerned with mundane affairs, in a context in which he mocks Jewish superstition (*Satires* i 5, 97–103, including 'credat Iudaeus Apella, non ego'). His criticisms of Jewish ethos and behaviour here and elsewhere were pointed, but more good-humoured than those later made in the satires of Juvenal.] For a survey see Schürer, *Geschichte*, iii, 528–53 [Schürer revised, iii.1, 151–76], with literature including A. Bludau, *Juden und Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria* (Münster, 1906), Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme* (Paris, 1895), F. Staehelin, *Der Antisemitismus des Altertums* (Basle, 1905), U. Wilcken, *Zum alexandrinischen Antisemitismus* (Leipzig, 1909), and H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (Göttingen, 1895); [also Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, and 'Antisemitism in Rome', Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism*, Gager, *Origins*, 39–112, de Lange & Thoma, 'Antisemitismus', Gabba, 'Anti-Judaism', Herr, 'The Sages' Reaction to Antisemitism'; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*; Z. Yavetz, 'Judeophobia in Classical Antiquity: A Different Approach', *JJS* 44 (1993), 1–22].

⁶ On Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, see Juster, *Juifs*, i, 33; [Schürer revised, i, 54–5, 63; iii, 610–16; L. Troiani, *Commento storico al 'Contro Apione' di Giuseppe* (Pisa, 1977); G. Vermes, 'A Summary of the Law by Flavius Josephus', *NT* 24 (1982), 289–303; P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome* (Sheffield, 1988), 113–122]. On controversy with pagans in general, see Bludau and Staehelin (n. 5, above), M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums* (Zürich, 1903), and P. Krüger, *Philo und Josephus als Apologeten des Judentums* (Leipzig, 1906); [also R. Loewe, 'A Jewish Counterpart to the Acts of the Alexandrians', *JJS* 21 (1961), 105–122, A.N. Sherwin-White,

Christian apologetic of both Jewish anti-pagan argument and pagan anti-Jewish charges, see this chapter, sections i 3, n. 15 and i 4, below].

2. *Christian Origins*

It was only when Christianity appeared on the scene that non-Jewish controversy with Judaism grew to its full strength. There were things held in common to review, old inheritances to push aside, and new acquisitions to defend. Polemic developed from the bible, the basis shared by both parties, recognized by both, revered by both, and invested with authority which to both seemed indisputable. Here for the first time was a true battle-ground, on which the opponents could meet. The truth they sought was to be found in the bible, if only it were interpreted aright. Accordingly, there could be no end to polemic; for, perspicuous as the bible may be to the historical student, there is no book which allows of so many interpretations and hints so often at hidden things, only to be revealed in the future. The oracle of the bible was sought with a mind prejudiced by anger and hatred; the biblical answers were accepted only if they met the inquirer's wishes. The bible lay, as it were, between Judaism and Christianity as they argued, to be torn by both.¹

[The biblical text was considered, however, not only in the original Hebrew and Aramaic, but also in Greek; and it soon became current among Christians mainly in Greek, normally in the Septuagint translation.² Moreover, the text was considered together with the interpretations already attached to it. Argument took place in the context of a developed interpretative tradition. The content and methods of exegesis are attested especially in the Qumran texts, Philo, Josephus, and the earlier material in the Targums and rabbinic literature. These sources embrace actualization, allegory and typology as well as 'plain' interpretation, and New Testament exegeses correspond with them in method.³] From the very beginning there were scripturally-based controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees, and between the first Christians and the Jews. The founder of Christianity often used a verse of the bible to rebuke his adversaries, the Pharisees,⁴

Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome (Cambridge, 1967), 86–101, and Gager, de Lange & Thoma, Gabba, Herr, and Feldman, as cited in the previous note]

¹ In heated debates of the rabbis the scroll of the law which lay before them for explanation was sometimes torn (T. B. Yeb. 96b, T. J. Shek. ii, 47a).

² [M. J. Mulder & S. Sysling (ed.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen, 1988); M. Hengel & A. M. Schwemer (edd.), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1994).]

³ [Mulder & Sysling, *Mikra*; D. Instone Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (Tübingen, 1992).]

⁴ The Pharisees of this period should not be judged by the New Testament libel on them. See F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums* (Berlin, 1903), 24–5; [on historical reconstruction of the Pharisaic movement see Schürer revised, ii, 381–403 (literature); H. Maccoby, *Early Rabbinic Writings* (Cambridge, 1988), 9–16 (summary of the question); Dunn, *Partings*,

and his followers continued where he had left off. The arguments were often as ardent as they were unjust. [Thus Jewish interpretation remained faithful to the nature of the Pentateuchal laws as ordinances to be followed, and surviving pre-Christian Jewish allegorical exposition defends their observance, although Philo suggests that some who viewed the laws symbolically sat lightly to Jewish custom (*Migr. Abr.* 89–93); but Christians began to argue that especially the dietary and ritual laws had been valid only for a time, or that they should be understood spiritually, again with the help of allegory, which was now used in opposition to Jewish observance. These positions are already taken in the New Testament and the earliest subsequent Christian writings (see for example Galatians iii-iv, and the Epistle of Barnabas), and with the decline of Jewish observance among Christians they became standard from the second century onwards. Christian interpretation could also seem to go against the grain of scripture when passages taken to be messianic were applied to the crucified Christ, although here the Christian expectation of a second coming left room for argument. Similarly, the actualizing interpretations in which prophecies were regarded as fulfilled in the life of Christ and the church will sometimes have seemed startling and dubious (see for instance a series of specially-introduced quotations in Matthew (i 22, ii 15 and elsewhere), and the general reference to the prophets at I Peter i 10–12); in manner, however, these interpretations resemble the *pesher* exegeses found in Qumran texts.] Close study of the New Testament shows that the Old Testament writers appear under the surface. Transferred from elsewhere, they still stand out and resist any genuine amalgamation.⁵

51–3, 106–113 (survey and literature); J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (3 vols., Leiden, 1971) and J. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees* (Cambridge, 1973) (both give sources in translation); S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees* (*Studia Post-biblica* 39, Leiden, 1991) (history of study); on Jesus and the Pharisees, E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London, 1990), idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London, 1992), 380–451, and idem, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London, 1993), 205–37 (Jesus did not regard any Pentateuchal laws as invalid, and did not seriously differ from the Pharisees, although his emphasis on the claims of his own mission might have implicitly reduced the importance of the demands of the Torah), with the review of the first two books by M. Hengel & R. Deines, ‘E. P. Sanders’ “Common Judaism”, Jesus, and the Pharisees’, in *JTS* N. S. 46 (1995); on Paul and Pharisaism, see this chapter, section ii, below].

⁵ [The complex debate accompanying the formation of the Christian body is surveyed by Dunn, *Partings*.] The Old Testament quotations in the New have been collected and treated frequently, for example by A. Tholuck, *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament* (5th ed. Gotha, 1861) [(E. T. by C. A. Aitken in *Bibliotheca Sacra* 11 (1854), 568–616)], dealing with the quotations and the notions of sacrifice and priesthood; also G. Schnedermann, *Das Judentum in dem Evangelium* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1900), E. Hühn, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente* (*Die messianischen Weissagungen des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, II. Teil) (Tübingen, 1900), Th. Haering, ‘Das Alte Testament im Neuen’, *ZNW* 17 (1916), 213–27 (general) [, and C. K. Barrett, ‘The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New’, *CHB* i, 377–411, 594–5 (bibliography); E. E. Ellis, ‘Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church’, in Mulder & Sysling, *Mikra*, 691–725 (bibliography); W. Horbury,

[The use of collections of biblical ‘testimonies’ was, however, a method derived from Jewish custom and comparable with contemporary Greek and Roman recourse to florilegia;] Jews had employed biblical excerpts in catechesis and apologetic. [The testimony tradition forms a vital thread in Christian anti-Jewish polemic from the earliest times to the modern period, although the first testimony-collection to survive as an independent book is that of Cyprian (this chapter, section ii, below, no. 11).]⁶

3. *Rabbinic Apologetic*

As soon as Christianity began to spread in the Jewish and the pagan world, Judaism began to defend itself against it. Jewish sources, however, offer no indication of any warning or persecution from the side of the Jewish community, such as is reported by the church fathers [with special reference to a counter-proclamation by ‘chosen men’ (Justin Martyr) or to letters borne by Jewish ‘apostles’ with a condemnation of Christ’s teaching (Eusebius)].¹ It is interesting that J. W. Parkes tries to reconstruct from the patristic sources the character of the letter of warning which would have been circulated by the Jewish sanhedrin. He writes: ‘It contained a formal denial of the truth of the Christian account of the teaching and resurrection of Jesus. Christianity was a denial of God and of the Law. It was based on the teaching of Jesus, who was a deceiver, and who had been put to death by the Jews. His disciples had stolen his body, and then pretended that he had risen again from the dead and was the Son of God. It was therefore impossible for Jews to have anything to do with such teaching, and his followers should be formally excommunicated. Jews were to avoid all discussions of any kind with the Christians’.² Parkes goes on to say: ‘Many modern

‘Old Testament Interpretation in the Writings of the Church Fathers’, in Mulder & Sysling, *Mikra*, 727–87.]

⁶ S. Krauss, ‘Les préceptes des Noachides’, *REJ* 47 (1903), 32–40 (39–40); Juster, *Juifs*, i, 58, n. 1; Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*; [J. Rendel Harris & V. Burch, *Testimonies* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1916, 1920); C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London, 1952); B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (London, 1961); H. Chadwick, ‘Justin Martyr’s Defence’, 281–2, and ‘Florilegium’, *RAC* vii (1969), 1131–60 (literature); G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Q Florilegium in its Jewish Context* (Sheffield, 1985); Hayman, *Sergius*, 9*–32* (a Greek fifth-century collection); Skarsaune, *Proof*; C. A. Evans & J. A. Sanders (edd.), *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (Sheffield, 1992).]

¹ Justin, *Dial.* cviii [quoted above], also xvii, cxvii; Eusebius on Isa. xviii l (texts in Strack, *Jesus*, 8*), discussed by Krauss, ‘Die jüdischen Apostel’. Cf. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 35 and n. 1; [Israel Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Second Series (Cambridge, 1924), 60–61 (criticizing Harnack’s view that this passage in Eusebius implies Jewish persecution); Simon, *Verus Israel*, 115–20; Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel according to St Matthew*, 66–70 (literature); Maier, *Auseinandersetzung*, 132–5 (literature); Horbury, ‘Jewish-Christian Relations in Barnabas and Justin Martyr’.]

² Parkes, *Conflict*, 80; [for these points Parkes additionally cites Jerome on Isa. xviii.2, Justin, *Dial.* xxxviii and Origen, *Contra Celsum* vi 27].

writers would have us also include in the official letters the broadcasting of slanders against both the person of Christ and the morals of Christians. They accuse the Jewish authorities of spreading officially the stories to be found in the *Sepher Toldoth Jeshu* as to the illegitimacy of Jesus, and his evil ways. They believe that from this source came also the rumour of Thyestean banquets and Oedipean intercourse at the meetings of the Christians. This seems exceedingly unlikely'.³

[Parkes's reconstruction rests mainly on Justin Martyr and other patristic sources of the second century and later, as noted above. These give some reflection of contemporary Jewish reaction to Christianity, but show signs of legendary development in what they say on the earliest period, including their view that a detailed denunciation of Christian teachings would have been sponsored by high Jewish authority very soon after the crucifixion.⁴ Various forms of warning and repression by Jewish communal authorities in Judaea and the diaspora in the first century A. D. are suggested, however, by passages from this period in the New Testament and Josephus; these include the accounts of the deaths of Stephen, of James son of Zebedee, under Agrippa I, and of James the Lord's brother, under the Sadducaic high priest Ananus about A. D. 62 (Acts vi 8 – viii 1, xii 1–3; Josephus, *Ant.* xx 199–203); Paul's account of himself as attacking the Christian community and then as a Christian undergoing Jewish discipline (Gal. i 13–14, Phil. iii 6, II Cor. xi 24); the observation that a story of the theft of Jesus's body is current among Jews (Matt. xxviii 15); and complaints of punishment in and exclusion from Jewish communities (Mark xiii 9 and parallels; Luke vi 22; John ix 22, xii 42, xvi 2; Acts ix 1–2, xxii 19, xxvi 11).⁵]

The present writer has thoroughly examined the character of the so-called Jewish 'apostles', but has found no anti-Christian mission on their part.⁶ What of the alleged persecution of the Christians? E. Bratke wrote: 'The Christians of antiquity were always persecuted by the Jewish passion for revenge . . . In the fifth

³ Parkes, *Conflict*, 80–1; [for the modern writers Parkes refers to A. Harnack and others cited at *Conflict*, 125–6, for the rumour to Origen, *Contra Celsum* vi.27 and *Conflict*, 95–106; on the latter see also A. Henrichs, 'Pagan Ritual and the Alleged Crimes of the Early Christians: A Reconsideration', in P. Granfield & J. A. Jungmann (edd.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Münster, 1970), i, 18–35 (literature); Visotzky, 'Overturning the Lamp' (allusions in rabbinic texts); C. P. Bammel, 'Die erste lateinische Rede gegen die Christen', *ZKG* 104 (1993), 295–311 (allusions probably in Fronto)].

⁴ [For discussion of the authority in fact exercised by the high priest and the council in this period see Sanders, *Practice and Belief*, 472–90; on Jewish reaction as reflected in Justin, Horbury, 'Barnabas and Justin', 341–5.]

⁵ [For discussion see Hare, *Persecution*; G. W. H. Lampe, 'Grievous Wolves' (Acts 20: 29)', in B. Lindars & S. S. Smalley (ed.), *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule* (Cambridge, 1973), 253–68 (urging that some counter-action against Christianity may be authentically echoed in Justin and Eusebius); Maier, *Auseinandersetzung*; C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament* (3rd edn, London, 1981), 154–66; M. Hengel, with R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (E. T. London, 1991).]

⁶ Krauss, 'Die jüdischen Apostel', and 'Apostel'.

and succeeding centuries they sometimes had to suffer from the Jews more than from the Greeks'.⁷ The Christians of Persia are under discussion here, and at this point the author might be right (this chapter, section ii, n. 9 below); but certainly the case was different in the Roman Empire, where the Jews themselves were persecuted and the government maintained strict order.

Something like what the church fathers have in mind would result from the so-called *Letter of Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai*, which denounces nascent Christianity and polemizes especially against the doctrine of the Trinity.⁸ The whole letter, however, is doubtless the product of a modern Jew's imagination.

The alleged Jewish hatred and persecution of Christians is constantly mentioned in the acts of the martyrs (cf. I.ii below for examples). Under the heading 'Jews in the *Acta* of the First Century' Parkes writes: 'Embodied in these collections ... are many stories which to-day are recognized to be entirely fabulous, to be nothing more than novelettes produced in some monastic centre, based upon a local legend possibly of pagan origin, or due simply to the ingenuity of the writer'. In his Appendix Five Parkes shows how uncertain and full of contradictions all these stories are. For the period from Hadrian to Constantine he says 'Responsibility passes completely from the Jews to the Romans'.⁹ In the Talmud and midrash no report is found about active persecution of the Christians.

In rabbinic sources we find only disconnected pronouncements, from teachers of the tannaitic as well as the amoraic period, reflecting argument with the *minim*. [The term *min*, conventionally rendered 'heretic', can cover opponents other than Christians.] Rabbinic teachers sought, in their characteristic manner, to controvert the Christians by biblical interpretations, polemical remarks, and,

⁷ Bratke, *Religionsgespräch*, 252.

⁸ A. I. Dziubas (ed.), *Iggereth Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai* (Antwerp, 1929) [also printed in J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* (2 vols, New York, 1915), i, 214–7; review of Dziubas by A. Marmorstein, *Jewish Guardian*, 25th July 1930, p. 10; study by E. Percy, 'Miktab']; on the Trinity and the new Torah, see pp. 43, 46, 55. On debate with *minim* (see this section, below), Dziubas (p. 77 n. 267) cites the explanation of Ab. Zar. 27b ['a man shall not have dealings with *minim*']; on the context and parallels, Strack, *Jesus*, 22 and Maier, *Jesus*, 142–3] given in the Tosafoth, ad loc. [lest their teaching attract]. I note here another Hebrew work on Christian origins, which I have not seen: I. Wildikan, הריב הנצחי (The Eternal Quarrel between Judaism and Christianity: a Scholarly Encyclopaedia on the Rise of Christianity from the First to the Sixth Century) (Riga, 5685 [1925; cited also by Eisenstein, *Ozar Wikuhim*, 27]).

⁹ Parkes, *Conflict*, 128, 133, 402–4 (Appendix 5). [On the question of the Jewish rôle in persecution see, on the first century, Hare, *Jewish Persecution*, J. D. M. Derrett, 'Cursing Jesus (I Cor. xii.3): The Jews as Religious "Persecutors"', *NTS* 21 (1975), 544–554; Moule, *Birth*, 152–66; and J. T. Sanders, *Schismatics, Sectarians, Dissidents, Deviants: the First One Hundred Years of Jewish-Christian Relations* (London, 1993), 229–31; on the pre-Constantinian era in general Freund, 'Persecutions', Baer, 'Israel, the Christian Church and the Roman Empire', Simon, *Verus Israel*, 115–25 (discussing Parkes), 402–6 (discussing Baer), and Maier, *Auseinandersetzung*, 135 (literature); this chapter, section ii, below, on the acts of the martyrs.]

in case of need, direct converse.¹⁰ [Debate with *minim* was discouraged, and a curse on them is included in the Amidah (Eighteen Benedictions)].¹¹ At first the rabbinic polemics were aimed mainly at the so-called Jewish Christians rather than those of pagan descent, with whom they were not concerned. Later on this difference disappeared.

The Jewish adversary is usually called *min*, 'heretic', and other Christians *nozierim*, Nazarenes (on these Hebrew terms see volume ii, below). Among rabbis [presented in rabbinic tradition as polemicists] are Johanan ben Zaccai, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (Tos. Hullin ii 24, T.B. Ab. Zar. 16b, 17a, Eccles. R. on i 8), Gamaliel II, Joshua ben Hananiah, Eliezer ben Jose (T.B. Sanh. 90b, on the immortality of the soul), and later on Simlai, Abbahu and Idi.¹² Many talmudic

¹⁰ Elements of rabbinic anti-Christian polemic are considered, incidentally rather than systematically, in Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, 264a, 268bb, 277f., 279f.; J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1867); Joel, *Blicke*, esp. ii, 48–72; Graetz, *Geschichte*, iv (4th edn); M. Friedländer, *Patristische und talmudische Studien, Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen*, and many other works; Gudemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*; compare also the Index (s. 'Polemisches und Apologetisches') to W. Bacher's six volumes on the haggadah (see bibliography). Polemic is the main subject of Ziegler, *Kampf*; Bergmann, *Apologetik*; Marmorstein, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (see Bacher's strong but just review, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1912, 81), and in *Jeschurun* vii (1920), 92–105, 168–76, [and *Studies in Jewish Theology*, London, 1950, where see also the bibliography under years 1907, 1914, 1915, 1919, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1936; Simon, *Verus Israel*, 193–8; Urbach, 'Apologetics', *EJ* iii (1971), cols. 190–2, 201 (bibliography); R. Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs'; Maier, *Auseinandersetzung* (survey concluding that little rabbinic polemic is clearly anti-Christian); Visotzky, 'Overturning the Lamp', 'Trinitarian Testimonies' and 'Anti-Christian Polemic in Leviticus Rabbah'; Horbury, 'Jews and Christians on the Bible' (arguing for common ground between Jewish and Christian debaters)].

¹¹ [See the prohibition in Tos. Hullin ii 20–21, T.B. Ab. Zar. 27b, with the literature cited in n. 8, above; on the curse on *minim* in the Twelfth Benediction of the Amidah (the *birkat ha-minim*) see P. Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (Leiden, 1978), 45–55; R. Kimelman, 'Birkat Ha-Minim and the Lack of Evidence for an Anti-Christian Jewish Prayer in Late Antiquity', in E. P. Sanders, with A. I. Baumgarten & Alan Mendelson (edd.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ii (London, 1981), 226–44; W. Horbury, 'The Benediction of the *Minim* and Early Jewish-Christian Controversy', *JTS N.S.* 33 (1982), 19–61 (on rabbinic prohibition of converse as reflected in Justin see pp 58–9); P. W. van der Horst, 'The Birkat ha-Minim in Recent Research', *Expository Times* 105 (1994), 363–8.]

¹² On these rabbis see Bacher, as cited in n. 10; also Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte*, iii, 162–8 [E. T. ii, 131–6]; A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinic Literature* (London, 1920), 79 and *passim* (on T.B. Ber. 32b): also pp. 97, 110, 128, 144; on Abbahu, G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* (2nd edn, Leipzig, 1930), 202 [(E. T. *The Words of Jesus* (Edinburgh, 1909), 246–7), Levine, *Caesarea*, esp. 82–85, and 'Abbahu'; on Abbahu's teacher Johanan bar Nappaha see Kimelman, 'Rabbi Yohanan and Origen on the Song of Songs'. The difficulty of attributing sayings is underlined in J. Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan ben Zakkai* (Leiden, 1970) and *Development of a Legend*, Leiden, 1970, J. Neusner, *Eliezer ben Hyrcanus* (2 vols., Leiden 1973) and S. Kanter, *Rabban Gamaliel II: The Legal Traditions* (Chico, 1980); identification of the views attacked as Christian is sometimes allowed by Segal, *Powers*, (so at 68–73 (T.B. Sanh. 38b, in the name of Idi), and 213, n. 87 (Abbahu), but stressing possible gnostic as well as

sayings not directed against Christianity have been wrongly referred to it, as with Rab Shesheth's words, T. B. Sotah 7b, 'Only he who speaks openly about his sins is regarded as impertinent'.¹³

The polemic of the Talmud, as we may call it, is not of great importance. It might be thought that the talmudic rabbis, who inherited a tradition of debate with Sadducees and gentile philosophers, would be masters in this art. Their discussions, however, rarely amount to more than incidental observations, often of a humorous kind; they aimed, at most, either to refute arguments based on scripture or reason, or to replace them by others. Even the dialectical method exercised in their schools was of no assistance here, as it dealt only with problems where the starting-point was certain, whereas debate with Christians commonly required the art of defence. [In Palestine, however, Jewish and Christian representatives will have shared a knowledge of Greek and of philosophical commonplaces, and some rabbinic material suggests that Jews were aware of, and exploited, Christian doctrinal statements.]¹⁴

Jews had in fact to fight on four fronts: against pagans, free-thinking Jews (*epiqursim*, see vol. ii), Christians and gnostics. It should be noted that Christians, defending themselves against many of the same adversaries (heathens, heretics, gnostics), shared many points in common with Jews.¹⁵ Hence Christian

Christian background at 124–34 (sayings in the name of Simlai)); it is opposed by Maier, *Jesus*, 76–82 (Abbahu) and *Auseinandersetzung*, 196 (Simlai), but favoured by Simon, *Verus Israel*, 193–8, Irsai, 'R. Abbahu Said', and Visotzky, 'Trinitarian Testimonies' (Simlai and sayings attributed to him; discussion of Segal)].

¹³ Cf. J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1876–1889), ii, 99: **בַּר יִשְׂרָאֵל** ['Israelite'] has been added so that the passage cannot be taken as a criticism of auricular confession. [On alteration of 'man' to 'Jew' in ecclesiastical censorship of Talmudic passages which might seem to scoff at Christians see Popper, *Censorship*, 59–60 (on the Basle Talmud of 1578–80).]

¹⁴ [On Greek see especially S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols, Berlin, 1898–9, reprinted Hildesheim, 1964) and D. Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan, 1984); on both language and culture S. Krauss, *Griechen und Römer* (Vienna & Leipzig, 1914, reprinted Darmstadt, 1972), S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (2nd edn, New York, 1965) and idem, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (2nd edn, New York, 1962); strong resemblances between rabbinic and Graeco-Roman hermeneutics are indicated by P.S. Alexander, 'Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis?', in P.R. Davies & R.T. White (edd.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes* (Sheffield, 1990), 101–124; traces of philosophical influence in rabbinic thought are considered by Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, i, 169–75 (literature), and by H.A. Fischel, *Rabbinic Literature and Graeco-Roman Philosophy* (Leiden, 1973); for Jewish knowledge of Christian doctrine see Irsai and Visotzky, as cited in n. 12, above; on the question of contact, Horbury, 'Jews and Christians on the Bible'.]

¹⁵ On the aims shared in Jewish and Christian apologetic, Bergmann, 'Pseudo-Clémentines', 97–8, and *Apologetik*; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (Tübingen, 1907), 150f., emphasizes the substantial continuity of Christian anti-pagan apologetic with Jewish works in this genre. [On Gnosticism in this connection see for example G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd edn, New York, 1965); G. Stroumsa, 'Aher: A Gnostic', in B. Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, ii (Leiden,

apologetic evinces the striking phenomenon of 'double-entry bookkeeping'.¹⁶ On one side is the attempt to show that Judaism has been superseded, replaced by the church, and rejected by God; on the other side God's ancient people is still defended against heretics and pagans, at least as regards the era before the destruction of Jerusalem. The attacks thus rebutted were indeed directed less against Judaism than against the church which claimed to succeed it.¹⁷

A further disadvantage for the Jewish 'sages' arose from the devotion of their lives entirely to study, while their Christian opponents lived in the bustle of the world. Nevertheless the talmudic spokesmen for Judaism did their duty very well. Some of their utterances hit the very truth and have often since been quoted in polemic. Among these is Abbahu on Num. xxiii 19: 'Should a man say, I am God – he is lying. Should he say, I am the Son of God – in the end he will regret it. Should he say, I ascend to heaven – he may say it, but he will not be able to carry it out' (T.J. Ta'an. ii 1, 65b; PR 100b; Yal. Num. xxiii. 7).¹⁸ R. Simlai said: 'Wherever the heretics misinterpret, Scripture itself provides the refutation' (T.J. Ber. ix 1, 12d).¹⁹ He then refuted Christian claims based on texts like Jos. xxii 22, where a trinity of divine names occurs. This is one of the occasions when pupils, dissatisfied with the teacher's facetious reply, demanded a real explanation. They used to say 'You pushed *him* aside with a reed (קנה, *calamus*); you must give *us* a real answer'.²⁰ The church fathers, however, depict the Jewish spokesmen quite differently, saying that they sustain controversy only with the greatest effort and with heated countenances.²¹

Jerome himself, whose strictures we have just reproduced, was by no means a polite debater, as his quarrel with Augustine shows.²² The same is true of Ambrose and other church fathers. They all insult and abuse Jews *sans gêne*, a point to which we shall recur (I.i.4 below). Ample material is provided by the

1981), 808–18; A.F. Segal, *Powers*, and 'Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism', in S.G. Wilson (ed.), *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*, ii, *Separation and Polemic* (Ottawa, 1986).]

¹⁶ The phrase is from Blumenkranz, *Judenpredigt*, 3.

¹⁷ [So Rokeah, *Jews, Pagans and Christians*, following A. Harnack.]

¹⁸ Texts in Strack, *Jesus*, par. 10; my rendering is rather free.

¹⁹ For *prq* read *pqr* (Vol. II, no. 385), and note the phrase תשובתן בצדן 'their rebuttal stands by their side'; the word תשובה, *teshubah*, 'answer', 'rejoinder', or 'rebuttal', became very common in this type of literature. [On this passage see Visotzky, 'Trinitarian Testimonies'.]

²⁰ T.J. Ber., 12d, already cited; cf. T.B. Hul. 27b, דחית בקש, Mid. Ps. 1.1, קנה הרצון, [and T.J. Sanh. 19b, cited with comment in Krauss, *Sanhedrin-Makkot*, 75]. In T.B. Sanh. 38b a fuller (*koves*) has to undertake debate; he says he has learned homiletic scriptural interpretation from R. Meir. On the subject in general see Frankel, 'Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Religionsgespräche'; Pick, *Stellen*.

²¹ Jerome, *In Ep. ad Titum* iii 9 (PL xxxi 631), quoted by Krauss, 'Church Fathers', *JQR* 6, 239.

²² Cf. O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus* (Gotha, 1865), ch. iv, on Jerome as an (inner-Christian) polemist and teacher of dogma; also I.i.4 below, no. 27, [and I. Opelt, *Hieronymus' Streitschriften* (Heidelberg, 1973); on his correspondence with Augustine, Kelly, *Jerome*, 217–20, 263–72].

Index of Persons

- Aaron b. Jose b. Aaron ha-Cohen 86
Abbadie, Jacob 139
Abbahu 8, 10, 11
Abelard, Peter 78–79
Abendana, Isaac 129n.
Abendana, Jacob 130
Abigdor b. Isaac 152, 154n.
Abin 19
Abner of Burgos (Maestre Alfonso) 93,
94–95, 144n., 166, 167, 168, 202, 215n.,
226, 230, 231–232, 238, 241, 242
Aboab, Moses 146, 149
Abraamius 48
Abraham (a proselyte in the *Nizzahon*
Vetus) 246
Abraham (biblical) 1, 11, 49, 81, 156
Abraham b. David 166
Abraham of Szarygród 185n.
Abraham the Christian (from the ‘colloquy’
mentioned by Johann Müller) 261
Abravanel, Isaac 97, 99, 176, 201,
203–205, 206, 209n., 214, 245, 246
Aberode, Aron 181, 183
Abun 20n.
Acosta, Nunez d’ 147
Acosta, Uriel 229
Acquapendente, Francesco d’ 106, 214
Acsamitek, Z. D. 122n.
Adam (biblical) 156
Addison, Lancelot 138
Adria, Luigi Grotto Cieco d’ 189
Adrian, Johann, of Emden 132
Agnolo, Giovanni 105
Agobard, archbishop of Lyons 13, 57, 64,
68–69, 70, 73, 186
Agrippa I 6
Aguilar, Moses Raphael d’ 248, 249, 255,
256
Aguine, P. d’ 227n.
Ahimaaz 57, 64, 67n.
Ahitub (Jew in Mattithiah ha-Yizhari’s
dialogue) 227
Akriš, Isaac b. Abraham 168n., 205–206,
211
Alan of Lille 78, 88n., 221
Alarcón, Alvarez de 175
Albalag, Isaac 206
Albo, Joseph 93, 97, 118n., 173, 175, 206,
221
Alcuin 57
Aldus Manutius 115n.; (Junior) 259
Alessandro 106, 243–244
Alexander b. Samuel of Metz 244
Alexander, bishop of Lincoln 75
Alfarakhi 260
Alfonsi, Petrus 53n., 76, 77, 90–91, 93, 98,
102, 120, 155, 162, 234
Alfonso I (son of Ercole d’Este) 175n.
Alfonso XI, king of Castile 94
Alguadez, Meir 176n., 212
Allatino, Bonaiuto (Azriel) 178–180,
206–207
Allix, Peter (Pierre d’Allix) 139, 259
Alphonsus Tostatus of Avila 97
Alphonsus of Valladolid 94, 98
Ambrose of Milan 10, 21n., 42
(Pseudo-) Ambrose 42
Ambrosiaster 41
Amram, Isaac 181n.
Amulo, bishop of Lyons 68, 70
Anan 219
Anastasius (Christian in a dispute translated
by Paschalis of Rome) 58
(Pseudo-) Anastasius Sinaita 64, 65
Anatoli, Jacob 102
Andrew of St. Victor 79, 84n.
Andrew, archbishop of Bari 66, 67n.
Andronicus of Constantinople 65
Anna the prophetess (in Luke) 56n.
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury 73, 89
Antan, Aaron d’ 135n.
Antiochus of Ptolemais in Palestine 38
Antoine, Nicholas 116n., 134
Anton, Carl 144n., 149
Antonio, Andres 251
Antonio, Mestre 100
Antonius, archbishop of Florence 105
Aphrahat 20n., 26n., 36

- Aphroditianos 47–48
 Apion of Alexandria 2, 22, 24
 Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis 31
 Apollonius Molo 2, 21, 24
 Apollonius the Philosopher (from *The Con-
sultations of Zacchaeus the Christian and
Apollonius the Philosopher*) 39
 Aquila (from the dialogue *Timothy and
Aquila*) 36
 Aquinas, Thomas see Thomas
 Arama, Isaac 187, 190 n., 207
 Aração, Ferno Ximenes de 100
 Aristo of Pella 18, 29
 Aristotle 207
 Arnold of Villanova 93
 Arrinatos (Persian king in the Disputation at
the Sassanid Court) 47
 Asher (son of Nathan Official) 150–151,
207
 Astruc ha-Levi 173, 174, 175
 Astruc, Anselme, of Barcelona 165
 Astruc, En Solomon 95
 Asumçao, Diogo de la 135
 Athanasius (from the dialogue *Athanasius
and Zacchaeus*) 36
 Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria 11 n., 16 n.
(Pseudo-) Athanasius 63
 Augustine of Hippo 10–11, 18 n., 19, 20,
24, 26, 35, 40, 41, 42, 59, 77, 98, 179
(Pseudo-) Augustine 40–41, 49, 50, 76
 Augustus 19, 237
 Avitus, bishop of Clermont 56
 Azulai, H. J. D. 239
- Bahya ben Asher ibn Halâwa 207–208, 224
 Balaam (biblical) 235
 Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, archbishop of
Canterbury 76
 Bar-Hebraeus, Gregory 60
 Barnabas 27 n.
 Barrios, Daniel Levi Miguel de 253, 261
 Barros, João de 100
 Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter 76
 Bartolucci, G. 131, 141 n., 202 n., 204, 207,
208, 247, 254 n.
 Bashuyen, H. I. 141
 Bashuysen, H. I. van 193–194
 Basil I, emperor 64
 Basil of Seleucia 39
 Basil the Great 11 n.
 Basil, emperor (a successor to Basil I) 57
 Basnage, J. 130, 208, 255
 Batori, Stephen 123
- Beckman, Th. M. 140
 Behrens, Lipmann Cohen (Leffmann) 131 n.,
180–182
 Bekhor Shor, Joseph 85, 86, 152
 Ben Meir, Salomo (C. P. Meyer) 133
 Benedetti, G. 260
 Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna of
Aragon) 93 n., 167, 169, 187, 190
 Benetelli, Luigi Maria 255
 Beneviste, Todros 175
 Benjamin b. Moses, of Rome 106, 208
 Benjamin, Selig 195
 Bentivoglio, Francisco, archbishop of Candia
(Crete) 89 n., 235
 Benveniste, Vidal (Joseph ibn Labi) 97,
170 n., 171–176, 243
 Berekiah b. Natronai 240
 Bernard of Vienne 69
 Bernardino of Feltre 178 n.
 Bernhard, Christian David 147 n., 148
 Bernold of Constance 56 n.
 Berthold of Regensburg 110
 Bertrán, Andrew, of Valencia 175
 Bibago, Abraham 208
 Blanche (mother of Louis IX) of Casti-
le 151 n., 156
 Blastares, Matthew 61
 Blitz, Jekuthiel ben Isaac 208
 Bobadilla, Mendoza y 100
 Bochart, Samuel 130
 Bodeker, Stefan, bishop of Branden-
burg 112, 225
 Bodenschatz, J. C. 130, 131
 Bodin, Jean 120
 Bodo 71
 Boeschstein, Johann 114, 115 n.
 Bon-giorn, David En-Bonet 211
 Bonafed, Solomon b. Reuben 97, 175
 Bonafos, En Shealtiel 97
 Bonhomo, Alfonso 71
 Boniface IX 56
 Bonnefoy, Paul de 199
 Bosch, Jacob 148
 Bossuet, J. B. 130
 Boyle, Sir Robert 139, 194
 Breithaupt, J. F. 130, 142
 Brenius, Daniel 140, 257
 Brentz, Samuel Friedrich 122 n., 133, 145,
244
 Brett, Samuel 183, 184, 185
 Briel, Judah Leone, of Mantua 107,
208–209, 241
 Broughton, Hugh 121

- Brue, William I de la, archbishop of Narbonne 228
- Bruni, Leonardo 198, 199 n.
- Bruti, Piero, bishop of Cattaro, Vicenza 105
- Bucer, Martin 119, 191
- Budde, J. F. (Buddeus) 130
- Budny, Simon 125
- Burckhardt, Christian Gottlieb (Immanuel Liepman), of Oettingen 133
- Burton, Sir Richard 144 n.
- Busti, Bernardino di 104, 116 n.
- Buxtorf, Johann the elder 127–128, 144 n., 200, 229
- Buxtorf, Johann II 128, 129, 200, 205, 219 n.
- Caesarius of Heisterbach 110
- Caesarius, archbishop of Arles 41
- Calahorra, Mattathias 125
- Callenberg, J. H. 144 n., 146–147
- Calonymus b. Aaron ha-Levi 217
- Calvert, Thomas 139
- Calvin, John 112, 119, 127, 200
- Cantarini, Isaac Vita (Vives) 145, 244, 250
- Caracciolo, Alfonso 178, 245
- Caraffa, Antonio 100
- Cardoso, Isaac 101, 209, 249, 261
- Carpzow, Benedict Junior 128
- Carpzow, Johann Gottlieb 128
- Carrascon, Juan 101, 250
- Carret, Ludovic 127
- Catalani, Jacob Samuel 168 n.
- Cavalleria, Pedro de la 97
- Cellarius, Christoph 129
- Celsus 2, 12, 19, 21, 23 n., 29, 32
- Celsus the African 29, 34, 39
- Cesarini, Giuliano 105
- Chaeremon 24
- Charlemagne, emperor 44 n., 57, 68
- Charles V, emperor 115, 190
- Charles the Bald 70
- Chilperic 56
- Christ 4, 5, 13–14, 18, 34, 36, 37, 42, 47, 48, 58, 63, 69, 71, 76, 86, 97 n., 111, 118, 119, 140, 142 n., 143, 144, 145, 148, 163, 164, 179, 183, 184, 239, 244
- Christfels, P. E. 147, 195
- Christiani, F. A. 142 n.
- Christiani, Pablo, of Montpellier 91, 149 n., 162, 163, 173, 186–187, 216, 228, 230, 231
- Christlieb, Christian Wilhelm 147 n., 148
- Christlieb, F. W., of Rinteln 133
- Ciantes, Joseph 189
- Cicero 22
- Cinqarbres (Quinquarboreus) of Auillac 120
- Claudius 46
- Claudius, bishop of Turin 57
- Clement IV (Guido Fulcodi) 162, 164, 228
- Clement V 198
- Clement of Alexandria 19, 31, 34 n., 151 n., 164
- Clericus 128
- Cocceius, J. 130, 137
- Cohen, Abraham Elijah 167 n.
- Cohen, Moses 95
- Comestor, Peter 80
- Commodian 33
- Conegliano, Abraham Joel 255
- Conrad of Würzburg 110
- Constantine 45, 111, 218
- Contreras, Antonio de 251
- Corcos, Hezekiah Manoah Hayyim (Tranquillo Vita) b. Isaac 244, 250–251
- Corcos, Yom-tob 250
- Cornutus, Walter, archbishop of Sens 155
- Cosmas 62
- Costa de Mattos, Vincente da 100
- Cramer, J. J. 128
- Crato (one of the two pagan judges in *Actus Silvestri*) 45
- Crescas, Hasdai 94, 96, 209–210, 212, 218, 234
- Crispin, Gilbert 55, 72–73, 74, 78 n., 109 n.
- Cromwell, Oliver 253
- Croze, J. la 146, 249
- Cyprian 5, 34, 36
- Cyril of Alexandria 25, 26 n., 39
- Czechovics, Martin 125
- Damian, Peter, of Ravenna 57–58
- Dandolo, Enrico 58 n.
- Daniel (biblical) 59 n., 64, 173, 235
- Danielillo 101, 251
- Dante Alighieri 104, 232
- Danz, J. A. 128, 129
- Dassow, Th. 128
- David (biblical) 121, 173, 213, 225
- David, Francis 126
- De Rossi, G. B. 141 n.
- Dembowski, Gora, bishop of Kaminiiec-Podolsk, archbishop of Lwów (Lemberg) 185
- Desmaestre, Bonastruc, of Gerona 169
- Desmaestre, Jonah 176 n.
- Dhu-Nuwas (Himyarite king) 48 n.

- Diocletian 237
 Diodore of Tarsus 35
 Diodorus Siculus 21, 22
 Dionysius bar Salibi 66
 Dios Carne, Francisco (Astruc Raimuch) 97,
 175, 176 n., 234
 Donin, Nicholas, of La Rochelle 154–156,
 157 n., 158–161, 162 n., 175 n., 228
 Donnolo, Shabbethai 57, 70 n.
 Duns Scotus 98
 Duran, Profiat (Ephodi; Isaac ben Moses ha-
 Levi) 96, 171 n., 201, 202, 205, 209 n.,
 210–212, 213, 218, 223, 235, 242, 248
 Duran, Simeon b. Zemach 97, 176, 177,
 202, 212–213, 221, 237, 239
 Duran, Solomon b. Simeon 97, 176,
 212–213
 Dürkop (a pastor in Copenhagen) 196

 Eck, John 114 n., 116–117
 Edward I, king of England 191
 Edzard, Esdras 128 n., 132, 139, 180, 195,
 220
 Edzard, Johannes 139
 Eibeschutz, Jonathan, of Hamburg 149
 Eichorn, J. G. 141
 Eisenmenger, Johannes Andreas 141, 144,
 180 n.
 Eleazar 'the Great' of Worms 109
 Eliezer b. Hyrcanus 8
 Eliezer b. Jacob 166
 Eliezer b. Jose 8
 Eliezer b. Samuel (perhaps the Eliezer b.
 Samuel of Metz) 213, 222
 Eliezer of Beaugency 86, 157
 Eliezer, Georg 132
 Elijah (a Jew in Andronicus of Constantinop-
 le's dialogue) 65
 Elijah (a Jewish authority cited in *Joseph the
 Zealot*) 152
 Elijah (biblical) 18 n., 248
 Elijah Hayyim b. Benjamin of Genaz-
 zano 1206, 214–215
 Elijah 'the Holy' 150
 Elijah of Nisibis 240
 Elijah, Nathaniel 256
 Elisabeth, Amelie 192
 Emden, Jacob 185 n.
 Empereur, Constantin I' 130, 136 n., 192,
 205
 Engelsberger, Ferdinand Franz
 (Hayyim) 122
 Enoch (biblical) 248

 Eosy, Andrew 126
 Ephrem Syrus 20, 24, 37, 42
 Epiphanius 26, 27, 38, 59
 Erasmus, Desiderius 114
 Erpenius, Thomas 200
 Erwig, king of Spain 59 n.
 Esau (biblical) 85
 Escudero, Lorenzo (Abraham Israel) 203
 España, Juan de (in satiric poetry) 97 n.
 Este, Ercole II d' 199
 Este, Ercole d', of Ferrara 106, 176–177,
 188, 215
 Este, Ippolito d' 177 n.
 Este, João Baptista de 100
 Eucherius 57 n.
 Eusebius of Caesarea 5, 12–13 n., 18, 21,
 26, 31, 35, 44–45 n.
 Eusebius of Emesa 35
 Euthymius 65
 Euthymius Zigabenus 65
 Evagrius of Gaul 39
 Eve (biblical) 156
 Ibn Ezra, Abraham 61, 166, 174, 224, 239

 Fagius, Paul 118, 200, 220
 Faof, bishop of Châlon 69
 Farissol, Abraham 106, 176–178, 213, 215
 Faustus Socinus 124
 Felgenhauer, P. 128 n., 140
 Fels, Chr. L. 133
 Ferdinand II, emperor 196
 Ferdinand III, emperor 122
 Ferrar, David 121
 Ferrer, Vincent 96, 97, 175, 189
 Ferrus, Pedro 95
 Ficino, Marsilio 105
 Fini, Adriano, of Ferrara 105
 Fioghi, Fabiano 107, 241
 Foliot, Gilbert 74
 Folz, Hans 111 n.
 Fonseca, family 148
 Foresti, A. 248
 Franco Mendes, David 215
 Frank, Jacob 184–185
 Frederick II, emperor 102, 122
 Frederick IV, king of Denmark 196
 Frederick, John, of Saxony 119
 Frederick, bishop of Mainz 186
 Fresenius, J. P. 147, 195
 Fugger, Ulrich 200
 Fulbert, bishop of Chartres 71
 Fundam, Jakob 148
 Förster, Johannes 200

- Gabinius 22
 Gagnier, J. 142
 Galipapa, Hayyim b. Abraham 206
 Gallia, Vincenzo de 245
 Gallus of Neuhaus 111
 Gamaliel 182
 Gamaliel II 8
 Ibn Gannah, Jonah 61
 Gebhardi, B. H. 243 n.
 Geier, M. 128
 Gelasius 38
 (Pseudo-) Gelasius 45
 Gelling, M. 132, 243 n.
 Genebrard, G. 206, 221
 Gentius, G. 130
 George I, king of England 181
 George II of Hesse-Darmstradt 192
 George of Hesse 145
 George William, duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg 192
 Georgius Scholarius (Gennadius) 66
 Ger, Abraham 101, 202–203
 Ger, Israel 249
 Germanus, Moses 130
 Gerson, Christian 118, 133
 Geus, J. 249
 al-Ghazzali 206, 231
 Giovenazzo, Nicolo di 103
 Giovio, Paulo 211 n.
 Giraldus Cambrensis 76
 Giustiniani, Agostino 113
 Glassius, Solomon 129
 Gogo, Bartolomeo 177
 Gomes Silveyra, Abraham 252
 Gomez, archbishop of Toledo 94
 Gousset, Jacques 137, 243 n.
 Graser, Conrad 224, 247
 Gratia Dei, Johannes Baptista 106, 223
 Gratian 58 n.
 Gregentius, bishop of Taphar 48–49
 Gregory IX 77, 151 n., 154
 Gregory X 151 n.
 Gregory XI 187
 Gregory XIII 187, 188, 189
 Gregory of Nyssa 22 n., 35
 (Pseudo-) Gregory of Nyssa 36
 Gregory the Great 186 n.
 Gregory, bishop of Tours 56, 186
 Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln 77–78, 90–91 n.
 Grotius, Hugo 120–121, 136, 220, 252
 Guenée, A. 258
 Guibert of Nogent 78, 89
 Guise, William 129 n.
 Gundisalinius, Dominic 91
 Gutbier, Aegidius 128
 Guérin (friar who often troubled Nathan Official) 152
 Güttel, Caspar 118
 Haberkorn, Peter 192
 Habsburg, family 196
 Hackspan, theodor 112, 128, 133 n., 224, 225, 246
 Hadassi, Judah, the Karaite 218–219
 Hadrian 17, 18, 46
 Hadrian (pope) 44 n.
 Hadrianus Finus 136
 Hagiz, Moses 131 n.
 Halberstadt, Aron Hirsch 180 n.
 Ham (biblical) 156
 Haman (biblical) 25
 Hananeel (Jewish apologist in the Chronicle of Ahimaaz) 57, 64
 Haselbauer, F. 149 n.
 Hayon, Nehemiah 107, 257
 Hayyim b. Isaac 215
 Ibn Hazm, Ahmed 60, 242
 Hecataeus of Abdera 2
 Heidegger, J. H. 129
 Heilbronner, Johann Christlieb (Moses Prager) 147
 Helen (mother of Constantine) 45–46, 218
 Heller, Lipmann 122
 Helvidius 58
 Henry (clerk who answered Wecelinus) 109
 Henry I, king of England 76, 91
 Henry III, king of England 77, 90
 Henry IV, king of France 135
 Henry de Trastamare, king of Castile 165
 Henry of Cologne 155, 161
 Heraclius 63
 Heredia, Paulus de 98–99, 106, 134 n., 217
 Hermann of Cologne 110
 Herschel, Joshua (F. A. Augusti) 147
 Hersleb (court preacher under Frederick IV of Denmark) 196
 Hezekiah (biblical) 234
 Hezekiah Roman b. Isaac ibn Paquda 215
 Hiberia, Pietro di 103
 Hieronymus 'Graecus' (Jerome of Jerusalem) 35, 63
 Hilarion 67
 Hilary of Potiers 24, 41 n.
 Hillel of Verona 160 n.
 Hippolytus of Rome 33

- Hirschel, J. 195
 Holbach, d', baron 258
 Honestus 58
 Honorius Augustodunensis 74, 110
 Hoogstraten, Viktor 106, 113, 116
 Hoornbeck, J. 136, 143
 Horace 2
 Hoshaiah 32
 Hosmann (Hosemann), Sigismond 140
 Hottinger, J. H. 129, 130
 Hugh of St. Victor 80 n., 84
 Hulsius, A. 130, 205
 Huneric 41
 Huss, John 112
 Hutter, Elias 128
 Hyde, Thomas 130, 142
- Idi 8
 Iagnetus Contardus 93
 Ildefonsus, bishop of Toledo 58
 Imbonati, C. G. 131, 141 n., 202 n.
 Immanuel Berechiah b. Isaac 217
 Innocent III 89–90
 Innocent IV 160, 186
 Irenaeus 16 n., 26
 Isaac (a Jewish authority cited in *Joseph the Zealot*) 153
 Isaac (a proselyte in the *Nizzahon Vetus*) 246
 Isaac (biblical) 215
 Isaac (converted Jew mentioned by Jerome, possibly to be identified with Ambrosiaster) 41
 Isaac (medieval) 154, 159
 Isaac Jacob b. Saul Abraham 249
 Isaac Nathan b. Calonymus 176, 215
 Isaac b. Corbeil 154 n.
 Isaac b. Hayyim 154 n.
 Isaac b. Judah ha-Levi 87, 154 n., 222
 Isaac b. Sheshet 212
 Isaiah of Trani the Younger 88 n., 103 n.
 Isaiah, Paul 184 n.
 Isidore, archbishop of Seville 58, 71
 Israel (biblical) 85
 Iullos (Hillel?; mentioned by Origen) 32
- al-Jabbar, Abd 60 n.
 Jablonski, Daniel Ernst 142
 Jacchiades 136 n.
 Jacob (Nahman) of Belzyce 125
 Jacob (a Carthaginian Jew in *Sargis d' Abergia*) 63
 Jacob (biblical) 81, 85, 239, 241
 Jacob (probably a pupil of Jehiel of Paris) 161
 Jacob (rabbi with whom Luther disputed) 117–118
 Jacob b. Elijah of Venice 216
 Jacob b. Meir 85
 Jacob b. Reuben 73, 81, 91, 94, 95, 166, 168, 202, 216–217, 222, 225, 237, 240, 242
 Jacob of Bern 111
 Jacob of Serug 42, 45
 Jacobus, J. 137
 Jacquolot, Isaac 137, 252
 Jagel, Abraham 144 n.
 Jair b. Shabbethai, of Correggio 217, 246, 255
 James (son of Zebedee) 6
 James (the Lord's brother) 6
 James I, king of Aragon 161 n., 162, 186, 187, 192, 228
 Janua, Peter de 164
 Janvier, A. 220
 Jason (in *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* by Aristo of Pella) 29
 Jehiel b. Jekuthiel 103 n.
 Jehiel b. Joseph of Paris (Vives of Meaux) 81, 143, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156–158, 161, 163, 165, 217
 Jehudai Gaon 166
 Jerome 10, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 35, 41, 44, 59, 76, 85, 157, 212, 241
 (Pseudo-) Jerome 40
 Jesus 3–4, 5–6, 11–12, 15–16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 30, 33, 47, 48, 50, 59, 63, 64, 65, 69, 71, 85, 87, 98, 112, 115, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 143, 146, 147, 156, 157 n., 158, 159, 164, 173, 175, 179, 183, 184, 185, 190, 191 n., 192, 193, 203, 212, 213, 214, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 237, 238, 246, 248, 252, 258
 Joachim of Fiore 91, 93, 102
 Jodocus Pancratius 132, 195
 Johanan b. Aaron Luria 217
 Johanan b. Zaccai 8
 Johanan bar Nappaha 8 n.
 John Chrysostom 11 n., 21, 24, 26 n., 37, 40
 (Pseudo-) Chrysostom 38
 John XXII 198
 John of Capistrano 98, 104, 188, 191, 232
 John of Damascus 63
 John of Soissons 89
 John of Torquemada 98

- John of Valladolid 94
Jonathan (a Jew with whom M. J. Müller held discussion) 146
Jonson, Ben 121 n.
João, king of Portugal 100
Joseph (a Carthaginian Jew in *Sargis d' Abergá*) 63
Joseph (husband of Mary) 237
Joseph I (son of Nathan II of Étampes) 150
Joseph II (Joseph the Zealot, son of Nathan Official) 150, 151 n., 152–153, 207, 218, 246
Joseph b. Shem Tob 96, 97, 209, 210, 211, 212, 218, 233
Joseph of Chartres 151, 152, 153 n.
Joseph of Tiberias (Jewish Count described by Epiphanius) 38
Josephus 2, 68, 76, 120
Joshua (biblical) 81
Joshua b. Hananiah 8
Joshua b. Joseph b. Vives ha-Lorki (Jerónimo de Santa Fé) 96–97, 99–100, 170–176, 190, 204, 205, 206 n., 213, 215, 226, 234, 243
Josippon 166, 240 n.
Jovinian 58
Juan II of Aragon 208 n.
Juan 'the Elder' 97
Judah (biblical) 154 n.
Judah (son of Hayyim ibn Musa) 234
Judah Löw b. Bezaleel of Prague 122
Judah b. David of Melun 155, 161
Judah b. Ilai 152
Judah ha-Levi 61, 92, 210, 219
Judah he-Hasid 109, 224
Judas Cyriacus 46
Judith (wife of Louis the Pious) 68
Julian the Apostate 19, 23
Julian, bishop of Toledo 59, 71, 173 n.
Justin Martyr 5–6, 11 n., 18, 26, 28, 29 n., 30, 32 n., 43, 48, 121
Justinian 49, 62
Justus (a Carthaginian Jew in *Sargis d' Abergá*) 63
Juvenal 2, 20, 21
- Kals, J. W. 148
Ibn Kammuna, Sa'd b. Mansur 219
Ibn Kaspi, Joseph 220
Kidder, Richard, Bishop of Bath and Wells 139, 194, 259
Kimhi, David 81, 120, 121, 202, 220–222, 224, 225 n., 237 n., 241, 245, 247
- Kimhi, Joseph 81, 91, 202, 213, 220, 222
Kimhi, Moses 220
Kolshorn 146
Kromer, Michael 118
Königsmann (a pastor in Copenhagen) 196
Köppen, N. 142
- Lactantius 34, 34–35
Langton, Stephen 75, 77, 80, 87, 89
Lara, David Cohen de 132
Lavater, J. K. 149
Lazaros 65
Lecce, Roberto da 232
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 130
Lent, Johannes à 256
Leo (Jew who disputed with Odo of Cambrai) 75
Leo VII 186
Leontius, bishop of Neapolis 63
Leslie, Charles 139
Leusden, J. 130
Levi b. Abraham b. Hayyim 223
Levi, David 252
Levi, Isaac (grandson of Leone Modena) 230
Levi, Rosa (Maria) 189
Levita, Elias 118
Leydekker, M. 137
Lianora of Aragon 177 n.
Lieberkühn, Samuel 195
Lightfoot, John 129
Limborch, Philip van 137, 252, 258
Lipomano, Alois 124
Lively, Edward 121 n.
Lodovicus of Valenza 177
Lopez, Isaac, of Aleppo 225–226
Louis IX, king of France 89, 151 n., 153, 161, 228
Louis the Pious, emperor 68, 69, 71
Lubenski 185
Lucar, Cyril 68, 239
Lull, Raymond 92, 95
Lullus 57
Lumbrozo, Judah 253
Lundius, I. 130
Lupercio (Luperio), Isaac 253
Luther, Martin 112, 116–118, 122 n., 133, 142, 147, 191, 200
Luzzatto, Mordecai (Marco) 226
Lyra, Nicolas de (possibly the 'Ben Resheph' of Hayyim ibn Musa) 80, 96, 117, 170 n., 199, 235
Lysimachus 24

- Lütkens, N. 142
Lämmlein, Asher 178
- Maalem, Moses (Father Clement) 253
Machado, Francisco 100
Maestro Juan (Christian in Cairo with whom Isaac Akrish held discussions) 205
Maestro Pedro (Jonah; converted Jew with whom Isaac Lopez held discussions) 226
Magnus, Albert 161
Mai, J. H. 128
Mai, J. H. the Younger 131, 205, 218
Maimon, Solomon 174
Maimonides, Moses (Rambam) 61, 70, 88, 92, 103, 154, 174, 201, 205 n., 224, 226, 231, 232
Malatesta, Sigismondo 105
Malfetta 177
Manasseh b. Israel 136, 138 n., 140, 250, 253–254, 259, 261
Manetho 21, 24
Manetti, Giannozzo 105, 198, 200, 232
Manitius, J. A. 147
Manuel II Comnenus 58 n.
Marchese 260
Marcion 24
Marcus, Moses 128
Margalitha, A. 128 n.
Margarita, Aaron 137
Margarita, Antonius 115, 117, 126, 141, 142 n., 144 n., 222
Margolis, Jacob of Nuremburg 115
Margolith (Margarita?), Naphthali (Julius Conrad Otto) 134
Maroccanus, Samuel 71, 139, 215, 234
Martial 20, 24
Martin of Leon 91
Martinez, Ferrand 95, 190
Martini, Raymund 91, 92, 93, 104, 132, 162 n., 164–165, 174 n., 202, 242
Mary (mother of Jesus) 55 n., 56, 70–71, 84, 89, 143, 151, 158, 184, 210, 212, 221, 230, 237, 244, 246
Mas'udi 60
Ibn Matqah, Judah b. Solomon Hakohen 102 n.
Matthaeus Adrianus 114
Maximian (Arian bishop of Hippo) 41
Maximus Confessor 29
Maximus, bishop of Turin 21, 41
Mayer, J. A. 128 n.
Mayr, G. 130
Mazeo 103
Medici, Marie de 254
Medici, Paolo 141, 244, 250
Medici, family 176
Meelführer, Rudolf Martin 142
Megerlin, D. F. 149 n.
Meir (a Jewish authority in *Joseph the Zealot*) 153
Meir Qadosh, of Brod in Moravia 229
Meir b. Simeon of Narbonne 70, 81, 87, 91, 186, 227–229, 231, 232
Melchizedek (biblical) 11
Meleager of Gadara 19
Melito of Sardis 31, 34
Melun, David de 155 n.
Menahem of Joigny 153
Mendel (Christlieb), Aron 195
Mendel, Christophorus, of Ofen (Buda) 132 n.
Mendelssohn, Moses 149
Mendes, Isaac 251
Mercier, Jean, of Uzes 120
Meshullam b. Uri 225, 229
Meshullam of Melun 150
Metatron 11
Michaelis, C. B. 141 n.
Michaelis, J. H. 141 n.
Mikulski 185
Millius, D. 142
Miltiades 31
Miriam (biblical) 24
Modena, Leone da (Judah Arieih of Modena) 106, 107, 130, 180, 229–230, 248
Modon, Samson Cohen 215
Mohammed 60 n., 98
Mojecki, Przeslaw 125
Molanus, Gerhard Walter 181
Molkho, Solomon 121
Moller, Heinrich 128
Moncada, Raimondo da, of Girgenti 106, 114
Monis, Judah 148
Montaigne, Michel de 188
Montalto, Elijah 101, 135, 254, 255
Montanus, Friedrich, of Augsburg 260
Montfaucon, B. de 141 n.
Mordecai b. Jehosepha, of Avignon 91, 92 n., 154 n., 165, 229, 230–231, 235, 247
More, Henry 130, 138
Morel, Samuel ben Solomon Sir 155
Morlini, G. 105
Mornay, Philippe de 135
Moro, Philippus Joseph (Zarphati; Andrea del Monte) 106, 107, 188, 189

- Morosini, Giulio (Samuel Nahmias) 241
 Morpurgo, Samson 217, 246, 254–255
 Morreira, Saul Levi 101, 181 n., 249, 252,
 253, 254, 255–256, 259
 Moschus, John 62
 Mosemann, Fabronius 191
 Moses (biblical) 11, 15–16, 18, 41 n., 77,
 81, 85, 119, 151, 159 n., 183, 235, 251
 Moses b. Jekuthiel 231
 Moses b. Solomon of Salerno 103, 227 n.,
 232, 234
 Moses ha-Darshan 174
 Moses ha-Kohen 165
 Moses of Coucy 155, 158 n., 224
 Moses of Paris 85, 152
 Moulin, Pierre du 252
 al-Muqammis, David ibn Merwan 60, 233,
 238, 239
 Ibn Musa, Hayyim 187, 233–235
 Mühlhausen, Lipmann (Yom-Tov or Tav-
 Yomi b. Solomon) 112, 120, 124 n.,
 128 n., 137, 143, 190, 205, 221, 223–225,
 229, 241, 246
 Müller, Johann 243, 261
 Müller, M. J. 146
 Münster, Sebastian 113 n., 118, 119 n., 200

 Naglovicz, Rey de 124
 Nahar (Naar), Isaac 256
 Nahmanides (Moses b. Nahman; Gerundi;
 Bonastuc de Porta) 143, 149 n., 157 n.,
 161 n., 162–165, 173–174, 176, 187 n.,
 189, 192, 202, 206, 213, 215, 222, 235
 Narboni, Moses b. Joshua (Vidal Blason or
 Bellsom) 231–232
 Nasi, David 88–89 n., 212, 231, 233, 235
 Nasi Joseph 168, 236
 Natan, Azaria 141
 Nathan (II) of Étampes 150
 Nathan (son of Todros of Narbonne) 150
 Nathan b. Meshullam 86
 Nathanael (pupil of Jehiel b. Joseph of
 Paris) 154 n.
 Nebuchadnezzar (biblical) 50
 Nehuniah b. ha-Kanah 99
 Neophytos the Recluse of Cyprus 65 n.
 Nestor ha-Komer 219, 233, 236–238, 242
 Nibriidius, bishop of Narbonne 69
 Nicholas III 187
 Nicholas of Cusa 112
 Nicholas, Edward 257
 Nicolas of Otranto 66
 Nieto, David 257

 Nigri, Petrus (Peter Schwarz) 92 n., 113,
 114, 116 n., 191
 Nikita 67
 Nilus the Younger 57
 Noah (biblical) 156
 Nodriza, Maria Sanchez 250
 Novatian 20 n., 34

 Obadia b. Israel 251
 Odo (Eudes) of Châteauroux 155, 160
 Odo, bishop of Cambrai 74, 75, 80
 Odo, bishop of Tusculum 160–161
 Offenhause, Samuel Zevi 145
 Official, Abraham 151 n.
 Official, Nathan 81, 152, 153, 176, 246
 Olearius, G. 146
 Olearius, J. 121
 Oliver, Bernard, bishop of Tortosa 93, 98
 Onqeneira, Isaac 236
 Oppenheim, David 131 n.
 Orabuena, Joseph 170
 Origen 19, 22, 24, 26, 31
 Orobio de Castro, Balthasar 101, 131 n.,
 136, 137, 203, 253, 257–258
 Oropeza, Alfonso de 98
 Oudine, Casimir 137

 Palmroot, J. 130
 Pandera 71, 156
 Papias 34
 Papiscus (from the dialogue *Papiscus and Phi-
 lo*) 58 n., 61, 63
 Papiscus (in *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*
 by Aristo of Pella) 28, 29
 Paschalis of Rome 58, 61, 63
 Paschasius Radbertus 71
 Paul IV 189
 Paul of Tarsus 6, 16, 17, 28–29, 45, 132,
 169
 Paul, Michael 148
 Paulinus of Nola 46
 Paulus de S. Maria (Solomon ha-Levi), ar-
 chbishop of Burgos 90 n., 91, 92 n., 96,
 117, 120, 124 n., 169, 210, 211, 226, 234,
 258
 Paulus, Elhanan, of Prague 121, 122, 130
 Pedro the Cruel 165
 Pellikanus, Konrad 113 n., 114
 Pelusiota, Thaddaeus 61
 Penheiro, Duarte 259
 Penn, William 148
 Pennis, Petrus de, of Teramo 104

- Perez, Jaime 98
 Peter (apostle) 45
 Peter (formerly Pesach, the converted Jew
 against whom Lipmann Mühlhausen
 wrote) 112, 190, 223
 Peter Chrysologus 23
 Peter of Blois 75, 76–77, 89
 Peter of Cornwall 75
 Peter of Pisa 57
 Peter the Chanter 80
 Peter the Venerable 79, 91, 155
 Petrus Galatinus 106, 107, 113, 120, 130,
 230
 Pethsherski, Theodosius 67
 Pfefferkorn, J. 113, 114, 115, 116, 141, 191
 Pfeiffer, A. 128
 Phatir 56
 Philaster, bishop of Brescia 41
 Philip II, king of Spain 100
 Philip ‘teacher’ (in Moses b. Salomon’s *Re-
 joinders*) 103
 Philip of Hesse 119, 191
 Philip of Side 47
 Philip of Tuscany (renegade Jew in Moses b.
 Salomon’s *Rejoinders*) 103
 Philip the Silversmith (in Suidas, ‘On the
 Priesthood of Christ’) 49
 Philo (from the dialogue *Papiscus and Phi-
 lo*) 58 n., 61, 63
 Philo of Alexandria 2, 4, 21 n., 28, 31, 68, 76
 Phinehas b. Eliezer 248
 Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni 106, 120,
 130
 Pinamonti, Pietro 107, 208–209
 Pinto, Isaac de 258
 Pitarra 100
 Pius II 104
 Pizarro, Abraham Israel 149 n., 258
 Placaesus, Josua 143 n.
 Pococke, E. 130
 Poggio, Francesco 198, 199 n.
 Polycarp 27
 Pomis, David b. Isaac de 259
 Pontremoli, Aaron 238
 Posidonius 21
 Prato, Moise da 106 n.
 Prideaux, Humphrey 131
 Priestly, Joseph 252
 Priscus of Paris 56
 Pritius, J. G. 140
 Protonice 46
 Prudentius 42, 58
 Ptolemy IV Philopator 24
 Pulgar, Isaac b. Joseph 94, 202, 238
 Péchi, Simon 126
 Qara, Joseph 84, 150, 152, 222
 al-Qirqisani, Abu-Jussuf Jacob 60 n., 233,
 238–239
 Quintillian 25
 Rab Shesheth 9
 Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz 68,
 70
 Rabbenu Asher of Toledo 224
 Rabbenu Tam 150, 159
 Rabbi Isaac (with whom Epiphanius is said to
 have disputed) 38
 Raimuch, Abraham, of Barbastro 175 n.,
 176 n.
 Rap(p)a, Jonah 239
 Raphael, Marco, of Venice 217
 Rashi (Solomon Yizhaqi of Troyes) 73, 79 n.,
 81 n., 82–84, 147, 156, 157 n., 159,
 160 n., 174, 198, 201, 217, 220, 224
 Ratherius, bishop of Verona 57, 101
 Raymund of Pennafort 91–92, 162, 164,
 187 n., 198
 Reineccius, Chr. 142
 Reland, Adrian 129, 130
 Reuchlin, Johannes (Capnio) 106, 113, 114,
 116, 120, 130, 199–200, 225
 Richard of Devizes 76
 Richard of St. Victor 9
 Ricius, Paul 113
 Rieti, Moses 104, 105 n., 214, 232
 Rittangel, Johann Stephan 101, 130, 136,
 259–260
 Riva, Solomon 199
 Robert of Cricklade 76
 Robert of Reading 88
 Roblik, Elia Liborius 141, 145 n.
 Rodrigues, Pedro 254
 Roman, Abraham 68, 239
 Romanus 62
 Rophe, Daniel b. Solomon, of Offida 104,
 239–240
 Rosenblut 111
 Rosenroth, Christian Knorr von 130
 Rosheim, Josel 116
 Rossi, Azariah de 225
 Rudolph (abbot of St. Trond in Col-
 ogne) 109
 Rupert (abbot of Deutz) 110
 Rödelshheim, Eliezer Sussmann b. Isaac 244

- Sa'id b. Hasan of Alexandria 60 n.
 Saadia b. Joseph al-Fayyumi, Gaon of Sura
 61, 132, 140, 152, 166, 201, 217, 233, 240
 Sabrisho of Mosul 66
 Saertels, Moses 121, 221, 225
 Salomo, Johannes 132, 240
 Salvatici, Victor Porchetus de, of Genoa (Sal-
 vaggio Porcheto) 104, 106, 117
 Salviati, Johannes 198
 Sambari, Joseph b. Isaac 60 n.
 Samuel (Amora) 174
 Samuel (a Carthaginian Jew in Sargis
 d'Aberga) 63
 Samuel (biblical) 156
 Samuel Barukh b. David 153
 Samuel b. Meir (Rashbam) 82, 84, 157
 Samuel ha-Levi 172
 Sancta Clara, Abraham à 122
 Santa Maria, Gonzalo de 176
 Saraval, Jacob Raphael b. Simchah 260
 Sassoferrato, Bartolo de 104
 Scaliger, Joseph 128
 Scandorph, Nicolas P. 140
 Scarella, Giambattista 178
 Scheidt, B. 128, 130
 Schickard, W. 128, 227
 Schoettgen, Christian 142
 Schreiber (a pastor in Copenhagen) 196
 Schudt, J. J. 130, 131, 144 n.
 Schultens, Albert 142
 Schultz, Stephan 194, 195
 Schuppis, Balthasar 192
 Scot, Michael 102
 Segre, Joshua 107, 208, 242, 241
 Selden, John 129
 Sennert, Andreas 129
 Serafimovics, Jan 125
 Sergius (governor in Carthage) 62
 Sergius Stylites 66
 Serra, Nicola 185
 Servetus, Michael 119–120, 134
 Suetonius 19
 Severian of Gabala 38
 Severus of Minorca 42
 Shalom, Eliezer, of Poland 260
 Shalom, Joseph 241
 Ibn Shaprut, Shem Tob b. Isaac of Tudela 95,
 167–168, 205, 212, 222, 237, 240,
 241–242, 248, 255
 Shemaria (rabbi with whom Luther dis-
 puted) 117–118
 Shephatiah (Jewish apologist in the Chronicle
 of Ahimaaaz) 57, 64
 Sibersma, Hero 148
 Sigarra, Arnold de 164
 Sigebert of Gembloux 110
 Silva, Jacob (Roderigo) Mendes da 255
 Simeon b. Yohai 142 n.
 Simeon the prophet (in Luke) 56 n.
 Simlai 8, 10, 32
 Simon (the anchorite) 57
 Simon of Trent 105
 Simon, Richard 128, 130, 141 n., 230, 252
 Sinhagi 60 n.
 Sixtus IV 199
 Sixtus Senensis 189, 230, 256 n.
 Socrates (historian) 47
 Soesman 148
 Soesman, Reuben b. Eleazar Rödel-
 sheim 148, 261
 Soldau, Justus 192
 Solomon (colleague of Mordecai b.
 Yehosephah) 230
 Solomon (in Jean Bodin's *Hepta-
 plomeres*) 121
 Solomon b. Adret (Solomon Adreth), of Bar-
 celona 92, 165, 242
 Solomon b. Ishmael 87–88, 157 n.
 Solomon b. Moses b. Jekuthiel of Rome 103,
 239, 242, 248, 258
 Sozomen 47
 Spanhem, Friedrich 136
 Spencer, John 142
 Spener, Philipp Jacob 192
 Sperling, B. S. (Israel Benedeti) 128 n.
 Spina, Alphonsus de 90 n., 91, 94, 98, 261
 Spinola, Orazio 178
 Spinoza, Baruch 128, 130
 Statthagen, Joseph 180–183
 Stehelin, J. P. 144 n.
 Stephen (in Acts) 6, 16
 Stephen of Bostra 63
 Stephen, bishop of Tournai 90
 Storr, J. P. 145–146, 147
 Stratta, Niccolò 250
 Suidas 59
 Sulpicius Severus 47
 Surenhuis, W. 129
 Sylvester 44, 45
 Tacitus 2, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25
 Tasso, Faustino 104, 188
 Templo, Jacob Judah Leon 101, 261
 Terni, Mattithiah 244
 Tertullian 19, 20, 24, 26 n., 33, 41 n., 59

- Theobald (Thibaut) 111, 153 n.
 Theodoret of Cyrrhus 24, 39
 Theodosius, Rabbi 49
 Theophrastus 2
 Thomas Aquinas 78 n., 103, 169, 230
 Ibn Tibbon, Judah 219, 240
 Timothy (from the dialogue *Timothy and Aquila*) 36
 Todros of Narbonne 150
 Tonkens, Eggo 261
 Tordesillas, Moses ha-Kohen de 94, 95, 189, 202, 205, 232–233, 235
 Torquemada, Thomas de 98
 Torrejoncillo, Francisco de 100
 Torres (Turrianus), Francisco 101
 Tosanus, Daniel 128
 Traversari, Ambrogio 199
 Trevi, Pietro Pichi da 189
 Trigland, Jacob 131
 Troki, Isaac b. Abraham 125, 132, 137, 143, 146, 148, 225–226, 242–243, 258
 Trypho 18, 27, 30, 48
 Ibn Tulun, Ahmed 60
 Tychsen, O. G. 149
- Uffelmann, H. 194
 Ugolino, Blasio 131
 Usque, Samuel 101, 261
- Valmontone, Ishmael 106, 243
 Vehe, Matthias 118 n.
 Velosino, Jacob 101 n., 137
 Venantius Fortunatus 56
 Ibn Verga, Solomon 99, 169, 230
 Victor of Carben 115, 116
 Vincenti, G. M., of Venice 245
 Virgil 76
 Vischel, Nicolaus 111
 Vitringa, Campegius 129
 Vives, Johannes Ludovicus, of Valencia 100
 Vladimir 67
 Voconius, bishop of Castellum in Mauretania Caesarea 41
 Voetius, Gisbert 137
 Voisin, J. de 141 n.
 Voltaire 259
 Volterra, Aaron Hayyim 244
 Voorst, W. H. (G. H. Vorstius) 130, 205
- Wachter, J. G. 130
 Wagenseil, Johann Christoph 112, 142–144, 145, 161 n., 186, 192, 193, 196, 224, 229, 243, 246, 260 n.
- Waldhausen, Konrad 190
 Walter of Châtillon 78, 137
 Wecelinus 109
 Weidner, Paul 190
 Weile (or Veil), Ragstatt de 137, 194
 Werner of Bacharach (Einhorn; Monoceros) 115
 Wesselius, J. W. 258
 Whiston, William 128
 Wicelius (G. Witzel) 118, 200
 Widmann, J. G. 147
 William II, king of England 75
 William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris 151 n., 155, 161
 William of Bourges 80
 William of Champeaux 75
 William of Norwich 23, 76
 Winkler, J. F. 142
 Woeldicke, M. 142
 Wolder, David 128
 Wolf, J. C. 112, 128, 131, 132 n., 205, 206, 247, 249, 250, 251, 253, 256, 257, 259, 261
 Wolf, Jacob 137
 Wülfer, Johannes 133 n., 145, 204, 205, 244, 250
- Ibn Yahya, Joseph 136 n.
 Ibn Yahya, Todros 172, 173
 Ibn Yaish, David 166
 Yannai 67 n.
 Yizhari, Mattithiah b. Moses 96, 173, 226–227
 Yomtob of Joigny 153
- Zaccati, Gregorio 241
 Zacchaeus (from the dialogue *Athanasius and Zacchaeus*) 36
 Zacchaeus the Christian (from *The Consultations of Zacchaeus the Christian and Apollonius the Philosopher*) 39
 Zacharias Rhetor 44 n.
 Zacuto, Abraham 99, 204, 235
 Zalmon (Christian in Mattithiah ha-Yizhari's dialogue) 227
 Zaluski, Andrei 125–126
 Zambri (Jewish spokesman in *Actus Silvestri*) 45
 Zamora, Alfonso de 100

- Zebi, Zalman, of Offenhausen 133n., 244,
250
Zedekiah b. Abraham 160 n.
Zenophilus (one of the two pagan judges in
Actus Silvestri) 45
Zepeda, Alfonso de 203
Zerahiah ha-Levi ('Rabbi Ferrer') 173, 175
Zevi, Shabbethai 129, 184, 185, 256
Zinzendorf, N. L. G. 147
Zwingli, H. 112

Index of Places

- Alcalà de Henares 95, 209
Alcañez 175
Alcolea 175
Aldgate 75
Aleppo 253
Alexandria 2, 29, 31, 32, 43, 49 n., 62
Algiers 212–213
Alsace 217
Alsace-Lorraine 51
Alsfeld 192
Altdorf 112, 142, 148, 224
Altona 140
America 178
Amida 66
Amsterdam 121, 130 n., 136, 138, 148,
183 n., 195, 203, 204, 208, 215, 249, 250,
251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259,
260
Anatolia 39
Ancona 255
Angers 151
Angoulême 151
Anhalt-Bernburg 191
Anjou 159
Anspach 191
Antioch 66
Aqui 241
Aquitaine 169 n.
Arabia 42, 43
Aragon 92, 157, 161, 162, 164, 171, 175 n.,
189, 190, 192
Arles 41, 50, 69, 223
Asia Minor 43
Assyria 159
Augsburg 115, 116 n.
Austria 108, 191
Avignon 151 n., 176 n., 230
Avila 94 n., 165–167, 232

Barcelona 91, 92, 150, 161–165, 168, 173,
186, 187 n., 192, 235
Basel 100, 127, 128, 187, 188 n., 198, 253
Bavaria 74, 112
Bejar 233
Berlin 144, 146, 193
Berytus 23 n., 65
Bethlehem 237
Bohemia 111, 117, 122, 128, 190, 195, 225
Bologna 198, 199, 245, 247
Bordeaux 259
Borgo S. Sepolcro 250
Brabant 257
Braganza 257
Brazil 249
Brescia 41
Briey 134
Brittany 159
Brod 229
Brody 126
Brunswick-Lüneburg 192
Buda 183 n., 184 n.
Bützwow 149
Burgos 94, 96, 169
Byzantium 56 n., 61, 67

Caesarea 32
Cairo 205, 226, 253
Calabria 102, 103
Calatayud 175
Cambrai 75
Cambridge 129 n.
Candia (Crete) 235
Canterbury 73, 75, 77
Cappadocia 43
Cartagena 169
Carthage 33, 63
Casale 241
Caspé 175
Castellum in Mauretania Caesarea 41
Castile 94, 157, 165, 187, 189, 190, 238
Catalonia 211
Cattaro 105

- Celle 181, 182, 192
 Ceuta 243
 Chartres 71
 China 166
 Chmielnicki 184 n.
 Châlon 69
 Cilicia 43
 Clermont 56
 Cleve 195
 Cluny 79, 89, 151
 Cologne 97, 109, 114, 115, 116, 199, 229, 248
 Constance 190, 198
 Constantinople 57, 65, 66, 205–206, 215, 218, 260
 Copenhagen 137, 140, 196
 Corbie in Picardy 71
 Cracow 124 n., 125, 147, 206
 Crete 89 n., 231, 235
 Cyprus 27, 38, 43
 Córdoba 203
- Dalmatia 43
 Danzig 132
 Darmstadt 147
 Daroca 175
 Delft 192
 Denmark 140, 142, 196
 Dessau 195
 Deutz 110
 Divonne 134
 Dresden 142
- Ecija 95
 Edom 108, 205 n.
 Egypt 20 n., 60, 159, 178, 219
 Eisleben 118
 Endingen 111 n.
 England 68, 72–78, 88 n., 90, 91, 104, 110, 131–132, 137–139, 141, 142, 157, 181, 185, 190–191, 195, 199, 253, 257, 260 n.
 Ephesus 28, 30, 65
 Erfurt 109 n., 199
 Essen 140
 Ethiopia 157
 Europe 53, 61, 127, 149, 192
 Exeter 75
- Fano 217
 Ferrara 176–180, 188, 197, 199, 204, 206, 215, 245, 251, 261
 Florence 105, 106 n., 198, 241, 251
 Fraga 97, 175
- France 51, 54, 55 n., 68–71, 78–90, 86, 87, 90, 109, 112, 120, 121, 135, 142, 152, 153, 154, 157, 161, 162, 187, 190, 198, 199, 201, 206, 207, 210, 211, 216, 220, 222, 246, 254, 257, 258
 Frankfurt a. M. 113, 130 n., 140, 149 n., 191, 192, 193, 195
 Frankfurt a. O. 141
 Fulda 68, 191
- Galilee 29, 38
 Gaul 43, 55, 56
 Geneva 120, 134–135
 Germany 77, 87, 109–112, 131, 141, 149, 152 n., 186 n., 191, 192, 193, 199, 223, 229, 246, 247
 Gerona 162, 164, 175 n.
 Giessen 128, 192
 Goslar 133
 Gotha 142
 Göttingen 141
 Grado 58 n.
 Greece 157
 Greifswald 141, 142
 Groningen 137, 195, 250
 Gross-Meseritsch 141
- Hague, the 137, 258
 Haifa 165
 Halle 141, 146, 148, 193
 Hamburg 128, 131, 132, 140, 142, 149, 151 n., 183 n., 192, 207, 243, 261
 Hannover 180–183, 192
 Heidelberg 114, 144, 199
 Heilbronn 145, 147
 Helmstedt 121, 133, 141
 Herborn 128, 142
 Hesse-Kassel 192
 Hierapolis 31
 Hippo 41
 Holland 101, 121 n., 128, 131, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 142, 148, 192, 195, 249, 253, 259
 Huesca 90–91
 Hungary 116 n., 126, 132, 141, 147, 178, 183, 184
- India 205
 Ingolstadt 113, 114 n., 115
 Italy 43, 56–57, 64, 66, 67, 68, 101–108, 113, 114, 128, 142, 178, 186, 187 n., 188, 189, 198, 199, 200, 203, 214, 217, 239, 241, 244, 245, 250

- Jena 128, 141
 Jerusalem 15, 18, 30, 46–47, 165, 201, 214,
 233
 Jessnitz 249
 Judaea 29
 Jung-Bunzlau 195

 Kaminiec-Podolsk 185
 Kammelig 191
 Karlsruhe 205
 Killaloe 139
 Kunitz 118
 Königsberg 141, 144, 260

 Ledra 27
 Leerdam 137
 Leeuwarden 148
 Leicester 77
 Leiden 131, 136, 192
 Leipzig 128, 141, 142, 199
 Leon 165
 Lerida 175, 242
 Lincoln 75, 77
 Lindau 112, 223
 Lisbon 121, 135, 257
 Lithuania 124, 242, 260
 Loccum 181 n.
 Lombardy 187
 London 73, 76, 138, 139, 169, 183, 194,
 206, 260
 Lorca 170
 Loretto 111
 Lotharingia 110, 134
 Louvain 114
 Lublin 125
 Lucca 57
 Lwów (Lemberg) 185
 Lydda 23 n.
 Lyons 13, 69, 70, 98, 120, 151 n.
 Lüneburg 194

 Macedonia 65
 Maella 175
 Magdeburg 117
 Mainz 53 n., 68, 73, 109 n., 110, 186
 Majorca 94, 212
 Mans 150, 152
 Mantua 104–105, 107, 170 n.
 Mauretania Caesarea 43
 Meaux 151
 Media 157
 Mesopotamia 238
 Metz 110, 134, 137, 181

 Middelburg 261
 Milan 45 n., 104, 245
 Minorca 186 n.
 Mitau 194
 Modena 244
 Montchauvet 151, 207
 Montpellier 86
 Moravia 128, 141, 229
 Morea 66 n.
 Morocco 139, 251
 Murcia 170

 Nagy-Ida 183–184
 Naples 104–105, 207
 Narbonne 69, 91, 186, 227, 228
 Navarre 170
 Naxos 236
 Neapolis, Cyprus 63
 Neapolis, Samaria 43
 Nejran 48
 Neusalz 195
 Nicaea 218
 North Africa 43, 63, 142, 243
 Nuremberg 98, 113, 142, 145, 191

 Offenbach 204
 Offida 104, 239
 Oria 57, 64
 Orvieto 214
 Osrhoene 43
 Oxford 76, 77, 198, 199, 259

 Padua 134, 239, 255
 Palermo 253
 Palestine 9, 30 n., 32, 38, 40, 43, 63, 130,
 161, 165, 211, 233
 Palma 212
 Pamplona 95, 167–168
 Paris 71, 74, 77, 79–80, 88, 111, 113, 150,
 151 n., 152 n., 153–161, 163, 165, 168,
 175 n., 198, 199, 207, 217, 224, 228, 254
 Parma 131
 Passau 110
 Pavia 57
 Perpignan 189, 231
 Persia 7, 27 n., 36, 43, 47
 Pesaro 204, 245
 Podolia 185
 Poitiers 75, 151 n.
 Poitou 159
 Poland 116 n., 123–126, 128, 134, 140,
 147, 184, 185, 194, 196

- Portugal 98, 99, 100, 132, 135, 157, 193,
 203, 205, 253, 254, 257
 Prague 111, 112, 118, 121, 122, 190, 196,
 199, 223, 241
 Provence 54, 73, 91, 177 n., 202, 215, 220,
 222, 231
 Ravenna 23 n., 56
 Recanati 106, 189
 Regensburg 110, 113, 115, 117, 191
 Rheda 194
 Rhineland 217
 Rimini 105
 Rinteln 181
 Rome 2, 34, 43, 44–45, 49, 50, 51, 56, 101,
 104, 107, 108, 110, 131, 154, 185, 188–189,
 196, 199, 205 n., 214, 232, 242, 247, 251
 Rostock 149, 199
 Rotterdam 257
 Rouen 50, 253, 256, 259
 Russia 61, 66, 108
 Sabbioneta 204, 206, 207
 Safed 261
 St. Agatha 184 n.
 St. Malo 152
 Salamanca 113, 198, 233
 Salamis (in Cyprus) 27 n., 38
 Salisbury (Sarum) 50, 139 n.
 Samaria 43
 San Mateo 172
 Saragossa 175, 226
 Savoy 189 n.
 Scandiano 241
 Schloss Ronneburg 147
 Schneittach 112, 224
 Segovia 168
 Sens 75, 150, 151, 152, 155, 218
 Seville 58, 257
 Shechem 30 n.
 Sicily 103, 106
 Siena 250
 Silesia 195
 Smyrna 27
 Spain 50 n., 54, 55, 56, 58, 60, 68, 69, 71,
 90–101, 114, 120, 121, 125, 135, 142,
 169, 189, 190, 191, 193, 198, 202, 203,
 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 216, 218, 219,
 222, 226, 233, 241, 246, 257
 Statthagen 181
 Strasbourg 119, 141
 Surinam 148, 149 n., 259
 Syria 43, 184
 Szabolcs 90
 Tamarite 175
 Taphar 48
 Tarascon 162
 Tarazona 168
 Tarragona 186
 Thessalonica (Saloniki) 64, 67, 203, 204
 Thessaly 65
 Tiberias 23 n., 29, 49, 63
 Tivoli 51
 Toledo 58, 59, 71, 94, 166
 Tordesillas 165
 Tortosa 93, 95, 96, 97, 111 n., 150, 167,
 169–176, 187, 206, 209, 226, 244, 250
 Toulouse 257
 Tournai 90
 Tours 56
 Transylvania 123, 126
 Trent 117
 Troki 242
 Trévoux 160
 Tunis 99
 Turin 21, 41
 Turkey 184
 Tuscany 250
 Tusculum 160
 Tübingen 128
 Utrecht 137, 192
 Valencia 98, 190, 216
 Valladolid 90, 94, 167
 Vannes 152
 Venice 105, 131, 134, 188, 189, 204, 216,
 246, 253, 254, 255, 257, 260
 Verona 57, 250
 Vicenza 105
 Vienna 69, 77, 115, 122, 196, 198, 199
 Villefranche 223
 Viterbo 251
 Wallachia 245
 Wandsbek 250
 Weissensee 117
 Westphalia 194
 Wetterau 147
 Winchester 76
 Wittenberg 114, 117–118, 141, 199
 Worcester 75
 Worms 110, 113, 117, 132
 Württemberg 195
 Yemen 27, 48, 226
 York 153 n.
 Zeist 195

Index of Subjects

- Abraham
- seed of 16, 49
 - viewed in tradition as polemist 1
- Albigensians 88, 154
- Amulets, examined by Christian theologians 149 n.
- Angels
- fallen 210
 - mediaeval Jewish invocation of 225
 - said to be worshipped by Jews 19–20, 31
 - *See also* Metatron
- Anglicans *see* England, Church of; Episcopal Church of U. S. A.
- Antichrist
- messiah awaited by Jews as 64
 - Gog and Magog 242
- Antisemitism
- in antiquity 2, 13–16
 - in pagan accusations repeated by Christians 19–26
 - in Germany 117
 - in Poland 125–6
 - *See also* Blood Libel; Murder, ritual; and the index of persons s. Brentz; Eisenmenger; Sancta Clara, Abraham à
- Apocrypha, of Old Testament 1, 32, 73, 243, 247
- *See also* Baruch; Epistle of Jeremy
- Apocrypha, biblical, adapted or written by Christians 25–7, 76, 77
- Apostles, of Christ
- accused of stealing his body, 5–6
 - as recipients of a new law, 18
 - called apostates, 71
 - criticized in polemic, 239
 - foretold in Dan. xi 14, 240
 - in the Talmud, 11–12
 - persecution of, 6
 - their exegesis false, 212
 - their writings criticized, 209
 - witness to the Thirteen Principles of Judaism, 235
- Apostles, sent by Jewish authorities 5–6
- Apostolic Fathers, polemic in 14, 17, 22
- Arabic
- Christian anti-Jewish polemic in, 60, 71–2 n.
 - Christian study of, 54, 114, 142, 146, 165, 198
 - Jewish anti-Christian polemic in, 60–61, 67, 219, 226 n., 237–8, 240
 - quoted to explain Hebrew word, 166
- Aramaic
- biblical text, 3
 - gospel in, 12–13
 - polemic in, 12, 25–6, 99, 242
 - rabbinic passages, 92, 136 n.
 - study and teaching of, 113, 114, 129, 198
 - Targums, 25–6, 140, 193, 234, 260
 - *See also* Mystical texts; Syriac
- Art, Christian, polemical aspects of 55, 64 n., 128
- Articles of belief
- Christian, 209–10, 249
 - Jewish *see* Principles
- Austin Canons *see* Canons Regular
- Badge, Jewish 112 n., 230
- Baptism
- abjuration of Judaism at 28
 - compulsory 56, 63, 95, 139 (opposed), 210 n., 229
 - in controversy 86, 103, 178, 182, 210, 212, 246
 - *Iudaeus odor* washed away by 24 n.
 - of Jews *en masse* 56, 63, 95, 175, 185
 - of young Jews 68, 98
 - of slaves belonging to Jews 68–9
 - preparation for 193 • *See also* Catechesis
 - sermons at 189, 195
 - sponsors at, noble 185
 - *See also* Compulsion
- Barnacle-geese, in argument for Virgin-birth 76
- Baruch, biblical book of 73
- *See also* Epistle of Jeremy
- Biblical exegesis
- Christian debt to Jewish 3–5, 14, 31–2, 34, 40, 68, 79–80, 84 n.

- Jewish, polemic in 81–8, 99–100, 108, 121, 153–4 n., 203–5, 225 n., 235, 241 • appended to supercommentary on Rashi on the Pentateuch, 217
- methods of 3–4, 10–11, 17–18, 28–9, 53, 83–5, 234
- Biblical testimonies, Christian use of 4–5, 15, 31, 34, 36, 57, 58, 63, 81, 192, 212, 216, 217 n., 222, 247, 252, 254
- Biblical texts in controversy (selected)
 - Gen. i 26 11, 85
 - Gen. xlix 10 40, 71, 81, 84, 85, 86, 154, 163, 174, 178, 223, 239, 241, 242, 257, 259
 - Num. xxiii–xxiv 10, 113 (Stella Meschiah), 235
 - Deut. xiii 4 85, 87
 - Deut. xiv 151
 - Deut. xxi 23 29, 40
 - Deut. xxviii 36 204, 219
 - Deut. xxxii 21 86, 204
 - Isa. vii 14 79, 86, 117, 208, 222, 249, 257
 - Isa. ix 1–6 83, 86, 166, 257
 - Isa. xi 1–2 86
 - Isa. xlix 1–6 194
 - Isa. liii 15, 81, 83, 86, 115, 124, 135, 163, 164 n., 227, 246, 253, 254, 258
 - Jer. xxiii 5–6 132
 - Jer. xxxi 83, 87, 166, 255
 - Hos. ix 12 LXX 218
 - Ps. ii 83, 120, 134, 255
 - Ps. xxii 255
 - Ps. lxix 33
 - Ps. lxxii 249
 - Ps. cx 11 n., 83, 163, 218, 222, 249
 - Dan. ix 26 81, 85, 163, 166, 203, 205, 235, 248, 253
 - Dan. xi 14 87, 240
 - Baruch iii 36–8 73
 - *See also* Gospels; New Testament
- Blood libel 16 n., 143, 145, 154, 185, 247, 250
 - *See also* Murder, ritual
- Book-collection 200
- Burning Bush 81, 151

- Cabbalah
 - *see* Mystical writing, Jewish
- Calvinists (Reformed Church) 119–121, 123, 127 (Buxtorfs), 129 (Vitringa), 252
 - *See also* Huguenots
- Camaldolese order, *see* Hermits
- Canon law
 - attacks on Judaism in 28, 58–9, 88
 - encouragement of Hebrew study in 198–200
 - protection of Jews in 58
 - repression of Jews by 54–5
 - *See also* Councils
- Canons Regular
 - Austin Canons 91
 - Victorines 79–80, 85 n.
- Carthusians 104
- Catechesis (catechist, catechism, catechumen, instruction) 33, 34, 35, 107, 118, 143, 192, 195, 241
- Celibacy
 - of ascetics or the clergy, criticized 36, 102–3, 104
- Censorship of Jewish literature 9 n., 59, 92, 98, 100–101, 107–8, 117, 133 n., 160–1, 164–5, 176, 204, 206, 218, 219, 220–1, 226 n., 235 n., 250
 - *See also* Talmud
- Chapter and verse
 - Christian division of biblical text into, adopted by Jews 87–8, 247
- Charities for the benefit of converts 89–90
- Commandments, Pentateuchal
 - Christian understandings of 4, 15–16, 20, 24, 34, 66, 77–8, 84, 163
 - Christian view of, reflected in the Talmud 12 n.
 - Jewish polemic concerning 84, 99, 203, 212, 213, 214, 218, 228, 230, 242
- Compulsion, in mission to Jews
 - allowed 93, 98, 132
 - allowed for the persentation of arguments 139, 180, 186–97
 - in mass conversion 49, 56, 63, 95
 - not to be employed 41, 58, 133, 187–8, 190
- Confession, auricular, as topic in polemic 9 n., 104
- Controversy, university chair of 192
- Councils
 - Basel (1431), 198
 - Fourth Lateran (1215), 74, 77
 - Oxford (1222), 77
 - Szabolcs (1092), 90
 - Valladolid (1328), 90
 - Vienna (1267), 77
 - Vienne (1311), 198–200
 - conciliar decrees, 88

- Covenant, new as opposed to old 18, 23, 34, 86–7, 111 n. (*Ee*), 246, 255
 – *See also* Commandments
- Creed, Christian, quoted in Latin, translated into Hebrew and German 247
- Crusades 74, 109
- Cursing of Christianity, Jews charged with 25 n., 30, 69, 94, 115, 143, 144, 159, 167
 – *See also* Prayers, s. Alenu, Eighteen Benedictions
- Dead Sea Scrolls, *see* Qumran texts
- Decide, charge of 16 n., 21; cf. 130 n.
- Disloyalty to rulers, charge of 20–21, 25, 243
 – *See also* Prayers, s. Eighteen Benedictions
- Disputation
 – blows at 57, 89
 – by Jews, prohibited 77, 119
 – commendation of 99, 103, 192, 204 n.
 – compulsory 132, 166, 167 n.
 – eschewal of 8, 77, 117, 141, 147
 – language of, Latin 54, 157 • vernacular or based on vernacular biblical versions 83, 125, 197–8, 232
 – method of, discussed 7–8, 32–3, 36, 62, 86, 101–2, 103–4, 110–11, 143, 146–7, 149–50, 192–3, 234
 – occasions of (selected) • at abbey 89 • at court 47–8, 105, 106, 156–8, 162–3, 176–8, 180–3 • at house of Jew 57; 167 (under constraint) • at house of Pico della Mirandola 106; of Peter Allix 140 • at inn, 75, 117 • at monastery in Cracow 125 • at university of Rinteln 181 • before bishop of Sens 151 • before cardinal Pedro de Luna, later (anti-)pope Benedict XIII 167, 169–76 • between clerk, Jew, and knight, in Spain 223 • in a Barcelona synagogue 164 • in church at Avila 166 • in Cairo and Constantinople 205 • in Middelburg colloquy 260 • on pilgrimage at Loretto 111 • on the road 152 • with clergy in Spain 206 • with Franciscan at Orvieto 214 • with church dignitary at Lindau 223 • at Soria, 231 with friar in • Rome 232 • with preacher of duke of Florence in Aquil 241
- Dominicans (Friars Preachers, Jacobins) 54, 91–2, 103–4, 105, 113–14, 116, 152, 154, 155, 163–4, 172, 187, 190–1, 216, 217, 228, 230
- Domus conversorum* 90, 191
- Drama
 – Christian 50–51, 111–2
 – Jewish 245
- Edom, as symbol of the church 108, 205 n., 261
- England, Church of 138–140, 194, 197
- Enoch, first Book of 59
- Episcopal Church of U. S. A. 197 n.
- Epistle of Jeremy (= Baruch vi) 1
- Era, Christian, as topic in polemic 212
- Eucharist (Lord's Supper, mass)
 – as topic in Jewish-Christian controversy 97, 103, 121, 178, 210, 212, 244 n., 230, 246
 – as viewed and conducted by 'Judaizing' Christians 123, 134
 – desecration of, as anti-Jewish charge 23 n., 74
- Festivals, Christian
 – anti-Jewish polemic in connection with at paschal season 31, 37, 38, 39
 – Jewish polemic against 224 n., 226, 239
- Festivals, Jewish,
 – criticism of Jewish behaviour at, reflected in Targum 25
 – Christian tract on 40
- Franciscan(s) (Cordeliers, Minorites) 54, 88, 93, 104, 152, 172, 191, 214, 221, 230, 232
 – Spiritual 93
 – tertiaries 92
- Frankists 140, 184–5
- Free Will *see* Grace
- Friars
 – Austin (Augustinian Hermits) 93, 98
 – Carmelite 257
 – Dominican (Friars Preachers, Jacobin) *see* separate entry
 – Franciscan (Cordelier, Minorite) *see* separate entry
 – Hieronymite 98
 – Minimite 255
 – orders of, hinted at in Deut. xxxii 21 86
- Genealogies of Christ, *see* Gospels
- Ghosts 160
- Gnosticism 9–10
- Gospels
 – contradictions between, 245
 – genealogies of, in disputation, 65, 148, 213, 237

- questions on, in polemic, 216, 239, 246, 251
- quoted in disputation, 166
- translated into Hebrew, 168, 242, 245
- unfitted to constitute new law, 93, 179, 210
- Grace and free will as topic in Jewish-Christian debate 207, 231–2
- Greek
 - Jewish scriptures in 3, 62 • see also Septuagint
 - New Testament quoted in 236
 - polemical writings in 14, 17–18, 43, 47–9, 58, 61–8
 - study of 73, 198–9
 - translation from • of a Disputation, 58 • of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 77
- Haemorrhage, fable of Jewish 148
- Hard-heartedness *see* Obstinacy
- Hebrew
 - Christian study of 32, 39–40, 54, 68 n., 73–4, 88–9, 104, 105, 113–6, 120–1, 127–31, 132–3, 197–200, 225
 - Christian polemic in 94, 97, 99, 121, 241
 - Jewish teaching of, to non-Jews 39–40, 88–9 (n.), 105, 113–4, 132, 159, 198–9, 235
 - Josephus in 76
 - literature, post-biblical, translated by Christians 205, Abravanel • 220, David Kimhi • 226, Maimonides • 227 n., Mattithiah ha-Yizhari • 234 n., Isaac Troki • *see also* Talmud
 - New Testament texts in 92, 118 n., 168
 - viewed as distinctively Jewish in Christian legend 46, 111
- Hellenism 47–8
- Heresy
 - Judaism attacked together with 27, 28, 40–1, 58, 65, 78, 88, 110–111
- Hermits (anchorites) 57 (Nilus, Simon), 65 n. (Neophytos), 66 (Sergius Stylites)
 - Augustinian, *see* Friars, Austin
 - Camaldolese 199
- Host desecration, charge of *see* Eucharist
- Huguenots, Judaism discussed by
 - Abbadie, 139–40
 - Allix, 139–40, 259
 - Basnage, 101, 130–1, 208, 255
 - Bodin, 120–1
 - J. la Croze, 146
 - Gousset, 137, 243 n.
 - Jacquelot, 137, 252
 - Philippe de Mornay, 135
 - writer rebutted by Orobio de Castro, 258
- Hymns
 - anti-Jewish polemic in 37, 58, 62
 - Judaizers' polemic against other Christians in 126
 - *See also* Piyut; Verse compositions
- Images (icons, pictures)
 - Christian, Jews said to defile 65
 - pictures should be removed from churches visited by Jews 191–2
 - veneration of, rejected by Jews 20, 69, 73, 84, 85, 184, 189, 203, 218, 230
- Immorality
 - as charge against clergy, in debate 103, 214, 233
 - of Christian behaviour 228, 233
- Inquisition, in
 - Avignon 230–1
 - Bohemia 111
 - Ferrara 178–9
 - Portugal 135, 257
 - Rome 250
 - Spain 98, 125, 257
- Invective
 - Christian 11, 16, 19–25
 - Jewish 70–71, 156, 224, 227, 228
- Islam (Moors, Muslims, Saracens)
 - Christianity defended against Islam, 61, 91, 97–8, 166, 177, 186, 190, 252
 - Christian polemic against Judaism and Islam together, 93, 97–8, 186, 190
 - common ground between Muslim and Christian critiques of Judaism, 242 n.
 - Jewish-Christian debate under Islam, 69–61, 239, in presence of Muslims as well as Christians, 166
 - Jewish polemic against Islam and Christianity together, 92, 105, 177, 205, 206, 207, 212–3, 215, 219, 227, 233, 238–9, 242
 - Muslim and interlocutor of Marrano descent, 260
 - Muslim polemist of Jewish origin, 59–60, 219
 - Muslims best deserve to hold Jerusalem, 233
 - Muslims, not Jews, to be subject to persecution and forced conversion, 247

- opposition to Christianity and Judaism in, 53
- *See also* Ka'ba
- Israel
 - Christians as (true) 19, 182
 - divine rejection of, as topic in controversy 16, 17, 18 n., 19, 22, 103, 159, 214, 216 (see nos. 24 & 25), 228 (election of Israel proved), 230, 231, 239 (length of exile)
 - *See also* Covenant; Messiah
- Jerusalem, sanctity of 214, 233
 - *See also* index of places
- Jesuits 101, 122 n., 138, 149 n., 178, 239
- Jesus
 - atonement through, argument against 246
 - called 'hanged man' by Jews 118, 224 n., 240–1
 - criticized as deceiver and/or sorcerer 5, 37, 85, 87, 183–4
 - Davidic descent of, *see* Gospels, s. genealogies and Messiah
 - divinity of, and the doctrine of the incarnation, as topic in Jewish-Christian debate 10, 14, 38, 49, 56, 73, 75, 78, 92, 97, 112, 118, 140, 146, 163–4, 178, 203, 210, 212, 218, 230, 237, 239, 244, 248, 249
 - doubts of principle on story of 218, 230
 - duly tried by the Sanhedrin 258
 - in the Talmud *see* Talmud
 - Jews held to have reports concerning 64, 76
 - presentation of, in instruction of Jews 118
 - prophecies by, as topic in disputation 190
 - seen in vision 48
 - status of, differing Christian views concerning 14, 112
 - *See also* Messiah; Toldoth Jeshu
- Jews
 - depiction of in Christian texts 13–14, 28–9, 35, 77, 111, 116 n., 117
 - have no right to the name 'Jew' 66, cf. 19
 - legal status of 116 n., 154
- Judah
 - Christians as true 19
 - mediaeval and modern rulers from 178
 - *See also* Biblical Texts in controversy, s. Gen. xlix 10
- 'Judaizing' Christians,
 - anti-Jewish polemic by 119–20, 123–6
- Ka'ba 219
- Karaites, Karaism 60, 124–5, 131, 132, 154 n., 218–9, 223, 238, 240, 242–3, 260 n.
- Labour, Jews to be compelled to 117, 194
- Letters, polemic in
 - carried by Jewish emissaries according to Eusebius, 5–7
 - *Letter of Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai*, 7
 - letters by Paul the apostle 15–17 • Augustine 40 • Samuel Maroccanus 71, 139, 215, 234 • Abner of Burgos 94 n., 241 • Astruc Raimuch 97 • Paulus de Heredia 99 • Paulus de Sancta Maria 169–70 • Joshua ha-Lorki 170, 226 • Profiat Duran 211, 218 • Jacob b. Elijah 216 • Maimonides 226 • draft letter of protest to Louis IX on measures against Jews 228 • Hayyim ibn Musa 234 • Isaac Pulgar 238 • Joseph Shalom 241 • letter addressed to Tranquillo Corcos 251 • *Lettre d'un juif* 252 • by Isaac de Pinto 259 • J. S. Rittangel 259–60 • Jacob Saraval 260
- Lutherans (Evangelical Church) 118, 123, 124 n., 133, 139, 142, 146–8, 180–3, 191–6, 200
- Maimonidean Controversy 88, 91, 154, 226 n., 242
- Mariavite sisterhood, *see* Women
- Marranos (New Christians) 95, 98, 100, 115–16 n., 120, 125, 135–6, 138–9, 176 n., 253, 254, 260
- Marriage of Jews with near relatives, criticized 152, 160
- Martyrs
 - Christian, Acts of 7, 27
 - Jewish 95, 121, 125, 153 n.
- Mary, mother of Jesus
 - Jews in legend of 55 n., 56
 - polemic against 144, 156, 212, 239
 - *See also* Virgin-birth and the index of persons s. Mary; Pandera
- Massoretic Pointing 234
- Messiah (selected passages)
 - argument for Jesus as, in New Testament 15 • church fathers 17 • Basil of Seleucia 39 • Julian of Toledo 59 • *Doctrina Jacobi* 62–3 • *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* 63 • Paschasius Radbertus, Fulbert of Chartres, and Samuel Maroccanus 71 •

- Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs 78 • R. Grosseteste 78 • Raymund Martini 92 • Faustino Tasso 104–5 • Petrus Nigri 113 • Paulus of Prague 121 • F. W. Christlieb 133 • I. Jacquolot 137 • Richard Kidder 139 • P. Felgenhauer 140 • W. Schoettgen 142 n. • P. E. Christfels 147 • prescribed by Benedict XIII as topic for sermons to Jews 190 • in J. Soldau 192 • a Jews' Catechism 192
- in Jewish sources: Babylonian Talmud 59, 133 n., 142 n., 163, 172–4, 205, 234 • *Zerubbabel* 71 • Rashi 83–4 • rabbinical texts 92, 134, 140, 147, 162–3 • Ab-ravanel 99–100, 204–5, 206 n. • the Cab-balah 121, 185 • Rabbi Löw of Prague (Maharal) 122 n. • Jacob of Belzyce and Isaac Troki 125 • Spanish sermon in Lon-don 139 • Philo and the Targums 140 • Saadia 140, 240 • Nahmanides 163–4, 206 n., 235 • Saul Morteira and Isaac Am-ram 181–2 • the Frankists 185 • Bahya ibn Halāwa 208 n. • Maimonides 226 • Hayyim ibn Musa 234 • Manasseh ben Israel 254
 - literary or oral debate on the: in Tertul-lian 33 • Latinized by Paschalis 58 • in Nicholas de Lyra 80 • Raymund Lull 93 • Isaac Abravanel 99–100, 204–5, 206 • Solomon b. Moses b. Jekuthiel 103–4, 242 • Hugh Broughton 121 • Martin Czechovicz, Jacob of Belzyce and Isaac Troki 125 • anonymous *Dissertation* 138 • R. Kidder 139 • P. Allix 139–40 • D. Brenius 140 • *Dialogo* published 1765 141 • G. B. De Rossi 141 • G. Olearius 146 • Barcelona disputa-tion 163, 164 • Nahmanides 163–4, 206 n. • Pamplona disputation 167 • Joshua ha-Lorki 170 • Tortosa disputa-tion 172–4 • Ferrara disputation (1617) 179 • Hanover disputation 181–2 • S. Brett's *Narrative* 183–4 • Abraham Ger 204 • G. H. Vorstius 205 • A. Hul-sius 205 • J. H. Mai, junior 205 • a seven-teenth-century author, perhaps J. Wülfer 205 • Joseph Albo 206 • Hayyim Galipapa 206 • Maimonides 206 n., 226 • J. Blitz 208 • Hasdai Crescas 210 • David Franco Mendes 215 • Jacob b. Reuben 216 • David Kimhi 221 • Meir b. Simeon 228 • Leone Modena 230 • Mor-decai b. Yehosephah 231 • Isaac Pul-gar 238 • Daniel Rophe 239 • Aaron Hayyim Volterra 244 • *Kevod Elohim* 246 • M. R. d'Aguiar 249 • *Lettre d'un juif* 252 • *Lettre des Rab-bins* 252 • Judah Lumbrozo 252 • Philip Limborch 253 • Nathaniel Elijah 256 • Orobio de Castro 257–8
 - Metatron
 - not Christ, addressed Moses 11
 - Mezuzah 251
 - Millennium, chiliasm 59, 138, 140
 - Min(-im, -ut)*
 - Birkat ha-Minim, *see* Prayers and liturgical
 - formulae
 - censorship of the term 108
 - in mediaeval writings 83–4, 86, 152, 159, 190, 207
 - in rabbinic polemic 7–10
 - Miracles
 - argument from in the Hebrew Bible 1, 15 • in the New Testament 15–16 • in disputa-tion 45, 179, 209, 228, 248
 - ecclesiastical 27, 45, 56, 65, 110
 - Jewish 45, 228
 - of Jesus, 85, 87, 111, 138, 179, 184, 239, 248
 - of Moses and the prophets 1, 15
 - Murder, ritual, charge of 23, 74, 76, 105, 111, 115 n., 117, 125, 251
 - *See also* Blood libel
 - Mystical writings, Jewish
 - anti-Christian polemic in 201
 - argument for Christianity from 70 • in Paulus de Heredia 99, 106, 217 • Pico del-la Mirandola 106 n. • Petrus Galatinus 106, 113, 230 • Reuchlin 113 • Paulus of Prague 121 • J. S. Rittangel 130, 260 • C. Knorr von Rosenroth, Henry More, and J. F. Buddeus 130 • criticized by C. Gerson 133 • in Aaron Margarita 137 • W. Schoettgen 142 n. • J. C. Heilbron-ner 147–8 • the Hanover disputation of 1704 182 • among the Frankists 185 • in a 1561 sermon by Paul Weid-ner 190–191 n. • P. J. Spener 193 • mediaeval writers 213 • answered by Jair b. Shabbethai 217 • Leone Modena 230
 - Christian criticism of 70
 - Jewish criticism of 70, 213, 227 n., 229, 238
 - Jewish defence of 214
 - Name, divine, in Hebrew (*Shem ha-mephor-*

- ash)* 45, 76–7, 93, 102, 111, 117, 190–1 n.
- New Testament
- Christian polemic reflected in, 14–17
 - designation of books as, 18
 - passages from, in controversy (selected) Matt. v 17 12 n., 126 • Matt. xxvii 25 16, 22, 100 (implied) • John viii 44 17, 24 • I Cor. i 30 132 • II Cor. iii–iv 16 • Gal. iii–iv 4, 16 • I Thess. ii 15–16 16, 21
 - Pauline epistles of, help to lead Solomon ha-Levi to baptism, 169
 - polemic in form of objections to, 209, 241, 255
 - proofs from not binding 234
 - quotations from Jewish scriptures in criticized, 243
 - quoted in Hebrew, 12 n., 92 n., 115, 209
 - read in Latin by Lipmann Mühlhausen 223
 - *See also* Gospels
- Oath, Jewish 260
- Obstinacy (hard-heartedness), charge of 16, 19, 23, 25, 46, 47, 79, 93, 140, 144
- Original Sin 106, 121, 167, 210, 212, 214, 230, 246, 255
- Paganism, Greek and Roman
- and Judaism, attacked together 33, 105
 - foreshadows the gospel 47
 - Jewish argument against 9–10 n.
 - opposition to Christianity in 6 n.
 - opposition to Judaism in 2–3, 19–26
- Perfidia* 47, 76, 80, 96, 197
- Persecution
- of Christians 5–7, 27, 42, 237
 - of Jews 46, 93, 95, 103, 165, 169, 211–2, 223, 247
- Pharisees 3–4, 15, 183–4
- Philosophes*, their links with Jewish polemic 258–259
- Physicians, Jewish, defended 259
- Piyyut
- Jewish polemic in 67, 109, 145 n., 153 n., 160 n., 210, 237
- Poetry, *see* Hymns, Piyyut, Verse compositions
- Pope, as topic in Jewish-Christian debate 212, 246
- Prayer for Jews 192, 197
- Prayers and liturgical formulae, Jewish 25, 69, 94, 114, 145, 156, 159, 176 n., 221, 227 n., 229, 243, 246
- Alenu 115 n., 143–4, 215, 224, 226
 - Eighteen Benedictions (Amidah), including Birkat ha-Minim 8, 30, 94, 156, 159, 167, 224, 226, 229 n., 244
 - Kol Nidre 156, 175 n.
 - Selihot 145, 148
 - Shema 229
- Principles of Judaism, Thirteen 205, 206, 229, 231, 235, 238
- Profiat, the name, a form of *Perfectus* 210 n.
- Prophecy
- Christian argument concerning, in the New Testament 15–16 • in later writings 18–19, 31, 42, 46, 49–50, 65–6, 69, 77, 190, 214
 - *See also* Jesus
- Proselytes 33, 53, 61 n., 66, 71, 77, 103, 115–6, 126, 135 n., 203, 213, 237, 247, 249
- acceptance of Christian, inadvisable 208 n.
 - burnt to death 77
 - Christians wish to become 134–5
- Qumran texts
- of Epistle of Jeremy 1 n.
 - on miracle at time of messiah 15
 - shed light on ancient Jewish and Christian exegesis 3–5, 15
- Reason
- argument from in Jewish-Christian debate 106, 214, 216–7
- Reformation 116–26, 191, 200
- Roman Catholicism, post-Tridentine 100–101, 106–8, 121–6, 196–7, 249, 254 n.
- Sabbatarians 126, 137–8
- *See also* ‘Judaizing’ Christians
- Sabbatianism 149, 184–5, 226, 257
- *See also* the index of persons s. Zevi, Shabbethai
- Sacrilege, charge of, brought
- by Christians 23
 - by pagans 21
 - *See also* Eucharist, desecration of
- Saints, Christian, as topic in polemic 156, 214, 239
- Septuagint 3, 73, 234

- testimonies from 73, 218
- Sermons
 - anti-Christian polemic in 102 n., 187, 255 n.
 - anti-Jewish polemic in 31, 37, 39, 42, 104–5, 164, 167, 186–97, 257
 - for Jews 95, 106–7, 119, 147, 164, 167, 176, 186–97, 207, 228
 - Jewish 102 n., 139–40, 173, 187, 259
- Sibyl, as witness to Christ 50, 74
- Socinians, *see* Unitarians
- Synagogue
 - antiquities of, studied by Christians 127–8, 129, 130
 - assembly 17, 18, 21, 25, 70
 - biblical readings in 62 • expounded by Christian preachers to Jews 188, 194
 - building 18, 25, 69, 92, 106, 117, 180 n.
 - Christian preaching in 92, 164, 186–97, 228
 - Christians attend 70, 139–40
 - Jews collectively as 17, 24, 49, 51 n., 69, 107, 128, 209
 - of Satan 17
 - rites of, described and defended 130, 229–30
 - scrolls 238
- Syriac
 - Christian polemic in 12 n., 43, 60
- Talmud
 - anti-Christian polemic in 7–12, 53, 142, 155–61, 190, 201
 - attests Christianity 162–4, 171, 175, 186, 190, 193
 - burning of 101 n., 114, 160
 - confiscation of 117, 155, 176, *cf.* 162 n., 164–5
 - haggadot of 69–70, 91–2, 94–5, 119, 122 n., 154–65, 166–7, 213, 216, 224, 232, 242, 243 • their lack of authority 158, 162–3
 - halakot of 119, 158
 - Jesus in 10, 11–12, 33, 142, 158
 - knowledge of, in the Christian Hebraists 128–31, 141–2 • H. Grotius 136 n. • J. Goussier 137 • S. Hosmann 140
 - orders (sedarim) of, reckoned as four 157–8
 - passages from, in Jewish-Christian controversy (selected) Talmud Babli • Shabb. 116a–b 12 n. • Sanh. 97a–b 59, 173 • 99a 234 • *cf.* 133 n., 142 n. (translations of section *Heleq* from this tractate)
 - Talmud Yerushalmi • Ber. ii, 5a 173
 - polemic against, in Agobard 70 • Peter the Venerable 79 n. • Petrus Alphonsi 91 • Jerónimo de Santa Fe 96–8, 99–100, 171, 213 • Pedro de la Cavalleria 96–8, 99–100 • João de Barrios 100 • Turrianus 101 • Bernardino di Busti 104 • the *Passauer Anonymus* 111 • Petrus Nigri 114 • Pfefferkorn 116, 141 • Bucer and Philip of Hesse 119 • seventeenth-century Prague 122 • the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 127, 129 • C. Gerson and F. W. Christlieb 133 • N. Margolith 134 • E. L. Roblik 141 • J. A. Eisenmenger 141, 144–5 • writers indebted to Eisenmenger 144–5 n. • Nicholas Donin and the Paris Disputation 154–61 • Abner of Burgos and others indebted to him 166–168 • the Tortosa disputation 171–6 • Jacob Frank and Frankist teaching 185 • sermons to Jews 190 • the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries 247 • Sixtus Senensis 256
 - printing of 133 n. • *See also* Censorship
 - self-contradictory 137
 - translation of extracts from, attributed to Theobald 111, 153 n., 154–61, 160 n. • of parts of, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 129, 131, 133 n., 142 n., 145 n. • literary history of 142 n.
- Tanners, Jews as 64
- Targums *see* Aramaic
- Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs 26, 77–8
- Testimonies *see* Biblical testimonies
- Tetragram *see* Name
- Toldoth Jeshu 6, 12–13, 33, 44 n., 45–6, 64, 65, 69–70, 104, 111, 114, 117, 122, 128, 133 n., 139, 143, 168, 176 n., 230, 240 n., 248
- Tosaphoth, Tosaphists 87, 152, 155 n., 213
- Trinity 7, 49, 92–3, 97, 112, 120, 134, 140, 164, 203, 206, 210, 218, 230, 239 (nos. 62 & 63), 240, 244–5, 247, 255
- Tune, polemic set to 229
- Unitarians (Socinians) 118 n., 120, 123–6, 134, 140
- Usury 85–6 n., 117, 178, 216, 227 n., 228

- Vernacular
- anti-Christian polemic in 94, 99, 101, 104, 125, 166, 177, 197–8, 202–3, 209–10, 232, 236, 243, 249–61
 - biblical comment 82–3
 - biblical versions 82–3, 220
 - *See also* Disputation
- Verse compositions (other than hymns and piyyutim)
- by Lipmann Mühlhausen 223 n.
 - Christian polemic in 33, 37, 42, 56, 56 n., 58, 95–6, 111, 122
 - in praise of Hebrew 200
 - in praise of Jewish polemist 209
 - Jewish polemic in 95–6, 214–5, 225, 227, 229, 236, 244–5 (Volterra and *De-rekḥ*), 252 • cf. 238 (rhymed prose)
 - *See also* Hymns; Piyyut
- Victorines, *see* Canons Regular
- Virgin-birth
- from conception *per aurem* 221
 - in Acts of Sylvester 44 • the Suda 49 • Ildefonsus 58 • Gilbert Crispin 73 • Giraldus Cambrensis 76 • Joseph Bekhor Shor 85 • Jean Bodin 121 • Nathan Official 151 • Avila disputation 166 • Hasdai Crescas 210 • Leone Modena 230 • Abraham Roman 239 • Aaron Hayyim Volterra 244
- Visigothic laws 58
- Vulgate
- translation criticized 85, 86, 212, 241
- Wandering Jew, legend of the 90
- Wise men from the east, as witnesses of the gospel 47
- Women
- as symbols of church and synagogue 24, 49, 51 n.
 - bondwoman belonging to Jew 69
 - Christian, not to keep the sabbath 69
 - from royal families, at disputations 45–6, 156–8, 181–3
 - in Ben Jonson, reading Hugh Broughton 121 n.
 - in sisterhood for conversion of Jews 126
 - Jewish, baptism of 126, 189 • in Christian legend 110 n. • polemizing 114 n. • their attitudes to conversion 90 n. • to attend sermons for Jews 188–9, 191 • wife of Nathan Official 152
 - *See also* Marriage
- Yiddish
- Christian study of 144 n., 196
 - polemic in 229, 243, 244, 247