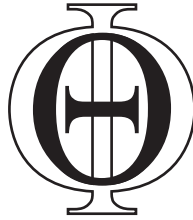

ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΣ

21.2 (2021)

PHILOTHEOS

International Journal for Philosophy and Theology



Sebastian Press
Los Angeles



GNOMON
Center for the Humanities
Belgrade 2021

Center for Philosophy
and Theology, Trebinje

PHILOSOPHY

International Journal for Philosophy and Theology

Founding Editor and Editor-in-Chief

Bogoljub ŠIJAKOVIĆ (Belgrade)

Executive Editors

Georgios ARABATZIS (Athens), **David BRADSHAW** (Lexington, KY),
Predrag ČIČOVAČKI (Worcester, MA), **Aleksandar DJAKOVAC** (Belgrade),
Alexey G. DUNAEV (Moscow), **Markus ENDERS** (Freiburg i. Br.),
Andrej JEFTIĆ (Belgrade), **Dmitriy MAKAROV** (Ekaterinburg),
Mikonja KNEŽEVIĆ (Belgrade),
Vladan PERIŠIĆ (Belgrade), **Marko VILOTIĆ** (Belgrade)

Book Review Editors

Rade KISIĆ (Belgrade), **Bogdan LUBARDIĆ** (Belgrade)

Editorial Board

Petar BOJANIĆ (Belgrade), **Jean-François COLOSIMO** (Paris),
Ingolf Ulrich DALFERTH (Claremont, CA),
John A. DEMETRACOPOULOS (Patras), **Darko DJOGO** (Foča),
Christophe ERISMANN (Wien), **Thomas Sören HOFFMANN** (Hagen),
Vittorio HÖSLE (Notre Dame, IN), **Georgi KAPRIEV** (Sofia),
Basil LOURIE (Saint Petersburg), **Krzysztof NARECKI** (Lublin),
Gorazd KOCIJANČIČ (Ljubljana), **Časlav KOPRIVICA** (Belgrade),
Nicholaos LOUDOVIKOS (Thessaloniki), **Dragan PROLE** (Novi Sad),
Philipp W. ROSEMAN (Maynooth), **Christos TEREZIS** (Patras),
Werner THEOBALD (Kiel), **Maksim VASILJEVIĆ** (Belgrade / Los Angeles)

Editorial Assistant and Secretary

Jovana ŠIJAKOVIĆ (Belgrade)

Advisory Board

Konstantine BOUDOURIS (Athens), **Thomas BREMER** (Münster),
Grigorije DURIĆ (Düsseldorf), **Alois Maria HAAS** (Zürich),
Christoph JAMME (Lüneburg), **Václav JEŽEK** (Prešov),
Andrew LOUTH (Darlington), **Klaus MÜLLER** (Münster),
Friedo RICKEN (München), **Josef SEIFERT** (Granada), **Walter SPARN** (Erlangen),
Wolfgang SPEYER (Salzburg), **Torstein Theodor TOLLEFSEN** (Oslo),
Christos YANNARAS (Athens)



International Journal for Philosophy and Theology

PHILOTHEOS

Vol. 21.2 (2021)

pp. 133–212

Abraham Mounitz:

Determinism or Vanity? A Proposed Close Reading of the Book of Ecclesiastes .. 137

Christos Terezis, Lydia Petridou:

Proclus' theoretical reconstructions on Plato's myth of Atlantis:

To a synthetic approach 151

Tadej Rifel:

Apophatic philosophy. Beyond phenomenology? 168

Václav Ježek:

The "heartless heart" – the conflict of the mind and the heart.

Reflections on the spirituality of the heart in the patristic tradition

and Gregory Palamas 179

Mikonja Knežević, Milesa Stefanović-Banović:

The Date of the Treatise 'Contra Beccum' of Gregory Palamas Revisited 201

Mikonja Knežević

Institute of Ethnography,
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade
mikonja.knezevic@ei.sanu.ac.rs

Milesa Stefanović-Banović

Institute of Ethnography,
Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade
milesa.stefanovic@ei.sanu.ac.rs

The Date of the Treatise ‘Contra Beccum’ of Gregory Palamas Revisited*

Abstract: In this paper we try to give some further evidence concerning the chronology of Palamas’ treatise *Contra Beccum*. Taking into consideration different parameters, external and internal, we incline to think that this treatise was composed – or, at least, reworked – in 1355, approximately at the same period when Palamas published the second edition of his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*.

Keywords: Gregory Palamas, John XI Bekkos, *filioque*, Triadology, datation, Augustine, Serbian Church Slavonic translation

1.

As is well-known, the first phase of the Hesychast controversy was undoubtedly determined by the issue of *filioque*. In 1334–1335 the legates of Curia were sent to Constantinople to negotiate about the union of the Churches.¹ The main representative of Byzantine Church was Barlaam the Calabrian, learned monk from Seminara, who was well trained in ancient Greek philosophy, Aristotelian theory of argumentation included. In order to answer the thesis of his Latin interlocutor, he composed his important work *Contra Latinos*. This treatise was reworked more than once before it reached its final form; namely, since some of his polemic tactics were misunderstood by the Byzantines, Barlaam was prompted to omit some parts of the treatise in its later edition, while some other parts of it he preserved as separate *opuscula*.²

Gregory Palamas, on the other hand, was not directly involved into negotiations. However, he was informed about what was going on and approximately at the same time he also wrote his famous *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. In contradistinction to Barlaam, who shows far more sensibility for different philosophical argumentative techniques, Palamas grounds his polemics in the traditional doctrine on the monarchy of the Father, support-

* This paper is the result of research at the Institute of Ethnography SASA funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of RS, based on the contract on realization and funding of scientific research at the SRO in 2021, number: 451-03-9/2021-14/200173 from 05.02.2021.

1 Kakridis 1988: 34–35; Kakridis, Taseva 2014: 11. Cf. also: Sinkewicz 1980: 489–492.

2 Kakridis 2012: 108.

ing it with the respective views of Cappadocian Fathers. Contrary to the usual opinion, Palamas' *Logoi apodeiktikoi* weren't designed as an answer to the different theses and approaches of Barlaam the Calabrian.³ As a matter of fact, Palamas wrote this work before he was even acquainted with Barlaam's anti-Latin treatise, wishing in a way to recommend himself as a true representative of the Byzantine Church.⁴

However, apart from *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, Palamas wrote one more treatise dedicated to the triadological issues: namely, his *Contra Beccum*. In this short work he tries to refute some of the main presuppositions of John XI Bekkos, the unionist Patriarch of Constantinople, who was commissioned by Michael VIII Palaiologus to offer a theological ground to his political project of the reconciliation with the "Old Rome". Being anti-unionist at the beginning, John Bekkos later embraced unionist position⁵ and voiced some serious objections to the "Photian Orthodoxy".⁶ Although he was deposed in 1282, Bekkos' positions, we believe, continued to make some influence on Orthodox theologians, as confirmed by several treatises directed against him, especially those of Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas.

In fact, Palamas' *Contra Beccum* was designed to refute Bekkos' work *Epigraphae*, written around 1282.⁷ Through this work, which represents a *florilegium* of different Patristic quotations, Bekkos was seeking confirmation for his views on the procession of the Holy Spirit in Patristic writings (*dubia et spuria* included).⁸ Judging by the number of manuscripts, this is the most popular of all Bekkos' writings, in which he used an impressive number of sources,⁹ proving himself as "a diligent, painstaking researcher who cared about fact, because he cared about truth".¹⁰ The treatise was first published, together with Palamas' refutations (*Contra Beccum/Antepigraphae*) and Bessarion's answers to Palamas, by Peter Arcudius in 1679. Despite some views, it is clear that in this work Bekkos appears not as a mere "anthologist":¹¹ in all probability, he didn't deal simply with *catenae* or collections of quotations but actually studied complete Patristic treatises. This is apparent from his handling of and references to the sources, as well as from some careful and astute analyses he offers in the process.¹² This, in turn, means that he does not simply list different quotations from Patristic writings which corresponded to his interpretative intention,

3 Meyendorff 1959: 60, 342; Sinkewicz 2002: 133.

4 Kakridis 1988: 62–63, 81.

5 For the authenticity of Bekkos' Kehre, see our: Knežević, Stefanović-Banović 2021: 27–28, where one can also find references to the relevant studies on this topic. In this book we give a critical edition of Serbian Church Slavonic translations of Palamas' *Contra Beccum*, *Expositio stupendae multitudinis impietatum Barlaami et Acindyni* and *Epistula ad Annam Palaologinam*, as well as of *Historia brevis* of David Disypatos.

6 Cf. Drew 2014: 62–186.

7 For the list of Bekkos' works and their editions, see: Xexakes 1981: 53–57; Riebe 2005: 123–129.

8 Xexakes 1981: 62–63.

9 For the list of Patristic sources used by Bekkos, see: Riebe 2005: 138–141.

10 Gilbert 2009: 304.

11 Papadakis 1997: 50. For this, see: Gilbert 2009.

12 Gill 1975: 264.

but tries to capture the internal logic of the writings in which they appear and to interpret them contextually.¹³

Palamas, on the other hand, refutes Bekkos' positions on two parallel streams. Firstly, he questions his hermeneutics and his use of Biblical and Patristic statements, and, secondly, he disputes various specific "Latinophrone" theses of the unionist Patriarch. Palamas states that Bekkos' interpretation is opposed to the spirit – and sometimes also to the letter – of the Holy Fathers, missing their very sense and intention.¹⁴ Bekkos' hermeneutics is all the more disputable, since he does not manage to discern subtle theological distinctions, such as the distinction between prepositions *ἐκ* and *διὰ* in the realm of Triadology.¹⁵ In this regard, of special interest is Palamas' view on the so-called "mediation" of the Son in the procession of the Holy Spirit. This "mediation", that Bekkos especially was insisting on, actually accepts "all of those who are prudent in divine things".¹⁶ However, according to Palamas, it is owed – and the same holds true for the existence of the "order" of divine persons – to the consecution of the "confession" (*κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν*) or, again, to the limitations of our language.¹⁷ So, in contradistinction to Bekkos, for whom the term "order" has an essential meaning (*συστατική τις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ τριάδι τάξεως ἢ φωνῆ αὐτῆς*),¹⁸ the "order" in God for Palamas depends from some "external" reasons and does not correspond to the intratrinitarian relations of divine persons.¹⁹ Also, Bekkos' favorite *loci* from Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus*, according to which the Spirit proceeds "from both" (*ἐξ ἀμφότεν*), and "all the natural properties of the Father pass onto his naturally begotten Son", in Palamas' view cannot refer to Spirit's "existence" (*ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοῦ πνεύματος*), since "natural and essential properties" of the Father pass onto the Son and not to his "hypostatic properties" (*τὰ τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως*). Otherwise, the Holy Spirit, which, according to Cyril, also has "essentially and wholly the property of the Father and the Son" (*ὄλην ἔχον οὐσιωδῶς τὴν ιδιότητα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ*), would have consequently had also the "hypostatic properties of the Father and the Son" and, therefore, would have been "begetter and begotten one, and Father of the light, having also property of begetting and processing" (*γεννημὰ τε καὶ γεννήτωρ ἔσται καὶ πατήρ τῶν φώτων τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκπορεύειν ἔχον*).²⁰

Through a series of different *reductiones ad absurdum*, Palamas emphasizes how the Patristic passages on Son's "mediation" refer to the Spirit's origin from the Son's "essence"

13 This thesis is not accepted by Xexakes 1981: 91–92.

14 Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 3, Syggrammata I [1962], 165.16–17: «ὁρᾶς ὡς αἱ μὲν τῶν ἁγίων ρήσεις ἔχουσιν εὐσεβῶς τε καὶ καλῶς, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ ἐκλαμβάνοντα κακῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς;»

15 For this, see: Knežević 2015.

16 Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 4, Syggrammata I [1962], 166.10–12.

17 For this, see: Knežević 2012.

18 Joannis Vecci, *De unione ecclesiarum* 23, PG 141, 68CD.

19 Knežević 2012: 88–90; Alexopoulos 2011: 617: „Zuerst stellt Palamas eine sehr wichtige Beobachtung im Hinblick auf die Ordnung an, die sich innerhalb der Trinität findet. Diese Ordnung ist logisch und nicht ontologisch zu verstehen“. – For Bekkos' understanding of the "order" in the realm of Triadology, see: Drew 2014: 136–140, 144–145; Xexakes 1981: 142.

20 Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 9, Syggrammata I [1962], 170.8–17. For Palamas interpretation of Cyril of Alexandria, see: Knežević 2015a.

and not from the Son's *hypostasis*: for “none of them ever said the Holy Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son, but from [the hypostasis] of the Father”.²¹

The point of the latent agreement of Palamas and Bekkos concerns the emphasis on the procession of the Holy Spirit from Son's “essence” and the divine *consubstantiality*. But while it is impossible for Bekkos to say that the Spirit proceeds from the “essence” of the Son without implying that he also proceeds from the “hypostasis” of the Son,²² for simple reason that for both the Father and the Son cannot be said that there is an “anhypostaton essence”,²³ for Palamas, on the other hand, these two represent completely different modes of existence and not just “fictional difference” (πεπλασμένη διαφορά). In the same manner, the consubstantiality in Palamas is emphasized by the *direct* reference to the two “caused” persons to the Father, while in Bekkos it is structured so that the *mediated* consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father comes to the fore, taking place by communicating of the Father's essence to the Spirit *through* the Son.

On the other hand, the emphasis on the consubstantiality of the Son and the Holy Spirit, which is much more characteristic for Bekkos' theological optics, is also present in Palamas. It is especially underlined in his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, but the relationship between the Son and the Spirit in the realm of Triadology is emphasized in *Contra Beccum* as well. This is the case, for example, with those places where Palamas says that “the Holy Spirit rests upon the Son” (ἐν τῷ υἱῷ διαμένειν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον), that he “dwells in the Son” (ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῷ υἱῷ διήκειν), that he “accompanies the Logos” (ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ συμπαρομαρτεῖν), and that he is “communion and love of the Father and the Son” (οἱ κοινωνίαν καὶ ἀγάπην εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον). All these statements signify “that each person relates to the others no less than to himself”, and that the Spirit, too, just like the Son, is “directly from the Father” (ἀμέσως εἶναι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα [...] ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς) – which is actually the ground of the relationship between the Son and the Holy Spirit.²⁴

2.

In scholarly literature it has been stated that Palamas' *Contra Beccum* does not offer any “internal indication” regarding its date of composition, which actually means that it is impossible to accurately determine its chronology.²⁵ However, since this work covers the same topics as his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, some scholars presumed that both treatises were written approximately at the same time: around 1335/1336. The fact that in the manuscript tradi-

²¹ Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 10, Syggrammata I [1962], 172.20–22: «διὸ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε τῶν ἀπάντων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶρκεν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶναι τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς».

²² Joannis Vecci, *De unione ecclesiarum* 29, PG 141, 88A. Υπ. Drew 2014: 151–155.

²³ Joannis Vecci, *De unione ecclesiarum* 29, PG 141, 88D: «καὶ λοιπόν, εἴπερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς λέγων αὐτὸ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐνυποστάτου, λέγει καὶ οὐκ ἀνυποστάτου, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνυπόστατος ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐσία· παντὶ που δήλον ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς κρατῆσει λόγος καὶ ὀπηγίκα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀναπηγάζειν τὸ πνεῦμα λέγεται καὶ ἀναβλύζειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐνυπόστατος, ὡσπερ ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς». Cf. Joannis Vecci, *Refutatio* 15, PG 141, 760B.

²⁴ Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 2, Syggrammata I [1962], 164.18–19.

²⁵ Meyendorff 1959: 344; Chrestou 1962: 158; Lison 1992: 70; Sinkewicz 2002: 138.

tion these two works usually come together,²⁶ and the context which influenced their composition, could support this assumption. Namely, since it deals with anti-Latin (more precisely, anti-unionist) polemics, the composition of *Contra Beccum* could be related to the actuality of the negotiations led by Barlaam the Calabrian in 1334–1335, at least at the same degree in which these negotiations influenced the writing of *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. However, some other parameters confirm our assumption that the treatise *Contra Beccum* was written – or, at least, reworked – much later.

In his very influential monograph on Gregory Palamas, John Meyendorff suggested that Palamas might have written his *Contra Beccum* “environ 1336. (?)”.²⁷ However, regarding that dating, Meyendorff himself exposed some reservations. He indicated that one reference found in Philotheos Kokkinos’ *Encomium* could be of some importance for the exact chronology of this work. In that reference, the Patriarch of Constantinople informs us that Palamas, after his return to the “queen of cities”, has published two books on the procession of the Holy Spirit against Latins. Philotheos says that these books represent a “new and remarkable work” (καινόν τινα καὶ ὑπερφυῶ), which our Church hasn’t seen till now. Moreover, compared to this work, all other works against Latins seem to be like a children play.²⁸

Palamas’ return to the “queen of cities” took place undoubtedly the 1355, when the Archbishop of Salonica was finally released from Turkish captivity. Since Palamas’ *Logoi apodeiktikoi* were written in 1335, and bearing in mind that, apart from this work, the only Palamas’ anti-Latin treatise is exactly *Contra Beccum*, the aforementioned Philotheos’ reference could concern, according to Meyendorff, this latter work.²⁹ In this same year, according to Meyendorff, Palamas, gave a “wider circulation” to his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, due to the actuality of the anti-Latin polemics of that period.³⁰

However, the problem seems to be the fact that Meyendorff wasn’t aware that there were actually two editions of Palamas’ *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. As Yannis Kakridis demonstrated more than 40 years ago,³¹ the version of this Palamas’ treatise that we know from the manuscript tradition and use today represents the second, revised edition of the treatise initially written in 1335. Kakridis bases his argumentation on the Serbian Church Slavonic translation, which preserves exactly the first edition of *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. This first edition is to be found in *Codex 88* of the Monastery Dečani and it is considerably shorter than the second edition. Kakridis’ thesis was further supported by some new scholarly discoveries.³² Therefore, the conclusion is that Philotheos’ reference from the *Encomium* concerns pri-

²⁶ Chrestou 1962: 158.

²⁷ Meyendorff 1959: 343.

²⁸ Philothei patriarchae Constantinopolitani, *Encomium*, PG 151, 627C.

²⁹ Meyendorff 1959: 344. On the other hand, taking into consideration this Philotheos’s reference, as well as the fact that Palamas mentions in his *Contra Beccum* both Barlaam and Acindynos as “unpious” (see below), Chrestou 1962: 158 concludes that both *Logoi apodeiktikoi* and *Contra Beccum* were written in 1355.

³⁰ Meyendorff 1959: 342.

³¹ Kakridis 1988.

³² Kaltsogianni 2009.

marily this “new” edition of the *Logoi apodeiktikoi* and not *Contra Beccum*.³³ Consequently, Philotheos did not “make a mistake” regarding the composition/reworking of *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, as Meyendorff claimed.³⁴

Be that as it may, Meyendorff’s assumption, although based on false text-evidence, must not *a priori* be dismissed. Let us describe shortly the context that was at work *also* at the time when Palamas “radically reworked”³⁵ his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. At that period – twenty years after the negotiations in which Barlaam the Calabrian participated – the issue of Church union was actual again, as part of the project of the only Eastern Roman Emperor who was going to be converted to Roman Catholicism: John V Palaiologos.³⁶ After his return from the Turkish captivity, Palamas spent some time in Constantinople, where he had a public debate with Nicephorus Gregoras in the presence of Pope’s legate Paul. The “new”, reworked edition of his *Logoi apodeiktikoi* could have been caused not only by Palamas’ desire to improve and “polish” its first version, but also – as was the case with the first edition from 1335 – by the actuality of these (new) negotiations about Church union and, therefore, by the need to enter more readily into dialogue with Latins.

Therefore, Palamas could have written his *Contra Beccum* for the very same reason exactly in this period. Namely, since it was directed against different opinions of the unionist Patriarch Bekkos, by this work Palamas could have once more legitimized himself and openly declared his position regarding the question of the union of the Churches.

With these observations we have stated what we have already known; namely, that there are equally convincing reasons for dating Palamas’ *Contra Beccum* either in 1335/1336 or in 1355. However, for its more accurate dating the parallelism with *Logoi apodeiktikoi* is certainly helpful – not at the level of possible “external” inducements, but on the level of internal textual analysis. In this regard, we should primarily take into account the first version of *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, which is, as we have said, preserved only in the Serbian Church Slavonic translation.

a) Since there are places in the second edition of the *Logoi apodeiktikoi* that are similar or quite identical with the corresponding sections in *Contra Beccum*, it is important to consider whether this is the case when these sections are compared to the first edition of *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. This comparison reveals some visible differences. For example, while *Contra Beccum* 2 corresponds well to *Logoi apodeiktikoi* II, 59–60 in their later edition, and *Contra Beccum* 11 gives almost *verbatim* the same section that we find in *Logoi apodeiktikoi* II, 66, in Serbian Church Slavonic version of *Logoi apodeiktikoi* there are no such sections at all.³⁷ From this we could conclude that these (and many other) paragraphs were written later, during Palamas’ “radical reworking” of his first dogmatic writing, which took place in 1355. This would mean that Palamas was parallelly writing his *Contra Beccum* and working on the second edition of his *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. In this process, having acquainted himself

³³ Kakridis 1988: 74–75.

³⁴ Meyendorff 1959: 342.

³⁵ Kakridis, Taseva 2014: 11.

³⁶ Radić 2013: 392–397.

³⁷ Cf. also: *Contra Beccum* 2 ≈ *Logoi apodeiktikoi* I, 25, 28, 29; *Contra Beccum* 4 ≈ *Logoi apodeiktikoi* I, 33.

better with Bekkos' *Epigraphae* and trying simultaneously to refute it, he found it appropriate to import some passages from his new treatise *Contra Beccum* into the new edition of the *Logoi apodeiktikoi*. This thesis could be supported by the fact that in *Index locorum* of the "first" edition of *Logoi apodeiktikoi* one cannot find any reference to John Bekkos.³⁸ That would mean that Palamas actually dealt with (or even read?) his *Epigraphae* much later than 1335 or 1336. On the other hand, trying to convince his auditorium that his new edition of *Logoi apodeiktikoi* was basically the same as the previous one, Palamas, in all probability, deliberately avoided to mention Bekkos's name.³⁹

b) This hypothesis can additionally be confirmed by the fact that in the seventh paragraph of *Contra Beccum* Palamas characterized not only Barlaam but also Acindynos as "unpious" ([...] τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνου δυσσεβείας ἐστίν).⁴⁰ If we take into account that, on the one hand, Palamas' controversy with Barlaam did not start before 1337, while, on the other, his break-up with his former pupil and friend Gregory Acindynos did not occur until 1341 (after the first version of *Ad Acindynum III*),⁴¹ we can also state that *Contra Beccum* was either integrally written in 1355, or it was, just like the *Logoi apodeiktikoi*, retouched in that same year.

c) One additional textual evidence could be helpful in our attempt to finally determine the chronology of the *Contra Beccum*. As early as 1992, Jacques Lison pointed to "l'énigme que représente un passage du 'Contre Beccos', impossible à dater avec précision, où Grégoire Palamas considère orthodoxe l'idée de l'Esprit comme 'communion et agapè du Père et du Fils'".⁴² Five years later, Reinhard Flogaus unequivocally showed that Palamas borrowed, sometimes *verbatim*, in his mature writing *Capita CL* some ideas and passages from Augustine's *De trinitate*, which he read in Maximus Planoudes' translation.⁴³ These borrowings certainly included the image of the Holy Spirit as the "love" of the Father and the Son.⁴⁴ However, the "Augustinian" place from *Contra Beccum*, which equally identifies the Holy Spirit as a "love" (*agape*) of the Father and the Son, Flogaus did not notice on that occasion, having dated this treatise in 1335.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, taking into account the aforementioned reference of Lison,⁴⁶ Flogaus suggested ten years later that this "discovery might have consequences for the dating of this work".⁴⁷

³⁸ Kakridis, Taseva 2014: 513–521. However, this thesis could be challenged by the fact that even in the first edition of his *Logoi apodeiktikoi* Palamas comments upon the subject of the "order" of persons of the Holy Trinity, which is also the issue analysed by Bekkos. Cf. Kakridis, Taseva 2014: 110–118, 170–174.

³⁹ For example, in *Logoi apodeiktikoi* II, 66, where Palamas undoubtedly refutes some of the thesis from *Epigraphae*, he does not mention Bekkos name at all, using neutral «φησίν».

⁴⁰ Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 7, Syggrammata I [1962], 168.21–22.

⁴¹ Nadal 1974. Cf. Heyden 2017.

⁴² Lison 1992: 70. Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 2, Syggrammata I [1962], 164.14–15.

⁴³ Papatomopoulos, Tsavare, Rigotti 1995.

⁴⁴ Sinkewicz 1988: 116–124.

⁴⁵ Flogaus 1997: 447; Flogaus 2008: 67. This place, however, was found by Demetrapoulos 1997: 158–159.

⁴⁶ Lison 1994: 89; Flogaus 1998.

⁴⁷ Flogaus 2008: 67.

Now, if we take into consideration the fact that the year 1344 is the *terminus post quem* for Palamas' acquaintance with Augustine's *De trinitate*,⁴⁸ we will get another confirmation that his *Contra Beccum* was written much later than the date usually assigned to the composition of this work.⁴⁹

Of course, we should also consider the possibility suggested by Sinkewicz, according to which Palamas' "problematic reference" of Augustinian type on the Holy Spirit as "the communion and love of the Father and the Son" is owed to some "Latinophrone' *florilegium*",⁵⁰ or, again, Lison's claim that this reference is possibly to be found in Bekkos' *Epigraphae*.⁵¹ The latter suggestion should be rejected, since in *Epigraphae* the aforementioned idea cannot be located. As for the Sinkewicz's hypothesis, it still remains open. However, what is more than certain is that through another writing, which is not a "Latinophrone' *florilegium*", but, on the contrary, an eminently anti-Latin treatise, Palamas could have firstly acquainted himself – even before reading Augustine's *De trinitate* – with the idea of the Spirit as "the love of the Father and the Son". This is, as we have shown elsewhere,⁵² Barlaam's treatise *Contra Latinos*, where the learned Calabrian brings forth the Latin's thesis that the "Holy Spirit is love between the Father and the Son" (ἰακο ἰυβρὸβ ἱε ἁχ ἱτῑ ὠῑα η ἱηα).⁵³ This formulation was by all probability exposed by some of Barlaam's (Dominican)⁵⁴ interlocutors and, despite its obvious Augustinian origin, it should be related to the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas of Aquinas, whom Barlaam mentions directly more than once.⁵⁵ Be that as it may, it corresponds well to the formulation in Palamas' *Contra Beccum*, with the important note that the latter is nevertheless somewhat broader: namely, it says that the "Holy Spirit is the communion and love of the Father and the Son" (κοινωνίαν καὶ ἀγάπην [...] τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον).⁵⁶ Therefore, if we keep in mind that the Bishop of Hippo often refers to the Spirit as "community" and "love", and that in one place he even explicitly says that the Spirit is ἀγάπη and κοινότης,⁵⁷ we can conclude that Palamas' most probable source in this respect is nevertheless Augustine's work *De trinitate*. This would bring us back once again to our thesis, according to which the *Contra Beccum* was written (or at least completed) around 1355.

It turns out that Palamas challenged the Church union and the respective views of the unionist Patriarch John Bekkos by using the writing of an eminently Western author –

48 Flogaus 1997: 103.

49 Flogaus 2008: 67.

50 Sinkewicz 2002: 163–164.

51 Lison 1994: 89.

52 Knežević 2020: 77–79.

53 Kakridis, Taseva 2014: 349.13–14; Barlaam Calabro, *Tractatus A*, IV, 6, Fyrigos 1998: 558.44–45.

54 Cf. Sinkewicz 1980: 498–499.

55 Thomae Aquinatis, *Summa theologiae* 1, q. 37, art. 1 et 2.

56 Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Beccum* 2, Syggrammata I [1962], 164–14–15.

57 Flogaus 1998: 22–23.

the one whom, despite openly advocating *filioque*, he elsewhere calls “a wise and apostolic husband” («ἐπεὶ καὶ τις τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν φησιν [...]»)⁵⁸

Bibliography

Sources

- Fyrigos 1998: Barlaam Calabro, *Opere contro i Latini*, introduzione, storia dei testi, edizione critica, traduzione e indici a cura di Antonis Fyrigos, II, Studi e Testi 348, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 1998.
- Kakridis, Taseva 2014: Yannis Kakridis, Lora Taseva, *Gegen die Lateiner Traktate von Gregorios Palamas und Barlaam von Kalabrien in kirchenslavischer Übersetzung*, Weiher, Freiburg i. Br. Hubert & Co. 2014.
- Sinkewicz 1988: *Saint Gregory Palamas. The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*. A Critical Edition, Translation and Study by Robert E. Sinkewicz, Studies and Texts 83, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 1988.
- Sygggrammata I [1962]: Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα. Ἐκδίδονται ἐπιμελεία Π. Κ. Χρήστου. Τόμος Α'. Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοί. Ἀντεπιγραφαί. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνον. Ὑπὲρ ἡσυχάζοντων. Ἐκδίδουν Β. Bobrinsky, Π. Παπαευαγγέλου, I. Meyendorff, Π. Χρήστου, Κυρομάνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1962, 21988.
- Sygggrammata IV [1988]: Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα. Ἐκδίδονται ἐπιμελεία Π. Κ. Χρήστου. Τόμος Δ'. Δογματικὰ πραγματεῖαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ γραφεῖσαι κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1348–1358. Προλογίζει Π. Κ. Χρήστου. Ἐκδίδουν Π. Κ. Χρήστου, Β. Δ. Φανουργάκης, Β. Σ. Ψευτογκᾶς, Κυρομάνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988.
- Papathomopoulos, Tsavare, Rigotti 1995: *Ἀγουστίνου Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης*. Εἰσαγωγή, ἑλληνικὸ καὶ λατινικὸ κείμενο, γλωσσάριο Μανόλης Παπαθωμοπούλου, Ἰσαβέλλα Τσαβαρή, Gianpaolo Rigotti. Editio princeps. Τόμος πρῶτος: βιβλία Α'–Ζ'. Τόμος δεύτερος: βιβλία Η'–ΙΕ', Βιβλιοθήκη Α. Μανούση 3, Ἀθήνα: Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Κέντρον Ἐρεῦνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Γραμματείας 1995.

Studies

- Alexopoulos 2011: Theodoros Alexopoulos „Die Berufung der byzantinischen Filioquisten des 13. Jahrhunderts auf Gregor von Nyssa zur Begründung des filioque. Analyse eines Zitats aus Ad Ablabium (τὸ μὲν γὰρ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτου, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ προσεχῶς ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτου)“, in: *Gregory of Nyssa: The Minor Treatises on Trinitarian Theology and Apollinarianism. Proceedings of the 11th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa (Tübingen, 17–20 September 2008)*, edited by Volker Henning Drecoll, Margitta Berghaus, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2011, 609–621.
- Chrestou 1962: Παναγ. Κ. Χρήστου, «Εἰσαγωγή», Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ Συγγράμματα. Ἐκδίδονται ἐπιμελεία Π. Κ. Χρήστου. Τόμος Α'. Λόγοι ἀποδεικτικοί. Ἀντεπιγραφαί. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκίνδυνον. Ὑπὲρ ἡσυχάζοντων. Ἐκδίδουν Β. Bobrinsky, Π. Παπαευαγγέλου, I. Meyendorff, Π. Χρήστου, Κυρομάνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1962, 21988, 157–159.
- Demetracopoulos 1997: Γιάννης Α. Δημητρακόπουλος, *Ἀγουστίνος καὶ Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς. Τὰ προβλήματα τῶν ἀριστοτελικῶν κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῆς τριαδικῆς ψυχοθεολογίας*, Ἀθήνα: Παρουσία 1997.

⁵⁸ Gregorii Palamae, *Contra Gregoras* XLIII, Sygggrammata IV [1988]: 296.10–11.

- Drew 2014: Mark Drew, "Meanings, not Words." *The Byzantine Apologia in Favour of the Filioque by Patriarch John XI Bekkos of Constantinople (c. 1225–1297), I–III*, Thèse présentée pour l'obtention du Doctorat en théologie, Theologicum. Faculté de Théologie et de Sciences Religieuses. Cycle des Etudes du Doctorat, Paris: Institut Catholique de Paris 2014.
- Flogaus 1997: Reinhard Flogaus, *Theosis bei Palamas und Luther. Ein Beitrag zum ökumenischen Gespräch*, Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie 78, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen 1997.
- Flogaus 1998: Reinhard Flogaus, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium", *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42, 1 (1998), 1–32.
- Flogaus 2008: Reinhard Flogaus, "Inspiration – Exploitation – Distortion: The Use of St Augustine in the Hesychast Controversy", in: *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, edited by George Demacopoulos, Aristotle Papanikolaou, Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press 2008, 63–80.
- Gilbert 2009, Peter Gilbert, "Not an Anthologist: John Bekkos as a Reader of the Fathers", *Communio*, 36, 2 (2009), 259–304.
- Heyden 2017: Katharina Heyden, "The Two 'Epistulae' III of Palamas to Akindynos: The Small but Important Difference between Authenticity and Originality", *Studia Patristica* XCVI (2017), 511–519.
- Kakridis 1988: Ioannis Kakridis, *Codex 88 des Klosters Dečani und seine griechischen Vorlagen. Ein Kapitel der serbisch-byzantinischen Literaturbeziehungen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Slavistische Beiträge 233, München: Verlag Otto Sagner 1988.
- Kakridis 2012: Janjic Kakridis, „Neko bi pomislio da se barem delimično sačuva dogma o monarhiji": Antilatinski traktati Varlaama Kalabrijskog u srpskoslovenskom prevodu 14. veka“, u: *Dečani u svetlu arheografskih istraživanja. Zbornik radova. Dečani in the Light of Archeographical Research. Collection of Papers*, urednik Tatjana Subotin Golubović, Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2012, 105–114 / Јањис Каκριдис, „Неко би помислио да се барем делимично сачува догма о монархији": Антилатински трактати Варлаама Калабријског у српскословенском преводу 14. века“, у: *Дечани у светлу археографских истраживања. Зборник радова. Dečani in the Light of Archeographical Research. Collection of Papers*, urednik Tatjana Subotin Golubović, Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije 2012, 105–114.
- Kaltsogianni 2009: Ελένη Καλτσογιάννη, «Δύο άγνωστα αποσπάσματα του δεύτερου «Αποδεικτικού λόγου» του Γρηγορίου Παλαμά «Περί τής έκπορεύσεως του άγιου πνεύματος» (cod. Vind. Theol. gr. 78)», *Ελληνικά* 59 (2009) 89–100.
- Knežević 2012: Mikonja Knežević, "The Order (τάξις) of Persons of the Holy Trinity in 'Apodictic Treatises' of Gregory Palamas", *Philotheos. International Journal for Philosophy and Theology* 12 (2012) 84–102.
- Knežević 2012a: Mikonja Knežević, *Gregory Palamas (1296–1357): Bibliography*, Institute for Theological Research, Belgrade 2012.
- Knežević 2015: Mikonja Knežević, "Ek and διά in 'Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit' of Gregory Palamas", in: *Triune God: Incomprehensible but Knowable – The Philosophical and Theological Significance of St Gregory Palamas for Contemporary Philosophy and Theology*, edited by Constantinos Athanasopoulos, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2015, 264–291.
- Knežević 2015a: Mikonja Knežević, "Εξ άμφοίν. Cyril of Alexandria and the Polemics over Filioque of Gregory Palamas", *Philotheos. International Journal for Philosophy and Theology* 15 (2015) 167–194.

- Knežević 2020: Mikonja Knežević, „Avgustin i Grigorije Palama: recepcija i posredovanja“, *Oktoih. Časopis Odjeljenja za srpski književnost i jezik Matice srpske – Društva članova u Crnoj Gori* X, 11 (2020) 67–83 / Кнежевић 2020: Микоња Кнежевић, „Августин и Григорије Палама: рецепција и посредовања“, *Октоих. Часопис Одјељења за српски књижевност и језик Матице српске – Друштва чланова у Црној Гори* X, 11 (2020) 67–83.
- Knežević, Stefanović-Banović 2021: Mikonja Knežević, Mileša Stefanović-Banović, *Gregorius Palamas & David Disypatos. Scripta minora. Versio Serbica*, Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU, Izdavačka delatnost Hrama Svetog Save 2021.
- Lison 1992: Jacques Lison, « L'énergie des trois hypostases divines selon Grégoires Palamas », *Science et Esprit* 44, 1 (1992), 67–77.
- Lison 1994: Jacques Lison, *L'Esprit répandu. La pneumatologie de Grégoire Palamas*, préface de J. M. R. Tillard, Patrimoines. Orthodoxie, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf 1994.
- Meyendorff 1959: Jean Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Patristica Sorbonensia 3, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1959.
- Meyendorff 1998: John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, translated by G. Lawrence, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, New York 1998.
- Nadal 1974: Juan Sergio Cañellas Nadal, « La rédaction première de la Troisième lettre de Palamas à Akindynos », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 40 (1974) 233–285.
- Radić 2013: Radivoj Radić, *Crno stoleće. Vreme Jovana V Paleologa (1332–1391)*, Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike 2013 / Радић 2013: Радивој Радић, *Црно столеће. Време Јована В Палеолога (1332–1391)*, Београд: Завод за уџбенике 2013.
- Riebe 2005: Alexandra Riebe, *Rom in Gemeinschaft mit Konstantinopel. Patriarch Johannes XI. Bekkos als Verteidiger der Kirchenunion von Lyon (1274)*, Meinzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 8, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2005.
- Sinkewicz 1982: Robert E. Sinkewicz, “The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian”, *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982), 181–242.
- Sinkewicz 2002: Robert Sinkewicz, “Gregory Palamas”, in: *La théologie Byzantine et sa tradition, II (XIIIe–XIXe s.)*, éd. par C. G. Conticello, V. Conticello, sous la direction de Corpus Christianorum. Centre d'études des religions du livre, Turnhout: Brepols 2002 131–188.
- Hexakes 1981: Νικόλαου Γ. Ξεζάκης, *Ἰωάννης Βέκκος καὶ αἱ θεολογικαὶ ἀντιλήψεις αὐτοῦ*, Ἀθήναι 1981.