

**TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE — TRANSFER OF IDEAS — TRANSFER OF EXPERIENCES
LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK TEXTS FROM THE 11TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY**

**INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP
10–11 JUNE 2021, 16.00–19.00 (GMT+1)**



Organizers:

Paraskevi Toma (University of Münster)

Péter Bara (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Realizing the fact that there are different factors that influence translations, we set the dynamics of linguistic and cultural exchange from Greek into Latin as the focus of our workshop. Even though the knowledge of Latin in Byzantium dropped notably after the sixth century, it was surrounded by Latin-speaking territories, while a multilingual community continued to exist in Italy. Furthermore, the Crusades strengthened the ties between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, a fact that unavoidably entailed knowledge transfer from Greek into Latin.

The workshop will examine translators as mediators of knowledge and translated texts as sources of direct as well as indirect/intertextual knowledge. Rich material can be found, for example, in the fields of theology, medicine, and law. As regards translators, we will discuss their educational background and literacy, their networks and social status, along with their (in many cases) multicultural identity. Regarding translated texts, we will explore their literary genre as part of contemporary political or religious dialogue, identify Greek linguistic variants that were adapted by the Latin language, and finally consider the impact of translators themselves on their translations.

Further questions to be discussed during the workshop are:

- ❖ Who commissioned translations and for what purpose?
- ❖ Did the translators follow a particular translation technique or school?
- ❖ What role did these persons play as interpreters and as translators?
- ❖ How have translations of legal and religious texts been used in multilingual environments?
- ❖ Did translations/interpretations affect political or religious decisions or even cause controversies?

Thursday 10 June

16.00–16.10 Paraskevi Toma / Péter Bara, “Hello, ...”

16.10–16.20 Péter Bara, Introduction: *status artis*

Session 1. Transfer of Knowledge (Moderator Paraskevi Toma)

16.20–16.30 Alessandra Bucossi (Ca' Foscari University)
Quid sit προβολεύς, ignoro, quippe non Graecus, sed Latinus sum:
How the Discussion on the *Filioque* Got Lost in Translations

16.30–16.40 James Morton (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)
Untranslatable Law: Explaining the (Non-)Transfer of Byzantine Legal
Knowledge in Medieval Southern Italy

16.40–16.50 Christophe Erismann (University of Vienna)
The Use of Translations in Philosophical Contexts until 1290

16:50–17.00 Pieter Beullens (KU Leuven University)
Between Success and Failure. Latin Medieval Translations of Aristotle's
Zoology

17.00–17.10 András Kraft (University of Princeton)
The Dissemination of Prophetic Knowledge in the Thirteenth Century

17.10–17.20 Anna Maria Urso (University of Messina)
In Search of the Perfect Equivalence: The *verbum de verbo* Method
in Burgundio of Pisa's translations of Galenic Works

17.20–17.30 Michael W. Dunne (Maynooth University)
Influence of Translations on Medieval Education/Knowledge Hubs: The
Case of the *Parva Naturalia*


17.30–17.40 Pause

Session 2. Transfer of Ideas (Moderator Péter Bara)

17.40–17.50 Leonie Exarchos (University of Mainz)
Authority, Trust, and the Performance of Knowledge: Translators
and Interpreters between Byzantium and the West

17.50–18.00 John Mulhall (Harvard University)
A Quantitative Approach to the Translation Movement of Greek Texts
into Latin: A Database of Translations by Known Translators

18.00–19.00 Discussion



Friday 11 June

16.00–16.10 Paraskevi Toma / Péter Bara, “Hello again”

Session 2. Transfer of Ideas (Moderator Péter Bara)

16.10–16.20 Elizabeth A. Fisher (George Washington University, emerita)
The Latin Kingdom of Constantinople: Translations, Translators,
and Bilinguals

16.20–16.30 Dimiter Angelov (Harvard University)
Philosophy Will Depart from Us: Translation and Politics in the Empire
of Nicaea

16.30–16.40 Michael Grünbart (University of Münster)
Translating Prognostic Knowledge into Processes of Political Decision
Making

Session 3. Transfer of Experiences (Moderator Paraskevi Toma)

16.40–16.50 Marc Lauxtermann (University of Oxford)
The Man who Found a Treasure: Greek and Latin Story-Telling
in Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily

16:50–17.00 Luigi D’Amelia (Ca’ Foscari University)
Translating the bread ...: Exegetical Divergences in the Latin-Greek
Controversy on the Azymes

17.00–17.10 Paola Degni (University of Bologna)
Latin translations from the Greek in the 12th Century: Translators,
Networks, Production and Circulation of the Manuscripts between
West and East

17.10–17.20 Estelle Ingrand-Varenne (French Research Center in Jerusalem)
The Bilingual Inscriptions in the Nativity Church in Bethlehem:
Translation, Adaptation, and Refusal of Transfer

17.20–17.30 Brad Hostetler (Kenyon College)
Latin Responses to Greek Epigraphy on Portable Objects: A Case Study
of the Grandmont Reliquary of the True Cross

17.30–17.45 Pause

17.45–18.45 Discussion and Conclusions

18.45–19.00 Paraskevi Toma / Péter Bara, “[... goodbye!](#)”

TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE — TRANSFER OF IDEAS — TRANSFER OF EXPERIENCES
LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK TEXTS FROM THE 11TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY

Abstracts

Alessandra Bucossi (Ca' Foscari University)

Quid sit προβολεύς, ignoro, quippe non Graecus, sed Latinus sum: How the Discussion on the Filioque Got Lost in Translations

Concentrating on the period of the first utmost upsurge of Byzantine polemical writings against the Latins, this contribution examines how, between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, Greek theologians developed a precise and unambiguous vocabulary that could describe the intra-trinitarian relationships between the Father and the Holy Spirit and between the Son and the Holy Spirit and how this extremely specific set of words became one of the most detrimental barrier to the mutual understanding between the Churches. This paper examines some meaningful examples of the evolution of the Byzantine usage of technical words and of the Latins' attempts at translating obscure Greek words or, in some cases, even their despairing usage of untranslatable terms (and concepts). Finally, this contribution illustrates the point of view of some Byzantine theologians who, indeed, were aware of the fact that translations and interpretations of an extremely precise theological vocabulary could impair their relationship with the Latins. This was true in the famous case of the eleventh-century Theophylact of Ohrid, who stated clearly that the fundamental mistake of the Roman Church was the addition of the words *Filioque* to the Creed and that the Latins could not understand their error as, because of the scarcity of expressions and the conciseness of the Latin language *πενία λέξεων και Λατίνου γλώττης στενότητι*, they had confused "procession" (*έκπορεύεσθαι*) and "pouring and giving" (*χεΐσθαι και διαδίδοσθαι*, thus mixing up the eternal existence of the third person of the Trinity with the bestowal of the Spirit from the Son to the Apostles after the resurrection (Theophylacte d'Achrida. *Discours, Traités, Poésies*, ed. P. Gautier. CFHB. Series Thessalonicensis, 16.1. Thessalonica, 1980, p. 257, l. 5–6).

James Morton (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Untranslatable Law: Explaining the (Non-)Transfer of Byzantine Legal Knowledge in Medieval Southern Italy

Medieval southern Italy is a byword among historians for its cultural and linguistic pluralism. Having been divided between Arabs, Byzantines, and Lombards in the sixth to tenth centuries, it was eventually united into the Norman Kingdom of Sicily in 1130 by Roger II de Hauteville, a multilingual ruler who employed both Greek- and Arabic-speaking officials in government and consciously emulated the presentational style of Byzantine emperors. The Norman court was a major centre of translation activities and, given the multicultural character of the kingdom's administration, we might expect to find Byzantine legal texts among the works translated. However, this does not seem to have been the case. Norman southern Italy has bequeathed numerous surviving manuscripts of Byzantine civil and canon law, yet, while some Norman royal laws show the *influence* of Byzantine jurisprudence, there do not appear to be any direct translations. Indeed, there is far more evidence for Latin legal texts being translated into Greek. This short paper will argue that the unique cultural and institutional pluralism of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily actually reduced the demand for translations of Byzantine legal texts into Latin. It is well-documented that the kingdom had parallel but separate judges 'of the Latins' and 'of the Greeks', each following their own inherited legal traditions. The nature of legal texts as specialized technical literature meant that they were generally only of interest to professional readers who needed to use them. Latin judges had no professional need to read Byzantine law, whereas Greek

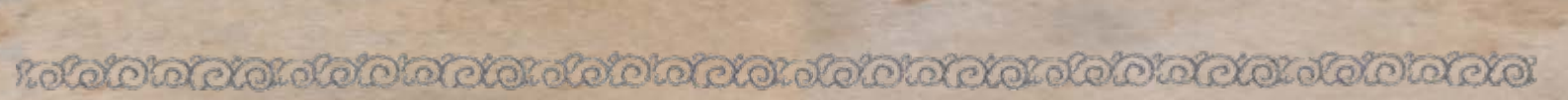
judges did have a need to read the new Latin laws of the kings of Sicily. The paper will conclude that, while the segregated nature of the kingdom's ethnic legal systems prolonged the use of Byzantine law in southern Italy, it suppressed any impulse to translate it.

Christophe Erismann (University of Vienna)
The Use of Translations in Philosophical Contexts until 1290

The period between 1050 and 1240 is, for what concerns the translation of Greek philosophical texts to Latin, delineated by two important phases, the work done by John Scottus Eriugena and Anastasius Bibliothecarius in the ninth century and the impressive enterprise of translation by William of Moerbeke starting in the 1260s. It includes the following identified translators: James of Venice, Burgundio of Pisa, Henry Aristippus, Cerbanus, Robert Grosseteste. One should also remember that in the West "new texts" do not necessarily mean new translations as attested by the "rediscovery," at the end of the eleventh century, of logical texts translated by Boethius several centuries earlier. The chapter will address the following questions: **1)** What is translated (and by consequence, what is not translated) in the field of philosophy in a broad sense (including theological works of philosophical interest) during the period 1050-1240? Are some trends identifiable? Aristotle: *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics* (2 James of Venice, Ioannes), *Topics*, *Sophistici elenchi* (James of Venice, also with Pseudo-Alexander (Michael of Ephesus)), *Physics*, *de Caelo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica* (Henry Aristippus (Bk. IV)), *De anima*, *De sensu*, *de Memoria*, *De motu animalium*, *Metaphysics* (James of Venice Books I-IV.4; 'vetustissima', anon. 'vetus', anon. 'media'), *Nicomachean Ethics* (2 Burgundio, Grosseteste; Grosseteste also translated commentaries: Eustratius (I), Aspasius (VIII), Michael of Ephesus (IX-X)); Plato: *Phaedo*, *Meno*; Nemesius: *De natura hominis* (2 transl.); John of Damascus: *De fide orthodoxa* (2 transl.), *Dialectica*. **2)** Can we see, among Latins, the lineaments of a distinction between Greek and Byzantine (comparable to the distinction elaborated by the Arabs between the (ancient) Greeks (al-yūnāniyūn), who were the true philosophers and scholars, and the Christian Byzantines (al-rūm))? *i.e.*, is there a distinction made between a heritage claimed by the Latins – *i.e.*, ancient philosophers and Greek Church Fathers – and a more recent Greek thought developed by authors considered as schismatics and heterodox? Very few Middle Byzantine texts (other than the Church Fathers) were translated into Latin. As Latin translations of Byzantine texts posterior to John of Damascus, they are only parts of commentaries written by Michael of Ephesus and Eustratios of Nicaea (in addition to the Acts of Nicaea II (787) and the translations of three chronicles (George Synkellos, Nicephorus, Theophanes) by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, previously translated. Both Michael and Eustratios are translated as commentators of Aristotelian texts and compilers of previous commentaries, not as original thinkers. **3)** How did 1204 impact the phenomenon of translating philosophical texts in a short and medium time? The fourth crusade and the sack of Constantinople was a disaster for Byzantium, but it also generated new exchanges between Byzantines and Latins. How did this affect the question of the translation of philosophical texts? Without 1204 William of Moerbeke would probably not have studied Greek in Nicaea and the Byzantine interest in translating some logical works by Boethius (Manuel Holobolos, Maximos Planudes) would probably have been inexistent (there was no interest in Byzantium in translating Latin philosophical texts before 1204).

Pieter Beullens (KU Leuven University)
Between Success and Failure. Latin Medieval Translations of Aristotle's Zoology

Aristotle's biology was a late arrival in the Latin medieval period. While the philosopher's works on natural philosophy were translated into Latin in the twelfth century, the corpus of his three major zoological treatises, the *History of Animals*, *Parts of Animals*, and *Generation of Animals* became known through the Arabic-Latin version by Michael Scotus early in the thirteenth century,



and about fifty years later when William of Moerbeke translated them directly from the Greek. The relatively high number of extant manuscript copies bears witness to the success of these texts. In marked contrast to these two widely spread translations, an anonymous translation of *Parts of Animals* alone is preserved in a unique manuscript from the same period. In my paper I want to propose an identification of the translator and offer some thoughts on the question why only this treatise from the zoological corpus was translated —or transmitted. Some clues might suggest that the same translator also produced Latin versions of Aristotle's other zoological works, which are no longer extant. These considerations may shed a different light on the anonymous Latin translation of *De motu animalium*, which Albert the Great claims to have found 'in Campania iuxta Greciam.' Albert's commentary offers the only access to that translation, since it did not survive as a separate text. It possibly suggests that a less successful zoological translation project failed to make an impact on the intellectual history of the medieval West.

András Kraft (University of Princeton)

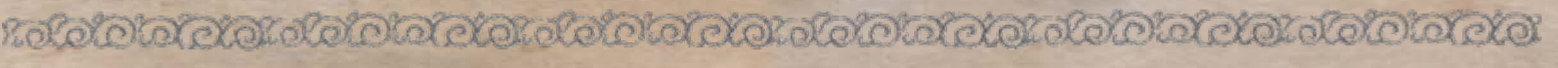
The Dissemination of Prophetic Knowledge in the Thirteenth Century

The Latin conquest of Constantinople allowed unprecedented access to the imperial library, which housed classified prophetic literature. Imperial legislation prohibited public access to so-called *basileiographia*, oracular texts that specify years of imperial reign. We know from Niketas Choniates that such texts were consulted at the imperial court, especially in the later twelfth century. Given the legal situation, access to these texts must have been restricted to the court. We do not know the exact circumstances of who gained access to these prophetic collections and when, but we know that the texts were accessed, as they circulated in Latin translation by the late thirteenth century. This project revisits the transmission history of Greek prophetic lore to the Latins in the aftermath of 1204.

Anna Maria Urso (University of Messina)

In Search of the Perfect Equivalence: The *verbum de verbo* Method in Burgundio of Pisa's translations of Galenic Works

Burgundio of Pisa (c. 1110–93), *iudex*, *notarius*, *advocatus*, ambassador of Pisa in Ragusa (1169) and Constantinople (1136 and 1171), was also a versatile and prolific translator. He translated the *graeca* of Justinian's *Digest*, some patristic texts, and – according to discoveries made only in the 1990s – two works by Aristotle: *On Generation and Corruption* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. Above all, however, he was the first translator of Galen directly from Greek. Galen's treatises had been the special focus of his activity ever since he translated the catalogue of the *Art of Medicine* on the commission of Bartholomew of Salerno before the middle of the century, thus completing a pre-existing anonymous translation, up to his translation of Galen's *De sectis* in 1185. Several studies have been dedicated to Burgundio of Pisa in recent decades. Thanks to them, the corpus of his translations is now better defined and the general project of the translator as well as the link between his activity and the Salerno school of medicine are clearer. The Greek manuscripts of Burgundio and those that he used as models are also known; above all, some translations have been critically edited and the peculiar features of his style have been identified. Over time, they present some significant shifts that have offered points of reference not only for the attribution to the Pisan judge of anonymous translations or those whose authorship was controversial, but also for arranging the texts in a relative chronology. If, however, the published texts display the Greek-Latin correspondence system established by the translator rather well, two facts have not been emphasized sufficiently. First, Burgundio consciously opts for the *uerbum de uerbo* method, taking an explicit stance in favour of literalism at a time when the Ciceronian *uertere* is still practiced: this is documented in the extensive preface of the translation of John Chrysostom's homilies on John's Gospel, whom Charles Burnett rightly defined as "virtually a blueprint for literal translation



and an account of the history of its practice." Secondly, fidelity to the Greek text represents for Burgundio not the engine of an automatic transposition, but the ideal outcome of a process of progressive approach to the original text, as demonstrated by the numerous double translations that dot the manuscripts and which have been pointed out as the characteristic feature of his method. Moreover, over time, the translator seems to feel an increasingly pressing need for this approach, even to the detriment not only of the structures of the receiving language, but even of the same perspicuity. Starting from the theoretical premises set out in the preface to the translation of Chrysostom's text, my intervention aims to discuss some significant renderings of Burgundio from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. We will therefore study examples taken from works belonging to different periods of the translator's activity and for which the manuscript tradition allows us to reconstruct the process that led to the final choice.

Michael W. Dunne (Maynooth University)


Influence of Translations on Medieval Education/Knowledge Hubs: The Case of the *Parva Naturalia*

The world of higher learning in the first decades of the thirteenth century is marked above all by the arrival and reception of translations into Latin of works of Aristotle on psychology and natural philosophy. At the beginning of the universities (and not without some controversy) there is an attempt to standardize the requirement in the arts faculties for the masters to read the central works of Aristotle. There are also the condemnations throughout the century and some hesitations along the route of accepting these works into the curriculum. In some places, such as southern Italy the welcome offered to these translations, and the commentaries accompanying them, is more open than elsewhere both at the university and at the courts of princes. Again, it seems that Oxford retains a special interest in natural philosophy. In order to unfold the story of this reception, I will focus on the small treatises of psychology and natural philosophy, known as the *Parva Naturalia*. These short texts, which became part of the university course in philosophy, but which have been largely passed over by scholars in favor of the commentaries of the masters on the larger works of Aristotle, such as the *De anima*, *Physica*, *De generatione* etc., reveal a unique snapshot across the decades as to the problems faced by translators and commentators as they sought to understand the mind of the Stagirite. However, the commentaries also offer the possibility of a closer understanding of the various stages of the reception of the translations.

Leonie Exarchos (University of Mainz)

Authority, Trust, and the Performance of Knowledge: Translators and Interpreters between Byzantium and the West

Interpreters and translators were central to all scenarios and situations in which communication between Byzantines and Westerners took place. This paper is not principally concerned with the production of translations of written texts, concentrating instead on the translators themselves. It explores aspects of their activities, including their interaction with the figures who commissioned them, as well as the reception of their work. By focusing on selected examples, most of which date to the twelfth century, this paper examines the status and self-perception of these translators. It suggests that the interaction between translators and others in their social environment was often ambivalent. On one hand, it was often thought in this era that translators only translated someone else's thoughts into another language rather than creating anything of their own. On the other hand, Byzantines and Latins alike were for the most part largely dependent on the input of interpreters and translators when it came to personal encounters and the transfer of knowledge. Lacking linguistic proficiency themselves, these figures generally were unable to assess the level of service provided to them by translators. As a result, the authority of translators, coupled with trust in both their ability and their reliability formed an important basis



for their work and their interaction with their social environment. This paper analyses the strategies that translators used to emphasize their knowledge and reliability. In addition to emphasizing their skills as translators, they could, depending on the circumstances, also stress certain factors that made them appear reliable and competent. In this way, the translators performatively exhibited their knowledge, framing themselves as linguistic specialists. By interrogating the efforts of translators in this regard, this paper aims to enhance modern understanding of their role and status, shed new light on their interaction with their social environment, and provide a new perspective on their activity as mediators between Byzantium and the West.

John Mulhall (Harvard University)

**A Quantitative Approach to the Translation Movement of Greek Texts into Latin:
A Database of Translations by Known Translators**

In the twelfth century, translators from around the Mediterranean rendered works of science, philosophy, and theology from Greek into Latin. Twelfth-century translations were not only more numerous than those of previous centuries, but they also show a marked shift in the genres of texts translated. Through a quantitative approach to these translations, my paper aims to draw out general trends among of the translations from Greek into Latin. Specifically, I aim to present preliminary findings from a database of translations from Greek into Latin made by identifiable translators of the twelfth century (ca. 1100–1204) by region and genre. A relatively comprehensive look at twelfth-century translators will both confirm some suspicions of scholars who have worked on these translations and will also offer new insights into the burst of new translation activity in the twelfth century. In particular, I believe a broad look at the twelfth-century translations, specifically in terms of region and genre, allows one to draw out a number of themes, including: the centrality of Constantinople; the divergent interest of twelfth-century translators from their eleventh-century predecessors; and the similarities and differences between the translators from Greek and their contemporaries who were translating from Arabic. It is hoped that these preliminary findings will reinforce the importance of incorporating broader, trans-regional approaches to the study of twelfth-century translations.

Elizabeth A. Fisher (George Washington University, emerita)

The Latin Kingdom of Constantinople: Translations, Translators, and Bilinguals

My initial focus will be upon five individuals who functioned at a high level in both Latin and Greek during the mid-thirteenth century in Constantinople: Simon of Constantinople (1235–1325), John Parastron/Parastos (d. 1275), Manuel Holobolos (c. 1245–c. 1312), Ogerius Boccanegra (fl. 1270s) and Maximos Planoudes (c. 1255–c. 1305). How and at what point in life did these very different persons acquire fluency in both languages? I examine what is known of their families, of their ethnic and community connections, and of the institutional environments available to them. Constantinopolitan institutions include Latin-speaking communities of Franciscan and Dominican monks introduced after 1204 in the city and encouraged by Pope Innocent III to promote conversion of the Greek population to western Catholicism by instructing them in western language and culture. Some presence of these orders continued in the city after 1261. Greek scholars educated in Latin also worked alongside western scholars in the Latin translation and interpreters' bureaux maintained by the imperial palace and the patriarchate during the Empire of Nicaea and in Constantinople after 1261. How can current linguistic research on language acquisition, bilingualism, and multilingual communities illuminate this medieval situation?

Dimiter Angelov (Harvard University)

Philosophy Will Depart from Us: Translation and Politics in the Empire of Nicaea

In the years following 1204, the translators who operated in former Byzantine lands faced a drastically changed cultural and political milieu. There were more bilingual individuals, some of whom were Greek speakers raised in Latin-held territories, and there was a greater practical need for bilingualism. At the same time, the irredentist Greek-speaking elite governing the successor states to the twelfth-century Byzantine Empire cultivated a sharper sense of cultural (not necessarily religious) difference, often antagonism, between the Greeks (that is, themselves) and the Latins (sometimes called Italians). This paper focuses on how scholars, teachers, and officials of the most viable of the Byzantine successor states, the empire of Nicaea (1204–1261), came to combine the two contradictory tendencies. The Greek tradition in philosophy became a hotly debated political question in encounters at the Nicaean court—encounters in which Latins sought to either obtain, or already carried with them, precious Greek manuscripts. Much of the evidence will be drawn from the writings of a remarkable patron of education and bibliophile, the emperor of Nicaea and original philosopher Theodore II Laskaris.

Michael Grünbart (University of Münster)

Translating Prognostic Knowledge into Processes of Political Decision Making

When investigating patterns of imperial decision making, it becomes apparent that techniques of prognostication formed a common practice in order to find solutions. Prognostication was based on observations that have been arranged in an order (by date or subjects) and/or transformed into numbers (*e.g.*, astronomy or all kinds of geomancy). Calculating options or solutions were important practices at courts and centres of power as reflected by written sources. In Byzantium, methods of finding a correct date, day or way still played an essential role in order to execute or start an action. Contingent incidents and phenomena that could be counted or transferred into numbers needed experts, intermediators or translators who were capable of elucidating and interpreting them. In my talk I will address the problems of explanation and misinterpretation, understanding and misunderstanding. In addition to this, control and verification of prognostic results will be discussed. Since experts or skilled persons constitute necessary transformers, the main thesis may be: The medium makes the message.

Marc Lauxtermann (University of Oxford)

The Man who Found a Treasure: Greek and Latin Story-Telling in Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily

The Eugenian recension of *Stephanites and Ichneutes* was produced c. 1190–94 in Norman Sicily and was translated into Latin on the same island under the Hohenstaufens. Since popular tales have an open text tradition in the Middle Ages (additions, omissions, alterations), none of the manuscripts of the Greek ‘original’ transmit exactly the same text; nor does the Latin ‘translation’ offer a faithful rendering of the Greek. Each version and each manuscript ought to be seen as an independent creation: a re-telling of basically the same, but always slightly different storyline, with story bits added or left out. In this presentation, I shall discuss the story of “The Man who Found a Treasure” in both the Greek version of Par. gr. 2231 and the Latin translation; I shall also discuss two additional tales in the Latin translation, the first derived from the *Thousand and One Nights*, and the second from the Aesopic tradition in Byzantium.

Luigi D'Amelia (Ca' Foscari University)

Translating the bread ...: Exegetical Divergences in the Latin-Greek Controversy on the Azymes

From the eleventh century the theological conflict between Greeks and Latins on the use of the azymes during the Eucharist became the second major battlefield after the *Filioque*, as testified by the huge amount of Byzantine and Latin writings produced on this topic from that moment onwards. Among the issues discussed since the beginning was an exegetical problem related to the correct interpretation, and hence translation, of the word ἄρτος (*fermentatus* or *azymus*?) in light of its occurrences in the Old and New Testament, and the respective interpretations also contributed to mutual misunderstandings. In this debate, the semantic value itself of a word seems to be gathered and defined from its scriptural usages, according to a type of epideictic procedure well-documented in the medieval polemical literature. In the eleventh century Humbert of Silva Candida, in his *Dialogus inter Romanum et Constantinopolitanum (Adversus Graecorum calumnias)*, treated this exegetical knot at length, developing and contrasting some arguments raised by Leo of Ohrid in his *Epistulae de azymis*. He tried to defend the Latins' doctrine by comparing the biblical quotations in their Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew versions, when he quotes, for example, the Gospel of Matthew, *qui Hebraice scripsit evangelium*. The aim of this paper is to explore this argumentation, which has been so far overlooked and entails semantic and exegetical barriers in Greek-Latin mediation, by identifying further sources and investigating how spread it was and how long it survived both in Byzantine and Latin literature over the azymes.

Paola Degni (University of Bologna)

Latin translations from the Greek in the 12th Century: Translators, Networks, Production and Circulation of the Manuscripts between West and East

The contribution aims to investigate the experiences of translation from Greek to Latin in the West and in the Byzantine world during the twelfth century. Translations of works, excluding documents, will be studied from the point of view of the translators' backgrounds, possible networks and the connection between the West and the Byzantine world. Areas of manuscript production and circulation and methods of translation will also be studied. For the West, the attention will be oriented in particular on France, between Poitiers and Saint-Denis, where the mysterious translator John Saracen was active. He is known as the author of the third medieval translation of the Dionysian Corpus, whose treatises (*The Mystical Theology, The Divine Names, The Heavenly Hierarchy, The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*), had an immense influence on Christian mysticism in East and West. With regard to Greek-to-Latin translations in the East, attention will be focused on the network of Latin translators active in Constantinople in the twelfth century. Since it is not possible to address the entire panorama of literature resulting from the translations developed in Constantinople, the investigation can proceed only through surveys in the best-known translated works and more extensively in the lesser-known ones.

Estelle Ingrand-Varenne (French Research Center in Jerusalem)

The Bilingual Inscriptions in the Nativity Church in Bethlehem: Translation, Adaptation, and Refusal of Transfer

The restoration works (2013–2020) of the Nativity church in Bethlehem have revealed an extraordinary graphic symphony, or sometimes cacophony with all the inscriptions and graffiti in many different languages. Inspired by the method of “cultural transfers” developed by Michel Espagne, this paper will focus on the Latin and Greek texts, painted or in mosaics, made in the twelfth century, particularly under the joint patronage of King Amaury and Emperor Manuel Comnenus, around 1165/9. Three modalities of transfer will be analyzed: 1) the translation of the

names of the saints painted on the columns of the nave: in this case, the equivalence of the message and even the layout of the inscriptions are almost total; 2) the adaptation, for instance in the mosaic inscription on the southern wall of the main (only the Greek part is preserved, but the Latin text was copied by pilgrims and scholars); even if it looks very similar, the Latin text is a poem which highlights king Amaury, while the Greek inscription emphasizes the name of Manuel Comnenus and shows the position of superiority of the Byzantine emperor; 3) the process of selection and rejection: some inscriptions were not translated; in the mosaic of the nave the synopsis of thirteen councils was in Greek, except for the council of Nicaea II, which was in Latin. Several hypotheses have been given to explain this linguistic choice and they all refer to the respect of the source language. It is the same for the inscriptions on the scrolls of some saints: the transfer is less important than the authority of the source. In sum, this paper will show the linguistic/graphic transfers in the “exposed writings” in the Latin East, the processes and dynamics of semantic transformations, the status of the scripts, and the power stakes in this particular historical context.

Brad Hostetler (Kenyon College)

Latin Responses to Greek Epigraphy on Portable Objects: A Case Study of the Grandmont Reliquary of the True Cross

Byzantine inscriptions are rarely translated in crusader and pilgrimage sources. They are most often mentioned in passing; a writer may translate the name of a saint on an icon or they may simply describe an object marked with “Greek letters”. The paucity of this information limits our ability to investigate the methods and motivations for Latin translations of Greek inscriptions. I argue that inscribed portable objects can provide a much richer analysis. During the crusades, numerous icons and reliquaries were taken to the West where they were often rehoused in new frames that were given Latin inscriptions. These composite objects offer us an opportunity to examine the ways in which the new owners of Byzantine objects perceived and responded to Greek epigraphy through the addition of Latin inscriptions. The focus of my paper will be on one such object: the now-lost reliquary of the True Cross formerly of the Grandmont Abbey. This Byzantine reliquary *enkolpion* was commissioned by a certain Alexios Doukas —grandson of the Empress Irene Doukaina— in the mid-twelfth century, later acquired by King Amalric I of Jerusalem, and then donated to the Abbey in 1174. It featured a scene of the Crucifixion on the front and a 16-verse dodecasyllable epigram on the back. When this reliquary came to Grandmont, it was inserted into a triptych with a Latin inscription, also written in 16 verses. The Latin inscription is not a translation of the Greek, but it allows us to consider the textual and material ways in which the poet and the craftsmen responded to the Byzantine text and object through mimicking, amplifying, and replacing certain elements. This paper will explore these strategies in order to consider the types of “translations” that occur in inscriptions on portable objects.

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