BMGS 12 (1988) 1-26

Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies: a partial view

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For Donald Nicol
Εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς χρόνους

Donald Nicol, Founding Editor of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,* retires from his distinguished tenure of the Koraës Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London this year. May his successor, Roddy Beaton, have many years. The change of Koraës professors and widespread concern for the future of the Bywater and Sotheby Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford, from which Cyril Mango retires in 1995, have aroused discussion of what Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies are, which touch the identity of this journal.[1]

1. The discussion has so far been, somewhat unusually, in newspapers: letters in *The Times,* 27 March, 2 and 17 April 1987, and in articles in *The Times Higher Educational Supplement,* April 1987 (by Karen Gold); *The Guardian,* 11 May 1987 (by Judith Herrin); *I Kathimerini,* May 1987 (by Haris Kalliga); *Akropolis,* November 1987; and the *Financial Times,* 5 December 1987. In 1987 the British National Committee of the International Byzantine Association, which is a committee of the British Academy and Executive of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies (SPBS), and SCOMGIU (the Standing Committee on Modern Greek in Universities), indicated that they wished their fields to be reviewed separately by the British University Grants Committee, which may prove the author of the *FT*'s article in practice. But perhaps the first time that the subject has been aired by some of its practitioners was at a discussion of it on 4 February 1988, which was joined by the editorial board of this journal and staff and graduate students of the Centre for Byzantine Studies and Modern Greek in Birmingham. I am grateful to them, but they are not responsible for the partiality of my views. I have also consulted:

For the Oxford Chair: W.W. Jackson, *Ingram Bywater. The memoir of an Oxford scholar, 1840-1914* (Oxford 1917), and am grateful to Peter Mackridge and Cyril Mango (fourth Koraës and fifth Bywater and Sotheby professor);

Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies was set up in 1968-75, and the two 'established' British Chairs which concern its subject in 1908-20, so they come first, though which Chair takes precedence is a matter on which only a Constantine Porphyrogenitus could, or would wish to, make a ruling.

Five professors of each Chair later (one scholar has sat in both), an anonymous contributor to the *Financial Times* of 5 December 1987 was clear that their subject presents a problem. Both the Oxford and London Chairs, he felt, 'are in the difficult position of having to encompass what are now two separate disciplines — Byzantium and Modern Greek Studies'.

I question the term 'discipline'. But it is quite true that, since 1908-20, *subjects* such as Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies have been transformed by the application of *disciplines*: some traditional (such as textual criticism, epigraphy or linguistics); some derived from new approaches and methodologies developed elsewhere (such as in archaeology, art history, or demography). It is equally true that the subject has been expanded beyond measure by fresh 'matter'. For example, many students are today attracted to Modern Greek Studies alone by the poetry of Cavafy, Kazantzakis, Seferis, Elytis and Ritsos, who had either not been 'discovered' or had not started writing when the Chairs

For the London Chair: R. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy. Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair* (London 1986);

For the Cambridge post: A. Whigham Price, *The Ladies of Castlebrae* (Gloucester 1985) (which does not mention it), and am grateful to David Holton (third Lewis-Gibson lecturer); and

For the Birmingham posts: R.E.F. Smith, *A Novelty: Russian at Birmingham University 1917-67* (Birmingham 1987), and am grateful to Ben Benedikz, Catherine Thomson, and Lady Waterhouse. Cf. C. Gould, 'Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, 1905-1985', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 72 (1986), 525-35.

Except for a quotation from it, I do not refer to *The Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)* for its supplement for 1901-60 (Oxford 1975), which I have used throughout.

This article was written before a Symposium convened by Richard Clogg in honour of Donald Nicol at King's College London in March 1988 on 'British Perspectives on Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies', which included, among other important papers, one on Dawkins by Peter Mackridge. Dr Ruth Macrides has since kindly informed me that she is working on A.N. Jannaris (1852-1909), who as Lecturer in Post-Classical and Modern Greek at the University of St Andrews from 1896-1903, may be the Prodromos of the whole subject.

were set up. But all this is true of most academic subjects: it has not impaired their integrity.

The apparent duality of the subject was not a problem which evidently occurred to the founders of the Chairs, and of other early posts in the field. It is worth asking what they thought the subject to be, by trying to unearth their motives for endowing it.

In brief, the founders of the Chairs, especially, seemed to have conceived the subject to relate Modern to Classical Greek Studies. Byzantium lay inescapably in between, whether one liked it or not, but more as an untoward fact of life than some sort of link. But from the beginning Byzantium was certainly laid as a cuckoo's egg in the nest. From the beginning also, some history and culture was taught, although the emphasis was on language and literature, on the lines of *Literae Humaniores*. At the beginning, too, the question of some continuity in folk culture was in the air.

I venture a partial view on how the subject has since been interpreted. It must largely be a matter of unrelated persons and accidents. A result is that today Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies can be pursued in one way or another at about a dozen British universities.[2] But I look only at the early history of the subject in Oxford, London, Cambridge and Birmingham, and at the founding of *BMGS* itself. I must ignore other and often livelier institutions, and British scholars unconnected with any. Also, because the founders of the Chairs did, I largely exclude the history of the subject abroad.

A founder of the subject abroad was Karl Krumbacher, in Munich. Which scholar did he approach as his British collaborator? It was Henry Fanshawe Tozer (1829-1916), schoolmaster and former fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. A classical tutor, Tozer had written on Byron, travelled the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia extensively, and recorded the 'ballads, tales and classical superstitutions of the modern Greeks.'[3] In a review

2. By 1988 the academic interest groups, being the SPBS (for Byzantine); the Standing Committee of University Teachers of Turkish (SCOUTT); and SCOMGIU (for Modern Greek) had prepared separate, but related, brochures on British university opportunities in their fields.

3. The subtitle of Tozer's *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* (i.e. modern Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece) (London 1869). Cf. his *Turkish Armenia and eastern Asia Minor* (London 1881).

in Krumbacher's *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892) 612-14, Tozer especially recommended the study of Byzantium as suitable for the teaching of boys, because of its romance, military concerns and simplicity: "— the absence of complicated interests, of elaborate diplomacy, and of more recondite motives of action — causes the Byzantine period to be better adapted to the comprehension of youthful students than the intricate web formed by the politics of Western Europe . . ." I do not think that this would have been the argument of another fellow of Exeter College: Ingram Bywater (1840-1914). His motives for helping endow the subject appear to have been more recondite, and his biographer, yet another fellow of Exeter College, scatters only clues to them.[4] Bywater was Benjamin Jowett's successor as Professor of Greek at Oxford from 1893-1908. Unlike Tozer, he refused to go to Greece for fear of seeing the profaned temples of ancient Athens. But as an Aristotelian and formidable bibliophile, he could not escape the world after Priscianus Lydus (whom he edited) escaped Justinian's closure of the school of Athens. This brought him in touch with librarians beyond Bodley, including John Gennadius and Emile Legrand (d.1903). Indeed Bywater dedicated his anonymous catalogue of his early printed Greek books (now mostly in the Bodleian Library) to the memory of Legrand in 1911.[5] But his correspondence with Legrand, apparently begun before 1888, came after Legrand's co-edition of the Trebizond MS of *Digenes Akrites* in 1875 and Sp. Lambros's

4. Jackson (a former Rector of Exeter College), *Bywater, passim.*
5. Jackson, *Bywater* 149, 164, 173.

OPPOSITE:

FOUNDING FATHERS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES after the opening session of the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Bucarest, 14 April 1924.
Front row, l.-r.: Vasile Parvan, Sir William Ramsay, Charles Diehl, Louis Bréhier, Constantin Marinescu, Victor Iancoulesco.
Middle row, l.-r.: Marie Holban, unidentified, Andrea Guarneri Citati, unidentified, G.I. Bratianu (moustache), S. Dragomir, Vasile Grecu, Fr. Nicolae Popescu (beard).
Back row: Henri Grégoire is 3rd from left by door, followed by G. Bals and Nicolae Banescu (bald, moustache), and at the apex Nicolae Iorga (bearded).
With thanks for identifications to Mihail Spatarelu, Andrei Pippidi (grandson of Nicolae Iorga) and Marie Holban (last surviving member of the group). See n.36.

of the Oxford MS in 1880.[6] *Digenes* does not seem to be the link. The link may have been Michael Constantinides, with whom Bywater also corresponded.

Constantinides taught Mrs. Bywater Modern Greek. She was Charlotte Cornish, a member of a Devonshire family and "a lady of ample means and varied accomplishments, both literary and artistic."[7] Bywater married her in 1884. In the manner of the time, his biographer is reticent about her accomplishments, but they included a lively knowledge of Greek of all periods, and she bequeathed icons to the Ashmolean Museum.[8]

Mrs. Bywater died on 17 February 1908. Her will was proved on 27 March and her benefaction announced in the Oxford University *Gazette* on 31 March 1908. It consisted of property in Highbury, London, with a ground rent of £498 p.a., which was first to pass to Bywater in his lifetime. On Bywater's death on 17 December 1914, his will added a further £1,500 L.C.C. 3% consols to the endowment. In her will, Mrs Bywater had:

> "the intention of establishing a Fund to be devoted to the promotion of the study of the language and literature of Byzantine and Modern Greece at the University of Oxford either by the endowment or establishment of a Professor or Reader or in such other way as the University may from time to time determine AND I DECLARE that I make this bequest . . . because I know that the promotion of such study was a subject which my late husband Hans Sotheby had very much at heart. . ."[9]

Hans William Sotheby (1827-74), Charlotte Cornish's first husband, was a literary scholar. Between them, Tozer, Sotheby and Bywater held fellowships at Exeter College, Oxford (to which the Bywater and Sotheby Chair is attached), from 1851-84, but only overlapped in 1863-64. Charlotte Cornish had no more first-hand knowledge of contemporary Greece than had either of her husbands. Sotheby's connection was perhaps limited to the scorn which Byron himself bestowed upon his grandfather, William Sotheby (1757-1833), a not wholly sucessful tragedian.[10]

6. J. Mavrogordato (second Bywater and Sotheby professor), *Digenes Akrites* (Oxford 1956), preface and introduction.
7. DNB, supplement, *s.n.* Ingram Bywater.
8. Jackson, *Bywater* 203-5.
9. Jackson, *Bywater* 202.
10. *Byron's Letters and Journals,* ed. L.A. Marchand (London 1973-82) IV, 311-13; V, 19, 205, 229, 238, 252-53; VI, 35.

I do not know who Mr. Constantinides was, and Charlotte Cornish was excluded from the small world of the Exeter Common Room, either as Mrs. Sotheby or Mrs. Bywater. But I wonder about the influence of the Rev. H.F. Tozer's tales of exciting travels from Albania to Armenia. What is clear, however, is that Charlotte Cornish was a remarkable woman, not least because she founded Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies as a University subject in Britain.

The agency at Oxford was not, however, Constantinides, but the part-Cypriot scholar Simos Menardos (1871-1933), for whom the author D. Vikelas (1835-1908) wrote a letter of introduction to Professor and Mrs. Bywater on 5 July 1907.[11] In the months between her death and Bywater's resignation of his Chair at Oxford, Menardos was appointed to the first Lectureship in Mediaeval and Modern Greek there, for which he gave an inaugural lecture on 29 October 1908.[12] If Bywater did not have a hand in the appointment, Menardos certainly regarded him as his patron at Oxford. Menardos held the lectureship until 1914, when, through financial constraints, the Board of the Faculty of Modern Languages "felt bound to give priority to other claims"[13] (the wording is eerily familiar), and discontinued it. Menardos appealed to Bywater to save Modern Greek at Oxford. In fact Menardos had been moonlighting as professor of Ancient

11. A. Tillyrides, "Unpublished letters of Simos Menardos," *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 43 (1979), 183. I am most grateful to David Ricks for drawing my attention to Menardos and these references.

12. *The value of Byzantine and Modern Greek in Hellenic Studies.* An inaugural lecture delivered before the University. Thursday, October 29, 1908 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). I have not seen this work, a copy of which exists in the Taylor Institution. Translated in a Limassol newspaper in 1909, it is reprinted as "'Η ἀξία τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ τῆς νεωτέρας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης ἐν ταῖς ἑλληνικαῖς σπουδαῖς" in Menardos's *Γλωσσικαὶ μελέται* (Nicosia 1969), 196-210. Ricks notes that the obituary by Sykoutris (*Μελέται καὶ ἄρθρα* (1956), 329-45) reveals that Menardos's Athens teaching involved the history of Greek literature "from Homer to Roïdis and Palamas"; he considered himself to be performing the function for literature that had been performed in other areas by Papparrigopoulos, Chatzidakis and N.G. Politis.

13. Tillyrides, "Menardos," 189. Not all the oddities of spelling in the transcription of these letters appear to be attributable to Menardos himself, and some dates are dubious. In particular, if Menardos gave his first lecture on 29 October 1908, he cannot have written thanking Bywater for attending it on 23 October 1908 (p.185), or told Bywater that he was about to deliver his third lecture on 29 January 1907 (p.183).

Greek Philology at Athens University since 1911, a post which he held until 1933, with an excursion back to lecture for the Koraës Chair in 1919. At Oxford Menardos seems to have had less than a handful of students, but his most lasting achievement was to introduce a syllabus in Mediaeval and Modern Greek in the Honour School of Modern Languages, on 12 June 1913. No student can then have followed it, but I reproduce extracts from the syllabus below because of its extraordinary breadth and rigour.[14] Menardos clearly had an idea of what he was doing: the tracing of a culture from Christian Antiquity to the nineteenth century through its language and literature. Several texts (in two cases in the same edition) are set today, and among editors Legrand figures largely. Among set texts is Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* which Arnold Toynbee resolved to re-edit in his last undergraduate year at Balliol College, Oxford (1910-11), though it was left to another future Koraës professor,

14. I am grateful to Peter Mackridge for the information that Oxford's Hebdomadal Council stipulated examinations in:

I. *The Language as spoken and written at the present day.*

II. *Prescribed Authors,* which were:
Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον. Ἰωάννης Μόσχος Εὐκρατᾶς, Λείμων. Christ et Paranikas, Anthologia, Pt.II, pp.1-147. Ἰωάννης Μαλάλας, B. XVIII (Bonnae). Λεοντίου Νεαπόλεως, Βίος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐλεήμονος (Gelzer). Θεοφάνης, Χρονικόν, pp.174-290. De Boor (A.M. 6020-6094). Κωνσταντῖνος Πορφυρογέννητος, *De Administrando Imperio* (Bonnae). Κεκαυμένος, Στρατηγικόν (Jernstedt). Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης, Διήγησις Μερική (Heisenberg). Πρόδρομος (Hesseling-Pernot). Χρονικὰ τοῦ Μορέως, pp.184-506, Schmitt. Deeds of William II (Villehardouin). Διγενὴς Ἀφήγησις (Legrand). Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινοπόλεως (Legrand). Σαχλίκης, Ἀφήγησις παράξενος. Δριμυτικός, Βοσκοποῦλλα (Legrand). Μπεργαδῆς, Ἀπόκοπος (Legrand). Ῥοΐδης, Πάπισσα Ἰωάννα. Τραγούδια Ῥωμαικά, Passow (omitting the Disticha). Σολομός, Συλλογὴ ποιημάτων.

III. *History of the Language;*

IV. *History of the Literature* (for which the answers to one of the two general papers were to be written in Greek);

V. *Special Subject,* from:
1. The elements of Comparative Philology, with special reference to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.
2. The phonology and morphology of the ancient Doric dialects in their historical development.
3. Greek Christian Hymnography up to the ninth century.
4. Greek Historiography in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.
5. Greek Romantic Literature under the Franks (A.D. 1200-1600).

Oxford University, *Examination Statutes* (Oxford 1913), 137-43.

R.J.H. Jenkins, to work on the text almost forty years later.[15] Constantine Porphyrogenitus remained a set author in the Oxford Honour School of Modern Languages for about sixty years from 1913, when his works became instead a special subject of the Honour School of Modern History, the first in the field to be offered in History. This change of approach to Constantine Porphyrogenitus may be a pointer to the development of the subject, but I think was quite by chance. Faculties, not just at Oxford, work almost as independently of each other as do universities, and benefactors even more so.

Quite independent of developments at Oxford (though Menardos may offer a link) was Ronald Burrows, Principal of King's College London (1913-20). On 7 March 1917 Burrows put the case for a new Chair, named after Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), and identified whom it was to influence, to a potential London Greek subscriber. The terms then sounded eminently realistic:

> "The importance to the Greek Nation as a whole of the establishment of such a department, in the centre of the British Empire, can scarcely be exaggerated. The permanence of the classical Greek tradition in the education of the upper and middle classes ought to make it possible and natural for Modern Greek to have a unique hold on the interest and affection of the English governing classes. Unfortunately there is a wide gulf fixed between Ancient and Modern Greek literature and history, and the average educated Englishmen sees no connection between the two. This will continue to be the case so long as the professors and teachers of Ancient Greek can be counted by the score, and occupy the most important positions in all the universities in the kingdom, while the teachers of Modern Greek, where they exist at all, are untrained journalists, or language masters without salary, standing or dignity. It is not sufficiently realised among Greeks in England or the Mother-country, that education on Ancient Greek literature and history is immeasurably deeper and wider-spread in England than in France or in any other country in Europe, and that public opinion in parliament and the press depends entirely on the opinion of the classes so educated."[16]

The context was the fascination of the classically educated governing classes of Liberal England, and Burrows in particular,

15. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world* (Oxford 1973), preface; successive editions of the *Balliol College Register*, s.n.; *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R.J.H. Jenkins (Budapest 1949).
16. Clogg, *Toynbee* 10.

with the new and acceptable Garibaldi, Eleftherios Venizelos (Prime Minister of Greece, on and off, from 1910-20 and from 1928-32). I do not know whether Burrows knew Bywater in the latter's last years in London. But he did know Sir Oliver Lodge, from 1900-19 first Principal of the University of Birmingham, if only through Sir Bernard Pares (1867-1949), their mutual advisor on the Chairs they set up. At first sight the Birmingham context looks very different.

In 1875 Sir Josiah Mason (1795-1881), pen-nib manufacturer of Birmingham, founded what was to become its university on lines of strictly 'Useful' Education. He did this in flat, and I suspect quite oblivious, contradiction of the views of his neighbour, and fellow rate-payer of Birmingham from 1846-90, John Henry (Cardinal) Newman. In *The Idea of a University,* Newman had from 1852 argued for the efficacy of a 'Liberal' over a 'Useful' Education. Only a mile separated Newman's Oratory from Mason College, but they were a world apart and sublimely indifferent to each other. It was through the unexpected agency of Bywater's schoolfriend, Joseph Chamberlain, that from 1900 the new University of Birmingham unwittingly adopted much of Newman's idea of a 'Liberal' Education.[17] This was all the more remarkable because Chancellor Chamberlain and Principal Lodge established their university almost entirely on outside funding, most of it local. Lodge knew his subscribers as well as Burrows did his, but was more experienced in handling them. In fact London Greeks and Birmingham Nonconformists were not dissimilar. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce could not be categorised as ruthless Tory industrialist, even after the

17. J.H. Newman, *The Idea of a Liberal Education,* ed. H.Tristram (London 1952) 13: "The town of his adoption never really regarded him with any cordiality. He found no welcome there, and no notice was taken of him publicly, even when he returned from Rome, in 1879, as a newly created Cardinal. To this coldness he responded with equal coldness . . .: 'I have done nothing for Birmingham. I have paid my rates as an honest man, but have no claim on the place for any sort of service done for it of any kind'." Cf. M. Cheesewright, *Mirror to a Mermaid* (Birmingham 1975). On a Birmingham Unitarian family which early supported both the University and the Hellenic Travellers' Club, and intermarried with Martineaus and Chamberlains (but not Cadburys), see R.A. Church, *Kenricks in Hardware. A Family Business: 1791-1966* (Newton Abbot 1969), and successive editions of the *Balliol College Register, s.n.*

political conversion of the Chamberlains. Quaker dynasties, such as the Cadbury, endowed colleges, such as Woodbrooke; and Unitarian, such as the Kenrick, the university itself. Their members still serve both. Some appear on early membership lists of the Hellenic Travellers' Club. Venizelos may not have caught their imagination, and Newman never had, but in 1916 they knew that there was a war on, and what to do about it.

Neville Chamberlain became Lord Mayor of Birmingham in 1915. By 17 April 1916 the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce proposed to establish a Chair of Russian at the university, in terms which should be compared with Burrow's appeal, and then also sounded just as realistic:

> "What we are interested in is any effort to promote British trade after the war. In the past Germany has dominated the markets of our great ally — Russia — whose name and unconquerable character in this great war will go down to endless ages with heartfelt remembrance of the undying sacrifice and courage of her troops, and her unbending determination to be in at the finish when the last shot is fired, and the Allies stand over a prostrate Germany and Austria-Hungary to dictate the terms of peace. . .
> "One of our first needs is to have young and energetic businessmen who can converse with Russians in their own language, and that is the primary object of the Chair proposed to be established at the University of Birmingham."[18]

To that end, contributions ranging from one guinea (Sunlight Window Cleaning Co.) to 1,000 guineas (Wolseley Motors Ltd.) brought in an endowment of over £10,000 — roughly the same as Charlotte Cornish's bequest to Oxford (which now pays under half the professor's salary), and probably less than that for the Koraës Chair (which does not now appear to contribute to the professor's salary at all). But the Birmingham subscribers proved considerably more liberal than did the London Greeks.

There were unforeseen problems. The Greek Parliament awarded the London Chair an annual grant for seven years in a bill which became law between 7 October and 18 November 1917 (O.S.), days which coincided with events in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) which put an end to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce's bold design of appropriating German trade there

18. Smith, *Novelty* 2-3.

after the war.[19] However, a citizen of that place slept through its revolution, which did not prevent him from becoming the first to teach Modern Greek in Birmingham, any more than it deterred the Chamber of Commerce's plans for a Chair of Russian.

On the first appointment to the Bywater and Sotheby Chair in 1920, I do not know if the electors discussed what Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies then were, and those to the Koraës Chair in 1919 apparently did not. It is safe to presume that the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce did not debate Byzantium or Neo-Hellenism either. The result was, of course, that of the first appointments to the three Chairs in 1919-22, Birmingham's Chamber of Commerce got the professor who could then best be described as a Byzantinist.

A fourth, and apparently also quite unrelated, post was set up with the three Chairs in these years. In February and March 1918 the University of Cambridge was offered and accepted an endowment for a Readership in Modern Greek of over £6,000 by Mrs. Samuel Lewis (1843-1926); its title was to be associated with the name of Mrs. James Gibson (1843-1920).[20] But if the Bywater and Sotheby post at Oxford should properly be called the Cornish, there is even more reason for the Lewis-Gibson one at Cambridge to be named the Smith. Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson were respectively Agnes and Margaret Smith, twin daughters of John Smith, an Ayrshire solicitor. Cambridge academics were to find their soirées awesome.

The context of Agnes Smith's benefaction does not seem to have been Venizelos or the war, political or commercial; but, perhaps like Charlotte Cornish's, her motive was more personal. The twins visited Greece and Cyprus in 1868-69 and prepared for a tour of Greece in 1883 when Agnes Smith went to reshape her classical Greek with Professor J.S. Blackie of Edinburgh, "who had been known to dismiss the notion that Greek was a dead language as 'an Oxford superstition'."[21] In Athens they were further helped in Modern Greek by Sophie Schliemann and in 1884 Agnes Smith published two books on contemporary

19. Clogg, *Toynbee* 13.
20. Information from the Cambridge *Reporter,* from David Holton.
21. Price, *Castlebrae* 68, 70.

Greece.[22] The fame of the learned sisters rests upon their 'discovery' of the *Codex Syriacus,* or 'Lewis Codex', in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. It was J. Rendel Harris (1852-1941), first director of the Quaker Woodbrooke College in Birmingham (1903-18) who encouraged them to go there, but it was the twins' fluent Modern Greek which persuaded the *hegoumenos* Galakteon of Sinai to allow them access to its MSS.[23] Here was an eminently useful reason for learning Modern Greek. But an appointment to what turned out to be the Lewis-Gibson Lectureship was postponed at Cambridge until 1936.

Appointments to the three Chairs set up in 1908-20 were made in 1919-22. The first was that of the protean Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), to the London Chair in 1919. It for him there had been any question of linking Byzantine with Modern Greek Studies, it would have been through classicism, the endurance of Anatolia, the ghost of the Phanar, and the fact of the *Tourkokratia* — but he was not to return to Constantine Porphyrogenitus for sixty years and in his lectures was already eyeing Central Asia. Toynbee's reporting of *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London 1922) is required reading for anyone who fancies that any people has an historic monopoly of virtue. As Richard Clogg documents, it therefore cost him his Chair in 1922. But, as Colin Heywood describes in this volume of *BMGS,* it is only since serious work was initiated in London decades later, by Paul Wittek and continued by Victor Ménage, that British exploration of the Greek experience of the *Tourkokratia* has been enabled to move on.[24]

The second appointment was of R.M. Dawkins (1871-1955) to the Oxford Chair in 1920, from which he retired in 1939 and published some of his best work thereafter.[25] As a scholar, par-

22. Agnes Smith, *Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery* (London 1884); P.G. Kastromenos, *The Monuments of Athens,* tr. Agnes Smith (London 1884).

23. (Mrs) R.L. Bensly, *Our Visit to Sinai* (London 1896); J. Bentley, *Secrets of Mount Sinai* (London 1985) 151-56.

24. See C. Heywood, *BMGS* 12 (1988) 315-345.

25. Cf. Helen Waterhouse, *The British School at Athens. The first hundred years* (London 1986) 18-25. F.W. Rolfe, 'Baron Corvo' (1860-1913), repaid Dawkins's great generosity by placing 'Richard Macpawkins' in *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole:*

ticularly in placing Greek folktales in a wider system, and as an Oxford figure, Dawkins was quite as remarkable as Toynbee. For him the link was language, including medieval Cypriot, and *laographia*. Fifty years on a Pontic Turk recalled to me the last Frankish visitor to one of the wrecked Greek mountain villages of Santa. This person "jumped like a goat, and asked for silly stories, before the Russians came." Dawkins was there in 1914, the Russians came in 1916 and the Greeks left in 1923. But they, and their silly stories he preserved and edited, have died; and *laographia* has also moved on.[26]

The third appointment was of H. Julius Tillyard (1881-1968), to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Chair of Russian, in 1922. Already a distinguished Byzantine musicologist, Tillyard published during his tenure of it his most important articles in the *Annual of the British School at Athens,* and his book on *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (London 1923). His editorship with Egon Wellesz of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* came later. Here at least there were some links with the other appointments, for he was a friend of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson at Cambridge. He also happened to be nephew of Birmingham's then Professor of Commercial Law. How far Tillyard satisfied the ingenious hopes of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce in 1916 is open to question, but he is recorded as having coached some 'Oriental' students in the Faculty of Commerce in the English language.[27]

a Romance of modern Venice (written 1909, published London 1934): "He was of that repugnant, flabby, carroty, freckled, mugnosed, bristly-species, toothed of Senegaglia cheese-colour, which has no chest whatsoever." But Byzantinists are no more appreciated by literary persons than Sotheby was by Byron. In 1908 Marcel Proust campaigned against the candidature to the Académie Française of Gustave Schlumberger, the eminent Byzantine sigillographer, correspondent of Penelope Delta, and "this prehistoric buffalo." At the crunch, Proust noted that "the buffalo smiled like a ninny every time I walked past, thinking I was going to bow, and his enormous boots made fossil imprints on the carpet." G.D. Painter, *Marcel Proust. A Biography* II(London 1965) 108-9; *Lettres de Deux Amis. Une correspondance entre Pénélope S. Delta et Gustave Schlumberger,* ed. X. Lefcoparidi, prefaced by A. Mirambel (Athens 1926). Nevertheless, Schlumberger found his way into *Le Coté de Guermantes* I (1920).

26. Cf. Margaret Alexiou, 'Folklore: an Obituary?' *BMGS* 9 (1984-85) 1-28.

27. Smith, *Novelty* 13-14.

How influential the first holders of the London and Oxford Chairs were in promoting whatever Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies were then thought to be is equally difficult to assess. The job of professors was then to get on with colossal books, which they did. As for undergraduates, Romilly J.H. Jenkins (1907-69), first holder of the Cambridge Lewis-Gibson lectureship (1936-46), gave as third Koraës professor (1946-60) "a regular course of lectures on classical sculpture, this being paradoxically the only formal teaching he did at the time."[28] Tomorrow, such scholars may have to be appointed for their skills as cost centre managers in a brave new university world. But today they are also judged by their research students, and how they promote their subject extramurally. It is instructive to apply these criteria to the early appointments to the subject, because in 1917 they were already in the minds of Burrows and Fisher.

H.A.L. Fisher, historian and President of the Board of Education from 1916-22, was on 2 August 1917 almost as quick as the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce in spotting the academic side of the commercial consequences of the expected defeat of Germany. Germany supervised doctorates, usually of over five years. Many U.S. universities were anxious to undercut them with a four-year programme. Fisher therefore invited British universities to innovate a three-year doctorate, which deplorably remains the British funding term today.[29] In Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies Lloyd George's exchequer never earned a cent for the regulation, which reduces research students to penury today.

Before research degrees became fashionable, almost 400 were awarded by British universities in Hellenic subjects between 1874-1950.[30] Of these only eight were specifically Byzantine, and

28. C. Mango, 'Romilly James Heald Jenkins', *DOP* 23-24 (1969-70) 7-8.

29. FO 800/207. Fisher to Balfour, 2 August 1917, Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office, London. I am grateful to Erik Goldstein for this reference and discussion.

30. R. Koundouros, *On Greece: theses index in Britain (1874-1950)* (London 1980). The first Byzantine research thesis was by R.E.M. (Sir Mortimer) Wheeler, on *The origins of Byzantine Art* (London M.A., 1912), followed by Edith Hale (Birmingham M.A., 1913) and H. Holloway (Belfast M.A., 1918). Most early Modern Greek topics were diplomatic; the first doctoral thesis was by A. Hadjiantoniou on Cyril Loukaris (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1949), who acknowledges no supervisor in his partisan *Protestant Patriarch* (London 1961). The first (and only) research thesis on the *Tourkokratia*

eleven Modern Greek. Oxford held out long against Fisher's new-fangled doctorates, but Georgina Buckler (D.Phil., Oxon., 1927), supervised by Dawkins, appears to have been the only higher degree candidate for whom either the Oxford or London Chairs were responsible before 1950.[31] The numbers of research students Fisher may have envisaged in fact arrived after R.A. Butler and another war. The result was that, in Byzantine Studies alone, 95 research degrees (including 74 doctorates) were awarded by British universities in the decade 1975-86.[32]

Principal Burrows was very clear about the second criterion in his letter of 7 March 1917, concerning whom the Koraës Chair was to influence. The classically-educated Establishment was to be introduced to contemporary Greece. It is true that this class melted away more slowly, together with classical education, than the constituency of Birmingham businessmen in St. Petersburg which the Chamber of Commerce had in mind. But even then, Sir Henry Lunn (1859-1939), a former Methodist missionary, was infinitely more effective in identifying and enlisting the support of just the sort of people Burrows wished to influence with his Chair. Where Toynbee had difficulty in assembling a class at King's, Lunn's Hellenic Travellers' Club had them on the spot in Greece, complete with Guest Lecturers such as W.A. Spooner, Fisher's predecessor as Warden of New College, Oxford.

Lunn launched the first Hellenic Cruise in 1906. By 1910 there were over 2,500 members of the Club, with many more letters after their names between them. Besides Burrows himself, subscribers included the sounder members of the bench of bishops, the better sort of Greats don, and some capital public school headmasters who, having interpreted Grote for the youth of

before 1950 was (Sir) Harry Luke's *Cyprus under the Turks* (Oxford B.Litt., 1919), which, as he implies in his book of the same title (Oxford 1921, reprinted with introduction, London 1969), was submitted without supervision, probably from Tbilisi.

31. Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford 1929), names Dawkins as her supervisor and also thanks Ramsay. It was Dawkins's refusal to supervise Philip Whitting which in 1930 spurred him to pursue Byzantine Studies through other channels.

32. *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 1 (1975) — 12 (1986). The majority has been awarded by Oxford (36, mostly theological and textual); Birmingham (27, mostly historical); and London (17, mostly historical and art historical). There is no equivalent analysis of Modern Greek research degrees.

Asquithean England, were quite prepared to find that Venizelos had taken over Pericles's Athens on that year's cruise.[33]

But numbers, even numbers of the right sort of people, mean nothing. When the second appointment to the London Chair came in 1926, all political or commercial Great Ideas which may have inspired the setting up such posts had evaporated with the Russian and Ottoman empires. Even Venizelos was out of power. Among Byzantinists, Tillyard and A.A. Vasiliev, but not Norman Baynes, were considered for the Koraës Chair.[34] It went to the sort of classical Neo-Hellenist which Burrows may have had in mind in 1917: F.H. Marshall. There can have been no design in the way the subject fell out, but there were pointers. Tillyard left the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Chair of Russian for Burrows's old Chair of Classics at Cardiff, and from 1931-42 Baynes proceeded to the first British (and personal) Chair of Byzantine History at University College, London.[35]

If there was any serious discussion of whether Byzantine and Modern Greek things should be studied together during the second round of appointments, it is safe to guess that the Continental experience was ignored, as it has been since. Where Byzantium and Modern Greece were combined (as in Munich and later Vienna, and some parts of Italy), 'Byzantinistik' seems to have dominated. They seem to run more evenly in the Netherlands. In France they flourish in separate gardens, as appears to be the Scandinavian experience: Copenhagen's Department of Modern Greek and Balkan Studies has emerged recently out of Classics. But today there are interest groups and minorities, of which Burrows and Lodge could not have dreamed: Greek in Australia and the U.S.A., Turkish in Germany and Scandinavia, and Cypriot in Britain.

Modern Greek Studies somehow found a British university identity in the peculiar circumstances of 1915-23. It is no slight to the memory of J.B. Bury (1861-1927), let alone Edward Gibbon (1737-94), to say that Byzantium lagged until it was given identity

33. *Proceedings of the Hellenic Travellers' Club* (London 1910) 120-45.
34. Clogg, *Toynbee* 114.
35. *An Address presented to Norman Hepburn Baynes* (Oxford, privately printed, 1942).

as a subject at the First International Byzantine Congress at Bucarest in 1924. Here Sir William Ramsay (1851-1939) was active as British founding father. The Koraës Chair was then vacant and Dawkins, who did not attend, was not named as Oxford's representative.[36]

In 1963-71 the debate erupted most interestingly in a series of lectures, mostly inaugural, given by Romilly Jenkins, Cyril Mango, Robert Browning and Donald Nicol himself.[37] Was the link between Byzantium and Modern Greece something called Hellenism? Was Hellenism an ethnic as well as a cultural thing? Was this elusive continuity not simply the creation of nineteenth-century historical and linguistic national determinism? Where for some classicists and Lunn's Hellenic Travellers, the discovery of Byzantine and Modern Greece had been a sort of antidote to the accidie of traditional Ancient Greek Studies at the turn of the century, some of the new generation knew too much about the problem and cures offered by Greeks especially, and did not like it. More was to come in the 1970s: a questioning of the internal continuity of Byzantium itself, and of its own link with Antiquity.[38] If Byzantium was to prove the weak link, where now stood

36. M.H.J. Waring represented London and M.V. Ispir Oxford: C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du Premier Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Bucarest, 1924* (Bucarest 1925) 92.

37. R.J.H. Jenkins, *Byzantium and Byzantinism,* Lectures in memory of Louise Taft Semple (Cincinnati 1963); C.A. Mango, 'Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism' (Inaugural lecture in the Koraës Chair, 1964), *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965) 29-43; R. Browning, *Greece — Ancient and Medieval.* An inaugural lecture delivered at Birkbeck College, University of London, 15 June 1966 (London 1966); D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Greece.* Inaugural lecture in the Koraës Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at University of London King's College, 26 October 1971 (London 1971). Cf. Sp. Vryonis Jr., 'Recent scholarship on continuity and discontinuity of culture: classical Greeks, Byzantines, Modern Greeks,' in *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture,* ed. Sp. Vryonis Jr. (Malibu 1978) 237-56. In the background were also the views of A.E. Vacalopoulos, *The origins of the Greek Nation. The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1970), reviewed by A. Bryer, *BS* 33 (1972) 244-46, which brought down a ton of bricks in the form of A.E. Vacalopoulos, 'Views on the origins of Neo-Hellenism and related problems. (In response to Anthony Bryer),' *Balkan Studies* 14 (1973) 201-7.

38. A sample: G. Weiss, 'Antike und Byzanz. Die Kontinuität der Gesellschaftsstruktur,' *Historische Zeitschrift* 244 (1977) 529-60; C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium,' in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition,* edd. Margaret Mullett and R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 48-57. Cf. A. Kazhdan in col-

such works as J.C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1910), which had provided some of the ethos of the founding of the Chairs? In Birmingham, at least, something of Lawson's approach flourished distinctly, and, naturally, independently.

The pattern is that Modern Greek precedes Byzantium: in the nineteenth century St. Andrews experimented in teaching the language perhaps before Charlotte Cornish or Agnes Smith learnt it. In Birmingham, as elsewhere, Modern Greek preceded Byzantine Studies, despite Tillyard. As elsewhere, its link was direct with Antiquity. As Professor of Greek at Birmingham from 1937-70, George Thomson (1903-87) wove his particular and seamless robe of Hellenism. A Cambridge classicist, he had (like others) discovered that Greeks were still alive and speaking. Unlike others, he had moved on to discovering the Irish, and finally added a Marxist interpretation to the experience. For Thomson the link was orality: the ancient living languages on the lips of island peasants and fishermen of Greek Ithaca or Gaelic Inis Icíleán.[39] I am not sure where his Byzantium lay. He told me that it was not that of Yeats, and I do not think it was Marx's either. It may have loomed somewhere between Homer and the Great Blasket island of Kerry.

Thomson's first addition to the staff of his department in 1938 was as singular as his own appointment. It was of Nicholas Bachtin (1896-1950).[40] This slightly disconcerting visionary had been in turn apostle of the Third Renaissance and White Russian Hussar; he had won decorations for gallantry serving the French Foreign Legion and the second Ph.D. Cambridge awarded in Hellenic Studies (it was on Centaurs, in 1934). On the day of the

laboration with S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Cambridge 1984) 1-22.

39. Cf. G. Thomson, 'The continuity of Hellenism,' *Greece and Rome* 18 (1971) 18-29. George Thomson's intellectual life awaits its student. Stephen Halliwell, Steven Whiston, Dimitris Tziovas and I made notes and tape recordings of interviews with him in December 1986. The most recent account of his Irish connection is in a stunning book by Muiris Mac Conghail: *The Blaskets. A Kerry Island Library* (Dublin 1987) 148-55.

40. N. Bachtin, *Lectures and Essays*, ed. A.E. Duncan-Jones (Birmingham 1963). A close common friend of Bachtin and the Thomsons was Ludwig Wittgenstein: cf. *Recollections of Wittgenstein*, ed. R.H. Rees (Oxford 1984), 14, 48.

storming of the Winter Palace, Bachtin typically read a paper to the Petrograd Philosophical Society, found that the evening poetry recital had been cancelled, so went to bed. While at Cambridge he had already published a pugnacious (and cranky) *Introduction to the Study of Modern Greek* (privately printed, Birmingham 1935).[41] From 1938 he and Thomson devised a Greek course which sought to embrace all manifestations of the language.[42] In dedicating his own *The Greek Language* (Cambridge 1960) to the memory of Bachtin, Thomson described him as "one of the most brilliant intellects I have known. He was by nature a poet . . . With him I learnt Greek all over again."

Language was not the only link. Bachtin also edited *The Link,* the first issue of which appeared three months after his arrival in Birmingham. Subtitled *A Review of Mediaeval and Modern Greek,* it was published by Basil Blackwell. Bachtin's manifesto for the journal opens:

> "The main object of The Link is to interpret the past of Greece through its present and its present through the past, and thus to reveal the basic unity of Greek civilisation in all its manifestations and throughout its whole development.
>
> "Since the review aims at correlating all things Greek, it may include contributions dealing with the classical period, provided that this period is not treated as a closed and self-sufficient whole, but as a link in the uninterrupted chain of tendencies and traditions that lead to present-day Greece.
>
> "Yet, it is with the last, the living, link with the chain that we are primarily concerned . . ."[43]

41. His only book, it was apparently never on public sale. Much approving of Lawson on cultural matters, it presents a forceful (if incredible) argument for the purity of Modern Greek too (p.68): "Slav and Albanian have left no traces except in place-names, and Turkish is represented now-a-days only by three common words: πιλάφι, γιαοῦρτι, and λουκοῦμι (Turkish-delight), which are not peculiar to Greek, but sum up the Turkish contribution to the common treasury of civilization."

42. The first Colloquial Assistant in Modern Greek came in 1948, and the first Lecturer in Byzantine and Modern Greek in 1964. By 1966 came the wondrous sight of Thomson teaching classes of NATO officers seconded by the Ministry of Defence, who were joined by Chinese students sporting Mao badges. Their common language was Modern Greek.

43. From the inside cover of *The Link* 1 (June 1938). Originally intended to appear three times a year, the manifesto was replaced in *The Link* 2 (June 1939) by a sad Editor's Note: "Some explanation is due to subscribers for the delay in the appearance of this number. The reason is a material one. It has been thought advisable to spread out the publication of the first three numbers over a period longer than a year, in the hope that meantime some factors will emerge which will enable the editor to carry

Contributors were as good as Bachtin's word. Although there were only two issues of *The Link,* they included G. Theotokas (on the psychology of the modern Greeks), S. Baud-Bovy (on Seferis), Dawkins (on Athos), H. Grégoire (on Aristophanes and Modern Greek), Jenkins (on *Fortounatos*), Marshall (on Lord Guilford, referring to his MS of *Erophile* which Birmingham bought in 1970), A. Mirambel and Thomson (on philology), D. Talbot Rice (on art) and Bachtin himself on poetry. If Burrows's enthusiasm for contemporary Greece had been inspired by Venizelos, Bachtin's insistence on links with "present-day Greece" is the more remarkable, for it was the time of the Metaxas dictatorship — but then he made a point of not reading newspapers.

Byzantine Studies were established at Birmingham by Sir Ellis Waterhouse (1905-85), director of the Barber Institute (1952-70). This is not a history of Byzantine Studies there, so I ignore his and others' benefactions to it. In 1963 Waterhouse set up a Committee for Byzantine Studies, probably the first to tackle the subject in an interdisciplinary way in the country, which aimed to plant Byzantinists in departments, including Theology, Fine Art, Geography, Russian, Extramural Studies, Greek and History. The Committee started by drafting for the University Grants Committee a remarkably grandiose plan, which the Arts Sub-Committee of the UGC approved in 1969, and has been mostly achieved since by accident.[44] The Minutes of the Birmingham Committee from 1963-76 do not record any discussion of what constitutes Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, but its secretary is probably at fault.

When as a result of Waterhouse's initiative, Margaret Alexiou and I were appointed to collaborative posts in Greek and History,

on the review. Failing this, the third number will be the last." There was no third number. Those who saw *BMGS* through a similar crisis will empathise.

44. The Centre inherited some of David Talbot Rice's papers, including his recommendation of December 1969 to the UGC Arts Sub-Committee: "*Byzantine Studies.* I am sympathetic to the Byzantine project. 1). There is not, *but should be,* a Byzantine Institute (or Centre) in G.B. 2). There seem to be 3 possibilities — London, Oxford, Birmingham. London seems to have no desire. Oxford is inert. I would like to see a recommendation that Birmingham should go ahead in the next quinquennium. D.T.R." (I hasten to note that at the time both the London and Oxford Chairs were vacant).

respectively, in 1964, I remember Thomson's disappointment with my reply to his question at interview, that I thought it was history and the *Tourkokratia,* rather than language and *laographia,* which would most effectively bring Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies together. Institutionally, that eventually happened in Birmingham when in 1984 Modern Greek left Classics to join the Centre for Byzantine Studies, which had been granted autocephaly in 1976. At that time, Byzantium could equally have rejoined History, and Greek gone into Modern Languages (where it lies in Oxford). Margaret Alexiou opted for Byzantium. But to the old recipe was added a 'new blood' post in Ottoman Studies, the *Tourkokratia.* The link might also (but probably less effectively) have been made through the *Venetokratia,* Orthodox, or regional Studies (such as Cypriot, Macedonian, or even Pontic). The appointment of scholars with such interests as Philip Sherrard's or Richard Clogg's to King's College London came to mind. More adventurously, there were related and linking methodologies to explore.

The wider debate, and its definition, may be illustrated by the experience of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* itself. 'Debate' is a portentous word for another series of happenstances, and this is a necessarily partial view of it. Others who founded *BMGS* will have different views. For example, Donald Nicol points to a bench in Staff House bar in Birmingham, where he, Jim Feather of Basil Blackwell, and I sat to discuss *BMGS* in 1973, as its birthplace. But it had been gestating since 1968.

In 1968 Michael Angold, Robert Browning, Lionel Butler, Robin Fletcher, Donald Nicol, Stavros Papastavrou and I were guests at Sir Steven Runciman's Wiles Lectures at the Queen's University of Belfast, where George Huxley, its Professor of Greek, was already envisaging Byzantine Studies. This is the only lecture series I know where the endowment extends to the audience. Through the haze of the legendary hospitality of Belfast, I identify heady discussion of a new journal, a second *The Link,* to link two fields which were so evidently moving into a new era of scholarship, as the genesis of *BMGS.* Stavros Papastavrou, second Lewis-Gibson Lecturer, sat over the talk like a benign pasha as our original animator. In the cold light of an airport dawn, I discovered that I had undertaken to sound out the

https://doi.org/10.1179/byz.1988.12.1.1 Published online by Cambridge University Press

academic and subscribing market with a trial run. The ailing *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* was only too pleased to let me put together a 'Byzantina-Metabyzantina' issue, 12 (1970), which proved to be its last and by far its most successful — commercially at least: even the reprints are long sold out. Topics were mostly historical, from the fifth to nineteenth centuries. Contributors included Richard Clogg, John Haldon, Donald Nicol and myself. But the legatees of *Byzantina-Metabyzantina. A Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 1-2 (New York 1946-49), objected to our proposed title, so we chose *BMGS*.

The Modern Greek Studies Association of America was also founded in 1968 by, among other of its early presidents, Edmund Keeley and Peter Bien. While I was editing the 'Byzantina-Metabyzantina' issue of the *UBHJ* 12 (1970), Peter Bien was spending one of his regular sabbaticals at Rendel Harris's Woodbrooke College, Birmingham. We discussed an Anglo-American basis for the new journal. I had a memorable rendez-vous with Edmund Keeley in the Theseion, Athens, where we pursued the matter further, and terms were finally agreed at a meeting of the MGSA officers, which I attended, at its Symposium at Harvard in 1971.

The next problem was a publisher. CUP nearly took us on. Basil Blackwell, *The Link's* publisher, did. But, despite the example of the *UBHJ*, and the fact that the MGSA made the journal part of its members' subscription, Blackwell was still cautious. Costa Carras came to the rescue with a substantial subvention towards the production of *BMGS* 1 (1975).

There was no problem over the editorship. Donald Nicol had been the obvious person since the idea was first floated at Belfast. Happily his arm was twisted. Contributors and subscribers to *BMGS* owe more than they know to the high standards and sheer hard work which our Founding Editor put into this journal. The least we can do is to offer this volume of *BMGS* to Donald Nicol.

In his review of *BMGS* 9 (1984) and 10 (1986) in *The Times Literary Supplement,* 6 March 1987, Richard Clogg maintained that one problem which beset the 'old' *BMGS* was that it was an hodgepodge. This is, of course, a definition of any journal,

from *Notes and Queries* to the *Archeion Samou,* and does not bother me much, so long as the hodgepodge is worth reading. But he, and the contributor to the *Financial Times* of 5 December 1987, come to the point. Byzantium tends to concentrate on history and culture; Modern Greek on language and literature; some thought that the British might be Byzantine and the Americans Modern Greek. This time we were perfectly aware that links under such multiple stretches might break, and talked about it. Academically they did not. A glance at what *BMGS* published under Donald Nicol's editorship shows that our fears were ungrounded. Few heard the traditional tocsin dates of 330, 1204, 1453, 1821 or 1923. The distinction remains between *discipline* and *subject.* Practitioners of cliometry or palaeography, linguistics or post-structuralism, agree to disagree in their own disciplines' journals. *BMGS* brings them together on a common subject.

Behind this, we considered how Byzantine and Modern Greek scholars publish. Byzantinists took on the Greek addiction to periodicals from the beginning. Grégoire's bibliography of 753 items include no single 'book'.[45] This can get out of hand, and provides a happy hunting ground for bibliographers and collectors of studies. In 1976 Hans-Georg Beck addressed the Fifteenth International Byzantine Congress with the threat of "Reprint, or be damned!" Even Karl Krumbacher's *BZ* 1 (1892) devoted about half its pages to reviews such as Tozer's. *BZ* 79 (1986), devotes 456 of 576 pages to bibliography, mostly of articles in other journals. Except for review articles on a topic, *BMGS* set its face against such narcissism. Its other distinction is that it is published, like *The Link,* in English.

From 1940 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* became the first Byzantine annual largely to be written in English. When *BMGS* began there was no English language journal for Modern Greek Studies, other than Birmingham's *Mandatoforos* (1972-), now published mainly in Greek from Amsterdam. But from 1977 followed the interesting *Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek* (now *Modern Greek and Balkan Studies*). In the U.S.A. the *Journal of the Greek*

45. See the bibliographies in a four-volume *Festschrift, Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (1881-1964) = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 9-12 (1949-52); and in *Byzantion* 35 (1965).

Diaspora (to any Business Editor a suicidal title, but it survives), has been joined by the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. Here too, Modern Greek scholars seem to prefer the genre of the article as their vehicle. The only article which its editor, Sp. Lambros, did not contribute to the *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 1-21 (1904-27) was by William Miller. Lambros met his match in Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) who by 1933 had written an estimated 800 books and 10,000 articles, according to his entry in the current *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. In 1908, when Charlotte Cornish made her bequest to Oxford, Iorga founded a whole peoples' university at Vâlenii de Munte. But I think that the Editor of *BMGS* would look very closely a submission of an article by Lambros or Iorga today, not because it might be the 10,001st, but to ask if it pursues a common subject, for which *BMGS* provides a context.

Two other questions were more pressing in 1980-84: the MGSA had its own growing membership (with growing pains) to consider; and Basil Blackwell never found our journal profitable.

By 1980 Blackwell was begging us to find another publisher (and were very helpful when we did). Peter Bien, Edmund Keeley and I visited Johns Hopkins University Press, but it was the MGSA's excellent new *JMGS* (excellent because it is also an hodgepodge), which it eventually took on. Blackwell gave a final reprieve to the delayed *BMGS* 8 (1932-83) as their final volume, by which time the MGSA had decided to go it alone with *JMGS*.

Richard Clogg describes this parting of ways as a schism, but I have never known mutual schismatics on such excellent terms. We knew that an Anglo-American editorial board that could rarely meet in person would never be plain sailing. That on the editorial side it turned out to be so easy is a tribute to the Quaker good sense of Donald Nichol's tireless American Associate Editor, Peter Bien (who stayed on to help with *BMGS*, 8). United in producing a scholarly journal, the seamless robe of *BMGS* did not come apart over the Atlantic.

Did it because of its subject? During the first decade of *BMGS*, membership of the British National Byzantine Committee was growing as fast as that of the MGSA. In 1983 the latter turned itself into the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, but also rejected *BMGS* as its official journal. Was it that

American Modern Greek scholars were no more interested (to use Clogg's terms) in the *Comes Horreorum* (a Roman warehouseman, *BMGS* 10, 203), than British Byzantinists were in Cavafy's paperclips (*BMGS* 7, 58)? Should they have been? (Cavafy would have been interested in both). Those are ingredients of an hodgepodge, if you reject Bachtin's brave manifesto for *The Link*. But they link if you take the example of *Past & Present,* which embraces within the same subject disciplines using topics infinitely more disparate than Roman administrators and Cavafy's stationery.

In 1983, freed of our obligations to the MGSA, and gently abandoned by Basil Blackwell, it might have been simpler to close shop and thank Donald Nicol and Peter Bien for eight notable volumes, however described. But it was the identity of the subject which was at issue. *The Link* had done it culturally; UBHJ 12 (1970) had attempted it historically; institutionally we were to link it in Birmingham through the *Tourkokratia*. John Haldon presented the only coherent plan to give *BMGS* a distinctive and related identity: a concern with theory and method.[46] It was the only plan which I was prepared to back, indeed the only one offered,as because as Business Editor I undertook to rescue *BMGS,* which has cost this Centre more time than money. Our Editorial Board is as representative as ever, and actually meets and eats together. Divested of Blackwell's overheads, and assisted by growing numbers of subscribers, *BMGS* has made a 'profit' for five years, which is being put back into keeping its price down to the last increase by Blackwell in 1981, and maintaining standards of production. Bemrose, our new printers, have learnt Greek, Byzantine and Modern.

Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies flourish. Does its subject? Donald Nicol's tenure of the Koraës Chair shows that it can.

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46. See Editorial Comment, *BMGS* 9 (1984-85) — 12 (1988).