

Bessarion's Treasure:

editing, translating and interpreting Bessarion's literary Heritage

Program

Day 1

Friday, 4 April, 2014,

Location: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani
Deutsches Studienzentrum in Venedig

Address: Palazzo Barbarigo della Terrazza
S. Polo 2765/A, Calle Corner

11:45–12:00 Inaugural Address by PD Dr. Sabine Meine (Director of the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani), Prof. Dr. Albrecht Berger (Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Centro, President of the Byzantine Studies Association of Germany) and the Organizers (PD Dr. Sergei Mariev, PD Dr. Katharina Luchner, Dr. Monica Marchetto)

Session 1, chair: Albrecht Berger

12:00–12:20 Christian Brockmann (Hamburg): "Bessarions textkritische Arbeit in Platon- und Aristoteles-Manuskripten"
12:20–12:30 Discussion

12:30–12:50 Vito Lorusso (Hamburg): "Ergänzungen und Paratexte in einem Aristoteles-Manuskript aus dem Kreis des Bessarion"
12:50–13:00 Discussion

13:00–13:20 Fabio Pagani (Berlin): "Modern Philology as a Key to understand a Byzantine Quarrel: Bessarion vs. Trapezuntius"
13:20–13:30 Discussion

13:30–15:00 **Lunch Break**

Session 2, chair: Christian Brockmann

15:00–15:20 Antonio Rigo (Venezia): "Two unedited works of the young Bessarion: Oratio ex pers. Ioannis Lascaris Leontaris ad filium and Homelia in illud: Beatus vir qui invenit sapientiam"
15:20–15:30 Discussion

15:30–15:50 Annick Peters–Custot (Paris): "Bessarion's monastic rule, the modalities of the text's redaction, and its impact on the Italian–Greek 'basilian' monasteries"
15:50–16:00 Discussion

16:00–16:20 Claudia Ludwig (Berlin): "Aristoteles, Theodoros Metochites und Bessarion: Bemerkungen zum Codex Marcianus 239"
16:20–16:30 Discussion

16:30–16:50 Sergei Mariev (München): "Discovering Bessarion. Philological and Philosophical Approaches to Bessarion's Texts"
16:50–17:00 Discussion

17:00–17:15 **Break**

Key-note Address

17:15–18:00 John Monfasani (Albany): "Il Cardinale Bessarione e i latini"

18:00–20:00 **Reception**

Day 2

5 April 2014

Location: Venice International University

Address: Isola di San Servolo
30100 Venice

Session 1, chair: Sergei Mariev

10:00–10:20 Georgios Steiris (Athens): "Michael Apostolis on Substance"
10:20–10:30 Discussion

10:30–10:50 Monica Marchetto (Palermo/München): "Logos e Physis. Platonismo e Aristotelismo nel *De Natura et Arte* di Bessarione"
10:50–11:00 Discussion

11:00–11:20 Eva Del Soldato (Philadelphia): "Bessarion among the Aristotelians"
11:20–11:30 Discussion

11:30–11:50 Grigory Vorobyev (St.–Petersburg/Roma): "Theodore Gaza's translations and their sources"
11:50–12:00 Discussion

12:00–14:00 Lunch Break

Session 2, chair: Antonio Rigo

14:00–14:20 John Demetracopoulos (Patras): A Cultural Aspect of 'Bessario Scholasticus': the Latin 'Quaestio' as a Tool for Peacefully and Effectively Resolving Disagreement
14:20–14:30 Discussion

14:30–14:50 Panagiotis Athanasopoulos (Ioannina): "Bessarion's Quotations from the 'Thomas de Aquino Graecus' and the 'Thomas de Aquino Latinus'"
14:50–15:00 Discussion

15:00–15:20 Chrestos Triantafyllopoulos (London): "Bessarion on the 'Distinctio in Divinis': a Chapter of Bessarion's Thomism"

15:20–15:30 Discussion

15:30–16:00 Coffee Break

Session 3, chair: Fabio Pagani

16:00–16:20 Katharina Luchner (München): "Bessarion als Philologe am Beispiel von *De natura et arte*"

16:20–16:30 Discussion

16:30–16:50 Frederick Lauritzen (Bologna): "Bessarion's speech before the Synod of Trebizond"

16:50–17:00 Discussion

17:00–17:20 Aslihan Akışık (Istanbul): "Bessarion's Enkomion of Trebizond"

17:20–17:30 Discussion

17:30–17:50 Delphine Lauritzen (Paris): "Bessarion and the Planudean Anthology"

17:50–18:00 Discussion

18:00–18:15 **Concluding Discussion**

Participants

Key-note Speaker:

- **John Monfasani** (Albany)
 - **Title:** Bessarion Latinus: Cardinal Bessarion and the Latin World

Other speakers include:

- **Aslihan Akışık** (Istanbul)
 - **Title:** Bessarion's Enkomion of Trebizond
 - **Abstract:** Bessarion's enkomion of his patris Trebizond, composed circa 1440 and before the final departure of Bessarion to Italy, is a radical parting with earlier representations of the Pontic city, in particular with the fourteenth-century Panaretos' *Chronicle of Trebizond* and George Pachymeres' *History*. The unique copy of the enkomion is found in an autograph manuscript, Marc. Gr. 533, that contains Bessarion's early writings and that he bequeathed in 1468 to the Republic of Venice as part of his extensive donation which eventually formed the Marciana Library. The enkomion has been edited twice, first by Sp. Lampros and then by Lampsides. It has not been translated into English or any other language. In a grand sweep of historical narrative, Bessarion constructs a Hellenic past for the city of Trebizond that is largely independent of the medieval period. I propose to study this early composition of Bessarion in the context of his teacher Plethon's writings, in particular Plethon's political orations wherein the Platonist philosopher advised members of the Byzantine ruling family to undertake a radical rearrangement of late Byzantine

society. Further, I will compare Bessarion's construction of a Hellenic identity for the city of Trebizond with the fifteenth-century historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles' presentation of the Empire of Trebizond. Laonikos Chalkokondyles, along with Bessarion, was a student of Plethon and contributed to the revival of Hellenic identity that did not only refer to ancient pagan religion but also to ethnic and geographical self-representations. Finally, I will gauge whether Bessarion's and Chalkokondyles' understanding of the Empire of Trebizond truthfully reflected the aspirations and realities of the citizens of this city in the fifteenth-century.

- **Panagiotis Athanasopoulos**(Ioannina)
 - **Title:** Bessarion's Quotations from the 'Thomas de Aquino Graecus' and the 'Thomas de Aquino Latinus'
 - **Abstract:** In 2011, J. Monfasani published his thorough work on Bessarion's Latin library under the title *Bessarion Scholasticus*. The title is fully justified by the large number of books by Scholastic authors in the Cardinal's library. Since, as Monfasani shows, Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) is the most prominent among them, it is, in many aspects, of particular interest to examine the reception of the texts and thought of the *Doctor Angelicus* by Bessarion. Given that Thomism had entered Byzantium about a century earlier by means of the translation of numerous Thomistic works into Greek (see <http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/labart/dimitr/index1.html> and <http://www.rhul.ac.uk/hellenic-institute/Research/Thomas.htm>), Bessarion could have quoted both from the 'Thomas de Aquino Graecus' and 'Thomas de Aquino Latinus', including some Thomistic writings that were not translated into Greek. The aim of this study is: (i) to produce a more or less full list of Bessarion's quotations from Thomas; (ii) to detect the provenance (Greek or Latin) of all the Thomistic quotations in Bessarion's works; (iii) to identify the various forms of Bessarion's quotations from the *corpus thomisticum* (citation, abridgment, allusion etc.); and (iv) to perceive which theological and philosophical topics stimulated Bessarion to have recourse to Thomas.
- **Albrecht Berger** (Munich)
- **Christian Brockmann**(Hamburg):
 - **Title:** Bessarions textkritische Arbeit in Platon- und Aristoteles-Manuskripten
 - **Abstract:** Bessarions Platon- und Aristoteles-Manuskripte sind reiche Zeugnisse seiner jahrelangen intensiven Arbeit mit den Textkorpora der beiden Philosophen. In seiner großen Handschriften-Sammlung ragen diese Kodizes als diejenigen heraus, die der Gelehrte am stärksten bearbeitet, korrigiert und mit Randbemerkungen versehen hat. Auf fast jeder Seite finden sich Eingriffe oder Ergänzungen von seiner Hand und beständig werden sein intensives Ringen um die beste Textgestalt und seine weite Kenntnis anderer Überlieferungsträger und Textversionen greifbar. Mit seiner Arbeit schuf Bessarion die Vorlagen für die kalligraphischen Muster- oder Referenzkodizes, die er dann erstellen ließ und die geradezu als Editionen oder Neueditionen in Manuskriptgestalt bezeichnet werden können. Die Bessarion-Kodizes markieren damit einen Höhepunkt griechisch-byzantinischer Manuskriptarbeit. Im Vortrag soll Bessarions Arbeitsweise, die als ein Musterfall für die Praktiken des Sammelns, Organisierens, Auswertens und Weitergebens von Wissen unter den Bedingungen einer Manuskriptkultur gelten kann, an einigen konkreten Beispielen verdeutlicht werden.
- **John Demetracopoulos**(Patras)
 - **Title:** A Cultural Aspect of 'Bessario Scholasticus': the Latin 'Quaestio' as a Tool for Peacefully and Effectively Resolving Disagreement
 - **Abstract:** Bessarion explicitly praises calm and reason-based discussion as the only means for resolving disagreement of any sort, including theological disputations. In his own writings, he often uses the practice of enumerating and systematically assessing others' arguments as well as producing his own arguments pro and contra in an objective way. This forms part of 'Bessario Scholasticus', since, in so doing, he proves to be heir of the Scholastic 'quaestio', whose merits had been formerly described and endorsed by

Demetrios Kydones. This way of arguing was not just a matter of style; rather, it was a mark of cultural identity—in Bessarion’s case, the ‘Western’ identity. This way of arguing sets him apart from most of his contemporary Byzantine intellectuals, who were accustomed to propound their own ideas by using (the literary genre of polemical pamphlets or treatises), Κατὰ + gen. (‘Contra...’) or Πρὸς + acc. (‘Adversus’) (‘Against...’), which goes at least as far back as the Christian literature of Antiquity (probably reaching its peak in the 4th-6th centuries) and was inherited and cultivated by the majority of Byzantine theologians. In sharp contrast with obstinate fighting for the cause of ‘truth’, Bessarion suggests that one must, in an atmosphere of “tolerance” (ἀγάπη), share one’s views and arguments (λόγοι) and counter-arguments (ἐνστάσεις) with others and eventually embrace truth. Although, like Demetrios Kydones, Bessarion seems to be optimistic regarding the extent to which this method can really bring people closer to each other, he seems to recognize – *modo Sceptico* – that variety in opinion will never be eliminated. In any case, is this really the way he himself treated his adversaries? In this context, the question arises whether Bessarion thought it objectively possible for men to master their passions and prejudices and employ pure reasoning in their pursuit of truth.

- **Eva Del Soldato**(Philadelphia)
 - **Title:** Bessarion among the Aristotelians
 - **Abstract:** ICP was a common point of reference for Aristotelian philosophers throughout the sixteenth century. This paper investigates the reasons and the forms of the circulation of the ICP in the Aristotelian milieu, also taking into consideration Bessarion's translation of the *Metaphysics*.
- **Delphine Lauritzen**(Paris)
 - **Title:** Bessarion and the *Planudean Anthology*
 - **Abstract:** The *Planudean Anthology* (Marcianus graecus 481) is contained in one of the most treasured manuscripts which Cardinal Bessarion left as a legacy to Venice. For more than one hundred years, until the discovery of the *Palatine Anthology* at the very beginning of the XVIIIth century, the *Planudean Anthology* was the only collection to transmit Greek Poetry to the West. Bessarion also wrote short pieces of poetry. These poems are of a courtier and were composed for specific circumstances (Gelegenheitsdichtung). Most of them are funerary compositions but the *Versus ad duplices togas Manuelis et Helenae Palaeologorum* provide an example of a different type. The question I intend to address hereby is: how can we characterize Bessarion’s poetry in relation to the *Planudean Anthology*?
- **Frederick Lauritzen**(Bologna)
 - **Title:** Bessarion's speech before the Synod of Trebizond
 - **Abstract:** Bessarion’s speech before the synod of Trebizond written between 1422 and 1431 reveals some traits which may later be found in his actions in Florence. The text discusses the attempt of the people and emperor of Trebizond to replace Dositheos, the spiritual father of Bessarion, with another metropolitan and the canon law involved in this complex issue. It is a fundamental document for the history of the church of Trebizond, but also reveals that Bessarion preferred the emperor’s protection rather than that of the church, an important point to understand his position at the council of Florence.
- **Vito Lorusso** (Hamburg)
 - **Title:** Ergänzungen und Paratexte in einem Aristoteles-Manuskript aus dem Kreis des Bessarion
 - **Abstract:** Der Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64 wurde Mitte der 1450er Jahre in Rom im Kreis des Kardinals Bessarion konzipiert und stellt ein typisches Produkt des intellektuellen Klimas dieser Zeit dar. Unter der Leitung des bekannten Kalligraphen Ioannes Rhosos aus Kreta erstellten verschiedene Kopisten im Auftrag des Hieromonachos Esaias aus Zypern dieses Manuskript, das als erstrangiges Zeugnis für die Aristoteles-Textüberlieferung in der Renaissancezeit gilt. Neben zentralen philosophischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Schriften des Aristoteles wie der Physik, der Metaphysik und den Traktaten Über den

Himmel, Über Werden und Vergehen und Meteorologica enthält der Vindobonensis auch zahlreiche erklärende Notizen, Diagramme und Verweisezeichen, die an den Rändern bzw. zwischen den Zeilen eingefügt worden sind. Zudem finden sich auf den ersten Blättern des Manuskripts (3r–7r) kleine Texte, die sich mit relevanten Begriffen des Aristotelismus beschäftigen, wie etwa „Ursache“, „Prinzip“, „Substanz“ und „Akzidenz“. In diesem Vortrag werden die erwähnten Additamenta sowohl aus textanalytischer als auch manuskriptologischer Perspektive vorgestellt. Daran schließt sich die Frage an, ob sie als Paratexte betrachtet werden können, die zur Kenntnis der *Controversia Aristotelica* beitragen.

- **Katharina Luchner** (Munich)
 - **Title:** Bessarion als Philologe am Beispiel von *De natura et arte*
- **Claudia Ludwig** (Berlin)
 - **Title:** Aristoteles, Theodoros Metochites und Bessarion: Bemerkungen zum Codex Marcianus 239.
- **Monica Marchetto** (Palermo)
 - **Title:** Logos and Physis. Platonism and Aristotelism in Bessarion's *De natura et arte*
- **Sergei Mariev**(Munich)
 - **Title:** Discovering Bessarion (philological and philosophical approaches to Bessarion's texts)
- **Fabio Pagani**(Berlin)
 - **Title:** Modern Philology as a Key to understand a Byzantine Quarrel: Bessarion Vs. Trapezuntius
 - **Abstract:** Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* was primarily meant to be a reply against George Trapezuntius' attack to Plato in the *Comparatio Philosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis*. An important source for this treatise is Trapezuntius' own translation of Plato's *Laws* (the first ever, in Latin). Bessarion was well aware of this and in his 1469 edition of *In Calumniatorem* published also a fifth book containing a detailed review of Trapezuntius' translation of Plato's *Laws*, aiming at showing that a large number of Trapezuntius' points were based on misunderstanding and/or manipulation of Plato's Greek text. This philological controversy on the text of Plato's *Laws* has never been fully explored by modern scholars, chiefly because of a lack of critical editions. In the last few years, however, parallel editorial projects running in Pisa (Trapezuntius' translation and *Bessario Latinus*) and Munich (*Bessario Graecus*) have been working to fill this gap. By choosing a small number of relevant passages of Plato's *Laws* translated by Trapezuntius and criticized by Bessarion, I shall argue that only a combination of these separate research projects will allow us to fully understand this controversy and therefore, for the first time since XV century, to look at it *sine ira et studio*.
- **Annick Peters-Custot**(Paris)
 - **Title:** Bessarion's monastic rule, the modalities of the text's redaction, and its impact on the Italian-Greek "basilian" monasteries.
 - **Abstract:** Dealing with Cardinal Bessarion as a scholar should not induce to forget his personality as a Church man and a monk between two traditions, that of Constantinople, and that of the Roman Church. Cardinal Bessarion, indeed, wrote, under the pope's supervision, and as the Cardinal-protector of the just-born "St Basil's Order", a rule to reform the Italo-Greek monasticism, that was in deep decline at his time (as reflected in Athanasios Chalkeopoulos' visit of the Calabrian "Greek" monasteries). So, in order to create a unique way of life in these monasteries, Bessarion made a sort of compilation, written in Greek (and very soon translated into Italian), for which he picked up different abstracts of the Greek version of Basil's *Asketikon*. So this argument presents another aspect of Bessarion's activity in Italy, on the popes' command, and aims at studying Bessarion's methodology to create a unique rule, according to the Roman Church's customs used to reform monasticism, but based on old Greek manuscripts: these "Basilian" – and, for some of them, quite antique - manuscripts that were Bessarion's sources for this work, and that he kept in his personal library, had different origins, and reflect a quite

forgotten "Treasure" he handled with the same attention he used for the philosophical texts.

- **Antonio Rigo**(Venice)
 - **Title:** Two unedited works of the young Bessarion: *Oratio ex pers. Ioannis Lascaris Leontaris ad filium* and *Homelia in illud: Beatus vir qui invenit sapientiam*
- **Georgios Steiris**(Athens)
 - **Title:** Michael Apostolis on substance
 - **Abstract:** Michael Apostolis, the Greek scholar of the fifteenth century, was, for a short period of time, Bessarion's protégé. Apostolis got embroiled in the dispute between the partisans of Plato and Aristotle that kept occupied, besides others, the Greek speaking philosophical community mainly during the fifteenth century. Apostolis wrote in favor of Plato with enthusiasm and in a polemic tone. Specifically, Apostolis confronted Theodore Gaza, one of the leading Aristotelians of his times and author of the treatise *Adversus Plethonem pro Aristotele*, who was also Bessarion's protégé. In his *Ad Theodori Gazae pro Aristotele de substantia adversus Plethonem obiectiones*, Apostolis addressed Bessarion in order to gain the latter's favor and support. He defended Plato and Pletho because he held that Gaza opposed and sought to castigate both Plato and Pletho. In his short treatise Apostolis focuses his critique on Gaza's arguments about substance. Despite Apostolis' rhetorical exaggerations, reactions, and insulting metaphors, his ideas concerning substance merit further discussion in the context of a broader study of his philosophical insights and his contribution to the intense debate between Greek speaking Platonists and Aristotelians in early Renaissance.
- **Chrestos Triantafyllopoulos**(London)
 - **Title:** Bessarion on the 'Distinctio in Divinis': a Chapter of Bessarion's Thomism
 - **Abstract:** Cardinal Bessarion, after his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1439, expressed, both in his theological and philosophical writings, his opposition to Gregory Palamas' (+1357) doctrine of the distinction between the "essence" and the "essential" "uncreated" "energies" of God as well as between the various "divine energies" themselves. Like most of Palamas' opponents, he considered that such a distinction abolished the simplicity of the divine being by introducing multiplicity and division in God. To defend his own views on the divine simplicity, Bessarion heavily depends on Thomas Aquinas' (1225-74) doctrine of the divine names both of the *Deus unus* and the *Deus trinus* as laid down in the *Summa Theologiae*, Pars Prima, and the *Summa contra Gentiles*, which Bessarion studied both in the Greek translation by Demetrios Kydones (1354 and 1358) and in the Latin original. This paper will examine how Bessarion applied Aquinas' general theory of the "distinctio in divinis" to the controversial issue of the *Filioque* in his refutation of Mark Eugenikos' (+1445) *Capita syllogistica adversus Latinos* – a refutation in which Bessarion defended the Latin *Filioque* by arguing that, contrary to the Greek position, it is in line with a sound understanding of the 'distinctio in divinis'.
- **Grigory Vorobyev**(St.-Petersburg)
 - **Title:** Theodore Gaza's translations and their sources
 - **Abstract:** In the 15th century one of the most difficult challenges for a humanist who translated from Greek into Latin was creating a good imitation of the examples provided by the classical Roman literature, whatever the contents of the Greek original might be. Indeed, pure classical style and vocabulary was a crucial requirement for a translation to be accepted by the humanistic society. At the same time, in many cases the proper Latin equivalents for certain Greek words were not easy to find, while transliteration and word coinage were considered obsolete and unseemly methods. So, searching after appropriate sources for rendering the necessary Greek vocabulary into classical Latin was a substantial problem Theodore Gaza faced while translating Aristotle's zoological treatises and other Greek scientific works. In this paper we shall try to investigate, what Latin sources Gaza used while preparing his Latin translations. Considering that Cardinal Bessarion's circle in Rome and the humanistic milieu at the royal court in Naples were Gaza's two main places

of work in the 1450s – 1460s, we shall analyze his translations with reference to the respective manuscript sources he could have used in Rome and Naples.