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# Tertullian and the Pure Church The Singularity and Supremacy of God as the Basis for preserving the Purity of the Church

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**TERTULLIAN AND THE PURE CHURCH  
THE SINGULARITY AND SUPREMACY OF GOD AS THE  
BASIS FOR PRESERVING THE PURITY OF THE CHURCH**

**A GRADUATE RESEARCH PAPER  
PRESENTED TO DR. W. STANLEY JOHNSON  
CHAIR, DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY & THOUGHT  
WESTERN EVANGELICAL SEMINARY**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS  
DEGREE IN THEOLOGY**

**BY  
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## INTRODUCTION

A work dealing with thought of Tertullian can take several formats: the controversy surrounding his Montanism; his attitude towards the relationship between Christianity and philosophy; or even his attitude towards women in authority, (the "in" theology among theological students). As good as these maybe, they deal with peripherals and not the core of Tertullian's thought.

The single most important aspect of Tertullian's thought, which forms and molds his thought is his concept of God as the One true supreme Deity. Thus, this paper is entitled "**THE SINGULARITY AND SUPREMACY OF GOD**". Tertullian thought of this as the cornerstone of the Church's unique identity. This of course raises some questions.

### A. QUESTIONS

How does the Church remain pure in a world where its fundamental beliefs are being challenged by various concepts of God? What in Tertullian's opinion is the doctrine which distinguishes the Church from the other groups?

### B. THESIS STATEMENT

In light of Tertullian's work, De Idolatria, Adversus Marcion I-V, Adversus Homogenes, and Adversus Valentinus, the only way to truly keep the Church pure is by an uncompromising belief in the Singularity and Supremacy of God.

### C. THE METHOD

The method to be used in this paper will be the Documentary Research or what is commonly called the "Historical Method". It will be mainly library oriented labor.

### D. LIMITATION.

Since this paper cannot claim exhaustive presentation of the subject, there are several limitations which are inevitable. First it is limited in the amount of Tertullian's work on which it will focus. The works which will be given priority are,

De Idolatria, the Anti Marcionite writings, Adversus Homogenes, and Adversus Valentinus. The others will be used sparingly.

Secondly, because of the nature of this study the paper will stay as close as possible to the Doctrine of God and His Oneness. This means that topics such as Trinity, the Deity of Christ, though highly significant maybe completely ignored. Finally, the paper is limited in the type of questions it addresses. The intent of this paper is to address theological questions. Therefore, its main focus will be on theology.

#### **JUSTIFICATION OF THIS STUDY**

The Christian church in Nigeria is currently experiencing an explosive growth through conversion unprecedented in the history of the expansion of Christianity. With this phenomenal growth there have also emerged certain problems for the growing church. Among these problems there are two that are more apparent than the others. The first is the pastoral problem dealing with the desire to combine Christianity with elements which are alien to its intrinsic message. The other problem is concerned with how the Church should respond to the challenge which unchristian "Weltanschauung" (world view) poses to the Christian idea of God in Africa. How does one keep the Church pure in the face of theologians like E. Bolaji Idowu who panegyryze the hypocrisy of Nigerian Christians still worshipping and performing the ways of the traditional religion?<sup>1</sup> Two basic questions are, what is the right concept of God? Also, can such a concept of God help the Church in Nigeria? To be sure, the answer to these questions are not easy. This is the very reason the author chose this topic, hoping that this will facilitate a movement toward some answers.

Secondly, Nigerian Christianity faces the problem (which may not be uniquely Nigerian), of what may be called "a zeal without understanding" on the part of many believers because the idea of who God is, has become "fussled."

Obviously, a growing church in any given community faces problems. But why does the Nigeria situation merit so much attention? The primary answer to this query may be that the author is biased. This maybe true but, not completely. It is believed that within the century the base of Christianity will shift to the developing nations. Africa is especially important for the future of Christianity due to the numbers of Christians in the continent presently. ✓

If the above is true, then Africa may be among the leading Christian areas of the world. This means that there must be an attempt to answer some of the basic question which faces the Church in West Africa (Nigeria). In order to do this, one should always bear in mind that, a syncretized, corrupted, or adulterated church is unprofitable to those who seek to follow the radical gospel of Jesus Christ. Among the Church Fathers, there is probably no one with a clearer awareness of the need to keep the Church pure in dogma and practice than Tertullian. He displayed a keen awareness of the dangerous consequences of losing the purity of the Church. The amalgamation of the Church's pure doctrine with pagan "Weltanschauung" or by a kind of "laodacian" attitude toward the proclamation of the "Kerygma" (oral proclamation of the gospel) (especially as it relates to the Singularity and Supremacy of the Christian God) and practice of virtue will incapacitate the Church. Thus, he reacted with the often quoted words, "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the Church with the academy, the Christian with the heretic."<sup>2</sup> The idea behind this is that the gods of the pagans are to be categorically rejected. The infiltration of these gods into the Church's doctrine of God are to be relentlessly fought. Tertullian's writings manifest his eagerness to do exactly that.

From another perspective, Tertullian lived in Africa and ministered there at a time when pagan influences were challenging the identity of the Church. Though one can not claim complete similarity between the present situation in the African church and the time of Tertullian. However, certain analogies can be drawn between the

current challenges facing some churches in Nigeria and the challenges which faced Tertullian in the 3rd century A.D. A careful examination of the problems of the African church and a study of Tertullian will reveal some very similar struggles.

In conclusion, this study will help the author to formulate a methodology to deal with the problems posed by the false "Weltanschauung" in some Christians especially the challenge to the idea of God. The author will gain a greater appreciation for the problem which Tertullian had to deal with in his days, and hopefully, will gain a better insight into the nature of the Christian Church and the struggle which she faces in today's pluralistic society with regards to the nature of God.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**

This work would have not been possible without the help of some very special people. My wife who had to put up with many complaints from me. Her constant encouragement is deeply appreciated. I also thank her for typing this paper. Many thanks to Dr. W. Stanley Johnson, for helping me believe that I can do this work and for his advice.



## SECTION ONE

### A. Biography.

Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus, is one of the greatest Church Fathers from North Africa. He is referred to commonly as Tertullian. He was born in Carthage in 160 A. D. into the family of a Roman proconsul who was serving in Roman Africa.<sup>1</sup> There is no information about his mother. Tertullian's family was non-Christian and they brought him up in the pagan ways with all of their virtues and vices, as well as prejudices against the Christians.

North Africa was one of the most prosperous areas of the empire. Life in Carthage displayed in acute form all the strength and weaknesses of characteristically Roman civilization! Wealth abounded side by side with extreme poverty. The upper class were strong for education and the city gave to the empire some of its most distinguished rhetoricians and lawyers. Heathen immoralities also flourished. Theaters and gladiatorial games stimulated the thirst of the populace for coarse fights and bloody contests. It must have been the most forbidden spots on earth for the cultivation of Christian conduct and ideas.<sup>2</sup>

Early in life, Tertullian received exceptional education in grammar, rhetoric, literature, philosophy and law; an education befitting a Roman officer's son.<sup>3</sup> Later, he became a professional advocate in the Roman Court of Justice. Historians generally agree that Tertullian is among one of the premier graduates mentioned in the Pandects.<sup>4</sup> To practice law, Tertullian would have been proficient in two prominent languages of his day, Greek and Latin. Hogan believes that Tertullian wrote some dissertations in Greek which have been lost.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, Tertullian was acquainted with the work in Greek, evidence for this is lacking. Our imagination is tempted and our curiosity frustrated by the fact that Tertullian has left no auto- biographical account of his conversion.<sup>6</sup> While there are accounts of his conversion narrating saying that Tertullian became a Christian

through the indelible impression made on him by the Christian martyrs while he studied law at Rome.<sup>7</sup> Scholars are still mystified regarding the process of his conversion. (A process which Neander calls "a psychological trauma").<sup>8</sup> The one thing on which there seems to be a consensus is that Tertullian became Christian during middle age about 195 - 97.<sup>9</sup> Though the account of his conversion is unavailable to us, there are reasons for believing that he embraced the Christian faith with the trenchancy of his impetuous personality.

In the opinion of Jerome, Tertullian became a priest in the Church of Carthage following his conversion.<sup>10</sup> W.F. Hogan, denies that Tertullian was ever a priest, basing his opinion on Tertullian's marriage.<sup>11</sup> Hogan assumes that all the priests of the second and third century were not married. Hogan's assumption is misleading, since there is no historical evidence from the early Church or from the apostolic fathers which support the idea that celibacy was an imperative for all who intended to become priests during these years. Obviously, Hogan is biased by his Roman Catholic orientation with its emphasis on celibacy. Despite Hogan's position, Tertullian's writings indicate that he was a teacher in the Church in charge of instructing neophytes on the Christian life-style. In De Jejunio (on Fasting) and De Castitatis (on Chastity) appear to have been written for instructions. His report that a sister had a vision of the soul while he was preaching tends to support the fact that he was a priest in the Church.<sup>12</sup> Tertullian's acute moral consciousness, his awareness and understanding of scriptural document were probably developed and sharpened by his contact with young Christians. Out of this contact may have originated his desire to the truths which are essential for the purity of the Church. This then means that Tertullian's literary pursuit was born not out of mere academic pleasure, but from a burning desire to respond to the pressing need of the Christian community of his time. He wrote in defense of the Christian concept of God.

The common practice among church historians has been to accept, somewhat uncritically the idea that Tertullian became a Montanist later in his life. Montanism originated from Phrygia through a man called Montanus. The group was often referred to as the "New Prophecy." Montanus was a priest of Cybele before his conversion. At a village of Ardabhu in Mysia near Phrygia Montanus had his first trance and prophesied in the power of the Spirit. He was followed by two women, Pricilia and Maximilla in whom the Spirit of prophecy was also manifest.<sup>13</sup> The fundamental doctrines of the New Prophecy - (Montanism) were:

1. The Heavenly Jerusalem was shortly to descend upon the earth with the Phrygian town of Pepuza as its location and Montanus as the Paraclete promised by Jesus.
2. The teachings of Jesus Christ were incomplete. There is fuller revelation given to Montanus which the Church must accept.
3. It is thought that Montanus claimed to be the Lord God, the Father.
4. A vivid expectation of the Kingdom of Christ on earth with Judgment accentuated the ascetic rigorism already present in the Church.
5. The prophecy of Montanus and his prophetesses superceded scripture.<sup>14</sup>

Augustine also held that Tertullian was a Montanist (though he claimed to have found a group called "The Tertullianist" whom he restored to the Church ).<sup>15</sup> Neander's attitude was very favorable towards Montanism. He considered it a pure expression of Christianity and took it for granted that Tertullian did actually convert into Montanism.<sup>16</sup> Shirley Jackson Case also took the same position that Tertullian was converted to Montanist sect.<sup>17</sup> Cecil Cadoux is also of the opinion that Tertullian became converted to Montanism.<sup>18</sup> Even recent scholar, Timothy D. Barnes holds this idea of Montanism with little attempt at critical examination.<sup>19</sup> If one should ask why? A common answer found in encyclopedia articles is that the Montanistic outlook is consistent with Tertullian's ardent, stringent, and morally demanding personality. These opinions do not seem to take into account the problem raised by the fact that among these group with rigorous ascetic standards, some were more ascetic than the Montanist

Von Harnack points out this fact by clearly stating that Gnostic groups which stressed strict asceticism.<sup>20</sup> When one points out that Tertullian never rejected any of the fundamental doctrines of the Church, the reply one receives is usually that the Montanist heretics held to all the cardinal doctrines which would have made it easier for Tertullian to fall prey to their heresy. This type of answer is inaccurate. Paul Monceaux' explanation for Tertullian's conversion is on the chauvinistic side. He regarded Tertullian's Montanism as a typical inherent bent towards schism which is the characteristic of African Christianity.<sup>21</sup>

That Montanism was actually a Christian heresy is debatable. It may just have been a school among the early Church. First, our knowledge of the original Montanism is derived almost entirely from the report of hostile witnesses. Second Irenaeus appears to have vindicated the prophecy of Montanus within the Church. This will then provide a reason to doubt heresy of Montanism. Even some of the distinct ideosyncracies such as the pursuit of the martyrs' crown, the prohibition of second marriages, and the Wednesday and Friday Fasting were common practices in the early Church.<sup>22</sup> How these make Montanism a heresy is not at all clear.

Thirdly, nowhere in Tertullian's writing is there a propagation of what has been considered the main errors of Montanism, for example, there is no mention of New Jerusalem at Pepuza or the idea of New Revelation over and above the scripture or the acceptance of Montanus himself as the Paraclete who supercedes Christ. In fact the Montanism of Tertullian is highly doubtful, especially if one attempts to ground it on internal evidence from his writings.<sup>23</sup> The doubtfulness of this opinion becomes acute if one considers that the Church has presumptuously condemned people who were later proven innocent.

## Brief Survey of Tertullian's Literary Work.

According to Neander and Smith, Tertullian's literary activity extend from A.D. 197 to 212.<sup>24</sup> They both divided the work into three sections.<sup>25</sup> Von Harnack does not question this date. Hogan extends it to 223.<sup>26</sup> Traditionally, the writings of Tertullian has been arranged to reflect various offices and personal convictions; as layman, as priest and as a dissident. His works are three fold: (a) apologetical (b) dogmatic and polemic (c) moral and ascetic.

These are the division of Tertullian's works.

1. Works considered to have been written while Tertullian was still a faithful Catholic.

Apologetic writings: (a) Apologeticum De Testimonie Animae Ad Nationes. Ad Judaeos	C. A.D. 197-8 )
(b) Other works of this period with less certain:	

(c) Apologetic writings: De Orationes De Poenitentia De Spectaculis De Cultu Feminarum (i) De Idolatria ) Ad Matyras De Cultu Feminarum (iii) De Patientia Ad Uxorem i & ii	C.A.D. 197-9
De Praescriptione Haereticum (A.D.199)	
Adversus Marcionem I. 1st ed. (A.D. 200)	

2. Works written during his dissident period as a Montanist:

(a) Defending the Church and her teachings: De Corona De Fuga in Persecutionis De Exhortatione Castitatis	A.D. 202-3
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(b) Defending the Paraclete and his discipline: De Virginibus Velandis (203-4) Adversus Marcionem 2nd ed. (206 A.D.) Adversus Marcionem 3rd ed. (207 A.D.)	
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Adversus Homogenus	
Adversus Valentianus	
Adversus Marcionem 4th ed.	Between A.D. 200-7 or later
De Carne Christi	
De Resurrectione Carnis	
Adversus Marcionem 5th ed.	
De Pallio 208-9	
De Anima A.D.?	
Scorpiace C. A.D. 212	
Ad Scapulam C. A.D. 21	
De Pallio A. D. 208-9	
De Anima A.D.	
Scorpiace C. A.D. 212	
Ad Scapulam C. A.D. 21	
De Monogamia C. 217-1	
De Jejunio A.D. 203-7	
De Pudicitia	
Adversus Praxean	C. A.D. 223-1

In this section, a brief summary of Tertullian's works shall be given before we proceed to the main body of the paper. The title of each work will be given followed by a description of the main ideas in order to acquaint the reader with the works of Tertullian.

Ad Matyrii<sup>27</sup> - This is considered to be Tertullian's earliest extant work. The work reveals the heart of the man for his Christian brethren. It consoles and exhorts Christians to remain steadfast in their vow to God as soldiers of the Cross. In this writing, Tertullian shows restraint regarding the glorification of martyrdom.<sup>28</sup> He does not resort to violent attack of those who attempt to escape from martyrdom. His main goal here is to exhort the Christians to maintain a disposition of constant readiness to suffer for the Cross. Purchasing freedom from martyrdom and the attempt to escape at all cost was not a paramount problem during this period.

Apologeticum<sup>29</sup> - This was written as a response to all the accusations brought against the Christians.

Smith divides the work into six sections.

- (1) Chapters I - VI (4) Chapters XXVIII - XXVI
- (5) Chapters XXXVIII - XLV and
- (6) Chapters XLVI - L.<sup>30</sup>

In the first section (chapters I - VI), Tertullian satirize the command of Trojan in which the consul Pliny is "not to seek but to punish the Christians if they were accused", Tertullian calls this a perversion of justice.<sup>31</sup> In the same section, the leaders are reminded that the only leaders or emperors who have persecuted Christians have been emperors with whom no good man will want to identify since they were detestable to the populace. Two emperors fell under this category.

'Nero, dedicator nostrae' demnationis was the first "gladio Ferocisse" against the Christians at Rome Domitian was portio Neronis de Crudalitate' (asemi Nero in Cruelty).<sup>32</sup>

All emperors who have been good men refused to persecute Christians. Those who persecute Christians were following in Nero's footsteps. Tertullian probably had in mind the Neronian persecution which followed the fire of Rome,<sup>33</sup> when he refers to Nero as "gladio Ferocisse", Domitian also followed Nero. From the Tertullian's statement it seems that there was an anti-Nero sentiment among the people. This making it unpopular for any emperor to follow in his steps. Why will Tertullian try to use this unless he had an audience for it?

In the section (chapters VII - IX) he responded to the verbal assaults of the pagans against Christians. Christians were accused of incest and cannibalism.<sup>34</sup> Tertullian retorted that the only basis for such accusation - was their frequent occurrence among the heathen. The non-Christians were unconvinced by the Christian insistence that these evils did not occur among them, because the pagans themselves lived in these evils.<sup>35</sup> Tertullian credits Jupiter with "teaching the heathen incestuous practices."<sup>36</sup> This refers to the immorality attributed to Jupiter by Homer in his odyssey.<sup>37</sup> Unlike

the heathen,, Tertullian maintains that the Christians were consistently chaste, free from the accusation brought against them by their non-Christian neighbors.<sup>38</sup> The truthfulness of this statement may in all probability, have been very real during Tertullian's era. Persecution always serves as a refining fire for the Church.

The third section, demonstrates the Christian religion. The God of the Christian is put in contraposition to the gods of the pagan. Systematic evidences are presented in defense of the Christian refusal to worship the pagan gods. A positive presentation of the Christian concept of God is undertaken as a means for refuting rumors being propagated about the Christian God. One such "consensus gentium" (general opinion) was the idea that the God of the Christians is an "ass head."<sup>39</sup> This notion, claims Tertullian, is founded upon the very fact that the heathens worshiped all categories of living things.<sup>40</sup> So, they concluded that the Christians were no different. The pagans could not reconcile the homage paid by the Christians to the Cross with their condemnation of idolatry. Instead of refuting these accusations, Tertullian defended the reverence of the Cross. He claimed that it is a more complete object of worship than the symbols used by the heathen empires.<sup>41</sup> Tertullian's reasons appear very unconvincing since he assumes that usage of the Cross determines truthfulness. In this section, Tertullian also denied that the Christians worship the sun. This accusation arose partly from the Christian's reverence of Sunday as a day of worship.<sup>42</sup>

The latter part of this section is a more positive enunciation of Christianity. (Chapters XVII - XXIII) deals with (a) the nature and attributes of the Creator, (b) the mission of the all encompassing Holy Spirit, (c) the history of the Lord Jesus Christ and (d) the validity of the Christian scriptures based on their antiquity, majesty and the consistent fulfillment of prophetic utterances which they contain.<sup>43</sup> Tertullian's answer to questions regarding the difference between Judaism and Christianity is particularly interesting. How could they Claim as their authority the same source and



yet be so different? In reply to this, Tertullian called attention to the Lord Jesus Christ as the main source of difference. The Jews perceived Him as an ordinary man while the Christians believed that God had chosen to reveal Himself through Jesus Christ alone, His eternal Son. Demons are compelled to acknowledge the Divinity and the Lordship of Jesus Christ; miracles are performed in His Name. Therefore, concludes Tertullian, " call Him an ordinary man, if you like. By Him God wishes to be known."<sup>44</sup>

The fourth section defends the Christians' refusal to adore the genius of the emperor and worship the pagan deities. This was particularly important, since the non-Christian deduced Christian antagonism to the nation from this stand.<sup>45</sup> To prove that Christians were not hostile to society and the emperor, Tertullian tabulated names of attempted assassins and questioned rhetorically, "Are these people Christians? Are they not the same ones who do things which the Christians refuse to do?"<sup>46</sup> Therefore, refusal to conform to pagan festivities is not necessarily a manifestation of ill-disposition towards society. As a matter of fact, exclaimed Tertullian, "Caesar is more ours than yours, for our God placed him there."<sup>47</sup> It appears that Tertullian reached the limit of his accommodation here. For nowhere else in his writing does he allow even the faintest idea that Caesar could be of God.

The fifth section, is a plea for the acceptance of Christians "Religio Licitia" (licensed religion). In his attempt to do this, Tertullian reveals the uncomplicated nature of Christianity in the Second Century. It was a community united in covenant of discipline and hope,<sup>48</sup> prayed for those in authority, read the scriptures and shared the Eucharist.<sup>49</sup> This section is concluded by a defense of the Agape meal and a refutation of the accusation that Christians are the cause of public disasters. He also refutes the idea that Christianity is just another philosophy and not a unique Divine institution.

Ad Nationes<sup>50</sup> - This work is a sarcastic and vociferous rendition of the Apology. It is a direct denigration of the pagan culture, festivities and religion. From its tone, it will appear that it was written after the Apology. This was probably written as a result of the failure of Tertullian's former tract to convince the rulers of the goodness of Christianity.

De Testimonae Animae<sup>51</sup> - Reference to the Apology in Chapter V of this treatise seems to show that it was written after the Apology. Here Tertullian called forth the soul to testify concerning the truthfulness of the Christian religion. The soul, claims Tertullian, is conscious of God, therefore, it is capable of refuting human error.<sup>52</sup> Here Tertullian's ability to debate issues is vivid. He contends with the Greek philosophers rejecting each in turn and arriving at a position distinctly his own, though his position is not entirely free from the influence of contemporary philosophical ideas.

Adversus Judaeos<sup>53</sup> - It is still a matter of dispute whether Tertullian wrote the whole work or not. Smith says, the first eight chapters reflect Tertullian's true style, but the rest appear to be an addition (an awkward one) of one attempting to imitate Tertullian.<sup>54</sup> Smith's position appears to be valid because of the difference in style which occurs especially in comparison to passages like Apology chapters XXI and Adversus Marcion Book III, which deal with similar topics. In these passages, Tertullian does not denigrate the Jews. Tertullian's argument here is to show that the Jews are God's chosen people who are presently under rejection but whose restoration will occur in the future.<sup>55</sup> Since this is the only place where the Jews are attacked in all of Tertullian's writings, the spuriousness of the latter part should be favored.

De Orantione<sup>56</sup> - This treatise is an exposition on the Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is the new wine for the spirit which has been renewed in the new covenant.<sup>57</sup> This prayer must be said with purity of heart and peace towards the brethren. Tertullian also dealt with posture in prayer. It concludes with the power of a fervent prayer. Prayer is made the basis of the relationship between all creatures and creation.<sup>58</sup>

De Baptismo<sup>59</sup> - This work was written as a reply to doubters of the efficacy and necessity of baptism. Tertullian endeavors to reveal the importance of baptism from the Old Testament types of the Baptism of Christ. He even quotes from heathen performance of ritual washing (aquae vidae), which he said is bereft of God's Spirit, in support of the theory that water was made for purification. Also included in this treatise is a description of how the ceremony of baptism was performed in Tertullian's day.<sup>60</sup> Tertullian then proceeds to state and answer the objection brought against the importance of baptism. The question of heretical baptism is also examined. Tertullian rejects baptism by heretics. Here Tertullian lays the foundation for the latter Donatist controversy by his over emphasis on one baptism and denial of heretical baptism. The Donatist latter took this idea to its extreme.<sup>61</sup>

De Poenitentia<sup>62</sup> - This was a treatise on repentance. The first part, chapters I-VI, is a discourse upon the process of repentance prior to baptism. This tract may have been a sequel to the tract De Baptismo. "There ought to be only one repentance,"<sup>63</sup> argued Tertullian. Repentance is to accomplish the renunciation of the devil, while baptism is to seal this renunciation once and for all.<sup>64</sup> Antinomianism is condemned in all forms. Repentance of sins occurring after baptism is given substantial treatment in chapter VII-XII. Post-baptismal sins could not be forgiven. However, forgiveness of

such sins are received not by mere confession and repentance. They are received through the process of "exomologesis"<sup>65</sup>, a process which is analogous to the penitential system of the Middle Ages. In fact, the history of the penitential system is not adequately understood until one has understood Tertullian's De Peoenitentia. Here one perceives that Tertullian misunderstood the mercy and love of God; if infact he did understand this, the evidence for is extremely lacking in his writings.

De Spectaculis<sup>66</sup> - This treatise deals with the issue of attending pagan festivities. It was directed to Christians, giving them reasons why they should keep away from these festivities. The fundamental reason is its saturation with idolatry.<sup>67</sup> The consecration of the games and shows to the pagan gods is in direct opposition to God. The very desire to attend them places a Christian in the hands of the enemy. The only pleasures worthy until one has understood Tertullian's De Peoenitentia. Here one perceives that Tertullian misunderstood the mercy and love of God; if infact he did understand this, the evidence for is extremely lacking in his writings.

De Spectaculis<sup>66</sup> - This treatise deals with the issue of attending pagan festivities. It was directed to Christians, giving them reasons why they should keep away from these festivities. The fundamental reason is its saturation with idolatry.<sup>67</sup> The consecration of the games and shows to the pagan gods is in direct opposition to God. The very desire to attend them places a Christian in the hands of the enemy. The only pleasures worthy of the Christian are pleasures which glorify god such as prayer, fellowship and theministry of reconciliation.<sup>68</sup> For Tertullian the spectacle worth watching and meditating upon was the spectacle of Chris's reign , which was sbout to commence in the Parausia.<sup>69</sup>

De Cultu Feminarum I And II<sup>70</sup> - Book I, deals with feminine make-up and luxury. The ornaments worn by women are not from God, but were introduced to women by fallen angels who married the daughters of men.<sup>71</sup> The dying of wools resulting in change of natural colour was from the devil, who corrupts the creation of God. Tertullian's anti-world lines clearly becomes legalistic on this book. Book II - While the language of Book I is coarse and tempestuous, the language of the second book is somewhat conciliatory in tone, exhorting women to modesty instead of condemning the devil, who corrupts the creation of God. Tertullian's anti-world lines clearly becomes legalistic on this book. Book II - While the language of Book I is coarse and tempestuous, the language of the second book is somewhat conciliatory in tone, exhorting women to modesty instead of condemning between the women who are priests of righteousness and women of unrighteousness.<sup>72</sup> The discipline of modesty prepares the women for "the martyr's chain."<sup>73</sup> The conciliatory tone of this treatise is interesting, since Tertullian is supposedly to have become more obsessed with legalistic views as he drew closer to Montanism.

De Idolatria<sup>74</sup> - Here Tertullian attacks the Christians who were nostalgic for the non-Christian ways which they had forsaken. Such Christians wanted to keep their pagan employment in idolatry. This evoked harsh condemnation from Tertullian. The craftsman who makes idols (chapter VII), the astrologer and the pagan school master who dedicates his students and wages to the pagan deities are entirely condemned.<sup>75</sup> The Christian's rule is to have no fellowship with idolatry. Tertullian said there should be no admittance of an idolater into the Church.<sup>76</sup>

De Patientia<sup>77</sup> - Patience , a virtue whose deficiency is very apparent in Tertullian is the theme of this tract. Tertullian plainly owned the fact that he lacked patience.<sup>78</sup> It is a virtue of great excellence manifested perfectly in Christ. One who has it is closer to becoming like the Master.<sup>79</sup> The patience of God is dealt with and described in an excellent manner in chapter II and chapter XV. It ends with a warning against impatience and gives reasons why the Christian should exhibit patience in his/her life. The tract is written more to Tertullian himself than to other Christians.

Ad Uxorem I & II<sup>80</sup> - This was written to his wife as exhortation and encouragement. In it, he sets forth the beauty of marriage, but still maintains the superiority of celibacy to the married life. He repudiates two motivations to marry which he considers inappropriate for the Christian man or woman (book I).<sup>81</sup> The lust of flesh and of the world , selfish ambition, and pride are an inadequate basis for marriage.<sup>82</sup>

Further arguments are presented to refute excuses given for marriage, particularly remarriage. Women intending to marry commonly appealed to the need for children. Tertullian, overstepping injunctions of scripture, and using Jesus' word in Luke 21:23 out of context, presents what he deems to be refutation of the need for posterity <sup>83</sup> (chapter V). The impending eschatological drama at the Parousia, should be enough demonstration against such argument from posterity.<sup>84</sup>

Why should one have children now?, he asked. It appears as though Tertullian could never accept the holiness of marriage. Whatever may be the reason for marriage, "one marriage is sufficient gratification,"<sup>85</sup> says Tertullian. When the first partner dies, the surviving partner should accept the life of celibacy as God's will."<sup>86</sup> Widowhood provides an opportunity to serve God.<sup>87</sup> Its purpose was to provide for the integrity,

sanctity and self-control of women. By this they prove their love for God, which would result in a clear vision of God.<sup>88</sup> The same applied to widowers.

In Book II, Tertullian was very emphatic regarding the immorality of second marriages. Those who were either widowed or divorced, if they contract new marriages were to be excommunicated for fornication.<sup>99</sup> This was so, especially where the man or woman married a heathen. In Tertullian's opinion, they were already condemned.

Praescriptio Haereticum<sup>90</sup> This work was written in the language of Roman jurisprudence. This is one of the writings commonly thought to have been written during Tertullian's "non-Montanistic" days.<sup>91</sup> Greenslade's position is unconventional. He says that, "it is astonishing that scholars have thought this work of Tertullian to be Montanist period. The work is completely contradictory to the principle of the Montanist movement."<sup>92</sup> Tertullian contended that the existence of heresy was necessary to test believers in order to reveal the faithful.<sup>93</sup> Therefore, stated Tertullian, it should not be surprising that men who were once acclaimed Christian teachers should fall into heresy.<sup>94</sup> Tertullian was concerned that the men who had lapsed into error utilized the scriptures in defense of their heretical position. Tertullian proposed the "*praescriptio*" to deny the heretics the right to appeal to the Christian scripture in defense of their heterodox position. *Praescriptio* was a term used in Roman law. Greenslade points out that there were two ways in which the *praescriptio* was used. One *Praescriptio* is that of possession *Longae Possessionis or longis Temporis*. This must be the idea in Tertullian's mind in C.38 and no doubt in valid all through for the Church historical has always possessed the scripture. But the main *Praescriptio* is that which distinguishes a prior issue and limits discussion of the issue.<sup>95</sup>

The scripture legitimately belong to the Church. The heretics were usurpers who had no right to use this scripture. There are several grounds for claiming the scriptures for

the Church. One is that truth precedes error and orthodoxy came before heresy.<sup>96</sup> Secondly, the principle of longevity of possession. The Church has possessed the scripture long before the arrival of the heretics.<sup>97</sup> According to Tertullian, this is sufficient reason for denying the heretics right to use the scripture, reserving them for the Church's exclusive use.

De Corona<sup>98</sup> - is said to be the treatise which reveals Tertullian's move towards Montanism.<sup>99</sup> It is a discourse on the question of whether it was advisable for a Christian to be crowned by a pagan emperor or be dressed in the imperial regalia in celebrating the victory of the nation. Several reasons are given why a Christian should not accept the crown from the empire. First, the tradition originates from pagan religious customs.<sup>100</sup> Secondly, the crown given by Caesar was contrary to the crown which Christ offers at the end of life.<sup>101</sup> To accept Caesar crown was to acknowledge the Lordship of Caesar and consequently, an implicit if not explicit denial of the Lordship of Christ<sup>102</sup> (chapter XV). This line of thought led Tertullian to deny that Christians could be soldiers of the empire.

De Fuga In Persecutione<sup>103</sup> - This treatise discusses the question of whether Christians should escape during persecution. Here is where Tertullian's misunderstanding with the clergy appears to have germinated. The clergy contended that it was permissible to flee persecution. Tertullian's reply however, was that it was not right to flee persecution. He said that persecution does not come from the devil but from God, for God uses it to prove the faithful.<sup>104</sup> While the Devil uses it for evil, it must not be forgotten that God still controls persecution. Thus, to flee persecution is to flee from the lessons which God desired to teach.<sup>105</sup> We should, therefore, not attempt to escape from persecution. As for the exhortation of Jesus to flee (Math. 10:23),



Tertullian devises his own explanation. The command to flee applied only to the apostles because their circumstances varied from that of his time. If the apostles did not flee, they would have died without fulfilling the commission given to the Church by Jesus Christ.<sup>106</sup> It was necessary that they flee. Tertullian's rejection of flight from persecution was founded on what appears to be the unceasing search by Christians for excuses to avoid suffering or making a life-threatening sacrifice. Some even went to the extent of buying freedom by bribing the authorities<sup>107</sup> (chapter IX).

De Exhortatione Castitatis<sup>108</sup> - While Ad Uxorem was written primarily for women this treatise was penned primarily for the purpose of encouraging chastity in men following the death of a spouse. Tertullian argued that marriage, first or second, is unchaste because it grows out of a desire for sexual satisfaction<sup>109</sup> (chapter IX). To remarry after God has allowed the spouse to die is tantamount to pugnacity against God.<sup>110</sup> One wonders how Tertullian could hold this view in light of his anthropological position and the fact that he was married. Tertullian argued How can a man so beautifully defended the body in the De Carne Christi turn around attack all its expression?

De Virginibus Velandis<sup>111</sup> - The issue which engendered this treatise was the veiling of women. Should Christian women wear veils? Tertullian maintains that wearing veils is mandatory for married women and virgin.<sup>112</sup> He argued from the teachings of nature, (chapters I-III), the teachings of the Holy Scripture interpreted and understood in Tertullian's way (Chapters IV-VIII), and from the "disciplinae ecclesiasticae" (discipline of the Church). The reason for unveiling, says Tertullian , "is of glory and vanity and the Lord condemns both."<sup>113</sup> (chapter XIV). So if the Lord

condemns the reasons for unveiling, it becomes logical to put on a veil. One is tempted to accuse Tertullian of confusing custom with scripture.

Adversus Homogenes<sup>114</sup> - This work belongs to the anti-heretical works of Tertullian. In this treatise, Tertullian alludes to Homogene's propositions that matter is eternal and inherently evil. Thus, evil is also eternal, making it impossible for God to deal decisively with evil. In response, Tertullian eulogized wisdom as the eternal principle through which God created the world out of nothing ("exnihilo").<sup>115</sup> Tertullian said, if the eternity of matter and its independence is accepted, one would have to recognize two Gods.<sup>116</sup> This is unacceptable to the Christian and must be rejected.

Adversus Valentinus<sup>117</sup> - This is a treatise stating the Gnostic system of the Valentinians, the generation of the gods and the cosmic order. Tertullian did not argue against them. His primary method against them was ridicule.

De Carne Christi<sup>118</sup> - This work deals with the reality and corporeality of the flesh of Christ was identical to ours except for the sinlessness of His body. The support for the reality of the flesh of Christ is His bleeding death on the cross<sup>119</sup> (chapter VI). The idea that Jesus received His flesh from the Virgin - Mary is also advanced with proofs from scripture. Jesus Christ is truly man which makes His incarnation a true incarnation and not tertium quid<sup>120</sup> (chapter IXXI-XXIV). Tertullian strongly believed that Jesus was Born like any other man.<sup>121</sup> The only difference in his birth is the manner of conception.

De Resurrectione Carnes<sup>122</sup> - Tertullian's anthropology led him logically to the writing of this treatise. Having opted for the view that the human body is beautiful, having being created by God, Tertullian proceeded in this treatise to show that human beings will retain the material body in the Resurrection in perfected form.<sup>123</sup> In this aspect Tertullian gave the human body a significant place in God's scheme. The false notion of a mere spiritual resurrection was refuted. For Tertullian the real man is flesh and spirit to over-dichotomize either way is unacceptable.<sup>124</sup> If a spirit resurrects without body then, it is not man in actuality. The idea that "man has a body" was foreign to Tertullian. Man is body and soul. There are four factors which illustrate Tertullian's perspective.

(a) Fuduia Christianerum resurrectio Mortuorum, (Christian believe in the resurrection of the body). The scriptures plainly teach the resurrection of our physical body. The passages of scripture which support this fact are plenteous and do not warrant an allegorical interpretation.

(b) The very fact that God mold man from the clay confers upon it a certain amount of glory even in its degenerate state. The body is included in what God pronounced very good in the Creation.

(c) Nature gives analogies to this effect, day dying into night, and rising again. The seasonal cycles also foreshadow human resurrection. Tertullian also used a ludicrous analogy from a breed of birds in the East which supposedly renewed life by a voluntary self-sacrifice in the fire.

(d) The justice of God in demanding a final judgment requires that human beings be raised in their bodies. In the commission of sin, argued Tertullian, there were two partisans, the soul and the body and the two must be punished. Furthermore, Tertullian, anthropology, if the soul alone is punished, it will not be "man" that is really being punished but another entity.<sup>125</sup>

Adversus Marcionem<sup>126</sup> - Books I-V. These books can be dated with more accuracy in their present form, because of the Emperor Septimus Severus is mentioned in Book V, which indicates that the work was written about 208 A. D. The book is directed against the dualistic heresy of Marcion. If one is to follow the chronology given

by Neander, D'ales, Roberts, and Smith, it would mean that Tertullian was a Montanist at the time of the writing of Adversus Marcion.<sup>127</sup> Bull, the great expositor of the Nicene Creed congrues with the above position.<sup>128</sup> In fact from the chronological table given by Smith entitled "Defending the Paraclete and his discipline", Smith infers from the caption, that Tertullian was inclined to prove the superiority of the "new prophesy" to the authority of the scripture and the Church.<sup>129</sup> This, however, is not supported by the anti-Marcionite literature. Tertullian's use of scripture increases rather substantially in comparison to his early writings. This increase in use of scripture, appears to be contrary to the basic tenets of Montanism.<sup>130</sup>

Neither do there occur defenses of the "New Prophecy" in all the books. In this book against the heretic Marcion, the word "**psychikos**" (carnal) and "**pneumatikos**" (spiritual) occurs. It has been used as a launching point for those who maintain the Montanistic theory. However, one did not have to be a Montanist to make a distinction between the **Pneumatikos** (spiritual) and **psychikos** (carnal). G.L. Bray has pointed out that since both words were used in the New Testament, there can be no doubt that Tertullian expected his readers to hark back to apostolic teaching quite apart from Montanism.<sup>132</sup> De Labriolle is also said it rightly when he says that, it is not possible to divorce "**psychikos**" from "**pneumatikos**" as used by Tertullian since this distinction has been common in Christian thought from New Testament times.<sup>133</sup> Paul made this distinction, and Tertullian may have borrowed the idea from his writings since the whole work of Marcion is centered on the Person of Christ and the validity of Paul's writings for the Jewish Christ. Coxe is correct in saying that Tertullian "identifies" with Montanism, only as a scholar would identify with a rival who nevertheless has some respectable factors about his/her position.<sup>134</sup>

De Anima<sup>135</sup> - This work was written about ten years after the a treatise with a similar title, De Testimonae Animae. The soul, originates from the "Aflatu" (breath) of God<sup>136</sup> (Chapters I, III, XI) a position from which Tertullian proceeds to state that the soul is immortal and corporeal<sup>137</sup> (Chapters V-VIII). This corporeality of the soul is supported by reference to the stoic philosophical opinion<sup>138</sup> (chapter VII). This does not give credence to the conclusion of some, like Harnack's that it was Stoicism which determined the content of the Christian faith for Tertullian.<sup>139</sup> This is refuted by Tertullian in the later part of the treatise where he said "We will receive nothing which is not in accordance with that true spirit of prophecy which has arisen in this age"<sup>140</sup> (Chapter LVII). This statement of course has been taken as reference to Montanism. The problem is that Tertullian uses prophecy in various ways so as not to warrant indubitable conclusion on our part that this has to do with Montanism. A second evidence cited by Tertullian for the immortality and corporeality of the soul, was the vision of a sister in Tertullian's church who claimed to have had an ecstatic experience in which she saw the soul's corporeality and form<sup>141</sup> (chapters I-X). This also is cited as exhibiting Montanistic doctrines by Smith. He goes so far as to conclude that this caliber of evidence was for Tertullian the "all conclusive fact. For the authority of his doctrine, thus, according to him Tertullian does not refer to scripture for proof but relied solely on the vision of the sister."<sup>142</sup>

It is important to consider whether this incident took place in a Montanist or Catholic church because of the Montanism issue. It could be concluded that this happened in a Montanist church if one follows Neander's concept of the supernatural vs the natural. Neander held up the Montanist emphasis of the supernatural as an example of the true expression of Christianity in contrast to the naturalistic tendencies of the Catholic church.<sup>142</sup> The validity of this position will depend on one's willingness to argue that there were no supernatural manifestations in the Catholic church. This

position is not valid for several reasons because Tertullian gives record of supernatural actions in the Catholic church in his Apologeticum which is believed to have been written during his "Catholic" years .He lists supernatural activities such as casting out demons, healing the sick and other answers to prayers.<sup>143</sup>

In light of what we have been told by ancient writers about Montanist beliefs, it would be expected that the woman who saw the vision would interrupt the service in order to share her vision. On the contrary, Tertullian says, "the woman waited until the service was over to share it with him"<sup>144</sup>(cp Ch XI). When this is compared to Montanistic tendencies, it is hard to believe that Tertullian embraced Montanism. Even Smith's conclusion that this vision was the "all-conclusive evidence" for Tertullian view of the coporeality of the soul languishes for want of a solid basis in Tertullian's writings. In another place Tertullian made it plain that all questions must be referred to God's Holy Scripture<sup>145</sup> (cp. chapter XVIII). This would also contradict the Montanist carelessness toward scriptural authority. Although it could be argued that every sect has different point of view within it. But this objection does not refute the fact that, Tertullian differed from the major tenets of Montanism.

How then do we interpret the use of this illustrations if Tertullian was not a Montanist? The answer can take the form of a question. How do we interpret Tertullian's quotation from the Stoics?<sup>146</sup> (cp. chapter VIII). Could we conclude that he was a Stoic just because of his reference to Stoic philosophy? Of course, this would be ridiculous. It is no less absurd to conclude from the "Montanist experience" of the woman's vision in the church that Tertullian was a Montanist.

Apart from controversies which arise from De Anima. It was Tertullian's most original work, informed not by philosophy or vision but by scripture as he understood it. His doctrine of the soul was based on the story of Lazarus and the rich man (Luke

16:23,24) which he argued proves the corporeality of the soul and its capability for feeling pain apart from the body.<sup>147</sup>

De Pallio<sup>148</sup> - This is treatise in defense of the philosophers mantle (pallium). Tertullian argued for the preference of the pallium over the Roman toga. It appears that the pallium used to be the dress of the people, worn as a manifestation of modesty and wisdom.<sup>149</sup> (cp. chapter IV). Tertullian desires to conserve this manner of dressing, arguing that there was not necessarily any improvement by the tailor's designs of new fashions <sup>150</sup> (chapter III). If the mantle has fallen into disrepute among the immodest, it has not with the Christians. The contrary is true, the Christians have conferred a certain dignity on the pallium which it lacked previously.<sup>151</sup> Thus, the pallium having become the garment of the Christian, is now made virtuous. Tertullian's penchant for making sacred his idiosyncrasies and legalizing customs is shown very vividly.

Scorpiace<sup>152</sup> The title to an early edition of this treatise reads,"Adversus Gnosticos Scorpiacum de Bono Martyrii" (Against the Scorpion-like Poison of the Gnostic Heresy) against the Gnostics. This is a take-off from a tradition of his time which taught men to use the name of Jesus and the ointment composed of part of the scorpion for the healing of scorpion stings.

Tertullian equated Gnostic heresy with the sting of a scorpion. It needed to be crushed. The specific poison to which Tertullian was referring was the denial of martyrdom. Tertullian believed in the necessity and efficacy of martyrdom. He even said that, "the blood of the martyr is the seed of the Church."<sup>153</sup> So from his perspective it becomes clear why all who doubted it were poisoning the Church and needed to be crushed. God had commanded martyrdom. To be a martyr is the highest form of obedience to God and the epitome of rejecting idolatry. Martyrdom was a revelation of the victory of Christ over Satan and his disciples<sup>154</sup> (chapter VI). So, to

discourage martyrdom is to sell Christian victory over to the devil. Martyrdom served as a means of strengthening those who are weak. Many brethren who were shaky became strong in faith when they saw the endurance of others.<sup>155</sup> Tertullian should have seen that this could work both ways. Martyrdom could also discourage the weak. Tertullian drew analogy from pagan worship that if men had sacrificed themselves for these pagans gods, it would be more fitting for men to do so for the true God.<sup>156</sup> Nonetheless, the heart of the matter for Tertullian is that the lives of the prophets, Jesus, and of the Apostles have taught the believers to prepare for persecution. Confession of Christ before men is worth the giving of our lives a thousand times.

De Monogamia<sup>157</sup> - This tract follows the same line as the tract Ad Uxorem and De Exhortatione Castitatis; which deal with the "troublesome" question of marriage. Troublesome enough to Tertullian that he dealt with it again and again. This treatise is more harsh, presumptuous, and extravagant in sentiment and language than the former two. The man who has two wives and the man with a second wife after the death of the first are both incontinent<sup>158</sup> (chapter IV). However, unlike the other treatise which were directed to women, this one was directed to men, urging a single marriage in a life time.

This harshness of Tertullian and his crude interpretation of Christ's statements regarding the eunuchs (Math.19:12) would tend to support his conversion to Montanism. Since we are told that the Montanists looked down on marriage, though this was a common practice in the early Church.<sup>159</sup> He said here that since Christ has made the kingdom of God open to eunuchs, it follows that celibacy is superior to marriage.<sup>160</sup> In fact in this treatise Tertullian tends to see marriage as an act merely tolerated for the sake of weak men. Tertullian forgets that the same could be said of Jesus' use of little children as an example of who should enter into heaven. Should we never be adults?



How Tertullian could take this positions subsequent to his beautiful description of marriage and its blessedness in Ad Uxerom where he calls it pure and honorable<sup>161</sup> (chapter IX). Tertullian's position in an argument depended upon and varied according to the subject being dealt with. Thus, it could not be stated with certainty that this view is due to a conversion to Montanism. The same could be said for his attachment of impurity to intercourse in marriage. This also cannot be used to defend a conversion to Montanism despite its clear error regarding scriptural interpretation. For the very fact that the practice of vows of continence had already commenced.<sup>162</sup> Neither the idea of the impurity of intercourse in marriage nor the practice of continence were exclusive to the Montanist.

The only factor which might give an indication of Montanism is the constant use of "Paracletus" (Holy Spirit) and the tendency here to over emphasis the revelation of the paracletus via the Charismata ( gifts of the spirit). The awkwardness of Tertullian's struggle to make this congruent is apparent in his dealing with the issue of Abraham's monogamy<sup>163</sup> prior to circumcision and his polygamy "post-circumcisio." He fails to make any reasonable defense for the "Paraclete". If indeed he was espousing and defending Montanism, he is a miserable advocate for the sect. The only conclusion here is that Tertullian does not seem to be as familiar with Montanism as would reasonably be expected from a convert of his caliber.

Ad Scapulam<sup>164</sup> - This treatise was written as a warning to Scapulla the Proconsul of Carthage who took it upon himself to persecute the Christians. In this book, Tertullian showed that he can be reasonable and graceful in his dialogue. He exhorted the Proconsul with some of the same arguments which he had already mentioned in Ad Nationes. The goal here is to point out to Scapula that the persecutors of Christians have

all had malignant endings to their lives.<sup>165</sup> In fact Scapula should learn from these examples and not allow himself to come to the same end.

De Jejunio<sup>166</sup> - Adversus Psychikos (against carnality) of all the treatises written by Tertullian, this book contains more evidence which is used to support the idea of Tertullian's Montanism. He mentions Montanus in it twice and Priscilla and Maximilla once.<sup>167</sup> The use of "psychikos" versus "Pneumatikos" is abundant though references to the Paraclete are lacking.

This book explores the necessity of fasting, its efficacy and its divine origin. It proposed fasting as an imperative, defending it against those whose intentions were to remove it from the Church in order to allow for their unbridled indulgence.<sup>168</sup> Tertullian may as well have used the name of the phrygian prophet and prophetess to point out the need for self control, and discipline in eating and drinking. An unprejudiced exploration of this point will lead one to the realization that Tertullian was not fighting for Montanism but "the purity of the Church". For Tertullian, fasting was a moral issue, not just a matter of mere quibbling over party codes.

De Pudicitia<sup>169</sup> - This is a treatise written to defend modesty in the Church. The occasion for its writing was the forgiving of an adulterer by the Bishop. Tertullian in the De Baptismo had already declared what sins are forgivable after baptism by men and which ones were pardonable by God alone.<sup>170</sup> Here Tertullian reveals a certain ingenuity in twisting scripture by sophistry to make his point. All adulteries are forgiven before the coming of the Holy Spirit by this indwelling presence. Yet, it was not a prerogative of unholy men to forgive sins.<sup>171</sup> It was the duty of the Church where the Holy Spirit speaks to forgive, though they must exercise the prerogative with

caution.<sup>172</sup> The basic question here was, can the Church forgive adultery? The answer for Tertullian was an emphatic No!

Adversus Praxean<sup>173</sup> - This is a treatise which has been relegated to the period of Tertullian's "secession" from the Church. Smith and Neander admit the orthodoxy of the treatise in doctrine and use of scripture<sup>174</sup> in expounding the Trinity and defending it against contamination. The orthodoxy of this treatise seems to contradict the supposition of scholars that it was written after Tertullian's conversion to Montanism. The ambiguity of Tertullian's Montanism as has been revealed in the survey of his works would suggest that the leitmotif for Tertullian is the preservation of the purity of the Church whenever this purity was threatened. Tertullian took sides with those making an effort to preserve this purity whether they were considered by the rest to be heretical or orthodox. What was at stake for Tertullian was not the organized church but the spirit of purity which gave birth to the Church and continues to keep it unadulterated. Next, the writer will proceed to deal with the main body of the paper, beginning with a definition of the pure Church according to Tertullian. Before proceeding however, we will make certain final observations. Tertullian was very rigorous, stringent and morally demanding personality. This is clearly revealed in his works. He is also a controversial, a traditional and sometimes arrogant.

However, one does not find sufficient evidence within his work to warrant the conclusion that he became a Montanist. The linguistic evidence is inadmissible because it overlooks several important cultural factors. Moral asceticism also can not be accepted as evidence since this was a common religious practice in the first, second and third centuries.<sup>175</sup> Internal evidence from Tertullian is scanty and does not serve as sufficient bases on which to decide on Tertullian Montanism. There are only five places

where the name of Montanus is mentioned in all of Tertullian's works.<sup>176</sup> This could hardly amount to a proof .

Finally, we observe that Tertullian differed considerably from the major tenets of Montanism. A factor which is very important in the consideration of heresy. We must not forget that Irenaeus from whom Tertullian seems to quote extensively, did not condemn the Montanist. So it is highly probable that Tertullian is following his example in not condemning the group.

## SECTION TWO

### A. TERTULLIAN'S DEFINITION OF A PURE CHURCH

One point on which historians agreed concerning Tertullian is his extreme rigorism. He had an insatiable craving for a type of Holiness which infuses the whole life of the individual. Gary L. Bray accurately states that, Tertullian's goal was a holiness which does God's will.<sup>1</sup> This idea also manifests itself in Tertullian's concept of a pure Church. Either the Church is pure or it is not pure. There is no middle ground.

#### 1. A Pure Church Is A Revelation of Righteousness.

It is the "domina mater ecclessia"<sup>2</sup> of all those who have been cleansed from sin by the blood of Jesus Christ, from the severe crimes of idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, fornication, false witness, and deceit.<sup>3</sup> It is also the assemblage of those living in righteousness, who are filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>4</sup> According to Tertullian, in the phrase, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven"<sup>5</sup>, earth represents the Church while Heaven represents Christ. This view is not surprising, coming from Tertullian, for it is not the world which does the will of God. The Church is the community of the Holy. It is in the Church that the will of God must be done as it is in Heaven. So, it is very essential that the Church maintain her purity for the sake of "doing God's will." This concept of a pure church is what Tertullian defended in his writings. Even in the Apologeticum where his purpose for writing was not in the strict sense in defense of the purity of the Church, it still shows forth.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. A Pure Church Must Be Free From Idolatry

It is not enough to condemn idolatry, the Christian, and consequently the Church must sever itself from anything that has the taint of idolatry<sup>7</sup> Tertullian states his conviction that idolatry is the chief sin of the human race quite forcefully.

It is the principal charge against the human race, the world's deepest guilt the all inclusive cause of judgment ...Further you may recognize in the same crime, adultery and fornication, the essence of fraud. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Tertullian, who lived during the last half of the Second Century and the first part of the Third Century in the Roman Empire, believed that contamination from idolatry was very real. He deals with it as an immediate threat.<sup>9</sup> Idolatry was a moral issue, since it was the perversion of worship. Whatever perverted the good, was unacceptable into the Church. It appears from Tertullian's writings that many Christians were being sucked into idolatry and thought it was permissible. Some were arguing that it was all right to have idolaters in the Church since, the Ark, which is a type of the Church contained some unclean animals.<sup>10</sup> To this, Tertullian replies to the effect that, as the Ark contained unclean animals, the Church may contain faulty Christians but this does not excuse the Church for retaining idolater(s).<sup>11</sup> So he stated,

We will see to it if, after the type of the Ark there shall be in the Church raven, kite, dog and serpent. At all events an idolater is not found in the type of the Ark: no animal has been fashioned to represent an idolater.<sup>12</sup>

So, the pure Church was to rid herself of idolaters. The danger of contamination from idolatry appears to be at the base of Tertullian's call for a total separation of the Church from the world.<sup>13</sup> This is to be expected in a society where birth, games, festivities, marriages, public offices, sowing and reaping of crops, wars and death even spoken words were somehow connected with idolatry.<sup>14</sup>

One of the more obvious characteristic of idolatry which threatened the uniqueness and purity of the Church were the pressures of conforming to the syncretistic mood of the day and to worship either the genius of the Emperor or the pagan deities such as Saturn, Minerva, Jupiter, Larentia, the prostitute Junos, Cereses and Simon Magus.<sup>15</sup> Tertullian's response to the complaint of the pagan society concerning the Christian repudiation of the gods was one of ridicule, scorn and scorching sarcasm.<sup>16</sup> Jupiter he refers to as "incestuous", and to the other gods, "Deified criminals."<sup>17</sup> The burlesque manner of Tertullian's reply is revealed in this quote; Deity is struck off and framed out to the highest bidder. But, indeed lands burdened with tribute are less valuable, men under the assessment of poll tax servitude. In the case of your gods, on the other hand their sacredness is great in proportion to the tribute which they yield; nay the more sacred is a god, the larger the tax he pays majesty is made the source of gain. Religion goes about the taverns begging.<sup>18</sup>

After making a travesty of the gods, Tertullian states that the Church will not compromise her worship of the One True God to worship these "nonentities called gods."<sup>19</sup> The response of Tertullian is highly significant even though it is couched in very terse language. So one will have to look beyond the puns rhetoric to see the significance. It shows what the Church regarded as purity. Cadoux rightly observes that there were people who disagreed with Tertullian's view. "There were extremes of rigorism and extremes of compromises."<sup>20</sup> Tertullian's writings show that he belonged to the former. He viewed the shunning of idolatry as the high Christian law. "It is better to leave the world than to fail in it."<sup>21</sup> This rigorism has been interpreted by Robert<sup>22</sup> and John Bishop of Bristol<sup>23</sup> as the result of Montanism. But Tertullian's view on the separation of the Church from the world were as uncompromising in the so-called pre-Montanist period.<sup>24</sup>

Since the Christian religion confirmed the worship of a single pure, spiritual, all-knowing, all-powerful God, a God in all respects worthy to receive the adoration of all intelligent beings,<sup>25</sup> any acceptance of the divinity of the pagan gods would be tantamount to a rape of the Church's purity. Thus, when Tertullian was writing the Apologeticum he knew that, his assertions that the Christian God is the only True God would unavoidably destroy the effect of his appeal to the understanding of Roman

rulers";<sup>26</sup> nevertheless, not once did he recognize the deity of the Emperor nor that of the gods. If Tertullian was not so concerned about the purity of the Church, if he did not regard this purity worth preserving even to the point of death, the easiest way would have been the denial of the absoluteness of the Christian God.<sup>27</sup> Syncretizing God and making Him only one among equals would have been easier and perhaps the most effective Apologeticum to win the compassion of the Rulers. However, Tertullian refuses to compromise and bitterly condemns those who did.<sup>28</sup> Also included in the concept of a pure church is idea of the Church as "the house of God"<sup>29</sup> taken from the Old Testament. Since the Church has replaced the temple at the coming of Jesus Christ, the Church like the temple must be free of idols and idolaters.<sup>30</sup> Unless the Church is free from idolatry it would lose its purity. Since Tertullian considers idolatry the chief sin and the basis of all other sins, he will demand that, a pure church be a morally disciplined church.

### 3. A Pure Church Is Morally Disciplined Church.

The Church admits to membership only those who have renounced with solemnity all their former impurities.<sup>31</sup> In a church of this caliber, sin is not condoned. This is no place for those who wish to procure the name of Christian and the benefits pertaining to it for themselves without fulfilling the conditions of the Christian covenant or those who want to obtain reward righteousness without sacrificing their present sinful gratification,<sup>32</sup> do not belong to this church. In this church, there is constant carefulness towards the preservation of moral purity. This does not mean sinlessness. In De Pudicitia Tertullian recognizes the fact that the members may still fall into sin and he established some guidelines for the restoration of such a brother or sister. John Bishop of Bristol is right in stating that Tertullian's position was that;

If through the weakness of the human nature and the acts of his spiritual adversary, he fell into sin the door of moral [return to moral rectitude] was not closed to him, he might still be restored to God's favor and the Church by public confession of his guilt<sup>33</sup>



So, Tertullian was not bent on sending the brother who sinned to hell. However, the guidelines laid down by Tertullian for restoration are not what one expects from indulgent type. They were strict, breathing the rigor of an ascetic. Concerning the Christian who has sinned, he states that,

The individual is disciplined, he is required to perform public acts of humility such as fasting, clothed himself in sack cloth and ashes; he passed many days and nights in lamentation. He embraced the knees of the presbyters as they enter the Church and entreated the brethren to pray in his behalf.<sup>34</sup>

However, Tertullian maintained that this "Exomologesis" [i.e. absolution] for sin committed after baptism could be obtained only once.<sup>35</sup>

Tertullian affirmed that a pure church would differ from an adulterated church on the issue of discipline. The pure Church will not restore a callous and obdurate person to the Koinonia. The heretical churches would indiscriminately confer Christian blessings on people destitute of the fruits of repentance.<sup>36</sup> In another passage, Tertullian stated that, "you can know their faith by the way they behave; discipline is seen as an index to doctrine."<sup>37</sup> Later in his life, Tertullian changed his mind regarding the forgiveness of sins saying that certain sins committed after baptism are unpardonable.<sup>38</sup> The pure Church must endeavor to receive only those who have been purified from sins and also to keep the purified from the contamination of sin through teachings and discipline.<sup>39</sup> By his rigorous stand, Tertullian thought to keep the Church pure according to the exhortations of Paul the Apostle<sup>40</sup> and to exclude from the Church those who remain unmoved in their lust and passion while taking advantage of the Church's kindness thus, defiling the Name and Spirit of the Church. But he failed to have the spirit of Paul who was willing to forgive those who sinned.

For Tertullian the pure Church was the Church which in spite of all forms of naturalism and humanism, refused to accommodate itself to any compromise with the

world. It could not make ultimate and complete peace with the world.<sup>41</sup> In this Church there is no room for a haphazard commitment. It breathed the all-or-nothing mentality, always conscious of Christianity's other-worldliness.<sup>42</sup>

In an age of moral indifference such as ours it is easy to condemn Tertullian's stance. The question which appears to have confronted Tertullian was how far a person or group can deviate from the Christian principles before they lose the right to the name of Christian? Before their purity is destroyed and their eligibility to the name of Christ? How far can one drift from the basic doctrine of Christianity before he or she is no longer Christians? All these questions seem to have been answered by a complete intolerance on the part of Tertullian. Tertullian was concerned about drawing the line between the non-Christian and the Christian but the result was a line between Christians. Yet, Tertullian can be criticized for destroying the mercy and compassion of God towards those whom He has saved.

#### 4. A Pure Church Is Traceable To Apostolic Origin. The Apostle Traced Their Authority To Christ

The Churches which can point to the apostolic origin either directly or by indirect apostolic delegation were the pure Churches.<sup>44</sup> They were pure because they were founded in obedience to Our Lord's command to His apostles. For He commanded them on His departure to the Father,

. . . to go and teach all nations who were to be baptized into the name of the Father and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost . . . they then founded in every city, from which all the other churches one after another derived the tradition of faith and the seeds of doctrine and are ever deriving them that they may become churches indeed: It is on this account only that they will be able to deem themselves apostolic as being the offspring of apostolic churches.<sup>45</sup>

In the preceding passage Tertullian was very confident that the heretical churches could not trace their history to apostolic origin. This is a very simplistic way to look at the issue at stake. Any church founded even by the direct operation of the apostles could

become heretical and the fact that it was founded by an apostle would not make it pure after it became defiled. Later in his writings, Tertullian realized this fact and brought in another factor to strengthen the concept of apostolic origin. The concept is that of adherence to the "**Regula Fidei**" which Tertullian also calls "**Traducem Fidei**" which was handed down by the apostle. The **Traducem Fidei** appears as an after-thought in Tertullian's writings.

5. A Pure Church Maintains Doctrine As Handed Down From The Apostles<sup>46</sup> In the prescription against heresies, Tertullian summarizes what the Churches had as the rule of faith. The creed is similar to our present apostolic creed with minor differences at certain point. The whole creed is quoted from Prescription Haereticum:

Now, with regard to this rule of faith - that we may from this point acknowledge what it is which we defend - it is, you must know, *that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word*, first of all sent forth; that this Word is called His Son, and, under the name of God, was seen 'in diverse manners by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and Power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven, worked miracles; having been crucified, He rose against the third day; (then) having ascended into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father; sent instead of Himself the Power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe; will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both these classes shall have happened, together with the restoration of their flesh. This rule, as it will be proved, was taught by Christ, and raises amongst ourselves no other questions than those which heresies introduce, and which make men heretics.<sup>47</sup>

This rule of faith is also stated in two other treatise. They are also quoted here in full because of the differences in statements that occur in them. In De Virginibus Velandis, Tertullian states:

*Rule of Faith* indeed, is altogether one, alone *immovable* and *irreformable*, the rule, to wit, of *in one only God Omnipotent*, the *Creator of the universe*, and His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised against the third day from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right

(had) of the Father, destined to come to judge quick and dead through the resurrection of the flesh as well (as of the spirit)<sup>48</sup>

He also stated in Adversus Praxean:

We, however, as indeed we always have done (and more especially since we have been better instructed by the Paraclete, who leads men indeed into all the truth), believe that *there is one only God*, but under the following dispensation, or as it is called, that this one *only God* and to have been born of her . . . being both man and God, the Son of Man and the n raised by the Father and taken back to heaven to be sitting at the right hand of the Father, (and) the He will come to judge the quick and the dead; who sent also from heaven from the Father, according to His own promise, the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe in the Father, and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost.<sup>49</sup>

For Tertullian, doctrinal purity was inevitably linked to the purity of the Church. Although Markus does not agree he insist that true doctrine was irrelevant to Tertullian as long as one belonged to the one institutional Church. Furthermore, the idea that the maintenance of institutional identity was Tertullian's exclusive purpose is incorrect.<sup>50</sup> Though it should be conceded that these purposes were included in Tertullian's theological scheme. However, Tertullian could not conceive of this identity being preserved without doctrinal purity. This view is supported by treatise such as; Adversus Marcionem Books I to V, Adversus Valentinianos, Adversus Praxean, Adversus Homogenes and De Idolatria which were all written against doctrinal impurity.

In these statements of faith stated above, there are certain points which Tertullian considers pertinent to the preservation of the Church's purity. They are:

1. The belief in one God who is the Creator of the world. This is found in all the statements.<sup>51</sup> The only difference occurs in De Viginibus Velandi , where the attribute of Omnipotence is added.<sup>52</sup>

2. God's creation of the world "ex nihilo" (out of nothing) by His word. This concept occurs only in one place where Tertullian states the rule of faith.<sup>53</sup> This idea seems to have originated from Tertullian.

3. Creation through God's Word occurs in two of the statements Prescriptione Haereticum and Adversus Praxean.

4. The Word of God is the Son of God, is called God; is Jesus Christ who was prophesied by the prophets; came down into the world having been born of a virgin. The idea of the Word being the Creative agent of God appears only in the Prescriptione Haereticum. While the idea of virgin birth, death and resurrection of Christ appears in all the three statements as well as His Ascension, His sitting at the right hand, and His return as judge.<sup>54</sup>

5. The Holy Spirit occurs in only two of the statements. There He is seen as someone who has been sent instead of Jesus Christ.<sup>55</sup> In Prescriptione Haereticum Tertullian calls the Holy Spirit "Paracletus." In Adversus Praxean he does not state that we believe in the Holy Spirit as the Paracletus but simply states that they [ the people on His side] have been instructed by the 'Paracletus' who leads men into all truth.<sup>56</sup> This usage of the word Paracletus has been used by Timothy Barnes to contend that Tertullian was converted to Montanism and was propagating Montanism by using the word, since the Montanist emphasized the Paracletus.<sup>57</sup> This opinion is also held by Robert E. Roberts.<sup>58</sup>

The use of the word Paracletus does not lend a strong evidence in support of Tertullian's Montanism since the word is taken directly from Scripture, especially the book John.<sup>59</sup> Tertullian was not one to shy away from the use of a word found in the

Scripture for the simple reason that it has been used by a heretic. For example, he uses the ( *Probole* ) which was used by the Valentinians without apology.<sup>60</sup> Does this also make him a Valentinian? Labriolle admits that there is inherent weakness in the argument from lexical borrowing . He says,

To tell the truth, nostri (nos, nobis et) does not always have sectarian meaning even in the most definitely Montanist works [so is the use of psychikos and pneumatikos] Thus in the *Virginibus Velandis* when Tertullian say, "nobis Dominus etiam revelationis bus velamis Spatia Metatus est", he makes no attempt to distinguish his own group from the Catholics but rather the Catholics - among whom he places himself from the pagans whose practices he has just cited.<sup>61</sup>

Such statement raises questions concerning the reliability of the common interpretation of Tertullian. C. L. Bray points out that the terms *Psychikos* and *Pneumatikos* could have been easily replaced by the later *Spiritualis* and animalis.<sup>62</sup> The use of both term conveys a philosophical concept which not easily conveyed by their Latin counterpart.<sup>63</sup> The term *psychikos* itself was not pejorative in Greek it was used for the spiritualist of the world.<sup>64</sup> So the term *psychici* used by Tertullian is not intended to show that other Christian were below knowledge but that they were carnally minded.<sup>65</sup> The use of vocabulary is an uncertain ground on which to conclude that Tertullian was a Montanist.

6. The last point is the resurrection of the dead. It is mentioned in two treatise, Prescription Haereticum and De Viginibus Velandis with slight differences in each. In Prescription, two classes of the resurrected are alluded to, the wicked to everlasting fire and the righteous to everlasting life.<sup>66</sup> In the Viginibus Velandis he only referred to the resurrection of the flesh as well as the spirit.<sup>67</sup>

Even though Tertullian stated that the rule of faith is immovable and irreformable, he did not think that it was inexplicable. This is shown by the various ways in which he recorded the rule of faith. He made emphasis and added explanatory sentences depending on the matter on hand. But the rule of faith still maintained its inner unity. When

dealing with Marcion, Tertullian did not just state what he believes about God, but he explained what it meant; when rejoinding Valentinus, he did not merely state the humanity of Christ, but he also explained the Faith.

Although Tertullian dealt with many issues which are relevant to the purity of the Church, this paper will focus on the Singularity and Supremacy of God.

## **B. THE IMPORTANCE OF DOCTRINE OF GOD FOR PRESERVING CHURCH PURITY IN THE THOUGHT OF TERTULLIAN.**

In this essay titled, The Problem of Self Definition: From Sect to Church, R.A. Markus contends that what mattered in the definition of the Church's identity was its place among various sects. The demarcation between the pagans, Gnostics, and the Church was true or false teaching as such, but rather external conformity.<sup>68</sup> The highest of these external principles was the readiness to obey the call to martyrdom.<sup>69</sup> Markus states this point clearly by saying,

Tertullian's *Scorpiace* clinches the conclusion that to him and others Christians around 200 C.E. what mattered was not the precise shades of the teaching but the identity of the Christian Church among the sects.<sup>70</sup>

According to Markus, this threat of assimilation into the sect especially into the Gnostic sect unlike the threat of doctrinal error involved a threat to their identity.<sup>71</sup> The accent was on defining the hallmark of the Christian Church among its competitors not on identifying true doctrine.<sup>72</sup> Although Markus' concedes that there were yardsticks which came into being for defining the Church such as: Apostolic Tradition; The rule of Faith and the New Testament Canon, he still hesitates to identify these with doctrine.<sup>73</sup> In the writer's opinion, this de-emphasis of the place of doctrine in the Church's definition of her identity is a projection of modern idea of tolerance into the Second and Third Century. It is not clear that the early Church made a distinction between external

conformity and doctrinal unity. External conformity without doctrinal unity was condemned.<sup>74</sup> One of the weaknesses in Markus position is that he fails to define what he understands by the terms Apostolic Tradition, Rule of Faith and New Testament Canon.

Markus specifically points out that there were wide spectrum doctrinal options accepted in the Church at this time and then proceeds from this basis the conclusion that doctrine was not of particular importance to Tertullian.<sup>75</sup> It would be closer to the point to say that there existed a basic fundamental set of doctrinal propositions which formed the basis for the existence of the Church. In fact in the writer's opinion there would have been no Church without some fundamental givens. One sees this in Tertullian. There are certain doctrinal concepts which are to inform the spectrum of options available such as the Oneness and Supremacy of God, the Duty and humanity of Jesus, the Person and Power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>76</sup> Markus' point is appreciated from the perspective that the Church's doctrinal statements were not quite as elaborate a system as they later came to be. It should also be noted that Markus correctly recognizes Tertullian's view that the true Church which is the pure Church, is the Church that adheres to the apostolic tradition handed down to the Churches.<sup>77</sup>

He also overlooks the fact that this apostolic tradition was the "*Regula Fidei*" and, thus, contained what the Church considered to be right doctrines.<sup>78</sup> Tertullian himself states that the Church derived the tradition of faith and the seeds of doctrine, "from the apostolic tradition that they may become churches indeed."<sup>79</sup> The mark of a pure church for Tertullian, was that it maintained the seeds of doctrine just as it has been handed down to the Church.<sup>80</sup> It is on this account only that they will be able to deem themselves apostolic and the offspring of apostolic churches.<sup>81</sup>

The position that doctrines were important to the early Church or to Tertullian faces several problems. It overlooks the fact that statements regarding explicit



doctrines were defended by Tertullian, thereby showing that right doctrine was essential for the preservation of the Church's purity. For example, in Prescription Against Heresy. Tertullian said:

Now, with regard to *this rule of faith* - that we may from this point acknowledge what it is which we defend - it is you must know, that which prescribes *The Belief*. . . .<sup>82</sup> (emphasis the writer's)

Tertullian defended not just a rule for the external conformity of the Church. He was protecting the "rule of faith" which, had doctrinal content. He was defending that which prescribes for the Church her beliefs which is doctrine. Thus the writer is led to conclude, contrary to Robert Markus, that Doctrine was essential for Tertullian in defining the identity of the Church and preserving her purity.

Markus appears to ignore doctrinal statements made by Tertullian and proceeds to make sweeping statements about the peripheral place of right versus wrong doctrines in the early Fathers. He seems to be unaware of the statement of Tertullian which says, "we believe that there is one God."<sup>83</sup> In another place, the rule of faith is that of believing in one only Omnipotent.<sup>84</sup> These statements reveal that right doctrine had an important place in the preservation of church purity for Tertullian. Tertullian dedicated much of his writing to combating false doctrines which he feared would cause the Church to lose her purity. Six of his treatises Apology, On Idolatry, Against Marcion (Books I to V), Adversus Praxeian, Adversus Valentinus and Adversus Homogenes dealt with the Christian concept of God to a certain degree. References are also made to the right doctrine of God in the rest of his writings but these references are not numerous. Tertullian often resorted to this body of statements the *Regula Fidei* (the rule of faith) to defend the Church against adulteration. The doctrine which was of particular importance for preserving the purity of the Church, was the right doctrine of God. It forms the base on which the other doctrines of the Church are built.<sup>85</sup> It

determines how one views Christ. It also determines the caliber of morality which one practices. According to Neander, "The closely tied to the whole essence Christianity."<sup>86</sup> Tertullian would heartily agree. Not only is this doctrine of God tied to the essence of the Church, but the continual purity of the Church is dependent on it.

In Tertullian's time, belief in gods were common.<sup>87</sup> For the Church to maintain her unique identity and show her difference from the communities which claimed to believe in God, she had to define what is meant by God when she talked about Him. The Greek and Roman Pantheons were ever expanding their accumulation of gods into their all-inclusive system. Hence, the Church had to define more clearly what she accepted as the right doctrine of God. Due to the prevalence of the belief in God and gods, it was easy for the pagan society to approach the Christian God with the same ideas which they had developed in their pagan system. In fact evidence from the writing of the apologist show that this was the case. Some were already calling God an ass head.<sup>88</sup> Here again, the Church needed to define her concept of God so as to allow her to maintain her purity.

The new converts were to be made aware of the absolute difference between the Christian God and "gods" as conceived by the pagans and the heretics. The danger of syncretism in the Church, which would destroy her purity, was most pronounced in the area of the doctrine of God.<sup>89</sup> The Christian World-view stands or falls with the doctrine of God. Did Tertullian possess the right doctrine about God? In answer to this query we will proceed to look at the Source of Tertullian's concept of God, what is involved in the right doctrine of God, and how it helps to preserve the purity of the Church.

### **C. THE SOURCE OF THE RIGHT DOCTRINE OF GOD FOR TERTULLIAN**

Stoicism has been claimed as the source of Tertullian's concept of God. Von Harnack is the chief proponent of the idea.<sup>90</sup> According to Von Harnack, all the Church fathers

derived their theology from pagan philosophies. Von Harnack said that "the uncultured received their idea of the corporeality of God from the Old Testament but Tertullian derives his from Stoic philosophy."<sup>91</sup> Von Harnack does not allow for the likely possibility that Tertullian may have also derived his doctrine of God from the Old Testament.

Tertullian's writings contradict Harnack's proposition. Tertullian's doctrine of God was not derived from Stoicism, though Tertullian may have used Stoic vocabulary to explain his concepts of God. The use of vocabulary from a certain philosophy does not warrant the conclusion that the said philosophy is the source of one's concepts. For example, Tertullian uses the word "*Probole*" a word which is of Gnostic origin and is used by his arch-enemy, Valentinus, to explain the generation of God and the succeeding emanation therefrom.<sup>92</sup> The writer does not deny that Tertullian may have been influenced by Stoicism at all. The author contends that it was not philosophical speculation which formed Tertullian's fundamental view of God. The word *Probole* is used by Tertullian in Adversus Praxean to explain the relationship of God the Father to His Son, Jesus Christ and the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son.<sup>93</sup> Tertullian's word is worthy of note here, as he defends the use of the Valentinian term by saying that:

Truth must not therefore refrain from the use of such term and its reality and meaning, because heresy also employs it. The fact is, heresy has rather taken it from truth, in order to mold it into counterfeit.<sup>94</sup>

Tertullian believed that if a word best explained the meaning of a Biblical idea, that word should be used without fear, since in such a case, the word rightly belonged to the Biblical truth. Just like the common people which Von Harnack refers to, Tertullian did derive his idea of God from scripture the only difference is that he used certain vocabularies which befitted his educated mind.

Tertullian's basic concept of the relationship between philosophy and religion will also contradict the idea that his source of the doctrine of God is Stoic philosophy.<sup>95</sup> For Tertullian, "worldly wisdom culminates in philosophy with its rash interpretation of God's nature and purpose."<sup>96</sup> This included Stoic philosophy. Heretics and philosophers, says Tertullian, discussed the same subject matter.<sup>97</sup> With this attitude towards pagan philosophy, it is hardly convincing to propose as Von Harnack does, that the source of Tertullian's doctrine of God is Stoicism. To show the abhorrence Tertullian had for philosophy and its speculation, one only has to read his quotation from Paul. "Take heed lest any man circumvent you through philosophy and vain deceit after the tradition of men against the providence of the Holy Spirit."<sup>98</sup> For Tertullian, the apostle wrote this because of his experience at Athens.<sup>99</sup> According to Tertullian, this experience shows mutual exclusiveness of Christianity and philosophical speculation.<sup>100</sup>

What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the Church with the Academy, the Christian with the heretic? Our principle *comes from the Porch of Solomon*, who had himself taught that the Lord is to be sought in simplicity of heart. I have no use for *Stoic* or a *Platonic* or dialectic Christianity.<sup>101</sup>

The force of this statement leads one to the conclusion that the source of Tertullian's concept or doctrine of God, was not Stoic philosophy. Tertullian's reaction to philosophical speculation bordered on rage.

Tertullian's source was the scriptures. When Tertullian's concept of God agreed with the philosophies, it was not because Tertullian is defending a philosophical concept borrowed from any particular school but rather because he derived the idea from the Scripture. It is Scripture that decides in favor of any particular school. A good example is when Tertullian decided that the soul is corporeal. It is the story of Lazarus and the

rich man in Hades that decided the matter in favor of the Stoics regarding the corporeality of human soul.<sup>102</sup>

What was for Tertullian the right doctrine of God? We shall examine one by one different aspects of the right doctrine of God with opposing views considered. Then will follow an examination of why Tertullian thought this aspect of the doctrine of God was essential for preserving the doctrinal purity of the Church.

#### **D. THE SINGULARITY & SUPREMACY OF GOD AND THE PURITY OF THE CHURCH**

The concept of the absolute uniqueness of God is for Tertullian the landmark of the Church's identity, on which the total doctrinal structure of the Church is built. In the statement of Tertullian: "the Christian verity has declared that God is not if God is not one."<sup>103</sup> Tertullian prefers atheism rather than accepting multiplicity of gods. The very name of God, Tertullian says, necessitates His Supremacy! He cannot be Supreme if He is not the only one.<sup>104</sup> In the Church's doctrinal statement, this statement is always made clear. We find it in Praescriptione Haereticum, stated thus: "We believe that there is but one God, who is none other than the Creator of the world who produced all things out of nothing through His word."<sup>105</sup> Because of the importance of this doctrine Tertullian took the time to emphasize the oneness rather than simply stating: "I believe in God." The qualifications such as "none other than the Creator of the world" and Creation out of nothing are all inserted to safeguard the Church's purity. In the society to which he belonged myriad of gods were worshiped as deities.<sup>106</sup> For the Church to simply state that "we believe in God" would have made her no different from the pagan mystery cults or religions that were always ready to accept another deified hero. Hence the need to emphasize the absoluteness of the Christian God!

This doctrine of God not only discouraged any speculative mixture of the Christian God with the pagan gods but also helped to prevent the practice by Christians of actually worshipping other gods. Tertullian alluded to this in his Apology when he replied to the accusation from the populace that the Christians have no reverence for the gods:

The object of our worship is the One God He who by His commanding word, His arranging wisdom, His mighty power, brought forth from nothing this entire mass of our world with bodies and spirits for the glory of His majesty.<sup>107</sup>

The practical implication becomes clear as one realizes that there were no other religious groups, with the exception of Judaism in the ancient world which required that its adherents venerate a single Deity.<sup>108</sup> They might have one of the gods which they honored more than the others, but even this god was never regarded as being absolutely superior to the rest.<sup>109</sup> Tertullian alluded to this when he said:

When you make an infamous court page a god of the slaved synod, although you ancient deities are in reality not better, they will still think themselves affronted by you that the privilege antiquity conferred on them alone has been allowed others.<sup>110</sup>

This shows that the people had no hesitation in adding other gods and owning other gods besides the one they had long cherished. When the Church affirmed both by doctrinal propositions and practices her belief in one God, she declared her whole identity and her survival to be dependent upon the pure form of the doctrine of God as being only one. However, this idea of God did not have a cordial reception from many. Obviously, pagans were antagonistic, to this absolutistic view of God proposed by the Church and the "heretics" also had problems with this proposition.<sup>111</sup> Tertullian went to war with these groups. One such group of people were the Gnostics. The Gnostics were of varied persuasions in many things, but they held several concepts in common which make it possible to categorize them under the "gnostic" umbrella.

The basic trait of Gnostics was their dualism, which resulted in the denigration of the flesh and the physical world.<sup>112</sup> For the Gnostics, spirit was good and matter bad. This idea was carried into the Church by certain Gnostic elements. The result was that it affected their doctrine of God. There were three major figures of Gnostic influences which had invaded the Church and challenged her doctrine of God. These Gnostic leaders were Marcion, Valentinus and Homogenes. We shall proceed to deal with each of them and offer Tertullian's answers as means of demonstrating Tertullian's belief that right doctrine was essential for the purity of the Church.

#### **E. THE Gnostic CHALLENGE TO THE DOCTRINE OF GOD.**

##### **1. MARCION**

Marcion wrote his antithesis in which he propounded the theory that there are two Gods whose differences are in their attributes.

One is "the Craftsman"(demiurgos), the God of Creation, the "ruler of this aeon" "known" God, and "predictable," the other is "the hidden" God, "unknown," "unperceivable," "unpredictable," "the strong," the "alien," "the other," the different, and also the new.<sup>113</sup>

This view of Marcion would have not been such a threat if it were not that these gods were regarded as being equally divine, the only difference being in their characteristics. It attacked the Church's fundamental doctrine of God, which states that the one true God created the universe.<sup>114</sup> It also makes the Christian God into a villain by misrepresenting His attributes, giving the "good" ones to some other gods.<sup>115</sup>

Tertullian's reply to Marcion was emphatic, "the Christian verity has declared that God is not if God is not one!"<sup>116</sup> The problem for Tertullian lies in Marcion's use of the word "God" for both. "It is necessary," says Tertullian, "by the virtue of the definition

of God that He be Supreme."<sup>117</sup> Thus, Supremacy is destroyed if God is not one.

Tertullian's view is expressed very clearly when he said:

. . . as far as human beings can form a definition of God, I adduce one which the conscience of all men will also acknowledge - God is the great Supreme, existing in eternity, unbegotten, unmade, without beginning without end.<sup>118</sup>

Tertullian meant that God is the Great Supreme, in form, reason, might and power.<sup>119</sup>

In all these areas the main property of God is to admit no comparison with Himself.<sup>120</sup>

This statement was brought about by Marcion's contention that "there can be two great supremes existing in their distinct sphere as is the case in different kingdoms of the world."<sup>121</sup> Tertullian argues there could not be multifarious supremacies. The supreme

King is always one in every empire.<sup>122</sup> The idea of two divine beings as Marcion taught is not only repugnant to the definition of God as supreme, but also an attack on human sense.<sup>123</sup> So, if the Church will demand the worship of God as the Supreme God, they must be ready to show that there is no other God beside Him. For Tertullian, this is the basic line which demarcates the Church from the world, her refusal to recognize any god beside the God revealed in scripture.

In reply to Marcion's charge that the God who created the world is evil, Tertullian insisted that by creating the world God proved His goodness.<sup>124</sup> If Marcion's god is as good as Marcion wanted to show, he should have "at least created a stray vegetable."<sup>125</sup> The God who created the world has shown His worthiness of the Name God. This line of thought was significant for Tertullian, considering the importance he attached to nature's witness regarding God's existence and power.<sup>126</sup>

As for Marcion's idea of the "hiddenness of the 'other ' God" and "His unpercievability and unknownness," Tertullian replied "convince me that there has been an unknown God. . . no doubt altars have been lavished on unknown gods, this, however,



is the the idolatry of Athens."<sup>127</sup> "As for the idea of an uncertain God, it is only Roman superstition,"<sup>128</sup> said Tertullian. The ridicule in Tertullian's reply was obvious. If this God were unknown, how can He be known to be God? Again the doctrine of God was important for preserving the Church from idolatry, for Tertullian believed that God ought not and could not have been unknown.

Could not have been [unknown] because of His goodness especially as He is [supposed by Marcion] more excellent in these attribute than our Creator.<sup>129</sup>

Tertullian then moved to the fact that the Creator of the universe is the real God. The concept of the unknown God was the result of men's overworked idolatrous imagination. For Tertullian, the right doctrine of God is that He is one, supreme, and unique. Any movement away from this means idolatry. Marcion's concept of an unknown God was rejected. Tertullian Perceive the God who made Heaven and earth as the real God. The creation of the material world attests to the Supremacy of God.<sup>130</sup> In the same way the creation of the world also reveals God's unwillingness to remain hidden.

There are several reasons why the Church could not accept the Marcionite position because as Tertullian said, "the Christian verity has declared God to be one."<sup>131</sup> The very uncertainty which this might have created for believers who had been taught by scripture that God is self-revealing, would have destroyed the Church's self identity. It would have led unfailingly to the denigration of flesh<sup>132</sup> which was so common in Gnosticism and Christianity would have become just another cult.

## **2. HOMOGENES**

Another individual who challenged the idea of one God was Homogenes. Homogenes, it appears does not directly introduce another God as the case was with Marcion. He introduces another god by implication which came from his attempt to deal with the

origin of evil. To explain evil, Homogenes proposed that matter was inherently evil.<sup>133</sup> Since God is perfectly good, He could not have created evil. Matter, being inherently evil, must have existed always, since there was no other God who could have made matter. Therefore, matter is unborn, unmade and eternal.<sup>134</sup> From the conclusion that matter is eternal, Homogenes moved to the idea that God created the world out of existing matter, arguing:

The Lord either made everything out of Himself or out of nothing or out of something. . . . He could neither have made them out of Himself nor out of nothing [therefore] He made them out of nothing. The Lord could not have made them out of Himself: Reason -

- a. 1 Every thing the Lord made out of Himself would have parts.
2. It is impossible to divide the Lord into parts, for this very reason that, He is indivisible and unchangeable.
3. Therefore, the Lord could not have made anything out of Himself.
- b. 1. If God had made something out of Himself that thing would be part of God.
2. Everything made including the maker would be considered imperfect because they are parts and not the whole.
- c. But it is impossible for imperfection to proceed from God.
- d. Therefore, it is impossible for God to have made anything out of Himself.<sup>135</sup>

Homogenes concluded that in eternity there are two things: God and matter. They are both eternal. Although God was always Lord of matter but due to matter's independence, God could not completely control the evil in matter.<sup>136</sup>

Tertullian's reply to Homogenes reveals the significant place which the doctrine of God occupied in the Church and in his writings. He knew that, when matter is accepted as being unborn, unmade and eternal, without beginning or end, it becomes equal with God. In the Church's view of God eternity is the essential attribute of God.<sup>137</sup> This is the basis for the uniqueness of God and clearly proves His supremacy.<sup>138</sup> If this property is special to God then it must belong to God alone, for if it is attributed to another being, such being becomes God and God ceases to be supreme in the Christian sense.<sup>139</sup>

Tertullian's concern was to preserve the doctrine of God as one God, equal with none and above all in power.<sup>140</sup> Hence the exclamation "Homogenes makes matter equal to

God!"<sup>141</sup> "Homogenes even makes matter superior to God since God needed matter in order to create the universe!"<sup>142</sup> If God did not create matter then God cannot be almighty since there exists something stronger than God, namely matter. This statement of Tertullian's a result of a statement made by Homogenes that God cannot do anything about evil in the world since matter is inherently evil and independent of God.<sup>143</sup>

For Tertullian, however, God is almighty, the only eternal being which means that He is the only God who is wholly good.<sup>144</sup> If Homogenes position were accepted, the Church would have to admit the powerlessness of God. In Tertullian's own words:

For if He [God] drew upon it [matter] for the work of creation of the world, then, first matter is clearly superior, since it provided Him with material for His work, and secondly, God is evidently inferior substance. For there is no one but needs him whose property he makes use of. There is no one but is subject to him whose property he needs in order that he may make use of it . . . There is no one enabling another to make use of his property who is not in this respect superior to him whom he enables to make use of it. Thus matter was not in need of God but rather lent itself to God who needed it, rich and opulent and liberal as it was, - to one who . . . was powerless and all too little adapted to make out of nothing what He wanted.<sup>145</sup>

It becomes clear that the importance of the doctrine of God as the one true God, supreme over all things, is of inestimable importance to the purity of the Church. Any intervention of another deity into the Church besides the one God revealed in Scripture, destroys the purity of the Church, especially if the very key concept of His Omnipotence is invalidated. This would mean that evil will triumph. If evil will eventually triumph, which according to Homogenes is due to God's inability to control matter, the Church has no platform on which to preach redemption because even God is bound by evil.<sup>146</sup> Tertullian's reason for believed in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, based on the Omnipotence of God.<sup>147</sup>

Tertullian also pointed out that God's justice is to be considered unjust in itself if evil is eternal.<sup>148</sup> If this idea is carried further, the Church cannot expect to live a Holy life in which sin is overcome, since evil is eternal and cannot be overcome. The

only ground on which the Church can preach the triumph of Holiness and goodness is that evil is an intrusion into a perfectly good system not a part of the original system. We see by Tertullian's response to Homogenes that the doctrine of God is essential for the preservation of the purity of the Church.

### 3. VALENTINUS

Another challenge to the concept of God as one true God came from Valentinus. The elaborate system which he invented in order to explain his view of God is unequalled among the "heretical groups" in the first three centuries. He is considered the most brilliant of all the sectarian leaders in the Second Century A.D.<sup>149</sup> Hans Jonas points out what distinguished the Valentinian system from the other heretical groups:

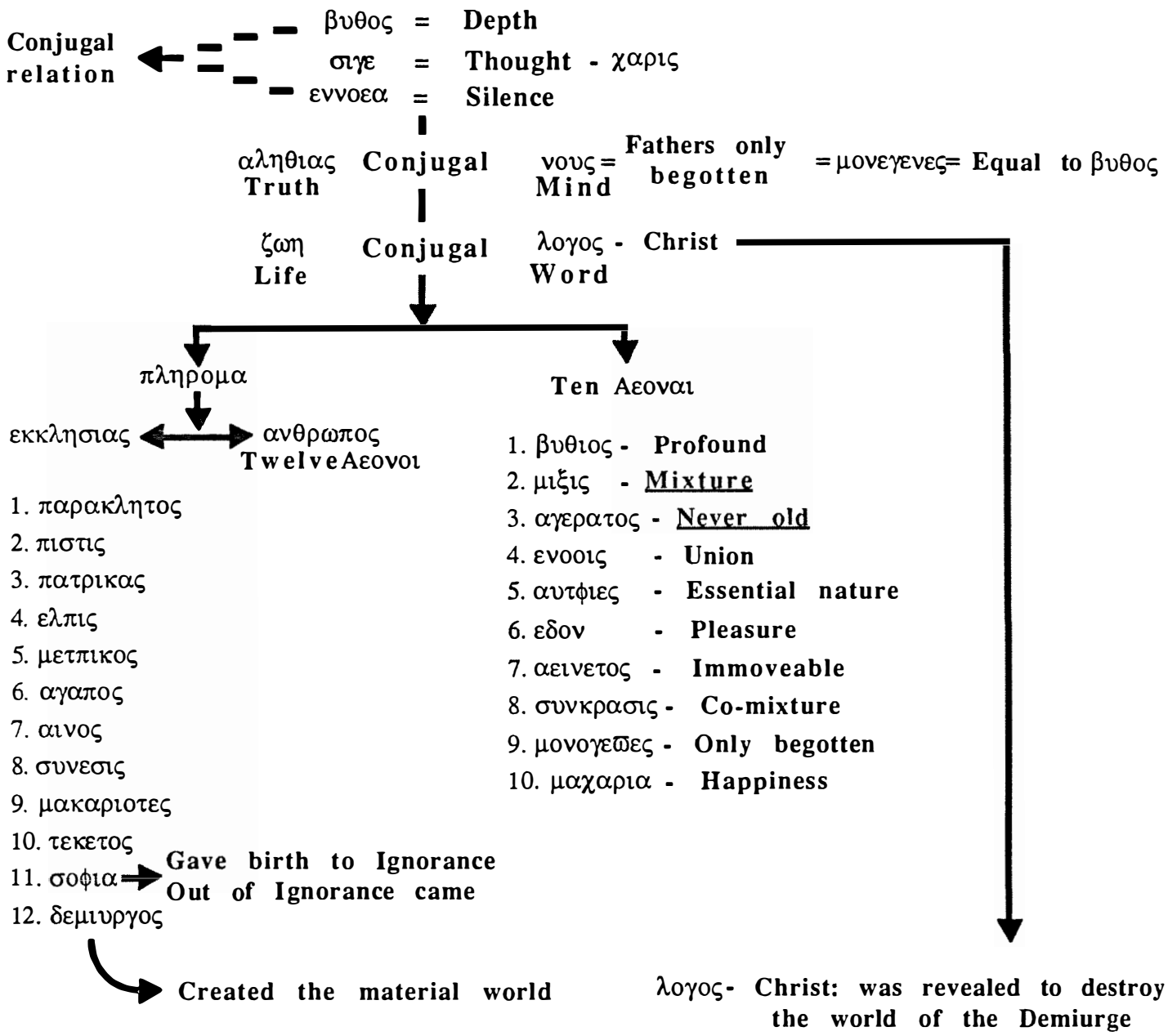
The attempt to place the origin of darkness and thereby of the dualistic rift of being within the Godhead itself and thus to develop the divine tragedy, the necessity of salvation itself arising from it, and the dynamics of this salvation itself as wholly a sequence of inner -divine events.<sup>150</sup> God becomes the source of darkness or sin for the Valentinians. The major concern here were the dualistic rift within the Godhead which in the end resulted in the recognition of a second God. The difference between the Valentinians and the Marcionite is that while the Marcionites claimed the Creator, the Demiurge was completely evil, the Valentinians, as propagated by Plotemy's "letter to Flora," saw the Creator of the world not as evil but as one whom they call the perfect "Pre-existent Aeon", "the Pre-Beginning", and "Fore -Father", "the Abyss". He inhabits the unseen and unnameable heights. They also recognized the Demiurge as Father and God of all beings outside the Pleromic system.<sup>151</sup> Although the Valentinians perceived and propagated dual deities, they were not content as was Marcion to hold to one Deity as the only good one. Instead, they weaved a system in which they Dei-

personified the emanations of God which they called Aeons.<sup>152</sup> They called this system the *Pleroma* . An attempt to portray these emanations is found in the next page.

Tertullian's response to this system is full of mockery and sarcastic reproductions of Valentinian thought. Tertullian contended against the introduction of the plurality of Gods which he insisted was an offense to the foundations of faith.<sup>153</sup> The fact that they denied the unity of the Godhead and in it's stead emphasized diversity, <sup>154</sup> greatly concerned Tertullian. Despite obvious concern in his writings, Tertullian did not give a direct answer to the Valentinians on this issue of the concept of God as one true God rather he resorted only to a report of the system. The reason for this may have been his inability to deal with speculative abstractions. He was more at home with the practical. Though he does reveal a complete dislike for the system, there are no biblically-based refutations of the Valentinian system, such as we find in Adversus Marcionem<sup>155</sup> However, he dealt with the issue of whether the one true God is the Creator of the world. His position was that since there is only one true God, according to the declaration of the Christian verity, and this one true God is the Creator of the world, it followed that any God which has not created the world is not really God.<sup>156</sup> Von Harnack faults this position taken in defense of God by saying:

The Fathers everywhere argue in defense of the Gnostic Demiurge against the Supreme God without realizing that they could argue that the Supreme God created the world.<sup>157</sup>

Von Harnack does not seem to perceive that the very controversy concerned the one true God. Is the one true God a being absolutely divorced from the universe or is He the Creator of the universe? When the Fathers defended the Creator they do not necessarily defend the Gnostic Demiurge. In fact, they did not accept the characteristics of the Gnostic Demiurge as being the one true God.<sup>158</sup> The reason for the argument against the Gnostic supreme God is because for the Christian faith, the one true God is the



The idea for this chart comes from Tertullian's Adversus  
Valentinus, Jonas' Gnosticism and Go Nag Hamadi Liabrary

Creator of the world.<sup>159</sup> Thus, the creed reads, "We believe in God the Father almighty maker of heaven and earth." The very way in which this creed was stated necessitated the position taken by the Fathers.

Tertullian quarreled with Valentinus' theology because of its plurality of gods and its attribution of Creation to one less than God.<sup>160</sup> Valentinus denied the oneness and supremacy of God. Recalling Tertullian's treatise on idolatry, this is the same idea propagated about the pagan gods where each function of the world has a particular god who is supposed to have created and for which the Christian were put to death for refusing to follow.<sup>161</sup> So, for Tertullian if the Church followed this route it would have blended very easily into the pagan society and lost not only her identity, but also her purity. In this, it can be seen that the Doctrine of God is for Tertullian the fundamental means for preservation of the purity of the Church.

This section of the paper has shown the importance of the doctrine of God for the purity of the Church by looking at the concept of God as the one true God. Tertullian's concern for the purity of the Church is manifested in his defense of God as the one true God who created the world. From Tertullian's thought we glean that, the Church must reject plurality of gods as put forward by the pagans. The plural gods of Marcion, Homogenes and Valentinus are also to be rejected to keep the Church pure from syncretism, which was and is a constant threat to the Church's purity.<sup>162</sup> With this, it should be remembered that there are other aspects of the doctrine of God which are pertinent for preservation of the Church's purity.

#### **F. THE KNOWABILITY OF GOD AND THE PURITY OF THE CHURCH**

Here is another area where Tertullian waged war against those whom he thought were destroying the purity of the Church by introducing a foreign element into the

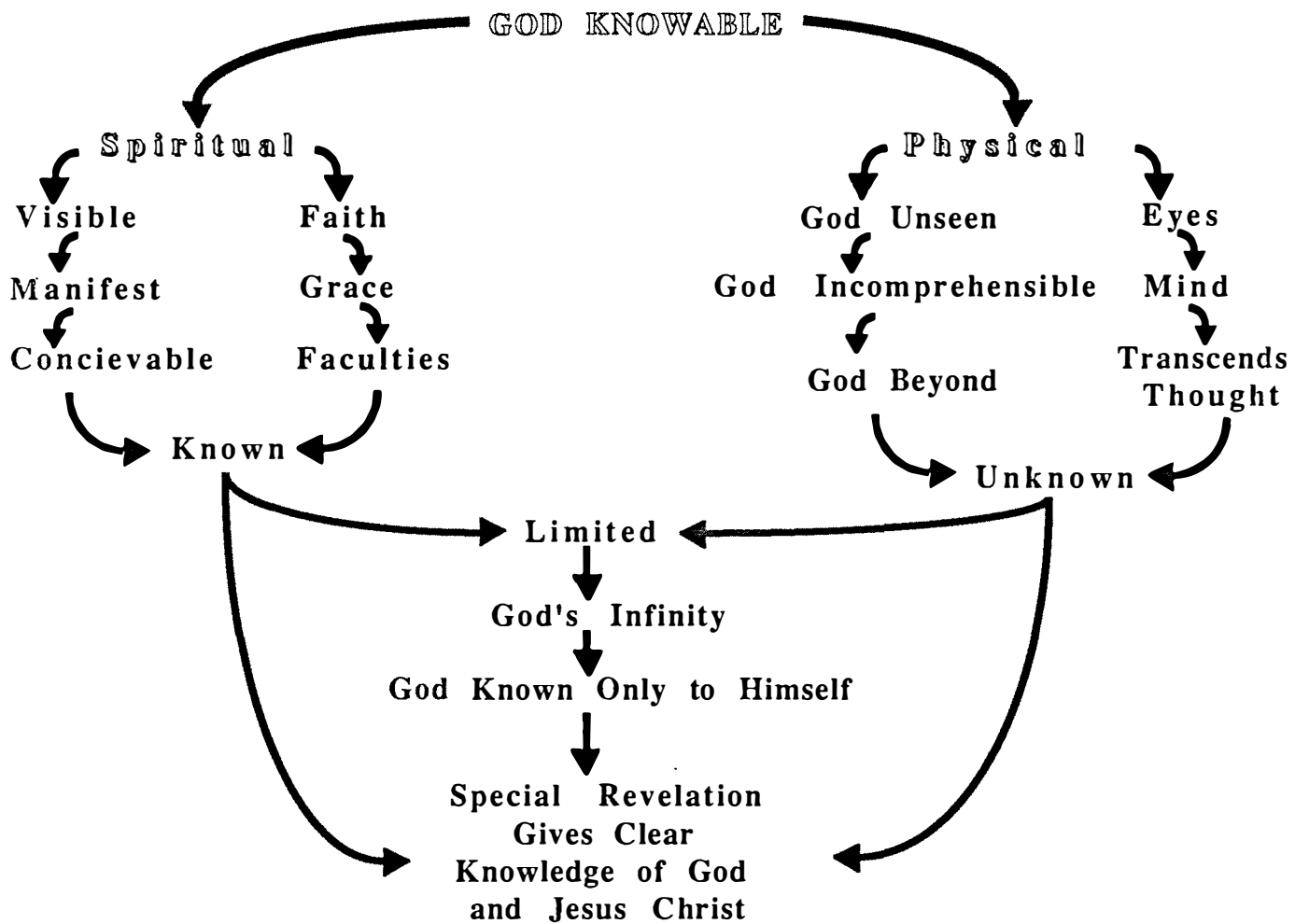
doctrine of God. The problem of the knowability of God was a constant area of battle between the pagans, the Church and the heretics.

The Gnostics zealously propagated the theory of *Deus Absconditus* (hidden God). Tertullian pointed out that Marcion maintained the real God has been unknown until the appearance of Jesus in the day of Tiberius.<sup>163</sup> The idea of the unknowable God is also at the root of Valentinian inspiration which led to the conjuncture of the emanations of the gods and ultimately to the idea that the God whom the Church knew was not the true God but one of His emanation. This God can only be known via the possession of a secret Gnosis (knowledge).<sup>164</sup> Tertullian does not seem to have any problem with the idea that man cannot fully comprehend God. His objection is to the idea that God is unknown, for him it is impossible that God should be unknown.<sup>165</sup> Marcionites wanted the Church to accept the fact that God has been unknown until the coming of Christ and to place Him beyond every human knowledge.<sup>166</sup> For Tertullian, however, there ought to be a balance between what is unknowable in God and what can be known by virtue of God's revelation of Himself to mankind.<sup>167</sup> The hiddenness of God is acknowledged yet, His self disclosure is equally emphasized. In a fashion reminiscent of a pseudo Dionysian mystic, Tertullian attempt to explain this paradoxical concept of God as being at once "*Deus Absconditus*" and "*Deus Revelatus*."<sup>168</sup>

The eye cannot see Him He is spiritually visible He is incomprehensible though in grace, He is made manifest. He is beyond our utmost thought He is presented to our mind in His transcendence as at once known and unknown that which is infinite known only to itself.<sup>169</sup>

Even though Tertullian was reacting against the over-emphasis on the knowability of God by the Gnostics, he was also struggling with the articulation of the concept. In a sense Tertullian ended almost at the same place as the Gnostic heretics. The only difference was that he sees the knowledge of God as possible not only for a few, but for all (see figure 2 next page). "The knowledge of God is the dowry of the soul"<sup>170</sup> said Tertullian,





The idea for this chart comes from Tertullian's Anti Marcionite Writings

yet God must transcend human knowledge.<sup>171</sup> Tertullian's idea of the knowable God falls into place when his statement is analyzed, but the dualistic approach and conclusion does not seem to differ that much from Gnostic approach and conclusion. The only difference is that Tertullian allowed for the knowability of God before Christ though this knowledge was extremely limited.<sup>172</sup>

It should be noted that Tertullian was not free from the tendency to polarize the physical and the spiritual in spite of all his attack on Gnostic dualism.<sup>173</sup> It was this very process of thought which led the Marcionites and Valentinians to conclude that a God who reveals Himself and is known by man through nature cannot be the true God.<sup>174</sup> Tertullian's conclusion obviously is not very different from the view of the Gnostics who claimed that the true God is unknown because He transcends the physical world. Since Tertullian allowed that only Christ truly revealed God and this was Marcion's contention.

The dividing line, between Tertullian and the people he was writing against is that Tertullian understands the limits of man's ability to comprehend God.<sup>175</sup> The reason was obvious to Tertullian, there was nothing in the world which gives a complete analogy of who God is.<sup>176</sup> The expansion of the human mind is simply incapable of arriving at the knowledge of God on its own. Tertullian's contemptuous remarks regarding philosophy, is a reactions against the claims of philosophers to have arrived at an indubitable knowledge of God by human ratiocination independent of God.<sup>177</sup> D'ales is right in commenting on Tertullian's perception of philosophers as "forge des Diex selon sa fantasie."<sup>178</sup>

Along with the above however, Tertullian emphasized that this God breadth and length of the human mind through grace does willingly disclose Himself to man man. All knowledge of God is a gift from God Himself.<sup>179</sup> In this sense Tertullian would agree with the Gnostics that man cannot know God apart from God's gracious revelation of Himself. The fight is clearly a struggle to keep the Church pure by keeping a balanced

view of God's transcendence with God's immanence, His hiddenness with His self disclosure. If the Church chose God's transcendence over against His immanence, then She would have to guess about the existence of God. This would lead to endless speculation.<sup>180</sup> If however, the Church took the idea of the complete knowability of God, or His immanence as opposed to His transcendence, she would end up with a Pantheism which is contradictory to the nature of God. This would lead to the presumption that God can be known just as men know everyday materials around them. Tertullian did not spend any significant time on the hidden and transcendent aspects of God. The reason for this arises from the Old Testament statement which says, "The secret things belong to the Lord Our God, but the things revealed belong to us and to our sons forever, that we may observe all the words of the law."<sup>181</sup> To speculate about the secret things of God for Tertullian was to display unwarranted arrogance.<sup>182</sup> God has revealed Himself to man as He wills man to know Him. God cannot be totally unknown as the Gnostics claim.

Tertullian maintained the revelation of God in nature, innately in the human soul and in the divine scriptures. In De Virginibus Velandis ,Tertullian stated:

The defense of our opinion is as follows, according to Scripture, nature discipline , Scriptures establishes law, nature testifies to it and discipline demands it which of these is primary authority, or what element of diversity is there between them? Scripture is of God, nature is of God, discipline is of God, whatever goes against these is not of God . If scripture is uncertain, nature is clear, and from us witness nature cannot be uncertain.<sup>183</sup>

These revelations were put forward as an attempt to balance the Church's perspective on the knowability of God and to show that every human being has an opportunity to know God

The first of this revelation of God to man is found in nature. You want to know God? queries Tertullian, " then you have proof from the work of His hands so numerous and so great which both contain the sustains you."<sup>184</sup> This was another of Tertullian's attacks on the Gnostic idea that Nature repulses God. Instead of repulsing God, Nature proves

Him, because God made Nature Tertullian included providence "which contain(s) and sustain(s) you"<sup>185</sup> in natural revelation.

Natural revelation of God was adverse to the Gnostics, Marcion contended that the world is not worthy of the true God.<sup>186</sup> Tertullian responded that God is proved to exist because the universe belong to Him.<sup>187</sup> The first reason for even supposing the existence of God is the fact that the world exists. When Marcion talked about a god who is unrevealed, he confirmed a dream god who has nothing to prove his existence.<sup>188</sup> The universe is a revelation of the existence of the one true God.<sup>189</sup> For Tertullian, the creation of the world by God sealed the fact that God exists.

The second aspect of God's revelation of Himself which shows that God can be known is God's revelation which is innate in the human soul.<sup>190</sup> It testifies to existence of God. Tertullian's confidence in God's revelation of Himself to the soul is nowhere stated more clearly than in his exclamation "O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae"<sup>191</sup> (O testimony of the soul naturally Christian). This remark regarding the natural Christianity of the soul by Tertullian would seem to contradict his position on the inability of the natural mind to arrive at the knowledge of God. But Tertullian differentiated between the natural state of the soul which receives God's revelation from the soul in a state of rebellion.

The soul is in an unnatural state now. Presently, said Tertullian, the soul is under the oppressive bondage of the body, having been deceived into ignorance by depraving customs encumbered by lust and passion, sold and enslaved by false gods.<sup>192</sup> Here lies the error of a philosophy which tries to find God in the unnatural state of the soul. The key for Tertullian was to recognize that the soul in its natural state has a revelation of God but in the unnatural state it is encumbered by too many sins and cannot perceive this revelation. For Tertullian, the soul like a drunken man may forget about God in its reculant state, but:

. . . whenever the soul comes to itself as out of surfeit or a sleep, or a sickness and attains something of its natural soundness it speaks of God using no other [name] word because this is the peculiar name of the true God. ' God is great and good' - 'which may God give' are the words on every lip. It bears witness too that God is judge exclaiming, 'God sees' and 'I commend myself to God' and ' God will-repay me' . . . Then too in using such words as these, it [the soul] looks not to the capitol but to heaven, it knows that there is the throne of a living God. . . .<sup>193</sup>

The soul according to Tertullian knows that the name 'God' belongs legitimately to the true God.<sup>194</sup> It knows this not through philosophical ratiocination but by what God has bestowed on man as a "dowry upon the soul."<sup>195</sup> Tertullian insisted that the Church has grounds to teach that there is one true God and that this God has never been hidden.

Finally, there is the revelation of God in Scripture, through which one knows that God can be known and does want to be known by all. This revelation is not a refutation but a completion of God's revelation in nature and the soul:

that we might attain an ampler and more authoritative knowledge at once of Himself and of His counsels and will, God has added (this written revelation for the behalf of everyone whose heart is set on seeking Him, that seeking he may find and finding believe and believing obey).<sup>196</sup>

Several factors become evident as one looks closely at the above statement. First, the revelation of God in Nature and the human soul are incomplete while the revelation of the divine Scriptures are complete. Second, the revelations of Nature and the soul are indirect, while the revelation of the divine Scripture was given directly to man by God Himself, making it more authoritative than the others.<sup>197</sup> Third, because the revelation of Scripture is direct, it is more plain and easier to understand even by the most simple of minds<sup>198</sup> One does not have to be Thales, Anaximander, Athenagoras, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato or Aristotle in order to understand this revelation of God to man. For Tertullian, the final search for God must be made in scripture which point to God's ultimate revelation found in the person of Jesus Christ.<sup>199</sup>

The Church possessed a revelation which gave it the true knowledge of God. There can be no knowledge of God found outside the channels which God has chosen to reveal Himself.<sup>200</sup> Tertullian expressed this when he said, "there is a limitation, this limitation is marked by Christ who will not have the believer seeking the knowledge of God outside His teachings."<sup>201</sup> The very purity of the Church was threatened and may even be lost if the Church accepted the view that God is hidden because it led to all manner of speculation. This can be seen clearly from Marcion who from the hiddenness of God constructed his own god and greatly misunderstood Christ.

The purity of the Church was preserved by the idea that God can be known even if this knowledge is limited.<sup>202</sup> For it kept the Church from uncertainty about who God is. The Church knows what she is seeking when she seeks God. The Church is not hesitant about what she believes for hesitancy itself is impurity.<sup>203</sup> This is the difference between the true Church and the heretics. The true Church has come to know God and has believed Him with confidence. The others "hold the knowledge of God only provisionally".<sup>204</sup>

This section has dealt with God as knowable and has shown that for Tertullian, God is knowable only by His self-disclosure to man. God reveals Himself through nature, the soul and scripture. If God reveals Himself, it follows that man can know or at least God expects man to know Him. So, the Church could not emphasize a hidden God and remain pure and true.

There is, however, the question of God's character. What makes up the Person of God? The way the Church looks at the attributes of God will also determine her purity. The next section will deal with how Tertullian saw the attributes of God and how Tertullian's opponents, "the heretics" perceived these attributes. The effect of the views of God's attributes on the purity of the Church as Tertullian saw it, will be examined.

## G. THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD AND THE PURITY OF THE CHURCH

The first attribute of God to be considered is the Eternity of God. Tertullian maintained that "God is uncreated, ungenerated, without beginning or end."<sup>205</sup> God's existence does not depend on any being beside Himself. According to Tertullian, this attribute can only belong to God, if God is one and uniquely supreme.<sup>206</sup> The idea of the Oneness of God necessitates the singularity, supremacy and eternity of God. Homogenes went astray by attributing eternity to another beside God, to "matter."<sup>207</sup> For Tertullian this destroyed the Christian concept of God. Valentinus also erred here in Tertullian's view, because he attributed generation to God.<sup>208</sup>

Tertullian's definition of God's eternity was neither *derived* eternity, that is, an eternity which had a beginning but has no end nor an *underived* eternity which nevertheless has an end.<sup>209</sup> This eternity of God is constant. It extends backward into the eternal past and forward into the eternal future. His existence is not changed either by innate deficiency or by external phenomena. The purity of the Church depends on the fact that it was founded in eternity by the eternal God through the eternal sacrifice of Christ.

The second attribute of God which becomes evident as Tertullian defends the doctrines of God is the Omnipotence of God or his unlimited power to preserve and control the universe. "For this is the attribute of God," Tertullian says, "that all things are His and all things belong to Him."<sup>210</sup> The Omnipotence of God is clearly demonstrated in His control of all spiritual forces. Tertullian used the example of the casting out of demons as a defense of the Christian God, in the Apologeticum.<sup>211</sup> The Church's power over the demonic powers clearly vindicated the Omnipotence of God. Tertullian used the idea that "nothing is impossible with God,"<sup>212</sup> in his refutation of Homogenes. Homogenes attributed impotence to God to vindicate God from the origin of evil.<sup>213</sup> God could not stop evil for the reason that evil was eternal in matter and independent of God.

For Tertullian, the omnipotence of God is not threatened by the presence of evil in the world, since man by his own free will chose evil and suffers the consequences of his choice.<sup>214</sup> God is Omnipotent whether He acts according to the scheme we map out or not. God is not bound by our concept of who He is.<sup>215</sup> The Omnipotence of God cannot be separated from His creation of all things. This doctrine of God needed to be defended against any attack because herein lay the foundation for preaching the ultimate triumph of God. If the Church lost the concept of God's omnipotence, the Christian God, rather than being the supreme would become just another of the gods who rise and fall, live and die. Thus even the unique identity of the Church will be lost if the omnipotence of God is lost.

There is a third attribute of God, Goodness. Tertullian maintained that God is good, not because he needed to defend God, but because he sees this as essential for the purity of the Church. Goodness motivates God's willingness to disclose Himself to the world.<sup>216</sup> God's goodness said Tertullian, "is eternal not a product of a sudden accidental boon, (*obventicae bonitatis*) nor did it come into being in some excited impulse (*provocaticae animationis*)".<sup>217</sup> God's goodness towards man may have originated in time but goodness as the character of God is eternal. Tertullian insists on this when he said:

Until time began that *Goodness* which created the *time existed without time* even as before beginning the *Goodness* which established beginning existed without beginning. Exempt then from both order of beginning and from measure of time, God's goodness must be of age *unmeasurable* and without end. . . . It must be taken to be *eternal ingenerate in God everlasting*, and in that account *worthy of God*.<sup>218</sup> (emphasis mine).

It is important to note what points Tertullian emphasized here regarding the goodness of God. Tertullian's reliance on the eternity of God in dealing with the attributes suggests that the worth of these attributes was founded first upon God's eternity. It does not seem to be God's mere goodness, which separates Him from other being who are temporal and



caused ( *obventiciae bonitatis* ) by events. Even the pagan gods according to their myths may resort to goodness occasionally but they cannot be expected to be consistently good because goodness is not ingenerate in them.<sup>219</sup> However, goodness is "ingenerated" in the true God; it is everlasting.<sup>220</sup> Secondly, it is goodness worthy of God. From what has been said concerning Tertullian's view of God, the goodness worthy of God is the goodness found only in Him in unique way in conformity with the supremacy of God. It must be a "supreme goodness." Marcion denied the goodness of the Biblical God, who is the Creator of the universe.<sup>221</sup> The only good God is wholly other, hidden completely from the world and unknown by the universe.<sup>222</sup> According to Marcion, the God of the Jews who created the universe was not good.

Against Marcion, Tertullian response was, God's goodness is revealed in the creation of humankind. God has provided for human beings, given them the authority to rule the created order and to receive sustenance from it.<sup>223</sup> Tertullian's argument for the goodness of God arises from the idea that goodness is revealed in action.<sup>224</sup> (A position which appears to have been a result of his practical orientation). Tertullian does not hesitate to point out that Marcion's god is destitute of goodness since he neither took the initiative to create or to reveal his goodness to man.<sup>225</sup> Tertullian concluded that if there is such a god as Marcion proposes, he must be totally devoid of compassion to allow human beings to suffer for so long without revealing himself.<sup>226</sup> From Tertullian's perspective, the Creator whom Marcion castigates for "malevolence" is better than Marcion's god. It is goodness which said, "Let us make man in our image."<sup>227</sup> The same goodness molded the first human from the dust, breathing life into his nostrils instead of death.<sup>228</sup>

Marcion challenged the concept of the goodness of God by pointing to the presence of evil in the world which Tertullian has used to challenge his idea of the unknown God (viz). The question for Marcion is how could a good God allow all the evil which is so

obvious in the world? If God is actually good there should be no evil. For Tertullian, the existence of evil does not impinge on the goodness of God. God in His goodness created the first human being and given him freedom to choose good or evil. A human-being, says Tertullian, is created a free being by God, master of his own will and power, and was truly a manifestation of God's image in this respect.<sup>229</sup> Since man is master of his own will and power, and was created good from the beginning, the evil in man or in nature, should not be attributed to any deficiency in the goodness of God. God cannot be held responsible for man's misuse of goodness such as liberty bestowed upon man by God's goodness. This idea is stated clearly by Tertullian when he says, "For liberty will not retort its own sin on the one who bestowed, but on him by whom it was improperly used. Any attempt to fault God is met with a strong rebuttal from Tertullian.

Tertullian does not deal with God's goodness in isolation. God's goodness is dealt with as it relates to the idea of God's justice. God's goodness is placed on the same level as God's attribute of justice.<sup>231</sup> "Justice" says Tertullian, is not to be conceived as having its origin subsequent to the fall of man. Justice is co-eval with goodness.<sup>232</sup> According to Tertullian, to suppose that God's justice originated with the entrance of evil is to tarnish it with the cause of evil.<sup>233</sup> The justice of God is eternal in God as is the case with goodness and does not need evil in order to exist.

Marcion's denial of the Creator's goodness is based on the assumption that goodness and justice are antithetical.<sup>234</sup> Marcion regarded the punishment of evil as evil in itself. Marcion in order to prove the incompatibility of goodness and justice uses Jesus as example. Tertullian answered this by comparing Jesus Christ with the God of the Old Testament considered by Marcion to be evil. He arrives at the conclusion that there is no difference in character between the God of the Old Testament and Jesus Christ. This subject is worthy of another paper.

## CONCLUSION

Upon the examination of Tertullian's works, there is no evidence strong enough to convince the writer that Tertullian became a Montanist. The lexical borrowing such as the use of dualistic languages; Psychikos/Pneumatikos. The use of Paracletus in reference to the Holy Spirit could have been direct quotations from the scripture. One does not have to postulate a Montanist conversion to explain these lexical borrowings. Neither can one use the few references to Montanists in Tertullian's writings to arrive at conclusion that he was a Montanist. There are several other places where Tertullian said good things about Stoics, Plato and even Emperors. To suggest Tertullian was Stoic, Platonist or a Tory would be bad scholarship, those who use this Montanist evidence fall into the same trap.

Due to the long tradition behind Tertullian's Montanism it has become highly difficult for anyone to challenge this concept. However, after this work the writer concludes that Tertullian's conversion into Montanism is doubtful.

The emphasis on Tertullian's "Montanism" has always thrown a dark cloud on his main emphasis which is the doctrine of God as it relates to the purity of the Church. Tertullian was interested in more than the preservation of the Church as an institution. His interest lay in the preservation of the Church's doctrinal purity, especially as espoused in the doctrine of God. This means that the Church must express the singularity and supremacy of God.

Tertullian's problem with heretics such as, Marcion, Valentinus, and Homogenes stems basically from his idea that the singularity (i.e. oneness of God) and the supremacy of God are the corner stone of the Church's purity. The forcefulness with which he attacks any trend of thought which may lead to the postulation of two Gods is a

clear support that for him plurality of gods means no supreme God, and no supreme God means an impure church.

The easiest doctrine to fall under disrepute is the doctrine of God as one. Today's church as well must guard against a distorted idea of God. For a distorted idea of God, means a distorted idea of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Church and morality. This is exactly what Tertullian thought the Church could not afford in his day neither can the Church in our day.

Tertullian saw that, also essential for the purity of the Church is the maintenance of a balanced perspective of God's goodness and His justice. This is the basic contention between Tertullian and Marcion. The Church needs to return to this emphasis. To stress God's goodness over against His justice is to sanction metaphysical confusion. To emphasize justice without goodness is spiritual tyranny. An over-emphasis on one will inevitable lead the Church to impurity. The emphasis of God's singularity and supremacy and a balance view of His justice and goodness will keep the Church pure.

## **ENDNOTES**

### **INTRODUCTION**

<sup>1</sup>E. Bolaji Idowu, African Traditional Religion: A Definition ,(London: SCM. Press Ltd. 1973). encourages the syncretizing of Christian principles with elements of traditional religion which appear to contradict each other.

<sup>2</sup>Q. S. Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Translated and Edited by S.L. Greenslade, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press N.D.), p.36

### **SECTION ONE**

<sup>1</sup>W.F. Hogan, "Tertullian" Catholic Encyclopaedia.

<sup>2</sup>Shirely Jackson Case, Makers of Christianity: From Jesus to Paul, (London: Kenn Rat Press, Reissued 1971), p.82

<sup>3</sup>Hogan "Tertullian," p.571

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Adversus Praxeans, The Ante Nicene Fathers Vol.3, Edited by Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, Revised by Rev. Cleveland Coxe. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1903). Tertullian uses several Greek words in this work: e.g. Oikonomia divine economy in reference to God, Monarchia, Probole, and several others showing that Tertullian was acquainted with Greek.

<sup>7</sup> Case, p.83

<sup>8</sup>Hogan, "Tertullian", p.522

<sup>9</sup>Augustus Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, Vol.1, Translated by Joseph Terry (Boston: Gocker & Brewk, 1849), p.490.

<sup>10</sup>Opp.Cited Case, p.82.

<sup>11</sup>Hogan "Tertullian", p.521 cp. Phillip Schaff, History of the Christian Church Voll.II. (Grand Rapids, WM. B. Eerdmans 1956), pp.125-127 nt4.

<sup>12</sup>Q.S. Tertullian "Treatise on the Soul" The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.3 Edited by Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, Translated by Peter Holmes Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903),pp.

<sup>13</sup> S.A. Cook et al. Editors, The Cambridge Ancient History Vol.XII(Cambridge, Cambridge University Press Rpr. 1981), pp.456.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 457.

<sup>15</sup> Phillip Schaff, History of the Christian Religion, Vol.II (Grand Rapids, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), p.

<sup>16</sup> G.L. Bray, Holiness and the Will of God: Perspectives on the Theology of Tertullian, (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979) p. Bray has successfully shown that Neander and Harnack glossed over the "Montanists" of Tertullian accepting uncritically, traditions about his conversion in order to pursue their presupposed agenda.

<sup>17</sup>Case, p.83-84.

<sup>18</sup> Cecil J. Cadoux, The Early Christians and The World: A History of Christian attitude to Pagan Society and the State Down to the time of Constantine, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Rpr. 1955), p.459

<sup>19</sup>T. D. Barnes, Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. Accepts the Montanism of Tertullian without question.

<sup>20</sup>Adolf Von Harnack, History of Dogma Vol.2, Translated by Nell Buchanan (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958), p

<sup>21</sup>G-Paul Monceaux, Histoire Litteraire del' Afrique Christien (Paris, 1901) Cited by G. L. Bray, Holiness and the will of God: p. 22.

<sup>22</sup>Cook et al. Eds. p.22.

<sup>23</sup>Bray, p.22.

<sup>24</sup>Neander, p.496.

<sup>25</sup>William Smith and Wase, A Dictionary of Christian Biography Vol.IV. (New York: Milwood, Kraus Rpr. Co.1974), p.822. Bishop Kaye is of the same opinion.

<sup>26</sup>Hogan, p.525.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid, Smith and Wase, p.822.

<sup>28</sup>Q.S. Tertullian "Ad Matyras" The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3 Edited by Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, Trans, by Rev. S. Thelwall, Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.693ff

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. Comp. with De Fuga in Persecutionis Ch.vi

<sup>30</sup>Op. cit.Smith and Wase,p.824

<sup>31</sup>Opp. Cite Smith and Wase. p.823.

<sup>32</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticum ,Ch.XXX.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Smith and Wase, p.824.

<sup>34</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch. XII.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., Cp. Homer Odyssey.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., Tertullian , Apologeticum, Ch.XVI.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Ch.XXX.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., Ch. XVI.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., Ch. XXVIII.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Smith and Wase,pp.840. Tert. Apol.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid. Ch.XXIV.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. Ch. XXIII.

<sup>48</sup>Opp Cited Smith and Wase.

<sup>49</sup>Tertullian Apologeticum, Ch.13



<sup>50</sup>Q.S. Tertullian Ad Nationes; The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Eds. Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Peter Holmes; Revised by Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.109ff

<sup>51</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Testimoniae Animae, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Eds. Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, Trans. by Rev'd. S. Thelwall; Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.175ff.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid

<sup>53</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Adversus Judaeos, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3 , Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson; Trans. by Rev. Rev. S. Thewall, Revised by A Cleveland Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.151ff

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Oratione, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ed. A. Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid. Ch. XXIX.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Q.S. Tertullian. De Baptismo, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ed.by A. Robert and James Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903),pp.669ff.

<sup>61</sup>Ch.XI, Tertullian says that during baptism, "Few words are uttered in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit while the individual is dipped into water".

<sup>62</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Poenitentia, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Trans. by S. Thelwall; Revise by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1903),p.657.

<sup>63</sup>Tertullian, De Baptismo, Ch.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., Tertullian, De Poenitentia, Ch.III

<sup>65</sup>Ibid. Ch.X.

<sup>66</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Spectaculis, The Ante-Nicene Father, Ed, A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall; Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), pp.79ff.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid. Ch. IV, V

<sup>68</sup>Ibid. Ch.XXX

<sup>69</sup>Ibid

<sup>70</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Cultu Feminarum I & II, The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Eds. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.14ff.

<sup>71</sup>Smith and Wase, p.844.

<sup>72</sup>Tertullian, De Cultu Feminarum Vol.II Ch.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Idolatria, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Eds. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall Rev. by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.61ff.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid. Ch.VII

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Patientia Vol.3, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Eds. A. Roberts & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Rev. S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.707ff.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid. Ch.I

<sup>79</sup>Ibid. Ch.III

<sup>80</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Ad. Uxorem I & II, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.4, Ed. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by Rev. A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.39ff.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. Book I, Chapter

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid. Book I, Ch. V.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Opp Cited, Smith and Wase, pp.840

<sup>86</sup>Ibid. Tertullian, Ad. Uxorem Ch.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Tertullian, Ad. Uxorem Book II Ch.

<sup>90</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, The Ant-Nicene Fathers, Ed. by A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Peter Holmes, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.243ff.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3 p. 240.

<sup>92</sup>Greenslade, Early Latin Theology, p.30.

<sup>93</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.I.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Opp Cited, Greenslade p.35

<sup>96</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione haereticum, Ch.III.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Corona, The Nicene Church Fathers, Eds. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Rev. S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.79ff

<sup>99</sup>Smith & Wase. pp.854.

<sup>100</sup>Tertullian, De Coron, Ch.XIV.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid. Ch.XV.

<sup>103</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Fuga In Persecutionis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ed. A. Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. Rev. S. Thelwall, Revised A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.116ff.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid. Ch.IX.

<sup>108</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Exhortatione Castitatis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.4, Ed. A. Robert. and J. Donaldson, Trans. By Rev. by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.50ff.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., Ch. IX

<sup>110</sup>Smith & Wase, p.851

<sup>111</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Viginibus Verlandis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.4 Ed. A.Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Rev. S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.27ff.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., Ch.VII

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., Ch.XIV

<sup>114</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Adversus Homogenes, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3, Ed. A. Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Peter, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.477ff.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., Ch.II

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol3. Ed. A.Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Robert, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903)pp.503ff.

<sup>118</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Carne Christe, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol3. Ed. A.Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Holmes Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.521.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid. Ch.VI

<sup>120</sup>Ibid, Ch. IXXI & XXVI

<sup>121</sup>Ibid.

<sup>122</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Resurrectione Carnis, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ed. A.Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Holmes Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.543ff.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>Smith & Wase, p.857

<sup>126</sup>Q. S. Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book I-V, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.3 Ed. A Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. by Dr. Holmes, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903)pp.269ff.

<sup>127</sup>Neander, p.  
D'ales, La Theologie de Tertullian, (Paris: Gabriel Buachenesd, 1908) p.40 Smith & Wase.p.844.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.3

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., Smith & Wase, p.852

<sup>130</sup>As a matter of fact Tertullian's use of Scripture increases with every book. The reverse would have occurred if he gave priority to prophecy over scripture. However, no prophecies besides those already contained in scripture appears in the later books.

<sup>131</sup>The Church from the days of the apostles appear to have made this distinction.  
John G.

<sup>132</sup>Bray, P.55.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., p.64

<sup>134</sup>P.de Laboriole, La Crise Montaniste, (Paris: 1913) p.190

<sup>135</sup>Ibid., Bray.

<sup>136</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, De Anima, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.3 Eds. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.175ff.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., Ch.I, III, XI.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., Ch. V-VIII

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., Ch.VIII

<sup>140</sup>Harnack, Vol,II p.179.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid. Tertullian De Anima, Ch.LVIII

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., Ch.X

<sup>143</sup>Opp Cited Smith & Wase , p.855.

<sup>144</sup>Loc Cited, Neander, Vol.I, p.561

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., Tertullian De Anima, Ch.XI

<sup>147</sup>Ibid. Ch. XVIII

148 Q.S. Tertullian, De Pallio, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.4, Ed. A. Robert and J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) p.5ff.

149 Ibid., Ch.VIII

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid., Ch.IV

152 Ibid., Ch.III

153 Ibid.

154 Q.S. Tertullian, Scorpiace, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3, Eds. A Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp633ff.

155 Loc Cited, Smith and Wase, p.862

156 Ibid. Ad. Matyrrii Ch.

157 Ibid. De Monogamia, Ch.VI

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

160 Q.S. Tertullian, De Monogamia, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3, Ed A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans by S. Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.59ff.

161 Ibid., Ch.VI

162 Ibid., Ch.VI



163Ibid., Tertullian, De Monogormia, Ch.V.

164Ibid.Ad Scapulam, Ch. IX

165John Bishop of Bristol, Eccelessiastical History of the Second and Third Century: Tertullian, (London: Gr. Ptlth. Faman Oreden, Welsh and Hans. N.D.) p.199.

166Opp Cited,De Jejuno, Ch. VI.

167Q.S. Tertullian, Ad. Scapulam, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Ed. A. Robert & J. Donaldson, Trans. S. Thelwall, revised by A.C. Coxe (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.105ff.

168Ibid.De Paducitia, Ch.III

169Q.S. Tertullian, De Jejuno, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol.4 Ed. A Robert & J. Donaldson, trans. by Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.102ff.

170Ibid., Ch.I and XII.

171Ibid., Ch. XIII

172Q.S. Tertullian, De Pudicitia, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.4, Ed. A. Robert & J. Donaldson. Trans. by Thelwall, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.74ff.

173Cp. De. Baptismo, Ch.III

174Ibid., Ch. X, XIII

175Ibid. Ch. XVIII

<sup>176</sup>Q.S. Tertullian, Adversus Praxean, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3 Ed. A. Robert & J. Donaldson. Trans. by Dr. Holmes, Revised by A.C. Coxe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903) pp.597ff.

<sup>177</sup>Loc. Cited Smith & Wase, p.862.

## SECTION TWO

<sup>1</sup>G. L. Bray, Holiness and the will of God. p.52

<sup>2</sup>Smith & Wase, A Dictionary of Christian Biography, p.878

<sup>3</sup>Cecil J. Cadoux, The Early Church and The World,p.249,Tert. Adversus Marcion Book IV, Ch.IX

<sup>4</sup>Tertullian, De Pudicitia, Ch. XVIII

<sup>5</sup>Tertullain, De Oratione, Ch.

<sup>6</sup>Tertullian,Apologeticum, He defends the Christian doctrine of God against the pagans, Ch.XIII.

<sup>7</sup>Tertullian, De Idolatria, Ch. XXI

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>They were several religious organizations fighting for supremacy and one of the methods used to accomplish this goal was to adopt the gods of other group thereby causing amalgamation.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., De Idolatria, Ch. XXIV

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>This is one of the basis on which Tertullian has been condemned. The problem is that those who condemn him here do not seem to understand the threat that idolatry poses for Christianity in any area where it is new.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., De Idolatria, Ch.IX, XII, XV.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.,Ch.XII

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.XIII & XIV

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. Ch.XVII

<sup>20</sup>Cadoux, The Early Christians and the World, p.257

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Alexander Robert and James Donaldson, The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol.3. pp.43  
Comments of the Editor.

<sup>23</sup>John Bishop of Bristol, Ecclesiastical History of The Second and Third Century: Tertullian, p.5 This was his thesis in the book.

<sup>24</sup>Cadoux, p.100

<sup>25</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.XVI

<sup>26</sup>Tertullia, Ad.Matyrii, Ch.VII

<sup>27</sup>Opp Cited, John Bishop of Bristol, p.123

<sup>28</sup>Jejunio is a good example of this of Tertullian's uncompromising orientation.

<sup>29</sup>Tertullian, De Pudicitia ,Ch. VII

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Ch. VII & X

<sup>32</sup>Loc Cited, John Bishop of Bristol, p.123

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.,p.125

<sup>34</sup>Tertullian, De Poenitentia, Ch.VI.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., Ch.VIII

<sup>36</sup>Tertullian, Praescription Haereticum, C

<sup>38</sup>Tertullian, De Pudicitia, Ch.I, II, V.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ephes.5:25

<sup>41</sup>Louis Bouyer, A History of Christian Spirituality Vol.1 , (New York: Seabury Press, 1983) p.453.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.XX

<sup>44</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book, Ch.XVI

<sup>45</sup>Ibid, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch. XX

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid. Ch.XIII

<sup>48</sup>Tertullian, De Virginibus Velandis,

<sup>49</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Praxean, Ch.II

<sup>50</sup>R.A. Markus, The Problem of Self Definition: From Sect to Church" Jewish and Christian Self Definition Vol. Ed, E.P. Sanders (Philadelphia: Fotress Press, 1980) p.6

<sup>51</sup>The statement is repeated by Tertullian in several different ways in all his works.

<sup>52</sup>Tertullian, De Virginibus Velandis, Ch.III

<sup>53</sup>Tertullian, De Virginibus Velandis , Ch.II, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.XX, Adversus Praxean, Ch.II

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Praxean, Ch.I

<sup>57</sup>Timothy D. Barnes, Tertullian: Historical and Literary Study, p.44.

<sup>58</sup>Robert E. Roberts, The Theology of Tertullian, (London: Epworth Press, 1924) p.54.

<sup>59</sup>Ireanus was the same opinion see S.P. Cook, Cambridge Ancient History Vol.XII, p.455.

<sup>60</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Praxean, Ch.III

<sup>61</sup>P. de Labriolle, La Crise` Montanisme, p.

<sup>62</sup>Bray, P.58.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.XX

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., De Virginibus Velandis, Ch. VII

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

<sup>68</sup>Markus, Vol.I. p.17

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p.5

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p.6

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p.7

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p.5

<sup>73</sup>Paul did not make the distinction when writing the Corinthians. ICor.II:18-19: I hear that there are divisions among you, and I partly believed it, there must be heresies among you that they which are approved maybe made manifest among you.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Markus, p.7,8.

<sup>76</sup>See page 44 &45.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid. Markus, p.9

<sup>78</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.XX

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>Tertullian, Virginibus Velandis, Ch.II

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>see note 51.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Neander, Vol.I., p.561

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Tertullian, Apologeticum, Origen Contra Celcium

<sup>90</sup>Harnack, Vol.III., P.178

<sup>91</sup> Marcion's problem was with God, so was Valentinus and Homogenes. Christ was not the primary problem though their concept of God spilled over to Jesus Christ.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Praxean, Ch.III

<sup>94</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, Ch.III

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

<sup>96</sup>Greenslade, p.25

<sup>97</sup>Tertullian, Praescrition Haereticum, Ch.VIII

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>I Tim. 1:4; II Tim.2:17; Col.2:8

<sup>100</sup>Acts 17.

<sup>101</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.VII

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>Tertullian, De Anima, Ch. XI

<sup>104</sup>Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book I, Ch.II

<sup>105</sup>Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.XIII.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid

<sup>107</sup>Tertullian, De Idolatria, Ch.XIII, XVI

108Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.XVII

109Ibid.

110Ibid.

111Ibid., Ch.XIII

112Ibid., Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.XIV

113Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, (Beacon Hill: Beacon Press, 1958) p.141.

114Ibid.

115Ibid.

116Ibid.

117Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book I, Ch.II

118Ibid.

119Ibid., Ch.III

120Ibid., Ch. II

121Ibid., Ch.IV

122Ibid.

123Ibid.

124Ibid., Ch.X

125Ibid, Book II, Ch.V

126Ibid.

127Ibid.

128Ibid., Ch. IX



- 129Ibid.
- 130Ibid.
- 131Ibid., Book II.
- 132Ibid.
- 133Tertullian, Adversus Homogenes, Ch.II,& IV.
- 134 Ibid
- 135Tertullian, Treatise against Homogenes, Ch.II, III and IV, Trans and Anotated by J.H. Waszink, (New York: Newman Press, 1956) p.106.
- 136Ibid.
- 137Ibid.
- 138Tertullian,Adversus Homogenes, Ch. III
- 139Ibid, Treatise against Homogenes, p.108 Trans. Waszink
- 140Ibid.
- 141Ibid.
- 142Ibid.
- 143Tertullian, Adversus Homogens, Ch. II
- 144Ibid., Ch.VIII
- 145Ibid., Ch.III and XI
- 146Ibid.
- 147Waszink, Annotation, p.103
- 148Ibid, Treatise against Homogenes ,Ch.IV.P114

- 149Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, Ch.I
- 150Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, P. 174
- 151Ibid.p.192
- 152Robert M. Grant, Gnosticism , (New York: Harper and Row Brothers 1961), p.163 & 173.
- 153Von Harnack, Vol.I., p.252
- 154Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, Ch.III
- 155There are 25 biblical references in Adversus Marcionem Book I. while there are only 9 in Adversus Valentinus which is a longer book than the former.
- 156 Ibid. Ch.IV
- 157Harnack, Vol.II, p.249
- 158 Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book I, Ch. XII.
- 159Ibid.
- 160Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, Ch.II
- 161Ibid, Ch.II
- 162Tertullian, De Idolatria, Ch.XIII.
- 163Tertullian, Ad Marcionem, Bk.II, Ch.III
- 164 This is particular true of Christianity in Nigeria. Many independent churches are being formed without solid biblical foundations.
- 165Tertullian, Adversus Valentinus, Ch.III
- 166Harnack, Vol.I, p.245
- 167Tertullian, Adversus Marcion, Ch.III

168Ibid., Apol. Ch.XVIII

169Ibid., Adversus Marcionem, BK I.Ch.IV

170Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch. XVII.

172Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, Ch.X

173Ibid., Apologeticum. Ch.XVII

174Tertullian's use of dualistic language may mislead one into thinking that he was a Gnostic as Von Harnack does so aptly pointed out Valentinus himself use the language to distinguish the Gnostikoi from Moron.

175Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem BkI.Ch.I Adversus Valentinus ch.I.

176Greenslade, Early Latin Theology, Tertullian "Praescriptione Haereticum, p.38

177Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, Bk.I. Ch.XI

178Adhemar D'ales, La Theologie de Tertullian, p.42

179 Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, P.39

180Greenslade.ed. Tertullian Praescriptione Haereticum, p.39

181For example the speculation of Marcion and Valentinus.

182Deutronomy 29:29

183Tertullian, De Virginibus Velandis, Ch. XVI

184 Greenslade, Ed. Early Latin Theology. p. 3

185Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, Bk I. Ch.III

186Ibid.

187Ibid., Ch.XI

- 188Ibid., Ch.XII
- 189Ibid.
- 190Ibid.
- 191Ibid., Ch.X
- 192Tertullian, De Testimonae Animae, Ch.II
- 193Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch. XVIII
- 194Ibid.
- 195Ibid, De Testimonae Animae, Ch.I
- 196Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem Book I. Ch.X
- 197Tertullian, Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch. IX
- 198Ibid.
- 199Ibid.
- 200Ibid.
- 201Ibid.
- 202Greenslade, p.38
- 203Tertullian, De Animae, Ch.I. Praescriptione Haereticum, Ch.VII.
- 204Ibid, Prascription Haereticum, Ch.IX
- 205Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch. XVII
- 206Ibid.
- 207Tertullian, Adversus Homogenes, Ch.IV
- 208 Greenslade, p.41

- 209Ibid., Adversus Marcionem, Bk.I Ch.III
- 210Tertullian, Adversus Homogenes, Ch.III.
- 211Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.VI
- 212Ibid., Adversus Homogenes, Ch.IV
- 213Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, Ch.XXIII
- 214Tertullian, Apologeticum, Ch.XXIII
- 215Mark 11:22
- 216Tertullian, Adversus Homogenes, Ch.XI
- 217Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, Bk.II Ch.XV
- 218Ibid., Ad. Marcionem, Bk.II, Ch.III
- 219Ibid., Bk.I. Ch. XXIV
- 220Ibid., Bk.II. Ch.XI
- 221Ibid., Ch.III
- 222Tertullian, De Idolatria, Ch.I
- 223Ibid., Adversus Marcionem, Bk.II. Ch.III
- 224Ibid. Ch.V.
- 225Ibid., Bk.I. Ch.IX
- 226Ibid., Ch.XiV
- 227Ibid., Ch. XII
- 228Ibid.
- 229Ibid., Ch.XI

<sup>230</sup>Ibid., Ch.XXVI, Gen.1:26

<sup>231</sup>Ibid.

<sup>232</sup>Ibid., Ch.IX

<sup>233</sup>Ibid., Ch.V.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid., Ch.XI

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