

NOTES

1 Beginning the Conversation

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2. John Micklethwait, "In God's Name: A Special Report on Religion and Public Life," *The Economist*, London November 3–9, 2007.
3. Mark Lila, "Earthly Powers," *NYT*, April 2, 2006.
4. When we mention the clash of civilizations, we think of either the Spengler battle, or a more benign interplay between cultures in individual lives. For the Spengler battle, see Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). For a more benign interplay in individual lives, see Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999).
5. Micklethwait, "In God's Name."
6. Robert Wuthnow, *America and the Challenges of Religious Diversity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005). "Interview with Robert Wuthnow" *Religion and Ethics Newsweekly* April 26, 2002. Episode no. 534 <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/week534/rwuthnow.html>
7. Wuthnow, *America and the Challenges of Religious Diversity*, 291.
8. Eric Sharpe, "Dialogue," in Mircea Eliade and Charles J. Adams, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, first edition, volume 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 345–8.
9. Archbishop Michael L. Fitzgerald and John Borelli, *Interfaith Dialogue: A Catholic View* (London: SPCK, 2006).
10. Lily Edelman, *Face to Face: A Primer in Dialogue* (Washington, DC: B'nai B'rith, Adult Jewish Education, 1967).
11. Ben Zion Bokser, *Judaism and the Christian Predicament* (New York: Knopf, 1967), 5, 11.
12. *Ibid.*, 375.
13. Robert Gordis, *The Root and the Branch* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 49.
14. *Ibid.*, 55–6, 63.
15. Leon Klenicki, *Toward a Theological Encounter: Jewish Understanding of Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 1; Eugene Fisher, *Visions of the Other: Jewish and Christian Theologians Assess the Dialogue* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994).
16. Avery Dulles, "Christ Among the Religions," *America* 186, 3 (2002): 8.
17. See Lenn Evan Goodman, *Monotheism: A Philosophic Inquiry into the Foundations of Theology And Ethics* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1982).

2 Theological Categories

1. Alan Race, *Christians and Religious Pluralism: Patterns in the Christian Theology of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983); John Hick, *God Has Many Names* (London: Macmillan, 1980). Current readable summaries are provided by Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002); Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *An Introduction to the Theology of Religion: Biblical, Historical, and Contemporary Perspectives* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004).
2. John Hick and Paul F. Knitter, *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness: Toward a Pluralistic Theology of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987); Langdon Gilkey, "Plurality and Its Theological Implications," in *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness*.
3. Terry Muck, "Instrumentality, Complexity, and Reason: A Christian Approach to Religions," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 22, 1 (2002): 115–21.
4. George Lindbeck, *The Church in a Postliberal Age* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2003); Holmes Rolston, *Religious Inquiry—Participation and Detachment* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1985), 244.
5. Francis X. Clooney, *Hindu God, Christian God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother: Hindu Goddesses and the Virgin Mary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
6. S. Mark Heim, *The Depth of the Riches: A Trinitarian Theology of Religious Ends*. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).
7. Kathryn Tanner, "Respect for Other Religions: A Christian Antidote to Colonialist Discourse," *Modern Theology* 9 (1993): 1–18.
8. Henry Siegman, "Ten Years of Catholic-Jewish Relations: A Reassessment," *Encounter Today* 11, 2–3 (1976): 87–8.
9. Jerome Gellman, "Mysticism," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (January 10, 2005), <http://www.science.uva.nl/~seop/entries/mysticism/>; Ewert H. Cousins, *Global Spirituality toward the Meeting of Mystical Paths*, Madras University Philosophical Series, 42 (Madras, India: Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, 1985); Steven T. Katz, *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Paul J. Griffiths, "Modalizing The Theology of Religions," *Journal of Religion* 73 (1993): 382–9.
10. Paul Griffiths, *Problems of Religious Diversity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 54; Jerome Gellman, "In Defense of Contented Religious Exclusivism," *Religious Studies* 36:4 (December 2000): 401–17; Gavin D'Costa, *The Meeting of Religions and the Trinity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000).
11. Schubert Miles Ogden, *Is There Only One True Religion Or Are There Many?* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1992); David Lochhead, *The Dialogical Imperative: A Christian Reflection on Interfaith Encounter* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1988).

3 Biblical and Talmudic Texts

1. Yehezkel Kaufmann, "The Bible and Mythological Polytheism," *JBL* 70 (1951): 179–97; idem., *The Religion of Israel, from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press Chicago, 1960).
2. Naomi Janowitz, "Good Jews Don't: Historical and Philosophical Constructions of Idolatry," *History of Religions* 4, 2 (2007): 239–52.
3. Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the*

- Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990); Ziony Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallaxic Approaches* (London: Continuum, 2001).
4. Robert Goldenberg, *The Nations that Know Thee Not* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Gerald R. McDermott, *God's Rivals: Why Has God Allowed Different Religions?* (Downer's Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2007), 62.
 5. C.J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966).
 6. Smith, *The Early History of God*, 36, 47.
 7. David Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 13–15.
 8. Ruth 1; Zephaniah 3:9; Zechariah 14:9.
 9. BT *Avodah Zarah* 46a; BT *Megillah* 25b; Sif. Deuteronomy 61.
 10. BT *Sanhedrin* 10:2; Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Teshuvah 3:13; Kings 8:11.
 11. *Genesis Rabbah* 38:13.
 12. Judith 5:6–7; Jubilees 11:16–17; 12:1–3, 6–7; *Genesis Rabbah* 38:13.
 13. Emmanuel Friedheim, “Who Are the Deities Concealed Behind the Rabbinic Expression a Nursing Female Image?” *Harvard Theological Review* 96 (2003): 239–50; *Rabbinisme et paganisme en Palestine romaine: étude historique des Realia talmudiques (Ier-IV^{ème} siècles)* Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, v. 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Emmanuel Friedheim; idem., *Tarbiz* 69 (2000): 167–75; idem., *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 403–15.
 14. Noam Zohar, “Idolatry, Idols, and Their Annulment” (Hebrew), *Sidra* 17 (2001–2002): 64–77.
 15. Moshe Halbertal and Avishai Margalit, *Idolatry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
 16. Azzan Yadin, “Rabban Gamliel, Aphrodite’s Bath, and the Question of Pagan Monotheism,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 96 (2006): 149–79.
 17. Plotinus, *Enneads* 3:9:3. Celsus, *On the True Doctrine* and Julian the Apostate, *Against the Galileans*—both books are translated in *Celsus and Others: Early Attacks on Christianity* (London: T. Rodd, 1830).
 18. “God created two evil inclinations in the world, that toward idolatry and the other toward incest; the former has already been uprooted; the latter still holds sway” (*Song Rabbah* 7:8; cf. *Yoma* 69b).
 19. Moshe Halbertal, “Coexisting with the Enemy: Jews and Pagans in the Mishnah,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Guy G. Stroumsa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 159–72. And see the recent articles Yair Furstenberg, “Nullification of Idolatry” *Reshit* 1 (2009): 117–144. In the same volume Noam Zohar sees this passage as already pointing to the approach reached by Meiri, see “Partitions Around a Shared Cultural Space” *Reshit* 1 (2009) 145–164.
 20. Josephus reported that there existed groups, such as the Hasmonean family in the first century BCE, who produced human representations. Some rabbinic passages make reference to the widespread existence of Jewish figurative art (JT, *Avodah Zarah* 3:2; 3:3) but opposing views existed (e.g., *Mekhilta de Simeon bar Yochai, Ki Tisei* 31).
 21. On the rabbis approaching the Greco-Roman cult as civil religion, see E.E. Urbach, “The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts,” *IEJ* 9 (1959): 145–69. Gerald Blidstein, “R. Yohanan, “Idolatry, and Public Privilege,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5, 2 (1974): 154–61.
 22. *TB Megillah* 13a, but this statement was not developed in the legal discussions of halakhah.
 23. Menachem Hirschman, *Kol ba’ei Olam: [All Humanity: a Universalist Stream in Tannaitic Literature and its Attitude toward Gentile Wisdom]* (Tel-Aviv: Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Meuhad, 1999); Marc Hirshman, “Rabbinic Universalism in the Second and Third Centuries,” *Harvard Theological Review* 9, 2 (2000): 101–15.
 24. Paula Fredrickson, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Christ* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 150; E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia:

- Fortress Press, 1985). Some of the relevant statements include R. Abahu's interpretation of Hosea 14:8, "Those who sit in his shade shall be revived," as the gentiles who take refuge in the shade of the Holy One, Blessed be He. (*Leviticus Rabbah* 1:2) and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Deut. 23:16 who sees a prohibition against returning back to idolatry a gentile who desires to be under the shade of the shekhinah.
25. Cf. Paul Eph 6:19: Pray also for me, so that, when I begin to speak, the right words will come to me. Then I will boldly make known the secret of the gospel.
 26. Sasha Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 33. Yehezqel Kohlen, *Ha-yahas el ha-nokhri ba-halakhah u-ve-metsi'ut bitequfat ha-tanna'im* doctoral dissertation, Hebrew University, Shevat 5735, 1975.
 27. Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings*, 156; and "The Death of Idolatry?" *Le'ela* (April 1993): 26–8; Gary Porton, *Goyim: Gentiles and Israelites in Mishnah-Tosefta* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 196, 199 ff., 215–17, 241–3.
 28. There are some of the little read texts from the early Ashkenaz period (ninth–twelfth centuries) that offer visions of heaven and hell, where these ideas play a role. See Adolf Jellinek, *Beit ha-Midrash*, 6 vols (1853–78, 1938), II, 48–51.
 29. Aaron Lichtenstein, *The Seven Laws of Noah* (New York: The Rabbi Jacob Joseph School Press, 1981; Z. Berman Books, 2d ed. 1986); David Novak, *The Image of the Non-Jew in Judaism: An Historical and Constructive Study of the Noahide Laws* (New York: E. Mellen Press, 1983).
 30. Book of Jubilees 7:20–28.
 31. Naḥum Rakover, *Law and the Noahides: Law as a Universal Value* (Jerusalem, Israel: Library of Jewish Law, 1998).
 32. Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings*, 204.
 33. Naomi Janowitz, "Rabbis and their Opponents: The Construction of the 'Min' in Rabbinic Anecdotes," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6 (1998): 449–62.
 34. Daniel Boyarin, "Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to which is Appended a Correction of my Border Lines)," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, 1 (Winter 2009): 7–36; Richard Kalmin, "Christians and Heretics in Rabbinic Literature of Late Antiquity," *HTR* 87 (1994): 155–69, citation on p. 157; Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations Between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (Ad 135–425)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
 35. Christina Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Aharon Shemesh, "The Origins of the Laws of Separatism: Qumran Literature and Rabbinic Halacha," *Revue de Qumran* 18, 2 (1997): 223–41.
 36. On the complex dynamic deity of Judaism, see Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (London; New York: Continuum, 2007).
 37. R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud & Midrash* (Jersey City: Ktav, 2006).
 38. Stern, *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings*, 28.
 39. Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
 40. Richard Kalmin, "Jesus in Sasanian Babylonia," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, 1 (Winter 2009): 107–12; Joshua Kulp. "Jesus in the Talmud (review)." *Shefar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 27.2 (2009): 132–134.
 41. TB *Gitten* 57a; *Vikkuah Yehiel of Paris*, ed. Margulies, 15ff.
 42. For more details, see the article on *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 2, "Aleinu"; Naphtali Wieder, "Regarding an Anti-Christian and Anti-Muslim Gematria (in the 'Alenu le-shabeah') prayer)," *Sinai* 76 (1998): 1–14; Michael D. Schwartz, "Alley le-Shabbeah: A Liturgical Prayer in Ma'aseh Merkabah," *JQR* 77(1986–87): 179–90.
 43. E.E. Urbach translates Micah with an *and* rather than a *but* in the last sentence: *and* we will walk . . . , "Self-Isolation or Self-Affirmation in Judaism in the First Three Centuries,"

in E.P. Sanders, Albert I. Baumgarten, and Alan Mendelson, *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Vol. 2, Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period* (London: SCM Press, 1981), 298.

44. Goldenberg, *The Nations that Know Thee Not*, 108.

4 The Inclusivist Tradition

1. Yehudah Halevi, *Kuzari* II: 36. Translated by Hartwig Hirschfeld (1905).
2. Halevi, *Kuzari* IV: 23.
3. On the ability of gentiles receiving revelation provided a distinction is made between prophets and ordinary revelation, see Robert Eisen, "The Problem of the King's Dream And Non-Jewish Prophecy in Judah Halevi's 'Kuzari,'" *JJTP* 3, 2 (1994): 231–47. See also Charles Manekin, "Hierarchy and Race in the Thought of Judah Ha-Levy," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy, 1992* (Louvian: Peters, 1996).
4. Halevi, *Kuzari* I: 103.
5. There is a large literature on Maimonides' attitude toward other religions including: David Novak, *Maimonides on Judaism and Other Religions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997). Gerald Blidstein, "The Status of Islam in Maimonidean Halakhah," in *Studies in Halakhic and Aggadic Thought* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press, 2004), 237–47; Stephen D. Benin, "The Search for Truth in Sacred Scripture; Jews, Christians, and the Authority to Interpret," in Jane Dammen McAuliffe et al., eds, *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 13–32; Yosef Kapah, "Islam and the Relation to Muslims in Maimonides' Teachings" [Hebrew], *Mahanayim* 1 (1992): 16–23; A. Hacothen, "Islam and Its Believers" [Hebrew], *Mahanayim* 1 (1992): 41–5; A. Slosberg, "The Relationship of Maimonides to Islam," *Paamim* 42 (1990): 42–5; George F. Hourani, "Maimonides and Islam Studies," in William M. Brinner and Stephen David Ricks, eds, *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 153–66; Howard Kreisel, "Maimonides on Christianity and Islam," *Jewish Civilization III* (1985): 153–62.
6. Moses Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, III: 29.
7. Moses Maimonides, *Teshuvot ha-RaMBaM*, ed. Joshua Blau (Jerusalem: Mekitse Nirdamim, 1960), 284f.
8. Nahmanides, *Writings & Discourses*, ed. Charles Chavel (New York: Shilo Pub. House, 1978).
9. *Abraham Maimonides' Commentary on Genesis & Exodus*, ed. E. Weissenberg (S.D. Sassoon: Letchworth, 1958).
10. Isaac Abarbanel, *Sefer Yeshuot Meshiho* (Jerusalem, 1967), 74b; David Kimchi, *Commentary of David Kimchi on Isaiah* (New York: AMS Press, 1995) 159: 7.
11. Isaac Abarbanel, *Sefer Yeshu'ot Meshiho*, 473a; Kimchi, *Commentary of Isaiah*, 160.
12. Sid Z. Leiman, "Abarbanel and the Censor," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 19 (1968): 49–61. On the censorship of Abarbanel, see Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, "Censorship, Editing, And The Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century," in Allison Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds, *Hebraica Veritas?: Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 125–155.
13. Moses Maimonides, *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics (Shemonah Perakim)*, trans. Joseph Isaac Gorfinkle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912).
14. Yaakov Emden, *Seder Olam Rabbah veZuta*, cited in Chapter 1 of Harvey Falk, *Jesus The Pharisee: A New Look at the Jewishness of Jesus* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985). On the full text of Emden's approach to Christianity with the eighteenth-century discussions retained, see

- the superb new critical edition of the Hebrew text by Lior Gottlieb, “*The Breaking of Those who Lead Astray* by Rabbi Yaakov Emden, First and Second Editions, with Introduction, Textual Comparisons, and Explanatory Notes,” in Binyamin Ish Shalom and Amihai Berholts, eds., *Be-darkhe Shalom: iyunim be-hagut Yehudit, Mugashim le-Shalom Rosenberg* (Jerusalem: Beit Morahsa, 2007), 295–321. For those who cannot read the Hebrew edition, see Moshe Miller, “Rabbi Jacob Emden’s Attitude Toward Christianity,” in Michael A. Shmidman ed. *Turim: Studies in Jewish History and Literature: Presented to Dr. Bernard Lander* (New York: Touro College Press—KTAV Pub., 2007), 105–36.
15. Cited in Eugene J. Fisher, A. James Rudin, and Marc H. Tanenbaum, *Twenty Years of Jewish-Catholic Relations* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986), 69, 101.
 16. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *No Religion is an Island: Abraham Joshua Heschel and Interreligious Dialogue*, ed. Harold Kasimow and Byron L. Sherwin (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 3–22; J.B. Levinsohn, *Éfés Dammim: A Series of Conversations at Jerusalem Between a Patriarch of the Greek Church and a Chief Rabbi of the Jews* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1841). I have analyzed this document in a paper delivered in Thessaloniki at “The Fifth Academic Meeting between Judaism and Orthodox Christianity,” May 27–29, 2003.
 17. Samson Raphael Hirsch, *The Pentateuch*, trans. Isaac Levy (Gateshead: Judaica Press, 1989), commentary on Numbers 29:13.
 18. The verses that Hirsch used, which are based on the comments of Radak and Rabbi David Kimchi, include: Isaiah 2:2–4, 11:6–9, 42:5–7, 55:3–5, 60:3; Psalm 67; Zechariah 9:1, 14:9.
 19. Samson Raphael Hirsch, “Talmudic Judaism and Society,” in *Principles of Education* (New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1991), VII, 226.
 20. *Ibid.*, 225–7.
 21. Judah Aryeh Leib Alter, *Sefer Sefat emet: al ha-Torah* (Jerusalem: 1990).
 22. Abraham Isaac Kook, *Igrot Harayah* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1985), 112.
 23. Abraham Isaac Kook, *Arpelei Tohar* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1993), 33.
 24. Abraham Azulai, *Hesed leAvaram* (Jerusalem: 1996), 50b.
 25. Adin Steinsaltz, “Peace without Conciliation: The Irrelevance of ‘Toleration’ in Judaism,” *Common Knowledge* 11, 1 (2005): 41–7.
 26. Joseph Gikitilla, *Gates of Light*, trans. Avi Weinstein (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1994). My presentation follows Weinstein’s translation that considers the divine forces as actually divine and not just as celestial.
 27. *Ibid.*, all quotes are from gate 5.
 28. *The Zohar III*: 161b; II: 84a; on the concept of seventy nations, see *Targum Yonathan*, Deuteronomy 32:8, *Pirkei deRebbi Eliezer*, 24.
 29. *Zohar I*: 13a.
 30. *Zohar III*: 215a.
 31. *Ibid.*; cf. Joseph Gikitilla, *Shaarei Orah*, gate 2, 39ff.
 32. Shlomo Alkebetz, *Berit Levi* (Brooklyn, 2003), 19a.
 33. Yaakov Yosef Polnoye, *Toldot Yakov Yosef* (Jerusalem, 2001), introduction.
 34. Jacob Joseph of Ostrog, Rav Yevi... (Kiryat Yoel, 1994), *yaveshvev*.
 35. Solomon ben Abraham Aderet, *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, ed. Haim Z Dimitrovsky (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1990), 162–4; on the topic, see Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
 36. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, *Judaism and Christianity: The Differences* (New York: 1943).
 37. Aderet, *Teshuvot ha-Rashba*, 212.
 38. John Hood, *Aquinas and the Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).
 39. Isaac Arama, *Akadat Yitzhak* (Tel Aviv, 1960), gate 70.
 40. *Ibid.*, cf. 73.
 41. *Ibid.*, gate 60.
 42. *Ibid.*, 60: 36; see also his comments on Deuteronomy 4:35, 26:1, and Exodus 12:1, where it might imply that Israel means any zaddik whether of Jewish or gentile origin. The French

- report is found in "Christianity in Jewish Theology," *Revue des Études Juives* 160 (2001): 495–7; Leopold Zunz, *Das gedachtniss der Gerechten in gesschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1919), 371–89, citation from page 384.
43. Eliyahu Soloweyczyk, *Kol kore o' Hatalmud ve haberit Hahadashah* (1867).
 44. Ovadiah ben Jacob Seferno, *Commentary on the Bible* (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1980), Exodus 19:5–6; Deuteronomy 33:3.
 45. Josphe Shapira, *Hagut, halakhah ve-Tsiyonut: al olamo ha-ruhani shel ha-Rav Yitshak Yaakov Raines* (Tel-Aviv: ha-Kibuts ha-Meuhad, 2002).
 46. Frank Talmage, "Angels, Anthems, and Anathemas" in Barry Walfish, ed., *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume* (Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1993), 17–18.
 47. Yehezkel Kaufman, *Christianity and Judaism: Two Covenants* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1988), 48.
 48. *Ibid.*, 163.

5 The Universalist Tradition

1. Sa'adiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, trans. Samuel Rosenblatt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948), x.
2. Raphael Jospe, "Ha-Hagadah Ha-Ne'emenet Shel Rabbi Sa'adiah Gaon: Mi Hem Qehal Ha-Meya hadim?" *Da'at* 41 (Summer 1998): 5–17; and "Additional Note" in *Da'at* 42 (Winter 1999): IX. He rejects Pines who interprets "the community of monotheists" exclusively as the Jews; S. Pines, "A Study of the Impact of Indian, Mainly Buddhist, Thought on Some Aspects of Kalam Doctrines," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 17 (1994): 182–203; This section is indebted to Raphael Jospe, "Pluralism out of the Sources of Judaism: Religious Pluralism Without Relativism" *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* volume 2 issue 2 (2007) 92–113.
3. Sa'adiah Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 16.
4. Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 45.
5. Aaron Hughes, *The Texture of the Divine: Imagination in Medieval Islamic and Jewish Thought* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 111, 206.
6. Maimonides, *Guide I*: 36, Pines edition, 83–4.
7. Joseph Ibn Kaspi, *Amudei Kesef u-Maskiyot Kesef*, ed. S.A. Werbloner (Frankfurt: a/M, 1848), 51, 67.
8. Jacob Anatoli, *Malmd Hatalmidim* (Lyck, 1866), *Noah* 12a.
9. *Shut Harashba* 1: 415.
10. Gitit Holtzman, "Rabbi Moshe Narboni on the Relationship Between Judaism and Islam," *Tarbiz* 65, 2 (1996): 277–99; "Universalism and Nationality in Judaism, and the Relationship between Jews and Non-Jews the Thought of Rabbi Eliyahu Benamozegh," *Pe'amim* 74 (1998): 104–30.
11. Yair Shiffman, *Shem Tov ben Joseph Ibn Falaquera, Moreh ha-Moreh* (2001): 141.
12. Isaac Albalag, *Sefer Tikkun Hadaot*, edition Georges Vajda (Jerusalem, 1973), 69.
13. Menachem Kellner, "Respectful Disagreement—A Reply to Professor Jospe," in Alon Goshen-Gottstein and Eugene Korn, eds., *Jewish Theology of the Other* (Oxford; Portland, OR: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, forthcoming).
14. Immanuel Ben Solomon, *Tophet and Eden: <Hell and Paradise>. In imitation of Dante's Inferno and Paradiso*, trans. Hermann Gollancz (London: University of London Press, 1921), 64–65.
15. Fabian Alfie, "Immanuel of Rome, alias Manoello Giudeo: The Poetics of Jewish Identity in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *Italica* 75, 3 (Fall 1998), 307–29.

16. Aaron W. Hughes, "Transforming the Maimonidean Imagination: Aesthetics in the Renaissance Thought of Judah Abravanel," *Harvard Theological Review* 97, 4 (2004): 461–84; Judah Abarbanel, *The Philosophy of Love* (Dialoghi d'Amore) (London: Soncino Press, 1937).
17. Shoshanna Gershenzon, "Myth and Scripture: The *Dialoghi d'Amore* of Leone Ebreo," *A Crown for a King* (2000): 125–45.
18. Norman Roth, "The 'Theft of Philosophy' by the Greeks from the Jews," *Classical Folio* 32 (1978): 52–67; Abarbanel, *The Philosophy of Love*, 345.
19. Abarbanel, *The Philosophy of Love*, 349, 416–17.
20. *Ibid.*, 277–328.
21. Steve M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Shelomo Dov Goiten, *Jews and Arabs, their Contacts through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1955).
22. Goiten, *Jews and Arabs*, 59.
23. *Ibid.*, 130.
24. *Ibid.*, 167.
25. Cecil Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964).
26. A similar universalism is shown *Tanna Debei Eliyahu* to including gentiles under brethren with regards to theft. See *Tanna Debei Eliyahu* 16: "Your fellow is like your brother and your brother is like your fellow. This teaches that it is forbidden to steal from a Gentile because it is theft, since it need not be said that theft from your brother is forbidden."
27. D. Levene, *The Garden of Wisdom* (Columbia University Press, 1907), chapter 6.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Moses Mendelssohn, *Selections from his Writings*, trans. Eva Jospe (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 116–17.
30. Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem and Other Jewish Writings*. Translated and edited by Alfred Jospe (New York: Schocken, 1969), 134.
31. Zvi Jonathan Kaplan, "Mendelssohn's Religious Perspective of Non-Jews," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, 3 (2004): 355.
32. Israel Lipschutz, *Tiferet Yisrael*, Avot 3:17.
33. *Ibid.*, Avot 3:14.
34. *Ibid.*, Avot 3:17.
35. Marc Gopin, "An Orthodox Embrace of Gentiles? Interfaith Tolerance in the Thought of S. D. Luzzatto and E. Benamozegh," *Modern Judaism* 18, 2 (May 1998): 176. Noah H. Rosenbloom, *Luzzatto's Ethico-Psychological Interpretation of Judaism; a Study in the Religious Philosophy of Samuel David Luzzatto* (New York: Yeshiva University, 1965), 181.
36. Rosenbloom, *Luzzatto's Ethico-Psychological Interpretation*, 151–3.
37. Gopin, "An Orthodox Embrace of Gentiles?" 176.
38. Rabbi Yaakov Tzvi Meklenburg, *HaKtav VeHaKabbalah* (Leipzig, 1839); *Commentary on Lev* 19:18. Ernst Simon, "The Neighbor (re'a) Whom We Shall Love," in M. Fox, ed., *Modern Jewish Ethics* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1975), 29–56.
39. Harold Fisch, "A Response to Ernst Simon," in Marvin Fox, ed., *Modern Jewish Ethics: Theory and Practice* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1975), 57–61.
40. Rosenbloom, *Luzzatto's Ethico-Psychological Interpretation*, 180.
41. Samson Raphael Hirsch, *The Nineteen Letters*, trans. Bernard Drachman (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1942), letter 15.
42. Mendel Hirsch, *Judaism and Humanism* (London: Beddoe Press, Staines, 1928), reprinted in Jacob Breuer, *Fundamentals of Judaism: Selections from the Works of Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch and Outstanding Torah-True Thinkers* (New York: Published for the Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch Society by P. Feldheim, 1949).
43. Hirsch, *Judaism and Humanism*.

44. Menashe ben Israel, *The Conciliator* (London, 1842), 192–3.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 194.
47. *Ibid.*, 195–6.
48. *Ibid.*, 209.
49. Aime Palliere, *The Unknown Sanctuary* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1928), 157.
50. Elijah Benamozegh, *Israel and Humanity*, trans. Maxwell Luria (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1995), 53.
51. *Ibid.*, 68.
52. *Ibid.*, 50.
53. *Ibid.*, 77.
54. *Ibid.*, 75.
55. *Ibid.*, 55.
56. *Ibid.*, 51.
57. *Ibid.*, 54–5.
58. *Ibid.*, 194.
59. *Ibid.*, 54.
60. *Ibid.*, 51.
61. Henry Pereira-Mendes, “Orthodox or Historical Judaism,” in *The Dawn of Religious Pluralism: Voices from the World’s Parliament of Religions, 1893*, edited with introductions by Richard Hughes Seager (La Salle, IL, Open Court, 1993), 328–30; reprinted from Walter R. Houghton, ed., *Neely’s History of the Parliament of Religions* (Chicago, 1894), 217–18. One should also note H. Pereira-Mendes, *The Jewish Religion Ethically Presented* (New York, 1905), where he presents twenty-one objections to the current practice of Christianity followed by a statement wishing that Christians would return to the religion of Jesus himself. He was also against the ecumenical trends in Reform Judaism that blurred their distinction from Unitarians.
62. J.H. Hertz, *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* (London: Soncino, 1963), 103, 759.
63. *Orot haKodesh* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1969), 3:15.
64. *Iggrot HaRiyah* (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1962), 1:112
65. Joshua Hoffman, “Rav Kook’s Mission to America,” *OROT* 1, 5751 (1991): 78–99.

6 Pluralism

1. David Hartman, “On the Possibility of Religious Pluralism from a Jewish Viewpoint,” *Immanuel* 16 (1983): 101–13.
2. David Hartman, *Conflicting Visions: Spiritual Possibilities of Modern Israel* (New York: Schocken Books, 1990).
3. *Ibid.*, 248.
4. David Hartman, *A Heart of Many Rooms* (Woodstock, Vt.: Jewish Lights, 1999).
5. David Hartman, “Jewish and Christian in a World of Tomorrow,” *Immanuel* 6 (1976): 79.
6. David Hartman, “Judaism Encounters Christianity Anew,” in Eugene Fisher, ed., *Visions of the Other: Jewish and Christian Theologians Assess the Dialogue* (Stimulus Books, 1994), 69.
7. David Hartman, *Heart of Many Rooms*, 160, 164.
8. *Ibid.*, 165.
9. Thomas Friedman, “The Real War,” *New York Times*, November 27, 2001, Foreign Affairs. It is interesting to note that the Muslim thinker Ibn Sabin (1216–1270) ascribes a similar statement, that God listens to a different group on different days to Maimonides’s *Guide*, cited in Jacques Waardenburg, editor. *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions: A Historical Survey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 191.

10. Raphael Jospe, "Pluralism Out of the Sources of Judaism: Religious Pluralism Without Relativism," *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* 2, 2 (2007): 92–113.
11. Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, "Bases and Boundaries of Jewish, Christian, and Moslem Dialogue," <http://www.havurahshirhadash.org/rebzalmanarticle7.html> (January 20, 2009).
12. Zalman Schachter-Shalomi and Netanel Miles-Yepez, *A Heart Afire: Stories and Teachings of the Early Hasidic Masters* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2009), 32.
13. Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, "Jesus in Jewish-Christian-Moslem Dialogue," <http://www.havurahshirhadash.org/rebzalmanarticle8.html> (January 20, 2009).
14. Joseph Dov Soloveitchik, *The Lonely Man of Faith* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 29–30.
15. Irving Greenberg, *For The Sake of Heaven and Earth: The New Encounter Between Judaism and Christianity* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 204.
16. *Ibid.*, 101.
17. Irving Greenberg, "Theology after the Shoah: The Transformation of the Core Paradigm," *Modern Judaism* 26, 3 (2006): 213–39.
18. Greenberg, *For The Sake of Heaven and Earth*, 185.
19. Irving Greenberg, "Judaism and Christianity, Covenants of Redemption," in Tikva Frymer-Kensky, David Novak, Peter Ochs, David Fox Sandmel, and Michael A. Signer eds. *Christianity in Jewish Terms* (Boulder, CO and Oxford, England: Westview Press, 2000), 158
20. Greenberg, *For The Sake of Heaven and Earth*, 204.
21. Elliot N. Dorff, "This Is My God: One Jew's Faith," in John Hick, ed., *Three Faiths One God: A Jewish, Christian, Muslim Encounter* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 10–11.
22. Elliot N. Dorff, *To Do the Right and the Good: A Jewish Approach to Modern Social Ethics* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002), chapter 2.
23. *Ibid.*, 271.
24. Michael Kogan, *Opening the Covenant: A Jewish Theology of Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 68.
25. *Ibid.*, 118.
26. *Ibid.*, 132; Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2005).
27. Kogan, *Opening the Covenant*, 168.
28. *Ibid.*, 176.
29. *Ibid.*, 183.
30. *Ibid.*, 170–1, 175–6.
31. Jonathan Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations* (London: Continuum, 2002), 4, 9, 19.
32. *Ibid.*, 53, 58.
33. *Ibid.*, 64, 209. See Paul Lakeland, "Not So Heterodox," *Commonweal* 134, 2 (January 26, 2007): 19–23.
34. Raimon Panikkar, "The Myth of Pluralism: The Tower of Babel—A Meditation on Non-Violence," *Cross Currents* 29 (1979): 197–230.
35. Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, xi.
36. World Wide Religious News, February 15, 2003: <http://www.wwrn.org/article.php?id=14438&sec=35&con=55>; <http://www.wwrn.org/article.php?id=14435&sec=35&con=55>.
37. Richard Allen Greene, "Britain's Chief Rabbi Tries to Fend off Orthodox Fury," *The Jewish Weekly of Northern California*, Friday, March 28, 2003: http://www.jewishsf.com/content/2-0-/module/displaystory/story_id/20022/edition_id/408/format/html/display-story.html (January 20, 2009). A full list of changes between the two editions is available at M.A. Sherif, "Will Courage Prevail? An Essay on Jonathan Sacks," http://www.salaam.co.uk/books/show_comm_review.php?commreview_id=21; for a good discussion of the

- controversy and the issues involved, see Marc B. Shapiro, "Of Books and Bans," *Edah Journal* 3, 2 (2003): 2–16.
38. Richard Harries, "Jonathan Sacks's *The Dignity of Difference*: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57, 1 (2004): 109–15.
 39. Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, 59. I subsequently found that Avi Ravitzky already noted the similarity of Sacks to Heschel, Hartman, and others in his article "Judaism Views Other Religions," in J.D. Gort, Henry Jansen, and H.M. Vroom, eds, *Religions View Religions: Explorations in Pursuit of Understanding* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 75–107.
 40. Dan Goldberg, "Interview with Chief Rabbi Sir Jonathan Sacks," October 24, 2006: <http://www.ajn.com.au/news/news.asp?pgID=1868> (January 7, 2009).
 41. Johnathan Sacks, "Exposition of the Hebrew Scriptures: The Relationship Between the People and God—the Covenant": http://www.bc.edu/research/cjl/meta-elements/texts/cjrelations/news/Sacks%27_Lambeth_Address.htm.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Sacks, *The Dignity of Difference*, 177.
 44. Jonathan Sacks, *To Heal a Fractured World* (New York: Schocken, 2005), 10.
 45. Piotr Sikora, "Judaism Open to the Religions of the Nations A Polish Catholic Theologian Reads an American Jewish Pluralist": <http://www.jcrelations.net/en/?item=2804>.

7 The Exclusivist Tradition

1. Morris Goldstein, *Jesus in the Jewish Tradition* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 148–54.
2. Leon J. Weinberger, *Jewish Hymnography: A Literary History* (Portland, OR: Littman, 1998), 38.
3. See the translated selections in Gustaf Dalman, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the Liturgy of the Synagogue* (Cambridge, 1893; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1973).
4. Israel J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and The Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 99.
5. *Sefer Rokeah* (Jerusalem, 1967), sec 271, 230–1.
6. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 119.
7. S.J.D. Cohen, "Does Rashi's Torah Commentary Respond to Christianity? A Comparison of Rashi with Rashbam and Bekhor Shor," in H. Najman and J.H. Newman, eds, *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 449–72.; Elazar Touitou, "Rashi's Commentary on Genesis 16 in the Context of Judeo-Christian Controversy," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 61 (1990): 159–83; idem, "Rashi and His School: The Exegesis on the Halachic Part of the Pentateuch in the Context of the Judeo-Christian Controversy," in Shimon Schwarzfuchs, Yvonne Friedman, and Bat-Sheva Albert, eds, *Bar Ilan Studies in History IV. Medieval Studies in Honor of Avrom Saltman* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1995), 231–51.
8. Menachem Klein, "Rethinking Jew-Gentile Relations": <http://www.netivot-shalom.org.il/parshaeng/toledot5763.php> (January 4, 2009).
9. Avraham Grossman, *Rashi* (Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 2006), 194–9.
10. *Ibid.*, 195, 198, 210.
11. Shabbatai Bass, *Sifthei Hakhamim*, a sixteenth-century commentary on Rashi consistently reworks Rashi to impose a more ethical reading.
12. Abraham bar Hiyya Savasorda, *The Meditation of the Sad Soul*, ed. Geoffrey Widoger (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 111, 128–9.
13. Shimon ben Zemaḥ Duran, *Keshet U-Magen: A Critical Edition*, trans. Prosper Murciano, PhD thesis (New York University, 1975), 25b.

14. The quotes are from Maharal, *Commentary on Sanhedrin* 21b; *Gevurat Hashem*, chapter 23; *Nezah Yisrael*, chapter 25; *Be'er ha-Golah*, chapter 7.
15. Maharal's *Be'er ha-Golah*, chapter 7 (pp. 144–6 in Ch. Y. L. Hanig's edition, Jerusalem, 1971); "anyone who accepts upon himself to worship the First Cause [alone] becomes thereby a resident stranger and is not subject to the discriminative laws like that in Bava Kama 4:3." Compare his commentary on *Tur Yoreh De'ah*, which states unequivocally that only a Gentile "who accepted upon himself the Seven [Noahide] Commandments" is a resident stranger.
16. Kedushat Levi *vayehi*, cited in Or Rose, "The Non-Jew in Hasidism: The Case of Levi Yitzhak of Berditchev," (Unpublished manuscript)
17. Zadok Hakohen, *Sefer Maḥshevot ḥaruts; Poqed Aḥarim*, 19; on Rabbi Zadok, see Alan Brill, *Thinking God* (Ktav: New York, 2002).
18. Naftali Zvei Berlin, *Haamek Davar* (Deut. 33:2 and 8:3).
19. Naftali Zvei Berlin, *Haamek Davar*, commentary on Genesis 15:5.
20. Abraham Isaac Kook, *Shemonah Kevazim* 5:57. Compare the passage in Zvei Yehudah Kook edited *Orot*, where Rabbi Kook writes: "Christianity abandoned the laws of the Torah, and established itself on a false mercy and kindness that uproots and destroys the foundation of the world. By denying the Divine source of justice, it becomes overwhelmed by the basest evil. The pollution penetrates the private life of the individual and spreads massively to the soul of nations. This becomes the foundation for the hate between nations and for the unfathomable evil of bloodshed" [*Orot* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1993), 21].
21. In the volume of his writings edited by his son Yehuda Zvei *Orot* (5:10) we do find the following passage that reflect his son's views: "The difference the Jewish soul—its essence, inner light, vitality, construction, and status—from the souls of all the gentiles despite their achievements [or perfections] is greater and deeper than between the human soul and the soul of an animal. The later distinction is only quantitative, but the former there is an essential qualitative difference." The widely cited passage is discussed in Zevi Judah Kook and Shelomoh Ḥayim Aviner, *Š'ihot ha-Rav Tsevi Yehudah ha-kohen Kūk al Sefer orot* (Jerusalem: Aḥeret Kohanim, 2004), 156.
22. Zvei Yehudah Kook, *Judaism and Christianity* [Hebrew] (Sifriyat Chava: Beit El, 2001). One of Zvei Yehudah Kook's students, with Kahanist leanings, considers Islam as idolatry based on its alleged pagan folk customs such as the Kaaba. Ariel understands, against their grain, the inclusivists as agreeing with him, even those who explicitly state Islam is monotheistic; see Israel Ariel, "Israel One Nation in the Land," *Zefiah* 3 (1989): 115–222.
23. Zevi Yehudah Kook, *Li-netivot Yiśrael: kevutsat maamarim* (Jerusalem: Menorah, 1966), 23.
24. *Ibid.*, 36, 58, 62.
25. *Ibid.*, 62–3.
26. Kook, *Judaism and Christianity*, 77–9. He also notes that Muslims are monotheists and share the laws of circumcision and the dietary laws of meat. "But belief in their prophet nullifies all prior beliefs, . . . Islam calls that the prophet Mohamed the seal of the prophets, . . . while cannot leave the Torah of Moses" (39).
27. Daniel Chanan Matt, *The Zohar 1* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 47a, 252.
28. Reuven Margaliot, ed., *Zohar Hadash* (Jerusalem: Mossad Ha-Rav Kook, 1978), 78d.
29. Shem Tov ben Shem Tov, *Sefer haEmunot* 5:4 53b–54a;
30. Judah Hayyat (ca. 1450–1510), cited in Joseph Davis, *Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller* (Oxford: Littman Library, 2004), 93.
31. Isaac Luria, *Etz Chaim*, Heichal Abi'a, Sha'ar HaKlipot, chapter 2.
32. Isaac Luria, *Etz Chaim*, Sha'ar Klipat Noga, chapter 3.
33. *Shaar Haḡilgulim*, 31ff.
34. *Midrash Talpiyyot* (Amsterdam, 1698).
35. For full explanation, see Hayyim Ibn Attar, commentary on Numbers 19:2. A similar statement from Islam, a century before, is brought by Andrew G. Bostom, *The Legacy of Islamic*

- Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2008). “Whenever a Jew is killed, it is for the benefit of Islam.”
36. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, *Derech Hashem* (New York: Feldheim, 1997), part 2, section 4.
 37. Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis* (New York: NYU Press, 1993), 23. Katz footnotes to Isaac Heinemann, “The Dispute over Nationality in the Aggada and in Philosophy during the Middle Ages,” in Yitzhak Baer et al., eds, *Sefer Dinaberg* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1949), 132–50; On the *Zohar* see Y.F. Lachower and Isaiah Tishby, *The Wisdom of Zohar* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1957), I: 290 ff.
 38. Katz, *Tradition and Crisis*, 32.
 39. Z.H. Chajes, *The Student’s Guide through the Talmud* (New York: Feldheim, 1960).
 40. *Tanya*, chapter 1; Shnuer Zalman of Liadi, *Iggeret haKodesh*, 25.
 41. Joseph Isaac Schneersohn and Menahem Mendel Schneersohn, *ha-Yom Yom—: luah Or Zarua le-Haside Habad* (Brooklyn, NY: Kehot, 1988), Thursday Tevet 9 5703. Our custom in Aleinu (*Siddur Tehilat Hashem*, 84) is to say “for they bow to vanity and nothingness,” and markedly not to say “and pray.” They write “The expectorating is after these words; the reason is that speech stimulates saliva, and we do not wish to benefit from this saliva.”
 42. *Derech Mizvotekha* (Brooklyn: Kehot Publication Society, 1998).
 43. Menahem Mendel Schneersohn, *Likkutei Siihot*. hekhal 9, shaar 3 (Brooklyn, NY: Kehot, 2000). *Likkutei Siihot* 19 kislev 5743–1982.
 44. Menachem Mendel Schneersohn, *Sichos in English*, vol. 35 (Brooklyn, NY: 1978), *Parshat Tzav*, 5747, 75–6.
 45. Menahem Mendel Schneersohn, *Hisvadyos* 5748, 4:39, cited in *HaMaaseh hu ha-Ikar* (n.p. n.d), 388.
 46. Menachem Mendel Schneersohn, *Sichos in English*, 6th night of Sukkos (Brooklyn, NY: 1978), 5747, 139.
 47. Yitzhak Nahmani, *Sefer Torat ha-gilgul, nefesh, ruah u-neshamah* (Netanyah: 1995).

8 Gentiles

1. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah, Laws of forbidden foods* 11:4 [11:7 in some editions], uncensored editions.
2. *Commentary On The Mishnah: Avodah Zarah*, 1.3, 1:4 ed. Y. Kafih (Jerusalem, 1965), 2:225; *Mishneh Torah: Avodah Zarah*, 9.4 (uncensored text of Mishneh Torah cited in Kafih’s ed., *Commentary on the Mishnah*, 2:225, n. 10).
3. Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 185–93.
4. On the historical background of allowing association (*shituf*) for gentiles, see Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (New York: Schocken, 1969), 35–6. Katz also discusses the ad hoc decision of Rabbenu Gershom (eleventh century), to permit trade with Christians on their holy days based on a statement of Rabbi Yohanan, namely that “Gentiles outside the Land of Israel are not idolatrous, but they are merely following the customs of their ancestors” (B. Hullin 13b).
5. There are a variety of versions of this text, some more explicit than others; see Rabbenu Yerucham, *Sefer Adam ve havvah* 17:5 and the discussion in Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 35.
6. Moses ben Israel Isserles, *Darkhe Moshel mi-Ṭur Yoreh Deah*, 15.
7. *Ibid.*, 151; Rama, *Yoreh Deah* 129:4, 20 and 132:1.
8. Isserles, *Darkhe Moshel*, 141, 150.
9. See Shakh on *Yoreh Deah* siman 151: 7 in the name of Isserles; for a full discussion, see Ephraim Hakohen, *Shaarei Ephraim* (Sulzbach, 1668), # 24, 38; Yehezkel Landau, *Nodeh Beyehudah* *Yoreh Deah*, 148, Yaakov Tzvi Hirsch ben Yaakov Eisenstadt, *Pitkhei Teshuvah*

- Yoreh Deah 147 siman 2; *Samuel Kolin Mahasit Hashekel* Orekh Hayim 146:2 ; Samuel ben Yosef, *Olat Tamid Orekh Hayim* 156. Avraham Isaiah Karlitz, *Hazon Ish* 62:19.
10. *Shilat Yaavetz* (Altona, 1738), 1:41; 2: 133; *Mor u-Ketziah* 224. On these passages, see Moshe Miller, "Rabbi Jacob Emden's Attitude Toward Christianity," *Turim: Studies in Jewish History and Literature: Presented to Dr. Bernard Lander* (New York: Touro College Press-KTAV Pub., 2007), 105–36.
 11. *Commentary on Rosh Hashanah* 17 and Rashi ad loc.
 12. *Commentary Avodah Zara* 40b.
 13. *Ibid.*, 43b.
 14. Moshe Isserles, on Yoreh Deah siman 141:1.
 15. Kaufman Koehler, "Cross," *Jewish Encyclopedia* IV (1901): 369.
 16. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Ha-Az'amim, Kitvei R. Avraham Ibn Ezra*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 2001), 15–21; London 1901, 17–19.
 17. R. Ishmael ben Abraham Isaac ha-Kohen (1723–1811), in *Zer'a Emet*, vol. 2 (Leghorn, 5556), fol. 34b., held that the Eucharist is an idolatrous service with a magical element; cited by J. Faur, "The Legal Thinking of the Tosafot," *Dine Yisrael*, 6 (1975): 67 n. 50.
 18. Shelomo ben Aderet, *Torat ha-Bayit*, book 5, chapter 4.
 19. Moshe Halbertal, "Ones Possessed of Religion: Religious Tolerance in the Teachings of the Me'iri," *Edah Journal* 1,1 (2001): 1–25; cf. Aryeh Klapper, "The Meiri's Halakhah about Christians and Christianity: A Response to Halbertal," unpublished AJS paper, who thinks Meiri is just continuing the *ger toshav* tradition and not creating a new category. Also see Yehudah Henkin, *Shut Benai Banim* III (1997): 121, who also limits the range of application of Meiri.
 20. *Igrot ha-Raayah*, I: 89 (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1962).
 21. J. David Bleich, "Divine Unity in Maimonides, the Tosafists and Meiri," in Lenn Goodman, ed., *Neoplatonism and Jewish Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 237–54.
 22. Eliezer Ashkenazi, *Maaseh Hashem* on the haggadah ad loc.
 23. Neta Ecker, "Universlaim in the Thought of Rabbi Eliezer Ashkenazi" (Unpublished Dissertation presented to Haifa University, 2010).
 24. Ashkenazi, *Maaseh Hashem*, 36–7.
 25. Joseph M Davis, *Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller: Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Rabbi* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 93–7.
 26. *Jacob Katz*, "The Vicissitude of Three Apologetic Passages," *Zion* 23–24 (1957–58): 175–93
 27. Moses Rivkes, *Be'er Hagolah*, Hoshen Mishpat 425:5.
 28. Frankfurt edition, 5:2; Azriel Shohat, "The German Jews's Integration Within Their Non-Jewish Environment in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," [Hebrew] *Zion* 21 (1956): 230–1.
 29. Jonathan Eybeschutz, *Kreti uPleti* (1776 edition) introduction– not reproduced in most of the later editions; cf. Abraham Zevi Eisenstadt, *Pitkhei Teshuvah* Yoreh Deah 147 and 152, footnote 2; Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, 35–6.
 30. Yaakov Yehoshua Falk, *Penai Yehoshua* on *Bava Metzia* (first edition, 1756).
 31. Yehezkel Landau, *Nodah be Yehudah* II *Yoreh Deah* 148.
 32. For example, on the topic of entering churches, the following contemporary legal authorities provide an summary of relevant sources: Ovadiah Yosef, *Yabia Omer* II *Yoreh Deah* 11:4; *idem.*, *Yehaveh Daat* 4:45; Eliezer Walenberg, *Teitz Eliezer* 14:91; David Hayim Halevi, *Ashe Lekhah Rav* vol. 1 (2009): 59; 4:53. The first two legal authorities ban entering a church, the latter writes that one can visit a church that is no longer active. On entering Mosques, Obadiah Yosef allow one to enter, even to pray, in a mosque, and Eliezer Walenberg bans it. Rabbi Eliezer Berkovis permits entrance into a church for aesthetic and tourist reasons: see "Responsa on Entering a Church," *Millin Havivin* (2009).
 33. Isaac Herzog, *Tehumim* 2 (1981): 169–79. Herzog's preferred interpreter of tosafot was [Binjamin] Zev Wolf Boskowitz, *Seder Mishneh: beurim al Yad ha-hazakah le-rabenu ha-Rambam* (iPrague: 1820).

34. Yoel Teitelbaum, *Va-Yoel Moshe*, Maamar Gimmel shevuos 90–8; *Yated Ne'eman* (September 1989).
35. Ariel Picard, “The Status of the Gentile in the State of Israel in the Legal Decisions of Religious Zionist Rabbis” *Reshit* 1 (2009): 187–208.
36. Jay R. Berkowitz, *Rites and Passages: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650–1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 130; idem., “Authority and Innovation at the Threshold of Modernity: The *Me'orei Or* of Rabbi Aaron Worms,” in Ezra Fleischer, et al., eds, *Me'ah She'arim: Studies in Medieval Jewish Spiritual Life in Memory of Isadore Twersky* (Jerusalem 2001), 275–77.
37. R. Zvi Hirsch Chajes, *Hilkhot Melakhim* 10:9 *Kol Sifrei Maharatz Chajes* (Jerusalem, 1958): vol. 1, 483–91; vol. 2, 1036.
38. David Zohar, “Jewish Commitment in a Modern World” [Hebrew] (Tel-Aviv, 2003), 227, 233.
39. David Zvei Hoffmann, “Problems of the Diaspora in the Shulkah Arukh,” in Jacob Breuer, ed., *Fundamentals of Judaism* (New York: Feldhiem, 1969), 181–91.
40. See the correspondence between R. Haim David HaLevy and Prof. Aviezer Ravitzky that was published in Zvi Zohar and Avi Sagi, eds, *Yahadut shel Hayyim: Iyyunim BeYetzirato ha'Hagutit-Hilkhatit shel HaRav Hayyim David HaLevi* (Jerusalem: Hartman Institute, 2007), 255–85.
41. Meir Simkha of Dvinsk, *Meshekh Hokhmah* (Jerusalem, 1974); Yonah Ben-Sasson, *Mishnato Ha 'Iyunit shel Baal Meshekh Chokhmah* (Jerusalem, 1984).
42. In a letter of November 15, 1965, to Prof. Samuel Atlas; quoted in Marc Shapiro, “Scholars and Friends,” *Torah U-Madda Journal* 7 (1997): 118.
43. On “gezel hagoy,” see *Baba Kama* 113a; 38a. On the permissibility of the error of a gentile [i.e., property of which he deprived himself due to an error], similar to the case of his lost item, see *Baba Kama* 113b: Rashi permits deceiving him. Tosfot does not allow deception. Tosfot does, however, allow one not to point out his error if the gentile does discover it and it does not cause a desecration of God’s name. See Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* The Laws of Robbery and Lost Items, 11: 4; *Tur Hoshen Mishpat*, 348: 3 and SMA and other ad loc for pragmatic limitations. Maharasha, *Yam shel Shlomo* (Baba Kama chap. 11, para 20) and the Vilna Gaon also reject deception. Since, many of these laws apply equally to heretical Jews, the main problem is the fundamental use of a double ethic as described by Max Weber in his description of an ethnic economy. The problem is the dual system of law not unlike the seventeenth-century laws in Protestant Germany that had separate civil laws for Jews, heretics, and Catholics; on “heretic” Jews as outside the economy, see *Hoshen Mishpat* 425:5 and *Hazon Ish Yoreh Deah* 2:16.
44. There are three main categories of gentiles: see R. Yom Tov ben Avraham Alshevili, *Hiddushei ha-Ritva—Masekhet Makkot* (Jerusalem: Mossad ha-Rav Kook, 1984), *Makkot* 9a, 113–14.
45. Moshe Sofer, *Hatam Sofer*, 90. R. David Zvi Hilman considers the Meiri’s position as an insincere smokescreen against gentile authorities, similar to the notes in the Czarist era editions of the Talmud that state “All these laws applied only in the ancient era, but now everything should be managed according to the laws of His Majesty the Czar.” R. David Zvi Hilman, “Leshonot ha-Meiri she-nichtevu le-tshuvat ha-minim;” *Zefunot* 1, 1 (September–October 1988): 65–72.
46. Moshe Sternbach, *Teshuvos VeHanhagos* (1997), #365. For the Sternbach and Klein responsa, I am indebted to Chaim Rapoport, “Attitudes Towards Gentiles in Post Holocaust Rabbinic Literature,” unpublished dissertation (Institute of Jewish Studies at University College London, 2001).
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