

Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised II
Acta Societatis Morgensternianae II



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Byzantino-Nordica 2004

Papers presented
at the international symposium of Byzantine studies
held on 7–11 May 2004 in Tartu, Estonia

Edited by Ivo Volt and Janika Päll



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EDITORS' PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



The papers in this volume are presented in two sections: the first is for Byzantine studies proper (i.e. for papers discussing the authors, architecture, cultural or political history of Byzantium); the second contains papers about Byzantine, Patristic or Greek studies in Estonia. The two indexes include most of the personal and geographical names discussed or mentioned in the articles.

A note on the spelling of proper names. Ancient Greek names have been, as a rule, transcribed direct rather than into their more traditional Latin spelling. The traditional spelling has been kept for names which are very familiar in their English (or, in the case of German papers, German) form (such as Homer); the same is valid for Late Greek and Byzantine Greek names (thus, e.g., John Xiphilinos). The names of Humanist scholars are given mostly as they are in Latin, except when the national forms of names are more familiar. In the transcription of Modern Greek names, complete consistency could not be achieved. For Slavonic languages (mostly Russian), we have decided to use the transliteration system adopted in the volume "The Slavonic languages" edited by Bernard Comrie and Greville G. Corbett (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), p. XII–XIII (except Russian x = kh). Greek and Russian name forms for modern authors can be found in bibliography sections at the end of each paper.

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Ivo Volt

Janika Päll

BYZANTIUM AND THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

Preliminary remarks

Anne Lill



To find connections between the cultures that are geographically remote, having different traditions and divergent historical background, is always a challenge. The idea to bring together in Estonia, at the University of Tartu scholars active in the Byzantine studies of the neighbouring countries came from a good colleague from Moscow, the renowned Byzantinist Mikhail (Michael) Bibikov. In Russia there has always been continuous interest in Byzantium, due to cultural connections, literature and language. Prof. Bibikov's support and initiative helped the Estonian Committee of Byzantine Studies become a member of the International Association of Byzantine Studies in 2001.

While the Byzantine studies in the Nordic countries have developed steadily, the Baltic countries have in many respects to start this study anew.

In Estonia we have to deal with the different background, and that has also reflected in the scholarly interests both in the past and in the present. Nevertheless, Estonia had its highlight in the Byzantinistics for a short time in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. To revive the knowledge and memory of the history of Byzantinistics was one of the goals of the conference *Symposium Byzantino-Nordicum* that took place in Tartu, Estonia on 7–11 May 2004. The main aim was to establish academic co-operation between scholars from the different countries: Danish, Estonian,

Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish (to put it alphabetically), and to confirm the contacts with the Russian Byzantinists. In the future, the network will hopefully become larger and include the southern neighbours of Estonia, Latvians and Lithuanians, and also our German colleagues in the West.

The reason why the first meeting of this kind was organized in Estonia is based on the historical circumstances: the contacts that Tartu had with the famous Russian Byzantinists before and after the turn of the 20th century. This gives an opportunity for the University of Tartu to make a considerable contribution to the history of Byzantinistics. The world famous scholars whose works have influenced considerably the development of this discipline were active in Tartu during several decennia. The most prominent of them are Vasilij Regel and Aleksandr Vasil'ev. Regel started in Tartu a new journal on Byzantine studies, *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie*, that was meant to continue the line taken by the famous *Vizantijskij Vremennik*. The well known scholars, G. Cereteli, A. Nikickij, E. Kurtz, A. Jasinskij and others also belonged to the Tartu (Jur'ev) university and made their scholarly contribution to the development of the Byzantinistics. But historical conditions and the political situation in the second decade of the 20th century did not favour this field of research. Byzantinistics fell into disgrace after the year 1917 not only among the academics of Bolshevik Russia but also among those of the newly independent Estonia. The University of Tartu, created as an Estonian university in 1918, turned its interests and activities towards the West. The Russian professors left Tartu for Russia.

At the time when Byzantinistics began its rapid development in Europe in the middle of the 20th century, the University of Tartu remained aside from this process. Currently, in Tartu the interest in Byzantium is related mostly to the Hellenic studies. Taking into consideration the historical experience and the location between East and West, Estonia and Tartu are well placed to participate in the academic cooperation and make a contribution in this field. Byzantinistics with its interdisciplinary research topics that include a wide cultural knowledge can create the basis for the better understanding among the scholars of various specialities.

The papers submitted at the Tartu conference therefore included a wide range of issues, from the historical questions to literature and art. The participants from Moscow, Uppsala, Copenhagen, Oslo, Helsinki and Tartu presented aspects of their work, discussed specific questions next to more general ones. This volume of the *Acta Societatis Morgensternianae* is put together on the basis of the presentations at the conference on Byzantinistics in Tartu.

The paper of Mikhail Bibikov (Moscow) deals with the representation of the Baltic countries and Scandinavia in the Byzantine texts. Jan Olof Rosenqvist (Uppsala) gives a thorough overview analysis of a small town in Byzantium from where came a surprisingly large amount of scholars and writers. The questions related to philosophy and theology are discussed in the articles of Torstein Theodor Tollefsen (Oslo) and Karsten Fledelius (Copenhagen). Markus Bogisch (Copenhagen) explains the architecture of the places connected to the pilgrimage in Syria. The representatives from Tartu present the state of affairs in Estonia concerning Byzantinistics and Hellenistics together with the related subjects – Kalle Kasemaa writes about the translations of Patristic texts into Estonian; Ljudmila Dubjeva gives a synopsis of the life and works of V. Ë. Regel; Janika Päll analyses the use of the Greek language in Estonia during the 16th and 17th century, and Kaarina Rein touches upon teaching Modern Greek at the University of Tartu. All the papers gave rise to discussions at the symposium, and hopefully also an impulse to the further study of the questions concerned.

This symposium at Tartu took place in a friendly atmosphere and even our unstable Northern weather favoured the event, being exceptionally warm and pleasant in the early springtime. We all realized that the Byzantine studies are important in the present cultural situation while they connect the Eastern and the Western cultural paradigms. For Estonia it is reasonable to widen the Eastern and Southern dimension of the academic interests while at the moment the main activity in humanities is directed towards Scandinavia and the West. The good contacts and the mutual understanding created at Tartu give us an impetus to continue the cooperation in building a bridge connecting the different cultural domains of Europe.

BYZANTINE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF BALTICUM AND SCANDINAVIA

Mikhail Bibikov



It seems very remarkable that after a long interval of nearly ninety years Byzantine studies are again at home in Alma mater Tartuensis. For in the second half of the 19th C. — early 20th C. Tartu Byzantologists held strong position among top-five basic university centres for Byzantine studies in the world (in the frame of Russian Empire dimensions Tartu Byzantine school was the second after Saint Petersburg). But traditions of this branch of humanities go back to godfathers of classics, first of all Karl Morgenstern,¹ editors of Byzantine texts, such as Ernst Sartorius (1797–1859),² law historians who investigated Byzantine traditions of classical Roman legislation, as J. Ewers and A. Engelmann. To Tartu Byzantine School belonged first-class world scholars, such as A. V. Nikickij (in Tartu 1896–1902), G. F. Cereteli (in Tartu 1905–1914), P. A. Jakovenko (head of Byzantine chair in 1917), P. V. Nikitin and V. V. Latyšev (both — honorary members of Tartu University in 1902), A. A. Vasiliev (who in emigration became the founder of American school of Byzantine Studies) and M. N. Krašeninnikov (1907–1915 — the dean of the Historical Faculty, 1914–1915 — Rector), and of course V. È. Regel (1857–1932), editor of the periodical *Byzantine Review* (1913–1917) and the last Rector of the University before 1918. With Tartu

¹ Morgenstern 1837: 196.

² Sartorius 1825.

was connected the activity of Byzantologists Kh. M. Loparev and P. V. Bezobrazov.³

It could seem paradoxical at first glance that Byzantine authors when speaking about “Northern” peoples never meant Scandinavians. For Byzantines “the North” was rather the Black Sea region, Russia, Northern Caucasus and even Thessaly. So John Tzetzes in the 12th C. enumerated as the “Northern” peoples the Abasgians, Alans, Sacians, Dacians, Russians, Sauromatians and the so-called “proper Scythians”, i.e. Turks.⁴ These are all obviously far from Scandinavia. Moreover, Normans appearing in Byzantine texts since the 11th C. were considered not as much as men from the North as inhabitants of the State of Sicily, whereas the term “the Northern Sea” meant neither the North Sea nor the Baltic, but as in Anna Komnena and Eustathios it meant the Hyrcanian, i.e. Caspian Sea.⁵ Normans of Sicily viewed from Byzantium had nothing to do with Scandinavia. So Anna Komnena⁶ made a certain division between Varangians from Thule, i.e. Scandinavians, and Normans of Sicily. Psellos called the Sicilian Normans “Italians”, whereas Kekaumenos defined these Normans as “Franks”.

The stable tradition of considering first of all the Pontic Region as “the North” can be explained by the principle of classification of ethnogeographical zones according to directions of winds. For this reason Tzetzes classified as “Northern” those peoples who were “under Boreas’ breath”, such as Scythians and the inhabitants of the Black Sea region (*Chil.* 12.896–900, 8.674–677). That is why the often mentioned unclear quasi-ethnonym “the Northern” (ὁ βορρᾶς) in Byzantine texts of the 12th and early 13th C.⁷ is in some cases to be identified with Russians or Pontic nomads.⁸ Contrary to the common assumption that “Scythia” (in the ancient sense) covered the whole north of the world, Scandinavia was not included into that notion by the Byzantines. The knowledge of medieval Greeks about Scandinavians was based on another origin than their images of “Tauroscythians” or “Germans” or other “Latins”. The Byzantine concept of “Scandica” turns out to be generally uninfluenced by antique scholarly ethnological traditions.

³ Teder 1998.

⁴ Tzetzes, *Chil.* 12.896–900 (Leone 1968: 507); cf. Bibikov 1976.

⁵ Bernhardt 1828: 458 (25–27).

⁶ *Alexias* 10.6, 11.8 (ed. Leib 1937–1945).

⁷ Regel & Novossadsky 1892: 142.7–14; 94.30, 95.15, 103.31; cf. 40.13–15, 81.9; Eust. *Thess.* 200.65 f. (ed. Tafel 1964); Browning 1961: 191.156–158; Theodoros Prodromos, *De Manganis* 6.342–347 (ed. Bernardinello 1972); Heisenberg 1923: 11.7–16.

⁸ Bibikov 1978: 296–301.

The mentioning of the island of Thule, well known from Byzantine texts, could look like a contradiction of this conclusion. As a matter of fact the very name “Thule” was adopted from ancient treaties and the data about Thule, e.g. in Prokopios,⁹ displaying an old literary substrate of these ideas. But it was Prokopios who at the same time became practically emancipated from ancient tradition by the identification of Thule. While “Thule” for Pytheas (320 B.C.) was an island to the north of Britain¹⁰ (often being identified in this case with Iceland or the Shetland Islands), it was in the view of Prokopios definitely just Scandinavia.¹¹ The interpretation of a peninsula as an island is common for Byzantine geographical concepts. The Scandinavian “attribution” of Thule was fixed in Byzantine literature. Thus despite the traditionalism of the geographical term as such, its significance again turns out to be non-traditional.

About the 11th–12th C., during the period of reanimation of antique reminiscences in Byzantine literature on the one hand and the period of most intensive direct contacts between Byzantium and Scandinavia on the other hand, a tendency to include Scandinavia into the traditional paradigm of Byzantine ethno-geographical descriptions is noted. So Thule was situated in the zone of “Aparctic” wind — just according to the above-mentioned “climatic” theory.¹²

In the texts of the 12th–13th C. Thule–Scandinavia is described in characteristics typical of Byzantine ideas of the “barbarian” periphery: as the most remote point of the oecumene,¹³ with a rigorous climate,¹⁴ where the very land seemed to be the proverbial “Scythian desert”.¹⁵ The last case is remarkable for the tendency to describe Thule in terms and with traits of the above-mentioned North-Pontic image.

Thus the Scandinavian world in Byzantine literature turns out to be less connected with antique traditional schemes than with pictures of other parts of the oecumene, as e.g. Eurasians, Germans or nomads. The Byzantines adopted neither the antique terms by themselves as known in Latin tradition, such as “Scandinavia” in Plinius Major, or “Codannovia” in

⁹ Prokopios, *De bellis Goth.* (ed. Haury & Wirth 1963: 217 f.).

¹⁰ *LdA* 1972: 512; *EA* 1974: 619; Macdonald 1936.

¹¹ Prokopios, *De bellis Goth.* (ed. Haury & Wirth 1963: 214.21 ff.).

¹² Tzetzes, *Chil.* 8.671–673.

¹³ Theodoros Prodromos 4.197 (ed. Hörandner 1974: 206); Michael Italikos (ed. Gautier 1972: 174.15 f.); Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 639.15–17 (ed. Dieten 1975).

¹⁴ Eust. *Thess.* 327.46 (ed. Tafel 1964).

¹⁵ Ed. in Lampros 1879: II.216.28.

Pomponius Mela, or “Scandia” in Ptolemaios, or “Scandica” in Jordanus, nor semimythological-semireal ancient ideas of the population of the North. That is why detailed descriptions of Scandinavia, appearing in 15th C. Byzantium in Laskaris Kananos’ and Laonikos Chalkokondyles’ narratives,¹⁶ were based rather on personal experience of the authors and their direct observations than on traditional literary knowledge.

The usual name of Scandinavian visitors to Byzantium both in narratives and in documents was Βάραγγοι, the Varangians.¹⁷ In the mid-11th C. Kekaumenos wrote about “Varangia”, which was a Byzantine neologism, as about an actual country.¹⁸ But the term as a country name, meaning in this case Norway, remained a unique one (Haraltes, son of the Emperor of Varangia, i.e. Harold the Severe whom Kekaumenos took as a son of the Norwegian king — actually Harold was only his step-son¹⁹).

Anna Komnena referred the origin of the Varangians to the island of Thule.²⁰ Thus it is clear why in several manuscript variants of Anna’s text the expression “barbarians from Thule” is consequently improved into “Varangians from Thule”. In the 11th–13th C. references to Varangians as Byzantine imperial guards are frequent both in chronicles and in documents.

Here one comes across the problem of the ethnic “content” of the terms applied by the Byzantine to foreign corps.²¹ These guardsmen were named Βάραγγοι and Ρῶς, who were obviously identified with Scandinavians and Russians.

The first records of the Ρῶς in Byzantine texts of the 9th C. are connected with direct military contacts of Byzantium with the troops of these “northern barbarians” as they were called in the Life of St George of Amastris²² as well as in lemmata of two homilies by Patriarch Photios, his *Encyclica* and *Amphilochia*.²³ Later evidences of the 10th C. (Ps.-Symeon, George Hamartolos Vaticanus, Theophanes Continuatus) define western origin (ἐκ Φοράγγων) for the people of Ρῶς. But it is remarkable that

¹⁶ Ditten 1968.

¹⁷ Jacobsson 1954.

¹⁸ Ed. in Litavrin 1972: 282.12.

¹⁹ Stender-Petersen 1953: 134–135.

²⁰ Alexias 2.9, 11 (ed. Leib 1937–1945).

²¹ Dawkins 1947: 40; Stender-Petersen 1953: 241; Sorlin 1961: 466.

²² Vasil’evskij 1915: 64.3–9.

²³ Ed. in Laourdas 1959: 42.8–43.12; Mango 1958: 98; PG CI, 285; CII, 736–737; Westerink 1983: I, N 2, 50.293–296.

Slavonic translations of the corresponding passages of these chronicles have changed the ethnicon Φράγγοι into Варяги (“Varangians”) who were commonly taken as Scandinavians. At the same time such authors as Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Theophanes Continuatus consistently distinguished the Ῥῶς from Slavs. This distinction is proved also by the well known evidence of toponymy in the *De administrando imperio*.

Thus the name Ῥῶς in 9th–10th C. Byzantium mainly applied to Scandinavian troops (then polyethnic, but exclusively of Nordic origin) who were newcomers from Eastern Europe — this name could be a direct loanword from the Scandinavian self-identification of the military corps in Eastern Europe as **Rôth(e)R** that has produced the Finnish “Ruotsi”, with the Russian derivation Русь and the Arab derivation al-Rus, which cannot be an indirect derivation through the Russian Русь > Ῥῶς.

The compositum with the kernel roþs/menn, karlar-, from the Icelandic verb róa, i.e. “to row”, was used as a designation of Nordic warriors and rowers who took part in the campaigns in Austerwegr, i.e. Eastern Europe. As ethno-professional the term was fixed in Finnish and then adopted by the Slavs of the Finno-Scando-Slavonic contact zone in the north-western part of Eastern Europe. The term has gradually extended its meaning, from “Prince’s bodyguard” to the territory and its inhabitants subjected to the Great Princes, and finally to the Old Russian state and its population.

The probability of such a loan by the Byzantines of the primordial “professional” self-determination of the Scandinavian troops in Byzantium is indirectly proved by the use of the word Ῥῶς in the meaning close to the professional term in the texts of the military and navy treaties of the 10th century: the Ῥῶς represented a military unit, referred to in the text side by side with archers, “malartias” (cf. “kontaratas” in Kekaumenos), infantry and the chivalry. The same sources prove the velocity and light-winged character of the vessels of the Rhos. In such a context one may reinterpret the term δρομίται applied to the Rhos, used by Pseudo-Symeon and Theophanes Continuatus.²⁴ Though the Greek paretymology of the term explains its origin by the fact that the Rhos “run quickly” (the whole passage is a kind of metaphorical play with words with the root δρομ/δραμ), the Slavonic translator for some reason (by analogy with dromons?) has connected the meaning of “dromites” with vessels: οἱ καὶ δρομίται λεγόμενοι — «иже седи глаголем», i.e. “which we call barques”.

²⁴ Bibikov 2004: 557.

Later erosion of the initial ethno-professional meaning of the word was influenced by its development in the East Slavonic midst: thus appeared the choronymon Ῥωσία in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio*, the application of the name Ῥῶσοι to the multi-national troops of Svjatoslav in Leon Diakonos etc. The appearance in Byzantine texts of the mid-10th C. of the same term with the root-vowel [U] derived from the Slavic **Rus**' (i.e. Russia) can also be explained by Russian influence. This term occurs primarily in documents (Acts of the Laura, the Russian monastery, and other monasteries in Athos), which judging from the context could be evidence of its autonomy.

But the problem of the name Ῥῶς is rather complicated. Even in the *De administrando imperio* this ethnonym is attributed to the people as a certain socio-cultural group, but not to the definite country or its inhabitants.²⁵ It was the name Ῥωσία which was a derivative of Ῥῶς and not vice versa. So the name included both Russian and Scandinavian elements within its complicated meaning concerning the polyethnic community. That is a peculiarity of Byzantine ethnonymy in so far as ethnic terms were not ethnicons in the proper and strict sense of the word, but comprised the vast field of geographo-socio-cultural characteristics.²⁶

The application of the term Ῥῶς to a new political reality, namely the East Slavonic state of Russia, caused the spread of the new designation of Scandinavians who constituted, by the end of the 10th C., a special unit within Byzantine military service. They were Βάραγγοι < Icelandic væringjar, derived from vár-, i.e. "oath", "vow" (cf. Варяги in Russian).

In the 11th C. both Kekaumenos²⁷ and Psellos²⁸ distinguished Russians and Varangians as two parts of the hired military corps. Psellos moreover has referred them to quite different ethno-cultural regions: the Varangians were identified with "Italians", which reflected their connection with the Normans of Sicily, whereas Russians were attributed to the traditional "Tauroscythian" area.

The same distinction can be noticed in the acts where Ῥῶσοι figure alone, in the texts of the chrysobulls dating from 1044 and 1049,²⁹ as well as

²⁵ Const. Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 2.4.8; 6.5; 9.1, 3, 5, 67; 37.42, 43, 47; 42.4, 62 (ed. Moravcsik 1967).

²⁶ Bibikov 1980: 70–72; Bibikov 1982: 148–159.

²⁷ Ed. in Litavrin 1972: 176.23.

²⁸ Michael Psellos, *Mich. et Isaac* 24 (ed. Renauld 1926–1928).

²⁹ Ed. in Dölger 1924: N 862, 892.

in the emperors' acts of the second half of the 11th C. (from 1060, 1075, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1086, 1088)³⁰ where both "Rhosoi" and "Varangoi" are mentioned and always side by side (esp. in Act. Athos Laura 33, 38, 44, 48).

With the problem of differentiation of the terms "Varangians" and "Rhosoi" the question is connected about the evolution of the ethnic structure of the hired guard in Constantinople. After V. Vasil'evskij's studies the common idea of its change remains practically invariable: since 1066 the Anglo-Saxons expelled the Russians who, together with Scandinavians, held chief positions in the guard during the 1040s–1060s, thereafter the corps was recruited mainly from Britain and partly from Scandinavia. This process has been dated from the beginning of the 1070s — the first mentioning of "Iglinoi", i.e. Englishmen, is found in an act dated from 1080.³¹

But a comparison of the formular lists of the acts mentioning the foreign guards of the Byzantine court permits us to trace the extension of that very list of foreigners. Thus the Act of Laura 33 (June 1060) mentions Varangians, Russians, Saracens, and Franks; Laura 38 (July 1079) mentions Russians, Varangians, Culpings, Franks, Bulgarians, Saracens; Laura 44 (March 1082) mentions Russians, Varangians, Culpings, Iggilins, Nimitses (the Slavic name for Germans!); and Laura 48 (May 1086) mentions Russians, Varangians, Culpings, Iggilins, Franks, Nimitses, Bulgarians and Saracens. The same result can be reached by studying other emperors' documents of this period. Thus a chrysobull from 1073 for the first time mentions the Culpings, whereas the acts from 1074 and 1079 mention Varangians, Russians, Saracens, Franks, Culpings and Bulgarians. Subsequently, in the chrysobull of 1088 the list is extended to cover also Alans and Abasgians.³²

Thus the transformation of the very form of the source has to be taken into consideration by the evaluation of the proportion of Scandinavians, Russians and Englishmen in that corps. At first, by the end of the 1080s, the detailed immunity clauses vanished which just contained the enumeration of foreigners in Byzantine service. At that time an abrupt change in the manner of writing and the overall shape of the documents can be observed. The changes of style and form of the emperors' acts by the beginning of the 1090s had as result the final disappearance of that very source which could be studied to investigate the history of the hired troops in Byzantium. The documents of the 12th C. have no such information at all. Our conclusions

³⁰ Ed. in Dölger 1924: N 944.

³¹ Goudas 1926: 122.

³² Ed. in Miklošič & Müller 1887: 137.10, 143.22; 1890: 2.33–34, 47.5–6.

about foreign guardsmen in the 12th C. are based on quite other types of source material, e.g. narratives, rhetoric works and poetry – genres where ethnic definitions are not precise and traditional ethno-geographical images are used. This concerns also the records of the guard. In the literature of the 12th C. stereotypes such as “British archers” or “Scythian bowmen” or “Alan infantry” are used. These clichés recurring in several texts are the only source for the study of the change in structure of the corps from the late 11th C. onward. But as one can see there is no reason for radical conclusions because of the fact that the very base of observation in itself has changed.

During the 12th and 13th C. the imperial corps of the Byzantine guard took an active part in political affairs, as in Cyprus in 1103,³³ Amphipolis (Strymon)³⁴ and Corfu in 1149,³⁵ Crete in 1183,³⁶ and in Constantinople in 1143, 1171³⁷ and 1201.³⁸ In the last evidence by Nikolaos Mesarites one may fix the notice of the Orthodoxy of the so-called “foreign archers”. Couldn’t that be evidence of the “cultural assimilation” of the Varangians in Byzantium, or were these warriors Russian?

Thus, starting with the identification of two nations, the Russian and the Scandinavian, by the Byzantines in the first period of their acquaintance with the Scandinavian and Russian world, the Byzantine records of the structure of the imperial guard have changed its image into a more differentiated and graduated form.

Closely connected with the history of the foreign corps in Byzantium is the problem of Varangian prosopography. About one hundred years ago only seven Scandinavians were known by name, identified by Vasil’evskij.³⁹ Since then, in several studies on Varangian prosopography, as a whole 18 names have been identified. But a specific study of the topic reveals many more names, namely 80, of the Varangians mentioned by Byzantine authors or in Scandinavian sagas and runic inscriptions. Of course, as the sagas are far from being accurate historical documents, they have to be interpreted *cum grano salis*, and the dating of the events reflected in runic inscriptions is

³³ Werlauff 1821: 27.

³⁴ Riant 1865: 260, n. 2.

³⁵ Meineke 1836: 97 (Kinnamos).

³⁶ Dieten 1975: 263–266 (Niketas Choniates).

³⁷ Dieten 1975: 172.75 (Niketas Choniates); Gautier 1972 (Michael Italikos).

³⁸ Heisenberg 1907: 1.42.14–15 (47.31–41); 48.5 ff.

³⁹ Vasil’evskij 1908: 185–192.

mainly conventional. Nevertheless the quantitative aspect of these statistics is remarkable.

Though the first Byzantine evidence of the Βάραγγοι dates from 1034,⁴⁰ the Varangian corps must have been formed not later than the 980s,⁴¹ as is proved by the Byzantine Chroniclers (Psellos, Skylitzes and Zonaras) on the one hand, and Russian (the Primary Chronicle) and Oriental sources on the other. As a matter of fact the emperors' bodyguard since the mid-9th C. consisted of foreigners, first Khazars and Arabs, then Varangians and Russians.⁴² In the 11th C. Scandinavians held already good positions at the Byzantine court.

Accounts of sagas about the Varangians in the 10th C. inform us only of the very fact of their remaining in Byzantium (so Gríss Sæmingsson in *Hallfreðar saga* (88), or Olaf with his squad in *Oddr Olafs saga Tryggvasonar* (9–16)). The stories dating from the 11th C. are much more detailed (*Gestþórstinn Styrsson* in *Vígastyrssaga* about 1101, or Bolle Bolleson's service in Miklagard according to *Laxdæla saga* (217–218) *ca.* 1027–1030, or Þorvaldr Koðránsson's and Stefnir Þorgilsson's stay in Miklagard according to *Kristni saga* (43–44) on their way back from Jórslaland (Palestine) some years after 999/1000). From the 1020s dates the marriage in Miklagard of Kólskegr Hammundsson (*Njálssaga*, 177–178) who became "the head of guardsmen of Kingdom", i.e. the leader of the Varangian troops. The activity in Constantinople of Þorbjornr Aungul and Þórsteinn Drómundr, son of Asmundr, known from *Grettissaga Asmundarsonar* (87–91) dates from the 1030s. The romantic story about their adventures, such as the imprisonment of Þórsteinn and his rescue by a noble lady Spes, can be compared with the adventures of Háraldr Harðraða retold by Kekaumenos.⁴³ At any rate Þórsteins name, Drómundr, derives from the Greek term δρόμων, i.e. type of ship. This evidence confirms the connection with Byzantium.

About Háraldr there are also several romantic Byzantine accounts. Kekaumenos took him for the son of the "Emperor of Varangia" and mentioned also his brother Ἰούλαβον (Olaf).⁴⁴ Háraldr's first exploit was his campaign in Sicily 1036–1040 where he served under the Katepanos of Italy

⁴⁰ Vasil'evskij 1908: 176 f.

⁴¹ *Vseobščaja istorija ...* 1864: 200; Blöndal 1978: 13 f.

⁴² Zlatarski 1972: 72 f.

⁴³ Ed. in Litavrin 1972: 282.11–284.7.

⁴⁴ Ed. in Litavrin 1972: 282.12–13.

Georgios Maniakos, who is known in the Saga as “Gyrgir”. Saga data about Háraldr’s voyages to Arabs and to Jerusalem have left no traces in Byzantine texts. But his title-name “Bolgara brennir” (Bulgar-burner) is proved by the well-known fact of Háraldr’s expedition in the summer of 1041 against Peter Deljan who had raised a revolt in Mosinopolis in Bulgaria.⁴⁵ After this successful campaign Háraldr had gained a reward from Emperor Michael V Kalaphates who was known in Scandinavia as Mikael Katalak.

At first Háraldr held the rank of *manglabites* (usual for soldiers of the imperial guard). The term *manglabites* derives from the Latin *manuclavium*, i.e. “bludgeon” — although H. Mihăescu has proposed the Romanian meaning of the term, “chief-captain”, as the real sense of Háraldr’s title.⁴⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus identified this rank with the title of *protospatharios*. But after the Bulgarian campaign Háraldr received only the rank of *spatharokandidatos*, which was not so high as *protospatharios*. According to Philotheos (899) that was an ordinary position given to foreign friends of the Empire.⁴⁷

The rather moderate titles given to Háraldr in the Byzantine hierarchy lead us to the conclusion that he did not hold an extremely strong position at the Byzantine court.

Fagrskinna mentions two of Háraldr’s men by name, Ulfr and Halldór Snorrason (Halldórs þátr Snorasonar, 220 f.). According to Ljósvetninga saga (106–107) the vessel of Háraldr’s son Magnus was used by Þormoðr Asgeirsson who was on service in Miklagard in the 1060s.⁴⁸

The names of Varangians appearing in runic inscriptions date mainly from the 11th C.⁴⁹ There are at any rate 28 of them (Ormiga. Ulfuair — N 22, Suin — 59, Urmulf. uk. Frikir — 65, Asur — 95, Tuka — 98, Austain — 99, Uibiurn — 101, Hipin — 103, Utirik — 105, Baulf — 106, Kunor — 107, Ulfair — 108, Fulkbiarm — 109, Ikifast — 113, Irnmunt. auk. Ikiunt — 114, Utiuk. iar — 115, Isbium — 116, Suin and þori — 117, Rahnualtr — 118 B, Kair — 120, maybe also Airikr. auk. Hokun. auk. Inkuar auk k Rah(ilt)r — 88).

⁴⁵ Vasil’evskij 1908: 268 f.; Zlatarski 1972: 76–77; Litavrin 1960: 376–396.

⁴⁶ Michăescu 1963: 349.

⁴⁷ Oikonomidès 1972: 165, 8–9.

⁴⁸ Rydzevskaia 1978: 75.

⁴⁹ Mel’nikova 1977: 67, 91, 97, 121, 125, 126–132; 113.

Contrary to the idea advanced by A. Vasiliev⁵⁰ of the restricted character of Scandinavian participation in Byzantine service, there are a number of records of Scandinavians in Byzantium dating from the 12th C. There are narratives about the men of Skófir in Magnúsosona saga, supplemented by remarks in Psellos⁵¹ and Zonaras⁵². According to Agrip af Nóreg's konunga sögum (85–88), Fagrskinna (332) and Magnúsosons saga in Heimskringla (III 290) the reception of Sigurðr Jórsalafari by Alexios I Komnenos took place about 1110. Another visit to Constantinople in the early 12th C. was connected with the name of the Dane Eiríkr (King Erik I of Denmark; Fornmanna sögur XI.315–316; Heimskringla III 267–284). Another (?) Eiríkr was at the court of “Manuli konung” (evidently Manuel I Komnenos) according to Sverris saga (59).

Among other Scandinavians in Byzantium in the 12th C., Þórir Helsingr and then Eindridi the Younger from Hákonar saga herðibreiðs are noted, as well as Krístin and Grímr Rúslí from Magnússaga Erlingsonar (30), Ragnvaldr Káli and Erlingr from Háraldssona saga (17), and the Norwegian embassy to Alexios III from Sverrisaga (127). The narrative of Sigurðr the Greek Oddisson and his sword, from Sturlunga saga (I 228), dates from the early 13th C.

So in total the sagas name 26 Scandinavian visitors to Byzantium.

The chief of the Varangian guard had in the Byzantine administrative system the name ἀκόλουθος.⁵³ One can find the names of 9 acolouths in the texts mainly of the 11th–12th C.

In Late Byzantium, in the 13th–15th C., the name “Varangian” was often fixed in Greek surnames showing the evident Scandinavian origin of persons (or at least some affiliation with the North) with such names as Βάραγγος, Βαραγγόπουλος, Βαραγκάτες etc. So far one can find evidence about 26 such persons, so to say “Hellenized” Varangians in Late Byzantium.⁵⁴

Thus, 1) the Scandinavian prosopographicon in Byzantium counts not 7, but nearly 80 persons; 2) the total sum of data allows us to corroborate the

⁵⁰ Vasiliev 1937: 39 f.

⁵¹ *Chron.* 1.25.6–8 (ed. Renauld 1926–1928).

⁵² *Epit. hist.* 570.3–5, 571.3–6 (ed. Büttner-Wobst 1897).

⁵³ Pseudo-Kodinos in Verpeaux 1966: 184.20–1.

⁵⁴ Ed. in Miklošič & Müller 1890: 187, 1871: 197, 1862: 83; *PLP* Add. 1–8 1988: 45.91435; Uspenskij & Benešević 1927: 84; Petit 1911: 98 f.; Regel, Kurtz & Korablev 1907: 71; Laurent 1953: 265; Tselikas 1970: 284; Fögen 1982: 223; Bompaire 1964: 102; La Porte du Theil 1798: 739 (Theodore Hyrtakenos); Hunger & Kresten 1969: 37.

idea of the presence of Scandinavians in Byzantium well beyond 1066, until the last centuries of the Empire — it is remarkable that in the 14th C. Byzantines might even name English “the Varangian language”;⁵⁵ 3) the prosopographical study can fix changes in the Scando-Byzantine relations, beginning with Varangians at short-term stops in Constantinople followed by Varangians who spent several years in Byzantine service. The evidence of Βαράγγων, Βαραγγόπουλοι dating from the 13th–15th C. testify to the penetration of probable descendants of Nordic origin into Byzantine society: they obtained ownership of land and estates both in Constantinople and in Northern Greece (Chalkidiki, Thessaloniki), on the Aegean Islands, in Asia Minor, in Trebizond, i.e. practically all over the Empire.

The descriptions of Scandinavia and the Circumbaltic region in the texts of Paleologian epoch are essentially different from that of earlier times. There are reliable sources on historical events, toponymy and political contacts of the region in Nikephoros Gregoras, the Patriarchal acts, and other Byzantine texts of this period name some Baltic territories, such as Livonia, Prussia, Zhemaitia, Lithuania.⁵⁶ There is evidence of such towns as Revel, Riga, Danzig, Vilnius.⁵⁷ The narratives of the 15th C., such as those by (Ioannes) Laskaris Kananos and Laonikos Chalkokondyles, and the acts even have detailed information about ethno-geography, nature, forms of rule, religion and foreign policy of the countries of the North. Thus Laonikos has noticed trade contact between Livonia and Denmark, Germany, Britain and the “Celts”, he has evidences of Prussians, Zhemaites, Lithuanians.⁵⁸

An essentially new kind of source material are accounts of Byzantine travelling in the Baltic Sea and the Northern Atlantic. Laskaris Kananos (*ca.* 1438–1439) has paid attention to coinage in Stockholm and Bergen, the subordination of Sweden and Norway to the Danish king, to the residence of the King of Denmark in “Kupanava”, Copenhagen, the supervision of the cities of Riga and Revel in Livonia by the archbishop and Great Master of the Order, etc. In his description of his voyage to Iceland Laskaris Kananos identified this island with the above-mentioned Thule, the inhabitants of

⁵⁵ Ed. in Verpeaux 1966: 209.26–210.3

⁵⁶ Ἰνφλάντη (Darkó 1922–1927: I.122.21–24), Λιβονία (Lundström 1902: 15.28 f.), Προυσία (Darkó 1922–1927: I.123.13–17), Σαμῶται (Darkó 1922–1927: I.124.4–7), Λιτουάνοι (Darkó 1922–1927: I.125.3 f.), Λιτβοί (Bekkerus 1855: III.514.7), Λιτβάδα (Darkó 1922–1927: 122–127).

⁵⁷ Ρήβουλε, Ρήγα, Τάντζικ (Lundström 1902: 15.30; 16.37); βασιλεία πόλις τῶν Λιτουάνων (Darkó 1922–1927: 122 f.).

⁵⁸ Darkó 1922–1927: 122–127.

which he calls “ichthyophags”, i.e. fish-eaters. This Byzantine traveller visited — penetrating into Venedicos Kolpos, i.e. the Baltic Sea — Norway, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Pommern, Schleswig, Denmark and Britain, whereafter he made a trip to Iceland.

So semi-mythological bookish images of Scandinavia as the edge of the Earth were replaced by eye-witness accounts by travellers, in spite of the rarity of this “profession” (or “hobby”?) in Byzantium, the people of which generally believed in the principle of *stabilitas loci* and preferred to receive information from visitors to Constantinople rather than from own experience.

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Summary

The descriptions of Scandinavia and the Circumbaltic region in the texts of the Paleologian epoch are essentially different from those of earlier times. There are reliable sources on historical events, toponymy and political contacts of the region in Nikephoros Gregoras, the Patriarchal acts, and other Byzantine texts of this period. These name some Baltic territories, such as Livonia, Prussia, Zhemaitia and Lithuania. There is evidence of such towns as Revel, Riga, Danzig, Vilnius. The narratives of the 15th C., such as those by (Ioannes) Laskaris Kananos and Laonikos Chalkokondyles, and the acts even have detailed information about ethno-geography, nature, forms of rule, religion and the foreign policy of the countries of the North. Thus Laonikos has noted trading contact between Lifland and Denmark, Germany, Britain and the "Celts". He has evidence of Prussians, Zhemaites and Lithuanians.

An essentially new kind of source material are accounts of Byzantine travelling in the Baltic Sea and the Northern Atlantic. Laskaris Kananos has drawn attention to coinage in Stockholm and Bergen, the subordination of Sweden and Norway to the Danish king, to the residence of the King of Denmark in "Kupanava", Copenhagen, the supervision of the cities of Riga and Revel in Lifland by the archbishop and Great Master of the Order, etc. In his description of his voyage to Iceland, Laskaris Kananos identified this island with Thule, the inhabitants of which he refers to as "ichthyophags", i.e. fish-eaters. This Byzantine traveller visited – penetrating into Venedicos Kolpos, i.e. the Baltic Sea – Norway, Sweden, Lifland, Prussia, Pomern, Schleswig, Denmark and Britain, afterwards making a journey to Iceland.

BYZANTINE TREBIZOND: A PROVINCIAL LITERARY LANDSCAPE

Jan Olof Rosenqvist



In his *Anabasis Kyrou*, Xenophon of Athens tells of an episode that is hardly ever forgotten by anyone who once read it. It takes place when Xenophon's exhausted Greek troops are on their way home from their adventure as mercenaries of the Persian insurgent Kyros, marching from Mesopotamia through the mountains of east Anatolia. Under great difficulties they are climbing a mountain ridge when a message is shouted from the vanguard to the rear ranks: *Thalatta, thalatta!* ("The sea, the sea!").¹ It is the Black Sea that is visible from the mountain, and in the situation in which the Greeks found themselves, nothing could inspire more hope than the sea.

Exactly where Xenophon's soldiers were at this moment — that can be dated to shortly after the battle of Kounaxa in 401 BC where Kyros was killed — is difficult to say. However, immediately after the passage quoted above we learn that they arrived at a city whose Greek name is Trapezoûs, and which in English is known as Trebizond. This indicates that they had reached the mountain ridge to the south of that city which is sometimes called the Pontic Alps, and which was known as Paryadris in the Middle Ages (the modern Turkish name is Soganlı dagları). As far as I know, this is the first time that Trebizond appears in Greek literature with more than its

¹ Xenophon, *Anabasis Kyrou* 4.7.24.4.

bare name.² The information Xenophon gives about the city is very meagre: it was a Greek town colonized from Sinope further west on the Pontic coast, and it had — unsurprisingly — a market place where provisions for the westbound march of Xenophon's troops could be bought; that is practically all.³ However, the fact that Trebizond is mentioned by one of the classics in such an honourable context was remembered into the late Middle Ages. When a writer in fourteenth-century Trebizond (see below) wished to demonstrate that his city was famous already among the ancient Greeks, he referred to this passage by Xenophon — and nothing else! In a way this is typical of much of Trebizond's history: the sources — not least the written ones — are meagre, and what is available has to be exploited as far as permissible.

In such a situation the lack of factual knowledge is apt to be compensated for with something else than facts. Partly due to the scarcity of the sources, therefore, Trebizond, the Pontos and the neighbouring lands have become the subject of legends and fairy tales. This is true for popular imagination, but also for historiography in Antiquity, in the Middle Ages and in the Modern era. This is the context in which we find the tale of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece, which takes place, if not in Trebizond, at least in the surrounding region of the eastern Black Sea, the land which the ancient Greeks called "Kolchis". Besides the lack of sources for long periods, the faraway geographic situation is an especially important factor here. For the popular imagination, the latter is probably decisive. A person occupying a geographically more central position at the Mediterranean is likely to find the Pontos a remote and foreign region, alien in character also as far as climate and vegetation are concerned. Actually, what we find in the Pontos is more reminiscent of Baltic and Nordic conditions than of the Mediterranean world. The Pontic summer is moist and cool, the rains are as heavy as in western Norway, olives do not grow in the region (although hazelnuts do), and the hillsides are covered by thick dark forests.

² Aristotle mentions (*Mir.* 831b22) that honey with a heavy odour was produced from a plant called πύξος in Trebizond, which made healthy people insane whereas it cured epileptics completely. This reflects the information given from experience by Xenophon, *Anabasis Kyrrou* 4.8.20–21. Bryer & Winfield (1985: 4) suppose that this honey rather derived from the flower of the azalea, to which πύξος might refer.

³ *Anabasis Kyrrou* 4.8.22.2.



Fig. 1. Location of the Pontos and Trebizond (mod. Trabzon) within present-day Turkey; after Bryer & Winfield (1985).

There are also examples of scholarly legends and fairy tales about the Pontos. For instance, we sometimes meet the idea that Medieval Trebizond was a centre of learning and science, especially during the more than two hundred and fifty years (1204–1461) when the city was the capital of a small principality that called itself an empire. If we briefly consider this idea, we will probably feel a little surprised. First, Trebizond never was a big city. Estimates of the population add up to about 4.000 at the end of the imperial period, but to these 4.000 must be added a fairly large number of travelling merchants and others who stayed for limited periods of time.⁴ And here we have another critical point for the idea of the city as a cultural centre: Trebizond was, in the Middle Ages and later, primarily a centre of trade, a station on the caravan route from Persia to Constantinople. It is difficult to reconcile these known facts with the idea of the city as a centre of science and learning. So probably we will have to consider this too, with some few exceptions, as belonging to the world of fairy tales.

In making a survey of the Byzantine literature and culture of Trebizond it is suitable to divide the Byzantine millennium into two parts. The first

⁴ See Bryer & Winfield 1985: 179 f.

will reach up to 1204 or the years shortly after, i.e. up to the time when the Empire of Trebizond was created; the second will cover the subsequent period up to the year 1461 when this tiny independent state was swallowed by the Ottomans. The existence of this state was a consequence of the fall of the Byzantine empire to the Crusaders. When they took Constantinople in 1204 and the Empire fell apart, Trebizond was one of the resulting mini-states. As we will see, the new political status of the area had consequences for the literary production, as well.



Fig. 2. Trebizond from the sea. Steel engraving
by J. Schroeder, Paris ca. 1850.

So let us begin with the period before 1204. The first time that Trebizond appears in a literary context during the Byzantine period is difficult to date and anonymous in more than one way. I am referring to a so-called *Martyr's Passion* about the city patron Eugenios. It describes how, around AD 300, the young Eugenios and his three companions, who had recently been converted to Christianity, were seized by the Roman authorities,

condemned to death, and sent to execution.⁵ As usual with such texts we have no information about the author, and if we take a close look at its contents we will discover that it relies, to a large extent, on other texts of a similar kind. It is difficult to date such a text, but I would guess that it belongs in the sixth century. It is rather unimportant from literary and historical points of view, and it will not be further considered here. However, it should be noted that it is the city patron, the martyr Eugenios, who stands at the very beginning of Byzantine Trebizond's literary history. In fact, as will soon appear, St Eugenios is a constantly recurring theme in Trapezuntine literature.

The first figure that we can really grasp appears in the seventh century, some time after 619. He was not a writer, at least not as far as we know, but a famous scholar and professor. His name was Tychikos and he taught in, or at, the church of St Eugenios in Trebizond. He had been the pupil of a certain Stephanos of Athens, who shortly after AD 600 had taught mathematics, astronomy and medicine in Constantinople. When Stephanos died, Tychikos was called by the emperor to succeed to the chair that his teacher had occupied. But Tychikos preferred to remain in his home city where he had a big library. Then gifted young Constantinopolitans with intellectual interests were sent by the emperor to Tychikos in Trebizond to study. Others were drawn there by his fame, and among these there was a young Armenian called Ananias of Širak. Perhaps Ananias found Tychikos an especially suitable teacher for him, because he knew the Armenian language. At any rate Ananias eventually wrote a short piece describing the formative years of his youth (a piece that is often misleadingly called "autobiography"), and that is our most important source of information about Tychikos.⁶

The connection existing between Tychikos and the church of Eugenios could possibly be taken to indicate that Eugenios' monastery (to which the church belonged) was an intellectual centre in a more general sense. However, there is actually no evidence for such an idea, and it is quite possible that Tychikos simply used the church or the monastery as the physical shelter for his teaching. Whatever the truth in this matter, it seems

⁵ This Passion has been edited by Martin-Hisard (1981) and, independently, by Lam-
psidis (1984b).

⁶ See the English translation in Conybeare 1906: 572–574. An in-depth discussion of the
role of Tychikos in the history of Byzantine learning will be found in the classical study
by Lemerle (1971: 81–85).

likely that Tychikos pursued his teaching on a private basis, not commissioned by or representing an institution that would have provided a measure of stability for his activities. In spite of the obscurity surrounding him, he is certainly one of the very last scholars of the ancient type we meet in Byzantium before the so-called Dark Ages, and it is remarkable that this happens in Trebizond. The story about him shows how scarce learning was in this period. It depended on some few individuals, and it could even be necessary to go from Constantinople to a distant province to find a good teacher.

The “Dark Ages” — to use a problematic designation for the period *ca.* AD 650–800 — were no less dark in Trebizond than in other parts of the Byzantine world. Thus, from the early seventh century till the end of the tenth century we find practically no traces of literature there. But if we consider cultural activities and production more generally, there are signs in the ninth century — the early part of the period that is often called “the Macedonian renaissance” — that Trebizond was not a completely forgotten corner of the Byzantine world. The oldest church of the city is dedicated to St Anne, and according to an extant inscription it was “re-built” by a provincial governor, a so-called theme general, under the emperors Basil I (died 886) and his sons Leo (VI) and Alexander. Since this church seems to be built in one piece rather than being the result of a restoration, the “re-building” is likely to have come close to the replacement of a totally ruined structure. Basil I is known to have initiated large building projects, especially, of course, in Constantinople, and many of these consisted of the restoration of churches and monasteries in decay. Very probably St Anne in Trebizond is somehow connected to these activities.⁷

However, even from this period we have a few written pieces from Trebizond. Again, the city patron Eugenios is involved, and this time he is the protagonist in a number of miracle stories. These texts have been preserved, sometimes rather poorly, in collections that were created much later, after the mid-fourteenth century. In general the individual stories are difficult to date, but there are signs that most of them, at least, belong in the period from the end of the ninth century to the mid-tenth century.⁸ They are good examples of the miracle-genre and some are extremely interesting as

⁷ Bryer & Winfield 1985: 218–219.

⁸ This material will be found, with translation and commentary, in Rosenqvist 1996.

historical documents. But as the entire result of the literary endeavors of almost four hundred years they are hardly an impressive achievement.

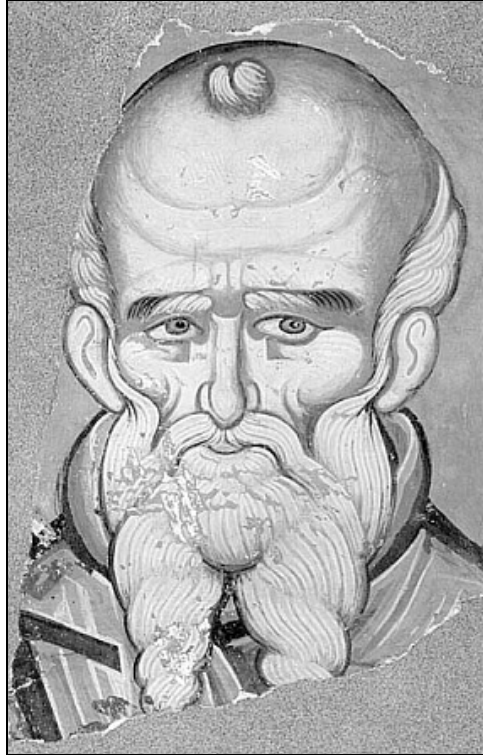


Fig. 3. Athanasios of Athos. Fresco painted 1447,
St Paul's monastery, Mount Athos.

It is not until the end of the tenth century that we meet, again, a sharp literary profile: Athanasios, the founder of the first real monastery of Mount Athos, a man born in Trebizond. He has not left behind any writings of his own, but he was regarded as a holy man and therefore was the subject of two biographies. Athanasios died *ca.* 1001 and his biographies were written soon after his death. One of them, the so-called *Vita A*, belongs to the most extensive examples of the hagiographic genre. Stylistically it is very ambitious, which means that it is sometimes quite difficult to understand. The other biography, called *Vita B*, is shorter and more simple in style. In content, the two texts largely overlap.

As a child Athanasios, or Abraham (Abraamios) as he was originally called, was taught reading and writing by a *grammatistēs*. From boyhood he had a lively interest in letters, so he was sent to Constantinople to receive a more advanced education. Eventually he became a teacher in Constantinople.⁹ Clearly, little more than a very elementary education was available in his native city, so the obvious solution for young people to quench their thirst for learning was to leave Trebizond for Constantinople rather than the opposite, as had been the case in the days of Tychikos in the early seventh century.

An obscure passage in the *Vita A of Athanasios* gives information about Athanasios' mother. Her family came from the Pontos and the passage has been interpreted to the effect that this family figured in something that the writer calls *historiai*.¹⁰ Some scholars have hypothesized that these *historiai* were a kind of epic poetry, a rather short heroic song about a Pontic family.¹¹ It could be compared with the so-called Akritic songs, a literature in the vernacular which has been orally transmitted exactly in the Pontos, although mainly in the post-Byzantine period. This is a fascinating idea, but it is probably wrong. The passage in the *Vita* is difficult, but what it says seems rather to be that the Pontos itself figures in literary works. Then it would primarily refer to descriptions not in Byzantine, but in ancient literature, such as the passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis* mentioned at the beginning of this paper, or rather, perhaps — since Kolchis is mentioned — the tale of the Argonauts.

However, when talking of epic poetry concerning a specific family there is a case that must be mentioned here. In the eleventh and twelfth century we meet some members of the Gabras family about whom such orally transmitted poetry seems to have existed. Two members of the family are especially important, both playing their roles when the Byzantine central power had lost most of its ability to control the eastern provinces. First there was Theodore Gabras, who died fighting the invading Seljuk Turks in 1098 and soon was hailed as a martyr by the Byzantine church. Second there was Constantine Gabras, who ruled a local, independent principality up to some time after 1140.¹² Unfortunately, whereas there is good reason to believe that a genuine epic tradition about the Gabras family and the exploits of

⁹ *Vita A of Athanasios*, ed. by Noret (1982), ch. 5, 10–12.

¹⁰ *Ed. cit.*, ch. 5, 10–12 (p. 5).

¹¹ Cf. Bryer & Winfield 1985: 105.

¹² See Bryer 1970: 175–177.

some of its members existed in the Middle Ages, this tradition was destroyed by later additions and fabrications (the most important was created as recently as the late nineteenth century).¹³

The Byzantine “national epic”, the *Digenis Akritas*, also belongs in this context. As we have it, it was probably written down in the twelfth century, although it rather reflects the historical situation of the ninth and tenth centuries. It is true that the roots of the Digenis poem are to be sought not specifically in Trebizond or the Pontos, but rather more generally in the eastern parts of the empire, around the river Euphrates, regions that formed an unstable border zone between them and their oriental neighbours (as is well-known, the term *akritas* means “border-soldier”). One of the versions of the Digenis poem that we have is found in a late (sixteenth-century) manuscript copied in Trebizond,¹⁴ and it is only natural to think that exactly there an audience could be found with an interest in poetry of this kind. It reflects relations to the Muslim neighbours, warlike as well as peaceful, in a way in which it must have been easy for people in Trebizond to feel at home.

A few years after the death of the monastic founder Athanasios, a real star on the literary firmament of Trebizond was born: John Xiphilinos, philosopher and professor of law in Constantinople. He belonged to the intellectual circle in the centre of which we find the philosopher and historian Michael Psellos. Eventually he became patriarch of Constantinople, a position that he held in the years 1064–1075. A gifted young man with intellectual interests like Athanasios, Xiphilinos too had to leave Trebizond to be able to pursue the advanced studies that were to found his career.¹⁵

Perhaps, however, some rhetorical training was available in Trebizond. Those of Xiphilinos’ literary works that have a connection to his native city were probably produced before he left Trebizond, or at least while he still had contacts there, because he seems to refer to himself as reading his works to a local audience;¹⁶ and these works display considerable rhetorical

¹³ See Bryer 1970: 168 f.

¹⁴ For the versions and the manuscript tradition of the Digenis poem, see Jeffreys 1998: xviii–xxx. The Trebizond manuscript belonged to the Sumela monastery but is now apparently lost.

¹⁵ On Xiphilinos’ life and works, see the (sometimes disappointing) study by Bonis (1937).

¹⁶ See the comment in Rosenqvist 1996: 373.

skill. The first of them is a new version of the piece that introduces the literary history of Byzantine Trebizond, the Passion of the ubiquitous city patron Eugenios (see above). Xiphilinos has given the text the stylistic facelift it needed and updated some of its contents. The second is a small collection of stories about ten miracles that Eugenios is supposed to have performed while Xiphilinos still lived in Trebizond, i.e. between *ca.* 1010–1030.¹⁷ The miracles are rich in interesting details of life in Trebizond in the early eleventh century. Especially interesting to Baltic–Nordic readers, perhaps, are stories about three Varangian soldiers – two possessed by demons, the third one deaf – included in a company that is mustering on a plain near the town. Xiphilinos uses the antiquated literary term *Scythians* about them, but a copyist who added chapter headings in the oldest manuscript of these texts has transposed this into the demotic level by using the term *Rhōs* instead. In the case of one of the two demoniacs, Xiphilinos seems to tell us that he remained at the monastery, in whatever capacity. It would be tempting to connect this piece of evidence with the presence of the family name Varangos in documents of fourteenth-century Trebizond.¹⁸

Of literature from the period before 1204 not much remains to be mentioned. As far as I know, there are only another few anonymous miracle stories about St Eugenios. They are difficult to date, but it seems likely that few of them were written later than the 1060s–70s. That was the time when the Seljuk Turks invaded Anatolia, and one of the consequences of this – certainly a minor one – was that travelling became more difficult. This must have meant a drawback to the cult of Eugenios, which in part relied on pilgrimage, and this in turn is reflected as a break in the tradition of the miracles after this period.¹⁹

So now we are entering the so-called Empire of Trebizond. It was founded under somewhat obscure circumstances. It is clear that queen Tamar(a) of Georgia played an active role in placing a certain Alexios Komnenos, perhaps her nephew, on the throne of this new state.²⁰ Alexios belonged to the old imperial family of Constantinople, but strong links connected him to the kingdoms of the Caucasus. These two facts give a peculiar character to

¹⁷ The Miracles are edited in Rosenqvist 1996.

¹⁸ *PLP* No. 2151, 2152.

¹⁹ See further Rosenqvist 2002.

²⁰ On the history of the Empire of Trebizond more generally, see Fallmerayer 1827, and Miller 1926.

the entire history of this little empire: on the one hand it claimed to represent the legitimate imperial power of Byzantium, a claim that was symbolized by the name Komnenos, especially in the combination Megas Komnenos (“Grand Komnenos”), which eventually became an imperial title rather than a name. On the other hand, this state was clearly oriented to the East, towards the Caucasus and Armenia, and several features in the lifestyle and structure of its society pointed to the Caucasus rather than Constantinople.

The fact that a state was established that was at least locally important soon had consequences for literary and artistic production. The state apparatus needed certain kinds of literature for practical use, such as formal rhetoric for court and church, and historiography. Connected to this was the production of books, which were also needed in ecclesiastical contexts. But development was slow, and it was not until the early fourteenth century that attempts were made to satisfy these needs by establishing something like a cultural infrastructure rather than an irregular series of *ad hoc* solutions. One of the successors of Alexios I, Alexios II, was the first to make serious efforts in order to develop this aspect of public life by gathering around him a group of culturally productive people and giving them favourable positions at court or in the civil service. He was followed in his ambitions by Alexios III (died 1390).

In rhetoric, profane as well as ecclesiastical, a certain Constantine Loukites is the first of them. Loukites was from Constantinople and was educated there, but he made his career at the court of the Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond, where the title *protovestiaros* was conferred upon him. He is known to have corresponded with some of the best known literary figures of this period, such as Theodore Hyrtakenos, who was his teacher, and Nikephoros Gregoras. He apparently enjoyed a high reputation in the city. One of his younger contemporaries, the later metropolitan John Lazaropoulos, describing how the festival of the Transfiguration was solemnized at the imperial monastery of St Sophia on an occasion that might have occurred a couple of years before 1330, refers to Loukites as “the crowning glory of our banquet”.²¹ This is likely to reflect realistically his position within the cultural and political élite of Alexios II’s Trebizond.

What we have by Loukites’ hand is just two rhetorical works: an encomium on the city patron Eugenios,²² and a discourse in memory of his

²¹ τῆς ἐστιάσεως ἡμῶν ἐκείνης κορωνίς; Rosenqvist 1996: 336, line 1627.

²² Ed. in Rosenqvist 1996: 114–168.

patron, the Grand Komnenos Alexios II who died in 1330.²³ The former is a rewriting of an earlier rewriting: the one — just mentioned — by John Xiphilinos of the Passion of St Eugenios. It represents, in a typical way, something that is common especially in Byzantine hagiography, namely texts which in the course of their history are moved between various linguistic and stylistic levels in order to be able to function properly under changing circumstances and to changing audiences. Here Loukites displays considerable rhetorical inventiveness. In fact, a work of this kind may give more room for literary creativity than has often been assumed.²⁴

Loukites' second rhetorical work, the funeral speech on Alexios II, may strike a modern reader as somewhat artificial in its display of the writer's boundless admiration and love for the dead ruler and his distress at his death. However, as is often the case with texts of this kind, it yields interesting information on something that one would perhaps not expect to find there. Here, if I am not mistaken, the information concerns the interior of the most important of Trebizond's churches, the cathedral church which was dedicated to "The Virgin of the Golden Head" (*Theotokos Chrysokephalos*). This church contained the tombs of several Trapezuntine emperors.²⁵ It seems also to have had wall paintings consisting of portraits of members of the imperial family. Loukites describes these paintings in a way that is not quite easy to interpret, but his description helps us to reconstruct at least in part the interior of the church in which, among other things, a typically Trapezuntine decorative pattern of dynastic images seems to have been applied.²⁶

A little older than Loukites was one of his correspondents, a certain Gregory Chioniades. Like Loukites, he was born in Constantinople (*ca.* 1250) but stayed in Trebizond time and again, and lived there permanently during his last years.²⁷ He has become more famous than any one of the native intellectuals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, primarily as an astronomer, even if he also wrote a few non-astronomic works, for example a now lost text — or possibly two texts — on the martyr Eugenios (it might

²³ Ed. in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891: 421–430 (the end is lacking in the unique manuscript).

²⁴ See Talbot 1991 for an insightful survey of such works from the Late Byzantine period.

²⁵ See the comprehensive entry in Bryer & Winfield 1985: 238–243.

²⁶ Rosenqvist 1993: 294 ff.

²⁷ On Chioniades, see Pingree 1964. For his correspondence, see Papadopoulos 1927.

seem that the composition of texts on the city patron was a duty that fell to every literate person in Trebizond). Chioniades seems to have become a monk at an early stage and then begun to entertain contacts in Trebizond. From there he went to Tabriz in Persia, which was then governed by Mongols, the so-called Ilkhans. He learnt Persian, began to study astronomy, and translated some well-known astronomical works into Greek. He went back to Trebizond and Constantinople but was soon appointed bishop of Tabriz, a position that he kept for about five years. Finally he returned to Trebizond and lived in a monastery there till his death in *ca.* 1320. During those years he may have had one or two pupils with an interest in astronomy, but such an idea, although it may seem reasonable, is unsubstantiated. In any case, he is a very rare example of a renowned scientist active in Trebizond, and his fame as an astronomer must be seen as an exception, not as typical of the scientific standards prevailing here.

Two minor writers of the same century should also be mentioned. One is Andrew Libadenos, a Constantinopolitan who made a certainly less brilliant career than Loukites in Trebizond. He has left a number of various writings that fill some two hundred pages in the modern edition,²⁸ which is considerably more than the two extant, more elegant, pieces by Loukites. The most important work by Libadenos is known as *Periegesis*, an autobiographical piece dominated by an account of a journey to Egypt in which the writer took part as a young boy and in which also a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was included. Somewhat surprisingly, what occupies most of the space is descriptions of illnesses from which Libadenos suffered and the more or less miraculous ways in which he was cured from them. He may seem, in this work, as a hypochondriac of little literary import, but as such Libadenos is not a unique example in the late Byzantine period. Perhaps the obsession with one's own health that we encounter several times in late Byzantine literature is a phenomenon that has wider implications than those which have to do with individual psychology.

The second of these minor writers was a certain Stephen (Stephanos) Sgouropoulos. He belonged to a well-known family and occupied a position at the court of the Grand Komnenos Alexios III, to whom he dedicated a series of poems.²⁹ They are uniformly written in the common eight-syllable verse that is often called Byzantine Anacreontics. The most striking feature in these poems is the repeated glorifications of various aspects of Alexios'

²⁸ Lampsidis 1975.

²⁹ Ed. in Papatheodoridis 1954.

person. For example, Sgouropoulos calls him “a flower from a holy meadow, a fragrant bouquet, a perfumed rose, an Indian apple from the orchard, the great spring of my soul, my firm comfort”. He also praises Alexios’ “wetted sword of iron from Damascus, his lucky hands, his well-formed fingers, his broad speech, his deep words, and the way in which he makes a fool of philosophers and scholars.” The person to whom this refers is one of the very few Trapezuntines that we can visualize from an extant portrait. This portrait of Alexios — and of his wife Theodora — is found in a famous donation act to the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (see Fig. 4), a Trapezuntine foundation which in September 1374 was granted the imperial support that is documented in this act.



Fig. 4. Alexios III Grand Komnenos and his wife Theodora. Donation act dated 1374; Dionysiou monastery, Mount Athos.

Historiography has been mentioned among those literary genres that a new state such as the empire of Trebizond would need. The one who eventually, in a rather unusual way, was to satisfy this need was a man called Michael Panaretos. He held the position of a *protonotarios* at the court of Trebizond and died towards the end of the fourteenth century. His historical work comprises no more than about twenty printed pages in the modern edition.³⁰ It is often called a chronicle, but compared to normal Byzantine chronicles it is surprisingly meagre. It gives us the impression of a series of dry, annalistic notes, in which chronological accuracy seems to have been of primary interest to the writer. The title of the work also seems to indicate rather humble ambitions; it runs like this: “About the emperors, the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, how and when each of them became emperor, and how long he reigned.”

The contents of the text is clearly in accordance with its stated purpose, and a paragraph by Panaretos may read as follows:

In the month of August the same year, 1355, John Kabazites, duke of Chaldia, marched away and captured Cheriana. Then Sorogaina was also liberated and incorporated among the imperial domains. The same year Sir Michael Grand Komnenos marched out of the city and came to Soulchation and then returned. In October, of the 10th indiction, in the year 1355, the Grand Domestic Meizomates and the Grand Stratopedarch Sampson marched toward Tripolis as far as Kenchrina and seized Scholaris and his men, and returned, and peace was made.³¹

It is obvious that the chronology is detailed, and it is generally regarded as reliable. How reliable it is cannot be easily judged, however, since almost no parallel sources exist. To anyone who is used to “normal” Greek texts, ancient or Byzantine, historiographic or other, Panaretos makes rather exotic reading. The primary reason for this is that Trebizond’s neighbours to the south and the east are present in the text to such a high degree. Their presence takes the form of Turkish and Caucasian personal names, exactly as expected, but also — and this is more surprising — of loanwords from the languages of these peoples. A striking example is the fact that the medieval marketplace of Trebizond (which is thought to be identical with the ancient agora) is designated by the Greek form of the Arabic word

³⁰ Ed. Lampsidis 1958 (the text covers only pp. 61–81).

³¹ Ed. Lampsidis 1958: 71, 16–25.

meydan, τὸ Μαϊτάνιν. This indicates that, as a writer, Panaretos was completely foreign to the puristic conventions of classicizing Byzantine literature, in which exactly the use of un-classical loanwords was a reliable indication of the lack of formal literary education, or the lack of motivation to use it. Since Panaretos has left no other writings, it is difficult to know which explanation applies to his work. Actually, he might deliberately have chosen an informal style since he did not intend the work he was writing to be a piece of formal literature.

Sometimes Panaretos' brief notes make the impression of having been copied directly from the material of an archive. What exactly could this material have looked like? The historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who was the first who seriously tried to write the history of the Empire of Trebizond,³² gave a tentative answer to this question. In a later work, he put forth the idea that Panaretos' sources were mainly historical paintings and the inscriptions attached to them which were found in the imperial palace of the city.³³ This idea may seem odd, but in its context it is not unreasonable. In fact we know both from literary sources — such as the funerary oration on Alexios II by Constantine Loukites (on which see above) — and from archaeological remains — largely no longer extant but recorded in earlier publications —, that historical and dynastic paintings were rather common in Trebizond, and that inscriptions were found together with them.

To one of the first events mentioned by Panaretos we have, in fact, a parallel source. He devotes only a short sentence to it:

*In the year 6731 [of the Creation of the World; i.e., 1222/23], in the second year of Gidon's reign, the Sultan Melik attacked Trebizond, and their entire number were destroyed.*³⁴

This laconic comment by Panaretos has a fascinating and intriguing complement in the most extensive of all the miracle stories about St Eugenios.³⁵ Here, in thirteen dense pages, we are fully compensated for Panaretos' two meagre lines. In fact, no other event in the entire history of Trebizond has been described in such detail as this one. All that happens is

³² This happened in response to a so-called prize question issued by the Danish Academy of Sciences in Copenhagen in 1822; for the printed result, see Fallmerayer 1827.

³³ Fallmerayer 1844: 9.

³⁴ Ed. Lampsidis 1958: 61, 8–10.

³⁵ Ed. with English translation in Rosenqvist 1996: 308–334.

far too much to be summarized here. It must suffice to briefly describe the background of the events.

A Trapezuntine ship was crossing the Black Sea from Cherson in the Crimea to Trebizond with tributes (for a short period Cherson was controlled by the empire of Trebizond). On the coast off Sinope the ship ran ashore and was plundered by the governor of the city, an Armenian called Hetum, who was the Sultan's vassal. Hetum also sent his own ships to Cherson and ravaged several towns there. Emperor Andronikos Gidos of Trebizond (Gidon in Panaretos; the origin is probably Ital. Guido) responded by attacking Sinope and plundering the neighbouring coast. When the Sultan in Konya heard about this, he marched with his army against Trebizond, penetrated its territory and besieged the city. The siege and the events connected to it are broadly described, and a central role in all this is played by the city patron, St Eugenios, who efficiently intervenes to save his city. Eventually the Sultan is captured and forced to accept a treaty with emperor Andronikos, in which he is enjoined to pay an annual tribute to Trebizond.

This is not only a fascinating story; the narrative also presents us with a number of interesting problems, among which questions about the sources – unfashionable though they may be – are the most intriguing ones. The events told took place in 1222/23, but the text in which we read about them was not written until the 1360s, in a collection of miracle stories compiled by the above mentioned John Lazaropoulos, later Metropolitan Joseph of Trebizond. What did the story look like before that? How had it been transmitted over the 150 years up to that time? How can it be that Panaretos does not seem to know about it? I once attempted some rather speculative answers to these questions, and although I am far from certain about them, I think there is at least *some* support for my ideas.³⁶

I imagine that there were two sources describing the same events from different points of view. One was an epic poem in which the emperor was the hero. It was written in the so-called political, fifteen-syllable verse, and in part perhaps orally transmitted up to the mid-fourteenth century. The second source was a hagiographic text in which the martyr Eugenios played the main role as miracle worker. It is likely to have shared most characteristics of the miracle genre, except for its unusual length. The most economic solution to the problem how the two pieces were put together would be that Lazaropoulos was the one who united them. Otherwise we

³⁶ See further Rosenqvist 1996: 50–63.

would have to suppose a stage in the transmission of the texts which has been lost without leaving any discernible traces. There is also some positive support for conferring an active role here on Lazaropoulos, because the method of literary composition involved in the Melik's story — the fusing of two completely different texts into a new unity — can be paralleled elsewhere in his miracle collections.

If my own ideas about these things are right, Lazaropoulos' sources, had they been preserved, would have added some fascinating points to the literary landscape of Trebizond. If my ideas are wrong, the question of how and in what form some very detailed information was transmitted over the almost 150 years from the 1220s to the 1350s remains an unsolved problem of considerable interest in the history of Trapezuntine literature.

If, finally, we take a look at the fifteenth century, we encounter one of the most famous figures in Trebizond's literary history. Here is a man who in a typical way is absent from his hometown and instead is present, and very much so, somewhere else. I am referring to a certain John, who is better known as Bessarion, scholar, theologian, and eventually cardinal in the Roman church. He was born *ca.* 1400 but seems to have left Trebizond early. What he was looking for was an opportunity of advanced studies, something that Trebizond of the fifteenth century could not provide. Bessarion left, first for Constantinople, then for Mistra in the Peloponnese. Constantinople was, of course, a natural place to go for education, but so was Mistra. In the thirteenth century it became the capital of the Frankish principality of Morea, which was shortlived and soon returned into Byzantine hands. From 1348 it was governed by a more or less independent so-called despot (*despotes*), and after that the Morea saw a cultural development in which, among others, the philosopher and admirer of antiquity George Gemistos Plethon was an active force.

Bessarion began an ecclesiastical career by first becoming a monk, then a monastic leader and priest and eventually metropolitan of Nicaea in Bithynia. In that capacity he participated in the council of Ferrara and Florence in 1437, when a union between the Roman and the Byzantine church was discussed. Bessarion himself was in favour of the union, but as is well known, that idea came to nothing. A couple of years later he converted to Roman catholicism, was appointed cardinal, and as such twice nominated to be elected pope. He died in Ravenna in 1472.

Bessarion was a prolific writer, in Greek as well as in Latin. In the present context the most important of his works is an encomium of his

native city Trebizond.³⁷ It satisfies all demands that a highly stylized rhetorical product can be expected to satisfy. As usual in a Byzantine context this means that what we would call the information proper is diluted with masses of words in a way that sometimes makes the “informative value” — which is not the author’s main concern — seem rather slight. Still Bessarion’s work has much to add to our knowledge of such features in the urban landscape of Trebizond as the interior of the imperial palace,³⁸ the orientally flavoured marketplace in the eastern suburb, etc., facts that are useful to anyone interested in the topography of a Greek city in eastern Anatolia.



Fig. 5. Bessarion as Cardinal. Painting by Joos van Gent, *ca.* 1470 (Louvre, Paris).

³⁷ Ed. in Lampsidis 1984a: 20–72.

³⁸ The important section about the palace has been translated in Mango 1972.

In 1461 Trebizond was taken by the army of Mehmet II. In the short run this surely meant exactly what might be expected in such a situation: devastation, plunder, murders, etc. But in the long run, the consequences were hardly disastrous. Greek culture in the Pontos survived into the twentieth century, when it disappeared at last in the wake of World War I. But the past is still present in the Pontos, both in the form of a number of extant monuments — many of which, admittedly, are sadly in decay —, and in the form of certain elements in people's lifestyle: the latter is a timeless feature, determined by the Pontic nature, the form of the landscape and the climate rather than by the inhabitants' cultural and ethnic background.

I have tried to trace the outline of a literary and cultural landscape that in general was a rather remote corner of the Byzantine world. It was never near to the real Byzantium, even in periods when it tried to make people think so. This becomes overwhelmingly clear when we consider the literary output of Trebizond in these periods, a confirmation of the well-known fact that in the Byzantine Middle Ages, Constantinople was everything in terms of culture, while the province, with a slight exaggeration, was nothing. That is to say that Medieval Byzantine culture was an extremely centralized affair, reflecting an equally centralized political structure. That is why the loss of the capital in 1204 became such a heavy blow to the Empire.

However, this centralized character is especially pronounced in the fields of learning and literature. In these fields, competition with the capital would only be possible if a complex and expensive infrastructure were present, including libraries and other means of higher education. Things were a little different in the early period, up to the seventh century. Then Constantinople had to compete with other cultural centres such as Antioch and Alexandria. In difficult times this was a situation in which even a small remote town like Trebizond could achieve some renown, if just for a short time and due to a private initiative, such as that of the otherwise unknown scholar Tychikos.

The impression created by a survey of Trapezuntine art and architecture would be rather different. Here we would find a surprisingly rich variety of paintings on walls, in books and in documents — such as that found in Fig. 3, obviously produced in the imperial chancery of Trebizond —, as well as exciting examples of profane and ecclesiastical architecture, many of which are unfortunately destroyed or in decay. However, in this point a philologist is in the happy situation of having an excellent work of reference, namely the book, often cited above, on the Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos by Anthony Bryer and David Winfield.

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Summary

Greek-speaking populations and Greek culture have ancient roots in the Pontic region. None the less, this part of north-east Anatolia was felt to be a remote and foreign country by the ancient Greeks. The attitude of the medieval Byzantines was similar. An obvious explanation for this is the geographical situation of the region and the conditions created by its cool and moist climate, so different from what we find around the Mediterranean. In addition there are the strong cultural links to the east and the south, to the Caucasus and Armenia, rather than to the old Hellenic centres in western Asia Minor and the Balkans. Trebizond — the most important city on the Pontic coast, the capital of the little empire that existed there in the Late Byzantine period — derived its importance mainly from the fact that it was a station on the caravan route between Persia and Constantinople. It relied on trade for its prosperity, and literature, learning and artistic production were of marginal interest.

Normally, those of its inhabitants who wished to pursue higher studies had to leave for Constantinople. But a few periods were exceptions, even though cultural initiatives of relevance for the intellectual life were taken on a small scale and often on a personal and private basis. This article gives some glimpses of the literary landscape that emerged during these exceptional periods. Thus, in the early 7th century a shadowy figure called Tychikos was famed as a scholar attracting far away students who would rather go to Trebizond than to Constantinople in order to find a good teacher. In the early and mid-14th century there was imperial support for literary, scholarly and artistic activities aimed at making Trebizond competitive in a larger Byzantine context. Although shortlived and limited in scope, and relying on intellectuals imported from Constantinople, the result was a production of literary and scientific texts, manuscripts and imperial documents of sometimes surprisingly high quality. Behind this development was the ambition of some Trapezuntine sovereigns to appear as the real Byzantine emperors, a belated and unrealistic answer to the situation in which the fragmented Byzantine empire found itself after the loss of Constantinople in 1204. For a short time it became possible to make a reasonable career as a rhetorically educated writer in Trebizond. But for various reasons the situation soon deteriorated. The most famous Trapezuntine intellectual, the cardinal Bessarion, gained his fame far from his homeland, in Constantinople, Florence and Rome. When he died, in 1472, Trebizond had been in Ottoman hands for several years. However, the Greek population lived on in the area until the 1920s.

QALAT SEMAN AND RESAFA/SERGIUPOLIS: TWO EARLY BYZANTINE PILGRIMAGE CENTRES IN NORTHERN SYRIA

Markus Bogisch



Pilgrimage is an ancient cultural phenomenon which has survived until our days. It is still commonly practised by believers of many religions, and in general, it can be seen as an expression of the wish of the faithful to visit a specific place in order to see and experience the holy. The most important pilgrimage sites of Christianity are the places which can be connected to the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ. Already in the beginning of the 4th century the Holy Land witnessed a large influx of pilgrims, and during the reign of the Roman emperor Constantine I (324–337), great effort was put into the task of creating suitable architectural frames for the holy places in Palestine. Other sites of Christian veneration included the places where a martyr had died, or where his or her earthly remains were kept. One of the earliest monuments of this kind was the basilica of St Peter at Rome (*ca.* 329), which apart from being a huge martyrium also functioned as a testimony of the new alliance between the state and the institutionalised church.¹

¹ Krautheimer 1986: 39, 54 ff.

The Apostoleion at Constantinople was a martyrium, too. According to Eusebius it was a cruciform structure with a drum rising above the crossing.² Originally, the sarcophagus of Constantine was placed beneath the drum, but his remains were transferred into a separate, adjoining mausoleum when in 356/357 relics of the apostles were brought to the church. With the Constantinian Apostoleion a new type of martyrium had been invented where the focus of veneration lay in the centre of a cross-shaped plan. Moreover, the significance of the centre was also stressed in elevation by the tower-like structure above the crossing.³

The layout of the Apostoleion served as a model for dozens of churches erected during the later 4th and 5th century. It was copied both in the West and the East: at Milan and Ravenna, at Ephesus, at Sichem and Gaza in Palestine, and, as we shall see, in the vicinity of Antioch on the Orontes, in north-western Syria.

Historical context

Without doubt the Byzantine Empire had become a predominantly Christian state during the 5th century, but at the same time ongoing theological disputes had undermined Christianity as the unifying element of the Empire. At the end of the century, the state was divided into a Monophysite East and a Dyophysite West. Emperor Zeno's (474–475 and 476–491) attempt to reconcile the two factions by issuing the so-called Henotikon (482) failed, and indeed, it just created new problems, since it caused the first serious schism between Constantinople and Rome.⁴ Nevertheless, Zeno and his successor Anastasius I (491–518) had several good reasons when they tried to appease the Monophysite population of the East: Egypt was still the breadbasket of the nation, while Syria, besides being the prime olive-oil producing region of the Empire and home to some thriving commercial centres, also played a significant strategic role due to its relative proximity to the Persian frontier.⁵

² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* IV.58 ff. (PG 20: 1209 f.)

³ Krautheimer 1986: 69 f.

⁴ Ostrogorsky 1963: 53 f.

⁵ On Syria's role as a frontier zone situated between the Byzantine and the Sasanid Empire, see Fowden 1999.

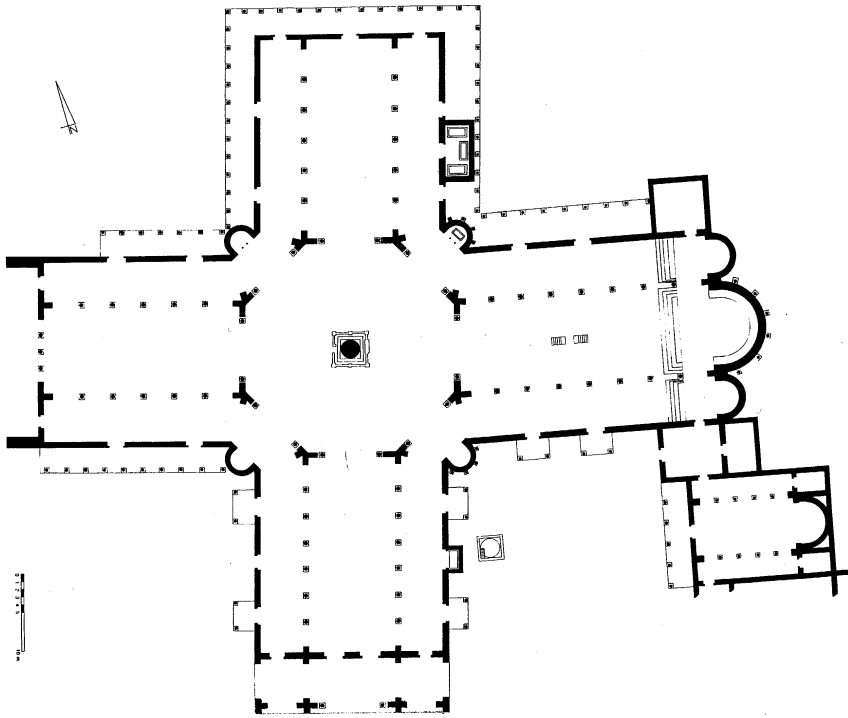


Fig. 1. Qalat Seman, the martyrion of St Symeon, plan (after Donceel-Voûte 1995: fig. 1).

The creation and development of the Early Byzantine pilgrimage sites at Qalat Seman and Resafa/Sergiupolis must be seen in this context. Qalat Seman and Resafa were not only two of the most famous pilgrimage centres in the eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity; they also were important bricks within a political game that was played in the eastern provinces of the Empire during the last decades of the 5th century.

Although both shrines were erected roughly at the same time (*ca.* 470–490), the layout of the martyrion at Qalat Seman and the basilica “A” at Resafa are quite different from each other. The martyrion at Qalat Seman (Fig. 1) consists of a central octagon and four basilicas arranged around this centre in the shape of a cross, while the shrine at Resafa (Fig. 2), which was dedicated to the Holy Cross, is laid out as a rather normal, if monumental basilica. How can these differences be explained?

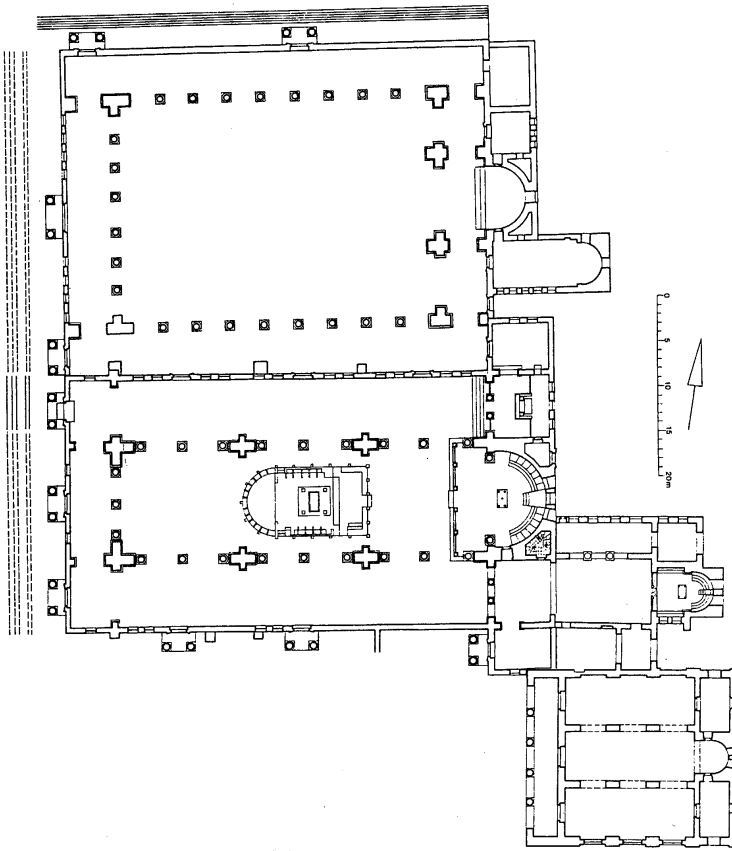


Fig. 2. Resafa, Church of the Holy Cross, plan of the pilgrimage complex (after Ulbert 1986: pl. 80, 1).

Varying objects and centres of veneration

To answer this question, one has to focus on the object of veneration. At Qalat Seman it was the column upon which St Symeon the Elder (*ca.* 390–459) had stood for the last 40 years of his life.⁶ The spot on top of the Gebel Seman already attracted vast numbers of visitors during the lifetime of the

⁶ The main sources on the life of St Symeon are: chapter XXVI of the *Historia Religiosa* by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (written in 444); the Syriac Vita by Bar Apollon and Bar Khatar (written in 472–473); the Greek Vita by Antonius. For the different sources and a discussion of them, see Lietzmann 1908, Delehayé 1923: I ff.

saint. In the 5th century many extreme forms of asceticism were practised throughout Syria, but St Symeon's choice to exhibit himself on top of a column of forty cubits (*ca.* 16–18 m) was something new that certainly did not fail to impress the spectator of the day. From his elevated position, which visually placed him above mankind and simultaneously closer to heaven, St Symeon is said to have performed a great number of miracles. The sick and the insane came or were brought to the place where Symeon dwelled, and they were cured from their illnesses by means of the dust that lay around the base of the column. In minor cases it was sufficient, if the patient rubbed some earth on the infected parts of the body, in more severe cases — such as possession — the evil spirit was exorcised by dissolving earth into water and drinking it.⁷ It seems like part of the holiness and miraculous power of St Symeon had been transferred into the soil upon which the column rose. Qalat Seman was consequently perceived as a *locus sanctus*, a place of theophany, where the presence of God had become manifest through the deeds of St Symeon, his miracle-working servant.

Unlike St Symeon, St Sergius was a high-ranking military commander in the Roman army who was put to death at the beginning of the 4th century because of his Christian faith. The earthly remains of the martyr were buried in the necropolis of Resafa, at that time a remote military outpost in the wilderness of the Syrian steppe. Shortly before 431, the relics were exhumed and transferred to a newly built church financed by Bishop Alexander of Hierapolis which was placed within the precinct of the fortress-walls. Interestingly, it was first after the translocation of the relics that the cult of the saint gained in popularity and that the *Passio* of Sts Sergius and Bacchus was written down.⁸ We might tentatively conjecture that there existed some kind of need for the creation of yet another military saint, a prominent exponent of the *ecclesia militans*. By spending 300 pounds of gold on a church building, Bishop Alexander promoted the cult of a martyr of whom hardly anyone had heard before, but the money turned out to be well invested: during the 5th century the cult of St Sergius rapidly spread across Syria and from there to many parts of the Late Antique world.

Both the initial translocation and the fact that the relics were moved again around 470–490 clearly show that the original burial site of St Sergius was not perceived as a holy place. At Resafa the centre of veneration was where the relics of St Sergius were kept, and despite of its rather modest dimensions, the

⁷ Syr. *Vita* 31 ff. (Lietzmann 1908: 96 ff.)

⁸ Fowden 1999: 7 ff.

north-eastern chamber of the basilica "A" at Resafa might rightfully be called a martyrrium.⁹

Evidently, we are dealing with two pilgrimage sites that were quite different in essence, and like this, it can no longer be surprising that varying architectural layouts were chosen for the shrines at Qalat Seman and Resafa. But neither the design of the martyrrium at Qalat Seman, nor that of the basilica "A" at Resafa was without antecedents.

The prototypes of the shrine at Qalat Seman

As remarked at the outset, a new type of martyrrium had evolved with the creation of the Apostoleion at Constantinople in the first half of the 4th century. The symbolical implication of the building signifying the Church as being centred on the unifying figure of the *kosmokrator* — a notion to be further developed and transposed in later times — was unmistakable.¹⁰ Although church architecture in Early Christianity was strongly influenced by Roman concepts of space, especially those which focussed on the cult of the emperor, the object of veneration had changed. In the Church of the Apostles at Milan (Fig. 3), begun in 382 by St Ambrose and most probably modelled on the Apostoleion at Constantinople, the altar was placed in the centre bay, and relics of the apostles were buried beneath it.¹¹

The combination of the altar with its apparent grave connotation and relics, however logical it may seem, predominantly remained a Western phenomenon, but the concept of the mausoleum-church or the so-called "martyrrium" was equally widespread throughout the East. One of the best examples is the martyrrium of St Babylas at Antioch-Kaoussié (Fig. 4). Built roughly at the same time as the Church of the Apostles at Milan, it sheltered the tomb of St Babylas, a much venerated local martyr. From the archaeological remains the building can be reconstructed as a cruciform structure

⁹ Similar arrangements are a general trait of many Early Byzantine basilicas in north-eastern Syria. In the Antiochene the martyrrium was typically placed in the chamber to the south of the apse, while it was placed to the north of the apse in the Apamene. On side-chambers in Syrian churches, see Lassus 1947: 162 ff.

¹⁰ Krautheimer 1986: 40, n. 3. Although Lehmann's article (Lehmann 1945) might be slightly outdated today, his theories about the symbolic meaning of the dome remain important. For a critical comment on Lehmann's use of the term *kosmokrator*, see Mathews 1995.

¹¹ Krautheimer 1986: 81 f.

consisting of four aisleless arms arranged around a square, towering middle-section which was surmounted by a pyramidal roof made of timber.¹²

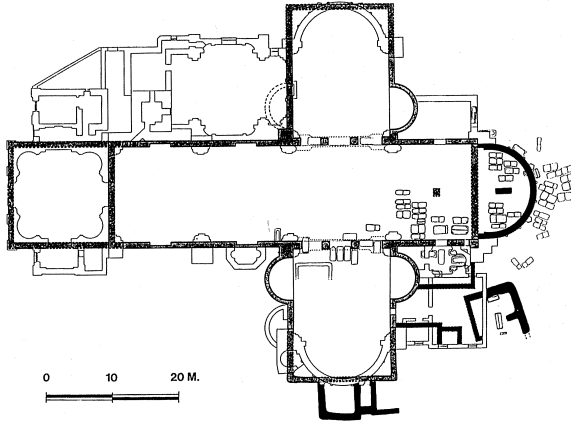


Fig. 3. Milan, Basilica Apostolorum, plan (after Brenck 1995: Abb. 8).

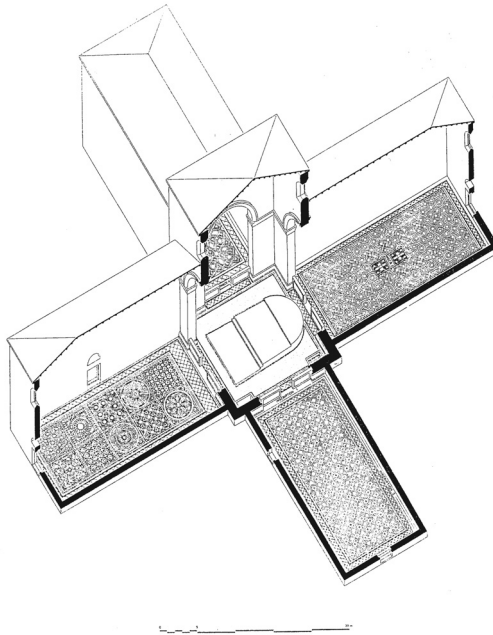


Fig. 4. Antioch-Kaoussié, the martyrarium of St Babylas, axonometry (after Tchalenko & Baccache 1979: 351).

¹² Krautheimer 1986: 75.

The martyrium envisaged by St Gregory of Nyssa around 380 might serve as another example for the copying of the Apostoleion in the East. In his letter to Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium St Gregory describes the building as follows:

The church is in the form of a cross and naturally consists of four bays, one on each side. [...] Inscribed in the cross is a circle cut by eight angles: I have called the octagonal shape a circle because it is rounded in such a way that the four sides of the octagon that are opposite one another on the main axes connect by means of arches the central circle to the four adjoining bays. The other four sides of the octagon, which lie between the rectangular bays, do not extend in an even line towards the bays, but each one of them will encompass a semicircle having at the top a conch-like form leaning on an arch; so that, all together, there will be eight arches by means of which the squares and semicircles will parallel-wise be conjoined to the central space.¹³

The passage almost reads like a precise description of the architectural set-up at Qalat Seman. The martyrium which St Gregory had in mind was of course based on a much smaller scale, and its cross arms were not conceived as three-aisled basilicas. Nevertheless, the two shrines share some basic features: 1) they are laid out in the shape of a cross; 2) the central part of the building consists of an octagon; 3) the four cross arms are bound together by means of semicircles.

While the origin of the cross plan seems to be reasonably clear, the two other main traits of the shrines remain to be explained. Unfortunately, Eusebius' account of the Apostoleion does not include any precise information on the design of the central part of the monument. We can only assume that it was a tower-like structure rising above a square crossing like at the martyrium at Antioch-Kaoussié or the pre-Justinian church of St John at Ephesus¹⁴. Another possibility would be that it had a more complex plan, somehow similar to the one of the Golden Octagon at Antioch. Nothing remains of this famous church, but again it is known to us through the brief descriptions by Eusebius. The first account, included in the *Vita Constantini*, provides the following information:

¹³ Mango 1986: 27 f.

¹⁴ It is generally alleged that the cross-shaped plan of the 5th century church of St John was inspired by the design of the Apostoleion at Constantinople; see Krautheimer 1986: 106, n. 12.

[At Antioch] he consecrated a church really unique in size and beauty. On the outside, he surrounded the entire church with enclosures of great extent, while the interior of the house of prayer he raised to an immense height. This was made in the form of an octagon ringed all round with chambers both on the upper and lower levels [...].¹⁵

Together with the second account by Eusebius, where the spaces surrounding the centre are described more accurately as *oikoi* and *exedrai*¹⁶, this gives us a basic idea of the monument: it consisted of a large octagon enclosed by a ring of chambers and exedras. The exedras might have been placed in accordance with main axes of the octagon, which effectively would have turned the building into a tetraconch, or in line with the diagonals like it is the case in the Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople (Fig. 5).¹⁷ Since the Golden Octagon and the Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus share two other important aspects — both buildings had galleries and were located in the immediate vicinity of an Imperial palace — the latter option seems to be the more convincing one.

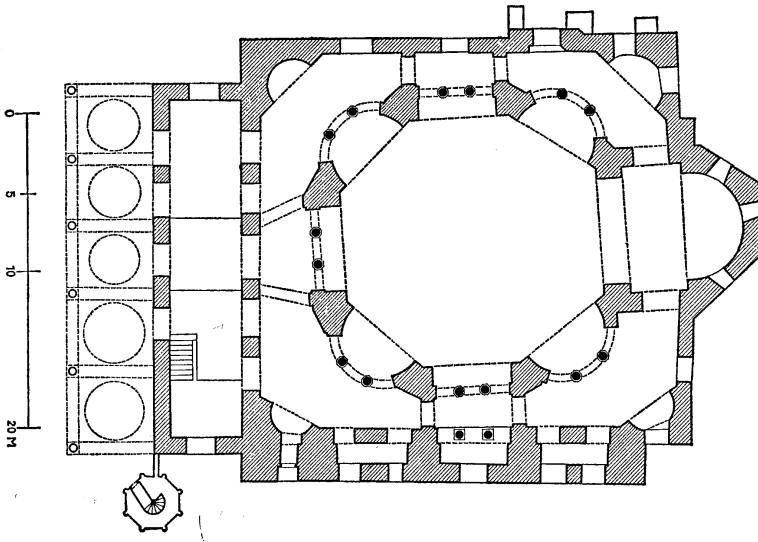


Fig. 5. Istanbul, Sts Sergius and Bacchus, plan (after Volbach & Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968: 220).

¹⁵ Mango 1986: 11.

¹⁶ Mango 1986: 11, n. 30.

¹⁷ Krautheimer 1986: 222 ff.

In other words, the architecture of Qalat Seman was not only inspired by the Apostoleion at Constantinople and its copies, but also by the layout of the Golden Octagon at Antioch. The general plan of the shrine at Qalat Seman ultimately derived from the Apostoleion, while the octagonal shape of the centre and the location of the semicircular apses in the angles between the cross arms most probably were influenced by the corresponding elements of the Golden Octagon.

The assignment of Qalat Seman to Emperor Zeno

The enormous dimensions of the site — it covers a total area larger than 11.000 m² — and the unfavourable conditions of the terrain which demanded a great amount of levelling work before the actual building process could begin indicate that a huge labour force had been employed at Qalat Seman. This assumption is further supported by the fact that the main structure of the complex, the shrine of St Symeon, was executed in one single building phase within a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it can be alleged that the working team not only consisted of locals, but also of highly skilled masons from metropolitan centres like Antioch.¹⁸ Who could have initiated and financed a project of this scale and for what possible purpose?

Not long after the death of St Symeon, Martyrius, the pro-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, went to the Gebel Seman to collect the remains of the saint. A military detachment consisting of 600 soldiers was needed to protect the patriarch and his entourage from the outraged local population. The monks of the monastery at Telanissos protested, too, but they could not prevent the translocation of the relics to Antioch, where they were placed in the Great Church, i.e. the Golden Octagon of Constantine.¹⁹

Roughly at the same time, Daniel the Stylite began to imitate St Symeon on the shores of the Bosphorus, and during the last years of the reign of Emperor Leo I (457–474) a monastery together with a martyrium dedicated to St Symeon was built near the site of Daniel's ascetic practice. After its completion the relics of St Symeon were brought from Antioch to Constantinople.²⁰ This second translocation of the relics not only proves how

¹⁸ Strube 1977: 187; Deichmann 1982: 37 ff.

¹⁹ Delehaye 1923: XXXIII.

²⁰ Delehaye 1923: XI, XLVI f., L; Dawes & Baynes 1948: 19 f., 40 f.

much influence Daniel had gained at the Imperial court during the first half of the 470s, it can also be seen as an indication for the wish of the Chalcedonians within the capital to evacuate the relics of the much venerated saint from Antioch, which in the meantime had turned into a city with many supporters of Monophysitism.

The tensions between the two religious factions increased when Zeno became emperor in 474. In his earlier days, Zeno had clearly shown sympathy for the Monophysites, and indeed, it was he who initially had installed Peter the Fuller, a notorious anti-Chalcedonian, on the patriarchal throne at Antioch in a moment of Martyrius' absence.²¹ Paradoxically, in 475/476, during the rebellion of Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo I and a Monophysite, Zeno found a new ally in Daniel the Stylite who furiously preached against the usurper. Thus, after he had regained the throne in 476, Zeno for a short period became a close supporter of the Chalcedonians.²² In 482 he issued the *Henotikon*, by which he intended to reconcile the Mono- and Dyophysites, but the attempt failed and no religious unity was achieved.

Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that the building campaign which Zeno initiated throughout the eastern provinces of the Empire at that time was connected to his appeasement policy in one or the other way. He showed the greatest interest in creating meeting-places for the Chalcedonians and Monophysites, and apart from the pilgrimage site at Qalat Seman, the shrines of St Thecla at Meriamlik²³ and St Menas at Abu Mina²⁴ can be assigned to him, too. The reason to base the layout of the shrine of St Symeon on the model of the *Apostoleion* at Constantinople and the Golden Octagon at Antioch probably was that both buildings were constructed during what was now considered as the "heroic" age of Constantine: they alluded to the unity of Church and State which Zeno had wished to re-establish.

St Symeon himself seemed to have been generally opposed to the idea of a Church division. Moreover, he was conceived as a unifying figure in the 5th century: apart from the people of the Levant, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Georgians, Spaniards, Britons, Gauls and Italians flocked together at Qalat Seman, we are told by Theodoret of Cyrhus.²⁵ Zeno must have realised that he could draw enormous advantage from the symbolical value of this holy place

²¹ Devreesse 1945: 65.

²² Dawes & Baynes 1948: 49 f.; Delehayé 1923: LI f.

²³ Guyer & Herzfeld 1930: 46 ff.; Hellenkemper 1986.

²⁴ Reekmans 1980: 333 ff. For the latest campaigns, see Grossmann *et al.* 1991: 457 ff.

²⁵ Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Historia Religiosa* XXVI.11 (Lietzmann 1908: 8).

by creating a suitable architectural frame for it. No expenses seem to have been too large for the realisation of the task, and indeed, the shrine of St Symeon was planned on a grand scale and executed in an elaborate style.

Syrian building-style in the late 5th century

As for the latter, the difference between the building-style of Qalat Seman and that of the capital — i.e. what is often considered as the typical Byzantine building-style — can be easily discerned. Instead of alternating layers of brick and stone, exclusively cut stone was employed. All ashlars used for the walls were neatly dressed, and like this, large even surfaces well-suited for the embellishment with architectural sculpture were created. A striking feature are the exuberant mouldings of the façades (Fig. 6). Although developed out of classical prototypes, these undulating profiles clearly mark a departure point from Late Roman aesthetics where the use of mouldings and profiles was largely restricted to the accentuation of the tectonic elements of a building. At Qalat Seman they are used in a free fashion and they adorn the exterior of the shrine as if they were festoons on the outside of a large sarcophagus.



Fig. 6. Qalat Seman, the martyrion of St Symeon, from the north-east (photo: M. Bogisch).

The motive of the undulating profiles appears for the first time at Qalb Loze (Fig. 7), a well-preserved basilica dating from the 460s, which is located roughly halfway between Qalat Seman and Antioch.²⁶ Apparently it was a pilgrimage church, too. Whose relics were kept at Qalb Loze remains open to speculation, but they were certainly stored in the south-eastern chamber which according to the Antiochene tradition was designed as the martyrrium. Typologically, Qalb Loze belongs to a special Syrian derivation of the standard-basilica, the so-called “Weitarkadenbasilika”, where the columns that usually separate the nave from the aisles are replaced by widely spaced low piers. Broad arches rest upon these and together they convey the impression of a vast interior.²⁷ Concerning the sculpture of Qalb Loze, the embellishment of the projecting apse shares so many similarities with the decoration of the main apse of the eastern basilica at Qalat Seman that it might be conjectured that some of the masons who had been employed at Qalb Loze continued their work at Qalat Seman.²⁸



Fig. 7. Qalb Loze, south façade (photo: M. Bogisch).

²⁶ For Qalb Loze, see Tchalenko 1974, Tchalenko & Baccache 1979: pl. 256–262, Tchalenko 1990: 163 ff.

²⁷ On the Syrian “Weitarkadenbasilika” see Grossmann 1973: 38 ff.

²⁸ Strube 1977: 187, Deichmann 1982: 40, n. 94.

Unfortunately, none of the preserved inscriptions at Qalb Loze tells us by whom it was founded, but since the local workmen responsible for the sculptural decoration seem to have been assisted by master masons from Antioch, it is tempting to assume that the initiative came from this city.²⁹ It remains to be proven if there could be a link to the person of Peter the Fuller who, as mentioned earlier, was installed as patriarch of Antioch by Zeno in the mid-460s.

From Qalb Loze to the Church of the Holy Cross at Resafa

Peter the Fuller administered the see at Antioch in an on/off fashion, being frequently deposed, exiled, and subsequently reinstalled. Interestingly, it was he who consecrated Xenaias alias Philoxenos as bishop of Mabbuk.³⁰ As we have seen, there also existed a traditional linkage between the see of Mabbuk, a synonym for Hierapolis in Euphratesia, and the shrine of St Sergius at Resafa, which Bishop Alexander had financed around 430. Furthermore, when Emperor Zeno took up an increasingly pro-Monophysite policy during the last years of his reign, he had the full support of Philoxenos.³¹ Could it thus be possible that the basilica "A" at Resafa, to which the relics of St Sergius were transferred in the last decades of the 5th century, was erected due to a combined initiative of Philoxenos and Zeno? There are some indications which seem to support this hypothesis:

1) Theophanes (*ca.* 752–818), writing at the time of Iconoclasm, reports that Xenaias, whom he calls "the servant of Satan" because of his opposition to the usage of images, prior to his consecration as bishop of Mabbuk perverted the villages around Antioch from the true faith.³² Those villages could indeed have been those of the limestone massif, and Qalb Loze was certainly one of the most important pilgrimage sites throughout the region before the construction of Qalat Seman. Consequently, there is a fair chance that Xenaias had seen the basilica of Qalb Loze while he was preaching in the countryside around Antioch, and as the later bishop of Mabbuk he

²⁹ Deichmann 1982: 40.

³⁰ Mango 1986: 43.

³¹ Devreesse 1945: 66 f.

³² Mango 1986: 43.

might have envisaged the new shrine of St Sergius at Resafa as an enlarged copy of this famous pilgrimage church.



Fig. 8. Resafa, Church of the Holy Cross, "Eckbrücke" (photo: M. Bogisch).

2) Because of the critical situation in the Balkans caused by the Ostrogoths and the enduring problems in the capital, Zeno considered it wise to keep peace with the Persians. The consolidated situation in the East during the last decades of the 5th century obviously had a stimulating effect on building activity, also at Resafa. Recent archaeological surveys confirm that the Church of the Holy Cross in all probability was erected during the reign of Zeno.³³

3) The squinches in the upper parts of the two tower-like rooms flanking the apse of the Church of the Holy Cross at Resafa (Fig. 8) are of a special kind, indicating that Isaurian builders might have been involved in

³³ Brands 2002: 224.

its construction.³⁴ Analogous squinches appear in the eastern church of Alahan Monastir which was erected in Zeno's native country at approximately the same time.³⁵

4) Both the dedication and the adornment of the Church of the Holy Cross point to the fact that a convinced Monophysite like Philoxenos must have been responsible for the conception of the church.³⁶ The original decoration of the apse conch which again is visible today (Fig. 9) consists of nothing else than a huge shell design and a cross, thus alluding in a very abstract manner to the idea of the apse as the womb of the Virgin containing the incarnate God.

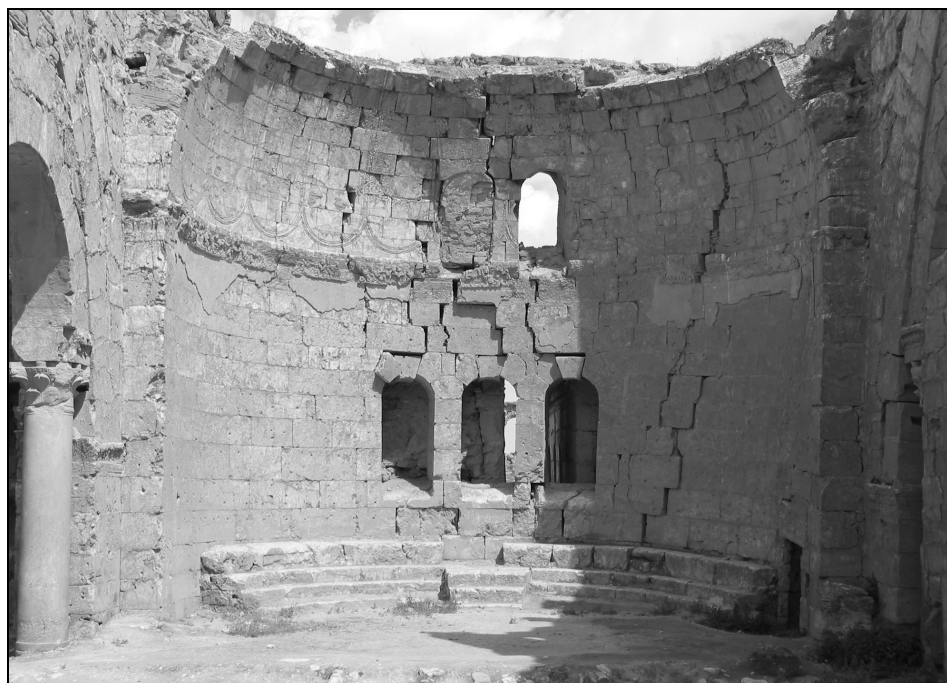


Fig. 9. Resafa, Church of the Holy Cross, apse (photo: M. Bogisch).

³⁴ Brands 2002: 226.

³⁵ For Alahan Monastir, see Gough 1985.

³⁶ Concerning the question of the decoration of Monophysite churches in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire, see Mundell 1977: 59 ff. However, in the meantime it has been securely established that the martyrium of St Sergius at Resafa was located in the northern chamber of the basilica "A", and not, as stated by Mundell (1977: 67 f.), in the basilica "B". See Brands 2002: 212 f., 224.

The assignment of the Church of the Holy Cross to Philoxenos and Zeno still needs further proof, but there exists an undeniable connection between the basilica at Resafa and Qalb Loze. Before the colonnades which support the arches on each side of the nave were added, the layout of the Church of the Holy Cross closely resembled the one of the basilica at Qalb Loze. The main differences were the straight enclosing wall of the sanctuary and the location of the martyrium to the north of the apse, a spatial arrangement which can be explained by the way the relics of St Sergius were presented for the pilgrim.

Prior to entering the chamber which contained the sarcophagus, the pilgrim had to pass through a small triangular room placed between the apse and the north-eastern chamber. In contrast to this dark and claustrophobic anteroom, the martyrium itself was designed as a lofty tower, flooded in light and adorned with precious materials.³⁷

The concept of holiness and the production of *eulogia*

In both cases, at Resafa and at Qalat Seman, the roof constructions which originally rose above the most important spaces, i.e. the chamber containing the sarcophagus with the relics of St Sergius and the octagonal enclosure around the column of St Symeon, represented heaven. Like this, these spaces were signified as holy places. The wish of the pilgrims to acquire some of their inherent holiness was met in different ways, according to the different natures of the two sites: at Qalat Seman the *eulogia* ("blessings") consisted of earthen tokens, sometimes imprinted with the image of St Symeon or showing the saint on top of his column.³⁸ The fact that they were manufactured from the earth around the shrine reflects the belief that all kind of sickness could be cured with the help of the dust from this *locus sanctus*. The holiness of the martyrium at Resafa was on the contrary based on the relics of St Sergius which demanded another concept for the production of *eulogia*: as in many other Syrian martyria, oil was poured through an opening in the lid of the sarcophagus. Running through the inside it came into contact with the relics, and was thus sanctified. Afterwards the oil was tapped from another opening at the base of the

³⁷ For a detailed account on the north-eastern chamber, see Ulbert 1986: 43 ff.

³⁸ Vikan 1998: 233 (fig. 8.5), 236 f.

sarcophagus and poured into small glass flacons which were given to the pilgrims.³⁹

Conclusion

During the 6th century the shrines at Qalat Seman and Resafa developed into thriving pilgrimage centres, attracting hordes of visitors from nearby and distant places. Unlike the Henotikon which had turned out to be a failure, the plan of Zeno to create oecumenical meeting places for all Christians of the Empire at the sites of especially venerated saints had proved to be successful. As the patron saint of the Arab tribe of the Ghassanids, St Sergius remained popular even after the Islamic conquest of Resafa. Under the Umayyad Caliph Hisham (724–743) a large mosque was erected immediately north to the Church of the Holy Cross and the pilgrimage courtyard where the relics of St Sergius were exhibited on special feast days.⁴⁰ This unique example of the co-existence of an Islamic mosque and a Christian church based on the common veneration of a saint was something which Zeno of course never could have foreseen — but it serves as an additional prove for the validity of his concept to visualise the great symbolical power inherent in holy places like Qalat Seman and Resafa.

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³⁹ Ulbert 1986: 137 ff. For a more concise description, see Ulbert 1993: 120 f.

⁴⁰ Ulbert 1993: 123 f.

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Summary

This paper deals with the Early Byzantine pilgrimage centres at Qalat Seman and Resafa/Sergiupolis in northern Syria. Although both shrines were built roughly at the same time (*ca.* 470–90), they greatly differ in their architectural layout: the so-called martyrion at Qalat Seman consists of four basilicas that are arranged around an octagonal centrepiece which frames the column of St Symeon the Elder, while the pilgrimage church at Resafa is designed as a more conventional, if monumental

basilica. This is partly explainable by the varying objects of veneration, partly by the different prototypes on which the two shrines were modelled. In the following, the foundation of the pilgrimage centre at Qalat Seman is assigned to the Byzantine Emperor Zeno (474–5/476–91), and the hypothesis is put forward that the basilica “A” at Resafa, to which the relics of St Sergius were transferred in the last decades of the 5th century, was erected due to the combined initiative of Zeno and Philoxenos, the bishop of Mabbuk. Both pilgrimage centres turned out to be an enormous success proving the validity of the concept to visualise the symbolical power inherent in holy places like Qalat Seman and Resafa by means of monumental architecture.

ST. MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, PHILOSOPHER OR THEOLOGIAN?

Torstein Theodor Tollefsen



I have not made it easy for myself when I pose the question this way. This is partly because the initial question gives rise to a lot of other questions on the nature of philosophy and theology, and because such questions are interwoven with modern ideas of different kinds of knowledge and different kinds of disciplines. Let me first state what I believe to be the case with St Maximus the Confessor: he is a philosopher. To say this, however, is not to say that he is not a theologian. Well then, this clarification is no clarification at all, but rather leads on to a series of new questions. It's about time I try to untie the knot, if I am able to do so.

The question "philosopher or theologian?" sounds quite modern. In modernity we are accustomed to make what we imagine to be clear-cut distinctions between science, philosophy and theology. When I say we "imagine" I just want to remind ourselves that the divisions are not so sharp or obvious as some textbooks or histories of ideas will have it. However, I do not intend to move further with problems of this kind. What is of some concern for us now, is the fact that a definition of 'philosophy' as a central term for the present topic is very difficult to give. We moderns usually think of philosophy in a lot of different ways. Philosophy is a certain way of addressing topics. Philosophy springs from reason and employs a critical attitude and logical tools to examine whatever it is that should be examined. Philosophy has no subject matter of its own, but is a way to ask and answer questions related to almost any kind of subject.

To supplement this view one may also point to two differing, but — I suppose — not necessarily opposed attitudes among philosophers, the analytic and the synthetic. If we turn to the past, I think the characterizations given just now are confirmed in a lot of philosophers from Antiquity to our own time. It is also quite easy to see that the attitudes of analysis and synthesis are combined in one and the same philosopher.

However, still another thing should be brought in to complete the picture: philosophy has also been looked upon as a *way of life* accompanied with a “lifestyle”. Essential to this idea is that philosophy is a preparation for death, as we know it from the famous passage in Plato’s *Phaedo*. In Socrates’ words:¹ “Ordinary people seem not to realize that those who really apply themselves in the right way to philosophy are directly and of their own accord preparing themselves for dying and death.” The point is, as explained further on in the dialogue, that a philosopher tries to avoid being involved in bodily concerns, in order to concentrate all his mental power on living according to virtue. The separation of soul from body is at the same time a definition for death. Therefore: philosophy is a preparation for death.

It is interesting to see that this idea turns up in Christian literature as if quite congenial with a Christian attitude. Clement of Alexandria writes:²

Now the sacrifice which is acceptable to God is unswerving abstraction from the body and its passions. This is true piety. And is not, on this account, philosophy rightly called by Socrates the practice of death? For he who neither employs his eyes in the exercise of thought, nor draws aught from his other senses, but with pure mind itself applies to objects, practises the true philosophy.

This idea is picked up in Maximus’ commentary on the Lord’s Prayer:³

...free from anxiety let us pray for bread sufficient for one day at a time, thus showing that as Christian philosophers we make life a rehearsal for death (καὶ δεῖξωμεν ὅτι φιλοσόφῳ κατὰ Χριστὸν μελέτην θανάτου τὸν βίον ποιούμεθα), in our purpose anticipating nature and, before death comes, cutting off the soul’s anxiety about bodily things.

¹ *Phaedo* 64a (translation from Hamilton & Cairns 1985).

² *Stromata* 5.11.67; translation from the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2.

³ *Expositio orationis dominicae* (ed. VanDeun 1991: 61; translation from Palmer et al. 1981: 300).

Of course, from a Christian point of view, matter and bodily things are not evil in themselves. Evil originates as a result of the fall, when, according to Maximus, a whole set of unnatural passions were introduced into the being of man. Because of this man's life is enmeshed in sinful practices.⁴

What we should ask about now is how the idea of philosophy arrived at so far should be defined. Philosophy is literally and generally the *love of wisdom*, wisdom being the peak of virtue. In a Christian setting, however, three modifications should be made: (i) it is not wisdom as such, but the *love of wisdom* that is the primary virtue, (ii) 'love' is not the Greek *φιλία*, but the Christian *ἀγάπη* (ἔρως), and (iii) the 'wisdom' sought for is not just a mental attitude, but a divine person. Divine Wisdom is essentially the divine Logos, i.e. the second person of the Holy Trinity. Philosophy, as we have met it so far, is essentially the effort to order one's life in accordance with divine intentions.⁵

"Divine intentions" — in St Maximus' thought this term has a definite meaning. In his metaphysical (cosmological and soteriological) scheme the one Logos of God is the source of the *logoi*. The *logoi* are the divine ideas and acts of will (θελήματα) that define the three-fold pattern (i) according to which beings are made, (ii) in accordance with which they shall move and (iii) through which they may achieve fulfilment and glorification.⁶ There is, in Maximus' words, a *logos* of being, of well-being and of eternal well-being.⁷ This three-fold pattern is connected with another idea in St Maximus, viz. the well-known idea of three stages of spiritual development. Here we should note the terminology. (1) The movement or activity of man, in accordance with his *logos* of being or his nature, first brings him into the *vita practica*. One of Maximus' terms for this stage is *πρακτική φιλοσοφία*.⁸ (2) The next step, the life in accordance with the *logos* of well-being, is the *vita contemplativa*, called *φυσική φιλοσοφία*.⁹ (3) The third and last stage, the life in accordance with the *logos* of eternal well-being, is the *vita mystica*, called *θεολογική φιλοσοφία*.¹⁰

⁴ A lot of texts could be consulted, cf. for instance *Ad Thalassium* 1, 21 and 61 (ed. Laga & Steel 1980, 1990).

⁵ It should be remembered that the term philosophy was used by the Cappadocians (and by a lot of others) for Christian life and Christian wisdom.

⁶ Cf. *Ambigua* 7 and 41 (PG 91), and *Ad Thalassium* 60 (ed. Laga & Steel 1990).

⁷ Cf. *Ambigua* 7: 1084b–c; 42: 1348d (PG 91); *De char.* 3.23–25 (PG 90).

⁸ Cf. *Cap. Gnost.* 1.36 (PG 90). Cf. Thunberg 1995: 335 for alternative terminology.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Here we should note one of the other important terms, *μυστική θεολογία*.

Of course, nothing substantial follows from the use of terms, but there is no doubt that this idea of a threefold spiritual development is in accordance with the ancient idea of philosophy as a *way of living*, an ideal to be followed. Philosophy is the way of virtue, note what Maximus says in his *Chapters on love* (*De char.* 4.30):

If a brother happens to be tempted and persists in insulting you, do not be driven out of your state of love, even though the same evil demon troubles your mind. You will not be driven out of that state, when abused, you bless; when slandered, you praise; and when tricked, you maintain your affection. This is the way of Christ's philosophy: if you do not follow it you do not share His company.

However, there is more to it than this idea of philosophy as a way of life. A bit further on in the *Chapters on love* we find the following (*De char.* 4.37):

The commandments, the doctrines, the faith: these three are the three objects of the Christian's philosophy. The commandments separate the intellect from the passions; the doctrines lead it to the knowledge of beings (εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων); and faith to the contemplation of the Holy Trinity.

The three objects of philosophy are, of course, connected with the threefold spiritual development. What strikes us here is that the second stage, philosophising over the doctrines or dogmas, leads to the knowledge of beings. How should that be? The dogmas could only be what is confessed in the Symbol of faith, and it should be clear enough that the Symbol of faith presents some main outlines of a Christian world-view: there is one God, creator of all being, the beginning and end of all, acknowledged as Trinity, the Second person of which became man for our salvation. For Maximus natural philosophy is to contemplate or gain understanding of *why* beings are. But “why?” and “how?” and “what?” are questions of a related nature. To know the purpose of being requires knowledge of the essence of beings and how they are situated in the realm of being. To know beings is to understand them in relation to their principles, and the principles are the *logoi* that are unified in the one Logos. To know beings is to contemplate how the whole cosmos on all its levels, in all its relations and arrangements is an expression of the divine economy. — In Late Antiquity this would naturally be understood as a genuine philosophical project.

One thing, however, seems to be missing from this picture, viz. the moment of *analysis*. All of this synthetic contemplation could be understood

as rather edifying without leaving room for any *analytic* and *critical* attitude. Despite that, could it still be counted genuine philosophy?

Two remarks are appropriate: (1) Maximus tries, in accordance with Christian principles, to figure out the nature of space and time, the relation between essence and other properties, etc. etc. He argues for the temporal beginning of the world and makes critical examinations of the arguments of others. The synthetic drive of his thought is balanced with an analytical and critical attitude, even if he as a monastic writer tries to be edifying throughout. (2) Of course, from a modern point of view one would be suspicious of a religious thinker like Maximus. He would not be analytic enough. He is too edifying. Such a judgement does not, however, stem from a neutral position. It is an expression of the prejudice of modernity. According to the modern view, philosophy and science could only be conducted with the aid of methods prescribing certain procedures by which knowledge might be gained. These procedures are principally developed from a certain metaphysical foundation, i.e. from the idea that the nature of reality is basically quantitative or material. To imagine that only what accords with modern scientific rules accounts as serious or genuine knowledge is to dismiss the whole tradition of pre-modern thought. This is just narrow-mindedness. Of course, ancient thought also has its methods and rules, but differs from modern thought in its basic attitude towards knowledge. From a modern point of view one would expect a discussion of the principal relationship between faith and reason, but, as far as I know, such a discussion, meeting our requirements, is nowhere to be found in Maximus' writings. Rather he thinks according to a pattern that is mostly forgotten in modern thought. For Maximus there are certain habits in accordance with which man seeks understanding of his world. The one who loves wisdom is the one who disciplines his mind by certain attitudes or virtues. To gain knowledge is to adjust oneself to the basic structure of the cosmos. Ethical virtue as well as theoretical virtue is sought in order to live the best life or to be in accordance with reality. This is as typical for pagan as it is for Christian thought.

To count St Maximus a philosopher is *not* to say he is not a theologian. He is a Christian philosopher, which, measured with ancient standards, is to say he is a genuine *theologian*. There is, of course, *mystery*, but mystery one finds in Neoplatonism as well, even if it differs from the Christian understanding of mystery. I think it is wrong to say that the category of 'mystery' is opposed to the category of 'reason'. The idea is that mystery

transcends reason, not as that which contradicts but as what is by nature beyond human capacity for understanding.

In Late Antiquity and among the Byzantines to live and think theologically is to philosophise. To philosophise is to be in accordance with the ὀρθὸς λόγος, the “right reason”, which would be the divine arrangements for intelligible and material being. The radical drift of Maximian thought views the whole cosmic drama as an expression of the God who loves human beings. Creation and cosmology is only understandable in connection with the soteriological drama. The whole could be summed up in St Maximus’ words from *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*:¹¹

Because of Christ — or rather, the whole mystery of Christ — all the ages of time and the beings within those ages have received their beginning and end in Christ. For the union between a limit of the ages and limitlessness, between measure and immeasurability, between finitude and infinity, between Creator and creation, between rest and motion, was conceived before the ages. This union has been manifested in Christ at the end of time, and in itself brings God’s foreknowledge to fulfilment, in order that naturally mobile creatures might secure themselves around God’s total and essential immobility, desisting altogether from their movement toward themselves and toward each other. The union has been manifested so that they might also acquire, by experience, an active knowledge of Him in whom they were made worthy to find their stability and to have abiding unchangeably in them the enjoyment of this knowledge.

The question “philosopher or theologian?” is by us easily conceived in a quite modern way. We have to remember, however, that when we are speaking of pre-modern times, terms could be applied differently from the way we would prefer. Terms like reason and faith mean something different for Maximus than for us. The contents of concepts differ. Attitudes to the fragility of human life in the social and cosmic setting in which he finds himself are conceived of otherwise than we would conceive it. And what is most important: there is no reason to believe that we have nothing to learn from the wise ones of former generations.

¹¹ *Ad Thal.* 60 (ed. Laga & Steel 1990; translation from Blowers & Wilken 2003: 125 f.)

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Summary

In this paper I ask if St Maximus the Confessor could be considered to be a philosopher. From the point of view of modern philosophy it seems difficult to answer in the affirmative, but if measured with pre-modern measures the answer seems more obvious: he is a philosopher. In the ancient world philosophy was not just theoretical speculation, but an ideal of life and a way of living. Among Christian thinkers the term philosophy became synonymous with the spiritual life and the search for true Wisdom. But even beyond this St Maximus is one of those Christian thinkers to whom Christianity is not opposed to right reason, even if there is a divine mystery that transcends human understanding.

CHURCH AND STATE — IN BYZANTIUM AND BEYOND

Karsten Fledelius



At the beginning of November 1991 a conference was held in Vienna, the 14th Conference “Europe of Regions”, with the title “Die Donaumonarchie als Wiege des europäischen Regionalismus”. One of the most spectacular presentations was made by an Austrian lawyer and expert in asylum cases, Eva Maria Barki, “Transsylvanien als Brücke zwischen zwei Kulturkreisen”.¹ Her view was that this western Romanian region which formerly belonged to Hungary is actually at the eastern border of Central Europe to the Balkans, and thus on the borderline between an age old division line through Europe reaching back to antiquity. This line should originate in the division between the Western and Eastern Roman Empire in 395, the latter being continued as the Ottoman Empire. “Ostrom hatte im Gegensatz zum flexiblen, ja revolutionären Westrom und dem darauf aufbauenden Abendland das Unbeweglichkeitsgesetz als oberstes Staatsprinzip, die dämonische Statik des byzantinischen Geisteslebens bewirkte eine Verknöcherung und ein conservatives Stillstehen, eine abgeschlossene Welt für sich, die jeden Fortschritt von Beginn an in ihrem Keim erstickt. Fortschritt basiert nur auf Veränderung, was gleichbedeutend ist mit Gehorsamsverweigerung, Aufstand, Revolution. Dies war nur im Abendland möglich.”² The Ottomans were the political, cultural and ideological heirs of Byzantium and corroborated the difference between East and West, and the Byzantine patriarch,

¹ Barki 1993.

² Barki 1993: 151.

who was dominated by the Ottoman sultan, became the leader of all Orthodox communities in the empire, the Greeks as well as the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Romanians.

What was wrong, according to Dr. Barki, in the Byzantine and Ottoman empires was the lack of tension between emperor and pope, between church and state, no reformation, counterreformation and enlightenment — and thus no basis for the development of democracy.

To Byzantinists, this is of course nonsense. My own decision made at an early age to become a Byzantinist was precisely on account of such widespread prejudices. Prejudices which, however, have achieved increasing importance in the 1990s, in particular because of the concept of the “Clash of Civilizations” launched by Samuel B. Huntington in a now famous (or infamous) article.³ Here prof. Huntington writes that “in the coming years, the local conflicts most likely to escalate into major wars will be those, as in Bosnia and Caucasus, along the fault lines of civilizations. The next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilizations.”⁴

The fault line of prof. Huntington was drawn up already in 1990 by W. Wallace in his book “The Transformation of Western Europe”.⁵ A line through Europe from north to south-east of Finland, Estonia, and Latvia, from here separating the western parts of Belorus and Ukraine from the rest of those countries, and Transylvania from the rest of Romania. The line then follows the Danube-Sava line, separating the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina from the rest of Serbia, and separating Bosnia from Croatia. This line is identified as the border line between on one side Western Christianity, on the other Orthodox Christianity and Islam at approximately A.D. 1500. Actually a majority of the population in the western parts of Belorus and Ukraine use Orthodox liturgy. But they have been included in “Western Christianity” because of their status of union with the Roman Catholic Church.

The criterion of west and east is thus whether one is subject to the Pope, alternatively whether one has rebelled against him, or whether one stands outside the Roman tradition and thus, allegedly, has not experienced the healthy, beneficial and democracy-promoting fight between secular and spiritual power.

³ Huntington 1993.

⁴ A more elaborate treatment of the subject is Huntington 1996.

⁵ Wallace 1990.

This way of looking at Eastern Europe is just a version of the Orientalist position distinguishing between “our” sound world and “their” perverted one, with a particular emphasis on the relationship between church and state. To the question how that fits into 20th century history when Communism tried to exterminate religion, adherents of this theory will argue that in fact Communism is just another sort of Oriental despotism, like Byzantine Christianity and Ottoman Islam. The consequence of this view is actually that we cannot expect the development of real democracy east of the “Huntington Line” in the foreseeable future because it is contrary to the mentality created by both Orthodox Christianity and Islam.

Of course this is based on a misunderstanding. The relationship between church and emperor in Byzantium was not always harmonious. Conflicts took place in quite a few instances, and the outcome was far from clear, even if in the end normally reason of state prevailed also within the church, as in the case of the recognition of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus after the death of Leon VI. On the other hand there is no basic difference between the treatment given by the Byzantine emperor Justinian I to pope Vitalis Vigilius in the 6th century and the treatment meted out by the French king Philip IV “le beau” to pope Bonifacius VIII in the 14th century, and the papal see was even moved to Avignon under French domination. France is actually through the centuries a good example of how also in the West the church might yield to a tough ruler who had the backing of the dominant layers of society and whose military power was unchallengeable. And the rule of cardinals in France in the 17th century did not weaken royal power, but strengthened it.

The most critical period in church-state relations in Byzantium was actually during the Palaeologian period. There was a deep resentment in the church against following the emperors’ demands to subordinate the Orthodox church to Rome. The church yielded, but there was a strong internal opposition which came to power after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Church-state relations reached in some way an ideal state under Ottoman rule, the sultan supporting the Ecumenical Patriarch as the main representative of the Christians of his realm, but without the tendency of certain Byzantine emperors to try to influence theology. The disadvantages of the church under the Ottomans were mostly of an economic nature. But the “Great Church in Captivity”⁶ had to live with them, considering the fall

⁶ Cf. the famous book of Steven Runciman under this title (Runciman 1968), the basic work on the subject.

of Byzantium a just punishment for the “betrayal” of the faith committed by clergy and emperors in the last days of Byzantium.

In the Scandinavian kingdoms there were some instances of conflict between king and archbishop, particularly serious in 12th and 13th century Norway during the reign of illegitimately born kings jeopardizing the attempts of the Roman Catholic church to make legitimate birth the decisive criterion for access to the throne. Contrary to practices in Byzantium the throne of Norway was hereditary in the 10th to the 14th century. To become a king you had to be the son or the son’s son of a king, no matter whether you were born in wedlock or not. With the establishment of a stronger church with its own archbishop in the 12th century the church in Norway wanted to substitute the principle of obligatory male lineage with the priority of legitimate birth combined with access to the throne not only by agnates, but also cognates. Thus, in the middle of the 12th century, the son of the daughter of a king and a nobleman was declared the lawful heir to the throne, but this was challenged when the illegitimate son of an earlier king appeared and made his claim. He was not very successful, but his son Sverre (also illegitimate) was. Sverre led a popular uprising which led to the downfall of the legitimate king. This led to a long war between Sverre’s party and the church. Sverre was succeeded by his illegitimate son Haakon III, and at his death two years later, in 1204, Norway was split for 13 years into two kingdoms under infant kings supported by Sverre’s and the bishops’ respective parties. In 1217 both infant kings died without heirs. But then a woman who had been the lover of king Haakon III Sverreson claimed that her son was the posthumous offspring of this union. In spite of the ban just introduced by the church against the so-called Test of God the church accepted for this case only her offer to carry glowing iron to prove the truth of her claim, and she succeeded. Thus the alleged illegitimate son (Haakon IV) of an illegitimate son (Haakon III) of an alleged illegitimate son (Sverre) of an illegitimate son (Sigurd “Munn”) of an alleged illegitimate son (Harold “Gillekrist”) of king Magnus II “Barefoot” from the 11th century was unanimously declared the lawful king of Norway and the country was thus again united. Haakon IV the Great, the later name of this initially infant king, became the ancestor of all later Norwegian kings.

The whole episode has strong similarities with the story of Leon VI and his son Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Notwithstanding moral principles church and state (the secular nobility in the case of Norway) found a pragmatic solution saving royal succession and supporting the integrity of the state. And later, in the 14th and 15th century, state and church co-

operated well in Norway. This lasted until 1537 when the Norwegian archbishop who was traditionally also the chairman of the King's Council tried with military force to prevent the reformation of the church in Norway, but failed. The king became the head of the church in Norway in 1537, as he had become in Denmark in 1536, and already earlier in Sweden, thus in fact introducing a radical form of caesaropapism!

Even the most thorough example of a theocratic state, the lands of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic countries, had to yield to secular power in the 16th century. Not even in Italy was the church stronger than the secular power, an example is *Il Sacco di Roma* ('The Sack of Rome'), the conquest and plundering of Rome by the emperor Charles V in 1527.

Thus, church-state relations were not entirely different in the East and the West of Europe. The victories of the popes over the emperors of the Germanic Roman Empire in the 11th to 13th century were never total and contributed to the weakening of both institutions — quite different from the national level where pragmatic cooperation was the rule rather than the exception, just as it was the case in Byzantium. The "Huntington Line" is not a valid model of medieval and modern Europe. National survival made the two basic institutions of the European national states cooperate. The exception was the amorphical "Holy Roman Empire" of various nationalities which tried to substitute national homogeneity with a religious one, and the multicultural Ottoman Empire which substituted homogeneity with institutions based on military power and a strong bureaucracy, to some extent following the pattern of its predecessor, the Byzantine Empire. It was the weakening of these institutions which led to the downfall of both of the eastern empires in which the religious institutions were an integrate part of their basic administrative and cultural structure. Therefore Sultan Mahmud II's radical reaction against the Ecumenical Patriarch on the eve of the Greek Independence War in 1821 was a fatal blow to the stability of the state and constituted the beginning of the downfall of the second empire on the shores of the Bosporus.

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Summary

The view on the church–state relations in Byzantium has been influenced by prejudice considering the church as totally subservient to the emperor (so-called Caesareopapism). This has been used to explain an alleged tendency of despotism in Orthodox countries and for scholars like Samuel B. Huntington to look at Orthodox Christianity and Islam as basically undemocratic and uneuropean “civilizations” which will not in a foreseeable future develop real democracy. However, church–state relations have not been basically different in Northern and Eastern Europe, as the author demonstrates by comparing medieval Norway and Byzantium as two case studies. In both western and eastern Europe the non-catholic churches developed into national churches in a partnership between state and church both seen as representatives of the nation, if the church did not simply constitute the Christian nation as in the Ottoman Empire. And democracy has been adopted by national churches both in Protestant and Orthodox countries.

FAR AWAY FROM BYZANTIUM: PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY OF GREEK IN THE 17th CENTURY ESTONIA

Janika Päll



I. Introduction¹

A dispute about the ‘right’ pronunciation of Greek was one of the issues in teaching Greek from the 16th century onwards. Until today two schools of pronunciation are prevalent: the so-called traditional (also ‘Byzantine’ or ‘Reuchlinian’), which applies the pronunciation of contemporary Greek language to the ancient Greek without any distinctions; and the reconstructed

¹ The author offers genuine thanks to: Tomas Veteikis and Mindaugas Strockis (Vilnius University), Tua Korhonen (Helsinki University), Enn Küng, Kristi Viiding and Kaarina Rein (Tartu University), Ljudmila Dubjeva (Tartu University Library); Katre Kaju and Kai Tafenau (Estonian Historical Archives), Olavi Pesti (Saaremaa Museum), Tiina Kala and Indrek Hinrikus (Tallinn City Archives). For Tartu printings the basis of the present research has been the collection of copies (and originals) of Tartu *Academia Gustaviana* (AG) and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (AGC) printings, created by the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of Tartu University Library (for the poems see also Orion & Viiding); the references to these printings are given by bibliography numbers (as referred to in Jaanson 2000; those discussed at length are given with full reference in bibliography, section I B). The article has been written with a support of two research grants from the Estonian Science Foundation, No. 5802 (grant holder Prof. Anne Lill) and No. 5846 (grant holder Dr. Kristi Viiding).

or modern (also 'Erasmian' or 'German') pronunciation.² After the decline of the cultural aspirations of the European nobility at the end of the 16th century, the problems of teaching Greek remained important mostly for theology and depended therefore to some extent on church politics. Although the question of its 'right' pronunciation had been raised by Erasmus in 1528, the Lutheran and Catholic schools, as well as the Jesuits, continued to use the traditional pronunciation, learned from émigré Greeks, and the reconstructed pronunciation was mainly associated with Calvinists.³ Only towards the end of the century the reconstructed Erasmian pronunciation gained popularity and became accepted by other congregations.⁴

During the 16th and 17th centuries Estonia experienced the same conflicts of Reformation and Counter-Reformation as did other European countries. Therefore we can expect similar tendencies in the matter of the pronunciation of Greek. However, we might expect a greater degree of complexity and ambiguity here, as the local teaching staff and clergy were less homogenous than in the countries of central or southern Europe.⁵

II. First evidence for Greek language in Estonia, its place in church and schools

There are two main sources for the knowledge of Greek in Renaissance and Humanist Western Europe: either it came directly from travelling or exile Greeks, or it came from the scholars, who had learned Greek already from a non-Greek source. This Greek of the scholars or the so-called humanist

² For the discussions during the 16th and 17th century, see Erasmus *De Recta ... pronuntiatione*, an anonymous work named *Philopappus ... sive apologeticum* and the series of dissertations directed by J. R. Wetstenius *Orationes apologeticae*; for modern overviews, see Drerup 1930, Bateman 1969.

³ Drerup 1930: 220–222, 278–408.

⁴ I.e. Protestant and Catholic schools and maybe also the Jesuits, see Drerup 1930: 141 ff., 190 ff., 208–219, vs eastern churches (Orthodox and Catholic), which have remained true to the Byzantine tradition. The university tradition in present-day Estonia (both in the Faculty of Theology and at the Chair of Classical Philology of Tartu University) is Erasmian.

⁵ For the provenance of students and professors, see e.g. Tering 2002, as well as his other studies.

Greek was actively used in the whole Europe after it had once crossed the Alps.⁶ Usually these two schools were not in conflict with one another but were complimentary.⁷ We know for example about such contacts in the Polish-Lithuanian Grand Duchy: Orthodox Greeks (churchmen and scholars of Greek provenance) who travelled to Moscow via Vilnius or Lviv, stopped sometimes there for a shorter or longer period and participated in local cultural and political life, sometimes even working as language teachers and publishing occasional poetry in Greek.⁸ But this kind of activity is rarely found or expected in peripheral regions. Although at least some Greeks, for example the Byzantine Princess Sophia (Zoe) Palaiologos with her company have travelled via Estonia,⁹ there is no information about any Greek scholars visiting Estonia or working here. All evidence for the knowledge of Greek language on Estonian territory comes from the period after (or slightly before) the Reformation, i.e. the time when the Byzantine Empire no longer existed.¹⁰

Maybe the earliest words in Greek in Estonia are inscribed on an epitaph from the old town cemetery of Kuressaare (Arensburg) in Saaremaa (Ösel): ΒΙΟΣ ΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΙΟΝΗΡΟΣ, now on display in Kuressaare Castle.¹¹ A couple of manuscripts from Tallinn City Archives reveal some knowledge of Greek, as well: a Dominican friar David Sliper cites a couple of Greek words in his handbook and on the back of one letter at the beginning of the

⁶ See Harlfinger 1989: XVII for the notion.

⁷ See Harlfinger & Barm 1989 (the activity of Greeks in Italy and Germany), Ludwig 1998: 28–82 (Crusius' *Germanograecia*), Korhonen 2004 (Greek in Finland) and Veteikis 2004ab (Greek in Lithuania).

⁸ See poems in Greek by Petros Arkoudes (Petrus Arcudius) from Corcyra (Czerniatowicz 1991: 27–28) and Emmanuel Achilleis (= Manuel Mantzapeta from Crete, see Kiselev 1962: 192 and Czerniatowicz 1991: 26). Perhaps Ioannes Cavacus Chius, the professor of Greek in Cracow Academy, otherwise unknown (Czerniatowicz 1991: 49) could be added to this list, although his epithet 'Chius' can be due to the fact that he wrote a Greek poem in Homeric style. For Orthodox Greeks in Lviv, see Kiselev 1962.

⁹ She travelled from Rome via Lübeck, Reval and Pskov to Moscow in order to marry Ivan III, and arrived in Reval on 21 October 1472 (Vernadsky 2000: 28–29).

¹⁰ Estonia has no medieval Greek manuscript, nor are there any hints of studying or teaching Greek before the reformation (Kolk 2002: 94).

¹¹ Sign. SM 10438: 7. The inscription parts with the name and the time of death of the deceased person have perished (part of the extant Latin text: "...]OSITAE[..." might refer to a woman). The *terminus ante quem* for the epitaph is 1612, when the burials at the old cemetery ceased. I thank Olavi Pesti, who informed me about details concerning this inscription (in an e-mail to the author from 2 May 2005).

16th century.¹² Another manuscript from Tallinn City Archives presents a collection of religious poems in Greek by certain Gregorius Krugerus Mesilanus, a student of philosophy and law in 1554 and 1555. He had probably studied in Rostock, as the closest match to his name in published immatriculation lists of European universities is a Georg Kurr from Reval (Tallinn), who was admitted to the University of Rostock in December 1554, and was probably identical to a Tallinn citizen, Magister Gregorius Kroger, whose name is found in the lists of Tallinn citizens and who had carried out some financial transactions there in 1560.¹³ But Sliper's handbook and Krüger's poems have probably not been written in Estonia, although the authors were active in Tallinn.¹⁴

During the period of Counter-Reformation, the Greek language had been taught to some extent at the Tartu (Dorpat) Jesuit Collegium, which existed with some pauses from 1583 to 1625.¹⁵ We know this from the reference to the Royal visitation to the Tartu Jesuit Collegium in summer 1599, when the students delivered speeches in Greek and Latin in honour of St Catherine.¹⁶ Several priests teaching at the Collegium had some knowledge of Greek,¹⁷ however, there is no information about the extent of the studies and the teaching methods. Probably the Greek studies in Tartu followed (to a lesser extent) the practice of other Jesuit schools, especially Vilnius Academy, to which Tartu Collegium was subordinate.¹⁸ In German and Austrian Jesuit (and Catholic) schools and at Vilnius Academy, Greek was studied with the use of Gretser's Greek Grammar,¹⁹ therefore it is plausible to assume that it was used in Tartu Jesuit Collegium as well. But it does not solve the

¹² For Sliper, see Kala 2001: 11–14, 98, 142 (and below in this article concerning Sliper's Greek).

¹³ For Krüger, see his manuscript (TCA B.O.10, 2–27) and inscription lists of Rostock University (Hofmeister 1889: 129), the spelling of his name is given in Schäfer's indexes to Hofmeister's edition as Kuer (Schäfer 1919: 523) or Kuorr (Schäfer 1922: 86). The information concerning Krüger's activities in Tallinn has been passed to me by Dr. Tiina Kala (e-mails from 1 and 16 August 2005), as well as references in Greiffenhagen 1932: 75 and TCA 230–1 Aa 35b, f.103v.

¹⁴ See Kala *loc. cit.* (for Sliper) and TCA B.O.10, 2–27.

¹⁵ For the Jesuits in Estonia and Tartu Jesuit Collegium, see Helk 2003 = Helk 1977.

¹⁶ See Helk 2003: 98 and 323 n. 97 (= Helk 1977: 94 and 283 n. 97). Helk refers to the annual report of 1599 in ARSI (Archivum Romanum Societatis Ies.) Lith. 38 : I fol. 21.

¹⁷ E.g. the priests Laurentius Bojerus, Thomas Busaeus, Jakob Eggenius, Andreas Leomann, Johannes Ambrosius Völcker (Helk 2003: 224–236 = Helk 1977: 212–222).

¹⁸ See Helk 2003 = Helk 1977; for Vilnius, see Veteikis 2004a and 2004b: 13–19, 21.

¹⁹ See Drerup 1930: 341–3 and Veteikis 2004ab.

problem of pronunciation, as the indications for the pronunciation in different prints of Gretser's grammar are missing or even contradictory.²⁰ Neither is there any explicit information about the state of Greek studies at Tartu Collegium. Nor have the Jesuits left behind any production in Greek, which could be connected directly with Tartu, although one of Tartu's students of rhetoric, Ioannes Florentius is probably identical to the Ioannes Florentius who published a funerary elegiac poem in Greek in Vilnius.²¹

In 1630 the Swedish government founded two Lutheran Gymnasiums, in Reval (Tallinn)²² and Dorpat (Tartu). In 1632 the latter was reformed into *Academia Gustaviana*.²³ The Greek taught and used there by scholars of German, Finnish, Swedish and Baltic provenance can rightfully be called 'humanist Greek'. The printing-houses of Reval Gymnasium and AG had acquired fonts for printing Greek, therefore we have a corpus of texts in and about Greek, which reveal a considerable knowledge of this language.

Apart from these two schools, some Greek was also taught in town or *trivium* schools (German or Swedish elementary schools) of Arensburg (Kuressaare) and Narva. The Town School of Arensburg was founded in the 16th century, the information about teaching Greek comes from the 17th century. Under the Danish rule (in 1636) three of its students passed an introductory exam at the Copenhagen University, where they had to prove their ability to understand a passage from the New Testament in Greek.²⁴

²⁰ See e.g. Gretser *Rudimenta* and Drerup 1930: 345. Elsewhere Gretser had recommended his contemporary *usus* (i.e. the traditional pronunciation) as 'right' against the reconstructions, which he otherwise believed to be correct (Drerup 1930: 350–363). The situation in Vilnius was even more complicated than that: Greek *Odarion* for St Kasimir (published in 1604 in Vilnius) is based on the so-called Henninian pronunciation, where the phonemes are pronounced as in the Reuchlinian (Byzantine) tradition, but accents are treated differently (Strockis 2001 and 2002: 87–106 n. 3).

²¹ In the collection dedicated to Georgius Chodkievicius (*Parentalia in obitum illustris et magnifici Domini D. Georgii Chodkievicii Vilnae, In Typographia Academiae SOCIETATIS IESV. Anno Domini 1595*), published probably before his short period of rhetorical studies in Tartu (for Florentius' life, see Helk 2003: 241 and 352 n. 90 = Helk 1977: 227 and 314 n. 90; the poem is republished in Czerniatowicz 1991: 124 and Veteikis 2004a: 239–240).

²² The actual opening took place in 1631, see Hansen 1881: 3–4. The Reval Gymnasium (presently Gustav Adolf Gymnasium) could boast of a continuous tradition of teaching Greek until the Soviet occupation.

²³ Piirimäe 1982: 40–41, for teaching Greek in Tartu Academy, see Päll 2003.

²⁴ Helk 1989: 20, referring to *Corpus Constitutionum Daniae IV*, ed. by A. Secher, Copenhagen 1897: 465 ff.

Under the Swedish rule the teaching system in the school remained more or less the same. According to the program of studies by the school Rector Esaias Eccard from Eastern Prussia, in 1669 the students of prima dedicated every week two hours to the analysis of Greek texts (*analysis graeca*), one hour to Greek grammar and logic and another to Greek grammar and rhetoric; during this period the popular and wide-spread Greek Grammar by O. Gualt(p)erius was used as a manual.²⁵ At the end of the year 1669 the Superintendent Justus Heinrich Oldekop from Hildesheim decided to carry out a school visitation. This visitation has provided us with several documents about the studies in this period.²⁶ According to the program by Rector Eccard the studies in Arensburg school included the lecture of ancient Greek authors (Homer, Hesiod or Isokrates) and exercises of Greek grammar, the latter included translating separate words. However, the report of the visitation and school inspection stated that the students were not able to read Greek.²⁷ It is difficult to judge the actual situation, as in the background there were personal conflicts between Rector Eccard and Superintendent Oldekop; at least the rector explained in his answer to the inspection report that the examination had been biased and that the attitude of the superintendent towards the rector was hostile.²⁸ Nevertheless, these reports reveal that in Arensburg (Kuressaare) teaching Greek was considered as being of some importance.

Greek was taught in the town school and *trivium* school of Narva at least during a short period in the 17th century: a school program by Superintendent H. Stahl from 23 July 1649 mentions the teaching of logic, rhetoric, poetics, Latin, Greek and theology.²⁹ In 1701, a student of Ingerian origin Gabriel Hinnel, who had previously studied in Narva, published a Greek prose gratulation in AGC;³⁰ it is possible that he had already learned his

²⁵ Helk 1989: 28 ff., 35–36 and 179–180 (referring to SRA Liv. II: 490, f. 976r, 977r).

²⁶ Helk 1989: 30 ff. and 40–50 (referring to different documents from SRA Liv. II: 490).

²⁷ See Helk 1989: 41–43.

²⁸ According to him, the examiners had used an old book of gospels, printed in an old-fashioned and difficult font type, which had been unfamiliar to the schoolboys; neither did they ask questions on grammar and for an explanation of the text. In order to prove Oldekop's biased attitude, Eccard referred to a previous event, where Oldekop had expressed in public his doubts in Eccard's knowledge of Greek (Helk 1989: 44–50).

²⁹ See Naber 1994: 759.

³⁰ See AA No. 1349 for Hinnel, and Jaanson 1071 for the gratulation.

basic Greek at school. Although the studies of Greek at Narva might not have been regular, they were continued during the 18th century.³¹

All these schools had been founded as a support for the Lutheran church in Estonia and Livonia, and the purpose of learning the Greek language was to prepare the students for future studies of theology.³² Only in the greater schools, Reval Gymnasium and AG can we see some additional goals, as Greek studies were part of the humanist education.

III. Schools of pronunciation: evidence from texts concerning the Greek language

1. The histories of the Greek language

The history of the Greek language has been treated among other issues in three 17th century printings from Estonia, two of them by professors of Greek language. They are all based on a typical schema, distinguishing four periods in the history of the Greek language: the archaic period of epic poets; the second period with the emergence of the dialects and the peak of its popularity, which ended with the Apostolic Fathers; the third period from the Apostolic Fathers to the fall of Constantinople; and the final period from 1453 onwards.

The first extant treatment of the history of the Greek Language (from Estonia) is by a Tartu student Christianus Jheringius in a contest oration *De Hebraea, Graeca & Latina lingua*, held in AG in 1644. Jheringius' overview derives the origin of Greek from the biblical tribes and places the end of the first period in the time of the mythic poets, Linos, Orpheus and Musaios. In his description of the last period Jheringius uses the famous words by Argyropoulos concerning Reuchlin about the Greece crossing the Alps,³³ as well as the popular *topos* about the corruption of the Greek language in Greece (due to Turkish and Slavonic influence); he also mentions several

³¹ In the 18th century Greek was taught in prima of Narva School (see *Geschichte* 1864: 10, 30), a program from 1786 mentions Halle Greek grammar as a manual and reading NT in Greek (*Geschichte* 1864: 14).

³² See *Constitutiones* 1997: 60–61 and *Sigismundi Oratio*.

³³ *Graeciam transvolasse Alpes*, see e.g. Wetstenius *Orationes apologeticae*, p. 6.

modern scholars, who had studied Greek (Melanchthon, Erasmus, Beza and Pico della Mirandola).³⁴

Johannes Gezelius, a professor of Greek and Hebrew (1642–1649) in AG³⁵ gives a brief overview of the history of the Greek language (in Greek) in the dedication of his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* to Queen Christina of Sweden.³⁶ Gezelius similarly distinguishes four periods, although he does not begin with the biblical tribes, but with Kadmos and regards the time of Homer as the end of the first period. He describes the first three periods as different phases of the expansion of Greek and its influence in the world. According to Gezelius, in the 4th period the Greek language together with the ancient knowledge had been carried by the émigrés from Greece and Byzantium into the neighbouring countries; the language of the Greeks, who had remained in their homeland, was corrupted with Turkish, Slavonic, Latin and Italian words. Gezelius confirms that he had himself heard the émigré Greeks describing this Greek as the greatest barbarism: οὕτω διεφθάρη, ὥστε ἐκδημιούντας παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς Ἑλληνας ὁμολογουμένους ἰδίους ὠτίοις με ἠκουκέναυ. Ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι νῦν μεγίστη ἐστὶ βαρβαρότης.³⁷ The 'barbarism' mentioned by Gezelius refers to the corrupt language in general, the sound or pronunciation is not mentioned explicitly. Although Gezelius does not describe the speech of domestic and of refugee Greeks, we are informed that he had listened to several émigré Greeks (presumably they were talking in Greek) with his own ears, therefore he had to be aware of differences in pronunciation.

Another overview of Greek language is given in 1677 in Tallinn by Michael Sigismundi in *Oratio auguralis*, his inaugural lecture as professor of Greek at Reval Gymnasium. The oration stresses that Greek studies are of

³⁴ See Jheringius, p. B4–C1v (Jaanson 426) and AA: 218 for his life.

³⁵ Johannes Georgij Gezelius the Elder (1615–1690), the archbishop of Turku, was born in the village of Gezala, in Västmanland, Sweden, and had studied in Uppsala and in Tartu, where he obtained his Master's degree in September 1641 (AA: 184, No. 323, cf. Bröms *Historia*, TUB F. 7–39, f. 81–82). For a correct dating of Gezelius' professorship in AG (not 1641–1649, but from 20 July 1642 to 1649, officially to 1650), see following sources: Bröms *Historia* TUB F. 7–39, f. 80, protocols of the Consistorium of *Academia Gustaviana* from 13 December 1649, TUB 7–18, f. 4v; *Hauptbuch* from 1650 in the Fonds of the Swedish General Gouvernor of Livonia, EAA 278–1–XXII–19, f. 14v–15 and f. 172; for other sources and discussion, see Päll 2006.

³⁶ See Gezelius *Lexicon*, p. 2v–3. For longer discussion of this preface, see Korhonen 2004: 94–96.

³⁷ Gezelius *Lexicon*, p. 3–3v.

primary importance for theology, then also for different other subjects (e.g. medicine), mentioning the great and positive influence of Greek on Latin and on terminology of various branches.³⁸ Sigismundi's overview of the Greek language and culture is not as thorough as Gezelius', but he mentions the Attic period, the New Testament Greek and the expansion of Greek in Europe after the Muslim occupation of Constantinople. In this context Sigismundi cites Argyropoulos' words concerning Reuchlin (*Post nostrum exilium Graecia transvolavit Alpes*) and dedicates some words to Argyropoulos and his student Capnius (Reuchlin), as well as to the Bible translation by Erasmus.³⁹ He also dedicates a passage to teaching methods, preferring a short and clear method, analysis and a short demonstration without long and complicated explanations: *Si igitur quaedam difficultas hic adesse videtur, non est in ipsa lingua.... sed in informationis perversa docendi & discendi methodo, obscure tradendi modo, ea latitat. Adhibeatur, sine prolixioribus Praeceptis Grammaticis, in Analysisi, per ocularem in tabula demonstrationem, Methodi brevioris perspicuitas, & non obscure patescet nostri Sermonis Nobilissimi facilitas.*⁴⁰

These remarks demonstrate that the teachers of Greek in Estonia were aware of different schools and methods of teaching Greek (Reuchlin, Erasmus) and probably also of the different schools of pronunciation. In order to know more about the teaching practice, we should examine the manuals of Greek language used in Estonian schools in this period.

2. The manuals

According to the Constitutions of AG⁴¹ the Professor of Greek had to teach Greek in order to help the students to read and understand the New Testament and to use Greek Grammars by Clenardus⁴² or Gualt(p)erius⁴³. The

³⁸ Sigismundi *Oratio*, p. 71v, 75v.

³⁹ Sigismundi *Oratio*, p. 74v, p. 77; see also note 33.

⁴⁰ Sigismundi *Oratio*, p. 77.

⁴¹ *Constitutiones* 1997: 60–61.

⁴² Nicolaus Clenardus, humanist from Germany, published his first grammar *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* in Löwen, 1530 (Drerup 1930: 80–81 and n. 3).

⁴³ Otto Gualt(p)erius' *Grammatica Graeca* was first published in Marburg 1618 and revealed clearly traditional (Byzantine) pronunciation, except the oscillation in the values of [η] = [i] vel [e longum]; however, it was purely traditional in the question of diphthongs (Drerup 1930: 371 with n. 3).

first prints of both grammars recommended only the traditional (Byzantine) pronunciation, giving the values of singular Greek letters as they are in modern Greek (as a rule, the pronunciation of the diphthongs is not treated separately in these grammars). However, in the later prints of Clenardus' grammar (which may have been in use in Tartu and Tallinn) the values for critical Greek letters are given according to both traditions, traditional and Erasmian pronunciation: e.g. [β] = *vita* = [b] and [H] = *ita* = [e longum].⁴⁴

The intact programs of the lectures of Tartu Academy for the years 1651–1652, 1653–1654 and 1655 require the teaching of Greek in order to read the New Testament, using Komenski's *Janua linguarum* and the Greek grammar by Golius.⁴⁵ Here too, we cannot be sure, which pronunciation was recommended in the editions used by Estonian students, as the values for critical letters [β, η etc] were recommended according to both traditions in different editions of Golius' grammar.⁴⁶

It seems that the only clear step towards teaching Greek using new methods (including the use of Erasmian pronunciation) had been made by J. Gezelius. Gezelius adhered strongly to Komenski's views and had published a Greek translation of his *Janua linguarum* in 1648 for the use at the Academy. The aim of Gezelius' translation was to increase the vocabulary of students and develop their writing skills. As in Komenski's original, Gezelius stressed in *Janua linguarum* the need of a right pronunciation (ὀρθῶς ἐκφωνεῖ), but without further explanations.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Drerup 1930: 80–82. According to his studies, these parallel explanations did not influence the actual 'Reuchlinian' (i.e. traditional) pronunciation (Drerup 1930: 92). The same is valid for Gualtperius' grammar where towards the end of the 16th century the 'valours' of letters had been changed in favour of Erasmian pronunciation, at least in theory (Drerup 1930: 371 with n. 3).

⁴⁵ Vasar 1932: 181–186. Theophilus (Gottlieb) Golius was from Strassbourg (died in 1600, see Jöcher 1750: 1060), his grammar (*Educatio puerilis linguae graecae*) appeared in the middle of the 16th century (the oldest edition known to the author is from 1549 Wittenberg, see also Drerup 1930: 314 n. 1). The choice of his grammar by AG can be explained with its popularity.

⁴⁶ E.g. in the 1601 edition the valour of [β] is Erasmian [b], whereas the valour of [η] is traditional [i] (Golius *Grammatica* p. 3). In some other editions the value of [β] had been given simultaneously according to Erasmian and traditional pronunciations (as *vita* = [b] et [v]), although the pronunciation of [η] was clearly Itacist (i.e. traditional, as [i], see Drerup 1930: 314 n. 1).

⁴⁷ The treatment of grammar is very brief in *Janua linguarum*: although it stresses the importance of orthography, the only indication is to the writing of majuscules, see Komenski, p. 188–191.

Gezelius' views concerning the pronunciation of Greek are revealed in his *Grammatica Graeca* (published in 1647), a short compendium of Greek Grammar, in which he does not claim any originality. Here Gezelius gives Erasmian values ('potestates') for Greek letters: [β] = *beta* = [b]; [Η] = [e] *longum*; [υ] = [y] [ü] *tenue vel exile* etc.⁴⁸ In the preface to his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* from 1649 Gezelius stresses that he had worked very much, in order to let all accents be printed accurately.⁴⁹

In Tallinn the only explicit statement about the choice of manual comes from 1678, suggesting a grammar and a method of Weller, which demonstrates again that both traditions of the pronunciation are present.⁵⁰ In Arensburg, Gualt(p)erius' grammar was used towards the end of the century, as we have already seen. But we do not know exactly, which editions of these grammars were in use, and which values were given for Greek letters by the authors or editors.

The review of several Greek grammars, which had been in use in the schools of Estonia revealed that the choice of manuals before and after Gezelius' professorship in Tartu does not usually indicate the positions of teachers in favour of certain ways of pronunciation, as the grammars themselves do not give clear enough indications. Only Gezelius adhered in his Grammar clearly to the Erasmian tradition, but it seems that his grammar did not remain in use for a long time after he had left Tartu in 1649, as there were no reprints of it in Estonia and already during his successors' time Golius' grammar had been recommended as a manual.

3. School programs and examination protocols

The programs of AG were already mentioned above, the extant programs from Reval Gymnasium do not add much to our previous knowledge, as well as the reference to pupils' reading skills in the protocols of the school visitation in Arensburg, cited above. From the end of the 17th century we

⁴⁸ Gezelius *Grammatica*, p. A2.

⁴⁹ Gezelius *Lexicon: Benevolo lectori*, part [h] (without page numbers).

⁵⁰ For the choice of manual, see *Conclusa nonnulla Dominorum Gymnasiarchum in Gymnasio d. 12. Januarii A. 1678*, Hansen 1881: 52–53. The value for [B] = [Beta] was given according to the Erasmian tradition [B], but [i] in the name of the letter βῆτα shows traces of the traditional pronunciation. At the same time the pronunciation of Eta [η] has been given according to both traditions, as [i] *vel* [e longum], see Weller *Grammatica* p. 1.

have information concerning the examinations at the Reval Gymnasium. The examination protocols from 1692 state that although the boys can translate relatively well, their reading abilities are very poor: ... *Herr Prof. Aulinus liesse primum caput Evangelii Johannis exponieren, lasen aber schlecht, indem sie [ε] und [η], spiritum asperum et lenem nicht unterscheideten, und den Accent gar nicht in acht nahmen; vertierten aber gut.*⁵¹ The remark about the disability of students to distinguish [ε] and [η] indicates that for the commission the expected value of *eta* was a long vowel [ē], which had to be distinguished (but was not) from the short vowel [e]. The expected value of *eta* could not have been [i] (either long or short), as the latter was clearly distinguishable from the *epsilon*, pronounced as [e], therefore the students who failed to distinguish the quantities (short and long) of the vowel [e], could well distinguish between [η] and [ι], as the qualities of these vowels ([e] vs [i]) are different in the Erasmian pronunciation. Thus this short remark reveals that the general practice of pronunciation at this time and in Reval Gymnasium was already Erasmian.

As the examination reports for the class of professor Aulinus from 1692 indicate clearly Erasmian pronunciation, we may conclude that the same is valid for his whole teaching period in Reval Gymnasium from 1689 to 1710 and maybe even for the time before his professorship, as already Aulinus himself was from Tallinn and had studied in Reval Gymnasium.⁵²

IV. Written Greek texts as a source for pronunciation

Not only different texts about the Greek language, but the texts in Greek language themselves can appear as a source for the pronunciation, e.g. the spelling mistakes and transcriptions of foreign names or loan words. In the corpus of Estonian poetry in Humanist Greek⁵³ one of the sources for pronunciation is spelling mistakes, additional evidence comes from a couple of puns and transliterations of German and Swedish names. Although it is not

⁵¹ Protocol from November 1692, Hansen 1881: 77–78.

⁵² See Hansen 1881: 191.

⁵³ 88 printed poems from AG and 8 printed poems (+ 7 printed prose congratulations) from AGC. The author could rely on the evidence of 33 printed poems from Reval Gymnasium, but as the definite number of extant (and known) poems from Tallinn is greater, no statistics will be given for the Tallinn corpus in the chapters below, as well as for the manuscript by Krüger.

possible to say who exactly is responsible for any given spelling mistake,⁵⁴ they still convey useful information.

1. Spelling mistakes

In Greek manuscripts of ancient authors one of the common mistake types is the interchange of vowels or diphthongs [η], [ι], [ει], [οι], [υ], which have undergone the change into *iota* during the history of Greek language, as well as the interchanges of [αι] and [ε].⁵⁵ However, it is not easy to study these mistakes, as according to the recommended practice such trivialities are usually corrected silently by modern editors without any comments in the critical apparatus.⁵⁶

a) The first examples of such spelling mistakes from Estonia are found in a word used by a Dominican friar David Sliper before the expansion of Erasmian pronunciation at the beginning of the 16th century: ποληγλοτ-τατος pro πολυγλωττότατος.⁵⁷ These mistakes and the general absence of Greek from Sliper's long manuscript reveal the poverty of his knowledge of Greek.⁵⁸ The misspelled ω indicates that he was not able to distinguish the quantities of vowels [ο], [ω]; and [η] pro [υ] indicates that he had relied on his ear, because both letters, [η] and [υ] were pronounced as [i(i)] in this time, as they are in traditional and Modern Greek pronunciation.

b) In the collection of poems in humanist Greek by Georg Krüger some spelling mistakes may be caused by the traditional pronunciation. This is the case of interchanges of [η], [υ] or [ι], e.g. in p. 2v ὀλίμπου pro ὀλύμπου or ἀκίβδουλον pro ἀκίβδηλον, or p. 3v μηθὸν pro μῦθον, whereas all

⁵⁴ For each mistake there are three possible sources: the author, the printer and the proof-reader (who may have been either one of the previously named persons or the professor of Greek), see also the discussion of orthography in the text below.

⁵⁵ See Allen 1974: 59–80.

⁵⁶ See West 1973: 20–21, 86. Another, even more neglected question is punctuation and accentuation. About their importance for the adequate understanding of Greek texts, see Noret 1995.

⁵⁷ See photos in Kala 2001: 98 for the manuscript from Tallinn City Archive (TCA 230–1, Bk.3, f. 61v), with Sliper's comments on the back side of a letter by Reinhold Tuue to Sliper, who was active in Tallinn in 1517–1525 (Kala 2001: 97–106).

⁵⁸ The faulty superlative may be due to his poor grammar or haplology and the missing accent indicates that probably he did not know the rules of Greek accentuation.

examples reveal only so-called Itacist spelling-mistakes, not the interchange of the diphthong [αι] pro [ε].⁵⁹

c) During the 17th century (from 1634 on) there was continuous printing activity in Tallinn.⁶⁰ In the corpus of Tallinn Humanist Greek poetry⁶¹ misspelling is not very frequent and the occurrence of mistakes is not systematic. Two misspellings, the interchanges of [υ] and [ι] from 1642 seem at the first glance to reveal the traces of Byzantine pronunciation, where both letters are read as [i]: χαρίζεταυ pro χαρίζεται and εὐτυχίαν pro εὐτυχίαν.⁶² But these examples cannot be regarded as indications for the Byzantine pronunciation, because according to the Byzantine tradition the diphthong [αι] should be pronounced as [e], and can therefore not be a cause of the misspelling [αυ] = [ai]. Thus the interchange of [υ] and [ι] occurred more likely as a result of the similar appearance of these letters.

d) The number of examples for the misspellings in Humanist Greek poems from AG is slightly greater.⁶³ The most frequent mistake type is the interchange of [υ] and [ι], which occurs 6 times: πικυνῶς pro πικινῶς, κυνδύνοις pro κινδύνοις, ἀγλη pro αἶγλη, Μυλήσιος pro Μιλήσιος, ἐντύμως pro ἐντίμως.⁶⁴ But the number of mistakes is not great as compared to the number of poems, and they occur during the whole period.⁶⁵ As in the case of Tallinn misspellings, cited above, the interchange of [υ] and [ι] does probably not occur as a result of a Byzantine pronunciation. Here the indicator is

⁵⁹ See TCA B.O. 10, 2v and 3v. As the edition of Krüger's collection is yet in preparation, the data are not final.

⁶⁰ See Reimo 2001: 51.

⁶¹ The corpus at its present state includes 33 poems in Greek, printed in Tallinn Gymnasium between 1637 and 1701. Greek is not mentioned among the languages occurring among the texts printed in Tallinn during the 2nd half of the 18th century (Reimo 2001: 84, 146, 191–4). However, as the Gymnasium worked and had a professor of Greek and Poetics, it cannot be excluded that some occasional poems in Greek were written and published by professors of Gymnasium later than in the 17th century.

⁶² Both by Valentinus Langemack (of German origin) from 1642, in *Hymen votivus* and in *Epithalamium*.

⁶³ In the corpus of 15 printed Greek texts (poems and short prose gratulations) from AGC there are no Itacist spelling mistakes, but quantity mistakes and interchanges of [κ], [χ] and [θ], [τ] do occur.

⁶⁴ There are also some occurrences of the interchanges of [τ], [θ] and [κ], [χ], but less, altogether 4 times during the period of AG. The examples of the interchange of [ι] and [υ] occur in Jaanson 377, 408, 480, 551 and 876.

⁶⁵ From 1642, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1655 in poems by Swedes E. Harckman (twice), N. Psilander, J. Gezelius and E. Hiärne (see also previous note).

αῦγλη pro αἶγλη. Byzantine (as well as Modern Greek) pronunciation give here entirely different values for the first syllable (respectively [av] and [e]), eliminating therefore the possibility of an Itacist spelling mistake.

From AG we have a single example for the interchange of [ɲ] and [v] in a poem by N. Nycopensis (published in 1633): Ὀλήμπω pro Ὀλύμπω.⁶⁶ This case allows us to suppose that during the first years of AG the traditional pronunciation may have been in vigour, or at least used by some students.

2. Puns with sound figures

The Greek poems published in the 17th century Estonia are written in the quantitative verse system and there are no rhymes, which could reveal the pronunciation.⁶⁷ But sometimes these poems make use of puns and word-play, relying on pronunciation. One of such puns occurs in the epithalamium dedicated to Heinrich Neuhausen and Margaretha Their by Henricus Vulpius, rector of Reval Gymnasium. This poem was printed in Tallinn in 1643 and according to the practice, which could be seen in some other printings of Reval Gymnasium, it was furnished with a footnote,⁶⁸ which explained the joke on the homophony of the bride's German surname 'Their' (pronounced as 'thi:r') and the Greek word θήρ (meaning 'animal'):

Μεμνηστευομένη Νέω-οἴκω παρθένος, ἤδη
 Νυνὶ γυνή, ἐστὶν Θ' ἩΡ^a μόνω οὐνόματι.
 Ὅντως δὲ ζῶον λογικόν καὶ μάργαρόν ἐστιν,
 Ἡδὲ Νέω-οἴκω τίμιός ἐστι λίθος.
 Εἶη δῶμα νέον βραχέως τε νεοσσοτροφεῖον,
 Καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος Μάργαρα ζωὰ ἔχοι.

⁶⁶ Jaanson 19, a collection dedicated to the memory of Gustavus Adolphus. The author is a Swede.

⁶⁷ In Lithuania, an *Odarion* for St Kasimir uses rhymes, see Strockis 2001 and Strockis 2002.

⁶⁸ In some other cases 'faulty', *ad hoc* forms have been supplied with an explanatory note, e.g. in an epicedium by M. Sigismundi from 1689 (*Supremum officium*). In his poem Vulpius uses other puns on the names of the newly-weds, playing with the translation of the name of the groom (with Neuhausen = νέω-οἴκω) and etymology of the bride's name (Margarita = μάργαρον). See *Freud- und Ehren-Fackel*.

The footnote explains: ^{a)} *Secundum pronunciationem Veterum, Thir.* This tells us that for Vulpus (or his editor) there were two traditions: the previous (*Veterum*), i.e. traditional pronunciation, and the modern one, according to his contemporary scholars. It is obvious that Vulpus, being aware of both traditions, had adhered to the modern, i.e. Erasmian pronunciation, already prevalent in his time, otherwise his footnote would have been pointless.

An analogical pun is found in Gezelius' gratulation to Thorer Erici Odhelius from Tartu in 1644. In v.1 of this gratulation the author plays on the homophony of the name 'Thorer' and the Greek word θεόρηρος, indicating that [r] was pronounced as [e], not [i] in this case.⁶⁹

Thus we can see that already in the 1640s the puns playing on homophony of Greek words and modern names, both in Reval Gymnasium and Tartu Academy rely on the Erasmian pronunciation of Greek.

3. Transliteration of German or Swedish names into Greek alphabet

a) Transliteration of German or Swedish names is another source, which gives some evidence for the pronunciation. A trace of the traditional pronunciation ([β] = [v]) can be seen in v.28 of the epithalamium for David Cunitius and Catharina Vulpia from 1643, where the name of the bride's father is written with a [β] for [v]: Βουλπίου. The author of this epithalamium is Reiner Brockmann, a professor of Greek in Tallinn Gymnasium (1634–1639), who had left the school in order to become a Lutheran pastor in Kadrina.⁷⁰

b) In Tartu, however, we can see in the same year a reflection of the Erasmian pronunciation of *beta*, as [B] is used for [b] in the gratulation by Johannes Gezelius for Benedict Amundi, whose name is written in v.3 as BENEΔΙΚΤ⁷¹. The preference for the Erasmian pronunciation can be seen in the cases where [ou] stands for [w] or [v], as in 1650, in a gratulation by Daniel Gruuf Nycopensis for Georg Witting, whose name is transcribed in v.3 as ΟΥΙΤΙΙΓΓ(ΟΣ)⁷² or on the title pages of the series of Greek disputa-

⁶⁹ Jaanson 450.

⁷⁰ See *Hymenaeus ΤΕΤΡΑΓΛΩΣΣΟΣ* and Brockmann 2000: 34–38; for Brockmann see Hansen 1881: 184–185.

⁷¹ Jaanson 380. Latin [b] is, however, always transliterated as [β] in this period, regardless of the pronunciation.

⁷² ΟΥΙΤΙΙΓΓ' Jaanson 687.

tions under Gezelius' supervision, where the name of the Academy printer Vogel is written as ΟΥ'ΟΓΗΛ⁷³.

At the same time we can see reflections of the traditional pronunciation in Greek forms for the name of Sweden and Swede (Σβηκία, Σβηκός) and Academia Gustaviana (ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ Γουσταυιανῆ), which occur in Greek disputations directed by Gezelius (although he himself had recommended Erasmian pronunciation).⁷⁴

As to the quality of vowels, we have indications that [η] was always pronounced as [e], not [i], because [e] occurring in Swedish or German names is always transliterated as [ε] or [η], the choice of a short or a long vowel depending from the demands of quantitative metre.⁷⁵

c) In AGC, already in Pärnu the preference for Erasmian pronunciation could once more be seen in the choice of [ou] = [v] or [w] and not [β] = [v] or [w], as in the case of Βουλπίου in Brockmann's epithalamium, although this time the position is intervocalic, not word initial. The examples occur in the gratulations for Daniel Sarcovius from 1695 (twice, Σαρκόουιε and Σαρκοουιάνω).⁷⁶ An analogical tendency can be seen in the gratulation by the professor of theology, I. Bröms, dedicated to Olaus Moberg (in 1705), where Moberg's name occurs twice as written with [B] standing for a [b] (ΜΩΒΕΡΓΟΥ). But, as in Greek disputations under Gezelius' supervision, we can also see a reverse tendency, as certain names (e.g. *Pernavia* and *Svecia*) are written with [B], standing for a [v]. This might be due to the fact that for Bröms the pronunciation value of [β] was duplex, as it could stand both for [b] and for [v], but we might also suppose some influence of a long Swedish tradition concerning the orthography of proper names.⁷⁷

These few examples show that although the orthography of names reveals stronger adherence to the Erasmian pronunciation, there are some traces of the traditional pronunciation even at the end of the 17th century, although the latter is restricted to certain proper names only.

⁷³ E.g. Jaanson 421–423.

⁷⁴ See e.g. the title pages of Jaanson 421–423 and Jaanson 617–644, cf. Gezelius-Empo-ragrius.

⁷⁵ E.g. ΟΛΣΤΗΝΙΟΣ or metrical variants like Γεζήλιος, Γηζήλιος etc. Other rare transliterations: ΕΙΚΧΟΛΤ for Eckholt (Jaanson 491) and ΊΗΡΝΗ for Hiärne (Jaanson 876) might also reflect Erasmian pronunciation in combination with Swedish names.

⁷⁶ Jaanson 1033, v.20 in a poem by E. Castelius and Jaanson 1033, line 25–26 in a prose gratulation by J. Lundeen. Another interesting name is ΔΕΡΩΗ pro Dörr in a poem by B. Riesmann from 1709, Jaanson 1364 v.1.

⁷⁷ See Jaanson 1290: ΠΕΡΝΑΒΙΑΣ, ΕΒΗΚΙΑΝ (sic!) and n. 74 above.

V. Orthography of diacritics

In the modern unified orthography of Greek the accents and spiritus are written on the second letter of the digraph, but in 17th century and earlier it was not always the rule. The greatest differences appear in the positions of accents and spiritus in the case of diphthongs [αυ], [ευ], [αι], [ει], [οι], to a lesser extent in the case of the digraph [ου]. The orthography of diacritics has usually not been regarded as a source for the study of pronunciation,⁷⁸ nor can it be regarded as such in the present state of research, because in printed editions the orthography is unified and there are no studies dedicated to the positions of accents in the manuscripts. Moreover, such trivialities as the placement of the accent are not noted in the critical apparatus, and it is even recommended to ignore them.⁷⁹ And even if the orthographical variants were noted in critical apparatus and analysed, it might not help, as the placement of accents in medieval Greek manuscripts varies greatly: they can be on either of the letters or on both, and sometimes it is not possible to distinguish on which vowel they stand.⁸⁰ The problem is not confined to the manuscripts, even in early printings the positions of diacritics and accents may vary greatly, due to the availability of technical facilities. This is the main reason why the attempts to relate the pronunciation with the position of the accents and spiritus fail, although it could be possible to begin testing the hypothesis with some smaller corpora.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Except Laum 1928: 125–128, who criticizes the editors for the lack of exactness in respect of the positions of accent marks. According to Laum, the accents should be written so that the sign begins on the first letter and finishes on the second, other forms should be regarded as faulty.

⁷⁹ West 1973: 66, 86. A gratifying exception is T. Veteikis' edition of the Humanist Greek poetry of Lithuania (Veteikis 2004a).

⁸⁰ According to Schubart, the preferred position of accents is at the beginning (i.e. 1st letter) of diphthongs in the papyri already, as well as in the medieval manuscripts (Schubart 1925: 171–172). This claim can be contested on multiple single occasions; as to the preferred tendencies, no special studies are known to the author.

⁸¹ E.g. in the manuscripts of Greek music, where notes are written above the text, the diacritics and accent marks are written as a rule on the second letter of the diphthong (although sometimes they have been written over both letters), see Pöhlmann & West 2001, plates 3, 5–7. As this type of text (i.e. music) could be influenced by matters concerning the pronunciation more than other text types, the position of diacritics on the second letter of diphthongs might be significant.

Therefore it is not possible to answer or maybe even ask the question, whether e.g. the change of the pronunciation of the diphthong [εv] into [ev], a closed syllable with a monophthongal [e] and a fricative [v], could have changed something in the position of the accent mark (which should be written on a vowel, and therefore not on [v] pronounced as fricative [v]). Moreover, we must take into account several other factors, which might have influenced the positions of accents, like spiritus (which tended to occur on the first letter of digraphs).

We know from the references given above that at least some attention was paid to reading and writing of the diacritics in Estonia during the 17th century, as the need to read the accents correctly had been stressed in the examination report from Reval Gymnasium and Gezelius had expressed the need of exact placement of accents in the preface to his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*. Next to explicit statements about the accents, Tartu prints (especially from the period of AG) reveal some tendencies to use the accent and spiritus marks systematically, although we can speak more about prevalent tendencies and less about rules. Still, the analysis of this practice might lead to an understanding of orthographic principles in Greek printings of Estonia.

1. Printing process: available fonts and proof-reading responsibilities

Printed texts from the printing-house of Tartu Academy reflect the instability of the orthography during this period. The printers of Tartu used *le Grec du Roi*,⁸² which has only some ligatures and enables printing regular lines. This gives an advantage from the technical point of view: in these printings it was possible to regulate the positions of diacritics, spiritus and stresses.

We do not know exactly, how the process of proof-reading worked at the printing-houses in Tallinn and Tartu, it might have been the responsibility of several persons (the printer, the author, or the professor of Greek).

In some cases it would be plausible to conclude that the proof-reading had been done (or left undone) by the **author**. This could explain the differences in the use of diacritics for example in one Tartu print from 1633. This publication includes 3 works in Greek: a verse introduction and verse dissertation *Christognosia* by Petrus Goetschenius, as well as a gratulation by

⁸² For the buying of printing types for AG, see Jaanson 2000: 61, 66, cf. Ingram 1966: 377; Updike 1951: 6, 22–23.

Henricus Vogelmannus in a form of a Pindaric Ode.⁸³ In his Greek poems (altogether more than 550 verses), which Goetschenius published in Tartu, we find several preferred tendencies: at first, the stress and accent marks occur on the first letter of the diphthong [oi], but only when the diphthong is in the word-initial position. In Vogelmannus' poem the acute accent appears on the first letter of [oi] when it is placed in the middle of the word (v.39 ἀθρόοισεις). In Vogelmannus' poem the spiritus occurs on *omikron* in case of the digraph [ou] three times (for the length of 42 verses), which never occurs in the whole corpus of poems by Goetschenius.⁸⁴ As Vogelmannus was during this period not working at the AG,⁸⁵ we may assume that he was either himself responsible for the proof-reading (and that his principles for the orthography might have been different) or that his text was not proof-read at all (or that the proof-reading was done by the printer), whereas Goetschenius' text was proof-read by its author himself.

In several cases it seems that it was the duty of the **professors**⁸⁶ of Greek to supervise all printings in Greek. It can be seen in the cases, in which some deviations from the usual orthography occur, for example in the orthography of [αι], where the accents and spiritus are usually placed on the second letter. During the period of J. Gezelius' professorship, half (4) of the occurrences of [αι] with diacritics on the first letter occur in two poems by E. Harckman and H. Plantinus in the book of epithalamia presented to Gezelius on the occasion of his wedding, and 3 from the other half (4) occur in the book presented to Gezelius on the occasion of his rectorship.⁸⁷ The

⁸³ See Jaanson 23.

⁸⁴ Usually in the printings of Tartu the negation οὐ is given by a ligature, which does not enable us to discern exact positions of the diacritics, otherwise [ou] with diacritics on *omikron* occurs either in the word initial or even in the verse initial position. Vogelmannus' poem is exceptional in the whole AG, as the diacritics on the first vowel of the digraph [ou] occur in the end of the word (v.7 χριστού).

⁸⁵ See Päll 2001. The documents of AG have now revealed new information about Vogelmannus: soon after he had presented a Greek Pindaric poem as a gratulation to P. Goetschenius, the professor of Greek in AG and the Rector of Tartu Trivial School (Inno 1972: 89), we can see him as a Conrector of Tartu Trivial School. There Vogelmannus worked from 1 September 1633 till (at least) 1 March (he is mentioned as a Conrector of Tartu Trivial School as late as on 5 May 1636), see TUB F. 7–42, p. 7v, 10v and 15r, 19v, and EAA 278–1–XXII–4 f. 204 (the year 1635).

⁸⁶ The Germans Petrus Goetschenius (1632–1636) and Salomon Matthiae (1637–1 July 1642), Swedes Johannes Gezelius (1 July 1642–1649/50) and Ericus Holstenius (1650–1656), see Inno 1972: 88, 90 and note 32.

⁸⁷ In Jaanson 408 and Jaanson 480. For Gezelius' rectorship, see Päll 2006.

tendency is similar in the case of the occurrences of [ει] with diacritics on the first syllable in the abovementioned book of epithalamia for Gezelius.⁸⁸ As we can assume that the collection of gratulations was not revised previously by its addressee, we seem to have an explanation to these aberrations in otherwise firm tendencies and may assume that usually Gezelius himself revised the orthography of all printed Greek texts.

Otherwise the tendency seems to vary also in correlation to the period, depending also on the printer among other factors.⁸⁹

2. Orthographic tendencies in the use of diacritics

As the corpus of the Greek texts from Reval is not complete at the present moment, I shall look for the rules and tendencies in orthographic principles concerning Greek diacritics only in the texts printed in the printing-house of AG and AGC. In these printings following rules and tendencies can be seen:

a) Majuscules

In early prints the principles for printing majuscule letters are different in comparison to modern practice, where the diacritics stand slightly left of the letters and not exactly above. In early prints the spiritus or accents (or both) can be posed above the majuscule letters and they usually are, not only in the case of the words, which begin with simple vowels (where it is almost unexceptional in Tartu printings), but also when they begin with diphthongs. In the printings of AG, the diphthongs [Eυ], [Aυ], [Aι], [Oι] and the digraph [Oυ] occur more often with the accents and spiritus on the first letter, although the small amount of examples does only allow us to speak of tendencies, which seem to be stronger in the case of [Aι], [Oι], [Aυ] and the

⁸⁸ In Jaanson 408, where the two poems by E. Harckman and H. Plantinus present 11 from the total of 14 such examples. Otherwise there is only one other occasion against 125 normal uses during the whole period of Gezelius' professorship, by Gezelius himself in 1647 (Jaanson 573: ἔις), who sometimes breaks his own rules, as in Jaanson 573: ἔις, ἐυμενέως, ἀδοῖον, ταῦτ', but εὐχαρις.

⁸⁹ E.g. in a Greek prose dissertation under Gezelius' supervision from Stockholm, printed in Uppsala in 1650, the diacritics lie on the first letter even in the case of καί and [ει]-diphthongs (see Gezelius-Emporagrius).

digraph [Ov], and weaker in the case of [Ev].⁹⁰ The same is valid for the only occurrence of the diphthong [Yı]. In the case of [Eı] the tendency is reverse.⁹¹ In AGC there are no clear tendencies: sometimes both signs are written above the first letter, sometimes spiritus is on the first letter and accent mark on the second, sometimes both are on the second letter, and sometimes they have not been used at all.⁹² Still, even here there is a slight tendency that the accents and spiritus are more frequently written on the first letter.

b) Minuscules

In the case of the minuscules, there are different rules and tendencies for each combination, depending on the author or some other condition. The treatment may also depend on the quality of the second vowel of the diphthong (digraph).

1. [εı] In the printings of AG this diphthong is generally spelled with diacritics on the second letter [ı], e.g. ἀνθεῖ, εῖ etc,⁹³ not depending from its position (at the beginning or in the middle of the word). Two exceptions to this rule occurred in poems presented to J. Gezelius for his wedding and were explained above with the absence of his personal control.⁹⁴ This principle is characteristic to Tartu prints from AG period, in the prints of

⁹⁰ The ratios are: 8 against 1 for [Ov], 6 against 1 for [Aı] and [Oı], 4 against 1 for [Av] and 19 against 11 for [Ev].

⁹¹ The ratio is 5 against 7. Like in the case of [Ev] there is a tendency of the circumflex accent falling on the second letter of a diphthong, thus the reason may be technical only (e.g. the lack of letter types for [E] with a circumflex).

⁹² E.g. in the case of three occurrences of [Oı], one example reveals no accents and spiritus at all, in the second example both lie on the first, and in the third example on the second letter. In the case of [Ov] the ratio is 3 against 2 in favour of the first position, in the case of [Eı] it is 1 against 2 in favour of the second position, the sole example of [Av] favours the first position; for [Ev] there are 3 examples for the first, 1 for the second position and once the spiritus is on the first and accent on the second letter; in the case of [Aı] there is one example, which favours the spiritus on the first letter, in the second case, the spiritus lies on the first and accent on the second letter.

⁹³ The ratio is 395 against 14 occurrences, i.e. 96,6% against 3,4%.

⁹⁴ The third occasion occurs in v.17 of a poem by Cunitius (Jaanson 182), in the preposition ἔιν, and may be due to its position as the first word of the verse (where usually the majuscules bearing diacritics occur).

AGC period the diacritics can occur on both letters, although the second letter is similarly preferred as a place for the accent.⁹⁵

2. [αι] In the printings of AG, the diacritics occur generally on the second letter of the diphthong, but with lesser consistency than in the case of [ει]. The word *καί* is always written with an [αι]-ligature and bears its accent on the second letter, which increases the general percentage in favour of [αι] vs [αι],⁹⁶ but the diacritics on the first letter are still rare and accidental.⁹⁷ In AGC the diacritics can appear more often on first letters, but the percentage is strongly in favour for the position on the second letter.⁹⁸

3. [οι] In general, during the whole period of AG the diacritics occur on the second letter. However, in the first years of AG, especially in *Christognosia* by Goetschenius, we can see a tendency to use diacritics on the first letter, when the diphthong is word-initial.⁹⁹ As the poem is long (altogether 468 verses) the availability of certain letter types could have posed a problem, which did not affect 4-or 10-line poems.¹⁰⁰ However, there is no clear tendency in AGC, although the percentage is slightly in favour of the second position.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ The ratio here is 28 occurrences against 67, i.e. 29,5% against 70,5%.

⁹⁶ The difference is evident in the congratulations for Gezelius (Jaanson 408 and Jaanson 480) where *καί* is written as in other prints, but otherwise the diacritics occur more on the first letter (e.g. *ἀιεῖ*).

⁹⁷ There are 14 examples altogether (9 in word-initial, and 5 in word-internal positions) against 368 examples of diacritics on the second letter, this makes ratio of 3,7% against 96,3%.

⁹⁸ The tendency in AGC is 17,6% (20) on the first letter against 82,4% (122) on the second letter. The position of the diphthong (word-initial or word-internal) does not seem to influence the choice, although the second position is unexceptionably favoured in the case of *καί*.

⁹⁹ 66 against 215 (23,5% against 76,5%) during the whole period, but 17 against 116 (12,8% against 87,2%) without Goetschenius' *Christognosia*. 99 occurrences of [οι] with diacritics on the second letter in *Christognosia* belong to syllables in word-internal positions, with one exception ([οι] in v.383); all 49 occurrences of the diacritics on the first letter belong to the word-initial position.

¹⁰⁰ There is no such tendency in the combinations [αι] and [ει], therefore the reason may have been not only the word-initial position, but also the wish to spare the *iotas*, bearing diacritical marks.

¹⁰¹ 25 on the first against 22 occurrences on the second letter (53,2% against 46,8%). Although the first letter of a syllable seems to be a favoured position for diacritics word-initially, there are several examples of accents on the first letters of syllables in word-internal positions as well.

4. [ou] Generally this digraph is written with a ligature, therefore it is difficult to determine exact positions of the spiritus and accents; but even in the cases where separate letters occur, diacritics are mainly situated on the second letter. There are some exceptions to this rule in the first years of AG,¹⁰² but not in AGC.

Whereas the occurrences of [i]-diphthongs seem to be relatively consistent for the AG period, the [u]-diphthongs show more variation. This may be due to technical reasons (the lack or availability of letter types with diacritics¹⁰³), but the phonetical difference of the diphthongs can not be excluded as a reason for this variation as well.

5. [ευ] The usage is diverse, there are several principles depending on the period or authors in question, or on the position of syllable. The period of AG can be divided into 4 periods according to the professor of Greek, AGC has been regarded as a whole due to the small amount of examples. The percentages are presented as follows in Table 1 (the position of diacritics is underlined, the number of examples in the corpus is given in parentheses):

Table 1.

Prof./period (corpus size)	<u>ε</u> v %	ε <u>v</u> %
AG: Goetschenius (106)	12,26	87,74
AG: Matthiae (22)	9,1	90,9
AG: Gezelius (78)	55,13	44,87
AG: Holstenius (26)	23,08	76,92
AGC (40)	15	85

We can see that in general the diacritics tend to occur on the first letter of the diphthong. In this respect only one period is clearly different from the others, the professorship of J. Gezelius, during which he was the author of most of the poems as well; the most consistent usage could be seen during the professorship of Salomon Matthiae, although he wrote no Greek poems himself.¹⁰⁴ Although at first it might seem that this usage is inconsistent and

¹⁰² Thrice in the poem by Vogelmannus (Jaanson 23, from 1633), and 4 other cases in word-initial (sometimes verse-initial) positions (from 1633 and 1634).

¹⁰³ As in the case of [oi] in Goetschenius' *Christognosia*, see n. 99.

¹⁰⁴ For the production by and under Greek professors in Tartu Academy, see Päll 2003: 23–31.

reveals no certain tendencies, the picture changes when we add another criterion and regard the positions (word-initial or word-internal) of the diphthongs in questions. The percentages are presented in Table 2 (the number of examples in the corpus is given in parentheses):

Table 2.

Prof./Period	word-initial ε̇υ : ε̇υ (corpus)	word-internal ε̇υ : ε̇υ % (corpus)
AG: Goetschenius	0 : 100 (43)	28 : 72 (50)
AG: Matthiae	0 : 100 (21)	66,7 : 33,3 (3)
AG: Gezelius	3,1 ¹⁰⁵ : 96,9 (32)	91,3 : 8,7 (46)
AG: Holstenius	5,3 : 94,7 (19)	71,4 : 20,6 (7)
AGC	0 : 100 (27)	46,1 : 53,9 (13)

Now it becomes evident that in word-initial positions the spiritus and accent signs are situated as a rule on the first letter of the diphthong, but in word-internal positions the practice is different, the diacritics are favoured on the first letter of the syllable only during the professorship of P. Goetschenius, the first professor of Greek in AG. In the case of AGC there is similarly a small preference, but as the corpus is small, we can only speak of prevalence here. The reason for preferring to print the diacritics on the first letter of the word rather than on the second may be typographical (lack of ypsilons with diacritical marks).

However, the usage under Matthiae, Gezelius and Holstenius reveals favouring the accents and spiritus on the second letter, when the diphthongs occur in word-internal positions.¹⁰⁶ We can see that during the professorship of Gezelius the position of the syllable has influenced the choice of the position of the diacritics most: word-initially the diacritics are prevalently printed over the first letter, word-internally over the second. As we can see the same tendency in the editions of Gezelius' *Grammar* and his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, as well as in the disputations published under his

¹⁰⁵ One example, in a gratulation by Gezelius, Jaanson 573 v.8.

¹⁰⁶ We cannot rule out the influence of the printer, as the change of printers in AG occurred during Matthiae's professorship, see Jaanson 2000: 24–28.

supervision, it can be asserted that Gezelius adhered always to the same principles concerning the orthography of diacritics.¹⁰⁷

5. [αυ] The main tendencies for the positions of diacritics are the same as in the case of [ευ], although the number of the examples is smaller. Table 3 presents the total percentages of the examples of diacritics in both positions (on the second letter of a syllable and on the first letter of a syllable), without distinguishing the positions of syllables in question (the number of examples in the corpus is given in parentheses):

Table 3.

Prof./period (corpus size)	αυ %	αυ %
AG: Goetschenius (59)	8,5	91,5
AG: Matthiae (10)	40	60
AG: Gezelius (47)	44,7	55,3
AG: Holstenius (17)	29,4	70,6
AGC (24)	37,5	62,5

We can see that the occurrences of [αυ] reveal the same tendencies, but the results are not as clear-cut as in the case of [ευ], the percentage of the words with stress or spiritus marks on the second letter remains under 50% even at its maximum during the professorship of Gezelius. As for the position of the syllables, the tendencies are once again the same as for [ευ]. Percentages for both positions are presented in Table 4 (the number of examples in the corpus is given in parentheses):

Table 4.

Prof./period	word-initial αυ : αυ % (corpus)	word-internal αυ : αυ % (corpus)
AG: Goetschenius	0 : 100 (32)	19,2 : 80,8 (26)
AG: Matthiae	0 : 100 (1)	37,5 : 62,5 (8)
AG: Gezelius	8,7 : 90,5 (21)	73,1 : 26,9 (26)
AG: Holstenius	0 : 100 (12)	100 : 0 (4)
AGC	0 : 100 (9)	60 : 40 (15)

¹⁰⁷ Jaanson 533 and Jaanson 616, the disputations from 1644–1647 (Jaanson 421–423, 492–493, 534–535) and the title pages of the disputations from 1649 (Jaanson 617–644) which may not have been printed entirely at all, see Korhonen 2004: 377.

Although the tendencies in the case of [αυ] are the same as in the case of [ευ], we can see that the tendency to prefer diacritics on first letters in word-initial positions is weaker during Gezelius' professorship (only 90% against 95% in the case of [ευ]). The same is valid for the favouring of diacritics on the second letter of a syllable in word-internal positions, where the percentage falls from 91 to 73 during Gezelius' professorship. The reasons for this difference are not clear, maybe it has something to do with available letter types. At the same time the percentage in favour of the first position in word-internal positions is stronger for Goetschenius: 80% in the case of [αυ], but 72% in the case of [ευ]. Some other results cannot be taken into regard due to the small amount of examples.

We can conclude that several rules exist for the orthography of diacritics both in AG and AGC, e.g. the position of diacritics on the first letter in the case of word-initial [υ]-diphthongs or the preference for the second position in the case of [ι]-diphthongs. In AG there is a preference to print the diacritics over the first letter of diphthongs in the case of majuscules (which occur always in word-initial positions). This rule occurring in the case of majuscules might have influenced the usage in word-initial positions (ἔυχομαι, ἄει), especially in case of [οι]. It is possible that this influence went further, as the accent marks tend to occur sometimes on the first letter of a syllable in word-internal positions as well, even concerning the authors, whose usage in word-internal positions is to print the diacritics over the second letter of the diphthong. The availability of printing types cannot be excluded as a reason, but e.g. in Goetschenius' long poem the deviations in usage (for example in the case of [αι]) do not always occur at the far end of page.¹⁰⁸ During the period of AGC the usage is relatively inconsistent, which probably is due to the war and general disturbances.¹⁰⁹

As for the position of diacritics in general, another factor that has to be taken into account is the influence of spiritus, which should have more logically its place on the first letter of any diphthong or digraph, as it is word-initial. Whether the practice in the case of [υ]-diphthongs could have been influenced by Byzantine pronunciation where *ypsilon* was not pronounced as a vowel, it cannot be said at the present state of research.

¹⁰⁸ As usually one page was printed at a time, the lack of letter types could cause some deviations in the case of longer poems or prose texts, which use more letters.

¹⁰⁹ The printers at Pärnu (where the printing-house had been transferred to) had to change a great part of the letter types, as a part of them had been lost and another broken, see Jaanson 2000: 31–34.

One question remains unanswered: whether these tendencies have anything to do with the pronunciation of Greek?¹¹⁰ The answer has to take into account that the reasons which caused originally the placement of diacritical signs might not be valid for the usage of the 17th century. The analysis of the information about pronunciation revealed a growing tendency for the Erasmian pronunciation during the 17th century. At the same time, the positioning of diacritics reveals consistent preferences during the AG period (especially concerning Gezelius' professorship) and a relative lack of consistency during the AGC period. So the answer must be 'no' for the 17th century Estonia in general.

VI. Conclusions

As we have seen, far away from Greece and Byzantium, the Greek language was still taught and studied by scholars and clergy of German, Swedish, Finnish or Baltic origin. However, the manner in which they used this language was not always excellent. The old tradition (Byzantine pronunciation) was most probably changed for the Erasmian reconstruction during the 17th century. The Greek prints show strong tendencies for the *Academia Gustaviana* and certain incongruence for the period of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*. The most influential factors could have been the traditions, brought along from the mother universities of scholars and printers, and the availability of printing types.

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¹¹⁰ This has been proposed in Viiding & Päll 2004: 308.

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Summary

The purpose of the present paper is to analyse the usage of Greek language in the schools of Estonia in the 17th century, in order to see to what extent it had diverged from its Byzantine sources. The evidence for pronunciation will be sought from texts written in Greek or about Greek, e.g. references to teaching methods, as well as matters concerning the orthography and printing conventions. Although different backgrounds of scholars working in Estonia complicate the study, we can postulate that during the 17th century the traditional ('Byzantine') pronunciation was reformed according to the Erasmian model in the *Gymnasium Revaliense* and *Academia Gustaviana*, and that the printers of *Academia Gustaviana* established several printing conventions.

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU AND
BYZANTINE STUDIES
(THE END OF THE 19TH AND
THE BEGINNING
OF THE 20th CENTURY)

Anne Lill



The conditions of the Byzantine studies at the University of Tartu were influenced on the one hand by the political events and on the other by the personal contribution of the scholars who were active in Tartu at that time. In preparing this paper, I have used the materials concerning the history of the university in humanities (monographies, lecture programs) from which I would point out the most thorough treatment of the topic – the M.A. thesis on history by Olev Teder: *Main features of the Russian Byzantinistics and the role of Tartu University in 19th – the beginning of the 20th century* (in Estonian, Teder 1998).

The development of Byzantine studies was closely connected with the general tendencies in the political life in Estonia and with university politics that depended on the former. Thus, my first point will be a brief look at the history.

1. The political conditions and the situation in academic life

The location of Estonia and of Tartu between East and West has left its mark on the development of the university and also on Byzantine studies that were related mostly with the eastern connections of Estonia, i.e. relations with Russia. Historically, the university in Tartu was oriented from its very beginning towards the West — the political (and geographical) circumstances connected the university with Germany and Sweden. This was the case during the university's first period, in the 17th century after its foundation in 1632. Then Tartu (Dorpat) belonged to the German-Swedish cultural domain, with the Lutheran religion as its main cultural and ideological characteristic. It was a protestant university based on the German and Latin cultural traditions. The professors were mostly Swedes and Germans.¹

Academic life in Tartu in the 17th century was interrupted by the invasion of the Russian troops, first in 1656, then by the Nordic war between Sweden and Russia. After the victory of the Russian army in 1710, the university in Tartu was closed and Estonia was controlled by the Russian government. After a gap of hundred years, the university in Tartu was reopened in the 19th century in a changed cultural situation. Politically Estonia was governed then by the Russian Czar, but economically and culturally the Germans occupied the leading position, and that was accepted by the Russian officials: unofficially Estonia was called the German province of Russia. It remained so until the year 1918, i.e. until the time when Estonian achieved independence.

Thus, in 1802, the university recommenced with 29 professors and 12 teachers, mostly Germans both of Baltic origin and those who had come from Germany.² The general system and principles of education were modelled on those in Germany. Most of the students were Baltic Germans (there were a few Russian, Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, and some Estonian students).

The university became the centre of scientific research. For the university teachers, Tartu was the town where mostly young scholars came from abroad to start their careers — often after the defence of their doctoral

¹ Their number varied during the 17th century between 10 and 27 (Piiromäe 1982: 61–62).

² The Germans made up *ca.* 80% of the whole staff, see Siilivask 1982: 57.

theses. They then continued their work in the other, larger universities (this was the case for both German and Russian professors).

As for the Byzantine studies, the relations with Russia and especially Saint Petersburg were important. Although, in the first half of the century, the German professors dealt with these questions in the framework of their own subjects (classical philology, law, history), the Byzantine studies were more soundly established when the relations with Saint Petersburg became closer towards the end of the century.

From the earlier period, during the first half of the century the professor of eloquence, aesthetics, Latin and Greek languages and antiquities K. S. Morgenstern must be mentioned. He came to Tartu from Germany, he had studied at Halle with F. A. Wolf as his professor. Morgenstern became the founder of classical philology in Tartu. Alongside his academic work he was active in the administration of the university, in drafting the university statutes and taking part in various commissions. His interests included a wide area of philological and cultural questions, and in addition to the classical philology Byzantine history and culture. One of his publications concerns Byzantine historians. This was based on his public lecture at the University festive meeting in 1823 (Morgenstern 1837; it was also published in Russian, see Morgenstern 1841).

At that time, the teaching language at the university was mostly German. Even the Russian professor did not write his reports in Russian (although the formal administration and politics were subordinated to Russia). The strong Western orientation in political life and in academic education is seen from the fact that the first attempt to carry out Russification in the education and social life failed in the 1840s and early 1850s, although later the Russian influence gradually increased.

The contacts with Saint Petersburg tightened towards the middle and especially at the end of the century. In the years 1821–1865 the role of the University of Tartu in the activity of the Russian Academy of Sciences increased. The members of the Academy were the Tartu professors (M. H. Jacobi, A. Bunge, F. Neue and others, mostly from natural sciences and physics) and the graduates from Tartu became the members of the Academy (K. E. von Baer, N. Pirogov).³

In these years the number of the students coming from Russia to Estonia (and other Baltic countries) increased (the amount of students more than doubled compared with the two first decades of the century). This tendency

³ Tankler 1979: 188–189.

grew towards the end of the century. In the second half of the century the number of Estonian students was also growing.

The turning point in the university politics was the middle of the century, especially the sixties. Within the framework of the Russification there were changes in the academic institutions and the system of teaching. But the major wave of increasing Russian influence occurred in 1889–1895 when Russification became the official policy at the university. It was visible first of all in changing the language of education. The lectures had to be delivered in Russian (instead of German), the obligatory use of Russian was evident in official correspondence, exams, dissertations, and only the Theological faculty held its German-based status until 1916 due to its Lutheran background. In 1893, Tartu (German Dorpat, Russian Derpt) was renamed Jur'ev.

These tendencies led to the appointment of the Russian professors while the German professors left Tartu.⁴ From Russia arrived scholars who were active in Byzantine studies, e.g. A. V. Nikickij, M. N. Krašeninnikov. All this coincided with the rapid development of Slavonic philology and led to the development of Byzantinistics. Also for classical philology, classical archaeology and for the study of the ancient art this period was a time of increasing importance. When we look at the curricula and lectures in the official programs in humanities, we see that almost half of them were concerned with classical subjects.

2. Byzantine studies and the Byzantinists at the University of Tartu (Jur'ev)

The Byzantine studies were from the beginning related to the studies in history, classical philology, oriental studies, Slavonic studies and law.

Mostly, as in Russia, the Byzantine studies at Tartu University were included in the curricula of the Department of History. In the first decades of the 19th century, professors J. G. Ewers and F. Kruse from the historical department dealt among other topics also with the history and culture of Byzantium.

⁴ The number of German professors decreased from 87% to 9.8%, the number of Russian professors increased correspondingly and reached 75% in the first decade in the 20th century (Siilivask 1982: 270–271).

From 1853 when the chair of Russian history was established, the Byzantine studies received a new impulse in their development. The first professor of the chair was P. E. Medovikov, who wrote his M.A. thesis (published in 1849 in Moscow) on the relations between Greece and Constantinople.

The first professor who began to lecture on Byzantine history and culture was A. N. Jasinskij. This happened in autumn 1898, in the third year of his work at Tartu (in total, he was in Tartu from 1896 till 1911). It was the time when seminars were introduced into the curricula of humanities in addition to lectures.



Fig. 1. Anton Jasinskij (photo portrait in the collection of manuscripts and rare books, Tartu University Library, F 78, Fo Norm 17:98).

The first special course on Byzantium was named *The Byzantine and Arabic history up to the crusades* (held in the framework of the medieval history). Later took place other courses on Byzantine history in the crusading period, connected with the history of the papacy and the history of 10th and 11th centuries. The last course on this subject was advertised in 1911, and concerned the Byzantine history in relation to Italian history and the history

of the Eastern countries in the early medieval times. It is characteristic for that time that the topics were concentrated on the early Byzantine period and observation of the Byzantine-Arabic relations (see Dubjeva 2005: 119).

After the departure of Jasinskij from Tartu his successor was V. Ë. Regel (in Tartu 1913–1918), first as the extraordinary and then as the ordinary professor (from 1914). He started the special courses on Byzantine culture and history. His professorship signified the high point of Byzantine studies in Tartu.⁵

The other historian who must be mentioned is P. A. Jakovenko, the graduate from the Tartu University, who worked as a *Privatdozent* at the Chair of Medieval History (1909–1918). Jakovenko studied in Tartu for five years (1899–1903). Later, he was three years at the Department of History as the candidate for the professorship. In 1908 he produced *Dissertatio pro venia legendi* “On the history of immunity in Byzantium” (Jakovenko 1908). In 1911 he advertised a lecture course on the questions of Byzantology in Russia in the 19th century but it was cancelled because of his academic trip abroad (see Dubjeva 2004: 157). In 1909 he gave a festive lecture in the aula *On the Byzantinism in connection with contemporary Byzantology*.⁶ He lectured on the history of the Byzantine church (1909 spring, and in 1913–14).⁷ In 1917 in place of Regel he gave a general course on Byzantine history. In 1917 he finished his doctoral thesis *Research on the Byzantine documents* (Jakovenko 1917) and defended it on 22 February 1918, and later, in March he was appointed to the post of an extraordinary professor. Immediately after that the political situation changed. With the independence of Estonia, the Russian university in Tartu ceased to exist and was evacuated to Voronež where Jakovenko became a professor (see further Dubjeva 2004).

The first doctoral thesis defended in Tartu on Byzantine studies was submitted by S. Uvarov who finished his dissertation in 1858. Uvarov began his studies in general history and his dissertation concerned the origin of the Bulgarians. The work was entitled *De provinciarum imperii Orientis administrandarum forma mutata inde a Constantino Magno usque ad Justinianum* (*The changes in the ways of government of the Eastern provinces from Constantine until Justinian*, published in 1858 in Dorpat.)

In connection with Tartu we can find two other Byzantologists who graduated from Tartu and later became known elsewhere. First, E. Kurtz

⁵ See the paper of L. Dubjeva in this volume.

⁶ Found in Estonian Historical Archives, 402–3–2048. L 3.

⁷ *Obozrenie lekcij ... 1913–1918*.

(1845–1923) who graduated from Tartu in 1868, studied afterwards in Leipzig and in Berlin. In 1908 he was elected a member of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, in 1912 an honorary doctor at the Athenian University and a member of the Association of Byzantine Studies in Athens.

The other graduate from Tartu in 1916 was M. J. Sjuzumov (1893–1983). His article concerning Byzantine studies during the Tartu period was written on the sources of Leon Diakonos and Skylitzes and published in *VO* 1916 (Sjuzumov 1916).

In addition to this, there were some theses which were defended in Tartu, among these a predoctoral research made by Kh. M. Loparev (from Saint Petersburg) on Byzantine hagiographies (defended on 15 February 1915, but published in Saint Petersburg in 1914; see Loparev 1914).

One of the most celebrated historians who was working in Tartu from 1904–1913 was A. A. Vasil'ev, who was a student of V. G. Vasil'evskij. He defended his pre-doctoral thesis in 1897, and in 1902 a doctoral thesis in Saint Petersburg. In Tartu Vasil'ev did not have the lectures connected with Byzantology while he was lecturing mainly on the history of the French revolution, the reformation period in Europe and medieval history. His public lecture in the aula (15 February 1904) concerned Byzantium and the Italian renaissance.

The interests of Vasil'ev were mainly in Oriental studies and the Byzantine world (relations between Slavonic and Greek nations, Arab countries and Byzantium).⁸ He worked in Tartu until the spring term of 1913. After leaving Tartu, he was first a professor in the Saint Petersburg Pedagogical Institute for Women, then a professor at the university. In 1925 he emigrated to the USA and became a professor of Wisconsin University and the senior scholar at Harvard from 1944–1953. Vasil'ev was one of the founders of Byzantine studies in USA.

The relation of Byzantine studies to classical philology is noteworthy. With the reorganization of the university (in 1865) the Chair of Classical Philology and the History of Literature was established. The philologist and Byzantinist M. N. Krašeninnikov (1896–1918, doctoral thesis in Saint Petersburg 1895) held it. He published several works on the history of the Byzantine church and hagiographies (Krašeninnikov 1899, 1907, 1912). The other classical philologists were also active in Byzantine studies, e.g. Ludwig Mendelssohn edited in *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* a *New History of Zosimos* (Leipzig 1883).

⁸ See Vasil'ev 1900 and 1902.



Fig. 2. Aleksandr Vasil'ev
(photo portrait in the collection of manuscripts and rare books,
Tartu University Library, Fo 3472:3A).

A. V. Nikickij wrote in his Tartu period (1896–1902) a review of the book by A. Heisenberg on the Byzantine scholar Nikephoros Blemmydes (*Curriculum vitae et opera Nicephori Blemmydae*, Saint Petersburg 1898).⁹ Also, G. F. Cereteli, a papyrologist who worked in Tartu 1905–1914, conducted research into the Russian and Georgian collection of papyri that also contained Byzantine texts (3rd part of collection; published in Saint Petersburg in 1913, 1915).

The connection between Byzantine studies and the Faculty of Law is worth mentioning. At the beginning of the 19th century the faculty began

⁹ See Nikickij 1898.

with the German professors (the same way as the other faculties). At this time, during the twenties and thirties, Tartu was the only university in Russia where there was a complete curriculum in law. From Tübingen arrived W. Clossius who worked in Tartu between 1824–1837 as the head of the Chair of Criminal Law and History of Law. His research interests included the role of the Byzantine law in Russian society. He carried out research in monasteries, archives and libraries, made copies of the Byzantine manuscripts, chronographies, lives of the saints and documents on law (see Teder 1998: 197).

The end of the 19th century was a time of a rapid development in Byzantine studies: new journals on the subject were founded and the institutes established. The interest in Byzantium reached Tartu mostly due to the scholars who came from Saint Petersburg, one of the centres of these studies at that time.

The beginning of the 20th century was the time of the beginning of the Byzantine studies in the proper sense at the University of Tartu. The professors from Russia and Ukraine who worked at the Historical-Philological Faculty, mainly at the Department of History (A. N. Jasinskij, A. A. Vasil'ev, V. È. Regel) but also in other departments, took the initiative in developing this field of research.

At that time several articles on Byzantine church and culture in the series *Acta et commentationes Imp. Universitatis Jurievensis (olim Dorpatensis) (Učenyja Zapiski Imperatorskago Jur'evskago Universiteta)* were published.

V. Regel started with the regular courses and the research projects on Byzantine history and culture. In general, Regel is known as a historian, Slavonic philologist and as a Byzantinist. He is famous also as an editor, contributor and a chief editor (from 1899–1914) of the journal *Vizantijskij Vremennik (The Byzantine Journal)*. From 1915 he was a professor in Tartu where he held a post until 1918.

Regel was a student of V. G. Vasil'evskij, the universally known Byzantine scholar. The latter's name is generally connected with the edition of the *Vizantijskij Vremennik (VV, Byzantine Journal)*. Regel was named the chief editor only after 10 years of work on editing the journal in 1905. Regel moved to Tartu at the beginning of 1914. He brought to Tartu a great part of the editorial materials. *VV* remained in the hands of the new editor, Feodor Ivanovič Uspenskij.

In Tartu (Jur'ev) Regel started a new journal, and edited in 1915–1917 three volumes of *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie (VO, Byzantine Review)*.

There exists a close connection between these two journals. Not only was the chief editor the same but even the articles that were started in *VV* were continued in *VO*. Regel succeeded in gathering around *VV* the most prominent scholars who were working in this field, both from Russia and elsewhere, mostly from Greece. He had contacts with Tartu long before he arrived. One of the authors and contributors, already mentioned, Aleksandr Vasil'ev, who came to Tartu in 1904 from Saint Petersburg, was a professor of modern history. He had a correspondence with Regel before the latter came to Tartu, and was responsible for the bibliographical part of the journal *VV*.

Why Regel left Saint Petersburg is a question that needs further investigation. The fact is that the difficulties in editing *VV* became harder and concerned problems with the printing-office and especially with the type. For example, in 1907 Regel complained that the editions were a year late. The 1908 number appeared in 1910. Thus, the proper successive order of the journal began to disappear and the correct editing was no longer possible. Regel asked permission from the Information Department of the Royal Academy of Sciences to move to another printing office to suit the editor. By 1913 the journal was printed in Jur'ev (Mattiesen printing office). In his second term at Tartu, in 1913 Regel was already an extraordinary professor and was lecturing on the medieval history and Byzantine history, and also held weekly seminars. This syllabus was maintained until the end of Regel's Tartu period.¹⁰ He took over the medieval part of Vasil'ev's lectures (history of modern times, especially French history, was taken over by the newcomer from Saint Petersburg, E. Tarle). Regel worked in Tartu until the first term in 1918 and after that he left for Voronež.

Regel's work was not limited to giving lectures and his official tasks. We can see that he wanted to take an initiative and to promote scholarly work on Byzantine themes. He was the first scholar to get his students to undertake research for the scientific award on this subject.¹¹

¹⁰ *Obozrenie lekcij ... 1913–1818.*

¹¹ In 1914 a work on the research topic *Journeys of the South-Italian Normanns against Byzantium* was submitted, in 1916 — *Manuscripts of the monasteries on Athos as the source of the inner history of Byzantium in 12th–15th centuries* and *Journeys of Russians to Byzantium in 9th–11th centuries.*

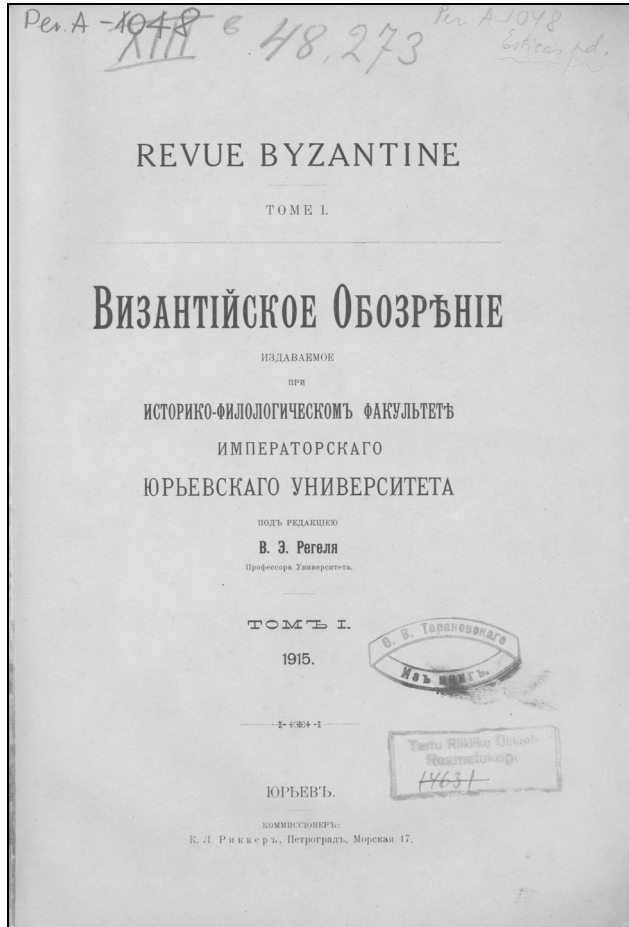


Fig. 3. Title page of the first volume (1915) of the journal *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie*.

3. *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie*: the content and the ideology of the journal

But the main contribution to the development of Byzantine studies during the Tartu period of Regel was the new journal, *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie* (*Byzantine Review*). As a matter of fact, a title of this kind was in Regel's mind already before he was working with the first journal, *VV*. Even then his proposal was to name the journal *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie* but there was opposition from the academicians who thought this kind of title was too common. *Vremennik*, on the contrary, had, according to them, a slight

archaic flavour and was considered better (the example was the German title as *Zeitschrift*). Thus, the first number of *VO* came out in 1915. The application to edit the journal was supported by the senate of the University of Tartu (Jur'ev) (in 1916) and forwarded to the Ministry. The exact conditions and details of editing the third number of *VO* are not clear and need a further research.

The editorial principles were written in the introduction:

- 1) Byzantine studies include the history of church, philological questions and the history of literature, history and geography, law, art and archaeology;
- 2) In the journal, the articles are divided into three parts: a) new original research; b) reviews on new books; c) editions of the texts;
- 3) The languages of publication are Russian, French, English, Latin and Greek;
- 4) There will be one volume every year;
- 5) The contributions are accepted from the professors and assistant professors of the University of Tartu (Jur'ev), and from the scholars elsewhere.

We must turn our attention to the fact that German language was not mentioned in the publishing instructions. As a matter of fact, the articles were indeed mostly in Russian but also in French. Some reviews were written, nevertheless, in German. As for the contributors, we see here the names of Krašeninnikov, Bezobrazov, Jernstedt, Sjužjumov, Loparev, Černousov and others.

In Russia the journal was received with mixed feelings. Some scholars greeted it whole-heartedly, but there were also doubts that two journals were too much for the Russian academic world, that there were not enough contributors and the quality of the journals would be lower. There was also the danger of confusing these two journals and that is why a special explanation from the Academy of Sciences was needed to confirm that *VV* and *VO* were different and mutually independent journals. With Regel in Tartu, Byzantine studies were concentrated here, and in the correspondence of Regel there is even a phrase that alludes to the Petrograd-Jur'ev school in Byzantinistics (Medvedev 1995: 171). Unfortunately this development was interrupted, otherwise Tartu would have developed a solid basis in this field of research.

The year 1918 was the turning point both politically and academically in Estonia. World War I led to the independence of Estonia from Russia where

the Bolshevik regime was established in the autumn of 1917. On 31 May 1918, the Russian university in Tartu ended (the academic work had finished in April). The university of Tartu was reorganized. The language of teaching became Estonian and the Department of History changed its interests, turning with its face more towards Estonian culture and history and also to the Nordic countries. The Russian professors, teachers and also students left for Russia. On the basis of these, a new university was founded in Voronež. Regel also left for Voronež, where he became the Rector of the recently founded university.

As well as the university there was another institution in Tartu that was important concerning Byzantine studies: The Professors Institute. It functioned from 1828 until 1838 and was then removed to Saint Petersburg.

With the foundation of the Institute, Tartu became a place for preparing new professors and heads of the departments. Through this institute Tartu had also an indirect role in preparing the staff of Russian Byzantologists. One of the graduates of the institute was M. S. Kutorga (one of the founders of Russian Hellenistics) whose student was V. G. Vasil'evskij (the founder of Russian Byzantinistics). The graduate from the Institute was also N. A. Ivanov who specialized in the relations between the old Russian and Byzantine literature. Later he began to work on the Byzantine-Russian chronographies. The representatives of Slavonic studies and Byzantinistics P. I. Preis and V. I. Grigorovič also studied in the Professors Institute in Tartu.

Conclusion

Byzantine studies have been part of the University of Tartu curricula and research projects for quite a short period. This happened because of the scholars who came to Tartu from Saint Petersburg, and the leading figure among them was V. Regel. It was his activity that made Tartu (Jur'ev) known to the wider circle of scholarly world active in Byzantinistics. There has been no separate department or special group of students who studied only in this field. But the research was done and some very important initiatives took place. Therefore, concerning the history of Byzantine studies, Tartu deserves a special mention. We must hope that our symposium will help to promote Byzantine studies and move them from the historical perspective to the present time — and both in Tartu and in the other Baltic countries the Byzantinistics will revive.

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Summary

The end of the 19th century was a time of a rapid development of Byzantine studies in Europe and this process reached also Estonia and Tartu where Byzantine culture and literature was taught at the Tartu University in the last two decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. The process was influenced by political events and by personal contribution of the scholars who came to Tartu from Russia. The first professor who started with lectures on Byzantine history and culture was A. N. Jasinskij (1898, in Tartu 1896–1911). Characteristically for that time the topics were concentrated on the early Byzantine period and Byzantine-Arabic relations. At the beginning of the 20th century we can talk about the beginning of the Byzantine studies in Tartu in the proper sense. The professors from Russia and Ukraine who worked at the historical-philological faculty, mainly at the Department of History, held lectures and worked on the scientific projects (A. N. Jasinskij, A. A. Vasil'ev, V. È. Regel). Of the local Byzantine scholars, P. A. Jakovenko belonged to the alumni of the University of Tartu and worked as a *Privatdozent* in history in 1909–1918. Several articles on Byzantine church and culture were published in the *Acta* of the university. In Tartu (Jur'ev), V. È. Regel established a new journal on Byzantinistics and edited in 1915–1917 three volumes of *Vizantijskoe Obozrenie* (*Byzantine Review*). Among the contributors were Krašennikov, Bezobrazov, Jernstedt, Sjuzumov, Loparev, Černousov and others. The

development of the Byzantine studies was interrupted by the change of the political situation. World War I led to the independence of Estonia, and the Russian Byzantinists left Tartu. The reorganization of the university brought along different scholarly interests, more attention was paid to Estonian culture and history and that of the Nordic countries, and Byzantine studies remained in the background.

V. È. REGEL — PROFESSOR DER ALLGEMEINEN GESCHICHTE DER JURJEWER (TARTUER) UNIVERSITÄT IN DEN JAHREN 1913–1918¹

Ljudmila Dubjeva



Das korrespondierende Mitglied der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sankt Petersburg, Magister der allgemeinen Geschichte V. È. Regel (1857–1932) begann seine Tätigkeit am Lehrstuhl der allgemeinen Geschichte der Tartuer (bis 1893 — Dorpater, von 1893 bis 1918 — Jurjewer) Universität im Herbst 1913.²

Andreas Friedrich Wilhelm, auf Russisch Vasilij Èduardovič Regel ist am 27. November 1857³ in Sankt Petersburg geboren. Sein Vater Eduard-August Regel war ein bekannter Botaniker, Direktor des Kaiserlichen Botanischen Gartens in Sankt Petersburg, korrespondierendes Mitglied der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sankt Petersburg. Die Familie stammte aus Deutschland, fand ihre Heimat in Russland, hielt jedoch an der deutschen Sprache und dem reformierten Glaubensbekenntnis fest.

¹ Der vorliegende Beitrag entstand mit der Unterstützung eines Projekts des Estnischen Wissenschaftsfonds GFLAJ 5810.

² Dienstlisten von V. È. Regel siehe in: Estnisches Historisches Archiv (im weiteren — EHA), 384–1–3403. Bl. 3–9, 13–20.

³ In Siilivask 1982: 324 steht irrtümlicherweise 1856 als Geburtsjahr von Regel.

Wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit bis zur Erwählung als Professor der Jurjewer Universität

V. È. Regel absolvierte die historisch-philologische Fakultät der Universität Sankt Petersburg im Jahre 1880, wo er Schüler von V. G. Vasil'evskij, "dem Leiter der ganzen Petersburger Schule der wissenschaftlichen Byzantinistik"⁴, war. Danach durfte Regel dort für die Vorbereitung zum Professorentitel bleiben. In den Jahren 1884–1887 und 1889 wurde er ins Ausland geschickt, wo "er seine speziellen Studien in dem Bereich des historischen Wissens, der ihn insbesondere interessiert, d.h. im Bereich der byzantinischen Geschichte, weiter führen kann"⁵. Das Programm seiner Forschungen betont, dass die politische und kirchliche Geschichte Byzanz' von ihm "im Zusammenhang und im Vergleich mit der westlichen und slavischen Geschichte untersucht werden soll" und fordert "eine unmittelbare und lebendige Bekanntschaft mit dem griechisch-slavischen Osten, das Besuchen nicht nur westlicher, sondern in erster Linie griechischer Büchereien und Bibliotheken mit dem Zweck, die handschriftlichen, nicht veröffentlichten Materialien für byzantinische Geschichte zu erforschen". Während seiner Dienstreisen besuchte er Berlin, München, Leipzig, Wien, Konstantinopel, Athen, die Insel Patmos, die europäische Türkei, Rom, Venedig und eine Reihe norditalienischer Städte, sowie Madrid, Barcelona, Paris, London, Oxford.⁶ Nach den Materialien seiner Dienstreisen veröffentlichte Regel eine ganze Reihe von Schriften über byzantinische Epigraphik, über historische Geographie und Paleographie. Aber noch wichtiger war für ihn die Erwerbung umfassender Kenntnisse nicht nur in byzantinischer Geschichte, sondern auch konkret im Bereich der Quellenkunde der Geschichte von Byzanz. In einer Pause zwischen Dienstreisen wurde Regel am 16. August 1888 als Privatdozent an der Petersburger Universität angestellt, wo er bis zum 1. Januar 1910 tätig war.⁷ 1898 wurde er korrespondierendes Mitglied der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sankt Petersburg.

Noch als Student des 3. Studienjahrs der historisch-philologischen Fakultät der Petersburger Universität, wo er Slavistik beim Professor V. I.

⁴ Medvedev 1995: 158.

⁵ Zit. nach Lapteva 1991: 131.

⁶ *Ibid.* 132–133.

⁷ EHA, 384–1–3403. Bl. 17r–20; 402–4–1486. Bl. 8. Vgl. Lapteva 1991: 133; Lapteva 1997: 95.

Lamanskij hörte, schrieb Regel seinen Kursusaufsatz "Chronik des Cosmas von Prag", der zum Anfang seiner frühen Aufsätze über die Geschichte Tschechiens wurde und eine bedeutende Rolle in seinem Gelehrtschicksal spielte.⁸ Nach Absolvierung der Universität, gleichzeitig mit der Vorbereitung zur Magisterprüfung, veröffentlicht er 1883 einen umfangreichen Aufsatz über die Gründungsurkunde der Prager Eparchie (und bereitet im Jahre 1884 eine Forschung über den IV Kreuzzug zur Veröffentlichung vor). 1890, nach dem Rückkehr von den Dienstreisen ins Ausland, erscheint seine Magisterdissertation "Über die Chronik des Cosmas von Prag". Ursprünglich wurde sie russisch,⁹ dann auch in deutscher Sprache herausgegeben.¹⁰ Die Dissertationsdisputation fand am 12. März 1892 in der Dorpater Universität statt, und am 20. März 1892 wurde der Magistergrad Regels bestätigt.¹¹ Nach der Schätzung eines zeitgenössischen Historikers "erschien dieser Aufsatz als Muster einer kritischen Analyse mittelalterlicher Quellen und zeugte davon, dass Regel die für seine Zeit fortschrittliche Methodik historischer Forschung beherrschte"¹² und dass er zu den Forschern dieses Denkmals tschechischer mittelalterlichen Historiographie gehört, "die das kritische Erfassen des geistigen Erbes der europäischen Völker begannen. Seine Arbeit steht <...> in der Reihe anderer Aufsätze solcher Art, nimmt in ihr einen Ehrenplatz ein und stimmt mit dem Entwicklungsniveau der Wissenschaft des letzten Drittels des XIX. Jh.-s überein. Den Zeitgenossen war der Aufsatz von V. È. Regel bekannt, auch Historiker des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts wiesen auf ihn hin".¹³

Das hauptsächliche wissenschaftliche Interesse des Gelehrten gilt jedoch der Geschichte Byzanz'.¹⁴ Im wissenschaftlichen Sinne interessierte sich Regel hauptsächlich für Quellen, schriftliche, archäologische, topographische u.a. Er war der Meinung, dass man die Quellengrundlage der byzantinischen Geschichte im Zusammenhang untersuchen solle, um sich eine möglichst genaue Vorstellung von den damals stattfindenden historischen Vorgängen bilden zu können. Als Ergebnis der Forschungen in dieser Richtung erschienen seine Aufsätze über Epigraphik, historische

⁸ Lapteva 1997: 94.

⁹ Regel 1890.

¹⁰ Regel 1892.

¹¹ EHA, 402–4–1156. Bl. 95r–96. Siehe auch Lapteva 1991: 133.

¹² Lapteva 1991: 133.

¹³ Lapteva 1997: 103.

¹⁴ Lapteva 1991: 134.

Geographie und Paleographie, dennoch lag die eigentliche Ausrichtung seiner Tätigkeit im Bereich der Byzantinistik in der Ausgabe wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften.

Ab 1894 erscheint in Russland der *Vizantijskij vremennik* (VV), das Organ der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sankt Petersburg, das den Eintritt der russischen Byzantinistik auf ein qualitativ neues Niveau ihrer Entwicklung gekennzeichnet hat.¹⁵ Als Redaktor dieser Zeitschrift war bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1899 Akademiemitglied V. G. Vasil'evskij tätig, unter dem V. È. Regel als zweiter Redaktor stand. Am 2. März 1905 wurde V. È. Regel als einziger Redaktor auf der Sitzung der historisch-philologischen Abteilung der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften nach dem Vortrag vom Akademiemitglied P. V. Nikitin bestätigt, "weil im Bestand der Akademie Fachleute in Byzantinistik fehlten",¹⁶ obwohl er der Zeitschrift tatsächlich ab 1899 allein vorstand.¹⁷ Ein zeitgenössischer Forscher bescheinigte, dass "der alte *Vizantijskij vremennik* ganz und gar die Sache V. È. Regels gewesen sei, von dem Moment an, da er "auf die glückliche Idee kam, bei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften eine periodische Ausgabe zu gründen, die der Erforschung des Schicksals von Byzanz dienen sollte, mit welchem unser geistiges Dasein so eng verbunden ist"¹⁸, bis die Ausarbeitung von Konzepten und die Planung der kleinsten technischen Einzelheiten für die Verwirklichung dieser Idee, die von dem Gelehrten sowohl kolossale seelische und physische Kräfte, beträchtlichen materiellen Aufwand, wie auch *de facto* die Opferung seiner wissenschaftlichen Karriere, die so erfolgreich begonnen hatte und so viel versprach, erforderte".¹⁹ Man betont auch, „dass alles, was Regel als Forscher gemacht hat (außer vielleicht seiner Mitwirkung in der Edition der Akten von Athos²⁰), zustande kam, bevor er freiwillig dieses schwere Kreuz – den *Vizantijskij vremennik* – auf sich nahm, welcher das Haupt-

¹⁵ Medvedev 1997: 226.

¹⁶ Zit. nach Medvedev 1995: 157.

¹⁷ VV 1894–1899 (Herausgeber: V. G. Vasil'evskij und V. È. Regel); VV 1900–1914 (Herausgeber: V. È. Regel). Siehe auch Žebelev 1933: 53.

¹⁸ Zitat aus dem Aufruf von Staatskontrolleur T. I. Filippov an den Vorsitzenden der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Großfürst Konstantin Konstantinovič. Siehe in Medvedev 1997: 228.

¹⁹ Medvedev 1995: 158.

²⁰ Siehe auch Medvedev 2000: 33, 45, wo man auch *Regel W. Fontes rerum byzantinorum. Petropoli, 1892-1917. T. 1-2* nennt.

werk seines Lebens wurde.“²¹ Unter der Redaktion von V. È. Regel erschienen innerhalb von 20 Jahren (bis 1914) Band I. bis XXI. Im Jahre 1913, mit der Professorstellung an der Jurjewer Universität transferiert Regel das Drucken des *VV* nach Jurjew in die Mattiesen-Druckerei. Aber ab 1915 übergibt er ihre Leitung dem neuen Redaktor, Akademiemitglied F. I. Uspenskij, und beginnt selbst, in Jurjew das *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* (VO) herauszugeben.²² Es ist interessant, dass, als die neue Zeitschrift in der ersten Hälfte der neunziger Jahre des XIX. Jh.-s heraus kam, Regel vor hatte, sie gerade unter dem Namen *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* zu veröffentlichen, und erst, als die Ausgabe der neuen Zeitschrift unter der Ägide der Akademie der Wissenschaften beschlossen wurde, die neue Zeitschrift den Namen *Vizantijskij vremennik* bekam.²³

Ausschreibung und Besetzung der Professur am Lehrstuhl für allgemeine Geschichte an der Jurjewer Universität 1912

Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts befanden sich unter den an der Jurjewer Universität tätigen Historikern eine ganze Reihe von Absolventen der Petersburger Universität. Das waren der Professor für russische Geschichte in den Jahren 1891–1903, E. F. Šmurlo, der Professor für russische Geschichte in den Jahren 1905–1918, I. I. Lappo und 1904–1912 der Byzantinist Professor A. A. Vasil’ev, Professor der allgemeinen Geschichte, der Vorlesungen in neuer Geschichte hielt.²⁴

Besonders aktiv in der Unterhaltung der Kontakte mit Sankt Petersburg war Professor A. A. Vasil’ev, wie auch V. È. Regel der Schüler des hervorragenden Byzantinisten V. G. Vasil’evskij, schon damals als bekannter Byzantinist und Arabist tätig, später der Begründer der Byzantinistik in den USA. Die Beschäftigung mit der neuen Geschichte war ihm lästig: er bat, ihn für den Unterricht der mittelalterlichen Geschichte einzusetzen, als das 1911 möglich wurde²⁵ (die Bitte wurde verweigert). “Die Professur in

²¹ Medvedev 1995: 177.

²² *Ibid.* 170.

²³ Medvedev 1997: 230–232, 236; Medvedev 2004: 233; Medvedev 1995: 158.

²⁴ Siehe Dubjeva 2005b.

²⁵ EHA, 402–3–2059. Bl. 70a (Brief von A. A. Vasil’ev in der Akte von A. N. Jasinskij).

Jurjew, wo er fast die ganze Zeit der für ihn fremden <...> neuen Geschichte widmen musste",²⁶ führte er als Rechtfertigung geringerer (!) (wie es ihm schien) wissenschaftlicher Produktivität an. Diese Gedanken tauchen später (in den USA!) auf, im Zusammenhang mit den Gratulationen zum Jubiläum der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit — dem 25-jährigen Jubiläumsdatum seit dem Tag seiner Verteidigung der Doktordissertation. Während der Jurjewer Professur unterrichtete er auch mittelalterliche Geschichte am Pädagogischen Institut für Frauen in Sankt Petersburg.²⁷ 1912, nachdem er Jurjew verlassen hatte, wurde er zum Ordinariusprofessor und Dekan dieses Instituts und unterrichtete gleichzeitig als Privatdozent an der Petersburger Universität,²⁸ wo er später auch Professor wurde. Nach dem Brauch musste er beim Verlassen der Universität seinen Nachfolger ernennen. Da mit seinem Gehen an der Jurjewer Universität die Professur der neuen Geschichte frei wurde, designierte Professor A. A. Vasil'ev als seinen Nachfolger E. V. Tarle²⁹, der damals als Privatdozent der Petersburger Universität tätig war. Dort hatte er auch seine Doktordissertation ("Die Arbeiterklasse in Frankreich während der Revolutionsepoche", 1911) verteidigt und "war zum organischen Teil der Petersburger wissenschaftlichen historischen Schule geworden"³⁰, obgleich E. V. Tarle Absolvent der Kiever Universität war.

So wurde an der Jurjewer Universität 1912 — wo es am Lehrstuhl für allgemeine Geschichte zwei Professuren gab (der Mittelaltergeschichte und der neuen Geschichte), und wo nach der Berufung Professor A. N. Jasinskijs, der Geschichte des Mittelalters 1896–1911 unterrichtete, auf die Stelle des Direktors des Pädagogischen Instituts P. G. Šelaputin in Moskau, die Stelle des Professors der Mittelaltergeschichte frei war — gleichzeitig die Professur für neue Geschichte frei. Gerade die Entscheidung von Professor A. A. Vasil'ev, nach Sankt Petersburg zurückzukehren, öffnete die zweite Stelle am Lehrstuhl der allgemeinen Geschichte. Deshalb nahmen an der Bewerbung um die Stellen an diesem Lehrstuhl sowohl Historiker, die sich mit dem Mittelalter beschäftigten, als auch die Forscher der Neuzeitgeschichte teil.

²⁶ Kuklina 1995: 321.

²⁷ EHA, 402-3-260. Bl. 96, 111, 112, 114, 117.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 329–330.

²⁹ EHA, 384–1–3421. Bl. 1, 2.

³⁰ Kaganovič 1995: 108.

Die Bewerbung um die Stelle des Professors der allgemeinen Geschichte an der Jurjewer Universität, an der V. È. Regel teilnahm, war äußerst anstrengend und löste harte Kämpfe sowohl in der Fakultät als auch im Universitätsrat aus. Außer V. È. Regel nahmen daran der Doktor der allgemeinen Geschichte und Privatdozent der Petersburger Universität E. V. Tarle, der Magister der allgemeinen Geschichte und Privat-Dozent der Jurjewer Universität M. V. Brečkevič sowie der Magister der allgemeinen Geschichte, Byzantinist P. V. Bezobrazov teil. Keiner der Kandidaten bekam während der Abstimmung an der Fakultät die nötige Mehrheit der Stimmen, so dass die Abstimmung dem Universitätsrat übertragen wurde, wo am 7. Dezember 1912 mit 20 Stimmen *pro* und 12 *contra* an die Stelle des Professors der allgemeinen Geschichte der Doktor der allgemeinen Geschichte E. V. Tarle gewählt wurde.³¹ V. È. Regel bekam 11 Stimmen *pro* und 21 *contra*.³² Die Stimmzahl anderer Kandidaten ist im Protokolljournal des Universitätsrats nicht fixiert. Also siegten E. V. Tarle und V. È. Regel im Wettbewerb von vier Wissenschaftlern um die zwei Stellen des Professors der allgemeinen Geschichte.

“Mit der Verordnung der Kaiserlichen Majestät für das Zivilamt vom 22. April <...> wurde der Privatdozent der Kaiserlichen St.-Petersburger Universität <...> Tarle zum außerordentlichen Professor der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Jurjew am Lehrstuhl für allgemeine Geschichte ernannt”,³³ und “mit der Verordnung der Kaiserlichen Majestät für das Zivilamt vom 28. Mai <...> wird der dem Volksbildungsministerium unterstellte Magister der allgemeinen Geschichte Hofrat als außerordentlicher Professor der Kaiserlichen Universität zu Jurjew am Lehrstuhl der allgemeinen Geschichte eingestellt”.³⁴ Solcher Weise wurden beide Professorstellen am Lehrstuhl für allgemeinen Geschichte belegt, und ab Herbst 1913 beginnt V. È. Regel Vorlesungen an der Jurjewer Universität zu halten.³⁵ Mit dem Beginn der Arbeit des namhaften Byzantinisten Regel an der Universität Jurjew erhielt dieser Bereich nach den Vorgängern, Professoren A. A. Vasil’ev und A. N. Jasinskij, der die Byzantinistik auch als wichtigen Teil

³¹ EHA, 384–1–3421. Bl. 1r.

³² EHA, 402–4–1462. Bl. 294.

³³ EHA, 384–1–3421. Bl. 9; 402–3–1633. Bl. 1.

³⁴ EHA, 384–1–3403. Bl. 1.

³⁵ Vgl. Medvedev 1995: 170, wo es irrtümlicherweise 1915 als Anfangsjahr Regels Tätigkeit in Jurjew steht.

seiner Arbeit betrachtet hat,³⁶ einen würdigen Fortsetzer. Schon ein Jahr später, am 1.08.1914, wird der außerordentliche Professor V. È. Regel als vertretender Ordinarius eingestellt³⁷ (zuerst mit dem Gehalt des außerordentlichen Professors, dann wird sein Gehalt auf das des Ordinariusprofessors erhöht³⁸). Vom 10. Oktober 1917 wird er zu einem verdienten Professor.³⁹ Seine Unterrichtstätigkeit in Jurjew charakterisiert auch der Umstand, dass er ab 1914 auch als Professor und Direktor der höheren historisch-sprachwissenschaftlichen Frauenkurse in Jurjew tätig war.⁴⁰

Tätigkeit in Jurjew: Vorlesungen

Ab dem Herbstsemester 1913 wurden folgende Vorlesungen vom Professor V. È. Regel an der Jurjewer Universität angesagt: Geschichte des Mittelalters – 2 Stunden pro Woche, Geschichte von Byzanz – 2 Stunden pro Woche, praktischer Unterricht – 2 Stunden pro Woche.⁴¹

Dasselbe Stundensoll wird auch später aufrechterhalten, im weiteren präzisiert man nur die Verteilung der wöchentlichen Unterrichtsstunden, aber sie bleiben fast unverändert zwischen 1913 und 1916.⁴² Seit dem Frühjahrssemester 1916 kommt nur noch dazu, dass das Studentenwohnheim zum Ort des praktischen Unterrichts wird, Hörsäle Nummer 16 und 17.⁴³ Schon ab 1909 befanden sich dort, noch nach dem Gesuch von

³⁶ Dubjeva 2005a: 119.

³⁷ EHA, 384–1–3403. Bl. 29; 402–3–1413. Bl. 3.

³⁸ EHA, 384–1–3403. Bl. 33.

³⁹ Lapteva 1991: 133, 140; Lapteva 1997: 94, 104.

⁴⁰ EHA, 402–3–1414. Bl. 1; 384-1-2741. Bl. 12. 44r. Siehe auch Lapteva 1991: 133; Lapteva 1997: 95; Bojkov 1985: 92.

⁴¹ *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1913: 11.

⁴² Geschichte des Mittelalters – 2 Stunden pro Woche, Dienstags und Mittwochs – von eins bis zwei Uhr (Variante 1914, Herbstsemester, Dienstags von 12 bis ein Uhr, Mittwochs – auch von eins bis zwei Uhr; ab dem Frühjahrssemester 1915 – wieder Dienstags und Mittwochs von eins bis zwei Uhr); Geschichte Byzanz, 2 Stunden pro Woche – Montags von 6 bis 8 Uhr und praktischer Unterricht Dienstags von 6 bis 8 Uhr. Siehe *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1914a: 11; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1914b: 10–11; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1915a: 10; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1915b: 10.

⁴³ *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1916a: 10; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1916b: 9; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1917: 10; *Obozrenie lekcij...* 1918: 9. Der praktische Unterricht fand in demselben Gebäude statt, wo sich jetzt das Estnische Historische Archiv befindet.

Professor A. A. Vasil'ev, Abteilungen für mittlere und neue Geschichte der Studentenbibliothek der historisch-philologischen Fakultät,⁴⁴ die speziell die Literatur für den praktischen Unterricht der Studenten anschaffte und deren Abteilungen von entsprechenden Professoren geleitet wurden.⁴⁵ Der erhalten gebliebene Katalog der Abteilung des Mittelalters beweist, dass diese Abteilung der Bibliothek eine beträchtliche Menge Literatur zur Geschichte von Byzanz enthielt, die auch im praktischen Unterricht benutzt werden konnte. In der Bibliothek gab es unter anderem Werke von Bischof Porfirij (Uspenskij), Schriften von V. G. Vasil'evskij, sowie Hefte des *VV* und des *VO*.⁴⁶

Nach den Listen der Studenten zu schließen, die sich für Vorlesungen des Professors Regel meldeten, steigerte sich die Anzahl seiner Hörer bis auf 120. Gewöhnlich war die Anzahl seiner Hörer etwa 30-40 Studenten, etwa gleich viel an den Vorlesungen für Mittelaltergeschichte wie an den Vorlesungen für die Geschichte von Byzanz.⁴⁷ Nur im Studienjahr 1915/1916, als die Anzahl der Studenten der historisch-philologischen Fakultät sich fast verdoppelte,⁴⁸ steigerte sich die Anzahl der Studenten, die sich für die Mittelaltergeschichte meldeten: 120 im Herbstsemester und 92 im Frühlingsemester.⁴⁹ Unter den Jurjewer Schülern Regels, die eine bedeutende Spur in der historischen Wissenschaft hinterließen, sind der spätere Professor der Tartuer Universität Peeter Tarvel (1894–1953; bis 1935 Treiberg), Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften der ESSR Hans Kruus (1891–1976), sowie der Byzantinist, Doktor der historischen Wissenschaften, Professor der Uraler Universität Mikhail J. Sjuzumov (1893–1982) zu erwähnen. Peeter Tarvel meldete sich für Regels Vorlesungen der Mittelaltergeschichte, sowie auch der Geschichte von Byzanz im Herbstsemester 1913,⁵⁰ obwohl er 1914 zur Petersburger Universität wechselte und keine Prüfungen im Herbstsemester an der Tartuer Universität abgelegt hat.⁵¹ Hans Kruus, der im Herbstsemester 1914 die Universität Tartu bezog, schrieb in seinen Memoiren, dass er im ersten Universitätssemester beschloss, solche Kurse wie "Geschichte der Kirche, Geschichte der Byzanz und der

⁴⁴ EHA, 402-5-1415. Bl. 76.

⁴⁵ Dubjeva 1997: 24.

⁴⁶ Handschriften- und Rara-Abteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Tartu, 4-1-740. 21 Bl.

⁴⁷ EHA, 402-4-1479. Bl. 87; 402-4-1489. Bl. 46; 402-4-1501. Bl. 91; 402-4-1517. Bl. 55.

⁴⁸ Siilivask 1982: 396.

⁴⁹ EHA, 402-4-1502. Bl. 93; 402-4-1516. Bl. 60-Rs.

⁵⁰ EHA, 402-4-1479. Bl. 87.

⁵¹ Kivimäe 1989: 1917.

Slaven... in seinen späteren Semestern zu besuchen".⁵² Seinen Namen finden wir unter den im Frühlingsemester 1915 und Herbstsemester 1915 für die beiden Kurse von Regel (Mittelaltergeschichte und Geschichte Byzanz) registrierten Studenten.⁵³ M. J. Sjuzumov meldete sich für Regels Vorlesungen der Mittelaltergeschichte, sowie auch der Geschichte von Byzanz und auch für praktische Übungen im Herbstsemester 1913.⁵⁴ Im Herbstsemester 1915 war er auch für Regels Vorlesungen der Mittelaltergeschichte registriert. Schon 1916 konnte Sjuzumov an der Universität zur Vorbereitung auf die Qualifikation für eine Professur verbleiben,⁵⁵ doch nach der Revolution kehrte er erst 1943 zur akademischen Tätigkeit zurück, damals schon an der Uraler Universität in Sverdlovsk (heute Jekaterinburg).⁵⁶

Tätigkeit in Jurjew: Zeitschrift *Vizantijskoe obozrenie*

Als Redaktor der allgemein bekannten Zeitschrift *Vizantijskij vremennik* beginnt Professor V. È. Regel auch in Jurjew, trotz der zeitbedingten Schwierigkeiten — es ist der erste Weltkrieg, — die Ausgabe der neuen Zeitschrift *Vizantijskoe obozrenie*.⁵⁷

Die Druckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften vermochte schon längst nicht mehr, den wachsenden Aufträgen gerecht zu werden, und hielt die Veröffentlichung der Bände des *Vizantijskij vremennik* auf. Deswegen hatte Regel als Redaktor die Konferenz der Akademie der Wissenschaften schon früher um Erlaubnis gebeten, den Druck in eine andere Druckerei zu verlegen, was auch gemacht wurde. 1913 wird der *VV* in Jurjew, in der Mattiesen-Druckerei gedruckt⁵⁸, und Regels Übertritt zur Jurjewer Universität hat die logische Folge, dass er den *VV* aufgibt. Von 1915 an wurde er der Fürsorge F. I. Uspenskij's anvertraut, der vorher als Professor der Universität zu Odessa und Direktor des archäologischen Instituts in Konstantinopel tätig war. Kaum hatte Regel den *VV* verlassen, befasste sich er in Jurjew mit der Gründung der neuen Zeitschrift *Vizantijskoe obozrenie*.

⁵² Kruus 1979: 135.

⁵³ EHA, 402-4-1501. Bl 91; 402-4-1502. Bl 93.

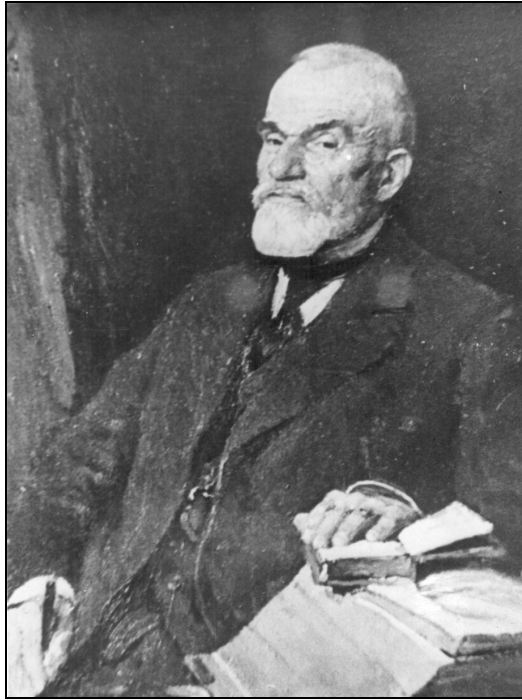
⁵⁴ EHA, 402-4-1479. Bl 87.

⁵⁵ EHA, 402-9-544. Bl 100r, 193r, 186r.

⁵⁶ Formozov 2004: 101; Medvedev 2000: 41.

⁵⁷ Teder 1998: 138.

⁵⁸ Medvedev 1995: 169–170.



V. È. Regel (1857–1932).

Fotoreproduktion (Handschriften- und Rara-Abteilung der UB Tartu, Fo3396:3A) des Porträtgemäldes in Voronež.

Am 16. Oktober 1915 wendet sich Professor Regel an die historisch-philologische Fakultät der Jurjewer Universität mit der Bitte, ihm die Edition der neuen periodischen Zeitschrift von 1915 an unter dem Titel *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* zu erlauben, und legt das Programm der vorgesehenen Ausgabe bei, laut dem sie der Byzantinistik im Bereich der Kirchengeschichte, der Philologie, der Geschichte der Literatur, der Geschichte und Geographie, dem Recht, der Kunst und Archäologie gewidmet sein wird. Sie wird selbständige Schriften, Rezensionen wie auch Textbeilagen einschließen. Man nahm sich vor, die Schriften sowohl von Professoren und Privatdozenten der Jurjewer Universität und der an ihr tätigen Leute aufzunehmen, als auch von Außenstehenden, in Russisch, Französisch, Englisch, Lateinisch und Griechisch.⁵⁹ Am 19. Oktober 1915 unterstützte die

⁵⁹ EHA, 402–4–1505. Bl. 16.

historisch-philologische Fakultät die Bitte des Professor Regel und suchte beim Universitätsrat um die Finanzierung der Zeitschrift nach.⁶⁰ Diese Mittel wurden genehmigt.⁶¹

Manche verstanden anscheinend überhaupt die Veröffentlichung des *VO* in Jurjew als Ersatz oder Fortsetzung des *VV*, und es wurde eine spezielle Verordnung der historisch-philologischen Abteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften (vom 3. November 1916) nötig, um dieses Missverständnis zu beseitigen und zu präzisieren, dass "die in Jurjew unter der Redaktion des Professor Regel herauszugebende Zeitschrift *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* eine absolut selbständige Ausgabe darstellt".⁶²

Es wurden drei Bände von *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* (1915–1917) gedruckt, der erste und dritte Band in Doppelheften, der zweite in zwei Einzelheften.⁶³ Der Erfolg der Vorbereitungsarbeit und die Herausgabe unter den komplizierten Bedingungen des ersten Weltkrieges stützten sich auf die Erfahrungen Regels in der Editionstätigkeit, und auf seine wichtigen Beziehungen in der Welt der Byzantinistik, die er zur Zeit der Redaktion des *VV* erworben hatte. Indem er seine feste Beziehungen zur Gelehrtenwelt und insbesondere zu derjenigen von Sankt Petersburg pflegt, fördert er mit seiner Tätigkeit die Gestaltung einer eigenartigen wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft, über die die Zeitgenossen sich die Frage stellten: "Was gibt es Neues in der petrogradisch-jurjewischen Welt der Byzantinistik?"⁶⁴ Die Frage zeugt davon, dass die Zeitgenossen darin eine wissenschaftliche Nachfolgeschule sahen, die in Jurjew in einer ununterbrochenen Einigkeit mit der Petersburger Byzantinistik entsteht.⁶⁵ Also setzte V. È. Regel in Jurjew Traditionen der Zeitschrift *Vizantijskij vremennik* und überhaupt der Petersburger Schule der Byzantinistik mit ihrem hauptsächlichen Interesse für die Erforschung historischer Urkunden und der Quellenkunde im Ganzen fort.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Bl. 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Bl. 1, 17, 18r, 19.

⁶² Medvedev 1995: 171.

⁶³ *Византийское обозрение* = *Revue Byzantine* 1915–1917. Siehe auch den Literaturnachweis unter *VO*.

⁶⁴ Zitat aus dem Brief von E. Sernin dem Prof. Regel vom 26. September 1916 aus Kharkov. Zit. nach Medvedev 1995: 171.

⁶⁵ Siehe auch Lill 2005.

⁶⁶ Camutali 1991: 11, 18.

Es wurden insgesamt 45 Beiträge und Rezensionen von 20 Autoren in *VO* veröffentlicht, darunter von 5 jurjewischen Autoren 16 Beiträge und Rezensionen, d.h. ein Drittel vom vollen Umfang der Zeitschrift. Zwei umfangreiche Beiträge kamen vom Professor der klassischen Philologie M. N. Krašennikov, vom Professor der russischen und slavischen Philologie G. A. Il'inskij — 6 Rezensionen, ein Artikel und ein Nekrolog, und noch ein Nachruf kam vom Professor der Kirchenrechts M. E. Krasnožen. Eine Rezension schrieb für den ersten Band des *VO* damals der Privatdozent P. A. Jakovenko, später Professor der Jurjewischen Universität. Seine ersten wissenschaftlichen Beiträge veröffentlichte hier auch der an der Universität zur Vorbereitung auf die Qualifikation für eine Professur verbliebene M. J. Sjužjumov.⁶⁷ Der Redaktor der Zeitschrift, Professor Regel, veröffentlichte in *VO* keine eigenen Arbeiten. Wie es auch in Sankt Petersburg bei *VV* gewesen war, nahm ihn, hier auch neben dem Lehramt, die Editionstätigkeit voll in Anspruch.

In den Archivmaterialien sind Zeugnisse der Vorbereitung der Ausgabe des vierten Bandes erhalten: am 22. (9.) Februar 1918 sucht die historisch-philologische Fakultät beim Universitätsrat um die Finanzierung der Ausgabe des IV. Bandes von *VO* nach,⁶⁸ und auch Professor Regel selbst gab bei dem Volkskommissariat für Bildung ein Gesuch um die Finanzierung der Ausgabe dieses Bandes ein,⁶⁹ aber die Besatzung Tartus durch deutsche Truppen am 23. Februar⁷⁰ und die dadurch erzwungene Evakuierung der Universität, an deren Organisation Professor Regel am aktivsten teilnahm, ließ für diese Ausgabe keine Zeit. "Es ist ohne Zweifel, dass die Ingangsetzung der Ausgabe von *Vizantijskoe obozrenie* dem Professor Regel mit seiner Erfahrung und seinem Editionstalent völlig gelungen wäre, wenn der Lauf der Geschehnisse im Lande ihn nicht vor überwindbare Hindernisse gestellt hätte".⁷¹

Dennoch, in derselben Zeit, im Frühjahrssemester 1918 gibt es in der Entwicklung der Byzantinistik in Jurjew, ungeachtet der wegen der Okkupation erschwerten Umstände, eine Reihe auffälliger Ereignisse, an denen auch Professor Regel teilnimmt.

⁶⁷ Sjužjumov 1916a und 1916b.

⁶⁸ EHA, 402–3–1413. Bl. 4.

⁶⁹ Siehe Medvedev 1995: 172–173.

⁷⁰ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 362.

⁷¹ Medvedev 1995: 172.

Am 27. (14.) Februar verteidigt⁷² der Dozent der Jurjewer Universität P. A. Jakovenko (1879–1920)⁷³ auf der öffentlichen Sitzung der historisch-philologischen Fakultät die Dissertation zum Thema "Forschung im Bereich der byzantinischen Urkunden. Urkunden des Neuen Klosters auf der Insel Chios".⁷⁴ Im Gutachten (Originalschrift von V. È. Regel) über die zur Verteidigung vorgelegte Arbeit von P. A. Jakovenko, worauf außer der Unterschrift von Professor Regel selbst auch das Zeichen des Professors für klassische Philologie M. N. Krašeninnikov steht, wird die Sorgfältigkeit der vom Autor durchgeführten Analyse der Urkunden, die Überprüfung deren Glaubwürdigkeit wie auch die Neuigkeit der Schlüsse im Bereich der Diplomatie der byzantinischen kaiserlichen Urkunden betont, die auf der Grundlage dieser Forschung gefasst wurden; im weiteren heißt es auch, dass das Buch von P. A. Jakovenko es höchstermaßen rechtfertige, dem Autor den von ihm beantragten wissenschaftlichen Grad des Magisters allgemeiner Geschichte zu verleihen.⁷⁵ Als offizielle Opponenten traten auf der Verteidigung der verdiente Professor der Jurjewer Universität V. È. Regel und der Professor für klassische Philologie M. N. Krašeninnikov auf.⁷⁶ Am 1. März 1918 bestätigte der Universitätsrat P. A. Jakovenko für den Grad des Magisters der allgemeinen Geschichte.⁷⁷

Am 3. März treten auf der Sitzung der historisch-philologischen Fakultät die Professoren Regel und Tarle mit dem Vorschlag auf, an der historisch-philologischen Fakultät der Jurjewer Universität den Lehrstuhl für byzantinische Geschichte zu gründen.⁷⁸ Die Fakultät erklärte sich einstimmig mit dem Vorschlag von Regel und Tarle einverstanden und beschloss, diesen Vorschlag dem Universitätsrat vorzulegen.⁷⁹ Gleichzeitig traten auf der Fakultätssitzung die Professoren Regel und Tarle mit dem Vorschlag auf, den Dozenten P. A. Jakovenko auf den zu gründenden Lehrstuhl der Geschichte von Byzanz als außerplanmäßigen und außerordentlichen Pro-

⁷² EHA, 402–3–2048. Bl. 9; 402–9–544. Bl. 189r–190; Dubjeva 2004: 163.

⁷³ Ein Zögling der Jurjewer Universität, der 1903 mit dem Grad des Kandidaten der Geschichte promovierte, 1909–1915 als Privatdozent, 1915–1917 als Oberassistent und ab 1917 als Dozent der allgemeinen Geschichte tätig. Siehe EHA, 402–3–2048. Bl. 2, und Dubjeva 2004: 148–165.

⁷⁴ Jakovenko 1917. Siehe auch Teder 1998: 152–154.

⁷⁵ EHA, 402–3–2048. Bl. 14–15.

⁷⁶ EHA, 402–9–544. Bl. 188–189.

⁷⁷ EHA, 402–3–2048. Bl. 11.

⁷⁸ EHA, 402–4–1530. Bl. 108r–109; 402–9–544. Bl. 190r.

⁷⁹ EHA, 402–9–544. Bl. 191.

fessor einzustellen.⁸⁰ Die Fakultät beschloss, die Ballotierung durchzuführen, im Ergebnis derer sich herausstellte, dass es 9 positive und keine negativen Bälle gab. Danach wurde beschlossen, "den Rat von der Einstellung von P. A. Jakovenko als außerplanmäßigen und außerordentlichen Professor zu benachrichtigen."⁸¹ Es unterzeichneten: Petukhov, Lappo, Regel, Tarle, Ohse, Zamjatin, Felsberg, Masing.

Am 4. März schrieb der Dekan der historisch-philologischen Fakultät Professor E. V. Petukhov: "Im Fall der Gründung des Lehrstuhls der byzantinischen Geschichte an der historisch-philologischen Fakultät der Jurjewer Universität habe ich die Ehre, gemäß dem Fakultätsbeschluss vom 3. März (18. Februar) d. J. [1918] dem [Universitäts]Rat für die Besetzung des erwähnten Lehrstuhls den Magister der allgemeinen Geschichte P. A. Jakovenko vorzuschlagen."⁸²

Das alles geschieht im schon von deutschen Truppen besetzten Jurjew.⁸³ Offensichtlich ist das der Grund dafür, dass sich die Gründung des speziellen Lehrstuhls für byzantinische Geschichte verzögert, und am 8. März 1918 bestätigt der Universitätsrat die Wahl des Dozenten P. A. Jakovenko auf die Stelle des überplanmäßigen und außerordentlichen Professors am Lehrstuhl für allgemeine Geschichte,⁸⁴ wobei er bei der Ballotierung im Universitätsrat 33 Stimmen *pro* und 2 Stimmen *contra* bekam.⁸⁵

Wenn es die Evakuierung (Revolution, Krieg usw.) nicht gegeben hätte, so wäre die Gründung des Lehrstuhls der Geschichte von Byzanz an der Jurjewer Universität ohne Zweifel zu Ende geführt worden. Aber die Evakuierung der Jurjewer Universität wurde schon diskutiert, woran V. È. Regel die aktivste Beteiligung hatte, und diese Evakuierung gelang vielleicht im wesentlichen dank seinen organisatorischen Fähigkeiten.

⁸⁰ Die Kandidatur von P. A. Jakovenko für die Besetzung des Lehrstuhls der Byzantinologie, die erst später begründet wurde, empfahl noch 1915 A. A. Vasil'ev. Siehe den Brief von A. A. Vasil'ev an F. I. Uspenskij in Kuklina 1995: 336.

⁸¹ EHA, 402-9-544. Bl. 190r-191.

⁸² EHA, 402-3-2048. Bl. 10.

⁸³ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 362.

⁸⁴ EHA, 402-3-2048. Bl. 12; 402-4-1530. Bl. 109r.

⁸⁵ EHA, 402-4-1530. Bl. 110.

Evakuierung

Unter den Bedingungen der Besetzung die Tätigkeit der Universität fortzusetzen, war schwer. Nach den in Voronež 1925 veröffentlichten Erinnerungen des Professors K. K. Saint-Hilaire wurde es unmöglich, weil nach dem Befehl der Besatzungsverwaltung die Tätigkeit der Universität einfach eingestellt wurde.⁸⁶ Und der Universitätsrat kommandiert gemäß dem Beschluss vom 30. März 1918 Professor Regel schon am 28. März nach Petrograd ab, um von der Regierung zu erfahren, wohin die Jurjewer Universität versetzt wird.⁸⁷ Inzwischen wurde die Regierung von Petrograd nach Moskau verlegt. Auch Regel war gezwungen, ihr dorthin zu folgen. Dort schloss sich ihm Professor P. A. Jakovenko an, der aus Jurjew später mit denselben Aufgaben abkommandiert wurde.⁸⁸ Das Volkskommissariat für Bildung, wo Professoren Regel und Jakovenko über die Evakuierungsmöglichkeiten verhandelten, war mit der Evakuierung der Jurjewer Universität einverstanden, doch das Volkskommissariat für auswärtige Angelegenheiten protestierte, weil nach dem Friedensvertrag von Brest Livland zu Russland gehörte, und die Universität musste an Ort und Stelle bleiben. Professor Jakovenko musste nach Jurjew zurückkehren bevor die Verhandlungen beendet waren. Regel blieb, um sie fortzusetzen.

Gleichzeitig wird in den Erinnerungen von Professor K. K. Saint-Hilaire betont, dass, während längerer Zeit keine Nachrichten über Evakuierungsmöglichkeiten ankamen, es keine Verbindung zum nach Russland abkommandierten Regel gab: "für die Aufklärung der Lage wurden einige Personen, die nach Russland fuhren, beauftragt; speziell für dieses Ziel wurde der Lehrer des Puškin-Gymnasiums A. I. Severov abkommandiert, der gleichzeitig Student der Universität war. Außerdem wurden dieselben Aufträge den auf eigene Faust losfahrenden Professoren A. I. Juščenko und E. V. Tarle gegeben. Man bekam dennoch keine Nachrichten von diesen Personen..."⁸⁹ Die Lage war beängstigend und unsicher. Dort steht auch, dass Professor Regel nach Tartu nach einer dreimonatigen Dienstreise am 8. Juli 1918 zurückkam, und da wurde die Lage klarer.

Die Archivakte, betitelt *Liste der Personenakten von Professoren, Dozenten, Privatdozenten und derjenigen, die man für die Vorbereitung zum Professorgrad*

⁸⁶ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 362.

⁸⁷ EHA, 402–4–1530. Bl. 181r–182. Siehe auch Lapteva 1991: 134; Eringson 1970: 310.

⁸⁸ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 378.

⁸⁹ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 395.

an der Universität bleiben ließ, die aus der Ratskanzlei der Jurjewer Universität nach Russland mitgenommen wurden, ist datiert auf den 3.06.1918.⁹⁰ Eigentlich ist die Liste der Personenakten, welche auch die Personenakte von Regel einschlossen,⁹¹ mit dem 8.06.1918 markiert, aber neben dieser Liste befand sich dort noch eine den deutschen Besatzungsbehörden vorgewiesene undatierte Liste (auf Deutsch) der Mitarbeiter der Universität, die sich damals in Jurjew befanden.⁹² Da hier sowohl Professoren, die später nach Voronež evakuiert wurden, (M. N. Krašeninnikov, I. I. Lappo, V. È. Regel u. a.), wie auch Professoren, die dennoch nicht nach Voronež gegangen waren (z.B. E. V. Tarle) aufgezählt sind, dürfte die Liste vor der Evakuierung verfasst worden sein (der erste Zug fuhr in die Evakuierung am 17.07.1918 ab, der zweite — am 31.08.1918⁹³), und diese Liste beweist noch einmal die Schwierigkeit der Lage von Professoren in der besetzten Stadt, weshalb sie der Evakuierung den Vorzug haben gegeben.

Nach der Zeit in Jurjew

Professor V. È. Regel arbeitete an dem Lehrstuhl für Geschichte des Mittelalters der Jurjewer Universität bis zu ihrer Evakuierung 1918 nach Voronež, wo er zum ersten Rektor der neuen Voronežer Universität wurde und dieses Amt bis 1925 bekleidete, als er unter dem Druck der örtlichen Verwaltung den Abschied nehmen musste. Dennoch verließ er auch damals die Voronežer Universität nicht gleich, sondern arbeitete einige Zeit als Direktor des Museums für Altertum und schöne Künste.⁹⁴ Ende zwanziger Jahre, als in Voronež während der Repressionsperiode die sogenannte "Sache der Heimatkundler" vorbereitet wurde, interessierten sich Straforgane auch für die Tätigkeit des ehemaligen Rektors V. È. Regel,⁹⁵ der zu

⁹⁰ EHA, 402–5–2041. 3 Blätter.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Bl. 1r.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Bl. 2: "welche sich gegenwärtig in Jurjew befinden".

⁹³ Saint-Hilaire 1925: 396–397.

⁹⁴ Karpačev 1998: 86–93.

⁹⁵ Akin'sin 1992: 176. In dieser Schrift handelt es sich um die Abreise des Professor Regel nach Lettland, in zitiertem Buch von M. D. Karpačev steht, dass Professor Regel in Riga starb (Karpačev 1998: 93), obwohl er sich damals schon nach Kaunas, zu seinem Sohn Konstantin Regel, Professor der Kaunaser Universität, begab (*Lietuvių enciklopedija* 1961: 65–67).

dieser Zeit schon zu seinem Sohn nach Kaunas gegangen war, wo er auch am 1. Dezember 1932 gestorben ist.

Professor V. Ë. Regel hat einen großen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Byzantinistik und zwar auch an der Tartuer Universität geleistet. Die Evakuierung der Universität und die gesellschaftlich-politischen Kataklysmen – Revolution, Bürgerkrieg, Änderung der politischen Karte – unterbrachen heftig und gewaltsam seine Tätigkeit. In diesem extremen gesellschaftlich-politischen Kontext konnten weder seine Erfahrungen, noch seine hervorragenden organisatorischen Fähigkeiten dem Zusammenbruch aller gesellschaftlich-politischen Grundpfeiler standhalten. Dieser rapide Abbruch seiner Tätigkeit war der Grund dafür, dass sie während langer Zeit verschwiegen wurde und erst seit kurzem in den Interessenhorizont der Forscher zurückkehrt.

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В. Э. Регель — профессор всеобщей истории Юрьевского (Тартуского) университета в 1913–1918 гг.

Резюме

Людмила Дубьева

Выдающийся византинист и организатор науки член-корреспондент РАН магистр всеобщей истории В. Э. Регель приступил к работе на кафедре всеобщей истории Тартуского университета осенью 1913 г.

В то время на кафедре всеобщей истории Тартуского университета существовало две профессуры — по средней и новой истории. С уходом проф. А. Н. Ясинского, преподававшего здесь историю средних веков в 1896–1911 гг., и проф. А. А. Васильева, преподававшего здесь историю нового времени в 1904–1912 гг., обе они оказались вакантны, и, в результате объявленного в 1912 г. конкурса, в котором кроме В. Э. Регеля участвовали такие известные историки, как Е. В. Тарле, П. В. Безобразов, М. В. Бречкевич, эти профессуры были заняты Е. В. Тарле — по новой истории, — и В. Э. Регелем — по истории средних веков.

С осеннего семестра 1913 г. были объявлены лекции проф. В. Э. Регеля: история средних веков — 2 часа в неделю; история Византии — 2 часа в неделю; практические занятия — 2 часа в неделю. Эта же нагрузка сохранится у него и впоследствии.

Ученик выдающегося византиниста В. Г. Васильевского, и редактор всемирно известного журнала «Византийский временник», проф. В. Э. Регель и в Тарту, несмотря на трудности военного времени — идет первая мировая война, приступает к изданию нового журнала «Византийское обозрение». Журнал «Византийское обозрение» под руководством проф. В. Э. Регеля и благодаря авторитету и известности его редактора, несмотря на то, что выходил сравнительно короткое время, успел завоевать признание научной общественности.

Проф. В. Э. Регель преподавал историю средних веков в Тартуском университете вплоть до эвакуации университета, в подготовке и организации которой он принимает непосредственное и деятельное участие, в Воронеж в 1918 г., где он стал первым ректором нового Воронежского университета.

VOM ÜBERSETZEN DER PATRISTISCHEN TEXTE INS ESTNISCHE

Kalle Kasemaa



In Estland, einem seit der Reformation protestantischen Land, gab es verständlicherweise kein großes Interesse für die Kirchenväterliteratur. Auch an der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Tartu wurden im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert die Personen und Werke der Kirchenväter im Rahmen der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte zwar erwähnt, deren Texte aber nicht eingehend studiert. Die Vorgehensweise der heutigen, im Jahr 1991 wiedereröffneten Theologischen Fakultät ist vor diesem Hintergrund, aber auch vor dem Hintergrund vieler evangelisch-lutherischer Fakultäten eher eine erfreuliche Ausnahme. An der heutigen Theologischen Fakultät wurden unter sachkundiger Leitung von Frau Marju Lepajõe mehrere griechische und lateinische patristische Werke in ihrer ursprachlichen Fassung behandelt, z.B. die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebios, die Texte von Tertullian und Euagrios Pontikos, die „Soliloquia“ des Augustinus, das „Proslogion“ Anselms u.a., deren Studium den Studierenden dankenswerterweise einen Einblick in die Vorstellungs- und Gefühlswelt der antiken und mittelalterlichen Christen gewährt. Umso wichtiger wäre das Studium der Kirchenväterliteratur hier, als seit dem 19. Jahrhundert in Estland die orthodoxe Kirche die zweitgrößte Kirche ist, und theologisch weitgehend in der Welt der Kirchenväter lebt.

Mein Lehrer in der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft, Prof. Uku Masing, hatte einen außerordentlich weiten Fächer von Interessen; auch seine Leistungsfähigkeit war ungewöhnlich. Einmal gestand er mir, dass er als

Theologiestudent die Texte der Kirchenväter der ersten drei Jahrhunderte in der Ausgabe der *Patrologia Graeca* und *Patrologia Latina* von Migne gelesen habe. U. Masing besaß dafür ausgezeichnete sprachliche Voraussetzungen. Schon als Student hat er den ersten Clemensbrief aus dem Griechischen übersetzt,¹ ebenso „De viris illustribus“ des Hieronymus und Gennadius aus dem Lateinischen. Später übersetzte er für die Anthologien der griechischen bzw. lateinischen Literatur solche Autoren wie z.B. Aischylos, Aristophanes, Simonides, Pindaros, Bakchylides, Kallimachos und Lucretius.² Das Interesse für gewisse Autoren der patristischen Periode – wie Clemens von Alexandrien, Augustinus, Synesios von Kyrene u.a. – hat er auch an seine Schüler weitergegeben.

Als in den 1980er Jahren die Estnische Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche die Möglichkeit bekam, ein Jahrbuch herauszugeben, war im bescheidenen Band von 80, höchstens 100 Seiten (mehr war nicht gestattet) immer ein Platz für Übersetzungen patristischer Texte – kommentiert und mit Einleitungen versehen – vorgesehen. So erschien 1982 die „Didache“ („Die Lehre der 12 Apostel“) in der Übersetzung von Jaan Kiivit, dem späteren Erzbischof; der erste Clemensbrief 1983/84; der zweite Clemensbrief 1985; der Brief an Diognetos und das „Martyrium des Justinus“ 1986; der Brief des Barnabas 1987; die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochien an die Epheser, Magnesier, Trallianer 1988, an die Römer, Philadelphier, Smyrnaer und an Polykarpos 1990; der Brief des Polykarpos an die Philipper 1990; das „Martyrium des Polykarpos“ 1991. Die erwähnten Texte wurden neu herausgegeben unter dem Titel „Apostlikud isad“ („Apostolische Väter“, Tallinn 2002). Damit wurden mehrere theologiegeschichtlich wichtige Texte dem estnischen Leser zugänglich gemacht.

Als Ende der 1980er Jahre die 1940 von den kommunistischen Machthabern eingestellte Zeitschrift „Akadeemia“ wieder zu erscheinen begann, bot diese – eine breite Palette humanistischer Interessen bekundende Zeitschrift – eine willkommene Möglichkeit zum Publizieren unterschiedlicher Informationen über andere Kulturen, Epochen und Orte. Das galt auch für Publikationen über Byzanz und die byzantinische bzw. patristische Literatur. In der Zeitschrift „Akadeemia“ erschien 1990 das berühmte Weihnachtslied „Die Jungfrau heute...“ von Romanos (aus dem

¹ Erschienen im Jahrbuch der Estnischen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche 1983/84 und nachher im Sammelband „Apostlikud isad“ (Tallinn 2002).

² Erschienen in „Kreeka kirjanduse antoloogia“ (Tallinn 1964) und „Rooma kirjanduse antoloogia“ (Tallinn 1971).

Griechischen übersetzt), begleitet mit einem Kapitel aus dem Buch von Herbert Hunger „Das Reich der Mitte“ (aus dem Deutschen übersetzt). 1991 erschienen Übersetzungen einiger geistlicher Lieder des Synesios von Kyrene, des Johannes von Damaskus, des Kosmas von Maiouma, Symeon des Mystikers und der Dichterin Kassia (alle aus dem Griechischen übersetzt), begleitet von einem Aufsatz Per-Arne Bodins, „Das Echo des himmlischen Gesanges: über die Dichtkunst der orthodoxen Kirche“ (aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt).

Seit den 1920er Jahren erscheint in Estland die Zeitschrift „Looming“, die sich hauptsächlich mit Fragen der Literatur – auch der Übersetzungsliteratur – beschäftigt. In dieser Zeitschrift wurden in den 1990er Jahren mehrere Texte der alten Kirche bzw. der altorientalischen Kirchen veröffentlicht, darunter auch Übersetzungen aus dem Altsyrischen und dem Altäthiopischen. Alle Übersetzungen waren mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen. Aus dem Griechischen wurde 1993 der berühmte, hochfeierliche „Akathistos Hymnos“ übersetzt, 1995 erschien in estnischer Übersetzung die „Ermahnungsrede unseres heiligen Vaters Basileios des Großen an Jugendliche, wie sie aus heidnischen Wissenschaften Nutzen ziehen könnten“. In diesem Zusammenhang kann man auch erwähnen, dass die Zeitschrift „Looming“ eine literarische Beilage „Loomingu Raamatukogu“ hat, in der hauptsächlich in Estland wenig bekannte Autoren vorgestellt werden; meistens handelt es sich dabei um ganz moderne Autoren, aber 1996 erschien auch „Hysmine und Hysminias“ des mittelalterlichen byzantinischen Verfassers Eustathios Makrembolites. Diese Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen ist gut kommentiert und mit einem eingehenden Begleitwort versehen.

Das ist nicht viel. Aber man muss berücksichtigen, dass das alles von Menschen gemacht wurde, deren Aufgaben anderswo lagen, die keine Übersetzer, sondern Dozenten an der Theologischen Fakultät unserer Universität waren oder sind. Eines unserer Probleme ist eben der Mangel an Menschen, d.h. viele begabte Menschen müssen sich auf mehreren Arbeitsgebieten abrackern. Das andere Problem ist der Mangel an Arbeitsmitteln – es fehlen neuere Textausgaben, Wörterbücher, Konkordanzen usw., die bei unseren finanziellen Möglichkeiten einfach unerschwinglich sind. Wenn ich ein Beispiel aus einem verwandten Bereich bringen darf, so kostet die komplette Ausgabe des *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (mit jeweiligen Reihen für äthiopische, koptische, syrische, arabische, georgische Texte) zirka 30 Tausend Euro, die *Patrologia Orientalis* der Franzosen fast ebenso viel (unsere Universitätsbibliothek besaß beide Ausgaben,

aber in den Jahren nach dem II. Weltkrieg vernichteten kommunistische Zensoren beide Werke, weil sie nicht lesen konnten, was darin stand!). Das dritte Problem ist das Fehlen einer Forschungsstelle oder eines Forschungszentrums für patristische/byzantinische Theologie. Der Lehrstuhl für Kirchengeschichte mit seinen 4 Dozenten kann verständlicherweise nicht viel leisten, obwohl Frau Marju Lepajõe beim Unterrichten patristischer Texte und der Komplettierung der Fachliteratur sehr viel geleistet hat. Sie hat übrigens auch Plato übersetzt und beschäftigt sich mit Texten von Plotin. Unter der Leitung von Frau Lepajõe wurden mehrere Bakkalaureus- und Magisterarbeiten über patristische Autoren und deren Theologie geschrieben, so z.B. über Isidorus von Sevilla, über die „Apophtegmata Patrum“, über Maximus Confessor, über die Anthropologie des Athanasios, über das Böse beim Augustinus, über die Mystik des Augustinus, über die Willensfreiheit beim Augustinus, über den Traktat „De musica“ des Augustinus, über den Begriff „beatitudo“ beim Aristoteles und bei Thomas von Aquin usw. Nach meiner Meinung müsste Frau Lepajõe einen ganzen Stab Mitarbeiter haben, dann würden ihre Leistungen noch ansteigen. Es gibt genug begabte Studenten mit glänzenden Ideen, nur gibt es nicht genug Lehrer, welche die Studenten betreuen können.

Die Nachbaruniversitäten und Nachbarkirchen haben uns auf verschiedene Weise geholfen. Die Absolventen der Theologischen Fakultät unserer Universität konnten dank der Hilfe von außen im Ausland weiter studieren; so haben estnische Theologen in Helsinki, Uppsala, Zürich, Basel und an vielen deutschen Universitäten studiert. Unsere Dozenten haben in Basel, Cambridge, Amsterdam und Chicago promoviert. In Helsinki promovierte auch ein Altorientalist, der zuerst sein Theologiestudium in Tartu absolviert hatte. Warum haben unsere Absolventen die Byzantinistik oder Patristik nicht im Ausland studiert? Ich kenne die Antwort nicht, aber mir scheint, dass wir unsererseits über diesbezügliche Angebote und Möglichkeiten schlecht informiert sind. Jedenfalls werden wir auf dem Feld der Patristik und Byzantinistik dringend noch mehrere Mitarbeiter brauchen.

Was werden wir noch brauchen? Eine gute Auswahl der ins Estnische übersetzten patristischen Texte aus allen Perioden, Sprachen und Themen der patristischen Literatur. Vor zehn Jahren wurde eine Serie mehr oder weniger philosophischer Texte gegründet. Den größten Teil in dieser Serie bilden die Übersetzungen zeitgenössischer Autoren wie J. Derrida, J. Habermas, H.-G. Gadamer, M. Heidegger — natürlich oder leider? —, C. Lévi-Strauss, R. Rorty, L. Wittgenstein, C. G. Jung, und vieler anderer Popsterne;

aber es wurde auch die „Nikomachische Ethik“ des Aristoteles herausgegeben, „Die moralischen Briefe an Lucilius“ des Lucius Annaeus Seneca, ausgewählte Dialoge von Plato, das Buch „Kusari“ von Jehuda Halewi, und in einem anderem Rahmen auch die „Bekenntnisse“ des Augustinus. Es wäre ganz natürlich, eigentlich unvermeidlich, dass neben den Werken von Sigmund Freud auch Werke des Synesios von Kyrene herausgegeben würden, der in seinem Traktat über die Träume dasselbe gesagt hatte, was anderthalb Jahrtausende später der gelobhudelte Sigmund Freud sagte. Zu einer solchen Sammlung patristischer Texte müssen bestimmte Werke von Augustinus gehören (vielleicht auch „De civitate Dei“), „De consolatione philosophiae“ des Boethius, „Hexaameron“ des Ambrosius, bestimmte Werke von Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita, „Peri physeos anthropou“ des Nemesios von Emesa, „Pege gnoseos“ des Johannes von Damaskus, bestimmte Werke von Johannes Chrysostomus und Basileios des Großen, die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebios, ausgewählte Teile der „Stromata“ des Clemens von Alexandrien usw., um nicht von den syrischen, koptischen oder armenischen Autoren zu reden. Was aber die byzantinische Literatur bzw. Theologie betrifft, so sind wir in einer noch misslicheren Lage: uns fehlen nicht nur die Übersetzer und Kommentatoren, sondern auch die Kenner dieser Literatur, die uns eine Auswahl der Schriftdenkmäler empfehlen könnten. In dem Gebiet ist unsere Rückständigkeit auffallend groß; hier können wir mit eigenen Kräften nicht weiter, hier sind wir besonders auf Hilfe von außen angewiesen.

Zusammenfassung

Der Aufsatz behandelt die Übersetzungen einiger patristischer Texte, die in den 1930er Jahren an der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Tartu gemacht wurden. Weiter werden die Publikationen dieser Texte in dem sehr begrenzt zugänglichen Jahrbuch der Estnischen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den 1980er Jahren behandelt und aufgelistet, ebenso deren Publikationen in den estnischen Zeitschriften „Akadeemia“ und „Looming“ in den 1990er Jahren. Es wird auch das Studium patristischer Autoren an der 1991 wiedereröffneten Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Tartu behandelt, ebenso die Bakkalaureus- und Magisterarbeiten über diese Autoren und deren Theologie. Am Ende wird auf die Probleme – die hauptsächlich finanzieller Art sind – bei der Beschäftigung mit der Patristik bzw. Byzantinistik an der Theologischen Fakultät hingewiesen, und die Vision des Autors über *desiderata* und die notwendigsten Schritte dargestellt.

MODERN GREEK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TARTU¹

Kaarina Rein



The aim of the present article is to give a survey of the Modern Greek language as an object of interest at the University of Tartu. As there is no clear definition to the expression Modern Greek, it is necessary to specify that the period under investigation here will be the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, which means that it begins with a very important epoch for Estonia as well as for Greece, as in 1802 the University of Tartu was re-established in Estonia and in 1821 Greece was declared independent. The article deals with the contacts of the students, graduates and lecturers of the University of Tartu with Greece and Greek language, the materials in the field of Modern Greek language, literature and music available in the library of the University of Tartu, the first translations of Modern Greek literature into Estonian, and Modern Greek lectures at the University of Tartu. Finally, the article analyses the future perspectives of learning Modern Greek, offered by the University of Tartu.

¹ For the information and help while writing this article I am grateful to Janika Päll, Mariina Viia, Lauri Randveer, Riho Altnurme, Jaan Unt, Anne Lill and Ivo Volt (University of Tartu), to Marika Liivamägi, Avo Kartul, Hain Tankler and Ljudmila Dubjeva (Tartu University Library).

1. The first contacts with Greece and the Modern Greek language by individuals connected with the University of Tartu

Although there is a legend about the trip of the geographer Pytheas to the Estonian island Saaremaa (Ösel) in the third century BC,² the contacts with Greeks remained rare until the nineteenth century.³

There are some manuscripts from the 1830s originating from Greece in the library of the University of Tartu, including poems and political documentation, but most of them are not in Greek. The only document in Greek from this period is a diploma to a Russian senator K. Rodofinkin on the occasion of assigning an order to him in the name of the King of Greece. The diploma is issued at Nauplion on 6 February 1834; the text on it is in parallel in French and Greek.⁴

Probably the oldest treatise of an eyewitness about Modern Greece that has been written by a person connected with the University of Tartu dates from 1836. It is a doctoral dissertation of Carl Gustav Thraemer about medicine in Greece.⁵ The author had spent five years in Greece before defending his dissertation.

In the second half of the 19th century several scholars from the University of Tartu travelled a lot and were familiar with the ancient culture in Greece as well (Tamm, Tankler 2004: 57). From the beginning of the 1840s to the first decades of the 20th century, there is information that professors of classical philology at the University of Tartu have either stayed or travelled in Greece, e.g. Ludolf Eduard Stephani (1816–1887), Ludwig Georg Franz Friedrich Schwabe (1835–1908), Georg Loeschcke (1852–1915), Heinrich Alexander Pridik (1864–1936), Aleksandr Nikickij (1859–1921), Grigorij Cereteli (1870–1938) etc can be mentioned among them (Tamm, Tankler 2004: 32–49). As some of the professors of classical philology stayed in Greece for a longer period or visited the country for several times, one could suppose that they had some knowledge of Modern Greek as well.

² See Meri 1984 and Unt 1987.

³ For the contacts in the earlier period see the article of Janika Päll in this collection.

⁴ A file from the collection: Schardius, Friedrich Ludwig. Collection of autographs (fonds 5, collection of manuscripts and rare books in the Tartu University Library, Sch 1889).

⁵ Thraemer 1836.

Probably the first treatise about the Modern Greek language, which can be found in Estonia, is F. J. Wiedemann's *Einige Bemerkungen über das Neugriechische und sein Verhältniss zum Altgriechischen und zu den romanischen Sprachen* from 1852. The author states there that the Modern Greek language differs from Ancient Greek more than the Italian language from Latin (Wiedemann 1852: 25) and that although we have no exact information about when Modern Greek came to light, the first text in this language originates from the 12th century AD (Wiedemann 1852: 13, 19).

As for the background of the author, F. J. Wiedemann (1805–1887) studied at the faculty of law of the University of Tartu from 1824 to 1826 and continued his studies in the educational-philological seminary of the same university, where he studied mainly classical and modern languages. He had achieved the reputation of a polyglot already as a student (Hint 2000: 662). Wiedemann became a linguist with extraordinarily wide interests and was also one of the most famous linguists from Estonia in the 19th century. His most important works concern Finno-Ugric languages (Hallik, Klaassen 2002: 175). In the 1830s he was interested in Oriental languages like Arabic, Armenian and Sanskrit. It could be mentioned that A. C. Fr. Busch, professor of church history at the University of Tartu, considered Wiedemann's knowledge in the grammar, vocabulary and literature of Arabic to be really excellent (Hallik, Klaassen 2002: 176).

From the beginning of the 20th century amongst the materials about Modern Greek language and literature there are some literary periodicals from 1904 and 1905⁶ in the library of the chair of classical philology of the University of Tartu, which previously belonged to the seminar of classical philology. There are also a phrase book and a dictionary,⁷ both dating from 1912, at the library of the University of Tartu.

In 1915–1917 the professor of history Vasilij Regel⁸ edited a journal *Vizantijskoe obozrenie*,⁹ where articles were accepted in Russian, French, English, Latin and Greek, as mentioned in the introduction of the first volume. However, there were no articles in Greek in this periodical during

⁶ ΝΕΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΜΝΗΜΩΝ ΤΡΙΜΗΝΙΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΣΠΥΡ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΥ. ΤΟΜΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ: ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΥ Π. Δ. ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ (1904 and 1905).

⁷ Kalitsunakis 1912 and Petraris 1912.

⁸ About him see the articles of Ljudmila Dubjeva and Anne Lill in the present volume.

⁹ *Византийское обозрение* = *Revue Byzantine* (1915–1917). Изд. при Историко-филологическом факультете Императорского Юрьевского университета под ред. В. Э. Регеля. Тт. 1–3. Юрьев.

its existence, although in the supplement of the second volume of the journal, there was an introduction to the manuscript with the text of the biography of bishop Theokletos (see Vées 1916) on pages 1–26 in Modern Greek (*katharevusa*).

2. The period of the Estonian Republic from 1918 to 1940. The first lectures on Modern Greek at the University of Tartu

Teaching Greek language is a theme, which has not been investigated thoroughly (Moraitis 1982: 21); therefore the material is not very abundant. Also the information concerning Modern Greek lectures at the University of Tartu is often quite inadequate.

The evidence that refers to the first lectures on Modern Greek at the University of Tartu can be found in the memoirs of the most famous Estonian polyglot Pent Nurmekund, who mentions that he started to learn the Modern Greek language under the world famous linguist Ernst Kieckers (Nurmekund 1990: 37, *Ühe miljonäri lugu* 2003: 40). E. Kieckers (1882–1938) was professor of Indo-Germanic linguistics at the University of Tartu from 1921 to 1938, and he was considered to be the most outstanding professor of Germanic, Romance and Classical philology at the University of Tartu in the 1920s and 30s (Siilivask & Palamets 1982: 104).

E. Kieckers had studied philology and linguistics at the universities of Marburg, Bonn, Munich and Berlin. As he considered Albert Thumb, his professor of Greek, to be one of the two most important professors for him (Raun 1938: 161), one should say a few words about this professor as well, as the latter's activity had probably a significant influence on E. Kieckers' interests.

The classical philologist and linguist Albert Thumb (1865–1915) defended his doctoral thesis in 1888 at Freiburg/Breisgau and his habilitation took place there in 1892 with the work *Beiträge zur neugriechischen Dialektkunde*. From 1909 he was professor of Indo-Germanic linguistics in Strassburg. His research concerned the Greek language, especially that of the postclassical period and also Modern Greek (DBE 10: 28). A. Thumb's other works were *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* and *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volks-*

sprache, which has also been translated into English as a handbook of the Modern Greek language.¹⁰ Modern Greek was also his main field of study where he had made his essential scientific discoveries.¹¹ It was also A. Thumb who suggested to E. Kieckers the theme for his doctoral thesis, *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten im Dialekte Kretas* (Raun 1938: 161). Thus it was not to be wondered that Kieckers could share professor Thumb's enthusiasm for Modern Greek as well.



Fig. 1. Ernst Kieckers
(photo portrait in the collection of manuscripts and rare books,
Tartu University Library, F 78, Fo Norm 17:108).

¹⁰ At the University of Tartu, one can find one of his works (Thumb 1914) at the library of the Chair of Classical Philology.

¹¹ See Best & Kotrasch 2005 and also the web page <http://www.indogermanistik.uni-freiburg.de/history.html>.

E. Kieckers defended his doctoral dissertation about the dialects of Crete in Marburg in 1907. In 1910 his research *Das Eindringen der Kouví in Kreta* was published and the same year his habilitation took place in Freiburg; the title of his thesis for the habilitation was *Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen und in den verwandten Sprachen*, published in 1911. The next thorough research was also devoted to the questions of syntax and was titled *Die Stellung der Verba des Sagens in Schlatesätzen im Griechischen und in den verwandten Sprachen* (Raun 1938: 161).

From 1912 E. Kieckers lectured at the University of Munich, in 1921 he became full-time professor of Indo-Germanic linguistics at the University of Tartu. E. Kieckers' first lecture "Die sprachwissenschaftliche Bedeutung der altgriechischen Dialekte für das attische Griechisch und für die indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft" was held on 15 September 1921 in the hall of the main building of the University of Tartu (Raun 1938: 162). His Tartu period was productive. He wrote various textbooks, e.g. *Historische griechische Grammatik* in 1925–26 and *Die Sprachstämme der Erde* in 1931 (Raun 1938: 162).

The lectures, which E. Kieckers delivered at the University of Tartu, gave evidence of his versatility and wide range. In addition to the lectures on Indo-Germanic linguistics he delivered lectures in the field of classical, Slavonic, Romance and especially Germanic philology (Raun 1938: 163). There was almost no language in which Kieckers could not read and among different languages he taught for example Old Provençal, Gothic, Middle High German, Lithuanian, Serbo-Croatian, Old Bulgarian,¹² Persian, Coptic and Chinese (Raun 1938: 163). Pent Nurmekund, who studied at the University of Tartu from 1930 to 1935, has mentioned the fact that Kieckers also taught Modern Greek (Nurmekund 1990: 37, *Ühe miljonäri lugu*: 40–41). Considering the wide variety of lectures delivered by E. Kieckers and the influence of his professor A. Thumb on him, there is no wonder that Modern Greek could have been among the languages taught by E. Kieckers as well. But there is a problem that this fact has not been mentioned neither in the file of Ernst Kieckers in Estonian Historical Archives nor in the immatriculation booklet of Pent Nurmekund, although the latter gives evidence that Nurmekund had studied other Balkan languages, e.g. Albanian, Old Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian under the instruction of Ernst Kieckers.¹³

¹² Estonian Historical Archives 2100–2b–34 and 2100–5–211.

¹³ Estonian Historical Archives 2100–1–102 93.

In one of the interviews Pent Nurmekund stated that he became E. Kieckers' "disciple" and was often the only student at his lectures (Velliste 1986). One might suggest that E. Kieckers delivered also some private lectures, which were unofficial and therefore unrecorded in the documentation. The immatriculation booklet of P. Nurmekund shows that he passed examinations in the following courses by Ernst Kieckers: exercises of Greek dialects in 1933, linguistic exercises in 1933, Greek inscriptions in 1934 and inscriptions of Crete in 1934.¹⁴ One might also suggest that Modern Greek was just one of the themes discussed during these lectures.

It can also be mentioned that the first comprehensive approach to Modern Greek literature in Estonian dates from 1935.¹⁵ As Modern Greek literature was still a relatively new phenomenon in world literature and there were no works by Modern Greek authors in the library of the University of Tartu of that time, one could not expect to find any deep contacts with it in Estonia.

3. The Soviet period from 1940 to 1991

3.1. Literature in the library of the University of Tartu

When Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union, it brought with it a ban on many books and disciplines at the University of Tartu. Almost all the fields of study and activity suffered from Russification. Russia's connections with Greece go back to Byzantine times and there are even theories of the total Slavonisation of Greece, which try to prove that the present population of Greece is more related to the Slavonic race than to the Ancient Greeks (Thumb 1914: 2–3). From 1981 the friendship between Greece and the Soviet Union was also fostered by Andreas Papandreou's socialist government in Greece. Therefore there is no wonder that the library of the University of Tartu has never been better supplied with the Modern Greek literature than during the Soviet period. Since the second half of the twentieth century Modern Greek textbooks, surveys of grammar and dictionaries, printed in

¹⁴ See the previous note.

¹⁵ Grant 1935.

Russia or other parts of the Soviet Union were widely available.¹⁶ These books, written in Russian, still exist in our university library, but first of all they have become obsolete, as quite a lot of changes have taken place in Modern Greek,¹⁷ and secondly, as it is no longer obligatory to study Russian at school in Estonia, the young generation of Estonians lacks the necessary proficiency in Russian and thus cannot use these materials.

One can find books by contemporary Greek authors in Greek as well as translations into other languages in the library of the University of Tartu. The selection of Greek fiction is not very wide, but among the authors, whose books are available in Greek at the library of the University of Tartu, are the poets Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857) and Andreas Kalvos (1792–1869), the novelists Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851–1911), Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957), Manolis Karagatsis (1908–1960), and also the authors for children, e.g. Ioannis Ioannidis (1931), Zoi Valasi (1945) and Manos Kontoleon (1946). The majority of these books have been published in 1970s and 1980s by various Greek publishing houses. Of various translations of Modern Greek literature the translations into Russian prevail in quantity.

3.2. First translations of Modern Greek literature into Estonian

Some linguists consider the Greek language to be an organic whole from the year 300 BC until today and distinguish two or three periods in this whole (Politis 2001: 4–5). Thus, Modern Greek is inseparable from Ancient and Byzantine Greek, and until Estonia became independent in 1991, Modern Greek has primarily been an object of interest for those in Estonia, who have already studied Ancient Greek.

Obtaining textbooks and dictionaries of Modern Greek was not a problem in Estonia during the Soviet period, and many people interested in Modern Greek used to learn the language by themselves. The first person to translate Modern Greek literature into Estonian — Astrid Kurismaa (1926–1982) — was

¹⁶ Among the textbooks and surveys of grammar, Rytova 1974 and Evangelopoulos 1984 should be mentioned; among the dictionaries Ioannidis 1950 (repr. 1961) and Khorikov & Malev 1981. Next to the dictionaries published in the Soviet Union, A. Mystakidis' Modern Greek–Swedish dictionary (Mystakidis 1970) can also be found at the library of the University of Tartu.

¹⁷ In 1976 demotic was established as language of education and administration instead of *katharevousa*, in 1982 monotonic system was introduced (Mackridge 1985: 10–11).

an autodidact in Modern Greek as well. A. Kurismaa studied at the University of Tartu from 1945 until 1952 (Unt 2000: 243) and was one of the few, who graduated from the University of Tartu in the field of classical philology during the Soviet occupation in Estonia. After graduation she worked in several Estonian towns as a teacher of Greek, Latin and German, as well as a researcher and a translator. Her dissertation about Claudius Aelianus' work *Περὶ ζῴων ιδιότητος* (*On the Characteristics of Animals*) remained undefended, but was highly valued by specialists (Soosaar 1982: 575).¹⁸ A. Kurismaa also wrote some articles about Greece for the *Estonian Soviet Encyclopaedia*, but she is of great renown due to her translations of ancient and modern literature. Her translations of ancient texts include Plato's dialogues *Symposium* and *Socrates' Apology*, and extracts from Herodotos' *Histories*.

Astrid Kurismaa's first translation from Modern Greek into Estonian, a collection of short stories by Dimitris Chatzis,¹⁹ was published in 1965. But *Alexis Zorbas* by Nikos Kazantzakis, published in 1975 in the Estonian language,²⁰ can be considered her most outstanding translation from Modern Greek. A. Kurismaa also created the tradition of writing Modern Greek proper names in Estonian (Kurtna 1966: 51, Rein 2002: 325) and probably her work as a translator would have been much more prolific, e.g. she had extensive plans for translating the works of Plato into Estonian (Soosaar 1987: 192), but it was prevented by her death at the age of 55. By now the number of Modern Greek authors whose works have been translated into Estonian amounts to fifteen²¹ and several translators of

¹⁸ A. Kurismaa has also published an article in Estonian on the topic of her dissertation, see Kurismaa 1972.

¹⁹ Hadzis, D. (1965) *Õpetaja testament*. Tallinn: Perioodika (*"Loomingu" Raamatukogu*; 27), translated from the book ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΙΚΡΗΣ ΜΑΣ ΠΟΛΗΣ. ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ. ΑΘΗΝΑ: ΕΠΙΘΕΩΡΗΣΗ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ, 1963.

²⁰ Kazantzakis, Nikos (1975) *Alexis Zorbas*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, translated from the book ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΗ ΖΟΡΜΠΑ. ΑΘΗΝΑ: ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΕΛ. ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ, 1968.

²¹ Modern Greek authors translated into Estonian are: 1) poets Constantine Cavafy (Konstantinos Kavafis), Odysseas Elytis, George (Giorgos) Seferis, Yannis Ritsos; 2) prose writers Dimitris Chatzis, Alki Zei, Nikos Kazantzakis, Manolis Karagatsis, Pantelis Prevelakis, Alexandros Papadiamantis, Ilias Venezis, Kostas Asimakopoulos, Antonis Samarakis, Dido Sotiriou, Menis Koumantareas. If we take into consideration that contemporary Greek authors do not always write their works in Greek, there are even more translations of contemporary Greek authors into Estonian, but as the article concentrates on the Modern Greek language, the Greek authors whose works have been translated into Estonian from some other language, are omitted here.

Modern Greek literature have emerged after Astrid Kurismaa,²² but since translation from Greek is a separate topic worthy of thorough research, it will not be discussed here at length.

3.3. Modern Greek lectures at the University of Tartu during the Soviet period

Although people interested in Modern Greek in Estonia often used to learn it on their own during the Soviet period, nevertheless from the 1950s Modern Greek lectures were delivered at the University of Tartu, as well. At that time Modern Greek was taught by Pent Nurmekund (1906–1996), the greatest and most famous polyglot of Estonian origin of all ages.²³

P. Nurmekund came from a poor peasant family and it can be said that his life was a row of chances. Because of war he first went to school at the age of twelve (Nurmekund 1986: 94). Languages did not interest him much; his dream was to become a physician (*Keelte jällil* 1986: 747). However, for financial reasons (possibility of giving private lessons) Nurmekund chose

²² Other translators of Modern Greek literature into Estonian are Kalle Kasemaa, Mati Sirkel, Kerttu Veldi, Ain Kaalep, Kaarina Rein. It is also worth mentioning that all of these translators have some kind of connection with the University of Tartu, having either studied or lectured there.

²³ Within ten years, from 1930 to 1940, P. Nurmekund picked up almost all the languages of Western and Northern Europe (German and French with dialects) and several Asian languages (Kulmar, Mäll 1981: 756). In 1954 P. Nurmekund has himself written about his knowledge of languages that he was good in Estonian, Russian, Livonian, French, English, German, Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Norwegian, Chinese, Yiddish and Latin, weak in Lithuanian, Latvian, Tatar, Sami, Azerbaijani, Portuguese, Rumanian, Modern Greek, Japanese, Icelandic, Faeroese and Dutch (Kulmar 1995: 734). In Nurmekund's collection of articles *Keeltemaailm* ("World of Languages") there are articles about Egyptian, Eskimo-Aleut languages, Bantu languages (Swahili, Hausa, and Wolof), Chinese, Indonesian, and Shavian. P. Nurmekund has taught Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Arabic, Mongolian, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Sanskrit, Bengali, Persian, Georgian, Armenian, Turkish, Hebrew, Swahili, Hausa, and Afrikaans (Mäger 1991). In some interviews P. Nurmekund has said that he has read from the local and foreign newspapers that he knew one hundred languages, but could not guarantee or refute the rightness of this statement (Nurmekund 1986: 95, Velliste 1986). According to the Estonian Encyclopaedia the number of languages P. Nurmekund knew was about seventy and the international organisation "Amici Linguarum" mentioned Nurmekund among the greatest polyglots in the history of mankind (EE 2000: 330).

philology for his field of study (Nurmekund 1986: 95). From 1930 to 1935 he studied Romance and Germanic philology and Indo-European comparative linguistics at the University of Tartu, and wrote his M.A. thesis within this time as well (Järv 2000: 378).²⁴ The studies in Tartu were followed by travelling in different countries of Europe and attending lectures at the universities of Copenhagen, Göteborg, Berlin, Munich and Paris (Vääri 1997: 198).



Fig. 2. Pent Nurmekund in May 1965
(photo portrait in the collection of manuscripts and rare books,
Tartu University Library, Fo 3884:20a).

²⁴ After his graduation from the University of Tartu P. Nurmekund did not take out his diploma (again, for financial reasons). This fact has caused confusion and even doubt, whether Nurmekund had graduated from the university at all (Velliste 1986).

As mentioned already, P. Nurmekund had begun to study Modern Greek under the instruction of professor Ernst Kieckers at the University of Tartu, but according to P. Nurmekund, the knowledge he acquired there was not sufficient. He continued his studies of Modern Greek in Munich, where he learned to master the Modern Greek language, because the lecturer there invited genuine Greeks to his lectures. P. Nurmekund learned a lot of Greek distichs by heart, which he claimed to remember until the end of his life. He also translated these distichs into Estonian and German. In his opinion, Modern Greek was much more beautiful than Ancient Greek, particularly its pronunciation (Nurmekund 1990: 37).

P. Nurmekund became a lecturer of Romance philology at the University of Tartu in 1940 and served in this post until 1944. In 1944 he was mobilized into the German army and spent later three years in a Stalinist prison camp (Kulmar 1995: 734). His post at the University of Tartu was not restored, as learning foreign languages was not a priority in the educational system of the Soviet Union.

P. Nurmekund became a lecturer at the University of Tartu again due to the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. There was a need for a professor of Chinese; after an examination at the University of Leningrad P. Nurmekund was appointed. He founded the Centre of Oriental Studies at the University of Tartu (Vääri 1997: 200). He started to teach Chinese at the University of Tartu in 1955 and within seven years of existence of the Centre of Oriental Studies also Turkish, Indonesian, Hindi, Georgian, Classical Arabic, Modern Persian, Japanese, Modern Greek, African, Italian, Sanskrit and Portuguese languages were added to P. Nurmekund's teaching repertoire.²⁵ Every autumn he put a list of languages, which he could teach, on the door of the Centre of Oriental Studies (*Orientalistid* 1980), and in case someone was interested in any of these languages, the lectures started, even if there was but one student wishing to learn some of these languages. It has been estimated that the number of P. Nurmekund's students during all the years of his activity could be one thousand (Nurmekund 1986: 95). Several of his students became later acknowledged translators or orientalists.

Although, according to the statements of his students, P. Nurmekund always let his pupils write down their names, his personal archive at library of the University of Tartu is unfortunately still in the list of incompletely

²⁵ Collection of manuscripts and rare books of the Tartu University Library, fonds 83, file 185.

catalogued archive fonds and therefore it is not possible to find out the names or the number of the students who have studied Modern Greek under his instruction. In his report on seven years of existence of the Centre of Oriental Studies at the University of Tartu, P. Nurmekund has written that the first course of Modern Greek under his instruction lasted for two terms and there were five students attending it. There was a plan to open a new group in 1963 as well.²⁶

Courses of Modern Greek under P. Nurmekund's instruction were also held during the academic years 1966/67 and 1968/69 at the University of Tartu. In both cases the duration of the course was one academic year. P. Nurmekund's fondness of Greek distichs manifested itself also during his lectures on Modern Greek, as his students recollected that their course of Modern Greek was to a great extent based on the reading of Greek folklore.²⁷ In the first lecture P. Nurmekund gave an excellent survey about the different stages of the history of the Greek language.²⁸

4. Estonia's regained independence from 1991

4.1. Materials in the libraries and the contacts of Modern Greek and Estonian literature

In 1990 the Chair of Classical Philology and in 1991 the Faculty of Theology were reopened at the University of Tartu, where Ancient Greek was an obligatory subject. As more and more students became educated in Ancient Greek, it also created a seedbed for people who were interested in Modern Greek as well. As the Chair of Classical Philology has sometimes received humanitarian aid from Western European and American universities, manuals for Modern Greek have sometimes been included among these materials.²⁹ Concerning the library of the University of Tartu, no Modern Greek fiction (except the translations into Estonian) has been added since

²⁶ See the previous note.

²⁷ Anne Lill and Jaan Unt, personal communication, April 2004.

²⁸ Jaan Unt, e-mail communication, 5 August 2005.

²⁹ Cassette tapes *Nygrekiska för fortsättare: Intalning för fortsättare i nygrekiska för vuxna* should be mentioned here. In 1997 among the donation of the heirs of prof. Hildebrecht Hommel the following books were added to the collection of literature in the field of Modern Greek: Vlachos 1883, Vlachos 1899, Triantafyllidis 1949.

Estonia has regained its independence, neither have the materials about Modern Greek language been very frequent from 1991 to 2003.³⁰ In 2004 several new textbooks of Modern Greek were added to the shelves of the library of the University of Tartu,³¹ e.g. *Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά*³² on three different levels, *Τα νέα ελληνικά για ξένους*³³ and *Colloquial Greek: the complete course for beginners*,³⁴ all with CDs and cassette tapes. A new dictionary from the same year at the library of the University of Tartu is *The Pocket Oxford Greek dictionary: Greek-English, English-Greek*.³⁵

There is also a collection of Greek music at the library of the University of Tartu. As folk music has from the beginning been one of the priorities for the record library in the library of the University of Tartu, Greek folk music has also been collected for this purpose. Some years ago the library of the University of Tartu was in contact with the Greek record company FM Records and ordered a capacious anthology of records of Greek folk music and folk instruments from there. Records with Greek music from record companies issuing folk music in the other countries can also be found; altogether there are about 70–80 CDs with Greek music at the library.³⁶ The most famous contemporary Greek composers Yannis Xenakis, Mikis Theodorakis and Eleni Karaindrou are also represented in the collection of the University of Tartu at least by some LPs or CDs.

In the case of Modern Greek and Estonian literature it is not possible to talk about continuous contacts or the remarkable influence of one upon another. However, it is quite surprising that according to the words of the Greek poet Odysseas Elytis, the nominee for the Nobel Prize for literature in 1979, his candidacy for the Nobel prize was to great extent an account of the Estonian exile poet Ivar Ivask (Veldi 1994a: 921). There is a M.A. thesis defended at the University of Tartu by Kerttu Veldi, entitled *Metaphysics of Light in the Works of Odysseas Elytis and Ivar Ivask*, which consists in a compara-

³⁰ Among the materials in the field of Modern Greek added to the university library funds during this period there are Delikostopoulos 1990, Magazis 1996 and Watts 1997.

³¹ Marika Liivamägi, e-mail communication, 31 May 2005.

³² Arvanitakis & Arvanitaki 2002–2004.

³³ *Τα Νέα Ελληνικά για Ξένους*. Συνεργασία του Διδακτικού Προσωπικού του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. 3η έκδοση, Αναθεωρημένη. Θεσσαλονίκη: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη, 2003.

³⁴ Watts 2004.

³⁵ Pring 2000.

³⁶ Avo Kartul, e-mail communication, 30 June 2005.

tive analysis of the concept of light as manifested in the works of the Greek poet Odysseas Elytis and the Estonian poet Ivar Ivask (Veldi 1994b: 271).

4.2. Modern Greek lectures at the Chair of Classical Philology

In 1991, when Estonia became independent, there were more opportunities to practise foreign languages and it became possible to study in foreign countries as well. However, Greece was not the first destination even for Estonian classical philologists. Western European countries – Germany, England and Sweden – offered more possibilities and scholarships for studies and probably were more attractive as well. The first students of the University of Tartu to study in Greece after Estonia had regained its independency were Madis Veldi (between 1992 and 1994) and Kerttu Veldi (between 1992 and 1993), who attended lectures at the University of Ioannina. Kerttu Veldi defended later the above-mentioned thesis about the poetry Odysseas Elytis and Ivar Ivask, and Madis Veldi became the first teacher of the Modern Greek language at the University of Tartu in the independent Estonia. There was a course of Modern Greek at the Chair of Classical Philology of the University of Tartu during the academic year 1994/1995 under Madis Veldi's instruction. As the course was not advertised, only a few classical philologists attended it. The course lasted for two terms and there was just one lecture per week. The aim of the course was to give a quick survey of Modern Greek grammar on the basis of the textbook *Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά*.³⁷ But as Madis Veldi later decided to return to Greece, there was no continuation of that one-year course.

4.3. Modern Greek lectures at the Language Centre of the University of Tartu

In 1995 information about the scholarships from Greece began to arrive at the University of Tartu, thus it became possible to apply for various kind of scholarships in order to study Modern Greek in Greece.

In 1998 the lectures on Modern Greek started at the Language Centre of the University of Tartu under the instruction of Kaarina Rein (then Krull),

³⁷ See note 32.

who had studied Modern Greek at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. All in all, from 1998 to 2004 there have been about 80 students, who have attended the courses of Modern Greek at the University of Tartu. But in comparison it can be said that for example the number of students, who have studied Japanese at the University of Tartu during the same period, is far larger – about 500.³⁸

Modern Greek is not included in any curriculum of the University of Tartu; it has been an optional subject. Among the students there have been students of philology, theology, history, geography, social sciences, journalism, economy, law, mathematics, physics and other specialities. The course of Modern Greek has lasted up to three terms and there have been two lectures per week. For financial reasons the course has not been advertised every year. Up to now there have been four different groups of Modern Greek at the Language Centre of the University of Tartu.

The textbook in use for the lectures has been *Τα νέα ελληνικά για ξένους*,³⁹ which has been compiled at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki by a collective of Modern Greek teachers. In comparison to contemporary Modern Greek textbooks and the older ones, it can be noted that in the contemporary textbooks the stress is laid on the practical themes of everyday life and not on Greek literature or even facts about Greece as in older textbooks. Maybe this kind of approach to the Greek language is even more justified than in the case of other languages, as the culture of modern Greece is still an oral one to a larger extent than that of Northern European countries (Mackridge 1985: 338).

When speaking about the Estonian needs in relation to Modern Greek, as textbooks written in Greece are used all over the world, there is not so much need for a textbook of Modern Greek in Estonian, but rather a Greek-Estonian dictionary. Such a dictionary is under compilation at present, but it will probably take some years to complete the work.

4.4. Contacts of the University of Tartu and Greece from 1990s

Not only Modern Greek textbooks, but also the attitude of students towards the Modern Greek language has changed significantly in Estonia. Until 1990s people in Estonia learned Modern Greek as they were interested in

³⁸ Eri Miyano, e-mail communication, 16 September 2004.

³⁹ See note 33.

the language itself, but today the language has often turned into practical means helping to study some other subject or to work, live or travel in Greece.

As for cooperation between different universities — different faculties of the University of Tartu have developed contacts with the universities of Greece from the middle of the 1990s. There are some Erasmus agreements between the University of Tartu and Greek universities: the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.⁴⁰

Several students of the University of Tartu have seized the opportunity and applied for a scholarship on the summer courses in Athens or Thessaloniki. Teaching Modern Greek as a foreign language has long been a concern of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, where the teaching of Modern Greek to foreigners began in the 1950s and has been pursued to this day.⁴¹ The School of Modern Greek Language was founded at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1970 and has been operating ever since.⁴²

Courses of Modern Greek at the University of Tartu lasting up to three terms are usually not enough to master the language, as most of the people are not as talented in languages as Pent Nurmekund. Therefore, it is even highly recommended for those who have studied Modern Greek at the University of Tartu, to improve their knowledge in Greece.

Some students of the University of Tartu have also applied for the long-term scholarships, e.g. that of Erasmus, and stayed in Greece for a longer period. As a result of studies in Greece, one can mention the master's thesis by Karmen Linnamägi, written after the author's stay at the University of Athens as an Erasmus student.⁴³

From the Greek side there have been some official visitations to the University of Tartu. The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomeos I has visited and lectured in the hall of the University of Tartu on 30 October 2000. In April 2002 a parliamentary delegation from the Republic of Greece visited the University of Tartu. Currently, there are also students from Greece studying at the University of Tartu.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Lauri Randveer, e-mail communication, 3 August 2005.

⁴¹ http://www.nglt.uoa.gr/general_en.html.

⁴² <http://www.auth.gr/smg/school.htm>.

⁴³ See Linnamägi 2002.

⁴⁴ See Sakova 2005.

5. The future contacts with Greece and the Modern Greek language at the University of Tartu

In May 2004 Estonia became a full member of the European Union. In July 2005, in addition to the Erasmus agreements valid between the Greek universities and the University of Tartu, a collaboration agreement was signed between the University of Tartu and Athens University. The agreement allows student exchanges without a tuition fee for a term or two and short visits of scientists and lecturers while the host covers the expenses for the accommodation.⁴⁵

Without doubt the number of students in Estonia interested in studying in Greece and that of scholars interested in doing research there will increase due to these facts, and the knowledge of Modern Greek language will develop in Estonia, as well.

There is cooperation between the Government of Greece and the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tartu, and from October 2005 a lecturer from Greece, Dr. Grigorios Papatomas started lectures at the Faculty of Theology. In the future, the faculty plans to open a lectureship of the Orthodox Church at the University of Tartu with the support of the Orthodox Church of Estonia.⁴⁶

As for teaching the Modern Greek language at the University of Tartu, there is still room for improvement. Maybe one should take an example from the method how Italian is taught at the University of Tartu. Although there is no special chair for Italian philology at the university, there is a contract between the University of Tartu and Italy, according to which the Italian Government supports the teaching of the Italian language and culture in Estonia. There is a principle that during the first term an Estonian teacher gives to the students the basic knowledge in Italian with the necessary explanations in their mother tongue and the next term an Italian teacher continues the tuition. It would be ideal to apply the same kind of system to Modern Greek as well.

⁴⁵ Lauri Randveer, e-mail communication, 3 August 2005.

⁴⁶ Riho Altnurme, personal communication, 16 September 2005.

Conclusion

The interest of individuals connected with the University of Tartu in Greece and in Modern Greek language arose together with the birth of the independent Greek State in 1820s. The first writings about the contemporary Greece at the University of Tartu date from 1830s. Modern Greek was probably taught at the University of Tartu in the first half of the 20th century, and since then the tuition has continued with intervals until the present day and has gradually taken a wider scope. The first book translated from Modern Greek into Estonian was published in 1965. The attitude towards the Modern Greek language has changed significantly in Estonia during the last 10–15 years – until the 1990s Modern Greek was an object of interest only for polyglots or classical philologists, but today many Estonians from different academic fields have learned it. There is collaboration between the University of Tartu and the Greek universities, which hopefully will develop in future.

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Summary

The article gives a survey of the Modern Greek language as an object of interest at the University of Tartu during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. More precisely, it deals with the contacts of the students, graduates and lecturers of the University of Tartu with Greece and Greek language and gives a survey of the materials in the field of Modern Greek language, literature and music available at Tartu University Library, including literature in Estonian on this subject. The first translations from Modern Greek literature into Estonian are discussed. The article deals with the lectures and teachers of Modern Greek at the University of Tartu from the beginning of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century. Attitudes towards learning Modern Greek have been changing significantly at the University of Tartu since Estonia regained its independence in 1991. Until the 1990s Modern Greek was an object of interest only for polyglots or classical philologists in Estonia, but today several Estonians from different specialities have learned Modern Greek.

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Morgensterni Selts asutati 1999. aastal (1996–1999 tegutses Karl Morgensterni Klassikaühingu nime all) ning selle eesmärkideks on edendada klassikalise filoloogia ning sellega külgnevate valdkondade – antiikajaloo ja -filosoofia, klassikalise arheoloogia, kesk- ja uusaja ladina filoloogia, bütsantistikaga ja kogu antiigipärandi ja -retseptiooni uurimist Eestis, ühendada vastavate valdkondadega tegelevaid isikuid ning arendada rahvusvahelist koostööd. Selts on nime saanud Tartu Ülikooli retoorika, esteetika, kreeka ja ladina keele ning antikviteetide professori Johan Karl Simon Morgensterni järgi (1770–1852), kes oli klassikalise filoloogia rajaja Tartus.

Toimetiste kaanel on fragment Karl Morgensterni rindportreest (kunstnik Eduard Hau, Tartu, 1838, asub Tartu Ülikooli raamatukogus).



Morgenstern Society was founded in 1999 (following Karl Morgenstern Classical Society, which was active in 1996–1999) with the aim of promoting the study of classical philology and related disciplines – ancient history and philosophy, classical archaeology, Medieval and Neo-Latin philology, Byzantine studies and the whole heritage and reception of antiquity in Estonia, connecting people who are engaged in these areas, and expanding international cooperation. The Society has been named after Johan Karl Simon Morgenstern (1770–1852), professor of rhetoric, aesthetics, Greek and Latin language and the antiquities at the University of Tartu, who was the founder of classical philology in Tartu.

On the cover of the series there is a fragment of Karl Morgenstern's bust portrait (by Eduard Hau, Tartu, 1838, in Tartu University Library).

Morgensterni Seltsi toimetiste sarjas on varem ilmunud / previously published in the series *Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*:

1. *Kakssada aastat klassikalist filoloogiat Eestis = Duo saecula philologiae classicae in Estonia*. Koostanud ja toimetanud Ivo Volt. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2003 (*Morgensterni Seltsi toimetised = Acta Societatis Morgensternianae*, 1). ISBN 9985-56-826-5.

This volume is dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the establishment of classical philology as an academical discipline at the University of Tartu (1802). It contains 12 Estonian papers with summaries in either English or German.



Morgensterni Seltsi toimetiste sarjas ilmunud köited on saadaval Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastuse või Tartu Ülikooli klassikalise filoloogia õppetooli kaudu. — The volumes published in the series *Acta Societatis Morgensternianae* are available through Tartu University Press or the Chair of Classical Philology of the University of Tartu.