

I. Introduction

I would like to start with the present, or at least the near present. Fifty-three years ago, in October 1965, the Vatican released a document which marked the beginning of great changes between Judaism and the Catholic Church and later with Christianity as a whole. This document was, of course, *Nostra Aetate*. *Nostra Aetate* was of fundamental importance because it clearly rejected the most egregious and harmful Christian beliefs about Judaism. First and foremost *Nostra Aetate* rejected the ancient Christian charge of deicide by stating, "...his passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today." Second, *Nostra Aetate* stated that, "... the Church ...decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone." These two statements were fundamentally important in beginning to formally change Christian attitudes and behaviors. But, *Nostra Aetate*, although a marvelous starting point in changing Christian beliefs and attitudes, was nevertheless still permeated with the early Christian belief that Jesus and the Church were the true goal of God's long standing plan of salvation. *Nostra Aetate* was still informed by this supersessionistic understanding as this paragraph shows.

Thus the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ – Abraham's sons according to faith – are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that **the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage.** The Church therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in his inexpressible mercy concluded the ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles. **Indeed, the Church believes that by His cross Christ, Our Peace, reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in himself.**

In this paragraph from the beginning of section four of *Nostra Aetate*, supersessionism is assumed. And this is an idea which has contributed to negative attitudes and actions against Jews and Judaism for two thousand years.

That Supersessionism is at the heart of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity is also shown by this passage from the statement, "The Gifts and the Calling of God are Irrevocable" which was released by the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews in October 2015 on the fiftieth anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*. In section five of that document we find,

"The theory that there may be two different paths to salvation, the Jewish path without Christ and the path with the Christ, whom Christians believe is Jesus of Nazareth, would in fact endanger the foundations of Christian faith. Confessing the universal and therefore also the exclusive mediation of salvation through Jesus Christ belongs to the core of Christian faith."

Later in that same section of the document we find this statement,

"That the Jews are participants in God's salvation is theologically unquestionable, but how that can be possible without professing Christ explicitly, is and remains an unfathomable divine mystery."

So half a century after the release of *Nostra Aetate*, this document, for all of the positive contributions it makes and documents, also points to a central issue. From the perspective of the Catholic Church, salvation comes only through Christ. There is only one path to salvation. And this then assumes that Christianity supercedes Judaism. Nevertheless, the salvation of the Jews is strongly maintained. This is what the document labels as a divine mystery. Supersessionism continues as one aspect of the relationship between Jews and Christians.

This paper is primarily an examination and analysis of continuing anti-Semitic tendencies in the academic study of the Hebrew Bible/*Tanak*. I will examine two examples of supersessionism in the academic study of the Bible. In the first example, I will trace a supersessionistic/typological reading of the Hebrew Bible from its origin in the New Testament looking at examples of the persistence of this type of reading down through the centuries and into the present. The second example will look at a supersessionistic interpretation of a passage from the Hebrew Bible which once again first appears in the New Testament.

Let me begin with some definitions. Supersessionism is the belief which originated in earliest Christianity that Christianity has replaced or superseded Judaism. In its most blatant form in the

New Testament, it appears in the Epistle to the Hebrews which cites the well-known passage on the New Covenant from the book of the prophet Jeremiah 31. This fundamental Christian belief is most easily illustrated in the terms used to designate the two parts of the Christian Bible: the Old Testament and the New Testament, expressions which go back to Melito of Sardis (d. ca. 180 CE).

Both of the examples I will discuss involve quotations of the Hebrew Bible in the New Testament. The study of the quotations and allusions to the Hebrew Bible in Jewish writings of the second temple period and their use in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible has been one of the focusses of my research during the last five years. Consequently, I will provide more information about the text and its history than might be strictly called for. This is in part necessary especially for the second example, but I apologize in advance for the textual "geekiness."

Hosea 11:1 & Matthew 2:15

כִּי נִעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶהְיֶה וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבְנִי:

Hos. 11:1 When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son. (NRSV)

1 ὄρθρου ἀπερρίφησαν, ἀπερρίφη βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ. (1) Διότι νήπιος Ἰσραηλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ. (his children)

Hos. 11:1 At dawn they were cast out; Israel's king was cast out.

(1) For Israel was an infant, and I loved him, and out of Egypt I recalled his children. (NETS)

Hos. 11:1 sicuti mane transit pertransiit rex Israhel quia puer Israhel et dilexi eum et ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum (V) (my son)

Hos 11:1 Mane projecti sunt, projectus est rex Israel, quia parvulus Israel, et ego dilexi eum, et ex Aegypto vocavi filios suos. (LXX from Jerome) (his sons)¹

Mt 2:15 ... ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.

¹ See below for the readings of A (τον υιον μου), Σ (υιος μου) and Θ (υιον μου).

Mt 2:15 ...This was to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet, "Out of Egypt I have called my son."

II. Example One

My first example begins with the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in the Gospel according to Matthew.

Hos. 11:1 When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son. (NRSV)

In the original setting in the book of Hosea in the mid to late 8th century BCE, the writer is referring to the tradition of the Exodus from Egypt at the time of Moses. This passage is used by the writer of Matthew's gospel as follows.

Matthew 2:13-15

Now after they had left, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream and said, "Get up, take the child and his mother, and flee to Egypt, and remain there until I tell you; for Herod is about to search for the child, to destroy him."¹⁴ Then Joseph got up, took the child and his mother by night, and went to Egypt,¹⁵ and remained there until the death of Herod. This was to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet, "Out of Egypt I have called my son." (NRSV) (*ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.*)

The citation of Hosea 11:1 is found in Mt 2:15 at the end of the section of Matthew's story of the young Jesus when his parents flee to Egypt to escape the threat of Herod to the child Jesus. The citation of Hosea continues the writer's use of quotations from the Hebrew Bible to present the story of Jesus and his family as fulfillment of the divine plan as preserved in the Jewish Scriptures. The citation of Hosea 11:1 is one of the so-called formula or fulfillment citations which are found most frequently in Matthew's Gospel with several concentrated in Matthew 1-2.

There has been much discussion over the meaning of the writer's use of the so-called "Fulfillment Quotations" which are introduced with some variation of the formula seen in Matthew 2:15,

ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος

"This was to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet,..."

The Greek verb, πληρωθῆναι, is usually translated in English with a form of the verb "to fulfill." The discussion has centered on the meaning for the gospel writer of this form as well as its contemporary meaning. It seems most likely that for the gospel writer the understanding was typological, that is, the passage from Hosea 11:1 received a fuller meaning beyond the original meaning in its original context. In the case of the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15, the passage in Hosea referred to the Exodus event in Israel's past. It was part of the writer's attempt to persuade their audience to give their loyalty to Yahweh/God. To this original meaning, the writer of Matthew's gospel adds a linkage to God calling Jesus and his family out of Egypt. The passage from Hosea then acquires a sort of additional layer of meaning in the Gospel context. It amounts to a sort of echo of the original Exodus event which was referred to in Hosea. The upshot is, that this is a typological reading of the passage. This way of reading the Hebrew Bible is inherently supersessionist and this typological and supersessionist reading sets a pattern for later Christian writers/scholars when studying, not only Matthew's gospel, but also when studying the book of the prophet Hosea by itself. I would like to illustrate this effect with a series of examples for Christian readings of Hosea 11:1 beginning with two early Christian scholars of the Bible, Origen, active in the 3rd century CE and Jerome, active in the 4th-5th centuries CE.

Origen & Jerome

Origen (ca. 184-ca. 254 CE) was perhaps the greatest biblical scholar and textual critic of the early church. He is known especially for his project to produce a massive, multi-column, multi-volume edition of the Greek Bible which included in its first column the Hebrew text written in Hebrew letters followed in the 2nd column by the Hebrew text transcribed in Greek letters. This multi-volume work was known as the Hexapla and Origen was motivated to compose it by his awareness of the discrepancies between the various Greek versions, especially the Septuagint, and the Hebrew text of the Bible.

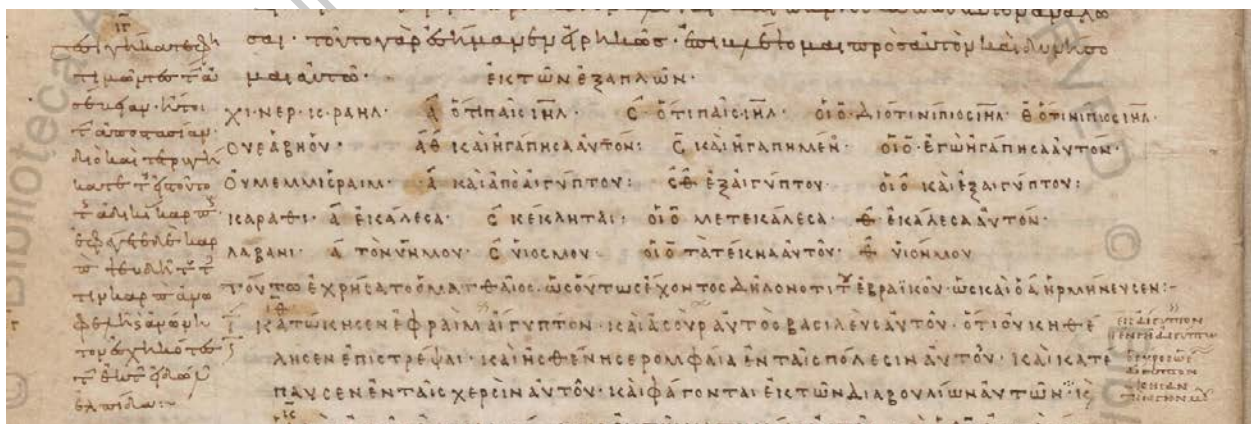
This quotation from his Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew sums up his concerns and method:

(...) due to discrepancies between the manuscripts of the Old Testament, with God's help, we were able to overcome using the testimony of other editions. This is because these

points in the Septuagint, which because of discrepancies found in [other] manuscripts had given occasion for doubt, we have evaluated on the basis of these other editions, and marked with an *obelus* those places that were missing in the Hebrew text [...] while others have added the asterisk sign where it was apparent that the lessons were not found in the Septuagint; we have added the other, consistent with the text of the Hebrew editions.

Although Origen wrote a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, unfortunately the section of the commentary on chapter 2 has not survived so we cannot know for sure how he would have understood the text. We do however, have a comment from one of his homilies on the book of Numbers in which he refers to the quotation of Hosea 11:1, "out of Egypt I have called my son." His statement there is terse, but the meaning seems clear. He states simply, "After that, it is still about Christ." That is, he seems to have understood the passage from Hosea typologically just as the gospel writer did. As we will see, the first use of the quotation of this passage from Hosea in Matthew's gospel will have a long lasting impact on the understanding of other Christian scholars even if they are working centuries later and are engaged in the study of the book of Hosea from and critical and historical perspective.

What we also have from Origen which pertains to this quotation of Hosea 11:1 and its understanding in early Christianity, is a portion of the Hexapla which was preserved as a marginal quotation in an early Greek manuscript of the Minor Prophets. This is of interest because it documents early Christian interest in the text of Hosea which is quoted in Matthew's gospel which is not the usual Greek version of the Septuagint.



MSS Barb.gr.549 (10th century ms of Prophets with hexaplaric scholia)

The citations in Mt 2 are adapted to the context of the gospel story. This is especially the case for the citation of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15 where the writer departs from the LXX version and is very close to the Jewish Greek revisions, known to us primarily through Origen's Hexapla, and thus to the proto-Masoretic Text which was extant in the 1st century CE. Unfortunately, there are no direct ancient witnesses to this text in Hebrew, only the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.²

Which Field transcribed in his edition of Hexaplaric materials.³

CAP. XI.					
1. כִּי נָעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל	χι νερ ισραηλ	'A. ὅτι παῖς 'Ισ- ραήλ	Σ. ὅτι παῖς 'Ισ- ραήλ	Οἱ Ο'. διότι νήπιος 'Ισ- ραήλ	Θ. ὅτι νήπιος 'Ισ- ραήλ
וְאִחְבָּהוּ	ουεάβηδού (sic)	'A. Θ. καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν	Σ. καὶ ἠγαπη- μένος	Οἱ Ο'. ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν	
וּמִמְצָרִים	ουμεμμισραιμ	'A. καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύ- πτου	Σ. Θ. ἐξ Αἰγύ- πτου	Οἱ Ο'. καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύ- πτου	
קָרָאתִי	καραθι	'A. ἐκάλεσα	Σ. κέκληται	Οἱ Ο'. μετεκάλεσα	Θ. ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν
לְבָנִי :	λαβανι.	'A. τὸν υἱόν μου.	Σ. υἱός μου.	Οἱ Ο'. τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.	Θ. υἱόν μου. ¹

This indicates, that at least as early as the time of Origen (ca. 3rd CE), there was a deep interest in the reading of Hosea 11:1 as well as an awareness of the variation between the LXX and the

² The image is taken from the web site of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.549/0042. Utzschneider may be correct that the writer of Matthew's gospel has utilized a/the so-called proto-Theodotionic form of the text of the Twelve which is partially preserved in 8HevXIIgr. See Helmut Utzschneider, "Flourishing Bones – The Minor Prophets in the New Testament," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, SCS 53, eds., Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 273-292. I would not rule out the possibility that the gospel writer made their own adaptation of the passage from Hosea 11:1 to fit the new context in the story in Matthew 2. On this view see Robert Horton Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 93-94.

³ Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 957.

other Greek versions including the text of Matthew 2:15.⁴ This interest was, of course, probably generated by the use of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15.

The next early Christian scholar whose work we can examine is Jerome (ca. 347 – 420 CE). Jerome, like Origen before him, was a renowned scholar of the text of the Bible and famous for his Latin translation of the Bible which became known as the Vulgate, the Latin version which became normative for western, Latin speaking Christians. Its authority was confirmed during the council of Trent in the 16th century. Jerome was also aware of the differences between the text of the citation in Matthew 2:15 and the LXX reading which he discusses in his commentary on Hosea.

Where we said, Out of Egypt I called my son, the Septuagint translated, “Out of Egypt I called my sons,” which is not in the Hebrew, and it is clear that Matthew took his testimony from this passage according to the Hebraic truth.⁵

Jerome then goes on in this section of his commentary on Hosea to explain how typology is to be understood:

It remains that we should say that what precedes typologically in other respects applies in truth and in its fulfillment to Christ, which we knew the apostle did in [describing] the two mountains, Sinai and Zion, and Sarah and Hagar. And it is not true that, because the apostle Paul referred these things to the two covenants, Sinai or Zion is not a mountain or that there was no Sarah or Hagar. **Therefore, what is thus written, “Israel was a very little one, and I loved him,” and out of Egypt I called my son, is said indeed about the people of Israel, who are called out of Egypt, who are loved, who were called in the time after the error of their idolatry something like an “infant” and a “very little one”; but in its completion [this] is referred to Christ.** For Isaac, too, was a type of Christ because he

⁴ The variations in the verb are also interesting: Α εκαλεσα – “I called”, Σ κεκληται – “he was called”, Θ εκαλεσα; note that LXX reads μετεκαλεσα – “I recalled.”

⁵ Thomas P. Scheck, ed., *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*, vol.2 (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017), 234.

himself carried the wood of his future death, and Jacob because he had Leah, whose eyes were sore, and Rachel, a beautiful wife. In Leah, who was older, we discern the blindness of the synagogue, in Rachel the beauty of the church, and although they were types of our Lord and Savior in part, not everything that they are said to have done should be believed to have been done as a type of him. For a type indicates a part, but if the whole comes beforehand in the type, then it is no longer a type but should be called the truth of history.⁶

Jerome not only understood the citation of Hosea 11:1 in Matthew 2:15 typologically, he also went on to explain how typology works. He acknowledges that the passage from Hosea does indeed have a real and meaningful referent, the people of Israel at the time they were called out of Egypt, but he then goes on to clarify that, " ... in its completion [this] is referred to Christ." His final comment in this section explains that there is an apparently chronological sequence between type and anti-type or completion, " For a type indicates a part, but if the whole comes beforehand in the type, then it is no longer a type but should be called the truth of history."

With Jerome we clearly have a typological reading of the passage from the Hebrew Bible. But the typological reading in Jerome is perhaps reasonably understood as based on or inspired by the typological reading found first in the Gospel of Matthew. We do see in Origen and to a lesser extent in Jerome, a clear interest in the text of the quotation of Hosea 11:1 which is found in Matthew's Greek text. This is because Matthew's Greek text differed from the Septuagint version, as noted also by Jerome, and this was the version of the Bible that remained normative in Christianity in the West until after the time of Jerome, and continued as normative in the East. Origen therefore in his Hexapla noted the various Greek version of Hosea 11:1 as well as giving the Hebrew text current in his time which was identical to the consonants of the later Masoretic Text.

Leaving early Christianity our next illustrative example comes from the one of the most careful textual scholars of the time of the Protestant Reformation, John Calvin.

John Calvin (1509-1564)

⁶ Scheck, *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets*, 234-235.

Calvin provides an interesting example of early humanist Christian interpretation in the sixteenth century. Calvin was strongly influenced by humanist ideals and so was one of the more careful scholars of the reformation period when it came to the attention to Scripture in the original languages with a focus on the so-called literal sense. His commentary on Hosea, collected with his commentaries on the Minor Prophets, originated in lecture notes taken by students which were later compiled and published. In the case of Hosea 11:1, Calvin read the text first in its literal/historical sense as naturally referring to the Israelites at the time of the Exodus from Egypt. In this he seems to have proceeded in much the same way as Jerome before him. The literal sense of the passage he establishes very clearly. However, he also cannot ignore the citation of this passage in the Gospel according to Matthew, which he freely acknowledges raises a problem.

But here arises a difficult question; for Matthew, accommodates this passage to the person of Christ.

In other words, although he first interprets the literal/historical meaning of the text he then cannot ignore the fact that it is understood differently in the Gospel according to Matthew. Eventually he argues that this is not a mere comparison, apparently as argued by some, but rather is typological.

God, when he formerly redeemed his people from Egypt, only showed by a certain prelude the redemption which he deferred till the coming of Christ.

Thus although he begins with the literal/historical sense, he reverts to a typological reading because of the context of the Hosea citation in Matthew's gospel. He is unable to avoid a typological reading because of the New Testament precedent. Calvin differs from his contemporaries in that he pays attention to the literal/historical dimension of the text first. Many of the other protestant interpreters simply ignore the literal sense and focus only on a typological reading.

Wilhelm Rudolph (d. 1987)

The next scholar to examine in this first example moves us into the 20th century. I will briefly discuss the work of the German biblical scholar (and theologian?) Wilhelm Rudolph. Rudolph wrote a large number of commentaries on various books of the Hebrew Bible. It is his commentary on the book of Hosea which is of interest to us here.

Rudolph was an influential German biblical scholar who wrote commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets in the series, *Kommentar zum Alten Testament*. Rudolph's commentary on Hosea was published in 1966, one year after the release of *Nostra Aetate* which moved the Catholic Church officially away from a supersessionist stance, although the text is mixed.⁷

Although Rudolph's commentary is on the book of Hosea, when he examines Hosea 11:1 he has a short discussion of the quotation of this passage in Matthew's gospel.

In Mt 2:15 erscheint v. 1b als prophetische Vorausweisung auf die Rückkehr des Jesuskindes aus Ägypten nach der Flucht vor Herodes. Dass das nicht textgemäss ist, liegt auf der Hand: es geht hier ja nicht um eine Weissagung, sondern um einen geschichtlichen Rückblick, und der Sohn ist das Volk Israel. Aber schon die jüdischen Schriftgelehrten haben sich bei solchen Schriftbeweisen nie durch den Zusammenhang stören lassen: der Kanon war ja überall Gottes Wort und deshalb jede Stelle sozusagen "unmittelbar zu Gott", so dass man sich um den Textzusammenhang nicht zu bekümmern brauchte, und in der alten Christenheit wurden durch den Wunsch, für möglichst viele Einzelheiten aus dem Leben Jesu einen alttestamentlichen Hinweis zu finden, alle solche exegetischen Bedenken beiseite geschoben, falls sie überhaupt bestanden. Es kann aber auch sein, dass der Evangelist die Hoseastelle, aus der vielleicht die ganze Erzählung von Flucht und Rückkehr herausgesponnen ist⁹, nur typologisch (1 Cor 10:11) verstanden wissen will: **Jesus von Nazareth, nach Gottes Ratschluss Endpunkt und Ziel der Geschichte Israels, soll in seinem Leben auch deren Anfang wiederholen.** (214) Wilhelm Rudolph, *Hosea*. (KAT 13.1 Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966)

In Mt 2:15, v. 1b appears as a prophetic prediction on the return of the child Jesus from Egypt after the flight from Herod. That this is not textual is obvious: it is not a prophecy, but a historical retrospect, and the Son is the people of Israel. But the Jewish writers of the Scriptures never let themselves be disturbed by the context in such proofs: the canon was everywhere the word of God, and therefore every passage so to speak "directly to God," so that one did not have to worry about the context of the text Old Christianity were pushed aside by the desire to find an Old Testament reference for as many details as possible from the life of Jesus, all these exegetical reservations were put aside, if they existed at all. But it can also be that the evangelist wants to understand the troublesome spot from which perhaps the entire narrative of flight and return is spun out only

⁷ Wilhelm Rudolph, *Hosea*. KAT 13.1. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966.

typologically (1 Cor 10:11): Jesus of Nazareth, according to God's plan endpoint and goal of the history of Israel, is also to repeat its beginning in his life.

Rudolph clearly continues the typological/supersessionistic trajectory of Christian reading /understanding of this passage from Hosea. It is remarkable that from the time of Jerome on every scholar begins with the historical/literary sense of the text followed by a typological reading. With Jerome, Calvin and Rudolph they are all commenting on the meaning of the Text of Hosea, but all of them also discuss the quotation of this passage in the gospel of Matthew. In each case, the typological reading is triggered by the initial Christian typological reading in the Gospel. The reading in Matthew's gospel seems to provide an irresistible attraction to a typological reading, even on the part of a modern, historical critical scholar like Rudolph.

A.A. Macintosh⁸

The last scholar we will briefly examine in this first example is A.A. Macintosh who is a Fellow at St. John's College Cambridge. Macintosh, like Rudolph, published a highly regarded commentary on the book of Hosea. Also like Rudolph in the section where he discusses Hosea chapter 11 he has a short section on the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in the gospel of Matthew, he quotes with apparent approval Rudolph's typological reading of Hosea 11:1.

... for Jerome, [a type] reveals a part of the truth; if the totality were to have been realized in the type, then that would no longer be type but historical fact. See further Rudolph's similar conclusions, 'Jesus, according to God's plan, the goal and consummation of Israel's history should in his life recapitulate its beginning.'⁹

Macintosh apparently agrees with Rudolph and quotes him with approval. The final statement is clearly supersessionistic through a typological reading. Further in commenting on the divergent readings of the Hebrew and Greek texts of Hosea 11:1 'my son', i.e.

לבוני MT || LXX τα τέκνα αὐτοῦ 'his children' (Jerome translates 'his sons'), cf. Targ. בנין and OL⁵. He notes that Rudolph supposes that the readings of the LXX and Targ. arise from the desire to avoid the possibility of Christological interpretation.

⁸ A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 1997.

⁹ A. A. Macintosh, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea*, (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 1997) 438.

This final comment is also apparently quoted with approval. But here, I must briefly comment on the implausibility of a divergent reading in the LXX or the Targ. arising at such a late date in response to Christian usage of this passage from Hosea in Matthew's gospel. Based on our current understanding of the history of the biblical text during the second temple period it is far more likely that the LXX reading preserves an older reading than that preserved in the MT, the traditional Hebrew text, which is also the passage quoted by the writer of Matthew's gospel. In other words, as has been suggested by some scholars, Matthew's gospel may be making use of a form of the Greek text which was a relatively recent revision to bring the older Greek translation into conformity with the contemporary Hebrew text.

Summary

In this first example, I have traced the trajectory of a supersessionistic/typological reading of the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in the gospel of Matthew on the part of Christian writers and scholars. This trajectory stretches from the 1st century CE in the gospel of Matthew to the 20th century in the modern critical commentaries of Rudolph and Macintosh. It is perhaps understandable to find a typological reading of the Hebrew Bible in early Christianity. Rudolph's commentary, however was published in 1966, a year after the release of the Second Vatican Council document *Nostra Aetate* which moved the Catholic church officially away from a supersessionistic stance vis a vis Judaism. Perhaps Rudolph's commentary was already in press when that document was released and so it could have no impact on his commentary. The commentary of Macintosh, however, was published in 1997 so the apparent approval of the supersessionistic comments of Rudolph which seem to be quoted with approval can only be a deliberate choice on the part of the author.

III. Example Two

My second example of supersessionist (Christian) academic readings of the Hebrew Bible is somewhat more complex than the first example. I will briefly review a recent publication of a highly respected senior scholar whose work in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and the textual history of the Bible is both widely known, respected, and widely used. I preface my discussion of this scholar's work with the disclaimer that I intend no disrespect to my senior colleague in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, rather I use his work as an example of

how, even with the best intentions, it is easy for Christian scholars to reflect supersessionistic and other anti-Semitic ideas and assumptions.

Adrian Schenker¹⁰

Adrian Schenker is emeritus professor in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Fribourg. He is well known in academic circles for his scholarship on the Hebrew Bible and especially in the study of the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and the history of the text in both Hebrew and Greek. He is active, at the highest levels, in the production of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* almost certainly the most widely used critical edition of the Hebrew Bible.

In 2006 Schenker published a little book with a very long title: *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel, von der Textgeschichte zu Theologie, Synagoge und Kirche*. Which might be translated as: The New in the New Covenant and the Old in the Old (Covenant): Jer 31 in the Hebrew and Greek Bible: From Textual History to Theology, Synagogue, and Church.

Schenker's goal in this little book was to utilize the current scholarly understanding of the history and development of the text of the Jewish Bible in both Hebrew and Greek during the course of the second temple period, roughly 5th century BCE to 2nd century CE, and especially the relationships between the Greek and Hebrew versions, the Septuagint or Old Greek and the emerging proto-Masoretic text.

¹⁰ See also the article by Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Die Periskope vom Neuen Bund (Her 31,31-34) im masoretischen und alexandrinischen Jeremiabuch." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 35 (2009): 1-25.

The major focus in the book is Jeremiah 31:31-34 (=LXX 38:31-34). This passage is quoted verbatim in the New Testament in the Epistle to the Hebrews 8:8-12 (cf. Heb 10:16-17) in the context of an argument of the superiority of the priesthood of Jesus over that of the ongoing Jewish priesthood and of the superiority of the new covenant over the old. This is a classical locus for Christian supersessionism.

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, writing in Greek, naturally quotes the text of Jer 31:31-34 in the traditional Greek version of the text, the Septuagint. The Septuagint version of the text of Jer 31 differs from the Hebrew version of the text in a few ways. This however is not really the center of Schenker's argument although he does address these differences. Rather, what is new in Schenker's presentation is that he attempts to integrate into the discussion our contemporary understanding of the general development of the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Jewish Bible during this time period. To summarize briefly, because of the discovery of biblical manuscripts in both Hebrew and Greek from the second temple period, we now know that when the Hebrew and Greek versions differ from each other, it is quite likely that the Greek version reflects an older form of the text than the Hebrew version. This is especially the case with the manuscript evidence for the book of Jeremiah. The Book of Jeremiah is dramatically different between the Hebrew and Greek versions of the book. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts of Jeremiah, scholars have shown that some of the oldest Hebrew manuscripts of Jeremiah agree with the Greek text of Jeremiah in both order of material and in content. This means, in the current majority understanding, that generally the Greek form of the book of Jeremiah is an older form of the book, a first edition and that the Hebrew Masoretic form of Jeremiah preserves a longer, revised second edition of the book. It is this general scholarly understanding of the history of the text of Jeremiah which Schenker attempts to integrate into a

discussion of the theological dimensions and implications of the Christian use of this text, not just historically, but also for present Jewish-Christian dialogue.

Schenker's starting point is the fact that there are two forms of the text of Jer 31:31-34, the Promise of a New Covenant, the Greek LXX form of the text and the Hebrew MT form of the text. These two forms of the text differ from each other in small but significant ways.

<p>Jer. 31:31 The days are surely coming, says the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. ³² It will not be like the covenant that I made with their ancestors when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt—a covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, says the LORD. ³³ But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the LORD: I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. ³⁴ No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, “Know the LORD,” for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the LORD; for I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more.(NRSV)</p>	<p>Jer. 38:31 Behold, days are coming, says the Lord, and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. ³² It will not be like the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, because they did not abide in my covenant, and I was unconcerned for them, says the Lord, ³³ because this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord. Giving I will give my laws in their mind, and I will write them on their hearts, and I will become a god to them, and they shall become a people to me. ³⁴ And they shall not teach, each his fellow citizen and each his brother, saying, “Know the Lord,” because they shall all know me, from their small even to their great, because I will be gracious regarding their injustices, and remember their sins no more. (NETS)</p>
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The left-hand column is the translation taken from the NRSV and is based on the Hebrew Masoretic text. The right-hand column is taken from the New English Translation of the Septuagint and is thus based on the Greek text of Jeremiah. The small differences between the

two versions which are important in Schenker's book are highlighted above. Jer 31:32 contains the significant differences. In the Hebrew form of this verse we have the phrase, "though I was their husband," (ואנכי בעלתי בם) which implies a continuity to the relationship even though the Israelites "broke the covenant." The Greek form of this verse has the phrase, "and I was unconcerned for them," which implies, according to some, that Yahweh no longer had any concern for the Israelites, the covenant was over. In addition, another small difference has been seen as significant. In the Hebrew version of Jer 31:33 we find the phrase, "my law," (תורתִי), that is "my Torah." But the Greek version has, "my laws" in the plural (νομους μου) which is understood to imply different laws than the singular Torah of Moses.¹¹

As I mentioned above, it is the Greek form of this passage which is quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews and which together with other passages in the New Testament forms the basis of early Christian supersessionism. Where Schenker's work attempts to change the discussion of this passage is when he argues for the antiquity and originality of the Greek form of the Jeremiah passage as part of the first edition of the book of Jeremiah and when he argues for the lateness of the Hebrew form of the passage, dating it after the time of the Greek translation and thus presenting it as an intentional response to the form preserved in the Greek version. I will not go into the technical details of the argument in this presentation, but it is important to point out that Schenker's understanding of the dating of the early Hebrew Jeremiah manuscripts from the Judean Desert, which underlies his argument, is not accepted by the leading experts in the field. In the view of most scholars the Hebrew proto-Masoretic form of the text and the Hebrew form

¹¹ There are of course many scholarly disputes about the meaning of these expressions in both Hebrew and Greek. See for example the article of Stipp referred to above.

of the text on which the Greek translation was based co-existed for several centuries in ancient Israel. The proto-Masoretic version of Jeremiah was not created as late as the Greek translation in the 2nd century BCE as is assumed by Schenker.¹²

He Understands the LXX form of Jer 31(38) to reflect an underlying Hebrew *Vorlage*, which he thinks may go back to Jeremiah himself, although he does not emphasize this idea and it is not essential for his arguments.

The LXX text form reflects the understanding that the Older Covenant has been terminated. Schenker stresses that this termination of the Older Covenant does not mean that the loyalty of God to Israel, "from God's side" has been terminated. Indeed, he states that although Israel and Judah presently stand in no covenant with God they nevertheless have the "certain entitlement" to the coming covenant. There can be no talk of the Church having replaced Israel in the New Covenant.¹³

He seems to blend perspectives in the "*Gesamtergebnis*" of his little book. That is, sometimes he writes as a textual critic explaining the variant text forms of LXX and MT Jer 31, and sometimes he writes of the theological implications from a Christian perspective. And sometimes he blends these two perspectives.

¹² E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd revised and expanded ed., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012) 288, n.12. A. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 95. A. Lange, "Jeremiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Elsewhere: The Textual History of Jeremiah in the Light of its Quotations." A paper presented at The Fifteenth International Orion Symposium in conjunction with the University of Vienna Institute for Jewish Studies and the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies "The Texts of the Bible from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Biblical Manuscripts of the Vienna Papyrus Collection" Jerusalem, Israel April 10–13, 2016. A. Aejmelaeus, "Jeremiah at the Turning-Point of History: The Function of Jer. XXV 1-14 in the Book of Jeremiah." *VT* 52 (2002): 459-482.

¹³ A. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 94.

Schenker is trying to integrate our understanding of the textual history of the Book of Jeremiah, the two editions of Jer reflected in the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of the text, with the citations of the text of Jer in the New Testament, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Schenker is trying to show that there was an early and therefore legitimate understanding in the early (or original?) text of Jer 31, that is, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, that the covenant had been terminated. He argues that this form of the text of Jer 31, which lies behind the LXX, was inherited as scripture by the early church and that the understanding of the termination of the covenant is therefore legitimate.

In his view, the MT form of Jer 31 is revising what he (Schenker) understands to be the older form of the text which we know through the LXX and that the meaning of the MT form of Jer 31 is that the covenant was not terminated and that the Torah continues in validity. And the same Torah will continue in the promised new covenant.

Although Schenker carefully argues that Israel and Judah continue in relationship to God as God's people, he also argues that from a Christian perspective, the older covenant has been terminated and that they, Israel and Judah, no longer stand in covenant with God, until the promised new covenant is given. Even though Schenker has carefully argued that Israel remains the people of God, nevertheless, by also maintaining that from a Christian perspective the old covenant has been terminated, he is indeed maintaining the heart of the older supersessionist theology and with it comes all of the dangers, which this pernicious theology has spread down through the centuries. Starting at least as early as Augustine and continuing into the time of the National Socialists and beyond.¹⁴ Let me be clear, I would not describe Schenker as an "anti-

¹⁴ One could perhaps argue that the supersessionist theology is attested at least as early as Melito of Sardis (d. ca. 180 CE) since he was the first to use the term "old testament." See the following excerpt from Eusebius EH 4.26.13–14:

Semite." Far from it. It is certainly not his intention to perpetuate the theology of supersessionism and intention is important here.

Schenker is to be commended for taking what we know of the textual history of the Greek and Hebrew forms of the Bible and attempting to integrate them in a revised understanding of some of the theological implications. However, he does not seem to understand that in trying to revise the supersessionist understanding of the new covenant he has unfortunately given it, at least potentially, new life.

IV. Conclusions

In both of the examples I have presented in this brief paper, the issue of Christian supersessionism has been at the center of the discussion. Supersessionism begins in earliest Christianity and persists to this day. It is fundamental to Christian identity and although official church documents like *Nostra Aetate* and similar documents and statements from other churches which move Christianity away from a supersessionistic self-understanding, supersessionism nevertheless continues to pervade Christian academic study of the Hebrew Bible as well as liturgical and instructional materials. The 1992 Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church is permeated with statements which reflect a supersessionistic understanding of the relationship between the church and Judaism.¹⁵ This at the same time that some statements repudiate this pernicious ideology. It is important to raise awareness of the continuing pervasiveness of supersession in Christianity because as has long been recognized, supersessionism is a part of the teaching of contempt which over the centuries contributed to and exacerbated anti-Semitic beliefs and actions. In this time when anti-Semitism is once again on the rise, we cannot afford to ignore this ancient contributing factor.

If I could be so bold to emend the strong statement of support which was read to this conference in the opening session on Sunday evening, I would add the following:

¹⁵ See Mary C. Boys, "The Covenant in Contemporary Ecclesial Documents," in *Two Faiths One Covenant? Jewish and Christian Identity in the Presence of the Other*. eds., Eugene B. Korn and John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005) 81-110.

"... we (Christians) walk hand in hand with our Jewish brothers and sisters, our heads down as we remember our own responsibility for the darkness of the past..."

In my opinion, we must remember and fully acknowledge our responsibility for the all of the beliefs and attitudes which have contributed to and continue to contribute to antisemitism. One of those contributing beliefs is supersessionism which in my view must be rooted out of all areas of Christian belief, teaching and practice.

Thank you.

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