

## Messianic Judaism in Antiquity and in the Modern Era

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When we speak of Messianic Judaism in antiquity and in the modern era, we are referring to a religious tradition in which Jews have claimed to follow Yeshua (Jesus) as the Messiah of Israel while continuing to live within the orbit of Judaism. Communities of such Jews existed in the first four centuries of the Common Era and then reappeared in the eighteenth century. The aim of this essay is to survey this history up until the present day.

### Messianic Judaism in the New Testament Period

During the New Testament period, Messianic Judaism existed in the Land of Israel, Syria, and beyond. Here I will focus on two communities that practiced Messianic Judaism: Matthew's community and the Jerusalem community.

In his published dissertation *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*, Paul Foster describes an emerging "new consensus" in New Testament studies concerning the social identity of Matthew's community.<sup>1</sup> An increasing number of scholars are now identifying Matthew's community as a "deviant movement operating within the orbit of Judaism."<sup>2</sup> The case for this view is made by Anthony Saldarini, J. Andrew Overman, Phillip Sigal, Daniel Harrington, Joel Willitts, and Anders Runesson, among others.<sup>3</sup> Roland Deines, who disagrees with this perspective, nonetheless acknowledges the existence of a new consensus emerging over three points:

1. The Matthean community in the last third of the first century CE is composed of mainly Jewish believers in Christ.

1. Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 78, 253. Foster challenges the consensus view.

2. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*, 77.

3. Anthony J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); Phillip Sigal, *The Halakhah of Jesus of Nazareth according to the Gospel of Matthew* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); Daniel Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1991); Joel Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of "The Lost Sheep of the House of Israel"* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127, no. 1 (2008): 95–132; Anders Runesson, "From Where? To What? Common Judaism, Pharisees, and the Changing Socioreligious Location of the Matthean Community," in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism* (ed. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 97–113.

2. These Christian Jews see no reason to break with their mother religion just because they believe that Jesus is the Messiah, although they are experiencing some pressure in this direction from mainstream Judaism.
3. These Christian Jews live according to the Law of Moses and its valid halakhic interpretations of their time, with some alterations, softenings, or modifications based on the teachings of Jesus. Jesus is seen as a Law-observant Jew, who offered his own individual points of view on some matters and gave his specific interpretations of disputed halakhic rules, but they remained—as Markus Bockmuehl points out—“conversant with contemporary Jewish legal debate and readily accommodated on the spectrum of ‘mainstream’ first-century Jewish opinion.” The Law-critical aspects in the Jesus tradition have to be interpreted within this frame.<sup>4</sup>

It is now commonly recognized that Matthew viewed his community as a reformist Messianic movement *within* first-century Judaism.

Similarly, New Testament scholars have long held that the Jerusalem community headed by Ya'akov/James was (1) primarily composed of Yeshua-believing Jews who (2) remained within the bounds of Second Temple Judaism and (3) lived strictly according to the Torah (Acts 15:4–5; 21:20–21).<sup>5</sup> Michael Fuller, Richard Bauckham, Craig Hill, Darrell Bock, Robert Tannehill, and Jacob Jervell are among the many Luke-Acts scholars who maintain that the Jerusalem congregation viewed itself as the nucleus of a restored Israel, led by twelve apostles representing the twelve tribes of Israel (Acts 1:6–7, 26; 3:19–21).<sup>6</sup> Their mission, these scholars contend, was to spark a Jewish renewal movement for Yeshua the Son of David *within* the house of Israel (Gal 2:7–10; Acts 21:17–26).

The Jerusalem congregation functioned as a center of halakhic/ecclesiastical

4. Roland Deines, “Not the Law but the Messiah: Law and Righteousness in the Gospel of Matthew — An Ongoing Debate,” in *Built Upon the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew* (ed. Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 54–55.

5. Joshua Schwartz, “How Jewish to be Jewish? Self-Identity and Jewish Christians in First Century Palestine,” in *Judaea-Palaestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity* (ed. Benjamin Isaac and Yuval Shahar, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 55–73. Scholars as far back as Jerome have tendentiously labeled this historical footprint of Messianic Judaism in first-century Jerusalem as sub- or pre-Christian: “In the first instance, the Jerusalem church is regarded as having been too Christian to be Jewish; in the second, it is thought too Jewish to be Christian. The assumption in either case is that one could have been truly Christian only to the extent that one was not authentically Jewish. On a popular level, it is the first approach that dominates. Christians such as James and Peter, both leaders of the Jerusalem church, are thought to have thrown off the shackles of their Jewish past. It is not difficult to see this view as an uncritical retrojection of modern Gentile Christianity onto the primitive church. Issues more characteristic of Judaism, such as the restoration of Israel (a concern repeatedly mentioned in the description of the Jerusalem church in Acts 1–3), are therefore ignored. The opposite approach, more common in scholarly circles, is to regard figures such as Peter and, especially, James as *too* Jewish, and therefore sub- or pre-Christian. Christianity instead is the product of the Hellenistic church (ironically, those who did not have the benefit—or, apparently, the distraction—of having known Jesus), especially the apostle Paul. Hence, ‘Jewish Christianity’ becomes secondary, problematic, and largely dismissible—except, that is, as a foil, the source of whatever one finds distasteful in early Christianity” (Craig C. Hill, “The Jerusalem Church,” in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007], 41–42).

6. On the restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts, see Michael E. Fuller, *The Restoration of Israel: Israel's Re-gathering and the Fate of the Nations in Early Jewish Literature and Luke-Acts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006); Richard Bauckham, “The Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts,” in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives* (ed. James M. Scott; Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001), 435–87; Craig C. Hill, “Restoring the Kingdom to Israel: Luke-Acts and Christian Supersessionism,” in *Shadow of Glory: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust* (ed. Tod Linafelt; New York: Routledge, 2002), 185–200; Hill, “The Jerusalem Church,” 39–56. Cf. Darrell

authority, and its leaders, headed by James, resolved disputes for the international community of Yeshua believers by issuing council decisions of the kind we see in Acts 15. Here Luke writes that the Jerusalem Council exempted Yeshua-believing Gentiles from proselyte circumcision and full Torah observance. While the significance of the Jerusalem Council decision for Yeshua-believing Gentiles has long been recognized in New Testament studies, the implications for Yeshua-believing Jews has only recently come to the forefront of Acts scholarship. As F. Scott Spencer points out, “The representatives at the Jerusalem conference — including Paul — agreed only to release *Gentile* believers from the obligation of circumcision; the possibility of nullifying this covenantal duty for Jewish disciples was never considered.”<sup>7</sup> If the Jerusalem leadership had viewed circumcision as optional for Yeshua-believing Jews, there would have been no point in debating the question of exemption for Yeshua-believing Gentiles or delivering a letter specifically addressed to these Gentiles. Michael Wyschogrod rightly notes that “both sides agreed that Jewish believers in Jesus remained obligated to circumcision and the Mosaic Law. The verdict of the first Jerusalem Council then is that the Church is to consist of two segments, united by their faith in Jesus.”<sup>8</sup>

A growing number of New Testament scholars now concur with Wyschogrod that an important implication of the Jerusalem Council decision is that Yeshua-believing Jews were to remain practicing Jews.<sup>9</sup> To put it another way, the Jerusalem Council validated Messianic Judaism as the normative way of life for Jewish followers of Yeshua. In Acts 21:17–26 — the mirror text of Acts 15 — this validation is made explicit by Paul’s example.<sup>10</sup> At the request of James, Paul sets the record straight before thousands of Torah-observant Messianic Jews in Jerusalem that he remained within the bounds of Judaism. He testifies in the holy Temple that (1) the rumours about him are false — he teaches Diaspora Jews not to assimilate but to remain faithful Jews — and (2) he observes the Torah (present active tense) like the “zealous for the

L. Bock, *Acts* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007); Robert C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (vol. 2; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990); Robert C. Tannehill, *The Shape of Luke’s Story: Essays on Luke-Acts* (Eugene, Ore.: Cascade, 2005); Jacob Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jacob Jervell, *Luke and the People of God: A New Look at Luke-Acts* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972); Hilary Le Cornu with Joseph Shulam, *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Academon, 2003).

7. F. Scott Spencer, *Acts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 159.

8. Michael Wyschogrod, *Abraham’s Promise: Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations* (ed. R. Kendall Soulen; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 194. Cf. Amy-Jill Levine, *The Misunderstood Jew: The Church and the Scandal of the Jewish Jesus* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2006), 26, and chapter 16 below, Richard Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Council Decision.”

9. Markus Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 168–72; R. Kendall Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 170–71; Richard Bauckham, “James and the Jerusalem Community,” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: The Early Centuries* (ed. Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2007), 75; Mark S. Kinzer, *Postmissionary Messianic Judaism: Redefining Christian Engagement with the Jewish People* (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2005), 66–67, 158–60; Mark D. Nanos, “The Apostolic Decree and the ‘Obedience of Faith,’” in *The Mystery of Romans* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 166–238; Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, 190; Scot McKnight, “A Parting within the Way: Jesus and James on Israel and Purity,” in *James the Just and Christian Origins* (ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1999), 110; Daniel Marguerat, “Paul and the Torah in the Acts of the Apostles,” in *The Torah in the New Testament: Papers Delivered at the Manchester-Lausanne Seminar of June 2008* (ed. Michael Tait and Peter Oakes; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 111–17.

10. David J. Rudolph, *A Jew to the Jews: Jewish Contours of Pauline Flexibility in 1 Corinthians 9:19–23* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 53–73.

Torah”<sup>11</sup> members of the Jerusalem Messianic Jewish community. Paul’s testimony is fully consistent with his “rule in all the congregations” that Jews are to remain practicing Jews (1 Cor 7:17–24), a probable Pauline restatement of the Jerusalem Council decision.<sup>12</sup>

### Messianic Judaism and the Parting of the Ways between Judaism and Christianity

For centuries, scholars have taught that a decisive parting of the ways took place between Judaism and Christianity during the New Testament period. Today this narrative is widely disputed. In their book *The Ways That Never Parted*, Adam Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed document the history of this reassessment and demonstrate that the evidence supports a “variety of different ‘Partings’ at different times in different places.”<sup>13</sup> Becker and Reed concur with Daniel Boyarin, Paula Fredriksen, Philip Alexander, John Gager, Judith Lieu, John Howard Yoder, Edwin Broadhead, and a growing number of scholars who have concluded, based on textual and archaeological evidence, that “the fourth century CE is a far more plausible candidate for a decisive turning point than any date in the earlier period.”<sup>14</sup> This reassessment is strengthened by the recognition that communities of Yeshua-believing Jews who practiced Judaism existed as late as 375 CE. Epiphanius, the fourth-century church father, describes the Messianic Judaism of his day:

[They] did not call themselves Christians, but Nazarenes. . . . [T]hey remained wholly Jewish and nothing else. For they use not only the New Testament but also the Old like the Jews. . . . [They] live according to the preaching of the Law as among the Jews. . . . They have a good mastery of the Hebrew language. For the entire Law and the Prophets and what is called the Scriptures, I mention the poetical books, Kings, Chronicles and Esther and all the others are read in Hebrew by them as that is the case with the Jews of course. Only in this respect they differ

11. The *kai* in Acts 21:24 is emphatic, as in the ESV (“you yourself *also* live in observance of the law”).

12. David J. Rudolph, “Paul’s ‘Rule in All the Churches’ (1 Cor 7:17–24) and Torah-Defined Ecclesiological Variation,” *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 5 (2010): 1–23. Online: <http://www.mjstudies.com>; J. Brian Tucker, *Remain in Your Calling: Paul and the Continuation of Social Identities in 1 Corinthians* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2011), 62–114; and chapter 20 below, Anders Runesson, “Paul’s Rule in All the *Ekklesiiai*.”

13. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 22.

14. Becker and Reed, *The Ways That Never Parted*, 23. See Daniel Boyarin, “Semantic Differences; or, ‘Judaism’/‘Christianity,’” in *The Ways That Never Parted*, 65–85; Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2012); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Paula Fredriksen, “What ‘Parting of the Ways’? Jews, Gentiles, and the Ancient Mediterranean City,” in *The Ways That Never Parted*, 35–63; Philip S. Alexander, “‘The Parting of the Ways’ from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism,” in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135* (ed. James D. G. Dunn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); John G. Gager, “Did Jewish Christians See the Rise of Islam?” in *The Ways That Never Parted*, 361–72; Judith Lieu, “‘The Parting of the Ways’: Theological Construct or Historical Reality?” in *Neither Jew nor Greek: Constructing Early Christianity* (London: T&T Clark, 2002), 11–29; John Howard Yoder, *The Jewish-Christian Schism Revisited* (ed. Michael G. Cartwright and Peter Ochs; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003); Edwin K. Broadhead, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus: Redrawing the Religious Map of Antiquity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 354–75; Anders Runesson, “Inventing Christian Identity: Paul, Ignatius, and Theodosius I,” in *Exploring Early Christian Identity* (ed. Bengt Holmberg; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 59–91.

from the Jews and Christians: with the Jews they do not agree because of their belief in Christ, with the Christians because they are trained in the Law, in circumcision, the Sabbath and the other things.<sup>15</sup>

In his essay “Jewish Believers in Early Rabbinic Literature (2d to 5th Centuries),” Philip Alexander notes that Messianic Jews who lived in Galilee during the Tannaitic period remained within the orbit of Judaism:

They lived like other Jews. Their houses were indistinguishable from the houses of other Jews. They probably observed as much of the Torah as did other Jews (though they would doubtless have rejected, as many others did, the distinctively rabbinic interpretations of the *misvot*). They studied Torah and developed their own interpretations of it, and, following the practice of the Apostles, they continued to perform a ministry of healing in the name of Jesus. . . . [T]hey seem to have continued to attend their local synagogues on Sabbath. They may have attempted to influence the service of the synagogue, even to the extent of trying to introduce into it the Paternoster [the Lord’s Prayer], or readings from Christian Gospels, or they may have preached sermons which offered Christian readings of the Torah. The rabbis countered with a program which thoroughly “rabbinized” the service of the synagogue and ensured that it reflected the core rabbinic values.<sup>16</sup>

Direct evidence of Jews who practiced Messianic Judaism after the First Council of Nicaea is scanty. This is because the view that Jews could not become Christians and remain Jews was backed by canon law and Constantine’s sword. The Second Council of Nicaea in 787 was the first ecumenical council to ban Messianic Jews from the church. Messianic Jews were required to renounce all ties to Judaism through professions of faith like the one from the Church of Constantinople (“I renounce absolutely everything Jewish, every law, rite and custom”).<sup>17</sup> From the fourth century until the modern period, millions of Jews converted to Christianity and left behind their Jewish identity.

### Messianic Judaism and the Moravian *Judenkehille* in the Eighteenth Century

The earliest known post-Nicene attempt to restore Messianic Judaism was undertaken by the Moravian Brethren in Herrnhut, Germany (1735).<sup>18</sup> Count Nikolaus Ludwig

15. Epiphanius, Panarion 29, quoted in A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, trans., *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1973), 173. “The core traits of the Nazarenes — Jewish followers of Jesus with a Hebraic textual tradition, a commitment to the Law, and a location in the vicinity of Antioch — are supported by converging lines of evidence. In light of this analysis, the most plausible conclusion is that the core of the patristic representation of the Nazarenes is undergirded by a historical group who seek to continue God’s covenant with Israel by both following Jesus and maintaining Jewishness” (Broadhead, *Jewish Ways of Following Jesus*, 187). Cf. Wolfram Kinzig, “The Nazoraeans,” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. Skarsaune and Hvalvik), 463–87.

16. Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Believers in Early Rabbinic Literature (2d to 5th Centuries),” in *Jewish Believers in Jesus* (ed. Skarsaune and Hvalvik), 686–87.

17. Assemani, *Cod. Lit.* 1:105. See James Parkes, “Appendix 3: Professions of Faith Extracted from Jews on Baptism,” in *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism* (New York: Atheneum, 1985), 397.

18. In 1730–31, Johann Georg Widmann and Johann Andreas Manitus, from Halle, entered into ongoing

von Zinzendorf established in the *Brüdergemeine* (the Brethren community) a congregation in which Yeshua-believing Jews were encouraged to live out Jewish life and identity. He called this congregation a *Judenkehille* (Jewish community):

Soon the program of “gathering firstlings” emerged. The program aimed at integrating individual Jews into the *Brüdergemeine* without encouraging them to abandon their identity. To this end, several liturgical innovations were implemented. These included the celebration of the Day of Atonement and, later on, the Sabbath Rest and the intercession for Israel within the services on Sundays. A christianized Jewish marriage ceremony for the “firstlings” was created. The new converts were intended to be gathered in a Jewish-Christian congregation within the *Brüdergemeine*, the *Judenkehille* (“Jews’ Qehillah,” the latter part of the word being derived from the Hebrew word for “community”).<sup>19</sup>

As the years passed, Zinzendorf reassessed his approach and concluded that it would be better for *Judenkehille* congregations to exist autonomously within the Jewish community rather than within Gentile Christian churches. He thus redirected German Pietist efforts toward this end:

In the early 1750s, Zinzendorf reacted by modifying the project of the *Judenkehille* to the effect that he now aimed at establishing it *within* the Jewish communities. The converted Jews should, as an autonomous community, remain in their Jewish environment and form a sort of nucleus of the converted Israel. By this time Zinzendorf had moved to London to apply himself to the organization of the local branch of the *Brüdergemeine*. At that point, the new *Judenkehille* was also intended to be based in London and to be supervised by Lieberkühn and the convert Benjamin David Kirchof (1716–1784).<sup>20</sup>

As late as the 1770s, the Moravian Brethren were facilitating the establishment of fully autonomous *Judenkehille* congregations in Germany, England, and Switzerland.

### Messianic Judaism and Jewish Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

With nineteenth-century Protestant missionary societies promoting cross-cultural evangelism, it became increasingly acceptable for Christians of Jewish descent to identify as “Hebrew Christians” and to form missionary societies to bring the gospel to their own people. These early Jewish mission agencies included the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (1809), the Episcopal Jews’ Chapel Abrahamic Society (1835), the Hebrew Christian Alliance (1867), the Hebrew Chris-

dialogue with members of the Plotzgo Jewish community in Poland about creating a Jewish-Christian synagogue where Jesus-believing Jews would continue to observe the Torah and Jewish customs. Acts 15; 21; and Rom 9:4–5; 11:11–21 were presented as the biblical basis for such a community. See Lutz Greisiger, “Israel in the Church and the Church in Israel: The Formation of Jewish Christian Communities as a Proselytising Strategy Within and Outside the German Pietist Mission to the Jews of the Eighteenth Century,” in *Pietism and Community in Europe and North America 1650–1850* (ed. Jonathan Strom; Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010), 133–34.

19. Greisiger, “Israel in the Church and the Church in Israel,” 137–38.

20. Greisiger, “Israel in the Church and the Church in Israel,” 139–40.



tian Prayer Union (1882), the British Hebrew Christian Alliance (1888), the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America (1915), and the International Hebrew Christian Alliance (1925).

It is important to recognize that Jewish mission agencies did not promote Messianic Judaism. They facilitated Jewish evangelism and encouraged “converted Jews” to join Protestant churches, which assimilated these Jews into Gentile Christianity. Hebrew Christians who were employed by Jewish missionary societies did not typically live within the orbit of Judaism or identify as Torah-faithful Jews. Most were fully at home in the symbolic universe of Gentile Christianity.

Despite (or perhaps because of) this Gentile Christian context, some Jewish believers in Yeshua who came to faith through Jewish mission agencies refused to assimilate into Gentile churches. They wanted to continue to live as Jews. These individuals called themselves “Messianic Jews” to distinguish themselves from the majority of Hebrew Christians who saw little to no value in Judaism, and who thought it was backsliding or heresy for Hebrew Christians to practice Judaism as a matter of covenant, calling, or national duty before God.

Prominent Messianic Jews in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included Joseph Rabinowitz in Russia, Rabbi Isaac Lichtenstein in Hungary, Mark John Levy in the United States, Philip Cohen in South Africa, and Hayyim Yedidyah Pollak (Lucky) in Galicia. Other leaders included Moshe Imanuel Ben-Meir and Hyman Jacobs in Jerusalem, Paul Levertoff (who held the chair of Hebrew and Rabbinics at the Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig), Paulus Grun in Hamburg, Alex Waldmann, Israel Pick, Jechiel Tsvi Lichtenstein-Herschensohn, and John Zacker (who founded the Hebrew Christian Synagogue of Philadelphia in 1922).

Messianic Jews referred to their religious tradition as “Messianic Judaism,”<sup>21</sup> a term that implicitly called into question the traditional narrative of a first-century parting of the ways between Judaism and “Christianity.” *It is important to recognize that Messianic Judaism challenged fundamental theological assumptions about the nature of the ecclesia and argued on the basis of New Testament texts — primarily Acts 15; 21:17–26; and 1 Corinthians 7:17–24 — that Yeshua-believing Jews had a continuing responsibility before God to live as Jews.*<sup>22</sup> Messianic Judaism took exception to eighteen hundred years of Gentile Christian theology and exegesis that precluded reading the New Testament in this way. Most Jewish mission agencies did not want to be identified with this new perspective and distanced themselves from Messianic Jews and Messianic Judaism.

In December 1910, the first volume of *The Messianic Jew* was published by Philip Cohen’s organization, the Jewish Messianic Movement. The journal promoted the importance of Yeshua-believing Jews living within the orbit of Judaism and embracing a Torah-observant life.

21. Philip Cohen, “Ways and Means,” *The Messianic Jew* 1, no. 1 (1910): 13. The March 1895 issue of *Our Hope* was subtitled *A Monthly Devoted to the Study of Prophecy and to Messianic Judaism*.

22. Ernst F. Stroeter, “An Urgent Call to Hebrew Christians,” *The Messianic Jew* 1, no. 1 (1910): 7–8; J. N. Martins, “A Plea for Hebrew Christianity or Christian Judaism,” *The Messianic Jew* 1, no. 1 (1910): 20–21; Ernst F. Stroeter, “Does the Jew, in Christ, Cease to Be a Jew?” *Our Hope* 2, no. 6 (December 1895): 129–34.





This law-observing Judaism will not be contented were we to observe its national religious customs and yet believe in Jesus: if we would have its recognition we must deny Christ. This is the price required by the synagogue for our approach to it. Alas! some have paid this price who began by seemingly harmless “observances.”<sup>23</sup>

The 1917 issue of *The Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly*, the official journal of the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America (HCAA), labeled Messianic Judaism a heresy that was banished from the alliance ranks. The *Alliance Quarterly* leaves no ambiguity about the HCAA stance on Messianic Judaism: “We felt it our duty to make it clear that we have nothing to do with this so-called ‘Messianic Judaism,’ in any shape or form, nor have we any faith in it.” The journal goes on to state that the HCAA stands opposed to the “misguided tendency” of Messianic Judaism and that “we will have none of it!” They conclude with the statement, “We are filled with deep gratitude to God, for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in enabling the Conference to so effectively banish it [Messianic Judaism] from our midst, and now the Hebrew Christian Alliance has put herself on record to be absolutely free from it, now and forever.”<sup>24</sup>

### Messianic Judaism and the Birth of the Congregational Movement in the Late Twentieth Century

Despite the social and theological marginalization of Messianic Judaism by Jewish mission agencies, the Messianic Jewish movement became a fixture in the worldwide community of Jewish believers in Yeshua. A shining source of inspiration was Joseph Rabinowitz’s establishment of a Messianic synagogue in Kishinev, Russia, in 1884 called Beney Israel, Beney Brit Chadashah (Israelites of the New Covenant). Neither Rabinowitz nor his synagogue was connected to a Christian denomination; the government of Bessarabia legally designated the Messianic Jewish community a distinct Jewish sect.<sup>25</sup> Rabinowitz’s synagogue considered circumcision, the Sabbath, and festivals incumbent upon Jews, as section 6 of the community’s Twenty-Four Articles of Faith makes clear: “[As] we are the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, who was the father of all those who were circumcised and believed, we are bound to circumcise every male child on the eighth day, as God commanded him. And as we are the descendants of those whom the Lord brought out of the land of Egypt, with a stretched out arm, we are bound to keep the Sabbath, the feast of unleavened bread, and the feast of weeks, according as it is written in the law of Moses.”<sup>26</sup>

Rabinowitz’s congregation referred to their building (which seated 150–200 people) as a “synagogue,” and they read from a Torah scroll.<sup>27</sup> Traditional synagogue

23. David Baron, “‘Messianic Judaism’; or Judaising Christianity,” *The Scattered Nation* (October 1911): 3, 11, 16.

24. “Messianic Judaism,” *Hebrew Christian Alliance Quarterly* 1 (July/October 1917): 86. Cf. S. B. Rohold, “Messianic Judaism,” *Prayer and Work for Israel* (January 1918): 8–11, 32–43.

25. Kai Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement: The Herzl of Jewish Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 64.

26. Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement*, 104.

27. Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement*, 146.

prayers were used with Messianic additions, and the Messiah was referred to by his original Hebrew name, Yeshua.

In the decades that followed, a number of missionary societies in North America and Europe attempted to start congregations in light of Rabinowitz's success. These included the First Hebrew-Christian Church of America in New York City (1885), the First Hebrew Christian Church of Chicago (1934; Presbyterian), the First Hebrew Christian Church of Philadelphia (1954; Presbyterian), and Emmanuel Presbyterian Hebrew Christian Congregation (1963). However, because these churches did not view Jewish life as a matter of covenant and calling before God, they struggled to transmit Jewish identity to the next generation. These Hebrew Christian churches were more often than not Presbyterian churches that put on a veneer of Jewishness to draw Jewish people to the gospel.<sup>28</sup> This was their *raison d'être*. It was not until the last quarter of the twentieth century that Messianic synagogues, reflecting the Rabinowitz model in theology and Jewish ethos, began to dot the landscape of major cities around the world.<sup>29</sup>

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a large number of Jews in their twenties became believers in Yeshua and refused to assimilate into Gentile churches. They wanted to maintain their Jewish identity and live as Jews. Many had extraordinary experiences that pointed them in this direction. Marty Chernoff, a pioneer of the late twentieth-century movement, saw a vision of a banner stretched across the sky with the words "Messianic Judaism" on it.<sup>30</sup> His wife Yohanna writes about how they and their community of young Jewish believers in Yeshua came to reject the Hebrew Christian model and embrace Messianic Judaism:

Almost every attempt by Hebrew Christians in the past to form congregations of Jewish believers had failed. Among the few notable exceptions was a congregation founded in Illinois in 1934, the First Hebrew-Presbyterian Church of Chicago, pastored by David Bronstein, Sr., under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, USA. But David had to work to justify the use of the word "Hebrew" in the name, stressing that the liturgy was not patterned after that of the synagogue, but merely sprinkled with a few colorful Hebrew phrases and the reciting of the *Sh'ma*. While there were a few other isolated incidents of congregations of Jewish believers, most were more along the lines of a Jewish church rather than a synagogue and were an

28. Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Messianic Judaism* (London: Cassell, 2000), 54.

29. An exception was the independent Messianic Jewish congregation established by Hyman Jacobs and Moshe Imanuel Ben-Meir in Jerusalem (1925–29). Also Kehilat haMashiach Betocho Israel (Congregation of the Messiah within Israel), a Messianic synagogue in Los Angeles in the 1950s planted by Dr. Lawrence Duff-Forbes. Rabbi Duff-Forbes led *Erev Shabbat* (Friday night) services that followed the *siddur* (traditional Jewish prayers). He also taught classes on modern and classical Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish history at his Yishivat Yahudat Meshichi (Academy of the Jewish Messiah). See Cohn-Sherbok, *Messianic Judaism*, 55–56. In 1960, Ed Brotsky of Toronto became the assistant rabbi of Kehilat haMashiach Betocho Israel. According to Brotsky, Rabbi Duff-Forbes "advocated that Jewish believers should follow what he called Messianic Judaism. For the next nine months until we returned to Canada, I learned a great deal about Messianic Judaism" (Robert I. Winer, *The Calling: The History of the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America, 1915–1990* [Wynnewood, Pa.: MJAA, 1990], 41–42). See also Joseph Shulam, "Rabbi Daniel Zion: Chief Rabbi of Bulgarian Jews during World War II," *Mishkan: A Theological Forum on Jewish Evangelism* 15 (1991): 53–57.

30. Yohanna Chernoff with Jim Miller, *Born a Jew ... Die a Jew: The Story of Martin Chernoff, a Pioneer in Messianic Judaism* (Hagerstown, Md.: Ebed, 1996), 124.

extension of the Christian church at large. Consequently, most Jewish members ultimately assimilated into the church, along with most other Jewish believers at this time, and were soon lost to their people. . . . Our congregation felt that it was time to rise up as one body to make a statement. In effect, we agreed that: “We are Jewish believers in *Yeshua* as our Messiah. We have our own destiny in the Lord. We will no longer be assimilated into the church and pretend to be non-Jews. If *Yeshua* Himself, His followers and the early Jewish believers tenaciously maintained their Jewish lifestyles, why was it right then, but wrong now?”<sup>31</sup>

Like the Chernoff family, many *Yeshua*-believing Jews in the 1970s wanted to live within the orbit of Judaism and to lift up the name of *Yeshua* within their local Jewish community. They established Messianic Jewish congregations to make this possible. Within a decade, the Messianic Jewish movement went from being a blip on the North American religious scene to being a grassroots congregational movement fueled by a new generation of Messianic Jews.

The Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations (UMJC) was formed in 1979 with nineteen member congregations, and the International Alliance of Messianic Congregations and Synagogues (IAMCS) followed in 1986 with fifteen member congregations. In 2012, these two umbrella organizations represented more than two hundred Messianic synagogues. There are an additional three-hundred-plus congregations around the world that are independent or linked to smaller Messianic Jewish networks.

### Messianic Judaism and the Diversity of the Twenty-First-Century “Messianic Jewish” Movement

In 1975, the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America (HCAA) changed its name to the Messianic Jewish Alliance of America (MJAA) under pressure from young Messianic Jews who swelled its ranks. The name change reflected an about-face from the HCAA’s stance in 1917 (“We felt it our duty to make it clear that we have nothing to do with this so-called ‘Messianic Judaism,’ in any shape or form . . . and now the Hebrew Christian Alliance has put herself on record to be absolutely free from it, now and forever”). While the name change reflected an institutional commitment to move in the direction of Messianic Judaism, the MJAA did not immediately define “Messianic Jewish” or require its members to embrace new theological commitments. Thus, overnight, hundreds of Hebrew Christians with no prior commitment to “Messianic Judaism” as a historical theological concept became part of a Messianic Jewish national organization and in time began describing themselves as “Messianic Jews.”

Compounding the confusion, a number of Jewish mission agencies (with no theological commitment to historic Messianic Judaism) began using the terms “Messianic Jewish” and “Messianic Jew,” having found that potential Jewish “converts” resonated with the terms. The new terminology was also a way to connect with the growing number of Jewish believers in *Yeshua* who identified as Messianic Jews.

31. Chernoff, *Born a Jew . . . Die a Jew*, 123–25.

Internally, however, these mission agencies were not unlike early twentieth-century Hebrew Christian missionary societies that opposed Messianic Judaism on theological grounds because of Christian theology's traditionally negative view of Judaism. One mission agency that quickly adopted the terms "Messianic Jewish" and "Messianic Jew" without embracing their original meaning is Jews for Jesus, a San Francisco-based organization that is known for its high-profile media campaigns and confrontational street evangelism.<sup>32</sup> Many Jews and Christians assume incorrectly that all or most Messianic Jews are part of this organization.<sup>33</sup>

A third factor that contributed to the muddling of the term "Messianic" was that evangelical Christian churches and ministries in Israel in the 1940s and 1950s began using the Hebrew term *Meshichyim* ("Messianic") instead of *Nozrim* ("Christians") because of its more positive connotation to Jews:

Baptist Robert Lindsay noted that for Israeli Jews the term "Christians" (*nozrim* in Hebrew) meant, almost automatically, an alien, hostile religion. Because such a term made it nearly impossible to convince Jews that Christianity was "their" religion, the missionaries sought a more neutral term that did not arouse their strong negative feelings. They chose the term *Meshichyim* ("Messianic") to overcome the suspicion and antagonism that the term *nozrim* was provoking. The term *Meshichyim* also emphasized messianism as a major component of the Christian evangelical belief that the missions propagated. It held an aura of a new, innovative religion rather than an old, unfavorable one. The term was used to refer to those Jews who accepted Jesus as their personal Savior and did not apply, for example, to Jews accepting Roman Catholicism, who in Israel called themselves Hebrew Catholics.<sup>34</sup>

In sum, as a result of (1) the HCAA/MJAA name change, (2) the adoption of Messianic terminology by Jewish mission agencies for evangelism and networking,

32. Yaakov Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People: Missions to the Jews in America, 1880–2000* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 200–219; David A. Rausch, *Messianic Judaism: Its History, Theology and Polity* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1982), 88–91.

33. Many Messianic Jews view the Jews for Jesus organization as problematic for two reasons: (1) Confrontational street evangelism often offends the Jewish community and creates an unnecessary stumbling block to the *besorah* (gospel). See Walter Lieber, "Jews for Jesus and the Gospel Blimp: Why the Jewish Community Is Right to Reject Jews for Jesus," n.p. [cited 23 November 2011]. Online: <http://www.messianicjudaism.me/media/2011/04/18/jews-for-jesus-and-the-gospel-blimp>. (2) Contra historic Messianic Judaism, the Jews for Jesus organization maintains the classic Hebrew Christian view that Jewish life is not a matter of covenant responsibility or calling for Jewish believers in Yeshua but something that is optional: "There is nothing wrong with celebrating the biblical feasts or following certain rabbinic traditions, but we can do so only to the extent that we do not contradict the clear teaching of the Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. And part of that New Testament teaching is that, in Messiah, we are fully free to practice these things or not as a matter of choice and conscience" (David Brickner, "A Final Word from David Brickner, Executive Director of Jews for Jesus," in *The Messianic Movement: A Field Guide for Evangelical Christians* [ed. Rich Robinson; San Francisco: Jews for Jesus, 2005], 187). Despite these theological differences, Jews for Jesus affirms the Messianic Jewish community: "In a statement released today [July 31, 2012], the Jews for Jesus Council (its global leadership body) issued the following statement of clarification on its position on the Messianic Jewish Movement: Moved by a desire for unity, and in the interest of mutual affirmation, we want to correct a long-standing misimpression to the contrary: we affirm both the Messianic Jewish Movement as a whole, as well as its Congregational component, as being legitimate and credible expressions of God's work today. We have been, and will continue to be, supportive of both" (<http://www.jewsforjesus.org/about/news/jews-for-jesus-messianic-statement>).

34. Ariel, *Evangelizing the Chosen People*, 222–23. The Hebrew term for "Messianic Judaism" is *Yahadut Meshichit*.

and (3) the Israeli Hebrew use of *Meshichyim* (“Messianic”) as a substitute for *Nozrim* (“Christians”), the term “Messianic Jew” took on a broader meaning in the late twentieth century. Consequently, today many people use the term “Messianic Jew” to refer to any “Jewish believer in Yeshua,” whereas the historic term connotes a Jew who believes in Yeshua and continues to live as a Jew as a matter of covenant, calling, or national duty before God. Similarly, many people now use the terms “Messianic Jewish,” “Messianic movement,” and “Messianic” loosely to refer to the work of Jewish mission agencies and Christian ministries in Israel, whereas the historic terms refer to the way of life, thought, and communal experience of Yeshua-believing Jews who live within the orbit of Judaism. The only related term that has not been adopted by Jewish mission agencies and, for the most part, continues to maintain its historic, social, and theological connotation is “Messianic Judaism.”

What is “Messianic Judaism” in the twenty-first century? The Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations offers the most comprehensive definition of the term,<sup>35</sup> and it is a definition in continuity with how the term has been used for over a hundred years:

#### **Basic Statement**

The Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations (UMJC) envisions Messianic Judaism as a movement of Jewish congregations and groups committed to Yeshua the Messiah that embrace the covenantal responsibility of Jewish life and identity rooted in Torah, expressed in tradition, and renewed and applied in the context of the New Covenant.

Messianic Jewish groups may also include those from non-Jewish backgrounds who have a confirmed call to participate fully in the life and destiny of the Jewish people. We are committed to embodying this definition in our constituent congregations and in our shared institutions.

#### **Expanded Statement**

Jewish life is life in a concrete, historical community. Thus, Messianic Jewish groups must be fully part of the Jewish people, sharing its history and its covenantal responsibility as a people chosen by God. At the same time, faith in Yeshua also has a crucial communal dimension. This faith unites the Messianic Jewish community and the Christian Church, which is the assembly of the faithful from the nations who are joined to Israel through the Messiah. Together the Messianic Jewish community and the Christian Church constitute the *ekklesia*, the one Body of Messiah, a community of Jews and Gentiles who in their ongoing distinction and mutual blessing anticipate the shalom of the world to come.

For a Messianic Jewish group (1) to fulfill the covenantal responsibility incumbent upon all Jews, (2) to bear witness to Yeshua within the people of Israel, and (3) to serve as an authentic and effective representative of the Jewish people within the body of Messiah, it must place a priority on integration with the wider Jewish world, while sustaining a vital corporate relationship with the Christian Church.

In the Messianic Jewish way of life, we seek to fulfill Israel’s covenantal

35. Cf. Richard Harvey, *Mapping Messianic Jewish Theology: A Constructive Approach* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2009), 8–12.

responsibility embodied in the Torah within a New Covenant context. Messianic Jewish halakhah is rooted in Scripture (Tanakh and the New Covenant writings), which is of unique sanctity and authority. It also draws upon Jewish tradition, especially those practices and concepts that have won near-universal acceptance by devout Jews through the centuries. Furthermore, as is common within Judaism, Messianic Judaism recognizes that halakhah is and must be dynamic, involving the application of the Torah to a wide variety of changing situations and circumstances.

Messianic Judaism embraces the fullness of New Covenant realities available through Yeshua, and seeks to express them in forms drawn from Jewish experience and accessible to Jewish people.<sup>36</sup>

National Messianic Jewish organizations like the UMJC, the MJAA, and the IAMCS represent the mainstream of the Messianic Jewish movement in North America. Their statements on Messianic Jewish definition, vision, and theology ultimately delineate the center and the periphery of the movement.

The diversity of the twenty-first-century Messianic Jewish movement is reflected not only in its spectrum of religious observance and theological self-definition but also in its demographic makeup. Recent studies indicate that the Messianic Jewish community, like the wider Jewish community, is becoming increasingly multiethnic. A growing number of intermarrieds (i.e., Jews married to Gentiles) are embracing Messianic Judaism as an option for their families. Given that one out of every two American Jews intermarries,<sup>37</sup> the Messianic Jewish community in North America is poised to grow exponentially in the years ahead as more and more blended families find in Messianic Judaism a solution to the intermarriage dilemma.<sup>38</sup> In addition, thousands of Yeshua-believing Gentiles with a love for Jewish people are finding a

36. Union of Messianic Jewish Congregations, "Defining Messianic Judaism," 2005. Cited 27 February 2012. Online: <http://www.umjc.org/home-mainmenu-1/global-vision-mainmenu-42/13-vision/225-defining-messianic-judaism>. "What does the name 'Messianic Judaism' imply about the movement to which it refers? The decision to use the term 'Judaism' speaks volumes. . . . The term expresses our fresh consciousness that the earliest followers of Yeshua were all Jews and continued to live as Jews . . . when we call our movement a type of Judaism, we are affirming our relationship to the Jewish people as a whole, as well as our connection to the religious faith and way of life which that people have lived throughout its historical journey. . . . Though perhaps unrecognized at the time, the decision to employ the term 'Messianic Judaism' and not just the term 'Messianic Jew' was of great moment. It implied identification with the Jewish religious tradition as well as with the Jewish people. Finally, the name 'Messianic Judaism' implies that our movement is fundamentally among Jews and for Jews. It may include non-Jews, but it is oriented toward the Jewish people, and those non-Jews within it have a supportive role. . . . Messianic Judaism is Judaism, in all facets of its teaching, worship, and way of life, understood and practiced in the light of Messiah Yeshua" (Mark S. Kinzer, *The Nature of Messianic Judaism: Judaism as Genus, Messianic as Species* [West Hartford: Hashivenu Archives, 2000], 4–5, 11).

37. Arthur Blecher, *The New American Judaism: The Way Forward on Challenging Issues from Intermarriage to Jewish Identity* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 163–91.

38. "Messianic Judaism is a natural option for intermarried couples because it is common ground for both partners. Also, children seek to *integrate* their identities, not separate them or eliminate them altogether (a drawback of the Jewish Only, Christian Only, Interfaith, and No Religion options). In addition, the Messianic Jewish option is rooted in the Scriptures and history, providing children with a strong sense of affirmation. First century Jewish followers of Jesus serve as an 'identity anchor' for twenty-first century Messianic Jews. For those intermarried couples who are looking for a way to bridge both backgrounds and raise their children with a clear and complete sense of identity, Messianic Judaism is a very good option" (David J. Rudolph, *Growing Your Olive Tree Marriage: A Guide for Couples from Two Traditions* [Clarksville, Md.: Lederer, 2003], 59).



home in the Messianic Jewish community and helping Messianic Jews to build congregations for Yeshua within the house of Israel.

Messianic Judaism is by definition a movement “fundamentally among Jews and for Jews.”<sup>39</sup> Jews within the Messianic Jewish community represent the rich tapestry of the Jewish world and come from all branches of Judaism — including Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, Renewal — and the various Jewish subcultures of the world, such as Ashkenazi, Sephardic, Ethiopian, and Asian. Messianic Judaism is growing in Israel, and the center of the movement is slowly shifting to the Land. Among the hundreds of thousands of Jews in churches, more and more are connecting to the Messianic Jewish movement and finding in it a way to convey Jewish heritage to their children. Finally, there are now third- and fourth-generation Messianic Jews being raised in the Messianic Jewish community. These young Messianic Jews stand on the shoulders of their parents and grandparents and view the Messianic Jewish movement from a different perspective than Jews who have entered it from the wider Jewish or Christian world.

Like the miracle of the State of Israel rejoining the community of nations after millennia, the Messianic Jewish community has been restored to the Jewish-Christian world after a hiatus of more than sixteen hundred years. For centuries, the church and synagogue have marginalized Messianic Judaism, treating it as an excluded middle. Today there are signs of change. The Messianic Jewish movement is growing in support among churches as New Testament scholars and theologians increasingly demonstrate that Messianic Judaism is consistent with the teachings of the Jewish apostles and the experience of the earliest communities of Yeshua-believing Jews in the Land of Israel, Syria, and beyond. The movement is also winning sympathizers in the Jewish world as Messianic Jews demonstrate through their actions that Yeshua is good for the Jewish people.<sup>40</sup> The progress in the latter area is slow — often two steps forward and one step back — but incrementally there is movement toward the day Yeshua spoke about when Jewish leaders will say, *Baruch HaBa B'Shem Adonai* (“Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord”).<sup>41</sup>

39. Kinzer, *Nature of Messianic Judaism*, 5.

40. E.g., Cohn-Sherbok, *Messianic Judaism*, ix – xiv, 203 – 13; Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Voices of Messianic Judaism: Confronting Critical Issues Facing a Maturing Movement* (Baltimore: Lederer, 2001), ix – xiii; Pamela Eisenbaum, “They Don’t Make Jews Like Jesus Anymore” (review of Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ*), *Moment Magazine Book Reviews*, March/April 2012. Cited 4 April 2012. Online: [http://www.momentmag.com/moment/issues/2012/04/Books\\_Eisenbaum.html](http://www.momentmag.com/moment/issues/2012/04/Books_Eisenbaum.html). “The notion of the humiliated and suffering Messiah was not at all alien within Judaism before Jesus’ advent, and it remained current among Jews well into the future following that — indeed, well into the early modern period. The fascinating (and to some, no doubt, uncomfortable) fact is that this tradition was well documented by modern Messianic Jews, who are concerned to demonstrate that their belief in Jesus does not make them un-Jewish. Whether or not one accepts their theology, it remains the case that they have a very strong textual base for the view that the suffering Messiah is based in deeply rooted Jewish texts early and late. Jews, it seems, had no difficulty whatever with understanding a Messiah who would vicariously suffer to redeem the world” (Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* [New York: New Press, 2012], 132 – 33).

41. Matt 23:39; cf. 21:9.

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