

SILENCE IN PRAYER: THE MEANING OF HESYCHIA

Divine truth consists not in talk but in silence,
in remaining within the heart by long suffering.

The Book of the Poor in Spirit

...Jesus Christ, the Word that came out of silence.

St Ignatius of Antioch

Different levels of hesychia

One of the stories in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* describes a visit by Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, to the monks of Scetis. Anxious to impress their distinguished guest, the assembled brethren appealed to Abba Pambo: "Say something to the Archbishop that he may be edified." And the old man replied, "If he isn't edified by my silence, then he won't be edified by my words."¹ It is a story that indicates the extreme importance attached by the Desert tradition to *hesychia*, the quality of stillness or silence. "God has chosen *hesychia* above all other virtues," it is affirmed elsewhere in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*.² As St Nilus of Ancyra insists, "It is impossible for muddy water to grow clear if it is constantly stirred up; and it is impossible to become a monk without *hesychia*."³

Hesychia means, however, far more than merely refraining from outward speech. It is a term that can be interpreted at many different levels. Let us try to distinguish the main senses, working from the more external to the more inward.

¹ AP, alphabetical collection, Theophilus 2 (PG 65:197D); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 81.

² AP, *Concerning thoughts*: ed. J.-C. Guy, "Un dialogue monastique inédit," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 33 (1957), 180; tr. Guy, *Les Apophtegmes*, 413.

³ *Exhortation to monks* (PG 79:1236B).

(1) *Hesychia* and *solitudo*. In the earliest sources, the term "hesychast" (*hesychastes*) and its related verb *hesychazo* usually denote a monk living in solitude, a hermit as opposed to the member of a cenobitic community. This sense is found already in Evagrius of Pontus (fourth century)⁴ and in Nilus and Palladius (early fifth century).⁵ The word also occurs with this meaning in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*,⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis,⁷ John Moschus,⁸ Barsanuphius,⁹ and the legislation of Justinian.¹⁰ *Hesychia* continues to be used in this sense in later authors such as St Gregory of Sinai († 1346).¹¹ On this level, the term refers primarily to a person's relationship in space with other human beings. This is the most external of the various senses.

(2) *Hesychia* and the spirituality of the cell. "*Hesychia*," says Abba Rufus in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, "is to sit in your cell with fear and in the knowledge of God, abstaining entirely from rancour and vainglory. Such *hesychia* is the mother of all the virtues and guards the monk from the fiery arrows of the enemy." Rufus goes on to connect *hesychia* with the remembrance of death, and he concludes by saying: "Be vigilant (*nephe*) over your own soul."¹² *Hesychia* is thus associated with another key term in the Desert tradition, *nepsis*, spiritual sobriety or vigilance.

When *hesychia* is linked in this way with the cell, the term still refers to the external situation of the hesychast in space, but its meaning is at the

4 *On Prayer* 107, III (79:1192A,C); tr. *Philokalia*, I:67, 68.

5 Nilus, *Letters* 4.1 and 17 (*PG* 79:541C and 557D); *On the superiority of desert hesychasts* I (*PG* 79:1061A); Palladius, *Life of St. John Chrysostom* 8; ed. Coleman-Norton, 50, 6.

6 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Antony 34 (*PG* 65:857D); Elias 8 (185A: this is relatively late, probably from the sixth century, since it refers to a monk in the community of St Sabas in Palestine); Poemen 90 (344A); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 8, 72, 179.

7 *Life of St. Sabas* 21; ed. Schwartz, 105, 19.

8 *Meadow* 52 (*PG* 87:2908A); tr. Wortley, 42.

9 *Questions and Answers*, ed. Schoinas, §164; ed. Regnault and Lemaire, §68. Here we find the doublet "those who live in enclosure (*enkleistoi*) and hesychasts." A critical edition of the Greek text of Barsanuphius and John, *Questions and Answers*, edited by François Neyt and Paula de Angelis-Noah (following the enumeration of Regnault and Lemaire), has commenced publication: *Sources Chrétiennes* 426-427 (Paris: Cerf, 1997-98). See also the uncompleted critical edition of Derwas J. Chitty, in *PO* 31:3 (1966).

10 *Novella* 5.3 (AD 535); ed. von Lingenhal, 63, 17; this speaks of "anchorites and hesychasts." For the same usage of *hesychia* compare the Council in *Trullo* (AD 692), canon 41.

11 *On Prayer: Seven Texts* 5 (*PG* 150:1333D); tr. *Philokalia*, 4:278.

12 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Rufus I (389BC); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 210.

same time more interiorized and spiritual. The hesychast, in the sense of one who remains with watchful vigilance in his cell, need not always be a solitary but can be equally a monk living in community.

The hesychast, then, is one who obeys the injunction of Abba Moses, "Go and sit in your cell and your cell will teach you everything."¹³ He bears in mind the advice which Arsenius gave to a monk who wished to perform works of mercy. "Someone said to Arsenius, 'My thoughts trouble me, saying, You cannot fast or labor; at least go and visit the sick, for this also is a form of love.' The old man, recognizing the seeds sown by the demons, said to him: 'Go—eat and drink and sleep without doing any work; only do not leave your cell.' For he knew that to remain patiently in the cell brings a monk to the true fulfillment of his calling."¹⁴

The link between *hesychia* and the cell is clearly stated in a famous saying of St Antony of Egypt: "Fishes die if they tarry on dry land; and in the same way monks, if they linger outside their cell or pass their time with people of the world, lose the pitch of their *hesychia*."¹⁵ The monk who remains within his cell is like the string of a well-tuned instrument. *Hesychia* keeps him in a state of alertness; if he lingers outside the cell, his soul grows limp and flabby.

The cell, understood in this way as the outward framework of *hesychia*, is envisaged above all as a workshop of unceasing prayer. The monk's chief activity, while remaining still and silent within his cell, is the constant remembrance of God (*mneme Theou*), accompanied by a sense of communion and mourning (*penthos*). "Sit in your cell," says Abba Ammonas to an old man who proposes to adopt some ostentatious form of asceticism. "Eat a little every day and have the words of the publican ever in your heart. Then you can be saved."¹⁶ The words of the publican, "God, be merciful to me a sinner" (Lk 18:13), are closely parallel to the formula of the Jesus Prayer, as found from the sixth century onwards in Barsanuphius, the *Life of Abba Philemon* and other sources. We shall return in

13 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Moses 6 (284C); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 139.

14 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Arsenius II (89C); compare Hierax I (232D); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 10, 104.

15 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Antony 10 (77B); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 3. For the connection between *hesychia* and the cell, see also Evagrius, *The foundations of the monastic life* 8 (*PG* 40:1260C).

16 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Ammonas 4 (120C); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 26.

due course to the subject of *hesychia* and the Invocation of the Name. The enclosure of the monastic cell and the Name of Jesus are explicitly linked in a statement by John of Gaza about his fellow hermit Barsanuphius: "The cell in which he is enclosed alive as in a tomb, for the sake of the Name of Jesus, is his place of repose; no demon enters there, not even the prince of demons, the devil. It is a sanctuary, for it contains the dwelling-place of God."¹⁷

For the hesychast, then, the cell is a house of prayer, a sanctuary and place of meeting between the human person and God. All this is strikingly expressed in the saying, "The monk's cell is the furnace of Babylon, in which the three children found the Son of God; it is the pillar of cloud, from which God spoke to Moses."¹⁸ This notion of the cell as a focus of the *shekinah* is reflected in the words of a contemporary Coptic hermit, Abûna Martâ al-Maskîn. When asked if he ever thought of going on pilgrimage to the Holy Places, he replied: "Jerusalem the Holy is right here, in and around these caves; for what else is my cave, but the place where my Savior Christ was born; what else is my cave, but the place where my Savior Christ was taken to rest; what else is my cave, but the place from where He most gloriously rose again from the dead. Jerusalem is here, right here, and all the spiritual riches of the Holy City are found in this *wadi*."¹⁹

In all this we are moving steadily from the external to the inner sense of *hesychia*. Interpreted in terms of the spirituality of the cell, the word signifies not only an outward and physical condition but a state of soul. It denotes the attitude of one who seeks, in the words of St Theophan the Recluse, "to stand before God with the mind in the heart, and to go on standing before Him unceasingly day and night, until the end of life."²⁰ That is precisely what the stillness and silence of his cell signify to the hesychast.

(3) *Hesychia and the "return into oneself."* This more interiorized understanding of *hesychia* is plainly emphasized in the classic designation of the

¹⁷ *Questions and Answers*, ed. Schoinas, §73; ed. Regnault and Lemaire, §142.

¹⁸ *AP*, anonymous collection, 206; ed. Nau, *ROC* 13 (1908), 279; Ward, *Wisdom*, §74(24).

¹⁹ Otto Meinardus, "The Hermits of Wadi Rayân," *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Collectanea* II (Cairo, 1966), 308.

²⁰ Cited in Iguemen Chariton, *The Art of Prayer*, 63; see above, 59.

hesychast supplied by St John Climacus: "The hesychast is one who strives to confine his incorporeal being within his bodily house, paradoxical though this may sound."²¹ The hesychast, in the true sense of the word, is not someone who has journeyed outwardly into the desert, but someone who has embarked upon the journey inwards into his own heart; not someone who cuts himself off physically from others, shutting the door of his cell, but someone who "returns into himself," shutting the door of his mind. "He came to himself," it is said of the prodigal son (Lk 15:17); and this is what the hesychast also does. As St Basil puts it, he returns to himself; and having so returned inwards, he ascends to God.²² The hesychast is in this way one who responds to Christ's words, "The Kingdom of God is within you" (Lk 17:21), and who also seeks to "guard the heart with all watchfulness" (Prov 4:23). In the words of St Isaac the Syrian, he "dives into himself," discovering within himself the ladder that leads to the Kingdom.²³ Reinterpreting our original definition of the hesychast as a solitary living in the desert, we may say that solitude is a state of soul, not a matter of geographical location, and that the real desert lies within the heart.

At this point in our exploration it will be helpful to pause briefly and to distinguish with greater precision between the external and inner senses of the word *hesychia*.²⁴ Three levels are indicated in a famous *apophthegma* of Abba Arsenius. While still tutor to the imperial children in the palace, Arsenius prayed to God, "Show me how to be saved." And a voice came to him, "Arsenius, flee from other people and you will be saved." He withdrew into the desert and became a solitary; and then he prayed again in the same words. This time the voice said: "Arsenius, flee, keep silent (*siopa*), be still (*hesychaze*), for these are the roots of sinlessness."²⁵

²¹ *Ladder* 27 (PG 88:1097B); tr. Luibheid and Russell, 262.

²² *Letter* 2 (PG 32:228A).

²³ *Homily* 2; tr. Wensinck, 8; tr. Miller, II; compare above, xi.

²⁴ In what follows, I have drawn upon the fundamental study of Irénée Hausherr, "L'hesychasme. Étude de spiritualité," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 22 (1956), 5-40, 247-85, especially 18ff. This essay is reprinted in the collected volume of Father Hausherr's writings, *Hésychasme et Prière*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 176 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1966), 163-237.

²⁵ *AP*, alphabetical collection, Arsenius 1, 2 (88BC); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 9 (the translation needs correcting).

Flee from other people, keep silent, be still: such are the three degrees of *hesychia*. The first is spatial, to "flee from others" externally and physically. The second is still external, to "keep silent," to desist from outward speech. Neither of these things can by itself make us into a real hesychast; for we may be living in outward solitude and may keep our mouth closed, and yet inwardly we may be full of restlessness and agitation. To achieve true stillness it is necessary to pass from the second level to the third, from external to interior *hesychia*, from the mere absence of speech to what St Ambrose of Milan terms *negotiosum silentium*,²⁶ active and creative silence. The same three levels are distinguished by St John Climacus: "Close the door of your cell physically, the door of your tongue to speech, and the inner door to the evil spirits."²⁷

This distinction between the levels of *hesychia* has important implications for the relationship of the hesychast to society. One person may accomplish the visible and geographic flight into the desert, and yet in his heart may still remain in the midst of the city; conversely, another person may continue physically in the city and yet be a true hesychast in his heart. What matters is not our spatial position but our spiritual state.

It is true that some writers in the Christian East, most notably St Isaac the Syrian, have come close to maintaining that inner *hesychia* cannot exist without external solitude. But such is far from being the universal view. There are stories in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* where laypeople, fully committed to a life of active service in the world, are compared with hermits and solitaries; a doctor in Alexandria, for instance, is regarded as the spiritual equal of St Antony the Great himself.²⁸ St Gregory of Sinai refused to tensure one of his disciples named Isidore, but sent him back from Mount Athos to Thessalonica, to act as exemplar and guide to a circle of lay people, thereby implying that the vocation of an urban hesychast is by no means an impossibility.²⁹ St Gregory Palamas, the Sinaite's contemporary, insisted in the most unambiguous fashion that

²⁶ *On the Clerical Office* 1:3(9) (PL 16:265b).

²⁷ *Ladder* 27 (PG 88:1100a); tr. Luibheid and Russell, 263.

²⁸ *AP*, alphabetical collection, Antony 24 (84B), tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 6; see above, 86.

²⁹ Patriarch Philotheos, *Life of St Isidore* 22. ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Zapiski Istoriko-Filologicheskago Fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta* 76 (St Petersburg: Tip. V. Kirshbauma, 1905), 77, 21-26.

the command of St Paul, "Pray without ceasing" (1 Thess 5:17), applies to all Christians without exception.³⁰

In this connection it should be remembered that, when Greek ascetic writers such as Evagrius or St Maximus the Confessor use the terms *praxis* (or *praktike*) and *theoria*, usually translated as "active life" and "contemplative life," the "active life" signifies for them not the life of direct service to the world—preaching, teaching, social work and the like—but the inner struggle to subdue the passions and acquire the virtues. Using the phrase in this sense, it may be said that many hermits and monastics living in strict enclosure are still predominantly concerned with the "active life." By the same token, there are men and women fully devoted to a life of service in the world who yet possess prayer of the heart; and of them it may justly be said that they are living the "contemplative life." St Symeon the New Theologian insists that the fullness of the vision of God is possible "in the middle of cities" as well as "in mountains and cells." Married people, so he believed, with secular jobs and children, burdened with the anxieties of running a large household, may yet ascend to the heights of contemplation; St Peter had a mother-in-law, yet the Lord called him to climb Tabor and behold the glory of the Transfiguration.³¹ The criterion is not the external situation but the inner reality.

Just as it is possible to live in the city and yet to be a hesychast, so there are some whose duty it is to be constantly talking and who yet are silent inwardly. In the words of Abba Poemen, "One person appears to be keeping silent and yet condemns others in his heart; such a person is speaking all the time. Another person talks from morning till evening and yet keeps silent; that is, he says nothing except what is helpful to others."³² This applies exactly to the position of *starsi* such as St Seraphim of Sarov and the spiritual fathers of Optino in nineteenth-century Russia; compelled by their vocation to receive an unending stream of visitors—dozens and even hundreds in a single day—they did not thereby forfeit their inner *hesychia*. Indeed, it was precisely because of this inner *hesychia* that they were enabled to act as guides to others. The words that they spoke to each

³⁰ Patriarch Philotheos, *Life of St Gregory of Thessalonica* (PG 151:573B-574B); see above, 85, n. 24.

³¹ *Discourses* 5, 122-141; 6, 153-61. ed. Krivochéine, 1:386-88, 2:26-28; tr. deCatanaro, 93, 123.

³² *AP*, alphabetical collection, Poemen 27 (329A); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 171.

visitor were words of power because they were words that came out of silence.

In one of his answers, John of Gaza made a clear distinction between inner and outer silence. A brother living in community, who found his duties as monastic carpenter a cause of disturbance and distraction, asked whether he should become a hermit and "practice the silence of which the Fathers speak." John did not agree to this. "Like most people," he replied, "you do not understand what is meant by the silence of which the Fathers speak. Silence does not consist in keeping your mouth shut. One person may speak ten thousand useful words, and it is counted as silence; another speaks a single unnecessary word, and it is counted as a breach of the Lord's commandment, 'You shall give account in the day of judgment for every idle word that comes out of your mouth' (Mt 12:32)."³³

(4) *Hesychia and spiritual poverty*. Inner stillness, when interpreted as a guarding of the heart and a return into oneself, implies a passage from multiplicity to unity, from diversity to simplicity and spiritual poverty. To use the terminology of Evagrius, the mind must become "naked." This aspect of *hesychia* is made explicit in another definition provided by St John Climacus: "*Hesychia* is a laying aside of thoughts."³⁴ Here he is adapting an Evagrian phrase, "Prayer is a laying aside of thoughts."³⁵ *Hesychia*, that is to say, involves a progressive self-emptying, in which the mind is stripped of visual images and of humanly devised concepts, and so contemplates in purity the realm of God. The hesychast, from this point of view, is precisely the one who has advanced from *praxis* to *theoria*, from the active to the contemplative life. St Gregory of Sinai contrasts the hesychast with the *praktikos*, and goes on to speak of "...the hesychasts who are content to pray to God alone within their heart and to abstain from thoughts."³⁶ The hesychast, then, is not so much one who refrains from meeting and speaking with others, as one who in his life of prayer re-

33 Barsanuphius and John, *Questions and Answers*, §554 (in the numbering both of Schoinas and of Regnault and Lemaître).

34 *Ladder* 27 (PG 88:112A); tr. Luibheid and Russell, 269. The phrase is repeated by St Gregory of Sinai, *On Prayer: Seven Texts* 5 (PG 150:1333B); tr. *Philokalia*, 4:278.

35 *On Prayer* 70(71) (PG 79:1181C); tr. *Philokalia*, 1:64.

36 *On Prayer: Seven Texts* 5 (PG 150:1333B); tr. *Philokalia*, 4:278.

nounces all images, words and discursive reasoning, who is "lifted above the senses into pure silence."³⁷

This "pure silence," although it is termed "spiritual poverty," is far from being a mere absence or privation. If the hesychast strips his mind of all humanly devised concepts, so far as this is possible, his aim in this "self-nourishing" is altogether constructive—that he may be filled with an all-embracing sense of the divine indwelling. The point is well made by St Gregory of Sinai: "Why speak at length? Prayer is God, who accomplishes everything in everyone."³⁸ Prayer is God; it is not primarily something which I do but something which God is doing in me—"...not I, but Christ in me" (Gal 2:20). The hesychast program is exactly delineated in the words of the Baptist concerning the Messiah, "He must increase, but I must decrease" (Jn 3:30). The hesychast ceases from his own activity, not in order to be idle, but in order to enter into the activity of God. His silence is not vacant and negative—a blank pause between words, a short rest before resuming speech—but intensely positive: an attitude of alert attentiveness, of vigilance, and above all of *listening*.

The hesychast is *par excellence* the one who listens, who is open to the presence of Another: "Be still and know that I am God" (Psalm 45 [46]:11). In the words of St John Climacus, "The hesychast is one who cries out plainly, 'O God, my heart is ready' (Ps 56 [57]:8); the hesychast is one who says, 'I sleep, but my heart keeps vigil' (Song 5:2)."³⁹ Returning into himself, the hesychast enters the secret chamber of his own heart in order that, standing there before God, he may listen to the wordless speech of his Creator. "When you pray," observes a contemporary Orthodox writer in Finland, "you yourself must be silent; let the prayer speak"⁴⁰—more exactly, let God speak. "Man...should always remain silent and let God alone speak."⁴¹ That is what the hesychast is aiming to achieve.

Hesychia therefore denotes the transition from "my" prayer to the prayer of God working in me—to use the terminology of St Theophan, from "strenuous" or "laborious" prayer to the prayer that is "self-acting"

37 *The Book of the Poor in Spirit*, 2.3.2: ed. Kelley, 151.

38 *On Commandments and Doctrines* 113 (PG 150:1280A); tr. *Philokalia* 4:238.

39 *Ladder* 27 (PG 88:1100A); tr. Luibheid and Russell, 263.

40 Tito Colliander, *The Way of the Ascetics*, 79.

41 *The Book of the Poor in Spirit*, 2.3.2: ed. Kelley, 151.

or “self-impelled.” True inner silence or *hesychia*, in the deepest sense, is identical with the unceasing prayer of the Holy Spirit within us. As St Isaac the Syrian expresses it, “When the Spirit makes Its dwelling-place in someone, he does not cease to pray, because the Spirit will constantly pray in him.”⁴² Elsewhere St Isaac likens this entry into self-acting prayer to a person passing through a door after the key has been turned in the lock, and to the silence of servants when the master arrives in their midst.⁴³ Understood in these terms, as an entering into the life and the activity of God, *hesychia* is something which during this present age we can achieve only to a limited and imperfect degree. It is an eschatological reality, reserved in its fullness for the future life in heaven. In the words of St Isaac, “Silence is a mystery of the Age to come.”⁴⁴

Hesychia and the Jesus Prayer

In principle, therefore, *hesychia* is a general term for inner prayer, and so it embraces a wide variety of more specific ways of praying.⁴⁵ In practice, however, the majority of Orthodox writers in recent centuries use the word to designate one spiritual path in particular: the invocation of the Name of Jesus. Occasionally, although with less justification, the term “hesychasm” is employed in a yet more restricted sense to indicate the physical technique, involving especially control of the breathing, which is sometimes used in conjunction with the Jesus Prayer.⁴⁶ The association of *hesychia* with the Name of Jesus—and, so it would seem, with the breath-

42 *Homily* 35(37): tr. Wensinck, 174; tr. Miller, 182. The passage is quoted at greater length above, 83.

43 *Homily* 22(23): tr. Wensinck, 112; tr. Miller, 116 (quoted above, 14).

44 *Homily* 66(65): tr. Wensinck, 315; tr. Miller, 321.

45 Compare the comprehensive definition given by Pierre Adnès in his article “Hésychasme,” *DS* 7:384: “Hésychasme may be defined as a spiritual system, essentially contemplative in orientation, which regards human perfection as consisting in union with God by means of prayer or perpetual prayerfulness.”

46 St Gregory Palamas and the other Hesychast masters regard the physical technique (control of the breathing, inner “exploration,” etc.) as no more than an accessory, helpful to some but by no means obligatory or indispensable. Modern teachers add that the technique should be used only under the personal guidance of an experienced spiritual father. The Jesus Prayer can be practiced in its fullness without any bodily exercises at all, and it is thus a misnomer to call these exercises (as some writers do) “the hesychast method of prayer.” See my article, “Praying with the body: the hesychast method and non-Christian parallels,” *Sobornost* 14:2 (1992), 6-35.

ing—is found already in St John Climacus: “*Hesychia* is to stand before God in unceasing worship. Let the remembrance of Jesus be united to your breathing, and then you will know the value of *hesychia*.”⁴⁷

What is the relationship between the Jesus Prayer and *hesychia*? How does the invocation of the Name help in establishing the kind of inner silence that has just been described?

Prayer, it was said, is a “laying aside of thoughts,” a return from multiplicity to unity. Now when we first make a serious effort to pray inwardly, standing before God with the mind in the heart, immediately we become conscious of our inward disintegration—of our powerlessness to concentrate ourselves in the present moment, in the *kairos*. Thoughts move restlessly through our head, like the buzzing of flies (St Theophan) or the capricious leaping of monkeys from branch to branch (Ramakrishna).⁴⁸ This lack of concentration, this inability to be *here* and *now* with the whole of our being, is one of the most tragic consequences of the Fall.

What is to be done? The Orthodox ascetic tradition distinguishes two main methods of overcoming “thoughts.” The first is direct, to “contradict” our *logismoi*, to meet them face to face, attempting to expel them by an effort of will. Such a method, however, may well prove counter-productive. When violently suppressed, our fantasies tend to return with increased force. Unless we are extremely sure of ourselves, it is safer to employ the second method, which is oblique. Instead of fighting our thoughts directly and attempting to drive them out by an effort of will, we can seek to direct our attention away from them and to look elsewhere. Our spiritual strategy in this way becomes positive instead of negative; our immediate objective is not to empty our mind of what is evil but rather to fill it with what is good. It is this second method that is recommended by Barsanuphius and John of Gaza. “Do not contradict the thoughts suggested by your enemies,” they advise, “for that is exactly what they want and they will not desist. But turn to the Lord for help against them, laying before Him your own helpless-

47 *Ladder* 27 (*PG* 88:1112c); tr. Luibheid and Russell, 269-70.

48 I take these two similes from the article of Dr André Bloom (now Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh), “Contemplation et ascèse: contribution orthodoxe,” in André Bloom *et al.*, *Tech-nique et contemplation*, *Études Carmélitaines* 28 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949), 49-67. This is an important discussion of the various physical centers in the human person and their implications for the spiritual life.

ness; for He is able to expel them and to reduce them to nothing."⁴⁹ Now the Jesus Prayer is precisely a way—the supreme way—whereby we “turn to the Lord for help.” The Jesus Prayer combats our temptations specifically by enabling us to look elsewhere.

It is surely evident to each one of us that we cannot halt the inward flow of our images and thoughts by a crude exertion of will-power. It is of little or no value to say to ourselves, “Stop thinking”; we might as well say, “Stop breathing.” “The rational intellect cannot rest idle,” insists St Mark the Monk.⁵⁰ How then are we to achieve spiritual poverty and inner silence? Although we cannot make the never-idle mind desist altogether from its restlessness, what we can do is to simplify and unify its activity by continually repeating a short formula of prayer. The flow of images and thoughts will persist, but we shall be enabled gradually to detach ourselves from it. The repeated invocation will help us to “let go” the thoughts presented to us by our conscious or unconscious self. This “letting go” seems to correspond to what Evagrius has in view when he speaks of prayer as a “laying aside” or “shedding” of thoughts—not a savage conflict, not a ruthless campaign of furious aggression, but a gentle yet persistent act of detachment.

This, then, is the ascetic strategy presupposed in the use of the Jesus Prayer. It assists us in applying the second or oblique method of combating thoughts: instead of trying to obliterate our corrupt or trivial imaginings by a direct confrontation, we turn aside and look at the Lord Jesus; instead of relying on our own power, we take refuge in the power and grace that act through the Divine Name. The repeated invocation helps us to detach ourselves from the ceaseless chattering of our *logismoi*.

At the same time the Jesus Prayer, by progressively detaching us from a multiplicity of disconnected or conflicting thoughts, helps us to focus our disintegrated personhood upon a single point. “Through the remembrance of Jesus Christ,” writes St Philotheus of Sinai, “gather together your scattered intellect.”⁵¹ We concentrate and unify our ever-active mind by feeding it with a single thought, by nourishing it on a spiritual diet that is at

49 *Questions and Answers*, ed. Schoinas, §91; ed. Regnault and Lemaire, §166.

50 *On Repentance II* (PG 65:981B). I have emended the Greek text, which is given inaccurately in Migne.

51 *Forty Texts on Watchfulness*, 27; tr. *Philokalia*, 3:27.

once rich yet exceedingly simple. “To stop the continual jostling of your thoughts,” says St Theophan, “you must bind the mind with one thought, or the thought of One only”⁵²—the thought of the Lord Jesus. In the words of St Diadochus of Photice, “When we have blocked all its outlets by means of the remembrance of God, the intellect requires of us imperatively some task which will satisfy its need for activity. For the complete fulfillment of its purpose we should give it nothing but the prayer ‘Lord Jesus.’”⁵³

Such in outline is the manner whereby the Jesus Prayer can be used to establish *hesychia* within the heart. Two important consequences follow. First, to achieve its purpose the invocation should be rhythmic and regular, and in the case of an experienced hesychast—although not of the beginner, who needs to proceed with caution, if possible under the guidance of a spiritual father—it should be uninterrupted and continuous during long periods of the day. External aids, such as the use of a prayer-robe (*komvoschionion*, *tchotki*) and the control of the breathing, have as their main purpose precisely the establishment of a regular rhythm.

In the second place, during the recitation of the Jesus Prayer the mind should be so far as possible empty of mental pictures. For this reason, it is best to practice the Prayer in a place where there are few if any outward sounds; it should be recited in darkness or with the eyes closed, rather than gazing at an icon illuminated by candles or a votive lamp. St Silouan of Mount Athos, when saying the Prayer, used to stow his clock away in the cupboard in order not to hear its ticking, and then pulled his thick woolen monastic cap over his eyes and ears.⁵⁴ While visual images will inevitably arise within us as we pray, they are not to be deliberately encouraged. The Jesus Prayer is not a form of discursive meditation on different incidents in the life of Christ. Those who invoke the Lord Jesus should have in their hearts an intense and burning conviction that they stand in the immediate presence of the Savior, that He is before them and within them, that He is listening to their invocation and replying in His turn. This consciousness of God’s presence should not, however, be accompa-

52 Quoted in Igumen Chariton, *The Art of Prayer*, 97.

53 *On Spiritual Knowledge* 59; ed. des Places, 119, 1-5; tr. *Philokalia*, 1:270.

54 Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharov), *The Undistorted Image: Staretz Silouan* (London: Faith Press, 1958), 40-41.

nied by any visual concept, but should be confined to a simple conviction or feeling. As St Gregory of Nyssa puts it, "The Bridegroom is present but He is not seen."⁵⁵

What practical use is the hesychast to others?

Hesychia, then, involves a separation from the world—a separation either external or internal, and sometimes both at once: external through flight into the desert; internal through the "return into oneself" and the "laying aside of thoughts." To quote the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, "Unless someone says in his heart, I alone and God are in the world, he will have no rest."⁵⁶ "Alone to the Alone":⁵⁷ but is this not selfish, a rejection of the spiritual value of the material creation and an evasion of our responsibility towards our fellow humans? When the hesychast shuts his eyes and ears to the outside world, as St Silouan did in his cell on Mount Athos, what positive and practical service is he rendering to his neighbor?

Let us consider this problem under two main aspects. In the first place, is hesychasm guilty of the same distortions as those for which the Quietists were condemned in the seventeenth-century West? Hitherto we have deliberately refrained from translating *hesychia* as "quiet," because of the suspect sense attached to the term "Quietist." Is the hesychast in fact upholding the same standpoint as the Quietist? In the second place, what is the attitude of the hesychast to his environment, whether human or physical? What practical use is he or she to others?

Let us take the description of Quietism in a standard work of reference, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, without attempting to judge how far this is a just summary of the viewpoints of Miguel de Molinos or Madame Guyon. "The fundamental principle of Quietism," states *The Oxford Dictionary*, "is its condemnation of all human effort... Man, in order to be perfect, must attain complete passivity and annihilation of will, abandoning himself to God to such an extent that he cares neither for Heaven nor Hell, nor for his own salvation... The soul con-

⁵⁵ *Commentary on the Song of Songs* II (PG 44:1001B); ed. Langerbeck, 324, 8-9.

⁵⁶ *AP*, alphabetical collection, Alonius I (133A); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 35. Compare the famous words of John Henry Newman in the early part of his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*: "...two and two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator..."

⁵⁷ Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads* 6.9.11: ed. Henry and Schwyzer, 3:328, §51.

siously refuses not only all discursive meditation but any distinct act such as desire for virtue, love of Christ or adoration of the Divine Persons, and simply rests in the presence of God in pure faith... As this passive prayer expresses the height of perfection, it makes any outward acts of mortification, almsgiving, going to confession, etc., superfluous. Once a man has attained to it, sin is impossible."⁵⁸

If this is Quietism, then the hesychast tradition is definitely not quietist. *Hesychia* signifies not passivity but vigilance (*nepsis*), "not the absence of struggle but the absence of uncertainty and confusion."⁵⁹ Even though a hesychast may have advanced to the level of *theoria* or contemplation, he or she is still required to struggle at the level of *praxis* or action, striving with positive effort to acquire virtue and to reject vice. *Praxis* and *theoria*, the active and the contemplative life in the sense defined earlier, should be envisaged not as alternatives, nor yet as two stages that are chronologically successive—the one ceasing when the other begins—but rather as two interpenetrating levels of spiritual experience, present simultaneously in the life of prayer. Everyone is required to fight on the level of *praxis* to the end of his life. This is the clear teaching of St Antony of Egypt: "A person's chief task is to be mindful of his sins in God's sight, and to expect temptation until his last breath... He who sits in the desert and preserves stillness (*hesychazon*) has escaped from three wars: hearing, speaking, seeing; but against one thing he must continually struggle—the warfare in his own heart."⁶⁰

It is true that the hesychast, like the Quietist, does not use discursive meditation in his prayer. But, although *hesychia* involves a "letting go" or "laying aside" of thoughts and images, this does not imply on the hesychast's part an attitude of "complete passivity" or an absence of "any distinct act such as...love of Christ." The "letting go" of evil or trivial *logismoi* during the saying of the Jesus Prayer, and their replacement with the one thought of the Name, is not passivity but an affirmative and powerful way of controlling our thoughts with the help of God's grace. The invo-

⁵⁸ F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1357.

⁵⁹ A. Bloom, "Contemplation et ascèse," *art. cit.*, 54.

⁶⁰ *AP*, alphabetical collection, Antony 4 and 11 (77A,C), tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 2, 3 (in *Saying* II, Ward follows the text as given in *PG*; I follow the alternative reading in the footnote).

cation of the Name is certainly a form of "resting in the presence of God in pure faith," but it is at the same time marked by an active love for the Savior and an acute longing to share ever more fully in the divine life. Readers of the *Philokalia* cannot but be struck by the warmth of devotion displayed by hesychast authors, by the sense of immediate and personal friendship for "my Jesus." This note of personal vividness is especially apparent in the Sinaite author Hesychios of Vatos.⁶¹

Unlike the Quietist, the true hesychast makes no claim to be sinless or impervious to temptation. The *apatheia* or "dispassion" of which Greek ascetic texts speak is not a state of passive indifference and insensibility, still less a condition in which sinning is impossible. "*Apatheia*," states St Isaac the Syrian, "does not mean that someone feels no passions, but that he does not accept any of them."⁶² As St Antony insists, a person must "expect temptation until his last breath," and with the temptation there goes always the genuine possibility of falling into sin. "The passions remain alive," states Abba Abraham, "but they are bound by the saints."⁶³ When an old man claims, "I have died to the world," his neighbor gently rejoins, "Do not be so confident, brother, until you depart from the body. You may say, 'I have died,' but Satan has not died."⁶⁴

In Greek writers from Evagrius onwards, *apatheia* is closely linked with love, and this clearly indicates the positive and dynamic content of the term "dispassion." In its basic essence, it is a state of spiritual freedom, in which we are able to reach out toward God with ardent longing. It is "no mere mortification of the physical passions of the body but its new and better energy;"⁶⁵ "it is a state of soul in which a burning love for God and men leaves no room for selfish and animal passions."⁶⁶ To denote its dynamic character, St Diadochus even uses the expressive phrase "the fire

61 See *Philokalia* 1:162-98.

62 *Homily* 74(71); tr. Wensinck, 345; tr. Miller, 347.

63 *AP*, alphabetical collection, Abraham 1 (132B); tr. Ward, *Sayings*, 34.

64 *AP*, anonymous collection, 266; ed. Nau, *ROC* 14 (1909), 369-70; tr. Ward, *Wisdom*, §134 (39).

65 Father (later Archbishop) Basil Krivocheine, *The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas*, reprint from *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* (London: Geo. E. J. Coldwell, 1954), 5.

66 Archimandrite Lazarus Moore, in St John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (London: Faber, 1959), 51, note 3.

of *apatheia*."⁶⁷ All this convincingly indicates the gulf between hesychasm and Quietism.

To come now to the second question: accepting that the hesychast way of prayer is not "quietist" in any suspect or heretical sense, how far is it negative in its view of the material world and antisocial in its attitude toward other human beings? The difficulty may be illustrated from a story in the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* about three friends who become monks. As his ascetic labor the first adopts the task of peacemaker, seeking to reconcile those who go to law against one another. The second cares for the sick, and the third goes into the desert to become a solitary. After a time the first two grow utterly weary and discouraged. However hard they struggle, they are physically and spiritually incapable of meeting all the demands placed upon them. Close to despair, they go to the third monk, the hermit, and tell him about their troubles. At first he is silent. After a while he pours water into a bowl and says to the others, "Look." The water is murky and turbulent. They wait for some minutes. The hermit says, "Look again." The sediment has now sunk to the bottom and the water is entirely clear; they see their own faces as in a mirror. "That is what happens," says the hermit, "to someone who lives among others: because of the turbulence he does not see his own sins. But when he has learnt to be still, above all in the desert, he recognizes his own faults."⁶⁸

So the story ends. We are not told how the first two monks applied the hermit's parable. Perhaps they both returned to the world, resuming their previous work; for, after all, society urgently needs mediators and nurses. But perhaps they also tried to take back with them something of the *hesychia* of the desert. In that case, they interpreted the words of the third monk to mean that social action, however urgent and necessary, is insufficient on its own. Unless we maintain contact with our inner depths, unless there is a still center in the middle of the storm, unless in the midst of all our activism we preserve a secret room in our heart where we stand alone before God, we will lose all sense of direction and be torn in pieces. Doubtless this is the moral which most readers in the twentieth century would be inclined to draw: that all of us must be in some measure hermits of the heart. But was this the original intention of the story?

67 *On Spiritual Knowledge* 17; ed. des Places, 94, 3; tr. *Philokalia*, 1:238.

68 *AP*, anonymous collection 134; ed. Nau, *ROC* 13 (1908), 47; tr. Ward, *Wisdom*, §2 (t).

Probably not. It is far more likely that it was meant as propaganda for the eremitic life in the literal and geographical sense. And this raises at once the whole question of the apparent selfishness and negativity of this type of contemplative prayer. What, then, is the true relationship of the hesychast to society?

It must be admitted at once that, alike in the hesychast movement of the fourteenth century, in the hesychast *renaissance* of the eighteenth century, and in contemporary Orthodoxy, the chief centers of hesychast prayer have been the lesser *sketes*, the hermitages housing only a handful of brothers or sisters, living as a small and closely integrated monastic family hidden from the world. Many hesychast authors express a definite preference for the *skete* over the fully organized *cenobium*; life in a large community is considered too distracting for the intense practice of inward prayer. Life in the middle of society is obviously still more distracting.

Yet, if the outward setting of the *skete* is considered ideal, few would go so far as to claim that it enjoys an exclusive monopoly. Always the criterion is not our exterior condition but our inner state. Certain external settings may prove more favorable than others for interior silence; but there is no situation whatever which renders interior silence altogether impossible. St Gregory of Sinai, as we have seen, sent his disciple Isidore back into the world; many of his closest companions on Mount Athos and in the desert of Paroria became patriarchs and bishops, leaders and administrators of the Church. St Gregory Palamas, who taught that continual prayer is possible for every Christian, himself concluded his life as archbishop of the second largest city in the Byzantine Empire.⁶⁹

The fourteenth-century layman St Nicolas Cabasilas, a civil servant and courtier who was the friend of many leading hesychasts, maintains with great emphasis: "And everyone should keep their art or profession. The general should continue to command; the farmer to till the land; the artisan to practice his craft. And I will tell you why. It is not necessary to

69 Compare Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 301-8, 336-43, Kallistos Ware, *Act out of Stillness: The Influence of Fourteenth-Century Hesychasm on Byzantine and Slav Civilization*. The "Byzantine Heritage" Annual Lecture May 28, 1995, ed. Daniel J. Sahas (Toronto: The Hellenic Canadian Society of Constantinople and The Thessalonikean Society of Metro Toronto).

reire into the desert, to take unpalatable food, to alter one's dress, to compromise one's health, or to do anything unwise, because it is quite possible to remain in one's own home without giving up all one's possessions, and yet to practice continual meditation."⁷⁰ In the same spirit, St Symeon the New Theologian insists that there is no "highest life" in an abstract and absolute sense, because the "highest life" for each of us is the particular state to which God calls each one personally: "Many have called the eremitic life blessed, others, the communal or cenobitic life. Others again have described in this way leadership of the faithful, or the counseling, teaching and administration of the churches... But for my part, I would not judge any one of them to be better than the others, nor would I say that one merits praise and another censure. But in every case, whatever our work or activity, it is the life led for God and according to God that is most blessed."⁷¹

The way of *hesychia*, then, lies open to all: the one thing needful is inner silence, not outer. And though this inner silence presupposes the "laying aside" of images in prayer, the final effect of this negation is to assert with fresh vividness the ultimate value of all persons and created things in God. The way of negation is at the same time the way of super-affirmation. This point emerges very plainly from *The Way of a Pilgrim*. The hero of this tale, the anonymous Russian peasant-wanderer, finds that the constant repetition of the Jesus Prayer transfigures his relationship with the material world around him, changing all things into a sacrament of God's presence and rendering them transparent. "When I began to pray with my heart," he writes, "everything surrounding me took on a delightful form: the trees, the grass, the birds, the earth, the air, and the light. All things seemed to be saying to me that they existed for humanity's sake, that they were testifying to God's love for humankind, that they were all praying and singing the glory of God. And I understood from this

70 *The Life in Christ* 6:42 (PG 150:657D-660A); ed. M. H. Congourdeau, *Sources Chrétiennes* 361 (Paris: Cerf, 1990), 76-78; quoted in J. M. Hussey, "Symeon the New Theologian and Nicolas Cabasilas: Similarities and Contrasts in Orthodox Spirituality," *Eastern Churches Review* 4:2 (1972), 139. Some have thought that, by "meditation," Nicolas means specifically the Jesus Prayer; Professor Hussey wisely prefers to give the phrase a wider application.

71 *Chapters* 3:65; ed. Darrouzès, 100, 9-16; tr. McGuckin, 91. Probably Symeon has in view here the various possibilities open to a monk or calibrate priest, but the final sentence quoted above has much broader implications.

what the *Philokalia* calls 'the knowledge of the speech of all creatures.' ... I felt love for Jesus Christ and all God's creation." Equally, the invocation of the Name transforms the Pilgrim's relationship with his fellow humans: "Again I went wandering from one place to the next, but I no longer walked with difficulties as before. The invocation of the Name of Jesus Christ cheered me on my way, and all people treated me rather well; it seemed as if they all loved me... If someone insults or injures me, I only recall how sweet is the Jesus Prayer, and then and there both insult and anger pass and I forget everything."⁷²

Further evidence of the world-affirming nature of *hesychia* is to be found in the central position assigned by the hesychasts to the mystery of the Transfiguration. Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom) gives a striking description of two icons of the Transfiguration which he saw in Moscow, the one by Andrei Rublev and the other by Theophan the Greek. "The Rublev icon shows Christ in the brilliancy of His dazzling white robes which cast light on everything around. This light falls on the disciples, on the mountains and the stones, on every blade of grass. Within this light, which is... the divine glory, the divine light itself inseparable from God, all things acquire an intensity of being which they could not have otherwise; in it they attain to a fullness of reality which they can have only in God." In the other icon "the robes of Christ are silvery with blue shades, and the rays of light falling around are also white, silvery and blue. Everything gives an impression of much less intensity. Then we discover that all these rays of light falling from the Divine Presence... do not give relief but give transparency to things. One has the impression that these rays of divine light touch things and sink into them, penetrate them, touch something within them so that from the core of these things, of all things created, the same light reflects and shines back as though the divine life quickens the capabilities, the potentialities, of all things and makes all reach out towards itself. At that moment the eschatological situation is realized and, in the words of St Paul, 'God is all and in all.'"⁷³

Such is the double effect of the Transfiguration glory: to make each person and each thing stand out in full distinctiveness, in their unique and unrepeatable essence; and at the same time to make each person and each thing transparent, to reveal the divine presence beyond and within them.⁷⁴ The same double effect is produced by *hesychia*. The prayer of inner silence is not world-denying but world-embracing. It enables the hesychast to look beyond the world toward the invisible Creator; and so it enables him to return back to the world and see it with new eyes. To travel, it has been often said, is to return to our point of departure and to see our home afresh as though for the first time. This is true of the journey of prayer, as of other journeys. The hesychast, far more than the sensualist or the materialist, can appreciate the value of each thing, because he sees each in God and God in each. It is no coincidence that, in the Palamite controversy of the fourteenth century, St Gregory and his hesychast supporters were concerned to defend precisely the spiritual potentialities of the material creation and, in particular, of the physical body of each human person.

Such, in brief, is the answer to those who see hesychasm as negative and dualist in its attitude to the world. The hesychast denies in order to reaffirm; he withdraws in order to return. In a phrase which sums up the relationship between the hesychast and society, between inner prayer and outward action, Evagrius of Pontus remarks: "The monk is one who is separated from all and united with all."⁷⁵ The hesychasts make an act of separation—externally, by retiring into solitude; inwardly, by the "laying aside of thoughts"—yet the effect of this flight is to join them to others more closely than ever before, to make them more deeply sensitive to the needs of others, more sharply conscious of their hidden possibilities. This is seen most strikingly in the case of the great spiritual fathers and mothers. People such as St Antony of Egypt or St Seraphim of Sarov lived for whole decades in all but total silence and physical isolation. Yet the ultimate effect of this silence and isolation was to confer on them clarity of vision and exceptional compassion. Precisely because they had learnt to be alone, they could spontaneously make their own the joys and sorrows of

74 Compare the remarks on "double vision" in my lecture *Through the Creation to the Creator* (London: Friends of the Centre, 1997), 13-15.

75 *On Prayer* 124 (PG 79:1193c); tr. *Philokalia*, 1:69.

72 *The Pilgrim's Tale*, tr. T. Allan Smith, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1999), 77, 83, 66, 67.

73 "Body and Matter in Spiritual Life," in A. M. Allchin (ed.), *Sacrament and Image: Essays in the Christian Understanding of Man* (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1967), 40-41.

all who came to seek their aid. They were able to discern immediately the deep characteristics of each person, perhaps speaking to them only two or three sentences; but those few words were the one thing that at that particular juncture each person needed to be told.

St Isaac the Syrian says that it is better to acquire purity of heart than to convert whole nations of heathen from error.⁷⁶ Not that he despises the work of the apostolate; he means merely that unless and until we have gained some measure of inner silence, it is improbable that we will succeed in converting anybody to anything. The point is made less paradoxically by Ammonas, the disciple of St Antony of Egypt: "Because they had first practiced profound *hesychia*, they possessed the power of God dwelling within them; and then God sent them into the midst of human society."⁷⁷ And even if many solitaries are never in fact sent back into the world as apostles or spiritual guides but continue the practice of inner silence throughout their life, totally unknown to others, that does not mean that their hidden contemplation is useless or their life wasted. They are serving society not by active works but by prayer, not by what they do but by what they are, not externally but existentially. They can say, in the words of St Macarius of Alexandria, "I am guarding the walls."⁷⁸

8

THE SEED OF THE CHURCH: MARTYRDOM AS A UNIVERSAL VOCATION

Times of peace are favorable to Satan, for they rob Christ of His martyrs and the Church of its glory.

Paul Evdokimov

The Triumph of Orthodoxy

In the calendar of the Orthodox Church, there are two occasions in particular at which the central importance of martyrdom is underlined. The first is the observance of the "Triumph of Orthodoxy" on the first Sunday in Lent. This commemorates the ending of the Iconoclast Controversy in 842-43. The holy icons are carried in procession, the heretics are anathematized, and "Eternal memory" is sung in honor of those who defended the faith. It is a festal and exultant celebration, in striking contrast to the penitential spirit of the Lenten services during the preceding week. At this "Triumph of Orthodoxy," however, special reference is made to the sufferings and struggles undergone by the saints, to the persecutions, torture and exile that they faced for Christ's sake:

Remember, O Lord, the reproaches and insults inflicted on Thy servants... Our God has indeed been mindful of the tribulations and abasement that all the saints have endured with Christ.

So the "Triumph of Orthodoxy" turns out to be a feast in honor of the martyrs and confessors. The only triumph that the Church on earth can or should expect is that of martyrdom.

The same truth is emphasized on the Sunday of All Saints, which in Orthodox practice occurs one week after Pentecost. The two feasts are

⁷⁶ *Homily 4*; tr. Wensinck, 32; tr. Miller, 32.

⁷⁷ *Ep. 1*; ed. F. Nau, *PO II* (1915), 433, 4-5.

⁷⁸ Palladius, *Lasiac History* 18; ed. Butler, 58, 11.

BISHOP KALLISTOS WARE

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