

# Learning Modern Greek in nineteenth-century Paris: K. B. Hase's student notes on Amiras' translation of Costin, *History of the Kingdoms and Princes of Moldavia*\*

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*This article offers the first detailed study of a manuscript preserving notes from the Modern Greek course held in 1801-2 by Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison in Paris. The notebook was kept by Karl Benedikt Hase, later Professor of Modern Greek at the French École de langues orientales vivantes, during his attendance of Villoison's course as a student. The article sketches first the historical context of the notebook, before an analysis of its contents, and finally a comparison with Hase's later published work on the primary text at its core, Amiras' Greek translation of Costin's History of Moldavia.*

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## Introduction

This article offers the first detailed analysis of an archival source containing notes on Modern Greek language and literature, preserved among the papers of the Hellenist Karl Benedikt Hase (1780–1864) in Weimar, Germany. The authors identify the archival source (GSA 108/35) as a student notebook from Hase’s time in Paris, containing notes on Modern Greek from a course held by Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d’Ansse de Villoison (1750–1805) in 1801–2. The article sets the scene (I) by considering the notebook’s historical context, its place in the life of Hase, and the history of Villoison’s Greek courses in nineteenth-century Paris. The article proceeds (II) to a detailed study of the archival source itself, offering a description of the notebook and analysis of its contents. This analysis focuses on the principal text addressed in Hase’s notes: Alexander Amiras’ Greek translation of Costin’s *History of the Kingdoms and Princes of Moldavia*. The article’s third section (III), finally, compares Hase’s student notes on Amiras/Costin with his later article on the same text, published in 1827 at the height of Hase’s career as Professor of Modern Greek in Paris. A brief conclusion draws together this study’s results, which bear on the early history of Modern Greek pedagogy in Paris, the development of Hase’s own ideas concerning Greek language and literature in the footsteps of his teacher Villoison, and the lasting influence of Amiras’/Costin’s *History* as a text for instruction in Modern Greek in nineteenth-century France. Three images of the archival source are appended.

## I. Historical context

Karl Benedikt Hase arrived in Paris at the age of twenty-one, having walked from his native Thuringia across central Germany in the autumn of 1801.<sup>1</sup> The young man brought with him excellent knowledge of an array of languages, including Latin, Ancient Greek, and Arabic, but also of Modern Greek, a language he had learnt from Greek-speaking peers during his time at the University of Jena.<sup>2</sup> If Hase’s initial motives for heading to France were generally ‘revolutionary’,<sup>3</sup> it was his promise as a scholar that kept him in France. By 1814, he held a post in the manuscript department at the (then) Bibliothèque Impériale, was employed as a teacher to Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (the future Napoléon III) and his brother Napoléon-Louis,<sup>4</sup> and had begun the process of becoming a naturalized French citizen.<sup>5</sup>

1 J. D. Guigniaut, ‘Notice historique sur la vie et les travaux de M. Charles-Benoît Hase’, *Mémoires de l’Institut de France* 27.1 (1877) 247–73 (253–4).

2 M. Bréal, ‘La Jeunesse de M. Hase’, *Revue des deux mondes* (1829–1971) 56.2 (1883) 347–67.

3 E. Gran-Aymerich, J. Leclant, and A. Laronde, *Naissance de l’archéologie moderne, 1798–1945* (Paris 1998) 857.

4 J. Dummer, ‘Ein Thüringer in Paris: Karl Benedikt Hase’, in J. Köhler and J. Kiefer (eds), *Deutsch-Französische Wissenschaftskontakte in Thüringen* (Erfurt 2008) 109–14 (111).

5 K. Dietrich-Chénéel and M.-H. Varnier, ‘Annexe II: Le dossier de naturalisation de Carl Benedikt Hase’, in: Karin Dietrich-Chénéel and Marie-Hélène Varnier, ‘Les Allemands naturalisés en France de 1791 à 1848. Méthodologie et résultats statistiques’, *Cahiers d’Études Germaniques* 13 (1987) 9–56 (46).

Hase would go on to become a leading scholar of Greek in Paris.<sup>6</sup> Following his early publications (hailed as models of Byzantine textual criticism<sup>7</sup>) he began teaching Modern Greek in 1815 at the *École des langues orientales*, before taking the chair officially in 1819.<sup>8</sup> In the mid-1830s, Hase took a leading role in the preparation of Firmin-Didot's expanded edition of Étienne's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, a monument of classical Greek learning which would occupy Hase until his death.<sup>9</sup> By the pinnacle of his career as a Hellenist, Hase was renowned also as prominent figure of the French academy at large. By 1832, he was appointed head of the manuscript department at the (then) *Bibliothèque Royale*,<sup>10</sup> formed part of the academic commission for France's military and research undertakings in the Morea (1828–1833) and Algeria (1839–1841),<sup>11</sup> and took up the chair of Comparative Grammar at the Sorbonne in 1852.<sup>12</sup> By the end of his life, Hase had become a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg (1821), a member of the French *Académie d'inscriptions et belles lettres* (1824), a Knight in the French Legion of Honour (1828), and he had been admitted to the Prussian order *Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste* (1849).

The various titles and accolades that Hase accrued at the high points of his career are well documented.<sup>13</sup> His academic interests and activities during the earliest years of his time in Paris remain less studied. In particular, Hase's interests in Modern Greek at the turn of the nineteenth century have received comparatively little attention. Moreover, the development of his research in this area of study is frequently overshadowed by his contributions to the fields of Byzantine and classical philology. Based on the identification of the archival object at the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (GSA) 108/35 – hereafter 'the Green Notebook' – as a collection of notes from Hase's time as a twenty-one-year-old on the cusp of entering his academic career, this article proposes an in-depth consideration of Karl Benedikt's earliest Parisian endeavours in Modern Greek, and the place of this training in his later scholarship. This attention to an early

6 I. Ševčenko, 'The date and author of the so-called fragments of Toparcha Gothicus', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25 (1971) 115–88 (166).

7 See e.g. D. Reinsch, 'The history of editing Byzantine historiographical texts', in P. Stephenson (ed.) *The Byzantine World* (London 2010) 435–44 (441).

8 L. Bazin, 'L'École des langues orientales et l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139.4 (1995) 983–96 (992).

9 K. B. Hase et al. (eds.), *Thesaurus Graecae linguae de Henrico Stephano constructus*, 9 vols (Paris 1832–65). On the story of this publication see most recently C. Stray, 'The politics of the classical: language and authority in the nineteenth century', *History of Classical Scholarship* 3 (2021) 267–94 (278–9).

10 Guigniaut, 'Notice historique', 263.

11 O. Jacquot, 'Charles Benoît Hase (1780–1864), un philhellène allemand à la Bibliothèque nationale', *Billet, Carnet de la recherche à la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (2023) n. 36. <https://bnf.hypotheses.org/30851>, accessed 10.09.2024

12 K. Ritter von Halm, 'Hase, Karl Benedikt', in R. Freiherr von Liliencron (ed.), *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig 1879), <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz31263.html>, accessed 10.09.2024.

13 Most recently in e.g. Jacquot, 'Charles Benoît Hase'.

phase of the scholar's life promises not only to shed light on the details of Hase's passage into the French academy, but also offers primary material for a re-examination of the study of Modern Greek in early nineteenth-century Paris.

Though the details of Hase's interest in contemporary spoken Greek have been overlooked, the fundamental significance of these linguistic interests for his first contact with French academia is at least acknowledged in an oft-related episode from his earliest days in Paris. Hase wrote of it in a letter to his German friend, Wilhelm Erdmann, dated 27 October 1801 (5 Brumaire IX).<sup>14</sup> That afternoon, Hase had fallen into conversation with a *mamelouk* at the Palais Royale: he was able to strike up a rapport with this Ottoman soldier thanks to his skills in Arabic. From this conversation, Hase learned the whereabouts of the interpreter (*dragoman*) for the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, the Athenian Panagiotis Kodrikas (1762–1827). Having then sought out Kodrikas, Hase was able to win over this prominent figure of the Greek Enlightenment with his command of spoken Greek. Kodrikas was naturally well connected in Parisian intellectual circles, and particularly with Hellenists. He was able to write a letter of introduction for the young Hase to Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison, the French scholar renowned then (as now) for his rediscovery of the Homeric *Venetus A* and the resulting new edition of the *Iliad*.<sup>15</sup>

It was, then, primarily through Villoison that Hase could begin to establish himself on the academic scene in Paris. He records in another letter to Erdmann<sup>16</sup> that Villoison soon promised him work as a copyist of Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Royale, as well as a stipend for meeting to practice Modern Greek for an hour every ten days.<sup>17</sup> It was during these early years in Paris that the young Hase also published his first article on the topic of Modern Greek, published in the German-language *Neue teuscher Merkur*, which attempts to answer the question 'Sollen wir die Neugriechen in ihrer Aussprache des Altgriechischen nachahmen?'<sup>18</sup> Here Hase reveals himself somewhat conservative as regards the modern pronunciation of ancient Greek, yet with a progressive view as to the value of Modern Greek as a study *per se*.

14 K. B. Hase, *Briefe von der Wanderung und aus Paris von Carl Benedict Hase.*, ed. O. Heine (Leipzig 1894) 59–60. See also the account of the episode in K. A. von Hase, *Unsre Hauschronik: Geschichte der Familie Hase in vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig 1898) 94–5.

15 J.-B.-G. d'Ansse de Villoison (ed.), *Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis veneti fidem recensita* (1788).

16 Hase, *Briefe von der Wanderung*, 60.

17 On Villoison's efforts to assist the young Hase on his arrival in Paris see C. Joret, *D'Ansse de Villoison et l'hellénisme en France pendant le dernier tiers du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1910) 422–4. Villoison's affection for the young Saxon was perhaps encouraged by the fact that the older Frenchman had himself spent time at the court of Saxe-Weimar in the 1780s.

18 K. B. Hase, 'Sollen wir die Neugriechen in ihrer Aussprache des Altgriechischen nachahmen?' *Neue teuscher Merkur* 41 (1803) 266–95. Hase would expand on the views set out in this German article later in his career, for which see n. 74 below. For an overview of Hase's attitudes towards Greek (ancient and modern) more generally see also W. M. Barton, 'La langue grecque dans le journal intime de C.-B. Hase,' *Camenaë* 29 (2023) 1–23.

In his second letter to Erdmann Hase acknowledged that Villoison's motivations for employing him in this second capacity most likely stemmed from the older scholar's generosity towards a young enthusiast for the Greek language, rather than from a belief that Hase might necessarily teach him something new. Villoison had, indeed, spent nearly three years among Greek-speakers during his time with the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817), between 1784 and 1786.<sup>19</sup> During this time, Villoison had travelled extensively across Greece and had expanded his already extensive knowledge of the language's historical forms sufficiently to be credited with early academic interest in the Tsakonian dialect of Modern Greek spoken in the eastern Peloponnese.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, after a period away from Paris during the years of the Revolution, Villoison began to offer courses in Greek as an independent instructor. After considerable insistence on the part of Villoison,<sup>21</sup> a chair of Modern Greek was finally established at the *École des langues orientales vivantes* in 1804. Following Villoison's death in 1805, this chair remained unoccupied until 1819, when Hase became the first to occupy it full-time.<sup>22</sup>

Villoison's first private Greek course was held in 1799–1800 following his return to Paris.<sup>23</sup> He intended to offer lectures on both ancient and later Greek authors. An advertisement for the course was published by Villoison's friend, Millin de Grandmaison (1759–1818), in the *Magasin encyclopédique* in autumn of the same year.<sup>24</sup> From the text of the advertisement, the reader learns that expectations for Villoison's private course were modest. Millin's emphatic –almost exasperated – call for interested parties to register at the earliest opportunity indicate already the limited reception that Villoison's course received.<sup>25</sup> In a letter to his friend (and Hase's former teacher) Karl August Böttiger in Weimar, Millin reported that the course was 'n'autre chose que l'explication de Pindare avec d'amples commentaires philologiques'.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps in response to this lukewarm reception, Villoison had by the following year switched the focus of his course to Modern Greek and integrated it into the recently

19 É. Famerie, *Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison. De l'Hellade à la Grèce. Voyage en Grèce et au Levant (1784–1786)* (Hildesheim 2006).

20 É. Famerie, 'Villoison et la redécouverte du dialecte tsakonien', *Anabases* 6 (2007) 235–48.

21 On the story of Villoison's establishment of this chair see C. Joret, 'L'helléniste d'Ansse de Villoison et la création d'une chaire de grec moderne au Collège de France', *Journal des Savants* 7.4 (1909) 149–56.

22 Bazin, 'L'École des langues orientales', 992. On the history of this chair later in the century see J. Psichari, 'Les études de grec moderne en France au dix-neuvième siècle', *Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 47.1 (1904) 220–39, and A. Mirambel, 'Le domaine grec moderne et les études néohelléniques en France depuis un siècle', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 80.379/383 (1967) 445–52.

23 Joret, *D'Ansse de Villoison et l'hellénisme*, 385–6.

24 A.-L. Millin de Grandmaison, 'Cours de langue grecque, par C. D'Ansse de Villoison', *Magasin Encyclopédique* V.3 (1799) 523–5. On this publication see Joret, *D'Ansse de Villoison et l'hellénisme*, 386–7.

25 Millin, 'Cours de langue grecque', 525. On the course's tepid reception see also G. Tolia, *La médaille et la rouille: L'image de la Grèce moderne dans la presse littéraire Parisienne (1794–1815)* (Paris 1997) 139–40.

26 Millin to Böttiger, 21 January 1800, vol. 131, n. 19 cited in Joret, *D'Ansse de Villoison et l'hellénisme*, 388.

established *École des langues orientales vivantes*.<sup>27</sup> An advertisement for the 1800 version of the course appeared again in the *Magasin encyclopédique*; this time at once briefer and more descriptive about the style of teaching and the types of text that would be read:

Le citoyen d'Anse de Villoison développera l'origine et les principes du grec vulgaire, dictera des dialogues pour enseigner à parler cette langue et expliquera ensuite le *Γεωπονικὸν* ou *Traité d'agriculture d'Agapius* et *l'Αραβικὸν μυθολογικὸν*, contes arabes traduits en grec vulgaire.<sup>28</sup>

Villoison taught a further edition of this course in 1801-2, once again advertised in the *Magasin encyclopédique*,<sup>29</sup> before the course was discontinued.<sup>30</sup>

Whilst Villoison's courses never attracted a large number of students, the names of the known participants at least count among acknowledged cultural specialists in early nineteenth-century Paris. In his biographical essay on Villoison for Didot's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (1852–1866), Étienne Quatremère (1782–1857) – himself a prominent orientalist and a later colleague of Hase at the *École de langues orientales* – lists the botanist and antiquarian Honoré Jean Casimir Rostan (1774–1833), the politician and philologist Nicolas-Maximilien-Sidoine Séguier (1773–1854), and the Ottoman Greek interpreter Panagiotis Kodrikas, alongside himself and Karl Benedikt Hase as participants in the last version of the course.<sup>31</sup>

Hase commented on the material that Villoison selected for this Modern Greek course in a later note for the description of manuscript *BnF Supplément grec* 6, which contains Amiras' Greek translation of Costin's *History*.<sup>32</sup> This description appeared in the catalogue of the *BnF's Supplément grec* manuscripts prepared by Hase and Emmanuel Miller (1812–1886). Hase and Miller's manuscript catalogue is still in

27 This *École* was founded on the initiative of Joseph Lakanal (1762–1845) and Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763–1824) in 1796 to respond to the need for skills in 'oriental' languages among diplomats and merchants. On the history and aims of the *École* see Bazin, 'L'École des langues orientales', 983–96.

28 J.-B.-G. d'Anse de Villoison, 'Cours de grec moderne', *Magasin Encyclopédique* VI.4 (1800) 534.

29 J.-B.-G. d'Anse de Villoison, 'Cours de grec moderne', *Magasin Encyclopédique* VII.4 (1801) 385.

30 Tolia, *Le médaille*, 140.

31 É. Quatremère, 'D'Anse de Villoison', in J. C. F. Hofer and A. Firmin-Didot (eds), *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 13 (Paris 1853) cols 1–18. See also Joret, *D'Anse de Villoison et l'hellénisme*, 388–9 and Tolia, *Le médaille*, 140 for the known participants in Villoison's courses. Joret (p. 388) remarks that Quatremère in his essay of nearly fifty years after the courses includes Hase's name among the participants of the 1799 course (Quatremère, 'D'Anse de Villoison', 14). As Hase arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1801, this was, of course, impossible. Quatremère also included, however, Hase's name among the attendance of the later Modern Greek course (16).

32 See C. Astruc *et al.*, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Supplément grec. Numéros 1 à 150, Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Paris 2003).



Paris.<sup>33</sup> Continuing in the Latin of the general catalogue, Hase writes of *Supplément grec* 6:

*Fragmentis ex hoc libro descriptis per annum integrum in schola sua publica, qua linguam Graecam vulgarem docebat usus est, qui nunc in vivis esse desiit vir clarissimus D’Ansse de Villoison.*<sup>34</sup>

On the basis of the ‘Green Notebook’, we can now look over the shoulder of Hase as a student in Villoison’s Modern Greek course and the role this experience would play in Hase’s development as a scholar: The following section II offers a description of the notebook and an analysis of its contents. Section III then turns to the relationship of Hase’s student notes with his later article on the Greek text of Amiras/Costin published in 1827.

## II. Archival evidence

The brief catalogue entry at the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv defines GSA 108/35 as a ‘Notiz- und Konzeptbuch’.<sup>35</sup> The volume contains 63 folia and bears no explicit date, although a supplementary note places the object between 1801 to late 1805 based on the *termini ante* and *post quem* discussed below.<sup>36</sup> The volume contains copies in Hase’s hand of excerpts from two principal texts, occupying all but five folia of the notebook, each accompanied by notes on the vocabulary, grammar, and historical context of the respective works. These two main texts are: Nectarius of Jerusalem’s (1602–1676), *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱεροκοσμικῆς Ἱστορίας*,<sup>37</sup> and Alexander Amiras’ (1679–1740) Modern Greek translation of Miron (1633–1691) and Nicolae Costin’s (ca. 1660–1712) *History of Moldavia*, the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν, περιέχον τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐν Μολδαβίᾳ ἡγεμονευσάντων αὐθέντων*.<sup>38</sup> Occupying just under forty folia, Amiras’

33 K. B. Hase and E. Miller, MS *BnF Supplément grec* 1003. ‘Notices des manuscrits du Supplément grec numéros (1–235. 237–401. 404–6. 556)’: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/brv1b11004385z> accessed 10.09.2024.

34 ‘The illustrious D’Ansse de Villoison (now no longer with us) used passages copied from this book throughout the whole year for his public course, in which he taught the ‘common’ Greek language’. *BnF Supplément grec* 1003 fol. 7r. Note that for this transcription the nineteenth-century Latin orthography has been modernized.

35 GSA 108/35, in: *Archivdatenbank des Goethe- und Schiller-Archivs*. [https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2\\_ID:431955\\_](https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2_ID:431955_), accessed 10.09.2024.

36 A supplementary note mentioning a tentative period from the end of 1801 to late 1805 was added on the basis of the present research in September 2023. For a more precise date, see the next subsection ‘Dating’ below.

37 Composed in 1677 and first published as Νεκτάριος, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων, *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱεροκοσμικῆς Ἱστορίας* (Venice 1783).

38 The history of this text is complex and remains a topic of research for specialists of Moldavian history. Amiras translated parts of Miron Costin’s *Chronicles* of Moldavia covering 1594 to 1660 (published 1675), as well as parts of Nicolae’s *Chronicles* which cover the beginning of history until 1601 and then 1709–11, see I. St. Petre (ed.), *Letopisețul țării Moldovei dela zidirea lumii până la 1601* (Bucharest 1942), 15. Additional

Costin's *Βιβλίον Ιστορικών* and Hase's notes on the text dominate the notebook's contents. Alongside these three principal sections, and occasionally interspersing them, there are also a series of scattered notes recording bibliographical details and cross-references, as well as 3 folia with an excerpt from Procopius' *Secret History* (9.14.7–9.25.4) and related notes.

The following consideration of the Green Notebook now offers a description of the document's physical aspects along with an analysis of its contents. The results of this analysis allow us to draw a series of conclusions about the date of the document, the languages and pedagogical context in which it was used, and Hase's note-taking practices, as well as the topics of particular interest to the Modern Greek classroom in nineteenth-century Paris.

### *Dating*

The notebook's folia are enumerated in the lower left corner of each recto side in pencil. This enumeration has been carried out in a second hand and is most certainly a later addition.<sup>39</sup> The number of folia stated in the notebook description (63) might seem inconsistent with the enumeration, which places number 1 on the front pastedown instead of the first folio. However, a single folio is missing between ff.59–60, evidently torn out, with a thin tattered paper fragment still attached to the binding. Since the enumeration foregoes this ruined folio, it is safe to assume that the page had been torn out before the numbering was added.

The notebook contains no flyleaf. The text begins on the front pastedown (i.e. f.1v) and continues until f.63v, with abundant ink marks covering most of the final page spread. In the absence of the flyleaf, where a date would commonly be provided, it comes as no surprise that Hase's notebook was initially catalogued 'ohne Jahr.' Hase records, however, two dates in his notebook, which help corroborate the supplementary note in the GSA description. Both dates (giving the day and the month only) use the French Revolutionary Calendar: 19 Messidor on f.4r and 11 Nivôse on f.21v. Since the Revolutionary Calendar was abolished by Napoleon from 1 January 1806, Hase's reference to this calendar system indicates a *terminus post quem* for the notebook.

Further, since we know that Villoison used Amiras' Greek translation of the Costins' *History* for his Modern Greek course in 1801,<sup>40</sup> a more precise date still for the Green

later material appears in Amiras' Greek, which is of uncertain origin (see E. Karathanassis, 'L'exemple d'un érudit grec en Moldovalachie: Alexandre Amiras (1679–1740 ci)', *Balkan Studies* 23.2 (1982) 321–40 (324–5)). Against the idea that Amiras was himself the author of these later sections see see D. Simonescu (ed.), *Cronica-Anonima a Moldovei 1661–1729* (Bucharest 1975), 5–15. The present article, focused on Hase's engagement with the Greek text for study and teaching a modern form of Greek, will use the shorthand title Amiras/Costin, *Βιβλίον Ιστορικών*, which represents Hase's knowledge of the text and his language of interest.

39 The present article uses this later numbering for reference.

40 See n. 34 above.



Notebook can now be established. Hase arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1801,<sup>41</sup> and is listed among those who attended Villoison's last Modern Greek course in the same year, meaning he began to attend and to take his notes from the lessons promptly after his arrival.<sup>42</sup> Further, a sticker preserved in the top left-hand corner of the notebook's pastedown (f.1v) records the name of the Parisian stationer's at which Hase acquired the book in Paris.<sup>43</sup> The first date mentioned in the notebook is 19 Messidor (Gregorian calendar 8 July). Knowing that Villoison's course began in 1801 and ran through an academic year into the summer of 1802, this date can now be confirmed as 8th July 1802. Villoison's course due to begin in winter 1802 was then, as we have seen, discontinued.<sup>44</sup> According to this reasoning, Hase was using the notebook to record his language-learning efforts in Modern Greek between his arrival at Paris in late 1801 and late 1802; that is, in his first academic year there.

### *Language and pedagogical context*

Hase used four languages in the Green Notebook: Greek, Latin, French, and German. His notes in these languages range from brief one-liners to passages of more than one page in which Hase alternate between two or more languages. This sort of code-switching is typical of Hase, as has been observed elsewhere on the basis of the his 'secret diary'.<sup>45</sup> It is nonetheless possible to distinguish broadly Hase's preferred uses of each language and his respective preferences for these notes' *mise-en-page*.

The principal language of the notebook is Greek, predominantly in its early modern spoken form, with occasional sections in classical Greek. In the sections of the volume dedicated to the two principal source texts, Hase follows largely the same layout: each page spread contains a copy of the Greek source text on the *verso* side, with comments on vocabulary, grammar, and historical context on the facing *recto*. Since we know from the advertisements for Villoison's course that dictation and philological explanation of text was the primary focus,<sup>46</sup> it is safe to assume that these pages of facing text and commentary derive from classroom exercises. Indeed, the larger part of Hase's (infrequent) spelling irregularities in the notes are clearly the result of copying from dictation ('φωνεύσουσι' for 'φονεύσουσι' (f.11v),<sup>47</sup> for example, 'ὦ μὴν

41 Guigniaut, 'Notice historique,' 252–3.

42 Quatremère, 'D'Ansse de Villoison', 385.

43 The shop's sticker records 'Au Griffon, Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, Dupré Marchand de Papiers', f.1v.

44 Tolias, *La médaille*, 140.

45 The secret diary is preserved in Weimar under call numbers GSA 108/2921–GSA 108/2929. For analysis of Hase's use of Greek in the diary see: Ševčenko, 'The date and author' and Barton, 'La langue grecque dans le journal intime'.

46 See note 28 above.

47 'They will kill.' Quotations from the notebook are transcribed semi-diplomatically, maintaining Hase's orthography, but expanding abbreviations and without recording line breaks. Where Hase's orthography differs markedly from modern (or contemporary) standards, affected words are marked [*sic*]. Translations of the early modern Greek are added in the accompanying footnote, except where a citation is made to

ἀνακαθεύσω’ for ‘νὰ μὴν ἀνακατέψω’ (f.12v.), or ‘διοίκησιν’ for ‘δύγησιν’ (f.28r)). Moreover, a significant number of the comments on the dictated text deal with issues of pronunciation and phonetic change (e.g. ‘ἄμποτε *ex ἄν ποτε*’ (f.19r.) and ‘ἦλθεν. *Saepe dicunt ἦρθεν*’ (f.52r).<sup>48</sup>

As these examples demonstrate, Hase often used Latin for notes on linguistic points, especially on vocabulary and grammar (e.g. ‘τροπάρια et στιχάρια, *hymni sacri, qui in ecclesiis Graecorum cantantur*’ (f.56r);<sup>49</sup> ‘στρατήγος [*sic*], *praetor, non semper dux militum nonnunquam etiam civium*’ (f.38r)).<sup>50</sup> Hase also used Latin for bibliographical references and occasional quotes (e.g. f.15r ‘*Praesentemque viris praesentant omnia mortem. Virgil*’).<sup>51</sup> French is also employed extensively for these themes (e.g. for vocabulary, ‘θερμαίνεσθαι, embraser’ (f.40r); ‘μνημα, monument *gallice*’ (f.41r)); and for comments on linguistic idiom (e.g. ‘νὰ μὲ συμπαθίζης, excusez moi, en grec moderne’ (f.8r)). But also especially for notes on contemporary Greek life and culture (e.g. ‘λογοθέτης. Il y en avoit quelquefois douze à Constantinople, entre autres un λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, qui étoit inspecteur des postes’ (f.24r), and ‘οἱ πρωτογέροντες sont encore à présent les chefs des Maniotes’ (f.30r)). With our knowledge of Villosion’s years of travel in Greek-speaking areas,<sup>52</sup> it is now possible to hear his voice in these moments of explanation and clarification in the Parisian lecture hall. Alongside these Latin and French comments, we occasionally see Hase using his native German for longer comments, which appear to be the result of independent research (e.g. a note on the grave of Thessaloniki’s patron saint, ‘Grabmal des heiligen Dimitrios, die in einer Kirche in Thessaloniki ist, und die die Grabschrift eines gewissen Spanduni aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert war’ (f.56r)).

These comments, scholarly references, translations, and definitions in French, Latin, and German thus form the paratextual comments to the Greek primary sources on the facing page. The first source text appears on ff.4r–20v, and begins with a French title: *Histoire de St. Nil, et des ces aventures dans le desert du Mont Sinai, traduite en grec moderne par Nectaire, patriarche de Jerusalem* (see [image 1](#) in the appendix below). The text is split into chapters, which are introduced by corresponding headings, (e.g. “Ὅπως ἐπουλήθη ὁ Θεοδούλος [*sic*]’ (f.11v)).<sup>53</sup> The headings are occasionally underlined (e.g. f.14v) although this mark-up does not seem to bear any semantic significance. This *Histoire de St. Nil* is an excerpt from the *Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἱεροκοσμικῆς*

illucidate the structure of the notes (and not their contents) – see below – or where a translation is already given in French in the original text also cited.

48 ‘ἦλθεν, “they went”. Often pronounced ἦρθεν’.

49 ‘τροπάρια and στιχάρια, sacred hymns, which are sung in Greek churches’.

50 ‘στρατήγος [*sic*], a commander, not always of a military general, but sometimes also civic’.

51 ‘And all things *hold out* swift death for mortal man’. Cf. Verg. A. 1.91: ‘*praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem*’.

52 See nn. 18 and 20 above.

53 ‘How Theodoulos was healed’.

*Ιστορίας* written by Nectarius Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1677,<sup>54</sup> which contains a chapter on the Sinaite monks, and a section on Saint Nilus of Sinai (d. ca. 430). Comparison with the 1783 edition of the *Ἐπιτομή* confirms that these sections of Nectarius' work formed the source text transcribed by Hase.<sup>55</sup> The excerpts preserved in the Green Notebook begin *in medias res*, with the a section from the chapter “Ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ἐγλύτωσε τὴν σφαγὴν ὁ Θεόδουλος” (ff.4r).<sup>56</sup> The source text is reproduced accurately, with minor omissions, and only scattered spelling irregularities most likely the result of dictation.<sup>57</sup>

The *recto*-side notes on the excerpts from the *Ἐπιτομή* comprise brief vocabulary remarks (e.g. a comment on f.8r with names of spiritual entities in Greek folklore ‘βρουκόλακας’, ‘καλαῖς κυράδες’, ‘στοιχεῖα’ [*sic*], written in a vertical list and glossed as ‘esprits et revenans en Grèce’ (f.8r)), bibliographic references,<sup>58</sup> and contextual remarks elaborating on subjects mentioned in the source (for instance, a note about mastic trees, ‘Trois sortes d’arbres de Mastic à Chio. *In provinciae eius arbores etiam proveniunt, sed sine fructu*’ (f.5r)).<sup>59</sup> These notes provide a privileged ‘glance over the shoulder’ of a student attending Villosion’s Greek language courses, previously known only from brief descriptions in contemporary publications.

The second source text begins on f.22v with a lengthy title, ‘*BIBAIION ΙΣΤΟΠΙΚΟΝ, περιέχον τὰς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐν Μολδαβία ἡγεμονουσάντων ἀθέντων [...] ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ,αιμκθ. μην. Φεβρουάριον*’ (see [image 2](#) in the appendix below).<sup>60</sup> This history of Moldavia was originally composed by the Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin (1633–1691) and later expanded by his son Nicolae (1660–1712). The text was then translated into Modern Greek (alongside some additional anonymous material<sup>61</sup>) by Alexander Amiras, an official at the court of Moldavian prince Grigore III Ghica.<sup>62</sup> Hase’s Green Notebook contains the title, the prologue, most of chapter 6 on the origins of Dacians, and a brief excerpt from chapter 9.

Hase’s choice of page layout alters slightly for the initial pages in this section: the source text takes up half a page, which is separated with a horizontal line from the rest of the notes making up the second half of the page and the facing side (see [image 3](#) in

54 For an overview of Nectarius’ life see F. Kattenbusch, ‘Nectarius: Patriarch of Jerusalem’, in S. M. Jackson (ed.), *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (Grand Rapids 1953) 98. On the *Ἐπιτομή* see M. I. Manousakas, ‘Η «Ἐπιτομή της Ιεροκοσμικής Ιστορίας» του Νεκταρίου Ιεροσολύμων και αι πηγὰι αὐτῆς,’ *Κρητικά Χρονικά: Κείμενα και Μελέται Κρητικής Ιστορίας Α*, 2 (1947) 291–332.

55 Νεκτάριος, *Ἐπιτομή*, 130–5.

56 ‘How it came that Theodoulos avoided slaughter’.

57 See note 45 above.

58 Hase refers twice to Alexander Helladius of Larissa: ff.9r and 21r.

59 ‘Three types of mastic tree from Chios. The trees still grow in that province, although they bear no fruit.’

60 ‘Historical book containing the reigns and deeds of the princes ruling in Moldavia [...] February A.D. 1729’.

61 See note 38 above.

62 A manuscript of Amiras’ translation is preserved in *BnF Par. suppl. gr. 6*.

the appendix below). Hase's notes deal with the same topics as those upon which we have commented above, but now add more extensive remarks on Greek phonology and grammar. For instance, on f.23r Hase includes a paragraph on consonant shifts in Attic and Doric Greek, whilst ff.34r–35v contain a grammar section with examples of less common verbal phrases, as well as examples of words which can have contradictory meanings, e.g. 'ἀργός, *strenuus, otiosus, et iners*',<sup>63</sup> 'περιῦδειν *et* περιορᾶν, *negligere et circumspicere, ita et* περιόπτεσθαι'.<sup>64</sup> Compared to the notes on St. Nilus, these extended linguistic sections are indicative of both the course's and Hase's progress in the analysis of source texts.

### *Hase's note-taking practices and topics of interest*

Another striking feature of this section is the arrangement of Amiras'/Costin's text within the notebook itself. Beginning after the excerpts from Nectarius on f.22v, both the text and notes on Amiras'/Costin's Prologue continue until the grammar section just mentioned (ff.34r–35v), resuming thereafter on f.36r. The prologue and Hase's facing notes then occupy all pages until f.56v, where chapter 6 begins. Hase's copy of chapter 6 continues until f.60r, until the text stops abruptly in the middle of a phrase: 'Μασσαγέται εἶναι οἱ [*sic*] ἕνα γένος [...]'.<sup>65</sup> The following folia (ff.61v–63r) contain a section from the 1663 edition of Procopius' *Historia Arcana* (f.61r)<sup>66</sup> with notes.<sup>67</sup> To the surprise of the later reader, the continuation of Amiras'/Costin's chapter 6 is preserved in fragments scattered throughout preceding pages of the notebook. The order of these 'misplaced' fragments of chapter 6 can be reconstructed as follows: 'καὶ ἦλθον, ὅταν ἀκόμι' (f.9r);<sup>68</sup> 'ὁ δὲ αὐγουστος ὁ καῖσαρ' (f.20v); 'ὁ μέγας εἰς τὴν περὶ ἐθνῶν ἱστορίαν' (f.21v); 'γόθους, ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα' (f.22r); 'διὰ τὴν στερεώση τὸ βασιλείον τῆς Μακεδονίας' (f.54r); 'μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ὁ Ἰερώνυμος' (f.35v); 'ὑπο [*sic*] φόρων αὐτοῦ' (f.37r); 'καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸ γληγορώτερον μετὰ στρατεύματά του ὁ Φούσκης [...] καὶ ὡς νικήτην [*sic*] τὸν τιμήσωσιν' (f.3r). The final lines of chapter 6 are missing from the notebook, only to be replaced with a fragment from chapter 9: 'ἕνας ἱστορικὸς, ὀνόματι Ἀνεΐας [*sic*] Σίλβιος [...] ὁ καῖσαρ εἶχεν ἐξορίσει ἀπὸ τὴν Ῥώμην εἰς τὸ ἀσπρόκαστρον (Ἀκκερμάν)' (ff.3r–3v).

What might have prompted Hase to split the latter part of the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν*'s chapter 6 across these haphazard spots throughout the notebook? As noted above,

63 'ἀργός, swift, idle, and inactive'.

64 'περιῦδειν *et* περιορᾶν, to overlook, consider, the same as περιόπτεσθαι'.

65 'The Massageteans are the people [...]'. The following text on ff.61v–63r is a fragment of Procopius' 'Secret History'.

66 The text of the *Historia Arcana* has been compared with G. Wirth (post J. Haury), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1963) 1, 4–186. The passage corresponds to *Hist.* 9.14.7–9.25.4.

67 'Notae quaedam ad Procopii historiam arcanam ex edit. Reg. Parisiis 1663'.

68 The Greek passages in what remains of the paragraph serve as referential points to indicate the cohesiveness and continuity of Hase's notes in relation to the source text, and are thus provided without translation.

Hase tended to use the *recto* side of the notebook's folia for commentary. Occasionally his notes on a given passage of the original text did not fill a complete folio, leaving him with empty spaces dotted throughout the notebook. By the end of Amiras'/Costin's chapter 6, it appears likely that Hase had run out of blank pages for the original text. Engaged in Villoison's lecture, he thus improvised and used the empty spaces left on the earlier folia of his notebook. Apart from this scattered order of the text, Hase copies the source text again accurately. Certain sentences have been omitted (most likely simply skipped by Villoison as he dictated the text to the students). This hypothesis is further corroborated by inconsistencies between the source text and Hase's notes, such as divergent punctuation, inconsistent word segmentation, interpolated vowels and diphthongs, as well as occasional corrections, as noted above.

### Results

Based on this description of the physical form of the notebook and our analysis of its contents, the 'internal' evidence already points to the fact that Hase was using the notebook during Villoison's 1801-2 course on Modern Greek. A further piece of evidence allows us to further corroborate these results. In 1827, Hase published an extensive study of Amiras'/Costin's *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν*,<sup>69</sup> which is now explored in the following section of the present article. The manuscript source on which Hase based his published study is still preserved in at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France under call-number *Par. Suppl. gr. 6*.<sup>70</sup> That this is the same manuscript that Villoison used for the class in 1801/02 can be confirmed by a moment in which the student recorded the page number of the source text, which the class had reached in a given session: 'page 28'.<sup>71</sup> The Greek text of Amiras'/Costin recorded in the Green Notebook after this note corresponds to the relevant passage of the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν* in *BnF Par. suppl. gr. 6*, p. 28, thus placing Villoison, the manuscript, and Hase (with the Green Notebook) in the same lecture theatre in 1801-2.

### III. Hase's article on the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν* (1827)

Amiras' translation of Costin's *History of the Kingdoms and Princes of Moldavia* would not, however, remain merely a brief episode in Hase's student life. The piece was, indeed, to become a text of lasting interest for his scholar's subsequent academic activities, both in teaching and in his published work. Having identified the Green Notebook as Hase's student notes from Villoison's course, we can now compare these notes with Hase's later work, and assess the impact of Villoison's instruction on his own scholarship.

69 K. B. Hase, 'Histoire inédite de la Moldavie,' *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 11 (1827) 274–394.

70 On the manuscript and Hase's use of it see Karathanassis, 'L'exemple d'un érudit grec en Moldovalachie', 321–40, and Astruc and Concasty (eds), *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, 26–8.

71 GSA 108/35, f.56v.

After Villoison's death, Hase had taken over teaching responsibilities in Modern Greek at the *École des langues orientales* by 1816, even before he was awarded the full chair in 1819.<sup>72</sup> Following in the footsteps of his teacher, the prospectus for Hase's Modern Greek course was printed in the *Magasin Encyclopédique* in 1815. Here, we learn that Hase too used Amiras/Costin's text as teaching material for this course:

[...] M. Hase ouvrira, le lundi 15 Janvier 1816, un Cours de Grec moderne à l'École royale et spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes près de la Bibliothèque du Roi; il fera connaître l'origine et les principes du grec moderne, démontrera l'utilité de cette langue pour l'intelligence des Scholiastes et des Auteurs anciens, donnera quelques règles pour faciliter la lecture des Manuscrits grecs des derniers siècles, et expliquera ensuite l'Histoire de la Moldavie, composée par Myron, et traduite en grec moderne par Alexandre Amira. [...].<sup>73</sup>

The introductory lecture for this course was subsequently published in 1816.<sup>74</sup> In this lecture, Hase drew initially on the stereotypical comparison of 'degraded' and 'vulgar' Modern Greek with the 'pure' ancient language.<sup>75</sup> By the middle of the article, however, Hase has shifted his position to formulate a defence of the usefulness and necessity of studying the modern tongue, not only for effective communication with contemporary Greek speakers, but also for access to the literary, scientific, theological, and historical works composed in the later forms of the language.<sup>76</sup> On this last point Hase wrote provocatively, 'l'histoire des peuples du moyen âge ne s'éclaircit pas moins par la connoissance de cette langue'.<sup>77</sup>

This argument also features prominently in the introductory section to Hase's article on Amiras'/Costin's text, published as 'Histoire inédite de la Moldavie' in 1827. Hase in his introduction to the Greek text laments once again the lack of attention to later forms of Greek: 'la connaissance du grec moderne n'étant pas aussi répandue parmi les savans, qu'il seroit peut-être à souhaiter qu'elle le fût'.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the passages that he presents for close reading appear to have been selected for justifying the historical importance of Amiras' Greek translation of Costin's work *per se*. Access to the original Romanian text (Hase used the adjective 'moldave'<sup>79</sup>) of the *History* was apparently challenging even for Hase from his privileged position at the French Bibliothèque Royale. Indeed,

72 See n. 22 above.

73 A.-L. Millin de Grandmaison, 'Annonce d'un Cours de grec moderne, par M. Hase,' *Magasin Encyclopédique* V.6 (1816) 406–7.

74 K. B. Hase, 'Sur l'origine de la langue grecque vulgaire, et sur les avantages que l'on peut retirer de son étude,' *Magasin encyclopédique* (1816) 81–95.

75 Hase, 'Sur l'origine', 81–2.

76 Hase, 'Sur l'origine', 89–94.

77 Hase, 'Sur l'origine', 91.

78 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 288.

79 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 277.

he had only been able to exchange with scholars who had seen a later Latin version of the text.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, we learn that Amiras' Greek translation was commissioned directly by Grigore III Ghica, and perhaps overseen by the younger Costin himself. Son of a Phanariot family and keen to emphasize the prestige of his Greek roots, Ghica wanted to make a Greek version of the history of his principality available to fellow Hellenic speakers.<sup>81</sup> The Greek text thus represented an 'official', easily accessible version of the *History*,<sup>82</sup> and it was crucial for Amiras' translation – according to Hase's analysis – that the Greek steer clear of classicizing 'pomp' and rather focus on ensuring clarity for readers.<sup>83</sup> In these passages we hear, then, echoes of Hase's claims for the value of Modern Greek both as a language of historical research and as a means of scholarly communication.

As we now know from the evidence of the Green Notebook, students in Villoison's course of 1801/02 had been exposed to brief sections of the text: the prologue; a portion of chapter 6 text on the Dacians; and an excerpt from chapter 9 on Italy and the origins of the Moldavians. Hase's 1827 article now attempted, however, to cover (albeit briefly) all 82 chapters of the Amiras/Costin manuscript. This it does in three principal sections: After the introduction (the themes of which we addressed above), the first section offers a detailed analysis of chapters 1–19, with longer quotations of the Greek text accompanied by a French translation.<sup>84</sup> Here Hase's moments of close-reading demonstrate his primary interest in the text as a historical source. The second section offers a list of the remaining 62 chapter titles, again with translations, where the titles' descriptive form offers considerable insight into the chapters' contents.<sup>85</sup> The final section forms the appendix to the article. Here Hase presents the Greek text with interpretative notes of a series of longer passages (from chapters 9–10, 13, 16, 24, 35, 48, 65, 81, and the treaty signed between Grigore III Ghica and Mengli II Giray (1678–1740), Khan of Crimea, preserved at the end of the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν*), that he considers particularly informative for historians.<sup>86</sup>

80 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 285.

81 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 280.

82 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 287.

83 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 287.

84 Hase's translation of Amiras' Greek was not the first. A full French version had been made by Nicolas Genier, a clergyman based in Smyrna (Izmir) and Ankara, at the request of the French consul in Smyrna, Charles de Peyssonnel (1700–1757). Genier's translation had been in Paris at the *Bibliothèque du Roi* (now under call number *BnF* Français 1409) since 1761. No mention of Genier's translation is made in Hase's 1827 article, nor in GSA 108/35. Further, Hase's translation differs significantly from Genier's. It thus appears that Hase did not know of Genier's earlier work.

85 For example, Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 325: 'Κεφάλαιον να'. Περὶ τοῦ, πότε ἦλθεν ὁ Μπαρνόβσκις Βόδας ἀπὸ τὴν Λεχίαν, διὰ τὰ γίνῃ αὐθέντης, καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὰ λάβῃ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔκοψε τὸ κεφάλι του ἢ βασιλεία, 'Chapter 51. On the moment that Barnovskis Vodas came from Poland to become ruler, and he went to Constantinople to receive authority, and there the authorities cut off his head.'

86 *Op.cit.*, 330: 'Dans tous, j'ai choisi avec un soin scrupuleux, les époques et les événements sur lesquels nous n'avons jusqu'à présent que des notions vagues et données incomplètes.'



Whilst, then, in Hase's reasoning for his choice of excerpts, we hear again an emphasis of the importance of Modern Greek for historical scholarship, his explicit reflection on Amiras' Greek also reveals significant information about his thoughts on the language itself. Here once more we see the influence of Villoison's teaching in 1801-2 directly. At the beginning of Amiras'/Costin's *Prologue* (a passage that appears both in the Green Notebook and in the article), Hase added three notes to the Greek text printed in 1827, two of which make the nature of this influence particularly clear. The first note refers to the first sentence of the *Prologue*, which includes a typical address to the reader as 'ἀγαπητέ μοι ἀναγνώστα'.<sup>87</sup> In the Green Notebook, Hase had made a note on ἀγαπητός explaining that the word is often used in Greek with a dative just as with Latin *carus* (*mihī*).<sup>88</sup> In the 1827 article, Hase now develops this basic comparison with Latin syntax (presumably made initially by Villoison as part of his teaching) to posit the theory that the first phrases of Costin's original composition were, in fact, based on an older Latin text, of which we now hear echoes in Amiras' Greek translation.<sup>89</sup> The second note shared by the Green Notebook and the printed article is that on the form of the third-person singular present εἶναι (for which Hase preferred the form ἦναι in the printed text). In the Green Notebook, Hase had recorded a note in Latin on the same issue, remarking that the ancient infinitive form had been generalized in the present tense.<sup>90</sup> By the time of his article's publication, his remark on the word was now merely orthographical, recording Amiras' preference for the form εἶ- over ἦ- in the manuscript.<sup>91</sup> Presumably over the twenty-six years between Villoison's course and his article, Hase had now read enough Modern Greek to know this was ultimately a spelling preference and did not say much about etymology.

A significant number of Hase's other student notes on this passage in the Green Notebook are also concerned with linguistic issues. There is a remark on Amiras' use of ἀπό with the accusative (and not with the genitive as in Ancient Greek),<sup>92</sup> for example, or on questions of tricky later vocabulary for the classically trained student (*e.g.* on τατᾶς τῆς αὐλῆς, 'dignité à Byzance'<sup>93</sup>). These linguistic notes are absent from study of the *Prologue* in 1827 article, where Hase's French translation is at hand to resolve readers' uncertainties. This is not, however, the case for the Greek texts reproduced at length in the appendix, where Hase now adds textual notes explicitly aimed at readers trained in classical Greek, who might struggle with modern forms.<sup>94</sup>

87 GSA 108/35, f. 23v. 'My dear reader'.

88 *Op.cit.* ἀγαπητός *cum dandi casus, quod saepius, imitatur carus etiam nonnunquam a Latinis*, 'ἀγαπητός with the dative case, which often copies *carus* also [used] sometimes by the Latins'.

89 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 289, n. 1.

90 GSA 108/35, f. 25v.

91 Hase, 'Histoire inédite', 289.

92 GSA 108/35, f. 25v.

93 *Op.cit.*, f. 23v.

94 Hase makes the audience of his linguistic notes (in place of a French translation) explicit at 'Histoire inédite', 332, n.1, the first page of the appendix.

These linguistic notes recall very clearly Villoison's practice in his course of 1801-2 – as recorded in the Greek Notebook – and offer insights on morphological, etymological, and phraseological changes, frequently from the perspective of the ancient language or with reference to other historical contexts. The reader now learns, for example, that δέν derives from ancient οὐδέν, or that μέ is from μετά but now used with the accusative.<sup>95</sup> Similarly πολλοὶ πασάδες is glossed as 'des pachas',<sup>96</sup> and the etymology of Modern Greek φουσάτο is given through its late Latin ancestor *fossatum*.<sup>97</sup>

From his approach to Amiras' Greek text in these sections of the 1827 article, it quickly becomes clear that Hase continued Villoison's preferred techniques for elucidating Modern Greek through comparison with ancient forms, references to cultural context, interlingual explanations, and etymologies. He also, however, expanded significantly on a number of the interpretative ideas that he had met as a student in the first year of Greek instruction in Paris. Hase's decision both to continue using the *Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν* in his own courses in Modern Greek at the *École de langues orientales vivantes*, as well as to publish a longer article on the text in 1827 – emphasizing at once the historical value of Modern Greek source material and the presentation of interesting linguistic history for the reader – demonstrates the lasting impact of Villoison's approach to the contemporary language and its literature.

## Conclusions

This article's analysis of Hase's Green Notebook sheds new light on the details of Villoison's methods and interests as an instructor of Modern Greek in nineteenth-century France. The resulting 'glance over the shoulder' of a Modern Greek student in 1801-2 offers a privileged and rarely seen perspective on Modern Greek pedagogy in this period. It sets the contours and character of Villoison's claims for the 'utilité' of Modern Greek, shared by a number of French Hellenists at the turn of the nineteenth century, into greater relief.<sup>98</sup> It also now offers new information about the impact and development of these concepts in Modern Greek pedagogy and scholarship under Villoison's successor, Karl Benedikt Hase. Hase's own work as Professor of Modern Greek at the *École de langues orientales vivantes* stands at the head of a long list of scholars, beginning with his students Wladimir Brunet de Presle and Emmanuel Miller, before Émile Legrand and Jean Psichari took the study of Modern Greek in Paris into the twentieth century.<sup>99</sup>

95 *Op.cit.*, 332.

96 *Op.cit.*, 341.

97 *Op.cit.*, 332.

98 Toliás, *La médaille*, 486–7.

99 Psichari, 'Les études de grec moderne en France'.

Appendix

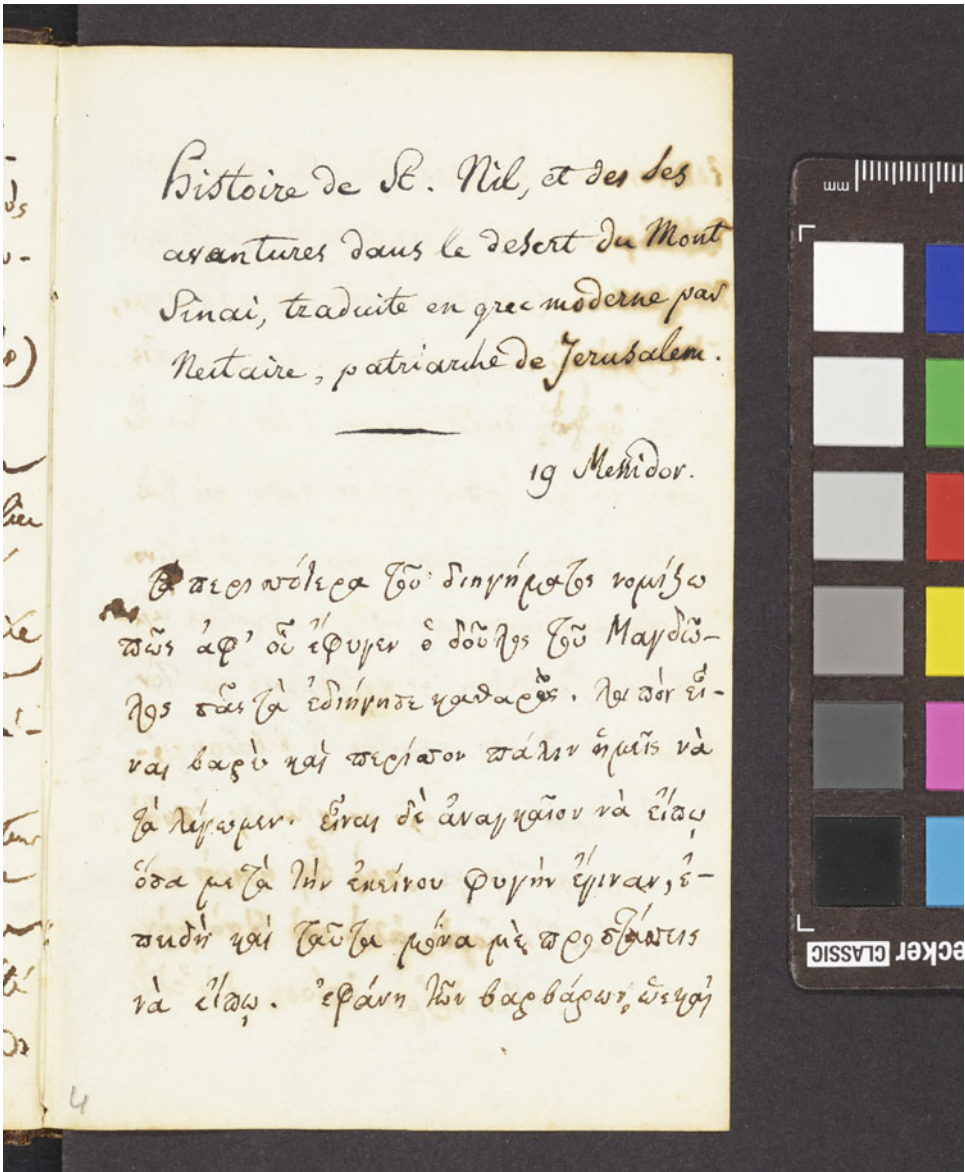


Fig. 1: Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (GSA) 108/35 f.4r (Source: Klassik Stiftung Weimar)

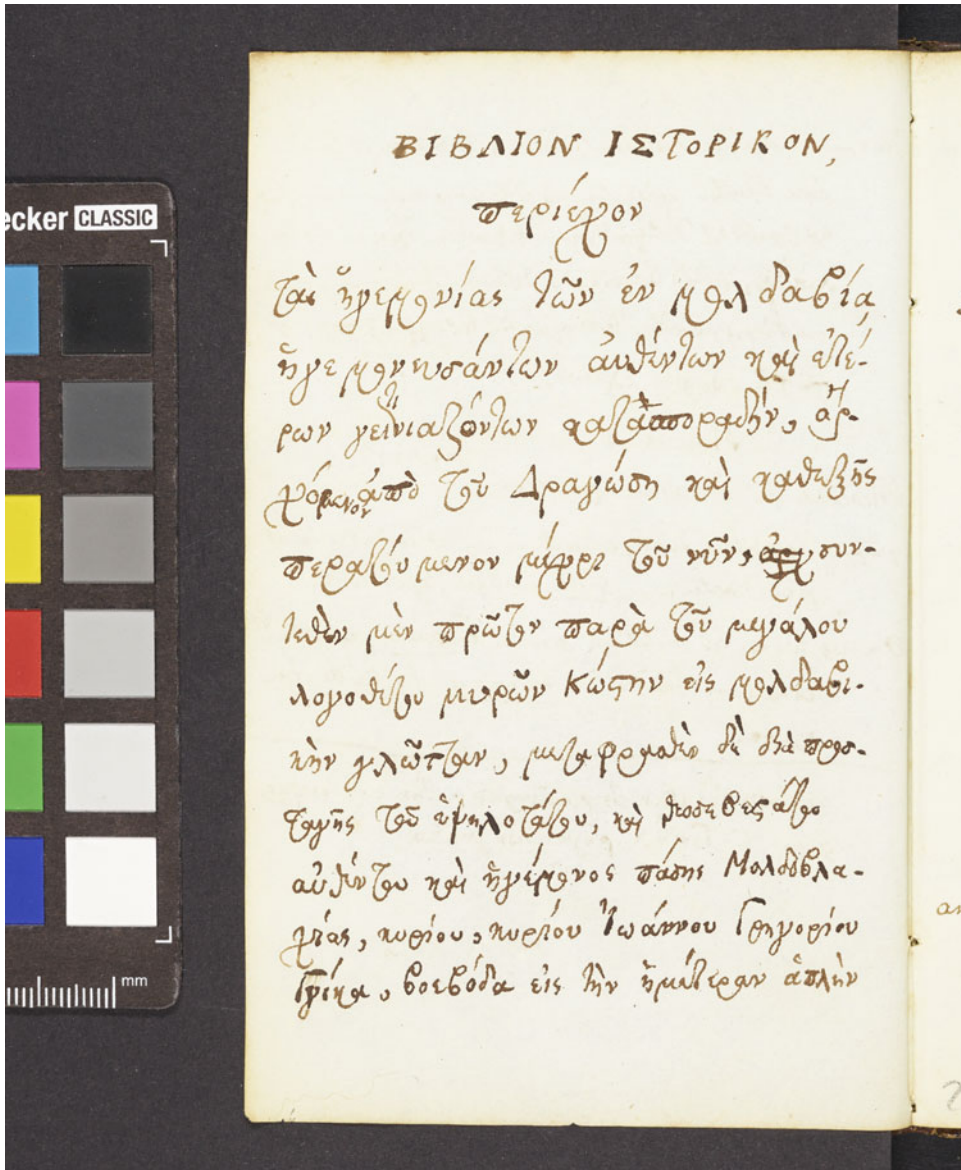


Fig. 2: Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (GSA) 108/35 f.22v (Source: Klassik Stiftung Weimar)



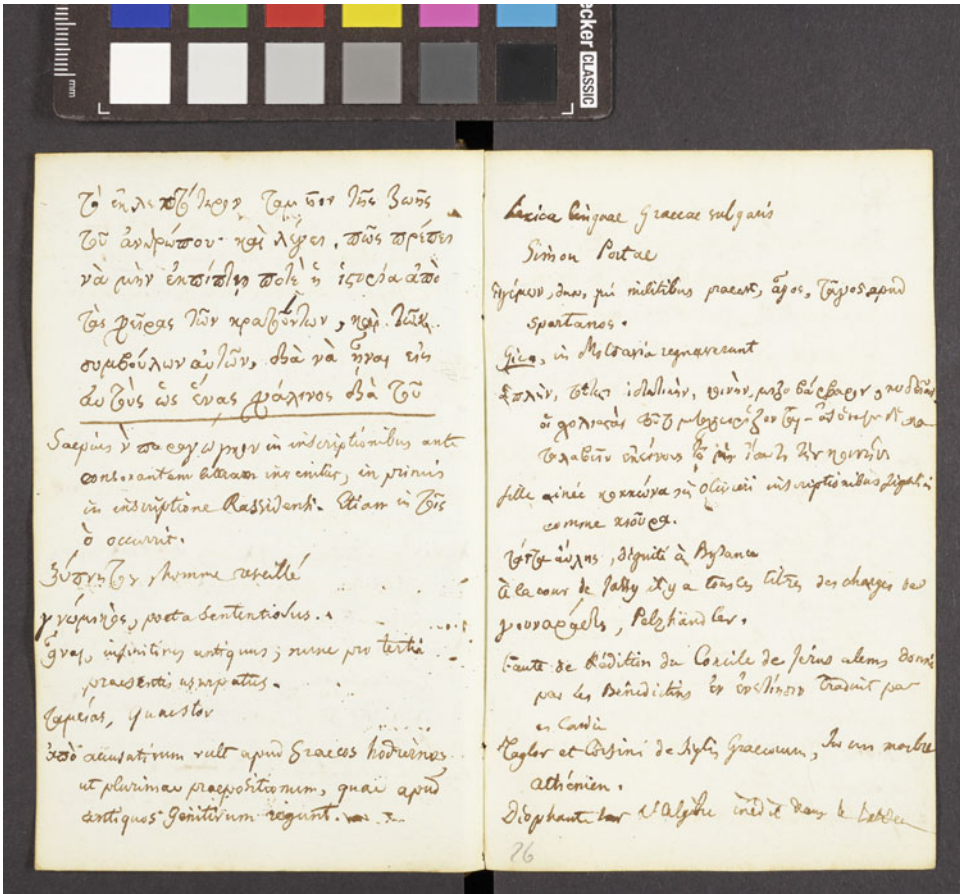


Image 3: Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv (GSA) 108/35 ff.25v-26r (Source: Klassik Stiftung Weimar)

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