

THE POLITICS OF THE SILENT BISHOP: SILENCE AND PERSUASION IN IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH

ABSTRACT

'The more anyone sees that the bishop is silent, the more let him fear him' (Ign. *Eph.* 6.1). The silent bishop has been the topic of much scholarly speculation in Ignatian scholarship. Hypotheses to explain what Ignatius meant by this elliptical reference range from a defence of soft-spoken, insecure leaders to full-blown Gnostic schemes. In this essay I return to the silent bishops of Asia Minor to locate them in a rhetorical culture in which rightly timed speaking and controlled speech are the measure of a man. Ignatius' admiration of the silent bishop is but a small part of the Greek rhetorical culture of the bishop of Antioch's social world, and belongs to his larger use of civic ideals to persuade the Asia Minor churches to give up their discord in favour of ecclesial peace.

'THE more anyone sees that the bishop is silent, the more let him fear him' (Ign. *Eph.* 6.1). 'I was amazed by his [the bishop of Philadelphia's] gentleness, and at his ability to do more by silence than those who use vain babble [μάταια λαλούντων]' (*Phld.* 1.1).¹ In Ignatian studies few passages have occasioned as much speculation and so many hypotheses as the bishop of Antioch's remarks concerning the silence of bishops. Some, like Lightfoot, have read these passages more or less straightforwardly as commendations of 'the quiet and retiring disposition' of certain bishops of Asia Minor expressive of the same power evidenced by Christ's silence before Pilate.² Most, however, have reached for more elaborate explanations. There is a general consensus that Ignatius' praise of the bishops' silence is a cryptic

¹ In what follows I cite with some emendation the Loeb translation of Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912). Here I emend Lake's 'vain words' to 'vain babble', a translation warranted by the use of the term in Hellenistic sources specifically to denote prattle, for which see A. Debrunner, 'λέγω, etc.', *TDNT* 4, pp. 69–80, at 76–7.

² J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, pt. 2, vol. 2: *S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp* (New York: Macmillan, 1889²), pp. 45–6, 69; also J. H. Srawley, *The Epistles of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch* (London: SPCK, 1919³), p. 42, n. 6; James A. Kleist, *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Ancient Christian Writers, 1; Westminster, MD: Newman, 1946), p. 122, n. 21.

attempt to defend ineloquence. Thus, Bauer argued that Ignatius was making a virtue of necessity by defending leaders lacking debating skills and thus unable to reverse the tide of false teaching in their communities. And Schoedel suggests that 'the bishop's silence was a matter of some embarrassment'.³ A few, like Peter Meinhold, have further developed this interpretation by arguing that in his praise of the bishops' silence Ignatius was responding to a criticism that they lacked the spiritual power of docetic pneumatics in being unable to pray and preach extemporaneously.⁴

Others reject these hypotheses by arguing that here Ignatius by no means attempts elliptically to defend episcopal shyness, rhetorical inability, or spiritual impotence, but rather directly acclaims theological discernment. Werner Bieder insists that the silent bishops Ignatius praises are those who rightly refuse to speak to heretics or publicly debate their fanciful ideas.⁵ Similarly P. F. Pizzolato argues that Ignatius commends the silent bishops for refusing to speak outside the limits of what the apostolic teaching reveals about Jesus, in opposition to heretics whose teachings transgress the limits of special revelation.⁶

³ Walter Bauer, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1920), p. 206; William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), pp. 56–7, 196; similarly, James Moffatt, 'An Approach to Ignatius', *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936), pp. 1–38, at 10–11; Mary W. Patrick, 'Autobiography and Rhetoric: Anger in Ignatius of Antioch', in Stanley E. Porter and Dennis L. Stamps (eds.), *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture: Essays from the 1996 Conference* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 348–75, at 354–5; Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (Yale Publications in Religion, 1; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 123; Simon Tugwell, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1989), p. 119, but also with reference to the imitation of Christ and the potency of divine silence.

⁴ Peter Meinhold, 'Schweigende Bischöfe: Die Gegensätze in den kleinasiatischen Gemeinden nach den Ignatianen', in Erwin Iserloh and Peter Manns (eds.), *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, vol. 2: *Glaube und Geschichte* (Baden-Baden: Grimm, 1958), pp. 468–72; also Christine Trevett, 'Prophecy and Anti-Episcopal Activity: A Third Error Combated by Ignatius?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983), pp. 1–18. Meinhold and Trevett faintly echo the earlier position of Heinrich Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1929), p. 145, n. 1, who discovers the pneumatically charged Ignatius attempting to overcome the spiritual inadequacies of bishops.

⁵ Werner Bieder, 'Zur Deutung des kirchlichen Schweigens bei Ignatius von Antiochia', *Theologische Zeitschrift* 12 (1956), pp. 28–43.

⁶ L. F. Pizzolato, 'Silenzio del vescovo e parola degli eretici in Ignazio d'Antiochia', *Aevum* 44 (1970), pp. 205–18.

Following Pizzolato's lead, Alwyn Pettersen discovers in Ignatius' commendations exhortations to humble episcopal silence before heretical opponents. Such silence expresses divine tranquillity (ἡσυχία—*Eph.* 15.2; 19.1) by protecting otherwise orthodox churches from heretical interlopers. Instead of 'word for word' rebuttal, the studied and calming speech of the silent bishops mirroring the potency of divine tranquillity, wedded with their wise oversight, speaks volumes to those with ears to hear.⁷

Still others have found in Ignatius' praise of silent bishops evidence of larger cosmological themes. Ignatius, argue Virginia Corwin and H. Paulsen in independent studies, urges reverence before episcopal silence because it expresses the inchoate potency of the divine silence from which the accomplishing Logos of God sounded forth in the incarnation.⁸ Silent bishops together with the presbyters and deacons, contends Henry Chadwick in a classic treatment of these passages, 'form a microcosm in which the relationships of the heavenly hierarchy are to be found reflected'.⁹ And in the most cosmic interpretation to date, Hans Werner Bartsch insists that the silent bishop belongs to an élite circle possessing privileged access to the divine mysteries, which he studiously guards, not unlike pagan adherents of mystery religions who maintained a careful silence concerning deeper religious truths and rituals.¹⁰

In what follows I return to Ignatius' letters to offer an alternative hypothesis to account for his praise of episcopal silence, by situating his commendations in ancient rhetorical

⁷ Alwyn Pettersen, 'Sending Heretics to Coventry? Ignatius of Antioch on Reverencing Silent Bishops', *Vigiliae Christianae* 44 (1990), pp. 335–50; similarly, Maxwell Staniforth, *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Penguin, 1968), pp. 83–4, hence his translation (p. 111) of *Phld.* 1.1: 'I was deeply impressed by his self-effacing nature; reserve in him is more effectual than any volubility in others.'

⁸ Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity*, pp. 123–7; similarly, W. Bauer and H. Paulsen, *Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 18. Die Apostolischen Väter II; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1985), p. 33.

⁹ Henry Chadwick, 'The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius', *Harvard Theological Review* 43 (1950), pp. 169–72, at 170; similarly Moffatt, 'An Approach to Ignatius', pp. 35–6; A. Ehrhardt, 'The Beginnings of Moniscopacy', *Church Quarterly Review* 140 (1945), pp. 113–26; P. Th. Camelot, *Ignace d'Antioche. Polycarpe de Smyrne. Lettres. Martyre de Polycarpe. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes* (Sources Chrétiennes, 104; Paris: du Cerf, 1969), pp. 37–8, n. 2; Henning Paulsen, *Studien zur Theologie des Ignatius von Antiochien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), pp. 110–22.

¹⁰ Hans-Werner Bartsch, *Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindefradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gütersloh, 1940), pp. 55–61.

culture and its ethics of speech, especially as these themes relate in ancient moral, philosophical, and rhetorical treatises to political themes of civic harmony and discord. As I hope to show, episcopal silence is at home in the civically oriented ideals of Ignatius' Hellenistic culture and is best interpreted against their backdrop. Ignatius' praise of silent bishops is not an attempt to defend ineloquence, nor is it intended to urge circumspection in theological debate; still less is it evidence in the first instance of the cosmological theorizing of a speculative theologian. Rather, it represents an idiosyncratic treatment of a commonplace in ancient rhetorical art concerning the discipline of well-timed and temperate speech that accomplishes important tasks of promoting social harmony and civil good order.

'I was amazed by his [the bishop of Philadelphia's] gentleness, and at his ability to do more by silence than those who use vain babble' (*Phld.* 1.1). Silence here does not denote the absence of sound or the lack of speaking ability. It is the opposite of intemperate speech and as such connotes the well-deployed rhetorical ability of the virtuous who have trained themselves to use the right word at the right time to achieve the common good. This becomes apparent once read against the backdrop of ancient denunciations of immoderate speech and exhortations to control speaking.

Ancient authors pilloried the chatterer (*ἀδολέσχης; ἀλλημα*) as corrupt and inimical to the ideals of virtue and good citizenship, and by the time Ignatius composed his letters treatments of talkativeness and silence as the right regulation of speech had become commonplace in pagan moral, philosophical, and rhetorical treatises, as well as in Second Temple Jewish literature.¹¹ In this literature, silence is a symbol of the mind's control of the tongue and belongs to a regimen of the control of the senses

¹¹ In what follows I concentrate on the pagan motifs where there is the closest resemblance to Ignatius' references to silence. For themes of silence and talkativeness, as well as evils that arise from undisciplined speech, in Second Temple Jewish literature see, for example, *Sir.* 9:14–10:3; 20:1–31; 21:11–28 contrasting the fool's speech with the circumspect speech of the wise; *Sentences of Syriac Menander* 301–13 and *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* 20; 122–31 similarly urge deliberate speech, criticize garrulousness, and praise silence as the sign of virtue. See, similarly, the early Christian *Sentences of Sextus* 253b; 294; 429–30. Philo regularly takes up garrulousness and circumspection in speech as moral and civic themes, as well as the ethical obligations of speaking well and temperately (thus, *Som.* 2.21.147; 2.42.275–82; *Abr.* 5.29; *Omn. Prob. Lib.* 13.42–4; 102; *Spec. Leg.* 2.14.50). The ideals of each of these authors reflects Hellenistic influence (for Sirach, see Alexander A. de Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* [Anchor Bible;

more generally. Loquaciousness, the vice opposing the virtue of silence, is a symbol of immoderation and a corrupt sensuality that undermines civic life.

Theophrastus' *Characters*, composed late in the fourth century BCE, is representative of classical treatments. He offers stereotypical impersonations of vices associated with undisciplined speech, amongst which are included *ἄδολεσχία* (3) and *λαλία* (7). Chatterers undermine the common good and proper ordering of the ancient polis through their garrulous interruptions of civic life (7.3–7), while babblers prove themselves a public nuisance by imposing idle twaddle on anyone close enough to listen (3.2). Theophrastus was building on earlier moral evaluations, especially those presented by Aristotle, who argued that human ability to speak leads naturally to loquaciousness unless cultivated by temperance and self-control.¹² In a similar vein, Xenophon, recounting the youth and education of Cyrus, contrasts the emperor's youthful tendencies towards talkativeness with his

New York: Doubleday, 1987], pp. 8–16; Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* [Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, 28; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983], pp. 27–54; James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences* [Analecta biblica, 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970]). Vices associated with intemperate or immoderate speech are commonplace in the New Testament. I take up Paul's treatment in 1 Corinthians 1–4 and 2 Corinthians 10–12 below. See also Matt. 6:7 (*πολυλογία*); James 1:19, 26; 3:1–12 urging deliberation in speaking; Eph. 4:29; 5:4 (*μωρολογία*); Col. 2:4 where true wisdom and knowledge are contrasted with 'beguiling speech' (*πιθανολογία*); 2 Tim. 2:16 (*κενοφωνία*—'chatter'); 1 Tim. 1:6 (*ματαιολογία*—vain speech); Titus 1:10 (*ματαιολόγοι*—'vain talkers'). In the case of the Pastoral Epistles there is strong evidence of borrowing from and influence of Hellenistic moral commonplaces—thus, Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975)—and in the case of James strong parallels with Hellenistic ideals may suggest some Hellenistic influence—thus, Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Letter of James* (Anchor Bible; New York: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 199, 210. For silence and garrulosity as pagan commonplaces, see Heinz Gerd Ingenkamp, 'Geschwätzigkeit', *RAC* 10 (1978), 829–37; *ἄδολεσχία* and its opposite *σιγή* as rhetorical *topoi* appear in Joannes Stobaeus 3.33–6 (ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense [Berlin, 1884–1912], vol. 3, pp. 678–98) and Libanius, *Decl.* 26, both of whom draw together numerous ancient authors who treat these themes and indicate widespread treatment in Antiquity. Stobaeus devotes a chapter each to collecting quotations under the titles *περὶ σιγῆς* (33), *περὶ τοῦ εὐκαίρως λέγειν* (34), *περὶ βραχυλογίας* (35), and *περὶ ἄδολεσχίας* (36), thus indicating the semantic field to which these various terms belong. Especially important for the case argued here is that the texts Stobaeus collected repeatedly treat silence as a cultivated virtue indicating control of the tongue and the opposite of talkativeness. For silence as philosophical ideal see Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 1.1.2; 8.12; Epictetus, *Ench.* 33; 46; cf. Stobaeus 3.35.10.

¹² For garrulosity as inimical to the life of the *polis* see especially, Plato's treatment of Pericles in *Gorg.* 515E where talkativeness (*λάλος*) is linked with

more mature use of fewer words spoken with a gentler voice (*Cyr.* 1.4). Elsewhere he records Socrates eironizing himself as a 'mere chatterer [*ἄδολεσχέιν*]', the opposite of a perfect gentleman (*Oec.* 11.3); Socrates goes on to outline the training and practices in rhetoric that are to attend the cultivation of the characteristics appropriate to right rule of the household (23). Again, temperate speech is something won through disciplining natural tendencies towards talkativeness and is emblematic of the citizen well prepared from the exercise of self-control to govern his household and, by extension, the state.

The cultivation of temperance in speech and the checking of inclinations towards talkativeness were central to the task of 'making men' in antiquity.¹³ In the oral culture of the period much attention was given to speech as a means of training the self in virtues and disciplines conducive to good civil order. Ancient authors regularly praised silence as a virtue of self-control in speaking, arising out of the disciplining of natural inclinations towards talkativeness and other vices associated with speech.¹⁴ Plutarch's moral treatise on talkativeness (*περὶ ἄδολεσχίας*) is indicative of this moral treatment.¹⁵ He urges babblers towards silence and prescribes exercises for them to check their ungoverned tendencies towards idle speech (22, 514E). Silence is for Plutarch the opposite of talkativeness.

idleness, cowardice, and covetousness. In *Rep.* 6. 488A–89A he contrasts the idle babbler with the seasoned statesman. He dismisses Sophists as chatterers (*Plt.* 299B) who eristically seek financial gain from vexatious talkativeness (*Soph.* 225C–226A). Aristotle contrasts the gossip's fondness for hearing and telling stories with temperance (*Eth. Nic.* 10 1117^b33–5). For Aristotle cultivation in virtue trains the capacity to speak, which, left unchecked, manifests itself in talkativeness. The 'orderly man' can be physically recognized as one 'deliberate in movement and speech' (*Phgn.* 3 807^b34–5); virtuous men and women deploy different degrees of self-control in checking their tendencies to speak, thus avoiding charges of loquaciousness (*Pol.* 3 1277^b20–5).

¹³ For rhetorical training of the voice and the physiognomy of right speech in ancient rhetorical and medical treatises as a means towards male self-fashioning see Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). Gleason's excellent study does not, however, examine references to limiting copious speech as part of ancient rhetorical self-disciplining.

¹⁴ For a catalogue and discussion of extensive texts see George Schnayder, *De antiquorum hominum taciturnitate et tacendo* (Travaux de la Société des sciences et des lettres de Wrocław, Series A, 56; Wrocław, 1956), pp. 33–51.

¹⁵ For a close reading of *De garr.* and its parallels with early Christian literature generally, see William A. Beardslee, 'De garrulitate (Moralia 502B–15A)' in Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature* (Studia ad corpus hellenicum Novi Testamenti, 4; Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp. 264–87; Beardslee does not take up parallels with Ignatius' letters.

It refers not so much to the absence of words or of sound, as to the correct deployment of speech that comes with training and practice (23, 515 A). 'Those who have received a noble and truly royal education learn first to be silent, and then to speak', Plutarch writes (9, 506 C).¹⁶ His *Life of Lycurgus* celebrates the Spartan king's taciturnity as symbolic of self-disciplined speech and his ability to condense much 'into a few words' (19.1, 3). Plutarch commends him for instilling in Spartan boys 'the general habit of silence' as a means of making them thoughtful and to the point in answering questions (19.1).¹⁷

The art of learning to do much with few words is a theme ancient rhetorical treatises regularly discuss.¹⁸ Its treatment belongs to larger considerations of the correct uses of rhetoric as the measure of character. 'Speech', Quintilian remarks, 'is very commonly an index of character, and reveals the secrets of the heart' (11.1.30). The controlled pitch of voice as well as the regulation of speed, rhythm, and copiousness of speech were in antiquity the emblems of rhetorical self-fashioning and self-made masculinity.¹⁹ Ancient treatises offer careful guidelines for nurturing correct rhetorical comportment. The effective rhetor is

¹⁶ See, similarly, *De lib. educ.* 9, 6E-7B for restraint from copious and extempore speech as a first step in the training of children in correct speech. *De garr.* is also cited by Schoedel, p. 121, for its treatment of divine silence and the silence enjoined on initiates to mystery religions (8, 505 D-6 C) as furnishing a key parallel to Ignatius' references to divine (thus, *Eph.* 19.2; *Magn.* 8.1; see *Eph.* 15.2) and human silence. Here he follows the earlier lead of Schlier, pp. 5-33, 144-8 and Bartsch, pp. 53-61, who similarly relate episcopal silence to more cosmic and esoteric motifs. In what follows I hope to show that Ignatius weds cosmic and esoteric themes with rhetorical ideas concerning potent speech. The well-trained 'silence' of Asia Minor bishops whose words thereby count for something, in contrast to the docetists who babble about Jesus but impotently say nothing, reflects the potent speech of God who similarly makes his 'word' count, by ushering forth in the incarnation.

¹⁷ Similar themes are found in Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.6.49.1-52.4, where the divine tutor, Christ, educates those being formed into Christian morality to train their speech. *Strom.* 1.10.47.2 urges the gnostic to prefer silence to elegant sophistic rhetoric and to beware of beguiling speech; acting well is to take precedence over speaking well (1.10.46.1-49.3). For a full discussion see Raoul Mortley, 'The Theme of Silence in Clement of Alexandria', *JTS*, NS, 24 (1973), pp. 197-201.

¹⁸ Thus, for example, Demetrius, *Eloc.* 7, who celebrates the persuasive force that arises when 'a lot of meaning is packed into a few words' and the skill demonstrated in compressing much meaning into brief phrases (9); see also 241. Well-combined phrases or clauses form periods deployed in varying styles to achieve persuasive ends (10-15).

¹⁹ See Gleason, *Making Men*, pp. 55-130 for a full discussion of ancient medical and rhetorical diagnosis of 'feminine' characteristics in males and rhetorical vocal exercises designed to achieve 'masculinity'.

one who fashions himself by means of moderation carefully to select and declaim his words to achieve his end.²⁰ Rhetorical treatises assign varying degrees of copiousness in speech to differing styles of rhetoric which in turn are related to the achievement of differing purposes.²¹ What these assume is that the orator has learned to control and shape his speech to fit the specific occasion for which he publicly declaims. Appropriately arranged and delivered oratory flows forth from a carefully cultivated reservoir of self-moderation in matters of speech.²² Silence accompanies eloquence in rightly breaking up sounds and words, in nurturing correct rhythms of speech, and in the modulation of volume. Clement of Alexandria, in a lengthy discussion reflecting thorough acquaintance with these ideals, instructs youths to learn to control the loudness and pitch of their voices, and, most significantly, to avoid loquaciousness and to prefer silence to superfluous words.²³ 'I should think it right', Clement instructs,

to impose a limit on the speech of rightly regulated persons [*φωνῆς τοῖς σώφροσιν*], who are impelled to speak to one who maintains a conversation with them. For silence is the excellence of women, and the safe prize of the young; but good speech [*λόγον ἀγαθόν*] is characteristic of experienced, mature age. Speak, old man, at a banquet, for it is becoming to you. But speak without embarrassment, and with accuracy of knowledge. Youth, wisdom also commands you. 'Speak if you must, with hesitation, on being twice asked; sum up your discourse

²⁰ For propriety in delivery, the control of pitch and quality of voice, the selection and control of rhythm, and the attendant virtues of self-control and moderation see, for example, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.1.3-4 1404^b; Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.1-3; 12.1-2; Cicero, *Orat.* 17.55-64; 20.70-4; *De or.* 3.54.174-53.205; *Ad Herennium* 3.11.19-25.27; for the immoderate copious speaker in contrast to the self-restrained one see *Orat.* 28.98-9; similarly, Seneca, *Ep.* 40.2-3, where the philosopher's speech, like his life, 'should be composed', 'neither rushing nor hurried, but well ordered'; by contrast, a 'rapid and copious forceful manner of speech [*vim dicendi rapidam atque abundantem*] is more suited to a mountebank than to a man who is discussing and teaching an important and serious subject'; for the rhetorician's virtue in helping to govern the state generally see Cicero, *Inv. rhet.* 1.1-4.

²¹ For example, Demetrius, *Eloc.* 36; Cicero, *Part. or.* 6.19-21; *Orat.* 20.69-29.101; *Opt. gen.* 2.4-6; *Ad Herennium* 4.8.11-11.16.

²² See for example, Philostratus' celebration of Apollonius' rhetorical abilities; Apollonius' 'sentences were short and crisp, and his words were telling and closely allotted to the things he spoke of, and his words had an echoing about them as of the dooms delivered by a sceptred king' (1.17; similarly 3.42)—a self-control in speech tempered by his Pythagorean training in silence (1.1; 6.11). See also *Ep.* 8: the rightly trained philosopher 'speaks few words and on few occasions... [F]or he is not incapable of keeping silence.'

²³ *Paed.* 2.7.54.3-60.5; for silence see 2.7.57.3.

[λόγον] in a few words' [Sirach 32:8]. But let both speakers regulate their discourse [φθέγμα] according to just proportion.²⁴

In all this literature we are in the realm of male self-moulding that comes through rhetorical training and cultivation, whose final goal is the correct deployment of speech and the taming of the senses so as to realize social goods.

As might be expected, abuse of rhetoric for purposes of self-aggrandizement was a topic of satire, especially during the Second Sophistic, the period we are considering. Lucian offers representative examples.²⁵ His *Professor of Public Speaking* and *Pseudologista* offer opposite images of the ideal rhetor portrayed in the ancient handbooks cited above, by portraying the charlatan sophist as one who has given up all modesty, respectability, and self-restraint, who speaks in a loud singsong voice, and walks and dresses effeminately (*Rhet. praec.* 15; *Pseudol.* 5-7, 24-31). Lucian's professor of rhetoric is a windbag who counsels his student to abandon moderation in matters of speech and male self-regulation and prescribes instead a feminizing easy road of excess. His student should say the first thing that comes to mind without any care for order, embellish his speech with meaningless digressions, nurture an effeminate gait and voice, and increase his shamelessness and effrontery by learning to become more talkative than women (*Rh. Pr.* 18-23; cf. *Pseudol.* 30). 'Let your mouth be open for everything indifferently; let your tongue serve you not only in your speeches, but in any other way it can. And it can not only solecize and barbarize, not only twaddle and forswear, call names and slander and lie—it can even perform other services even at night, especially if your love affairs are too numerous' (*Rh. Pr.* 23). Lucian here studiously reverses the ideals outlined in the ancient rhetorical handbooks for the carefully self-fashioned male rhetor. Instead of careful masculine self-regulation in speech and in morals, the professor advises his student to give way to the impulses of an unruly tongue, by ignoring the moral and vocal disciplines associated with rhetorical training and by violating ancient sexual taboos.²⁶

²⁴ *Paed.* 2.7.58.1-2 (trans. F. Crombie in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979], vol. 2, p. 252).

²⁵ For a discussion of Lucian as observer and satirist of contemporary rhetorical practice in *Rhet. praec.* and *Pseudol.* see Jennifer Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (New York: Arno, 1981), pp. 252-73; Graham Anderson, 'Lucian: A Sophist's Sophist', *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1963), pp. 61-92.

²⁶ See similarly his satirical treatment of a would-be philosopher in *Eunuch.* 7-13 and Gleason's discussion in *Making Men*, pp. 131-58.

To return then to Ignatius of Antioch, his contrasting in *Phld.* 1.1 of the silence of the Philadelphian bishop with vain babble is at home in these rhetorical and moral traditions centring on timely self-controlled speech. That self-discipline is in view here is evident from the commendation of the bishop that follows, concerning his virtue and perfection, and 'his immovable temper [*ἀκίνητον*] free from anger, by means of which he lives in all godly gentleness [*τὸ ἀόργητον αὐτοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ θεοῦ ζῶντος*]' (1.2). The bishop of Philadelphia is the perfect gentleman who manifests all the self-control of speech and character of the carefully self-regulated ancient male urged upon his pagan contemporaries in the moral treatises and rhetorical studies just discussed.²⁷ The ideals of moderate, measured speech as an external sign of inner virtue are also behind Ignatius' exhortation in *Eph.* 14.2–15.2 that 'it is better to be silent [*σιωπᾶν*] and be real [*εἶναι*], than to babble [*λαλοῦντα*] and to be unreal [*μὴ εἶναι*]' (15.1).²⁸ 'Act [*ἔργον*] is not in present profession [*ἐπαγγελίας*], but is demonstrated by the power of faith, if one continue to the end', he writes (14.2).

Teaching is good, if the teacher does what he says. There is then one teacher who spoke and it came to pass, and what he has done even in silence is worthy of the Father. He who has the speech [*λόγον*] of Jesus for a true possession can also hear his silence [*ῥησυχία*], that he may be perfect, that he may act through his speech and be understood through his silence [*ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσῃ καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκῃται*]. (15.2)

This carefully worded paradox has often been cited as evidence for Ignatius' theological cosmology.²⁹ However much that is the

²⁷ For *ἐπιεικεία* as civic ideal of self-control and moderation see H. Preisker, 'ἐπιεικεία, ἐπιεικῆς' *TDNT* 2, 588–90, at 588–9. See similarly, *Trall.* 3.2 for the meek (*πραΐτης*) bishop to whom 'the goddess pay respect'. For the ideal of *πραΐτης* as a form of self-cultivation against a civic backdrop see F. Hauck and S. Schulz, 'πραῦς, πραΐτης', *TDNT* 6, pp. 645–51, at 645–6. Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (Library of Christian Classics, 1; New York: MacMillan, 1978), nicely captures the connection of silence with self-control and rhetorical self-fashioning when he translates (p. 108) *Phld.* 1.1: 'I have been struck by his charming manner. By being silent he can do more than those who chatter.' This is also captured in his rendering (p. 88) of *Eph.* 6.1: 'The more anyone sees the bishop modestly silent, the more he should revere him.'

²⁸ Similarly, Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 92: 'It is better to keep quiet and be real, than to chatter and be unreal.' I differ with Richardson, however, in that he sees here (p. 92, n. 32) a thematic connection with Jesus' silence before Pilate, and I am arguing instead for a connection with rhetorical traditions celebrating right declamation and the control of one's tongue as exterior sign of character and discipline.

²⁹ Thus, for example, Corwin, *Ignatius*, pp. 122–3, against Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 69–70 who reads the passage as a reference to the historical Jesus'

case, Ignatius is also drawing on an ancient ethical ideal that exhorts consistency between what appears and what is. The integrity of action and speech he urges here and similarly in *Rom.* 3.2 is also at home in the pagan moral traditions we have been exploring.³⁰ The well-disciplined rhetor, by giving careful attention to the unity of speech and action, increases his potency as a speaker, both in the deliberation he gives to what he says and what he chooses not to say.³¹ The one who has 'the word' or 'speech of Jesus' also hears his silence—that is, he enjoys as Jesus did an integrity of words and deeds. Out of a tranquillity won through careful self-cultivation, he gives expression to a divine potency that comes from well-integrated, properly deployed speech and action.

Arguably, even where Ignatius is more directly cosmic and metaphysical, such as the star hymn of *Eph.* 19.1–3, there is a similar celebration of potency that arises from right speech. The hymn celebrates 'three mysteries of a cry which were wrought in the stillness [*ἡσυχία*] of God', which as well-appointed potent 'speech' accomplished wonders through the incarnation (19.3). Again, when Ignatius celebrates Jesus as God's 'word proceeding forth from silence [*λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν*]' (*Mag.* 8.2) the language is not only cosmic and philosophical, it also expresses these larger rhetorical dimensions. Jesus is, as it were, God's speech declaimed in flesh and blood, which, thus voiced, puts an old order of magic, wicked bondage, and ignorance to flight. Like good speech that issues forth from the 'silence', that is, the self-controlled and virtuous character of its declaimer, this speech is perfectly fashioned to accomplish its intended task. Jesus is, Ignatius writes to the Romans, succinctly employing this theme, 'the mouth which cannot lie, by which the Father has spoken truly' (*Rom.* 8.2). Ignatius himself hopes to offer a similarly potent speech-act. Picking up on the themes of

refusal to seek the limelight; Schoedel, *Ignatius*, p. 78; Bauer/Paulsen, *Briefe*, p. 40: 'eine Schöpfungstheologische Aussage'; Bartsch, *Gnostisches Gut*, pp. 55–66; Schlier, *Ignatiusbriefen*, pp. 55–67; Pettersen, 'Heretics', p. 342, where he interprets *ἡσυχία* in 15.2 as 'the Word of God in his divine pacificity which undergirds and renders purposeful both his [the disciple's] creative word and his meaningful silence'.

³⁰ For the history of this tradition see Felix Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis: Herkunft und Bedeutung einer Antithese im griechischen Denken des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 1; Basel: Friedrich Rheinhardt, 1965).

³¹ For a catalogue of texts see Schoedel, *Ignatius*, pp. 76–7, n. 9. Additionally see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.10.47.2 for discussion of speech consistent with action, as contrasted with eloquence divorced from a life of virtue.

correctly deployed silence and rightly timed speech he urges the Roman church to help him orchestrate his own death by keeping silent (*σιωπήσητε*) that he may be a ‘speech of God [*λόγος θεοῦ*]’. Again, silence issues forth in persuasive speech, which Ignatius goes on to contrast with mere sound: ‘but if you love my flesh, I shall again be only a cry [*φωνή*]’ (*Rom.* 2.1).³²

The opposite of such persuasive speech is the false teaching of Ignatius’ opponents, as is indicated in his contrasting of the silence of the Philadelphian bishop with the ‘vain babbling’ (*Phld.* 1.1) of false teachers. Ignatius’ resistance to his docetic opponents is usually treated by Ignatian scholars with reference to its doctrinal content. But Ignatius is a skilled rhetor who pillories his enemies not only for the content of their misconceived christological beliefs, but also for how they present themselves in their speech and the way such speech gives rise to social discord and undermines good order. The passage discussed above from *Eph.* 14.2–15.2, for example, vilifies false profession both for its error, and its substanceless prattle (*λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι*).³³ ‘Be deaf when anyone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ’, Ignatius urges, drawing attention to arts of rhetorical persuasion (*Trall.* 9.1).

Just as his depictions of episcopal silence are at home in the oral culture of antiquity and the morals of rightly timed, disciplined speech, his vilification of his opponents similarly reflects that backdrop. Throughout his letters, whether by direct charge or by implication, Ignatius returns to commonplace moral themes associated in antiquity with improper speech and its associated vices. His opponents are proud (*ὑπερηφανεῖν*, *μεγαλορημοσύνη*—*Eph.* 5.3; 10.2), boastful (*καύχησις*—*Eph.* 18.1; *Trall.* 4.1; *Phld.* 6.3), foolish (*ἄφρων*—*Trall.* 8.2); vain-glorious (*κενοδοξία*—*Phld.* 1.1), puffed up (*φυσιοῦν*—*Magn.* 12.1; *Trall.* 4.1; 7.1), and deceptive (*Eph.* 8.1; *Magn.* 3.2; 4.1–2; *Phld.* 7.1). They are filled with wrath (*Eph.* 10.2), and foment strife (*ἔρις*; *ἐριθεία*—*Eph.* 8.1; *Phld.* 8.2) and division (*μερισμός*—*Phld.* 2.1; 3.1; 7.2; 8.1). Corrupters of households (*οἰκοφθόροι*—*Eph.* 16.1), they incite war through mischievous practices and false confessions of faith (*Eph.* 3.1–2); they thus undermine the concord

³² That Ignatius intends *λόγος* as ‘speech’ in *Rom.* 2.1 may be seen in his picking up the metaphor of the potency of speech at 3.3 where he contrasts Christianity as a work ‘not of persuasiveness, but of greatness [*οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους*] when it is hated by the world’.

³³ See, similarly, Schoedel, *Ignatius*, p. 77.

(*δμόνοια*—*Eph.* 4.1, 2; 13.1; *Magn.* 6.1; 15.1; *Trall.* 12.2; *Phld.* 11.2) of local churches in Asia Minor by encouraging meetings apart from their bishops (*Magn.* 4.1; *Phld.* 7.2; *Smyrn.* 8.2).

These are stock charges typical of the Hellenistic moral repertoire of vilification of enemies, especially in political rhetoric dedicated to the themes of concord (*δμόνοια*) and faction (*ἔρις*).³⁴ They reveal Ignatius at home in popular Hellenistic culture and how much he has, to borrow an apt phrase of William Schoedel, 'absorbed conceptions of communal life from the Hellenistic club and city'.³⁵ Consideration of the social ills arising from abuses of speech was a commonplace topic in the moral and rhetorical handbooks of this period. They left their imprint on early Christian literature, especially in the case of 1 and 2 Corinthians, where Paul pillories Corinthian discord as arising from foolish speech, boasting, and arrogance—precisely the case Ignatius outlines against his opponents. As several recent studies have confirmed, Paul's criticisms of the Corinthians and his opponents as boastful, arrogant, and divisive are at home in pagan civic discourse and *topoi*.³⁶ In Ignatius' adaptation and application of these commonplaces, the Antiochene bishop rhetorically casts docetic confessions of belief as vain babble and arrogance leading towards faction and division. The bringing together of polemic against false teaching with a stock repertoire of vices associated with uncontrolled and

³⁴ For general discussion of these themes and their relation to the larger *topoi* of concord and strife see A. Moulakis, *Homonoia: Eintracht und die Entwicklung eines politischen Bewusstseins* (Munich: Paul List Verlag, 1973); A. R. R. Sheppard, 'Homonoia in the Greek Cities of the Roman Empire', *Ancient Society* 15-17 (1985-6), pp. 229-52; H.-J. Gerhke, *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Vestigia, 35; Munich: Beck, 1985); N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris: A Study of the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1992); id., 'Hybris and Dishonour: I', *Greece and Rome* 23 (1976), pp. 177-192.

³⁵ Schoedel, *Ignatius*, p. 17.

³⁶ Paul, for example, contrasts 'eloquent wisdom' (*σοφία λόγου*—1 Cor. 1.17) and 'arrogant talk' (*λόγος τῶν πεφυσιωμένων*—4:19) with the potent 'speech of the cross' (*ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ*—1:18) and charges that the boastfulness (1.31; 3:21; 4:7) and puffed-up or arrogant character (*φυσιοῦν/οὔσθαι*—4:6, 18, 19) their speech manifests has led the Corinthians to faction (*ἔριδες*—1:11; 3:3) and division of Christ's body (*μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός*—1:13). The so-called Fool's Speech of 2 Corinthians 10-12 develops similar themes through its ironic exposé of the divisive consequences (*ἔρις, ἐριθεία*—2 Cor. 12:20) of boastfulness (2 Cor. 10:8, 13, 17; 11:12, 16, 18, 30; 12:1, 6, 9) and arrogance (*φυσίωσις*—2 Cor. 12:20). Paul's adaptation of these Hellenistic commonplaces has been given much attention. See especially Stephen M. Pogoloff, *Logos and Sophia: The Rhetorical Situation of 1 Corinthians* (SBL Dissertation Series, 134; Atlanta: Scholars, 1992);

immoderate speech represents a significant early Christian appropriation of Hellenistic cultural ideals.³⁷

When placed against this civic backdrop and these rhetorical conventions, Ignatius' praise of the silent bishops can be recognized as part of a larger deployment of traditional themes and motifs common to pagan traditions centring on concord and discord. On this account the bishop's silence is not so much an indication of his refusal to trespass the limits of apostolic teaching, as Bieder has argued, and in no way implies a lack of eloquence or spiritual power, as a majority of Ignatian scholars suppose. Rather it is a token of the kind of self-regulation Ignatius promotes as productive of leadership conducive to good order and right teaching. Thus just as a host of evils surround Ignatius' prattling opponents, so those united with the bishop and his fellow leaders enjoy and give expression to ecclesial harmony and calm and the virtues that preserve them. Again, in depicting this good order, Ignatius deploys traditional motifs (the Church as ship, army, harmonious choir, etc.) and their associated vocabulary found regularly in Hellenistic sources celebrating political concord.³⁸ Borrowing from the civic culture of the cities of Asia Minor he passes through, where the imperial cult was especially alive, Ignatius shrewdly deploys ideas that would have been immediately recognizable to Christians of Asia Minor familiar with the political propaganda of the Roman

Peter Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* (Wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 23; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1987); and Christopher Forbes, 'Comparison, Self-Praise and Irony: Paul's Boasting and the Conventions of Hellenistic Rhetoric', *New Testament Studies* 32 (1986), pp. 1-30, who take up the interrelation in the rhetoric of this period of boasting, arrogance, pride, faction; Timothy H. Lim, "Not in Persuasive Words of Wisdom, but in the Demonstration of the Spirit and Power", *Novum Testamentum* 39 (1987), pp. 137-49; also Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), who relates the political vocabulary of 1 Corinthians to pagan rhetorical commonplaces. See also *1 Clem.* 30.1-8, where offences of speech, including garrulousness (v. 4), are included in a vice list that includes the terms we have been discussing. Clement associates 'profusion in speech' (πολὺς ἐν ῥήμασιν) with such vices as arrogance (ὑπερηφανία—v. 1), and links control of speech with virtues of *δύμνοια*, *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, and *ἐγκράτεια* (v. 3).

³⁷ Ignatius is not the first to combine these ideas; the contemporary Pastoral Epistles offer a similar association; see n. 11 above for passages in which the author pillories opponents for false teaching taking the form of immoderate speech.

³⁸ For example, the image of a harmonious choir (*Eph.* 4.1-2; *Rom.* 4.2; *Phld.* 1.2): concord (*δύμνοια*) expressed through the union of the *πρεσβυτέρων* with the

Empire, namely that the peace and concord of the *Pax Romana* mirrored a *pax deorum*, cultically preserved through right worship and ritual.³⁹ Ignatius celebrates the harmonious unity the churches are to enjoy by adhering faithfully to their leaders and their orthodox christological confessions as mirroring a heavenly utopian order.⁴⁰ He borrows heavily from the language of city and association to depict this order and in doing so casts his letters rhetorically as adapted political treatises likened after pagan commonplaces concerning right government and its associated virtues. An example of this is the way he models the

bishop; the divinely built harmonious Church as a royal pious possession of God (*Eph.* 9.1–2); the church as a united army (*Pol.* 6.1–2); the peace of the Church as a calm harbour (*Smyrn.* 11.3); the Church as a well-sailed ship (*Eph.* 9.1; *Pol.* 2.3). See Schoedel, *Ignatius*, p. 17 for pagan texts that treat these themes as political metaphors of good government, and for secondary literature.

³⁹ This argument is further evidence of the influence of the imperial cult and Roman political propaganda on Ignatius' thinking cited in an earlier study by Allen Brent, 'Ignatius of Antioch and the Imperial Cult', *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998), pp. 30–58. For Concord (*δύμνοια*), the imperial peace, and divine blessing see Brent, pp. 48–9; J. R. Fears, 'The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology', *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981), pp. 827–948 at 886–92; Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 288–331. For the imperial cult in Asia Minor more generally see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesos, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993).

⁴⁰ Thus, Ignatius' interest in the silent bishops is not, *pace* Chadwick, because he sees a one-to-one correspondence between earthly ecclesiastical leaders and heavenly hierarchies, as a kind of proto-Dionysius the Areopagite (thus, Chadwick, 'Silence', pp. 171–2). Rather he conceives the harmonious institutional unity around the bishop and his sanctioned meetings as the earthly expression of heavenly order, the legitimacy of the former guaranteed by absence of disorder. By contrast, the disorder that arises from factions meeting illegitimately with Ignatius' opponents to conduct their own eucharists or agapes is the sign that those sympathetic to such teachings are disqualified from divine blessing, since the seeds of discord they thereby sow show how far out of keeping they are with the divine heavenly harmony which earthly worship ideally mirrors. As Maurice Wiles ('Ignatius and the Church', *Studia Patristica* 17.2 [1982], pp. 750–5), critiquing Chadwick, suggests, Ignatius' treatment of the bishop as a 'type' (*τύπος*) of God the Father (*Trall.* 3.1) 'is not an iconic grounding of the Christian ministry as reflective of the heavenly hierarchy' (p. 754), but belongs to a wider argument about the legitimacy of the community gathered around the bishop and the order it manifests as a divinely mirroring sociological entity. Ignatius' deployment of typology is in the service of a religio-political ideal native to the Hellenistic and imperial ideology of the period, and is designed to persuade his listeners to embrace his ideals of concord and good order. As such he formulates ideals at home in the religiously conceived social order of antiquity, that a harmoniously functioning civic order is reflective of a heavenly harmony which right religion and ritual seek to procure; see Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal*

opening greetings sections of his letters after Hellenistic encomia praising the good order of cities.⁴¹ The speech of these churches' rightly confessing bishops brings peace and harmonious order. This contrasts the wrath, disease, deceit, and divisiveness brought about by the arrogant speech of his opponents, manifested in their heterodox christological confessions.⁴² Ignatius exhorts his audiences to support the good order of the bishops with language, again, drawn from a traditional set of terms and concepts associated with the rhetorical *topos* *περὶ ὁμόνοιας*.⁴³

The silent bishops are thus pieces in a larger rhetorical depiction of the concord Ignatius urges the churches of Asia Minor to pursue through adherence to correct christological confession, and the faction he wants them to avoid. Neither the

Return or, Cosmos and History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 21–92, and *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959).

⁴¹ Shawn Carruth, 'Praise for the Churches: The Rhetorical Function of the Opening Sections of the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch', in Elizabeth Castelli and Hal Taussig (eds.), *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1996), pp. 295–310.

⁴² See especially his advice to Polycarp (*Pol.* 1–5), which outlines the comportment and attitudes conducive to good order. Ignatius directly links christological confession with good order, for example, at *Phld.* 4.1; 8.1–2; *Smyrn.* 7.1; 8.2. His succinct, rhetorically crafted statements of christological faith, modelled more or less after what Demetrius names 'the grand forceful style' (*Eloc.* 36; 38 ff.; see especially *Eph.* 18.2, which manifests chiasmus, parallelism, and homoioteleuta; also *Trall.* 9.1–2; *Phld.* 8.2; 9.1–2; *Smyrn.* 1.1–2; 2.1) furnish his audiences with the right confession to rally around their bishops. Ignatius is well aware of his rhetorical abilities and the force of his speech (*Phld.* 7.1–8.1; see Franz Joseph Dölger, "ΘΕΟΥ ΦΩΝΗ": Die "Gottes Stimme" bei Ignatius von Antiochien, Kelsos und Origenes', *Antike und Christentum* 5 [1936], pp. 218–23, who interprets Ignatius' 'great voice' against the backdrop of pagan rhetorical and religious conventions).

⁴³ Examples of vocabulary associated with the *topos* 'concord' include *εὐταξία*: *Eph.* 6.2; *εἰρήνη*: *Eph.* 13.2; *Phld.* 7.2 (C); *Smyrn.* 12.2; *ὑποτάσσειν*: *Eph.* 2.2; 5.3; *Magn.* 2.1; 13.2; *Trall.* 2.1; 2.2; 13.2; *Ign. Pol.* 2.1; 6.1; *ἔνωσις*: *Magn.* 13.2; *Trall.* 11.2; *Phld.* 7.2; 8.1; *Ign. Pol.* 1.2; 5.2; cf. *Phld.* 4.1; *ταπεινόφρων*: *Eph.* 10.2; *πρᾶξις/πρᾶξις*: *Eph.* 10.2; *Trall.* 3.2; 4.2; *Ign. Pol.* 2.1; 6.2; *ἐπιείκεια*: *Eph.* 10.3; *Phld.* 1.1, 2; *φρόνιμος*: *Magn.* 3.1; *σωφροσύνη*: *Eph.* 10.3; *ἀσφαλ-*: *Phld.* 5.1; 5.1; *Smyrn.* 8.2 For the use of these terms in the *topos* *περὶ ὁμόνοιας* see n. 34 above, as well as the treatments of Odde Magne Bakke, 'Concord and Peace': *A Rhetorical Analysis of the First Letter of Clement with an Emphasis on the Language of Unity and Sedition* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 141 (Tübingen, Mohr/Siebeck, 2001) and Barbara Ellen Bower, *A Church in Crisis: Ecclesiology and Paraneis in Clement of Rome*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion 23 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988), both of which offer a thorough discussion of the typical terms associated with the commonplace, with reference to 1 *Clement*, an exemplar of the *topos*. See also Schoedel's apt observations on many of these terms, index, pp. 297–8.

retiring nature of bishops is at stake here, nor lack of eloquence. Nor is Ignatius commending the bishops for their refusal to exceed the limits of apostolic teaching. Still less is he urging obedience to the silent bishop and his colleagues because they are an earthly expression of a divine hierarchy. Ignatius depicts the bishops as potently silent as part of a rhetorical strategy to persuade his audience that the institutional order and christological confession they represent bring about a harmonious social order. Such an order is to be free from the faction and strife he accuses the docetists of bringing through the 'vain babble' of their heterodox confession. His commendations of episcopal silence are at home in the expectations concerning the moderation, self-regulation, and self-manufacture of ancient men. Out of their composed characters arises controlled speech conducive to the establishment, preservation, and government of the common good.

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