

Outside the Heavenly City: Abortion in Rome and
the Early Church's Response

OUTSIDE THE HEAVENLY CITY:

ABORTION IN ROME
AND
THE EARLY CHURCH'S RESPONSE

Dr. Steven W. Waterhouse

Outside the Heavenly City: Abortion in Rome and
the Early Church's Response

OTHER BOOKS BY STEVEN WATERHOUSE

Not By Bread Alone; An Outlined Guide to Bible Doctrine

*Strength For His People, A Ministry
For the Families of the Mentally Ill*

Blessed Assurance; A Defense of the Doctrine of Eternal Security

*What Must I Do To Be Saved?
The Bible's Definition of Saving Faith*

Life's Tough Questions

Holy Matrimony; The Image of God in the Family

Published by Westcliff Press

First Edition 2006

Copyright 2006 by Steven W. Waterhouse

All rights reserved. This book or portions thereof may be reproduced or retransmitted without written permission from the publisher only if attributed to the author and without alteration.

Westcliff Press, P.O. Box 1521, Amarillo TX 79105 (Mailing)
5300 Amarillo Blvd. West, Amarillo TX 79106 (Office)
email: westcliff@amaonline.com
1-806-359-6362
www.webtheology.com

Printed in the United States of America

Outside the Heavenly City: Abortion in Rome and the Early Church's Response

Dr. Steven Waterhouse

The Old Testament contains the bulk of scriptural material relative to the unborn and the abortion issue. Nevertheless, the New Testament contains several passages that merit consideration. Some evidence exists to indicate that the Greek word *pharmakia* can be used of abortion-causing drugs. Therefore, the five New Testament occurrences of the *pharmakia* word group will be addressed.

A Study of *pharmakia*

Most theological studies about the unborn neglect the only New Testament texts that might be references to abortion, namely those texts that include the word *pharmakia* or one of its cognates. It is common knowledge that drugs are presently used to induce abortions. If it can be established that drug-induced abortions were also practiced in the Greco-Roman world and that the New Testament forbids such illicit usage of drugs, then the New Testament indirectly condemns the practice of abortion. In order to evaluate such a possibility, it will be necessary to establish that abortion, including abortion caused by drugs, was a common practice in the ancient world and that *pharmakia* can refer to abortifacient drugs, i.e. drugs that are used to induce abortion.

Abortion in the Ancient World

It is not difficult to demonstrate that abortion is an ancient custom. It was practiced in both Greece and Rome and was universally condemned by early Christians.

Abortion: a practice among the Greeks.

One of the most famous physicians in history, Hippocrates (460-359 B.C.), writes in his Hippocratic Oath: "Neither will I administer a poison (sic) to anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a course. Similarly, I will not give to a woman a pessary to cause abortion."¹ Hippocrates was against abortion. However, the two great philosophical giants of the Greek world maintained that abortion was a necessary and proper means of eugenics and population control.

But when, I take it, the men and the women have passed the age of lawful procreation, we shall leave the men free to form such relations with whomever they may please....first admonishing them preferably not even to bring to light anything whatever is thus conceived, but if they are unable to prevent a birth to dispose of it (Plato 427-347 B.C.).²

There must be a limit fixed to the procreation of offspring, and if any people have a child as a result of intercourse in contravention of these regulations, abortion must be practiced on it before it has developed sensation and life (Aristotle 384-322 B.C.).³

Apparently, the views of Plato and Aristotle were shared by the majority of ancient Greeks. Durant writes, "The voluntary limitation of the family was the order of the day,

¹ Hippocrates *Oath*, in Vol. 1 of 4 vols., *Loeb Classical Library*, p. 299 (*Oath* lines 18-20).

² Plato *The Republic*, Vol. 1 of 2 vols., *Loeb Classical Library*, p. 467 (*The Republic* 5:461).

³ Aristotle *Politics*, in *Loeb Classical Library*, pp. 623-24 (*Politics* 7:14:10).

whether by contraception, by abortion, or by infanticide,” and Bates mentions a French article in which the author lists twelve pages of abortifacient drugs used by the ancient Greeks.⁴ The evidence points to a widespread practice of abortion (often involving drugs) in Greece, a practice which like so much of Hellenistic culture was absorbed by the Roman Empire.

Abortion: A practice in the Roman Empire

During the period in which Rome was both at the height of her military strength and the depth of her moral depravity, abortions became frequent. Notable families used abortion as a means of birth control, and physicians wrote manuals on abortion which “were popular among great ladies and prostitutes.”⁵

Hermann Strack says that one of the reasons Jews believed entering a gentile house would make them impure was that the gentiles practiced abortion and threw their aborted babies into the drains:

The dwelling of gentiles (in the land of Israel) are (levitically) unclean (because they are accustomed to bury their abortions therein)... The house is reputed as defiled by a corpse and renders, ...the Israelite who enters there unclean for seven days.⁶

⁴ Will Durant, *The Life of Greece*, in *The Story of Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939), p. 468; Jerome Bates and Edward S. Zawadzki, *Criminal Abortion* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1964), p. 16; the French material is in Marcel Moissilles, “Contribution a l’Etude de l’Avortment dans l’Antiquite Grecque,” *Janus*, 26 (1922): 129-145.

⁵ Will Durant, *Caesar and Christ*, in *The Story of Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1944), pp. 313 and 364.

⁶ Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament* (Munich: C. H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung,

Similarly, Bates teaches that abortion in the empire was common and was practiced among all social classes:

During the time of the Roman consuls abortion was a rarity....In the halcyon days of Imperial Rome, however, the practice burgeoned without restraint among all classes....Roman ladies as well as public women were to be found patronizing the abortionists, many of whom were Greek slaves. These slaves had brought their art with them into captivity and were often to be seen as attendant freed-women to Roman ladies of rank.⁷

The Romans themselves testify to the presence of abortion and abortifacient drugs in their society.⁸ The Cornelian Law (c. 81 B.C.) was enacted against abortifacient drugs which threatened the life of the mother.⁹ It is interesting that several great Roman moralists stood firm in their belief that abortion was wrong:

If vicious ways like this had found favor with mothers of olden time, the race of mortal men would have perished from the earth....Why cheat the full

1924), 1:838-39. This is the interpretation of the German word *fehlgeburtem*, abortion or miscarriage, given by K. Marquart in "Killing with Kindness," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 41 (January, 1977): 48. (John 18:28-29 illustrates Jewish views.)

⁷ Jerome Bates, *Criminal Abortion*, p. 17.

⁸ Two Greek authors, Soranus and Plutarch, who write during the Roman period are treated in a following section, (pp. 10-13).

⁹ See Richard Hawks, "Abortion in History and the Bible," M. Div. thesis, Grace Theological Seminary, 1979, pp. 23; and Athenagoras, *Embassy for the Christians*, in *Ancient Christian Writers*, trans. by Joseph H. Crehan, edited by J. Quasten and Joseph Plumpe, 40 vols. (New York: Newman Press, 1955) p. 167 n. 305.

vine of the growing cluster, and pluck with ruthless hand the fruit yet in the green? What is ripe will fall of itself - let grow what has once become quick; a life is no slight reward for a short delay. Ah, woman, why will you thrust and pierce with the instrument, and give dire poisons (sic) to your children yet unborn? (Ovid 43 B.C. - A.D. 17).¹⁰

Never have you in the manner of other women whose only recommendation lies in their beauty, tried to conceal your pregnancy as if an unseemly burden, nor have you ever crushed the hope of children that were being nurtured in your body (Seneca 4 B.C. - A.D. 65).¹¹

So great is the skill so powerful the drugs of the abortionist, paid to murder mankind within the womb (Juvenal A.D. 60-140).¹²

These writers are direct testimony to the fact that women of the Roman Empire frequently resorted to abortion in order to resolve an unwanted pregnancy and that abortion was often induced by drugs. Like these pagan moralists, early Christians lived in a society that aborted its unwanted children. Also like them, the early Christians had much to say regarding the moral issues of their day.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, Vol. 1 of 6 vols., *Loeb Classical Library*, p. 425 (*Amores* 2:14:9-10 and 23-28).

¹¹ Seneca *Moral Essays*, Vol. 2 of 3 vols., *Loeb Classical Library*, pp. 471 and 473 (*To Helvia on Consolation* 16:3).

¹² Juvenal and Persius, *Loeb Classical Library*, p. 133 (*Satire* 6:592-97).

Abortion: The response from the early Church.

The number of references to abortion among the writings of the early church fathers is astounding. Judging from the frequency of their comments, abortion continued to be a common practice. Not only is the quantity of references to abortion remarkable, but also the unanimity of the church's condemnation of abortion and abortion-causing drugs is striking. These references provide additional evidence to demonstrate that abortion was an important moral issue in ancient times, and they lead one to wonder whether the early church's unanimous and uncertain condemnation of abortion lies in what she felt to be a scriptural basis. The following quotations give the early church's position on abortion.¹³

Thou shalt not procure abortion, nor shalt thou kill that which is begotten (*Didache* A.D. 100-120).¹⁴

And when we say that those women who use drugs to bring on abortion commit murder, and will have to give an account to God for the abortion, on what

¹³ Other church fathers who mention abortion include: *The Epistle of Barnabas* 19:5, Tertullian in *Apology* 9:8, Cyprian in *Epistle* 58, *Constitutions* 7:3:2, Basil in *Letters* 188:2 and 8, *Diognetus* 5:6, Augustine in *On Marriage and Concupiscence* 1:15-17, and *The Apocalypse of Peter* 8 (26 in Akhmim). There are also possible references in Methodius *Concerning Chastity* 2:6, *Christian Sibyllines* 2:280-290, and *The Apocalypse of Paul* 784.

¹⁴ "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, reprint ed., 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970), 7:377 (*Didache* 2:2).

principle should we commit murder? (Athenagoras A.D. 175).¹⁵

If we should but control our lusts at the start and if we would not kill off the human race born and developing according to divine plan, then our whole lives would be lived according to nature. But women who resort to some sort of deadly abortion drug kill not only the embryo but, along with it, all human kindness (Clement of Alexandria A.D. 200-215).¹⁶

There are some women who, by drinking medical preparations, extinguish the source of the future man in their very bowels, and thus commit parricide before they bring forth (Minucius Felix A.D. 210).¹⁷

Some, when they find themselves with child through their sin, use drugs to procure abortion, and when (as often happens) they die with their offspring, they enter the lower world laden with the guilt not only of adultery against Christ but also of suicide and child murder (Jerome A.D. 384).¹⁸

You see how drunkenness leads to whoredom, whoredom to adultery, adultery to murder; or rather to a something even worse than murder. For I have

¹⁵ Athenagoras, "A Plea for Christians", in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 2:147 (*A Plea for Christians* 35).

¹⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, in *The Fathers of the Church*, ed. by Ludwig Schopp (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1954) pp. 173-74.

¹⁷ Minucius Felix, "The Octavius of Minucius Felix," in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 4:191-92 (*Octavius* 30).

¹⁸ Jerome, "Letters," in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, 6:27 (Letter 22, *To Eustochium* 22:13).

no name to give it, since it does not take off the thing born, but prevent its being born. Why then dost thou abuse the gift of God.... and make the chamber of procreation a chamber for murder? For sorceries (or drugs) are applied not to the womb that is prostituted, but to the injured wife, and there are plottings, without number, and invocations of devils, and necromancies, and daily wars, and truceless fightings, and home-cherished jealousies (Chrysostom A.D. 380-400).¹⁹

These patristic sources and the classical sources that were cited earlier provide more than ample proof that abortion, including abortion by means of drugs, was a means of eliminating an unwanted pregnancy during the apostolic period. However, a question remains as to whether the ancients used the word *pharmakia* in reference to drugs that induce abortion.

Classical uses of *pharmakia*

The *pharmakia* word group has the dual meaning of “medicine” and “sorcery.” Ancient physicians were often a combination of physician and sorcerer similar to the “witchdoctor” of Africa or the “medicine man” of the American Indian. Noonan discusses this connection between medicine and sorcery and then adds a brief but important observation that pertains to abortion:

Writing in the second part of the 1st century, Plutarch said that Romulus in his original laws for Rome had enacted “a severe law” permitting a husband to divorce his wife, not only for adultery, but for “medicine in regard to children”.... In both the tradition preserved by Plutarch and in Garius the

¹⁹ John Chrysostom, “Homilies on Acts and Romans,” in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, first series, 11:520 (*The Epistle to the Romans* 24:4).

key word is “medicine” - in Greek *pharmakia*: in Latin *veneficium*. In both languages the term means use of “magic drugs.” The ambiguity of the term, which is preserved in each language, although different roots form the words, is deliberate, and reflects the attitude of the Greco-Roman culture. Drugs are intimately associated by this culture with magic; the users of Greek or Latin see no need to have two words to differentiate magic and the drugs. A univocal translation suppresses one of the two meanings suggested by the word in most contexts.... The term “medicine” in respect to children designates abortifacients.²⁰

Noonan's comment that *pharmakia* can designate abortifacients is supported by Liddell and Scott, the standard lexicon for classical Greek literature.²¹ Even more important than this, it is demonstrated by the word's usage in several classical and patristic references.

In classical literature the clearest reference of *pharmakia* referring to abortion-causing drugs is located in the *Gynecology* of Soranus. Soranus was a renowned Ephesian physician of the first century after Christ. In two passages he uses a member of the *pharmakia* word family to describe abortifacient drugs.

Natural waters which have relatively pungent qualities differ in no way from drugs (*pharmakon*) inserted for abortion. And an “expulsive,” some

²⁰ John T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 25.

²¹ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Revised by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, with a supplement edited by E. A. Barber (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 1917.

people say is synonymous with an abortive; others, however, say that there is a difference because an expulsive does not mean drugs (*pharmakois*) but shaking and leaping.²²

In the same paragraph Soranus discusses Hippocrates. He states that many in his day interpreted Hippocrates as saying he would not perform a drug-induced abortion but that he would allow a mother to “leap with the heels to the buttocks” in order to expel a child.²³ The passage in Hippocrates is not as clear as the two quotations above, but the word *homoios* (similarly) indicates that Hippocrates may be discussing two methods of abortion, one of them involving *pharmakon*, “drugs.”

Neither will I administer a poison (sic) (*pharmakon*) to anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a course. Similarly (*homoios*), I will not give to a woman a pessary to cause abortion.²⁴

Plutarch provides an additional classical reference where *pharmakia* seems to be used of abortifacients. In *Plutarch's Lives* he writes:

He (Romulus) also enacted certain laws and among them one of severity, which forbids a wife to leave her husband, but permits a husband to put away his

²² Owsei Temkin, trans., *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1956), pp. 57 and 62-63. (*Gynecology* 1:56 and 60.) The Greek interpolations are from *Soranai Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina nunc primum edita cum additis graeci textus reliquis a Deitzio repertis atque ad ipsum codicem parisiensem, nunc recognitis, a Valentio Rose*, (Lipsiae: In aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1882), pp. 223 and 229.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Hippocrates, *Loeb Classical Library*, p. 299 (*Oath* 18-20).

wife for using poisons (sic) (*pharmakia*), for substituting children, and for adultery.²⁵

Noonan's comment on this reference, which is given above, is logical.²⁶ The list of offenses, which are grounds for divorce, includes two offenses that are related to sexuality and reproduction. In all probability the usage of poison is meant as a parallel offense and refers to the wife aborting a child without her husband's consent. Cicero mentions a woman who had an abortion so she could retain a large share of her husband's property.²⁷ It is not difficult to understand how a case like this could give rise to legislation to make secret abortion a ground for divorce.

Patristic uses of *Pharmakia*

Patristic writings also yield several clear examples of the *pharmakia* word group referring to abortifacient drugs. In *Paedagogus* Clement of Alexandria says, "But women who resort to some sort of deadly abortion drug (*pharmakois*) ...kill not only the embryo but, along with it all human kindness."²⁸ Likewise, the great preacher John Chrysostom uses *pharmakeai* to mean abortifacient drugs in his *Homilies on Romans*. His comments show that medicine and witchcraft were closely related in the ancient

²⁵ Plutarch *Plutarch's Lives*, Vol. 1 of 11 vols., *Loeb Classical Library*, pp. 161-163 (*Romulus* 22:3).

²⁶ See pages 10-11

²⁷ Bates and Zawadzki, *Criminal Abortion*, p. 18.

²⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, pp. 173-74; the Greek interpolation is from Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus and Paedagogus*, ed. by Otto Stahlin (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905), p. 215 (*Paedagogus* 2:10:96:5).

world and that the immorality that often leads to an abortion can also lead to idolatry.

Wherefore, I beseech you flee fornication, and the mother of it, drunkenness....You see how drunkenness leads to whoredom, whoredom to adultery, adultery to murder....For with a view to drawing more money by being agreeable and an object of longing to her lovers, even this (abortion) she is not backward to do, so heaping upon thy head a great pile of fire....Hence too come idolatries, since many, with a view to become acceptable, devise incantations, and libations, and love-potions, and countless other plans. Yet, still after such great unseemliness, after slaughters, after idolatries, the thing seems to many to belong to things indifferent, aye, and to many that have wives too....For sorceries (*pharmakeai*) are applied not to the womb that is prostituted, but to the injured wife, and there are plottings without number, and invocations of devils, and necromancies, and daily wars, and truceless fightings, and home-cherished jealousies.²⁹

Finally, the author of the *Didache* implies that performing abortions, doing magic and *pharmakeo* are closely related. The verb does not appear to be restricted to the use of abortifacients. However, this passage seems to reinforce the idea that the progression from illicit drug use to abortion was natural to the ancient mind.

²⁹ John Chrysostom, "Homilies on Acts and Romans," in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, first series, 11:520 (*The Epistle to the Romans*, homily 24). The Greek interpolation is from Joannis Chrysostomi, *Opera Omnia Quae Exstant*, in *Bibliothecae Cleri Universae*, 18 volumina, editorem J. P. Migne (Parisiorum: Opera Et Studion D. Bern, De Montaucon, Monachi Benedictini E. Congr. S. Mauri, 1862), 9:627-28.

“Thou shall not use witchcraft; thou shalt not practice sorcery (*pharmakeuseis*), thou shalt not procure abortion, nor shalt thou kill the newborn child.”³⁰

Classical and patristic references leave no doubt that *pharmakia* can refer to drugs that induce abortion, but does it have this meaning in the New Testament?

The New Testament usage of *pharmakia*

The preceding discussion has established that abortion, including drug-induced abortion, was common to the cultural setting of the New Testament writings. It has also presented evidence to indicate that the early readers of the New Testament could have connected *pharmakia* with abortifacient drugs if the context in which the word was found suggested such a meaning. The following sections examine the contexts of the five biblical usages of the *pharmakia* group.

Paul's usage of *pharmakia*

Paul uses *pharmakia* only once. In Gal. 5:19-21a it is listed in a series of vices:

But the works of the flesh are evident which are fornication, uncleanness, sensuality, idolatry, use of magical drugs (*pharmakia*), enmity, strife, envy, anger, disputes, disagreements, dissensions, jealousies, drunkenness, carousings, and the such ...

³¹

³⁰ *The Teaching of the Twelve in the Original with Translations and Discussions of Post-Apostolic Teaching, Baptism, Worship and Discipline*, Trans. by Philip Schaff, 3rd ed. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Publishers, 1890), pp. 168-69 (*Didache* 2:2).

³¹ The author's translation.

The word *pharmakia* follows three words that indicate illicit sexual activity, *pornia* (fornication), *akatharsia* (uncleanness), and *aselgia* (sensuality), and one word that means idolatry, *idololatria*. Idolatrous worship during the New Testament period often included sexual impurity, and if Chrysostom is correct, harlots, as well as married women, used love-potions and invoked spirits in order to attract their men.³² The sins in the middle of the list could possibly be expressions of the attitudes and actions of those offended by their unfaithful partners or of those lusting for the same mate. The list of evils concludes with drunken orgies.

How would the original readers have understood this reference to *pharmakia*? Paul appears to be condemning sexual impurity and illicit drug use that is somehow associated with it. Knowing that drug-induced abortion was a common practice of the period in which the epistle was written and that *pharmakia* can refer to abortifacient drugs, it is not unreasonable to believe that Paul intended to include abortifacient drugs in this denunciation of drug abuse as it is associated with sexual immorality.

John's usage of the *pharmakia* group

In the Book of The Revelation, John uses *pharmakia* and its cognates four times. As in Galatians, most of these references involve a list of sins.

And they did not repent of their murders, neither of their magical drugs (*pharmakon*), nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts [Rev. 9:21].

Because by your sorcery (*pharmakia*) all the nations were deceived [Rev. 18:23].

³² See the quotation on pages 9-10.

But for the cowardly, and the unbelievers, and the abominable, and the murderers, and the fornicators, and the medicine men (*pharmakois*), and the idolaters, and for all deceivers their part is in the lake that burns with fire and sulphur (Rev. 21:8).

But outside are the dogs, and the medicine men (*pharmakoi*), and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters and everyone who loves and who practices falsehood (Rev. 22:15).³³

In Rev. 18:23 sorcery best fits the context. However, in Rev. 9:21 *pharmakon* is placed between the sin of murder and the sin of fornication. In Rev. 21:8 *pharmakois* follows murderers and fornicators and precedes idolaters. Likewise, in Rev. 22:15 *pharmakoi* is followed by fornicators, murderers, and idolaters. If there is any one practice that would be related to these three sins and would involve drugs, it is abortion.

It is not necessary to argue that the drug abuse of which John speaks must be limited to abortion, or to maintain that the “medicine men” did not commit additional evils with their potions. Yet, the cultural practice of drug-induced abortion, the evidence that the *pharmakia* group can be related to drugs used in abortion, and the contexts of these three passages in Revelation should alert Bible students that early readers would have understood John to be including abortifacient drugs in his condemnations. The above quotations from the early church establish that it understood the biblical condemnation of sorcery to include the practice of abortion.³⁴ Hawks' statement on the subject deserves consideration:

³³ The author's translations.

³⁴ See pp. 8-10, 13-15.

It would be unfair to insist that every New Testament use of *pharmakeia* is specifically to be translated "abortion." The word is broad and comprehensive, including all illegitimate uses of drugs for sinful ends, of which abortion was a major practice. Abortion is one specific act of the general sin of *pharmakeia*.³⁵

Conclusion to the study of *pharmakia*

Abortions were relatively frequent during the time in which the New Testament was written, and drugs were used as a means of inducing them. In several ancient writings the word *pharmakia*, or one of its cognates, is used of abortifacient drugs, and such a meaning would fit well in most of the New Testament passages that use the word. Based upon the cultural background of New Testament literature and the range of meanings for *pharmakia*, it is reasonable to conclude that the New Testament condemns abortion by its teachings on *pharmakia* and related terms. The New Testament warns that those who refuse to repent of their sorceries (including abortion doctors) will be outside the heavenly city (cf. Rev. 9:21 with 22:15). Nevertheless, the statement immediately before this stern warning promises, "Blessed are those who wash their robes so that they may have the right to the tree of life and may enter by the gates into the city" (Rev. 22:14). Immediately after follows an invitation to "come" in faith to Christ as Savior. By the power of His death and resurrection He offers grace and mercy for all sins, including past abortions.

The Spirit and the bride [the Church] say, "Come!" And let him who hears say, "Come!" Whoever is thirsty, let him come, and whoever wishes, let him take the free gift of the water of life" [Rev. 22:17].

³⁵ Richard Hawks, *Abortion in History and the Bible*, p. 47.

Outside the Heavenly City: Abortion in Rome and
the Early Church's Response

Outside the Heavenly City: Abortion in Rome and
the Early Church's Response
