

THEOLOGIA SYSTEMATICA

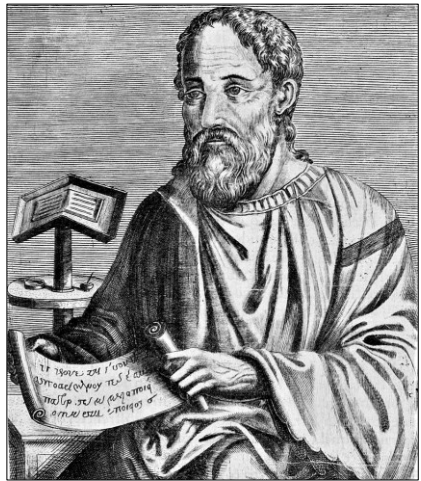
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Is there a connection between the Nicene Creed, Eusebius of Caesarea, anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism?

Introduction

While preparing for the celebration of 1700 years of Nicaea and its Creed, I looked for information about the date for Easter. Then, by chance, I came across a text in the *Vita Constantini* by Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine (±263–339).¹ It gave me a strong anti-Judaistic impression.² These words prompted me to initiate this research. I wanted to find out if there was a connection between Nicaea, its Creed, Eusebius Caesariensis and anti-Judaism.³ We should not ignore this question, neither should we ignore the Jewish-Christian dialogue during the celebration of 1700 years Nicaea.⁴ Anti-Judaism (resistance against the Jewish religion) is not always hatred.⁵ It is not the same as anti-Semitism (a racist theory and practice) neither is it separate from it.⁶ This distinction may lead to



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the denial of the complicity of the churches in the suffering of the Jews through the ages and the process that led to the destruction of the Jews by the Nazis.⁷ Anti-Semitism should be a continuing ecumenical concern, because of its long and sad history, not least within the churches.⁸ I noticed that this topic was not really an issue on the 22nd Academic Consultation of the Societas Oecumenica in Warsaw (Poland 2024).⁹ Nor is it in most dogmatic studies about Nicaea.¹⁰ I have consulted with ecumenical scholars, church historians, New Testament scholars, Jewish scholars and Auschwitz theologians, all of whom work from different Western and Eastern European contexts and denominational perspectives.¹¹ This gives my research a comprehensive approach. History is often based on eye-witnesses who were leading at the time. Eusebius Caesariensis is such an eye-witness. He presented to the Council a *Formula of Faith*, which according to his letter to the people of his Diocese served as a basis for the *Nicene Creed*.¹²

Anti-Semitism a continuing ecumenical concern

Christians cannot enter into dialogue with Jews without the awareness that hatred and persecution of Jews have a long history.¹³ We cannot ignore the massacres by the Crusaders, the Inquisition activities, the Pogroms, and the Holocaust. Immediately after World War II the Assembly of the *World Council of Churches* at its first meeting in Amsterdam (1948), called upon the churches to denounce anti-Semitism as irreconcilable with the Christian faith.

“We must acknowledge in all humility that too often we have failed to manifest Christian love towards our Jewish neighbours, or even a resolute will for common social justice. We have failed to fight with all our strength the age-old disorder of man which anti-Semitism represents. The churches in the past have helped to foster an image of the Jews as the sole enemies of Christ, which has contributed to anti-Semitism in the secular world. In many lands virulent anti-Semitism still threatens and in other lands the Jews are subjected to many indignities.

We call upon all the churches we represent to denounce anti-Semitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith. Anti-Semitism is sin against God and man.”¹⁴

The WCC Evanston Assembly (1954) however refused to include a passage on the hope of Israel in its statement on “*Christ our Hope*”. As a reaction to that decision 24 delegates issued a separate Statement on the hope of Israel, among them Hendrik Berkhof (1914–1995) from the Netherlands and László István Pap from Hungary (1908–1983).¹⁵ They confessed the guilt of Christian people towards the Jews, but they did not reject the idea of missionary work among Jews, nor

did the Amsterdam Assembly. The New Delhi Assembly (1961) renewed the Amsterdam Statement with a resolution on anti-Semitism.¹⁶ The WCC *Faith & Order* Commission examined Christian-Jewish relations and published a document called *The Church and the Jewish People* (1967), which was accepted.¹⁷ Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) proclaimed the declaration *Nostra Aetate* (1965).¹⁸ This crucial document denounces all kinds of anti-Semitism.¹⁹

“What happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures.”²⁰

In the year 2025, we celebrate not only the *Nicene Creed* jubilee, but also the 60th anniversary of *Nostra Aetate*.²¹ I cannot investigate all WCC Assemblies here, but it seems as if the WCC subsequently paid less attention to the problem, although the Amsterdam statement is regularly renewed, recently in 2020. The *BEM-Document* (1982) and *The Church, towards a common vision* (2013) contain almost nothing about it.²² At the 11th Assembly of the WCC in Karlsruhe (2022), Jewish-Christian relations were not an important topic.²³ Still, the German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier reminded the Assembly of the murderous anti-Semitism incited among and by Christians over centuries, in Germany and elsewhere. “One of the greatest current responsibilities of the Christian churches all over the world is to take a stand against anti-Semitism”, he said.²⁴ Rabbi Jonathan Sacks was present in Karlsruhe and Benjamin Kamine was invited to speak. Kamine offered a Jewish perspective on interreligious solidarity.²⁵ Rabbi David Fox Sandmel, chair of the *International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations* spoke to the Assembly saying that he had noticed how many Christians, theologians and institutions rejected anti-Semitism and the classical Christian “teaching of contempt” since the end of the Shoah.²⁶

Constantine’s measures regarding the Jews

We will go back now to the beginning of Christianity. The parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity cannot be reduced to just a simple reason.²⁷ It occurred in different places, several times and varying circumstances. The Roman Empire showed tolerance towards Jews indeed. Julius Caesar (100–144 BCE.) accepted their religion as *Religio Licita*.²⁸ However, Rome also showed intolerance and maliciousness to both Jews and Christians and the *Pax Romana* was not founded on tolerance, but on military power. Probably this *Religio Licita* (applied only to the Jews) caused alienation between Jews and Christians. There

was not really a standard Roman “Jewish policy”.²⁹ The emperor Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE), paved the way to a growing imperial cult by “deifying” himself (*Divi filius*), which intensified conflicts with the monotheistic religions.³⁰ The Romans believed that the Jews rejected the Roman state cult, because their God could not be integrated into the divine pantheon.³¹ In the first centuries, there were some big persecutions of Christians by Decius (250), Valerianus (257–258), Diocletianus (303–305) and Galerius (305–311). Decius was the first emperor, who organised it in a systematic way. In 313, Constantine and Licinius issued a decree in which they sealed their alliance and determined that there would be freedom of religion in both the Eastern and Western part of the Roman Empire. In 320 however, Licinius started a new persecution of Christians. This was a provocation against Constantine, which led to the civil war of 324. After the final defeat of Licinius, Constantine became the only ruler of the Roman Empire.³² He introduced several legislative measures regarding the Jews during his reign.³³ In his *Vita Constantini* Eusebius mentioned this law.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδαίοις μηδένα Χριστιανὸν δουλεύειν ἐνομοθέτει μηδὲ γὰρ θεμιτὸν εἶναι προφητοφόνταις καὶ κυριοκτόνοις τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος λελυτρωμένους ζυγῶ δουλείας ὑπάγεσθαι εἰ δ' εὐρεθῆι τις τοιοῦτος, τὸν μὲν ἀνεῖσθαι ἐλεύθερον, τὸν δὲ ζημίᾳ χρημάτων κολάζεσθαι.³⁴

“No Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that it could not be right, that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine.”³⁵

The question is: does Eusebius merely represent Constantine’s law, or did he himself agree with it? The Jewish people are here referred to as the “people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself”, a motive which also appears in the New Testament (I Thess. 2:15–16).³⁶ It is often used in a way that makes all Jews guilty of it.³⁷ It has even become a system for oppressing Jews. The same system also worked strongly around the so-called “silence texts” (1 Cor. 14:34–35) for oppressing women. Eusebius wrote: “Thus the divine vengeance overtook the Jews for the crimes which they dared to commit against Christ.”³⁸ In fact, Eusebius misrepresents this Constantinian law, because the emperor had only issued a law that Jews were not allowed to circumcise their Christian slaves. Another law of Constantine (18 October 329), prohibited conversion of Christians to Judaism, saying: “If a Christian shall approach their nefarious sect and join himself to their conventicles [synagogues], he shall suffer with

them the deserved punishments.” In 339, marriages between a Jewish man and a Christian woman are forbidden. Jews were also not allowed to buy non-Jewish slaves. The circumcision of non-Jewish slaves by Jews was now punishable by death penalty.³⁹ During Constantine’s reign, anti-Jewish legislation however was moderate compared to the centuries after him.⁴⁰ Some scholars argue that advices of Eusebius influenced the enactment of anti-Jewish laws by Constantine.⁴¹ However, not everyone is convinced of that.⁴² Emperor Theodosius I (±347–395) and his followers added new legislation against the Jews. No Jew could own Christian slaves; no Jew could testify against a Christian in court; marriages between Jews and Christians were forbidden; Jews could not conduct their services in their own language; no synagogue could be built higher than a church; no Jews could proselytize Christians and any Christian who reverted to Judaism was condemned and his property seized by the state; no Jew could be elected or appointed as a magistrate; no Jews could work as doctors or lawyers for Christians, because doctors and lawyers learned intimate secrets, which could be used against them.⁴³

Excurs: Anti-Judaism in the New Testament?

Already in New Testament times Christians began to think they were superior to the Jews, having the monopoly of the truth. They identified the Jews with Esau, themselves with Jacob, and as superior to Esau.⁴⁴ They seemed to forget that Jesus was a Jew.⁴⁵ This development occurred at the very beginning of Christianity. Even (the interpretation of) some New Testament passages caused hatred of Jews.⁴⁶ They were accused of being children of Satan, liars, killers of the Lord and rebellious detestable people. The interpretation of John 8:44 (“your father is the devil”) unfortunately became a starting point for hatred against all Jews.⁴⁷ It certainly does not mean all Jewish people in general are meant, but only those who were addressed.⁴⁸ The same applies to Rev. 2:9 (καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ) and Rev. 3:9. The Jews in Smyrna and Philadelphia who had harassed Christians are called liars and belonging to Satan, not all the Jews in general.⁴⁹ What about the accusation of Deicide? Acts 5:30 (Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου) accuses the opponents of having crucified Jesus. The context is, that the apostles had been imprisoned by the high priest and the Sadducees, were freed, and had then to appear before the Sanhedrin.⁵⁰ Peter answered the high priest saying that God had raised Jesus from the dead, who had been killed by the Jewish authorities. Peter did not say that all Jews are guilty of Deicide. In his response to the high priest and the Sanhedrin, Stephen reproaches the murders of the

prophets and of Jesus (τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Δικαίου). The context is that he himself was arrested and stoned.⁵¹ The same is said in 1 Thess. 2:15 (τῶν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἀποκτείναντων Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντων). The “anti-Semitic comma”, which in some translations is added between the verses 14 and 15, makes the text sharper than it already is.⁵² Jews in general should not be accused of the death of Jesus and of the prophets. Titus 1:10 speaks of rebellious people, loudmouths, and deceivers, especially those who insist on circumcision (μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς). They claim to know God, but they deny God by the things they do (βδελυκτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπειθεῖς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀδόκιμοι). “They are detestable, disobedient, and disqualified to do anything good.” (Titus 1:16) We cannot identify which “Jewish believers” are meant here. Apparently, they were false teachers who were a danger to the community.⁵³ Gal. 4:24–25 was interpreted as if Jews lived in slavery, while Christians live in the freedom of the new covenant. Mt. 27:25 Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν (“his blood on us and our children”), is one of the most frequently misused Bible text ever. Most of these texts are taken into account in the works of Eusebius.⁵⁴ They are unfortunately interpreted many times as if they applied to all Jews of all ages, with all its terrible consequences.⁵⁵ We should remember, that the apostle Paul (4 BCE–±63 CE), already warned his fellow Christians against unjustified feelings of superiority. Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἦτε [παρ’] ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι, ὅτι πῶρως ἀπὸ μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰσέλθῃ (Rom. 11:25): “I don’t want you to be unaware of this secret, brothers and sisters. That way you will not think too highly of yourselves. A part of Israel has become resistant until the full number of the gentiles comes in.” This text certainly plays a role in the work of Eusebius, but he struggles with it less than Paul does.⁵⁶ He even gives a very negative explanation, blaming the Jews. We must admit that unjustified Christian feelings of superiority have paved the way for anti-Judaism and modern anti-Semitism.⁵⁷ Some scholars see the above-mentioned texts in the New Testament (particularly the Gospel of John), and how they are interpreted by some church fathers as deliberate anti-Judaistic.⁵⁸ Most of these harsh texts show a heated internal Jewish debate indeed, but that does not always have to be deliberately malicious.⁵⁹ Can we accuse the New Testament authors, most of whom were Jews themselves, of anti-Judaism?⁶⁰ Their words certainly did fuel anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. It is time to read these texts in a new way by learning from the Jewish interpreters of the New Testament.⁶¹

Constantine, Eusebius and the Council

It was Constantine (±280–337), who convened in 325 the *Ecumenical Council of Nicaea* (today's Iznik in Turkey), in the first place to provide unity. Therefore it was necessary to deal with Arianism, Docetism, Meletian schism, and the Easter date. No less than 1800 bishops were invited, between 270 and 320 were present. The Arian controversy mainly occurred in the Eastern churches. Just a handful of bishops came from the Western regions. Pope Sylvester (285–335), who occupied the Holy See (314–335), was not present.⁶² Yet the outcome of the conversations was valid for all churches, for Sylvester, as the bishop of Rome, finally confirmed it all.⁶³ What do we know about Eusebius Caesariensis?⁶⁴ We know not much about his private life. He was not generous with details. Acacius, who was his successor as a bishop of Caesarea, wrote *The life of Eusebius*, but this work is unfortunately lost. We know Eusebius was a pupil of Pamphilus (Πάμφιλος μάρτυς), a great collector of books, which were kept in the famous library in Caesarea.⁶⁵ Pamphilus was imprisoned in 307, was martyred and died ±310 under the emperor Maximinus (†313).⁶⁶ Eusebius escaped to Tyrus, was arrested and imprisoned in Egypt. He witnessed persecutions of Christians by the Romans and wrote about torture of Christians in a moving and detailed manner.⁶⁷ After the *Edict of Toleration* in 311 by Galerius (±250–311), Eusebius could return. He was elected bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (313) and played an important role for some decades. Caesarea had a big Jewish (and Samaritan) community at the time. The Christian community was smaller and had no bishop before the year 190. By the activities of Origen, Pamphilus and Eusebius the city became an important centre of Christian Science.⁶⁸ Eusebius wrote about forty works, not all of them have been preserved.⁶⁹ His main work is *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, the *Ecclesial History*. The titles of his works are usually known in Latin, although he used the Greek language.⁷⁰ Did he actually know Latin?⁷¹ Many scholars claimed in the past, that Eusebius was not strict in the treatment of his sources.⁷² The criticism was so exaggerated that others felt compelled to defend him and praise him for his accuracy.⁷³ In the new *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (2024), he is characterized as one of the greatest contributors to the Christian intellectual tradition in late antiquity.⁷⁴ Eusebius was a pupil from the school of Origen (±185–254). He maintained good relations with the vibrant Jewish community in Caesarea. He seems to have had a Jewish teacher, who instructed him in Hebrew, and in this way, he became familiar with Jewish customs and traditions.⁷⁵ We know that he developed a personal relationship with Constantine, but it is not clear where and when he met the emperor for the first time.⁷⁶ Initially, Eusebius went along with the thoughts of Arius (260–336), probably in a moderate way.⁷⁷ He was tem-

porarily excommunicated by the synod in Antioch (324–325).⁷⁸ The question has been raised whether he could play such a significant role during the Council, in spite of his earlier condemnation.⁹ It is clear that he revised his previous views as a member of the Council. Thanks to this change of mind, he could play his important role at the *Ecumenical Council of Nicaea*.¹⁰ It has often been argued that the Council accepted an imperial invention, and as such was an instrument of imperial church policy.⁸¹ Eusebius was considered as one of the founders of Byzantine Caesaropapism.⁸² The Dutch theologian G. J. Heering (1879–1955), who was (and still is) very influential in the Netherlands, saw the privileges Constantine granted to the Christians and the churches as the “fall of Christianity”.⁸³ Eusebius praised – not to say adored – Constantine,⁸⁴ who had put an end to the persecution of Christians and provided freedom for them. Nevertheless, it has been questioned whether or not Constantine was truly a Christian.⁸⁵ On the other hand, his striving for unity is in the present time often regarded as a blessing.

Eusebius, the Formula of Faith and the Nicene Creed

Before the birth of the *Nicene Creed*, already several local confessions existed, although their textual witnesses are not older than Nicaea itself. Eusebius presented such a *Formula of Faith* to the Council that may date from the middle of the third century.⁸⁶ He claimed that it was used at his own baptism.⁸⁷ It begins with “we believe” (πιστεύομεν). A baptismal text however, will usually be in the singular, just as the *Apostles’ Creed*. In Nicaea, after the *Nicene Creed* was accepted (June 325), he wrote a letter to Caesarea, in order to inform his own diocese about the Council.⁸⁸ It is called a “letter of justification”.⁸⁹ Why? Eusebius had probably not really rejected his Arian thoughts but found himself forced to adjust his theological position. In the letter to his church, he tried to explain why he still signed the Creed.⁹⁰ He included in it the text of the *Nicene Creed*, as adopted by the Council (325). I think we should characterize him as a moderately orthodox theologian.

It has been argued that Arianism had a “Judaizing” approach in a pejorative sense. Igrave reports some hostile accusations of so-called Jewish sympathy among Arians. In other words: it would be mainly Jews who would want to deny the divinity of Christ.⁹¹ It is important to mention that the *Nicene Creed* not only clearly rejected Arianism, but also Docetism. It included σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρώπησαντα, therefore it contains the birth of Jesus as a human (Jewish) child.⁹² We realize that Nicaea was not the end of the conversation. The whole question was discussed with even more intensity after Nicaea. Many things still remained unclear, especially the exact meaning of the keyword ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ. In the

years after the Council, Eusebius avoided the term.⁹³ Only during the second *Ecumenical Council in Constantinople* (381) did the Creed receive its final version. It is also important to mention that the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* included τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, which ensured a connection with the Hebrew Bible. Below I quote a part of the *Formula of Faith* presented by Eusebius to the Council, as far as it corresponds to the *Nicene Creed* (325). This shows how much of it the Council accepted. Only a few expressions have been removed, while some specific anti-Arian expressions have been added (from the substance of the Father; true God from true God; begotten not made; of one substance with the Father). We can see that the *Nicene Creed* is based on the *Formula of Faith*, but it is not simply an extended version of it.⁹⁴

*The Formula of Faith presented to the Council by Eusebius*⁹⁵

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὄρα-
τῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ
Θεοῦ λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζῶν ἐκ ζωῆς, υἱὸν μονογενῆ,
πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰῶνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γε-
γεννημένον δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀνα-
στάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἤξοντα πάλιν
ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

325 *The Nicene Text*⁹⁶

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα πάντων ὄρατῶν τε καὶ
ἀοράτων ποιητὴν.

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ γεννηθέντα ἐκ
τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ **τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς**, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,
φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, **γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιη-
θέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ**, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ
ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον
κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

The Creed is followed by some condemnations against the theology of Arius. It is not just a message of a regional council, but a decisive word, spoken by the Catholic and Apostolic Church, endeavouring to stay in the tradition of the holy apostles.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας “ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν” καὶ “πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν” καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ τρεπτόν ἢ ἀλλοιωτόν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

*381 The Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum*⁹⁷

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα **πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων**, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα **ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν**, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ **Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου**, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, **σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου**, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ **κατὰ τὰς γραφάς**, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ **καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς**, καὶ **πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης** κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, **οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος** καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον καὶ Ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ **συνδοξαζόμενον**, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς μίαν ἀγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἕν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, Ἀμήν.

The *Nicene Creed* emphasizes the unity of the ecclesial community. It starts with “we believe in one God”, followed by “and in the one Lord Jesus Christ”. Is there a special reason why the *Nicene Creed* places such clear emphasis on the “one-ness”? It has often been claimed that Constantine forced this πιστεύομεν. He should have imposed this plural on Christianity in order to promote the unity of the Roman Empire and church unity.⁹⁸ The plural however, was already there in the much older *Formula of Faith*, so probably Wohlmut is right, saying that there is no real evidence for this hypothesis.⁹⁹ The *Notae Ecclesiae* (381) also express the “one-ness”. “We believe in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, followed by the one baptism”. This is striking and remarkable in comparison to the *Apostles’ Creed*, which does not use these term at all.¹⁰⁰ The Latin version of the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum*, unlike the Greek version, is in the singular (Credo). It seems, that the liturgical use of the Creed in both the (Byzantine) Eastern churches and the (Roman) Western churches has preferred the singular form (in Latin, Credo).¹⁰¹

Eusebius according to Jörg Ulrich

I draw some special attention here to Jörg Ulrich, who made a thorough study of the theology of Eusebius and the Jews.¹⁰² He characterizes Eusebius' theology as "salvation-historical". Eusebius sees the biblical history of Judaism as a preliminary stage that was overtaken by the coming of Christianity, a clear form of *replacement theology*. To properly understand Eusebius we should know that he distinguishes between Hebrews, Jews, Greeks (οἱ Ἕλληνας c.q. τὰ ἔθνη) and Christians.¹⁰³ The Hebrews descended from Abraham's grandfather Heber (Gen. 10:21). They preceded the Jews in time and were the superior in terms of spiritually c.q. morality. This ancient Hebrew religion had no Sinai legislation, no Sabbath, no circumcision and was focused on universality. Why no circumcision? Because Abraham as a "Hebrew" was already justified without his circumcision.¹⁰⁴ Eusebius used the word "Hebrews" as an honorary title (φίλοι Θεοῦ, friends of God), but he can also apply this honorary title to some Jews after Moses and even to Plato, who distanced himself from polytheism and – so to speak – found himself in the vestibule of truth.¹⁰⁵ Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* argues that the Greeks had taken their (partial) truths from the Hebrew tradition.¹⁰⁶ Christians and in particular the authors of the New Testament, also deserved this honorary title.¹⁰⁷ If Eusebius speaks of "Jews" he means the descendants of Judah, all twelve tribes and the entire Jewish people, keeping the Mosaic law, but in his view there is not a sharp watershed between "Hebrews" and "Jews". The whole study of Ulrich seems to be a defense of Eusebius against unjustified charges of anti-Judaism.¹⁰⁸ He does see anti-Judaic statements in Eusebius' work, but his main aim is to show that Eusebius was not swayed by hatred of Jews, although many connoisseurs hold that view. With all his efforts to defend Eusebius, Ulrich cannot avoid admitting that we find in Eusebius some very negative passages about the Jews in a way that could and should be interpreted as anti-Judaism.¹⁰⁹ He says for example that the Jews have been "struck blind and have a darkened mind".¹¹⁰ On the basis of Rom. 9: 27–29 and Isaiah 1:9, he can even say that Paul would have called the entire Jewish people the "people of Gomorrah", and their rulers the "Princes of Sodom" implying a rejection of the Mosaic worship.¹¹¹

Anti-Judaism in the Historia Ecclesiastica?

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* is certainly not free from anti-Judaism. Eusebius states in his introduction: "It is my intention, moreover, to recount the misfortunes which immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation in consequence of their plots against our Saviour."¹¹² It is clear that he agrees with his teacher Origen, that the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70 CE was a punishment from God.¹¹³ "Thus the divine vengeance overtook the Jews for the crimes they dared

to commit against Christ.”¹¹⁴ In this way, he saw the fall of the Jewish nation as a legitimization of discrimination against Jews. Not to forget the story of a Jewish woman eating her own child, which Eusebius (quoting Josephus) commented on as follows: “Such was the reward which the Jews received for their wickedness and impiety, against the Christ of God”.¹¹⁵ Afterwards the bloody fairytale emerged and was spread repeatedly, that Jews were eating children.¹¹⁶ This is still circulating among anti-Semites today. It must be said, that Christian commentators emphasized that eating children is a typically Jewish practice, and abused Bible texts on the child-eating curse (Lev. 26:29; Deut. 28:53–57).¹¹⁷ Eusebius also claims (quoting Josephus), that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Roman army, because of the Jewish crimes against James, the brother of the Lord.¹¹⁸ The Japanese professor Gohei Hata notes in a sharp article that Eusebius is mistaken here.¹¹⁹ This particular quote did not come from Josephus. Hata states that Eusebius used and misused Josephus to deliberately express his anti-Jewish message, which paved the way for Christian anti-Judaism through the centuries.¹²⁰ Did Eusebius speak of the Jews as “Lord-killers” (κυριοκτόνοι), suggesting that the whole Jewish nation is responsible for the death of Christ and therefore doomed to destruction? Yes, indeed, but I cannot find it in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.¹²¹ In fact, the motive of Deicide does not occur much in the work of Eusebius. In his time it was a well-known saying, launched by Melito of Sardis (†180 CE), who was the first Christian writer to blame only the Jews for the Deicide.¹²² Eusebius at least knew Melito’s books on the Pascha (Περὶ Πάσχα), but does not really consider the content.¹²³ The accusation of Deicide would be brought forward again by the influential Chrysostom (347–407), with all the consequences it entailed. Hata states that the essence of Eusebius’ anti-Jewish thoughts in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* is as follows:

“The Jews put the Saviour on the cross, this is the crime against Christ. The Jewish people must be accused as a ‘race’.¹²⁴ The penalty of God pursued them for their crimes against Christ. At the same time, God postponed his decisive punishment upon them until the year 70 in an attempt to give them an opportunity for repentance. However, the Jewish people did not repent. Therefore, God punished them by destroying both Jerusalem and the temple in the year 70.”¹²⁵

Hata even calls the whole of Eusebius’ theology a “theology of punishment” and he speaks twice of his “theological vandalism”.¹²⁶ However, he fails to mention that Eusebius applies God’s punishment not only to Jews, but also to Christians. Eusebius did indeed see the fall of Jerusalem as a divine punishment for the Jews, but he also saw the persecution under Diocletian as a punishment for the Christians because of their lethargy: “On account of the abundant freedom, we

fell into laxity and sloth, and envied and reviled each other.”¹²⁷ Hata also did not mention that the motive for the hatred of the Jews (“the people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself”) occurs in the New Testament (I Thess. 2:15–16) and is unfortunately often wrongly interpreted in an anti-Judaistic way, as if all Jews are guilty and remain eternally guilty of the death of Christ. In that framework, many Christian theologians did the same throughout the centuries. It raises the question why we as Christians after the Holocaust cannot see the crucifixion as a part of the history of persecution of Jews?¹²⁸

Anti-Judaism in the Demonstratio Evangelica?

From a Jewish perspective, Joseph Jacobs and Isaac Broydé argue, that Eusebius strongly attacked Judaism in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, charging the Jews with serious accusations and errors in the explanation of Scripture.¹²⁹ On the other hand, they admit that Eusebius’ *Præparatio Evangelica* is nevertheless of great interest for Jews. It contains fifteen books, of which the last eight outline Judaism, its religion, history, and institutions.¹³⁰ Ulrich argues that Eusebius did not consciously want to adopt a polemical position towards the Jews. He emphasizes that the *Demonstratio Evangelica* is not intended as an attack on the Jews or the Jewish religion. He states that the *Demonstratio Evangelica* cannot be read without the *Præparatio Evangelica*. The two belong together; they are “Apologetic Twins” („das apologetische Doppelwerk“). No anti-Jewish primary interest can be identified in these works.¹³¹ Unfortunately, the last ten books of the *Demonstratio* have been lost, including book 10, which deals with the suffering and death of Jesus.¹³² Eusebius himself strongly denies any anti-Jewish sentiment in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Yet he is well aware of the possibility of misunderstanding. He writes: “the importance of my writing does not lie in the fact that it is, as might be suggested, a polemic against the Jews. Perish the thought, far from that! For if they would fairly consider it, it is really on their side”.¹³³

Eusebius and the first Sunday Law

The word “Sunday” as such does not appear in the Bible. It is not a biblical day of rest but initially added to the Sabbath to celebrate the resurrection of Christ. It has taken the place of the Sabbath due to the *replacement theology*, which fortunately is now on its return.¹³⁴ This theology saw the Church as the new or “Verus” Israel,¹³⁵ baptism as the replacement of circumcision and Sunday as the new Sabbath. Apostle Paul writes: “first the Jew and also the Greek”, always in this order (Rom. 1:16; Rom. 2:9–11; Rom. 3:29, I Cor. 1:24, I Cor. 10:32). There is no doubt that Jesus and his disciples kept the seventh day. After the emergence of the first Christian communities the question arose in what respect non-Jewish Chris-

tians should or should not adhere to Jewish legislation (dietary laws, circumcision, etc.). The Petrine, or Judæo-Christians (Gal. 2:9), wanted to adhere to Jewish laws and customs. Paul had a broader view and did not want to bind the new believers too much (Col. 2:16). We can find no indication in the New Testament for the abolition of the Sabbath, but from the very beginning Christians came together to break bread on the first day of the week (Acts 20:7) and to collect money for diaconal help (I Cor. 16:2). In the first centuries the first day of the week was a normal working day for everybody. It was Constantine who established by Decree (7 March 321) that Sunday should be an official day of rest from labour in his empire. Everyone should rest upon the venerable day of the sun, the *Dies Solis*. There was no reference to the Old Testament, or to the Jewish Sabbath. Constantine just wanted to have one day distinguished and chose for the Sun's day. Christians however refused to be seen as "sun worshipers". Maybe they even wanted to distinguish themselves also from the Jews, especially from the most characteristic Jewish ritual, the Sabbath. We can find no reference to this question in the Nicene documents.¹³⁶ What is the position of Eusebius? He advocates abolishing the Sabbath and keeping the Sunday. He criticizes Christian Ebionites, who keep both holy days: the Saturday as a memorial of the Creation, and the Sunday as the Lord's Day, in memory of the resurrection.¹³⁷ In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he argues:

"They (sc. the Hebrew nation) did not care about circumcision of the body, neither do we. They did not care about observing Sabbaths, nor do we. They did not avoid certain kinds of food, neither did they regard the other distinctions, which Moses first delivered to their posterity to be observed as symbols; nor do Christians of the present day such things."¹³⁸

In his *Demonstratio Evangelica* IV, 15 he states:

"And this was the day of His Resurrection from the dead, which they say, as being the one and only truly Holy Day and the Lord's Day, is better than any number of days as we ordinarily understand them, and better than the days set apart by the Mosaic Law for Feasts, New Moons and Sabbaths."

In his *Vita Constantini* Eusebius reports that all Roman soldiers, whether Christian or not, were required to pray on Sunday.¹³⁹ Some Jewish voices tell us that they do see the tendency in the young Church to substitute Sunday for the Sabbath as a kind of anti-Judaism.¹⁴⁰ We should also be aware of the fact that the *Council of Laodicea* (364) expressly forbade Christians to keep the Sabbath, because this was a "Judaizing" practice.

Eusebius, the celebration of the Pascha and anti-Judaism?

Jews celebrate Passover on Nisan 14 (Lev. 23:5, Ex. 12:6), the first full moon in spring. Jesus did so with his disciples according to Matt. 26:17–19, Mark 14:12–16 and Luke 22:7–13. The differences between the synoptic gospels and John provide a problem, which did not escape Eusebius' attention. We know there is an inseparable connection between the Jewish and the Christian Easter celebration. In the Christian tradition, this coherence of Easter with the Jewish Passover seems to have weakened, but it has never been completely lost. Eusebius has recorded several similarities in his post-Nicene work *On the celebration of the Pascha*.¹⁴¹ He argues that the Hebrew Passover was merely a typological prefiguration of the Christian Easter celebration. Just as the Jewish Passover recalls the Exodus from Egypt's slavery, Christians celebrate their liberation from the bondage of sin and death. Just as the saving blood of the lamb was applied to the doorposts in Egypt, Christians are saved by the precious blood of the Saviour. Just as Passover reminds of the passage through the desert with special food from heaven, Christians share the bread of the Lord's Supper during their journey through the wilderness of life. Just as Passover recalls the entry into the Promised Land, Christians are longing for the future of the Kingdom of God. For both Jews and Christians, liberation from slavery through the Lamb is central. Jesus died as the Passover lamb died. Eusebius quotes Paul here: "Christ our *Pascha* has been sacrificed."¹⁴² He also stated that the Pascha was not desirable anymore. The mystery of the New Covenant, which Jesus imparted to his disciples, came instead.¹⁴³ Thus, the Jewish Passover, in his view was now ancient and indeed antiquated. Here again we recognize the *replacement theology*. Christians see another similarity between the Passover lamb and Jesus, namely, that the bones of the Passover lamb were not to be broken (Ex. 12:46), the bones of the righteous will not be broken (Psalm 34:21) and the bones of Jesus were not broken (John 19:31–37). However, this aspect is missing at Eusebius. His presupposition, that Christ himself did not keep the Passover on the same day as the Jews, causes a problem.¹⁴⁴ Eusebius probably interpreted the passages in question in a way, as if Christ intentionally shifted his own celebration of the Jewish Passover from Friday to Thursday.¹⁴⁵ The important question is: is there any anti-Judaism in *On the celebration of the Pascha*? I must answer that positively. Eusebius indeed expressed himself in this work in an anti-Judaistic way. He makes his remarks towards Jews in general, without any distinction towards the real perpetrators. He speaks of "killers of the Lord"; he speaks twice about the "bloodthirstiness" of the Jews against the Saviour, who "asked for the Saviours blood". They have "gone astray from the truth, ever since they plotted against the Truth itself".¹⁴⁶

Why did Nicaea separate the Easter date from the Jewish Passover celebration?

The Easter date is a complicated question with many aspects I must ignore.¹⁴⁷ In the young Church there were already various views about it. By the time of the Council, there was a considerable difference of opinion between the churches of Asia and those of the West. Should Easter be celebrated on the 14th of Nisan, or on the following Sunday? Did anti-Judaistic motives play a role here? In keeping with the Jewish tradition, the churches of Asia Minor and Syria continued to celebrate Easter on the 14th of Nisan. They were called Quartodecimans, after the date on which they celebrated Easter.¹⁴⁸ They followed the example of the apostles John and Philip, as Eusebius recorded.¹⁴⁹ They celebrated the Christian Passover on the 14th of Nisan, while it did not matter upon which weekday it fell.¹⁵⁰ In the eyes of Constantine and the Council Fathers, this Paschal controversy had to be solved. Attempts to solve the problem failed, until finally the *Ecumenical Council of Nicaea* (325) determined that Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday after the first full moon in spring.¹⁵¹ By moving the Christian Easter to a fixed day of the week, the break with Jewish tradition was finally complete.¹⁵²

Now I quote the text that shocked me so much:

Ἐνθα καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἀγιωτάτης ἡμέρας γενομένης ζητήσεως, ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ καλῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας πάντας τοὺς ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπιτελεῖν. τί γὰρ ἡμῖν κάλλιον, τί δὲ σεμνότερον ὑπάρξει δυνήσεται τοῦ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, παρ' ἧς τὴν τῆς ἀθανασίας εἰλήφραμεν ἐλπίδα, μιᾶ τάξει καὶ φανερωῶ λόγῳ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀδιαπτῶτως φυλάττεσθαι; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὴν ἀγιωτάτην ἐκείνην ἑορτὴν τῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπομένους συνηθείᾳ πληροῦν, οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν χεῖρας ἀθεμίτῳ πλημμελήματι χράναντες εἰκότως τὰς ψυχὰς οἱ μισροὶ τυφλώπτουσιν. ἔξεστι γὰρ τοῦ ἐκείνων ἔθνους ἀποβληθέντος ἀληθεστέρα τάξει, ἢν ἐκ πρώτης τοῦ πάθους ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας τὴν τῆς ἐπιτηρήσεως ταύτης συμπληρῶσιν ἐκτείνεσθαι. μηδὲν τοίνυν ἔστω ὑμῖν κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἐχθίστου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὄχλου.¹⁵³

“At this meeting the question concerning the most holy day of Easter was discussed, and it was resolved by the united judgment of all present, that this feast ought to be kept by all and in every place on one and the same day. For what can be more becoming or honourable to us than that this feast from which we date our hopes of immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one ascertained order and arrangement? *And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore, deservedly afflicted*

with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages, by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the present time. Let us then have nothing in common with *the detestable Jewish crowd.*¹⁵⁴

Several considerations are reported here. It was the unanimous decision of the Council to set a joint Easter date, because there had to be unity, order and continuity in the Roman empire as well as in the Church. Things went wrong when theological arguments came into play in addition to political ones. The “most holy” day of Easter, the feast of the Resurrection, is mentioned twice. Was holiness at stake here? Was this already the seed of an anti-Judaistic line of thought? The following arguments cannot be called anything other than pure anti-Judaism. The Church should not follow Jewish practice because the Jews have “impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin”. This is not explained here, but we understand that the text is referring to the guilt of the Jews in the crucifixion of Christ, the very day of the passion. The Jews deserved their punishment because of this. They were rightly struck with blindness of the soul. It ends with the exclamation: “Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd.” As it is written down in the *Vita Constantini*, I initially thought that text had flowed from the pen of Eusebius, but on closer look, I saw that he claims to have taken it from a document written by Constantine to the churches (Κωνσταντίνος Σεβαστὸς ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις). The question is: was Constantine the author or Eusebius? Or did Eusebius exaggerate the original text?¹⁵⁵ Experts have different views on this, both in terms of content and authorship. Some only see pure hatred of Jews emerging here,¹⁵⁶ in line with themes that are common to the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition (Chrysostom).¹⁵⁷ After thoroughly examining the word usage and other expressions of the emperor Constantine, Ulrich concludes that he is the author, not Eusebius.¹⁵⁸ Anyway, the fact remains that texts like these are deeply shocking.¹⁵⁹

Should the Nicene Creed and other Creeds be adjusted?

We should be aware that Jesus is unthinkable without his Jewish context, and we should criticize the Christian tendency to look away from its Jewish roots.¹⁶⁰ We must confess that the churches neglected their belief in the permanent election of Israel, as is concretized in the *replacement theology*. It needs to be said that all Christian Creed formulations fall short here, including the *Nicene Creed*.¹⁶¹ Consequently, there are voices calling for a revision of the Creeds.¹⁶² This was for example an expressed wish of Jürgen Moltmann (1926–2024).¹⁶³ Should we change

the Creed(s) in this regard? It would take us too far to go into that here. Going back to the original text of the Creed without the “Filioque” is one thing.¹⁶⁴ The idea is recently supported by the Lutheran World Federation.¹⁶⁵ I would be in favour of that, especially if it could solve the problems with Eastern Orthodoxy. Adding Jesus’ Jewishness into the Creeds after all those years is another one.¹⁶⁶

Conclusion

1. Did Nicaea widen the gap between Jews and Christians? The *Replacement theology* is undoubtedly present in the work of Eusebius. It sees the ancient “Hebrew religion” as a kind of Proto-Christianity. The real “Hebrews” are the believers in Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁷ The Church substitutes the Synagogue.¹⁶⁸ Jerusalem is rebuilt with a “new temple”, the *Church of the Anastasis*.¹⁶⁹ Christ now exercises the royal, prophetic and priestly ministry of ancient Israel.¹⁷⁰ To describe the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, Eusebius however uses not only the substitution model (Christianity replaced Judaism), but also the universalization model (the sphere of salvation expanded from Judaism to all peoples).¹⁷¹ If we step away from this *replacement theology*, what will take its place?¹⁷² The only possibility is to enter into dialogue with each other with respect for each other’s tradition and insights. Let us realize that “the” Jews do not exist.¹⁷³ They are not a homogeneous group, but a variety of different groups, ideas and ideals. The same goes for the Christians.¹⁷⁴ Let us also realize that early Christian talk about “the” Jews and “the” Christians was of a different quality. After the Shoa we cannot speak in this way anymore.

2. Was Christian anti-Judaism anchored in Nicaea? Nicaea marks a watershed indeed in the relations between Christians and Jews.¹⁷⁵ Many early Christian texts can be interpreted in an anti-Judaistic way. Eusebius appreciated the good elements of Jewish history, but he also highlighted their failures by emphasizing their fate.¹⁷⁶ Anti-Judaism was indeed anchored in Nicaea. Eusebius was influenced not only by an anti-Judaistic interpretation of Scripture, but also by other theologians of his time who expressed themselves in an anti-Judaistic manner.

3. Can we label Eusebius’ relationship to the Jews as anti-Judaistic? This question is often answered positively. James Everett Seaver accuses Eusebius of it.¹⁷⁷ He even says: “the church fathers from Eusebius to Augustine tried to show that the Jews were wicked and depraved monsters”.¹⁷⁸ I referred to Hata, who speaks firmly about Eusebius’ anti-Jewish message. Other voices also see explicit anti-Judaism in Eusebius’ texts. Jörg Ulrich gives a summary. According to him, Rabbi

N. M. R. de Lange, Professor of Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Cambridge thinks that the work of Eusebius is full of anti-Judaism.¹⁷⁹ Monika Gödecke sees very clear anti-Judaism emerging in Eusebius.¹⁸⁰ Heinz Schreckenbergs sees Eusebius as an enemy of the Jews.¹⁸¹ Friedhelm Winkelmann is more cautious, but he also takes a very critical attitude towards Jews. Jörg Ulrich himself sees it all in a much more nuanced way. He acknowledges that Eusebius has a triumphalist ecclesial view, sees the crucifixion as Jewish guilt and makes statements that can be interpreted as anti-Judaistic. On the other hand, Ulrich also sees that Eusebius does have an eye for the danger of Christian self-righteousness and he does not reject the Jews, can even call them proto-Christians and the synagogue the “Mother of the Church”.

4. Is there anti-Judaism in the *Nicene Creed*? The text of the *Nicene Creed* and that of the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* do not contain any anti-Judaic elements.¹⁸² The *Nicene Creed* (325) speaks of the incarnation of Jesus Christ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα and in this way it rejected Docetism, which was at least as great a threat as Arianism. The birth of the (Jewish) child Jesus is described clearly. In the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* (381) the virgin Mary, Jesus’ Jewish mother is added (καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαριάς τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα). Another important fact is that the Creed does not say that (the) Jews crucified Jesus. On the contrary, the name of Pontius Pilate is mentioned in connection with the crucifixion: σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. This is all the more remarkable because the apostle Paul never mentions Pilate. The fact that τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν is also included in the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* (381) means that the Council maintained the Jewish Bible as the Word of God. It is a message against the anti-Judaistic attitude of Marcion (±85–160), who spoke of the “vengeful” demiurge (Creator God) of the Old Testament versus the heavenly father God of the New Testament.¹⁸³ However, we should be aware of the fact, that the distinction “Old Testament”/“New Testament” (when used in theological discourse) had always an anti-Jewish aftertaste.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the Creed does not mention Jesus and Maria being Jewish, and Israel is not mentioned either.

5. Was the establishment of the Sunday by Constantine (321) inspired by anti-Judaism? Despite the fact that it is sometimes argued in Seventh-day Adventist circles,¹⁸⁵ and has been suggested by some Jewish sources, the motivation for it seems not specifically or directly anti-Jewish. It was not discussed in the Council, and there was no opposition from the Council Fathers. The tradition of coming together on the day of the Lord’s resurrection had already taken

place much earlier, as we know from Justin Martyr (±100–165) and Ignatius (±35–107).¹⁸⁶ Nevertheless, *replacement theology* has played its role.

6. Was the decision to separate the date of the Christian Easter from the Jewish Passover motivated by anti-Judaism? We see certainly anti-Judaism present in arguments expressed in the *Vita Constantini*. The question is: did it play a major role? In my view, the Council Fathers chose to establish a common date for Easter primarily out of concern for church unity. Moreover, it would be difficult to explain why the feast of Christ's resurrection in the one Church would be celebrated on different days.

7. What was the role of Eusebius? In my view Eusebius could not have been aware of the impact of his words, therefore I cannot call him an enemy of the Jews, but the reception history of his work and other fathers reveals the bad consequences it has led to.¹⁸⁷ Eusebius would certainly not recognize himself in the words of Judith Frishman, who recently wrote in a Dutch newspaper:

“This hatred of Jews can be traced back to the origins of Christianity. Anti-Semitism is a racist version of anti-Judaism. Christians rejected the Jews because they did not recognize Jesus and were guilty of his death. In the Middle Ages, all kinds of social problems and disasters, such as infanticide and the Black Plague, were attributed to them.”¹⁸⁸

Postscriptum

As we all know, anti-Semitism increased after Hamas' brutal attack against Israel on 7 October 2023 with its terrible consequences for both Israel and Gaza. In the Netherlands, the number of anti-Semitic incidents increased by 800% since 15 November 2023. The *Council of Churches in the Netherlands* issued (November 2023) a statement on it.¹⁸⁹ Also in Germany¹⁹⁰ and in the whole of Europe there is a sharp rise of Anti-Semitism.¹⁹¹ That is worrying and unacceptable. The WCC gave a statement in June 2024 on the present situation, criticizing both the governments of Israel and the leadership of Hamas.¹⁹² The main question to answer is: to what extent have the Christian churches come to the realization that they are guilty of the great evil of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism? In 1980, the *Rheinische Landes-synode* recognized the “co-responsibility and guilt of Christians in Germany for the Holocaust”.¹⁹³ In the Reformation year 2017, the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* distanced itself from Luther's anti-Jewish writings. The church admitted that the Reformers operated within a tradition of anti-Judaistic thought patterns, the roots of which reached back to the early Church.¹⁹⁴ The *Protestant*

Church in the Netherlands published a Statement during the “Kristallnacht Commemoration” on November 8, 2020.

“The church confesses guilt, today in particular towards the Jewish community, because anti-Semitism is a sin against God and against people. The Protestant Church is also part of this guilty history. We fell short in speech and silence, and in actions, attitude and thoughts.”¹⁹⁵

The German professor Andreas Benk wants the Vatican also to publish a confession of guilt. In my view, Rome has already taken an important step with *Nostra Aetate*.¹⁹⁶ Changing the doctrine seems more important to me than just saying sorry. But *Nostra Aetate* has not really renounced the *replacement theology*. So there is still a lot to do. Have we as churches really abandoned our arrogant positions? Friedrich Wilhelm Marquardt sees Auschwitz as a judgment on Christianity itself. Christianity needs conversion. Not only in behaviour, Christian faith itself must change.¹⁹⁷ May the celebration of 1700 years of Nicaea contribute to this awareness and give a great stimulus to the further process of awareness.

Let churches celebrate the faith as expressed in Nicaea.
 Let churches rejoice in the faith
 in the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.
 Let churches understand that faith in the triune God
 cannot separate Yeshuah ha Maschiach from his Jewish origins.
 Let churches stand up and say no to anti-Semitism.
 Let churches give up their sense of superiority.
 Let Jews and Christians do what is good,
 and what the Lord requires:
 to do justice, embrace faithful love,
 and walk humbly with God.

* * *

Summary

In this paper, I examine Nicaea, Constantine and Eusebius through the lens of anti-Judaism – a concept distinct from anti-Semitism. Whilst church historians often distinguish sharply between these phenomena, I argue against completely separating Nazi racial anti-Semitism from traditional Christian anti-Judaism. Such separation risks absolving churches of their complicity in Jewish suffering throughout history. Though antisemitism remains an essential ecumenical concern, and Christian anti-Judaism was indeed anchored at Nicaea, Eusebius’s relationship with Jews cannot be simplistically labelled anti-Judaic. The Nicene Creed itself contains no explicit anti-Judaism, and Constantine’s establishment of Sunday worship in 321 shows little evidence of anti-Jewish motivation. Whilst anti-Jewish sentiments influenced the separation of Easter

from Passover, the Council's primary concern was ecclesiastical unity rather than religious antagonism.

Keywords: Nicaea, Creed, Eusebius, Constantine, anti-Judaism, anti-Semitism, Easter date, Passover, Sunday.

Notes

¹ Eusebius of Caesarea should not be confused with Eusebius of Nicomedia (†341), who also played an important role during the Council of Nicaea. The latter was sent into exile a few months after the Council, due to his contacts with Arius. He was rehabilitated in 328. He was the one who finally baptised Constantine. Kinzig, Wolfram: Warum ist der Gott der Christen ein dreieiniger Gott? In: Kriener, Katja – Schmidt, Johann M. (Hrsg.): ...*Um Seines Namens willen. Christen und Juden vor dem Einen Gott Israels – 25 Jahre Synodalbeschluss der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland. Zur Erneuerung des Verhältnisses von Christen und Juden.* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2005, (102–115) 107. The confusion of the two will be corrected by Denova, Rebecca: Eusebius on Christianity. In: *World History Encyclopedia*. Published 15 October 2021. <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1854/eusebius-on-christianity/> (22 July 2024). Nor should both of them be confused with Eusebius of Cappadocia (†370).

² I was really shocked by reading the following text: “And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore, deservedly afflicted with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages, by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the present time. Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd [...]” Eusebius Caesariensis: *Vita Constantini, the Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*. Book III, Chapter XVIII. – He speaks of their Unanimity respecting the Feast of Easter, and against the Practice of the Jews, 1005. *The Church History Of Eusebius*. Translated with prolegomena and notes by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph. D. [http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_\[Schaff\],_EN.pdf](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Vita_Constantini_[Schaff],_EN.pdf) (22 July 2024).

³ Most likely it was Eusebius of Nicomedia who opened the Council in June 325. Kinzig, Wolfram: Old Questions, New Answers. In: *Ecumenical Review* 75 (2023/2), (215–234) 220.

⁴ Igrave, Michael: Nicaea and Christian – Jewish Relations. In: *Ecumenical Review* 75 (2023/2), (235–248) 235. Bakker, Henk: *Jezus, reconstructie en revisie*. Kok Boekencentrum, Utrecht 2021, (81–111) 81. Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich: Geleitwort. In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *Attraktive Fremdheit Gottes. Das Ökumenische Bekenntnis von Nizäa-Konstantinopel (325–2025)*. Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Leipzig–Paderborn 2024, (7–10) 10. Link, Hans-Georg – Richter, Manfred – Stuhlmann, Rainer – Wohlmuth, Josef: 2025 – Jahr mit dem Bekenntnis! Ein Plädoyer aus Altenberg zu Pfingsten 2023. In: *Altenberger Ökumenische Gespräche*. <https://www.altenberger-gespraech.de/2025-jahr-mit-dem-bekenntnis/> (22 July 2024).

⁵ Tomson, Peter J.: *Als dit uit de hemel is... Jezus en de schrijvers van het Nieuwe Testament in hun verbinding tot het Jodendom*. 2. verbeterde druk. B. Folkertsma Stichting voor Talmudica, Hilversum 1997, 362.

⁶ I had a discussion with Vladimir Latinovic who said, that the alleged anti-Judaism of Eusebius should not be conflated with modern anti-Semitism. While related, the anti-Judaism of the early church fathers and modern anti-Semitism are fundamentally different due to their historical context, motivations, and biases: Anti-Judaism in the early Christian era was primarily theological, arising from religious disputes and the attempt to distinguish Christianity from Judaism. The aim was often to encourage Jewish conversion, not to exclude or harm based on ethnicity. Modern anti-Semitism, on the other hand, is rooted in racial ideology, viewing Jews as an inferior race regardless of religious belief. Early anti-Judaism focused on religious doctrine, allowing conversion as a means of inclusion. Modern anti-Semitism targets Jews as a racial group, where conversion offers no escape. Church fathers' criticisms of Judaism were part of a broader theological effort to legitimize Christianity. In contrast, modern anti-Semitism, particularly from the 19th century onward, often had political or economic motivations, scapegoating Jews as part of nationalist or fascist agendas. Anti-Judaism involved theological disputes but did not call for the extermination of Jews. Anti-Semitism, especially in the 20th century, sought the destruction of Jews as a people. The racial theories that fuelled modern anti-Semitism were foreign to the early church fathers, whose concerns were theological rather than racial. In summary, early Christian anti-Judaism was theological, aimed at conversion and religious distinction, whereas modern anti-Semitism is racial, viewing Jews as inherently inferior. This key difference makes comparisons between the two problematic. (E-mail to me 12 September 2024). That may be so, but I also see the danger of emphasizing the difference too much, which could lead to a loss of recognition of how the church has contributed to the tragic history that Judaism has had to experience. So the question of making comparisons may be problematic, but keeping the two completely separate as if they have nothing to do with each other is also problematic.

⁷ La distinction qui embrouille: Antijudaïsme et antisémitisme. Les travaux sur la responsabilité des Églises dans l'extermination des juifs pendant la Deuxième guerre mondiale opposent *l'antisémitisme nazi* (l'aversion envers le groupe racial juif) à *l'antijudaïsme chrétien* (l'aversion chrétienne envers la religion juive) comme le nouveau à l'ancien, le moderne au traditionnel, le politique au religieux, la science à la théologie. Favret-Sadal montre, à partir de quatre exemples (Léon Poliakov, Hannah Arendt, Colette Guillaumin, Thomas Nipperdey and Reinhardt Rürup), que cette distinction conduit à ignorer l'action des Églises dans le processus qui a conduit de l'invention du mot *antisémite* et à la destruction des juifs par les nazis. Jeanne Favret-Saada: Anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism (An excerpt from *Le Judaïsme et ses Juifs*). Translated from the French by Eléonore Rimbault. In: HAU: *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (2014/3), (335–340) 335.

⁸ Moritz Steinschneider introduced the term anti-Semitism in 1860. Schrijver, Emile – Peters, Ruth: *Ooggetuigen van het antisemitisme*. Prometheus, Amsterdam 2024. Wilhelm Marr did not introduce for the first time the word anti-Semitism, contra Stöhr, M.: Antisemitismus. In: Krüger, Hanfried – Löser, Werner – Müller-Römheld, Walter (Hrsg.): *Ökumene Lexikon. Kirchen, Religionen, Bewegungen*. 2. veränderte Auflage. Verlag Otto Lemberg – Verlag Josef Knecht, Frankfurt am Main 1987, 70. Wilhelm Marr was an anti-Jewish agitator and is known as the father of modern anti-Semitism. His Essay *Der Weg zum Siege des Germanenthums über das Judenthum* was published in 1862. He founded the League of Anti-Semites in 1879. He published *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum* in 1879. Chazan, Robert: *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism: Ancient and Medieval Christian Constructions of Jewish History*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2016.

⁹ This article is an extended version of my contribution to the 22nd Academic Consultation of the Societas Oecumenica in Warsaw on September 9, 2024.

¹⁰ Anti-Judaism is not mentioned in: *Confessing the One Faith, an Ecumenical Explication of the Apostolic Faith as Confessed in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (381)*. Faith & Order Paper 153, WCC Publications, Geneva 1991. Fernández also does not mention anti-Judaism. Fernández, Samuel: Nicaea, First Council of. In: Hunter, David G. – Peerbolte, Bert Jan Lietaert – Geest, Paul van (eds.): *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*. Vol. 4. Brill, Leiden 2024, 764–773.

¹¹ I thank Rev. Harvey Richardson for improving my English. I thank Prof. Dr. Zoltán Adorjáni, Prof. Dr. Henk Bakker, Prof. Dr. Andreas Benk, Dr. K. Blei, Prof. Dr. Diederik Burgersdijk, Drs. Willemien van Dijk, Dr. Theodor Dunkelgrün, Prof. Dr. Rebecca Denova, Pfarrerin Marlis Gerwig, Rev. Drs. Reinier Gosker, Prof. Dr. Wolfram Kinzig, Sr. Ingeborg-Marie Kvam OP, Dr. Vladimir Latinovic, Dr. Johannes Oeldemann, Prof. Dr. György Papp, Prof. Dr. B. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, Prof. Dr. Eginhard Meijering, Dr. Róbert Oláh, Prof. Dr. Marcel Poorthuis, Prof. Dr. Ferenc Postma, Prof. Dr. Konrad Raiser, Prof. Dr. Riemer Roukema, Prof. Dr. Marcel Sarot, Rev. Dr. Jan Dirk Wassenaar for their kind support and advises.

¹² Eusebius: Letter to the people of his Diocese, §2 and §6. In: *Fourth Century Christianity*. <https://www.fourthcentury.com/urkunde-22/> (22 July 2024). Some scholars doubt on grounds that are not really convincing, whether the *Formula* forms the basis of the *Nicene Creed*. Fernández, Samuel: *op. cit.* 768. Kelly, J. N. D.: *Early Christian Creeds*. Third edition. Continuum, London 1972, 227–230.

¹³ Awraham Soetendorp already wondered in 1979 why it takes so long for Christian theology in the Netherlands to take a thorough account of the “great death” (the war of 1940–1945). Hammelburg, Simon–Houwaert, Dick (red.): *Mijn Jodendom*. Voorhoeve, Den Haag 1980.

¹⁴ Visser 't Hooft, W. A. (ed.): *The first Assembly of the World Council of Churches held at Amsterdam, August 22nd to September 4th, 1948*. SCM Press LTD, London 1949, 161. *New Delbi Report: The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches 1961*. World Council of Churches, London 1962, 148.

¹⁵ Correction: I. Pap must be L. I. (László István) Pap (M. G.). A Statement by 24 Delegates to the Second Assembly of the WCC. In: *Jewish-Christian Relations*. <https://www.jcrelations.net/statements/statement/a-statement-by-24-delegates-to-the-second-assembly-of-the-wcc.html> (22 July 2024). Studienkommission des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen von Ungarn. Beitrag zu den Fragen von Evanston „Israel und die Kirche“ vom April 1956. In: *Sondernummer des Ungarischen kirchlichen Nachrichtendienstes* 8 (1956) 7–8, and in: *Judaica* 12 (1956) 119–128.

¹⁶ Resolution on anti-Semitism. In: *New Delbi Report: The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches 1961*, 148–150.

¹⁷ Ipgrave, Michael: *op. cit.* 237.

¹⁸ Groppe, Elisabeth T.: Revisiting Vatican II's Theology of the people of God after forty-five years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue. In: *Theological Studies* 72 (2011/3), 586–619.

¹⁹ Michael, Robert: *A History of Catholic Antisemitism: The Dark Side of the Church*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York–Basingstoke 2008. In Denzinger we find measures regarding the Jews (§§602, 646, 698, 722, 788, 1998, 2552, 2557, 2562, 4109) about tolerance (this was apparently needed), and about baptism of Jews/Jewish children. §1998 shows how Alegreta, a three-year-old Jewish girl is baptised against the will of her parents. §722 speaks of the infidelity of the Jews. Denzinger, Heinrich: *Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*. Verbessert, erweitert, ins Deutsche übertragen und unter Mitarbeit von Helmut Hoping, herausgegeben von Peter Hünermann. 42. Auflage. Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau–Basel–Wien 2009.

²⁰ Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate* Proclaimed by his Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965. In: *The Holy See*. https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html (22 July 2024).

²¹ “Interreligious Dialogue in our Day: 60 Years after *Nostra Aetate*” – Cardinal Fitzgerald. In: *Association of Ministerial PjPs*. <https://ampjp.org.au/event/interreligious-dialogue-in-our-day-60-years-after-nostra-aetate-cardinal-fitzgerald/> (22 July 2024).

²² *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*. Faith & Order Paper 111. World Council of Churches, Geneva 1982. Just one sentence in *The Church*: “The Church remains, in God’s design, profoundly related to the people of the first covenant, to which God will always remain faithful (cf. Rom. 11:11–36).” *The Church towards a Common Vision*. Faith & Order Paper 214. World Council of Churches, Geneva 2013, Chapter II, §17. I can refer to the WCC and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), which had a conference in 2019 in Paris, under the theme “The normalization of hatred: challenges for Jews and Christians today”. See: WCC leader reflects on antisemitism, definitions and future cooperation. In: *World Council of Churches*. <https://www.oikoumene.org/news/wcc-leader-reflects-on-antisemitism-definitions-and-future-cooperation> (22 July 2024). See also: the document of the Faith & Order Commission of the Church of England, *God’s Unfailing Word: Theological and Practical Perspectives on Christian-Jewish Relations*, Church House Publishing, London 2019.

²³ In the *Message of Karlsruhe*, nothing is said about anti-Semitism or Anti-Judaism.

²⁴ Address of the Federal president of Germany Frank-Walter Steinmeier at the WCC 11th Assembly in Karlsruhe. In: *World Council of Churches*. <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/german-federal-president-frank-walter-steinmeiers-address-at-the-wcc-11th-assembly> (22 July 2024).

²⁵ *Report on the Ecumenical Conversations at the WCC 11th Assembly Karlsruhe. Germany 2022*. World Council of Churches, Geneva 2023, 99–101.

²⁶ Greetings to the 11th Assembly of the WCC by Rabbi David Fox Sandmel, Chair of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, Karlsruhe, Germany, 5 September 2022. In: *World Council of Churches*. Greetings by Rabbi David Fox Sandmel to the WCC 11th Assembly in Karlsruhe | World Council of Churches (22 July 2024).

²⁷ Heemstra, Marius: *The Fiscus Judaicus and the Parting of the Ways*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe, 277. Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2010.

²⁸ Hasselhoff, GÖrge K. – Strothmann, Meret (Hrsg.): *Religio licita? Rom und die Juden*. *Studia Judaica* 84. De Gruyter, Berlin 2017.

²⁹ Rutgers, Leonard: Roman Policy Towards the Jews: Expulsions from the City of Rome During the First Century CE. In: Donfried, Karl P. – Richardson, Peter (eds.): *Judaism and Christianity in First Century Rome*. William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids–Cambridge 1998, 93–116. [<https://primolevicenter.org/printed-matter/roman-policy-towards-the-jews-expulsions-from-the-city-of-rome-during-the-first-century-c-e/>] (22 July 2024).]

³⁰ “Verstärkt wurde dieser Hass [...] durch den strengen Monotheismus und die bilderlose Gottesverehrung der Juden.” Stöhr, M.: *op. cit.* 70.

³¹ Jews were accused of venerating the head of a donkey. The story tells that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because of their leprosy. A donkey showed them water. Plut. *Quaest. conv.*

4.5, taken from Poorthuis, M. J. H. M.: Anti-Judaism. In: Hunter, David G. – Peerbolte, Bert Jan Lietaert – Geest, Paul van (eds.): *op. cit.* Vol. 1, (384–390) 384.

³² Papp, György: Kaisareai Eusebiosz Egyháztörténetének historiográfiai jelentősége. In: *Studia Doctorum Theologiae Protestantis* 7. (2016/1), (135–165) 137.

³³ Ulrich, Jörg: *Eusebius von Caesarea und die Juden. Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea.* Patristische Texte und Studien, 49. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–New York 1999, 246–254.

³⁴ *Vita Constantini* XXVII. Werke. Eusebius von Caesarea (260–339). *Vita Constantini et Oratio ad coetum sanctorum.* In: *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.* <https://bkv.unifr.ch/de/works/cpg-3496/compare/vita-constantini-et-constantini-imperatoris-oratio-ad-coetum-sanctorum/230/vier-bucher-uber-das-leben-des-kaisers-konstantin-und-des-kaisers-konstantin-rede-an-die-versammlung-der-heiligen-bkv> (22 July 2024).

³⁵ Eusebius: *Vita Constantini* IV, 27. Among Other Enactments, he decrees that no Christian shall slave to a Jew, and affirms the Validity of the Decisions of Councils, 1044.

³⁶ This text plays not a prominent role in the work of Eusebius. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* it does not appear at all. Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 201.

³⁷ The same accusation is even used by Reuchlin (1455–1522), who said, that the Jews were punished by God himself. Cf. Oberman, Heiko: *Wortels van het antisemitisme.* J. H. Kok, Kampen 1983, 43. This quote especially shows how the famous humanist and Hebraic Reuchlin, who always bravely stood up for Jews (and was almost excommunicated for that reason), was a child of his time, in which Jew hatred and this slogan were perfectly normal. Willi, Hans Peter: *Reuchlin im Streit um die Bücher der Juden. Zum 500jährigen Jubiläum des „Augenspiegel“.* Buchhandlung H. P. Willi, Tübingen 2011.

³⁸ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* II. 6,8; III. 5,2.

³⁹ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 250.

⁴⁰ Roman imperial laws concerning Jews (329–553), selected and adapted from Linder, Amon: *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation.* Wayne State University Press – Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Detroit, Mich., Jerusalem 1987. <https://www.ccjr.us/dialogika-resources/primary-texts-from-the-history-of-the-relationship/roman-laws> (22 July 2024).

⁴¹ Jacobs, Joseph – Broydé, Isaac: Eusebius. In: *Jewish Encyclopedia.* Vol. 5, 274. <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5911-eusebius> (22 July 2024).

⁴² Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 273.

⁴³ Jansen, Hans: *Christelijke theologie na Auschwitz; Deel I. Theologische en kerkelijke wortels van het antisemitisme.* Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 's-Gravenhage ³1982, 79.

⁴⁴ “The Jewish tradition had long identified Esau with Israel’s enemies. Since Jacob stood for the Church, Esau represented the Jews.” Lange, N. M. R. de: *Origen and the Jews. Studies in Jewish-Christian relations in third-century Palestine.* University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 25. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–London–New York–Melbourne 1976, reprinted 1978, 80. Jansen, Hans: *op. cit.* 73.

⁴⁵ Poorthuis, M. J. H. M.: *op. cit.* 385.

⁴⁶ Bol, J.: De adversus judaeos literatuur. Rosemary Ruether over de kerkvaders en de Joden. In: *Jules Isaac Stichting*. <https://julesisaacstichting.org/de-adversus-judaeos-literatuur/> (22 July 2024). Küng, Hans: *Judaism: Between Yesterday and Tomorrow*. Crossroad, New York 1992.

⁴⁷ Tomson, Peter J.: *op. cit.* 364. Walter Grundmann (1906–1976) was a fervent anti-Semitic Nazi. From 1939 onwards, he led the “Entjudungsinstitut” with 150 employees. Spehr, Christopher – Oelke, Harry (Hrsg.): *Das Eisenacher „Entjudungsinstitut“: Kirche und Antisemitismus in der NS-Zeit*. Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte, Vol. 82. 1. Auflage. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2021. Grundmann, Walter (Hrsg.): *Christentum und Judentum. Studien zur Erforschung ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses*. Sitzungsberichte der ersten Arbeitstagung des Institutes zur Erforschung des jüdischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben vom 1. bis 3. März 1940 in Wittenberg; Veröffentlichungen des Institutes zur Erforschung des jüdischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben [Band 1.] Verlag Georg Wigand, Leipzig 1940.

⁴⁸ Pieter van der Horst states Jesus never said this. Texts like these should not be preached about, but against, he argued during a meeting (Driebergen, 29 January 2007).

⁴⁹ Rev 2:9: “...those who say that they are Jews and are not but are a synagogue of Satan.” Rev. 3:9: “Behold, I will make those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not but lie.” Bible texts are taken in the translation of the *Common English Bible*, 2011. Teugels, Lieve: *Joden als duivelskinderen?* Published as blog 2 May 2024. See: *Protestantse Theologische Universiteit/Bijbelblog*. <https://www.ptthu.nl/bijbelblog/2024/05/joden-als-duivelskinderen/> (22 July 2024). Trachtenberg, Joshua: *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism*. Yale University Press, New Haven–London, Oxford University Press, H. Milford 1943. Reprint: Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 2002.

⁵⁰ We do not have own texts of the Sadducees. They are described by their opponents as elitist and harsh. They were hostile to Jesus and the apostles. Tomson, Peter J.: *op. cit.* 40.

⁵¹ “You stubborn people! In your thoughts and hearing, you are like those who have had no part in God’s covenant! You continuously set yourself against the Holy Spirit, just like your ancestors did. Was there a single prophet your ancestors didn’t harass? They even killed those who predicted the coming of the righteous one, and you have betrayed and murdered him.” (Acts 7:51–53).

⁵² I Thess. 2:14 and 15: “Brothers and sisters, you became imitators of the churches of God in Judea, which are in Christ Jesus. This was because you also suffered the same things from your own people as they did from the Jews. They killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets and drove us out. They don’t please God, and they are hostile to the entire human race.” Soares-Prabhu, Georges M.: I Thessalonicenzen. In: Eynikel, Erik – Noort, Ed – Baarda, Tjitze – Denaux, Adelbert (red.): *Internationaal Commentaar op de Bijbel*. Band 2. Kok, Averbode 2001, (1985–1998) 1991. The KBS Bible for example gives this antisemitic comma. *Het Nieuwe Testament van onze Heer Jezus Christus. Uitgave voor gezin en school*. Katholieke Bijbelstichting Sint Willibrord, Boxtel 1963, 562.

⁵³ Goodwin, Mark: Titus. In: Eynikel, Erik – Noort, Ed – Baarda, Tjitze – Denaux, Adelbert (red.): *op. cit.* (2036–2044) 2040. Kinzig, Wolfram: *A History of Early Christian Creeds*. De Gruyter, Berlin 2024, 67.

⁵⁴ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 201–212.

⁵⁵ The same system also worked strongly around the so-called “silence texts” (1 Cor. 14:34–35), which supposedly stated that all women everywhere and always should remain silent and not be allowed to hold any ecclesiastical ministry.

⁵⁶ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 273.

⁵⁷ „Das mehrheitliche jüdische Nein zu Jesus von Nazareth als dem Messias wurde in der Christenheit nur als Ausdruck böser Verstocktheit oder teuflischer Verführung gesehen. Ist es nicht mit Paulus (in Röm. 9–11) als ein Geheimnis zu sehen, indem zugleich ein Ja der jüdischen Treue zur ganzen biblischen Verheißung eines neuen Himmels und einer neuen Erde, zum messianischen Reich Gottes zu sehen ist? “Stuhlman, Rainer: Vom Nutzen des jüdischen Neins zum Messias Jesus. Predigt über Römer 11,25–32. In: Lehming, Hanna – Haarmann, Volker – Rudnick, Ursula (Hrsg.): *So wird ganz Israel gerettet werden. Arbeitshilfe zum Israelsonntag 2014, 10. Sonntag nach Trinitatis – 24. August*, 37–42,37. Ev.-luth. Landeskirche Hannover – Evangelische Kirche im Rheinland, Ev.-Luth. Kirche in Norddeutschland (Nordkirche), BCJ Bayern 2014. Druckerei Conrad, Nürnberg. “Een principiële afwijzing van het anti-semitisme door de christelijke kerk zal niet zoozeer op Galaten 3:28 als wel op Romeinen 9–11 gegrond moeten worden.” Berkhof, Hendrikus: *Die Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea*. Uitgeversmaatschappij Holland, Amsterdam 1939, 208. Stöhr, M.: *op. cit.* 71.

⁵⁸ Ruether, Rosemary: *Faith and Fratricide, the theological roots of Anti-Semitism*. New York 1974. Tomson, Peter J.: *op. cit.* 372.

⁵⁹ Roukema finds the anti-Judaism of the early church very painful but wants to take into account the context of the completely different relationships at the time, in which Jews also treated Christians unfairly or worse. Roukema, Riemer: *Het ontstaan van anti-judaïstisch Bijbellezzen in de vroege kerk*. Ontmoetingsdag Kerk & Israël, Nijkerk, 11 sept. 2023.

⁶⁰ Jansen, Hans: *op. cit.* 32.

⁶¹ Kraus, Wolfgang – Töllner, Axel – Müller, Monika – Raithel, Jan – Tilly, Michael (Hrsg.): *Das Neue Testament Jüdisch erklärt. Lutherübersetzung*. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 2022.

⁶² Various reasons are given for this such as his advanced age or weakness (Allard Pierson). Another reason could be while the Papal primacy was not developed yet in the way it is now. Sylvester did send two delegates from Rom: Victor and Vincentius.

⁶³ Stockmeier, P.: Konzile, altkirchliche II, kath. Sicht, geschichtliche Entwicklung. In: Krüger, Hanfried – Löser, Werner – Müller-Römheld, Walter (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* 723–726.

⁶⁴ Confer Barnes, Timothy D.: *Constantine and Eusebius*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1981.

⁶⁵ Bähler, Balbina: The library of Origen and Eusebius in the urban context of Caesarea Maritima. In: *Archeologia Classica* 71 (2020), 439–462.

⁶⁶ Williams, Megan: Pamphilus of Caesarea. In: Erskine, Andrew – Bagnall, Roger S. – Brodersen, Kai et al. (eds.): *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Blackwell, Malden–Oxford–Chichester–West Sussex 2013.

⁶⁷ Winkelmann, Friedhelm: *Euseb von Kaisareia. Der Vater der Kirchengeschichte*. Verlags-Anstalt Union, Berlin 1991, 18. De decretis Nic. Syn. In: Opitz, Hans-Georg (Hrsg.): *Athanasius Werke. II. Band. Erster Teil: Die Apologien (Lfg. 1–7)*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–Leipzig 1935, (1–45) 18. Eusebius of Caesarea: *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII, 12. *Many Others, both Men and Women, who suffered*

in *Various Ways*, 704–707. The English translation by A. McGiffert is a part of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Ph. Schaff, H. Wace (eds.), New York 1890 [*The Church History Of Eusebius*. Translated with prolegomena and notes by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph. D]. https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/02650339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Historia_ecclesiastica_%5BSchaff%5D,_EN.pdf (22 July 2024)], revised by Kevin Knight. [*New Advent*. www.newadvent.org/fathers (22 July 2024).]

⁶⁸ Papp, György: *op. cit.* 140.

⁶⁹ They are listed here: *Fourth Century Christianity*. <https://www.fourthcentury.com/eusebius-chart/> (22 July 2024).

⁷⁰ The *Historia Ecclesiastica* is preserved in a shorter form in Greek and a longer one in Syriac. Johnson, Aaron: Eusebius of Caesarea (Palestine). In: Hunter, David G. – Peerbolte, Bert Jan Lietaert – Geest, Paul van (eds.): *op. cit.* Vol. 3, (240–249) 242. “The person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the task.” Eusebius: *Vita Constantini*, Book IV, Chapter XXXV. Constantine’s Letter to Eusebius, in praise of his Discourse concerning Easter, 1047.

⁷¹ Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 243. Winkelmann, Friedhelm: *Euseb von Kaisareia*, 32.

⁷² Scaliger accuses Eusebius of „errata, absurditates, deliria, hallucinations”. Niebuhr called him a “forger”. Burckhardt dismissed Eusebius as “the first truly dishonest historian in antiquity”. Let us add that Burckhardt later reconsidered his judgment, albeit orally, as H. Doergens already mentioned in 1937. Data taken from Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 74, footnote 101. Shaw, Joshua: “Staying for an answer”: Eusebius of Caesarea and his Sources (I). In: *The Regensburg Forum. History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Augustinian Tradition*. <https://regensburgforum.com/2020/06/26/staying-for-an-answer-eusebius-of-caesarea-and-his-sources/> (22 July 2024).

⁷³ Ulrich repeatedly emphasizes that Eusebius faithfully represents his sources. Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 73, 97, 101.

⁷⁴ Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 248.

⁷⁵ Jacobs, Joseph – Broydé, Isaac: Eusebius: *op. cit.* (digital version). Winkelmann, Friedhelm: *Euseb von Kaisareia*, 32.

⁷⁶ Paul Dräger thinks it unlikely that Constantine knew Eusebius prior to the Council. Taken from Drake, H. A.: Constantine and Eusebius in Antioch. In: *Studies in Late Antiquity* 7 (2023/1), (106–136) 117 (footnote 30). Constantine writes: “Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation, that you are strongly attached to him, and desire to appropriate him as your own.” Eusebius: *Vita Constantini* III, 60. Constantine’s Letter to the Antiochians, directing them not to withdraw Eusebius from Caesarea, but to seek someone else, 1096–1097.

⁷⁷ „Ein Arianer ist Eusebius am allerwenigsten.“ Berkhof, Hendrikus: *op. cit.* 71.

⁷⁸ The *Council of Antioch* condemned the bishops Eusebius, Narcissus, and Theodotus. Fernández, Samuel: *op. cit.* 765.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 766.

⁸⁰ Kinzig, Wolfram: *Old Questions, New Answers*, 221.

⁸¹ Berkhof, Hendrikus: *op. cit.* 70. „...keines unbedenklich, da sie in der Kirche dem gefährlichen Geschmack an der Macht neue Nahrung gab”. Ritter, Adolf Martin: Arius und das Konzil

von Nizäa (325). In: Andresen, Carl – Ritter, Adolf M. – Wessel, Klaus – Mühlenberg, Ekkehard – Schmidt, Martin Anton (Hrsg.): *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte. Band I. Die Lebrentwicklung im Rahmen der Katholizität*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1989 (99–283) 167.

⁸² Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 248. Eusebius' *Tricennial Oration* and the *Oration on the Holy Sepulchre* are seen as the basis of it. [*New Advent*. <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/2504.htm> (22 July 2024).]

⁸³ Heering, G. J.: *De zondeval van het Christendom. Een studie over Christendom, staat en oorlog*. Bijleveld, Utrecht ⁵1981, 50–55.

⁸⁴ Barnes, Timothy D.: Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' Life of Constantine. In: Williams, Rowan (ed.): *The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, 94–123.

⁸⁵ Schneider, Herbert: Kaiser und Konzil. Kaiser Konstantin I. und das Konzil von Nizäa (325). In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* (253–266) 254. Burgersdijk states that the description of Constantine's conversion is probably based on that of Paul on the way to Damascus and therefore could be a literary construct. Burgersdijk, Diederik: *De macht van de traditie. Het keizerschap van Augustus en Constantijn*. Athenaeum-Polak & Van Genneep, Amsterdam 2016, 183–186. Boer, C. Den: *Pasen, feest van bevrijding*. Boekencentrum, Zoetermeer 2005, 20.

⁸⁶ According to the Kattenbusch-Harnack hypothesis this Formula of Faith was “not the local creed of Caesarea, but one drawn up by Eusebius in his own justification as embodying what he had always believed and taught”. [*New Advent*. <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05617b.htm> (22 July 2024)].

⁸⁷ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica, Prolegomena*, Chapter I, §2, *Eusebius' Birth and Training, His Life in Caesarea until the Outbreak of the Persecution*, 7. See: *The Church History of Eusebius*. Translated with prolegomena and notes by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph. D. https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Historia_ecclesiastica_%5BSchaff%5D,_EN.pdf] Winkelmann, Friedhelm: *Euseb von Kaisareia*, 18. Denzinger, Heinrich: *op. cit.* §40.

⁸⁸ “You have probably learned from other sources what happened concerning the Church's faith at the Great Council assembled at Nicaea. As we do not want the facts to be misrepresented by such reports, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the *Formula of Faith* which we ourselves [i.e. Eusebius] presented, and next, the second, which the assembled fathers put forth with some additions to our words.” *Fourth Century Christianity*. <https://www.fourthcentury.com/urkunde-22/> (22 July 2024) The Greek text in Denzinger differs a bit: Πιστεύομεν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

⁸⁹ Ritter, Adolf Martin: *op. cit.* 167.

⁹⁰ See: #109: Council of Nicea. “God of God and Light of Light.” In: *Christian History Institute*. <https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/study/module/nicaea> (22 July 2024). Not all Council Fathers signed the Anathema's.

⁹¹ Alexander of Alexandria complained of Arius and his colleague Achillas: “They revile every godly apostolical doctrine, and in Jewish fashion have organised a gang to fight against Christ, denying His divinity, and declaring Him to be on a level with other men.” Ippgrave, Michael: *op. cit.* 242. He refers also to Athanasius: *Orations Against the Arians*.

⁹² «Rappeler que Jésus est né d'une vierge juive de la race de David et du peuple d'Israël» Aron, Robert: ... *Où souffle l'esprit. Judaïsme et Chrétienté*. Plon, Paris 1979, 66.

⁹³ Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 247.

⁹⁴ Kinzig, Wolfram: *Old Questions, New Answers*, 231.

⁹⁵ The Greek text is from Denzinger, Heinrich: *op. cit.* §40.

⁹⁶ The Greek text is that of Dossetti, Giuseppe Luigi: *Il Simbolo di Nicea e di Constantinopoli: Edizione critica*. Herder, Roma 1967, 226–241. [*Creed of the Council of Nicaea (Dok. 26)* <https://www.fourthcentury.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Dok-26-Urkunde67.pdf> (22 July 2024).]

⁹⁷ The Greek text is as given in Kelly, J. N. D., *Early Christian Creeds*, with slight changes to capitals and punctuation. See: *Early Church Texts/The Creed of Constantinople – 381 (Nicene Creed)*. https://earlychurchtexts.com/main/constantinople/creed_of_constantinople.shtml (22 July 2024).

⁹⁸ „Es war ihm [i. e. Konstantin] an der Wahrung der Kircheneinheit schlechthin alles gelegen.“ Ritter, Adolf Martin: *op. cit.* 163.

⁹⁹ Wohlmuth, Josef: Wir glauben – Wir bekennen – Wir erwarten, Ein Bekenntnis in performativer Sprache. In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* 29.

¹⁰⁰ Link, Hans-Georg: Dimensionen des „Einen“. Ein Gott – ein Herr – eine Kirche – eine Taufe. In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* (39–50) 39.

¹⁰¹ Agnoli, Frank: *In new missal, Nicene Creed would go from plural to singular*. In: *The Catholic Messenger*. Posted on Jan 20, 2010. <https://catholicmessenger.net/2010/01/in-new-missal-nicene-creed-would-go-from-plural-to-singular/> (22 July 2024).

¹⁰² Confer note 33.

¹⁰³ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 57–132. Inowlocki, Sabrina: *Eusebius and the Jewish authors. His Citation Technique in an Apologetic Context*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, Vol. 64. Brill 2006. Tomson, Peter J.: *op. cit.* 93.

¹⁰⁴ Eusebius argues: “Indeed unto Abraham, who was thus before his circumcision a justified man, there was given by God, who revealed himself unto him (but this was Christ himself, the word of God), a prophecy in regard to those who in coming ages should be justified in the same way as he. In thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed.” *Historia Ecclesiastica* I. 4,12. *The Religion Proclaimed by Him to All Nations Was Neither New Nor Strange*, 109. I think Eusebius refers here to Romans 4:10, but he does not mention it, neither does Cushman McGiffert. See also: his *Praeparatio Evangelica* VII, 8. *Eusebius of Caesarea: Praeparatio Evangelica (Preparation for the Gospel)*. Tr. E. H. Gifford (1903) – Book 7. https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_pe_07_book7.htm (22 July 2024).

¹⁰⁵ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 74. According to Roukema Eusebius wanted to show that to a large extent the Christian faith corresponds with Greek philosophy and had been prepared by it. Roukema, Riemer: Reception and Interpretation of Jesus’ Teaching of Love for Enemies in Ancient Christianity. In: Geljon, Albert C. – Roukema, Riemer: *Violence in Ancient Christianity. Victims and Perpetrators*. Brill, Leiden–Boston 2014, (198–214) 205.

¹⁰⁶ Eusebius, *Praeparatio*, VII, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 66.

¹⁰⁸ I agree with Kinzig that Ulrich downplayed the fundamental anti-Judaism of Eusebius. See his review: Kinzig, Wolfram: *Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden. Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea. (Patristische Texte und Studien, 49.)* written by Jörg Ulrich. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter 1999. In: *The Journal of Theological Studies* 55 (2004/1), (348–351) 351.

¹⁰⁹ Eusebius: *Demonstratio* II. 3,57; VII. 2,128. Jansen sees theological anti-Judaism in Eusebius. Jansen, Hans: *op. cit.* 516.

¹¹⁰ ἀβλεπτοῦντας καί τὴν διάνοιαν ἐσκοτωμένους. Eusebius: *Demonstratio* VIII. 2,128.

¹¹¹ Eusebius: *Demonstratio* II. 3,27/36.

¹¹² Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* I. 1,3. *The Plan of the Work* 96.

¹¹³ Without any reserve, Origen considered the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem by the Roman troops and the expulsion of the Jewish people from Jerusalem as a divine punishment and revenge for Jesus' crucifixion. Roukema, Riemer: Origen, the Jews, and the New Testament. In: Roukema, Riemer – Amirav, Hagit: *The 'New Testament' as a Polemical Tool: Studies in Ancient Christian Anti-Jewish Rhetoric and Beliefs.* Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments. Vol. 118. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2018, (241–253) 253. Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 242.

¹¹⁴ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* II. 5,6. *Philo's Embassy to Caius in behalf of the Jews*, 156. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II. 6,8. *The Misfortunes which overwhelmed the Jews after their Presumption against Christ*, 157–158, 158.

¹¹⁵ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. 1,24–32. *The Famine which oppressed them*, 234–235. Hata thinks there is a possibility that Eusebius changed the Greek name of Mariamme (Hebrew name Miriam) found in the original text into Mary (Greek name Maria) in an attempt to demonstrate to his readers that the Christian Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a benevolent woman, while the Jewish Mary was an evil woman. To me that seems rather far-fetched. Hata, Gohei: The abuse and misuse of Josephus in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Books 2 and 3. In: Cohen, Shay J. D. – Schwartz, Joshua J. (eds.), *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism.* Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume. Brill Leiden–Boston 2007, (91–103) 99.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Lamentations of Jeremiah 4:10.

¹¹⁷ Anderson, Wendy Love: Parents Eating their Children – The Torah's Curse and Its Undertones in Medieval Interpretation. In: *The Thora*, <https://www.thetorah.com/article/parents-eating-their-children-the-torahs-curse-and-its-undertones-in-medieval-interpretation> (22 July 2024).

¹¹⁸ “These things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus, that is called the Christ. For the Jews slew him, although he was a most just man. Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* II, 23. *The Martyrdom of James, who was called the Brother of the Lord*, 200.

¹¹⁹ According to Hata this passage is wrongly quoted by Origen (*Contra Celsus* 1,47) as coming from Josephus. According to his *Antiquities* 20, 197 ff., James died around the year 62 CE, that is eight years before the fall of Jerusalem. Hata, Gohei: *op. cit.* 95.

¹²⁰ According to Hata Eusebius speaks of Jewish “crime against Christ” (II. 5,6; II. 6,8; III. 7,8) and of Jewish “crime against the Saviour” (II. 6,3 and II. 5,7), but in fact Eusebius speaks in II. 5,7 of the crime of Pilate, not of the Jews in general. According to Hata Eusebius speaks of “plots against the apostles” (II. 10,1) but in fact Eusebius speaks here of the crime of Herod Agrippa, not of the Jews in general. He speaks of “plots against Paul” (II. 23,1), “crime against

James, the brother of Jesus” (II. 23,1; II. 23,19), “crime against the Lord” (III. 5,2), “plots against the apostles of the Lord” (III. 5,2), “most lawless acts against Christ and his apostles” (III. 5,3), “lawless acts against the Christ of God” (III. 6,7 and III. 7,1), but the last does not seem right (M. G.).

¹²¹ Eusebius: On the celebration of the Pascha VIII. In: *Eusebius of Caesarea on the Celebration of the Pascha*. [Translated by Andrew Eastbourne]. https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_on_easter.htm. (22 July 2024).

¹²² Wilson, Stephen G.: Melito and Israel. In: Wilson, Stephen G. (ed.): *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Vol. II: Separation and Polemic*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo 1986, 81–102.

¹²³ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. 26,2. *Melito and the Circumstances which he records*, 390.

¹²⁴ “Race” as translated in Eusebius has a different meaning than it is given in our time. He also speaks of the “human race” (409), the “race of men” (345), the “Hebrew race” (176), the “race of the Hebrews” (765), the “race of the righteous” (360), the “race of the pious” (399), the “race of priests” (106), the “royal race” (249), the “race of Gods enemies” (776) and the “race of Christians” (113, 298, 299, 332, 356).

¹²⁵ Hata, Gohei, *op. cit.* 91–92. I saw an interesting article by Sivak, Jacob: Forgotten Jewish revolts show poor historical literacy in Jewish world-opinion. In: *The Jerusalem Post*, appeared 25 June 2025. <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/article-807570> (22 July 2024). He gives an overview of Jewish life after the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, which did not disappear from Jerusalem. A significant number of Jews, a majority of the population of the Land of Israel, remained and prospered for at least 600 years after the fall of Masada. The remains of 80 synagogues built during this period are evident.

¹²⁶ Hata, Gohei: *op. cit.* 98 and 102.

¹²⁷ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII. 1,7–9. The Events which preceded the Persecution in our Times, 687.

¹²⁸ Merz, Annette B.: Wil de echte Jezus opstaan? In: *Collationes*, 50 (2020/4) 391–416.

¹²⁹ “Scripture foretells an extreme curse, adding a lamentation for the Jewish race, which actually overtook them immediately after their impiety against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” Eusebius: *Demonstratio* IV,16. In: *Eusebius of Caesarea: Demonstratio Evangelica*. Tr. W. J. Ferrar (1920) – Book 4. http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/fathers/eusebius_de_06_book4.html (22 July 2024).

¹³⁰ Especially valuable are books VIII and IX, in which he reproduces fragments of Jewish-Hellenic writers, such as Eupolemus, Demetrius, Artapanus, Philo, Ezekielus, and Josephus. Jacobs, Joseph – Broydé, Isaac: Eusebius. In: *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Vol. 5, 274. <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/5911-eusebius> (22 July 2024).

¹³¹ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 40–44.

¹³² Sizoo, Alexander: *Geschiedenis der oud-christelijke Griekse letterkunde*. Volksuniversiteits-bibliotheek, tweede reeks no. 40. De Erven F. Bohn N. V., Haarlem 1952, 137.

¹³³ Eusebius: *Demonstratio* I, 1.

¹³⁴ Ecumenical Considerations on Jewish-Christian Dialogue. §§2,3–2,4. In: *World Council of Churches*. <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/ecumenical-considerations-on-jewish-christian-dialogue> (22 July 2024).

¹³⁵ Simon, Marcel: *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre les chrétiens et juifs dans l'empire romain*. E. De Boccard, Paris 1983, 135–425.

¹³⁶ Canon 29, *Council of Laodicea*. Blumenkranz, Bernhard: The Roman Church and the Jews. In: Cohen, Jeremy (ed.): *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict: From Late Antiquity to Reformation*. New York University Press, New York 1991, (193–230) 196.

¹³⁷ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* III. 27,5. *The Heresy of the Ebionites*, 285.

¹³⁸ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* I. 4,8. *The Religion proclaimed by Him to all nations was neither new nor strange*, 109.

¹³⁹ “We acknowledge thee the only God: we own thee, as our King and implore thy succor. By thy favour have we gotten the victory: through thee are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for thy past benefits and trust thee for future blessings. Together we pray to thee, and beseech thee long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our Emperor Constantine and his pious sons.” Such was the duty to be performed on Sunday by his troops, and such the prayer they were instructed to offer up to God. Eusebius: *Vita Constantini* IV, 20. *The Form of Prayer given by Constantine to his Soldiers*, 1040.

¹⁴⁰ Jacobs, Joseph – Hirsch, Emil G.: Sabbath and Sunday. In: *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Vol. 10, 603–605. <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12966-sabbath-and-sunday> (22 July 2024).

¹⁴¹ Eusebius: *On the Celebration of the Pascha*. In: *Eusebius of Caesarea on the Celebration of the Pascha*. [Translated by Andrew Eastbourne]. https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/eusebius_on_easter.htm (22 July 2024).

¹⁴² I Cor. 5:6. Eusebius: *On the Celebration* I.

¹⁴³ Eusebius: *On the Celebration* IX.

¹⁴⁴ John 18:28 seems to assume that on the Friday when Jesus was taken to Caiaphas the Jews had not yet eaten the Passover meal. In that case, the crucifixion of Jesus would have been on the 14th of Nisan and Jesus would have eaten the Passover meal with his disciples on the evening before – the 13th of Nisan. See also John 19:31 and John 19:42. Den Boer seeks the solution in a different Passover date of Pharisees and Sadducees, because they used a different calendar. Boer, C. Den: *op. cit.* 10–11.

¹⁴⁵ Johnson, Aaron: *op. cit.* 245.

¹⁴⁶ Eusebius: *On the Celebration* VIII, IX, XI, XII.

¹⁴⁷ Astronomical aspects and the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian calendar I leave out. Faith & Order conducted a survey among affiliated churches in 1965 asking whether they agreed with fixing Easter on the Sunday following the second Saturday in April according to the Gregorian calendar. There was an attempt in 1997 to gain a common Easter date. See: *Towards a Common Date for Easter*. World Council of Churches/Middle East Council of Churches Consultation. Aleppo, Syria, March 5–10, 1997. In: *World Council of Churches*. <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/towards-a-common-date-for-easter> (22 July 2024). It is also the ecumenical wish of Pope Francis to solve the problem. See: *Will Catholics and Orthodox Settle on a Common Easter Date? The Hope for Ecumenical Unity Includes the Desire for a Reconciliation of the Gregorian and Julian Calendar*. In: *National Catholic Register*. <https://www.ncregister.com/blog/jim-graves-catholic-orthodox-common-easter> (22 July 2024).

¹⁴⁸ Kinzig, Wolfram: Quartodecimans. In: Betz – Browning – Janowski – Jünger (eds.): *Religion Past and Present*. Brill Online, 2012. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/RGG4/SIM-024768.xml> (22 July 2024).

¹⁴⁹ Polycrates mentioned Philip and John in a letter to Victor and the church at Rome as people who regarded the fourteenth day as the day of Easter, according to the Gospel. Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* V. 24,2 and 6.

¹⁵⁰ The emphasis among the Quartodecimans was more on the crucifixion and less on the resurrection. In Ireland, Scotland and large parts of England the old tradition was still in use until the 7th/8th century.

¹⁵¹ Eusebius: *Historia Ecclesiastica* II, 24. *The Disagreement in Asia*, 489.

¹⁵² Kinzig, Wolfram: Passa-/Osterterminstreitigkeiten. In: *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Online. <https://referenceworks.brill.com/display/entries/RGG4/SIM-124287.xml> (22 July 2024).

¹⁵³ *Eusebius von Caesarea (260–339), Vita Constantini et Oratio ad coetum sanctorum. Vier Bücher über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin und des Kaisers Konstantins Rede an die Versammlung der Heiligen (BKV)*, Book III, Chapter XVIII, 66, Konstantin schreibt über die Übereinstimmung bezüglich des Osterfestes; er spricht sich gegen die Juden aus. “Da dortselbst auch über das hochheilige Osterfest eine Untersuchung angestellt wurde, ist der einstimmige Beschluß gefaßt worden, es sei gut, wenn alle dasselbe überall an *einem* Tage feierten; denn was könnte für uns besser, was ehrenvoller sein, als daß dieses Fest, das uns die Hoffnung auf die Unsterblichkeit gegeben hat, in gleicher Ordnung und so, wie die Berechnung es offenbar verlangt, bei allen begangen werde, ohne daß ein Fehler mitunterlaufe? Zunächst schien es unwürdig zu sein, jenes hochheilige Fest nach dem Gebrauch der Juden zu feiern, die ihre Hände durch ihr gottloses Verbrechen befleckt haben und darum mit Recht als Menschen, auf denen Blutschuld lastet, mit Blindheit des Geistes geschlagen sind. Wir können ja, wenn wir deren Gewohnheit zurückweisen, in der richtigeren Ordnung, die wir seit dem ersten Tage des Leidens bis zur gegenwärtigen Stunde eingehalten haben, die Beobachtung dieses Gebrauches auch auf die Zukunft ausdehnen. Nichts soll uns also gemein sein mit dem verhaßten Volke der Juden!” *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*. <https://bkv.unifr.ch/de/works/cpg-3496/versions/vier-bucher-uber-das-leben-des-kaisers-konstantin-und-des-kaisers-konstantin-rede-an-die-versammlung-der-heiligen-bkv> (22 July 2024).

¹⁵⁴ Greek text taken from Winkelman, F. (Hrsg.): *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1975, 3–151.

¹⁵⁵ DeVore finds the way Eusebius reproduces letters from others “manipulative”, but he does not mention this letter. DeVore, David J.: Character and Convention in the Letters of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*. In: *Journal of late Antiquity* 7 (2014/2), (223–252) 223.

¹⁵⁶ Giuseppe Visonà sees the decision of the Council more connected to an anti-Jewish sentiment and as opposition to those who celebrated Easter “with the Jews” than as the search for unity. Visonà, Giuseppe: In: *Ostern/Osterfest/Osterpredigt. I. Geschichte, Theologie und Liturgie*. In: Müller, Gerhard et. al. (Hrsg.): *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. [TRE] Band XXV. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–New York 1995, 517–530.

¹⁵⁷ Igrave, Michael: *op. cit.* 240–241. Schreckenberg, Heinz: *Die Adversus-Iudaeos Texte in ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jh.)*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Mein–Bern 1982. We should be aware of the fact that the primary motives of the Church Fathers in the second century, were to convince Roman magistrates to stop the persecution of Christians. We should also not forget

that such violent language was considered quite normal in those times. I thank Rececca Denova and Eginhard Meijering, who made me aware of this.

¹⁵⁸ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 242–243.

¹⁵⁹ Ritter does not mention this in his section about Eusebius. Ritter, Adolf Martin: *op. cit.* 151–155.

¹⁶⁰ Bakker, Henk: *op. cit.* 82. Bakker wrote me an E-mail (28 June 2024) saying that he would develop and explain the relationship with Nicaea even more clearly in his next book.

¹⁶¹ Stuhlmann, Rainer: Einheit: Geistes- oder Teufelswerk? Zur „Ambivalenz von Einheit“ in der Bibel. In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* (169–175) 175.

¹⁶² “The Nicene-Constantinople Creed from the fourth century, still the most important statement of faith in both Western and Eastern Christianity does not mention Jesus being a Jew, and Israel has no place in it either”, says Jeroen Bol. Bol, Jeroen: *Jezus ondenkbaar zonder zijn Joodse context. N.a.v. het boek “Jezus: Reconstructie en revisie” door Henk Bakker. Kok Boekencentrum 2020.* <https://julesisaacstichting.org/jezus-ondenkbaar-zonder-zijn-joodse-context/> (22 July 2024). *Fundamenten en perspectieven van belijden. Aangeboden door de generale synode van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk als een proeve van hernieuwd reformatorisch belijden.* Derde druk. Boekencentrum, 's-Gravenhage 1949, (art. 17), 37–38 and 58. On page 58 anti-Semitism is mentioned as an escalating problem. It is stated that this does not yet occur in older confessions. Could this be interpreted as a plea to allow criticism on the confessional texts by a new reading of the basic texts in the Bible itself? „Ob das Glaubensbekenntnis schon ein indirektes Zeugnis für entstandenen christlichen Antijudaismus sei. Mögliche kirchengeschichtliche Fehlentwicklungen in dieser Frage bedürfen einer besonderen Korrektur.“ Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef: Vorwort der Herausgeber. In: Link, Hans-Georg – Wohlmuth, Josef (Hrsg.): *op. cit.* (11–13) 12. Wassenaar, Jan Dirk: Israël in het belijden van de kerk. In: Kant, Kees – Mulder, Michael – Reitsma, Bernhard et. al. (red.): *Twaalf artikelen over Israël.* Boekencentrum, Utrecht 2018, (20–25) 21.

¹⁶³ Moltmann had always missed the presence of the earthly Jesus in the creeds of Christianity. Why are they reduced to nothing more than a comma between “born,” and “suffered”? Should not we add (or at least think) between them: baptized by John the Baptist, filled with the Holy Spirit to proclaim the Kingdom of God to the poor, to heal the sick, to accept the outcasts, to awaken Israel to the salvation of the nations and to have mercy on all the people? Moltmann, Jürgen: *Wie is Christus voor ons vandaag?* Uitgeverij Ten Have, Baarn 1994, 9. Moltmann, Jürgen: *Wer ist Christus für uns heute?* Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh 1994.

¹⁶⁴ The Filioque was added by the (regional) *Council of Toledo* (589). At the (regional) *Council of Aachen* (809), a group of bishops, supported by the emperor Charles, asked Pope Leo III to make the Filioque compulsory for the entire Church, but he refused. Pope Benedict (1014) finally decided to do so. The Eastern Church objected, which meant the schism between the Eastern and Western churches. Bram van de Beek and Herwi Rikhof published the Nicene Creed without the Filioque. See: Beek, Bram van de – Rikhof, Herwi: *Wij geloven. Hoofddlijnen van het Christelijk geloof volgens de belijdenis van Nicea/Constantinopel.* Kok Boekencentrum Utrecht 2019, 6. The *Council of Churches in the Netherlands* made in 1996 a new translation of the Nicene Creed without the Western addition (Filioque). The Filioque conflict was caused by Rome’s arbitrary amendment of a binding text, which still keeps the churches of the East and the West separated, despite some attempts of reconciliation. Pope John Paul II omitted the Filioque at the jubilee celebration (381) in 1981. During the visit of Patriarch Bartholomew (1995), Pope John Paul II said that “a mis-

understanding must be cleared up that still casts its shadow over relations between Catholics and Orthodox.’ *La Documentation Catholique* 77 (1995), 731. Lutherans see the addition of the Filioque as illegitimate. See: A Lutheran – Orthodox Common Statement on Faith in the Holy Trinity In: *ELCA Resource Repository*. https://download.elca.org/ELCA%20Resource%20Repository/A_Lutheran_Orthodox_Common_Statement_on_Faith_in_the_Holy_Trinity.pdf / (22 July 2024).

¹⁶⁵ Common Statement On The Filioque. The Joint International Commission on Theological Dialogue Between the Lutheran World Federation and the Orthodox Church. In: *Lutheran World Federation*. <http://lutheranworld.org/sites/default/files/2024-07/Lutheran-Orthodox-Joint-Statement-Filioque-EN.pdf> / (22 July 2024).

¹⁶⁶ There is more to say about Jewishness. Elliott, John H.: Jesus the Israelite was neither a “Jew” nor a “Christian”: On Correcting Misleading Nomenclature. In: *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 5 (2007/2), 119–154, quoted by Sytze de Vries: Toespjijs – Een reactie op de lezing van Arjan Plaisier. In: *Karl Barth.Nl*. <https://www.karlbarth.nl/toespjijs-een-reactie-op-de-lezing-van-arjan-plaisier/> / (22 July 2024).

¹⁶⁷ Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 59, 68 and 73.

¹⁶⁸ “We may say in the same sense that the Church of the Gentiles has become an olive-garden to the Master, which of old He planted with wild olives, and grafted them on the apostolic roots of the good olive after cutting away the old branches, as the apostle teaches.” Eusebius: *Demonstratio Evangelica* VI. 18,18.

¹⁶⁹ Eusebius: *Vita Constantini* III, 33. *How the Church of our Saviour, the New Jerusalem, Prophesied of in Scripture, Was Built*, 1013. Fredriksen, Paula – Irshai, Oded: Christian Antijudaism, polemics and policies. In: Katz, Steven T. (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Vol. VI: The Late Rabbinic Period*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, (977–1034) 1009.

¹⁷⁰ Christ, not the Church. Within half a century however the three offices of ancient Israel were applied directly to the Church. Ulrich, Jörg: *op. cit.* 215.

¹⁷¹ Scholten, Clemens: Eusebius von Caesarea. In: *WiBiLex – Das Wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet*, 2007. Scholten, Clemens: Eusebius von Caesarea (AT). In: *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft*. <https://www.die-bibel.de/ressourcen/wibilex/altestament/eusebius-von-caesarea-at> (22 July 2024).

¹⁷² For a fascinating breakdown of Eusebius’ methods and motives, see Corke-Webster, James: *Eusebius and Empire: Constructing Church and Rome in the Ecclesiastical History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2019. Information taken from Fredriksen, Paula: The Subject Vanishes: Jews, Heretics, and Martyrs after the Linguistic Turn. In: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 32 (2024/2), 151–169, footnote 49.

¹⁷³ Fredriksen, Paula: *op. cit.* 154–160.

¹⁷⁴ Denova, Rebecca I.: *Varieties of Early Christianity: The Formation of the Western Christian Tradition*. Blackwell Ancient Religions. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester u. a. 2023.

¹⁷⁵ Ipgrave, Michael: *op. cit.* 235.

¹⁷⁶ Chazan, Robert: *op. cit.* 47–76,73.

¹⁷⁷ Seaver, James Everett: *Persecution of the Jews in the Roman Empire (300–438)*. University of Kansas Publications Humanistic Studies, No. 30. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence 1952, 25.

¹⁷⁸ Seaver, James Everett: *op. cit.* 84. S. *Aurelii Augustini hipponensis episcopi tractatus Adversus Judæos*. https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/02m/0354-0430,_Augustinus,_Tractatus_Adversus_Judæos,_MLT.pdf (22 July 2024).

¹⁷⁹ Ulrich quotes (page 1): Lange, N. M. R. de: Antisemitismus IV. In: Krause, Gerhard – Müller, Gerhard et. al. (Hrsg.): *TRE*, Band III. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin–New York 1978, (128–137) 135. In my opinion, Nicholas de Lange judges Origen in a balanced way. He sees in Origen mild reasonableness towards Jews in contrast to the “hellfire and thunder” of Chrysostom. Lange, N. M. R. de: *op. cit.* 87. “If he attacked the Jews vigorously in Church, he defended them no less vigorously against the abuse of pagans.” 135.

¹⁸⁰ Gödecke, Monika: *Geschichte als Mythos. Eusebs „Kirchengeschichte“* Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, Theologie, 307. Lang, Frankfurt am Main–Bern–New York–Paris 1987, 135.

¹⁸¹ Schreckenberg, Heinz: *Die Christlichen Adversus-Judeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld, 1.–11. Jahrhundert*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, Theologie, 172. Lang, Frankfurt am Main–Bern 1994, 264.

¹⁸² Kinzig says: „In der Formulierung des trinitätstheologischen Dogmas gerät das Judentum per se nicht in den Blick. Wohl aber werden die theologischen Gegner gerne durch den Vorwurf des Judaisierens diffamiert.“ Kinzig, Wolfram: *Warum ist der Gott der Christen ein dreieiniger Gott?* 113.

¹⁸³ Wilson, Stephen G.: Marcion and the Jews. In: Wilson, Stephen G. (ed.): *Anti-judaism in Early Christian. Vol 2: Separation and Polemic*. Studies in Christianity and Judaism, Number 2. Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, Waterloo 1986, 45–58. <https://philipharland.com/Courses/Readings/4825/Wilson%201986%20Marcion%20and%20the%20Jews.pdf> (7 August 2024). Tyson, Joseph B.: Anti-Judaism in Marcion and his opponents. In: *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations*. A peer-reviewed e-journal of the Council of Centers in Jewish-Christian Relations Published by the Center for Christian-Jewish Learning at Boston College. Vol. 1 (2005–2006), 196–208. <http://escholarship.bc.edu/scjr/vol1/iss1/art21> (7 August 2024).

¹⁸⁴ Kinzig, Wolfram: “Non-separation”: Closeness and Co-operation between Jews and Christians in the Fourth Century. In: *Vigilae Christianae*, 45 (1991/1), 27–53.

¹⁸⁵ We do not see it on their official website: *Seventh-day Adventist* Church*. <https://www.adventist.org/the-sabbath/> (7 August 2024).

¹⁸⁶ “Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead.” Thus Justin Martyr: *Apology* I, 67. [“Justin Martyr on the celebration of the Eucharist and the pattern of Sunday Worship in the Early Church. Original Greek Language Text with English translation” from *Apology* 1:65–67, In: *Early Church Texts*. https://earlychurchtexts.com/public/justin_eucharist.htm (7 August 2024).] Ignatius: *Ad Magnesios* IX. Klijn, A. F. J.: *Apostolische Vaders 1. Ignatius en Polycarpus*. Bibliotheek van boeken bij de Bijbel, 50. Bosch & Keuning, Baarn 1966, 90–91.

¹⁸⁷ For example Johannes Pfefferkorn, the fierce opponent of Reuchlin writes: „Ich heysz eyn buchlijn der iudenbeicht. In allen orten vint man mich leicht. Vill neue meren synt myr wall bekannt. Ich will mich spreiden in alle landt. Wer mich lyst den wunschen ich heyl. Doch das ich den iuden nit werde tzu deyl“, taken from Oberman, Heiko A.: *Wortels van het antisemitisme. Christenangst en jodenramp in het tijdperk van humanisme en reformatie*. Kok Kampen 1983, 69.

¹⁸⁸ Palm, Tobiah, interview met Judith Frishman: ‘Het enge is dat veel mensen niet eens weten wat antisemitisme precies is’. In: *Trouw*, 8 August 2024, 4.

¹⁸⁹ Raad van Kerken spreekt zich uit tegen antisemitisme (15 november 2023). In: *Raad van Kerken in Nederland*. [https://www.raadvankerken.nl/nieuws/2023/11/verklaring-van-raad-van-kerken-tegen-antisemitisme_\(7_August_2024\)](https://www.raadvankerken.nl/nieuws/2023/11/verklaring-van-raad-van-kerken-tegen-antisemitisme_(7_August_2024)).

¹⁹⁰ Bäbler, Balbina: Speech on July 7 at the solidarity rally for Israel on the market square in Göttingen, 07. 07. 2024. In: *Akademia.edu*. https://www.academia.edu/122044888/Speech_at_the_Solidarity_Rally_with_Israel_on_the_Market_Place_of_Goettingen_07_07_2024 (7 August 2024).

¹⁹¹ Israel, David: German Monitoring Group Reports 80% Rise in Antisemitism in 2023, More than Half after October 7. – 19 Sivan 5784 – June 25, 2024. In: *Jewish Press.com*. <https://www.jewishpress.com/news/global/europe/germany/german-monitoring-group-reports-80-rise-in-antisemitism-in-2023-more-than-half-after-october-7/2024/06/25>. Germany records sharp rise in antisemitic incidents. In: *Politico*. <https://www.politico.eu/article/sharp-rise-in-antisemitic-incident-recorded-in-germany-october-7/>. Jews in Europe still face high levels of antisemitism. In: *FRA European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*. <https://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2024/jews-europe-still-face-high-levels-antisemitism> (7 August 2024).

¹⁹² Statement on the Escalating Crisis in Gaza. In: *World Council of Churches*. <https://www.oikoumene.org/resources/documents/statement-on-the-escalating-crisis-in-gaza> (7 August 2024).

¹⁹³ (321) Material zum rheinischen Synodalbeschluss 1980. In: *Landesarchiv Nordhein Westfalen*. https://www.archive.nrw.de/nl/archivsuche?link=VERZEICHUNGSEINHEIT-Vz_80a70b4e-8edb-43bc-b25a-5a9a608b099a (7 August 2024).

¹⁹⁴ Martin Luther and the Jews - a necessary reminder on the occasion of the Reformation anniversary. Declaration from the second session of the 12th Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). In: *EKD – Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*. <https://www.ekd.de/en/Martin-Luther-and-the-Jews-272.htm> (7 August 2024).

¹⁹⁵ Verklaring van de Protestantse Kerk in Nederland over erkenning van schuld en onze verantwoordelijkheid voor de toekomst, zoals uitgesproken door ds. René de Reuver, scriba generale synode, tijdens de Kristallnachtherdenking op 8 november 2020. In: *Protestantse Kerk*. https://protestantsekerk.nl/nieuws/verklaring-van-de-protestantse-kerk-tijdens-kristallnachtherdenking-2020/?_gl=1*zv0joz*_ga*NzU4OTk1Mjk4LjE3MTcxNDQ1NDk.*_ga_7XYMNZEFME*M TcyMTY0MDI2OS4xNC4xLjE3MjE2NDE3NTkuMC4wLjA (7 August 2024).

¹⁹⁶ „Die evangelische Kirche hat sich im Rahmen der Feierlichkeiten zum Lutherjahr 2017 mit dem Judenhass Luthers auseinandergesetzt und sich von dessen ‘Judenschriften’ distanziert. Die Rheinische Landessynode hatte schon im Jahr 1980 Mitverantwortung und Schuld der Christenheit in Deutschland am Holocaust anerkannt. Ein entsprechendes Schuldbekentnis sucht man in den römisch-katholischen Erklärungen bislang vergeblich.“ Benk, Andreas: Christentum und Antisemitismus. In: *Bibel und Kirche* (2024/2), 67.

¹⁹⁷ F. W. Marquardt quoted in Jansen, Hans: *op. cit.* 13.