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# Kampf oder Dialog? *Conflict/Dialogue?*

Begegnung von Kulturen  
im Horizont von Augustins *«De ciuitate dei»*  
*Augustine's Engagement*  
*with Cultures in «De ciuitate dei»*

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UND EHRENMITGLIED DES AUGUSTINER-ORDENS,  
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DES ZENTRUMS FÜR AUGUSTINUS-FORSCHUNG  
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## Vorwort des Herausgebers

Begegnung von Kulturen, Kulturkampf, Kulturkritik, aber auch kultureller Dialog und Kulturenverschmelzung prägen entscheidend den thematischen Vordergrund wie auch den entstehungsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund von Augustins *De civitate dei*. Dieser Befund gilt vor allem in Bezug auf das Verhältnis von paganer und biblisch-christlicher Religion, Weltdeutung und Tradition, aber ebenso im Blick auf die generelle Kulturen- und Religionengemengelage im Mittelmeerraum inklusive der Völkerwanderung und im Blick auf unterschiedliche kirchliche und theologische Binnenkulturen.

Bislang existieren lediglich entweder Einzelveröffentlichungen zur Thematik oder aber umfassendere Publikationen, die trotz ihres breiter angelegten Horizonts den Brennpunkt «Augustinus» nicht oder nicht hinreichend berücksichtigen. Dazu kommt die Tatsache, dass die Thematik um kulturelle Begegnung, Kulturkampf und Kulturedialog gegenwärtig zwar in vielen geisteswissenschaftlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Diskursen präsent ist, indes dringend einer ergänzenden Fundierung von Seiten der Spätantike bedarf – und dabei nicht zuletzt von deren zentraler Gestalt Augustinus und seinem Werk *De civitate dei* her.

Um dem durch diese Sachlage charakterisierten Forschungsdesiderat abzuhefen, entwickelte das *Zentrum für Augustinus-Forschung an der Universität Würzburg* (ZAF) ab dem Jahr 2010 – und damit genau 1600 Jahre nach Augustins ersten Recherchen und Skizzen für sein Monumentalwerk *Vom Gottesstaat* – den Plan, ein internationales und interdisziplinäres Symposium zur Frage «Kampf oder Dialog? Begegnung von Kulturen im Horizont von Augustins *De civitate dei*» auf den Weg zu bringen: ein Symposium, das zugleich das 10. Jubiläum der «Würzburger Augustinus-Studententage» des ZAF markieren sollte. Dank der erprobten Infrastruktur des ZAF sowie des ausgedehnten wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes des Akademienprojekts *Augustinus-Lexikon* (AL) wie der internationalen Augustinus-Forschung überhaupt konnte dieser Plan vergleichsweise schnell konkretisiert und realisiert werden, wobei das Tagungsthema es als überaus angemessen erscheinen ließ, als Tagungsort Rom zu wählen: diejenige Metropole, die mit dem Leben Augustins und vor allem mit dem Gegenstand von *De civitate dei* engstens verflochten ist.

Freilich bedurfte es vielfältiger Unterstützung durch zahlreiche Personen und Organisationen, bis das Symposium mit seinen rund 25 renommierten Beiträger(inne)n und mit seinen insgesamt rund 100 Teilnehmer(inne)n aus aller Welt schließlich am 25. September 2012 in der Aula des *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum* inmitten des Vatikans feierlich eröffnet werden konnte. Besondere Hilfe erfuhr der Organisator des Kongresses und Herausgeber des vorliegenden Tagungsbandes dabei durch das *Augustinianum* und seinen Präsidenten Robert Dodaro, ebenso wie durch die *Villanova University* in Pennsylvania mit ihrem Präsidenten Peter M. Donohue und ihrem Augustinus-Spezialisten Allan Fitzgerald. Finanzielle Unterstützung leisteten weiterhin die *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) und der *Verband der Diözesen Deutschlands* (VDD) mit der dahinterstehenden Deutschen Bischofskonferenz.

Einen Höhepunkt des Rahmenprogramms des Symposions stellte der Empfang der Tagungsteilnehmer(innen) durch Papst Benedikt XVI. in Castel Gandolfo mit der Aufführung der modernen Kirchenoper *Augustinus* dar. In diesem Zusammenhang ist besonders das Engagement der Diözese Würzburg und des deutsch-italienischen Senators Hans-Albert Courtial zu erwähnen. Nicht zu vergessen sind schließlich diejenigen Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens, die das Symposium durch ihre Schirmherrschaft oder durch ihr Kuratorenamt repräsentiert und dadurch gestärkt haben.

Allen Genannten sei an dieser Stelle nochmals herzlich gedankt!

Nun liegen die Vorträge des Symposions – von den Autor(inn)en zum Teil gründlich überarbeitet und erheblich erweitert – in Form eines veritablen Tagungsbandes vor. Wie schon in ihrer mündlichen Fassung, so präsentieren sich die Beiträge auch in ihrer schriftlichen Version in unterschiedlichen Sprachen, genauerhin in Deutsch, Englisch oder Italienisch, und spiegeln damit im Fragment die Internationalität des Symposions wie auch der Augustinus-Forschung insgesamt wider. Neben der Internationalität ist zudem die Interdisziplinarität (Geschichtswissenschaft, Altphilologie, Philosophie, Theologie, Pädagogik, Literaturwissenschaft) für die Tagung und den Tagungsband kennzeichnend: Nur im Dialog unterschiedlicher Kulturen – hier konkret unterschiedlicher Sprachkulturen und Wissenschaftskulturen – lässt sich der Kosmos des augustiniischen Denkens und der augustiniischen Wirkungsgeschichte annähernd adäquat erschließen.

Die Reihenfolge der Aufsätze, die der Abfolge der in Rom gehaltenen Vorträge entspricht, unterliegt keiner strengen Unterteilung, wohl aber einer sanften Organik, beginnend mit der Erhellung der historischen und hermeneutischen Hintergründe der Thematik, fortfahrend mit der Analyse von Kulturen-

begegnungen außerhalb des Christentums, zwischen paganer und christlicher Tradition sowie innerhalb des Christentums und schließend mit einigen ausgesuchten Schlaglichtern auf die Wirkungsgeschichte der Thematik quer durch die Jahrhunderte.

Für die Weite und Tiefe des hier abgeschrittenen Feldes ist vor allem den Referentinnen und Referenten bzw. den Autorinnen und Autoren zu danken. Neben diesem hochkarätigen Ensemble von Augustinus-Forscher(inne)n sei für unterschiedliche Hilfestellungen auf dem Weg vom gesprochenen Wort bis hin zum publizierten Sammelband zusätzlich folgenden Personen ausdrücklich Dank gesagt: meinen Mitherausgebern Robert Dodaro und Allan Fitzgerald, meinen Kolleg(inn)en an der Universität Würzburg und im ZAF – zumal Herrn Guntram Förster –, den Entscheidungsträgern der *Manfred Wierichs Stiftung* und der *Deutschen Augustinerprovinz* sowie Herrn Handwerk vom *Verlag Echter*.

Möge die vorliegende Publikation Ihren bescheidenen Beitrag dazu leisten, in kritischer Aneignung des augustinischen Erbes einen dialogischen Weg jenseits der Alternative von Fundamentalismus oder Relativismus zu beschreiten – wohl wissend, dass der Kirchenlehrer Augustinus und seine Wirkungsgeschichte ersterer Versuchung, derjenigen des weltanschaulichen Fundamentalismus, nicht immer widerstanden haben. Das Projekt «Kampf oder Dialog? Begegnung von Kulturen im Horizont von Augustins *De ciuitate dei*» hat mich gleichwohl in der Hoffnung gestärkt, dass das augustinische Erbe in Bezug auf die Begegnung von Kulturen nicht nur ideologische «Kampf-Polemik birgt, sondern auch allerlei Potential für eine sich im Horizont der Wahrheitsfrage bewegende «Dialog-Theorie und «Dialog-Praxis: ein Potential, das stark zu machen Aufgabe gegenwärtiger Augustinus-Rezeption ist.

Würzburg, im Sommer 2015

Christof Müller



## Grußwort anlässlich des Symposionbandes «Kampf oder Dialog? – Conflict/Dialogue?»

Als mich der Wissenschaftliche Leiter des *Zentrums für Augustinus-Forschung an der Universität Würzburg*, Prof. Dr. Christof Müller, zu Anfang des Jahres 2012 fragte, ob ich nicht die Schirmherrschaft über ein internationales und interdisziplinäres Symposion im *Augustinianum* zu Rom übernehmen wolle, sagte ich nach einer kurzen Zeit des Nachdenkens freudig zu – und das mit guten Gründen. Zum ersten begleitete ich in meiner Funktion als Bischof der Diözese Würzburg die wissenschaftliche Arbeit und die Aktivitäten des *Zentrums* ohnehin schon seit geraumer Zeit mit Sympathie, Anerkennung und finanzieller Unterstützung. Zum zweiten faszinierte mich die zugrundeliegende Thematik «Begegnung von Kulturen im Horizont von Augustins *De ciuitate dei*: eine Thematik, die einerseits eines der wichtigsten Werke eines der bedeutendsten Kirchenväter zum Gegenstand hat, die andererseits aber auch den Bezug spätantiken Denkens zu Fragestellungen der Gegenwart im Blick behält. Zum dritten imponierte mir das Tableau von Referentinnen und Referenten, die für den Kongress ihre Zusage gegeben und ihre Vortragstitel formuliert hatten: ein Panoptikum der weltweiten Forschung zu Augustinus, das sich sehen lassen kann.

Schließlich und viertens verband sich das geplante Symposion, so schien es mir, in denkbar günstiger Fügung mit einem Besuch der Diözese Würzburg bei Benedikt XVI., durch den unser Bistum den aus Bayern stammenden Papst anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstages zu ehren gedachte. Als Geschenk präsentierten wir dem verehrten Jubilar, einem erklärten und ausgewiesenen Augusti-

nus-Experten, eine Aufführung der modernen Kirchenoper *Augustinus* in Castel Gandolfo. Das genau in jenen Tagen im Vatikanstaat stattfindende Augustinus-Symposion ergänzte somit mit seinem primär *kognitiven und diskursiven* Zugriff dasjenige, was die Kirchenoper mit ihrem *ganzheitlichen und ästhetischen* Zugriff zum Ausdruck zu bringen wusste: die bleibende Relevanz, ja Aktualität des Kirchenvaters Augustinus von Hippo für unsere gegenwärtige Welt, für das Leben jedes einzelnen Zeitgenossen und für das Zusammenleben der heutigen Menschheit.

Vor diesem Hintergrund erfüllt es mich mit Genugtuung und Freude, dass die Vorträge des Römischen Symposions nunmehr in Form eines Tagungsbandes veröffentlicht und damit einem größeren Publikum zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Ich wünsche dem voluminösen Band, der zu Recht seinen Platz in *Cassiciacum*, der renommierten Schriftenreihe der Deutschen Augustiner, gefunden hat, eine weltweite Verbreitung und Rezeption. In seiner Internationalität und in seiner Interdisziplinarität ist der Tagungsband – wie die zugrundeliegende Tagung selbst – ein Beispiel dafür, dass und wie «Begegnung von Kulturen im Horizont von Augustins *De civitate dei*» nach wie vor zu gelingen und Früchte zu zeitigen vermag.



Dr. Friedhelm Hofmann  
Bischof von Würzburg

Paula Fredriksen

## Jews, Judaism, and St. Stephen in Augustine's *City of God*

«Jews» move frequently across Augustine's great theological panorama, *The City of God*. But with one exception – Petronilla's Jewish healer, mentioned *ib.* 22,8 – these are not the «historical Jews» of the late Roman Empire, but the hermeneutical Jews» of Christian theological imagination. Distilled originally from Christian traditions of reading the Septuagint and, eventually, the writings of the New Testament canon, patristic hermeneutical Jews» functioned to construct and to confirm – most often «à l'inverse» – those points of principle that articulated the newer community's identity and doctrine. I refer here, of course, to that vast web of interconnected tropes and themes known as traditions «*Aduersus Iudaeos*» or «*Contra Iudaeos*»: Christian teachings «Against the Jews»<sup>1</sup>.

Scholars divide over the question whether, or to what degree, actual Jews originally figured as the intended targets of this invective. The issue is complicated by the fact that its most virulent expressions occur in tracts of intra-Christian disputation<sup>2</sup>. How did «Jews» come to figure so prominently as rhetorical targets – or as ammunition – in these largely gentile disputes? The answer is, by way of the Bible. These contestants, beginning in the early 2nd c., turned to two layers of Hellenistic Jewish traditions to authorize their respective positions: the ancient stories in the Septuagint, and the 1st-c. writings of Paul, of the evangelists, and of other early authors. In the Septuagint, from *Exodus* to *Deuteronomy*, God and Moses complained to each other about Israel's behavior, while prophets thundered against other Jews' practices and the psalmist lamented their sins. In 1st-c. writings, Paul bitterly criticized his Jewish-Christian competitors and fellow apostles (cf. *2 Cor* 11,22sq.: «Are they Hebrews? So am I! Are they Israelites? So am I! Are they descendants of Abraham? So am I! Are they ministers of Christ? ... I am a better one!»), while the evangelists' Jesus disputed with scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, and priests.

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<sup>1</sup> On the ways that the gentile Christian traditions «*Contra Iudaeos*» evolve out of Hellenistic Jewish writings, the tropes of classical ethnography, and rhetorical techniques of constructing polemic, cf. FREDRIKSEN, *Christianity*. For the particular contribution of classical ethnography, cf. ISAAC 440–491.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EFROYMSON, *Patristic*; FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 64–74.367–369.

These Hellenistic Jewish texts, with all their intra-Jewish polemics, were a gold mine for later Christian rhetoric (Contra Iudaeos). This rhetoric was redeployed to argue against other gentile Christians. In order to refute their rivals, these quarreling Christians produced the (Jews) that they needed: to label a gentile Christian opponent a (Jew) was to condemn him for being doctrinally aberrant; for being (carnal), (stiff-necked), (malicious), and murderously violent; for being deeply, intrinsically un-Christian; indeed, for being anti-Christian<sup>3</sup>. Thus Justin, in the course of his dialogue with Trypho, sweeps Valentinian and Marcionite Christians into his critical purview (*Dialogue* 35); thus, too, Tertullian condemns Marcion (*Adversus Marcionem* 3 passim), Irenaeus his Christian rivals, and Origen, his. Post-Constantine, this intra-Christian exchange of anti-Jewish insults continued unabated, even increasing in ferocity. In this way, Arians, catholics, Donatists, and assorted other 4th-c. gentile Christians transform rhetorically into (Jews)<sup>4</sup>.

Within the New Testament, the figure of Stephen in the *Acts of the Apostles* provides a particular opportunity for this rhetoric. We see this more clearly if we contrast *Act*, briefly, to traditions in Paul's letters and in the gospels. Paul, directing his mid-1st-c. correspondence to gentiles in the Diaspora, speaks heatedly and often against (gentile) sins, most especially the worship of false gods and their images. The synoptic gospel stories, on the other hand, in conformity to their narrative setting, speak against (Jewish) sins, most often configured as violations of the Ten Commandments. In those rare places where Jesus does encounter a pagan (the Gerasene demoniac in *Mc* 5; the Syro-Phoenician woman *ib.* 8; Pontius Pilate in all of the Passion narratives), a surprising delicacy prevails: the person's paganism is passed over in silence. In *Act*, this delicacy continues: Luke makes no mention of the Ethiopian eunuch's paganism (assuming that this character is intended as a god-fearer and not as a proselyte, *ib.* 8,27sq.)<sup>5</sup>, nor that of the god-fearers attached to synagogues both in Caesarea (Cornelius, *ib.* 10,1sq.) and in the Diaspora (e.g., Antioch, *ib.* 13,16; Philippi, *ib.* 16,14; Thessalonika, *ib.* 17,4; Corinth, *ib.* 18,7). And while *Act*, once the mission moves into the Diaspora, does indeed acknowledge the exist-

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<sup>3</sup> On this point, cf. BRAKKE. For a very clear chart of the binary opposites constructing these polemical contrasts, cf. *ib.* 478.

<sup>4</sup> EFROYMSON assembles and analyzes the works of the 2nd- and 3rd-c. fathers in *id.*, *Patristic*; BRAKKE similarly presents Athanasius' accusations. For the mutual anti-Jewish insults traded between catholics and Donatists, cf. SHAW 271–306.

<sup>5</sup> So also LAMPE 70sq. n. 4.

ence and practices of paganism<sup>6</sup>, its tone in these instances is fairly mild. The full-throated denunciation of pagan worship sounded so strongly in the genuine Pauline letters plays as a «diminuendo» in *Act*.

The single place where *Act* does denounce idolatry dramatically and vigorously, the ethnicity of the idolaters is curiously changed. In Luke's telling, idol-worship becomes the *Jewish* sin par excellence. Looking back, as did Paul in *1 Cor* 10, to the incident of the Golden Calf described in *Ex* 32, Luke mobilizes the story to serve not as a warning to pagans (cf. *1 Cor* 10,5–12), but as a description of an abiding proclivity of *Jews*. Luke sounds this new note in a passage of highest drama when Stephen, «full of grace and power», concludes his review of Israelite history before the hostile Sanhedrin. Likening the Temple in Jerusalem to idols – both are made by human hands (*Act* 7,43.48) – Stephen concludes that «the stiff-necked people» had always opposed the Holy Spirit (ib. 7,51). Jews persecuted the prophets, and finally killed the Righteous One whom they foretold (ib. 7,52). «You received the Law, ... and yet you did not keep it» (ib. 7,53). The crowd, enraged by his charges, responds by killing Stephen.

These various accusations, here sounded by Stephen – Jewish perfidy, hostility, murderousness, resistance to divine will, failure to keep the Law, inveterate idol-worship – will also shape later «Contra Iudaeos» polemic<sup>7</sup>. But in the early 5th c., with Lucianus' discovery of Stephen's relics at Kfar Gamla in Roman Palestine, the proto-martyr assumed a new visibility as «the first to wage the Lord's war against the Jews»<sup>8</sup>. In Jerusalem, Bishop John takes on the role

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<sup>6</sup> *Act* 15,29, a provision of the so-called Apostolic Conference; ib. 17,16, Paul's distress in Athens, «seeing that the city was full of idols»; ib. 19,26, the protests of the idol-makers in Ephesus.

<sup>7</sup> Patristic rhetoric «Contra Iudaeos» accused Jews of having a proclivity to worship idols specifically on the basis of their having made blood sacrifices just as pagans did, e.g., Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 2,18,3; later, intending the remark positively, the Emperor Julian observed the same thing, *Against the Galileans* 306B. On this rhetorical trope of Jewish sacrifices' being tantamount to paganism, used by Manichaeans as well as by the orthodox, cf. FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 227–233. On the (2nd-c.) gentile Christian rejection of animal sacrifice, and the ways that this contrasts with Paul as a mid-1st-c. Hellenistic Jew, cf. especially ULLUCCI, *Contesting* 67–69; id., *Christian*.

<sup>8</sup> Bishop John of Jerusalem's words according to the *Reuelatio Sancti Stephani* (cf. VANDERLINDEN); the passage cited appears at B 34; cf. BRADBURY 18. On Stephen's low profile in Christian literature before 5th c., cf. MOSS 117sq.; BOVON. MATTHEWS explores the ways that the figure of Stephen served particularly to focus later Christian anti-Judaism (up to and including the 20th c.'s).

of impresario of Stephen's cult. The relics served to settle scores, both vis-à-vis the Jewish patriarch in Tiberias and vis-à-vis the catholic patriarchs of other metropolitan churches. They also provide a welcomed distraction from the awkward local proceedings against Pelagius. And John's promotion of Stephen's cult enhanced the prestige of his own see<sup>9</sup>. Stephen's westward journey, thanks to Orosius, has further effects: his relics embolden Severus of Minorca in 418 to undertake the coerced conversion of the island's 540 Jews<sup>10</sup>. Hearing Severus' account of this event, catholics in Evodius' see of Uzalis broke into «great applause ... (at the) marvelous deeds of the glorious Stephen ... which he accomplished on that island ... for the salvation of all the Jews there who believed» (*De miraculis S. Stephani* 1,2)<sup>11</sup>.

A long, well-developed, and extremely articulate theological polemic against the Jews; a recent spike in Stephen's prestige as proto-martyr and as anti-Jewish champion; local North African enthusiasm for Minorca's coerced conversions. In light of these data, how are we to construe Augustine on Jews, Judaism, and St. Stephen in *The City of God*?

\* \* \*

Augustine himself could wield traditional Christian rhetoric «Contra Iudaeos» to great effect. His *Sermons on the Gospel of John*, for example, exceed the vituperation of the evangelist's own text – no small feat. In these sermons, Augustine repeats time-honored tropes: Jewish hearts are stony, Jewish necks stiff, Jews themselves a carnal people; God gave the Jews the laws of sacrifice to distract them from their perennial tendency to worship idols (e.g., ib. 1,17; 3,19; 10,4; 11,8; 24,6; 33,5). Often where John's text has «Pharisees» or «priests», Augustine is happy to substitute Jews. And in 23 places where he inculcates the whole people for the death of Jesus, the gospel text that he comments on has no

<sup>9</sup> For this «Sitz im Leben», cf. IRSHAI; BRADBURY 16–25.

<sup>10</sup> For Severus' text describing this event, plus an English translation, cf. BRADBURY 80–125. BRADBURY also points out (ib. 17) that Severus' letter circulated together with Lucianus' description of the discovery of the relics (= *Reuelatio Sancti Stephani* or, more commonly, *Epistula Luciani*). On the ways that the narration of violence legitimates violence, cf. MATTHEWS 99–130.

<sup>11</sup> BRADBURY (14 n. 22) dates the composition of this text to just after 425, thus around the period when or shortly after Augustine composed book 22 of *De civitate dei*; SHAW (437 and n. 117) prefers a date of 420.

connection to Jesus' death at all<sup>12</sup>. In his anti-Donatist sermons, as Shaw has recently shown, Augustine repeatedly links «Jews» to «pagans and heretics», all three serving in a «fixed geometry of hatred» as premier enemies of the (true) Church, thus enemies of God<sup>13</sup>. Augustine also frequently cross-identifies Jews with Donatists, who «rage madly» against the Church's unity. Killers of Christ, vicious and mocking; ravenous roaring lions, vipers, asps, scorpions; ravens feeding on death – these anti-Donatist sermons provide a virtual bestiary of anti-Jewish slurs. Like Judas, Jews are leagued with Satan and spurred by insane fury; they embody violent hatred and murderous betrayal<sup>14</sup>. The anti-Jewish abuse goes on and on. Its actual target however, as Shaw repeatedly notes, was North Africa's rival church<sup>15</sup>.

In brief, Augustine has many negative things to say about Jews and Judaism, calumnies common to the patristic tradition «*Contra Iudaeos*»<sup>16</sup>. Unique to him, however, are his wide-ranging positive remarks, a signal aspect of his theology of Jewish witness.

This theology, which crystallized between the mid-390s and early 400s, was of a piece with Augustine's broader commitment to understanding Scripture «ad litteram», that is, «secundum historicam proprietatem»<sup>17</sup>. This hermeneutical effort led him, in *De doctrina christiana*, to praise the Jews for having kept the Law – or, in the language of the treatise, for understanding and enacting the

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<sup>12</sup> These observations draw on EFROYMSON's careful analysis of Augustine's 124 *Sermons on the Gospel of John* in id., *Jews. On general Jewish culpability for the death of Jesus in these sermons (as opposed to the Jewish leadership)*, cf. ib. 204; on the question of Augustine's «Jews» versus the «Jews» of the Fourth Gospel, cf. ib. 211. Much of Augustine's rhetoric «*Contra Iudaeos*» in these sermons focuses on the pedagogical point of the importance of «spirit» as opposed to «flesh», whether as an ethical or as a hermeneutical principle. «Jews» here function in the traditionally negative way as figures for «flesh». For Augustine's use of anti-Jewish rhetoric against Christian rivals, cf. below, especially n. 15.

<sup>13</sup> SHAW 279.

<sup>14</sup> These were themes especially dear to the heart of Donatist preachers, who lambasted catholic «traditores» with these same tropes: «If «the Donatists» were the Catholics' surrogate Jews, then the Catholics easily fit the same role in reverse» (SHAW 306; for the Donatists as new Judases, cf. ib. 303).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. SHAW, e.g., 280.286.289.292.294–297.301sq.304–306. «The consistent message ... is that «the Donatists» were worse than the Jews» (ib. 301; for the same point made by Donatists against catholics, cf. ib. 305).

<sup>16</sup> BLUMENKRANZ offers an assemblage of such remarks, cf. ib. 62–68.

<sup>17</sup> For the relation between these ways of interpretation, cf., e.g., *Gn. adu. Man.* 2,3 and Augustine's remarks on this commentary in *retr.* 1,18; cf. the discussion in FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 134–137.184.190–196.

«signa translata» of Scripture as «signa propria» – thereby distinguishing themselves from the idolatrous nations (ib. 3,9sq.)<sup>18</sup>. Shortly thereafter, when disputing with Jerome over how to read *Gal 2*, Augustine extended this defense of the traditional Jewish observance of Jewish Law, arguing further that all Jews of the Church's first generation, whether before or after the resurrection – the apostles, Paul, and Jesus himself – had been and always remained actively Torah-observant; and that gentiles of this same generation, eschewing their idolatry, had voluntarily «judaized», assuming Jewish practices in order to build up the Church<sup>19</sup>. Finally, against Faustus' attacks on the Church's double canon, Augustine, more radically, deflected Manichaean charges of Jewish (thus, catholic) «carnality» by reappropriating the term positively. Ancient Jewish practices «secundum carnem», Augustine insisted, most especially circumcision and Temple sacrifice, had pointed ahead both typologically and actually to the incarnation and the fleshly resurrection of Christ. By keeping God's commandments «secundum carnem», the entire Jewish people, he argued, had truly conformed to divine will, enacting a living prophecy of these catholic truths<sup>20</sup>. The enactment of the Law in the flesh, he insisted, had presaged the redemption of the flesh. And finally, Augustine extended this defense of Jewish practice up to his own day. Contemporary Jews, he argued, exiled from their homeland, *continued* their fleshly observance of the Law because it was God's will, for the benefit of the Church.

Against Faustus, Augustine tied these arguments about Jewish exile, Jewish praxis, Jewish books, and Jewish witness to his exegesis of *Gn 4* and to the figure of Cain. Cain as «figura» of the Jewish people embedded the Jews' Roman-period ubiquity and their enduring religious/ethnic identity in the story of the primal fratricide, which foreshadowed Christ's death. Like Cain exiled from his fields for killing Abel, the Jews too are scattered on account of their killing Christ, «groaning and trembling» like Cain (cf. ib. 4,12) for the loss of their kingdom (c. *Faust.* 12,12: «amisso regno»). And as God protected Cain after the homicide, said Augustine, so also does God even now protect the Jews.

What does God say? «Anyone who kills Cain will be undone by vengeance seven-fold» (*Gn 4,15*). It's as if God had said:

«The impious race (genus) of the Jews will never die a bodily death. Whoever would destroy them in this way will loose a vengeance seven-fold, that is, he will bear away from them the seven-fold vengeance which I have wrapped

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the discussion in FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 192–194.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ep.* 40 and 82; cf. also c. *Faust.* 32,12.

<sup>20</sup> *C. Faust.* 4,2; 13,15; 22,24; cf. *ciu.* 16,42.

around the Jewish people (to protect them) on account of their murdering Christ» (*c. Faust.* 12,12).

Thus the Jewish people will never perish, for the whole length of the seven days of time. They make visible to the Christian faithful the subjection that they merited because they put the Lord to death. And so «the Lord God placed a mark upon Cain, lest anyone coming upon him should kill him» (*Gn* 4,15; cf. *c. Faust.* 12,13).

What is this God-given «mark of Cain» that the Jews bear? It is «*signum legis suae*», «the sign of their Law, which distinguishes them from all other nations and peoples» (*ib.*). On account of this sign, no monarch, whether pagan or Christian, «kills» Jews – that is, Augustine explains, «no monarch forces them to stop being Jews, marked by the sign of their own religious observances» (*ib.*). No monarch, that is, may force Jews to adopt non-Jewish religious observances, be these monarchs pagan or Christian. To do so would be to contravene divine will.

Wandering throughout the Empire in their exile, the entire people toils, unknowing, like a «*scriniarius*», a «book guardian», bearing their ancient books – which are actually the Church's books – and thus authenticating, even vindicating, Christian beliefs. «From the Jewish manuscripts we prove that these (prophecies) were not written by us to suit the event, but were long ago published and preserved by the Jewish nation» (*ib.* 13,10; cf. also *ib.* 15,11). With their hermeneutical backs «bent» perpetually down, Jews understand these texts only in an «earthly» way, failing to grasp their «higher» Christians truths<sup>21</sup>. This Jewish resistance to Christian claims only strengthens those claims, since these very books had also long ago foretold the Jews' unbelief. «They testify to the truth by their not understanding it» (*ib.* 16,21). Testify to whom? Both to the Christian faithful (*ib.* 12,12; 13,7) and to skeptical pagans (cf. *ib.* 12,7–13). It is on account of this mission, and not just as punishment for their role in the death of his Son, that God sent the Jews into exile after 70. And God continues to want the Jews to live according to their ancestral praxis: their attachment to their Law, thus their singular religious/ethnic identity, is «*reuera multum mirabile*» (*ib.* 12,13; cf. *ib.* 12,23), and a providential benefit for the Church.

In the years between the composition of the *Contra Faustum* (ca. 399/400) and *The City of God* (ca. 414–425), this cluster of associations – ongoing and divinely protected «fleshly» praxis, widespread wandering, ancient books, un-

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<sup>21</sup> *Rm* 11,10; cf. *c. Faust.* 12,11; *cin.* 17,20.

witting testimony – continued to define Augustine’s idea of Jewish witness. At three intermediary points, however, Augustine tied his exegesis of *Gn* 4 and the figure of Cain/the Jews to another biblical proof-text, *Ps* 59,12: «Slay them not, lest my people forget; scatter them with your might»<sup>22</sup>. «Slaying» here, as with «killing» in *Gn* 4, refers not to physical death, but to religio-ethnic death: the word once again functions as a metaphor for separating Jews from Judaism (cf. *c. Faust.* 12,13; *ep.* 149,9). In brief, Augustine linked *Gn* 4 to *Ps* 59 in order to repeat his earlier point: no one is to force the Jews to give up their traditional observance of the Law<sup>23</sup>.

The exiled Cain assumes pride of place once again in Augustine’s late masterpiece, *The City of God*. But in that work, considering all of human history from its origins in Adam to its closing with the eschatological communion of the saints, Augustine used the figure of Cain and the idea of exile in support of other, newer ideas, ones fundamental to his opus. Assigning humans variously to the «*ciuitas dei*» or to the «*ciuitas terrena*» according to the orientation of their loves, Augustine now emphasized Cain’s role as the founder of the earthly city, «which longs for earthly joys» (*ciu.* 15,4; cf. *Gn* 4,17)<sup>24</sup>. Those who love God, by contrast, belong to the Heavenly City. In the journey of this life, however, it is they, the saints, who toil as «*peregrini*», pilgrims and strangers, resident aliens, longing for the homeland that lies beyond history’s horizon.

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<sup>22</sup> *En. Ps.* 59,1sq., composed perhaps sometime between 410 and 415; cf. also *ep.* 149, responding to Paulinus’ *ep.* 121, dating to this same period.

<sup>23</sup> «Do not kill them», lest this people’s name be extinguished; «so that they may not forget your Law», something that might have happened if, compelled to follow gentile rites and sacrifices, they would not have retained the name of their own religion. In Scripture they are symbolized as Cain, upon whom God placed his mark, so that no one would kill him. Then, as if the psalmist had been asked what should be done with this people ... so that they might serve to testify to the truth, he immediately added «scatter them with your might» to the first sentence, «do not kill them so that they do not forget your Law». For if the Jews lived only in one place on the earth, they could not by their testimony assist in the preaching of the gospel, which causes the earth throughout the world to bear fruit. For this reason, then, the text states «scatter them with your might», so that through their Law, which they do not forget, they might be witnesses everywhere to him whom they denied and persecuted and killed. That Law foretold the One whom the Jews do not follow» (*ep.* 149,9).

<sup>24</sup> In this same passage, Augustine interestingly correlates Cain with that other famous fratricide and city-builder, Romulus, though «the difference ... was that both brothers (sc. Romulus and Remus) were from the earthly city» (*ciu.* 15,4), whereas Abel was a citizen of God’s City. The correlation, juxtaposing these two founding figures, has the effect of shrinking Rome into a mere suburb of the «*ciuitas terrena*».

Augustine's metaphor of the two cities, in short, reconfigured both the significance of Cain and the emotional and moral resonance of «exile». «Exile» – the longing for home, the acute sense of displacement – is now reused to define the experience and the identity not of the former residents of the earthly Jerusalem but of the future residents of the heavenly Jerusalem. As for Cain, Augustine nods, briefly, to his own earlier usage: «He (sc. Cain) also symbolizes the Jews, by whom Christ was slain ... I recall having said something on this point in my book *Against Faustus the Manichaeus*» (*ciu.* 15,7). But for the larger purposes of *City of God*, Cain the primal murderer – sullen, resentful, feeling «the diabolical envy that the wicked feel for the good simply because they are good, while they themselves are evil» (ib. 15,5) – now stands less for the wandering Jews than as the «pars pro toto» of all of those who belong to the earthly city.

Despite this adjustment in his imagery, however, the grand themes of Augustine's theology of Jewish witness, familiar from *c. Faust.*, sound again in the *City of God*<sup>25</sup>. *Ps* 59,12, now decoupled from *Gn* 4<sup>26</sup>, serves as Augustine's key text as he repeats his core teaching: the Jews, scattered everywhere with their ancient books, validate Christian claims, whether through their prophecies about the overthrow of idols (*ciu.* 4,34), their unwitting blessing of Christ whenever they chant the Law and the Prophets (ib. 16,37), their role as prophets of Christ and his Church (ib. 16,42), or their persistent, prophesied «earthly» orientation when reading Scripture (ib. 17,19: «for these bodily metaphors refer to spiritual failings»; cf. *Ps* 69,22; *Rm* 11,10). Their dispersion «has resulted in the increase of the Church of Christ in every quarter of the globe» (*ciu.* 18,47), since the unimpeachable antiquity of the Jewish books ensures that no one can accuse Christians of having fabricated the prophecies that they contain. So vitally important to the Church is this divinely sustained Jewish witness that it provides the reason for God's «forbearing to «slay» them – that is, for not putting an end to their existence as Jews» (ib. 18,46). With his shift of exegetical focus from *Gn* 4 to *Ps* 59, Augustine likewise changes the identity of the restrained sovereign from earthly monarch to God; but Augustine's larger point – that God himself does not want Jews to be subject to religious coercion – remains.

<sup>25</sup> Augustine himself is aware of the resonance between the two works on the issue of the Jews: cf. *ciu.* 6,12 and *c. Faust.* 6–7; *ciu.* 16,41 and *c. Faust.* 12,42; and most especially *ciu.* 15,7 and *c. Faust.* 12,9, on which see above.

<sup>26</sup> For this reason – Augustine's stand-alone use of *Ps* 59,12 – I would also date Augustine's two sermons *Faith in Things Unseen* and *Sermon against the Jews* to this latter period, post-*City of God*.

I would like to use this last observation to segue to Augustine's evocations of Stephen in the closing book of *City of God*. In the period between writing *c. Faust.* and composing *ciu.* 22, Augustine had witnessed the practical advantages of religious coercion, both with respect to the imperial repression of pagans and to the forced reintegration of errant Donatists<sup>27</sup>. And by 425, when he writes Book 22 of *ciu.*, he certainly knew of Severus' «success» with the Jews of Minorca<sup>28</sup>. Pragmatism about coercion's effectiveness had guided his earlier move to more muscular tactics vis-à-vis the Donatists. Why then did no similar pragmatism prompt him to shift his position on coercion vis-à-vis the Jews?

Augustine's definition of Christ's «great miracles», taken together with his presentation of Stephen – framed as it is by Stephen's miracles of healing – provide us, I think, with our answer. In *ciu.* 18,46, the passage in which he quotes *Ps* 59,12 and applies it to the Jews, Augustine also describes Christ's «first great miracle» as his birth (that is, his incarnation), and his last great miracle as «his ascension into heaven *with his body*, which had been brought to life again from the dead». «Christ's ascension into heaven *in the flesh*», he proclaims, is the «one supreme miracle of salvation» (*ciu.* 22,8). These miracles in turn define Stephen's faith: «Certainly the martyr himself ... believed in the son of a mother who remained a virgin ... and above all ... in one who ascended into heaven *in the flesh* in which he had risen from the dead». It is Stephen's faith in this Christ that empowers his relics to perform their great works of healing the flesh of believers (*ib.*); it is this same faith that unites the martyr with the faithful of Augustine's Church. «What do these miracles (*sc.* worked through Stephen's relics) attest but the faith which proclaims that Christ rose *in the flesh* and ascended into heaven *with the flesh?*» (*ib.* 22,9). Augustine's Stephen, in brief, appears not as a champion «against the Jews», but as a powerful witness to catholic Christology, ecclesiology, and soteriology, all of which, for Augustine, rest upon this fundamental doctrine that God redeems flesh.

The Creator's redemption of the flesh – from sin, from death – is the great theme of part two of the *City of God*. «True religion rightly acknowledges and proclaims that the creator of the universe is also ... the creator of both body and soul» (*ib.* 12,28). Lust and death, the two abiding punishments for and

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<sup>27</sup> For Augustine's reactions to Honorius' initiatives against North African pagans in 399, as well as his shifting attitudes toward coercion in the campaign against Donatists, cf. especially BROWN, chapter 20 (*Instantia*: *ib.* 226–232) and 21 (*Disciplina*: *ib.* 233–243); cf. also FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 353–357.361–365.

<sup>28</sup> Consentius, the gentleman ghost-writer of Severus' letter on the Jews' conversion, had been in direct contact with Augustine about the episode around 419: cf. *ep.* 11\* and 12\*.

consequences of Adam's sin, most especially testify to the brokenness of the will after the Fall. Both disrupt the soul's proper relationship with the body: lust compromises will, inflicting involuntary somatic responses, while the soul is torn away from the body involuntarily at death<sup>29</sup>. Christ's coming in the flesh begins to turn history around; his resurrection and ascension point ahead to humanity's redemption. In the indefinite meanwhile, those healing miracles wrought through the bodies of the saints celebrate this great event in miniature: to restore health is to reintegrate body and soul (ib. 22,8). And at the End, defying the weight of the elements (ib. 13,18), the saints – body and soul, spirit together with flesh (ib. 22,12–30) – will ascend, like Christ, to God.

This vast story of creation, fall, and final salvation; of Christ's incarnation, death, and resurrection; this paradoxical proclamation of the redemption of the flesh, Augustine urged, was *the* great message of the Bible, Old Testament and New Testament together (ib. 4,33). This was the message, he insisted, that was not only encoded in the Jews' scriptures; it was *enacted* by the Jews in their rituals (ib. 10,20)<sup>30</sup>, and proclaimed visibly throughout the world thanks to their fleshly interpretation of their texts. The Jews' astonishingly apt, effective, and enduring embodiment of this saving message Augustine could only attribute to a providential act of God. And so he presented it in his two «huge and difficult» works<sup>31</sup>, *Against Faustus* and *The City of God*.

Augustine's benevolent «hermeneutical Jew» was no less a product of Christian theological imagination than was the malevolent «Jew» of the broader, perduringly negative «Contra Iudaeos» tradition. But his strategies of protecting the double canon of catholic scriptures against the challenge of the Manichees, and especially of Faustus, his commitment to reading the Bible «ad litteram» as well as «secundum spiritum», and his insistence that Israel's enacting the Law «secundum carnem», past and present, truly conformed to divine will, gave Augustine the theological and the polemical materials whereby he could construct a new kind of «juif imaginaire», one that symbolized points of Christian doctri-

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<sup>29</sup> Augustine particularly describes the pre- and post-penal condition of Adam and Eve in *ciu.* 14: cf. especially ib. 14,15–19; for a counter-factual description of humanity's somatic experience had Adam not sinned, cf. ib. 14,23–26.

<sup>30</sup> Augustine alludes to the same point ib. 6,11, where he notes: «I have treated these questions in other places, and particularly in my books against the Manichaeans» – a reference to *c. Faust.* 6 and 7.

<sup>31</sup> Augustine uses the phrase «magnum opus et arduum» to characterize both *ciu.* and *c. Faust.*: cf. *ciu.* praef.; *retr.* 2,7,1.

nal principle in positive ways as well<sup>32</sup>. This positive theology of Jewish witness, further, insistently linked the Jews of the biblical past to the synagogues of the present. This is one of the reasons, I think, why Augustine demurred from presenting or perceiving «real» Jews – that is, his historical contemporaries – as appropriate targets for religious coercion<sup>33</sup>.

Further, though our retrospect can obscure this, religious coercion itself on behalf of the «catholica» was an innovation of the post-Theodosian period. *All* of these coercive efforts – against schismatics, against heretics, against pagans, and (occasionally, and most rarely) against Jews, anywhere in the Empire, represent local initiatives and improvisations<sup>34</sup>. We risk misconstruing the happenstantial quality of this violence if we think of North Africa's Jews, on the merit of Augustine's teachings, as representing some sort of exception to a general catholic «policy» of anti-Jewish coercion. No such general (that is, trans-local) policy – against Jews or, indeed, against anyone else – was in place.

Finally – and, I think, most determinatively – Augustine's overwhelming concern as a bishop and, thus, as an ecclesiastical campaigner was with the much more serious and destabilizing problem of the Donatists. The Donatists were the community whose numbers more than matched those of his own Church; they were its visible and energetic alternative; they were the real threat that necessarily preoccupied his time and talents. North African Jews by comparison, however many there may have been, posed little danger to the «catholica». Donatists and catholics may have flung endless anti-Jewish insults at each other, but real Jews stood with their heads too far below the active line of fire to be hurt<sup>35</sup>.

Accordingly, in Hippo, unlike in Minorca (or even in Uzalis), Augustine's St. Stephen assumed no anti-Jewish stance. Instead, Book 22 of *De civitate dei* presents us with a protomartyr whose face is turned toward history's glorious

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<sup>32</sup> Negative stereotypes still appear within Augustine's positive theology: as MASSIE has rightly pointed out, *c. Faust.* is also a work «adversus Iudaeos» (ib. 540).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. FREDRIKSEN, *Augustine* 361–366.

<sup>34</sup> Though, where and when there was violence, a bishop was most often directing it: cf. FOWDEN; LIEBESCHUETZ 145–168; most recently, SALEM.

<sup>35</sup> SHAW's *Sacred Violence* well makes this point, though he does not argue it. Despite the baroquely negative ways in which «the Jews» figure prominently both in Augustine's anti-Donatist sermons and in the Donatists' anti-catholic ones – the theme of SHAW's chapter 6, «Ravens Feeding on Death» – the routinely hostile language nowhere seems to have mobilized North African Christians of either community to anti-Jewish violence (cf. ib. 261.284.304). It was the Donatist problem that focused and fuelled North African religious aggression.

finale. Far from regarding Stephen as «the first to wage the Lord's war against the Jews» as his contemporary, Bishop John of Jerusalem, had held, Augustine saw Stephen first of all as the Church's premier witness to that same theological principle that Augustine insisted was embodied by Stephen's people: indeed, Stephen, in this ethnic sense, serves as Israel's «pars pro toto». At the End, «all Israel will be saved» (Rm 11,16): the Creator of flesh will redeem the flesh of that portion of Jews and of Gentiles who together comprise the «communio sanctorum».

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