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GREEK TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS DURING THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Abstract: *In this study our goal is to present Greek translations of Latin hagiographical texts during the Middle Byzantine period. For the hagiographical literature of Early and Middle Byzantine period, we find out that a considerable number of Vitae, Martyria, ceremonies of disposal of Saints' relics etc. are translated from the Latin to the Greek language and vice versa. The wide dissemination of hagiographical translations shows the special interest of the East and the West to inform each other about the Saints of the other Church. In the East, as we understand, it was of interest to translate the Lives of Saints of the Western Church.*

Key words: *Byzantine hagiography, Vitae, Martyria, Byzantine East, Latin West*

The appearance and development of Byzantine translations

While the question of the translation of many hagiographical texts of the East, from the Greek into the Latin language has attracted a large number of scholars and many valuable studies have been published, it is paradoxical that the translation, from the Latin to the Greek language, of hagiographical texts of the West to the East, never gained such, interest. The relevant studies, although appearing in the mid-19th century, are limited and this confirms the above finding. Indirectly, however, there is often a reference to the less extensive translation stream of such texts. The research of the Benedict monk D.E. Dekkers, in 1953, was substantial, the very important publications of Fr. Halkin, as well as the concise publication by R. Gounelle in 2005.¹

In the wider area of the Greek-speaking Byzantine East, the first translations of Latin texts into Greek date back to the beginning of the 4th century, in the time of Constantine the Great.² The works of Eusebius of Caesarea contain texts of Emperor Constantine's letters, speeches and decrees, as well as other pre-existing translations. Indicatively, we refer to the translation of the *Fourth Election of Virgil* and excerpts from the work of Tertullian *Apologeticum*.³

From the 5th century on, the knowledge of Latin in the field of the East began to decline dramatically, and the use of Latinism was found in isolated cases. The need for Greek translations of Latin texts therefore becomes even more urgent. We also note that since the 10th century there has now been a complete shift to the Greek language, and even in its Attic form. Another very important point is that the place, where the translations were made into Greek,

1 See Dekkers 1953, 193-233; Gounelle 2005, 35-73.

2 See Fischer 1982, 173-215.

3 Nikitas 2007, 423-442; Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 47-48.

could provide additional information. We must not, however, conclude that when there were Latinisms in Greek texts, then these were translations from Latin, as this was common in the Byzantine literature of the time and could therefore lead to misrepresentation.⁴

The heritage of the Late Antiquity is the bilingual manuscript, the *bilingue*. Among the Latin-Greek manuscripts of this kind, are the remnants of the *bilingual codes* of Virgil, at least nine in number, found in Egypt. However, it seems that these manuscripts could also be produced in Constantinople in the 6th century.⁵

Some of Tertullian's works have been translated from the Christian literature of the West and the work of very valuable Latin writers, but only extracts from *De baptismo* have been preserved in Greek.⁶ Bishop Sophronius of Bethlehem translated the works of Jerome, *De virginitate* and *Vita Hilarionis*.⁷ Other authors have translated of Cyprian and the doctrinal treatise of Novatian's *De Trinitate*. In the late 6th or early 7th century Anastasios II, Patriarch of Antiocheia, translated the work of Pope Gregory the Great, the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, a pastoral handbook, which aimed at elevating the priest's priesthood and priesthood mystery and was widely popular in later years. The work was also disseminated to the Eastern Church, and Gregory, in a Letter (602), informs us that the work had been translated into Greek, a translation that has been lost.⁸ At the same time a monk named Thalassius, translated the *Symbolum Athanasianum*.⁹

The translations of Latin works of Christian literature from the West have returned to prominence after the 13th century, largely because of the moves to reunite the Churches. The Crusades were preceded by the glorious period of Byzantine Hesychasm, a period during which dogmatic works, mainly of triadic content, were found at the center. Among those who composed translations from Latin into Greek were Maximus Planoudes, the brothers Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones and Manuel Kalekas.¹⁰

Especially, for the hagiographical literature of the Early Byzantine and Middle Byzantine period, we find that a significant number of *Vitae*, *Martyria*, rituals of relics' disposal, etc. are translated from Latin into Greek and vice versa. In this way, the Saints of the West reach the East and vice versa and in many cases a common honor of certain Saints is established, both in the Roman and in the Constantinopolitan calendar. The widespread dissemination of hagiographical translations shows the particular interest of the East and the West in informing each one about the Saints of the other Church.

In the East, as we understand, it was of particular interest to translate the lives of Saints of the Roman Church. We note the two very important and early hagiographical collections, the *Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum*, the first written in the Latin language, and the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (BHL 6633-36), which were translated into Greek. For the *Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum*, there was an understanding that it had been written in Greek

4 Gounelle 2005, 47-50, where the above views are expressed by a reference to the general problem and related literature.

5 Berschin 1998, 67,77.

6 According to Professor A. Koltsiou-Nikita, the works *De baptismo*, *De spectaculis* and *De virginibus velandis* were translated into Greek, but the relevant texts were not saved. See Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 48.

7 See *De viris illustribus*, cap. 134: «Sophronius vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit: de virginitate quoque ad Eustochium, et Vitam Hilarionis monachi, opuscula mea, in Graecum elegantiori sermone transtulit: Psalterium quoque et Prophetas, quos nos de Hebraeo in Latinum vertimus»

8 See *Epistula* 12, 6, CCL 140A, 976.

9 See Mann 2007, 241-242; Clark 1987, 37, 38.

10 See Koltsiou-Nikita 2005, passim; Eadem 2009, 49, where there is an extensive quote of the relevant bibliography.

from the 9th century, according to a manuscript found in the National Library of Paris, but this view was rebuilt in 1890 by J.A. Robinson, who documented that the collection was written in the late 2nd century (ca. 180 AD) in Latin.¹¹ The earliest hagiographical translation is the *Life of Saint Sylvester, Pope of Rome*, the ecclesiastical man who, in a part of the Byzantine hagiographical tradition, was associated with the conversion and baptism of Constantine the Great into Christianity.¹² This text was widely circulated after the 6th century.

During the 7th and the 8th centuries the *Vita Ambrosii* by Pauline of Milan,¹³ the works *Vita Malchi*, *Vita Pauli* και *De viris illustribus* by Hieronymus, as well as the *Dialogi* by Pope Gregory the Great are translated from Latin to Greek by Pope Zacharias, a project which is extensively referred to the following. In the 9th century the *Vita S. Anastasiae* is translated by John the Good, the *Vita S. Martini* by Sulpicius Severus and the *Vita Gregorii Magni* by Paul the Deacon.¹⁴

A special case:

Joseph the Hymnographer as a source of western hagiographical traditions

In the Byzantine East, during the Middle Byzantine period, a number of translated *Lives* of the West, from the Latin into the Greek language, were inspired by the work of the Byzantine hymnographers. However, the most important role for the integration of the martyrs and Saints who come from the Roman calendar, played a part the composition of hymnographic texts (*canons*) by the most eminent composer of *canons*, Joseph the Hymnographer (812-886 AD).¹⁵ This is a phenomenon that reverses the usual practice of Byzantine hymnographers, according to which the hagiographical texts were the sources of the hymnographic texts since in the case of Joseph, his *canons* constituted sources at least for several hagiographical *hypomnemata* of the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*.¹⁶

Joseph, a native of Sicily, was in Rome on a mission from Constantinople in the year 841, so he must have been a good connoisseur of Latin.¹⁷ Joseph attempted during the 9th century the first systematic synthesis of a very large number of *canons*, about four hundred, which concerned most of the Saints' celebrations of the liturgical year. The purpose of this venture was to integrate memory each of the saints in the church calendar with the composition of even a brief text.¹⁸ Among the *canons* composed by Joseph are included also several *canons* concerning western Saints. Modern scholars, such as E. Follieri and A. Luzzi have concluded

11 The publication of the manuscript in Greek was published by H. Usener in 1881, but he also claimed to be a translation of a lost Latin original text. See, Robinson 1891, passim; Cf. Freudenberger 1973, 196-215; Berschin 1986, passim; Gärtner 1989, 149-167; Cerullo 1994, 99-126. For the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, see Rupprecht 1991, 177-192.

12 See Paschalidis 2007, 39-50.

13 See Pasini 1979, 373-380.

14 See Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 55-56.

15 See Tomadakis 1971, passim.

16 See the comments by Paschalidis 2002, 279-295.

17 See Tomadakis 1971, 49-50, who erroneously states that Joseph should not have known the Latin language.

18 See Patterson-Sevcenko 1998, 101-114, esp. on page 113. This finding is based on the relative reference of John the Deacon, *Λόγος εις τὸν βίον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ὑμνογράφου*, PG 105, 965C: «Βούλεται τις μαθεῖν τὸν βίον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμέραν τιμωμένου ἁγίου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ; Μετερχέσθω τὸ εὐρυθμον, καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀδομένων ἐπιγινωσκέτω τὴν τοῦ βίου διαγωγὴν. Καὶ πᾶς μὲν τῶν ἁγίων ὑπ' ἐκείνου τιμώμενος ἀναδείκνυται· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν ὀράται τιμώμενος». Cf. Paschalidis 2015, 461-479.

that Joseph's sources for these *canons* were the relevant Latin hagiographical texts, for which there were no corresponding Greek translations.¹⁹ An example of those supported above is that if we attempted to make an analysis of the *canon* compiled in honor of Saint Felix, Bishop of Thibiuca, we would find that the hymnographer used the text of a Greek translation of the Latin original *vita*, but which has been lost and now there is another related one, the *Recensio Venusiensis II* of the Saint's Life (*BHL* 2895b).²⁰

One could therefore claim that for a series of western Saints included in the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* and honored jointly with the Church of Rome and at the same time *canons* have been compiled for them by Joseph the Hymnographer, Joseph was aware of the relevant Latin hagiographical sources or their Greek translations, some of which have been lost. Among them, we mention Saints Januarius, Bishop of Benevento, Faustus (*BHG* 773y), Celsius (*BHG* 1323), Hilarion (*BHG* 753), Vincent and Valerius (*BHG* 1867), Martin, Bishop of Tours (*BHG* 1181), Clement I, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 350), Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, (*BHG* 68), Anastasia the Pharmakolytria, (*BHG* 81), Sylvester, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 1628-9), Gregory, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 721) and Stephen I, Pope of Rome (*BHG* 1669).

The Greek translation of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great by Pope Zacharias

One of the most important and charismatic figures of the Church of Rome was Pope Zacharias I, of Greek descent from Calabria, the last Greek pope in the West, to close the "Byzantine" era of Papacy. His pontificate coincided with the reign of Byzantine emperor Constantine V (r. 741-775 AD), a supporter of the iconoclastic dispute. According to the testimonies of the period, severe persecutions against the iconophile monks and clergy led a large number of them to Italy and Rome. Zacharias was distinguished for his ability in diplomacy, which contributed to the development of friendly relations with Liutprand, who had occupied Ravenna. His overall presence as a pope has been extremely successful after managing to deal with issues related to the Lombards, the Franks and the Byzantines of Ravenna.²¹

However, what is of interest to us in this study, is Zacharia's translation work, which deals with the translation from Latin into Greek of the Dialogues of Pope and his forerunner, Gregory I the Great (590-604 AD). This translation was widely disseminated in the Greek-speaking world and received great acceptance. It was the source for the 11th century monk Nilus of Rossano, descending from Calabria, who wrote the *canon* in honor of Saint Benedict.²²

Pope Gregory I the Great was a leading ecclesiastical figure in Rome and he wrote a great theological and hagiographical work, endowed with virtues in the use of speech and the Latin language, in theological thought and knowledge. He is well known in the hagiographical tradition and honored by the Eastern Church, more than any other Saint in the West.²³ Among his very important texts, we can distinguish the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* (Book of Pastoral Rule) and the *Liber Dialogorum* (Dialogue Book), which were also translated into Greek.

19 Follieri 1964, 251-272; Luzzi 1995, 123-176; Paschalidis 2015, 466.

20 Luzzi 1995, 131.

21 Marcou 1976, 1017-1035.

22 See the most recent study on Saint Nilus of Rossano, Burgarella et al. 2009, *passim*.

23 See *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, τόμ. VII, p. 222-278. Delehaye 1904, 449-454; Halkin 1955, 109-114. The literature also records the case of a Latin *Life* of the Saint, translated from the Greek *Life* of Saint Gregory. See Halkin 1964, 379-383.

The Dialogue Book is a work written in 593-594 AD and consists of four books. This includes the lives, miracles, and prophetic sayings of many Saints, clergy, monks, and folk from the Italian peninsula, while it has been argued that many of Gregory's sources were of Greek origin.²⁴ The work is one of the most well-known and important in the East, when it was translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias.²⁵ This work gave Gregory the Great the name *Dialogue*, best known in the Eastern ecclesiastical tradition.²⁶ In a bilingual text in the manuscript of the National Library of Vienna *Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 137*, dated back to the 11th century, there is the Greek translation of Pope Zacharias and next to that the Latin original text of Gregory's *Dialogues*.²⁷ Thus, with this translation of the *Dialogues*, Zacharias succeeded in making known to the Byzantines the one who had consciously refused to use the Greek language.

Regarding the place and time that Pope Zacharias composed the translation, we estimate that this happened during the last years he was on the throne of the Church of Rome. A clear indication that he was the author of the Greek translation he found in two epigrams in the literary form of the acrostic,²⁸ of which the earliest was found in a manuscript dating back to the year 800 and probably written in one of the famous Greek monasteries in Rome. In these epigrams he is self-assembled through an encrypted Greek-Latin "subscription" (*subscriptio*), which is a later addition.²⁹ In this particular manuscript, there is probably the second epigram-acrostic.³⁰ In the first of the two acrostics there is a reference to the name of Pope Zacharias, «Γρηγορίου, βιβλος Ζαχαρίου Πατριάρχου»,³¹ while in the second acrostic, which precedes a text with the title «Ἐτεροι στίχοι», there is a reference to the name, «Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ», who was probably one of the copyists of the manuscript.³²

Most of the manuscripts containing the Greek translation of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory I the Great, where the first or initial pages are preserved, contain a relatively small and authentic Greek composition, which usually functions as a Preface to the author's text. The primary purpose for which this anonymous Preface was written was to explain why the text of the Dialogues was a valuable contribution to the Christian literature and why Pope Zacharias (741-752 AD), who was at that time on the throne of the Church of Rome, translated this work into Greek.³³

At the same time, this *Preface* provided a number of clues to the historical circumstances of the time of Pope Gregory I. To understand why there is a praise of the author,

24 A manuscript of the Greek translation written in 800 in Rome is preserved in the Code. Vat. gr. 1666. The Greek translation of the Books I,III and IV exists in PL 77, 149-430, while Book II in PL 66, 126-203. See, the critical version of the text, Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi Libri IV de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum*, ed. by A. de Vogüé, tr. P. Antin, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, Sources Chrétiennes 251, 260, 265, 3 volumes, Paris 1978-1980. Cf. Castaldi 2003, 1-39. This work was also known by a newer version in Greek by Caesarius Dapontes in 1780. See Nikitas 2002, 1173-1184. A Modern Greek translation of the work has been made by the Hieromonk Ioannis Meskos.

25 See Halkin 1955, *ibid*.

26 See Petersen 1984, p. 191.

27 See Hunger et al. 1984, 139-142. Berschin 1998, 78; Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 185-186.

28 See Mercati 1919, 67-75 (especially the pages 73-75).

29 See *Cod. Vat. gr. 1666*, f. 41v. Cf. Battifol 1888, 297; Giannelli 1950, 408; Berschin 1998, 78; Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 256-257, 270.

30 See Mercati 1919, 68-69; Havener 1989, 103-117, especially 108-109.

31 Mercati 1919, 70-71, mistakenly claims that we must lead to the identification of the two personalities in the face of Pope Zacharias as the only author, despite the fact that two different names are explicitly mentioned in the two acrostics. See Gounelle 2005, 60.

32 See Sansterre 21993, 125, f. 151. Cf. Gounelle 2005, 61.

33 See Havener 1989, 103.

Pope Gregory, and the translator Pope Zacharias, and even to great extent, one must take into account the historical events of the period, especially the intensity of the iconoclastic dispute in the East and the stability in the West, which reinforces the particular reference to the primacy of the Church of Rome. As mentioned above, the attitude of emperor Constantine V (741-775 AD), as an iconoclast who expelled the iconophiles, caused a wave of migration to the West. Many were those monks and clergymen who were exiled or forced to flee to the Greek-speaking provinces of the West, mainly in Sicily and southern Italy, as well as in Rome. The role played by the Church of Rome at that time was that of the patron who welcomed and accommodated the oppressed iconophile clergy and confirmed her opposition to the iconoclastic policy of the Byzantine emperors.³⁴

It should be noted, therefore, that in many respects the *Preface* to the Greek translation of the *Dialogues*, written by Pope Zacharias I, had the characteristic features of the promotion of the Orthodox teaching by a Byzantine Greek to other Greeks, who were the recipients and potential readers of the work, and contained a praise from the Roman Church in mouth of its own Primate.

In addition, this *Preface* itself provides a number of valuable information on handwritten tradition, material that is of interest to younger scholars concerned with the critical edition of the *Dialogues* and the literary approach and evaluation of Pope Zacharias' translation work. It could also be considered as a text that could help to get a good critical edition of the *Dialogues* themselves, and this is highlighted in some of the manuscripts. It should certainly be noted here that the final editing of a critical edition takes into account many more manuscripts, if any, and a number of them are missing from the relevant Preface to the Greek translation of the original.³⁵

Concerning the reliability of Pope Zacharias's translation in relation to the original work, there is complete agreement and faithfulness, especially in the theological meanings contained in the original text. It is clear that in theological texts, there is a major question of credibility in translations, because they are interested in whether they can claim value as the agents of the original tradition. It seems, however, that the *Dialogues* also played an important role in the richness that distinguishes the Greek language, sometimes against Latin, so that it can accurately render all the meanings contained in the Latin original.³⁶

Finally, it is worth noting that Zacharias translated the Life of Saint Benedict, based on the Latin text of Pope Gregory I the Great, as contained in the Second Book of his *Dialogues*.³⁷ A *synaxarium* of Saint Benedict, «τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεθερμηνευομένου εὐλογημένου», was also contained in the Byzantine hagiographical tradition.³⁸

The alleged translation of Latin hagiographical texts in the Panegyric Collection of Patriarch Methodius I the Confessor

Several scholars have pointed out that during the 9th and the 10th centuries the presence of narratives translated from Latin into Greek, *in the menologia* and in the Constantinopolitan *synaxaria*, was remarkable. The authors of the pre-Metaphrastic *menologia* were of particular interest in the Saints of the Church of Rome, but the *synaxaria* (in italics)

34 See Havener 1989, 104.

35 See Havener 1989, 104-105. Cf. Gounelle 2005, 58-60.

36 See Koltsiou-Nikita 2009, 275.

37 See Lackner 1970, 185-202; Magno 2001.

38 Paschalidis 2015, 466.

included a specific number of Greek-Italian Saints. The observations of E. Follieri and H. Delehaye confirmed the above.³⁹

A very important and at the same time exuberant ecclesiastical personality of the 9th century, was Methodius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (843-847), from Syracuse in Sicily. In 815 he left the Chinolakkos Monastery and in the spring of 817 he was found as the envoy of the Patriarch of Constantinople Nikephoros I in Rome, but perhaps his move there was dictated by his opposition to the iconoclastic policy of Emperor Leo V of Armenia.⁴⁰ His presence there until 821 was combined with his rich writing and translation activities. Among other things, he prepared the famous *Panegyric Collection* of hagiographical texts (*Martyrology*) for the needs of the Roman Church.⁴¹ In fact, he transferred elements from the tradition of the Constantinople's Church to the West. Characteristically, he states in his relative work on the Saints Cosmas and Damian: «ἰδοὺ ἐγράψαμεν ὡς ἐπηγγελάμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τῶν πανηγυρικομαρτυρολογίων ἢτοι μηνολογίων μέχρι τούτου τοῦ δευτέρου (βιβλίου)». According to the copyist of the handwritten *Martyrology*, Methodius wrote by hand, he is the author of the *Commentaries* and composed it in Rome, in the church of Saint Peter.⁴² This *Menologion*, which was a two-volumed, containing the collection of martyrdoms in Greek for the Saints of the Roman Church, has unfortunately been lost, but we have indirect evidence from a certain Anastasios, in 890, which seems to have used and was influenced by the style of Methodius.⁴³ Also, Symeon Metaphrastes used the *Martyrology* of Methodius as his source.⁴⁴ There are quite a few scholars who argue that Methodius translated several *vitae* from Latin into Greek, following the model of the Greek translation of the Latin *Martyrology*, *Post beatam et gloriosam*, by Saint Dionysios, whose attribution follows the primary writers.

A fragmentary sample with information on the period of Methodius's stay in Rome provides us with two texts saved by his lost *Martyrology*, the *Commentaries* on the Roman *Martyrium* of Saints Kosmas and Damian, and on the *Martyrium* of Saint Marina.⁴⁵

With all reservations, we cite the view expressed by some scholars about the *Encomion* on Saint Agatha of Sicily, who was martyred during the reign of Decius. Before being published by E. Mioni,⁴⁶ it was widely known by its Latin translation, and although it belongs to the Greek tradition of the text of the *martyrium* of Saint Agatha, the fact that it does not differ significantly from the Latin tradition may indicate dependencies that referring to common Latin sources of the earlier period.⁴⁷

About the hagiographical work of Methodius, *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου, Ῥωστικοῦ καὶ Ἐλευθερίου*,⁴⁸ it is a very interesting point of view that it was written in Rome after 820, at a time when the Latin text of the *Martyrium*, known as *Post Beatam et Gloriosam*,⁴⁹ appeared at the same time. The Latin text was a partially re-

39 See Follieri 1973, 553-578, especially 558-560; Delehaye 1936, 169.

40 Panagiotopoulos 2003, 161-163.

41 See Canart 1979, 343-354; Panagiotopoulos 2003, 126.

42 Panagiotopoulos 2003, 175-177.

43 See Perma 1991, 271-318. Cf. Gounelle 2005, 64-65.

44 Panagiotopoulos 2003, 416-417, where reference is made to the relevant literature.

45 Comments are preserved in *Paris. gr. 1470, ff. 111v-112r*. See *Ὁ λόγος εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ἀναργύρους Μεθοδίου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, ed. by Deubner 1907, 13 §§ 41-42. Comments to the Martyrdom of Saint Marina are preserved in the same codex, *Paris. gr. 1470 ff. 135r-141r*. See Usener 1886, 48-53. Cf. Panagiotopoulos 2003, 417-422.

46 See Mioni 1950, 58-90.

47 See Panagiotopoulos 2003, 438-440.

48 See Westering 1937.

49 See *AA.SS. Oct. IV, στ. 792-794, BHL 2178*.

publication of the earliest work of the 5th century, known as *Gloriosae*,⁵⁰ and dates from the years 824-826, therefore it was later than that of Methodius. There is a parallel between the two Latin texts in the thematic sections and it seems that the newer Latin was compiled in direct dependence on the text of Methodius, confirming that it is a translation, probably made by Hilduin (814-840), the abbot of Saint Denis of Paris, or by a collaborator of his.⁵¹ There are few scholars who argue that in the *Vita* of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, composed by Methodios, scattered Latin texts of earlier writers were collected, which he translated and incorporated into his final text.⁵² It is clearly stated the *Martyrium* of Saints Peter and Paul, which must have been written in Latin –«τοῦτο γὰρ λατίνῃ φωνῇ ὁ Κλήμης ὑπερμηνεύεται».⁵³

Finally, in the Latin translation of the Akathist Hymn, which is preserved in the Monastery of Saint-Denis in Paris, is preceded by a Preface, a text with characteristics of a *chronicle* which gives us elements of Byzantine history and theology and has been widely disseminated. Among other things, he refers to the reasons for the composition of the Akathist Hymn by Patriarch Germanos. For this text, it is supported by younger scholars as a whole, that his author was Methodios, who, as a Greek of Rome, where he was found during the Iconoclasm under the reign of Leo of Armenia, he could have written it with the translation. He probably moved to Paris for some time, as he had gone to the Reichenau monastery on Lake Constance.⁵⁴

The translation of the Latin Martyrium of Saint Anastasia

A hagiographical text of the Western Church, translated from the original Latin into Greek, was the *Martyrium* of Saint Anastasia the Roman or the *Pharmakolytria*. It is about an anonymous extensive Latin *Martyrium* (*Passio*), which was first circulated in the 5th or the 6th century in Rome⁵⁵ and Fr. Halkin claimed that Theodore Krithinos from Syracuse, the *oikonomos* of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, translated it.⁵⁶ Theodore was sent to Rome in 824, as a member of the embassy, by the iconoclastic emperor Michael II to the emperor Louis the Pious in order to achieve unity in the Church, as it is known that the Church of Rome did not adopt the iconoclastic policy of the Byzantine emperors.⁵⁷

Theodore Krithinos found the Latin manuscript in the church of Saint Anastasia, located on the Palatine Hill in Rome. The information on his translation comes from the epilogue of this text, which states: *Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλάχιστος Θεόδωρος ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ γεόμενος ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἡῶρον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐγκείμενα· καὶ ἐρμήνευσα διὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἰωάννου*». This phrase expressly states that the translation was not made by Theodore Krithinos himself, but by a Greek-speaking monk of Rome, «ὁ καλὸς Ἰωάννης».⁵⁸ The church of St Anastasia was traditionally a Greek institution, so there were many Greeks in Rome, even in the 9th century.

It seems that the choice of this particular *Martyrium* by Theodoros Krithinos was not accidental. In fact, it was a move that was part of a wider policy of the iconoclastic portion in

50 *BHL* 21171. Cf. Loenertz 1951, 218-219.

51 See Loenertz 1951, 221-222, 225, 228. Cf. Panagiotopoulos 2003, 463-464.

52 See Canart 1979, 349; Gounelle 2005, 65.

53 See Methodius, *Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου*, 4, 6-50, 56. Panagiotopoulos 2003, 469-470.

54 Panagiotopoulos 2003, 181-182.

55 The Latin text (*BHL* 400-403) was edited by H. Delehaye 1936, 221-246.

56 See Delehaye 1936, 151-152; Gouillard 1961, 371-401. Cfr. Gounelle 2005, 65-66.

57 Gounelle 2005, 66; Braun 2007, 118.

58 See *BHG* 81-83b, 81a. Usener 1887, 219-259, especially 241-247; Halkin 1973, 86-131, especially 131.

Constantinople, against the iconophiles. In the version of the *Martyrium* translated into Greek, we find elements that support the attitude of iconoclasts. According to the views of modern scholars, there are four key elements in the Martyrdom that are exaggerated: the courage of martyrs to deny publicly the worship of idols, the promotion of virtuous women leading to the martyrdom for their attitude towards the idols, the general iconographic view of the translator, according to the internal references of the text, and the promotion of the fact that Saint Anastasia came from the aristocratic social class, which is projected in relation to the corresponding iconoclastic attitude of the aristocracy and the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople.⁵⁹ Immediately an attempt is made to introduce a Latin text in Constantinople into a translation from Rome, defending a hostile attitude towards the idols.⁶⁰

We could consider the above point of view interesting, given that the Greek version does not give so much emphasis on the life of the Saint, as much as her negative attitude towards idols. A clear indication of this it is considered to be the use of the translation of the term «ἀόρατος» in the «δεξιάν τοῦ πατρός», which is not accidental and seeks to provoke the defenders of the images.⁶¹ We may therefore consider that Theodore Krithinos sought to translate the Martyrdom of Saint Anastasia for iconoclastic propaganda, but we can claim that it was a spontaneous reaction of a Greek-speaking high-ranking-cleric who was in Rome and found the specific hagiographical text in a Greek-speaking church and thus transferred it to Constantinople, as a tradition of the Greek-speaking Church of Rome.⁶² It seems that in general while Theodore stayed in Rome, he was interested in the existence of Greek martyrs honored in the Western Church and it is quite natural to have carried the translated *Martyrium* on his return to Constantinople.⁶³ However, the Greek translation of the *Martyrium* of Saint Anastasia received many revisions in the following years and was included in the *Menologion* of the Byzantine Church, after her liturgical honor was established.⁶⁴

Other Byzantine translations of Latin hagiographical texts

As already mentioned above, the Benedictine monk D.M. Dekkers included in a first list he compiled, which is not considered complete, since it ceases in the middle of the 8th century, the *Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum* (BHL 7527, BHG 1645) and the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* (BHL 6633, BHG 1482), for which we mentioned above, and a number of other Saints' Lives of the 4th and 5th centuries, as well as subsequent.⁶⁵

So it remains to be sought in the research to be able to determine when, where and by whom a number of translations of hagiographical texts from Latin to Greek was made. Significant production of hagiographical translations has been Rome and in Italian provinces with Greek communities, mainly after the second half of the 7th century. In Magna Graecia

59 See McCormick 1994, 95-162, especially 146-148.

60 See Gounelle 2005, which makes extensive reference to the above points.

61 See Delehaye 1936, 237; Halkin 1973, 112.

62 See Delehaye 1936, 151.

63 See Gounelle 2005, 151.

64 See Devos 1962, 33-51; Delehaye 1966, 394-402; In honor of Saint Anastasia, two *canons* were compiled by Joseph the Hymnographer, two *Kontakia*, a Canon by Theophanes, one by George and one anonymous. See Delehaye 1936, 156-158; Follieri 1964, 262-263, where there is an extensive citation of the relevant bibliography.

65 See, for example, the *Life* of Saint Ambrose (BHL 37, BHG 67), the *Life* of Saint Paul of Thebes (BHL 6959, BHG 1466-70), the *Lives* of Saint Malchus (BHL 5190, BHG 1015-16) and Hilarion (BHL 3879, BHG 752-3), composed by Saint Hieronymus, the *Life* of Saint Benedict (BHL 1102, BHG 273) and Pope Gregory I the Great (BHL 3641, BHG 721).

there were Greek monasteries that produced translations from Latin to Greek. In manuscripts dating from the 10th to the 12th century there are numerous translated hagiographical texts.⁶⁶

Indicatively, we mention some of the translated texts into Greek of the Middle Byzantine period. The *Martyrium* of Saint Bartholomew (*BHG* 227) is preserved in a unique manuscript, the *Marcianus gr.* 362, and it seems to be a copy of the 13th century, copied by Nikolaos Damenos, a monk of the *Lingua Phari* monastery in Messina, but one can also look up the original text in earlier periods.⁶⁷ The same applies to the *Martyrium* of Saints Cyriacus, Hippolyte and Maximus (*BHG* 466), which is a translation of the Latin original text (*BHL* 1722) and according to the latest research dates back to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century.⁶⁸ In the same way it seems that the information on the relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius (*BHG* 67a) comes from the work of John of Damascus, *Πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἁγίας εἰκόνας*, the beginning of the 8th century. A number of translated hagiographical texts of the pre-translation period has been included in the *Menologia* of the East before 950.⁶⁹

Conclusion

We should not omit to note that the content of many translated hagiographical works of the West passed to the East through the hymnographers and their *work*. More characteristic of all is the case of the hymnography of Joseph the Hymnographer, as already mentioned above.⁷⁰

Finally, there are many variations of many of the Latin hagiographical texts translated into Greek which were not included in the ancient *Menologia* of the East. However, many of these were known to the editors of the *Synaxarium* of the Church of Constantinople and used them as the basis and source for their compositions. We refer to the texts concerning Saints Hippolytus, Cyriacus and their fellows, Pope Alexander, Bishops Apollinaris of Ravenna, Felix Thibiuciae, Caesarius and Julian Terracinae, etc.⁷¹

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66 See codices *Ambros.* D 92sup., (10th-11th c.) (*BHG* 773y, 2168), F 144sup., (12th c.) (*BHG* 46, 2109), *Vat. gr.* 866, (11th c.) (*BHG* 46, 602, 1288y, 1327, 1408, 2165, 2191, 2241), *Vat. gr.* 1608, (12th-13th c.) (*BHG* 284, 773y, 1600, 2191), *Vat. gr.* 1987, (10th-11th c.) (*BHG* 602), *gr.* 2072, (11th c.) (*BHG* 773y).

67 See Bonnet 1895, 353-356.

68 See Halkin 1971, 304.

69 See Ehrhard, vol. I, 1937, 155-701.

70 Luzzi 1995, 131.

71 Luzzi 1995, 177-200, especially 181-182 and 189.

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**ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΕΣ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΕΙΣ ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΩΝ ΑΓΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ
ΤΗ ΔΙΑΡΚΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥ**

Σε αυτή τη μελέτη στόχος μας είναι να παρουσιάσουμε ελληνικές μεταφράσεις λατινικών αγιολογικών κειμένων κατά τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο. Για την αγιολογική λογοτεχνία της Πρώτης και της Μέσης Βυζαντινής περιόδου διαπιστώνουμε ότι ένας σημαντικός αριθμός *Βίων*, *Μαρτυρίων*, τελετών ανακομιδής λειψάνων αγίων κτλ. μεταφράζονται από τη λατινική στην ελληνική γλώσσα και αντιστρόφως. Η ευρεία διάδοση των αγιολογικών μεταφράσεων δείχνει το ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον της Ανατολής και της Δύσης να αλληλοενημερώνονται για τους αγίους της άλλης Εκκλησίας. Στην Ανατολή, όπως καταλαβαίνουμε, ήταν ενδιαφέρον να μεταφράσουν τους *Βίους* των αγίων της Δυτικής Εκκλησίας.