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Tertullian's *Aduersus Iudaeos*

A Rhetorical Analysis



Geoffrey D. Dunn

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Contents

Preface	vii
Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	i
1. Controversy Surrounding the Text and the Genre	5
Those Who Doubt the Work's Integrity and Authenticity	6
Those Who Accept the Work's Integrity and Authenticity	8
Judaism and Christianity in Contact?	15
A Rhetorical Reading	27
2. Readership	31
Declamation and Eulogy	32
<i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i> as <i>Controversia</i>	36
Second-Century Christian Rhetoric	38
Real, Imagined, and Intended Readers	40
Imagined Readers of <i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>	43
Intended Readers of <i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>	50
Conclusion	56
3. Structure	58
Sider's Observations of General Structural Patterns in Tertullian	60
<i>Exordium</i>	61
<i>Narratio</i>	65
<i>Partitio</i>	66
<i>Refutatio</i>	72
<i>Confirmatio</i>	75
<i>Peroratio</i>	84
Summary of Rhetorical Structure	86
Comparison with Other Structural Arrangements of <i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>	87
Conclusion	95

4. Argumentation	97
Classical Rhetoric on Argumentation	98
Sider's Observations on Tertullian's Arguments	103
Argumentation in <i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>	105
Conclusion	139
5. Style	142
Classical Rhetoric on Style	143
Style in Tertullian	146
Style in <i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>	148
Conclusion	169
Conclusion	173
Bibliography	183
General Index	197
Index of Citations to Tertullian	205
Index of Citations to Scripture	209

Preface

Within the field of Tertullian studies, *Aduersus Iudaeos* is a much neglected text. In his book *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, Robert Sider omitted any analysis of it because, as he stated elsewhere, the latter part of that work was an addition probably by someone other than Tertullian and taken from the third book of *Aduersus Marcionem*. Others have challenged that view of the work, but none has supported their arguments with detailed reference to the classical theory of rhetoric. The very method of investigation Sider himself used could fruitfully be employed in an examination of *Aduersus Iudaeos* in order to make a contribution to the question of the text's integrity and authenticity. This is what I have done by providing an analysis of *Aduersus Iudaeos* according to the rules of classical rhetoric with regard to its structure, its arguments, and its style.

A reading of my bibliography reveals works from across the disciplines of classical rhetoric, patristics, and Jewish-Christian relations. The methodology of classical rhetoric is applied to a piece of early Christian literature in order to determine its relevance to questions about the ongoing contact between two monotheistic faiths in late antiquity. Such a breadth of research should widen the appeal of what is a specialized study of a single piece of literature.

The results of this analysis indicate that whoever wrote the first part of the pamphlet (chapters 1 to 8) made sufficient comment about its structure to demonstrate that they planned to write on the topics that are found in the second part (chapters 9 to 14). This suggests that the work was the responsibility of one author. The position advanced by Säflund and Tränkle that *Aduersus Iudaeos* was written prior and not subsequent to *Aduersus Marcionem* is supported here. Repetition of material from one work to another does not imply the activity of some unidentified copyist any more than it does the idea that Tertullian himself found it convenient to re-use material from one to the other.

However, this does not mean that *Aduersus Iudaeos* is an outstanding piece of writing. There are several signs, especially in the second half, that what has survived is only an early draft of what is probably an unrevised essay. Some material is long-winded, out of place, peripheral to the main argument, or even repeated. Even though the work is incomplete, one can see where Tertullian was heading and how classical rhetoric was crucial to his thinking.

With the controversy about its authorship, this work has not played its proper part in the scholarly debate about the relationship between Judaism and Christianity in the centuries following Titus's capture of Jerusalem. Although those who have taken some interest in this work would conclude that it provides no information about interaction between Jews and Christians in Carthage at the end of the second century, the position I advance is that how and what one interpreted in the Hebrew Scriptures was the ongoing issue between them, just as it had been for the first followers of Jesus. The attempt by scholars to say that an anti-Judaic pamphlet was either for Jews to read and a sign of real contact, or for Christians to read and a sign of no contact is too limiting. A rhetorical interpretation supports the notion, I believe, that an author could have several objectives and readers in mind simultaneously.

My research on this pamphlet has been conducted in a series of published articles, in my doctoral dissertation, which was submitted at Australian Catholic University in 1999, and in the only English translation of the pamphlet to appear since the middle of the nineteenth century. The present volume is a revision of the doctoral dissertation. Further reflection upon Tertullian's text over the past five years, particularly in the light of the translation work, has enabled me to revise some of the points in the dissertation and to refine my presentation. The German translation by Regina Hauses in *Fontes Christiani* appeared too late for me to use in this volume.

I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor Pauline Allen, FAHA, director of the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, and to my associate supervisor, Rev. Dr. David Rankin, from Trinity Theological College, Brisbane. They offered me support and encouragement, judicious advice, a critical eye, and an unfailing commitment to scholarship of the highest level during the writing of the dissertation. My gratitude extends to my examiners—Professor Graeme Clarke of Australian National University; Dr. James Carleton Paget, Peterhouse, Cambridge; and Professor Robert Sider—and indeed to the editors and anonymous readers of the various journals in which my articles have appeared, for their valuable insights and sugges-

tions for improvement. I am also grateful to those who read the various versions of this volume. Their comments were always insightful and often challenging. Even where I thought they missed my point, they helped me realize that I had not expressed my point clearly enough in the first place. Of course, whatever remains unclear is entirely my own fault. Professor Philip Rousseau, the director of the Center for the Study of Early Christianity at the Catholic University of America and the series editor, has been an encouraging friend and helpful advisor. My thanks go also to those at the Catholic University of America Press who have assisted in turning this typescript into a published reality. Finally, I wish to thank all my colleagues at the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, who have provided the stimulating and collaborative environment in which my research takes place.

Abbreviations

<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AntAfr</i>	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i>
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Rh.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
Aristid.	Aristides
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
<i>BAGB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé</i>
<i>Barn.</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>Opt. gen.</i>	<i>De optimo genere oratorum</i>
<i>De or.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>
<i>Inu. rhet.</i>	<i>De inuentione</i>
<i>Orat.</i>	<i>Orator</i>
<i>Part. or.</i>	<i>De partitione oratoria</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
F	<i>Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus</i> , Conv. Sopr. I, VI, 10, saec. XV
FC	Fontes Christiani
Front.	Fronto
<i>Ad M. Caes.</i>	<i>Ad M. Caesarem</i>
<i>De eloq.</i>	<i>De eloquentia</i>

<i>Laud. fum. et pul.</i>	<i>Laudes fumi et pulueris</i>
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
Gell.	Aulus Gellius
N.A.	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HSCPh	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Ign.	Ignatius
Eph.	<i>Ephesians</i>
Iren.	Irenaeus
<i>Adu. haer.</i>	<i>Aduersus haereses</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demonstratio Apostolicae Praedicationis</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Jerm.	Jerome
<i>In Dan.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Daniele</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Jus.	Justin
<i>1 Apol.</i>	<i>1 Apologia</i>
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogus cum Tryphone</i>
Juv.	Juvenal
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MEFRA	<i>Melanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome: Antiquite</i>
N	<i>Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus, Conv. Soppr. I, VI, 9, saec. XV</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
P	<i>Codex Scelestadtensis 439, saec. XI (Paterniacensis)</i>

Philostr.	Philostratus
V.S.	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
<i>Ph&Rh</i>	<i>Philosophy and Rhetoric</i>
<i>PhQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
Plin.	Pliny the younger
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
ps.-Aug.	pseudo-Augustine
<i>Quaest. uet.</i>	<i>Quaestionum ueteris et noui testamenti</i>
<i>et nou. test.</i>	
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
Q (Φ)	<i>Codex Fuldensis</i> amissus, cuius variae lectiones ex collatione Francisci Modii Aldenburgensis congestae sunt in adpndice editionis Uunianae, Franekerae, 1597
<i>QJS</i>	<i>Quarterly Journal of Speech</i>
Quint.	Quintilian
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
R	Consensus harum editorum, Beati Rhenani, 1521–1539
<i>Rhet. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium</i>
<i>RSLR</i>	<i>Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa</i>
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Sen.	Seneca the elder
<i>Controu.</i>	<i>Controuersiae</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>STh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>De rhetoribus</i>
T	<i>Codex Trecensis</i> 523, saec. XII
Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Dial.</i>	<i>Dialogues de oratoribus</i>
Tert.	Tertullian
<i>Ad mart.</i>	<i>Ad martyras</i>
<i>Ad nat.</i>	<i>Ad nationes</i>
<i>Ad Scap.</i>	<i>Ad Scapulam</i>
<i>Adu. Herm.</i>	<i>Aduersus Hermogenem</i>
<i>Adu. Iud.</i>	<i>Aduersus Iudaeos</i>

<i>Adu. Marc.</i>	<i>Aduersus Marcionem</i>
<i>Adu. Prax.</i>	<i>Aduersus Praxean</i>
<i>Adu. Val.</i>	<i>Aduersus Valentinianos</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticum</i>
<i>De an.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
<i>De carn.</i>	<i>De carne Christi</i>
<i>De cast.</i>	<i>De exhortatione castitatis</i>
<i>De cor.</i>	<i>De corona</i>
<i>De fug.</i>	<i>De fuga in persecutione</i>
<i>De idol.</i>	<i>De idololatria</i>
<i>De iei.</i>	<i>De ieiunio</i>
<i>De mon.</i>	<i>De monogamia</i>
<i>De pat.</i>	<i>De patientia</i>
<i>De praescr.</i>	<i>De praescriptione haereticorum</i>
<i>De pud.</i>	<i>De pudicitia</i>
<i>De res.</i>	<i>De resurrectione mortuorum</i>
<i>De spec.</i>	<i>De spectaculis</i>
<i>De test. anim.</i>	<i>De testimonio animae</i>
<i>De uirg.</i>	<i>De uirginibus uelandis</i>
<i>VChr</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
<i>ZAC</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum</i>