Russian Grammars before Lomonosov

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HENRICI WILHELMI LUDOLFI
GRAMMATICA RUSSICA

QUÆ CONTINET

Non tantum præcipua fundamenta

RUSSICÆ LINGUÆ,

Verum etiam
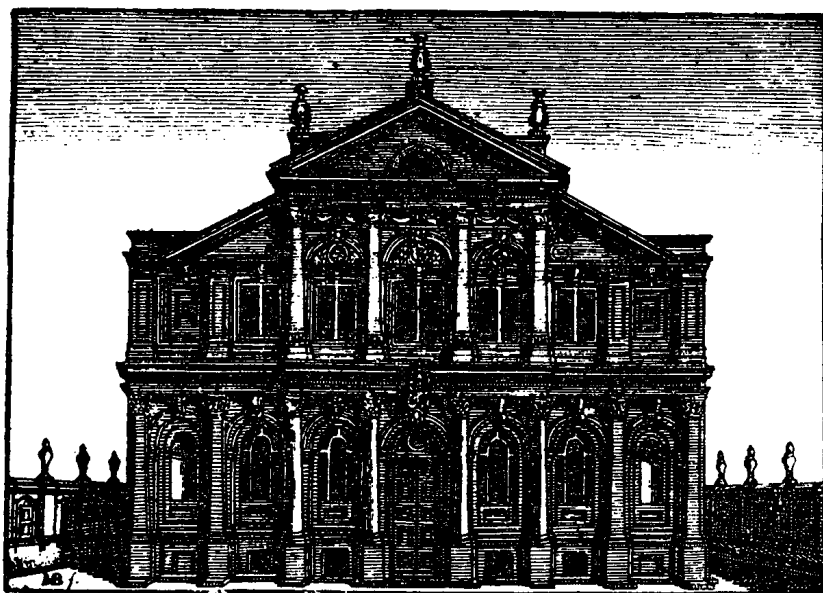
Manuductionem quandam

A D

GRAMMATICAM SLAVONICAM.

Additi funt in forma dialogorum modi loquendi communio-
res, Germanice æque ac Latine explicati, in gratiam
eorum qui linguam Latinam ignorant.

Una cum

BREVI VOCABULARIO RERUM NATURALIUM.]

OXONII,
E **THEATRO** **SHELDONIANO**, A. D. **MDCXCVI.**

РОССІЙСКАЯ
ГРАММАТИКА

МИХАИЛА ЛОМОНОСОВА.

∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽ ∽

ПЕЧАТАНА ВЬ САНКТПЕТЕРБУРГѢ
При Императорской Академіи Наукъ
1755 года.

Russian Grammars before Lomonosov

Shoichi OKABE

The purpose of the present study is to survey and summ up the attempts at Russian Grammars before Lomonosov's[1] *Grammatika* in a wider context of Russian philology, and trace them down to Lomonosov's *Grammar* (1775)

Reasons for little attention paid so far to the pre-Lomonosovian grammars of Russian languages follow.

1. Old Slavic grammar was written ahead of Russian grammar ; the latter began to appear only toward the end of the 17th and at the beginning of 18th century, when a keen interest and need arose for the norm of national and common language ; a vernacular Russian.

2. Anti-historic tendency of seeing an imperfect copy of Church Slavic in the grammar of Russian language.

3. The temper of the time made little of Russian grammars and the result was that Russian grammars had been left in miserable state than Church Slavic grammars. This made the former more inaccessible to present-day scholars.

Georgij (Frantishek) Skorina (1490-1541) was a graduate of Krakov University and received his MD from Padua University. He laid foundation for printing of White-Russian and thereby greatly contributed to promulgation of the Enlightenment idea. He was one of the most famous representative scholar-humanists of the day. He translated the Bible into White-Russian in Prague and published it in 1517 with his preface, epilogue and commentaries.

In 1525 Skorina brought out *Apostol* and *Malaja Podorozhnaja Knizhitsa* (A booklet for Post-Horses) in Vilen. Some of his publication

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1. B. O. Unbegaun, 'Russian Grammars before Lomonosov,' *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, V III, 1958, p. 98.

was in vernacular and helped develop White Russian literary language.[2]

Ivan Fёdrov, the first Russian printer, published a primer for teaching Church Slavic in L'vov in 1574. The book became an exemplar for the works on Slavic philology, which were to be brought out in White Russia and in Ukraine in 16th through 17th centuries.

In all he published eight books of high artistry for his time. To the new edition of *Apostol* (1586) he appended an epilogue of autobiography.[3]

From the close of the 16th century Slavic-Russian philology rapidly developed in Ukraine and in white Russia in the so-called south-West and South Rusi.

The grammars which had been known in Russia up to the year 1755, when Lomonosov's *Rossyiskaya Grammatika* first appeared, were not grammars of the spoken Russian language but of that language in which prayer books, the Psalms and sermons of the Holy Fathers were printed in the passage of the 15th to 17th centuries.

A grammar was then only intended as a help to understand the Scriptures, and the writing of one was naturally a sacred devotional occupation : their titles were invariably grammars of Slav(on)ic, not of Russian.

At about the middle of sixteenth century Vilen's Friends School played an important role in the making of a grammar for written Slavic language and in proliferating literacy. In this School was brought out the first grammar entitled *Kgrammatyka Slaven'ska Yazyka z Gazofilakii Slavnavo Grada Ostroga* (Grammar of the Slavonic Language from the Treasury of the Glorious City of Ostrog).

The grammar published by the Friends School of L'vov (L'vov, 1591) and known as the *Adelfotis* had for its title ; *Grammatika Dobroglagolivavo Ellinoslovenskavo Yazyka* (The Grammar of the Pleasantly-spoken Hellenic-Slavonic Language).

The interest in Church Slavic of the time lay partly in the fact that this language became an important means for independence of East Slavic culture against religious and secular enslavement of White Rus-

2. *Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Entsiklopedija*, 3rd., *s. v.*, "Skorina."
3. *ibid., s. v.*, "Ivan Fёdrov."

sians and Ukranians by Polish feudal lords and Catholic churches.

In 1596 there was published in Vilen the *Grammatika Slavenska* of Lavrentij Zizanij, teacher of the Friends School. Although the *Grammatika* did not give a complete picture of conceptual scheme of a written Slavic language, of its phonetic and grammatical norms, the *Grammatika* became a landmark in Slavic philology.

In the same year in Vilen appeared the first printed dictionary, which had its title ; *Leksis, Sirech' Rechenija v Krattse Sobranny i iz Slavenskogo Jazyka na Prosty Russkij Dialekt Istolkovany* edited by Lavrentij Zizanij Tustanovskij (?-1633).

The first Russian printed book of Ivan Fёdrov's (1574) was in actual fact 'Azbuka' (Bukval=ABC book). As it is, Zizanij's *Grammatika* was most famous and gained much currency.

In the 16th century in White Russia and in Ukraine against Polish -Catholic oppression were organized in l'vov, kiev, Nogilev, Vil'njus, Polotsk and other cities, the so-called Friends Schools, which, as had been stated earlier, became the center for national movement for freedom. Teachers for these Friends Schools were Lavrentij Zizanij, Meletij Smotritskij, Epifanij Slavinetskij, Simeon Polotskij and others.

Lavrentij Zizanij, one of the humanists of the day, stood for individual value and freedom opposing against the orthodox cannon of Christian Trinity.

In 1611 Mark Ridley compiled a Russian Vocabulary, and Sir Jeremy Horsey seemed to have compiled a Latin grammar in Slavonic characters for Fёdor Nikitich Romanov, the future Patriarch Filarete at the end of the sixteenth century. Jeremy Horsey writes, speaking of Fёdor, "whose pleasure was, owt of his loue, in his yong years, to haue me make, in the Sclauonian carrector, in Latten wordes and phrases, a kynde of grammer, wherin he toke great delight."[4]

In 1627 P. Belynda published *Leksikon Slavennorosskij*. And in 1665 Juraj Križanić, Croat priest, brought out a slightly Russianized Croatian Church Slavonic grammar, which was reprinted later by O. Vodjanskij

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4. C. L. Wrenn, 'Linguistic Relations Between England and Russia,' *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xxxiii (1944), p. 120.

with a title *Gramatichno Izkazanje ob Russkom Jeziku* (M. : 1859, pp. xx + 256pp.)

A Czech Jesuit Jiří David after having stayed in Moscow for some time brought out a pamphlet in 1690 entitled *Exemplar Characteris Moscovitico-Ruthenici Duplicis Biblici & Usualis*. Nissae ; Typis Christophori : Lertz, Civitatis Typographi (20 unnumbered pages)[5].

Lomonosov, canonized father of the sciences in Russia, rose from a fisherman's log cabin to the triumver of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and in due time wrote the *Rossijskaya Grammatika* (1755), which became a fountainhead of all the Russian grammars that came afterward.

It is interesting to note that Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf's *Grammar* (*Grammatica Russica* 1695) preceded Lomonosov's self-ordained first Russian Grammar by some sixty years, and to find that it was published in England at Oxford by a German polyglot.

On the other hand the need for a grammar of foreign languages had been keenly felt in Peter the Great's time when a great demand for foreign grammars arose which would help Russians to learn foreign languages and foreigners to learn Russian.[6] It so happens that grammars of German and French[7] were printed in Russia a quarter of a century ahead of Lomonosov's *Grammar*.

This apparently amusing situation is partly due to the fact that consciousness of the need for a grammar of foreign languages arose in England and Russia at the close of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[8]

Lomonosov called Smotritskij (Maksim 1578-1633) 's *Grammar* and Magnitskij's *Arithmetic* 'Vrata svoej Uchěnosti' (A gate to his learning).[9]

5. B. O. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*, 1958, p. 99.

6. B. O. Unbegaun, *ibid.*, 1958, p. 106.

7. *Grammatika Nemetskaja Sochinennaja dlja Upotreblenija b' Sankt-Peterburgskoj Gimnazii s' Rossiiskim' perevodami'*. St. Petersburg, 1730. 413 pp.
    Sokrashchennaja Frantsuzskaja Grammatika s' Vokabulami. St. Petersburg, 1730. Quoted in B. O. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*, 1958, p. 99, fn. 1.

8. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*, 1958, p. 98.

9. S. E. Morozova, 'Meletij Smotritskij i ego Grammatika,' *Russkaja Rech*, 1980, Nr. 6, p. 56.

1. Meletij Smotritskij (1578-1633)

Smotritskij's father was Gerasim Danilovič, a writer, who later made the first principal of Ostrozhskij School. He was also translator of Greek and Latin literature.

Maksim Smotritskij entered Ostrozhskij School and learned Church Slavic and Greek. He pursued his schooling in Vilen (Vil'njus) Jesuit Academy. On graduation he worked as home tutor for the children of Prince B. Solomeretskij whose estate was not far from Minsk.

With Bogdan, prince's son, Smotritskij made a wide trip abroad, and enrolled as auditor at the universities of Nürenburg, Leipzig and Wittenburg in Germany and in Czechoslavakia. He obtained degree of MD.

Having returned home he resumed his tutorial work at famous families. In 1617 he was ordained monk at Vilen for the Sacred-Ecclesiastical Monastry. Presently he took the name of Meletij and started on his teaching career at Kievan and Vilen Friends Schools.

Smotritskij's main work in philology was *Grammatiki Slavenskija Pravilnoe Sintagma*. The book was published in Ev'e in 1619. This was a book for Church Slavic, and the book was destined to be the textook for the language for many years since that time.

Smotritskij wrote his *Grammatiki* primarily for teachers, and this is well accrued from his 'Preface' to *Grammatiki*. The Preface in its turn became a precious document of pedagogical and methodological thought of the 17th century.

Smotritskij drew a pattern for his grammar from classical languages of Greek and Latin. In addition to this classical inclination it was later on scrutiny found that *Grammatiki* had strongly been influenced by Slavic grammars, by *Grammatika Dobroglagolivavo Ellinoslovenskavo Jazyka* in 1591 and by L. Zizanij's *Grammatika Slovenska* 1596.

As a matter of fact, all these grammars and their abbreviated-reprints, although called Slavonic, were neither Slavonic nor Russian but a mixture of Greek, Latin, Polish and Church Slavic.

Smotritskij was the first scholar who had written a gamut of a course in grammar. Smotritskij divided his *Grammar* into four parts.

1. Ortho graphy 2. Etymology 3. Syntax & 4. Prosody.

In orthography he brought in 47 letters. He had no clear distinction between sounds and letters, which had been the practice with philology at his day.

Letters were taken apart into vowels and consonants. He recognized mutation of consonants, characteristics of which is nowadays recognized in the discipline of Slavic philology.

The greatest space in Smotritskij's *Grammar* was alloted to Etymology. The etymology of Smotritskij's conception dealt with parts of speech that follow : noun, pronoun, verb, participle, adverb, preposition, conjunction and interjection.

On the pattern of Greek Smotritskij described eight parts of speech, but in Slavic article is lacking, its place being taken by 'interjection'.

Bipartition of 'declinable' and 'indeclinable' ran through Smotritskij's all' the 'parts of speech'.

Special emphasis was laid on noun. Smotritskij posited substantive, adjectival and numeral nouns along with some of pronouns.

Gender, case and declensions were also dealt with in detail. Smotritskij's genders were seven in number. Masculine (toj muzh), feminine (taja zhna), neuter (toe gerevo), common (toj or taja voevoga = commander of army), whole (jurog = God's fool, i.e. idiot believed to possess divine gift of prophecy), puzzled gender (toj or taja neasyt = pelican), overall gender (toj orël = eagle, taja lastovitsa = gusset (in shirt)).

Smotritskij rendered great service to the theory of grammar when he had rightly defined a scheme for case of Slavic language. For the first time in the discipline he posited narrative (= propositional) case.

Smotritskij's ingenuity looms large in his bipartition of grammatical category into animate and inanimate things and objects. He assigned two types of conjunctions to verbs. The verbs in Smotritskij's scheme are divided into two categories of conjugations. Verbs of inchoatives (kameneju = to become petrified) and frequentatives (chitaju = read). Verbs of transitivity *vs.* intransivity were also conceived.

System of voice in Smotrsitskij were active, passive, middle, locative and common.

There are only two parts to Smotritskij's syntax ; simple and composite. Simple syntax are composed of rules for concord (agreement), government, agglutination (contiguity).

In the syntax he instructs how eight parts of words (=sentences) are compositely and completely connected and thereby express its sense. The syntax in Smotritskij also teaches how parts of sentences agree in gender, number, case, tense, person in terms of declension.

In Russian philology Smotritskij was the first to shed light on problems of syntax and gave a scientific and systematic description of them.

Smotritskij's syntax laid a foundation on which later generations of grammarians were to build their respective treatises on syntax.

Smotritskij's composite syntax was in essence a manual for stylistics, the theme of which was to specify language for literary work.

In part IV for prosody Smotritskij made expository theorizing on language of poetry. However under the influence of Greek prosody Smotritskij put forth a theory of variable stress.

Mention should here be made of his rules for the use of superlinear symbols and punctuation marks. For a theory of these Smotritskij drew heavily on a linguistic theory in Europe in the 16th and in the 17th centuries, especially in defining grammatical concepts and in assorting materials of language.

Nevertheless this did not detract from Smotritskij his ingenuity in explaining many characteristics of Slavic grammatical system and its specifics.

Smotritskij's use of language materials for comparative description was of high value, since in that way living and spoken aspects of Slavic language were made to stand out against those of Latin and Greek.

Smotritskij's *Grammar* was a means for cultural unity of all the Slavs who had been using Church Slavic. He laid a basis for developing grammatical thought, that is, for an idea for grammar and for a study of language.

One finds Smotritskij still living in the Soviet Union when in 1979 at Kiev a publisher 'Naukova Dumka' published Smotritskij's *grammar* in

phtostatic edition.

In 1979 in autumn in the city of Kamnets-podol'skij under the joint auspices of Potebnya Institute of Linguistics at the Ukraine Academy of Sciences and of the State Zatonskij Institute of Education was held a symposium on Grammatical Thought of Eastern Slavs in 16th-17th centuries in commemoration for 360th years of the publication of Smotritskij's *Grammatiki* and for 400th years of its author's birth.

Scholars from Moscow, Leningrad, kiev and Minsk participated in the symposium. Some of literary scholars who had joined the symposium made reports on Smotritskij's legacy of poetics.

The symposium was held in the village of Smotrich, place of Meletij Smotritskij's birth.

At the opening ceremony for Smotritskj's memorial plaque villagers, teachers and pupils of a junior high school of Smotrich presented themselves along with participating scholars, since the symposium had been in session in the campus of this high school.

Mention must be made here of the Moscow edition of Smotritskij's *Grammatika Slovenska*. In 1648 in Moscow a reprint of Smotritskij's original Even *Grammatika* was issued anonymously with considerable changes made, as was conceived by Maxim the Greek. This, as well as all the other grammars which had been brought out during the reign of Peter the Great, such as Theodore Polikarpov's *Grammar* in 1721 in Moscow, and Theodore Maximov's *Grammar* in 1723 in St. Petersburg, were all known as 'Slavonic Grammars' (Grammatika Slovenskaya).

Till 1755 there was no attempt made in Russia to publish a Russian grammar. There was even no mention of one.

one curious exception is the work by Križanić, a highly learned Croat Slav who was the first Panslavist.

Well bred in West-European universities, full of idealism, he reached Moscow in 1611 when he was a mature man of about 43 or 44 years of age. But he was in no time purged out to Tobolsk where with vain petitions repeating he had to remain up to 1676. He returned to Moscow only after the death of Tsar Aleksej Mikhailovich. He was permitted to leave Russia on his counsel. What has become of him afterwards was not

known. But during his long exile in Siberia he applied himself to writing books on various themes. One of these books he had authored was a compilation of a grammar which would do for all the Slavonic languages.

He called this grammar *Gramatichno Iskazanje ob Ruskom Jeziku* (A Grammatical Study of the Russian Language). the *Grammatichno* was left in manuscript till Professor O. M. Bodjanskij published it in the *Chtenia* (readings) of the Society of History and Antiquities of Russia (1848, I and 1859 III).

The whole book was written in a peculiar pan-Slavonic language which was Križanič's own intention, and it was almost completely incomprehensible even to learned Russians. Some specialists in Russian and Slavic languages recognize that there is much in the work which was ingenious and valuable at the time Križanič wrote it.

2. Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf and his *Grammatica Russica* (1696)

Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf, German by birth, brought out the first scholarly grammar of Russian in England at Oxford well ahead of Lomonosov' *Rossijskaja Grammatika* (1775). *Grammatica* had been written in Latin.

Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf was born on 20 December 1655 in Erfurt in Saxony. An anonymous article in J. Le. Neve's *Lives and Characters of the Most illustrious Persons Who Died in the Year 1712* (London, 1716) was the prime source for a biography of Heinrich Ludolf.[10]

At Heinrich Ludolf's birth place his family had played a distinguished part in civic affairs for some two centuries. His grandfather had played a leading role in the municipality, and his father, a lawyer, was a member of *Stadtrat*. When his father Georg Heinrich Ludolf died in 1669 (his mother had died in 1633) he was attending the Ratsgymnasium and was taken to his uncle's, to Hiob Ludolf, who had been an orientalist-diplomat of international fame and a founder of Amharic studies of those days.

Heinrich Ludolf in due time matriculated at the university of Jena in

10. John S. G. Simmons, 'H. W. Ludolf and the Printing of *his Grammatic Russica* in Oxford in 1696, ' *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, i (1950), p. 104 (-p. 129).

1675 and he visited England in 1677-1678 for the first time. This visit of Heinrich's at England was due to his uncle, since one of his correspondents was Edward Bernard who had been primarily the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, but he was also orieltalist-mathematician. He was later to play a decisive role for the making of Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica*.

One of Hiob Ludolf's letter in the Archive at the Bodleian Library in Oxford shows that young nephew, Heinrich, was personally known to Edward Bernard at least as early as August 1677, although Heinrich's actual sojourn at Oxford was not attested.

Three years later in 1680 Heinrich Wilhelm became Secretary to Christian von Lenthe in London, who had been the Danish Ambassador of the court of St James's.

Von Lenthe was intimately acquainted with Prince George of Denmark and was Master of Ceremonies at his marriage to Princess Anne, which took place in London. Princess Anne was destined later to become Queen Anne.

Six years later in 1686 with von Lenthe's recommendation Ludolf obtained a post of Secretary to Prince George. Then Ludolf was in Denmark for some time and we find his name in English records in 1688 when King James took to his heels for flight ; Ludolf was arrested and in due time was released.

As far as we know of his career he was a minor diplomat and linguist who had a good command of a number of oriental languages. In 1691 he retired from his secretaryship to Prince George because he had been 'seized with a violent distemper.'[11]

On 21st July in 1691 Thomas Smith, librarian to Sir John Cotton in London and a friend of Edward Bernard, Professor of Astronomy, wrote to the latter saying that 'Ludolf had lost his reason, and stated that 'his deluded 'Phansy and judgment' was due to 'his reading the books of Rosey-Crucians & Millenaryes.' and due to 'some things he printed in defense of those Whimseyes and fooleryes.'[12]

11. J. S. G. Simmons, *ibid.*, 1950, p. 105.
12. *loc. cit.*

This is a passage in his first printed work, *Meditations upon Retirement from the World*, which had been published in May in the same year.

At that time Ludolf had had a deep concern with a mystical religion and his aberration or mental breakdown made the end of his post of Secretary to Prince George. However the Prince, who had made much of Ludolf, provided him with sumptuous pension, which got rid of him material worries and freed him for the rest of his life to follow his inclination for religious and linguistic enquiries.

Because of his mental disorder Ludolf was taken by a German physician Jakob Pragest to Hiob Ludolf's at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. This was soon after 16th September 1961. He did not however fall out of the prince's grace who had been sympathetically disposed to Ludolf's philological and missionary interests. Ludolf made much of this grace of Prince George and made the best of it for the benefit of his own and his patron's religious and scholarly enterprises.

Frankfort in 1691 was one of the chief centers of Pietist movement in Germany. The followers of this religious creed was Philipp Jakob Spener, who had founded first *Collegium Pietatis*, whose intensive study of the Bible and extensive search for the knowledge of the Word led Ludolf on to his journey and subsequent sojourn in little known land of Russia, and to his study of the language of the Russians.[13]

Owing to political uncertainty Ludolf had to stay at Narva for a couple of months in the autumn of that year. He arrived in Russia on 23rd January 1963. He stayed in Moscow for eighteen months and then left for Stockholm in June 1694. In October 1964 he reached Amsterdam and in the fullness of time he was to set to work on his *Grammatica Russica*.

During his eighteen months' stay mostly in Moscow he moved and mingled freely in Russian society and made a number of Russian friends, and personally became acquainted with the Tsar, the patriarchs and other influencial figures such as Prince Boris Golitsyn.

Russia, to which Ludolf was to dedicate his *Grammatica Russica*, in

13. B. O. Unbegaun (ed.), *Henrici Wilhelmi Ludolfi ; Grammatica Russica.* OXONII
    A. D. MDCXCVI. Oxford : the Clarendon, 1959, p. xiii.

those days were attracting increasing attention in religious, learned and commercial circles in countries of Western Europe. In spite of his deep interest in religious life both of the German community in Moscow and of the Russians themselves Ludolf was deeply immersed in the study of Russian language.

Ludolf became surprisingly well informed of the different uses made by the Russians of Church Slavonic, a written form of language, and of Russian colloquial speech.

Ludolf bases his *Grammatica* on his personal observations during his eighteen months' stay in Russia and give an accurate description of the colloquial Russian language of his time, i. e. at the end of the seventeenth century.[14]

He was firm in his belief that practical knowledge of the vernacular was essential to those evangelical and ecumenical activities to which he devoted himself the rest of his life.

For instance Luldolf observes that Russians write words not as they are pronounced but as they are to be written on the rules of Slavic grammar. Ludolf states: 'they write *segodnija* and pronounce it as *sevodni*.[15]

The idea of Ludolf's writing of a Russian grammar was first suggested by Smith's letter to Bernard on the 20th, October 1694. 'Hee (Ludolf) has been for some time at Moscow, and is now at Amsterdam, entertained there by Mynheere Witsen with great respect, who adviseth him to publish the elements of the Russic language, which he judges him capable to do well.'[16]

Ludolf in his turn mentioned his intention of writing Russian grammar in a letter to Edward Bernard which he had written from Amsterdam on 15/25 November 1694. 'My lord Witsen took it very kindly to be remembered by you, and I have as good as promised unto him, to prepare

14. B. O. Unbegaun, (ed.) *op. cit,.* 1959, Jacket cover.
15. B. A. Uspenskij, *Pervaja Russkaja Grammatika na Rodnom Jazyke* (Moskva: Nauka, 1975, 232 pp.) p. 5.
16. J. S. G. Simmons, *art. cit.*, 1950, p. 111 & fn. 3. Letter of 20 Oct. 1694 (MS. Smith 57, p. 423).

for the press *a Short Russish Grammar with a Vocabulary, and the most common idiotisms ;'*. (Italics mine)[17]

Ludolf advised toward the end of the same letter to obtain Slavonic printing materials in Amsterdam.   His advice was accepted, but owing to delay in the arrival of materials, which had been ordered for Oxford from J. A. Schmid of Amsterdam, printing did not begin until the spring of 1696, and publication ended only in May of that year.[18]

The edition, however, was very small.   Three hundred copies were printed at a cost of £ 7. 3s. 6d., and the copy was quickly sold out and become a rarity[19].

Ludolf spent the remainder of his life in London unmarried.   He went to Holland in Autumn in 1701 and from April 1703 until the spring of 1705 he travelled in Holland, Germany and Denmark. He died in London on 25 January 1712.

A small volume of his posthumous publication was a religious treatise entitled *Reliquiae Ludolfianae* : *The Pious Remains of Mr. Hen. Will. Ludolf* ... (London, 1712. Pp.   13+xxvi+186.)[20]

The value of Ludolf's Grammar as an invaluable source for the history of Russian language on the one hand and as the first printed Russian grammar on the other was minimized by an academician S. P. Obnorskij when he said : '- - - The aim, utilitarian character of the edition of Ludolf, of course, could not be helped to be reflected in the very contents of the *Grammar*.   The *Grammar* as such in its texture was not original.   It grew out of the foundations of preceding Slavic grammars, especially out of Smotritskij's.'[21]

However the thirties of the present century saw the rehabilitation of Ludolf's grammar both in Western Europe and in Russia in the hands of

17. J. S. G. Simmons, *ibid.*, p. 111.
18. B. O. Unbegaun, (ed.), *op. cit.*, 1959, p. xiv. & J. S. G. Simmons, *Art. cit.*, 1950, p. 113.
19. B. O. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*,1958, p. 105 & fn. 3.
20. B. O. Unbegaun, *op. cit.*, 1959., p. xv, & fn. 2.
21. S. P. Obnorskij, 'Russkaja Grammatika Ludol'fa 1696 Goda', Sb. *Sovetskoe Jazyko-znanie*, t. 3. L. : 1937, p. 43.

scholars of Russian philology.[22]

The small number of 300 copies of Ludolf's first Russian Grammar on scholarly principle and practice doomed the book to oblivion. *Grammatica* was soon forgotten and exerted little influence on subsequent grammars of Russian language.

Concise summary of the contents of Luldof's grammar follows with special attention to relevant parts which bear some significance on the grammars that came after this first Russian grammar.

3. *Grammatica Russica*

Ludolf, who had reached England in September 1695,was presumably in Oxford during the earlier part of 1696 and must have supervised the printing of his *Grammatica*. Printing was carried during the first half of May.[23]

Ludolf's original plan was to leave Oxford on 19 May.

Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* ia a quarto of 112 pages plus a Russian *skoropis'*, which faces p. 8 of the book, which opens with a 'Dedication' to Prince Boris Golitsyn. Ludolf extends his thanks to the Prince for the hospitality rendered to him during his eighteen months' stay in Russia. Ludolf mentions the Prince's habit of speaking with visiting foreigners in Latin.

The two unnumbered pages of the Dedication is dated 8 May, and 'A Letter to the Reader' ('Benevole Lector') of three unnumbered pages follows the 'Dedication'. The preface, which covers six pages and is entitled 'Praefatio' in Latin follows 'the Table of Contents' and 'Errata' which are contained within the space of one page.

22. B. A. Larin, *Genrikh Vil'gel'm Ludol'f, Russkaja Grammatika, Oksford 1696*, Pereizdanie, perevod, vstupitel'naja Stat'ja i Primechanija B. A. Larina (Leningradskij Nauchno-issledovatel'skij Institut Jazykoznanija pri LIFLI, Material'ly i Issledovanija po Istorii Russkogo Jazyka, I) Leningrad, 1937. 167 pp.
   N. Koulmann, 'La Première Grammaire Russe', *Le Monde Slave*, N. S. ix (1932), vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 400-15 & also N. Koulmann, 'Pervaja Russkaja Grammatika', *Vremennik' Obshchestva Druzej Russkoj Knigi*, iv (Paris, 1938), pp. 145-56.
23. J. S. G. Simmons, *Art. cit.*, 1950, p. 113.

The Grammar proper begins with eight parts of speech (Osm' chasti slova ; octo partes orationes).

Ludolf set himself to explaining chief Slavonic grammatical terms and drew attention to some of the differences between Russian and Slavonic (Ludolf refers to Church Slavonic as Slavonic for short in the *Grammatica Russica*), both of which were used in Muscovite Russia. He devoted four persuasive pages to describe the relationship between these. (pp. x-xii. & pp. 4-5.)

As specific features of Russian Ludolf mentions *polnoglasie*. the initial *o* instead of Church Slavonic *e*; the absence of the second palatalization *ch* instead of *shch*; the adjectival ending of gen. sing. masc. in *-ovo* instead of-*ogo*, and the absence of the aorist.

Ludolf was a keen observer of Muscovite spoken Russian when he wrote '*sed sicuti secundum grammaticam Slavonicam scribi deberent* ; e. g. *scribunt segodnja* hodie, cum tamen pronucient *sevodni* (but just as acording to Slavonic grammar they had to write, that is, they wrote *segodnija*, 'today', but they pronounced *sevodni* (p. xii. : translation is the writer's)

The ralationship between two languages is summed up in oft-quoted phrase.[24]

'Adeoque apud illos (sc. Russos) dicitur, loquendum est Russice & scribendum est Slavonice' (p. xi).

Ludolf knew perfectly well that this meant that spoken language was Russian and that a written language was in essence Church Slavonic. Ludolf, however, had the inkling that Russian had seeped into a written form of language and that a learned discussion could not certainly be carried without calling Slavonic in use. '- - - verum etiam de materiis eruditionem vel scientias spectantibus neque scribere neque *disserer* (Unbegaun's italics) liceat, nisi lingua Slavonica in usum advocetur.'[25]

Ludolf's attempt at writing *Grammatica Russica* was to describe 'dialectus vulgaris.'[26]

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24. B. O. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*, 1958, p. 102 & his *op. cit.*, 1959, "Introduction," p. viii.
25. B. O. Unbegaun, *art. cit.*, 1958, p. 102.
26. *loc. cit.*

The grammar proper of the *Grammatica Russica* consists of seven chapters; noun (pp. 11-21); pronoun (pp. 21-26); verb (pp. 26-40); adverb (pp.40-42); preposition (p. 42), conjunction (p. 42).

Ludolf was certainly well endowed with the feel of Russian through his previous study and subsequent eighteen months' stay in Moscow, and he was certainly well informed of the linguistic situation of Moscovite Russia at the close of the seventeenth century.

His grammar is well balanced even without a section on syntax and give a compact, if incomplete, picture of colloquial Russian of those days.

In recompense to the lacking chapter for syntax he put in the chapter for *Phrases et Modi loquendi communiores* (pp. 43-81) The space of the same amount that was allotted to the chapter for Grammar was given to this phrase part.

These colloquial phrases are divided into six sections, for five of which are provided a German translation at the foot of the page, but sixth, *De Cultu Divino,* which is a dialogue on religions and moral matters, is in Russian and Latin only.

Considering the ample space given to the section, 'the phrase book' is the most important part in Ludolf's *Grammatica.* He undoubtedly intended this to help a foreign traveller to Russia to carry on a simple conversation with the inhabitants of Moscow in Russia.

For this purpose in mind Ludolf seemingly presented the phrase book in the form of short dialogues.

For instance the phrase-book opens with 'Gde ty byr?' (p. 43) and the page ends with 'Davnoli ty s' Moskvy?'. Ludolf's Latin and German translation for the former are 'Ubi fuisti = Wo seid ihr (sic) gewesen', and for the latter, 'Diune è Mocovia discessisti ? = Wie lange ist es dass ihr ans Moscow kommen?')

The section which follows the phrase book is a list of cardinal numbers (Numeri cardinali Russici) (p. 82). (from 1 through 21, and 30 through 90 plus 100, 200, 300 - - - 600, and 1000). In total eighteen cardinal numerals are described.

The section for cardinal numbers is followed by an ingenious trilingual glossary (Breve Vocabularium Rerum Naturalium (pp. 83-90)), which

contains thirty-eight Russian terms for natural phenomena together with 157 names of minerals, plants, and animals in perpendicuarly partitioned three columns, for instance, in the form of 'caelum = Nebo = Der Himmel'.

Without any historical dictionary of seventeenth century Russian this short voculabulary is an invaluable source for its study.

The trilingual vocabulary is followed by An Appendix entitled *Apendicis loco subjungemus pauca ad historiam naturalem Russiae spectantia* (pp. 91-97), which is divided into four sections. *Mineralia* (91 -92) ; *Vegetabilia* (93) ; *Animalia* (94) ; *Homines* (95).

The Appendix contains interesting information under the head for *Animalia*, for instance, '*Vichochol* est mus major aquaticus suaviter olens. ...' (p. 95). This mouse is undoubtedly 'Vykhukhol', a famous musk-rat, for which a triangular shaped post stamp was issued in 1978 in the Soviet Union.

At p. 92 for the 'Vocabulary' a mammoth is described ; 'Magnae vero curiositatis res est *Mammotovoi kost*, quo in Siberia e terra effoditur.'

Mr. J. S. G. Simmons, fellow of All Souls College, notes that 'this is the first printed reference in England to the mammoth.'[27]

Ludolf's book was issued in a special made-up edition, which would seem to have been designed mainly for gift or distribution to Russians.

This edition is extremely rare and there has so far been located only two copies ; one is in the library of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, and another copy is in the holdings of the British Museum.

This edition is lacking in grammar but contains the sheets of the *Breve Vocabularium* and the 'phrases' section is preceeded by two leaves which are not found in the normal edition but which contains a Dedication to the Peter the Great and a Russian-German glossary of forty-eight military terms.

In spite of the fact that Ludolf failed to distinguish *y* from *i* and hard

27. "It (Mammoth) àppears in the form *mammotovoy* both here and in the English translation published in 1698 as an Appendix to Adam Brand's *Journal of an Embassy .... into China ....* (London, 1698). But Richard James noted the Russian form with *n* in 1620 : 'maima*n*to' (MS. James 43*, p. 62)", in John S. G. Simmons, *art. cit.*, 1950, p. 128 ; 'Note' T for p. 114.

consonants from soft ones, *Grammatica Russica* is unquestionably an invaluable contribution to the study of Russian philology at about the dawn of the scientific study of language in Europe.

The full title of this epoch making first Russian grammar published at Oxford in England by the German is, as seen in the photographically reproduced title at the head of this article, as follows.

Grammatica Russica que continet non tantum praecipua fundamenta Russicae Linguae, verum etiam Manuductionem quandam ad Grammaticam Slavonicam. Additi sunt in forma dialogorum modi loquendi communiores, Germanice aeque ac Latine explicati, in gratiam eorum qui linguam Latinam ignorant. Una cum Brevi vocabulario rerum naturalium. OXONII : E Theatro Sheldoniano, A. D. MDCXCVI (Pp. (xiv)+ 96.)

A photographically reproduced title page shows the frontage of the Sheldonian theatre with the imprint "OXONII, E Theatro Sheldoniano, A. D. MDCXCVI": this is one of those imprints which the Oxford books bear from the year 1669 to 1713 when the University Press was removed to the Clarendon Buildings, and began to use as its imprint "e typographeo Clarendoniano."

The impression which Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* made on Leibniz was not favorable. Leibniz, as was well known, took to languages with enthusiasm, and he even tried to learn Russian and other Slavonic languages.

In a letter to the Dane Sparvenfeld on 29 January, 1697, Leibniz wrote: "I have received Henry William Ludolf's *Russian Grammar* published last year at Oxford. It appeared to me, as it did to you, too meagre (trop maigre)." He added that a certain Slavonic language was the language of the learned of the Muscovites. "He ought also to have added a small dictionary."

Leibniz, however, was thankful to the author of *Grammatica* as it gave some general stimulus to the study of the various Slavonic languages.

The first mention of criticism in Russia of Ludolf's grammar was to be found in the *Vestnik Evropy*, part xxxiv, for the year 1807, when one

hundred and ten years had passed since the publication of Ludolf's *Grammatica.*

The reviewer repeats what Ludolf says in his preface and admits the justice of Ludolf's observations. The reviewer, turning to the section for *Phrases et Modi Loquendi* remarks: "There is nothing like Ludolf's grammar to prove how difficult it is anyone to write not in his own language." And as illustrative examples he cites about a dozen or so phrases taken from Ludolf's works written in Latin and Russian.

The reviewer's concluding words follow : "Thus Lomonosov was not the first author of a Russian grammar!'

It may be of interest to note that whereas England was the first country where a Russian grammar was issued, with the language of the grammar in Latin, the first Russian grammar in English was brought out in 1827 in St. Petersburg. Its author was James Heard, an Englishman who was invited by Count Rumyantsev to set up a school on the Lancaster plan, which was then very much common in vogue in Russia. He had a good command of Russian, and settled in Russia. His son Alexander Yakovlevich Heard, who was born in Russia, was later to become a famous worker in the educations of orphans and other fatherless children. He was also a lecturer in science and became teacher to children of the Emperor Alexander III, the Grand Dukes George and Michael Aleksandrovich, and to the Grand Duchess Xenia Aleksandrovna.

The *Grammar* written by James heard was called a *Practical Grammar of the Russian Language* ; It was an excellent manual of Russian for his time. Some of his spellings are now archaic and obsolete, *stolar* (cabinet maker) instead of *stoliar*, or *moloshnik* (milkman) instead of *molochnik.*

On the other hand his *Grammar* was quite sound, and if there is some lackings in several grammatical points of some importance, it still is equal to use as one of the best Russian manuals in the English language. He also compiled an excellent "Key" to his *Grammar*, to which he added a vocabulary, dialogues and reading lessons in prose and verse.

As stated above Ludolf's *Grammatica* was rapidly forgotten with the passage of time partly because it had been issued in England at Oxford

and partly because it had been written in Latin by a German. Accordingly it is quite natural to find that the publication of Ludolf's *Grammar* at Oxford was already totally forgotten in the time of Mr. Heard.

In his preface he says that the English, "whose political, commercial or other intercourse with Russia may have rendered a knowledge of the language desirable, have hitherto had no other means of acquiring it, but through the medium of grammars written in French or German."

A short list of important works published in other languages on Russian grammar was printed by Heard in a footnote, but no mention was there made of Ludolf's work. 'I should say it could not in any case have been of much use to the author of the 'Practical Grammar.'[28]

After the appearance of Heard's *Grammar* another generation or two had to be waited before a grammar of the Russian language written in English was at last printed in England itself, and by that time the number of Russian grammars, various in form and contents in the English language printed in England, became quite considerable. For the last fifty or sixty years one may count more than a score of them.

In the preface to the most important of them, namely W. R. Morfill's *A Grammar of the Russian Language* published in 1889 we read: "The first Russian Grammar was published at Oxford in 1696, by Henry Ludolf in Latin: it is followed at the distance of nearly two hundred years by the present attempt which, it is hoped, will not prove unworthy of the Clarendon Press, from which the first was also issued."

If Professor Morfill meant that generally speaking the University Press at Oxford was the publisher of the first Russian grammar, he was quite right, but the name of the Clarendon Press, as I stated earlier in this article, was not yet known in Ludolf's time.

The third attempt by the Oxford University to use its holdings of Cyrillic alphabet was *the Russian Grammar* by Nevill Forbes, who had succeded Morfill in the Chair of Slavonic Studies at Oxford. The *Grammar* had more of pretentions than that of Morfill's.

No doubt, many more Russian grammars were still to come from The

28. Semen Rapoport, 'The First Russian Grammar in England,' *Slavic and the East European Review*, Nr xi (1951), p. 15.

Oxford University Press even after these first three attempts, because as Lomonosov said of human language in general and of the Russian language in particular, "the study of language is an immeasurably wide field, or rather an almost limitless ocean."[29]

It was very likely that this passage of Lomonosov must have suggested to Karamzin, when he was writing of the difficulties of grammar, the idea of parodying Voltaire's 'Ode to Nature', in his humorous essay "the Great Man of the Russian Grammar" with the following French quatrain :

> O Grammaire, abyme immense !
>
> Tu nous laisses sans clarté
>
> Notre sort est l'ignorance :
>
> Le savoir est vanité.[30]

Notes

Comment on the photographic reproduction of four sheets of plates follow.

1. A title page of H. W. Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica* (1696), which is taken from the photo facsimile edition of Heinrici Wilhelmi Ludolfi, *Grammatica Russica*, edited by late Professor B. O. Unbegaun, who had the Chair of Comparative Slavonic Philology in the University of Oxford and was Fellow of Brasenose College.

   I express my heartfelt thanks to Mr. J. S. G. Simmons for a copy of this facsimile edition which had been in his personal possession and been given me on the occasion of our *viva voce* discussion on the author of *Grammatica Russica* at his study room in Oxford in autumn in 1981.

2. An Alphabet of Russian, which was taken from Unbegaun's edition of the above. (Oxford : Clarendon, 1959. xxiii+14 unnumbered pages+97 pp. +5 pages of a facsimile of the special made-up edition.)

3. M. V. Lomonosov's bust, which is in V. N. Makeeva's *Istoriya Sozdaniya "Rossiyskoj Grammatiki" M. V. Lomonosova* (M.-L. : 1961, 185 pp.)

29. Lomonosov's *Rossiyskaya Grammatika* (1755) consists of six chapters, the first of which is entitled as 'O chelovecheskom slove voobshche" (On human words in general). Lomonosov defined language as follows. "Slovo dano dlya togo cheloveky, chtobyi svoj ponyatiya soobshchat' drugomu" (Word is given so that man may communicate with others. ' the writer's translation') in M. V. Lomonosov, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochnenie*, t. 7. AN SSSR. M-L. : 1952, p. 406.

30. Semen Rapport, *art. cit.*, 1956, p. 15.

4. A title page of Lomonosov's *Rossiyskaya Grammatika* (1755), which is taken from E. S. Kulyabko, *M. V. Lomonosov i Uchebnaya Deyatel'nost' Peterburgskoj Akademii Nauk* (M.: 1962. 216 pp.)