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A STUDY OF THE ROOT HĒSYCH- IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope and Purpose

In 1 Tim. 2:11-12, Paul exhorts women to "learn in quietness and in full submission" and "to be in quietness." In 1 Thess. 4:11, Paul exhorts the entire congregation of Thessalonian Christians to "live quietly." In 1 Peter 3:4, Peter encourages the development of a "meek and quiet disposition" in Christian women.

What does Paul mean by "quietness," and how does this relate, if at all, to "living quietly"? How is the "quiet disposition" advocated by Peter to be understood?

Common to these texts is the root hēsych-, which occurs only eleven times in the New Testament.¹ Using frequency as a criterion, hēsych- might not seem to be of much importance. And yet its significance may be indicated by its occurrence in the context of some of the most important human relationships: the relationship of man to vocation, of man and woman in marriage, and ultimately of man to God Himself.

¹The noun hēsychia appears four times (Acts 22:2; 2 Thess. 3:12; 1 Tim. 2:11,12), the verb hēsychazō occurs five times (Luke 14:4; 23:56; Acts 11:18; 21:14; 1 Thess. 4:11), and the adjective hēsychios occurs twice (1 Peter 3:4; 1 Tim. 2:2).

Apparently, hēsych- has not been the focus of any in-depth treatment. A search of the literature failed to locate any books or articles dealing with this root or any of its cognates.² Apart from lexical entries, brief references in New Testament commentaries, and its highly specialized usage in the context of monasticism, it has received little mention.

This study attempts to focus attention on a root which has received little attention and, in the process, to shed some additional light on those New Testament passages in which it occurs. This study will be both synchronic and diachronic in scope,³ utilizing contemporary linguistic methodology to provide structure and the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae databank to provide necessary background material.

Methodology

Linguistics as a discipline is becoming increasingly important in biblical exegesis and lexicography.⁴ The

²Hēsych- has been the subject of treatment within the monastic movement, where it is understood as an integral part of the hesychast's approach to prayer. John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 50, n. 178.

³"Synchronic" analysis focuses on a given point in time, while "diachronic" analysis focuses on two or more temporal stages (i.e. the history of usage). Vern S. Poythress, "Analysing a Biblical Text: Some Important Linguistic Distinctions," Scottish Journal of Theology 32 (1979):115.

⁴Christopher Mitchell, "The Use of Lexicons and Word Studies in Exegesis," Concordia Journal 11 (July 1985):128-133.

pioneering work of James Barr helped generate interest in descriptive biblical linguistics and exposed some of the inherent weaknesses of mainstream approaches to interpretation.⁵ Barr has been followed by others, including Nida, Gibson, and Silva, who have brought contemporary linguistic theory to bear on biblical scholarship. This study utilizes Silva's methodology for determining the meaning and proper English equivalents of a word in specific biblical contexts.⁶ Silva's approach provides for a comprehensive treatment of words both synchronically and diachronically, with the former taking priority over the latter.⁷ In addition, Silva's approach for word study is one of the few which incorporates modern linguistic methodology in a clear, step-by-step manner useful to seminary students. Silva's Biblical Words and their Meaning, in which his methodology is set forth, has

⁵The "root fallacy" (the notion that a "root meaning" is present in the meaning of all of the words formed from a given root) is but one example of this. See James Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 100-106. For a brief discussion of Barr's criticisms, see also Moises Silva, Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 1983), 18-22; Arthur Gibson, Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 1-11.

⁶Silva, Biblical Words, 176-177.

⁷Vern Poythress has observed, "The importance of synchronic analysis stems from a simple but far-reaching observation: namely, that the meaning of a discourse for St. Paul or for his hearers can depend only on what Paul and his hearers know and remember about their language and culture. It cannot depend on (say) the etymology of a Greek word, unless Paul and his hearers are aware of that etymology." Poythress, "Analysing a Biblical Text," 115.

received favorable reviews in the literature.⁸

This does not mean that Silva's methodology is without its difficulties. Silva's claim that "a second-year seminary student should have no difficulty following and appreciating the material discussed here" is optimistic at best.⁹ His recommendations for diachronic study illustrate this. How many underclassmen, or even graduate students, are competent to reconstruct the prehistoric meaning of a word (prior to its earliest attestation) or to examine the various cognate languages such as Akkadian, Ethiopic or Ugaritic?¹⁰ Such exercises would challenge the most skilled exegetes. Indeed, D. L. Bock has noted that although the book is designed for undergraduates in theology, it is more realistically suited to those at the doctoral level.¹¹

Still, Silva has done much to simplify the student's task and to narrow the gap between linguistic theory and practical exegesis. His approach is one of the few reasonable options available to the student untutored in linguis-

⁸D. L. Bock, review of Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics, by Moises Silva, Bibliotheca Sacra (July-September 1984):280-281; see also Schuyler Brown, Journal of Biblical Literature 104 (September 1985):533-535; Horace Hummel, Concordia Journal 14 (October 1988):432-433; Richard J. Erickson, Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 27 (June 1984):242-243; Idem, TSF Bulletin 7 (January-February 1984):26.

⁹Silva, Biblical Words, 10.

¹⁰Ibid., 40.

¹¹Bock, Bibliotheca Sacra 141:280.

tics. It is outlined as follows:¹²

1. First the student should determine, insofar as this is possible, to what extent the term is or is not referential. The more referential it is -- particularly if it appears to have a (semi-) technical force -- the less susceptible it is to structural analysis, and the student should consider whether a conceptual (as in TDNT), rather than a linguistic, approach would be more profitable. If a linguistic approach seems more appropriate, the following steps should be included.
2. Using the standard lexicons, determine the attested semantic range of the term, paying special attention to the distinction between acceptations and translation equivalents. This step lays out the options available to the exegete.
3. Consider the paradigmatic relations of the term. Using works on synonymy and other lexical helps, determine the opposition of the term to other related terms.
4. Consider the syntagmatic combinations and broader contextual levels in which the term is found. How does it compare with the combinations in which related terms appear? Apply the principle of maximal redundancy, giving preference to the "smaller contextual circles."
5. Consider the historical (diachronic) dimension. Can the term's etymology (in at least one of its senses) be determined? Is the term transparent? If its meaning has changed, identify the nature of the change. If foreign influence has been at work, identify the form of interference.
6. A final decision should focus on the consciousness and intention of the writer. Thus, if it seems improbable that the author would have been acquainted with or interested in one of the historical factors discovered, such a factor should not influence one's decision. The probabilities of deliberate ambiguity, choice of a term against its synonyms, and neutralization should then be weighed in light of the preliminary conclusions in step 4.

Silva then goes on to add that "none of these conclusions should be applied mechanically. A sense of the

¹²Silva, Biblical Words, 176-177.

fluidity of language -- its suppleness, if we prefer, must dominate our thinking from beginning to end."¹³

The following steps, broken down into chapters, reflect Silva's approach in the study of hēsych-.

Chapter II: A Conceptual or Linguistic Approach?

This will involve a preliminary determination of how referential hēsych- is on the basis of criteria outlined above.

Chapters III-V: Determining the Semantic Range of Hēsych-

Since this is essentially the study of a word (or, more precisely, its root), the first step involves an examination of standard lexicons to determine the attested range of meaning of this root in biblical and Greek literature generally. This range constitutes the "options" available to the exegete as he contemplates the meaning of the word in the New Testament.

Until recently, New Testament scholars have had to rely upon Greek lexicons as their main reference tools for word study. The computer database, however, holds greater promise for referencing citations. This study utilizes the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae computer database (developed and housed at the University of California, Irvine). When completed in the early 1990s, the database will contain some 63 million words

¹³Ibid.

of ancient Greek from nearly 3,000 authors from Homer to A.D. 600 and beyond into the Byzantine period.¹⁴ The root hēsych- has been tracked through the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae databank to provide an exhaustive listing of its occurrences in Greek literature. Since hēsych- occurs nearly 6,000 times among some 800 authors, some criterion was needed to select those authors most appropriate to this study. This study, therefore, attempts to focus on those classical writers that antedated or were contemporaneous with the Septuagint (third century B.C.) and with the New Testament (first century A.D.). Ideally, given the range of meaning of hēsych- in the Septuagint and in classical literature generally, one may be able to discern patterns and similarities which will inform our understanding of this root as it is used in the New Testament.

Since the Septuagint and the New Testament reflect the koinē, and since the koinē is considered an offshoot of the Attic dialect, it stands to reason that in selecting classical literature for this study, a preference for Attic (Athenian) literature is justified.¹⁵

¹⁴Leland Edward Wilshire, "The TLG Computer and Further Reference to AUTHENTEO in 1 Timothy 2:12," New Testament Studies 34 (1988):120.

¹⁵A fortuitous arrangement, since some of the most popular and widely available Greek literature happen to be Athenian.

Athenian authors included in this study are Thucydides (459-399 B.C.), Isocrates (436-338 B.C.), Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) and Demosthenes (384-322 B.C.). These authors are important for this study because they represent a literary tradition that antedates and yet approaches the time of writing of the Septuagint. Their writings represent possible sources of influence upon the Septuagint translation which, according to tradition, was prepared upon the order of Ptolemy II (285-247 B.C.).¹⁶ Polybius (205?-125? B.C.), who was not an Athenian, was included in this study because his work is considered an excellent representative of the koinē.¹⁷ The writings of Philo (20 B.C.-A.D. 45) and Josephus (ca. A.D. 38-100) have been examined because they are representative of the koinē and are roughly contemporary with the New Testament period.

Chapter VI: Paradigmatic Relations of Hēsychazein

Words are in paradigmatic relation in so far as they can occupy the same slot in a particular context (or

¹⁶This order is contained in the so-called "Letter of Aristeas." James Charlesworth, ed. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1985), 2:15.

¹⁷H. A. A. Kennedy, Sources of New Testament Greek: the Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1895), 49.

paradigm).¹⁸ The purpose of this paradigmatic study is to compare and contrast hēsychazein with similar terms such as sigan and siōpan. To what extent are these words synonymous, and to what extent are they not? This is an example of the lexical field approach in which the meaning of a given word is not considered as an independent unit but as a component in the structure of a field of related words.¹⁹ Jost Trier, the pioneer of lexical field theory, has said that the value of a word is first known when it is marked off against the value of neighboring words. "Only as part of the whole does the word have sense; for only in the field is there meaning."²⁰

Standard lexicons and works on synonymy will be employed to delineate the range of meaning of hēsychazein, sigan, and siōpan respectively. This will pave the way for a "categorization" of each word with respect to the other. These categories represent the systems of choices an ancient writer might have faced in attempting to convey his message. Paradigmatic contrasts represent the linguistic potential of a word,

¹⁸Silva, Biblical Words, 119.

¹⁹L. M. Vassilyev, "The Theory of Semantic Fields: A Survey," Linguistics 137 (1974):85.

²⁰Jost Trier, Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes (Heidelberg: Carl Winters, 1931), 6, quoted in Silva, Biblical Words, 161.

a potential that is actualized when words enter into combinations to form sentences.²¹

Chapter VII: Syntagmatic Study of Hēsych- in the New Testament

This is essentially studying the word in its context. Words are in syntagmatic relation if they enter into combinations that form a context (or syntagm). The principle of contextual interpretation is almost axiomatic among language scholars. With regard to meaning, context has a "determinative" function -- it not only helps one to understand meaning, it virtually makes meaning.²²

The closer levels of context (e.g. sentence, paragraph, the document itself) take priority in interpretation over other levels (e.g. other epistles by the same author, rabbinical and patristic comments), but they do not exclude these other levels. Silva views contextual study as a series of concentric circles, with the closest or lowest level being the sentence itself. This is, properly speaking, where syntagmatic sense relations are manifest. For purposes of the present study, this involves an examination of each sentence in which hēsych- occurs in order to discern its syntactic

²¹Ibid., 141.

²²Ibid., 119, 139.

relationship with other words.²³

But one can also speak of other levels of context and of more diffuse syntagmatic relations, inasmuch as a given word interacts semantically not only with other words in a sentence, but also with words in neighboring sentences and in the discourse as a whole. Therefore, an examination of each passage in which hēsych- occurs is warranted, as well as an examination of the life situation surrounding both the passage and the document itself. The rule of maximal redundancy is applied, in which "the correct meaning of any term is that which contributes least to the total context, or in other terms, that which fits the context most perfectly."²⁴ Thus, the correct meaning is that which is most redundant.

Finally, documents and situations subsequent to those of the original writing need to be considered, especially those that have a direct bearing on the word or passage in question. Relevant comments from the church fathers, rabbis, grammarians, and even from modern interpreters, can be said to form part of the total context of a passage.²⁵

²³Ibid., 156-159.

²⁴Eugene A. Nida, "Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship," Journal of Biblical Literature 91 (March, 1972):86.

²⁵Silva, Biblical Words, 147-148.

Chapters VIII-IX: Hēsych- in the Papyri and the Church Fathers

This is a brief survey of the usage of hēsych- in post-New Testament literature, including the papyri and the writings of selected church fathers. It is really a continuation of chapters III-V ("Determining the Semantic Range of Hēsych-") but was placed after the New Testament syntagmatic section to maintain the overall chronological approach of this study. The study includes relevant passages from Clement of Rome, the Didache, Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, Basil the Great, and John Climacus, as well as a brief discussion of hesychasm in monastic communities. The chief criterion in the selection of Clement of Rome, the Didache, and Hermas was their chronological proximity to the New Testament era. Basil the Great and John Climacus were selected because they illustrate monastic usage of hēsych.

Evidence from the papyri has also been included due to its chronological proximity to the New Testament period and its reflection of the koinē.

Chapter X: Diachronic Analysis of Hēsych-

The history of usage of hēsych- has been already been documented in chapters III-V above. But this particular chapter focuses on the etymology of hēsych-, its possible transparency, and any apparent changes in or accretions to its meaning. It should be noted that,

while etymological research is of special value when dealing with the Old Testament (with its abundance of hapax legomena), it is not as important for the New Testament since Greek is so richly attested.²⁶

An underlying question in a study such as this concerns the possible influence of the Classical Greek writers upon the Septuagint translators and the influence of those translators upon the New Testament writers respectively. Influence, which may be thought of as a persistent, shaping effect on the thought or action of someone, is difficult to establish under most circumstances. But in biblical and intertestamental studies, which involve ancient documents in which such basic questions as authorship, date, audience, and motive are often open to question, influence is almost impossible to prove. The most one can do in a word study such as this is to determine the semantic range of the word in Greek literature generally. If a word is used in a similar way by, say, a classical writer, a Septuagint translator, and a New Testament writer, it may suggest a possible influence of one upon another, but even this doesn't constitute proof. Moreover, one must not go too far in equating biblical and secular Greek. The koinē of the New Testament still retains certain peculiarities -- due in part to Semitic influence and

²⁶Ibid., 34.

in part to the molding influence of the Christian experience -- which did in some measure create an idiom and vocabulary of its own.²⁷ The same may be said of the Septuagint.²⁸

Certain similarities in the usage of hēsych- in both the Septuagint and the New Testament will be noted below.²⁹ This does not, of course, prove that the Septuagint necessarily influenced the New Testament writers in their use of this word. But inasmuch as the Septuagint is one of our most important sources for evidence of the koinē, it necessarily has a profound influence on New Testament lexicology. In other words, the Septuagint is an important, although not necessarily determinative, witness to the meaning of New Testament words.

Chapter XI: Conclusions

What, if any, historical factors noted in chapter VI or in the earlier chapters might the New Testament writers have been aware of? How might this have influenced their use of hēsych-? Are there any discernable patterns of usage evident in the New Testament or in Greek literature generally?

²⁷C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 3-4.

²⁸Sidney Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 331.

²⁹See chapters IV and VII.

It should be noted that this methodology differs from that of Silva in one respect. The questions of ambiguity, lexical choice and semantic neutralization, which Silva treats in his step 6 (following the diachronic study in step 5), have been treated under chapter VII (syntagmatics) of the present study. This was done because in this particular study, the questions of ambiguity, lexical choice and semantic neutralization were unaffected by the diachronic considerations (chapter X). Therefore, these questions, inasmuch as they apply to the specific New Testament passages in this study, could more logically be addressed under the syntagmatic discussions of those passages.

Transliteration of all Hebrew and Greek characters follows that format prescribed by the Journal of Biblical Literature.

CHAPTER II

A CONCEPTUAL OR LINGUISTIC APPROACH?

It is well-known that Gerhard Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament suffers from the fatal flaw of confusing concepts with words -- treating individual words as if they were concepts or semantic fields.¹ Any attempt at theological lexicography must, in order to avoid this confusion, distinguish between the word or linguistic symbol on the one hand, and the extralinguistic referent (the concept or idea referred to) on the other. Therefore, the first step in this study is to determine to what extent the root hēsych- is referential. In other words, does hēsych- appear to have a technical or semi-technical force in the New Testament, much as ekklēsia, diathēkē or angelos may be said to be technical terms? If so, a conceptual (as in TDNT), rather than a linguistic, approach should be employed.

On the surface, there is little to suggest that hēsych- is strongly referential or technical. It is not used as a proper name in the New Testament (as, for example, petros) and it does not appear to consistently denote any particular extralinguistic object or entity. Moreover, Silva argues

¹Christopher Mitchell, "The Use of Lexicons and Word Studies in Exegesis," Concordia Journal 11 (July 1985):131.

that only a relatively small number of New Testament words are clearly technical and therefore fully understandable by analyzing their referents.² Since, according to Silva, most words can be subjected to the linguistic analysis outlined below, it is assumed that this is the best approach for gaining a better understanding of hēsych- in the New Testament.

²Moises Silva, Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing Company, 1983), 108.

CHAPTER III

HĒSYCH- IN CLASSICAL GREEK

Lexical Study

The various lexical meanings for hēsych- in pre-Christian classical Greek include "silence" (as opposed to sound), "peace" (as opposed to war), "stillness" (as opposed to movement), and "calmness" (as opposed to confusion or disorder).¹ These meanings can be found in the earliest literature from Homer (800 B.C.) to the New Testament era, although the bulk of the available literature is from around the fifth century B.C.

Aeschylus used hēsychazō to denote cessation of speech, as in the plea of Oceanus to Prometheus, "Do thou hold thy peace (hēsychaze) and be not too blustering of speech."² Sophocles used hēsychia to denote a silence of the tongue,³ but he also used it to denote an absence of activity in the sense of "to await passively" an event, as in the following statement of Oedipus:

¹Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., A Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed. Ed. by Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v. "hesychazo," and "hesychikos."

²Aeschylus Prometheus Bound 329.

³Sophocles Antigone 1089.

When with swift strides the stealthy plotter stalks, I must be quicker with my counterplot. To await (hēsychazōn) his onset passively, for him is sure success, for me assured defeat.⁴

Hēsychia is used to denote peace (absence of war or hostilities) in Herodotus and in Thucydides, as in the speech of the Mytilenaeen envoys to the Peloponnesians:

They courted us in time of war (en tō polemō) because they were afraid of us, while we acted in the same manner toward them in time of peace (en te hesychia).⁵

Xenophon uses hēsychia to describe the still, orderly arrangement of cavalry troops drawn up in formation.⁶ Here hēsychia is used with syntagma, which denotes "that which is put together in order."⁷ Thucydides similarly uses hēsychazein to denote an orderly formation of ships awaiting battle.⁸ Here hēsychazein is used with taxis, which conveys the sense of "order" or "arrangement," and it is used in opposition to entarasso, which means "to cause confusion" or "to toss about."⁹ Plato uses hēsych- to denote a quiet disposition and uses it in conjunction with kosmios,¹⁰ which

⁴Sophocles Oedipus Tyrannos 620.

⁵Thucydides History of the Peloponnesian War 3.12.

⁶Xenophon Cyropaedia 1.4.18-19.

⁷Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 9th ed., s.v. "syntagma."

⁸Thucydides The History of the Peloponnesian War 2.84.1-3.

⁹Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 9th ed., s.v. "taxis" and s.v. "entarasso."

¹⁰Plato Charmides 160B, 159B.

denotes persons or things that are "well-ordered, moderate, or well-behaved."¹¹ Likewise, Plato uses hēsychasas to describe the man who has tamed his lawless passions:

. . . and when he has in like manner tamed his passionate part, and . . . if he has thus quieted (hēsychasas) the two elements in his soul and quickened the third, in which reason resides . . . he is most likely to apprehend the truth, and the visions of his dreams are least likely to be lawless (paranomoi).¹²

In The Statesman, Plato identifies hēsychon as a characteristic of those who are orderly (kosmioi) and self-restrained (sōphronika), adding that these individuals mind their own business, always seek peace with foreign states, and are therefore at the mercy of aggressors.¹³ In this context, Plato seems to present hēsychon as a virtue, but one that may be carried to an extreme.

In contrast to the various meanings of hēsych- in classical literature, the lexicons reveal that sig- almost always denotes silence or absence of noise -- usually of the tongue. For example, Lexicon Sophocleum lists "silence" (silentium) and "silently" (tacite) as possible meanings for sigē.¹⁴ The entry for sigē in Lexicon Platonicum is essen-

¹¹Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 9th ed., s.v. "kosmios."

¹²Plato The Republic 572 A,B.

¹³Plato The Statesman 307.

¹⁴Fridericus Ellendt, Lexicon Sophocleum, ed. by Hermanus Genthe (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958), s.v. "sigē."

tially the same.¹⁵ Liddell and Scott understand sigē to mean either "silence" or speaking "in an undertone, or in a whisper."¹⁶ This seems to be the extent of its range in classical literature. It denotes either the complete or relative absence of sound. Sophocles uses sigē to describe the absence or cessation of conversation,¹⁷ as does Plato in the following statement of Alcibiades to Socrates:

You seem to me far more extraordinary, Socrates, now that you have begun to speak (legein), than before, when you followed me about in silence (sigon).¹⁸

Thus, while hēsych- may denote silence, sig- denotes little else in classical literature.

An Examination of the Semantic Range of Hēsych- in Selected Classical Greek Writers

Thucydides

Thucydides the historian uses the root hēsych- approximately 132 times in his writings. The following analysis is based on a sample of approximately 35 of these occurrences.

Hēsych- rarely denotes silence in Thucydides. It often denotes a state of peace (absence of war) between city-states. For example, a group of Athenian envoys addressing an audience of Lacedaemonians believed that, by describing

¹⁵D. Fridericus Astius, ed., Lexicon Platonicum, 2 vols. (Bonn: Rudolph Habelt Verlag, 1956), 2: s.v. "sige."

¹⁶Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 9th ed., s.v. "sigē."

¹⁷Sophocles Oedipus at Colonus 111, 113.

¹⁸Plato Alcibiades 106A.

the great power of Athens, the Lacedaemonians would be inclined to peace (hēsychazein) rather than war (polemein).¹⁹ Hēsych- may also denote the cessation of a military attack, as in the case of the Macedonian calvary which, being hopelessly outnumbered by the Thracian infantry, finally desisted (hēsychian ēgon).²⁰

Hēsych- may also denote obedience to governing authority, as in the case of the Lacedaemonian colonies in Italy and Sicily which were ordered by the Lacedaemonians to remain inactive (hēsychazontas) by refusing their ports to Athenian ships.²¹ It may also denote the absence of rebellion against authority, as in the case the city of Acharnae against Pericles, who prevented the outbreak of passion (orgē) in the city and kept it free from disturbances (hēsychias).²²

One of the most interesting uses of hēsych- in Thucydides is its denotation of a policy of passivity or non-aggression on the part of certain city-states. The Corinthians accuse the Lacedaemonians of such passivity in the face of the Athenian threat:

For indeed, O Lacedaemonians, you alone of the Hellenes pursue a passive policy (hēsychazete), defending yourselves against aggression not by the use of your power, but by your intention to use it.

¹⁹Thucydides 1.72.2

²⁰Ibid., 2.100.5.

²¹Ibid., 2.7.2.

²²Ibid., 2.22.1.

O Lacedaemonians, you go on delaying and forget that a peaceful policy (hēsychian) suffices long only for those who, while they employ their military strength only for just ends, yet by their spirit show plainly that they will not put up with it if they are treated with injustice.²³

In another interesting usage, hēsych- may denote a calmness or deliberativeness in making decisions, and may be understood as the opposite of rashness or foolish haste.

This may be seen in the speech of Archidamus to the Lacedaemonians.

Let us therefore provide ourselves with money first, instead of being carried away prematurely by the eloquence of our allies; and, just as it is we who shall bear the greater part of the responsibility for the consequences . . . so let it be our task also calmly (kath' hēsychian) to get some forecast of them. And so be not ashamed of the slowness (bradu) and dilatoriness (mellon) for which they censure us most; for speed in the beginning may mean delay in ending, because you went into the war without preparation.

These are the practices which our fathers bequeathed to us and we ourselves have maintained from the beginning to our profit; let us not abandon them, nor allow ourselves in a small portion of one day to be hurried into a decision which involves many lives, much money, many cities, and a good name; but let us deliberate at our leisure (kath' hēsychian).²⁴

Hēsych- may denote the orderly arrangement of ships in a line, as opposed to being thrown into confusion (tarachen) by violent winds.²⁵ Hēsych- is also used in a medical sense, in that the absence of hēsych- describes the ravages of a plague, possibly typhoid fever, as follows: "They (the

²³Ibid., 1.69.4 and 1.71.1.

²⁴Ibid., 1.83.3 and 1.85.1.

²⁵Ibid., 2.84.2.

Athenians) were also beset by restlessness (mē hēsychazein) and sleeplessness (agrypnia) which never abated."²⁶

Isocrates

The root hēsych- occurs 33 times in the discourses of Isocrates. The following analysis is based on an examination of all but a few of these occurrences.

In possibly two or three of the occurrences, hēsych- denotes silence of the tongue. Probably its most common denotation, however, is that of a non-aggressive attitude, whether between individuals or nations. In his discourse, On the Peace, Isocrates proposes a lasting peace as the cure for Athens' ills. He argues that, for the city-state, being in a state of peace or tranquillity (hēsychian echein) is equivalent to not craving another's possessions contrary to justice, and being content with what one has.²⁷ The following is another example of this:

But no such thing can come to pass until you are persuaded that tranquillity (hēsychian) is more advantageous and more profitable than meddlesomeness (polypragmosynēs), justice (dikaiosynēn) than injustice (adikias), and attention to one's own affairs (epimeleian) than covetousness (epithymias) of the possessions of others.²⁸

In a footnote at the bottom of the page which contains the above quote, the translator made the following comments:

Meddlesomeness (polypragmosynē) is used here and else-

²⁶Ibid., 2.49.6.

²⁷Isocrates On the Peace 6.5.

²⁸Ibid., 26.3.

where in the speech as the opposite of hēsychia (or sōphrosynē, moderation, self control). The latter contains the idea of quiet living and minding one's own business in private relations, and in foreign relations, of pursuing peace and avoiding aggression.²⁹

In still another reference, hēsych- seems to be the antithesis of aggression or oppression:

For no other of the states will dare to oppress them (examartanein), but they will hold back and studiously avoid aggression (pollēn hēsychian axousin) when they see the power of Athens on the alert and ready to go to the aid of the oppressed.³⁰

In one of Isocrates' more interesting uses of this root, hēsych- denotes the opposite of civil strife that followed in the wake of the democratic reforms of Ephialtes and the reduction of the powers of the Areopagus Council. Isocrates argues for the restoration of the Council's powers in the following way:

For while this Council maintained its authority, Athens was not rife with law-suits, or accusations, or tax levies, or poverty, or war; on the contrary, her citizens lived in accord (hēsychian eichon) with each other and at peace with mankind.³¹

Elsewhere, hēsych- may denote a quiet or calm (hēsychias) state of mind -- the opposite of a confused or troubled (tarachēs) state of mind.³² It may denote that state or condition in which one does no harm or injury to

²⁹Isocrates On the Peace, trans. George Norlin (London: William Heinemann, 1929), 24-25, n.b.

³⁰Isocrates On the Peace 137.3.

³¹Ibid., Areopagiticus 51.5.

³²Ibid., Panathenaicus 231.2.

another or to the city-state.³³ In a negative sense, hēsych- may denote a manner of life that is characterized by ease and devoid of the heroic honors which accrue from perilous combat.³⁴

Aristotle

The root hēsych- appears in the works of Aristotle 51 times. Approximately 40 of these occurrences have been examined in the course of this study.

Hēsych- in Aristotle commonly denotes stillness or absence of movement. It is used of certain insects at night in that they may be observed to be resting (hēsychazousi) and motionless (akinētizousin).³⁵ It may also describe certain birds who remain motionless (hēsychian echontes) on their nests without leaving them.³⁶ Children are described as "not able to keep still" (ou dynatai hēsychazein) and therefore in need of suitable occupations, such as playing with a rattle.³⁷ The air or atmosphere may remain at rest (hēsych-azon).³⁸ Hēsych- is also commonly used in the sense of domestic tranquillity, as the absence of disturbance and

³³Ibid., The Team of Horses 9.3; 14.2; 42.4.

³⁴Ibid., Helen 17.2.

³⁵Aristotle Historia Animalium 537b.7

³⁶Ibid., 564a.14.

³⁷Ibid., Politics 1340b.29.

³⁸Ibid., On the Heavens 311b.23.

rebellion. Here there may be a specialized usage of hēsych- with reference to the tranquillity of those who are under authority -- the common people or underclasses in society with respect to the rulers, wives with respect to their husbands, and soldiers with respect to their commanders. For example, the common people (dēmos) of Athens, although disturbed (tetaragmenēs) by the murmuring of unrest, managed to remain at peace (en hēsychia) four years despite the absence of their ruler Solon.³⁹ Peisistratus is described as a ruler who gave the multitude no trouble, but always worked for peace and safeguarded tranquillity (hēsychian).⁴⁰ The common people of Sparta are quiet (hēsychazei) because they have a share in the highest office of the state (the Ephorate),⁴¹ whereas in Crete the common people quietly tolerate (hēsychazein) their exclusion from the highest offices.⁴² Aristotle seems to suggest the possibility of revolt among the common people of Carthage against the oligarchy:

But the constitution being oligarchical, they best escape the dangers by being wealthy, as they constantly send out a portion of the common people to appointments in the cities (emigration); by this means they heal the social sore and make the constitution stable. However, this is the achievement of fortune, whereas freedom from civil strife ought to be secured by the lawgiver; but as it is,

³⁹Aristotle Athenian Constitution 13.1.3; cf. 5.1.1.

⁴⁰Ibid., 16.7.3.

⁴¹Aristotle Politics 1270b.18.

⁴²Ibid., 1272a.39.

suppose some misfortune occurs and the multitude of the subject class revolts (apostē), there is no remedy provided by the laws to restore tranquillity (hēsychias).⁴³

Aristotle also uses hēsych- with reference to the relationship of wives to their husbands. Nature (physis) has fashioned both the nature of the woman and the man for their partnership. The man, by reason of his manly prowess, brings into the home fresh supplies from without, while the woman, by reason of her timid nature (phobon), safeguards what lies within the home. The woman was given a sedentary patience (hedraion) and the ability to excel in quiet (hēsychias) employments such as handcrafts, while the man is endowed with vigor (hygieion) for the more active occupations (kineseis) outside the home.⁴⁴ A wife should not importune her husband, nor be restless (adynatein hēsychazein) in his absence, but the husband should accustom his wife to be content whether he is at home or away.⁴⁵

Hēsych- may also denote tranquillity between soldiers and their commander. The soldiers of Timotheus were quieted (hēsychian eichon) concerning their pay demands when Timotheus generously refused to charge them for a three-months ration of grain.⁴⁶ Likewise, the soldiers of

⁴³Ibid., 1273b.18; cf. 1297b.7.

⁴⁴Ibid., Oeconomica 1344a.5.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1344a.14.

⁴⁶Ibid., 1350b.3.

Cleomenes were quieted (hēsychian eichon) by the distribution of their corn allowance and pay which had previously been withheld.⁴⁷

There is one reference in Aristotle where hēsych- is used to refer to the stilling of the passions. Solon, the ruler of the Athenians, exhorts the wealthy of Athens not to be covetous:

Refrain (hēsychasantes) ye in your hearts those stubborn moods, plunged in a surfeit of abundant goods, and moderate your pride.⁴⁸

There is one reference where hēsych- denotes the calm quality of those who are courageous and is contrasted with impetuous nature of those who are rash:

The rash (thrasedis), moreover, are impetuous (propeteis), and though eager before the danger comes they hang back at the critical moment; whereas the courageous (andreioi) are keen at the time of action but calm (hēsychioi) beforehand.⁴⁹

The following is the only reference in Aristotle where hēsych- clearly denotes silence:

Why is it easier to hear at night than in the daytime? Is it, as Anaxagoras says, because in the daytime the air being heated by the sun hisses and sounds, but in the night all is quiet (hēsychian) because the heat has left the air, and it is more easy to hear when there is no noise?⁵⁰

⁴⁷Ibid., 1353b.3.

⁴⁸Ibid., Athenian Constitution 5.3.6.

⁴⁹Ibid., Nichomachean Ethics 1116a.9.

⁵⁰Ibid., Problems 903a.10.

Demosthenes

A politician and lawyer, Demosthenes was known more for his oratory than his statesmanship. He vigorously insisted that Athens not give in to the aggressive King Philip of Macedon. This policy of resistance proved futile, however, for Athens lost the decisive battle with Philip and consequently its independence as a city-state.

The root hēsych- occurs in Demosthenes 75 times, and all but a few of these occurrences have been examined here.

Perhaps the most frequent use of hēsych- in Demosthenes refers to the policy of inaction of the Athenians in the face of the growing threat of Philip of Macedon.

He (Philip) knows the wars that we (Athenians) fought against his ancestors have made our city prosperous and powerful, but that the policy of inaction (hēsychias) that she once pursued gave her no such supremacy over any of the other Greek states as she enjoys today.⁵¹

Demosthenes is convinced that the inaction (hēsychian) of Athens in the light of Philip's aggression is based on its desire for peace at any cost and is inconsistent with its glorious past.

Men of Athens, you have deserted the post in which your ancestors left you; you have been persuaded by politicians of this sort that to be paramount in Greece, to possess a standing force, and to help all the oppressed, is a superfluous task and an idle expense; while you fondly imagined that to live in peace (en hēsychia), to neglect all your duties, to abandon all your possessions and let others seize them one by one, ensured wonderful prosperity and complete security.⁵²

⁵¹Demosthenes On the Navy Boards 40.

⁵²Ibid., 4th Philippic 46.

These politicians who urged accommodation with Philip were really asking, according to Demosthenes, that the Athenians remain passive in the face of Philip's seizure of their territory: "You, they say, ought to remain quiet (hēsychian agein) even when you are wronged."⁵³

Philip, however, did not remain inactive (hēsychian) but harassed his own allies as well as the other Greeks,⁵⁴ and was given to retaining the territory of others in violation of treaty obligations.⁵⁵

In addition to denoting inaction, hēsych- may also denote a leisurely, slow, or subdued manner of activity. A matter may be discussed quietly (kath' hēsychian).⁵⁶ Preparations for trial may proceed in a leisurely or slow manner (kath' hēsychian).⁵⁷ Philip can afford to act leisurely (kata pollēn hēsychian) with respect to Athens, since he always possesses a standing army while the Athenians must bustle about and make preparations for war.⁵⁸

Hēsych- is also used in Demosthenes with reference to the passions, as in the following comparison between evil (ponēria) and good (kalokagathia):

⁵³Ibid., On the Chersonese 67.

⁵⁴Ibid., De Corona 65.

⁵⁵Ibid., On the Chersonese 5.

⁵⁶Ibid., Against Olympiodorus 7.

⁵⁷Ibid., 24.

⁵⁸Ibid., On the Chersonese 12.

For vice (ponēria) is vigorous, daring, and grasping; on the other hand probity (kalokagathia) is peaceful (hēsychion), retiring, inactive, and terribly liable to come off second-best.⁵⁹

Elsewhere, hēsych- appears to be the opposite of anger and jealousy.

For, men of Athens, in all courses of action which involve anger (orgē) or some getting of gain or exasperation or a spirit of jealousy, different persons will act in different ways in accordance with their several dispositions; but in all cases where none of these things is involved, but merely a calm calculation (hesychius) of one's own interest⁶⁰

Hēsych- is again contrasted with anger in the example of a man who "plainly shows no anger" . . . "but takes everything quietly (hēsychian echonta)."⁶¹

Hēsych- is used in conjunction with such words as peace and justice, as in the following reference to Philip:

Guided in his calculations by ambitions and the desire of universal dominion, regardless of the claims of peace (eirēnēn) and quietness (hēsychian) and justice (dikai-on), he rightly saw that to our city and our national character he could offer nothing, he could do nothing, that would tempt you from selfish motives to sacrifice to him any of the other Greek states.⁶²

Demosthenes observes that Philip could, had he so desired, acted fairly (dikai'), and observed the peace by keeping quiet (hēsychian).⁶³ Here, there appears to be another close

⁵⁹Ibid., Against Aristogeiton 1.24.

⁶⁰Ibid., Against Stephanus 1.14.

⁶¹Ibid., Against Onetor 1.30.

⁶²Ibid., 2nd Philippic 8.

⁶³Ibid., 36.

connection between dikaiois and hēsych-.

In two or three instances, hēsych- denotes silence in the writings of Demosthenes.⁶⁴

Hippocrates and Galen

Although widely separated in terms of time, both Hippocrates (fifth-fourth century B.C.) and Galen (second century A.D.) are physicians and, as such, reflect specialized usages of hēsych- in their writings. The root hēsych- is used 150 times in Hippocrates and 406 times in Galen. This study, however, is based on only a small fraction of these occurrences.

Hippocrates uses hēsych- on at least one occasion to denote the condition of digestive organs after completing the digestion of a meal. Such organs are described as empty (lapachthē) and quiet (hēsychasē).⁶⁵ On another occasion he uses hēsych- in the sense of bodily rest (hēsychiē) as opposed to violent exercise or toil (ponoisin).⁶⁶

In a different sense, Hippocrates describes hēsych- as one of those qualities that makes for wisdom:

Wherefore resume each of the points mentioned, and transplant wisdom into medicine and medicine into wisdom. For a physician who is a lover of wisdom is the equal of a god. Between wisdom and medicine there is no gulf fixed; in fact medicine possesses all the qualities that make for wisdom. It has disinterestedness, shamefastness,

⁶⁴Ibid., 1st Philippic 1; Against Aristocrates 5.

⁶⁵Hippocrates Ancient Medicine 11.7.

⁶⁶Ibid., The Art 5.10.

modesty, reserve, sound opinion, judgement, quiet (hēsychiē), pugnacity, purity, sententious speech, knowledge of the things good and necessary for life, selling of that which cleanses, freedom from superstition, pre-excellence divine.⁶⁷

Elsewhere in giving advice as to how to attend to patients, Hippocrates says: "Perform all things calmly (hēsychōs) and adroitly (eustaleōs), concealing most things from the patient while you are attending to him."⁶⁸ The context here suggests that, by his expressions and manner of conduct, the physician may reveal information to the patient that he otherwise would not.

Galen uses hēsych- as a technical term to describe the lack of change or movement of an organ or body as follows:

When, therefore, such and such a body undergoes no change from its existing state, we say that it is at rest (hēsychazein); but, if it departs from this in any respect it undergoes motion (kineisthai).⁶⁹

It is interesting to note that motion (kinesis) is Aristotle's general term for what we might otherwise call "change" -- various kinds of change -- as well as movement proper. Galen goes on to say:

Now, common to all kinds of motion is change from the pre-existing state, while common to all conditions of rest (hēsychiais) is retention of the pre-existing state.⁷⁰

Galen employs these definitions to describe the actions of

⁶⁷Ibid., Decorum 5.5.

⁶⁸Ibid., 16.1.

⁶⁹Galen On the Natural Faculties 1.2.2.

⁷⁰Ibid., 1.2.4.

the uterus as follows:

When, therefore, the object for which the uterus brought its retentive faculty into play has been fulfilled, then it stops this faculty and brings it back into a state of rest, and employs instead of it another faculty hitherto quiescent (hēsychazousē) -- the propulsive faculty. In this case again the quiescent (hēsychias) and active (energeias) states are both determined by utility (chreia); when this calls, there is activity (energei); when it does not, there is rest (hēsychazei).⁷¹

Thus, hēsych- describes the inactivity of the uterus as opposed to the activity of contraction.

Polybius

The root hēsych- occurs 52 times in the writings of the historian Polybius. The following is based on an examination of around half of these occurrences.

Hēsych- in Polybius most often denotes the inactivity or quietness of one army with respect to another. The Gauls remained quiet (hēsychian eschon) in the sense of refusing to engage the Romans in battle after suffering reverses.⁷² The Celts remained quiet (hēsychian ēgon) after being subdued by the Roman army.⁷³ The Celtiberians remained inactive (hēsychian ēgon) during a truce made with the Roman commander Marcellus.⁷⁴ In these examples, hēsych- may also denote submission (albeit forced) to Roman authority.

⁷¹Ibid., 3.3.148.

⁷²Polybius The Histories 2.18.9.2; 2.21.1.2; 2.34.12.1.

⁷³Ibid., 3.60.12.3.

⁷⁴Ibid., 35.2.1.4.

Elsewhere, hēsych- denotes simple inactivity as opposed to war or conflict. The Roman general Fabius remained quiet (hēsychian) in his camp waiting for daylight to launch an attack.⁷⁵ This inactivity may be viewed negatively or positively by Polybius, depending on the circumstances. Consider the following examples:

We do not indeed praise the Thebans because at the time of the Persian invasion they deserted Greece in the hour of peril and took the side of the Persians from fear, nor do we praise Pindar for confirming them in their resolution to remain inactive (agein tēn hēsychian).

For when the country was being laid waste, the populace held meetings in which they heaped abuse on Antigonus; but he, like a true general and prince, paid no attention to anything but a wise conduct of affairs, and remained quiet (ēge tēn hēsychian).⁷⁶

In one instance, hēsych- clearly denotes silence of speech.⁷⁷ It also, in one instance, denotes speaking in a soft and gentle voice.⁷⁸ In the same context, it denotes sluggish or leisurely activity.⁷⁹

Summary of the Semantic Range of Hēsych- in Classical Greek Writers

The root hēsych- definitely exhibits a range of meaning throughout classical literature, and each author seems to use the word in ways that reflect his subject matter and

⁷⁵Ibid., 3.94.4.5.

⁷⁶Ibid., 4.31.5.5; 2.64.7.1.

⁷⁷Ibid., 38.10.7.3.

⁷⁸Ibid., 31.23.8.2.

⁷⁹Ibid., 31.23.11.2.

audience. In Thucydides, Isocrates, and Polybius, it often denotes the absence of war or conflict between nations, armies, and individuals. In Aristotle, it often denotes the absence of movement or of disturbance. In Demosthenes, hēsych- is often used negatively to denote a non-aggressive or passive attitude, while in Hippocrates and Galen it has the specialized medical meaning of quiescence. Despite these obvious differences in usage which may be attributed to differences in subject matter and audience, it should be apparent that hēsych- often exhibits a similar range of meaning in the various authors. For example, in all of the authors it may denote peace or tranquillity -- whether international, local, domestic, or personal. Again, in all of the authors it may also denote a passive or non-aggressive attitude. In all of the authors except Thucydides, it may denote either a calm state of mind or the absence of undesirable or sinful passions.

CHAPTER IV

HĒSYCH- IN THE SEPTUAGINT

Lexical Study

The contrast between the semantic range of hēsych- and sig- in classical literature is also reflected in the Septuagint. J. F. Schleusner notes that the verb hēsychazō may mean to rest (quiesco), to cease or desist (desino), to give over (cesso), to enjoy or benefit from peace (et pace fruor), and to be silent (sileō).¹ He gives a slightly more narrow range of meaning for sigāō: to be silent (sileo), to remain calm (sedor), and to give over (cesso).² However, he lists only one citation under sedor (Ps. 106:29, calming the waves) and none under cesso. This has been confirmed by a concordance study of sig- in the Septuagint in which, out of twelve occurrences, it always denotes silence (with the possible exception of Ps. 106:29).

An Examination of the Semantic Range of Hēsych- in the Septuagint

The verb hēsychazein appears forty-one times in the

¹J. F. Schleusner, ed., Novus thesaurus philologicriticus sive Lexicon in Septuaginta et reliquos interpretes Graecos, 3 vols. (London: J. Duncan, 1829), 2:27.

²Ibid., 3:40.

Septuagint. In at least fourteen³ of these occurrences, it denotes submission either toward God or to a human authority (i.e. the opposite of sedition or rebellion). Four occurrences denote silence, but even some of these are in the context of submission. Elsewhere it may denote peace (as opposed to war or conflict), inactivity (as opposed to movement), and on one occasion it denotes the stillness of death.

As a noun, adverb, or adjective, hēsych- occurs eighteen times. In six of these occurrences, it denotes a virtue of those who are godly. In five occurrences it denotes peace, three times it denotes inactivity, and three times it denotes silence.

The first occurrence of hēsychazein in the Septuagint is in Genesis 4:7. The setting is the sacrifice of Cain and Abel. The Lord looked upon Abel and his gifts, but the sacrifice of Cain he regarded not (presumably because, according to the Septuagint, Cain did not offer the first fruits, v.7). At this Cain was offended or irritated,⁴ and his countenance fell -- which is an indication of anger (see Jeremiah 3:12; Job 29:24). God then commands Cain to be

³Or as many as twenty, if one includes passages such as Judges 3:11, 30; 5:32; 8:20; Esther 1:1 (Greek); Job 32:6.

⁴The word is elypēthē, which some may render as "sad" or "grieved," but which may also be rendered as "vexed," "irritated," "offended," "insulted," or "humiliated." The context favors one of the latter nuances. Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), s.v. "lypeō."

quiet or still (hēsychason), which in this context may be understood as either "don't be angry" (i.e. stilling of the passions) or as acquiescence in the divine prerogative to accept one sacrifice and not another. In either case, hēsychason can be understood as submission to God's will and as the antithesis of rebellion. This is supported by Philo's interpretation of the passage, in which hēsychason is understood as righteous behavior and is contrasted with sin.

For God says to the wicked one (Cain), "man, thou hast sinned, be still (hēsychason)" (Gen. 4:7). This implies that while sin (hamartanein), in as much as it is movement and activity with vice as its motive, is liable to punishment, stillness (hēsychazein), because it is stationary and quiescent, is exempt from arraignment and a means of safety (soteriou).⁵

An example of hēsychazein as submission to God (and to the covenant) may be seen in Judges 3:11,12 which states that the land was quiet (hēsychasen) forty years following the revolt of Israel against Syria. At a glance, it may appear that hēsychasen denotes nothing more than a period of peace following the war. But it is important to note that in this and in similar passages (cf. 3:30; 5:32) hēsychasen is followed by the phrase, "And the sons of Israel did evil (prosethento poiēsai ponēron) in the sight of the Lord." The juxtaposition of hēsychasen and ponēron may be significant. If hēsychasen is taken as a contrast with what follows the forty year period (the evil of the sons of Israel) rather than with what has preceded it (the war of liberation), then

⁵Philo On Sobriety 49-50.

hēsychasen denotes a period of covenantal obedience rather than simply the absence of war.

This understanding of hēsychasen is supported by Judges 2:19, which states that only after a judge died would the people slip back into covenantal disobedience and idolatry.⁶ It is also supported by the grammar of Judges 3:12, which employs the aorist middle indicative of prostithēmi with an infinitive (poiēsai). This denotes, not continual action, but a repetition or resumption of action.⁷ The sense is not one of continuing evil in the land during the lifetime of the judge, but of a resumption of evil (probably idolatry) following his death. Judah J. Slotki has observed that only when a leader arose who was strong enough to curb the Israelites from idolatry is there any evidence at all of covenantal discipline and cohesion.⁸ Therefore, hēsychasen in Judges 3:11 may denote not simply the absence of war, but more importantly the absence of rebellion against the covenant which was, after all, the underlying cause of the

⁶The Hebrew imperfect verb yāšūbū is frequentative or habitual, indicating action customarily repeated. Ronald J. Williams, Hebrew Syntax: An Outline, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 168; George F. Moore, Judges, 2nd ed., (ICC) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1898), 172.

⁷The use of the infinitive with prostithēmi is a Hebraism which means "to go on and do" or "do again." See A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 94, n.96, 1078.

⁸Judah J. Slotki, Judges (London: The Soncino Press, 1950), 154.

wars Israel experienced. This implies a very close relationship between peace and covenantal obedience in ancient Israel, a relationship that has been described by Hermann J. Austel as follows:

Judges shows a pattern of peace, then apostasy, oppression, deliverance, followed once again by peace and rest from war and oppression. This state of peace and tranquillity is clearly seen to be dependant on, and a direct result of, God's blessings on an obedient people.⁹

The import of hēsychasen in Judges 3:11 is that of a forty year period of submission and obedience to God during the lifetime of the judge. The same may be said of the parallel passages in Judges 3:30 and 5:32.

Hēsychazō as submission to God's covenantal rule is illustrated in 4 Kingdoms 11, which begins by describing Athalia's usurpation of the Davidic throne and the continuation of the Baal cult in Judah (vv. 1-3). But Jehoida the priest led a successful revolt against Athalia's rule (vv. 4-16), culminating in the renewal of the divine covenant (between the Lord, the king, and the people) and in the elimination of Baal worship (in Jerusalem only, vv. 17-19; cf. 4 Kingdoms 12:3). The chapter concludes by describing the city as quiet (hēsychase) and the crowning of Jehoash as king (vv. 20,21). The following chapter, 4 Kingdoms 12, describes the reign of Jehoash, who did what was right in the

⁹Hermann J. Austel, "šeqet," in Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, 2 vols., eds. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke (hereafter cited as TWOT) (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980), 2:2453a.

sight of the Lord. In this context, hēsychase implies more than simply the conclusion of a coup de'etat in Jerusalem. It denotes the restoration of divine order in Jerusalem and the positive submission of the people to God's covenantal rule. I. W. Slotki notes that the Hebrew šāqātāh, which hēsychase translates, indicates in this context the general approval among the people concerning what had occurred.¹⁰

Hēsychazein as enforced submission to God is evident in Ezekiel 32:1-15, where Egypt is depicted as a serpent that troubles (etarasses) its own waters (a metaphor for Egypt's sinful behavior). But God promises to subdue Egypt and to cause its waters to rest (hēsychasei) and its rivers to flow as oil, bringing Egypt's rebellion to an end (vv. 14,15).

In Proverbs 7:11 the adulteress is described as fickle and debauched because her feet do not rest (hēsychazousin) in her own house. Proverbs 15:15 contrasts the wicked, who are always looking for evil things (kaka), with the good, who are always quiet (hēsychazousi). Proverbs 26:20 states that where there is not a double-minded man, strife ceases (hēsychazei). Proverbs 11:12 states that a man void of understanding mocks his fellows, but the sensible man is quiet (hēsychian agei). In these examples from Proverbs, hēsych- is contrasted with its various antitheses (adulterous

¹⁰"If there were any supporters of the executed queen, they created no trouble; but the verse rather indicates that there was general approval of what had occurred." I. W. Slotki, Kings (London: The Soncino Press, 1950), 234.

behavior, mocking, double-mindedness, idolatry, seeking evil things). If all of these activities can be understood as rebellion against God and as unbecoming a covenant man, then hēsych- can be understood as the polar opposite of rebellion (i.e. as submission to God and as a well-ordered life under the covenant).

Perhaps few other texts illustrate better the relationship between hēsychazein and divine submission than Lamentations 3:25-26, where the faithful are encouraged to wait quietly on the Lord for their deliverance, despite their present affliction.

The Lord is good to them that wait for him: the soul which shall seek Him is good, and shall wait for, and quietly (hēsychasei) expect salvation of the Lord.

The nuance of submission or of acquiescence is also evident in the Hebrew underlying the Greek of Lamentations 3:25-26. Hēsychasei translates the Hebrew dûmām, which in this context means more than "silence." More specifically, it denotes an attitude of non-complaint with regard to God's chastisement.¹¹ As the opposite of rebellious murmuring, hēsych- here represents the silence of acquiescence in divine chastisement and the recognition that deliverance can come only from God.

Isaiah 7:4 records the Lord's words through Isaiah to Ahaz who, fearing the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition, believed that his salvation could come only from Assyria. From

¹¹Robert D. Culver, "dûmām," in TWOT, 1:415c.

Isaiah's standpoint, Ahaz was guilty of unbelief in Israel's God by seeking help from Assyria. In this context, Isaiah tells Ahaz: "Take care to be quiet (phylaxai tou hēsychasai) and fear not, neither let thy soul be disheartened." The Hebrew for hēsychasai is šāqat. Of its usage in Isaiah 7:4, Austel says that šāqat reflects a willingness to trust God for security.¹² Likewise, George Gray argues that saqat denotes more than inactivity. It signifies freedom from annoyance or care.¹³ The Greek hēsychasai may then reflect the virtue of resting or acquiescing in the promise of God's security.

In Isaiah 8:6, the metaphor of the gently (hēsychē) flowing waters of Shiloh represents the Davidic dynasty or, more precisely, the covenantal rule of God which is exercised through that dynasty.¹⁴ That rule of God is gentle or tranquil in comparison to the raging floodwaters of Assyria, which will sweep into Judah with irresistible force (vv. 7-8). Here hēsychē signifies a characteristic of God's dominion.

¹²Austel, "šāqat," TWOT, 2:2453.

¹³George Buchanan Gray, The Book of Isaiah, 2 vols. (ICC) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928), 1:313.

¹⁴Rabbi Joseph said: "But for the Targum of this verse, I would not know its meaning: Because this people have wearied of the Davidic dynasty, which rules them with gentleness like the waters of Shiloh which flows tranquilly, and have set their desire upon Rezin and the son of Ramaliah." The Babylonian Talmud, 34 vols., Sanhedrin, 2 vols., trans. by H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), 2:635.

In Isaiah 66:2 God says, "And upon whom will I look, but to the humble (tapeinon) and the quiet (hēsychion) and the one trembling (tremonta) at my words?" The context is one of comfort to a godly minority of Israelites who live among an apostate majority. Hēsychion translates the Hebrew phrase nĕkĕh rūah (stricken of spirit), which denotes contrition.¹⁵ The contrite are those who, having been brought low by God's judgement, are now ready to receive His comfort. Here hēsychion denotes the quiet, submissive attitude of those who are contrite and should be viewed, along with tapeinon, as a godly characteristic or virtue.

Hēsychazein may denote submission to man's rule as well as to God's. The tranquillity (hēsychasen) of the land of Judah during the reign of Demetrius is a direct result of his efforts to pacify the Jews through the remission of tribute (1 Macc. 11:32-38). Likewise, the quiet of Judah during the days of Simon must be understood as widespread acceptance of and submission to his reign.

As for the land of Judea, that was quiet (hēsychasen) all the days of Simon; for he sought the good of his nation, and evermore his authority and honor pleased them well. (1 Macc. 14:4)

To be sure, hēsych- has other meanings in the Septuagint. It may denote rest or a cessation of movement as in Exodus 24:14, where Moses tells the elders of Israel to remain where they are (hēsychazete) until he returns from the

¹⁵Edward J. Young, The Book of Isaiah, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972; reprinted 1984), 3:519.

mountain. It may mean silence, as in Job 32:6, where Elihu, because of his relative youth, has held his peace (hēsychasa) in the presence of elders.

Summary of the Semantic Range of Hēsych-
in the Septuagint

It is clear that hēsych- has a relatively broad range of meaning in the Septuagint even as it does in Classical Greek, perhaps an even broader range of meaning than Schleusner's lexicon indicates. Like sig-, hēsych- may denote silence. Unlike sig-, hēsych- may also denote submission to divine and human authorities and it may denote a well-ordered, peaceable existence that could be understood as a godly characteristic or virtue.

Finally, the divine-relational aspect of hēsych- in the Septuagint deserves special notice. This is not to deny its use in a human-relational sense, as in the case of submission to one's elders or to one's king. However, it is also used to denote the proper attitude or behavior of the covenant people toward God (Gen. 4:7; Isa. 66:2; Lam. 3:25; and possibly Judg. 3:11,12). It is this divine-relational aspect of hēsych- that is not apparent in classical literature, and it may represent a natural appropriation of the term on the part of Hellenistic Judaism.

CHAPTER V

HĒSYCH- IN THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC LITERATURE, IN PHILO, AND IN JOSEPHUS

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs purport to be the final utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob, on the model of Jacob's last words in Genesis 49. Apart from certain Christian interpolations, which probably date from the second century A.D., the writing is basically that of a hellenized Jew. His use of the Septuagint suggests that it was written after 250 B.C.¹

The root hēsych- occurs seven times in the Testaments. Once it appears to denote silence of speech.² Hēsych- may also denote an eschatological tranquillity or peace -- that which is given by God to calm all factionalization and strife in Israel,³ and that tranquillity which results when God crushes the head of the serpent.⁴ Three times it appears to denote calmness of mind as a moral quality or virtue. It is

¹James Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1985), 1:775-777.

²Testament of Gad 8.3.

³Testament of Judah 22.2.

⁴Testament of Asher 7.3.

the opposite of being upset or carried away by passions,⁵ and it is the opposite of strife:

The good set of mind does not have two tongues: blessing and cursing, abuse and honor, tranquillity and strife (hēsychias kai tarachēs), hypocrisy and truth, poverty and wealth, but it has one disposition, uncontaminated and pure, before all men.⁶

Philo

The root hēsych- occurs 160 times in Philo. The following is based on an examination of nearly all of these occurrences.

In at least 46 of these occurrences, hēsych- denotes silence -- usually silence of speech. On occasion, this silence may approach something of a virtue, as in the contrast between the worthless man whose unmeasured, endless, and indiscriminate talk brings chaos and confusion, and the sensible man who has been trained in that silence (hēsychian) which in its season is most excellent.⁷ On the other hand, Philo also defines hēsychia as a silence of enforced submission as follows:

Now the death of words is silence (hēsychia), not the silence which well-behaved people cultivate, regarding it as a sign of modesty, for that silence is actually a power, a sister to the power of speech, husbanding fitting words until the moment for utterance comes. No, it is the undesired silence to which those whom the strength of their opponent has reduced to exhaustion and

⁵Testament of Gad 6.6; 7.3.

⁶Testament of Benjamin 6.5.

⁷Philo On Abraham 20.

prostration must submit, when they no longer find any argument ready to their hand.⁸

Silence (hēsychia) may also carry the idea of submission in the following citation:

Nature (physis) clearly has provided animals and men in particular with lips for two most necessary purposes. One is to keep silence (hēsychias); for the lips form the strongest possible fence and barrier for confining sound. The other is to give expression to thought; for the stream of words flows through the lips. When they are closed that stream is held back, and until they part it cannot take its course. In this way the lips train and exercise us for both purposes, speech and silence (to legein kai hēsychazein), and they teach us to watch for the proper occasion for either. For example: Is something said worth hearing? Oppose it not but pay attention silently (en hēsychia) according to the command of Moses, "Be still (siōpa) and hear." (Deut. 27:9)⁹

In the above example, hēsych- is used synonymously with siōpaō (silence). Hēsych- may be used to denote a quiet conversation.¹⁰

Hēsych- may also denote a lack of activity or motion, such as the stillness of the eyes when a man is at rest (sleeping),¹¹ or the calm, motionless waters of the Red Sea.¹²

Not infrequently (at least 9 occurrences), hēsych- is used with reference to the passions. Philo writes that Moses was a man who was able to bridle his passions and reduce them

⁸Ibid., The Confusion of Tongues 37.

⁹Ibid., On Dreams 2.262-263.

¹⁰Ibid., On Joseph 175.2.

¹¹Ibid., On Abraham 154.4.

¹²Ibid., On Moses 1.177.4.

to mildness (epraunen). If his passions did but gently (hēsychē) stir or flutter, he would provide chastisement for them, for he watched over the directions and impulses of his soul as one would a restive horse.¹³ Philo describes Abraham in a similar manner as one who controlled his passions:

But if, as often happens, any of his (Abraham's) servants or regular associates had a quarrel or difference with his neighbors, he would try to put an end to it quietly (hēsychē), banishing and expelling from the soul by means of his greater dignity of character all that tended to strife and confusion and faction.¹⁴

Philo uses leprosy as an example to show that hēsychian is a stilling of the passions of the soul while motion (kinēsis) is the expression of passions:

In the law of leprosy Moses . . . lays down that the movement (kinesin) and wider extension and diffusion of the disease is unclean, but the quiescence (ēremian) is clean. For he says, "if it spread abroad on the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean. But if the bright spot stay in one place and be not spread abroad, he shall pronounce him clean" (Lev. 13:22,23). Thus the state of repose (hēsychian), because it is a standing-still (einai monēn) of the vices (kakiōn) and passions (pathōn) of the soul (and it is these which are figured by leprosy), is exempt from indictment, while the state of motion and progression is rightly held liable to arraignment. And a similar lesson is contained in a more striking form in the oracles of Genesis. For God says to the wicked one (Cain), "man, thou hast sinned, be still (hēsychason)" (Gen. 4:7). This implies that while sin, in as much as it is movement and activity with vice as its motive, is liable to punishment, stillness (hēsychazein), because it is stationary (ischesthai) and quiescent (ēremein), is exempt from arraignment and a means of safety (sōteriou).¹⁵

¹³Ibid., 1.25-26.

¹⁴Ibid., On Abraham 210.

¹⁵Ibid., On Sobriety 49-50.

Elsewhere, Philo uses hēsych- to denote the dormancy (hēsychian) of base or shameful practices (aischron),¹⁶ the dormancy (hēsychazei) of the evil powers of the soul (kakian psychēs dynameis),¹⁷ and an attribute of virtue (arete) which silently (kath' hēsychian) allays the onset of evils (kakōn) however great.¹⁸

Hēsych- is used once to denote inactivity on the Sabbath.¹⁹ It is also contrasted with the use of violence or force, as in the example of an angry creditor:

A creditor must not enter the houses of his debtors, to take with violence (bias) a pledge or surety for the loan, but must stand outside in the porch and quietly (hēsychē) bid them bring it out.²⁰

There is also a conjunction of hēsych- and justice or righteousness (dikaiosynē) at least twice in Philo. The first is in a description of the promised land which has borne the curse of God due to Israel's disobedience:

And when she (the land) looks around and sees none of the destroyers of her former pride and high name, sees her market places void of turmoil and war and wrongdoing, but full of tranquillity (hēsychias) and peace (eirēnēs) and justice (dikaiosynēs), she will renew her youth and bloom and take her rest calm and serene.²¹

The above citation is also interesting because it describes

¹⁶Ibid., On Rewards and Punishments 18.

¹⁷Ibid., On Sobriety 43.

¹⁸Ibid., On Rewards and Punishments 93.

¹⁹Ibid., The Special Laws 2.250.

²⁰Ibid., On the Virtues 89.

²¹Ibid., On Rewards and Punishments 157.

hēsych- as an attribute of the land, similar to its use in the Old Testament.

The second example of the conjunction of hēsych- (and anapausis) and dikaioynē is apparent in Philo's description of Noah:

Naturally, therefore, next to the repentant he (Moses) sets the lover of virtue and beloved by God, who in the Hebrew language is called Noah but in ours "rest" (anapausis) or "just" (dikaioy), both very suitable titles for the Sage. "Just" is obviously so, for nothing is better than justice (dikaioynēs), the chief among the virtues, who like the fairest maiden of the dance holds the highest place. But "rest" (anapausis) is appropriate also, since its opposite, unnatural movement, proves to be the cause of turmoil (tarachōn) and confusion (thorubōn) and factions (staseon) and wars (polemōn). Such movement is sought by the worthless (metiasin), while a life which is calm (ērmaion), serene (hēsychazonta), tranquil (statheron) and peaceful (eirēnikon) is the object of who have valued nobility of conduct.²²

Josephus

The root hēsych- occurs 81 times in Josephus. The following is based on an examination of all of these occurrences.

Approximately 35 times hēsych- denotes silence, such as the absence of speech²³ or the silent, stealthy advance of troops²⁴. In approximately 35 other occurrences, hēsych- denotes inactivity of various sorts -- of troops at rest,²⁵

²²Ibid., On Abraham 27.

²³Josephus Antiquities 1.199.

²⁴Ibid., Jewish War 3.85,95.

²⁵Ibid., Antiquities 8.382.

of passivity,²⁶ and of the absence of rebellion.²⁷

On rare occasions hēsych- may also refer to a subdued manner of speaking²⁸ or to an attitude of bearing quietly the disturbances of others.²⁹ Once it denotes the restraint of wicked conduct which was lacking in the example of Baasha, King of Israel:

But Basanes (Baasha), although he had heard beforehand what evils were destined to befall him together with his whole family because of his reckless conduct, did not restrain himself thereafter (ou pros to loipon hēsychas-
en) in order to avoid being thought still more wicked.³⁰

On at least one occasion, Josephus uses hēsych- in a pejorative sense to describe Hyrcanus, who was weak in the ways of governing and preferred a life of retirement to that of administration:

Of these sons the one, Hyrcanus, was incompetent to govern and much preferred a quiet life (bion hēsychion), while the younger, Aristoboulus, was a man of action (drastērios) and high spirit (tharsaleos).³¹

Not infrequently, hēsych- is used in opposition to seditious acts.³² For example, Agrippa attempted to dissuade the Jews from rebelling against Roman authority by citing the

²⁶Ibid., 14.165.

²⁷Ibid., 6.27.

²⁸Ibid., The Jewish War 2.612.

²⁹Ibid., Antiquities 7.172.

³⁰Ibid., 8.301.

³¹Ibid., 13.407.

³²Ibid., Jewish War 1.98; 1.201; 2.274; Antiquities 14.46.

example of the Dalmatians:

The Dalmatians, too, who have so often reared their heads for liberty, whose constant defeats have only led them to muster their forces for a fresh revolt (apostēnai), do they not now live in peace (hēsychian agousin) under a single Roman legion?³³

Similarly, hēsych- also denotes peaceable citizens who were not in rebellion against Rome, as opposed to the Zealots who incited disorder (tarachē):

Many peaceable citizens (pollous de tōn hēsychion) from enmity and personal spite were slain by their adversaries as partisans of the opposite faction.³⁴

Hēsych- sometimes denotes an attitude or disposition of one who is subject to or in some respect inferior to another, as in the case of the Ammonites who had been defeated by Joab, and in the case of Archelaus who renders homage to Caesar.

This defeat did not persuade the Ammonites to remain quiet (hēsychian agein) or to keep the peace in the knowledge that their enemy was superior.³⁵

Archelaus came forward and fell, in silence (hēsychē), at the knees of Caesar.³⁶

Josephus also uses hēsych- in conjunction with "order" (kosmos) in describing the quiet and orderly activity of disciplined Roman troops in camp and in describing the quiet and orderly behavior of the Jewish priests (in contrast to

³³Ibid., Jewish War 2.370.

³⁴Ibid., 5.103.

³⁵Ibid., Antiquities 7.127.

³⁶Ibid., Jewish War 2.37.

the seditious multitudes) in the presence of Roman troops:

Once entrenched, the soldiers take up their quarters in their tents by companies, quietly and in good order (meth' hēsychias te kai kosmou). All their fatigue duties are performed with the same discipline (meth' eutaxias), the same regard for security: the procuring of wood, food-supplies, and water, as required -- each party has its allotted task.³⁷

By these remonstrances they (the priests) succeeded in soothing the multitude, while they quelled the rebels partly by menaces, partly by appealing to their feelings of respect. Then, taking the lead, they advanced in quiet and orderly fashion (meth' hēsychias te kai kosmou) to meet the troops, and on the approach of the latter saluted them.³⁸

Testament of Abraham

The Testament of Abraham exists in two basic forms, a longer form (Recension A) which shows some minor evidence of Christian redaction, and a shorter form (Recension B) which may be closer to the original. Although estimates of the date vary widely, James Charlesworth assumes a date for the original of ca. A.D. 100, plus or minus twenty-five years.³⁹

The root hēsych- appears twice in the Testament of Abraham and only in Recension A. The first occurrence is in the opening.

Abraham lived the span of his life, nine hundred and ninety-five years, and having lived all the years of his life in quietness (en hēsychia), gentleness (praoteti), and righteousness (dikaiosynē), the righteous man was

³⁷Ibid., 3.85.

³⁸Ibid., 2.325.

³⁹Charlesworth, Pseudepigrapha, 1:871-875.

extremely hospitable (philoxenos).⁴⁰

Here the use of the dative may reflect the manner in which Abraham lived. Juxtaposed with the virtues of gentleness (meekness), righteousness, and hospitality, en hēsychiā may also be considered descriptive of a virtuous, godly manner of living and as the antithesis of rebellion or lawlessness.

Hēsych- also occurs in the context of Death's revelation to Abraham. Death reveals himself to Abraham and all the righteous in a gentle manner. In contrast, sinners encounter Death in an ugly, bitter manner.

Abraham said, "I beseech you, since you are Death, tell me, do you come to all men thus, in beautiful form and glory and such beauty?" And Death said, "No, my lord Abraham, your righteous deeds and the boundless sea of your hospitality and the greatness of your love of God have become a crown upon my head. I come to the righteous in beauty (en ōraiotēti) and in great gentleness and pleasant speech (kai en hēsychiā pollē kai kolakiā), but to the wicked I come in great rottenness (en polle sapriā) and fierceness (kai agriotēti) and greatest bitterness and fierceness and pitilessness of glance."⁴¹

Here again, the dative may denote the manner in which Death is revealed. It is difficult to decide how en hēsychiā should be taken in this passage. Does the repetition of en before hēsychiā distinguish it from en ōraiotēti?⁴² Does the

⁴⁰Michael E. Stone, trans., The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Recensions, Pseudepigrapha Series, no. 2 (Missoula, Montana: The Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 3, (1.2).

⁴¹Ibid., 46-47, (17.6-8).

⁴²A. T. Robertson notes that repetition of the preposition with two or more nouns may imply that they do not fit under the same category, but it is not necessarily so. A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Nashville: Broadman Press,

juxtaposition of hēsych- with pleasant or flattering speech denote a gentle manner of speaking? It's hard to say. It may be possible to take en hēsychiā in opposition to fierceness (agriotēti), especially if beauty (en ōraiotēti) is understood to be in opposition to rottenness (en pollēsapriā). This would give en hēsychiā the nuance of gentleness, as in a peaceful or gentle manifestation as opposed to a violent or fearful manifestation of death.

CHAPTER VI

PARADIGMATIC RELATIONS OF HĒSYCH-

Words may be semantically related because of similar or opposite meanings. The focus of the present section is on comparing and contrasting hēsych- with words which are at least partially synonymous (siḡan, siōpan). This will be done using various works on synonymy and other lexical helps.

As noted above, words are in paradigmatic relation if they can occupy the same slot in a particular context. For example, in a particular context, the words may be synonymous. This does not mean, however, that the words cannot be distinguished from each other. In fact, that is really the point. Scholars study synonyms for the very purpose of distinguishing between them and thereby gaining a better understanding of each word. Paradigmatic sense relations exploit the opposition or contrast existing between words and thus may be referred to as contrasting relations.¹

D. A. Cruse cites four different categories of paradigmatic sense relations as follows:²

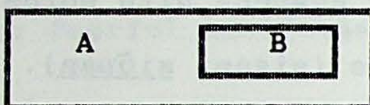
¹Moises Silva, Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 119.

²D. A. Cruse, Lexical Semantics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 86-87.

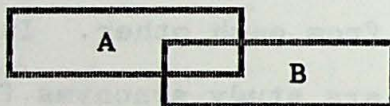
- I. Identity (proper synonymy): class A and class B have the same members



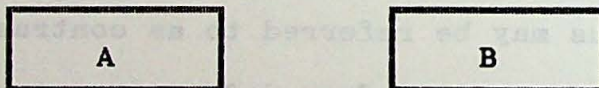
- II. Inclusion (hyponymy): class B is wholly included in class A



- III. Overlap (improper synonymy): class A and class B have members in common but each has members not found in the other



- IV. Disjunction (antonymy): class A and class B have no members in common



More about this system of categorization will be discussed below, as it will be useful in comparing and contrasting hēsychazein, sigan, and siōpan.

Ammonius Alexandrinus, the grammarian of the late first and early second century A.D., distinguished between hēsycha-

zein and sigan in the following way:

For hēsychazein, on the one hand, is of the whole body -- to be at rest and to remain stationary. Sigan, on the other hand, is only of the tongue -- not to speak.³

He further clarifies the meaning of hēsychia as follows:

On the one hand, hēsychia makes silence known, and on the other hand, gentleness -- as when we say that we narrate in much hēsychia.⁴

Ammonius recognizes that hēsychia may denote silence, but he is also aware that it may describe one who speaks or narrates in a gentle way. Sigan is stillness of the tongue (silence), while hēsychazein is a stillness of the whole body (absence of motion). This is similar to the classification of hēsych- by Julius Pollux, a second century A.D. grammarian, who understands it to denote a lack of bodily motion or movement.⁵

Hesychius Alexandrinus, the lexicographer of the fifth century A.D., defines hēsychia as "galēnē" and as "eremia."⁶ Galene in classical literature may denote a stillness of the sea (absence of wind) or a calmness or gentleness of mind.⁷

³Ammonius Alexandrinus, De adfinium vocabolorum differentia, ed. by Klaus Nickau (Leipzig: Tuebner, 1966), 158.

⁴Ibid., 58.

⁵Iulii Pollucis, Onomasticon, ed. by Immanuelis Bekkeri (Berolini: Libraria Friderici Nicolai, 1846), 127.

⁶Hesychii Alexandrini, Lexicon, 4 vols., ed. by Mauricius Schmidt (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1965) 2:293.

⁷Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., A Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed. Ed. by Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v. "galēn."

Eremia may denote stillness or rest of the body or of the mind.⁸

A common element in these selections from Ammonius, Pollux, and Hesychius is the notion of hēsych- as rest or the absence of activity. In Ammonius, sigan denotes silence, whereas hesychazein has a somewhat broader range of meaning.

Heinrich Schmidt compares and contrasts siōpan, sigan, and hēsychazein in the following way:

Siōpan and sigan are intransitive "keep silence" as well as transitive "conceal;" hēsychazein denotes the quiet condition in general, in which "keeping silence" is included and is always intransitive; it belongs in our family in so far as it particularly applies to keeping oneself from words.⁹

Here Schmidt affirms that hēsychazein has a broader meaning than either siōpan or sigan, saying that the latter two denote keeping silent, while the former includes keeping silent. Hēsychazein can be compared with siōpan and sigan "in so far as" it "applies to keeping oneself from words." In other words, hēsychazein may denote more than "keeping oneself from words."

To be sure, sigan itself may denote more than silence of the tongue. Schmidt says that siōpan is the proper expression for "keep silence" and "conceal" and that it invariably denotes a control of the tongue. Sigan, by

⁸Ibid., s.v. "ēreмео."

⁹J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, Synonymik der Griechischen Sprache, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1876), 1:215.

comparison, denotes a natural condition of the whole man, a soul condition, and the silence (concealment) resulting from this soul condition. "The silence of speech, the non-use of the tongue, is therefore not absolutely included."¹⁰ Thus, sigan is a broader term than siōpan. Sigan may denote control of the tongue, but it may also denote speaking softly (whispering) or the attendant condition (soul condition) of keeping silent.

Schmidt then compares sigan with hēsychazein, noting the following similarity. "Hēsychos and its derivatives, as far as they are synonymous to the expressions of 'keeping silence,' correspond much more to sigan than to siōpan."¹¹ In other words, although hēsychazein and sigan may denote silence, they both have more in common with each other than with siōpan, since both may denote more than mere silence of the tongue.

However, Schmidt then begins to distinguish the two words as follows:

The complete (total) rest of a person, of soul and body, is indicated most distinctly by hēsychazein, hēsychian echein, etc., more with consideration of the uttered speech through sigan; these, the rest and silence arising from a soul condition or disposition are most plainly indicated by sigan, more according to the whole appearance through hēsychazein.¹²

In the first statement, Schmidt seems to echo the distinction

¹⁰Ibid., 1:215-216.

¹¹Ibid., 1:222.

¹²Ibid.

of Ammonius noted above -- that hēsychazein applies to the rest of the whole person while sigan applies to the tongue. In the second statement, Schmidt refers to the underlying soul condition of rest or silence that is inherent in sigan, but says that hēsychazein applies more to the whole appearance or outward behavior. Thus, while hēsychazein may embrace the soul condition and silence of speech of sigan, it goes beyond these and applies more properly to the visible manifestation of such things. Schmidt goes on to cite several examples "in which hēsychazein . . . designates the silence of acquiescence¹³ or that of showing oneself reserved."¹⁴

Schmidt also observes that when hēsychazein appears with sigan in the same context, "then naturally the first pertains to complete rest, as indicated above, sigan to the rest (cessation) of speech."¹⁵

Thus, hēsychazein appears to be a broader term than either sigan or siōpan. An inclusive progression might even be posited to describe the relationship between the three terms: hēsychazein is to sigan as sigan is to siōpan. Hēsychazein, in addition to other meanings, may include the

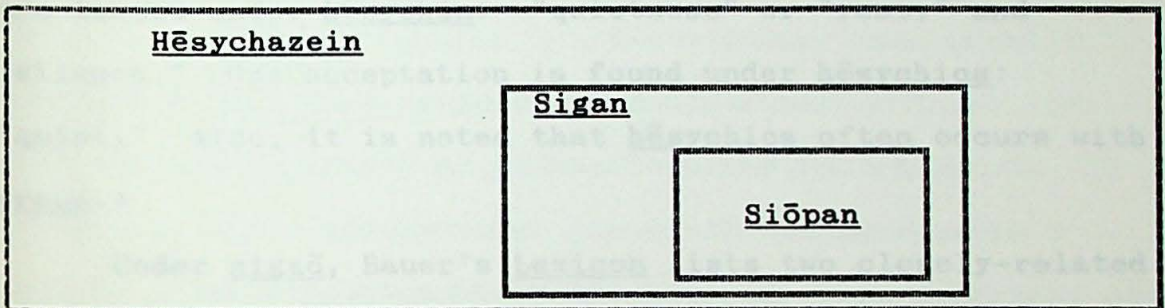
¹³The German "bescheidenden" can denote acquiescence or resignation. Harold T. Betteridge, ed., Cassell's German Dictionary (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1978), s.v. "bescheiden."

¹⁴Schmidt, Synonymik, 1:222-223.

¹⁵Ibid., 1:223.

silence of the tongue and the attendant soul disposition of sigan, while sigan may include the silence of the tongue denoted by siōpan.

Referring to the categories of paradigmatic sense relations noted above, this inclusive relationship of one class (or classes) in another corresponds to hyponymy. Thus, sigan and siōpan may be called hyponyms of hēsychazein. This relationship may be illustrated as follows:



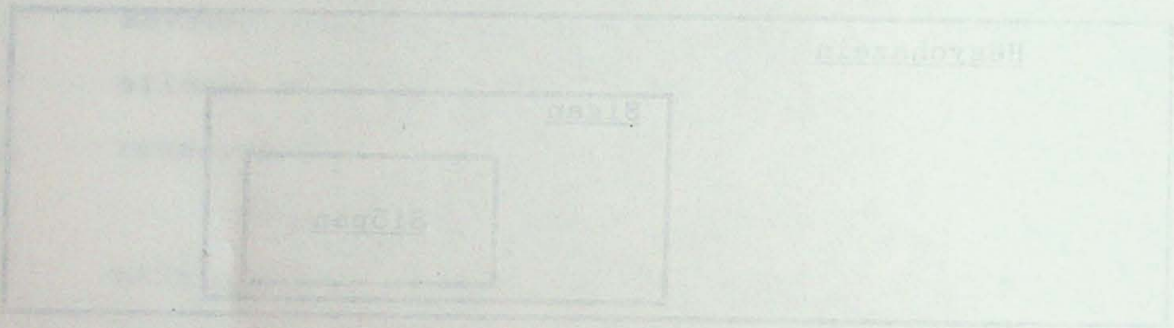
What is hyponymy? Silva defines it as "the relationship holding between the senses of a general and a specific term."¹⁶ Cruse, following J. Lyons, defines hyponymy in terms of the "normality" of sentences. For example, to say, "A dog is necessarily an animal" is normal, but to say, "An animal is necessarily a dog" is not. The latter condition excludes "dog" and "animal" as proper synonyms, since synonyms are words similar enough to be interchanged in a given context.¹⁷

Hēsychazein, as the more general term, might also be

¹⁶Silva, Biblical Words, 193.

¹⁷Cruse, Lexical Semantics, 109, n.2.

is termed the "superordinate" of its "hyponyms" sigan and siōpan, which are more specific terms. Hēsychazein, therefore, may denote a quiet condition in general, while sigan and siōpan denote certain aspects of this quiet condition.



What is hyponymy? Elvén defines it as "the relationship holding between the names of a general and a specific term." (Cruse, following J. Lyons, defines hyponymy in terms of the "normality" of sentences. For example, to say, "A dog is necessarily an animal" is normal, but to say, "An animal is necessarily a dog" is not. The latter condition excludes "dog" and "animal" as proper synonyms since synonyms are words alike enough to be interchanged in a given context.)

Hēsychazein, as the more general term, might also be

*Elvén, Biblical Words, 122.
 *Cruse, Lexical Semantics, 103, n. 2.

CHAPTER VII

HĒSYCH- IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Lexical Study

Walter Bauer's Lexicon lists essentially three different acceptations under hēsychazō: "to rest," "to be silent," and "to cease from an activity." Two different acceptations are listed under hēsychia: "quietness" or "rest," and "silence." One acceptation is found under hēsychios: "quiet." Also, it is noted that hēsychios often occurs with praus.¹

Under sigāō, Bauer's Lexicon lists two closely-related acceptations: "to keep silent" (intransitive), and "to conceal something" (transitive). Under sigē, only one acceptation is listed: "silence."² Under siōpaō, one acceptation is listed: "to be silent." Under siope, one acceptation is listed: "silence."³

Under hēsychazō, Joseph Henry Thayer lists three

¹Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, 2nd ed., trans. and ed. by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), s.v. "hēsychazō," "hēsychia," and "hēsychios."

²Ibid., s.v. "sigāō," "sigē."

³Ibid., s.v. "siōpaō," "siōpē."

acceptations: "to rest" or "cease from labor," "to lead a quiet (unmeddlesome) life," and "to be silent." Under hēsychia, he lists two acceptations: "quietness" and "silence." Under hēsychios he lists one acceptation: "quiet" or "tranquil."⁴

Thayer lists one acceptation for sigāō: "to be silent"; and he lists one acceptation for sigē: "silence."⁵ Under siōpaō, Thayer lists one acceptation: "to be silent," but he adds that it is also used metaphorically in Mark 4:39 of a calm, quiet sea.⁶

The new lexicon of Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, which groups words according to semantic domains, is a major advance in New Testament lexicography. The grouping of words according to domains and subdomains is helpful in that it conveniently brings together those meanings which are most closely related in semantic space (i.e. partial synonyms whose semantic range tends to overlap.)⁷ For example, hēsychia first appears under domain 22 ("Trouble, Hardship,

⁴Joseph Henry Thayer, Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, reprint ed., (Lafayette, IN: Associated Publishers & Authors, 1979), s.v. "hēsychazō," "hēsychia," "hēsychios."

⁵Ibid., s.v. "sigāō," "sigē."

⁶Ibid., s.v. "siōpaō."

⁷"Partial synonyms" implies that no two lexical items ever have the same meanings in all of the contexts in which they might occur. Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, eds., The Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains, 2 vols. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 1:xv.

Relief, Favorable Circumstances"), subdomain G ("Favorable Circumstances or State"), and is defined as "a state of undisturbed quietness and calm."⁸ Another entry occurs under subdomain 88 ("Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behavior"), subdomain N ("Peaceful Behavior"), where both hēsychazō and hēsychia are defined in this way: "to live in a quiet, peaceful and mild manner."⁹ Hēsychazō also occurs under domain 23 ("Physiological Processes and States"), subdomain F ("Tire, Rest"), and is defined as "to be at rest, that is, not to be engaged in some activity."¹⁰ Finally, hēsychazō and hēsychia occur under domain 33 ("Communication"), subdomain H ("Keep Silent"), and is defined in the following way: "to maintain a state of silence, with a possible focus upon the attitude involved."¹¹ Under the same subdomain, siōpaō denotes "to be silent" or "to lose the ability to speak," while sigāō means "to keep quiet" or to keep something secret. Sigē is the absence of noise.¹² Like Thayer and Bauer, Louw and Nida show that hēsych- has a much broader range of meaning than siōp- or sig-.

⁸Ibid., 1:247.

⁹Ibid., 1:754.

¹⁰Ibid., 1:261.

¹¹Ibid., 1:402.

¹²Ibid.

Syntagmatic Study of Hēsych- in the New Testament

Hēsych- in 1 and 2 Thessalonians

The Thessalonian epistles are undoubtedly Pauline.

Although their authorship has been questioned from time to time, the genuineness of these epistles has never been seriously challenged. They appear in the earliest list of Pauline writings (e.g. Marcion, A.D. 140), and they are quoted by Irenaeus (ca. A.D. 180). The presumed historical discrepancies between these epistles and Acts are of no great consequence and may be explained by the fact that the authors of each wrote independently of each other.

First Thessalonians is generally dated A.D. 50 or 51, with Second Thessalonians written not long afterward. Since Paul had been able to stay only a brief time in Thessalonica (Acts 17:5-10), the newly-converted there were left to face persecution without him. Paul wrote the first letter to encourage the Thessalonians facing persecution (3:3-5), to encourage godly living (4:1-12), and to give assurance concerning the future state (4:13-18). The purpose of the second letter was similar. He wrote to encourage the persecuted Christians (1:4-10), to correct misunderstandings regarding the Lord's return, and to encourage work and discourage disorderliness (3:6-15).

The first occurrence of hēsych- is in 1 Thess. 4:11. This verse is part of an exhortative section that begins with

the first verse of chapter 4.¹³ This section is clearly distinct from what precedes in chapter 3 (Paul's prayer-wish), and the presence of loipon as a particle of transition emphasizes Paul's change in direction. Verse 11, along with pertinent context, is translated as follows:

(1) Finally, brothers, we request and exhort you in the Lord Jesus that just as you received from us how it is necessary for you to walk and to please God, just as you do walk, that you may excel still more. (2) For you know what commandments we gave you through the Lord Jesus. (3) For this is the will of God . . . (9) Now concerning the love of the brethren you have no need (for anyone) to write to you, for you yourselves are taught of God to love one another; (10) for indeed you do this for all the brothers who are in all of Macedonia. But we exhort you, brothers, to excel still more, (11) and to aspire to be quiet (hēsychazein), namely, to attend to your own needs and to work with your own hands, just as we commanded you, (12) in order that you may behave decently toward those without and that you might not have any need.

Paul is especially careful in the opening of his exhortation to make clear that what follows are not his commands, but the authoritative commands of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is indicated by the phrases en kyriō Iēsou (verse 1) and dia tou kyriou Iēsou (verse 2), which denote not only the authority by which Paul speaks but also the divine nature of the content of what he is saying. This is reinforced by Paul's use of parelabete in verse 1, a reference to the "traditions" which likely had their source in the

¹³I. Howard Marshall, The Acts of the Apostles (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980), 103.

words of Jesus and the Old Testament scriptures.¹⁴ Paul's habit was to pass along to his congregations only that which he had himself received from the Lord.¹⁵ And his use of parelabete signals that in the words that follow, the reader is being confronted directly with the will of God in Christ.¹⁶ Finally, Paul's use of to pōs dei hymas peripatein kai areskein Theō in verse 1 signifies that the following exhortations, although they have profound implications for human relationships, ultimately have a divine-orientation. In other words, the exhortations are binding and are to be observed primarily because such behavior is pleasing to God. They are explicitly divine-relational concepts, and only in a secondary sense are they human-relational.

It is interesting to note that the phrase Paul uses at the end of verse 1, perisseuēte mallon, is the same phrase he uses in verse 10 at the opening of our text. The repetition is more than coincidental. It is a reminder to the Thessalonians that they are to take the exhortation to work in verses 11-12 just as seriously as the exhortation to chaste behavior in verses 3-8. It also serves to link verses 11 and 12 with verse 1 and what immediately follows. Thus, the verses 1-12

¹⁴James Everett Frame, Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1979), 143; F. F. Bruce, 1 & 2 Thessalonians (Waco: Word Books, 1982), 78-79.

¹⁵Gal. 1:11,12; 1 Cor. 11:23.

¹⁶Oscar Cullmann, "The Tradition," in The Early Church, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (London: SCM Press, 1956), 59-99 (esp. 81).

are really of one piece -- being exhortative in nature, vertical in emphasis (a reflection of God's will), and worthy of aspiration and of continual pursuit by the Christian.

The unity of this section has implications for the meaning of hēsychazein in verse 11. If the thrust of the section is primarily God-relational, then it is possible that here, as elsewhere, hēsychazein is also God-relational, denoting acquiescence in or submission to God's will or to God's order or economy in the world.

It may be argued, however, that the text has more of a human-relational slant than a divine orientation, since Paul adds that the Thessalonians are to behave decently toward outsiders and not be in any need (i.e. to not be a burden to others). But the exhortation to behave decently toward outsiders is not an end in itself, nor is it intended as a mere ethical injunction. Since those outside (exo) are those who are not yet saved, it's very likely that there is an evangelistic motive behind the exhortation. This would ultimately be a reflection of God's will, since He desires all men to be saved. Certainly Paul's exhortation has human-relational implications, but it primarily has a divine orientation.

Similarly, "not being in any need" has a divine orientation. "Need" in this passage refers to the self-induced needs of those who refused to work. Paul certainly wants his readers to bear one another's burdens and fulfill

the law of Christ (Gal. 3:2), but this does not refer to self-induced needs caused by a refusal to work, for that would be contrary to each bearing his own load (Gal. 3:5). Paul wants each person to meet his own needs because it is "pleasing to God" (verse 1) and perhaps because it is also in keeping with the constraints that God has imposed upon the creation in Genesis 3 (i.e. that a man must eat bread by the sweat of his brow).

The juxtaposition of philotimeisthai with hēsychazein deserves comment, for the second infinitive is dependent on the first. Philotimeomai can mean "to aspire," "to be ambitious," or "to seek after honor,"¹⁷ and its juxtaposition with hēsychazein has been considered by some commentators to be an oxymoron since ambition implies energetic action.¹⁸ This view, of course, assumes that hēsychazein denotes inactivity or a lack of ambition, which is clearly not the case here. In this context, hēsychazein denotes an active submission to the will of God and to the "tradition" which is expressed by working with one's own hands and meeting one's own needs. Far from denoting inactivity, hēsychazein here denotes strenuous activity, as philotimeisthai implies. To

¹⁷Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., A Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed., ed. by Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), s.v. "philotimeomai."

¹⁸Leon Morris, The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1959), 132-133; F. F. Bruce, 1 & 2 Thessalonians, 90.

view the juxtaposition of these two infinitives as an oxymoron is to misunderstand hēsychazein and to ignore the rule of maximal redundancy (i.e. that meaning is most correct which contributes least to the total context). Understanding hēsychazein as deliberate exertion -- fulfilling the will of God through work and self-support -- is more redundant and therefore more likely than "inactivity."

R. C. H. Lenski suggests rendering the second kai in verse 11 as "namely" and to take what follows in the rest of verse 11 and all of verse 12 as an explanation of what is meant by hēsychazein.¹⁹ In addition, prassein ta idia would perhaps be best translated as "to attend to your own needs," rather than "to attend to your own business." The latter translation is often cited by commentators and is based on a common usage of prassein ta idia in Classical Greek. This would not be far wrong here, but the immediate context suggests that taking idia as referring to "business" is a bit too general or broad. Applying the rule of maximal redundancy, idia is perhaps best understood as referring to "needs," since this reflects what Paul says in verse 12 about not being in any need. Moreover, fulfilling need is also the chief reason for the work which Paul advocates in verse 11 (cf. Gen. 3:20 [LXX]; 2 Thess. 3:10,12). "Needs," therefore,

¹⁹R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians, to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus and to Philemon (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 321.

is a more precise rendering of the "business" that most commentators and translators understand Paul as encouraging. Paul often exhorts his hearers to attend to their own needs, by his own word (verse 12; Eph. 4:28; Gal. 6:5; 2 Thess. 3:12) and by the example of his own life (2 Thess. 3:7,8; 1 Thess. 2:9).

In summary, hēsychazein in this passage is primarily a God-relational term which signifies submission to the universal obligation to work (perhaps recalling the constraints of Genesis 3:17-20) and to God's desire for the salvation of those outside the church. Hēsychazein in this passage, therefore, implies working with one's own hands in order to attend to one's own needs (i.e. not evading the obligation to work) and, as a result, behaving decently toward those outside. Neither the dawn of the new eschatological age in Christ Jesus nor the nearness of His return release the Christian from secular obligations such as work, for these obligations are those which God Himself has universally imposed upon the creation and as such they form a part of the "tradition" handed down by Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy. To evade one's secular responsibilities is sedition in the eyes of God, and to do so in the name of Christ also makes Christians appear irresponsible or seditious to those outside the faith, while submission to the God-ordained secular order is living a quiet life pleasing to God and under His will.

Hēsych- next occurs in 2 Thessalonians 3:12. Verses 6-

12 are translated as follows:

(6) Now we command you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you keep away from every brother who walks disorderly (ataktōs) and not according to the tradition which they received²⁰ from us. (7) For you yourselves know how it is necessary (in the sight of God) to imitate us, because we were not disorderly among you, (8) neither did we eat bread from anyone freely, but in labor and hardship -- working night and day in order not to be burdensome to any of you; (9) not that we do not have authority, but in order that we might give ourselves as an example, that you might imitate us. (10) For even when we were with you, we used to command you, "If anyone desires not to work, neither let him eat." (11) For we hear that some among you are walking disorderly -- not working but being busybodies. (12) Now to such we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ that, working with quietness (hēsychias), they eat their own bread.

Hina in verse 12 is best understood as introducing a noun clause which functions as the object (i.e. content) of the preceding verbs of command and exhortation (parangellomen and parakaloumen). Although this usage of hina is rare in Classical Greek, it occurs more frequently in the koine and the New Testament where the final sense of hina (i.e. purpose, aim or goal) is very often weakened or entirely absent.²¹ Ergazomenoi is in an adverbial relationship with esthiosin in which the participle describes the "means" of eating one's bread. In other words, working is the means by

²⁰The third person plural ending (parelabosan) is surprising in this context but is preferred by Metzger because it best explains the origin of the other variants, which are assumed to be corrections. Bruce M. Metzger, A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 637.

²¹Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed. s.v. "hina." Frame also views hina in this passage as introducing the object of the two verbs. Frame, Thessalonians, 307.

which one is able to eat. The prepositional phrase meta hēsychias modifies ergazomenoi, marking the attendant disposition of working.²²

The relationship in this passage between ergazomenoi and esthiosin recalls Genesis 3:20, which may help shed additional light on the meaning of hēsychias. The ataktōi in verse 11 are the ones who are commanded to work with hēsychias and to eat their own bread (verse 12). This implies a contrast between ataktōs (verses 6,7,11) and hēsychias (verse 12). If hēsychias in this context denotes submission to God's order imposed upon man via the Fall (i.e. the necessity to toil for one's bread), then ataktōs denotes the polar-opposite of hēsychias (i.e. a refusal to live under the constraint of Genesis 3:20 or, at the very least, a refusal to live under the paradosin of verse 6).

Paul's command in verse 12 ("that they eat their own bread") is a restatement of the command in verse 10 ("If anyone desires not to work, neither let him eat"). The only difference between the two commands, and possibly the reason why both are given, is that the first one (verse 10) is addressed to the entire community as a reminder of what it had been taught, while the second (verse 12) is addressed

²²Morris, Thessalonians, 256, n.18; cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. and ed. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), (227,2); M. J. Harris, "quiet," in The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 3 vols., ed. Colin Brown (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 3:112.

specifically to the ataktōi. If ataktōs describes the disposition of one who violates these commands, and if hēsychias is the polar-opposite of ataktōs,²³ then hēsychias may be understood as submission to these commands and, by implication, to the constraints of Genesis 3:20. That hesychias denotes a submissive disposition rather than "tranquillity of mind" (as James Everett Frame and F. F. Bruce contend)²⁴ is evident by its contrast with ataktōs, which denotes a setting of oneself outside the given order, or an evasion of one's duties or divinely appointed obligations (see below). Thus, the notion of submission to or acquiescence in one's obligations is more redundant in this context and therefore more likely than tranquillity of mind.

While there is no conclusive proof of a link between 2 Thessalonians 3:6-12 and Genesis 3:20, several arguments may be advanced in its favor.

First, it is likely that the command in verse 10 is the paradosin that Paul refers to in verse 6. The entire passage (verses 6-15) is of one piece in that it concerns how to deal with the ataktōi who apparently are living contrary to a specific paradosin. Verse 10 apparently contains this paradosin, as the context suggests. One possible source of

²³Even if one disagrees with the meanings given to hēsychias and ataktōs, it is still evident that the two terms are contrasted in verses 11 and 12.

²⁴Frame, Thessalonians, 307. Bruce, 1 & 2 Thessalonians, 207-208.

the paradosin is the Septuagint, and this opens the door to a possible link with Genesis 3. I emphasize "possible" because it doesn't constitute proof, only a possibility. Inasmuch as there are other possible sources of the paradosin, there are other possible sources for Paul's paradosin in 2 Thess.

3:6, 10.²⁵

Second, there are statements similar to Paul's in the rabbinic literature that show a connection with the early chapters of Genesis, if not Genesis 3 itself.²⁶ Most of this

²⁵Friedrich Buechsel, "didomi," in Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 10 vols., trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964) (hereafter cited as TDNT), 2:172, says that the paradosis is something that has been handed down (1 Cor. 15:3), and that it is derived from the Lord (1 Cor. 11:3). Cullmann, The Early Church, 62, argues on the basis of 1 Cor. 11:23 that Paul views the exalted Lord Jesus as the real author of the developing tradition within the apostolic church. F. F. Bruce, 1 & 2 Thessalonians, 193, shows the influence of Cullmann when he argues that the content of the tradition was derived by transmission from the historical Jesus (1 Cor. 11:23), and that it was continuously validated by the risen Lord through His Spirit in His apostles. Frame, Thessalonians, 285, acknowledges that the source of the paradosis is the indwelling Christ, but adds that it is still historically mediated by the Old Testament Scriptures, the sayings of the earthly Jesus, and the traditions of primitive Christianity.

²⁶Rabbi Abbahu (ca. A.D. 300) said, with reference to Gen. 1:2, "if one should not work, neither have him eat." Rabbi Simeon ben Eleazar (ca. A.D. 190) said, with reference to Gen. 2:15, "Even Adam tasted nothing before he worked, as it is said, 'And He put him into the Garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it,' and only then, 'of every tree of the Garden you may freely eat.'" Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 6 vols. (Muenchen: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), 3:642. Rabbi Nathan reported the following saying from Rabbi Akiba, "There are times when a man does no work and in consequence is sentenced to death by Heaven." Judah Goldin, ed., The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan (New

rabbinical testimony is post-Pauline, to be sure, but it is evidence of the connections that the rabbis made between the early chapters of Genesis and the problems of idleness that they, like Paul, may have confronted in their own communities.

Third, there is a similarity between Gen. 3:20 and 2 Thess. 3:10, not so much of language (the only word they share is artos), but of necessity. God's pronouncement to Adam is final, death being the only release ("by the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread, until you return to the earth"). Likewise, Paul's pronouncement, especially in light of the dawn of the new age in Christ, has a sense of finality about it. Neither the new age in Christ nor the nearness of the parousia can overrule the paradosin of working for one's daily sustenance. Again, death appears to be the only release from the obligation of the paradosin, at least until the parousia.

Even if there is no conclusive proof of a connection between 2 Thess. 3:10 and Gen. 3:20, there can be no doubt that Paul intends to show that work is a divine obligation. What has already been said regarding the use of en kyriō Iēsou in 1 Thess. 4:1 could be repeated here. The use of Christ's name ("We command you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," 2 Thess. 3:6; and "To such we command and exhort in the Lord Jesus Christ," 2 Thess. 3:12) denotes not only the

authority by which Paul speaks, but also the divine will behind the content of what he is saying. One works with his own hands and eats his own bread not primarily because it is noble or moral to do so, but because it is necessary (dei, v. 7) in the sight of God.²⁷ Thus, as in the case of 1 Thess. 4:10b-12, there is a divine-orientation in the 2 Thess. 3:6-12 passage and in the use of hēsychias in this passage. This is not to deny any possible human-relational orientation to hēsych-. It is to say, however, that the primary thrust of the word, considering its context, is vertical.

This is shown also by the meaning of atakteō and ataktōs, which characterize those who set themselves outside the necessary and given order. R. Russell contends that, rather than translating ataktōs "to be idle" or "to be a loafer," it is better translated "to be disorderly" because "it refers to what contravenes nature, the gods or reason."²⁸ Gerhard Delling has shown that the verb in secular usage means "to set oneself outside the order," "to evade one's obligations," or "not to fulfill one's divinely appointed duties." It does not primarily denote laziness.

In view of the attested breadth of meaning one must be on guard against taking it too narrowly in the Thessalonian Epistles. In 2 Th. 3 one might easily conclude from v. 7 that the primary reference of the group is to laziness.

²⁷Dei may be taken as an indication of divine necessity. Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "dei."

²⁸R. Russell, "The Idle in 2 Thess 3.6-12: An Eschatological or a Social Problem?" New Testament Studies 34 (1988):107-108.

But outside Christianity the verb, when applied to work, does not in the first instance lay emphasis on sloth but rather on an irresponsible attitude to the obligation to work.²⁹

Based on this understanding of ētaktēsamen in verse 7, Delling then goes on to draw conclusions about hēsychazein in 1 Thess. 4:11.

Certainly the tinas in v. 11 are not guilty of mere inaction but of a busy unrest which obviously finds expression outside of the community. The admonition to hēsychazein in 1 Th. 4:11f. goes hand in hand with that to daily work and with reference to the exō.³⁰

To Delling, those who are walking ataktōs are guilty not of inaction but of "a busy unrest" with regard to the secular order. They are, in the final analysis, rebelling against that order which was established by God Himself, while those who strive to be hēsychazein are living quietly under that order. The use of atakteō in an apprentice contract from A.D. 66 reinforces this point (see pages 118-119 below). Paul's use of ataktōs in 2 Thessalonians 3:6,11 denotes truancy regarding the divine obligation to work.

As in 1 Thess. 4:11, hēsych- in this passage denotes not inactivity, but the attendant disposition of one who actively works in accordance with the paradosin and the divine obligation to work. Even as ataktōs denotes the disposition of one who actively evades or rebels against God's order established in Genesis 3, hēsychias denotes the

²⁹Gerhard Delling, "tasso," in TDNT, 8:48.

³⁰Ibid.

disposition of one who actively lives and works under that order.

Hēsych- in Luke - Acts

The external testimony for Lukan authorship of both Luke and Acts is very strong. The Muratorian Canon, the anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Tertullian all state that Luke was the author of both books.³¹ The internal testimony that the author was a companion of Paul is also strong and all but leads us to Luke by the process of elimination.³²

It is impossible to treat the purpose of Luke's gospel apart from its sequel, the book of Acts. Luke's primary purpose was historical, as his gospel prologue indicates. Some, such as Bruce, have also posited an apologetic motive, as if Luke were arguing that Christianity was not subversive to imperial law and order as its detractors claimed.³³ There is certainly evidence for this in Acts, but considerably less in Luke's gospel. If Luke had an apologetic purpose, it was surely subordinate to the historical one, which was to show the continuing work of the Risen Christ in the spread of the

³¹Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, 3rd ed. (Downer's Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1970), 99.

³²Comparing the "we" sections of Acts (16:11-17; 20:5-21:18; 27:1-28:16) with Acts 20:4,5 eliminates all but Luke and Titus, while the testimony of Galatians 2 may help to eliminate Titus.

³³F. F. Bruce, The Book of Acts (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), 8.

gospel throughout Jerusalem, Samaria, and the Gentile nations.

The dating of both books must be considered together. Acts was most likely written before A.D. 64, since there is no reference to the Neronian persecution, and Luke portrays the Roman government as having a favorable attitude towards Paul. Moreover, there are no references either to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 or to the death of Paul, both of which Luke might have been expected to allude to or to mention. Luke's gospel, as the first of the two volumes, must therefore be dated earlier, possibly in the early sixties or perhaps the late fifties.

The first occurrence of the root hēsych- is in Luke 14:4. The translation below will provide context.

(1) And it happened that when He entered into the house of one of the leaders of the Pharisees on the Sabbath to eat bread, they were watching Him closely. (2) And behold, there was a certain man before Him who had dropsy. (3) And Jesus answered and said to the lawyers and Pharisees, "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath or not?" (4) But they were still (hēsychasan). And so taking hold of him He healed him and sent him away. (5) And He said to them, "Which of you shall have a son or an ox fall into a well, and will not immediately pull him out on the Sabbath day?" (6) And they were not able to answer this.

The setting is a Sabbath meal in the home of a Pharisee, where Jesus is confronted by a man with dropsy. Since Jesus was being carefully watched by the Pharisees and lawyers, it is possible that the man was "planted" to trap Jesus. However, Jesus seems to go on the offensive by putting a question to those watching Him. The situation here

parallels that of Luke 6:9 where Jesus turns the tables on the Pharisees, who normally put the questions to Him.

There is little doubt that hēsychasan in Luke 14:4 denotes silence, but more specifically it seems to denote the absence of objections to Jesus' question. In the absence of objections, Jesus did not hesitate to heal the man. The healing appears to follow as a result of the silence of those who would normally object to Sabbath healing.³⁴ The cause of their silence can be found in the nature of the question, which was designed to expose the hypocrisy or absurdity of any objection. The Pharisees would only discredit themselves by answering. If they answered affirmatively, they would contradict their own Sabbath legalism. But if they answered negatively, they would be exposed as hypocrites who themselves did not neglect other acts of mercy on the Sabbath (cf. verse 5).³⁵ Their situation was like that described by Philo, who uses hēsych- in a way similar to Luke 14:4 -- the silencing of opposition by one who is stronger:

Now the death of words is silence (hēsychia), not the silence which well-behaved people cultivate No, it is the undesired silence to which those whom the strength of their opponent has reduced to exhaustion and prostration must submit, when they find no longer any argument ready to their hand. For what they handle dissolves in their hands, and what they stand on gives

³⁴The conjunction kai is often used to introduce a result that follows from what precedes: "and so." See Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "kai."

³⁵Norval Geldenhuys, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke, reprint ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952), 886-887.

way beneath them, so that they must needs fall.³⁶

In Luke 14:4, hēsychasan, while certainly denoting silence, denotes the silence of opposition or the absence of objection to the will of God as it is revealed through the word and work of Jesus. Hēsychasan might also denote motionlessness, as if the lawyers and Pharisees sat stock-still with their eyes fixed on Jesus. The stillness may have been total, with no whispering, no arguing, no one coming forward to debate the question, making the scene all the more dramatic.³⁷

The next occurrence of hēsych- is in Luke 23:56. The following translation provides context:

(54) And it was the Preparation Day, and the Sabbath was dawning. (55) Now the women who had come with Him from Galilee followed after, and saw the tomb and how His body was laid. (56) And they returned and prepared spices and perfumes. And on the Sabbath they rested (hēsychasan) according to the commandment.

Here hēsych- denotes rest, the cessation of activity. But one should also note the context in which this rest occurs -- the Lord's Sabbath. The women demonstrated their reverence for and submission to the Lord by observing the Sabbath law. Their rest was more than mere inactivity. It was inactivity kata tēn entolēn.

This is an interesting observation by Luke, who records more examples of Sabbath work (miracles) by Jesus than the

³⁶Philo The Confusion of Tongues 37-38.

³⁷R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. Luke's Gospel (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 768.

other evangelists.³⁸ Jesus did not view the Sabbath law as prohibiting all forms of activity, since He allowed works of mercy (Luke 14:5). Preparation for burial, however, was evidently viewed as a prohibited form of work, and Luke is careful to show that the followers of Jesus did not irreverently disregard the Sabbath law but reverently submitted to it. Hence, hēsychasan here denotes rest in the context of reverence for and submission to God's command.

The first occurrence of hēsych- in Acts is found in 11:18. The context is the response of Peter to the circumcised believers in Jerusalem who had taken issue with him over his association with Gentiles in the home of Cornelius.

The translation of the pertinent verses is as follows:

(1) Now the apostles and the brethren who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. (2) And when Peter came up to Jerusalem, those who were circumcised were taking issue (diekrinonto) with him, (3) saying, "You went to uncircumcised men and ate with them." (4) But Peter began speaking and proceeded to explain to them saying (15) "The Holy Spirit fell upon them even as He did upon us in the beginning. (16) And I remembered the word of the Lord who used to say, 'John baptized with water, but you will be baptized in the Holy Spirit.' (17) If God therefore gave to them the same gift as He gave to us also after believing upon the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I to prevent God?" (18) Hearing these things they acquiesced and glorified God (hēsychasan kai edoxasan ton theon) saying, "So, God has also given to the Gentiles the repentance that leads to life."

Despite an almost universal tendency among the various translations, hēsychasan here need not denote silence.

³⁸Luke records five of the seven Sabbath miracles (4:31, 38; 6:6; 13:14; 14:1). The two others are recorded in John 5:10 and 9:14.

Indeed, its juxtaposition with edoxasan makes absolute silence unlikely. Hēsychasan seems to denote a cessation of the disputing (diekrinonto) which the circumcised believers began with Peter after he had returned from the house of the uncircumcised Cornelius (verses 2-3). But in light of Peter's explanation in verses 5-17, it becomes apparent to them that their disputation with him was in reality a disputation with God, whose will it was to grant repentance and life to the Gentiles (verse 18). Hence, hēsychasan in verse 18 is not the cessation of all manner of speech, but the cessation of opposition to the will of God characterized by disputation and argument. The glorification of God through the words expressed in verse 18 in no way contradicts the "silence" of hēsychasan, for hēsychasan here denotes an acquiescence in or submission to the revealed will of God. This acquiescence may certainly find expression through words which glorify the plan and purpose of God. Thus, there is no need to view hēsychasan and edoxasan as totally separate and distinct actions when translating verse 18.³⁹ They are in fact complementary actions. Hēsychasan denotes that acceptance of the will of God which is manifest in the cessation of argument, while edoxasan denotes that acceptance of the will of God which is manifest by the initiation of praise.

³⁹Bruce, Acts, 223, translates verse 18 as follows: "When they heard this, they fell silent. Then they glorified God." Such a translation is the result of a narrow understanding of hēsych-.

The next occurrence of hēsych- in Acts is in 21:14.

The context concerns Paul's journey to Jerusalem, from which his companions attempt to dissuade him.

(10) And as we were staying there for some days, a certain prophet by the name of Agabus came down from Judea. (11) And coming to us, he took Paul's belt and bound his feet and hands and said, "This is what the Holy Spirit says, 'In this way the Jews in Jerusalem will bind the man who owns this belt and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.'" (12) And as we heard these things, we and the local residents were encouraging him not to go up to Jerusalem. (13) Then Paul answered, "Why are you weeping and breaking my heart? For I am not only ready to be bound but also to die in Jerusalem on behalf of the name of the Lord Jesus." (14) Not dissuading him, we acquiesced saying (hēsychasamen eipontes), "Let the will of the Lord be done!"

The adverbial participle eipontes modifies the main verb hēsychasamen, signifying either an antecedent or a coincident action with respect to the main verb.⁴⁰ It seems less awkward in this context to take it as a coincident action, completing the meaning of hēsychasamen or denoting manner.

It is evident that hēsychasamen in this context does not denote the strict absence of speech, because it is evidenced by the expression, "Let the will of the Lord be done!" Here it denotes not merely the absence of the exhortations expressed in verse 12, but also an attitude of acquiescence in the apparent will of God for Paul. This attitude finds expression in the phrase, "Let the will of the

40A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 861-863, dispels the notion that the participle is here equivalent to kai with a coordinate verb, as if eipontes denoted an action subsequent to that of hēsychasamen.

Lord be done!" Robertson also views this phrase as an expression of acquiescence.⁴¹ Of the possible terms that Luke might have used for silence (hēsychazein, sigan, siōpan), he used the one which best expresses the quietude of the whole person, outwardly and inwardly. Moreover, hēsych- in this context denotes a quietude with respect to the will of God for Paul. Thus, the meaning is one of acquiescence in or subordination to God's will.

The final occurrence of hēsych- in Acts is in the context of Paul's last Jerusalem visit. A mob uprising occurs when Paul is falsely accused of bringing Greeks into the temple complex (21:28). After beating Paul and causing a city-wide disturbance, the mob quiets down as Paul begins to speak (21:40-22:3).

(40) And when he permitted him, Paul, standing on the stairs, motioned to the people with his hand; and when there was a great silence (pollēs de sigēs), he spoke to them in the Hebrew dialect saying, (1) "Men, brothers, and fathers, hear my defense which I now make to you." (2) And when they heard that he was addressing them in the Hebrew dialect, they showed more serenity (mallon pareschon hēsychian). And he said, (3) "I am a Jewish man, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city."

It may be argued that the use of hēsychian in context with sigēs denotes nothing more than silence as an example of semantic neutralization (i.e. the suspension of normal linguistic oppositions). In other words, although hēsych- and sig- normally have different shades of meaning, they may,

⁴¹Ibid., 863.

in certain contexts, be used interchangeably. In Acts 21:40-22:2, this is a distinct possibility -- meaning that they may both denote silence and nothing more. Indeed, the rule of maximal redundancy may be cited in support of this.

However, there is another factor to consider. Paul's decision to address the crowd in Aramaic rather than Greek was a bid for their tolerance, which he temporarily won.

Bruce describes the situation this way.

If an audience of Welsh or Irish nationalists, about to be addressed by someone suspected of being a traitor to their national cause, suddenly became aware that he was speaking to them not in the Saxon tongue but in the Celtic vernacular, the gesture would no doubt call forth at least a temporary measure of goodwill.⁴²

I. Howard Marshall notes that for Paul to speak to the people in their native tongue was an effective way of gaining their attention, if not their sympathy.⁴³ Whether Paul's gesture generated goodwill, sympathy, or merely tolerance on the part of the crowd, the expression mallon pareschon hēsychian seems to suggest a change (albeit temporary) in the mob's attitude toward Paul. Bauer asks, with respect to the use of hēsychian in this passage, "Is it possible that such concepts as 'reverence' or 'devotion' may have some influence?"⁴⁴ In other words, does hēsych- denote reverence or respect shown to Paul? This is certainly a possibility, but it probably

⁴²Bruce, Acts, 413.

⁴³Marshall, Acts, 353.

⁴⁴Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "hēsychia."

denotes a more dispassionate feeling on the part of the crowd. Hēsych- is often used in secular Greek literature to denote non-aggression, stilling of passions, or the absence of disturbance.⁴⁵ This would fit into the context of the passage as the crowd was not only noisy but violent and tumultuous. Hēsychian may therefore denote a stilling of the crowd which is described by Luke as having been "stirred up" (synecheon, verse 27), "aroused" (ekinēthē, verse 30), "disturbed" (sygchynnetai, verse 31), and "violent" (bian, verse 35). Hence, while not excluding the idea of silence, hēsychian may also denote at least a temporary attitude of dispassion by the crowd or a temporary suspension of its earlier disturbance and opposition toward Paul.

It is possible that hēsychian suggests submission to Paul's God-given authority, but the evidence for this does not seem to be conclusive. The change in the behavior of the crowd is sudden and dramatic, but this alone does not prove that it was the result of Paul's supernatural power and authority as an apostle. The most one can say, based on the context, is that the crowd became quiet and settled down.

Hēsych- in 1 Peter

Despite strong patristic evidence that Peter wrote this letter which bears his name, some scholars have doubted its

⁴⁵See the references above or see, for example, Aristotle Politics 1273b.18; Philo On Abraham 27; 210; Josephus Jewish War 2.325; 3.85.

genuineness, citing its polished style and certain historical objections such as the problem of the author writing to persecuted Christians in Asia when, to our knowledge, there was no official persecution in that region during Peter's lifetime. These and other objections have been dealt with by Theodore Zahn, Edward Gordon Selwyn, Donald Guthrie and others who have shown the traditional view which accepts the claims of the epistle to be more reasonable than any alternative hypothesis.⁴⁶ The date is difficult to determine with exactness, but the period immediately before or during the Neronian persecutions seems likely.⁴⁷

Peter's audience appears to have been a Jewish-Gentile mixture. Selwyn argues that in parts of Asia Minor there had been syncretism of Judaism and pagan cults, which may help explain why Peter's audience seems to be neither exclusively Jewish nor exclusively Gentile.⁴⁸ In addition, Jewish synagogues had their "God-fearers" -- uncircumcised Gentiles who played an important role in the expansion of the church. This may also account for allusions to Gentiles in the epistle.

⁴⁶Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, 771-790.

⁴⁷Peter was probably crucified in the summer or autumn of the year 64 A.D. Theodore Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, 3 vols., reprint ed., (Minneapolis: Klock & Klock Christian Publishers, 1977), 2:160.

⁴⁸Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of Peter (London: Macmillan and Company, 1947; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 42-44.

Guthrie argues that the purpose of the epistle is basically hortatory, urging the Christians to live in accordance with the hope they have received, particularly in the face of persecution or mistreatment.⁴⁹ The epistle speaks to the situation of slaves more than to masters, which may suggest that many of Peter's readers were slaves, but this is by no means certain.

The only occurrence of hēsych- in First Peter is in the midst of a section (2:13-3:6) in which Christians are urged to submit to kings and governors (2:13-17), slaves to masters (2:18-20), and wives to husbands (3:1-6). No doubt Peter believed, as did Paul, that all authority is ultimately derived from God Himself (Romans 13), and that living as "servants of God" implied serving those whom God has placed over us (1 Peter 3:16,17). Thus, Peter can instruct his hearers to submit to every authority "for the Lord's sake" (3:13). Peter uses the adjective hēsychiou pneumatos (3:4) to describe the proper attitude or disposition of Christian women. Verses 1 through 6 are translated below to provide context.

(1) Likewise, women should be subject to their own husbands, in order that if any are disobedient to the word, through the behavior of the wives without a word they will be won over, (2) while they behold your holy behavior in fear. (3) Yours must not be external order (adornment) of braided hair, putting on gold ornaments or clothing, (4) but the hidden person of the heart, in the imperishable quality of a gentle and quiet disposition (praeōs kai hēsychiou pneumatos), which is precious

⁴⁹Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, 791.

before God. (5) For this is also how the holy women who trusted in God used to order themselves, being subject to their own husbands. (6) As Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him lord, whose children you have become to do good and not to fear any terror.

Pneumatōs may refer to the personality or disposition, denoting a state of mind.⁵⁰ This is reinforced by ho kryptos tēs kardias anthrōpos, which refers to the inner character or disposition. Aphthartō is an adjective with no noun, which must be taken as a substantive. Praeōs and hēsychiou are adjectives modifying pneumatōs, denoting the type of disposition the wives should have (genitive of apposition).

J. A. Bengel attempted to distinguish between praeōs and hēsychiou as follows:

praeōs, one who does not disturb; hēsychiou, one who bears calmly the disturbance of others (superiors, inferiors, equals). Add that praeōs is in the state of mind; hēsychiou in word, expression, action.⁵¹

Selwyn, however, contradicts Bengel's understanding of praeōs and hēsychiou, arguing that their meanings should be understood the other way around.

Bengel distinguishes "meekness" (praeōs) as an attribute of the character that does not cause disturbance, and "quietness" (hēsychiou) as that of one that bears with serenity the disturbances caused by others. But is it not rather the other way around? Both classical and N.T. usage seem to suggest so.⁵²

This thesis' research on the occurrences of hēsych- in

⁵⁰Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "pneuma."

⁵¹J. A. Bengel, Gnomen Novi Testamenti, editio tertia (Tubingae: Ioh. Henr. Phil. Schammii, 1773), 1136-1137.

⁵²Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter, 184.

classical and biblical literature confirms Selwyn's opinion.

Seldom can one find a clear instance where hēsych- denotes calmly bearing the disturbances of others.⁵³ Almost invariably it denotes the absence of disturbance, rebellion, restiveness, disorder, and the like. Bengel's understanding of hēsychiou, which eventually found its way into Trench's Synonyms of the New Testament,⁵⁴ does not seem to be supported by the evidence examined. Moreover, that praeōs should be understood as "calmly bearing the disturbances of others" (contra Bengel) is supported by 1 Peter 3:15-16, which says that Christians who have been maliciously slandered should respond with "meekness and fear" (prautētos kai phobou).

In their commentary on First Peter, A. M. Stibbs and A. F. Walls appear to follow Selwyn rather than Bengel in their understanding of praeōs and hēsychiou.

Meek (praeōs) describes the way in which such a docile wife submits to her husband's demands and intrusions by docile and gentle cooperation. Quiet (hēsychiou) describes her complementary and constant attitude, and the character of her action or reaction towards her

⁵³One such example is found in Josephus Antiquities 7.172. Following the rape of Tamar by Amnon, Absalom (Tamar's brother) exhorted her to be quiet and bear it calmly (hēsychazein kai pherein).

⁵⁴Richard Chenevix Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1915), 366. Having been popularized by Trench, Bengel's misunderstanding of hēsych- found its way into other scholarly works. See, for example, Dorothy Patterson, "Roles in Marriage: A Study in Submission: 1 Peter 3:1-7," The Theological Educator 13 (1983):75-76.

husband and towards life in general. She shows no sign of rebellion or resentment, fuss or flurry.⁵⁵

M. J. Harris appears to agree with this assessment when he says that the gentle (praeōs) and quiet (hēsychiou) spirit in 1 Peter 3:4 denotes "a spirit which calmly bears the disturbances created by others and which itself does not cause disturbance."⁵⁶ Thus, hēsychiou denotes that spirit which does not cause disturbance, while praeōs denotes the calm acceptance of the disturbances of others.

Bengel's assertion that hēsychiou refers to "word, expression, action," in contrast with praeōs as "the state of mind," would seem to be contradicted by Heinrich Schmidt, who argued that hēsychazein, in contrast with sigan, referred to "the complete (total) rest of soul and body."⁵⁷ Thus, Schmidt viewed hēsychazein as a broad term that applied to the inner (soul) condition as well as the outward expressions. Although it is by no means conclusive, this would seem to undermine Bengel's understanding of the adjective hēsychiou as denoting outward expression only. Hēsychiou may denote outward expressions only, but it need not.

⁵⁵A. M. Stibbs and A. F. Walls, The First Epistle General of Peter (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1959; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), 125.

⁵⁶M. J. Harris, "quiet," in The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 3:112.

⁵⁷Bengel, Gnomon, 1136-1137; J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, Synonymik der Griechischen Sprache, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1876), 1:222.

Might hēsychiou denote silence of the tongue in this context? Verse 2, "without a word they will be won over," makes this a possibility. But if hēsychiou denotes silence, it is certainly in the context of submission, as the use of hypotassomenai in verses 1 and 5 suggests. This affects our understanding of hēsychiou, as does the occurrence of pneuma in this context. This suggests more of an internal disposition, one that may certainly be manifested by silence of the tongue, among other things, but which ultimately stems from the disposition or soul condition. Considering the potential breadth of meaning of hēsych-, one cannot rule out silence of the tongue. But the context here favors understanding hēsychiou as primarily a soul condition.

It may be argued that hēsychiou represents a case of deliberate ambiguity, in which Peter deliberately uses the broad term hēsych- to denote outward silence as well as a submissive attitude. But this does not seem likely, as the immediate context suggests that Peter is speaking of an attitude or disposition. If Peter had wanted to emphasize silence, he might have chosen siōp- or sig-, but these terms in this particular context would have confused his readers, since hēsych- was commonly used in conjunction with praus to denote an inner quality (cf. Isaiah 66:2; 1 Clement 13.4; Hermas The Shepherd Mand. 6.2.1-3).

Hēsychiou in 1 Peter 3:4 denotes a quiet, non-rebellious disposition, one that avoids creating a disturbance in

word or action. That hēsychiou, along with praeōs, is to be understood in the sense of submission is evident from the following verse, where submission to the husband is explicitly mentioned as the adornment of holy women. In this sense, it could be understood as a virtue -- the quiet submission to the God-given authority of the husband -- which is of great value in God's sight. F. Hauck and S. Schultz, in their article on praus, mention hēsych- as a virtue.⁵⁸ Lenski considers quietness and meekness as virtues.⁵⁹ That they are enduring and incorruptible attests to their moral excellence or virtue.

Hēsych- in 1 Timothy

That Paul was the author of the Pastoral Epistles is supported not only by the salutations in each but also by the testimony of the ancient church.⁶⁰ Indeed, it was not until the nineteenth century that Pauline authorship of these epistles was challenged. Most of the challenges have focused on historical difficulties with Acts, "late" ecclesiastical terminology and "non-Pauline" vocabulary. All of these

⁵⁸F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "praus," TDNT, 6:650.

⁵⁹R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of I and II Epistles of Peter, the three Epistles of John, and the Epistle of Jude (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1961), 131-133.

⁶⁰J. H. Bernard provides of an excellent summary of the patristic evidence regarding the Pastorals in his commentary, The Pastoral Epistles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899; reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1980), xiii-xxi.

difficulties can be satisfactorily answered and, as Guthrie has observed, the onus of proof still rests with the challengers.⁶¹

If Paul was martyred in A.D. 66, we may assume that First Timothy was written sometime after the events of Acts 28, perhaps between A.D. 63 and 65. Paul had left Timothy in charge of the churches at Ephesus while on his fourth missionary journey. The epistle was written to refute false teaching in the churches, to regulate worship, and to provide advice in the selection of elders. The false teaching seems to have combined Jewish and incipient gnostic elements -- an emphasis on genealogies (1:3-7) and a contempt for the natural order (2:9-15; 4:3-5).

Second century gnostics disdained marriage (and therefore childbirth), and women were known to play a prominent role in the movement. It is possible, although by no means assured, that the incipient gnosticism confronting the Ephesian churches also contained these elements. If so, they may explain Paul's emphasis on the natural order and its implications for both men and women.

Hēsych- occurs three times in the second chapter of First Timothy. The first occurrence is in verse 2. To provide context, the first eight verses of the chapter have been translated.

(1) I urge, then, first of all, for requests, prayers,

⁶¹Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, 584.

petitions, and thanksgivings to be made for all men, (2) for kings and those in authority, that we might live a tranquil (ēremon) and quiet (hēsychion) life in all godliness and seriousness. (3) This is good and pleasing to God our Savior, (4) who wants all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth. (5) For there is one God and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, (6) who gave Himself as a ransom for all men -- the testimony given at the proper time. (7) And for this purpose I was appointed a herald and an apostle -- I am telling the truth, I am not lying -- and a teacher of the true faith to the Gentiles. (8) Therefore I want men (tous andras) in every place to lift up holy hands in prayer without anger or dissension.

Most commentators argue that the hina clause in verse 2 ("that we might live a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and seriousness") denotes calmness and serenity in social affairs.⁶² Guthrie expresses this view as follows:

⁶²Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972), 38. They cite Athenagoras (ca. A.D. 180) who alludes to 1 Tim. 2:2 in his Embassy for the Christians, written to the Roman emperor. Athenagoras wrote, "Grant me your royal acquiescence now that I have dissipated all the charges and shown that we are God-fearing, modest, and restrained in our thoughts. Indeed, who are more worthy to obtain their requests than we, who pray for your royal house that sons may follow father in most just succession of imperial rule and that your empire may receive prosperity and increase, with no rebellion anywhere? This is to our benefit too, that we should live a quiet and peaceable life (houpōs ēremon kai hēsychion bion diagoimen) and render prompt obedience to all your commands." Athenagoras, Embassy for the Christians, trans. Joseph Hugh Crehan (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), 78.

Dibelius and Conzelmann take the houpōs clause of Athenagoras to refer to external conditions of peace and tranquility, implying that the hina clause in 1 Tim. 2:2 means the same thing. But they fail to explain the second part of the houpōs clause ("and render prompt obedience to your commands") which, when considered in light of what has preceded it ("we are God-fearing, modest, and restrained in our thoughts"), conveys the idea of submissiveness to the emperor. The passage might be better understood in this way, "This is to our benefit too, that we should be quiet, peace-

"That we may live a quiet and peaceable life" means that government may achieve conditions of peace and security, enabling the Christian and his fellow-men to pursue their own lives.⁶³

This interpretation is certainly plausible, but it has several drawbacks. First, a statement about social tranquility or good citizenship seems out of place in a section dealing with the conduct of public worship. Paul's directives in this chapter primarily concern the vertical (God-relational) aspect of worship rather than the horizontal (human-relational).⁶⁴ In other words, if Paul instructs the Ephesian church regarding prayer for all men, then it is primarily because that is what is pleasing to God who desires

able, and obedient citizens." Hence, the houpōs clause of Athenagoras may be taken as an expression of submission to the emperor and an acknowledgement that such submission is to one's benefit. If Athenagoras is read in light of Romans 13:1-5, this explanation makes perfect sense. Paul's argument in Romans 13 is that it is to our benefit as Christians to submit to the governing authorities because they are God's servants to punish the rebellious and to commend the righteous. Athenagoras uses the same argument. This passage is intended to be a confession to the emperor that the Christian community is orderly and quiet under his rule and, consequently, worthy to obtain its requests. Hence, this reference to hēsych- in Athenagoras is best understood, not as referring to external peace and tranquility, but as quiet submission to the emperor on the part of the Christian community.

⁶³ Donald Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957), 70.

⁶⁴ Worship has both a vertical aspect (fellowship with God sacramentally and sacrificially) and a horizontal aspect (fellowship with other believers). In 1 Timothy 2, this vertical emphasis is not sacramental but sacrificial in nature -- through prayers, deportment, and submission to God's order.

the salvation of all,⁶⁵ and not necessarily because it has certain sociological implications. And if Paul instructs the church regarding the deportment or conduct of women in the congregation, then it is because God Himself has established an order in creation that both men and women must respect, first and foremost in their worship of that self-same God. It would be self-contradicting, not to mention rebellious, for a congregation to attempt to worship God in violation of His express will in these matters. The entire second chapter, then, has a distinctly vertical emphasis -- the right conduct of the congregation in the presence of God. Moreover, the chapter abounds in God-relational attitudes or virtues such as godliness (eusebeia), piety (theosebeia), and faith (pistis). In this context, hēsych- may also be understood as an attitude toward God (i.e. a Christian virtue) -- an attitude of submission to the will of the One who desires the salvation of all. To interpret the hina clause in verse 2 as social tranquillity is an intrusion into the text, the context of which describes God's concern for the salvation of all men, including the rulers. Therefore, Christians are to pray for all men, not primarily to please the rulers, but to please God. In other words, the one who prays for all men has aligned himself with the will of God for all men. The one who does this is leading a "tranquil and quiet (hēsych-

⁶⁵Exclusivistic prayer is a violation of God's will and therefore an unacceptable sacrifice from the congregation.

chion) life" with respect to God.

Second, those who interpret the hina clause as referring to social tranquillity have not satisfactorily explained the presence of the prepositional phrase "in all godliness and seriousness." What is the connection between earthly peace and godliness supposed to be? Guthrie argues that "the full expression of godliness requires external peace," but he offers no proof for this assumption, and then he qualifies it immediately by saying that godliness may often be intensified in times of stress.⁶⁶ This view overlooks the fact that eusebeia is used only with reference to God in the New Testament,⁶⁷ lending to the prepositional phrase a God-relational meaning.⁶⁸ If the prepositional phrase is God-relational (vertical), then the hina clause it modifies is best understood as God-relational rather than sociological.

Third, verse 3 ("This (touto) is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Savior") suggests that Paul's argument

⁶⁶Guthrie, The Pastoral Epistles, 70.

⁶⁷Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "eusebeia"; Werner Foerster, "sebomai," TDNT, 7:183.

⁶⁸It is true that semnotēti (seriousness or gravity) may be used with reference to men, but it may also be used with reference to God or to holy things. Foerster, "sebomai," in TDNT, 7:191-196. Therefore, while to most commentators it denotes seriousness with respect to citizenship, it is better understood in this context to denote the serious manner of life of the Christian with respect to God. The Christians who, through universal prayer, align themselves with the will of God for all men are living the Christian life in all seriousness or genuineness. This echoes 1 Tim. 1:5, where Paul says that the Christian life is characterized by a "faith unfeigned."

in the preceding verses is significant primarily from a divine perspective and not a sociological one. In other words, the primary emphasis of the passage is God-relational rather than sociological. This is fitting since the entire section (2:1- 3:15) is about orderly conduct in the household of God.

Fourth, the rule of maximal redundancy suggests that hēsych- denotes submission to God rather than tranquillity. As noted above, external tranquillity or good citizenship is at best a digression from Paul's argument, introducing a completely new idea. While such a digression is certainly possible, it represents the least likely option because it is less redundant. Understanding hēsych- as submission to the will of God for all men is more supportive of, and more clearly supported by, the context.

Some commentators understand touto in verse 3 to "refer back" to verse 1 (universal prayer), with verse 2 being understood as a parenthetical digression on citizenship. This is certainly possible. But touto need "refer back" to verse 1 only if verse 2 is assumed to be a digression. If verse 2 is not viewed as a digression from Paul's theme of orderly worship but as a reinforcement of it, then touto need not "refer back" to verse 1 (alone) but may refer to the second verse also. Thus, verse 3 may be understood simply as a continuation of the thought of the first two verses that universal prayer is pleasing to God and that those who pray

in this manner are living quietly and submissively with respect to God, who desires the salvation of all men. Such quiet (hēsychion), obedient conduct in worship stands in sharp contrast to that of verse 8, which alludes to unrest in the congregation -- unrest that may have been occasioned by Judaizers or proto-Gnostics who would have favored exclusivistic over universal prayer.

The second and third occurrences of hēsych- are in verses 11 and 12 respectively. To provide context, verses 9 through 15 are translated as follows:

(9) In the same manner, women are to adorn themselves in an orderly demeanor with reverence and self-control, not with plaiting and with gold or pearls or fine garments, (10) but with good works, as is fitting for women professing godliness. (11) A woman should learn in quietness (en hēsychia) and in full submission. (12) I do not permit a woman to teach nor to domineer a man, but to be in quietness (en hēsychia). (13) For Adam was first formed, then Eve. (14) And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being fully deceived came into disobedience. (15) But she will be saved through childbearing, if they continue in faith and love and holiness with self-control.

Paul's language in verses 9 and 10 is best understood figuratively. He speaks of adornment (kosmein), which suggests something external, but he speaks of this adornment in terms that are largely internal.⁶⁹ Therefore, katastolē

⁶⁹Kosmiō may denote that which is "respectable," "honorable," "orderly," "virtuous," "well-behaved," or "modest." Meta aidos may denote "respect," "reverence," or "modesty." Sōphrosynēs, which may denote "moderation" or "self-control," is one of the four cardinal virtues of platonic philosophy. Liddell and Scott, Lexicon, 9th ed., s.v. "kosmiōs," "aidos," "sōphrosynē;" Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "kosmiōs," "aidos," "sōphrosynē;" James Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B.

is better understood as "demeanor" or "deportment" rather than "clothing." Bauer and Liddell-Scott allow it to be taken either way, but James Moulton and George Milligan favor "demeanor" or "deportment."⁷⁰ These terms suggest an outward manifestation of an inward bearing, and they fit the context well since Paul seems to speak of how one's attitude becomes manifest in external ways -- either through extravagant clothing (verse 9) or through good works (verse 10).

Hēsych- occurs in verse 11 with en in the dative case. Is this prepositional phrase modifying the verb manthanetō (the dative here denoting a manner of learning) or does it modify the noun gynē, denoting a state or condition of the one who is learning? Robertson argues that almost all occurrences of en in the New Testament can be explained from the point of view of the locative, which is defined as "a point within limits, the limits determined by the context itself."⁷¹ In verse 11, a locative use of en might denote, not a literal location, but a metaphorical location -- an attitude of the mind, a condition, or a state of being.⁷² This is reinforced by the use, in verse 12, of en hēsychia

Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1930; reprint ed., 1985), s.v. "kosmiōs," "aidos," "sōphrosynē."

⁷⁰Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary, s.v. "katastolē."

⁷¹Robertson, Grammar, 520, 590.

⁷²C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 44, also recognizes a "metaphorical" use of the locative.

modifying the verb "to be," again suggesting a state of being or an attitude.

The occurrence, in verse 11, of en hēsychiā followed by en pasē hypotagē suggests that our understanding of the former prepositional phrase is informed by the latter. Being "in quietness," in this context, is very close to being "in all subjection."⁷³ This may reinforce the idea of en hēsychiā as an attitude or condition -- one of submission to authority and the antithesis of rebellion or restiveness.

In verse 12, en hēsychiā is used in opposition to didaskein (to teach) and authentein (to domineer). From the paradigmatic study above, it was noted that hēsych- may certainly denote stillness of the tongue, but it may also denote either stillness of the entire body or a soul condition. Schmidt stated that "hēsychazein . . . designates the silence of acquiescence or of showing oneself reserved."⁷⁴ That definition would seem to fit Paul's use of en hēsychiā in verse 12. Its opposition to didaskein suggests a silence of the tongue, while its opposition to authentein suggests submission to or acquiescence in a higher authority. If Paul had wanted to say only that women should be silent, he might easily have used siōpan or possibly sigan, as in 1 Cor.

⁷³The repetition of the preposition en does not necessarily mean that the two substantives (hēsychiā and hypotagē) do not belong under the same category. Robertson, Grammar, 566.

⁷⁴Schmidt, Synonymik, 223.

14:34.⁷⁵ But (perhaps deliberately?) he used the more comprehensive term hēsychia. Hēsych- was less likely to be misconstrued than sig- or siōp-, which more clearly indicate silence. Paul's use of en hēsychia in 1 Tim. 2 suggests that he wants to describe not simply silence but the condition of submissiveness. This is indicated by Paul's use of en with the verb "to be," which frequently denotes a state of being.⁷⁶ Moreover, since Bauer cites 1 Tim. 2:15 (en pistei kai agapē kai hagiasmō) as denoting a state of being or quality,⁷⁷ might not en hēsychia in verses 11 and 12 be similarly understood as a condition or quality of a godly woman (i.e. one who does not create a disturbance)?⁷⁸ In this way, Paul argues not only for the silence of women in worship but, just as important, for the quietude of the heart -- the complete submission of the whole person, body and soul, to the divine order.

This submission to the divine order is brought out clearly in verses 13 through 15, where the gar in verse 13 explains the cause or the reason for the woman's quietude --

⁷⁵Sigē in 1 Cor. 14 is more properly used in that context in which disorderly speaking in church was a specific problem. Hence, sigāō and sigē are used by Paul in 1 Cor. 14.

⁷⁶Bauer, Lexicon, 2nd ed., s.v. "en."

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸This understanding of hēsych- would be similar to that of 1 Peter 3:4, in which hēsych- denotes a quiet, non-rebellious disposition which avoids making a disturbance.

the order of creation, which implies subordination, and the even more explicit subordination of the woman to the man resulting from the fall into sin.

To argue for more than one meaning for en hēsychiā ("silence" and "submission") in this context is not a means of avoiding a decision between them, because both meanings are clearly supported by the context. As noted above, en hēsychiā is contrasted with authentēin as well as with didaskein, it is paralleled with en pasē hypotagē, and used with the verb "einai." Thus, it denotes not only silence of the tongue but a quiet disposition or condition which is inclusive of silence. Although Silva contends that context normally serves to eliminate multiple meanings, he adds that one meaning is assumed unless there are strong exegetical (literary, contextual) grounds to the contrary.⁷⁹ Here, the context compels one to understand hēsych- as more than silence. And since hēsych- may denote silence of the tongue as well as an inner condition, Paul has chosen a term sufficiently broad to fit the context.

Many commentators have understood en hēsychiā in 1 Tim. 2:11,12 as silence and nothing more. This may have resulted from ignorance of its breadth of meaning and its paradigmatic relationship with narrower terms such as sigan and siōpan. Douglas J. Moo, who argued that hēsych- here denotes si-

⁷⁹Silva, Biblical Words, 150-151.

lence,⁸⁰ was challenged by Philip B. Payne, who argued for the notion of "quietness" as an attitude similar to that of submission.⁸¹ In his rejoinder to Payne, Moo defended the translation of hēsych- as "silence," but appeared to modify his position somewhat⁸² as a result of the influence of James B. Hurley who said:

Hēsychia does mean silence but carries with it the connotations of peacefulness and restfulness. Its use in 1 Timothy 2 shows that Paul is not just calling for 'buttoned lips' but for a quiet receptivity and a submission to authority in his description of the manner of women's learning.⁸³

This is similar to the view of John Nolland, who argued that hēsych- in this context is closer to the idea of peaceableness. "I suggest peaceableness, malleability -- the ability to fit in -- is much more likely to be in view in this situation than any injunction to silence."⁸⁴

It is also interesting to note how en hēsychia is used in other Greek writers. Of the six occurrences of this prepositional phrase found outside of the New Testament, only

⁸⁰Douglas J. Moo, "1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance," Trinity Journal 1 (1980):64.

⁸¹Philip B. Payne, "Libertarian Women in Ephesus: A Response to Douglas J. Moo's Article, '1 Timothy 2:11-15: Meaning and Significance,'" Trinity Journal 2 (1981):169-170.

⁸²Douglas J. Moo, "The Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:11-15: A Rejoinder," Trinity Journal 2 (1981):198-199.

⁸³James B. Hurley, Man and Woman in Biblical Perspective (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1981), 200.

⁸⁴John Nolland, "Women in the Public Life of the Church," Crux 19 (September, 1983):18.

once (in Philo) does en hēsychia denote silence, and then it is in the context of submission to the law of God.

In this way, the lips train and exercise us for both purposes, speech and silence (to legein kai hēsychazein), and they teach us to watch for the proper occasion of either. For example: Is something worth hearing? Oppose it not but pay attention silently (en hēsychia) according to the command of Moses, "Be still (siōpa) and hear."⁸⁵

Aristotle uses en hēsychia to denote the condition of peace and the absence of rebellion among the common people of Athens despite the absence of Solon, their ruler.⁸⁶ Demosthenes uses en hēsychia to denote the passivity of the Athenians in the face of the seizure of their territory by Philip of Macedon.⁸⁷ In The Testament of Abraham, en hēsychia is used twice: first, in conjunction with gentleness (praotēti) and righteousness (dikaiosynē) to describe the virtuous manner of life of Abraham⁸⁸; second, to describe the gentle, peaceful way in which death comes to the righteous.⁸⁹ Josephus uses en hēsychia to describe the self-restraint that characterized King Rehoboam's reign, following his defeat by Shishak and living in the shadow of Jeroboam.

Now when Isokos (Shishak) had withdrawn, King Rehoboam, in place of the golden shields and bucklers, made an equal number of bronze and delivered them to the guards of the palace. And instead of leading the life of an

⁸⁵Philo On Dreams 2.263.

⁸⁶Aristotle Athenian Constitution 13.1.3.

⁸⁷Demosthenes 4th Philippic 46.

⁸⁸The Testament of Abraham 1.2.

⁸⁹Ibid., 17.6-8.

illustrious commander (stratēgias epiphanous) and a brilliant statesman (pragmasi lamprotētos), he ruled in great quiet and fear (en hēsychia pollē kai deei), being all his days an enemy of Jeroboam.⁹⁰

Here en hēsychia seems to denote an attitude of self-restraint prompted by the proximity of powerful enemies. This may inform our understanding of 1 Tim. 2:11-12, if we understand en hēsychia as an attitude of self-restraint that does not seek to create disturbance.

Summary of Hēsych- in the New Testament

In Luke 14:4, hēsych- denotes silence in the sense of the absence of objections to Christ's healing on the Sabbath. In Luke 23:56, it denotes rest on the Sabbath in obedience to God's commandment. In Acts 11:18, hēsych- denotes submission to or acquiescence in the will of God for the Gentiles (i.e. their salvation). In Acts 21:14 it denotes acquiescence in or acceptance of the will of God for Paul (i.e. to go to Jerusalem). In Acts 22:2 it denotes the serenity of the crowd in marked contrast with its earlier violence against Paul.

In 1 Peter 3:4, hēsych- denotes a quiet, non-rebellious disposition that avoids creating disturbance. In 1 Thess. 4:11 and 2 Thess. 3:12, it denotes submission to the paradosin and to the divine obligation to work. It is the polar-opposite of disorder. In 1 Tim. 2:2 it denotes submission to the will of God for all men (i.e. praying for their salvation

⁹⁰Josephus Antiquities 8.263.

in the context of public worship). In 1 Tim. 2:11,12 it denotes submission to the divine order of creation -- an attitude of self-restraint that does not seek to create disturbance.

In practically all of these passages, hēsych- usually has a divine reference. In other words, one is quiet with respect to God, or to the divine order, or to the divine commandment, or to the divine will. It is primarily a divine-relational term, although it also has human-relational implications.

In most of the passages, hēsych- denotes submission to, acceptance of, acquiescence in, or the lack of opposition to, the will of God and to the order of God in the world. Hence, it is not only divine-relational, but it is the antithesis of rebellion, disorder or disturbance. In other words, it denotes something godly or virtuous as opposed to something sinful. In this sense, it may be understood as a virtue. Indeed, its occurrence with praeōs in 1 Peter certainly hints at this. At any rate, the use of hēsych- in the New Testament may be said to prefigure its use as a Christian virtue in the church fathers.

Hēsych- in the New Testament cannot be understood negatively as mere passivity, idleness, or inaction. In several New Testament passages, hēsych- is clearly characterized by attendant actions: by working with one's hands in 1 Thess. 4:11 and 2 Thess. 3:12, by prayer in 1 Tim. 2:2, and

by learning in 1 Tim. 2:11. Even in Luke 23:56, where hēsych- certainly denotes rest, it is not a disorderly idleness but a conscious, purposeful act of obedience toward God. Hence, hēsych- often includes attendant actions -- actions which are understood to be commendable, desirable and worthy of continual pursuit by the Christian.

CHAPTER VIII

HESYCH- IN THE POPYRI

Hesych- exhibits a rather wide range of meaning in the papyri. A second century papyrus, a complaint of burglary addressed to the Strategus, uses hesychazein in the sense of "to submit" or "to acquiesce."

After being absent, when I returned to the village, I found my house pillaged and every thing that was stored in it carried off. Wherefore, being unable to submit to this (ou dynamenos hesychazein epididomi), I apply to you and ask that this petition may be entered on the register in order that, if anyone is proved to be the culprit, he may be held accountable to me.¹

Hesych- is also used of the inactivity of retirement:

"Pamouthius has expressed the desire to retire from his duties and to rest (hesychasai)."² It is also used in the sense of the inactivity of negligence: "what you write to me about not neglecting (me hesychasai) the building you have said more than enough."³

¹Bernard P. Grenfell, Arthur S. Hunt, and Edgar J. Goodspeed, eds., The Tebtunis Papyri (London: The Oxford University Press, 1907; reprint ed., London: The Egyptian Exploration Society, 1970), 2.330.

²P.Oxy. 1.128 (vi/vii A.D.), cited by James Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1930; reprint ed. 1985), 281.

³P.Fay. 117.23 (A.D. 108), Ibid.

The adjective hēsychion is used in a sixth century papyrus in which a father repudiates a betrothal because he wishes that his daughter "should lead a peaceful and quiet life," in contrast to the lawless ways of his intended son-in-law.

Forasmuch as it has come to my ears that you are giving yourself over to lawless deeds (eis ekthesma pragmata), which are pleasing to neither God nor man, and are not fit to be put into writing, I think it well that the engagement between you and her, my daughter Euphemia, should be dissolved, seeing that, as is aforesaid, I have heard that you are giving yourself over to lawless deeds (athesmois pragmasin) and I wish my daughter to lead a peaceful and quiet life (eirēnikon kai hēsychion bion diaxai).⁴

Here, the use of hēsych- is reminiscent of the usage in 1 Thess. 3 and in 1 Tim. 2 where Paul appeals to his readers to live quiet lives.

The adverb hēsychi is used in the sense of "slightly," such as "slightly meeting eyebrows" or "slightly bald in the forehead."⁵

The use of ataktōs in a first century apprenticeship contract helps to shed some light on hēsych- in the Thessalonian epistles. It seems that a certain Tryphon apprenticed his son Thoonis to a weaver named Ptolemaeus for the term of one year. The contract states that if there are any days

⁴Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts 1 and 2. (London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898-1899), 1.129.

⁵P.Petr. 1.16.1.4 (237 B.C.), and P.Grenf. 1.33.8 (ca. 103-102 B.C.). Cited by Moulton and Milligan, Vocabulary, 281-282.

during this period on which the boy "fails to attend" or "plays truant" (hosas d' ean en toutō ataktēsē hēmeras), then the father shall produce him for an equivalent number of days after the period is over.⁶ Here atakteō denotes avoidance of or truancy regarding an obligation.

⁶Grenfell, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 2.275.

CHAPTER IX

HĒSYCH- IN THE CHURCH FATHERS

Clement of Rome

Clement (ca. A.D. 30-100) was probably a Gentile and a Roman and may have been in Philippi with St. Paul (A.D. 57). He is honored by the Apostle as one of those "whose names are written in the book of life" (Phil. 4:3). Tradition has always identified this Clement as the author of an epistle, known to us as 1 Clement, from the church at Rome to the church at Corinth. The date cannot be determined precisely, but most critics seem to favor the last decade of the first century.¹

The epistle concerns the deposition of certain presbyters in Corinth. The Roman church protests this deposition and the partisanship which caused it -- referring to it as sedition (staseōs).²

The root hēsych- appears five times in 1 Clement. The first is a quote of Gen. 4:7, in which God commands Cain to

¹T. E. Page, et al., eds., The Apostolic Fathers, 2 vols., trans. Kirsopp Lake (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 1:5.

²1 Clement 63.1.

"be still" (hēsychason), or to cease being angry.³ The context here is jealousy between brothers which leads to fratricide, and it has obvious application to the troubles among the brethren in the Corinthian congregation.

The second use of hēsych- is a quote of Isa. 66:2, "On whom shall I look, but on the meek (praun), and gentle (hēsychion), and him who trembles (tremonta) at my words?"⁴ The context here is one of humility and obedience to the authority of God Himself, rather than obedience to those who in pride and unruliness follow after strife and sedition. Hence, hēsych- is used in the context of submission to the will of God.

The third use of hēsych- is in Clement's description of those presbyters who have wrongfully been deposed by the Corinthians:

We consider therefore that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them (the Apostles), or later on by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered to the flock of Christ without blame (amemptōs), humbly (tapeinophrosynēs), peaceably (hēsychos), and disinterestedly (abanausōs), and for many years have received a universally favorable testimony.⁵

Hēsych- is here used as an attribute of a faithful minister.

The fourth use of hēsych- is in a description of the reward of those who are submissive to the presbyters and who

³Ibid., 4.5.

⁴Ibid., 13.4.

⁵Ibid., 44.3.

hear the Lord's admonitions, as opposed to the punishment of those who through sedition have deposed them.

Because they wronged the innocent they shall be put to death, and inquisition shall destroy the wicked. But he who heareth me shall tabernacle with confidence in his hope, and shall be in rest (hēsychasei) with no fear of any evil.⁶

Here hēsych- is used in the sense of a reward for the righteous, submissive man and is contrasted with the destruction of the seditious (cf. 57.1-6).

The fifth use of hēsych- is again in the context of obedience and in ceasing (hēsychasantes) from sedition (staseōs). The context bears repeating here.

It is therefore right that we should respect so many and so great examples, and bow the neck, and take up the position of obedience (hypakoēs), so that ceasing (hēsychasantes) from vain sedition (mataias staseōs) we may gain without any fault the goal set before us in truth. For you will give us joy and gladness, if you are obedient to the things which we have written through the Holy Spirit, and root out the wicked passion of your jealousy (tēn athemiton tou zēlous hymōn orgēn) according to the entreaty of peace and concord which we have made in this letter.⁷

Hēsych- here is used in the sense of a cessation of sedition or disobedience toward God's representatives (the presbyters) and therefore toward God Himself.

The Didache

The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, is a composite document consisting of "The Two Ways" (chaps. i-

⁶Ibid., 57.7.

⁷Ibid., 63.1-2.

vi), "Teachings" (chaps. vii-xv), and a final statement of eschatological warning and hope (chap. xvi). Its chronology is obscure. For example, some scholars believe the "Two Ways" may have originally been a Jewish pre-Christian catechetical document for proselytes. If so, the original "Two Ways" may be early first century or even earlier, while the other sections may be late first or early second century. However, the matter is not settled and it is probably safest to say that the Didache as we know it is a late first or early second century Christian document.

The root hēsych- appears once in the Didache -- in the adjectival form hēsychios. It is found in the "Two Ways" section, and the context is one of contrast between various vices and virtues. It begins with a series of prohibitions (mē with the aorist subjunctive, prohibiting embarking on a course of action). The first prohibition concerns pride, and is followed by a list of other vices:

Be not proud (mē ginou orgilos) . . . nor jealous (mēde zēlōtēs), nor contentious (mēde eristikos), nor passionate (mēde thymikos) . . . be not lustful . . . be not a liar . . . be not a grumbler⁸

Then a contrast is introduced beginning with "meekness," the antithesis of pride:

But be thou "meek (isthi de praus), for the meek shall inherit the earth;" be thou longsuffering (ginou makrothymos), and merciful (eleēmōn) and guileless (akakos), and quiet (hēsychios), and good (agathos), and ever

⁸The Didache 3.2-6.

fearing the words thou hast heard.⁹

Hēsychios appears in context with other attributes that are clearly virtues or ideals of behavior.

Barnabas

The so-called epistle of Barnabas is really an anonymous work, and although tradition ascribes this epistle to the Barnabas who was a travelling companion of St. Paul, most scholars find this extremely doubtful. Nor is it possible to define either its destination or the locality from which it was written. It was probably written at the end of the first or beginning of the second century.¹⁰

The root hēsych- appears only once in this epistle -- in the midst of an exhortative section describing "The Two Ways." This section bears a close resemblance to "The Two Ways" of the Didache, contrasting the way of life and the way of death and behavior indicative of each.

You shall not respect persons in the reproving of transgression. You shall be meek (praus), you shall be quiet (hēsychios), you shall fear (tremōn) the words that you have heard. You shall not bear malice against your brother.¹¹

The occurrence of hēsychios with praus and tremōn is almost certainly an allusion to Isaiah 66:2. Beyond this it is difficult to infer from the context what the author means

⁹Ibid., 3.7-8.

¹⁰The Apostolic Fathers, 1:337-338.

¹¹Barnabas 19.4.

by these terms, since the entire section is a potpourri of contrasting virtues and vices. Hēsychios, prays, and tremōn appear together as virtues. Beyond this little else can be said about hēsychios in this epistle.

Hermas

The date and provenance of the Shepherd of Hermas is fixed by the Muratorian Canon, which rejected it on the grounds that it was written "quite recently, in our own time in the city of Rome, by Hermas, while his brother Pius was sitting on the throne of the church of the city of Rome." Since Pius was Pope around A.D. 148, the Shepherd must have been written in Rome around that time.¹²

The work is divided into three sections: (1) the visions, which teach the necessity of repentance for sins committed after baptism; (2) the mandates, which describe the manner of life required of the penitent; and (3) the similitudes, in which the doctrine of repentance is fully developed. The root hesych- occurs five times in the Shepherd, with all five occurrences in the mandate section.

It first occurs in the comparison of ill-temper (oxycholia) and long-suffering (makrothymia). Long-suffering, according to Hermas, "has nothing bitter (pikron) in itself, but remains ever meek (praeia) and gentle (hēsych-

¹²The Apostolic Fathers, 2:3.

chios)."¹³ Hēsych- occurs again several lines below in describing that person with whom the Holy Spirit seeks to dwell:

Therefore the delicate (trypheron) spirit which is unaccustomed to dwell with an evil spirit, or with hardness (sklērotētos), departs from such a man, and seeks to dwell with gentleness (praotētos) and quietness (hēsychias). Then, when it departs from that man where it was dwelling, that man becomes empty of the righteous spirit, and for the future is filled with the evil spirits, and is disorderly (akatastatei) in all his actions, being dragged here and there (perispōmenos) by the evil spirits.¹⁴

Hēsych- next appears in the discussion of the "two angels" -- one of righteousness and one of wickedness -- which may dwell with man. The angel of righteousness is delicate (trypheros), modest (aischyntēros), meek (praus) and gentle (hesychios). When he enters your heart, glorious virtue abounds, including righteousness (dikaiosynēs), purity (hagneias), reverence (semnotētos) and self-control (autarkeias).¹⁵

The fourth occurrence of hēsych- is in the context of what a righteous man should refrain from doing (evil) and what he should not refrain from doing (good). The "good" is described as "faith, fear of God, love and harmony . . . to minister to widows, to look after orphans, to be hospitable,

¹³The Shepherd Mand.5.2.3.

¹⁴Ibid., Mand.5.2.6-7.

¹⁵Ibid., Mand.6.2.1-3.

to be gentle (hēsychion einai)."¹⁶

The final occurrence of hēsych- is in testing a true from a false prophet. The test is determined by the manner of life of each. The true prophet is meek (praus) and gentle (hēsychios), and lowly-minded (tapeinophrōn), refrains from all wickedness and evil desire, and makes himself poorer than all men. The false prophet exalts himself, is shameless and talkative, lives in great luxury, and does not prophesy without payment.¹⁷

Clement of Alexandria

Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 150-215) was probably an Athenian by birth and was well-educated in the classical tradition. After studying rhetoric and philosophy in the schools of Greece, Italy, Syria, and Palestine, he attached himself to the Stoic philosopher Pantaenus, who had become a convert to Christianity and who presided over a school at Alexandria devoted to the instruction of converts. After being ordained as a presbyter, Clement succeeded Pantaenus as director of the school sometime before A.D. 200 and held the office until about 202, when the persecution under Emperor Septimius Severus compelled Clement to flee Alexandria for Asia Minor, where he may have died.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., Mand.8.9-10.

¹⁷Ibid., Mand.11.7-12.

¹⁸Michael Grant, Greek and Latin Authors, 800 B.C.- A.D. 1000 (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1980), 104-105.

Clement's "Exhortation to Endurance" or "To the Newly Baptized" is a fragment from an address providing fatherly advice for converts. It is the only one of Clement's writings examined for this study, but it is significant for the light it sheds upon the root hēsych-, which appears prominently as a Christian virtue. The root appears four times in the opening paragraph, which is translated as follows.

Cultivate quietness (hēsychian) in word, quietness (hēsychian) in deed, likewise in speech and conduct; and flee from impetuous eagerness (vehemence). For then the mind remains steady, and will not be agitated by your eagerness and so become weak and of narrow discernment and see darkly; nor will it be worsted by gluttony, worsted by boiling rage, worsted by other passions, lying a ready prey to them. For the mind, seated on a high quiet throne (epi hēsychiou thronou) looking intently towards God, must control the passions. By no means be swept away by temper in bursts of anger, nor be sluggish in speaking, nor all nervousness in movement; so that your quietness (hēsychian) may be adorned by good proportion and your bearing may appear something divine and sacred.

The following points should be noted: (1) Clement demonstrates the breadth of meaning of hēsychian in the first sentence. Hēsychian is descriptive of one's words, actions, speech and conduct; (2) Hēsychian is contrasted with impetuous eagerness (or vehemence) (sphodrotēta . . . propetē) and with passions such as gluttony and rage; (3) It is an attribute of the mind (nous) which is clearly divine-relational ("the mind, seated on a high quiet throne looking intently towards God"); and (4) its range of meaning is again evidenced by its contrast with anger, sluggishness of speech and nervousness in movement.

It is evident that hēsych- denotes an important Christian virtue for Clement. Not only does it represent the quiescence of sinful passion, but it appears as a divine quality or possibly an attribute of God Himself since it is identified with that bearing (schema) which is "divine and sacred."

Basil the Great

Born in A.D. 329 into a wealthy, well-known Christian family, Basil would become one of the leading Greek theologians, monastic organizers and bishops of antiquity. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus together became known as "the Cappadocian Trinity." As one of the three Holy Hierarchs of the eastern church (the others being Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom), Basil did much to give eastern orthodoxy its permanent form.

Ordained in 364 by Eusebius, bishop of Caesaria (in Asia Minor), Basil succeeded to that bishopric himself in 370 and, until his death in 379, was instrumental in opposing Arianism. Through the influence of his sister, St. Macrina the younger, he was converted to the monastic movement and organized the first large-scale, planned monastery in Asia Minor. Solitary monasticism he discouraged.¹⁹

The root hēsych- occurs 120 times in the writings of Basil. The following analysis is based on approximately 40

¹⁹Grant, Greek and Latin Authors, 69-71.

of these occurrences, all of which are from Basil's Letters.

To Basil, hēsych- may denote tranquillity of the mind or of the soul, peace (the absence of strife or of disturbance), silence, and even a personal name (Hesychius).

Hēsych- is, among other things, a state of mind or of being in which the disruptive influences of the world are avoided. Basil defines hēsychia as a quietude of the body which leads to the purgation of the soul.

The very beginning of the soul's purgation is tranquillity (hēsychia), in which the tongue is not given to discussing the affairs of men, nor the eyes to contemplating rosy cheeks or comely bodies, nor the ears to lowering the tone of the soul by listening to songs whose sole object is to amuse, or to words spoken by wits and buffoons -- a practice which above all things tends to relax the tone of the soul.²⁰

Basil defines a quiet demeanor as follows.

In the second place, be quiet (hēsychios) of demeanor -- not hasty in speech, nor contentious, quarrelsome, vainglorious, nor given to interpreting texts; but be a man of trust, of few words, and always more ready to learn than to teach.²¹

On at least one occasion, Basil equates hēsych- with the cessation of sin.

There is still time for forbearance, time for longsuffering, time for healing, time for reform. Have you slipped? Rise up. Have you sinned? Cease (hēsychason). Do not stand in the way of sinners, but leap aside.²²

Basil employs the prepositional phrase en hēsychia five times in his Letters, denoting tranquillity of mind, peace,

²⁰Basil Letters 2.2.52.

²¹Ibid., 42.2.46.

²²Ibid., 44.4.20.

calmness, and decorum (proper behavior).

John Climacus and the Hesychast Movement

With the exception of the Bible and the service books, there is no work in Eastern Christendom that has been studied, copied and translated more often than The Ladder of Divine Ascent (klimax tou paradeisou) by St. John Climacus.²³ Its popularity with lay as well as monastic readers is evidenced by the existence of 33 illustrated Greek manuscripts, plus an uncounted number of copies without illustration -- so many manuscripts that there is as yet no critical edition.

Little is known of the life of John Climacus (ca. A.D. 579-649). After some years in Egyptian monasteries, including St. Catherine's on Mount Sinai, he spent forty years as a hermit on the mountain and later returned to St. Catherine's to become abbot. During his tenure as abbot he authored the Ladder. It highlights a series of thirty steps representing the first thirty years of Christ's life before his public ministry. Each step is the subject of a chapter and focuses on a particular virtue or vice. Chapter 27 focuses on stillness or hēsychia and is one of the most influential chapters in the whole of the Ladder.

John understands hēsychia as both an outward manner of

²³John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 1.

life (that of the hermit or solitary) and also an inner disposition characterized by the continual worship of God. It is equivalent to the remembrance of Jesus.

Stillness (hēsychia) is worshipping God unceasingly and waiting on Him. Let the remembrance of Jesus be present with your every breath. Then indeed you will appreciate the value of stillness.²⁴

That John understands hēsychia as having both an exterior and interior dimension is evident from the following passage:

Close the door of your cell to your body, the door of your tongue to talk, and the gate within to evil spirits.²⁵

Closely connected with this is John's belief that the mind conforms to the body, that our outward posture influences our inward state. "The virtue of the soul is shaped by our outward behavior."²⁶

However, hēsychia is chiefly an inward phenomenon for John. It is the silence of the heart.

The start of stillness (hēsychia) is the rejection of all noisiness as something that will trouble the depths of the soul.²⁷

The following are the signs, the stages, and the proofs of practicing stillness (hēsychia) in the right way -- a calm mind, a purified disposition, rapture in the Lord . . . and many other such things alien to most men.

The following are signs of stillness (hēsychia) practiced wrongly -- poverty of spiritual treasures, anger on the increase, a growth of resentment, love diminished, a

²⁴Climacus, Ladder, 269-270.

²⁵Ibid., 262.

²⁶Ibid., 227.

²⁷Ibid., 262.

surge of vanity.²⁸

The influence of the Ladder is apparent in the hesychast movement which reached its fullest development in the fourteenth century. Whereas John Climacus merely alluded to "breathing" the name of Jesus in unceasing prayer, later writers such as St. Nicephorus of Mount Athos and St. Gregory Palamas make clear references to a "breathing technique." This practice of hesychast contemplation involved a system of breath control. The practitioner would assume a sitting position, control his breathing and flex his muscles while concentrating on his heartbeat and repeating continually the Jesus Prayer ("Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me"). In addition, he would purge his mind of all thoughts. These exercises prepared one for the achievement of absolute quietude of the soul and an experience of divine light. The later hesychasts advanced far beyond the general principles laid down in the Ladder, but they nevertheless remained a part of the same spiritual current in Eastern Christendom, and the fact that this current endured for so long is testimony to its depth and strength.²⁹

Summary of Hesych- in the Church Fathers

Hēsych- appears in the church fathers as a virtue perhaps to an even greater degree than it does in the New

²⁸Ibid., 266.

²⁹John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent, trans. Lazarus Moore (New York: Harper & Brothers), 26-27.

Testament. To Clement, hēsych- may denote the stilling of the passions, the cessation of sedition, or submission to divine authority. In the Didache, it is used in conjunction with virtues such as meekness and mercy. In Hermas, it appears alongside meekness and numerous other virtues. Clement of Alexandria specifically exhorts catechumens to cultivate quietness (hēsychian) in all their actions.

Although Gerhard Kittel's Theological Dictionary of the New Testament contains no article on hēsych-, the article on praus does contain an interesting reference to hēsych-. In examining the use of praus in the apostolic fathers, it is noted that the adjectival form of praus commonly occurs in combination with "other virtues" such as hēsychios, pistis, etc.

Elsewhere the adj. occurs in lists or along with other virtues; 1 Cl., 13,4 (with hēsychios as in 1 Pt. 3:4) quotes Is. 66:2. Praus is more common in Herm. In m., 5,2,3 and 6, 2, 3 the combination of praus and hēsychios, which suggests some influence of Is. 66:2, has already become part of the language of edification. In m., 5,2,6 praotēs is found with hēsychia and in 12,3,1 with pistis and other virtues.³⁰

There can be little doubt that, whether in the New Testament or in the apostolic fathers, praus is an essential Christian virtue. At least with regard to the apostolic fathers, TDNT similarly recognizes hēsych- as a virtue and as "part of the language of edification." And if it is a virtue, one would

³⁰F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "praus," in Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 10 vols., trans. and ed. by Geoffrey W. Bromily (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), 6:650.

naturally expect to find its opposite in some vice such as sedition, anger, strife or disorder.

In Basil, we see the beginning of monastic influence in the use of hēsych-. Henceforth, it would become an increasingly specialized term -- applying to specific physical and mental exercises designed to purge the soul of disruptive influences as a means of closer communion with God (i.e. hesychasm). The significance of the hesychast movement for this study is twofold. First, it is a clear example of how hēsychia can be understood as an inner condition. This is nothing new, however, for hēsych- often denotes an inner condition and its attendant behavior in classical and biblical writers. Second, hesychasm focuses on conscious methods of attaining hēsychia such as the expulsion of thoughts and the invocation of the name of Jesus. This is the new element and the unique contribution of the hesychasts.

CHAPTER X

DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF HĒSYCH-

Diachronic analysis deals with the usage of a word or root through time. This may involve consideration of etymology, transparency, semantic change and foreign influences. Admittedly, etymological research is not as critical in the study of hēsych- as it would be in the study of a Hebrew or Ugaritic root. This is due to the large number of ancient attestations available in Greek as compared to Hebrew and Ugaritic. Still, the study of "root meanings" in Greek may be helpful provided it can be demonstrated that the New Testament writer made a conscious reference to the root of the word.

Unfortunately, the etymology of hēsych- is not clear. The etymological dictionaries of Hjalmar Frisk and Leo Meyer shed little light. Frisk says that the origin of hēsychos is "unexplained," while Meyer says it is of "dark origin."¹

The earliest attestations of hēsych- occur in the works of Homer (eighth century B.C.) and Hesiod (seventh century B.C.). In Homer, hēsych- denotes peace -- the cessation of

¹Hjalmar Frisk, Griechisches Etymologisches Woerterbuch, 3 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitaetsverlag, 1970), 1:645; Leo Meyer, Handbuch der Griechischen Etymologie, Erster Band (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1901), 620.

either fisticuffs or war.² In Hesiod, hēsych- denotes either the soft, soothing approach of Hypnos (as opposed to the violence of Thanatos), or the state of blessedness and ease experienced by the first men.³

These usages of hēsych- in Homer and Hesiod appear often in the later Greek writers. One may even speculate that these earliest attested meanings of hēsych- are the ones from which all other shades of meaning have been subsequently derived. For example, while hēsych- often denotes peace and/or tranquillity throughout Greek literature, the contextual situation of each writer may determine the precise nature of that tranquillity, whether it be silence, submission, acquiescence, and so forth. However, this is only speculation. Uncertainty remains regarding the etymological origin of hēsych- since there is little or nothing known of its pre-Homeric usage, and there are attested meanings of hēsych- which seem to bear little relationship to Homer and Hesiod (e.g. motionlessness in Aristotle, slowness in Plato).

One of the most striking instances of semantic change involving hēsych- stems from its usage in the Septuagint and the New Testament. In both, hēsych- exhibits a range of meaning as it does in Classical Greek -- silence, rest, submission or acquiescence. But more importantly, the divine-relational aspect of hēsych- is also evident. This is

²Homer The Odyssey 18.22; The Iliad 21.598.

³Hesiod Theogony 763; Works and Days 119.

what sets its usage in the Septuagint and New Testament apart from much of the secular literature. It seems that to a certain extent, there has been an appropriation of the term on the part of Septuagint translators and the New Testament writers in which hēsych- denotes, in addition to its more common meanings, an attitude or a posture toward God.

In support of this, it should be noted that the New Testament does show some evidence of a peculiar idiom and vocabulary.⁴ In addition, Kennedy has noted that there are certain words which are found in Greek writers of all periods but which appear in the New Testament in an "altogether peculiar and abnormal sense." He adds that a large number of these words are also found in the Septuagint in an identical or closely-connected signification.⁵ These words, of which hēsychazō is one, are evidence of a "biblical" or "religious" vocabulary into which the sacred writers have infused new meaning. For example, sōtēr in secular usage denotes savior, deliverer or guardian. In the Septuagint it is almost always used of God, while in the New Testament it is always used of God or Christ. Other examples of words which appear widely in secular Greek but which have specialized meanings in the Septuagint and New Testament are sarx, adelphos, ekklēsia, apokalyptō, and eulogeō. Unfortunately, Kennedy does not

⁴C. F. D. Moule, An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 3-4.

⁵H. A. A. Kennedy, Sources of New Testament Greek (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), 92.

reveal in what peculiar and abnormal sense hēsychazō might be used in the New Testament and in the Septuagint. However, this study suggests that it is the divine-relational aspect (submission to God's order and rule) which is indeed "biblical" and "peculiar" about the use of this word in the sacred writings.

This also suggests the possibility of some influence of the Septuagint upon the New Testament writers. According to Kennedy, if such influence exists, it can best be seen in the biblical or religious vocabulary. Again, although hēsychazō is classified by Kennedy as a part of that religious vocabulary, it is unfortunately not one of those words he analyzes to demonstrate how its use in the Septuagint may have influenced its use in the New Testament.⁶

As noted above, the early church fathers used hēsych- to denote a Christian virtue. In the Didache, it is used in conjunction with meekness, mercy and that which is good. In Hermas, it is used with meekness and numerous other virtues. Clement of Alexandria specifically exhorts catechumens to cultivate quietness (hēsychian) in all their actions. Each of these examples reflects, to a greater or lesser extent, the Pauline and Petrine usage of hēsych-. Beginning with Basil the Great, however, the monastic influence can be seen in which hēsych- became increasingly specialized -- applying to specific physical and mental exercises intended to purge

⁶Ibid., 95.

the soul of destructive influences.

The transparency of hēsych- is not evident. Moises Silva defines transparent words as those which have "a natural relation to their meaning." Since hēsych- is not a compound (which might be analyzed according to its preposition and root), and since it does not appear to be either phonologically or morphologically motivated, it may be said to be "opaque," that is, there is no perceptible reason for its form and thus its relation between form and meaning is apparently arbitrary.⁷

⁷Moises Silva, Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 48-50, discusses the transparency and opaqueness of words.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Greek writers of virtually all periods use hēsych- to denote acquiescence, dispassion, non-aggression, absence of rebellion (peace), and a virtuous attitude or demeanor. This broad range of meaning, evident throughout Greek literature, is reflected even in the non-literary papyri. The conclusion to be drawn is that the New Testament writers could hardly have been ignorant of this breadth of meaning and of the positive moral connotations of this root and its cognates. Therefore, with respect to its New Testament occurrences, it should not be surprising that senses other than "silent" or "unmeddlesome" can be proposed if context allows. Indeed, most of the contextual studies in chapter VII above not only allow for but favor understanding hesych- as commendable, even virtuous, behavior in the sight of God. That the early fathers often used hēsych- in this sense lends additional support to this idea.

This suggests that perhaps hēsych- is more referential than previously supposed. Moises Silva argues that while relatively few words in the biblical vocabulary are explicitly referential, most of the vocabulary, at least in some contexts, can be partially understood as referential. This

may be illustrated as follows:¹

fully referential	mostly referential	partly referential	non-referential
(Paul)	(law)	(cold)	(beautiful)

In some contexts, most notably 1 Thess. 4:11; 2 Thess. 3:12; 1 Tim. 2:11,12 and 1 Peter 3:4, hēsych- seems to have semi-technical force. In other words, it is referential in that it refers to a specific thing or concept, an attitude or spiritual posture with respect to God. It denotes man's acquiescence with what God has ordered or determined. This acquiescence implies a relationship of subordination or submission of man with respect to God. More specifically, hēsych- denotes submission to God's order and rule in the world (i.e. to the order of creation, the constraints imposed upon the creation as a result of the Fall, and the plan of redemption for the creation). This acquiescence in or submission to the plan and purpose of God is the very essence of living "quietly" in the sight of God. This may be illustrated in the following paradigm in which hēsych- as a virtue is contrasted with its moral and ethical opposites as sin.

¹Moises Silva, Biblical Words and their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 107.

<u>Hesych-</u>	Sin
order	disorder or chaos
obedience	disobedience
rest or repose.	turbulence
submission.	rebellion
silence	noise
tranquillity.	disturbance
quiescence.	turmoil
peace	war
calm	rash
acquiescence.	agitation
passive	aggressive
gentle.	vehement or fierce

These categories are neither absolute nor complete. It must be remembered that hēsych- is not always a virtue in classical literature.² But this study has attempted to show that there is a consistent pattern of usage in the moral and ethical sphere in which hēsych- indeed denotes virtuous or idealized behavior, either with respect to authority (i.e. God, an earthly king, the orders of creation), or with respect to the passions. With respect to authority, it denotes an attitude of submission as opposed to rebellion, or acquiescence as opposed to agitation. With respect to the passions, it denotes quiescence or stillness.

This paradigm of sin as intrusive "noise" or as unwelcome "disturbance" can be seen throughout the scriptures. Gen. 4:10 describes the blood of Abel as crying out

²Plato Charmides 159 B-D, shows that hēsych- may be desirable or undesirable behavior depending on the circumstances. When it denotes slowness or slothfulness in response to a need, it is clearly undesirable. When it denotes dormancy of the passions it is clearly desirable (The Republic 572 A-B).

to God from the ground. Gen. 18:20-21 and 19:13 describe the outcry of Sodom as very great. In Job 31:38, the plundered land cries out against the one who eats its fruit without having paid for it. In Hab. 2:11, the stones cry out from the wall and the rafters answer concerning those who have built their homes with stolen materials. In James 5:4, the withheld wages of the laborers cry out against the dishonest landowner. To be sure, the noise described in these passages may not be audible to human ears, but it is certainly audible to God and therefore represents more than a figure of speech.

Sin may also be characterized as chaos or disturbance. Gen. 1:2 describes the chaos out of which God brought order through creation. Reuben, the firstborn of Jacob is described as "turbulent as water" in Gen. 49:4. In 1 Kings 18:17-18, Elijah and Ahab argue about who the real "troubler" of Israel is. Prov. 11:29 asserts that he who "troubles" his own house will inherit only wind. In Ezek. 32:2, God characterizes pharaoh as "a monster in the seas, thrashing about in your streams, churning the water with your feet and muddying the streams." In Gal. 5:10, Paul issues a warning to whoever is "troubling" the Galatians. Rev. 21:1 describes a new heaven and earth in which the "sea," a potential source of instability, is explicitly absent. In all of these examples, turbulence, instability, and confusion are characterized either as sin or as unwelcome disturbance.

In contrast, there are scripture passages in which

silence, tranquillity, and rest are often spoken of in a godly and virtuous way. This is true not only of hēsych-, but of synonymous terms as well. In Gen. 2:2, rest is described as sort of an eschatological activity of God, since nothing chaotic and empty remained. In Ps. 46:10, God commands the nations to "be still" and know that He alone is God. Ps. 116:7 speaks of the confident trust of the man of faith. "Be at rest once more, O my soul, for the Lord has been good to you." The Lord leads His sheep beside the quiet waters (Ps. 23:2), and He gives rest to His people (Ezek. 33:14; cf. Matt. 11:29). God will cause the troubled waters of Egypt to settle down and to flow like oil (Ezek. 32:14). The abode of the righteous is characterized by rest -- rest which the wicked and rebellious refuse (Isa. 28:12; Jer. 6:16). The adulteress is fickle and debauched and her feet do not rest in her own house (Prov. 7:11). In Prov. 15:15, the wicked, who are always looking for evil things, are contrasted with the righteous, who are always quiet. Lam. 3:25-26 describes the faithful who quietly expect salvation from the Lord despite their present troubles. These examples do not suggest that silence, tranquillity and rest are always virtuous or worthy of emulation, but in certain contexts they undoubtedly are. It is in these contexts that their virtue is evident.

This, together with the fact that hēsych- frequently occurs in biblical and early Christian literature with praus

and other virtues, suggests that hēsych- was understood in a similar way -- as idealized behavior, as a virtue, as submission to God and to the authorities and orders ordained by Him. It is this important nuance of hēsych- that lexicons at best merely hint at and that New Testament commentators tend to overlook.

The proposed paradigm can be used to account for or to explain most of the New Testament occurrences of hēsych-. Not only does it reflect the range of meaning of hēsych-, but it also accounts for its vertical (God-relational) sense as a soul condition or attitude toward God.

As noted above (p. 115), hēsych- usually has a divine reference in the New Testament -- one is quiet with respect to God first and foremost (i.e. to God's order of creation, God's plan of salvation). This is perhaps most evident in the following passages: 1 Thess. 4:11 and 2 Thess. 3:12, where hēsych- denotes submission to the divine economy in which each man is to eat by the labor of his own hands; 1 Tim. 2:2,11-12, where hēsych- denotes conduct appropriate in worship and submission to the divine order of creation; 1 Peter 3:4, where hēsych- denotes that quiet disposition which avoids making disturbance and which is precious in the sight of God; and in Acts 11:18 and 21:14, where hēsych- denotes acquiescence in the will of God.

The implications of this study concerning women in the church deserve mention. First, it should be noted that

hēsych- is not enjoined upon women alone in the New Testament. "Quiet" with respect to the will of God is enjoined upon congregations (1 Tim. 2:2). All Christians are exhorted to live quietly with respect to the universal obligation to work (1 Thess. 4:11), especially the ataktoi (2 Thess. 3:12). This suggests that, while hēsychia is specifically enjoined upon women in 1 Tim. 2:11-12, it is not to be understood as a uniquely feminine attitude or posture vis-a-vis authority. It is to be understood as the appropriate attitude of both men and women who seek to live under the divine order.

Second, the apostolic injunctions to live quietly should not be understood negatively, as mere restrictions upon sinful activity, but positively, as expressions of virtuous, godly attitudes and activities for which both men and women should aspire and strive -- each within his/her sphere of activity in the orders of creation and redemption. Just as all Christians are encouraged to display positive virtues as humility, meekness and gentleness, so all are encouraged to manifest quietness with respect to God and to the orders ordained by Him.

That hēsych- is worthy of more serious attention by New Testament scholars is evident not only from its use in several divine-relational contexts, but also from its use as a Christian virtue in the scriptures and in the apostolic fathers. Perhaps a conceptual study of hēsych- and related terms in its semantic field would be in order. Specifically,

the concepts of sin as "noise" and righteousness as "quiet" toward God might be fruitful avenues of study.

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