

oly

Medioevo greco

Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina

5 (2005)

Estratto



Edizioni dell'Orso
Alessandria

The «Friendship» between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas: A Study of their Correspondence*

The close relations between Tübingen and Constantinople in the second half of the 16th century are widely known and have already been subject of several investigations.¹ The contact between the Protestant theologians in Tübingen and the Greek Orthodox representatives in Constantinople was initiated by the German side in order to get support against its Catholic opponents.

One of the main characters on the Protestant side was the famous German scholar Martin Crusius, professor of Latin and Greek at the University of Tübingen and important defender of the Lutheran faith; on the Greek side we must mention Patriarch Jeremias II the Great. More important, however, is Theodosios Zygomalas, the well-known scholar and collaborator at the Patriarchate. Tübingen started the contact in 1573 when one of its promising students, Stephan Gerlach,² was sent to

* This is a slightly revised version of a presentation given at the 6th Annual International Congress of the Mediterranean Studies Association at the Central European University Budapest on May 31, 2003. – I am grateful to Wolfram Hörandner (University of Vienna) and Nishad Prakash (University of California, Irvine) for the proofreading.

¹ D. Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie. Der ökumenische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der Württembergischen Kirche und Patriarch Jeremias II. von Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1573-1581*, Göttingen 1986; G. Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople. The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremias II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession*, Brookline (Mass.) 1982; G. Hering, *Orthodoxie und Protestantismus*, «Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik» 31/2 (XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Wien, 4.-9. Oktober 1981. Akten I/2), 1981, pp. 823-874 (this article is also published in *Gunnar Hering. Nostos. Gesammelte Schriften zur südosteuropäischen Geschichte*, ed. by M. Stassinopoulou, Frankfurt/Main 1995, pp. 73-130); E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1941.

² M. Kreibel, *Stephan Gerlach. Deutscher evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1573-1578. Diasporafürsorge in der Türkei und die ersten Beziehungen zur Griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, «Die Evangelische Diaspora» 29, 1958, pp. 71-96.

Constantinople as chaplain of the imperial ambassador David von Ungnad. Gerlach was provided with several writings to hand over to the Patriarch. One year later a copy of the *Confessio Augustana*, the confession of the Reformation, followed. Two more official letters in which the Germans outlayed their faith were sent in the following years. Answering epistles were written to Tübingen.

The discussion of these documents is beyond the scope of this paper.³ We know that the German attempts to unify both churches finally failed in 1581. It was, however, the explicit wish of both sides to continue friendly relations, and Patriarch's Jeremias II famous statement *φιλίας δὲ μόνης ἔνεκα* is probably the best proof of that.⁴

The two main figures who maintained the contact between Germany and Constantinople after 1581 are the above mentioned Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas, whose correspondence lasted for more than 25 years. Although they never met personally they became 'friends'.

This paper therefore attempts to give an overview of the correspondence of Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas and discusses the basic ideas in their letters. Although, the correspondence between these two scholars is only a part of an extensive body of epistles between the Protestants and the Orthodox, and there is scope for further detailed investigation.

Before starting to examine the 'friendship' of Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas I shall present some basic facts about their life.

Martin Crusius, whose original surname was Kraus, was born in 1526 in a Franconian village called Gräbern. He went to school in the town of Ulm before he continued his studies in Strasbourg in order to receive a degree in philosophy. There, he began to show his deep interest in Greek: he held his first public speech in Greek and not – as others did – in Latin. From 1554 to 1559 he served as rector of a school in Memmingen before he finally became professor *utrius linguae* (Latin and Greek) at the University of Tübingen. He gave lectures about ancient Greek and Roman authors but soon he also began to show an interest in the language of the Greeks of his age. He was one of the main proponents of the Lutheran faith and was deeply involved in the theological discussions with the Greek Orthodox Church. Although Crusius never went personally to Greece or Constantinople his house in Tübingen was

³ Cf. Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit.; Mastrantonis, *Augsburg*, cit.; Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit.

⁴ Cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 50.

always open to Greek visitors.⁵ He also tried to maintain contact with different Greek scholars, especially Theodosios Zygomalas, till the end of his life. When he died in 1607 at the age of 81, he had already published a remarkable amount of books, among them important works like the *Turcograecia* (1584), the *Germanograecia* (1585) and the *Annales Suevici* (1595).⁶

Theodosios Zygomalas was born around 1544 in the Peloponnesian town of Nauplion, where he spent approximately the first decade of his life. Then, he moved to Constantinople where his father Ioannes served as a teacher at the Patriarchal School. In Constantinople, he continued his studies and became afterwards first *notarios* (1564) and later *prototonarios* (1573/1574) at the Patriarchate. In 1576, Patriarch Jeremias II sent him on a journey to the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor in order to collect some ecclesiastical taxes.⁷ Since Zygomalas was a close collaborator of the Patriarch he was also involved in the theological discussion with Tübingen. Having become *dikaiophylax* around 1596, Zygomalas probably died soon after 1605. He wrote several books, among them a History of Constantinople from 1391 to 1578, a 'Modern Greek' paraphrase of the *Hexabiblos* of Konstantinos Armenopoulos

⁵ Cf. e.g. U. Moennig, *Κύπριοι επισκέπτες στο σπίτι του Martinus Crusius στο Tübingen*, in *La Langue – la Littérature – l'Histoire et la Civilisation Chypriotes (XIII^e Colloque International des Neo-Hellénistes des Universités Francophones [1994])*, Nancy 1995, pp. 260-281.

⁶ On Crusius's life see S. Karouzou, *Μαρτίνος Κρούσιος. Ὁ πρῶτος φιλέλληνας*, Athens 1973; Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., pp. 51-77; W. Ludwig, *Hellas in Deutschland. Darstellung der Gräzistik im deutschsprachigen Raum aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 1998 (Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften E. V., Hamburg, Jahrgang 16, Heft 1), pp. 28-82; O. Kresten, *Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. Mb 10: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Mit 2 Tafeln* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 266. Band, 5. Abhandlung), Vienna 1970, pp. 16-23; T. Wilhelmi, *Die griechischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Sonderband Martin Crusius. Handschriftenverzeichnis und Bibliographie*, Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 261-271 (extensive bibliography on Martin Crusius).

⁷ On this journey and Zygomalas's report of this journey cf. A. Rhoby, *Theodosios Zygomalas and his Report on a Journey to the Aegean and the Coast of Asia Minor: A Contribution to the Relations between Constantinople and Tübingen in the late 16th Century*, in A. Argyriou (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερα* (= Πρακτικά του Β' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Ρέθυμνο, 10-12 Μαΐου 2002), Athens 2004, II, pp. 103-113.

etc. He is also the author of several letters, many of them addressed to Martin Crusius.⁸

To investigate the relationship between Crusius and Zygomalas, we must necessarily look at their correspondence. Unfortunately, approximately fifty percent of their letters are still unpublished because they are preserved in the unedited part of Crusius's 'notes' (Codex Tubingensis Mh 466, 1-9). These notes called *Diarium* by Crusius start in 1573 and are a collection of personal statements, letters etc. But only from 1596 onwards they appear in true diary form, with day-to-day records.⁹ For the unpublished letters I had to rely on George Elias Zachariades, who provides us in his study *Tübingen und Konstantinopel im 16. Jahrhundert*¹⁰ with short summaries of the epistles found in Crusius's 'diary', and on Dorothea Wendebourg's book *Reformation und Orthodoxie*.¹¹ Several letters are printed in Crusius's famous *Turcograecia*¹² and some of them were reprinted in later studies.¹³ One letter (no. 15) is only entirely printed in the *Oratio de statu ecclesiarum* of the German theologian David Chytraeus.¹⁴ For the late correspondence we are fortunate to be able to consult the critical edition of Crusius's diary.¹⁵

⁸ On Zygomalas's life and work see e.g. S. Perentidis, *Théodose Zygomalas et sa Paraphrase de la Synopsis Minor*, Athens 1994 (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 5), pp. 25-59; E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten. 800-1600. 1. Teil. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens. A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten*, Vienna 1981 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik III 1 A), no. 120; B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néogrecque. La période jusqu'en 1821*, Stockholm-Göteborg-Uppsala 1962, pp. 401-405; for further references cf. G. De Gregorio, *Constantinopoli-Tubinga-Roma, ovvero la 'duplice conversione' di un manoscritto bizantino (Vat. gr. 738)*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 93, 2000, pp. 37-107: 47 n. 29.

⁹ Cf. I. Telelis, *The Climate of Tübingen A.D. 1596-1605, on the basis of Martin Crusius's Diarium*, «Environment and History» 4, 1998, pp. 53-74: 58ff.; M. Faust, *Die Mehrsprachigkeit des Humanisten Martin Crusius*, in *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar ofrecido por sus discípulos, colegas y amigos*, Madrid 1972, pp. 137-149: 139ff.

¹⁰ Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit.

¹¹ Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit.

¹² M. Crusius, *Turcograecia libri octo* [...], Basel 1584.

¹³ D. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων*. Τουρκοκρατία, I, Athens 1891 (Reprint 1993).

¹⁴ D. Chytraeus, *Oratio de statu ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Boëmia, &c. Epistolae Constantinopolitanae et aliae circiter XXX* [...], Frankfurt 1583, pp. 137-140; this letter was later reprinted by E. Schelstrate, *Acta orientalis ecclesiae contra Lutheri haeresim monumentis, notis, ac dissertationibus illustrata opera* [...], Pars prima, Rom 1739, pp. 236-238.

¹⁵ W. Göz, E. Conrad (eds.), *Diarium Martini Crusii 1596-1597*, Tübingen 1927; W.

The following list ordered chronologically contains all the epistles of the correspondence Crusius-Zygomalas that I could find (MC = Martin Crusius, TZ = Theodosios Zygomalas):

1. MC to TZ, January 21, 1575: ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 426-427; ed. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., pp. 51-52.
2. TZ to MC, November 15, 1575: partly ed. Chytraeus, *Oratio*, cit., pp. 92-97;¹⁶ entirely ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 428-435; entirely ed. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., pp. 52-59.
3. MC to TZ, January 30, 1576: unedited (*Diarium* I 192), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 80 (no. 13).
4. MC to TZ, April 15, 1576: ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 444-450; ed. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., pp. 59-64.
5. MC to TZ, April 16, 1576: unedited (*Diarium* I 291-292), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 81 (no. 20).
6. MC to TZ, March 16, 1577: unedited (*Diarium* I 454-457), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 81 (no. 27).
7. MC to TZ, June 18, 1577: unedited (*Diarium* I 527-528), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 82 (no. 31).
8. TZ to MC, February 20, 1578: ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 458-460.
9. TZ to MC, June 1, 1578: ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 466-468; ed. M. Crusius, *Germanograecia libri sex*, Basel 1585, p. 205.
10. MC to TZ, June 27, 1578: ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 462-464.
11. TZ to MC, probably after no. 10 (after June 27, 1578): ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 216; ed. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., pp. 67-68.
12. TZ to MC, March 1, 1579: unedited (*Diarium* II 65-69), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 84 (no. 67); extract ed. B. Mystakides, Παχυμέρης Γεώργιος πρωτέκδικος καὶ δικαιοφύλαξ καὶ Μ. Κρούσιος, in G. Paramichael (ed.), Ἐναίσιμα ἐπὶ τῇ τριακοστῇ πέμπτῃ ἐπετηρίδι ἐπιστημονικῆς δράσεως τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1931, pp. 214-232: 232.
13. MC to TZ, April 13, 1579: unedited (*Diarium* II 29-39), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 84 (no. 59); extract ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 514; extract ed. É. Legrand, *Notice biographique sur Jean et Théodose Zygomalas*, Paris 1889, p. 121.
14. MC to TZ, August 29, 1579: unedited (*Diarium* II 135-143), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 84 (no. 69); extract ed. Crusius, *Germanograecia*, cit., p. 232; extract ed. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 130-131.
15. TZ to MC, February 24, 1580: partly ed. Crusius, *Germanograecia*, cit., p. 232; partly ed. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 131-132; entirely ed. Chytraeus,

Göz, E. Conrad (eds.), *Diarium Martini Crusii 1598-1599*, Tübingen 1931; R. Stahecker, E. Staiger (eds.), *Diarium Martini Crusii 1600-1605*, Tübingen 1958.

¹⁶ With the wrong date April 15, 1575.

- Oratio*, cit., pp. 137-140; entirely ed. Schelstrate, *Acta orientalis*, cit., pp. 236-238.
16. MC to TZ, June 28, 1580: unedited (*Diarium* II 222-231), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 84 (no. 72).
 17. MC to TZ, September 29, 1580: unedited (*Diarium* II 305-309), cf. Zachariades, cit., *Tübingen*, p. 85 (no. 78).
 18. TZ to MC, March 9, 1581: unedited (*Diarium* II 479-480), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 86 (no. 93).
 19. TZ to MC (and the theologians in Tübingen), March 12, 1581: unedited (*Diarium* II 462-465), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 86 (no. 91); extract ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 99; extract ed. Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., pp. 65-66.
 20. TZ to MC, April 7, 1581: partly ed. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogique*, Berlin 1873, pp. 236-237 (no. XIII); partly ed. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 70, n. 1; entirely ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 74-98; entirely ed. F. C. Alter, *Χρονικὸν Γεωργίου Φραντζῆ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία διατρεθέν [...]*, Vienna 1796, pp. 17-24; entirely ed. G. Kournoutos, *Λόγιοι τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, I, Athens 1955, pp. 170-179.¹⁷
 21. TZ to MC, May 20, 1581:¹⁸ ed. Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 100.
 22. MC to TZ, August 30, 1582: unedited (*Diarium* II 575-579), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 87 (no. 104).
 23. MC to TZ, October 14, 1583: unedited (*Diarium* II 692-694), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 88 (no. 114).
 24. MC to TZ, May 15, 1584: unedited (*Diarium* III 84-85), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 88 (no. 120).
 25. MC to TZ, June 28, 1584: unedited (*Diarium* III 142-145), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 89 (no. 128).
 26. TZ to MC, February 1, 1585: unedited (*Diarium* III 238-242), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 90 (no. 141).
 27. TZ to MC, March 1, 1585: partly ed. B. Mystakides, *Περὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν Διονυσίου Β' καὶ Μητροφάνους Γ' καὶ τῆς καθαιρέσεως αὐτῶν κατὰ νέα ἀνέκδοτα ἐγγραφα*, «Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια» 10, 1890, pp. 180-184, pp. 187-191: here p. 190; partly ed. B. Mystakides, *Notes sur Martin Crusius. Ses livres, ses ouvrages et ses manuscrits*, «Revue des Études Grecques» 11, 1898, pp. 279-306: p. 293; entirely ed. B. Mystakides, *Βιβλιογραφικὰ Μελετήματα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μ. Κρουσίου (Τυβίγγης) ἐκδόσεων* II, «Θεολογία» 8, 1930, pp. 143-168: here pp. 164-165.

¹⁷ Except for Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 88-92 = Matthaios Kamariotes, *Patrologia Graeca* 160, 1059-1070.

¹⁸ In Crusius's *Turcograecia* (Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 100) the letter contains only the date *May 1581* whereas in Zachariades's study (Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 86 [no. 89]) we can read *May 20, 1581*.

28. MC to TZ, May 21, 1585: ed. Mystakides, *Παχυμέρης*, cit., pp. 228-231.
29. MC to TZ, February 7, 1586: unedited (*Diarium* III 333-337), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 91 (no. 151).
30. MC to TZ, probably June 1586: unedited (*Diarium* III 386-388), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 91 (no. 161, without date).
31. MC to TZ, November 30, 1586: unedited (*Diarium* III 459-463), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 92 (no. 171).
32. MC to TZ, August 8, 1587: unedited (*Diarium* III 554), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 92 (no. 176).
33. MC to TZ, September 4, 1587: unedited (*Diarium* III 615-617), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 93 (no. 181).
34. MC to TZ (and Symeon Kabasilas), September 1, 1588: ed. B. Mystakides, *Ὁ πατριάρχης Ἱερεμίας Β' ὁ Τρανός καὶ αἱ πρὸς τοὺς διαμαρτυρομένους σχέσεις κατὰ τὸν 15' αἰῶνα*, «Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια» 14, 1894-1895, pp. 310-312, 317-320: here pp. 317-318.
35. MC to TZ, July 6, 1591: unedited (*Diarium* IV 390-391), cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 94 (no. 198).
36. MC to TZ, March 23, 1594: ed. Mystakides, *Notes*, cit., p. 282.
37. TZ to MC (Latin summary by MC), November 6, 1597: ed. Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 221.
38. MC to TZ, April 23, 1599: ed. B. Mystakides, *Germano-Graeca. Germania-Ἑλλάς κατὰ τὸν 15' αἰῶνα*, Constantinople 1922, pp. 73-74; ed. Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., pp. 240-241 (cf. the first draft of this letter [in Latin] ed. Göz, Conrad, *ibid.*, pp. 221-222).
39. MC to TZ, April 24, 1599: ed. Mystakides, *Germano-Graeca*, cit., pp. 71-72; ed. Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., pp. 241-242.
40. TZ to MC, April 6, 1600: ed. Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 84-85.
41. MC to TZ, July 1, 1600: ed. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 235-237; ed. Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 110-111.
42. TZ to MC (Latin summary by MC), after October 23, 1600/before June 13, 1601: ed. Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 282-283.
43. MC to TZ, August 13, 1601: ed. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 238-240; ed. Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 319-320.

As seen from the above list, the epistles range from 1575 to 1601. 28 letters were written by Martin Crusius, 15 by Theodosios Zygomalas. We also see that more than three quarters of the letters were exchanged in the first 13 years of their correspondence (1575-1588). For almost a decade (1588-1597) we have only four letters, and it is remarkable that Zygomalas did not write to Crusius for twelve years (1585-1597). Only towards the end of their correspondence did they renew their contact: six letters are preserved between 1599 and 1601.

Two letters can not be dated exactly (no. 11, no. 30). But from their content I was able to determine their position in the list. We know that

Crusius received no. 11 on January 10, 1579, but he did not begin to read it until April 25.¹⁹ No. 30, on the other hand, must belong to June 1586 as it is embedded in the manuscript within writings of the same month.²⁰

At least two epistles are known to be lost: one letter of Crusius sent to Zygomalas in July 1582, and Zygomalas's reply probably written 1583 or 1584.²¹

Not included in this list is the remarkable number of letters which Zygomalas – as demanded by Crusius – «translated» in either learned Greek («purior conversio») or vernacular Greek («barbaria conversio»).²² These letters were originally composed by different correspondents of Zygomalas and therefore cannot be counted as his own literary achievement. Also not included in this lists are the so-called *Thematoepistolae*, which are style exercises composed by Zygomalas and sent to Crusius.²³

To begin, I shall mention how their contact was initiated. When Stephan Gerlach travelled to Constantinople in 1573, he had in his luggage a letter by Crusius addressed to the Patriarch Jeremias II. In this letter, Crusius proceeds as follows: firstly, he is happy to hear that the Church of Christ still exists among the Greeks; secondly, he dares to contact the Patriarch because he is a «Philhellenist» and «cultivates» the Greek studies at his University.²⁴ Since Jeremias was occupied with other duties, he could not answer immediately, which made Crusius very impatient. Therefore, he asked Gerlach in June 1574 to arrange the contact with other learned Greeks at the Patriarchat.²⁵ Although the Patriarch's answer had already arrived Crusius could not wait any longer for Gerlach to find him a correspondent. On January 21, 1575, he wrote two letters, one addressed – as he had learned from Gerlach's letters – to the *rhetor* (Ioannes Zygomalas), the other one to the *protonotarios* (Theodo-

¹⁹ W. Schmid, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften der k. Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen*, Tübingen 1902, p. 56.

²⁰ Cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 91.

²¹ Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., p. 69 n. 146.

²² See Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., *passim*.

²³ On certain aspects of the grammar of these epistles cf. D. E. Solti, *To ρηματικό σύστημα στις «Θεματοεπιστολές» του Ζυγομαλά. Az igerendszer Zygomalas „Thematoepistolae“-iben*, Budapest 2002 (unpubl. M. A. thesis).

²⁴ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 410: ... ἐγὼ φιλέλλην ὦν ... τὰ ἑλληνικά μαθήματα πρὸς τοῖς λατινικοῖς εἰς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν φυτεύω. Cf. Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., pp. 38ff.

²⁵ Cf. Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., p. 46.

sios Zygomalas) of the Orthodox Patriarch although at the time he did not even know their names. On the same day Crusius also wrote a letter to Gerlach in which he asked him about the names and details about these two persons.²⁶

The letter to Theodosios Zygomalas from January 21, 1575 (no. 1) marks the start of the correspondence of Crusius and Zygomalas. Crusius is compelled to write by his «philhellenistic eagerness»,²⁷ a *terminus* which appears throughout his entire work. On other occasions, he calls himself «a very great friend of the Greeks»²⁸ or «an admirer and friend of the Greek language and people»,²⁹ and other such examples.³⁰ Martin Crusius remained a Philhellenist for his entire life; the more he learned about the Greek language and culture, the more he tried to enlarge his knowledge.³¹

In his first epistle³² Crusius is immediately *in medias res*. He poses Zygomalas some questions: firstly, he wants to know which of the Greek *poleis* still existed intact and which names they now bore. Besides, he is also curious about the metropolitans and bishops in these towns.³³ He shows a specific interest in Athens not only in this letter but in his entire correspondence with learned Greeks.³⁴ When Zygomalas informs him that Athens is still ἀπόρθητοι and ὀρθαί, Crusius is overwhelmed.³⁵ Sec-

²⁶ Cf. Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., pp. 58f.

²⁷ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 426 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 51: βιάζεται γάρ με ἡ φιλέλλην μου σπουδὴ ...

²⁸ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 457: φίλος γὰρ Ἑλλήνων, ἐγωγε, τὰ μάλιστα.

²⁹ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 516: τῆς Ἑλλάδος φωνῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους ... θαυμαστής τε καὶ φίλος.

³⁰ Cf. Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., pp. 78-79; Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., pp. 47-52.

³¹ Cf. Wendebourg, *„Alles Griechische macht mir Freude wie Spielzeug den Kindern“*. Martin Crusius und der Übergang des Humanismus zur griechischen Landeskunde, in H. Eideneier (ed.), *Graeca recentiora in Germania. Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1994 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 59), pp. 113-121.

³² Cf. Appendix.

³³ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 426 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 51: ἐν μέν, τίνες ἔτι πόλεις ἑλληνικαὶ ἀπόρθητοι καὶ ὀρθαὶ μένουσιν ... καὶ τίσιν ὀνόμασι πάλαι τε καὶ σήμερον ὀνομάζονται, καὶ ἐν τίσιν αὐτῶν Μητροπολίται, Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι, Ἐπίσκοποι ...

³⁴ Cf. A. Rhoby, *Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Untersuchung der Briefe des Theodosios Zygomalas und Symeon Kabasilas an Martin Crusius*, «Medioevo Greco» 2, 2002, pp. 177-191.

³⁵ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 446 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 61: δεύ-

ondly, he wonders if there is a grammar and dictionary of the contemporary Greek language, or if the New Testament has been «translated» into this «dialect».³⁶

Martin Crusius first came into contact with contemporary Greek on March 27, 1557. During his stay in Memmingen, he met a Greek named Nikolaos Kalis who was trying to collect money for some imprisoned relatives. On this occasion Crusius heard for the very first time a native Greek speaker.³⁷

However, when he met Kalis he was apparently not yet very interested in the spoken Greek language, as he did not possess a book from which he could study it. In December 1571, however, after the victory of the Christian fleet against the Turks in the battle of Lepanto from which Greece and the Greeks gained some popularity he started to learn the «Graecobarbaram linguam».³⁸

We know that besides his particular interest for 'Modern Greek' Crusius was in general very eager to learn languages. Over the years, he learned French, Italian and perhaps also some Spanish. The basis of his knowledge was of course the humanistic canon of the three holy languages: Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew.³⁹

Zygomalas answered very quickly with a remarkably long letter written on November 15, 1575 (no. 2). This epistle, which is approximately six times longer than Crusius's, tries very hard to satisfy the German's requests. A long passage is devoted to Athens, since Crusius had asked Zygomalas if this town were still undestroyed. Zygomalas tells Crusius not only that he has been there often but also mentions some architectural details. But suddenly he stops: «Why do I make so many words about Athens? Only the skin of the once living creature is left».⁴⁰ With this rhetorical phrase which is taken from a letter of Synesios of Cyre-

τερον δέ, ἅπερ περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐδήλωσας, ἄσμενος ἐπέγνωκα· χαίρω γὰρ σφόδρα τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ... ἔτι καὶ νῦν σφῆζεσθαι ...

³⁶ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 426 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., pp. 51f.: ἔτερον δέ, εἰ ἄρα τέχνη περὶ τῆς σήμερον καὶ δημόδους γραικῆς φωνῆς καὶ λεξικόν τι συγγέγραπται, ἢ καὶ ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς τήνδε τὴν διάλεκτον μετεβλήθη ...

³⁷ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 323: «Unde prima mihi occasio τῆς κοινῆς τῶν γραικῶν γλώσσης contigit». Cf. Kresten, *Patriarchat*, cit., pp. 18f.

³⁸ U. Moennig, *On Martin Crusius's collection of Greek vernacular and religious books*, «Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies» 21, 1997, pp. 40-78: 48f.

³⁹ Cf. Faust, *Mehrsprachigkeit*, cit., pp. 142ff.

⁴⁰ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 430 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 54: ἀλλὰ τί τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μνησθεὶς μακρολογῶ, δέρμα λειφθεῖσας τοῦ πάλαι ποτὲ ζῶου;

ne,⁴¹ he introduces a crucial idea in his writing to Crusius: Athens is no longer in Greece but has already moved to Germany just as the Germans are now the real Athenians because they have received the old εὐδαιμονία of the Greeks.⁴² He emphasises his praise with the statement that the German are Greeks because of their wisdom and marvellous works whereas the 'real' Greeks are only Greeks by name.⁴³

When Crusius published his second famous book *Germanograecia* in 1585 he adopted this idea which can be seen in his dedicatory epistle: «... our Germany has received Greece, i.e., the liberal sciences which had been expelled to Italy (they had been transferred over the steep mountains of the Alps by Johannes Reuchlin, about whom the then professor in Rome, Ioannes Argyropoulos, had said that Greece had flown over the Alps because of the exile of the Greeks) ...».⁴⁴

But let us return to Zygomalas's letter: part of it is a praise of Crusius. Zygomalas admires his elegant writing which is full of *atticism*, calls him ἔλλογιμώτατος, σοφώτατος and φωστήρ and declares him on par with the old Athenians. These statements are of course exaggerated by the influence of rhetoric, but Zygomalas was indeed genuinely surprised that a foreigner was interested in contemporary Greek matters.

Regarding Crusius's request for books about vernacular Greek or a dictionary Zygomalas's answer is negative. «But if there is someone wealthy who wants to help us he is invited to make a request which we will try to fulfill within one year».⁴⁵ He offers to send Crusius a list of the

⁴¹ Cf. A. Rhoby, *Synesios von Kyrene als literarisches Vorbild: Ep. 136 (Garzya) und der Ausgangspunkt der Athenklage*, in W. Hörandner, M. Grünbart (eds.), *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique byzantines: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie (Actes de la Table Ronde au XX^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, 19-25 août 2001)*, Paris 2003, pp. 85-96.

⁴² Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 430 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 54: αἱ ἀληθεῖς Ἀθηναὶ αὐτοῦ νῦν εἰσιν, ὡς ἀκούομεν ...

⁴³ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 434 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 57: ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὀνόματι Ἑλλήνες, αὐτοὶ δὲ σοφία καὶ ἔργοις ἀρίστοι καὶ λαμπροὶ.

⁴⁴ Latin text and German translation in Ludwig, *Hellas*, cit., pp. 29-31, pp. 29f.: «... ita Germania nostra Graeciam, id est, doctrinas liberales cum lingua Graeca in Italiam expulsas et exulantes ipsa postea benigne excepit (trans arduos Alpium montes per Ioannem Carnionem allatas, sicut de ipso Graecus tum Romae Professor Ioannes Argyropylus dixerat Graeciam exilio Graecorum Alpes transvolasse)...».

⁴⁵ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 431 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεῖα*, cit., p. 55: ἂν δέ τις τῶν αὐτόθι πλουσίων καὶ βοηθεῖν ἡμῖν ἐθελόντων τοιαῦτα βούλεται, πεμψάτω τὸν μισθὸν καὶ ἔργον ποιήσομεν. Cf. N. Toulfexis, «Ἀπὸ τῆς δημοτικῆς εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν μετεγλώττισα...». Ἀπὸ τὴν ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Martinus Crusius (1526-1607)

required books, which he will try to find for him. Here, Zygomalas mentions another central theme in his writing to Crusius (especially in his late letters): his lack of money.

I should mention that Crusius later composed his own dictionary of contemporary Greek: since he had already learned a considerable number of Greek words – from the letters of the two Zygomalases, from Gerlach, and from Greeks who came to his house in Tübingen – he began to collect his material on April 20, 1579 under the title *Alphabetum vulgare lingue graecae*.⁴⁶

However, after his first letter to Crusius, Zygomalas was silent for almost two and a half years. In his second letter to Crusius, composed in February 1578 (no. 8) he explains the reason for his silence: in October 1576 he was sent by the Patriarch on a one-year journey to the Cycladic Islands and to the East (i.e. the coast of Asia Minor) in order to collect some taxes.⁴⁷ Now since the Patriarch is visiting the Peloponnesos, he finally has time to answer.

In parenthesis some interesting details about the mailing of the letters.

At the beginning of their correspondence the epistles were apparently sent via Vienna and the official diplomatic courier.⁴⁸ Later, the letters were transported via Venice. In a letter from March 23, 1594 (no. 36) Crusius wants Zygomalas to answer via Severos,⁴⁹ the metropolitan of Philadelphia, who had his residence in Venice. This route, however, was not safe: in a letter to Zygomalas from April 23, 1599 (no. 38) Crusius complains that the six letters Zygomalas had sent to different people in

με έλληνες λογίους του 16ου αι., in Πρακτικά του Α' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών. Βερολίνο, 2-4 Οκτωβρίου 1998, I, Athens 1999, pp. 317-325: 323f.

⁴⁶ Cf. N. Toufexis, *To Alphabetum vulgare lingue graecae του γερμανού ομμανιστή Martinus Crusius (1526-1607)*, in Πρακτικά του 4ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi (Νοέμβριος 1997, Λευκωσία), Irakleio 2002, pp. 117-131, which presents an overview about N. Toufexis' dissertation with the title *Alphabetum vulgare lingue graecae Martini Crusii. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Neugriechischen in deutschen Gelehrtenkreisen am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 2003 (unpubl. PhD thesis).

⁴⁷ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 458; cf. Rhoby, *Report*, cit., p. 105.

⁴⁸ Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., p. 58.

⁴⁹ On Gabriel Severos see G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1453-1821). Die Orthodoxie im Spannungsfeld der nachreformationistischen Konfessionen des Westens*, Munich 1988, pp. 118ff.; P. Meyer, *Die theologische Literatur der griechischen Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert. Mit einer allgemeinen Einleitung*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 78 ff.

Tübingen arrived unsealed and openend. «What a shame! Who was it? To whom did you give them?» asks Crusius angrily.⁵⁰ He also thinks that that was the reason why Zygomalas did not receive his letters of twelve years ago and earlier (ca. 1586/7), although he sent them via Severos.⁵¹ Despite his bad experience, Severos was chosen to forward this letter as well to Zygomalas.

But to make sure that Zygomalas would now receive his letter, Crusius wrote a similar one to Zygomalas on the next day (April 24, 1599; no. 39). This epistle was to go first to Maximos Margounios,⁵² also resident of Venice and bishop of the Ionian island Cythera, and then to Theodosios Zygomalas in Constantinople. In this second letter, Crusius outlines how Zygomalas should send his answer: he should address his letter to Margounios, who would forward it to David Höschel in Augsburg. From there it would easily arrive in Tübingen.⁵³ Zygomalas did as he was told: he sent his next letter (no. 40) to Margounios, who forwarded it as ordered via Höschel to Crusius.⁵⁴ This arrangement was maintained until the end of their correspondence.

When we take a closer look at the letters of Crusius and Zygomalas we discover especially in the early letters the idea of «friendship» (φιλία). Zygomalas states that Crusius has appealed for his φιλία and that he is going to try to reciprocate by answering his wise questions.⁵⁵ Crusius, in turn, is delighted to have found the «God-given» friend Theodosios, as he expresses with the pun θεόςδοτος / Θεοδόσιος.⁵⁶ In his second letter (no. 8) to Crusius Zygomalas considers them already as sincere friends.⁵⁷ However, Zygomalas apparently makes use here of a traditional idea which is already to be found in late antique and Byzantine epistles: the contrast «présence-absence». Even if the correspondents are separated their friendship persists.⁵⁸ In this case, Zygomalas perhaps uses this

⁵⁰ Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 240: ὦ τῆς κακίας. τίς ἦν, ὅτινι ἐπεδεδόκεις.

⁵¹ Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 242 (no. 39).

⁵² On Maximos Margounios see Podskalsky, *Theologie*, cit., pp. 135ff.; Meyer, *Literatur*, cit., pp. 69ff.

⁵³ Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 242.

⁵⁴ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 84f., cf. also pp. 82-85.

⁵⁵ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 429 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., p. 52.

⁵⁶ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 444 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., p. 59.

⁵⁷ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 458.

⁵⁸ Cf. G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine. Textes du X^e siècle analysés et commentés*, Uppsala 1962, pp. 40ff.

topos in order to excuse his long silence, caused by his one-year journey to the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor.

Later, the *topos* of friendship recedes. Crusius and Zygomalas appreciate each other but they do not over-emphasise the fact of being friends any more.

In order to prove their friendship, a considerable amount of presents were exchanged. Crusius's first letter is accompanied by a book, the famous Catechism of the Lutheran theologian Brenz. Zygomalas's father, Ioannes, received an *epitaphios* which was translated by Crusius into Greek.⁵⁹ Theodosios Zygomalas states that this *epitaphios* is a «remnant of wisdom and the old happiness of the Greeks, or rather a golden sprout».⁶⁰ Besides the books were other presents: Crusius sent some clocks, which, according to Zygomalas, «do not only indicate the hours but are also the proof of a very good friendship».⁶¹ Crusius also sent among some unknown things an attractive girdle⁶² for which the female members of the Zygomalas family were very grateful, and his own portrait⁶³ (1599) although Salomon Schweigger, Gerlach's successor as chaplain of the imperial ambassador, had already painted a picture of Crusius for Zygomalas two decades before (1578).⁶⁴ On the occasion of Zygomalas's wedding (1579) Crusius dedicated to the bride a table with some German sayings about the process of aging which he translated into Greek.⁶⁵

Theodosios Zygomalas occasionally sent Crusius some old or rare books for which the latter had asked him. Additionally, he once sent him (no. 9) two purses from Athens, a piece of the famous Lemnian soil and a pitcher, things that he apparently collected during his one-year journey.⁶⁶ In the same letter Zygomalas also mentions that the Patriarch has given Crusius a carpet.⁶⁷ Also among the presents are portraits: in 1579 Cru-

⁵⁹ Cf. Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., p. 59.

⁶⁰ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 433 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., p. 57: ἔθεασάμεθα καὶ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον, λείψανον ὄντα σοφίας καὶ παλαιᾶς Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίας, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν βλαστὸν χρυσοῦν ...

⁶¹ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 460: σημαίνει δ' οὐ μόνον ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλίας ἀρίστης τεκμήρια.

⁶² Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 98.

⁶³ Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 244.

⁶⁴ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 458.

⁶⁵ Legrand, *Notice*, pp. 130f.

⁶⁶ Gerlach mentions in his diary that Zygomalas also offered the Lemnian soil to the imperial ambassador David von Ungnad (cf. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 116).

⁶⁷ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 466-468.

sius receives a picture of Theodosios and his father Ioannes.⁶⁸ Whether Zygomalas ever sent all the portraits of Byzantine emperors that Crusius desired is not known.⁶⁹ In his long letter from April 1581 (no. 20), however, Zygomalas promises to provide his friend Crusius with a portrait of the emperor Andronikos III and his wife Anna.⁷⁰ From most of his letters we also know about Crusius's special interest in Athens: in one of his early epistles (no. 4) to Zygomalas he asks for a painting of Athens, which he would like to use in his lectures about Thucydides.⁷¹ Whether he ever received it is unknown.

Since both authors especially in their early writings always emphasise the meaning of their «friendship» I would like to investigate if their epistles also contain some personal – and not merely rhetorical – statements. On the whole, there are not many but I was able to discover some.

In April 1576 (no. 4) Crusius informs Zygomalas that he was in great distress when he received his last letter because his one-year old daughter Pulcheria was seriously ill. However, God provided him with great joy, firstly because of Zygomalas's sweet letters, and secondly because his daughter recovered entirely from her illness.⁷² In the same letter Crusius also expresses his gratitude at being a friend of the two Zygomalases: Theodosios's father Ioannes especially reminds him of his father-in-law Urban Vetscher, who despite his 86 years still works as a notary in Esslingen.⁷³ Thus, when Crusius informs Zygomalas about the death of his father-in-law in December 1577, he wishes at the same time the old Zygomalas a long life.⁷⁴ The old Zygomalas, Ioannes, probably died in 1584 or at the end of 1583. His son Theodosios mentions his father's death in a letter to Crusius on February 1, 1585 (no. 26).

• Martin Crusius's admiration and enthusiasm for Theodosios Zygoma-

⁶⁸ Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 130.

⁶⁹ Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 85 (no. 78).

⁷⁰ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 75.

⁷¹ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 446 = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., p. 61: εὐξαίμην δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν οἰονδήποτε (μόνον τῇ σῇ χειρὶ) βλέπειν, Θουκυδίδου εἵνεκα, ὃν τοῖς φοιτηταῖς διασαφῶ.

⁷² Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 444. For a list of Crusius's children see E. Cellius, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium 1596*, ed. by H. Decker-Hauff and W. Setzler, II, *Kommentar und Übersetzung*, Sigmaringen 1981, p. 134.

⁷³ Crusius 1584, *Turcograecia*, cit., pp. 445f. = Kampouroglou, *Μνημεία*, cit., pp. 60f.

⁷⁴ Crusius 1584, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 464: ὁ δὲ σὸς ἀγαπητὸς πατὴρ μακροβιώτερος εἶη.

las at the beginning of their correspondence was so great that he named one of his sons, who was born on the 23rd of April 1578, Theodosios.⁷⁵

Zygomalas's marriage to Eirene about which he was informed by Gerlach's successor Schweigger⁷⁶ makes Crusius very happy. He not only sends – as mentioned above – a present to the bride, but by playing with words he also connects her to the actual meaning of her name, «peace».⁷⁷ Moreover, in a late letter from 1599 (no. 39) Crusius shows a particular interest in Zygomalas's family. He is interested not only in the names of Theodosios's parents-in-law and his fifth child, but also wants to know how old he and his wife are.⁷⁸ He asks God to protect Theodosios, his wife Eirene and his children Sosanna and Photeinos and all the others.⁷⁹ On two occasions Crusius even requires letters of the female members of Zygomalas's family. He admits his intention: to enlarge his collection with manuscripts written by women.⁸⁰

From 1586 onwards (no. 31) Crusius asks Zygomalas repeatedly why he does not answer him. He even poses the question if Zygomalas and his wife were still alive (no. 36, March 1594).⁸¹ Also remarkable is Crusius's signature, with which he wants to show that he has not yet forgotten his friend: ὁ μήποτε σου ἐπιλανθανόμενος Μαρτῖνος ὁ Κρούσιος.

When Zygomalas speaks about personal matters he refers mostly to his poverty and his lack of money. He mentions in almost every letter that he is very poor and that his life is miserable under these conditions. Zygomalas's situation deteriorates towards the end of the 16th century. He starts to ask his correspondents, among them Crusius, to provide him with some help. He describes the miserable situation of his entire family and especially of his son Photeinos, then already *notarios* of the Great Church. As ἀντίδωρον for help he offers an old theological book

⁷⁵ Crusius 1584, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 462: ... ὃν ἐπὶ τῷ φιλάτῳ σου ὀνόματι Θεοδόσιον ἐκάλεσα.

⁷⁶ Cf. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 125f. – On Schweigger see M. Kriebel, *Salomon Schweigger. Deutscher evangelischer Botschaftsprediger in Konstantinopel 1578-1581*, «Die Evangelische Diaspora» 31, 1960, pp. 150-180.

⁷⁷ Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 130.

⁷⁸ Göz, Conrad, *Diarium 1598-1599*, cit., p. 242.

⁷⁹ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 320.

⁸⁰ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 110: ... ἵνα καὶ γυναικεῖα χειρόγραφα ἔχω, καὶ τοῦτοις ἐναβρύνωμαι. Cf. also p. 320: ... ἵνα καὶ ἐπαινετῆς ἑλληνίδος χεῖρα βλέπω.

⁸¹ Mystakides, *Notes*, cit., p. 282: Κύριε Θεοδοσίε τίμιε, εἰ ζῆς ἔτι, σὺ τε καὶ ἡ ἀγαπητῆ σου σύζυξ Εἰρήνη ...

Εἰς ἀπορίαν τῶν δυσκολοτάτων ζητημάτων.⁸² In a long letter from 1600/1 (no. 42) which is preserved only in a Latin summary composed by Crusius (June 13, 1601) in his diary we can read that Zygomalas throughout his writing prayed to God and asked for pity, as since he even had to sell his house and his belongings and had to move into the house of his parents-in-law.⁸³ We also learn from Crusius's summary of this letter that Zygomalas would come to visit him in Germany but that his rheumatism would not allow it. He requests immediate help – in the form of money – which should be sent to him via Margounios and Severos in Venice. Crusius decides to call all his friends together in order to collect the necessary sum.⁸⁴

Five days later we read in Crusius's diary about his attempt to find support for his Greek friend: he presents Zygomalas's petition in the Senate. But the Senate rejects his plea with the following argument: «How could we give a lot? We have already a lot of poor people with us etc.».⁸⁵ Besides, Crusius mentions that a lot of people in Tübingen are now reluctant to provide Greeks with help because some of them had come to Germany with fake letters in order to beg for money.⁸⁶

Two days later, Crusius composes a letter with the disappointing answer. He explains the reason why his request was rejected. Everything has changed; the people are poor. But he and Gerlach were able to collect some money from their own savings.⁸⁷ This letter, which was written on June 20, 1601, is the last preserved epistle of the correspondence between Crusius and Zygomalas.⁸⁸ An answer apparently never arrived.

Crusius, however, was still interested in Zygomalas fate: in a letter to Gabriel Severos from 1605 he asks his addressee if Zygomalas is still alive.⁸⁹

What are the results we obtain from the investigation of the correspondence between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas?

First of all we have to keep in mind that their contact began rather

⁸² Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 84.

⁸³ Perentidis, *Théodose Zygomalas*, cit., p. 41.

⁸⁴ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 282f., 286.

⁸⁵ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 285: «Wie künden aber wier vil gaeben? Habemus pauperes multos nobiscum, etc.».

⁸⁶ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 110.

⁸⁷ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., pp. 319-320.

⁸⁸ Cf. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 142.

⁸⁹ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 705.

accidentally. Had Gerlach not mentioned the two Zygomalases in his letters Crusius would perhaps not have decided to write to them. It is remarkable that their contact continued even after the failure of the theological negotiations in 1581. But theological matters never played a vital role in their letters, although Crusius appreciates the fact that Zygomalas always supported the true faith in Germany unlike so many others.⁹⁰

Whether it is just to call their relationship a «friendship» is a question of interpretation. They are very friendly with each other although allegedly Crusius once railed against Zygomalas while speaking to Gerlach for an unknown reason.⁹¹ Both sides tried to benefit from this correspondence as much as possible. Crusius used his letters to fulfill his curiosity about the Greek language and the contemporary Greeks. Zygomalas on the other hand saw the opportunity to outline his often miserable situation to someone from abroad. Besides, Zygomalas clearly felt honoured that someone from outside the Greek world would show an interest in the contemporary situation of the Greeks. The contact with Germany also helped him with business: he offered some books that they required as presents and sold others,⁹² and in his first letter to Crusius he mentions that whatever he requires will be fulfilled after the arrival of a salary.⁹³ Furthermore, the contact with Crusius opened the opportunity to acquire some books which were missing in Constantinople.⁹⁴

However, it is remarkable how Crusius stood up for Zygomalas when the latter needed immediate help. He did not hesitate to provide support even though he could not expect any advantage from doing so.

Andreas Rhoby

⁹⁰ Stahlecker, Staiger, *Diarium 1600-1605*, cit., p. 319.

⁹¹ Zachariades, *Tübingen*, cit., p. 21.

⁹² Cf. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., p. 118.

⁹³ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 431 = Kampouroglou, Μνημεία, cit., p. 55; Wendebourg, *Reformation*, cit., p. 141 and *passim*.

⁹⁴ Crusius, *Turcograecia*, cit., p. 468; cf. Legrand, *Notice*, cit., pp. 122ff.

Appendix (Translation of Martin Crusius's first epistle to Theodosios Zygomalas [no. 1, January, 21, 1575]):

To the very learned Protonotarios of the very holy Patriarch of Constantinople
whom I greet in the name of Christ

It is perhaps difficult for me who does neither know how to address you, very learned Sir, nor your name, nor about the procedure of addressing you, but I have to dare it. My philhellenic eagerness forces me, and your goodness which has already been made obvious to me and for which I hope, forces me too. Were I not burning with interest about Greek matters, do you think I would dare to disturb with my letters your very holy Patriarch, who is of such a high rank? But (thanks to God) there was a good end because a very wise answer was composed by his Holiness. Our good friend Gerlach would be able to prove very well and truly that you were well and importantly involved in this matter. It is just for me to offer my gratitude because you have become a benefactor not only in the past but because you are also going to offer me a lot of hope because from now on you will be very useful for my studies. Convinced by this hope, I would like to know the two following things: firstly, which Greek cities are still undestroyed, upright and important (like Salonica, Athens, Chalcedon, Nicaia and others), which names do they bear today, and in which of them are still metropolitans, archbishops and bishops of the church of Christ? I would be very happy if they were still intact. Secondly, is there a study of the contemporary and vernacular Greek, as well as a dictionary, or was the New Testament of our Saviour translated into this dialect, and where could I make myself familiar with it? I would like to connect the knowledge of the modern version of Greek – of which I have already experienced a little bit in order to understand the books written in it – with the ancient and known Greek because it does not appear good to me to know the old but not to know what is right in front of my feet. Therefore, I also studied – apart from the Latin language – several years ago, Italian and French which both differ from Latin. I do not wish to be burdensome to you, Sir, in order to receive some little help by your goodness and advice through Gerlach in order to reach these ends. I apparently had to write which I now ask your indulgence, honoured Sir, as a God fearing and hospitable person to accept. I would be delighted if you would honour me with an answer, more than for the sake of my honoured and eager audience of many scholars of Greek. Finally, accept the little book I have sent to you and honour me with your temperance. Live well in Jesus Christ, in whose name alone we die. Amen.

From Tübingen at the 21st of January of the year 1575.

Martin Crusius