

THE LITERARY LEGACY OF KALLISTOS ANGELIKOUEDES: AN ATTEMPT AT SYSTEMATIZATION

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ABSTRACT. This article explores the little studied and partially unpublished literary corpus of Kallistos Angelikoudes, one of the most fascinating late Byzantine hesychast authors. It addresses some of the problems associated with the manuscript tradition of his writings and offers a new approach to the systematization of his oeuvre. Despite the uncertainty regarding the identification of the two groups of texts that make up the “books” of Angelikoudes’ literary corpus, that is, the *Hesychastic Education* and the *Hesychastic Consolation*, this article advances an argument with regard to the possible composition of these works.

Keywords: Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Discourses*, *Chapters*, Byzantine hesychasm, Mount Athos, Philokalia, manuscript tradition, genres of Byzantine theological literature, ascetic miscellanea

This article investigates the composition of Kallistos Angelikoudes’ corpus of works on the basis of newly obtained data on the manuscript tradition.¹ Kallistos Angelikoudes is a fascinating Byzantine hesychast theologian whose

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¹ Andrei Vinogradov, “Does the Writing Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις of Kallistos Angelikoudes Exist? Preliminary Notes on the Manuscript Tradition,” *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 43–44 (2012): 367–380 (in Russian); Oleg Rodionov, “Notes on the Manuscript Tradition of Kallistos Angelikoudes’ *Chapters*,” *Kapterevskie Chteniya* 15 (2017): 77–86 (in Russian); idem, “Kallistos Angelikoudes,” in *Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya*, vol. 29 (Moscow: Pravoslavnaya Enciklopediya, 2012), 546–549 (in Russian).

works have only been discovered in their fullness in recent decades.² Little is known about him, but enough to state that between the 1370s and 1380s he ran a monastery in the town of Melenikon in Macedonia (present-day Melnik in Bulgaria). The *Acts* of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (March–May 1371) do not mention any other persons or the name of Kallistos' monastery.³ Yet, a separate collection of Kallistos' *kephalaia* ("Chapters") seems to have been circulated during his lifetime under the name of Kallistos Kataphygiotes (e.g., in the important late fourteenth-century manuscript *Vatopedi* 610). This may indicate the name of his monastery, Kataphyge (there were several such monasteries in Byzantium), or, rather, Kataphygion. The archives of *Vatopedi*, soon to be published, confirm that Kallistos' monastery at Melenikon was called Kataphygion.⁴ The heyday of his activity seems to have been between the 1360s and 1380s. All these facts allow us to identify the Kallistos Angelikoudes from Melenikon, mentioned in the *Acts* of Kokkinos, with the hesychast author Kallistos Angelikoudes Melenikeotes.⁵ Unfortunately, his works do not offer any information that would allow one to reconstruct his biography.

A substantial part of Angelikoudes' works has not been published.⁶ Since Symeon Koutsas published the critical edition of the four *Discourses* included in

² On Angelikoudes' life, see Antonio Rigo, "Callisto Angelicude Catafugiota Meleniceota e l'Esicasmismo bizantino del XIV secolo: una nota prosopografica," in *Nil Sorskij e l'Esicasmismo. Atti del II Convegno internazionale di spiritualità russa*, ed. Adalberto Mainardi (Magnano: Edizioni Qiqajon, 1995), 251–268; Symeon Koutsas, *Kallistos Angelikoudès. Quatre traités hésychastes inédits. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (Athens, 1998), 19–29 [first published in *Θεολογία* 67.1 (1996): 109–156; 67.2 (1996): 316–360; 67.3 (1996): 518–529]; see also Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 545–554.

³ *MM*, vol. 1, 552, 569–572 (nos. 298 and 312); Jean Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les Actes des Patriarches*, fasc. 5: *Les Regestes de 1310 à 1376* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1977), 512–513, 522–524 (nos. 2609, 2621). On their content, see Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 546.

⁴ I am grateful to hieromonk Adrian of *Vatopedi*, the manager of the monastery's publishing house, for sharing this information with me.

⁵ Rigo, "Callisto Angelicude," 259–263. The *Protheoria* ("Introduction") to Angelikoudes' collection of 30 *Logoi*, also known as the *Hesychastic Consolation*, bears the superscription Προθεωρία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Καλλίστου, τὸ βιβλίον Μελενικεώτου ("Protheoria of our father Kallistos, the book of Melenikeotes") in *Vaticanus gr.* 736, f. 1r.

⁶ Until the 1970s, only the publications included in the Greek *Φιλοκαλία* and their reprints were known. In the first edition, *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν* (Venice, 1782), only two works by Kallistos were published, namely *On the Practice of Hesychasm* (p. 1103–1107) and the collection of chapters *On Divine Union* (p. 1113–1159). In addition to these, the second edition, *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1893), 412–455, published the 115 *Chapters* not included in the Venetian edition *On Divine Union*. In the later edition, Angelikoudes' works are included in the volumes 4 and 5, *Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου Καλλίστου Πατριάρχου τὰ ἐλλείποντα κεφάλαια. Ὅτι ὁ εἰρημένος Παράδεισος εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, in *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, vol. 4 (Athens: Ἀστήρ, 1991), 299–367; *Τοῦ κυρίου Καλλίστου τοῦ Τηλικούδη*

the *Hesychastic Consolation* (Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις) (hereafter *HC*),⁷ only three *Logoi* have been critically edited, namely those not included in the *HC*.⁸

In Angelikoudes' literary corpus as a whole, one can distinguish several collections often considered as separate works. The first and most important of these is the collection of 30 *Discourses* that has come down to us in *Vaticanus gr.* 736 (hereafter **V**), hitherto identified with the *HC*. In 2012, Andrei Vinogradov published a noteworthy article on this collection, which answered a series of questions regarding the manuscript tradition of the *HC*.⁹ Vinogradov convincingly showed that the precise limits of this collection are rather uncertain, and "the order of the *Discourses* is difficult to explain by any internal reasons." Thus, there is no reason to believe that the *HC* mentioned in the *Protheoria* (**V**, f. 4) should be identified precisely with this collection of 30 *Logoi*.¹⁰

A special place in the corpus of Angelikoudes' works belongs to an extensive collection of *Chapters*. They have come down to us both in the manuscripts *Barberinus gr.* 420 (hereafter **B**) and *Barberinus gr.* 592 (hereafter **C**), which once constituted a single unit,¹¹ and in the form of separate collections, published for the first time as part of the famous Greek patristic anthology, the *Philokalia*, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹² The collections published as part of the *Philokalia* contain about 65% of Angelikoudes' *Chapters* that have come

Περὶ ἡσυχαστικῆς τριβῆς, in *Φιλοκαλία*, vol. 4, 368–372; *Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καλλίστου Καταφυγιώτου Συλλογιστικῶν καὶ ὑψηλοτάτων κεφαλαίων τὰ σωζόμενα. Περὶ θείας ἐνώσεως καὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ*, in *Φιλοκαλία*, vol. 5 (Athens: Ἀστήρ, 1992), 4–59; see Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 547–548. In 1970, Stylianos G. Papadopoulos published the critical edition of Angelikoudes' polemical treatise *Against Thomas Aquinas*, *Καλλίστου Ἀγγελικουδῆ Κατὰ Θωμᾶ Ἀκινάτου. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, κριτικὸν ὑπόμνημα καὶ πίνακες* (Athens: Γρηγόρη, 1970).

⁷ Koutsas, *Kallistos Angelikoudes*, 108–252.

⁸ Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Oration* 18 [That Consists] of 41 Chapters," *Bogoslovskie trudy* 46 (2015): 275–293 (in Russian); idem, "A *Discourse* by Kallistos Angelikoudes Not Included in the So-called 'Hesychastic Consolation:' The *Editio Princeps* of *Logos* 13 Based on the Codex *Barberini gr.* 420," *Kapterevskie Chteniya* 19 (2021): 28–44 (in Russian); idem, "A Note on Kallistos Angelikoudes' Works Not Included in the So-called 'Hesychastic Consolation:' *Logos* 16 and Its Church Slavonic Translation," *Kapterevskie Chteniya* 18 (2020): 102–128 (in Russian).

⁹ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 367–380. Rigo, Vinogradov, and Rodionov are currently preparing a complete critical edition of this collection, based on all extant manuscripts.

¹⁰ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 372, 379; see also Rodionov, "Notes," 78, 80–81.

¹¹ See their detailed description by Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 373–376; see also Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 546.

¹² Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 547, and "The *Chapters* of Kallistos Angelikoudes: The Relationship of the Separate Series and Their Main Theological Themes," in *Byzantine Theology and Its Philosophical Background*, ed. Rigo (Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 4) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 141–159.

down to us.¹³ It would be expected that their manuscript tradition and content would have been studied somewhat better than in the case of the *HC*. All these *Chapters* were translated into Old Church Slavonic by St. Paisius Velichkovsky already in the eighteenth century and circulated among Slavic monks.¹⁴ In the nineteenth century, one of the collections was translated into Russian and reprinted more than once in a revised form.¹⁵ The only attempts to analyze the content of the *Chapters* known at that time, and to comment on the most difficult passages, were the introductory articles and notes in the edition of the Romanian translation of the *Philokalia* prepared by the outstanding theologian Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae.¹⁶ The manuscript tradition of the *Chapters*, on the other hand, has been studied only in recent years.¹⁷

An extensive collection of the *Chapters* transmitted in **B** and **C** is often correlated with another of Angelikoudes' works, mentioned alongside the *HC* in the *Protheoria* of **V**, namely the *Hesychastic Education* (or *Initiation*) (Ἡσυχαστική ἀγωγή) (hereafter *HE*), since in **B**, *Chapter* 12 is prefaced by the following inscription in the upper margin of f. 32r: Ἐντεῦθεν ἡσυχαστικῆς ἀγωγῆς βιβλίον πρῶτον ("Here begins the first book of the *Hesychastic Education*").¹⁸ In the *Protheoria* of **V**, Angelikoudes writes that in a certain book he speaks "about the glory of God" and "truly blessed is he who ... first reads what [is written] about the glory of God, and then the present [work]." The ending of the *Protheoria* is: "The one is called *Hesychastic Education* and the other *Hesychastic Consolation* [...]"¹⁹

Is it possible to consider the collection that originally consisted of at least 222 *Chapters*,²⁰ and which is preserved in **B** and **C**, as the *HE*? Thematically, this collection is no less diverse than the *HC* and can in no way be reduced to the description of the contemplation of the "glory of God." Either Angelikoudes did not follow exactly the plan outlined in the *Protheoria*, or, as in the case of the *HC*, we are dealing with a collection whose boundaries are rather fluid, if not

¹³ I do not include the *Chapters* which form part of discrete *Logoi*, such as *Logoi* 24 and 25 from **V**, and *Logos* 18 from **B**. On these, see Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Oration* 18," 276–277.

¹⁴ Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 548.

¹⁵ *Byzantine Hesychastic Texts*, ed. Alexey G. Dunaev (Moscow: Moscow Patriarchate Publishing House, 2012), 307–400 (in Russian).

¹⁶ *Filocalia sau culegere din scrierile Sfinților Părinți care arată cum se poate omul curăți, lumina și desăvârși*, trans. Dumitru Stăniloae, vol. 8 (Bucharest: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1979), 233–373, 395–527.

¹⁷ See Rodionov, "The *Chapters* of Kallistos Angelikoudes," 141–147, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 546–549, and "Notes," 77–86; Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 368, 373–375, addresses it indirectly.

¹⁸ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 372, n. 36; Rodionov, "Notes," 80–81.

¹⁹ **V**, f. 4v.

²⁰ Rodionov, "Notes," 82–85.

“blurred,” with content that is not limited to a single topic. Therefore, such a collection can hardly be perceived as a separate work to be identified with the *HE*. Nevertheless, the *Discourses* contained in **B** and **C** amongst the *Chapters* mentioned above do largely correspond thematically to the definition given to the *HE* by the aforementioned *Protheoria*.

However, the *HE* is also not the 115 *Chapters* preserved in *Iviron* 506 (hereafter **I**),²¹ since this collection has come down to us in its entirety, and *Chapter* 12 from **B** is missing there. Another collection, which consists of 92 *Chapters*, was until recently thought to be preserved only in eighteenth-century manuscripts.²² One of these, the *Karakallou* 72 (hereafter **K**),²³ constituted the basis for the publication of the 92 *Chapters* under a new title in the *Φιλοκαλία* in 1782.²⁴ However, scholars have recently discovered another important manuscript transmitting Angelikouides’ works, namely *Vatopedi gr.* 610 (hereafter **Va**). This codex was not completely unknown. A brief description of it features in the well-known catalogue compiled by Sophronios Eustratiades and Arkadios of Vatopedi.²⁵ The description lists almost all the authors in the collection, including Kallistos Kataphygiotes. His *Chapters* constitute, in fact, the second half of **Va** (ff. 164^r–275^v). Moreover, judging by the numbering of the quires (the first of which begins on f. 164^r), they were originally placed either at the beginning of **Va** or of another manuscript, which was later combined with what now constitutes the first part of **Va**.²⁶ The problem, however, is that Kallistos Kataphygiotes’ name was omitted from the *index of names* of the aforementioned catalogue. Due

²¹ Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikouides,” 546–547.

²² Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikouides,” 547, and “Notes,” 80–81.

²³ Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 137; see also Stefan Royé, “The Γενικός Ἀλφαριθμητικός Κατάλογος: The Handwritten Catalogue of the Collection of Byzantine Manuscripts of Hiera Mone Karakallou (Mount Athos),” *Sacris Erudiri* 49 (2010): 506 (according to the internal catalogue of the monastery, the shelf mark is 189).

²⁴ See Symeon A. Paschalidis, “Autour de l’histoire d’une collection ascétique: la *Philocalie*, les circonstances de son édition et sa tradition manuscrite,” in *Da Teognosto alla Filocalia. XIII–XVIII sec. Testi e autori*, ed. Rigo (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2016), 215–217.

²⁵ Sophronios Eustratiades and Arkadios of Vatopedi, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 120: Θεολογικὸν ἀπηρτισμένον ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων τῶν πατέρων Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου, Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης, Μαξίμου, Νικήτα Στηθάτου, Βαρσνονουφίου, Συμεὼν τοῦ Νέου Θεολόγου, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Καλλίστου Καταφυγιώτου.

²⁶ I intend to dedicate a separate study to **Va**. The first part of the manuscript consists of patristic excerpts, a sort of *florilegium* Angelikouides probably used when compiling his writings; in any case, thematically, as well as judging by the selection of authors, it is likely a *florilegium*. Cf. Rodionov, “A Note,” 102–128, and “Codex *Vatopedinus gr.* 610 and Its Place in the Manuscript Tradition of Kallistos Angelikouides’ Works,” *Istoriya* 12.5 (103) (2021) (in Russian).

to this omission, **Va** did not figure in the scholarship on the manuscript tradition of Angelikoudes' writings.²⁷ However, while working on the publication and translation of various patristic works, the monks of the Vatopedi monastery identified Angelikoudes' works in **Va** and kindly informed me about this. I therefore owe a special debt of gratitude to hieromonk Adrian of Vatopedi, the manager of the monastery's publishing house and an ardent admirer and connoisseur of Angelikoudes' heritage.

The catalogue correctly mentions that **Va** does not have a beginning or an end ("ἀκέφ[αλον,] κολ[οβόν]").²⁸ Kallistos Kataphygiotes' 92 *Chapters* in **Va** are identical with those transmitted in **K** and transcribed by the monk Konstantios (who assisted St. Macarius of Corinth and St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite in preparing the edition of the *Φιλοκαλία*)²⁹ on the island of Hydra in 1776,³⁰ most likely from **Va** or a copy not extant today.³¹ In **Va**, however, the *Chapters* are not numbered. Nevertheless, their order and composition do not differ from those in **K**. The comparison of these two codices and the fact that both end with *Chapter* 92 and in the same place clearly indicate that **K** is a copy of **Va**.

Eustratiades and Arkadios date **Va** to the fifteenth century. However, the manuscript was undoubtedly copied by the same scribe who transcribed another important codex gathering Angelikoudes' works, namely *Lond. Arundel. 520* (hereafter **L**),³² which Vinogradov dated to the end of the fourteenth century.³³ Thus, **Va** is likely to have been copied in the same period, earlier than previously thought. Consequently, there is valuable evidence that this collection of *Chapters* (let them be conditionally called "of Kataphygiotes") was copied in the last decades of the fourteenth century. This may indicate the author's design not only of the collection of the aforementioned 115 *Chapters*, but also of the one that now consists of 92 (initially most likely 100) *Chapters*.³⁴

This text as in **Va** has one more feature: *Chapter* 90 (60 according to **B**)³⁵ has an amendment (f. 268) made obviously by the same hand as in **B** (f. 191).

²⁷ Evidently, **Va** was unknown to Paschalidis, "Autour de l'histoire," 201–222; in any case, he did not mention it among the codices used in the preparation of the first edition of the Greek *Philokalia*.

²⁸ Eustratiades and Arkadios, *Catalogue*, 120.

²⁹ On him, see Paschalidis, "Autour de l'histoire," 212–215.

³⁰ Paschalidis, "Autour de l'histoire," 216 (see also plate III.3).

³¹ Rodionov, "Codex *Vatopedinus* gr. 610" and "A Note," 105–107.

³² Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις," 372–373.

³³ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις," 372.

³⁴ See Joel Kalvesmaki, "Evagrius in the Byzantine Genre of *Chapters*," in *Evagrius and His Legacy*, eds. Kalvesmaki and Robin Darling Young (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 257–287, here at 282 (see also Table 10.1).

³⁵ Rodionov, "Notes," 83.

Traces of such editing are also found in another place of **Va** (f. 266), but the possible protograph has no corrections in the corresponding place (**B**, f. 171). This suggests that a gap carelessly committed by the scribe was emended in **Va**. Perhaps this means that **Va** was reviewed after having been written by Angelikoudes himself, with **B** serving as a protograph for this manuscript. It should be also noted that if in **I** the scribe reproduces almost exactly the author's punctuation (assuming that **B** and **C** are Angelikoudes' autographs³⁶), in **Va** the punctuation is often different, frequently conveying the meaning less accurately than the autograph manuscripts.³⁷

In **Va**, these *Chapters* have a title (f. 164^r) that seems to indicate a kind of 'selection': "Καλλίστου τοῦ Καταφυγιώτου" ("Of Kallistos Kataphygiotes"). Extracts from holy fathers are indicated in the same way in the first part of the codex. In **K** (p. 273), this indication of the 'selectivity' of the material presented becomes even clearer: "Ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Καλλίστου τοῦ Καταφυγιώτου" ("From [the chapters] of Kallistos Kataphygiotes"). This title would also be retained by the Slavic manuscript tradition.³⁸ Thus, the question whether the *HE* ever existed remains open. Perhaps it refers to some third, special collection of *Chapters* that has not been preserved, or which remains unknown to us. It is also possible that it comprises those *Discourses* not included in **V**,³⁹ or else constitutes its second part (*Logoi* 16–29), together with at least some of the chapters contained in **B** and **C**.

Some of Angelikoudes' *Chapters* are also found in other manuscripts, sometimes in a special version. For instance, in **L** (late fourteenth century), ff. 205–206, we find *Chapter* 206 of **B**. But in the London manuscript, it is given in a version which can (compared to that in **B**) be considered abbreviated. However, Vinogradov's assessment of **L**⁴⁰ also makes it possible to suggest the opposite,

³⁶ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 374; Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 546.

³⁷ On Byzantine punctuation and other features which were, as a rule, carefully transmitted by copyists, see Jacques Noret's articles, "L'accentuation byzantine: en quoi et pourquoi elle diffère de l'accentuation « savante » actuelle, parfois absurde," in *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. Martin Hinterberger (Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization 9) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 96–146, "Quand donc rendrons-nous à quantité d'indéfinis prétendument enclitiques l'accent qui leur revient?," *Byzantion* 57 (1987): 191–195, "Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines," *Byzantion* 65 (1995): 69–88, and "Les règles byzantines de la division en syllabes," *Byzantion* 77 (2007): 345–348; cf. Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Oration* 18," 277–278.

³⁸ Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 548.

³⁹ Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikoudes," 546, and "Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Oration* 18," 276.

⁴⁰ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 378: "The London manuscript is independent of the Vatican copy. Therefore, it is most likely that it was copied from ... the now not extant draft volume no. 1. The order of *Logoi*, which differs here from the Vatican manuscript, should be considered rather original."

namely that Kallistos produced an extended version of this *Chapter* after the protograph of the London manuscript was copied.⁴¹ On f. 207 of **L**, I identified a fragment of *Chapter* 171 from **B**, and on ff. 210^r–210^v a fragment of *Chapter* 187 of **B**. In **V**, which contains mainly the *Discourses* of the *HC*, one can find (ff. 398^r–398^v, in smaller handwriting in order to fit) *Chapters* 147, 148, and 131 (without its end) from **B**.⁴²

C, which has a particularly complex composition, gathering artificially connected disparate folia of **B**, also transmits *Chapters* 19–21 (ff. 21^v–24^v), while *Chapter* 18 begins in **B** on f. 155^v, which displays on its bottom margin the inscription missing from the next folium. This folium, however, is part of **C** (f. 32).⁴³ The texts on ff. 27–35 (as far as one can read them) perhaps represent fragments of some *Discourse* that were not included in the *HC*.⁴⁴ It is not superfluous to note that ff. 33^r–34^v of **C** contain a fragment of *Logos* 16: [...] ἐν ὑπερώῳ τοὺς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι – ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ γρηγορεῖν καὶ τοῦγε [...] (**V**, ff. 216^r–217^v).⁴⁵

Altogether, 209 *Chapters*⁴⁶ have been preserved in Kallistos Angelikoudes' autograph manuscripts, **B** and **C**.⁴⁷ Of these, 89 coincide with the "Kataphygiotes" (**Va** and **K**), and 92 with those in **I**. But it should be borne in mind that part of the collection of 115 *Chapters* is made up of those included in the collection of 92 *Chapters*. In the autograph manuscripts, 71 *Chapters* have no analogues in other collections. And this is a very significant volume, making up approximately 34% of the entire corpus. Meanwhile, in the collection of 115 *Chapters*, 22 are not included in the main body of 209 *Chapters* (although they may have been originally included and lost along with the currently missing parts of the manuscript). In the collection of 92 *Chapters*, one (the sixth) has no analogue in the other two, and two (the second and the seventy-sixth) are borrowed from other works of Angelikoudes, namely *Logos* 24 (*Ch.* 79) from among those included in the *HC* (**V**, f. 366^v; cf. **B**, f. 205b^v) and *Logos* 16 from **B** (ff. 294^r–297^v).⁴⁸

⁴¹ Rodionov, "Notes," 81.

⁴² Rodionov, "Notes," 81. It should be noted that Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 372, mistakenly calls them "*Logos* without number and name (conditionally — *Logos* 27a)."

⁴³ Rodionov, "Notes," 82.

⁴⁴ Rodionov, "Notes," 82.

⁴⁵ Koutsas, *Callistos Angelikoudès*, 122–128.

⁴⁶ See the *Chapters* correlation table in Rodionov, "Notes," 82–86. This table leaves out **Va**; however, it should be remembered that in this codex the chapters are not numbered. Yet in its composition, it exactly corresponds to **K**, so the column of the table indicating the chapters of this codex also fully reflects the composition of **Va**.

⁴⁷ Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις," 374.

⁴⁸ Rodionov, "Notes," 86.

All of the above makes us take a somewhat different look at the corpus of Kallistos Angelikouides' works, as it appears to us after studying all the extant manuscripts, copied both during the author's lifetime (in the 1360s–1380s) and later (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries). If we do not consider the *HC* and the *HE* as independent works with a clear framework, it becomes possible to apply other systematization criteria. In this regard, the simplest solution to the problem of describing the corpus of Angelikouides' works is the subdivision of his texts according to their genre.⁴⁹

What genres are represented in the literary heritage of Angelikouides? As shown above, a significant part of his works are the *Discourses* (Λόγοι) and *Chapters* (Κεφάλαια). However, in this case the *Discourses* can hardly be attributed to the ancient genre of "orations." As Koutsas rightly pointed out, "[l]e style, l'expression, l'argumentation des opuscles laissent penser qu'il s'agit plutôt de textes appartenant à l'expression écrite et non pas à l'expression orale."⁵⁰ In addition, Angelikouides himself, beyond doubt, did not see an impenetrable boundary between the two genres (those of *Discourses* and *Chapters*), since in his literary inheritance one can find many cases where individual chapters subsequently turn into discourses (e.g., the first of the 115 *Chapters* transmitted in **I** becomes *Logos* 29 in **V**),⁵¹ while discourses, in turn, become chapters (e.g., *Logos* 16 from **B** becomes *Chapter* 76 of the 92 *Chapters* "of Kataphygiotes").⁵²

The *Discourses*, both conventionally combined under the name of *HC* (**V**) and preserved in other manuscripts, are very diverse in scope and content (which is why we refuse to systematize thematically). However, there is something still more important, namely that among the texts designated in the manuscript tradition as *Discourses* (Λόγοι) there are 'representatives' of other genres, e.g., *Chapters* and hymns. Therefore, when systematizing the corpus, it is wiser not to automatically include any work called by the author or scribe a *Logos* in the appropriate section, but to look at the actual genre of each text.

An extensive collection of *Chapters* that has been preserved as part of **B** and **C** (original numbering, as already mentioned, at least 222), includes both very lengthy texts reminiscent of separate multi-page treatises and very short *Chapters* often no more than two or three lines long. The chapters which constitute three of the so-called '*Discourses*' (on which, see above) are, as a rule, comparatively

⁴⁹ Partly realized in Rodionov, "Kallistos Angelikouides," 546–549, but this attempt at systematization can in no way be considered satisfactory.

⁵⁰ Koutsas, *Callistos Angelicoudès*, 71.

⁵¹ The opposite is also possible, however; cf. Vinogradov, "Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις," 379. One way or another, Vinogradov agrees that the basis of *Logos* 29 and *Chapter* 1 of the 115 *Chapters* was the text from **B**, where it appears to be of no particular status.

⁵² Rodionov, "Notes," 86, and "Kallistos Angelikouides, *Oration* 18," 276.

short and resemble the best examples of the genre composed by Evagrius of Pontus and Maximus the Confessor.⁵³

Prayers and hymns occupy a special place in the inheritance of Kallistos Angelikoudes, too. Some of them have also come down to us also under the name of ‘*Discourses*’ included in the *HC*, while others are contained in **L** under the headings corresponding to that genre. Finally, one of the *Logoi*, namely the thirtieth in **V** (ff. 447^r–449^v) can be attributed to the epistolary genre. This is a letter to an unknown person on a private occasion. Another epistle has been preserved as part of **B**.

Meanwhile, the *Discourses*, *Chapters*, and hymns can, together, form quite harmonious and discrete collections. A striking example (and currently the only one) of such a harmonious arrangement of texts constituting, if not a complete work, a collection united by a cross-cutting theme, is **L**, no doubt deserving publication in full, in accordance with the author’s composition.⁵⁴

In light of the above, then, Angelikoudes’ full corpus can currently be presented as follows:

1. The *Discourses*

1.1. The *Discourses* combined under the title *HC*

This is the collection of *Discourses* that has come down to us in **V**. Since not all the texts included in this collection correspond in terms of genre to the definition of a “Discourse” (Λόγος), only *Logoi* 1–8, 12–23, and 26–29 can be included in this section.⁵⁵

1.2. The *Discourses* from other manuscripts

This section includes those *Discourses* that are not found in **V** but probably formed part of its protograph (of which **B** and **C** are a part), along with the texts that are in **V**,⁵⁶ and were once independently numbered. Nowadays, only *Logoi* 5, 13, 15, and 16 are known in full.⁵⁷ *Logos* 18, being a collection of *Chapters*, cannot be included in this section. In addition, **L** contains another *Discourse* erroneously classified by Koutsas as part of the *Logos* identical to the

⁵³ Cf. Kalvesmaki, “Evagrius,” 264–265.

⁵⁴ Cf. Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 372–373, 378.

⁵⁵ On the headings, see Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 369–372; on the contents, see Koutsas, *Kallistos Angelicoudès*, 82–101.

⁵⁶ Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 377–378.

⁵⁷ Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikoudes, *Oration* 18,” 276; cf. Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 373.

thirteenth of **V**, but rightly assessed by Vinogradov to be a separate text: “*Logos* 13 is expanded here with a small addition (ff. 117^v–121^v).”⁵⁸ We are inclined to consider this “small addition” as a special *Discourse*, without a heading, like many other texts of **V**.

2. The Chapters

2.1. 222 *Chapters* often identified with *HE*. As mentioned above, it is the most extensive collection of Angelikoudes’ *Chapters*,⁵⁹ preserved in **B** and **C** (only a part of the 222 *Chapters* survives; see above), that are sometimes identified with the *HE*.

2.2. 115 *Chapters*

These are preserved as part of **I**. Their composition and relationship with other collections has been described above. They are often referred to as *Paradise* or *Chapters on Paradise*⁶⁰ in connection with their naming in the Slavic tradition and the theme of the first *Chapter* (which is identical with *Discourse* 29 in **V**; see above).

2.3. The *Chapters* “of Kataphygiotes” or *On the Divine Union*

The *Chapters* that have come down to us in **Va** (and its copy, **K**). They may have originally formed a *century*.⁶¹ The title *On the Divine Union and on Contemplative Life* was given by the compilers of the Greek *Philokalia*, St. Macarius of Corinth and St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite.⁶² For their correlation with other collections of chapters, see above.

2.4. Chapters disguised as *Discourses*

In the same section should be included, by virtue of genre correspondence, *Logoi* 24 and 25 from **V**, since they are composed of small *Chapters* and constitute, respectively, 100 chapters and 22 chapters; also *Logos* 18 from **B**, which is likewise a collection of brief chapters, 41 in total. These *Chapters*, rather skillfully written, are reminiscent in terms of language and style of many of the best examples of the genre, and in the “century” (*Logos* 24) there is no trace of “inflating”

⁵⁸ Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις,” 373.

⁵⁹ Rodionov, “Notes,” 80–81.

⁶⁰ Cf. Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστικὴ παράκλησις,” 368.

⁶¹ See Kalvesmaki, “Evagrius,” 282 (Table 10.1).

⁶² Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikouides,” 547–548.

the size of the last chapter,⁶³ a characteristic feature of the fourteenth century. However, *Chapter 88* is quite lengthy; Angelikoudes may have tried to solve the same problem (i.e., distribution of “material” into *Chapters* within a *century*) in a somewhat different way.

3. Hymns and Prayers

3.1. Hymns

L contains several hymns, the most extensive of which is *The Hymn to the Father and the Spirit on the Communion of the Most Pure Flesh and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (ff. 196–205).⁶⁴

3.2. Prayers

Angelikoudes was also the author of several prayers. All of them are “hidden” under the name of *Logoi* in **V**. These are the *Logoi* 9–11, all of which are titled *Ἐντευξις* (“supplication”).⁶⁵

4. Against Thomas Aquinas

This work stands somewhat apart in Angelikoudes’ legacy. This polemical treatise has come down to us in a single manuscript, *Iviron* 337, ff. 1^r–187^v, which Vinogradov dates to the 1360s.⁶⁶ Opinions on the treatise are currently varied and sometimes contradicting, from enthusiastic⁶⁷ to extremely critical.⁶⁸

5. Epistles

This category of texts includes, above all else, the *Letter* to Makarios (**B**, ff. 353^r–355^v),⁶⁹ possibly identical to Makarios Kataphygiotes, the author of

⁶³ See Kalvesmaki, “Evagrius,” 265.

⁶⁴ See the headings and the *incipit*, Koutsas, *Callistos Angelicoudès*, 78–79.

⁶⁵ See the complete headings and their translation in Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 370.

⁶⁶ Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 377–378; for the critical edition, see Papadopoulos, *Καλλίστου Ἀγγελικούδη Κατὰ Θωμᾶ Ἀκινάτου*.

⁶⁷ Papadopoulos, *Συνάντησις ὀρθοδόξου καὶ σχολαστικῆς θεολογίας (ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ Καλλίστου Ἀγγελικούδη καὶ Θωμᾶ Ἀκινάτου)* (Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, 1970).

⁶⁸ Marcus Plested, *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 112–114.

⁶⁹ Vinogradov, “Ἡσυχαστική παράκλησις,” 373; Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikoudes,” 549.

the *Canon of Compunction to the Lord Jesus Christ*.⁷⁰ Another letter is *Logos 30* from **V**, ff. 447^r–449^v, *To a Certain God-loving Monk about the Sudden Death of Komnenoutzikos* (Πρός τινα θεοφιλή μοναχὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐξαίφνης θανάτου τοῦ Κομνηνούτζικου).⁷¹

Despite the doubts expressed above about the validity of the identification of the “books” of Kallistos Angelikouides’ writings, the *HE* and the *HC*, the study of the content of Angelikouides’ extant *Discourses* allows us to venture an opinion about the possible composition of these works. *Logoi* 16 to 29 from **V** are, or were, contained (as far as we can tell from the preserved fragments) in **B** and **C**, autographs which once constituted a single codex. It is possible that the texts that made up **L** reflect an earlier edition of the *HC*, and the first part of **V** (the *Protheoria* and *Logoi* 1–15) is a later, longer edition of the same work. The *HE* most likely consisted of *Chapters* (at least separate ones) and *Discourses* corresponding to *Logoi* 16–29 of **V**; the second part of **V**, tentatively corresponding to the *HE*, was composed of *Discourses* alone. The *HE* was contained in its entirety in **B** and **C** but is currently preserved only in fragments (albeit significant ones). With this understanding of the distribution of material in Angelikouides’ two “books,” the description of their subject matter in the *Protheoria* ceases to be perceived as almost a “literary fiction” and becomes something concrete. However, this issue requires further study. Therefore, this article constitutes only a preliminary investigation. Continuing to work on the critical edition of Kallistos Angelikouides’ *Discourses* and *Chapters*, one will undoubtedly be able to clarify many details that remain unclear. Nevertheless, I hope that this review, and especially the systematization proposed here, of the texts that make up the corpus of Angelikouides’ works, will be of use for researchers of the rich heritage of this Byzantine hesychast and all those interested in the history of Byzantine ascetic literature.

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⁷⁰ Rodionov, “Kallistos Angelikouides,” 549; Rodionov, “The Corpus of Kallistos Angelikouides’ Writings: A Reconsideration,” *Istoriya* 10.3 (77) (2019) (in Russian).

⁷¹ Koutsas, *Kallistos Angelikoudès*, 76.

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