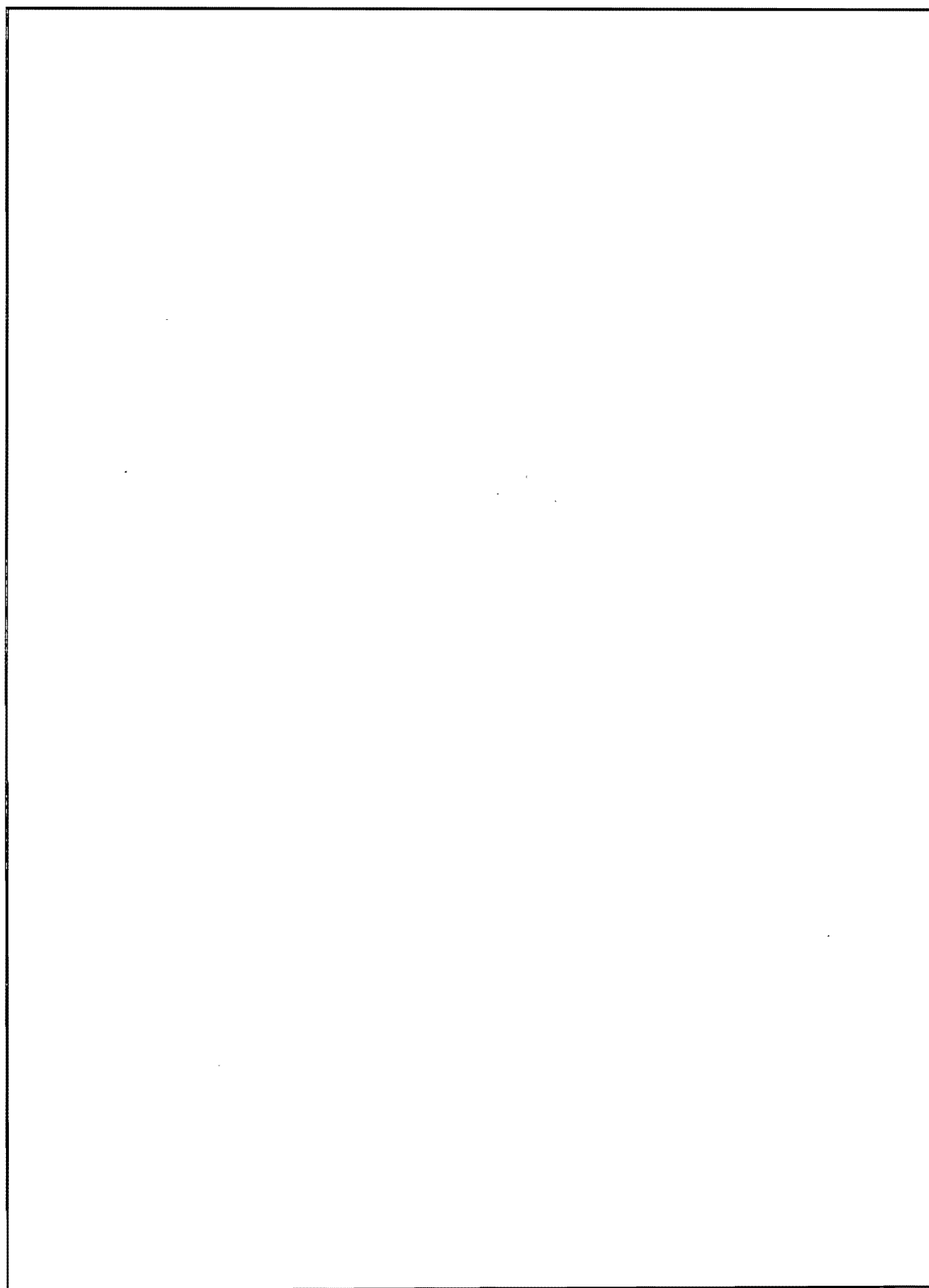


Tertullian's Defense of the Early Christian
Liturgy as Found in his Apologeticum

A Thesis
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FOREWORD

The purpose of this thesis is to expose and make manifest Tertullian's defense of the early Christian liturgy especially as exemplified in his Apologeticum. I have divided the consideration into three parts. Chapter One will deal with a short biographical consideration of Tertullian's life, character, and style. It is only in knowing Tertullian as a personality that we can fully appreciate his apology. Chapter Two will consider background information and historical setting. It is my hope that we will arrive at the why and the wherefore which caused Tertullian to undertake such a literary task. Chapter Three will deal with an exposition and consideration of his defense of the early Christian liturgy. If I am able to communicate to the reader Tertullian's power of persuasion and his genius to even a small measure, I will consider my work worthwhile.

I have utilized the text of the Apologeticum contained in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum for Latin quotations and the English translation by Rudolph Arbesmann, O.S.A., Sister Emily J. Daly, C.S.J., and Edwin A. Quain, S.J., found in the Fathers of the Church series for English quotations.

Tertullian, as a possibility for my special consideration, was first suggested by Father Gerard Ellspermann, O.S.B. during the first week of the Latin seminar last fall. In fact, it was he who suggested the topic which I chose. As I read more and more of the Apologeticum, I came to realize Tertullian's genius. His literary abilities, his power of argumentation

and persuasion were all too evident. I was fascinated. Among writers of the third century, Tertullian is outstanding.

I should like personally to thank Father Gerard for an enlightening seminar on Tertullian and allowing me to use my topic as a model for thesis construction. This proved invaluable. As my director and first reader, he proved most helpful in organizing, clarifying, and arriving at some continuity of presentation. His personal interest helped me to make this thesis a reality.

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Chapter I

Tertullian the Man

I- Life

Tertullian (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus) was born circa 160 at Carthage, the son of a Roman officer. He received a well-rounded education in Latin, rhetoric, Greek, and Roman law. He became a lawyer and attained a high proficiency in the field.¹

About 195 he returned home from Rome a Christian.² We do not know the motive which led him to become a Christian, but we do know that his conversion was complete and sincere.³ From this time on Tertullian embarked on a lively, dedicated service to the Church. There is some question as to whether he became a priest. Saint Jerome infers that he did (*De viris illustribus* 53), but it is not altogether clear. We can, however, be sure at least that he was a fervent, dedicated layman, spending his life waging war against paganism and heresy.⁴

In about 213, Tertullian broke away from the Church. He was a member of the Montanist sect, an austere, mystic group of Christians.⁵ The rift came as a result of papal condemnation of the sect and more particularly papal authorization to contract second marriages, which practice was denounced by the Montanists. Tertullian then wielded against the Catholic Church the same weapons used against heresies and paganism.⁶ Growing dissatisfied even with the Montanist sect, he formed his own sect later to be called the Tertullianists, which survived as late as the fifth century.⁷

F. Cayré divides Tertullian's life into three periods: 1) The Catholic period (195-206), in which he fervently dedicated himself to fighting heresies and paganism especially in the form of apologetical works; 2) Semi-Montanist period (206-12), during which he became dissatisfied with the laxness of Christianity. Intemperate zeal and mysticism caused him to adhere to the Montanist sect; 3) Montanist period (213 ff.), during which he definitely broke away from the Church. During this period he used the same fervor and zeal in attacking Christianity that he had once used in its defense. At an undetermined date he founded his own sect later called the Tertullianists because he became discontented with the Montanists, who had few adherents at Carthage.⁸

During the last days of his life his literary productivity sharply decreased. We know even less about his life after this time. He died at an advanced age between 240-250.⁹

II- Character

We certainly find cause for Tertullian's shift from one extreme of Catholic orthodoxy to the other of heresy in his character traits.

Tertullian was a fighter by temperament. This temperament coupled with his energetic mind and his legal training had both good and bad effects on his character as well as his writings.¹⁰ An implacable logician, he pushed his views to extremes, often exaggerating to strengthen his point. He devoted his life completely to what he truly believed was right.¹¹

Tertullian lacked moderation. He let no obstacles stand in his way. As a result his logic runs into paradox frequently. So adamant in making a point, he exaggerated principles and distorted texts and facts, selected arguments at random and seemed bent on totally destroying his adversary.¹²

He exaggerated Christian morality and made it impractical and irrelevant to to daily life. The reader is overwhelmed rather than convinced by his eloquence.¹³ As Tixeront, a French patrologist expressed it:

"He was unable to wait, to deal with things coolly and to leave a part in the conduct of affairs to time, to God, and other influences besides his own."¹⁴

He utilized his power of argument, sarcasm, and irony well. Unfortunately he lacked suppleness, a give-and-take attitude. Uncompromising, he refused to recognize that people and time change with both the passage of time and as human and divine influences direct.¹⁵

III- Style

In Tertullian we find one of the greatest writers of his times. He possessed both strengths and weaknesses, the former far outweighing the latter.

Often careless, unnatural, and affected, he was excessively terse and so fond of contrasts that he leaves many of his ideas obscure. He placed emphasis on rhetorical effect and counted purity of diction as little. His works give the impression that he wrote in haste, probably a result of his fervor. When a word failed him, he did not hesitate to coin a new one or give new meaning to an older expression.¹⁶

He composed with calculated care, and his writings are well-ordered as a whole. His writings take on the quality of that of an advocate, interested in winning his case and annihilating his adversary. As a result he often silences rather than convinces his foes. His style is warm, crisp, and varied for the most part. His coining of new words can easily be justified, since he had to express new Christian ideas in a pagan idiom. He is hailed

as "the creator of theological terminology in Latin."¹⁷

The Apologeticum was written sometimes during the year 197. Cayré places it in the Catholic period (195-206).¹⁸

It is now that we turn our attention to this particular work in detail.

Chapter II

Background and Historical Setting

Among the many converts to Christianity during the first and second centuries, there were many learned men who utilized their individual talents to spread their new-found faith.¹ Tertullian can be counted among those who made use of their learning to refute the charges brought against Christianity and to attempt to prove that Christianity was, in fact, the one true religion. His conversion to Christianity about 195 coupled with his legal training and liberal arts education produced in him a strong conviction that he was called to do all in his power to defend Christianity from pagan assaults. He was able to see these accusations as rash, erroneous, and basically hysterical.² His writings on this particular subject took shape in the literary form known as the apology (from the Greek word meaning a defense).

Fulbert Cayré classifies five of Tertullian's writings as apologetical ones. First, the Ad Nationes (i.e. To the Heathen), addressed to the pagans; in it he criticizes their polytheistic doctrines. Second, the Apologeticum (i.e. Apology), written later the same year (197); in it he defends the Christian way of life. Third, the De testimonio animae (i.e. On the evidence of the soul), written 197-200; in it Tertullian makes a feeble attempt at a Christian psychology. Lastly, Adversos Judaeos (i.e.

Against the Jews), written between 200-06; in it Tertullian accuses the Jews of being instigators of Christian persecutions.³

The Apologeticum is a masterpiece of controversial or apologetic literature. It is the special pleading of a professional lawyer, aimed at proving to the provincial magistrates, especially those of Africa, that the extraordinary measures taken against the Christians are both unjust and unlawful.⁴ It is addressed to the magistrates of the Roman empire.⁵ Not only does Tertullian criticize the laws and procedures used against the Christians, but also attempts to justify Christianity as a legal, laudable religion and to vehemently attack the pagan cult.⁶ By attacking the character of those accusing, it may have been his hope to establish their incompetence as accusers. This is mere conjecture, but possible nevertheless.

There is a similarity between the Apologeticum and the Ad Nationes which was written the same year. The Ad Nationes seems but a brief, unpolished work in outline form in comparison to the superb style of the Apologeticum. The Apologeticum was written during the persecution of Septimius Severus (193-211). It was his desire that the treatise would obtain civil rights for Christians.⁷

The entire treatise, composed of fifty short chapters, may be summarized under four propositions. First, the procedures employed against the Christians are irregular and absurd (chapters 1-3). Second, the laws under which they are pursued are contrary to common right and natural law (chapters 4-6). Third, the crimes of impiety and high treason which serve as a basis for condemning Christians are imaginary and false (chapters 7-38). Fourth, the association of Christians is lawful, their doctrines are true, and their public and private conduct is irreproachable (chapters 39-50).⁸

There were many motives urging Tertullian to utilize his literary efforts in behalf of Christianity. Many brought accusations against the Christians, and magistrates often readily lent their ears to the cries of the rabble and ordered the new religion suppressed. We need only recall Pontius Pilate's reaction to the cries of the crowd (viz. Matt. 27: 11-26) when he was forced to put Jesus to death. Although thoroughly convinced of his innocence, he felt he could not do otherwise. And in later years, as early as 64 A.D. legal authorization of persecutions of Christians was issued in the form of edicts under Nero.⁹

In the Roman empire religion was not a private concern, but a matter of state. The empire possessed its own state religion, which was basically polytheistic, with the government requiring reverence for the national gods. The emperor himself was classified among the national gods. This resulted in a clash between Roman tradition and the monotheistic Christian religion. This made it necessary to vindicate the Christian point of view, and this is precisely what Tertullian attempted to do. Maintaining the status quo, Christianity's monotheistic religion could not be tolerated.¹⁰

It is interesting to note that while the Jews also possessed a monotheistic religious tradition, tolerance was shown them by the empire because their religion was based upon an ancient national one. In addition, the Jews were more pliable than the Christians who were fanatic in comparison.¹¹ They were left to an autonomous practice of their religion and this is why Tertullian refers to their religion as a well-known and lawful religion.¹²

Considering the indissoluble relationship between religion and the Roman state, it is logical that the Christians should be looked upon with suspicion. Although the Christians prayed for the emperor, they refused to

worship him as the state religion prescribed.¹³ They refused to burn incense in honor of the gods and would not partake in the vulgar festivities of their pagan fellows.¹⁴ This attitude of sheer aloofness toward pagan religious customs was sufficient to bring them under suspicion of being threats to the empire, especially in their view of the emperor's role. In addition, they were intent on universal expansion and openly strived to convert all to their way of life.¹⁵

There seems to have been a clash of values. All the aforementioned that the pagans held dear was totally out of keeping with Christian principles. Polytheism, debaucherous festivals, barbaric and cruel public entertainment, and general attitudes were out of line with the way of life outlined by Christ in the gospels. Reciprocally, Christianity was a puzzling and senseless way of life to the pagans. In their mind, they could neither understand or tolerate a religion that believed in only one God, that believed in his Son, a God-man who was crucified as a rebel, a life based on charity and austere simplicity. The mystery of the Eucharist, to their faithless minds, was too much to comprehend. This lack of understanding engendered wild and erroneous notions and rumors concerning the Christians. Christians were looked upon as atheists because they would not participate in pagan ceremonies and held tenaciously to their belief in one God without idols.¹⁶ The Eucharistic celebration, for example, was rumored as cannibalistic, since the Christians admittedly received the body and blood of Christ. The Christian community meal (the agape) was reputed to be an occasion for Oedepean intercourse, and other associated sexual diversions.¹⁷ Rumors also circulated that it was because of the pagan gods' anger at the Christians that there were such calamities as earthquakes, famine, floods,

pestilence, barbaric invasions, etc. The Christians were made convenient scapegoats for natural misfortunes as well as those which the Romans brought on themselves.¹⁸

The Christians, we see, were misfits in a pagan society. They constituted a religious and social revolution so foreign to that of the pagans, interfering with the established conditions of that society. In the political, social, economic, and religious realms, their values came into conflict with that of the republic. Their aloofness to financial interests such as trade and monetary gain, social amusements, their rejection of pagan religious observances, pagan family traditions, and other mores of a pagan society were blatantly obvious.¹⁹ Their belief in the approaching consummation of the world and the second coming of Christ was no doubt a source of anxiety and bewilderment to the pagans.²⁰ Since in many cases only one or several members of a family were converted to Christianity, the Christian notion of common property often became a source of embitterment in families. Christians often voluntarily appropriated part of their family estate for the common Christian funds. Their conversion caused familial strife, also, by rendering impractical parental marriage arrangements. The desertion of the religion of fathers and ancestors as well as of the republic was deemed scandalous.²¹ As a result Christianity came to be looked upon as a dividing and disintegrating element, a danger to unity and stability in the empire.²² Their cohesiveness and comradeship, their secret meetings, and resulting ignorance of their worship easily roused suspicion. This suspicion led to vicious rumors and eventually evolved into bitter hatred.

It was under these circumstances that Tertullian addressed to the

Roman magistrates his apology in defense of Christianity. This task was to be a monumental one, since he would have to destroy prejudices and stereotypes, which even the soundest reason often cannot accomplish. The Apologeticum is a fierce attempt utilizing all the technique of persuasion that Tertullian, the lawyer, could muster. The fact that he was largely unsuccessful in this endeavor does not detract from the Apologeticum's status as an example of the greatest apologetical treatises.²³ As we follow his line of argument in his defense of the early Christian liturgy, it is my hope that the Apologeticum's status as the greatest of apologetical treatises will not be unsubstantiated.

Chapter III

Exposition and Reflections upon Tertullian's Defense of the Christian Liturgy

In this chapter we will first consider how Tertullian exposes the utter stupidity of the charges levied in prosecuting the Christians. Secondly, we will particularly expose and comment on his defense of the early Christian liturgy. We will consider the treatise, chapter by chapter (as applicable), in an attempt to clearly show Tertullian's power of argumentation and persuasion.

In Chapter Two of the Apologeticum, Tertullian addresses himself to the highly irregular court procedures used against Christians. The same consideration ought to be given for the same crimes, whether committed by a Christian or a Roman. For others there is full liberty to answer the charges and to cross-question in order to prove one's innocence. It is unlawful for a man to be condemned without a hearing and an opportunity to defend himself. If it is decided that the Christians are the most evil of men, why are they treated so differently? Only the Christians are denied this right to clear their name, expose the truth, and to aid the judge to arrive at an equitable decision. Tertullian's argument continues: the only thing necessary to condemn a Christian is his admittance that he is a Christian. There is no regard for the investigation of the charge, or charges.

Yet suppose you are trying any other criminal. If he confesses to the crime of murder, sacrilege, incest, or treason--to particularize the indictments hurled against us--you are not satisfied to pass sentence immediately; you weigh the attendant circumstances, the character of the deed, the number of times it was committed, the time, the place, the witnesses, and the partners in crime. In our case there is nothing of this sort. No matter what false charge is made against us, we must be made to confess it....To others who deny their guilt you apply torture to force them to confess; to the Christians alone, to force them to deny (that they are Christians).¹

It is because the pagans believed the charges, or wanted to do so, that the Christians were prosecuted in this manner. The crimes are presumed not proved. The name alone is subject to punishment. Their religious cult is unknown, but a word alone is sufficient to condemn them in advance because of the name they bear, not because they have been convicted of any crime.

The premises upon which convictions of Christians are based are false. First, Christianity is declared illegal, not on legal grounds, but upon the personal whim of the magistrates. If what is illegal is to be illegal, it must needs be evil. Christianity is not evil, therefore it is legal. Secondly, it is a travesty of justice if convictions are made solely on account of the name rather than on account of evil actions perpetrated.

...a judge does not punish justly unless he knows some illegal act has been committed, nor does a citizen faithfully observe a law if he is ignorant of what kind of crime the law punishes,
...²

Now that we have seen what action was taken against the Christians, let us turn our attention to Tertullian's defense of the sacred liturgy.

In Chapter Seven, Tertullian refutes the charges of infanticide and adulterous activity during the Christian's Eucharistic sacrifice. He masterfully refutes these charges by posing the obvious question: Why do the

pagans not give actual proof and produce witnesses to substantiate that such activities do exist?

We are spoken of as utter reprobates and are accused of having sworn to murder babies and to eat them, and of committing adulterous acts after the repast....We are always spoken of in this way, yet you take no pains to bring to light the charges which for so long a time have been made against us. Now either bring them to light if you believe them, or stop believing them inasmuch as you have not brought them to light!³

This is sheer hypocrisy. We are able to clearly see that the reasoning is that of a jurist who is readily able to see through the false charges lodged against the Christians. The charges have no basis in fact, and there is no greater cause for acquittal than lack of evidence.

Far different is the duty you enjoin upon the executioner against the Christians, not to make them state what they do, but to make them deny what they are.⁴

There is no interest in obtaining a confession from the Christians, since there is really nothing for the Christians to confess. The charges have no foundation. Tertullian attributes this phenomenon to rumor. Rumor, in this case, malicious, is often taken for truth. As a rumor spreads, after a certain passage of time, it becomes a matter of fact with no available proof. Tertullian thus presents this fact to those who would believe the accusations to be true.

Rightly then is rumor alone for so long a time aware of the crimes of Christians; this is the witness you bring against us....it has not yet been able to prove, so that I call upon the steadfastness of nature itself against those who assume that such accusations are true.⁵

Tertullian has now arrived at the heart of the matter. Christianity is not to be tolerated and the pagans are using whatever means necessary to simulate evidence in order to destroy it. We can infer that the pagans wanted to rid its society of Christianity, and the further charges which

Tertullian refutes will clarify this basic fact.

In Chapter Nine, Tertullian employs another line of defense. He proceeds to point out that the pagans commit the very crimes the Christians are accused of committing. Could this be the reason that the pagans believe the accusations? To the charges of infanticide and incest, he asserts that if the pagans would only realize the existence of these crimes in their own society, they would less willingly accuse the Christians of them. Tertullian seems to discredit the charges by exposing the moral incompetence and guilt of those accusing.

The Christians' refusal to worship the state gods and to offer sacrifice to the emperor provides the basis for two more charges against the Christians--atheism and treason.⁶ Tertullian refutes these charges by pointing out that the Christians do not worship the gods and offer sacrifice to the emperor because this is so out of keeping with the principles of Christianity. Tertullian appeals to reason in asserting that the Christian religious practices (e.g. liturgy) should be sanctioned and not the pagans'!

...I should add facts which the conscience of everyone would just as readily recognize; namely, that adulteries are arranged in the temple, that pandering is carried on between the altars, that very commonly in the abodes of the ministers and priests,...they satisfy their lustful desires. Perhaps the gods have more fault to find with you than with the Christians.

In essence, what Tertullian is saying, is that the Christian liturgy is guiltless and it is that of the pagans which is worthy of condemnation.

In Chapter Thirty-five he furthers his line of defense. The charge that the Christians are public enemies resulted because the Christians refused to participate in feasts honoring the emperor. These feasts were especially debaucherous, as Tertullian attests. They consisted of street

carnivals and forms of public degradation such as excessive eating and drinking, crimes, and sexual orgies.⁸

The above lack of participation on the part of the Christians was looked upon both as treason and sacrilege. Tertullian's main point of refutation is that the pagans themselves do not participate with worthy motives. The pagans participate for the purpose of self-gratification and out of fear, rather than a desire to honor the emperor.⁹ The Christians, Tertullian felt, were certainly entitled to their own form of worship. The Christians did pray for the emperor in their religious services. Unfortunately, the Roman law required worship of the emperor. This was incompatible with Christian principles.¹⁰

In Chapter Thirty-nine, we find the core of his defense of the early Christian liturgy. He puts forth his purpose in the very beginning of the chapter.

Now I myself will explain the practices of the Christian Church, that is, having refuted the charges that they are evil, I myself will point out that they are good.¹¹

Christians form one body because of common religious convictions, because of the divine origin of their way of life, and the bond of common hope. They come together for a meeting, to pray, to reflect upon and discuss the scriptures, and to encourage and correct one another. The assembly is presided over by an elder who obtains this privilege by evidence of good character, not money.

The treasury is accumulated by free contributions and is utilized to help the needy, not for sumptuous banquets or drinking parties. Christians hold everything in common, except wives, and form a brotherhood.

Tertullian then refutes the rumors which circulated concerning the

Eucharistic meal.

Why wonder, then, if such dear friends take their meals together? You attack our modest repast--apart from saying that they are disgraced by crime--as being extravagant.¹²

He explains, without any theological details what the agape is. The name clearly indicates its purpose--love. It is quite easy to see that this could be misconstrued by the pagans who did not possess the Christian concept of love. The motives are honorable; it is a religious meal, and therefore, no vulgarity or immorality is tolerated. Prayers and hymns, readings from scriptures are employed during the meal.

From here they depart, not to unite in bands for murder, or to run around in gangs, or for stealthy acts of lewdness, but to observe the same regard for modesty and chastity as people do who have partaken not only of a repast, but a rule of life.¹³

The gathering of Christians is not a subversive, secret society; it seeks to inflict no injury or harm, seeks to destroy nothing, and therefore is legal. Tertullian's conclusion is as simple as that.

In Chapter Forty, Tertullian addresses himself to the accusation that Christians are the cause of every public calamity because of their love-feasts. Tertullian refutes this charge by pointing out that such misfortunes befell the empire before the birth of Christ and consequently before any Christians could be found. Therefore, why should the Christians be blamed for the present calamities?¹⁴ Tertullian brings out the paradox that the pagans offer sensual festivities to the various gods in order to placate them, while the Christians fast, abstain from all enjoyments of life, and besiege God for deliverance. When divine compassion is received, Jupiter is given the credit.¹⁵ The true reason for the calamities was the fact that the pagans turned away from the one true God and invented an array of false gods to suit their own pleasure. The pagans themselves have brought

the well-deserved wrath of God.¹⁶

Tertullian makes no further remarks in defense of the liturgy from this point on. However, he firmly asserts the innocence of the Christians.

We have been taught our innocence by God; we understand it perfectly, as something revealed by a perfect teacher; we guard it faithfully as something entrusted to us by a Judge who is not to be despised.¹⁷

Tertullian concludes his apology on a most triumphant note. He exhorts the officials to carry out their work: "Crucify us--torture us--condemn us--destroy us! Your iniquity is the proof of our innocence."¹⁸ Shortly after he asserts:

Yet your tortures accomplish nothing, though each is more refined than the last; rather, they are an enticement to our religion. We become more numerous every time we are hewn by you: the blood of Christians is seed.¹⁹

It is only in suffering that one attains the full grace of God and purchases from Him full pardon by paying with his own blood.

That is why we thank you immediately for your sentence of condemnation. Such is the difference between things divine and human. When we are condemned by you, we are acquitted by God.²⁰

CONCLUSION

In summary, Tertullian may be considered to have been a committed Christian, dedicated to the promulgation of his new-found faith. We can somewhat understand his zeal when we also take into account his fighting temperment, legal training, and his liberal arts education. His ardent defense of the liturgy is readily understood. It can be said that he was called by God to this task of defending Christianity. He answered the need of the Christian community for someone to refute the accusations lodged against them and to prove the simple fact that Christianity did have a right to exist in the Roman State.

Tertullian's defense took the form of the apology, a defensive literary form common in the third century. He did not introduce the literary form, but he did bring it to a perfection not realized up to that time. In the treatise, Tertullian masterfully attempted to justify Christianity by criticizing the irregular court proceedings used against Christians by exposing the fact that the laws levied against Christians are highly irregular and unjust, that the crimes which serve as the basis for condemnation are imaginary, and by attempting to prove that Christianity is a blameless and lawful institution. We can readily see that Tertullian was faced with a challenge, a holy task. He would have to destroy prejudices, refute false accusations, expose the true facts, and prove the innocence of the Christians. This he accomplished well, in a way only a lawyer could. As we study the treatise, we become keenly aware of his power of argumentation and familiarity with

Roman law. His powerful logic, manipulation of words, bitter sarcasm and irony, and the mode of presentation make his work thoroughly devastating to the foes of Christianity.

It is my belief that there was indeed a clash of values between pagan and Christian society. Most of the ideals that the pagans held dear were in total opposition to Christian principles. Reciprocally, the pagans looked upon the Christian way of life as senseless, unintelligible, often unpatriotic, and atheistic. This was probably the root cause for the persecution of the Christians as public enemies and most worthy of condemnation.

This thesis has provided me with the opportunity of becoming intimately familiar with a man, his work, and his ideals. I have come to realize more what a vocation can demand of a man. If all Christians could possess the Christian commitment that Tertullian manifests in this treatise, the faith of all mankind could be greatly enhanced.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

- ¹F.L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers, p. 135.
- ²Berthold Altaner, Patrology, p. 166.
- ³Pierre De Labriolle, History and Literature of Christianity From Tertullian to Boethius, p. 63.
- ⁴Otto Bardenhewer, Patrology, p. 179.
- ⁵Fulbert Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 213.
- ⁶Gustave Bardy, The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries, p. 30.
- ⁷Berthold Altaner, Patrology, p. 167.
- ⁸F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 231.
- ⁹J. Tixeront, Patrology, p. 111.
- ¹⁰F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 231.
- ¹¹J. Tixeront, Patrology, p. 111.
- ¹²Gustave Bardy, The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries, pp. 30-31.
- ¹³Otto Bardenhewer, Patrology, pp. 180 ff.
- ¹⁴J. Tixeront, Patrology, p. 111.
- ¹⁵F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 231.
- ¹⁶Gustave Bardy, The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries, p. 32.
- ¹⁷Johannes Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, pp. 247 ff.
- ¹⁸F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 231.

CHAPTER II

¹Louis Duchesne, Early History of the Christian Church, vol. I, pp. 148-49.

²Berthold Altaner, Patrology, pp. 166 ff.

³F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, pp. 234-35.

⁴IBID. p. 234.

⁵Apologeticum, 1:1.

⁶Paul Monceaux, Histoire Littéraire de L'Afrique Chrétienne, vol. I, pp. 221-22.

⁷Gustave Bardy, The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries, pp. 182-83.

⁸J. Tixeront, Patrology, p. 112.

⁹E.G. Hardy, Christianity and the Roman Government, pp. 88-90.

¹⁰Paul Monceaux, Histoire Littéraire de L'Afrique Chrétienne, vol. I, p. 214.

¹¹W.H.C. Frend, The Early Church, pp. 31-33.

¹²Apologeticum, 21:1.

¹³IBID. 39:2.

¹⁴Johannes Quasten, Patrology, vol. II, p. 257.

¹⁵Louis Duchesne, Early History of the Church, vol. I, p. 80.

¹⁶W.W. Hyde, Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire, pp. 184-85.

¹⁷B.J. Kidd, A History of the Church to A.D. 461, vol. I, pp. 230-31.

¹⁸J.G. Davies, The Early Christian Church, pp. 115 ff.

¹⁹Jules Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller, A History of the Primitive Church, vol. I, pp. 513 ff.

²⁰W. W. Hyde, Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire, p. 168.

²¹Jules Lebreton and Jacques Zeiller, A History of the Primitive Church, vol. I, p. 529.

²²B.J. Kidd, A History of the Church to A.D. 461, vol I, p. 233.

²³F. Cayré, Patrology, vol. I, p. 231.

CHAPTER III

¹Apol. 2, 4-5, 10 (C.S.E.L. 69, 5-6): "quando, si de aliquo nocente cognoscatis, non statim confesso eo nomen homocidae vel sacri-legi vel incesti vel publici hostis, ut de nostris elogiis loquar, contenti sitis ad pronuntiandum, nisi et consequentia exigatis, qualitatem facti, numerum, locum, tempus, conscios, socios. De nobis nihil tale cum aeque extorqueri deberet quod cum falso iactatur,...quod ceteris negantibus tormenta adhibetis ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum,..."

²Apol. 4, 12 (C.S.E.L. 69, 13): "...judex juste ulciscitur, nisi cognoscat admissum esse quod non licet, neque civis fideliter legi obsequitur ignorans,..."

³Apol. 7, 1-2 (C.S.E.L. 69, 21): "Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde et convivium et post convivium incesto,...Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tamdiu eruere curatis, ergo autem erudite, si creditis, aut nolite credere, qui non eruistis."

⁴Apol. 7, 2 (C.S.E.L. 69, 18): "Longe aliud munus carnifici in Christianos imperatis, non ut dicant quae faciunt, sed ut negent quod sunt."

⁵Apol. 7, 14 (C.S.E.L. 69, 20-21): "Merito igitur fama tamdiu conscia sola est scelerum Christianorum; hanc indicem adversus nos proferitis, usque adhuc probare non valuit,...ut fidem naturae ipsius appellem adversus eos, qui talia credenda esse praesumunt."

⁶Cf. p. 8.

⁷Apol. 15, 7 (C.S.E.L. 69, 40-41): "...quae non minus conscientiae omnium recognoscent, in templis adulteria componi, inter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aedituorum et sacerdotum tabernaculis,...libidinem expugni, nescio, ne plus de vobis dei

vestri quam de Christianis querantur."

⁸Apol. 35: 1-4.

⁹Apol. 35: 5, 11-13.

¹⁰Apol. 36: 2-4.

¹¹Apol. 39, 1 (C.S.E.L. 69, 91): "Edam iam ego nunc ipse negotia Christianae factionis, ut, qui mala refutaverim, bona ostendam."

¹²Apol. 39, 14 (C.S.E.L. 69, 94): "Quid ergo mirum, si tanta caritas convivatur? Nam et cenulas nostras, praeterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas quoque suggillatis."

¹³Apol. 39, 19 (C.S.E.L. 69, 95): "Inde disceditur non in catervas caesionum nec in classes discursationum nec in eruptiones lasciviarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiae et pudicitiae, ut qui non tam cenam cenaverint quam disciplinam."

¹⁴Apol. 40: 1-9.

¹⁵Apol. 40: 13-15.

¹⁶Apol. 40: 10-12; 41:1.

¹⁷Apol. 45, 1 (C.S.E.L. 69, 103): "Innocentiam a deo edocti et perfecte eam novimus, ut a perfecto magistro revelatam et fideliter custodimus, ut ab incontentibili dispectore mandatum."

¹⁸Apol. 50, 12 (C.S.E.L. 69, 120): "...cruciate, torquete, dammate, atterite nos: probatio est enim innocentiae nostrae iniquitas vestra."

¹⁹Apol. 50, 13 (C.S.E.L. 69, 120): "Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquisitor quaeque crudelitas vestra; ille cebra est magis sectae. Plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum."

²⁰Apol. 50, 16 (C.S.E.L. 69, 121): "inde est, quod ibidem sententiis vestris gratias agimus. Ut est aemulatio divinae rei et humanae, cum damnamur a vobis, a deo absolvimur."

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