A good Jew? It is a sign of human weakness but nevertheless very common in church circles to assume that a Christian is superior to everything Jewish. We tend to prove Christian orthodoxy and virtue by condemning Judaism. According to Paul, however, there is a difference between the apparent and the hidden Jew. How can we condemn him whom God himself recognizes and praises as a "spiritual" Jew (Rom 2: 28-29)? Even the allegedly anti-Jewish Fourth Gospel testifies to Jesus' joy over the "Israelite in whom there is no guile" (Jn 1:47). Defending himself against wicked defamation and attacks and without detracting from his fully developed apostolic consciousness, Paul appeals in 1 Cor 4:2-5 to the judgment of God. A theological essay can hardly attempt to anticipate the verdict of the Last Judgment on Paul, but it is appropriate to point out how a widespread understanding of the Apostle is a caricature and to sum up emerging new insights into the relationship between Paul and Judaism.1

Ernst Käsemann has proclaimed that "The Apostle's essential adversary is the pious Jew." 2 This sentence summarizes and consummates the scholarship representing the Eastern and Western early church, scholasticism and Reformation, and especially the critical Tübingen and Marburg schools. Wilckens puts it more dialectically: "Paul was a Jew ... but was also an irreconcilable enemy of all 'Judaism' in Christianity." While Wilckens believes that "the 'anti-Jewish' elements of

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1 This contribution is the translation of a revised version of "Richte unsere Füsse auf den Weg des Friedens," hg. von Andreas Baudis, Dieter Clausert, Volkard Schliaski und Bernhard Wegener, München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1979.

The translation was done by Professor Lloyd Gaston, Vancouver, British Columbia.
the New Testament are essential for Christian theology," he would still forbid that they "be used for religious slander of 'the Jews.'" Instead they should be used "in every Christian generation [only] for the definition of one's own faith." Apart from traditional anti-Judaism and dislike of the Jewish Torah, drastically exemplified in the churches of the Reformation in Luther's wicked writings against the Jews of 1543 and his great commentary on Galatians of 1531/35, two books in particular were important forerunners of Käsemann's apodictic thesis. First, Karl Barth's Commentary on Romans identified Jewish piety with religion, and religion with the most refined form of sin and rebellion against God. Then Rudolf Bultmann in his Commentary on John taught that the Jews as such were representatives of the world opposed to God.

What Käsemann's thesis and Wilckens' dialectic maintain, deserves far more than only a big question mark. It can be radically contested and denied by everyone who (I) turns to the primary sources and examines the function of the Old Testament and other Jewish elements in the genuine (and disputed) Pauline epistles, (II) takes into consideration the evaluation of the Apostle's teaching and work by modern Jewish scholars, (III) acknowledges the collapse of the traditional understanding of Paul through the work of modern Protestant and Catholic exegetes, (IV) is impressed by the historical consequences of such an understanding of Paul, and (V) refrains from criticizing Paul himself when he happens to dislike a statement of the apostle. These five points will determine the structure and the content of what follows.

I

Old Testament and Judaism in the Letters of Paul

After his call into the service of Jesus Christ and in view of the justification of Jewish and Gentile sinners through the death and resurrection of the Lord, attested by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Paul is very critical of his earlier Pharisaic piety. He seems to generalize this self-criticism to the point of denunciation of all Jews and everything Jewish. He is pained that just such members of his people who like him had been zealous for God and the law took offense at Jesus' death on the cross and did not want to hear the message of the fact and significance of his death and resurrection for the whole world. When Paul calls their present procedure a "stumbling" and "falling" (Rom 9:32, 11:11), he expresses his