Las relaciones hagiográficas entre Bizancio y Occidente durante el período bizantino medio
The Hagiographical Relations between Byzantium and the West during the Middle Byzantine Period
Les relacions hagiogràfiques entre Bizanci i Occident durant el període bizantí mitjà
As relações hagiográficas entre Bizâncio e o Ocidente durante o período bizantino médio

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Abstract: In the present study a special reference is made to the hagiographical relations between Byzantium and the West. The first part is dedicated to the "communication" of Byzantium with the West, on the role played by the *Lives* of Byzantine Saints, the transfer and honor of their relics and pilgrimages. The phenomenon developed after the 4th century, when an attempt was made to create a liturgical and worship communication between the two Churches and the Roman *Martyrologium* was formed in the West. The second part is dedicated to the "communication" of the West in Byzantium through the honor of the western Saints. In the next paragraph, we talk about "communication" through the holy relics of the Saints, and it is found that the phenomenon mainly concerned Saints of the East. The paper closes with some introductory notes on translators' translation options and techniques.

Resumen: En el presente estudio se hace una referencia especial a las relaciones hagiográficas entre Bizancio y Occidente. La primera parte está dedicada a la "comunicación" de Bizancio con Occidente, sobre el papel desempeñado por las *Vidas* de los santos bizantinos, la transferencia y el honor de sus reliquias y peregrinaciones. El fenómeno se desarrolló después del siglo IV, cuando se hizo un intento de crear una comunicación litúrgica y de adoración entre las dos Iglesias y el Martirologio Romano en Occidente. La segunda parte está dedicada a la "comunicación" de Occidente en Bizancio a través del honor de los santos occidentales. En el siguiente párrafo, hablamos de la "comunicación" a través de las reliquias santas de los santos, y se descubre que el fenómeno se refería principalmente a los santos de Oriente. El documento se cierra con

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algunas notas introductorias sobre las opciones y técnicas de traducción de los traductores.

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I. Introduction

The relations of the Greek East with the Latin West have been the subject of research in recent years, mainly in terms of their historical and theological aspects. In important studies published in previous decades concerning the theological approaches between these two worlds, the fermentations and interactions are described and analyzed mainly in the primary issue of the formulation of the doctrines. However, the particular issue of language relations between the East and the West has not been adequately assessed and highlighted, especially in recent Greek research.

In the West, the relevant reports, although capable in number, could very often be described as limited and fragmentary, despite the fact that there are very important modern researchers who have examined specific aspects of it. The formation and development of ecclesiastical relations between the Church of Rome and the Church of Constantinople was, of course, deeply related to the organization of worship and the various exchanges of spiritual content. So, in general, in Europe, as early as the middle of the 4th century, it seems that unifying and differentiating tendencies are taking shape at the same time.

II. Communication between Byzantium and the West through the Byzantine Saints

Communication between Byzantium and the Latin West as early as the middle of the 4th century and especially in later centuries continued in such a way as to contribute to the preservation and development of relations between them. Both between the two

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Churches of Constantinople and Rome and more generally between the Greek-speaking East and the Latin-speaking West, that is to say, throughout the Byzantine *oecumene*, a significant liturgical and worshipping communication is recorded through the honor of the Saints, but also through their holy relics and related Christian pilgrimages.[2] A sufficient number of Byzantine Saints are already included in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum.*

In addition, the Church of Rome throughout the Middle Byzantine period appeared in the sources as the guarantor of Orthodox doctrine and ecclesiastical unity, especially on account of the dogmatic disputes that had sprung up in the Greek-speaking East. In the wider area of the province of Rome there were still several Greek-speaking monasteries from the 7th century.[3] Rome has always attracted the interest of the Christian world, on the one hand, because there was the place of martyrdom of the two leading apostles Peter and Paul, and, on the other hand, because there were hundreds of Martyrs there during the first three centuries of Christianity. Consequently, many Christians, and especially monks, whose pilgrimages were recorded in the *Lives*, arrived as pilgrims to the city to honor its Saints.[4]

On the occasion of the arrival of Saint Maximus the Confessor at the end of 645 in Rome with his disciples, two men under the name of Anastasios, Theodore and Euprepius, and the ecclesiastical meeting in Lateran, organized jointly with Pope Martin I in 649, great ecclesiastical texts against Monothelitism were written by the two ecclesiastical men.[5] At the same time in the Synod, the heretical decrees of the emperors were condemned -such as the *Ecthesis* of Heraclius and the *Type* of Constans II- and the perpetrators of the heresy were anathematized, such as the Patriarchs of Constantinople Sergius and Paul, Cyrus of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Theodore, bishop of Pharan.

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[2] Cf. FOLLIERI, E. "I rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel campo dell'agiografia," *In: Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies.* London-N. York-Toronto 1967, pp. 355-362

[3] SANSTERRE, J.-M. *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s. - fin du IXe s.),* vol. I-II. Bruxelles, 1983.

[4] See indicatively the classical studies by LECLERCQ, H. "Pèlerinages", *In: Dictionannaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie,* vol. 14. Paris: 1939, col. 65-176; KÖTTING, B. "Peregrinatio religiosa", *In: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche,* Forschungen zur Volkeskunde. Münster, 1950, pp. 33-35; SAXER, V. "Le pèlerinages aux apôtres Pierre et Paul (des origines à l'an 800)". *In: Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire* 12, 1987, pp. 909-918.

[5] NEIL, B. "The Lives of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor: Some Reconsiderations of Dating and Provenance". *In: Byzantion*, 68, 1998, pp. 91-109.

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The heretic Emperor Constans II considered this attitude hostile and ordered the arrest of Pope Martin[6] and then Maximus and his disciples. Saint Maximus died in exile in Lazica in 662,[7] while his disciples died in areas of Thrace, and Saint Martin died in exile in the Cherson of Crimea in 656 AD.[8] Their memory, on the occasion of the condemnation of the heresy of Monotheletism, became universal in the East and in the West, as evidenced primarily by the hagiographical texts written in both Greek and Latin.[9]

Another prominent figure honored by the Church of Rome was the Patriarch of Constantinople Callinicus I (693-705), who, after being blinded, was exiled by the Emperor Justinian II to Rome, where he died and was buried in the Temple of the Apostles Peter and Paul, after a relative miraculous suggestion of the Saints to Pope John VI (701-705).[10]

During the turbulent period of Iconoclasm, many Byzantine Saints appear to have traveled from Constantinople to Rome, and this continues in post-Iconoclasm times. The attitude of the Church of Rome towards Iconoclasm was negative, even against the Byzantine emperors and their policy.[11] The testimonies we meet, both in the Lives of Saints in the *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and in other independent Lives, show many iconoclastic Saints going to Rome, where in general the popes were opposed to the dispute of Iconoclasm and the policy of the iconoclastic emperors.

Representatively, we mention Methodius I, a descendant of the Syracuse of Sicily and later Patriarch of Constantinople, who went to Rome in 815 as an envoy of Patriarch

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[6] LEYWELLYN, P.A.B. "Constans II and the Roman Church: a possible instance of Imperial pressure". *In: Byzantion*, 46, 1976, pp. 120-126.
[7] GARRIGUES, J.-M. "Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur". *In: Revue Thomiste*, 36, 1976, pp. 410-452; HALDON, J.F. "Ideology and the Byzantine State in the Seventh century. The 'Trial' of Maximus Confessor". *In:* Vavrinek V. (ed.), *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium. Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference*. Prague, 1985, pp. 87-92.
[8] PIAZZONI, A.M. "Arresto, condanna, esilio e morte di Martino I," *In: Martino I papa (649-653) e il suo tempo: atti del XXVIII convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 13-16 ottobre 1991*, ed. Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 1992, pp. 187-210.
[9] ALLEN P. - NEIL B., *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions: Documents from Exile*. Oxford 2002, passim.
[10] KIMINAS, D. *The Ecumenical Patriarchate: A History of Its Metropolitans with Annotated Hierarch Catalogs*. Wildside Press, 2009, p. 44.
[11] See TOMADAKIS E., *Ιωσήφ ο Υμνογράφος, Βίος και έργον*. Athens, 1971, where reference is made to the strict attitude of Pope Gregory III (731-741), who at a Synod he excommunicated the iconoclasts. 22; NOBLE, T. *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. Philadelphia, 2009.

Nicephorus I and remained there for a long time[12], Joseph the Hymnographer and Michael Syncellus, for whom it seems that they too eventually went to Rome.[13] Many of these Saints are included in the *Martyrologium* of the Roman Church, including Patriarchs Tarasius, Germanus, Nicephorus, Methodius and Ignatius.[14]

The enormous tension caused by the controversy of Iconoclasm within the Byzantine Empire and the persecution of the iconoclastic monks made Rome the center of the monastic life of all Christianity, especially after the mid-9th century and by the end of the 10th century. We also had the story of a miracle bishop of Saint Nicholas, Bishop of Myron, who mentioned that the Vow of enclosure was associated with a pilgrimage travel to Rome.[15] This tradition also entered the life of Saint Peter the Athonite and passed to the Athonite monasticism.[16]

During the Middle Byzantine period, therefore, and mainly between the 9th and 11th centuries, we find that a number of Byzantine Saints traveled to Rome to become a monk. Among these is mentioned Saint Gregory of Akritas, who in the late 8th century travelled from Jerusalem to Rome, where he became a monk. He remained there until about 811, when, under the patriarchate of Nikephoros I, a three-member

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[12] *Vita S. Methodii Confessoris, In: AA.SS. Iun.* II (1698), col. 961-968, *Iun.* III, col. 440-447, *PG* 100, col. 1244-1261 (*BHG* 1278).

[13] Cf. *Vita S. Iosephi Hymnographi auct. Theophane mon.* ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia,* II. Petropoli, 1901, pp. 1-14 (*BHG* 944); *Vita S. Michaelis syncelli Hierosol.*, ed. SCHMIT, Th.N. "Kahrie-džami". *In: Izvestija-Bulletin de l' Institut Archaeol. Russe a Constantinople*, 11, 1906, pp. 227- 259 (*BHG* 1296).

[14] GODDING, R. "S. Marc et sa basilique à Venise: Bilan d'un anniversaire. Appendice: Index des saints figurant dans les mosaïques, les sculptures et la Pala d'oro". *In: Analecta Bollandiana*, 115, 1997, pp. 361-379, here at p. 378.
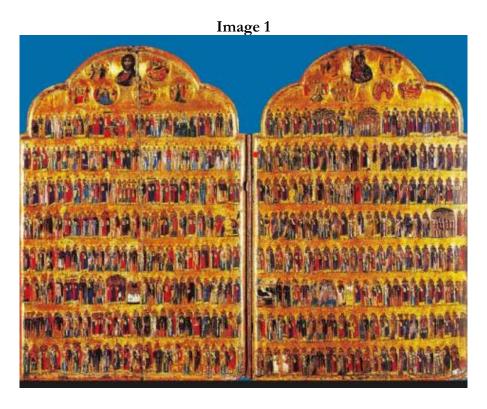
[15] *Encomium s. Nicolai auct. Methodio patr. Const. (vel Basileo ep. Lacedaem.),* (*BHG* 1352z), ed. ANRICH, G. *Hagios Nikolaos: Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche,* vol. I. Leipzig-Berlin, 1913, pp. 153-182; *Vita acephala ejusdem* (*BHG* 1348b), ed., ANRICH, G. *Hagios Nikolaos*, vol. I, pp. 268-275.

[16] *Thauma de duce cappadoce* (*BHG* 1352v), ed. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, D. "La Vie ancienne de saint Pierre l'Athonite. Date, composition et valeur historique". *In: Analecta Bollandiana*, 92, 1974, pp. 54-61; *Vita s. Petri Athonitae auct. Nicolao* (*BHG* 1505), ed. LAKE, K. *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford 1909), 18-39. Cf. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, D. "Le monachisme athonite: Ses origines, son organisation". *In: Actes du Prôtaton,* Archives de l' Athos, VII. Paris, 1975, pp. 19-22; GOUILLARD, J. "L'église d'Orient et la primauté romaine au temps de l'iconoclasme". *In: Istina*, 21, 1976, (reprinted *In: La vie religieuse à Byzance* [London 1981]. Variorum Reprints CS 131): 25-54, here at p. 46.

committee visited Pope Rome, and on his return, Saint Michael the Confessor, Bishop of Synnada, a member of the committee, took him with him to Constantinople.[17]

Image 1

An important monastic personality was Saint Blaise of Amorium († 909/912), who, as a deacon, fled from Constantinople to Bulgaria and from there to Rome, where he remained for about twelve or eighteen years. During his stay there he was ordained a presbyter and resided in the Lavra of Saint Caesarius. His fame became known because of the miracles he performed.[18]

In the 10th century it is mentioned Saint Theodore of Kythera, who came from Koroni of the Peloponnese and travelled to Rome to kneel before the catacombs of the first Martyrs and eventually he lived there for four years. He then returned to Monemvasia and from there to Kythera.[19] In the Life of Saint Peter, the Athonite

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[17] DELEHAYE H. (ed.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Bruxellis 1902), Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum (=*AA.SS.*). Novembris, col. 372-374.

[18] *Vita s. Blasii Amoriensis*, ed. Delehaye, H. *In: AA.SS. Nov.* IV (1925), col. 657-669 (*BHG* 278), col. 660, where the relevant report on his stay in Rome.

[19] «ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Θεόδωρος μετὰ τὸ καταλεῖψαι τὸν βίον καὶ ἀποκαρῆναι ἐπανιὼν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Μονεμβασίαν», cf. OIKONOMIDES, N. "Ο Βίος του αγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος

(*BHG* 1505), it is stated that when he was imprisoned in Samarra, he prayed to Saint Nicholas, that, if he were saved, he would go to Rome to become a monk in the church of Saint Peter. Indeed, he was miraculously freed by Saints Nicholas and Symeon and went to Rome, where he became a monk.[20]

The phenomenon of some monks being involved in continuous pilgrimage travels and transitions from one holy place to another, mainly in the Byzantine world, it was the reason for so many references to the Byzantine Saints' travels to various regions and especially to the three major cities of Christianity, Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople. It is an informal "sacred geography" followed by monks and Saints in the East. The younger scholars who have dealt with the subject have compiled quite extensive lists of all Byzantines who visited Rome from the mid-8th to the late 11th century.[21]

The term used to convey this custom is "*ξενιτεία*", a common practice of the Byzantine monks from the Greek East.[22] Especially Rome, since the time of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), has become the epicenter of peregrinations, especially with regard to the peregrinations in the city and mainly in the Basilica of Saint Peter. The revival of monasticism in the 8th century increased the flow of pilgrims and many

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αι.) (12 Μαΐου -*BHG* αρ. 2430)". *In: Πρακτικά του Γ' Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου* 1. Athens, 1967, pp. 264-291, here at p. 283 [= reprinted, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade,* VI].

[20] LAKE, K. *The Early Days,* p. 19: «οὐδὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ πατρίδι ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκατοικίσω, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην πορεύσομαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου σηκῷ ἀποκειράμενος, οὕτω διατελέσω». Cf. PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation entre Rome et Constantinople: La vénération commune des Saints". *In: Revue des sciences religieuses* 89, no. 4, 2015, pp. 461-479.

[21] HERBIGNY, M. D. "Les voyages et les voyageurs de Byzance vers Rome". *In: Actes du IIème Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Belgrade 1927.* Beograd, 1929, 2-4; MCNULTY P.M. - HAMILTON, B. "Orientale lumen et magistra latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900-1100)". *In: Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963, Études et Mélanges.* Chevetogne, 1963, pp. 196-199; SANSTERRE, J.-M. *Les moines grecs et orientaux.* vol. I: 150-152, vol. II: 179-180; idem, "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome". *In: Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'Alto Medioevo.* Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo. XXXIV, II fhs. 30-31. Spoleto, 1968, pp. 701-746, here at p. 714 and the study by MALAMUT, E. *Sur la route des saints byzantins,* ed. CNRS. Paris, 1993.

[22] VON CAMPENHAUSEN, H. *Die asketische Heimatlosigkeit im altkirchlichen Mönchtum.* Tübingen, 1930; LECLERCQ, J. "Monachisme et pérégrination du IXe au XIIe siècle". *Studia Monastica,* 3, 1961, pp. 33-52; GUILLAUMONT, A. "Le dépaysement comme forme d'ascèse dans le monachisme ancien". *In: Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études,* Ve Sect.: *Sciences religieuses,* 76, 1968-69, pp. 31-58.

Byzantine monks visited Rome to worship the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul.[23]

This is how the journey of Saint Cosmas the Melodist and Saint Gregory of Decapolis to Rome at the beginning of the 9th century is interpreted, as the culmination of his 18-year cenobitic life, while, according to the narration of the *Life*, Patriarch Abraham, who made a similar journey, is portrayed as a model.[24] Similarly, there were the travels of Saint Hilarion the Younger in the middle of the 9th century, traveling to the Holy Land, Constantinople and Bithynia and then reaching Thessaloniki through Rome, where he performed miracles.[25]

Saint Elias the Younger, who came from Sicily, is included among the monks who in the early 10th century visited Rome.[26] There is a similar reference to the *Life* of Saint Nilus the Younger from Rossano of Calabria and founder of the Grottaferrata monastery, who, towards the end of his life, found himself in the greater region of Rome and settled in the Byzantine monastery of Saint Agatha.[27]

In the *Life* of Saint Sabbas, the Younger of Sicily, who lived in the 10th century and cloistered in Mercurion of Calabria, the narration mentions a Byzantine monk named Nicetas, who appeared to him in a dream and forced him to go to Rome.[28] Other *Lives* of the same period are those of Christophorus and Macarius, brother of Saint Sabbas of Sicily[29] and Saint Symeon the monk, Armenian in origin.[30] In the 11th century we

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[23] Cf. CHARALAMPIDIS, K. "Το προσκύνημα των βυζαντινών και ελληνο-ιταλών μοναχών στη βασιλική του Αγίου Πέτρου Ρώμης". *In: Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής, Τμήμα Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας,* n.s. 7, 2001, pp. 49- 60, especially pp. 52-53.

[24] *Vita S. Gregorii Decapolitae auct. Ignatio diac.*, In: DVORNIK, F. *La Vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle.* Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves V, Paris, 1926, pp. 45-75 (*BHG* 711), especially at page 53.

[25] *Vita di s. Hilarionis Hiberi,* In: PEETERS, P. "S. Hilarión d'Ibérie". *In: Analecta Bollandiana*, 32, 1913, pp. 243-269, p. 255; MARTIN-HISARD, B. "La pérégrination du moine géorgien Hilarión au IXe siècle", *In: Bedi Kartlisa*, 39, 1981, pp. 120-138, p. 129.

[26] *Vita s. Eliae Junioris,* In: ROSSI-TAIBBI, G. *Vita di s. Elia il Giovane* (*BHG* 580). Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Testi 7, Vite dei Santi Siciliani 3. Palermo, 1962.

[27] *Vita s. Nili Junioris* (*BHG* 1370), In: GIOVANELLI, G. *Βίος και πολιτεία του οσίου πατρός ημών Νείλου του Νέου.* Grottaferrata-Roma, 1972, p. 100.

[28] *Vita s. Sabae Junioris auct. Oreste patr. Hierosol.* (*BHG* 1611), In: COZZA LUZI, I. *Historia et Laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Juniorum e Sicilia.* Rome, 1893, p. 30.

[29] *Vita ss. Christophori et Macarii auct. Oreste patr. Hierosol.* (*BHG* 312), Cozza Luzi, I. *Historia*, p. 85

[30] *Vita s. Symeonis de Padolirono* (*BHL* 7952*), In:* GOLINELLI, P. "La 'Vita' di s. Simeone Monaco". *Studi Medievali*, 20, 1979), pp. 747-780, especially pp. 757-760.

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find in the *Life* of Saint Christodoulos, founder of the Patmos monastery, reports of a peregrination in Rome, who came from Bithynia and had traveled to both Palestine and North Africa.[31] A similar reference is also made to the *Life* of Saint Meletios the Younger, who, according to his biographers, also visited Jerusalem. According to his second biographer, Theodore Prodromos, Saint Meletios also visited the pilgrimage of Saint James of Zebedee at Compostella.[32]

Similar information is provided by the biographer of Saint Lazaros of Mount Galesion, who tried twice to go to Rome, but without success.[33] Also, in the Lives of Symeon from Trier and Dvin or Davin, of Armenian descent.[34] Reports of anonymous monastic peregrinations to Rome are also found in the *Life* of Saint Luke of Steiris, who lived in the 9th-10th centuries, despite the fact that he never went there.[35]

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[31] *Vita s. Christoduli mon. in Patmo auct. Ioanne metr. Rhodi* (BHG 303), ed. Ι. Σακκελίων, *In:* VOINIS, K. *Ακολουθία ιερά του οσίου και θεοφόρου πατρός ημών Χριστοδούλου του θαυματουργού.* Athens, ³1884, pp. 109-225, here at p. 116, where the reference to the pilgrimage to Rome. Cf. RAGIA, E. *Λάτρος. Ένα άγνωστο μοναστικό κέντρο στη δυτική Μικρά Ασία. Με λεπτομερή σχολιασμό των εγγράφων του αρχείου της μονής Θεοτόκου του Στύλου.* Thessaloniki, 2008, pp. 141-149, where the biography of Saint Christodoulos.

[32] *Vita s. Meletii Junioris auct. Nicolao* ep. *Methonensi* (BHG 1247), *In:* PAPADOPOULOS, Chr. *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν του μοναχικού βίου εν Ελλάδι. Ο όσιος Μελέτιος "ο νέος" (περ. 1035-1105).* Athens, 1968, p. 13, 79 § 6: "[…] παλίμπους ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἔρχεται Ῥώμην, Πέτρου τὸν σταυρὸν προσκυνήσων καὶ Παύλου τὴν καρατόμησιν». Cf. *Vita ejusdem auct. Theodore Prodromo (BHG* 1248), *In:* PAPADOPOULOS, Chr. *Συμβολαί,* 79 § 6: «κἀκεῖθεν πρὸς τὰς Ἰακώβου Γαλλίας ἀπάρας καὶ τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τὸ σέβας ἀποδόμενος σκήνει». Cf. also MESSIS, Ch. "Deux versions de la même 'vérité': les deux Vies d'*hosios* Mélétios au XIIe siècle". *In:* P. A. Agapitos, Paolo Odorico (eds.) *Les Vies des Saints à Byzance. Genre Littéraire ou Biographie Historique?, In: Actes du IIe colloque international philologique «ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ».* Dossiers Byzantins, 4, Paris, 2004, pp. 303-345.

[33] *Vita S. Lazari mon. in monte Galesio auct. Gregorio mon., In: AA.SS. Nov.* III (1910), col. 508-588 (*BHG* 979), col. 518, where the relevant reference.

[34] *Vita s. Symeonis Treverensis auct. Eberwino ab.* (BHL 7964), *In: AA.SS.* Iun. I3, col. 86-92, especially col. 89B; *Vita et miracula s. Davini peregrini* (BHL 2114), *In: AA.SS.* Iun., I3, col. 322-324, especially col. 322F.

[35] PG 111, col. 441-480. Cf. MARTINI, E. "Supplementum ad Acta s. Lucae iunioris". *In: Analecta Bollandiana*, 13, 1894, pp. 81-121, (*BHG* 994).

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III. The "communication" of the West with Byzantium through the Western Saints

On the side of the West, there is a similar, but not the same extent and frequency, "exchange" of Saints between the two destination cities of peregrination, Rome and Constantinople. A number of Saints from the Western Church have been included in Byzantine *synaxaria* and *menologia* since the early period. They are Martyrs of the early Christian centuries of the Church of Rome and North Africa. The collections above also included a very significant number of western Saints and Popes of the Church of Rome.

Of course, the translations of the Latin martyrdoms of many Saints of Rome and other provinces, were the first to arrive in the East. The translation work was performed by Greek-speaking or Greek-learning ecclesiastical writers or clergy and monks of the Byzantine monasteries that existed mainly in Rome since the 7th century or in Magna Graecia, whose work flourished in the 8th century. Latin translations conveyed the hagiographical traditions of the West to Byzantium, many of which were remarkable literary works, though not missing those that created problems with any historical ambiguities or inaccuracies. The case of Dionysius the Areopagite, with the spread of the so-called Parisian tradition, is typical even in the *Encomia* of Michael Syncellus and Niketas Paphlagon during the Middle Byzantine period.[36]

Byzantine hagiographic collections also include the archives (*hypomnemata/synaxaria*) for certain popes of the Church of Rome, whose memory is also remembered in the East. Thus, in the *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* we come across the memory of Clement I, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 350) on 24 November, a person for whom a strong tradition had been created in Byzantium, which was fed by the so-called *Pseudo-Clementine* writings. Also, the memory of Sylvester, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 1628-29) on January 2, Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 721) on March 12, Stephen, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 1669) on August 4, and Sixtus II, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 976-77, 977ab) on August 10th.

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[36] R. Loenertz, "Le légende de S. Denys l'Aréopagite (Sa genèse et son premier témoin)". *In: Analecta Bollandiana*, 69, 1951, pp. 217-237. Cf. also PASCHALIDIS, S. Νικήτας Δαβὶδ Παφλαγών. Το πρόσωπο και το έργο του. Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέτες 28. Thessaloniki, 1999, pp. 129-131; PASCHALIDIS, S., "Un mode de relation", pp. 461-479, where the relevant bibliography is also given.

In the broader Byzantine hagiographical tradition, translations or mere *synaxaria* notes[37] concerning Pope Agapetus II († 536), Gregory the Great († 604), Theodore († 649), Martin († 655) and Agatho († 681) were also included. Finally, we mention the translated *synaxarium* from Latin into Greek by Saint Benedict, "*τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεθερμηνευομένου εὐλογημένου*" a founder of the monastic Benedictine order, which was based on a similar narrative from Pope Gregory the Great's Second Book of *Dialogues*.[38]

It would be a mistake not to point out that we come across a Greek translation of the Latin original, the *Lives* and *synaxaria* of several Saints of Magna Graecia, such as Leo of Catania.[39] Pope Gregory I the Great, with his work *Dialogi*, already mentioned above, created a collection that could be described as the "Latin counterpoint" to the model of the monk's Life of the East. Thus, Italy and the Latin-speaking West had its own Saints' Vitae, *Vitae patrum italicorum*.

Very soon, through their translations into Greek, they became known in the East as exquisite hagiographical texts.[40] It is quite difficult to date the numerous hagiographical translations into Greek, which came from Italy, but a sufficient number comes from the Byzantine period, and this is deduced from the time of their commemoration in Rome. Greek-Latin translations were also to be made in Ravenna, which was the seat of the Byzantine Exarchate from the 6th to the 8th centuries.[41]

The hymnography also played an important role, which, in line with the common veneration of Saints in the Byzantine and Western Church, as recorded in the hagiographical and *synaxaria* collections of the two Churches, attempted to support the wishes of the Byzantine people, not only the unionists but also the anti-unionists, for the reunification of the Churches after the schism of 1054. Thus, in the hymnographic work of Saint Mark of Ephesus for Saints Theodosius and Symeon the Metaphrast, in the 15th century, there are invocations for the unification of the two

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[37] LACKNER, W. "Westliche Heilige des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts im Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae". *In: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 19, (1970), pp. 185-202.

[38] LACKNER, W. "Westliche Heilige", pp. 188-190.

[39] PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation", 470 and footnote no. 39. This *vita* was published anew by Professor Al. Alexakis, *The Greek Life of St. Leo bishop of Catania (BHG 981b)*. Subsidia Hagiographica, 91, Bruxelles, 2011.

[40] BERSCHIN, W. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*. München, 1980, p. 147; MARKUS, R. *Gregory the Great and his World*. Cambridge, 1997.

[41] Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 151, where an extensive citation of the relevant literature.

Churches.[42] In the same vein were the hymnographic texts composed by well-known unionists writers and hymnographers of the 15th century, such as John Plusiadenos, later Joseph, Bishop of Methoni, and Manuel Sabios, regarding the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438).[43]

IV. The "communication" of the two Churches through the holy relics

A special point of "communication" between Byzantium and the West concerned the transfer of holy relics of Martyrs, Saints, to a greater frequency from East to West, since the first Christian centuries.[44] A typical case is the narration of the translation of the relics of Saint Stephen,[45] while we also mention the narration concerning the passion of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. The holy relics of Saints became popular objects of honor among Christians, a tradition that continued mainly after the 3rd century. Very often, several local Churches, but even the bodies of political power, either in the Byzantine Empire or in the Latin West, made a special effort to acquire or transfer them.

However, the abuse led emperors such as Theodosius I the Great and Justinian to issue prohibitive provisions for the transport or sale of holy relics.[46] Several centuries later, the phenomenon appears to have swelled with the transfer of holy relics from the Holy Land through the Crusades. We had similar actions in difficult times in the history of Byzantium, such as the conquest of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, which led to the looting and transfer of the remains of the Byzantine Saints from Constantinople[47] and the performance of liturgical services at their places of residence

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[42] MINEVA, E. *Το Υμνογραφικό Εργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού*. Athens, 2004, pp. 129-131; Cf. PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation", 471.

[43] *PG* 159, col. 1095-1106, where exists the *canon* of John Plusiadenos. See also, DETORAKIS Th., MOSSAY, J. "Un office inédit de Manuel Sabios pour la fete de l'Unité" *In: Byzantion*, 66, 1996, pp. 399 511; DETORAKIS, Th. "Μανουήλ Σαβίου πρωτοψάλτου Χάνδακος Ακολουθία στην Ένωση των Εκκλησιών". *In: Χαριστήριος Τόμος Σεβασμιωτάτου Αρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης κ.κ. Τιμοθέου*. Heraklion, 2001, pp. 169-191, for the hymnographical work of Manuel Sabios. Cf. PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation", p. 471.

[44] HUNT, E. D. "The Traffic in Relics. Some Late Roman Evidence". *In:* HACKEL, S. *The Byzantine Saint*. London, 1981, pp. 171-180.

[45] *Epistula Luciani, PL* 41, col. 807.

[46] *CTh* ix.17, *passim,* especially ix.17.7, depending on *CJ* iii.44.14.

[47] For the catalogues of the holy relics of saints compiled after 1204 see, MERCATI, S.G. "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista latina (1204)". *In: Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia*, 12, 1936, pp. 133-56; RILLEY-

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in Rome, Venice[48] or other cities in the West. The Venetians took the lead in the transfer of holy relics. Especially in the cities of Italy, many sacred relics of invaluable value were transported and the holy relics of the Saints of the Eastern Church occupied a dominant position. Representatively, we mention the transfer of the relics of Saint Anastasius of Persia to Rome, during Heraclius' reign or at the beginning of the 8th century (725 AD), and their placement in the Greek *Aquae Salviae* Monastery[49], of Saint Mark to Venice in 838 AD[50], and of Saint Nicholas to Bari in 1087 AD.

The paradox of this massive and large number of holy relics was that for many Saints we know little or nothing, they were completely "unknown" and were not included in the *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Consequently, no hagiographical documentation has migrated with their holy relics to the West, while, for example, in the *Eortologio Veneto*, their memory is placed succinctly on the day of their birth. Typical examples are the cases of Saint John, "Duke of Alexandria", of Saint Tarasios the Recluse and of Saint Cosmas the Recluse, from Crete.[51] Also typical are the examples of Saints Gregory, Theodore and Leo, mentioned for the first time in a *Synaxarium* written by the Dominican Pietro Calò (14th century), and their remains were transferred to the temple of Saint Zacharias in Venice, probably in the 10th century.[52]

The *Translationes sanctorum* were not always considered as acts of theft for the people of that time, and were often interpreted as "God's work" because they were intended

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SMITH, L.-J. *The Crusades. Idea and Reality 1095-1274*. London, 1981, p. 172. Cf. PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation", p. 477.

[48] CHIESA, P. "Santità d'importazione a Venezia tra reliquie e racconti". *In:* GENTILE, S. *Oriente Cristiano e Santità. Figure e storie di Santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*. Milano, 1998, pp. 107-115; MALTEZOU, Chrysa "*Nazione Greca και Cose Sacre. Λείψανα αγίων στον Ναό του Αγ. Γεωργίου της Βενετίας*". *In: Θησαυρίσματα*, 29, 1999, pp. 9-31; AGATHANGELOS, Bishop of Phanarion, MALTEZOU, Chrysa, MORINI, Enrico. *Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων της καθ' ημάς Ανατολής στη Βενετία*. Athens, 2005. Cf. PASCHALIDIS, S. "Un mode de relation", 477, footnote 65.

[49] *edae Chronica majora ad. A. DCCXXV*, 539, ed. Th. Mommsen, *In: Chronica Minora* III, Berlin, MGC, A.A., XIII, 311. Cf. also AGATHANGELOS, *Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων*, pp. 96-99, where a detailed reference is made to the events concerning the relocation of the relic of the saint.

[50] CARILE A., FEDALDO G., *Le origini di Venezia*. Bologna, 1978, pp. 410-415; NICOL, D.M. *Byzantium and Venice, A study in diplomatic and cultural relations*. Cambridge, 1988, pp. 24-25. Cf. AGATHANGELOS, *Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων*, pp. 56-57.

[51] AGATHANGELOS, *Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων*, pp. 49, 198-199, 208-210, 338-340.

[52] ANTZOULATOS G.F., "Οι φανέντες άγιοι μάρτυρες στην Κεφαλλονιά Γρηγόριος, Θεόδωρος, και Λέων". *In: Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, 8, 1999, pp. 177-207; Cf. AGATHANGELOS, *Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων*, pp. 142-143.

to spread Christianity. Another reason was the anxiety that the holy relics should be preserved in areas under Muslim occupation, so they sought to take them elsewhere, where faithful Christians could worship them. So, they justified the theft or the purchase of holy relics.[53] Many relics were dismembered and transported to the West, scattered in various cities, and treasured in temples and monasteries. We mention the relics of Saints Cosmas and Damian, which were moved to Bremen in the 10th century, at the initiative of the local bishop Adaldag, and in the 11th century the skulls (*capita*) of the two Saints were placed in the Bamberg Cathedral by Henry II. In this indirect but essential way, the lives and martyrdoms of Saints, often unknown, survived in the memory of the Christians of the West, through the honor of their relics.[54]

In the years that followed, many cities in Italy became places to collect large numbers of relics from Jerusalem, Constantinople, and other areas. This movement was called *sacra pignora*. In Venice, in fact, the phenomenon has seen a particular upsurge. Among the most important relics that arrived there from Constantinople was that of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified at the end of the 10th century, of Saint Barbara, as a gift from the Byzantine emperor Basil II at the beginning of the 11th century, which was transferred by the sister of the emperor Romanos III and has placed "*in capela ducal*" (ducal chapel), i.e. in Saint Mark's church[55], and the relics of Saint Stephen in the 12th century. At the same time, the remains of Saint Isidore were transferred from Chios, Saint Donatus, the myrrh-bearer, bishop of Eurasia from Kefalonia, and of those of Saint Leo, bishop of Malamocco, probably from Methoni.[56]

A large number of holy relics were also carried by the Latin abbot Martin from Constantinople to Venice[57] and by the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, to the King of France.[58] The Venetians in the period from 1204 to 1261 carried the holy relics of Saint Helen from the temple of the Holy Apostles in 1211,

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[53] See GEARY, P.J. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton 1990).

[54] See AGATHANGELOS, Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων, pp. 57-58, 91.

[55] See AGATHANGELOS, Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων, pp. 114-118, where an extensive reference to the relevant literature.

[56] CHIESA, P. "Santità d'importazione a Venezia", pp. 107-108; NICOL, D. *Byzantium and Venice, p.* 25, 73, 76, 79-80. Cf. AGATHANGELOS, Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων, p. 58, 91, 146-152, 209-210.

[57] FROLOW, A. "Notes sur les reliques et les reliquaires byzantins de Saint-Marc de Venice". *In:* Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Δ' 4, 1964-1965, pp. 205-226.

[58] See references to the classic work of RIANT, P. *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae,* vol. I-II, Geneve 1877-1878 (preface by J. Durand). Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, ²2004.

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the Martyr John from the church of the Theotokos Psychosostria in 1214, Saint Paul the Younger in Kaiuma, from the monastery of Christ Pantepoptes in 1222, Saint Paul the Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople in 1226, Saint Paul the Hermit from the temple of the Peribleptos monastery in 1239, Saint Eutychius in 1246, Saint Theodore Stratelates from the church of Hagia Sophia in 1257 etc.[59]

Closing this section, we mention the cases of Saint Euphrosyne the Younger, who lived during the reign of Emperor Leo the Wise, and her burial place in Constantinople had become a place of pilgrimage for the barren women who gathered to ask for her help. There are records that women even came from Rome to receive oil from the candle of her tomb.[60]

Of particular interest is the memory of Saint Cosmas the Hermit, from Crete, who is not mentioned in the *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, nor in the *Martyrologium Romanum*. His holy relic was transferred during the 11th century from the Venetians to the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice and so his feast was established on September 2.[61] Similar are the cases concerning the transfer of the honor of Saint John the Merciful to Venice during the 13th century, although his original Byzantine life had already been translated during the 9th century by Anastasius Bibliothecarius.

V. Notes on translators' translation options and techniques

If we were to limit the conditions under which translation work has been carried out since Roman times, as a prerequisite for any would-be translator, before undertaking the difficult task, it would be necessary to ensure a quiet environment and the necessary material support, usually provided by the translation's principal.[62] An extremely necessary support for the translator in order to obtain the original work and to cover the costs of the writers' fees, as well as that of the publication of the work. The role of agent was most often played by the Popes in Rome and kings of the West or by the Patriarchs and Byzantine Emperors in Constantinople.

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[59] NICOL, D. *Byzantium and Venice,* pp. 185-186; AGATHANGELOS, Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων, p. 62, 155-157, 169-170, 198-199, 282-289, 290-293, 296-298.

[60] Cf. TALBOT, A.-M. "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts". *In: DOP*, 56, 2002, pp. 153-173, here at p. 167

[61] See AGATHANGELOS, Ιερά Λείψανα Αγίων, pp. 208-210.

[62] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα στην Ελληνόφωνη και Λατινόφωνη Χριστιανική Γραμματεία. Thessaloniki, 2009, p. 76.

Indicatively, we mention Evagrius, who translated the Life of Saint Anthony by order of Pope Innocent[63], Dionysius the Younger who translated a Collection of Rules, by order of Pope Hormisdas[64], John Scotus Eriugena who translated a text by Maximus the Confessor, by order of Charles the Bald[65] and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who even grants the censorship rights to the Pope.[66]

One of the most important steps in the translation process was to supply the original text and then check its authenticity. Even if one considers that in a theological text dogmatic correctness is a non-negotiable element, one can easily realize how much greater responsibility the shoulders of a Christian translator weighed, in relation to the one involved in the rendering of a literary text, for example by one language in the other.[67] This stage also includes the risk of being considered genuine forged texts, as it often encounters illegitimate texts that mimicked genuine ones with great success, even bypassing them. This phase also involves the risk of being considered genuine pseudepigraphic texts, as we often come across illegitimate texts that imitate and even circumvent real texts with great success.

A typical example is the pseudepigraphic works by Saint John Chrysostom in the West or by Augustine in the East, which completely replaced and set aside the corresponding genuine ones. Then the translation process followed the following steps: after the first drawing, the first correction was made, then the final text was copied, the final form of the work was checked and finally it was handed over for publication. Naturally, in these stages, in addition to the translator, the writers and sometimes the recipient of the work, mainly as an assistant during the correction, took part.[68]

The translator's consistent tactics, as in the case of writing commissioned works, was to mention the principal-recipient in the preface to the translation. There were also

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[63] ROSWEYDE, H. *Vitae Patrum*. Antewerpen, ²1928, p. 35; BERSCHIN, W. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, p. 88, 103-104. Cf., KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, Α. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, p. 70.

[64] MAASEN, F. *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*. Gratz, 1870, p. 960; BERSCHIN, W. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, pp. 116-118.

[65] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae*, vol. 6, 162; BERSCHIN, W. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, pp. 187-192. Cf. KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, Α. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 70-71.

[66] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae*, vol. 7, 397, BERSCHIN, W. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, pp. 257-272

[67] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, Α. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 75-76.

[68] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, Α. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 75-76

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formulas in the form of a curse on the prefaces of the translations against those who attempted interferences and any form of fraud.[69]

After completing the process, the translator used to dedicate his work to a recipient, as well as to a specific readership, which, of course, determined to some extent his translation options in relation to the original, but even his style. After all, the choice of text to be translated was not made criterion of the needs of readers or recipients. Finally, it would be an omission not to mention the dedication of any translation to a person. Such persons were usually Popes, priests, monks, but also Emperors or other persons of their friendly environment.[70]

The translation process was governed by two opposing translation principles, namely *ad sensum*, meaning "in the sense" of translation, and *ad verbum*, meaning 'literal' translation. These principles were applied by translators sometimes to a greater and sometimes to a lesser consistency, while from the very beginning of the Roman literature we find references to the concepts *verbum* or *sensum* in order for someone to defend the translation method he has chosen.[71]

More specifically, the translator who chose to translate "in the sense" aimed at the reader and not the text. He emphasized the signified and not the signifier, as was otherwise. Here the translation unit was the sentence or even a larger semantic unit. The style of the original was also taken into account. The translator functioned as an *orator* (= orator), who, according to Cicero, maintained the author's thinking, but adapted the form and style to the ethos of the language in which he was translating. The translator's goal was to provide a model for rhetorical speech in Latin.[72]

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[69] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 87-88, where an extensive reference is made to specific translators and citation of the relevant literature.

[70] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 82-83.

[71] BROCK, S. "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity". *In: Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 20, 1979, pp. 69-87, here pp. 69-70; KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, p. 98.

[72] CICERO, *De optima genere oratorum* 7.23, translated by H.M. Hubbell, LCL, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1976; Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.34.155, translated by H. Rackham, LCL, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1988. Cf. ADLER, W. "Ad verbum or ad sensum: the Christianization of a Latin Translation Formula in the Fourth Century". *In:* REEVES, J. C. - KAMPEN J. (eds.), *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. JSOT Sup 184, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994, pp. 321-348, especially pp. 322-323.

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Opposite the translator was the *fidus interpres* (= faithful interpreter), who remained attached to the text, preferring to deliver the words faithfully and formally, without taking into account the style of the original. In the beginning this translation unit was the phrase and the word. In fact, it is characteristic that Cicero, again in *ad sensum* translation, does not contrast the term *ad verbum*, but the term *vis*, power of speech.

At this point it is worth mentioning a brief reference to two unique "theoretical" texts, which present and defend these two opposing translation principles, respectively. The first is the letter no. 57 of Jerome, dating to 395 or 396, was drafted in Bethlehem and received by a Roman senator, Pammachius.[73] In essence, this letter was in response to Jerome's criticism of his Latin translation of a Greek letter from Saint Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, to John of Jerusalem. Jerome translated this letter in 394 and Eusebius of Cremona was the recipient of his translation. It should be noted that there is no reference to the identity of the person who exercised the criticism, who is simply described as *accusator meus* (= my accuser). Also, his own critique has not been saved.[74]

Jerome himself called the letter *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (= Book on the best way of translating) and followed the structure of a legal discourse: prelude (*exordium*), report (*narratio*), refutation (*refutatio*), apology (*defensio*), conclusion (*conclusio*). With references to examples from both classical and ecclesiastical writers who applied the principle of *ad sensum* translation, the work is not apologetic, but it does give to Jerome the opportunity to present and defend the translation technique that follows. This is mainly done in the extensive part of *defensio*, the core of which is the core of its translation rule.[75]

On the other hand, there is another text, much later, dating to the 12th century, which was written by Burgundius, a lawyer from Pisa. In the translation, of Chrysostom's speeches in the Gospel of John he attempted, he proposes a preface, in which he defends the *ad verbum* translation method. It is the method he adopted both in this particular translation and in a previous one in Latin of Chrysostom's speeches in the Gospel of Matthew, considering it to be the most appropriate method. After a brief reference to the history of the reasons and conditions of this translation, he lists the reasons for his choice of the *ad verbum* technique.

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[73] ADLER, W. "Ad verbum or ad sensum", pp. 329-331.
[74] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, p. 82-83, 125.
[75] See ADLER, W. "Ad verbum or ad sensum", pp. 331-338, KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 123-124, 127.

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In fact, in order to support his claims, he cites the names of authors from the field of law, philosophy, medicine, and especially theology, without, however, giving a specific example of a translation act, as Jerome does extensively. At the end of his preface, Burgundius expresses his views on the work and role of the translator, as opposed to that of the author.[76]

Finally, one observes the contradictions found in Jerome's rich translation work, and since he himself, for biblical texts only accepts the *ad verbum* translation, as stated in letter 57, we conclude that no translation theory could have been completely normative. These two principles never ceased to exist together and borrow elements from each other.[77]

With regard to the particular literal kind of hagiographical texts of the early Christian and Middle Byzantine period, the issue of translation certainly has some peculiarities. However, the purpose of these texts, whether from the original or from a translation, Greek or Latin, is to become common readings in East and West.[78]

Conclusion

The above-mentioned principles are probably valid here as well, especially in the case of the transfer of the narration of a *Vita*, *Martyrium*, or *Homilia* to the transfer of the relics of a Saint, from the original, in the language they were originally written in, to the corresponding language of the translation. Of course, there is a question about the translation technique that follows, whether it is *ad verbum* or *ad sensum* performance. Also, factors related to the translator's face, as well as the season, the place, the historical conditions, etc.

The research is particularly concerned with the exact identification of the original and its distinction from the translations that follow, because many variations are found, mainly in the hagiographical texts. The entry of Byzantine and Latin hagiographical texts into the two great hagiographical collections of the Bollandists, the *Bibliotheca*

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[76] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, pp. 134-135, 139.

[77] SCHWARTZ, W. "The Meaning of *Fidus Interpres* in Medieval Translation». *In: Journal of Theological Studies*, 45, 1944, pp. 72-78, here at pp. 75-76; GRIBOMENT, J. "The Translations. Jerome and Rufinus". *In:* QUASTEN J. (ed.), *Patrology*. Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1986, vol. IV, pp. 195-197; Adler, W. "Ad verbum or ad sensum", p. 347, KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, 98, 121, 140.

[78] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, p. 52.

Hagiographica Graeca (=BHG), and the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (=BHL), raises the basic question of which of them was the original. Tradition usually plays an important role, but when there is not enough information, then it is very difficult to give a safe answer.[79]

This problem remains, since for a long time, mainly in Rome and southern Italy, there were still Greek monasteries, where the services were held in the Greek language and the relevant hagiographical readings were read aloud during the services or in the refectories of the monasteries. We also find that the vast majority of translators of hagiographical texts adopt the *ad sensum* performance as a translation technique, which we would call freer than the original, so that it is more familiar to their readers. Classical examples in the West are the translations of hagiographical texts by Evagrius and Jerome, as early as the 4th century.[80]

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[79] KOLTSIOU-NIKITA, A. *Μεταφραστικά ζητήματα*, p. 52.
[80] BERSCHIN, Walter. *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 88-90.

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