



Ivan Fedorov's primer (with an Appendix by William A. Jackson)

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Ivan Fedorov's Primer

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

SERGE DIAGHILEV (1872–1929), the champion of modern Russian ballet, music, and fine arts, was possessed in the last years of his life by a new passion, the collecting of rare Russian books and manuscripts. On the tenth anniversary of his death, Diaghilev's life and work were recounted by his close friend and co-worker, the maître-de-ballet Serge Lifar, in a biography published first in Russian and a year later in an English reshaping (Lifar, 1939, 1940).¹ Lifar reports that in September 1927 Diaghilev visited Rome for the sake of the 'little books' and then wrote him from Florence: 'In Rome everything was fine . . . I dug up a beautiful, tremendous Russian book [*čudnuju, potřasajuščuju rusckuju knigu*], and other things too. . . .' The biographer adds: 'And, indeed, the book did turn out to be "tremendous," the vendor evidently having not the least idea what it was, a Slavonic book being obviously as unintelligible to him as one in Chinese. In fact, the only clue he might have had to its value was its inclusion in a collection of thirty exceedingly rare volumes, in several languages. It turned out to be the first Russian grammar ever printed, and a product of the presses of the first Russian printer, Ivan Fedorov. . . . With burning eyes, though Diaghilev's eyes very rarely lit up, and then only for a barely appreciable moment, he recounted with rapture the details of his find' (Lifar, 1940, p. 326; cf. Lifar, 1939, p. 423). Both the discoverer and the reporter — in his turn an ardent and expert collector of Russian books and manuscripts — were aware that 'this book alone was a complete and final vindication of Diaghilev's hobby.'² Lifar's statements, which appeared on the eve of the Second World War, and in a volume quite remote from the reading scope of Slavic philologists, remained the only explicit reference to Ivan Fedorov's Primer until the announcement in 1953 of its accession to the Harvard College Library through the gift of Bayard L. Kilgour,

¹ For bibliographical references see pp. 42–45 below.

² The permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons to quote from S. Lifar's *Serge Diaghilev, His Life, His Work, His Legend* (New York, 1940) is gratefully acknowledged.

Jr, '27, who acquired the work from the collection of Boris Kochno, to whom it had been bequeathed by Diaghilev (see Jackson, p. 5 f., and Lifar', 1938, p. 194).

The Primer is definitely Ivan Fedorov's work. At the end of the last page of the text (79 in our pagination) one reads: 'Printed in Lvov, year 1574.'³ Thus this is a twin publication to Ivan Fedorov's *Apostle*, issued in the same year and town, of which some fifteen copies are extant (see Dorošenko, p. 41). Over this colophon two designs are inserted: at the left, the arms of the city of Lvov; and at the right, the printer's insignia, a curved strip (mirror-image of the Cyrillic letter *žělo*: S) surmounted by an arrow against a speckled background on the left and with the four letters of Ivan's name in its bookish form — *Ioan* — on either side, I and the circumflexed ω in the upper part, A and H in the lower. Both blazons, that of the city on the left, and that of the printer on the right, appear also in the *Lvov Apostle*, only there they are enclosed in an intricate acanthus pattern, and, in the printer's name, A is accompanied by a stress and H by an apostrophe (the so-called *paerok*). The frame of the printer's mark, both in the *Primer* and the *Apostle*, is similar to that of the city's arms. Ivan's earlier prints lack this mark, whereas in his later prints the mark is preserved but with a change in letters: I (= *Ioan*) on the left and Θ (= Θ edorov) on the right. The same blazon, with these two initials, reappears on the printer's tombstone in Lvov. As to the origin of this mark, it remains questionable whether its components are a combination of different arms, as the Metropolitan Ilarion suggests (see Ohijenko, 1953, p. 32), or whether the arrow-capped strip is borrowed from the arms of the Byelorussian-Ukrainian family of magnates and Church dignitaries named Rahoza, in accordance with the surmise of B. Lukomskij (see *Ivan Fedorov*, pp. 167 ff.). Both *Primer* and *Apostle* use the same paper and the same type. The headpieces and tailpieces are very similar

³ Facsimiles of all pages of the *Primer*, including flyleaves containing inscriptions, are reproduced herewith, in double-page spreads. For purposes of reference, printed pages have been numbered consecutively in arabic from 1 to 80 (including two blanks, pp. 8 and 80), and the four flyleaves have been designated by the letters A to D. Four printed pages, 1, 7, 9, and 79, have also been reproduced singly, in the size of the original. Finally, two pages from a closely related *Primer* (see below, pp. 27-29) are included at the end of the series of plates, reproduced from the copy in the Bodleian Library through the courtesy of the Keeper of Printed Books.

The cost of the entire series of plates here presented has been defrayed from funds generously made available by the Committee for the Promotion of Advanced Slavic Cultural Studies, under the chairmanship of Mr Gordon Wasson.

or even identical; thus the tailpiece on p. 7 of the Primer fully coincides with that of leaf 241 verso of the Apostle (see its facsimile in *Ivan Fedorov*, p. 166).⁴

All the spelling peculiarities pointed out by the Metropolitan Ilarion in the Lvov Apostle (see Ohijenko, 1953, pp. 42 ff.) re-emerge in the Primer: the digraph OY, the preiotized A, and the broad *on* are used at the beginning of a word, while everywhere else we correspondingly find a round *uk*, a 'small *jus*,' and a narrow *on*. Neither the 'big *jus*,' nor the broad *est*' occurs in the texts presented. Omega is used only with a superscribed τ. The letter І appears also before consonants, particularly in foreign words and in certain roots such as *edin-*, *odin-*. There is no ŋ; *žělo* (S) is confined to a few words, as for instance, *žlo*. Within words Б after Л is often omitted. Capital letters are used only at the head of entries. Vowels unpreceded by consonants carry an aspiration mark. The final stressed vowel is marked by a gravis, other stressed vowels by an acute. Enclitics and proclitics are joined to the stressed words. In the division of syllables no hyphen appears.⁵ The use of sigla (*titla*) and of superscribed letters is identical in both prints.

Among the dated incunabula of the East Slavic world, the newly found Lvov manual of 1574 emerges as the oldest Primer. In the Slavic West, printed spelling-books appear considerably earlier. *Orthographia seu modus recte scribendi et legendi polonicum idioma*, by Stanisław Zaborowski, was published in Cracow between 1512 and 1515 and re-edited in 1518 (see Łoś, pp. 103 ff.; Estreicher, p. 51). In 1535 the grammarian Beneš Optat of Telč issued the first Czech primer, *Isagogicon, jenž jest uvedení každému počínajícímu se učiti psáti* (see Hendrich, Kubálek, and Šimek, whose study of the Czech primers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains a monograph unequalled in other Slavic languages). A Slovenian *Abecedarium* by P. Trubar appeared in Tübingen around 1551 and, finally, a Croatian *Azbukvar* in Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters was printed in Urach in 1561 (see Murko, pp. 1, 14).

Before we consider the Lvov Primer in detail, a few data on its

⁴ A description of the Primer and a discussion of its special bibliographical features and relationships by Professor William A. Jackson appear in an Appendix printed below.

⁵ Since words were often written without separation, and since on the other hand no hyphen was used to connect the syllables of a divided word, the particular characters for initial vowels and also the particular stress sign for final vowels helped to mark the word-borders.

printer must be recalled. His first name appears as *Iván* or, in a more bookish variant, *Ioánn* or *Ioán*. In Moscow records his patronymic is *Fédorov*, or *Θédorov*, or *Θédorov syn*, and his Ostrog publications are signed *Ioán Θédorov syn z Moskvvy* (Ivan Fedor's son from Moscow). In his prints of Zabludov he is called *Iván Θédorovič* (or *Θédorovič*) *Moskvítin* (i.e., Muscovite) and in the Lvov Apostle *Ioánn Θédorovič*, while in the Latin and Polish documents of Galicia and Volynia his patronymic is given as Fedorowicz, Chodorowicz, and Chwedorowicz, and *Moskvítin* is once translated into Latin as *Moschus* (see Ptaszycki, No. 22). Thus in none of these variants does the printer's patronymic appear alone, while *Iván* or *Ioán* occurs often without the patronymic. The use by scholars of the form *Fedorov* or *Fedorovič* as a family name is an unwarranted modernization.

Ivan Fedorov, the deacon of the Church of Saint Nicholas the Wonder Worker of Gostun', in the Kremlin, had his press in Moscow from 1563 to 1565, and then, as he himself relates in the postface to the Lvov Apostle, the envy and hatred 'of many superiors, ecclesiastical authorities, and preceptors' drove him from his 'land, native country, and kin to other, unknown parts' (see Karataev, p. 182 f.). Plausible conjectures have been made concerning Ivan Fedorov's relations with the Moscow literary circles under Ivan the Terrible, and in particular with Prince Andrej Kurbskij. The violent shift of Ivan's policy soon after the death of Metropolitan Makarij, Ivan Fedorov's protector, the transformation of Kurbskij into a political refugee and fierce adversary of the Tsar in 1564, and the terroristic regime initiated by the *opričniki* in 1565 suggest political reasons for the flight of Ivan Fedorov and his aide (*klevret*), Petr Timofčev of Mstislavl' (a town in the Mogilev region). As Nekrasov (p. 68) pointed out, it is quite likely that, since Ivan Fedorov and Petr Mstislavec were involved in the same cultural circles as Kurbskij and Maksim Grek, they were in danger of persecution.

In 1568-70 Ivan Fedorov worked as printer in Zabludov, a Byelorussian town under Lithuanian sovereignty, but in the latter year his protector there, the Hetman Xodkevič, prohibited him from continuing his press, probably under the impact of the Ljublin political union of 1569 between Poland and Lithuania (see Ohijenko, 1929, p. 28), and the printer, wishing to persevere in his activities, moved to Lvov, the Ukrainian center of Galicia. Here he printed in 1573 and 1574, supported mainly by the local Ukrainians of the lower middle class and

lower clergy. As Zěrnova detected, a considerable amount of typographic material was brought by the printer from Moscow, first to Zabludov and then to Lvov, and this fact, coupled with the story of his printing house appended by Ivan Fedorov to the Apostle of 1574 (see Karataev, pp. 182 ff.), justifies our considering the Lvov press simply as the continuation of the Moscow enterprise. Financial and probably also political difficulties halted the work of the Lvov press. The *impressor ruthenus* pawned his establishment and moved to Volynia, where in Ostrog, between 1579 and 1581, he resumed his printing activities in the service of Prince Constantine (Konstantin Konstantinovič) of Ostrog. Another termination came about through a conflict with the Prince. He returned to Lvov, where he died in 1583, after vain attempts to revive his publishing house once more.

On his tombstone, Ioan Θεodorovič is described as the Muscovite printer who through his industry 'renewed neglected printing' (*drukovanie zanedbaloe obnovil*; see *Ivan Fedorov*, p. 158 f.). This statement is certainly valid for the Russian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian chapters of his work. As a series of investigations have revealed, printing in Moscow began before Ivan Fedorov, at least as early as the late fifties, but on a significantly poorer level (see especially Tixomirov; Zěrnova, pp. 7 ff.). The first Byelorussian typographer, Francisk Skorina, after having published a Psalter and twenty-two books of the Old Testament in Prague, 1517-19, printed an Apostle and a handbook containing Psalms, prayers, and a saints' calendar in Vilna, 1525. No books appeared, thereafter, in Byelorussia until Ivan Fedorov's Zabludov publications, with the exception of two Protestant prints issued in Nesviž, 1562. Ohijenko (1925, p. 34) rightly stated that the Muscovite emigrant Ivan Fedorov, through his Lvov publications, became the first printer on Ukrainian soil, but it should be noted that the Cyrillic books printed in Cracow, 1491, by the German Sweipolt Fiol, are in Church Slavonic of Middle Bulgarian recension with some Ukrainian tinges, and were perhaps destined not only for Moldavia, as Sobolevskij (1888) supposed, but also for the Western Ukraine (cf. Maslov, p. 17; Muszkowski, pp. 43 ff.).

The same tombstone inscription is accurate, also, in calling Ivan the 'printer of books hitherto unseen' (*knig predtym' nevidanyx*) — probably in imitation of the brief Vita of Cyril, who is praised as the compiler of 'letters hitherto unknown' (*az'bukvy neznaemy*; see Lavrov, 1930, p. 104). Before Ivan Fedorov, no complete Church Slavonic

Bible and no Primer in this language had been published, and moreover, the quality of text and workmanship in Ivan Fedorov's books was incomparably higher than in the earlier Church Slavonic prints.

Ivan Fedorov tried four politically different printing areas, Muscovy, Byelorussia, Western Ukraine, and Volynia. In each of these he worked his press for two or three years and in each financial or administrative obstacles forced him to cut short his activities. Probably a restless, adventurous, and obstreperous disposition aggravated these hindrances (cf. Ohijenko, 1924). It is interesting that in all four areas the printing activities broken off by Ivan Fedorov were resumed and carried further by his apprentices. Thus in Moscow a Psalter was published in 1568 by his two pupils, Nikifor Tarasiev and Andronik Timofěev Nevěža, the latter of whom developed an extensive printing activity from 1576 to 1602, to be succeeded by his son, Ivan Nevěža, whose press was demolished in 1611, in the Time of the Troubles. In Byelorussia, Ivan Fedorov's former companion, Petr Mstislavcc, established in 1574 a printing house for two Vilna merchants, the brothers Mamonič, which became one of the most active presses of the time until its confiscation in 1610, when its superintendent, Karpovič, was imprisoned by command of King Sigismund. After Ivan Fedorov's death the Lvov Stauropegial Fraternity restored and developed his press under the management of his former collaborator, the monk Minna: despite all political mutations, this Fraternal enterprise published, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, over 138 items in more than 160,000 copies, and indeed lasted on into the twentieth century (see Krylovskij, pp. 263 ff.). Finally, after the departure of Ivan Fedorov from Ostrog, the press there continued a distinguished production until the 1620's, when it was liquidated by the Polish Jesuits.

The activities of the *impressor ruthenus*, at all four stages, manifest a striking parallelism. In each place he printed one fundamental and richly illuminated folio volume: the Apostle in Moscow and in Lvov, the Didactic Evangelium in Zabludov, and the Bible in Ostrog. After having finished, or at any rate begun, each of these folios, he published at least one work of a smaller size, less embellished and more suited for daily consumption: thus in Moscow, in 1565, he issued in two consecutive editions a Book of Hours (*Časovnik*) in octavo (see Nekrasov, p. 83; Zěrnova, p. 40 f.), in Zabludov, 1570, a Psalter with an appended Book of Hours in quarto, in Lvov, 1574, our Primer in octavo, and in

Ostrog, 1580, a New Testament prefaced by the Psalter in octavo.⁶

Ivan Fedorov's folios have survived in a respectable number of copies (see Karataev, pp. 155, 166, 186, 216; Dorošenko, p. 41; Popov, pp. 160, 162 f.). The most numerous are those of the Ostrog Bible; in the Moscow Public Library alone there are twenty-nine (listed by Zěrnova, p. 97 f.). All his prints of smaller size, on the contrary, are very rare and are preserved in part only outside Russia. Thus, the first Moscow edition of the Book of Hours is represented solely by a copy in the Brussels Royal Library, the second edition by one defective copy in the Leningrad Public Library and by the intact copy purchased by Diaghilev in Rome and now in the possession of Lifar (Lifar', 1938, pp. 185, 191). Of the Zabludov Psalter there exists only one defective copy, in the Leningrad Public Library, and of the Ostrog New Testament only two copies, one in the Leningrad Public Library and the other in that of Moscow. Finally, the Lvov Primer is known only in its Harvard copy: as already suggested, there has been not the slightest allusion to this latter work in the abundant literature on the printer, which totaled 523 items in the incomplete bibliography of 'sources for the study of Ivan Fedorov's activities' compiled in 1935 (*Ivan Fedorov*, pp. 213-277).

It is not surprising that early printed Russian Primers and Books of Hours are so rare that some of them have been found only in West European collections. Their ready disappearance is explained by their small size, cheapness, and consequently less careful handling by consumers, who 'literally read them to pieces' (see Zěrnova, p. 41; Barnicot and Simmons, p. 98 f.). Their use by schoolboys would be particularly destructive. Such manuals were, on the contrary, sedulously preserved by foreigners as outlandish examples of a curious language and script.

How much such texts were used within Russia is shown both by the repeated edition of Ivan Fedorov's Book of Hours within a single year and by the library index of the famous Stroganov family, made in 1578: the latter lists 48 copies of Ivan Fedorov's *Časovnik*, probably assigned for the use of the whole household (see Bogdanova, pp. 279 ff.). The question remains open whether the only complete copy known of Ivan Fedorov's Book of Hours in its second edition, that purchased by

⁶Besides the two books, a leaflet of two pages with a versified calendar was printed in Ostrog during Ivan Fedorov's period of activity there (see Karataev, pp. 217 ff.).

Diaghilev in Rome simultaneously with the Primer (see Lifar, 1940, pp. 326 and 379), and presumably, like the Primer, from the collection of Grigorij Sergeevič Stroganov (see pp. 40-41 below), was a personal acquisition of this famous collector or was inherited from his early ancestors, since this family has long been known for its love of books and its eagerness to preserve the monuments of the Russian past, as even a Soviet publication of 1922 hazarded to reassert (see Bogdanova, p. 277).

Are the two Lvov productions of 1574, the modest Primer in octavo and the more luxurious Apostle in folio, a chance pair? Quite the contrary, 'the Primer and the Apostle were the alpha and omega of the Church Slavonic language as a subject of instruction,' according to the neat formulation of Xarlampovič, the learned investigator of the 'West Russian Orthodox Schools in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' (1898, p. 418). In the preface to the Moscow *Azbuka* (ABC) of 1637, a Primer is defined as a ladder (*lěstvica*) to the teaching of the Book of Hours, Psalter, and other divine books. The assortment of instructive books was, in general, viewed as a strictly graded ascent.

Thus, on the eve of the seventeenth century, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, a remarkable Ukrainian writer of the time, contrasting the traditional orthodox education with the subversive Latin trend, recommends that, after the pupil has mastered the grammatical key, 'instead of mendacious dialectic that teaches how to turn white into black and black into white, he should study the devotional and just Book of Hours, and then, instead of devious syllogisms and high-flown rhetoric, should master the Psalter, pleasing to God' (see Xarlampovič, 1898, p. 233). All three books are found among the small-sized prints of Ivan Fedorov. Meletij Smotryc'kyj, the renowned grammarian educated in Ostrog, states in his *Grammatiki Slavěnskija prāvilmoe Sintagma*, 1619, that for centuries teachers have schooled young children first in the Primer, then in the Book of Hours, and finally in the Psalter, and that afterwards some people also read the Apostle. Similarly, a contemporary Muscovite 'admonition to teachers' (How to Impart Literacy to Children) points out that children first must learn the *azbuka*, and afterwards the Book of Hours and the Psalter and other divine books (see Jagić, p. 788). According to Zabelin (p. 98), in the Moscow folk pattern of the seventeenth century, primary instruction ended with the Psalter, whereas the children of the court passed beyond the Psalter to the Acts of the Apostles and, finally, to the Gospels. Thus, Tsar

Aleksej Mixajlovič, after the Primer, began at the age of seven to study the Book of Hours, about six months later the Psalter, and after another three months, the Apostle. This schedule long remained valid, and as late as 1947 Zěrnova, in Moscow, affirmed that 'until recently there were still people who, after having learned the Primer, practised reading in the Book of Hours and then passed on to the Psalter' (p. 41). According to this program, the Primer, the Book of Hours, the Psalter, and the Apostle were the primary concern of Ivan Fedorov's printing work, with the Bible its crowning stage.

II. THE CONTENT AND SOURCES OF IVAN FEDOROV'S PRIMER

In the postface to the Lvov Primer (pp. 78-79) Ivan Fedorov characterizes his work: 'Beloved and righteous Russian people, Christians of the Greek rite! That which I have written for you is not from me, yet I have compiled something from the teachings of the blessed Apostles and God-inspired Holy Fathers and from the Grammar of our reverend Father John Damascene, in abbreviated form to lighten study for children. If my efforts are welcome to you, accept them with good will, and I ardently desire to labor on other well-intentioned writings, if God so pleases and through your holy prayers. Amen.'

The Primer consists of two parts. The first part (pp. 1-48), the *azbuka* proper, leads to a mastery of the alphabet, supplementing these lessons with some grammatical and orthographic data. The second part (pp. 49-77) contains texts for instructive reading and memorizing. In contradistinction to the second part, the first is divided into numbered paragraphs. After the hundredth paragraph (p. 8), consecutive numeration ceases and the remaining paragraphs on the page bear the numbers 200, 300, 400, 500. With the 500th paragraph the first part ends. At the bottom of the page, however, further numbers are added: hundred signs from 6 to 9 and, finally, signs for thousands from 1 to 3. Thus, the numeration of the paragraphs has a concomitant task: to teach the Cyrillic letters in their numeral value.

The initial section of the first part, framed by a headpiece (p. 1) and tailpiece (p. 7), treats letters and syllables. § 1 (p. 1) gives the letters in their alphabetical order, § 2 (p. 2) lists the same letters in reverse order. This procedure had been recommended as the second stage of learning in the treatise *O pis'menex* (Concerning Letters) by Constantine, a Bulgarian grammarian at the Belgrade court in the late

fourteenth century, whose doctrine early penetrated into Russia. According to his method, as summarized by Jagić, 'the pupil had to repeat all the letters from the beginning to the end and then in reverse from the end to the beginning, until they were firmly embedded in his memory and he no longer stumbled'; in departing from the habitual order, the child was led to recognize the characters not from their place but from their shape (see Jagić, pp. 379, 433, 503). The terminology of the Russian bookmen of the sixteenth century (see Jagić, pp. 678 ff., 688) distinguished the first stage of knowledge — *prostoporjádíe* (normal order) or *azbuka*, and the second stage — *vspjatoslóvie* (reverse order). The other names for these two sequences were *v stremínú* (straight ahead) and *v srjásěú* (straight back). The third stage — *smě'snoe poznáníe* (complex knowledge) — consisted in dividing the letters of the alphabet into five lines and writing them in columns, downwards, and in the pupil's reading them from left to right. This stage is presented in § 3 of the Primer (p. 2). The fourth stage — *smě'snaja navspját'* (inversely complex), in which the letters were arranged to read upwards and from right to left (see Jagić, p. 678) — is absent in our Primer.

The alphabet, as given in the first paragraph of the Primer, consists of 45 letters, and in this way maintains an ancient tradition requiring a sum total of letters that is a multiple of nine (see Trubetzkoy, p. 18). The letter *zemlja* is given in two variants: the archaic, tailed character, and the newer one shaped like the modern *з*. There appear two characters rendering the /u/ phoneme: the digraph *OV* is preceded by the ligature of these two letters, the round *uk*. The character *on* is in two variants, the narrow and the broad; likewise, the letter *est'* and the omega (with the narrow omega capped by *т*). In the textual parts of the Primer the broad *est'*, the broad omega, the 'big *jus*,' and *ižica* do not appear. In § 2, the modern *з* version of *zemlja* is omitted, so that the alphabet contains 44 letters, and the 'big *jus*' is placed between *IO* and the preiotized *A*, while in § 1 it figured between *psi* and *fitá*. In § 3 the tailed version of *zemlja* is omitted, and moreover the 'big *jus*' and the broad variants of *est'* and *on*, so that the sum of letters is curtailed to 41. Sixteenth-century manuscript treatises on letters usually offer the same general number of letters of the alphabet, 45 or 44 (see Jagić, pp. 606, 652, 687 ff., 919). For instance, in 'the alphabet [*búkovnica, rékše ázbuka*] of 45 letters proper to the Slavonic script of the Russian region under Muscovite rule,' there is but one variant

of *zemlja*, but in compensation a *paerok* is added at the end of the list (see Jagić, p. 688).

From single letters, the Primer passes to syllables. The Russian grammarian nomenclature of the sixteenth century distinguished four types of sequences: 1) *slog* or *složenie*, when a vowel was preceded by one or more consonants; 2) *predloženie*, when a vowel was followed by one or more consonants; 3) *priklad* or *priloženie*, when a vowel followed a vowel; and 4) *pribor* or *utěsnenie*, when a consonant followed a consonant (cf. Jagić, pp. 641, 689, 806). The combinations of vowels preceded by consonants were divided into four types: *dvójka* with one consonant, *trójka* with two consonants, *četverica* with three consonants, and *pjaterica* with four consonants (see Jagić, pp. 653, 924). Only the first two types of the sequence of vowels preceded by consonants (*slog*) are listed in the Primer: *dvójka* (*ba, va, ga*, etc.) in §§ 4-12 (pp. 2-4), and *trójka* (*bra, vra, gra*, etc.) in §§ 13-21 (pp. 4-7).

The further sections of the first part of the Primer, separated from the initial section by the empty page 8 and by the headpiece of page 9, treat letters in their relation to words. This grammarian level is known in Russian nomenclature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the fanciful name of *slogínja* (see Jagić, p. 653). Upon passing from single letters and syllables to entire words, the Primer introduces the spelling names of the letters, following in this way the order already suggested by Constantine the Grammarian (see Jagić, p. 435). §§ 22-48 (pp. 9-18) give the traditional spelling names of the Cyrillic letters from Б to Ш, followed in each case by the present-tense paradigm of a verb beginning with the appropriate letter, so that the study of conjugation might proceed parallel with the mastery of the alphabet.

It may be mentioned that the characters rendering the phoneme /u/ are called *ik* by Ivan Fedorov (p. 15), in accordance with the Russian tradition of that time (cf., e.g., Jagić, p. 606). This tradition seems to have preserved the original name of the letter У, which can be traced back as far as the *bic* of the *Abecedarium Bulgaricum* of the eleventh-twelfth century and the *ѣк* in the earliest Greek list of the Church Slavonic spelling names discovered by Banduri. On the other hand, the name *uk*, which later gained the upper hand and which was coined for the digraph ОУ and for the ligature (round *uk*), appears as early as the treatise of Constantine the Grammarian and the Prague *Abecedarium* of 1434 (see Bäcklund, p. 137 f.; Jagić, p. 435).

§§ 22–50 (pp. 9–19) carry the general title: 'And this alphabet is from the eight-part book, that is, the Grammar' (*Asija ázbuca. Otknigi osmočástnyja, síř'č' grammatikii*). The reference is perfectly clear, particularly if we adjoin the testimony of Ivan Fedorov's postface: 'I have compiled something . . . from the Grammar of our reverend Father John Damascene, in abbreviated form to lighten study for children.' The savants who came to Russia among the numerous Balkan Slavic refugees from the Turks, and who had such a strong influence on Russian literature, literary language, and spelling, apparently brought with them at least two grammarian works — an abbreviated version of the above-mentioned script 'Concerning Letters,' by Constantine the Grammarian (see Jagić, pp. 554 ff.: *Perexod sočinenija Konstantina grammatika v literaturu russkiju*), and a treatise entitled 'Concerning the Eight Parts of Speech.' The latter work, obviously modeled on the Greek *Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου*, is known to us through a Serbian manuscript of the fifteenth century and through a Russian reshaping that occurs in many manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; most of the manuscripts present this treatise as a translation from John Damascene made by Ioan the Bulgarian Exarch. No such work, however, has been traced among the writings of John Damascene, and its connection with the Bulgarian author of the tenth century, although defended by several Russian philologists from Kalajdovič to Malinin, is categorically denied by Jagić, who holds it to be a Serbian imitation of some late Greek treatise, compiled probably in the early fourteenth century (p. 364 f.). However this may be, the work is the earliest sketch of a Church Slavonic grammar in our possession. But the division of the grammatical pattern according to eight parts of speech had been borrowed by the Slavic bookmen from Greek tradition considerably earlier. Thus in the Old Church Slavonic Vita of Saint Constantine Cyril, written in the 970's, we learn that after Constantine's arrival in the Chersonese 'he mastered there Hebrew speech and writing by applying to it the eight parts of grammar [*osm' čestii grammatikię přelož'*], and thereby gained a deeper insight into the meaning' (see Lavrov, 1928, p. 259).

The treatise 'Concerning the Eight Parts of Speech' enjoyed a great popularity in Russia. It was often copied, and from a copy belonging to Constantine, Prince of Ostrog, it was even published in Vilna in 1586, under the title *Kgramatyka sloven'ska jazyka*, thus becoming the first Church Slavonic printed grammar. The treatise was repeatedly



А Б В Г Д Е Ж
 З И Й К Л М Н
 О П Р С Т У Ф
 Ц Ч Ш Щ Ъ
 Ы Э Ю Я

Ѡ ѡ Ѣ ѣ
 Ѥ Ѧ ѧ Ѩ



ПРЮ РРЮ СРЮ ТРЮ ФРЮ
 ХРЮ ЦРЮ ЧРЮ ШРЮ ЩРЮ

БРА ВРА ГРА ДРА ЖРА
 ЗРА ИРА ЛРА МРА
 НРА ПРА РРА СРА
 ТРА ФРА ХРА
 ЦРА ЧРА
 ШРА
 ЩРА





ДѢЯ АЗБУКА . ѿКНИГН
ОСМОЧАСТНЫА , СВѢЧЬ
ГРАММАТИКѢН .

АЗЪ .

БѢКИ . БѢДА . ОНЪ . КВ
БѢДИШИ . ТЫ .
БѢДИТЬ . ТОН .
БѢДИВА . МЫ ДВА .
БѢДИТА . ВЫ ДВА .
БѢДИМО . СОМНОМНОЗН
БѢДИТЕ . БЕМЕНЕ МНОЗН
БѢДА . ЯКОВЫНЪЦЫН НА
НА ГЛЮ , ІАН МЫ НАДРЪГН .

ДМЫ БѢДУТЬ ВЪШН ЛЮ
БВН . ПРІИМѢТЕ СІА СЛЮ
БОВІЮ . А ДНОННЫХЪ ПН
САМІНХЪ БЛГОУГОДНЫ СЪ
ВОЖДЕЛѢНІЕ ПОТРУДИТИ
СА ХОЩУ . АЩЕ БЛГОВОЛН
БГЪ , ВЪШНМН СТЫМН
МОЛІТВАМН
АМННЬ .



ВЫДРЪКОВАНО ВОЛКОВЪ ,
РОКЪ , А , ФОРЪ .

Зрѣ крѣ лрѣ мрѣ нрѣ
 прѣ ррѣ ерѣ трѣ фрѣ
 хрѣ црѣ чрѣ шрѣ щрѣ .

нѣ Бры бры гры дры жры
 зры кры лры мры нры
 пры рры еры тры фры
 хры цры чры шры щры .

ѣ Брѣ брѣ грѣ дрѣ жрѣ
 зрѣ крѣ лрѣ мрѣ нрѣ
 прѣ ррѣ ерѣ трѣ фрѣ
 хрѣ црѣ чрѣ шрѣ щрѣ .

ѣ Бры бры гры дры жры
 зры кры лры мры нры

пры рры еры тры фры
 хры цры чры шры щры .

Бра бра гра дра жра ѣ
 зра кра лра мра
 пра пра рра ера
 тра фра хра
 цра чра
 шра
 щра



ЛѢСА АЗБУКА . ѠСННГН
 ѠСМОЧАСТНЫА , СНОРЪЧЬ
 ГРАММАТИКѢН .

АЗЪ .

БѢСН . БѢДА . ѠНЪ . ѠБ
 БѢДНШН . ТЫ .
 БѢДНТЪ . ТОН .
 БѢДНВА . МЫ ДВА .
 БѢДНТА . ВЫ ДВА .
 БѢДНМО . ѠМНОМНОЗН
 БѢДНТЕ . БЕМЕНЕ МНОЗН
 БѢДА . ЯКѢВЫНЪЦЫН НА
 НА ГАН , ІАН МЫ НАДРОГН .

КГ ВѢДН . ВЪРАЗУМАА .
ВЪРАЗУМАЕШИ . ВЪРА
ЗУМАЕШЪ . ВЪРАЗУ
МАЕБА . ВЪРАЗУМА
ЕТА . ВЪРАЗУМАЕМО .
ВЪРАЗУМАЕТЕ . ВЪРА
ЗУМАЮТЪ .

КД ГЛАГОЛЬ . ГЛАГОЛА . ГЛА
ГОЛЕШИ . ГЛАГОЛЕШЪ . ГЛА
ГОЛЕБА . ГЛАГОЛЕТА . ГЛА
ГОЛЕМО . ГЛАГОЛЕТЕ . ГЛА
ГОЛЮТЪ .

КЕ ДОВО . ДАА . ДАЕШИ .
ДАЕШЪ . ДАЕБА . ДАЕТА .
ДАЕМО . ДАЕТЕ . ДАЮТЪ .

ЖЕТЬ . ЖЕМА . ЖЕМАШИ . КЗ
ЖЕМАШЪ . ЖЕМАЕБА . ЖЕМА
ЕТА . ЖЕМАЕМО . ЖЕМАЕТЕ .
ЖЕМАЮТЪ .

ЖНЕЧЕ . ЖНЕА . ЖН КЗ
ВЕШИ . ЖНЕШЪ . ЖН
ЕБА . ЖНЕТА . ЖНЕ
МО . ЖНЕТЕ . ЖНЕА
ЮТЪ .

СЕЛО . СРА . СРШИ . КИ
СРШЪ . СРБА . СР
ТА . СРМО . СРТЕ .
СРАЮТЪ .

ЗЕМАА . ЗИЖАА . ЗИ КД
ЖЕШИ . ЗИЖЕШЪ .

ЗИЖЕБА . ЗИЖЕТА .
ЗИЖЕМО . ЗИЖЕТЕ .
ЗИЖАЮТЪ .

Л ИЖЕ . ИСТИНСТВОА . ИСТИ
НСТВОЕШИ . ИСТИНСТВО
ЕШЪ . ИСТИНСТВОЕБА . ИСТИ
НСТВОЕТА . ИСТИНСТВО
ЕМО . ИСТИНСТВОЕТЕ .
ИСТИНСТВОЮТЪ .

ЛА И . ИЗБАВАА . ИЗБА
ВАЕШИ . ИЗБАВАЕШЪ .
ИЗБАВАЕБА . ИЗБАВА
ЕТА . ИЗБАВАЕМО . И
ЗБАВАЕТЕ . ИЗБАВА
ЮТЪ .

КАКО . КРЕСТА . КРЕСТИ КБ
ШИ . КРЕСТИШЪ . КРЕ
СТИЕБА . КРЕСТИТА . КРЕ
СТИМО . КРЕСТИТЕ . КРЕ
СТАЮТЪ .

ЛЮДИ . ЛЮБОМЪДРА . ЛЮ КБ
БОМЪДРОШИ . ЛЮБОМЪ
ДРОШЪ . ЛЮБОМЪДРОЕБА .
ЛЮБОМЪДРОЕТА . ЛЮБОМЪ
ДРОМО . ЛЮБОМЪДРОТЕ .
ЛЮБОМЪДРОЮТЪ .

МЫСЛЪТЕ . МНАА . КД
МНАЕШИ . МНАЕШЪ .
МНАЕБА . МНАЕТА .
МНАЕМО . МНАЕТЕ .

МНЛАДНУТЪ .

ЛѢ НАШЬ . НОСѢ . НОСНШН .
НОСНУТЪ . НОСНБА . НОСН
ТА . НОСНМО . НОСНТЕ .

НОСАТЪ .

ЛѢ ОНЪ . ОБНОВАЛА . О
БНОВАЛШН . ОБНОВА
ЛУТЪ . ОБНОВАЛБА . ОБН
ОВАЛТА . ОБНОВАМО .
ОБНОВАТЕ . ОБНОВА
НУТЪ .

ЛЗ ПОСОН . ПРЕЛАГАА . ПРЕ
ЛАГАШН . ПРЕЛАГАУТЪ .
ПРЕЛАГАБА . ПРЕЛАГАТА .
ПРЕЛАГАМО . ПРЕЛАГАТЕ .

ПРЕЛАГАНУТЪ .

РЦЫ . РОДА . РОДНШН . ЛН
РОДУТЪ . РОДНБА . РОДН
ТА . РОДНМО . РОДНТЕ .

РОДАТЪ .

СЛОВО . СЛАВА . СЛАВН ЛН
ШН . СЛАВН . СЛАВНБА .
СЛАВНТА . СЛАВНМО . СЛА
ВНТЕ . СЛАВАУТЪ .

ТВЕРДО . ТВОРА . ТВОРН ЛН
ШН . ТВОРНУТЪ . ТВОРНБА .
ТВОРНТА . ТВОРНМО .
ТВОРНТЕ . ТВОРАУТЪ .

НН . ОУМДРАА . ОУМД ЛН
ДРАШН . ОУМДРАУТЪ .

ОУМДРАБА . ОУМДРА ЛН
ТА . ОУМДРАМО . ОУ
МДРАТЕ . ОУМДРА
НУТЪ .

ЛВ ФЕРУТЪ . ФИЛОСОФА .
ФИЛОСОФШН . ФИЛОСО
ФНУТЪ . ФИЛОСОФНБА .
ФИЛОСОФНТА . ФИЛОСО
ФНМО . ФИЛОСОФНТЕ .
ФИЛОСОФАУТЪ .

ЛВ ХЪРЪ . ХВАЛА . ХВАЛН ЛН
ШН . ХВАЛНУТЪ . ХВАЛН
БА . ХВАЛНТА . ХВАЛН
МО . ХВАЛНТЕ . ХВАЛА .

ОТЪ . ЦКРЫВАА . Ц ЛН
КРЫВАШН . ЦКРЫВА
УТЪ . ЦКРЫВАБА . Ц
КРЫВАТА . ЦКРЫВАМО .
ЦКРЫВАТЕ . ЦКРЫВА
НУТЪ .

ЦЫ . ЦЕЛОМДРА . ЦЕ ЛН
ЛОМДРОШН . ЦЕЛОМД
РОУТЪ . ЦЕЛОМДРОНБА .
ЦЕЛОМДРОНТА . ЦЕЛОМД
РОНМО . ЦЕЛОМДРОНТЕ .
ЦЕЛОМДРОУТЪ .

УЕРЪ . УТА . УТНШН . ЛН
УТН . УТНБА . УТНТА .
УТНМО . УТНТЕ . УТА .

МЗ ША . ШНРА . ШНРНШН .
 ШНРНТ . ШНРНВА . ШН
 РНТА . ШНРНМО . ШНРН .
 ТЕ . ШНРАТЪ .

МН ЦА . ЦЕДА . ЦЕДРН
 ШН . ЦЕДРНТЪ . ЦЕДРН
 ВА . ЦЕДРНТА . ЦЕДРН
 МО . ЦЕДРНТЕ . ЦЕ .
 ДРАТЪ



P. 18

СТРАДАНА СЪТЪ ТАКО . МД
 БІА . БІШНА . БІ
 ТА . БІБНА . БІСТА
 А . БІМЕА . БІТЕА .
 БІТТА .

СТРАДАНАГО ОУБО ЗАЛОГА П
 БРЕМЕНА . СИЦЕ ГЛЮТТА .
 ПРЕДЫБШЕ , ПРТАЖЕ
 НОЕ . БІАХУМА . НЕПРЕ
 ДЪАНОЕ , БНХУМА . НА
 СТОАЩЕЕ , БІНТЪМА .
 ПОМАЛЪ БЫВАНЩЕЕ , БН
 ТИТА ХОТАТЪ . БДА
 ЦЕЕ , БИТНАМА НМОТ .

P. 19

ПОПРОЗОДН . АЕЖЕ . ДВА
 ЦН ВЪЕДИНЫ ЛЕЖАЩЕЕ .
 ЕЕ СЪТЪ . ПОВЕЛНТЕАНАА .
 НСАДЪАТЕНАА .

НА Б . БУАН . БУАН .
 В . ВАРНТЕ , ВАРНТЕ .
 Г . ГЕВОРНТЕ . ГЕВОРНТЕ .
 Д . ДЕРЖНТЕ . ДЕРЖНТЕ .
 Е . ЕДА , ЕДА .
 Ж . ЖНАНЦЕ . ЖНАНЦЕ .
 З . ЗРНТЕ . ЗРНТЕ .
 І . ІРОДЪ . ІРОДЪ .
 Н . НМН . НМН .
 К . КРЕСТНТЕ . КРЕСТНТЕ .

P. 20

Л . ЛНБНТЕ . ЛЮБНТЕ .
 М . МДКА . МДКА .
 Н . НОСНТЕ . НОСНТЕ .
 О . ОБНОСНТЕ . ОБНОСНТЕ .
 П . ПРОСНТЕ . ПРОСНТЕ .
 Р . РОДНТЕ . РОДНТЕ .
 С . СТНТЕ . СТНТЕ .
 Т . ТВОРНТЕ . ТВОРНТЕ .
 ОУ . ОУЧНТЕ . ОУЧНТЕ .
 Ф . ФНОФНТЕ . ФНО
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Х . ХВАЛНТЕ . ХВАЛНТЕ .
 Ц . ЦБЛНТЕ . ЦБЛНТЕ .
 Ч . ЧТНТЕ . ЧТНТЕ .

P. 21

БѢА . БѢЦЕ . БѢЮ . БѢЦЫ .
БѢЦЕ .

БѢ
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БѢЦѢ . БѢАИ .
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ДѢУ . ДѢУА . ДѢУИ . ДѢУ
ДѢУЮ . ДѢУИ . ДѢУЕ .

ѢВЕНЪ . ѢВЕНА . ѢВЕН
НЫ . ѢВЕНѢ .

Ж

ЖИЖИТЬ . ЖИЖИТА .
ЖИЖИТЕ . ЖИЖИТАМЪ .
ЖИЖИТЪ . ЖИЖИТЫ .
ЖИЖИТѢ .

С

САА . САЕ . САИ . САН .
САУ . САУѢ . САУИ .

З

ЗНАЖИТЕЛЬ . ЗНАЖИ
ТЕЛЮ . ЗНАЖИТЕЛЕБА .
ЗНАЖИТЕЛЕВЪ . ЗНАЖИ
ТЕЛЕВЫ .

ИИИ . ИИА . ИИИ . ИИИ .
ИИИ .

ИИИ . ИИИ . ИИИ .
ИИИ . ИИИ . ИИИѢ .
ИИИВЪ . ИИИВА . ИИИВЕ .
ИИИВН . ИИИВИ . ИИИВЪ .
ИИИВЫ .

ИИИТКЪ . ИИИТКА . ИИ
ИТЕН . ИИИТИН . ИИИТИСО
ИИИТИСЪ .

КАА . КАА . КАА .
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прѣнѣ . прѣна . прѣне .
 прѣни . прѣно . прѣнѣ .
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 прѣни . прѣно .
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 рѣно . рѣнѣ . рѣны .
 рѣнѣ .

стрѣнѣ . стрѣни . стрѣно
 стрѣнѣ . стрѣна .
 стрѣне . стрѣни .
 стрѣно . стрѣнѣ .
 Т
 трѣнѣ . трѣна . трѣне .
 трѣно . трѣнѣ .
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 трѣнѣ . трѣна . трѣне .
 трѣно . трѣнѣ .
 трѣны .

ОУ
 оуѣнѣ . оуѣна . оуѣне .
 оуѣни . оуѣно .
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 оуѣнѣ . оуѣна . оуѣне .
 оуѣни . оуѣно .
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 оуѣнѣ . оуѣна . оуѣне .
 оуѣно . оуѣнѣ . оуѣны .
 Ф
 фѣнѣ . фѣна . фѣне .
 фѣни . фѣно . фѣнѣ .
 фѣны .
 фѣнѣ . фѣна . фѣне .
 фѣно . фѣнѣ . фѣны .
 фѣнѣ .

мнѣ .
 ПѢ С . СЛѢ ЗАКОНѢ ПРЕТЪ
 ПНИСОМЪ .
 ПѢ З . ЗЕМЛѢ ПОМОЖИЕ МО
 ГЛМЪ МОИМЪ .
 ПѢ И . ИЖЕ ЕСТЬ ПРѢГЪ МОИ
 НАНБѢХЪ .
 ПѢ І . ИНАГО НѢСЪТЬ БѢ РА
 ЗВѢ МЕНЕ .
 ПѢ К . КАКО СЪВѢЩАША НА
 МА СЛѢ СЪВѢТЪ .
 ПѢ Л . ЛЮДИЕ МОИ ЗАКОНѢ
 ПРЕТЪПНИ .
 ПѢ М . МЫСЛНША НАМА
 ЗЛАА ЗАБЛАА .

Н . НАСРѢКЪ ПРОПАША
 МА .
 О . ОЦТА ИЖЕ АЧН НАПО
 ИШАМА .
 П . ПРАВЕНАГО ИНАБЖІА .
 Р . РАЗДЕЛНША РИЗЫ
 МОА СЕВѢ .
 С . СТЪДНО ГРѢХЪ СЪДЪ
 БАКОМЕ .
 Т . ТЕРНОВЪ ВЕНЦЪ БЪ
 ЗЛОЖНША НАМА .
 ОУ . ОУМЫ ПИЛА РДЦѢ
 РЕЧЕ , ЧТЪ СЛАВЪ ІОКРОБЕ
 ПРАВЕДНАГО СЕГО .
 Ф . ФАРИСѢИ ВОЗПНША

ВОЗМН ВОЗМН , РАСПНН
 ЕГО .
 Х . ХОТѢЖЕ СПНІА БЛШЕ
 ВІА ПРЕТЕРПѢХЪ .
 Ѡ . ѠНЕПРАВЕДНЫХЪ
 БЕЗАКОННИКЪ .
 Ц . ЦРКН БЛАМЪ ПОПНІА
 СВОБОЖДЕНІЕ .
 Ч . ЧТЪ БЛШЪ ПРИВОДЪ
 СВОБЛДЪ ІОЦЪ .
 Ш . ШАТАНІА БѢСѢКО
 СВОБОЖДАА БЛШЪ .
 Ц . ЦЕДРОТОЛИ СВѢГО
 ЧЛКО АМЕІА .
 Х Ѡ Ѡ Ц А Б Г .



ЗЛАМЪ СТЫХЪ ІОЦЪ
 НАШНХЪ , ГИ ІЕ ХЕ СІЕ
 БЖІН ПОМНАДИ НАСЪ .
 АМННЪ . СЛАВА ТѢБѢ БЖЕ
 НАШЪ СЛАВА ТѢБѢ .
 ЦРН НВНЫИ , ОУТѢШН
 ТЕЛН ДШЕ НЕЧНИНЫИ .
 ИЖЕ БЕЗДѢ СЫНЪ , ИВІА
 ИСПАНАА . СЪКРОБИЦЕ
 БЛГНХЪ , ИЖНЗНИ ПРА
 ТЕЛЮ . ПРИНДН ИБЕЛАНІА
 ВНЫ НОЦЫІ ГННЫИ ѠБІА

КѢА СВѢРНЫ . НѢПЕН
БЛЖЕ ДША НАША .
СѢЫН БЖЕ , СѢЫН КРѢ
ПКІН , СѢЫН БЕСМѢРТНЫН
ПОМНѢДИ НАСЪ .
СЛАВА ШЦѢ НѢМЪ СГОМѢ
ДХЪ . ННѢ НПРО НВѢѢ
КН БѢКОМЪ АМІНЬ .
ПресѢтаѢ трѢце помнѢди
насъ , ГИ ОЦѢСТН ГРѢ
ХН НАША . БЛЖЕ ПРОСТН
БЕЗМѢСНІА НАША . СѢЫН
ПРОБѢТН , ІНЦѢБАН НѢМО
ЩН НАША , НМЕНН ТВО
ЕГО РАДН . ГИ ПОМНѢДИ

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Г . СЛА . ІННѢ .
СѢУЕ НАШЕ , НЖЕ ЕСН НА
НБѢСѢХЪ . ДАСТН ТСАММ
ТВОЕ . ДАПРОИДЕ ЦѢТВОЕ
ТВОЕ . ДАБѢДЕТЪ БОЛА
ТВОА ІАКО НАНБЕН ННАЗЕ
МАН . ХЛѢБЪ НАШЕ НА
СѢЩНЫН , ДАНЖЕ ПЛМЪ
ДНЕСЪ . НОСТАБН НАМЪ
ДОЛГН НАША , ІАКОЖЕ Н
МЫ ОСТАВЛЯЕМЪ ДОЛЪ
ЖННОКОМЪ НАШН . ННЕ
БѢВЕДИ НАСЪ БѢННЕСѢШЕ
НІЕ . НО НЗБАВИ НАСЪ
ШОДКАВАГО .

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ГИ ПОМНѢДИ , ВІ . СЛА .
ІННѢ .
ПРОИДЕТЕ ПОКЛОНИМѢ
ЦРБН НАШЕМЪ БГЪ . ПРО
ИДЕТЕ ПОКЛОНИМѢ ХЪ,
ЦРБН НБГЪ НАШЕМЪ . ПРО
ИДЕТЕ ПОКЛОНИМѢ И
ПРОПАДЕ КСАММѢ ГЪ ІСЪ
ХЪ ЦРБН НБГЪ НАШЕМЪ .
НсповѢданіе правослаб
ныхъ вѢры . ПѢРВАГО
СѢБОРА .
ВѢРДИ БѢДІНОГО БГА .
ШЦАВЕ ДЕРЖИТЕЛА . ТВО

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РЦА НБѢ НДЕМАН , БНДИ
МЫМЖЕ ВСѢМЪ , ННЕБН
ДИМЪ . НБѢДІНОГО ГА
ІСА ХА СНА БЖІА . ЕДИНО
РОДНАГО , НЖЕ ШОЦА РОЖЕ
НМАГО ПРЕЖЕ ВСѢХЪ ВѢС .
СВѢТА ШЕВѢТА , БГА Н
СѢТІННА , ШЕГА НСѢТІННА .
РОЖЕННА , АНЕСЪ ТВОРЕМА .
ЕДИНОСѢЦНА ШЦѢ , НМЖЕ
БСА БЫША . НАСЪ РАДН
УЛІСЪ ННАШЕГО РАДН СПЕ
НІА СѢШЕШАГО СѢНЕСЪ .
НБѢПЛОЩЬШАГОСА ШДХА
СТА , НМРІА ДЪЫ БѢУЕ

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ловѣшася . распла-
заны припомытѣмъ
пнлачѣ . страдаша и
погребѣна . и възкршаго
въ третїи днь пописанн
и възъшешаго на нбса ,
и сѣдѣщаго деснѣи шца .
и пакн грядущаго съзла-
вон съднѣти живыи мѣ и
мѣртвыи , егже црствн
и бѣтъ конца .

Второго събора
и въздха етѣго и стїна
го и животворѣщаго . и
же шца и ходащаго ,

иже съ шцемъ и съ шомъ
споклонѣма и съ слави
ма глѣвшаго прркн , въ
ѣднѣ стѣи съборнѣи и
апльскѣи црковѣ . и по
вѣдѣи ѣдинокрщенїе въ
оставаенїе грѣховъ . чю
въскрнѣа мѣртвыи мѣ ,
и живн бѣдѣщаго въ
ка аминь

мѣтва

Ослабн оставн , шпѣ
стн бже съгрѣшенїа на
ша . бома и не бома

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иже въ словѣ и въ дѣлѣ .
въ вѣдѣнїи , и не въ вѣ-
дѣнїи . иже въ оумѣ
и въ помысленїи . вса
ми прстн , иже блгн
чюко амбещѣ .
та мѣтва ею
всѣ стѣа трце ѣдиносѣ
цима . не одержима
держакѣ , и неразѣлн
моє цртво . иже въ бл
блгнмѣ бнновн . блго
волн въ настоѣщїи еи
чюсѣ омиѣ грѣшнѣмъ .
и венми омыи ескбѣрнѣ ,

и пррвѣтн ми смьслъ .
иже да вьгда въспѣван
слобслова и глн ѣднѣ
стѣ , ѣднѣ гѣ , іс хс .
въ слабѣ вгѣ шца
аминь .

Премѣдрости на стѣвнн
чѣ , не смьслѣ да вѣ . не
мѣдрымѣ наказѣтѣан ,
и ницимѣ защнѣтнѣ
лю . оутвердн и бразѣ
ми рце мое . блго , чѣ
даждѣ ми слово , иже
шчѣ ѣдинордное слово .
себо оустнама моима

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НЕВЪЗЪКРАНИ . ЕЖЕ ЗВА
ТИ ТЕБѢ МЛЧНВІ , ПО
МНѢНІА ПАДЪ

ШАГО .

БЦЕ ДВО РАДѢНІА , ОКРАДО
БАНАА МРІЕ ГЪ СТОКОЮ .
БЛАГБЕНА ТЫ ВЪЖЕНАХЪ .
НБЛАГБЕНЪ ПЛО ЧРЕВА ТВО
ЕГО . ЯКО РОДНАА БЕН ХА
СПІА , НЗБАВНТЕЛА ДША
НАШНАМЪ .

ПЪБЕНЪ БЦЫ , ЕЖЕ ШЛДІСН
СТАГО ЕУЛІА .

ВЕЛНУНГЪ ДША МОА ГА ,
НВЪЗРАДОВАА ДХЪ МОИ

ОБЪЗѢ СПЕБЪ МОЕМЪ . ЯКО
ПРНЗРѢ НАСМРНЕНІЕ РАБЫ
СВОІА , СЕБО ШННГѢ БЛЖА
ТМА БЕН РОДН . ЯКО СЪ
ТВОРН МНГѢ ВЕЛНУІЕ СН
ЛНЫН , НСТО НМА ЕГО ,
НМАТЪ ЕГО БРЪ НРО , НА
БЛАЩЕНІА ЕГО . СЪТВОРН
ДЕРЖАБЪ МЫШЦЮ СВОЮ
РАСТОУН ГОРДЫА МЫСЛН
ЕРЦАН . ННЗЛОЖН СННЫА
СЪПРТОЛЪ , НВЪЗНЕСО
СМРНЕНЫА , АЛУЮЦАА Н
ВПОЛНН БЛГЪ , НКОГАТА
ЦААА ШПДСТН ТЦА .

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ВЪСПРІАТЪ ІНАА ОТРОКА
СВОЕГО , ПОЛЖНУТИ МН
ЛОСТЬ , ЯКОГЛА КЪ ШЦЕА
НАШН , АВРААМЪ НЕТЪМЕ
НН ЕГО ДОВѢКА .

МАТЪА ВЕЛНКАГО
БАСНАІА .

ГН ГН НЕАВН НАСЪ ШБСА
КІА СТРЕЛЫ ЛѢТАЦАА
ВЪДНЕ . НЗБАВН НАСЪ
ШБСАКІА БЕЩН , ВЪ
ТМѢ ПРНХОДЦІА . ПРН
НАМН ЖЕРТВѢ ВЕЧЕРННН
РДІКЪ НАШНХЪ ВЪЗДѢА
НІЕ . СПДОБЕНЖЕ НАСЪ Н

НОЩНОЕ ПОПРНЦЕ БЕСПОРѢ
КА ПРННТИ НЕНЕКДЕНМА
ШБСАХЪ . НЗБАВН НА
ШБСАКОГО СЛДЩЕНІА Н
СТРАХА , НЖЕ ШДІАВОЛА
НАМЪ ПРНБЫВАЮЩАГО .
НДАРДН ДШАМЪ НАШНАМЪ
ОУМНАЕНІЕ , НПОУМЫСЛО
НАШНАМЪ ПОПРНЦЕ . ЕЖЕ
НАСТРАШНѢАМЪ НПРАВЕ
ДНѢАМЪ ТВОЕМЪ СДѢБ Н
СПЫТАНІА . ПРНГВОЗДН
СТРАСѢ ТВОЕМЪ ПЛОТН
НАША , НОУМЕРТВН ОУДЫ
НАША СДЩАА НАЗЕМАН .

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И́ако да не о́мнымъ безмѡ
лбїемъ провѣтїи мѡ
зрѣнїемъ сѡдѣвъ твоїхъ .
ѡнми ѡна съ бл҃го ме
утанїе неподобно иже ла
нїе вредно . вѣстави на
вѣвремѡ мѡтвы оутве
рѣнїи въ вѣрѣ , и пре
ванци въ заповѣдѣхъ
твоїхъ . бл҃говоленїе , и
бл҃гостїи дїмово днаго вѣ
твоїго . и нїмаже бл҃гвен
їи не въ прѣты не бл҃ги иже
во творѣщїи ти дѣломъ .
нїе и прѣно и въ вѣкѣ

бѣго , аминь .
Мѡтва манасїа царѣ и
оуденїса , в негда пленѣ
нѣ бысть ѡбо вѣдѣ ца
рѣ асїрїїнскѣ . и забвѣ
допабнаѡна , нещїе смѣ
въ плакнїенїи смнрїи срѣ
своѣ прѣбѡмѣ . и прѣме
ленѣ и сѣгѣ енце .
и вседержїтелю , бже
ѡцѣ нашїи . абраамѡ ,
їсѣаїсовѣ и іаїковѣ . и
сѣмени и праведнаго .
сѣтворнѣ бы нѣи и зѣан ,
сѣвїю аѣптон и хѣ .

незпнїи мѡре слово по
вѣнїа твоѣго . сѣтво
рнѣ бы и безнѣ , и сѣпеча
тлѣ въ и . страшнѣ и
слабнѣ и мене твоїи ,
сѣ вѣ бл҃го и трѣпїщѣ
тѣ ѡлица славы твоѣа
їако неостоѡнна бл҃
лѣпота славы твоѣа ,
и нестерпнѣмѣ гнѣвъ ,
їже на грѣшнїи сн прѣще
нїа твоѣго . бесчїслѣна
и не сѣлѣ дованна мѡтѣ
обѣщанїа твоѣго . ты
бо еси гѣ вышнїи мѡрдѣ ,

долго терпелнѣ въ илнїо
мѡтнѣ , и сѣа сѣ о сѣло
бахѣ члѣвїкнѣхѣ . но ты
и помножестѣ бл҃гнїи
твоѣа , обѣщїа пока
нїе и оставленїе сѣгрѣш
шнѣмѣ и сѣвѣ . и мно
жестѣмѣ сѣдѣ твоїхъ
нарече поканїе грѣшнїи
комѣ въ сѣсїе . ты оу
бо и бже праведнѣхѣ .
и сѣн положнѣ по сѣ
нїе праведнѣмѣ твоїи .
абраамѣ и сѣаїсѣ и іаїсѣ
вѣ не сѣгрѣшнѣшнѣмѣ

прѣтѣю . и попласкнѣ
ен покланіе мнѣ грѣ
шномѣ . зане съгрѣши
ти пауче чина пѣска мо
рыскаго оумножишаа
безаконіа мѣа , гн оу
множишаа . и нѣсмь
дустѣи нѣ въ зрѣтнѣи
дѣти высотѣ нѣнѣи .
оумножестѣа неправдѣ
мои хѣ , свѣданѣ слава
многоа и занаи желѣ
зныи . ꙗко не въ збе
стѣи глабы мѣа . и
нѣсѣи въсклѣненіа

зане прогнѣва ꙗрость
твою , и лѣкавое предѣто
бѣи сътворихѣ . и не съ
твори бола твоѣа , ни
съхранихѣ повелѣніи
твои хѣ . и нѣ покла
нѣю колѣнеи срѣца моего ,
и молѣ ꙗже ѿ тебе благо
сть . съгрѣшихѣ гн съ
грѣшихѣ , и безаконіа
моѣа азѣ съѣм . но про
шѣ и молѣа тебе , ѿ
раднѣи гн ѿраднѣи .
и не погубѣ мене събеза
коньаи мои ми . ни же

въ вѣкѣ вѣкѣ вѣрѣва въ
блудѣши зѣла мои хѣ ,
и не оудѣ мене въ прѣи
спѣднѣхѣ земаи . зане
ты еси бже бгѣ каици
хѣа , даи намѣ ꙗви
ши бои блгостѣ твоѣи .
ꙗко недостѣнна срѣца
спѣшнѣа помнозѣи
мѣти твоѣи , и въхва
лѣта бынѣ бже днѣ
жнѣота моего . ꙗко те
бѣ поитѣ всѣа силѣ небе
сныа , и твоѣа естѣ сла
ва въ вѣки аминѣ .

Снѣ мои приклони оухо при
твоѣ и предаши слобѣсъ
мѣа , и приложи
срѣце твоѣ каици мо
ѣа , понеже оукаси
тебѣ . ꙗще ли съхрани
шиа въ памяти твоѣи ,
и раумножѣа въ оустѣхѣ
твои хѣ , да будѣтъ въ
бзѣ надежда твоѣа . не
сътвори наснѣа оубѣго
мѣа , поне оубѣгѣ естѣ ,
и не стѣранѣ ницаго въ
вратѣхѣ , ꙗко оудѣти
будѣтъ гѣ крѣвѣ его .

при
кѣ Недотыкѣнѣа межѣн чѣ
жнхъ , инаполе шротѣа
невѣтѣпдн , понеже
мѣтнѣгь нхъ енленъ
ѣсть . нже сѣднѣтн бѣ
детъ протнвѣтѣбѣкрн
бѣдѣ нхъ . давнндетъ
кънаоученнѣ ерце твое
ноушн твон къеловесе
рѣзѣла . емѣ мнѣ бѣде
тан мѣдра дша твоя ,
рѣдоватнѣа бѣдетъ ето
бн ерце мое , нвесеан
тнѣа бѣдѣтѣ лѣдн
мон , бѣнегда правѣдѣ

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бѣзѣглѣ оуѣта твоя . да
нзмаслѣдѣетъ ерце твое
грѣшннкоѣ , но бѣетра
еѣ бѣжн прѣвѣдн бѣеѣде
нѣ . бѣдѣшь оубо нмѣ
тн надеждѣ вѣпсѣлѣ
дннѣ члѣзѣ . нчлѣннѣ
твое нешнмѣсѣа штѣе .
послѣшан емѣ нѣвѣдн мѣ
дрѣ , нсправн мѣсѣлѣ
твон попѣтн прѣвоам .
послѣшан шѣа твоеѣо н
жетѣ рѣднлѣ , ннепото
рдн мѣтернн твоеѣо . при
ложн сѣнѣ моѣ ерце твое

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къмнѣ . ноушн твон пѣ
тѣн мон дѣзѣглѣдѣю .
при
кѣ Сѣнѣнѣжѣмѣдѣ понеже
ѣсть добрнн , неѣтѣ мѣ
добъ сладокѣ ѣсть горѣа
нн твоеамѣ . тѣкоже н
наѣука мѣдрѣтн дшн
твон . понѣшн нѣо
бѣрѣшн , нмѣтн бѣ
дшн вѣпсѣлѣднѣа днн
надеждѣ , ннадеждѣ
твоя непокнѣетъ
штѣе .
къблѣмѣже шѣы ноушн
тѣан тѣко глѣтѣ . нешн

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мнѣ шѣдѣтнѣа твоеѣо
кѣзнн , бѣзѣмѣко ѣсть
прнвѣдѣано вѣрѣцѣ оѣтро
члѣте . жѣзлѣмѣже нака
зѣннѣа нзженѣшн еѣо .
дѣтнѣцѣ нже дѣютъ бѣ
лнѣѣо , напослѣдѣокѣ по
срамѣтн мѣтерѣ своѣ .
ѣщѣан накажѣшн еѣо жѣ
злѣмѣ неѣумѣе шѣтого .
тѣбо жѣзлѣмѣ бнѣшн
еѣо , дшѣже еѣо шѣада н
зѣлѣншн . ѣще тѣ бѣ
ннѣстн накажѣшн еѣо ,
ѣонѣ оѣпоконѣтѣ тѣбѣ

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на старостъ твою . прѣ
мже напаче енце глетъ .
ЗА ЧАДА ПОСЛАШАНТЕ СВОИХЪ
СЛВ РОДИТЕЛИИ ОГИ . ЕЖЕ ЕСТЬ
ПЕРВАА ЗАПОВѢДЬ ВО ОБЪ
ТОВАНИИ . ДУБЛГО БУДЕТЪ
ВАМЪ , НЕБУДЕТЕ ДОЛГОЛѢ
ТНЫ НА ЗЕМЛИ .

ОЦЫ НЕРАЗДРАЖАЮТЕ
ЧАДЪ СВОИХЪ . НО ВЪСПИ
ТАЮТЕ И ВЪ НАКАЗАНИИ ,
НОУЧЕНИИ ГНИ . ВЪ СТРА
ХѢ БЖИИ . ВЪ МЛЧИИ , ВЪ
БЛГОРАЗУМИИ , ВЪ МНОГО
НОМРИИ , ВЪ КРОТКОСТИ ,

ВЪ ДОЛГОТЕРПИИИ . ПРИ
ЕМАНЦИЕ ДРУГЪ ДРУГА , И
ПРОЩЕНИИ ДРУЖИЦЕ . АЩЕ
ЕСТО КЪ КОМУ ПОРУЧЕНИЕ
ИМАТЬ . ТАКОЖЕ ИХЕ ДА
РОБА НА , ТАКО И ВЫ . НА
ДОВѢМЛИИ СИЛИИ ЛЮБОВЬ
ТАКЕ ЕСТЬ СВЪЗЪ СВЕРЬ
ШЕНИИ . И МНОГО БЖИИ ДА
РАЗДАДЕТЕСЯ ВЪ ЦРЦИИ
БАШИ , ВЪ НЕЖЕ ИЗБАНИ
БИТЕ , ВЪ ЕДИНО ТѢЛО .
НЕБЛАГОДАРИИ БЫВАЮТЕ ,
СЛОВО ХВО ДА ВЕСЕЛДЕСЯ ВЪ
ВА БОГАТНО . ВЪ ВЕЛИКОИ

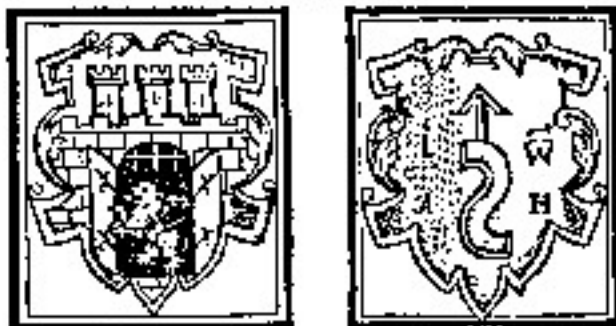
премудрости оучающе и на
казующе себе , въ умъ
мѣхъ и похвѣннхъ , и по
снѣ духовны , ОБЛАГТИ
ПОИЩЕ ВЪ ЦРЦИИ БАШИ
ГНИ .

ЗА МОЛИ ВЪ БРАТЦЕ , НАКАЗУ
СОГ ИТЕ БЕЗУМНЫА , ОУЧЕ
ШАЮТЕ МАЛОДШЬНЫА ,
ПОСНТЕ НЕМОЩНЫА ,
ДОЛГОТЕРПИТЕ ВЪ ВЕСѢХЪ .
БЛАЖЕТЕ ДА НИКОТО ЗА
ЗАЛО КОМУ ВЪЗДАЮТЪ .
НО ВСЕГДА БЛГОЕ ГОНИТЕ ,
НИЗЪ ДРУГЪ ДРУГЪ , НИЗЪ

ВСЕМЪ . ВСЕГДА РАДУЙТЕ
СА , НЕПРЕСТАЮМО МОЛИ
ТЕСА , ОБЪ БЛАГОДАРИТЕ
ИТЕ . СЕБОЕСТЬКОЛЮБИИ
ОУЧЕ ИХЕ ВЪ ВА . ДУХА НЕ
ОУГАШАЮТЕ . ПРРЧЕСТВА
НЕОУКРАШАЮТЕ . ВСАЖЕ И
СКОШАЮЩЕ , ДОБРОЕ СЪДЕ
РЖИТЕ ШВЕДКАГО ВИДѢ
НИА ЗА ОУГРЕВАНТЕСА .
САЖЕ БГЪ МИРА ДОУСТИТЪ
ВА СВЕРШЕНЫ ВЪ ВСЕМЪ .
И ВСЕ СВЕРШЕНЫ ВА ДУХЪ ,
И ДУША И ТѢЛО НЕ ПОРОУНО
ВЪ ПРИШЕСТВІЕ ГА НАШЕГО

ꙗко хъ дръзвандѣтъ •
 въ заблєннѣхъ члнхъ
 христїаньскїхъ рѣкїхъ на
 рѣдѣ, греческаго закона.
 сїа еже писахъ вамъ, не
 шекє, но шєжїтєннѣхъ
 аплѣхъ и кї онїснѣхъ стѣхъ
 оцѣ оученїа, и прєподо
 бнєго оцанашего іоанна
 дамаскїна, шграмлїтн
 кїн, мало нѣчєто. садн
 екѣраго младєнъчєскаго
 наоученїа. въ малє сѣ
 крѣтнѣхъ сложнѣхъ. нѣцє
 сїн трѣды мѣлѣ блгоуѣго

днѣ бѣдѣтъ блшн лю
 бнн. прїимѣтє сїа сн
 бѣнн. аа нѣннѣхъ пн
 снннѣхъ блгоуѣднѣ сѣ
 бѣждєлѣнїє потрѣднїтн
 сн хѣщѣ. аще блгоболн
 бѣтъ, блшнмн стѣмн
 молнѣбамн
 аамннѣ •



въдрѣкованѣ болѣвѣтъ,
 роїсѣ, а, фѣдѣ.

Молитвенныя азъ пишу
 прошу аа нѣннѣхъ пн
 снннѣхъ блгоуѣднѣ сѣ
 бѣждєлѣнїє потрѣднїтн
 сн хѣщѣ. аще блгоболн
 бѣтъ, блшнмн стѣмн
 молнѣбамн
 аамннѣ •

Молитвенныя азъ пишу
 прошу аа нѣннѣхъ пн
 снннѣхъ блгоуѣднѣ сѣ
 бѣждєлѣнїє потрѣднїтн
 сн хѣщѣ. аще блгоболн
 бѣтъ, блшнмн стѣмн
 молнѣбамн
 аамннѣ •

quoted, was utilized by Moscow scholars such as Maksim Grek (see Jagić, pp. 364 f., 595 f., 959 f.), and gave rise to several variations and imitations under such titles as *Prepodobnago i bogonosnago otca našego Ioanna Damaskina skazanie o osmi častex slova po voprosom i otvěty*, *Osmočastnoe skazanie*, *Izvitie sloves ot osmičastnago razuměnia*, *Ot osmočastnye knigi bogomudrago filosoava*, and *Ot osmočastnago razuma* (see Jagić, pp. 759–778). Parsing was labeled simply *po osmočastnomu razumu* (after the eight-part doctrine), or *po Damaskinově knigě* (after Damascene's book). The grammatical terminology of the treatise entered into circulation and a number of these terms are still current (cf. Bulič, pp. 170 ff.). The eight-part principle of language was considered so fundamental that in a Russian mystical theory of the sixteenth century even the use of eight-tones in church music, the Octoechos, was viewed as an inference drawn by John Damascene from the eight parts of speech (see Jagić, p. 607).

The Russian redaction of the Pseudo-Damascene treatise differs from the Serbian text. Jagić surmises that it reached Russia in a Moldo-Wallachian reshaping (see p. 364 f.). In particular, the conjugational samples of the Serbian manuscript are closer to the Old Church Slavonic pattern, while in the Russian version they present some Bulgarian innovations, as, for instance, the substitution of the 'small *jus*' for the 'big *jus*' in such present-tense forms of the first person singular as *tvorjá* (from *tvoreĵ*), *bijá*, *povelěvája*, where the Serbian manuscript has *tvoru* (from *tvoroĵ*), *biju*, *povelěvaju*. This Bulgarization, however, is not consistent in the Russian version, which contains also samples such as *glagólju* and *xoščjú*. Another Bulgarian trace in the Russian redaction is the third person plural of the aorist *bixu* (from *bixoĵ*) against the original form *biše* (from *bišeĵ*; see Jagić, pp. 332 ff., 339 f.). It is noteworthy, however, that a Russian transposition of this treatise into dialogue form eliminates both Bulgarian features and writes *bijú* and *biša* (see Jagić, p. 766). The Russian redaction presents, moreover, one Serbian innovation that is absent from the Serbian manuscript: first person plural of present *tvorímo*, but *biémsja*, where the Serbian manuscript gives *tvorim'*, *biemse* (see Jagić, pp. 333, 339).

Ivan Fedorov not only reproduces exactly the whole present-tense conjugation of the verb *tvoriti* (§ 40 — p. 15; cf. Jagić, p. 339) from the Russian version of the Pseudo-Damascene, but in general applies this same conventional pattern to the first person singular and plural of all the verbs of his alphabetical table of conjugation (§§ 22–48;

pp. 9–18): *budjá, búdimó; vrazumljája, vrazumljáemo; glagólja, glagólemo; dajá, daémo; emljá, émlemo; živjá, živímó; zřjá, zřímó; zřždjá, zřždémó; ístinstvuja, ístinstvuemo; izbavljája, izbavljáemo; ljubomudřjá, ljubomúdrímó; míluja, míluemo; nosjá, nósímó; obnovljája, obnovljáemo; prelagája, prelagáemo; rodjá, rodímó; slávja, slávímó; tvorjá, tvorímó; umudřjája, umudřjáemo; filosófja, filosófímó; xvaljá, xválímó; otkryvája, otkryváemo; cělomúdrja, cělomúdrímó; čtjá, čtímó; širjá, širimó; ščedřjá, ščedřímó. These examples show that the Bulgarian form of the first person singular that penetrated the Russian redaction of the Pseudo-Damascene gave rise to a confusion of this form with the Russian gerund.*

Following the tailpiece on p. 18, the Primer adds in § 49 (p. 19) the present-tense conjugation of 'passive' (actually reflexive) forms of the verb *biti*, and in § 50 (p. 19) the first person singular of the same verb throughout various tenses in the 'passive' (actually the subjectless construction, with the third person plural of the active form governing the accusative *mja* — once mistakenly replaced by *tja*). Both these paragraphs are word-for-word quotations from the Russian redaction of the Pseudo-Damascene (see Jagić, p. 339 f.). The interpretation of verbs formed with the reflexive pronoun *sja* as the 'passive' voice spread, under the influence of the Pseudo-Damascene, into the East Slavic grammars of the sixteenth century. Thus the Russian adaptation of Donatus' Latin grammar by Dimítrij Tolmač in the mid-sixteenth century cites such 'passive' forms as *ljubljsja, ljúbisjsja* (see Jagić, p. 840). Similar examples may be found in Evdokim's *Prostoslovija* of the late sixteenth century (see Jagić, p. 948). The grammar published by Lavrentij Zyzanij in Vilna in 1596 under the characteristic title *Grammatika Slovenska Szveršénnag(o) iskústva osmi částij slóva* assigns forms *učísja, sěkísja* to the same 'passive' voice (see Voznjak, 1911, p. 230). All three works render the 'passive voice' by the term *stradal'nyj zalog*, after the Russian redaction of the Pseudo-Damascene, while the Serbian manuscript of this treatise uses both the forms *stradalna* and *stradatelna*. The latter variant appears in the Graeco-Slavonic grammar *Adel'fotes*, printed in Lvov in 1591 (see Studyns'kyj). Later it was used by Meletij Smotryc'kyj and through his grammar entered into Russian use.

In the initial paragraph of Ivan Fedorov's alphabetical table of conjugation (p. 9), the meanings of grammatical persons and numbers are set forth following the example of the Pseudo-Damascene (see Jagić,

p. 339). Instead of the pronouns *az* (I), *ty* (thou), and *onzi* (he) used in the treatise in order to explain the first, second, and third persons of the verb, the Primer gives the forms *on* (he), *ty* (thou), and *toi* (that one). It is clear that the 'Bulgarian' verbal form of the first person singular was misunderstood by the Russian interpreter, who replaced 'I' by 'he.' The *az* was mistaken for the spelling name of the letter A and in this function it figures in the Primer over the word *budjá*; there is consequently no verb beginning with the first letter of the alphabet, although *alkati* might have served as such an example.

§ 51 (pp. 20-22), entitled *Poprozódii* (Prosody [in alphabetical order]), lists 26 pairs of words beginning with the letters from Б to Ц and distinguished from each other only by the place of stress. Twenty of these pairs exhibit the difference in the place of stress between the second person plural of the imperative and the indicative — *povelitel'naja i skazatel'naja*. Thus the children at one and the same time rehearsed the alphabet, gained a sense for stress, and received further drill in conjugation. The difference in place of stress between *povelitel'no* (imperative) and *pověstno* (indicative) had been used by Constantine the Grammarian to introduce pupils to prosody. The Primer's name for the imperative goes back to Constantine, whereas the Pseudo-Damascene calls these moods *povelě'noe* and *pověstnoe* (see Jagić, pp. 461 f., 338 f.). The Primer's name for the indicative has its source in the passage of the Pseudo-Damascene defining the verb as 'the indeclinable part of speech, predicating [*skazatel'na*] the person, the tense, and the active or passive' (see Jagić, p. 338). The term *povelitel'noe* has taken root in Russian grammatical terminology, while for the indicative Smotryc'kyj canonized the designation *izžjavitel'noe*.

It is notable that in this prosodic paragraph of the Primer those verbs which stress the last syllable throughout the present singular stress the last syllable in the second person plural as well (*govorité, zrité, rodité, stoité, tvorité, čtité*; also *varité, deržité, krestité, učité*, because forms such as *varít, učít*, etc., were familiar to Russian), whereas the verbs with the stress on the root in the second and third persons singular preserve it also in the plural (*ljúbite, nósite*, etc.) This archaic accentuation is common to Ukrainian and North Russian (see Ohijenko, 1952, p. 206; Obnorskij, pp. 138 ff.). A stressed ending *-té* penetrates into Church Slavonic texts of the Russian recension, such as the New Testament of 1355 with the accentuations *mnité, stoité, razrěšité, stvorité*, where Sobolevskij (1907, p. 278) sees a North Russian feature,

while Ohijenko (1938, and 1928, p. 445) suspects an early infiltration of the Kievan church pronunciation into Moscow. These final stresses in the prosodic section of the Primer strikingly contrast with the table of conjugation in the preceding paragraphs, which give such present tense accentuations as *zrite*, *krestíte*, *rodíte*, *tvoríte*, *čtíte*. It is obvious that these two lists of verbal forms in Ivan Fedorov's Primer are of different origin.

A set of orthographic, prosodic, and grammatical articles under the general title *Kniga glagolemaja bukvy* (The Book Called Letters — hereinafter designated the Book) appears in the same order and with only slight variations in numerous manuscripts from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Jagić, who studied and published this work in his fundamental collection of old manuscript writings on Church Slavonic (pp. 730–743), concludes that it was indubitably compiled on Russian soil, most probably in northeastern Russia, and that this compilation assimilated some articles of very old origin (p. 596). A section entitled *A se osmočastně ot gramatikija* (And This Is from the Eight-Part Grammar; see Jagić, p. 739) begins with a passage similar to Ivan Fedorov's initial grammatical paragraph (p. 9), with the same miscomprehension of the first person *búdja on*; the Book, however, betrays a greater confusion of the verbs *bužít* (I rouse) and *búdu* (I shall be). The next section of the Book coincides with the two final paragraphs of the Primer's grammatical section (p. 19), containing the same two quotations from the Russian Pseudo-Damascone. Both quotations are also inserted in a Russian sixteenth-century adaptation of Constantine's treatise 'Concerning Letters' (see Jagić, p. 565). No correspondence with the intermediary paragraphs of the Primer's grammatical section (pp. 10–18) are found in the Book. The prosodic section (pp. 20–22) is paralleled letter by letter in one of the versions of the Book (see Jagić, p. 738 f.), except for the imperative *filosofíte* of the Book as compared with the Primer's misprint, *filosíte*. In other variants of the Book the number of word pairs differentiated by the place of the stress is considerably higher than in the Primer. Further, not only is the imperative contrasted with the indicative, but also the nominative plural *slová*, *rébra*, *jádra*, *vódy* with the genitive singular *slóva*, *rebrá*, *jadrá*, *vodý*; the nominative dual *rúce* with the dative singular *rucě*; the instrumental singular *sýnom* with the dative plural *synóm*; the genitive singular masculine *bě'la*, *strášna* with the nominative singular

feminine *bělá, strašná*, etc. The Book offers, moreover, an accentual triplet: *po móšči idox — pómošči prosjá — pomošči inómu xoščú*.

The next section of the Primer, *Poortográfii*, covering paragraphs 52-76 (pp. 23-44), corresponds to the article of the Book with the more explicit title *Načalo bukvy po ortografii* (Spelling in Alphabetical Order; Jagić, pp. 732-736). Both alphabetical lists end with the letter Ψ , and both lack the entry Θ , but the Primer contains the entry Σ missing in the Book. This entire section deals primarily with the *podtiteľnye slova* (words under sigla), which were traditionally considered to be one of the basic tasks of elementary learning, as the Novgorod Archbishop Gennadij stated in a letter to the Metropolitan Simon at the end of the fifteenth century (see *Akty I*, No. 104). The rules for abbreviation and the use of sigla were judged to be highly important by Muscovite bookmen, who thus adapted a South Slavic tradition going back to Old Church Slavonic. Only words of hieratic meaning were supposed to be abbreviated by siglum or superscription, as, for instance, *bog* when designating the Christian God, but never a pagan one, *glagoly* (words) when divine, not profane, *vladyka* (lord) in an ecclesiastical but not in a secular sense.

Words in this section of the Primer are cited in various grammatical cases and with different derivational suffixes. In consequence, the section serves not only to teach the rules of abbreviation and superscription, but also to review once again the whole alphabet and to familiarize pupils with declension and derivation. In cases where no word beginning with a given letter may be abbreviated, the Primer gives the words not supposed to be written under sigla or with superscribed letters; thus, under the entry Σ (§ 60; p. 30), the Primer cites the word *ziždítel'* (builder) with its derivatives, which recalls a special Muscovite instruction on sigla to calligraphers, composed in the late sixteenth century, to the effect that 'if some people unwittingly write *ziždítel'*, superscribing the *d*, do you write wisely, straight on the line, never above' (see Jagić, p. 711). When it is uncertain which words begin with a given letter, as for instance with Φ , the Primer and the Book list these words. On the whole, this section is more comprehensive in the Book than in the Primer.

A definitive answer to the question of the genetic relation between the Book and the Primer would require a careful re-examination of the diverse variants of the Book, their age, and filiation. It seems likely, however, that the Primer derives from one of the variants of the Book,

rather than the other way round. We have seen that Ivan Fedorov was acquainted with the Russian Pseudo-Damascene, drawing from it the paradigm *tvorjá* (see Jagić, p. 339) that he printed in § 40 and utilized as a model for his entire alphabetical list of present-tense paradigms. This dual source would explain the above-mentioned accentual difference between the list of paradigms and the alphabetical prosody.⁷

The final recapitulation of the alphabet in the Primer is an alphabetic acrostic. *Poznánie akrostixidnoe, sirěč' granesý* (acrostical learning, i.e., through verses) was considered an essential stage of instruction in Church Slavonic (see Jagić, p. 680). In the previously mentioned letter to the Metropolitan Simon, Archbishop Gennadij refers to the *azbuka granica*. The latter word is derived from *grano* or *gran* (verse) (cf. Petrov, p. 14). The Novgorod Archbishop therefore means the 'versified alphabet,' and he recommends that it be taught in school with an exhaustive exegesis because 'only when one masters the versified alphabet along with the words under sigla will one possess the great power of literacy' (*Akty I*, No. 104). Such an alphabetical acrostic was memorized and served as a mnemonic device for the firm retention of the alphabet. At the same time it was the first step in familiarizing the pupil with a literary work.

According to Georgiev's plausible surmise, early Slavic teaching, following upon the activities of Saint Constantine, confined the whole primer to an alphabetic acrostic, with the result that the words beginning the verses of a particular Old Church Slavonic poem singled out for the acrostic became the spelling names of the letters (pp. 147 ff.).

The acrostic in the Primer occupies §§ 77-500 (pp. 45-48). Sobolevskij did not find this piece in Old Russian manuscripts, but published its text from Pogodin's Psalter, a Serbian manuscript of the fifteenth or sixteenth century (1910, pp. 33 ff.). Russian manuscripts with this poem were, however, discovered by Kalajdovič (1823) in the Volokolamsk monastery. Further, the apology for Slavic letters compiled by Monk Xrabr towards the beginning of the tenth century occurs in a Bulgarian adaptation of the thirteenth or fourteenth century that contains as supplement an alphabetical acrostic close to that of the

⁷ It is not impossible, of course, that the list of paradigms as well was compiled on the basis of the Pseudo-Damascene by someone else and was only adopted by Ivan Fedorov, particularly if we take literally his testimony in the postface: 'That which I have written for you is not from me.'

Lyov Primer and Pogodin's Psalter (see Jagić, p. 304 f.). Several lines virtually coincide:

Primer: *b(o)g esm' přezde vsěx věk.*

Jagić: *b(o)g' bo esm'.*

Primer: *žizn' esm' vsemú míru.*

Jagić: *život' vsennu míru dax'.*

Primer: *ljúdie moí zakonoprestúpnii.*

Jagić: *ljúdie bezakonii.*

Primer: *nakr(e)stě propjáša nja.*

Jagić: *na kr(')stě mę prigvozdiste.*

Primer: *ternóv (Psalter: tr'noven') venéc vřzložíša námja (Psalter: na glavu moju)*

Jagić: *tr'noven' věnec' na glavo mi položiste.*

Both versions — that of the Primer and Psalter and that of the Bulgarian manuscript — contain a condensed teaching about the Saviour put into His own mouth; the lines from A to I exalt the divine almightiness, subsequent lines recount Christ's torments from infidels, and after the V line there is renewed a glorification of the Saviour. Either in both or in at least one of the two versions, the initial words of most of the lines coincide with the spelling names of the Church Slavonic letters or at least contain the same root or the same first syllables:

Spelling name	Jagić, p. 304 f.	Primer
<i>az</i>	<i>az'</i>	<i>az</i>
<i>vědi</i>	<i>vědě</i>	<i>vížu</i> (instead of <i>vědě</i>)
<i>glagol'</i>	<i>gl(agol)ju</i>	<i>gl(agol)ju</i>
<i>dobro</i>	<i>dobro</i>	<i>dobró</i>
<i>est'</i>	<i>es'm'</i>	<i>est'</i>
<i>život</i>	<i>život'</i>	<i>žizn'</i> (instead of <i>život</i>)
<i>želo</i>	<i>želo</i>	<i>žlo</i>
<i>zemlja</i>	<i>zemlja</i>	<i>zemljá</i>
<i>iže</i>	<i>iže</i>	<i>iže</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>inágo</i>
<i>kako</i>	<i>koe</i>	<i>káko</i>
<i>ljúdie</i>	<i>ljúdie</i>	<i>ljúdie</i>
<i>myslíte</i>	<i>mysl'jo</i>	<i>mýsliša</i>
<i>naš'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>on</i>	<i>oni</i>	
<i>r'ci</i>	<i>r'cete</i>	
<i>slovo</i>	<i>slovo</i>	

<i>tr' do</i> ⁸	<i>tr' noven'</i>	<i>ternóv</i>
<i>xer</i>	<i>xerovini</i>	
<i>ot</i>		<i>ot</i>
<i>ša</i>		<i>šatánija</i>
<i>er</i>	<i>erom'</i>	

Most probably the two versions represent two different South Slavic reshapings of the same Old Church Slavonic alphabetic acrostic that gave the spelling names to the letters. Very likely this is the meaning of the title carried by our acrostic in some Russian manuscripts: *Azbuka tolkovaja* (Explanatory Alphabet). In this connection, it is noteworthy that in certain variants found in the Volokolamsk monastery this acrostic is attributed to 'Saint Constantine, the Teacher of the Slavs' (see Kalajdovič, 1923, p. 320).

There were in the early stages of the Church Slavonic alphabets two letters that are still controversial in Slavic philology: one located in the alphabet between I and K, and the other between the O variant labeled *ot* and II. In the Glagolitic script, the former of the two puzzling letters had the numeral value 30 and the latter 800. Both of these letters appear in the early alphabetical acrostics (see Durnovo, p. 61 f.; Trubetzkoy, p. 19 f.). They are omitted in the Primer's acrostic, but the Serbian variant has a Θ between Y and X, and a Φ between the letter *ot* and II: the words beginning with these characters are Θavorskiju and Fariseie (Sobolevskij, 1910, p. 34). A Bosnian Bogomil booklet of the fifteenth century presents a similar alphabetical distribution of these letters, and Nahtigal is even inclined to trace this pattern back to the oldest Glagolitic alphabet (pp. 135 ff.). In the Bulgarian redaction of the acrostic this part of the alphabet is confined to OY, Φ, X, II, but between the I entry and the K entry there appears a supplementary line — *genomu* (read *demonu*) *me prědaste*, and this voiced palatal stop is attested in another old alphabetical acrostic, where the corresponding line begins with the word *deony*. This latter poem has been published by Sobolevskij (1910, pp. 13 ff.) from two copies — one of the late thirteenth century and another of the seventeenth century, the latter entitled *Molitva pokajal'naja* (Penitential Prayer). The same poem was included in another of the earliest printed primers — *Načalo učénia dětem xotjáščim razuměti písanie*, published in Vilna between 1593 and 1601, and containing a whole series of alphabetical

⁸ See Bæcklund, p. 137.

acrostics. It carries there the title *Azbuka pokajannaa* (Penitential Alphabet) and begins with the words *Az tobě pripadaju* (see Barnicot and Simmons, p. 106 and fig. 6; also pp. 27–29 below).

With the alphabetical acrostic the repetitions of the alphabet, constituting the first part of the Primer, finish, and a selection of readings, forming the second part, begins. First comes a set of prayers from the Book of Hours. The first prayers correspond in selection and arrangement to the reading list recommended by Constantine the Grammarian after the mastery of the letters (see Jagić, pp. 433 ff., 548). The sequence is: *Za molitvu Svjatyx Otec našix* (p. 49); *Carju nebesnyj; Svjatyj Bože* (p. 50); *Slava Otcu i Synu; Presvjataja Troice; Otče naš* (p. 51); *Gospodi pomiluj* (p. 52). Here Constantine's list finishes, but the Primer continues with *Priiděte, poklonimsja* and the Creed (p. 52). The prayers that follow are *Oslabi, ostavi, otpusti, Bože* (p. 55); *Vsesvjataja Troice* (p. 56) — inserted by Constantine before the Pater Noster; *Premudrosti Nastavniče* (p. 57); *Bogorodice Děvo, radujsjja* (p. 58). This order of elementary teaching up to the Creed was still in effect on the eve of the eighteenth century, as Prince Dimitrij Kan-temir asserts in his criticism of Feofan Prokopovič' Catechism (see Jagić, p. 442). Thus, he says, 'reason in youths is raised from lower to ever higher degrees.' In this traditional conception, the Primer appears as the first step leading to ecclesiastical wisdom and should not be interpreted as a secular book quite apart from religious literature (cf. Nemirovskij). The only difference from the Lvov Primer is that *Bogorodice Děvo* and *Presvjataja Troice* precede the Creed in Kan-temir's testimony. Three longer texts terminate Ivan Fedorov's set of prayers: *Velibit duša Moja* (Song of the Virgin; p. 58); *Gospodi, izbavi nas* (Prayer of Basil the Great; p. 60); and, finally, the Prayer of Manasses (pp. 63–68). The prayers are followed by edifying reading, beginning with a selection from Proverbs (pp. 69–74) — 22: 17–19, 22, 23; 23: 10–12, 15–19, 22, 26; 24: 13, 14. From the Proverbs addressed to the youth the Primer goes on to the Proverbs directed 'to you fathers and teachers' and sums up those of the Proverbs that preach a strict education — 22: 15; 29: 15; 23: 13, 14; and 29: 17.

The redaction of Proverbs cited in the Primer is strikingly distinct from their text printed in the Ostrog Bible — 23: 10 is a typical example:⁰

⁰ Transliterated according to the customary rules for reproducing Cyrillic writings in modern Russian characters (as also below, p. 26).

Primer

Недотыкѣнся межѣм чужіхъ, илѣполе спроты' невъступун.

Ostrog Bible

Непрелаган предѣль вѣчныхъ, вѣстяжѣніе сиротамъ невнѣдн.

The readings conclude with excerpts (pp. 74–78) from Saint Paul's Epistles — Ephesians, 6: 1–4; Colossians, 3: 12–16; I Thessalonians 5: 14–23. There is, however, a considerable textual divergence between the excerpts in the Primer and the same sentences in the Lvov Apostle, whereas the latter coincides in these passages both with the Moscow Apostle and with the Ostrog Bible except for a few insignificant details. It is possible that for his Primer Ivan Fedorov copied some older assortment of edifying quotations from the Scriptures. As a typical example of these differences we juxtapose the Primer's quotation from I Thessalonians (pp. 76–78) with the same verses in the Lvov Apostle (fols. 184v–185r).

Primer 1574

Молюж(е) вы' брѣтіе,
наказуйте безумныя,
утѣшайте малод(у)шныя,
носите немощныя,
долготерпите въ всѣхъ.
блюдите да некто зла
за зло кому въздаст'.
но всегда бл(а)гоуе гоните,
и къ другу другу, и къ всѣмъ.
всегда радуйтеся,
непрестанно молитесь,
овсем бл(а)годарствуйте.
себо естъ воля б(о)жія
ох(рист)ѣ ис(ус)ѣ въ вас.
д(у)ха неугашайте.
прор(о)чества не укаряйте.
всѣже искушающе, доброе
сдержите отвсѣкаго
видѣнія зла отгрѣбаетеся.
самже б(о)гъ міра
да ос(вя)титъ вас
свершены въ всѣмъ.
и всѣ свершени въ ваш д(у)хъ
и д(у)ша и тѣло непорочно
въ пришествіи ег(оспод)а нашего
ис(уса) х(рист)а да съблюдетъ.

Apostle 1574

Молимже вы' брѣтіе,
вразумляйте бесчестныя,
утѣшайте малодушныя,
заступайте немощныя.
долготерпите къ всѣмъ.
блюдите да нектоже зла
за зло кому въздаст'.
но всегда добрая мыслите
другъ къ другу и къ всѣмъ.
всегда радуйтеся,
непрестанно молитесь.
овсемъ бл(а)годарите
сіабо естъ воля б(о)жія
ох(рист)ѣ ис(ус)ѣ въ васъ.
д(у)ха неугашайте.
пророчества не уничижайте.
всѣже искушающе, доброе
держите, отвсѣкія
вещи злыя отгрѣбаетеся.
самъже б(о)гъ міра
да ос(вя)титъ вы'
свершеныхъ овсемъ
и всѣ свершени въ вашъ д(у)хъ,
и д(у)ша и тѣло непорочно
въ пришествіи ег(оспод)а нашего
ис(уса) х(рист)а да съхранитъ.

In addition to a difference in source, the Apostle and the Primer show a difference in the quality of workmanship, with the Primer less care-

fully executed. Thus the spelling СЛА ЗАСЛО is found in the Apostle, but ЗЛА ЗАЗЛО in the Primer (p. 76), in spite of the fact that the orthographical list of the Primer, under the entry С (§ 59; p. 30), cites СЛА, СЛЕ, СЛО, СЛИ, etc., in agreement with a contemporaneous spelling rule: СЛОВУ ВСЯКУЮ И СЛОЕ И СЛЫМЪ ПИШИ СЪЛОМ (see Jagić, p. 727).¹⁰

III. THE PLACE OF THE LVOV MANUAL AMONG THE OTHER CHURCH SLAVONIC PRIMERS AND ITS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The only known copy of Ivan Fedorov's Lvov Primer is that now in the Harvard College Library. A few notes written in the volume give some scant bits of information about its history before it joined, in all likelihood, the collection of G. S. Stroganov in Rome (cf. p. 40 below). Thus, the Ukrainian name and titles of the Polish King Sigismund III (1587-1632) on fol. Av and drafts of Ukrainian letters on p. 80 and fol. Cv testify that in the seventeenth century (the handwriting and spelling suggesting this as the time) the Primer was still in the hands of Ukrainians. On fol. Bv, a Latin sentence in Cyrillic letters, resembling the Cyrillic transliteration of Latin prayers in a Russian grammarian manuscript published by Jagić (pp. 907 ff.), would lead us to suspect a proximity to the Roman Catholic world, and finally the Italian words on p. 80 and fol. Cv suggest a relatively early transfer of the booklet to Rome.

Although there is no mention of a Primer by Ivan Fedorov in the few historical documents about the beginnings of printing among the Eastern Slavs, it may be surmised that the Lvov manual of 1574 is not the only publication of its kind by the renowned printer. In their instructive survey of unrecorded early printed Slavonic books in English libraries, Barnicot and Simmons try to localize an undated anonymous Primer in octavo, entitled *Načálo učénia dětem xotjáščim razuměti písanie*, which is preserved in two copies — one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the other in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (pp. 100 ff., 115 ff.). In the latter copy, inscriptions by its early English owner brought proofs that the book was certainly printed before 1591, probably before 1577, and perhaps even before 1568, when its purchaser, Thomas Hawtrey, seems to have left Russia for

¹⁰ It may be noted that the undated Primer discussed below has the spelling ЗЛА ЗАСЛО.

good. The question may therefore properly be raised as to whether this book is not one of Ivan Fedorov's Moscow publications.

Thanks to the courtesy of the Bodleian Library and of Mr John S. G. Simmons, Librarian-Lecturer in charge of Slavonic books at the University of Oxford, we have obtained a microfilm of this Primer (along with microfilms of two Vilna primers, 1593-1601 and 1618, both referred to in this paper).¹¹ A collation of the *Načálo učénia* with the Lvov print shows that the *Načálo učénia* encompasses the whole Lvov Primer except for its postface; divergences are limited to a few differing misprints in each of the two books, as well as some minor variations in spelling and accentuation. Of the text of the undated Primer, only the very beginning and the end are not repeated in the Lvov publication. The 'Undated Primer' begins with its title and a sentence to introduce the alphabet ('First let the child learn to pronounce what follows'), while at the end there is added an appeal summing up the quotations from Saint Paul ('Thus, brothers, observe the apostolic precepts'), followed by a late version of Xrabr's apologetical treatise about Slavonic letters.

The few orthographic features that distinguish the Lvov publications of Ivan Fedorov from his Moscow prints distinguish likewise his Lvov Primer from the Undated Primer (see pp. 35-38 below), and make the Moscow origin of the latter very likely. A microscopic comparison of the Ivan Fedorov Moscow-Lvov type with the type used in the Undated Primer (see pp. 41-42 below) discloses, however, that the characters of the latter do not belong to Ivan Fedorov's stock but are its close imitation. What is needed is a careful comparison of the Undated Primer with the productions of Ivan Fedorov's Moscow apprentices Nikifor Tarasiev and Nevěža Timofěev. Such a comparison would permit the verification of the tentative hypothesis now advanced that both the Lvov Primer and the Undated Primer go back to a lost publication issued by Ivan Fedorov from his Moscow press and that the Undated Primer was printed in the late sixties by Ivan Fedorov's Moscow apprentices, who imitated his types and woodcuts with inferior skill and with definite avoidance of any mention of the forbidden name of the refugee. If this working hypothesis is con-

¹¹ As already indicated (n. 3 above), reproductions of pp. 2 and 45 of the Bodleian copy of the Undated Primer are included at the end of the series of facsimiles accompanying this paper.

firmed, then Ivan Fedorov's two publications of the Lvov period will appear as a recapitulation of his Moscow activities.

It is highly probable that the puzzling 'Primer of large print' with which the Patriarch Filaret blessed the Crown Prince Aleksej Mixajlovič in 1633 (see Zabelin, p. 123) was one of the two Ivan Fedorov editions. The Primers of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that his manual was well known and exerted a considerable influence. Barnicot and Simmons refer to a Book of Hours introduced by a Primer and published in Vilna in 1596; they characterize both this introduction and a manual issued in Ostrog in 1598 as 'a close reprint' of the Undated Primer (pp. 102 f., 105). The last decade of the sixteenth century was particularly rich in Church Slavonic Primers: besides three prints at Vilna and one at Ostrog, a Primer for Serbs appeared at Venice in 1597 (see Vanlić and Radojičić).

There is a Primer preserved in the Bodleian Library in two variants, differing only in details, and both published in Vilna in 1618 under the title *Grammatika Albo Složenie Pismená xotjáščimsja učiti Sloven'skago jazýka. Mladolětnym Otročatom* (see Barnicot and Simmons, p. 111). A new edition of this primer was printed in Vilna in 1621. Thanks to the courtesy of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the gracious help of Mr Simmons, a microfilm of the only complete copy of the 1621 edition, preserved in the Trinity College Library, was made available for our research. These three publications follow chiefly the Undated Primer (or rather its assumed model, the lost Moscow Primer of Ivan Fedorov), and some of the alterations are quite mechanical. Thus the alphabetical spelling list of the Muscovite printer stops with the letter Ψ , and the *Grammatika* of 1618 continues this list merely by adding the III and III lines of the acrostic from the Undated Primer or its model:

Šá.
Šatánija běsóvskago svoboždája nás.
Ščá.
Ščedrotámi svoégo čl(ově)koljúbija.

While these three publications reproduce only a few items of Ivan Fedorov's Primer, there appeared in the same year 1621, in the same city of Vilna, and under the same title, another manual (described by Kalajdovič, 1823, p. 326, and Xarlampovič, 1898, p. 448 f.) that includes the whole first part of Ivan's Primer (all levels of the alphabet, finishing with the acrostic) and some of the texts of its second

part. In 1634 the Moscow printer Vasilij Fedorov Burcov-Protopopov published, and in 1637 republished, a Primer that, with a few retouches, repeats this Vilna manual of 1621 (see Kalajdovič, 1823, and 1824, p. 171). One of the few copies preserved of Burcov's second edition (cf. Karataev, p. 453), an acquisition made by Henry Boyle 'apud Novagoroda' 5 January 1655/6, is now in the Harvard College Library.

From the oldest period of East Slavic printing, which in Karataev's well-grounded view finishes with the promotion of Patriarch Nikon in 1652, sixteen editions of Primers have been recorded, but undoubtedly the total number produced was considerably higher. In nine cases copies have survived only in Western libraries. Of these sixteen Primers, the majority, namely ten, present Ivan Fedorov's compilation or imitations of it. But even the Primer presumably published in Vilna on the eve of the seventeenth century and 'textually quite distinct from all the other *azbuki* under discussion' (Barnicot and Simmons, p. 106) borrows its title from the Moscow Primer of Ivan Fedorov. Most of the early Primers known (eleven among sixteen) were printed in Byelorussia — eight in Vilna (1593–1601, 1596 bis, 1618 bis, 1621 bis, 1652), one in Kutein (1631), and two in Mogilev (1637, 1649). Of the other five, three appeared in Moscow (1634, 1637, and — most probably — the Undated Primer) and two in the Ukraine — one at Lvov (1574) and one at Ostrog (1598).

The Moscow Primer of 1637 was reprinted by the Russian Old Believers in 1781, so that Ivan Fedorov's compilation remained vital for over two centuries. What particularly attracted the antagonists of Nikon's reforms in this textbook of the sixteenth century was the Primer's version of the eighth article of the Creed: *Ivzd(u)xa s(vja)tágo ístinmago izivotvorjáščago* (p. 54 of the Lvov edition; expressed similarly in the Book of Hours of 1565 and in the Book of Hours adjoined to the Psalter of 1570). The adjective *ístinmago* (very) has replaced *gospoda* (Lord) in the original phrase 'And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life.' This substitution was probably inspired partly by a previous passage of the Creed — *b(o)ga ístinna ótb(o)ga ístinna*, and partly by the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Greek *πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας* (the spirit of truth) in John 15: 26 as *duxъ istin'nyi* (the very spirit), which passed also into the prayer to the Holy Spirit, where the Moscow and Lvov Primers give the traditional reading *utěšitelju d(u)še istinnyi* (p. 49; cf. Jagić, Ap., p. 46).

In twenty-five manuscripts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century consulted by Gezen in his inquiry into the history of the Church Slavonic Creed, fifteen substituted *istinnago* for *g(ospod)a*, while in printed books prior to Ivan Fedorov's publications this substitution is rare: Gezen found it only in the Nesviž Protestant Catechism of 1562. On the other hand, the joint formula *g(ospod)a istinna* emerges in some of the Venetian Church Slavonic prints of the sixteenth century and in Skorina's Vilna book of 1525, and, after Ivan Fedorov's death, penetrates into the Vilna *Grammatika* of 1618 (Bodleian: Ashmole 917), into its re-edition of 1621 (Trinity College, Cambridge), and into a few editions of the Book of Hours in Vilna, Ostrog, Moscow, and Kiev, although the Moscow ecclesiastical council of 1551 (*Stoglav*) accepted the variants *gospoda* and *istinnago* but rejected their combination (see Gezen, pp. 62 ff.). Most of the Ukrainian churchmen of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries adhered to the original reading *gospoda*, while in contemporary Moscow there was a predilection for the version *istinnago*. Thus the Primer of Lavrentij Zyzanij (Vilna, 1596) does not include this adjective in the eighth article of the Creed; it is deliberately omitted in the Vilna alteration of Ivan Fedorov's Primer (1621) described by Kalajdovič (1823), but in the copy of this Vilna edition that came to Muscovy the page was replaced by a handwritten text with the reading *istinnago*, and similarly this word is inserted by hand in a copy of a Vilna Primer of 1652 that belongs to the Leningrad Public Library (see Pekarskij, pp. 167, 169). Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the substitution of *istinnago* for *gospoda* was repudiated by Petr Mohyla, the authoritative Metropolitan of Kiev (see his *Trebnik* of 1646), and his example was followed by such a Ukrainizer of the Moscow ecclesiastical pattern as the Russian Patriarch Nikon in his rules of 1656 (see Gezen, p. 66; cf. Kapterev). Burcov's Primers of 1634 and 1637 still followed Ivan Fedorov's example, but in the next Moscow Primer, *Bukvar' jazyka slovenska*, published under the Tsar Aleksej in 1664, the controversial adjective was canceled (see Pekarskij, p. 169). The Old Believers persevered in invoking *dux svjatago istinnago* (see Golubinskij, p. 237 f.) and continued to use Burcov's manual of 1637.

In the Russian 1860's, with the yearning of the time for enlightenment and for exposure of the 'dark past,' the historians of education cited the precepts for strict education and punishments from the early

Primers, such as the Vilna publication of 1621, and mocked the grim counsels of the old Russian mentors, without realizing that these maxims were mere quotations from the Old Testament selected by Ivan Fedorov (see Pekarskij, p. 168; Mordovcev, pp. 2 ff.). Yet these same excerpts had become extremely popular in the Primers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, where they were often either illustrated by a drastic picture of corporal punishment, as in the Vilna *Grammatika* of 1618, or amplified and even versified. Thus the Moscow Primer of 1679, published by order of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič, changed Solomon's Proverbs into such rhymed lines as *čelujte rozgu, bič' i žezl lobzajte* (Kiss the lash! osculate the whip and the rod!; see Pekarskij, p. 171).

Ivan Fedorov's Primer, which survived for generations in the later schoolbooks, can — along with his other works — also be approached as an instructive document for the history of the literary language.

In his Zabludov prints and in the Lvov Apostle, Ivan Fedorov adjoins to his name the appositive *Moskvitin*, and in his later, Ostrog works adds the indication *z Moskvy* (from Moscow). Why does he stress his Muscovite origin (cf. Romanovs'kyj, p. 3) in his emigrant publications?

The late sixteenth century was, for the Eastern Slavs under the rule of Poland, 'a cruel and mournful time,' as Herasym Smotryc'kyj, the Ukrainian writer struggling for the Orthodox Church and first principal of the Ostrog academy, maintains in his verses prefacing Ivan Fedorov's Bible. With the rise of the Jesuits in the Gentry Republic, the Orthodox Church of Ukrainians and Byelorussians was thrown on the defensive, and the pressure of Polish-Latin culture, supported by the state apparatus, was felt as an acute danger by the champions of the Eastern Orthodoxy and of the 'Russo-Byzantine [*rus'ko-vizantyjs'ka*] culture,' which 'made the cleavage between the Ukrainian and Polish life ever deeper,' as Hruševs'kyj concludes (p. 17).

Let us supplement the judgment of the leading Ukrainian historian with the testimony of Ukrainian linguistics. At the juncture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukrainian ecclesiastical circles 'instituted a campaign to oppose to the Polish-Latin cultural tradition the Graeco-Slavonic continuity, and attempted in this way to find an adequate arm for a fight against a strong adversary' (Šcrech, p. 105). The tendency of earlier decades to vernacularize the language of church literature in Byelorussia and in the Ukraine, stimulated or

at least reinforced by the Hussite tradition and by the Reformation, had been defeated by the contempt of Catholic propaganda for the claims of vulgar speech to play a role *in ecclesia*. Only a sacred language with a venerable tradition could stem the aggression of Latin, and this role was assigned to Church Slavonic, which, promoted in the ninth century by the saintly brothers Constantine and Methodius, was used as the only liturgic language by all the Slavs of Greek rite. The main slogans advanced by the Polish Jesuits in their campaign against Church Slavonic were summed up in Skarga's script of 1577, *O iedności kościoła Bożego pod iednym pasterzem* (Concerning the Unity of the Divine Church under One Pastor). According to this renowned polemicist, religion and science were universally and untranslatably tied to Latin and Greek, since they were the only fixed languages, subject to rigid grammatical rules and immutable in time and space, whereas all other languages were subject to perpetual changes and had no firm grammar and vocabulary (*swych grammatyk y kalepinow pewnych nie mają*); in particular, Church Slavonic lacked stability and grammatical rules, and was neither a spoken language nor a tool of culture.

The advocates of Church Slavonic were faced with the task of unifying, stabilizing, codifying, and purifying this language from vernacular admixtures. Therefore the publication of manuals became an urgent duty, along with the opening of schools where both Church Slavonic and Greek were taught. Planning such a school, the Lvov Stauropegial Fraternity insisted that the Holy Script be taught in Greek and Slavonic, because without such teaching 'this Christian people would remain wordless' (see Hruševs'kyj, p. 111); according to the traditional etymology, Slavonic (*sloven'sk-*) is conceived here as derived from *slovo* (word, verb) and as an antonym of *bezslavesen* (wordless, dumb). Deploring the decline in the employment of Church Slavonic (*učenie . . . Slovenskago Rossijskago jasyka*) in the Ukraine, the Kievan Metropolitan Mixail Rahoza in his Epistle of 1592 called for a knowledge of the 'perfect grammatical Slavonic language' (*sžveršennago grammatičeskago Slovenskago jasyka*; see *Akty IV*, p. 42). A study of the evolution of the text of the Gospels in the Ukraine throughout the second half of the sixteenth century shows a gradual elimination of vernacular ingredients and an even higher familiarity with the bookish Church Slavonic norm (see Gruzinskij).

When Muskovy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been

in need of experts in Church Slavonic, South Slavic refugees from the Turks had found there a vast field of work. Now, in the late sixteenth century, when a similar need arose in the Ukraine and Byelorrussia, Russian refugees from Ivan the Terrible assumed in their turn a significant cultural role in those regions. By the sixteenth century Moscow had attained a fair level in Church Slavonic education, and Muscovites thus schooled, such as Ivan Fedorov Moskvitin, obstinately striving against people 'who have neither mastered grammatical skill [*niže gramotičeskija xitrosti navýkše*] nor grasped spiritual wisdom' (see Karataev, p. 182), were welcome newcomers.

Unification, stabilization, and normalization were the basic concerns of the Russian spiritual elite under Ivan the Terrible. Similarly, textual, orthographical, and grammatical correctness in ecclesiastical works was of first importance for Ivan Fedorov, and the printing press was to be the means of achieving his purpose: *dabý vpred s(vja)týja knígi izložilisja pravedně* (postface to the Apostle of 1564; see Karataev, p. 154). The role of the Primer in serving this regulating principle would obviously be a central one.

The leading spirit among the Russian emigrants in the Polish-controlled East Slavic lands was unquestionably Prince Andrej Kurbskij, the famous opponent of the Tsar and an ardent fighter for the Eastern Church. He zealously propagated 'the desired and beloved Slavonic language, inherited from the ancestors,' insisted on faithfulness to its grammatical rules (see Karataev, p. 412), and persuaded Prince Constantine of Ostrog to publish the Bible in pure Church Slavonic. Ohijenko's assumption (1925, p. 162 f.; cf. pp. 124, 128 ff.) that he introduced Ivan Fedorov to the Prince of Ostrog is plausible, since the printer cooperated in Lvov with some of Kurbskij's friends and adherents, and since, moreover, both of them seem to have had common ties from their Moscow life. Kurbskij developed an intensive program of translations from Greek into Church Slavonic, and he involved in these activities other Russian emigrants, such as Prince Mixail Obolenskij, Mark Sarygozin, and the Abbot Artemij. When Kurbskij complained of the lack of skilled persons to collaborate in a translation of Basil the Great, Artemij wrote him that despite his old age he would be happy to come from his Luck home even on foot, if only he could be of help in a work of translation into Slavonic (*sklonjajuči na slovenskij*; see Vilinskij, p. 179).

This passion for pure and correct Church Slavonic was apparently

initiated by the Muscovites, but it found an encouraging response among the native Ukrainian writers. Thus one of the most original among them, Ivan Vyšens'kyj, admonished: 'In church, do not pervert the Evangelium or the Apostle into vulgar language, but after the liturgy, for people's understanding, interpret and explain it in a simple speech. All church books and rules are to be printed in Slavonic . . . It is the devil who fights against Slavonic, because, of all languages, this is the most fertile and the most agreeable to the Lord' (*Akty II*, p. 210).

One would expect that, in this atmosphere of struggle for Slavonic books, Xrabr's apologetical treatise on Slavonic letters would be regarded as particularly suitable reading. Yet this work, renowned and imitated in Russian literature, is the only text of the Undated Primer (and most probably of its presumable model, Ivan Fedorov's Moscow Primer) that was not admitted to the Lvov version. Was it simply for reasons of economy that this long and concluding section of the Moscow Primer was rejected, or would Xrabr's ardent polemic perhaps have added to the political difficulties of the *impressor ruthenus* in Poland? (The treatise was, however, included in the Vilna imitations of the Moscow Primer and in its adaptations by Burcov.)

In general, the Lvov publications of Ivan Fedorov reflect the Muscovite recension of Church Slavonic, which he naturally used in his Moscow prints. Even the errors in his Moscow and emigrant publications are often of the same kind, as, for instance, when an *e* slips in instead of an unstressed *ě*, which merged with *e* in Old Moscow pronunciation (see Černyšev, p. 3). Examples of such an inheritance from the Moscow Primer may be seen on p. 47 of the Lvov Primer: *razdeliša, venéc*. In other cases, however, the Muscovite error has been eliminated (or perhaps these misspellings were introduced by the printer of the Undated Primer):

Undated Primer	Lvov Primer
<i>poselí, iscelí</i>	<i>posěti, iscěli</i> (p. 50)
<i>vvědenii</i>	<i>vvěděnii</i> (p. 56)
<i>vospeváju</i>	<i>vospěvájju</i> (p. 57)
<i>obeščánija</i>	<i>oběščánija</i> (p. 64)

Only a few conventional spellings that are characteristic of the Ukrainian orthographical tradition of the time distinguish Ivan Fedorov's prints of Zabludov and Lvov from his Moscow pattern. In

the prefixes and prepositions we note *vъ-*, *cъ-*, against the modernized forms *во-*, *со-*, or *в-*, *с-*, in his Moscow prints (see Dorošenko, p. 41; Ohijenko, 1953, p. 30):

Undated Primer	Lvov Primer
<i>voedinyx</i>	<i>vædinyx</i> (p. 20)
<i>voiskušenie</i>	<i>vziskušenie</i> (p. 51)
<i>sobóra</i>	<i>sъbóra</i> (pp. 52, 54)
<i>vospeváju</i>	<i>vzspěváju</i> (p. 57)
<i>nevozbranjú</i>	<i>nevъzbranjú</i> (p. 58)
<i>vozdějanie</i>	<i>vzdzějanie</i> (p. 60)
<i>vopreispódnixъ</i>	<i>vъpreispódnixъ</i> (p. 68)
<i>voposlědnii</i>	<i>vъposlě'dnii</i> (p. 71)
<i>sojúzъ</i>	<i>sъjúzъ</i> (p. 75)

But in the colophon of the Lvov Primer, where the printer does not feel bound by Church Slavonic, he writes *volvóvĕ* (in Lvov).

Further, in the placing of word accent the emigrant publications deviate only insignificantly and infrequently from the Moscow prints. Such deviations as do occur reflect only occasionally a leaning toward Church Slavonic of an Ukraino-Byelorussian tinge; other variations rather indicate a somewhat vacillating prosodic pattern in the conventional pronunciation of Church Slavonic, and this is most natural, since the accent marks were a relatively recent innovation brought by the South Slavs, and the discrepancies between the South and East Slavic prosodic backgrounds were considerable. Examples of variation in accent between the two versions of the Primer are:

Undated Primer	Lvov Primer
<i>šĕdrotámĭ</i>	<i>šĕdrótomĭ</i> (p. 48)
<i>dolgi</i>	<i>dólgi</i> (p. 51)
<i>izbavitelja</i>	<i>izbávitelja</i> (p. 58)
<i>spodobíže</i>	<i>spodóbíže</i> (p. 60)
<i>vъvratě'xъ</i>	<i>vъvratě'xъ</i> (p. 69)

If, in the prayer *Carju nebesnyj*, the first printing of the Book of Hours (Moscow, 1565) spells *sokróvišĕe* and the Undated Primer *sъkróvišĕe* while the Lvov Primer has *sъkrovíšĕe* (p. 49), it is difficult to say whether the latter prosodic variant reflects a Ukrainian recension of Church Slavonic: the form current in Ukrainian sources is *sokróvišĕe* or *skróvišĕe*, but of course such prosodic variations as *kladóvišĕe*, *bojóvišĕe*, *grobóvišĕe* are attested in Ukrainian (see Ohijenko, 1952, p. 71 f.).

An interesting feature of the Lvov Primer is a stricter tendency to avoid any trace of the vernacular. Compare *tebě* (p. 49) with the form *tobě* in the Moscow version, and the consistent *-ѣ* in the third person ending with the alternation in the paradigms of the Undated Primer of forms like *krestítz*, *xválitz*, *zízditz* with forms in *-ѣ*: *zízdet'*, *nósit'*, *ródit'*, *izbavljájut'*, *tvorját'*. The orthographical conventions are carried out more consistently in the Lvov Primer; in the Moscow version the distribution of the 'small *jus*' and *A*, of the *И* and *I*, of the *OY* and the corresponding ligature or of *O* and *ω* sometimes contradicts the accepted pattern and probably goes back to the sources copied. The heightened editorial care in the Lvov Primer corresponds to a greater thoroughness in its typographical work.

In sum, we may state that the Muscovite recension of Church Slavonic, along with the Moscow type face, based on the Muscovite half-uncial book hand, was transplanted by Ivan Fedorov to Zabludov and Lvov, although it is obvious that his prints in Byelorussia and Galicia were destined primarily for local consumption. In this latter connection it is noteworthy that in his inscriptions and explanatory notes he uses the Byelorussian and Ukrainian loanwords *drukovati* (to print), *výdrukoval* (has printed), *výdrukovano* (is printed), *drúkar'* (printer), *drukárnja* (printing house), against the forms, traditional in Muscovy, that he employed in his Moscow books: *pečátati* (to print), *napečátan* (is printed), *pečátnoe dělo* or *pečátnyx kníg dělo* (printing house). The Apostle issued in 1606 by Ivan Andronikov Nevěžin in 'the printing house of His Majesty,' the False Dimitrij, was the first Moscow publication in which the western term *drukarnja* emerged.

'Year' is rendered only by the Church Slavonic *lěto* in Ivan Fedorov's Moscow prints, while the Zabludov and Lvov publications alternately render it by *lěto* and by the local and West Slavic *rok*. The years are counted in his Moscow prints according to the old Russian tradition, from the Creation of the World, but in the Zabludov and Lvov works from the Incarnation of the Saviour. Ivan's patronymic in the Moscow prints is *Fedorov*, against the form *Fedorovič'*, the only one which he uses in Zabludov and Lvov.

When, however, Ivan Fedorov moved to Ostrog, he returned to the Moscow forms: we find *pečátnik* (printer), *napečátana* (is printed), *lěto* (year), and the patronymic form *Θeódorov*. In chronology he gives both points of departure — the Creation of the World and the

Incarnation of the Saviour. Only in the anonymously printed Ostrog leaflet, with Ukrainian calendar verses, which is usually attributed to Ivan Fedorov, the corresponding terms are naturally *drukovano* and *rok*, and the years are counted from the Birth of Christ.

The reasons for this return to the Moscow pattern are obvious. The Ostrog publications, and more especially the Bible, were intended for a much wider range of readers than the prints of Zabludov and Lvov. To Lvov alone the printer himself brought back from Ostrog 400 'libros bibliorum ruthenicorum idiomate ruthenica scriptos' (Zěrnova, p. 62). A note of 1573 in an Ostrog folio Bible states that copies of this work 'were brought to Moscow, the capital of Great Russia . . . and spread over all the towns, where they have remained until now.' Zěrnova adds that the numerous copies still preserved in the various libraries of Russia and even in the Balkan lands testify to an enormous circulation of the Ostrog Bible. In effect, this Bible was intended for all the Slavs of the Greek rite, for the whole people of Slavonic tongue — *ves' slavjanskij jazyk*, in Kurbskij's formulation. The orientation of the Ostrog Bible was therefore toward an all-embracing Church Slavonic pattern. Regionalisms (such as *druk-* and *rok*) were to be avoided. The simultaneous use of the two chronologies symbolized an appeal to both the southwestern and northeastern portions of the Orthodox Slavic world. Although made by a Muscovite emigrant in cooperation with other Russian emigrants, such as Andrej Kurbskij, the Ostrog Bible not only spread all over Tsardom, but, like the first Moscow prints of Ivan Fedorov, advertised to the reader its support by the Tsar. The books of 1564 and 1565 appeared, as is stated in their postface, 'by the order of the pious Tsar,' and from the same 'pious Tsar, highly excelling in Orthodoxy,' as the preface to the Ostrog Bible emphasizes, Prince Constantine of Ostrog received a copy of the Church Slavonic Bible assembled and edited by the Novgorod Archbishop Gennadij at the end of the fifteenth century, a gift that substantially contributed to the Ostrog publication of 1580-81. Ukrainian pilgrimage to Moscow for Church Slavonic manuscripts is attested from 1561 (see Xarlampovič, 1914, pp. 8 ff.).

Ivan Fedorov's Primer is a significant link in the chain of repeated efforts to reunify and stabilize Church Slavonic as the hieratic and literary language for the Slavs of the Greek rite. The content of the whole publication is a Church Slavonic inheritance received from or through Balkan Slavic literature, adopted and re-adapted by Russian

tradition and transplanted into Ukrainian culture. This Muscovite cultural infiltration into the Ukraine and Byelorussia was particularly intensive between the Lublin political union of 1569, which strengthened Polish pressure on the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, and the Brest church union of 1596, which alarmed Moscow by opening doors for Catholic gains in these lands of Gracco-Orthodox tradition, creating in Muscovy an atmosphere of ecclesiastical and cultural mistrust and of fearful alienation from the whole region. Thus the first half of the seventeenth century saw a gradual slackening of literary exchange between the northeast and the southwest of Eastern Slavdom, together with a more autonomous development of the Ukrainian, chiefly Kievan, recension of Church Slavonic. This recension rapidly made way among the Southern Slavs, and in particular among the Croatian Catholics, who revised their church books on Kievan models (see Jakobson, p. 83 f.). Finally, in the second half of the seventeenth century, with the political incorporation of the Ukraine into Russia, the Kievan version of the church books and the Kievan recension of the liturgic and literary language won dominion over Muscovy (see Kapterev). The earlier influence of Ivan Fedorov's prints in the Ukraine facilitated the success of these new steps towards the unification of Church Slavonic and of the canonic texts.¹²

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SPECIAL NOTE

Moscow *Pravda* of 30 October 1954 carried a communication based on the alleged existence of a copy of Ivan Fedorov's Lvov Primer of 1574 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. According to information received from M. Julien Cain, Administrateur Général, there is no copy of this Primer in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

APPENDIX

Ivan Fedorov's Lvov Primer is an octavo of five unsigned sheets or forty leaves. The paper bears a watermark, a horseshoe with sharply turned ends, like an ancient stretched bow, enclosing an outlined cross whose arms touch the sides but whose base does not quite touch the center or toe of the shoe. This same watermark occurs on many, though by no means all, of the sheets used in the folio Apostle printed in Lvov in the same year (see reproduction in Krypjakovyč). It is of interest to note that, while both the Primer and the Apostle are without sheet signatures, Ivan Fedorov had used signatures in his Moscow printed books a decade earlier.

The only known copy of the Primer, that at Harvard, is, for such a book, in remarkably fine, clean condition, with only a small tear in the lower outer blank margin of the thirty-sixth leaf. The leaves measure 157 by 100 mm., and, to judge by the missing portions of the watermark, the top edge at any rate has been cut very little. The binding may be the original one, although if so at some time, possibly early in the nineteenth century (as suggested by a shelf-mark on the front paste-down), it was re sewn on tapes, provided with a new leather spine of morocco, and given new end-leaves of what would appear to be, in the absence of a watermark, eighteenth-century laid paper. The original end-leaves have been preserved and from the scribbling they contain indicate that the volume was probably in Italy at least as early as the seventeenth century. The hand-hewn oak boards of the sides, possibly original, were once covered with roll-stamped calf, of which only two strips are preserved. These each have a roll-stamp of a vine with flowers and fruit design surrounded by a triple border of blind fillets.

As to the provenance of this unique book, we can only say with certainty that it is the grammar which Serge Diaghilev bought in Rome in 1927, for it came indirectly from his collection (see pp. 5-6 above). But circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that its previous owner was Count Grigorij Sergeevič Stroganov, who was born in 1829 and died in 1910. The following notes on the Stroganov family and their collections are mainly gathered from information supplied by Mr Serge Cheremeteff, to whom I am much obliged.

The family became wealthy in the sixteenth century through salt mines in the provinces of Vologda and Perm and later branched out into iron and other metals and participated in the occupation of Siberia. In the eighteenth century they were ennobled and as courtiers played a great role in St Petersburg. In the sixteenth century these rich industrialists formed a large collection of the publications of Ivan Fedorov that was divided between two brothers at the end of the century.

Count Sergej Stroganov (1794–1882), the father of Count Grigorij Sergeevič Stroganov, was a man of culture and the friend of scholars. He was Adjutant General and Secretary for Education for the Moscow area, Governor of Moscow, and guardian of the heir to the throne, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič, but was dismissed by the reactionary minister, Uvarov, on the pretext that he had published a translation of Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (London, 1591), of which more later. His son was educated by the Russian historian, Sergej Solov'ev, and became an officer of the Life Hussars, and an adjutant of the Minister of Defense. He was sent to middle Asia, where he gathered a notable collection of Sassanian vases that he later bequeathed to the Hermitage. He resigned in the 1860's and thereafter spent half his time on his estates in the region of Podols'k and half at the Palazzo Stroganov in the Via Sistina, Rome, where his world-renowned collection of works of art, manuscripts, and books was concentrated (see Pollak and Muñoz). The Palazzo thus was an important center of culture, frequented by such friends of the Count as Cardinal Rampallo, Father Pierling, Count von Bühlow, and the Polish historian Askenazi. He also generously aided poor but gifted painters, and spent much time in adding to his collections of books and pictures, often trading with the antiquarian dealers to improve his holdings. His diversified knowledge was combined with great modesty, although he was often consulted by the directors of many of the museums of Europe.

His daughter, grandson, and granddaughter were all killed on his estates during the Revolution, and the guardians of his great-grandchildren disposed of his collections in the 1920's, although some parts of them apparently were bequeathed to other relatives, for Dr Erwin Rosenthal recalls buying in Berlin about 1920–22 a complete set of the Tarocchi engravings and a French fifteenth-century printed Missal from a Russian princess who had inherited them from Count Stroganov.

From the presence of the relatively early Italian scribbling on the end-leaves of the Lvov Primer it is unlikely that it was inherited from the sixteenth-century family collections, but more likely that it was recognized for what it was by Count Stroganov during the period of his Italian collecting, 1865–1910. What happened to the Primer at the dispersal of Count Stroganov's collections is not known, nor is it known through what agent or bookseller Diaghilev acquired it. But on Diaghilev's death it passed to his friend Boris Kochno (see Lifar', 1938, p. 194), and from him, again through an agent, was obtained for the Harvard Library through the generosity of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr.

The type used in printing the Primer is identical with that of the Lvov Apostle printed the same year, a copy of which is also in the Harvard Library,¹³ and this type is the same or at any rate cast from matrices made

¹³ Another copy of the Lvov Apostle is in the New York Public Library, which likewise has a copy of the Ostrog Bible. This last is also in the Yale University Library. A copy of the Moscow Apostle is in the Library of Congress. Available

with the same punches that Ivan Fedorov had used a decade before in Moscow.¹⁴ The ornaments, however, though of similar design, either strapwork or heavy Germanic flower designs with black backgrounds (see reproductions), are of a smaller size than those used in the Lvov Apostle. A comparison of the Ivan Fedorov Moscow-Lvov type with a photograph of the type used in the unidentified Primer of which copies are in the Bodleian and Trinity College, Cambridge (see pp. 27-29 above), by means of a comparison microscope of low power, which juxtaposes the letters so that they may be carefully compared even by an eye unaccustomed to the Slavonic characters, reveals that they cannot have been cast from molds made with the same punches. The angles and curves are frequently different and the places where parts of the letters join are different, even though the general appearance of the letters is much the same. Likewise, if one may rely on line-cut reproductions, the unidentified type is not like any of the other early types reproduced in Nekrasov, Zěrnova, or *Ivan Fedorov*.

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records would indicate that these, with the copies of the two Lvov publications at Harvard, are the only productions of Ivan Fedorov to be found in this country.

"This is of interest because of the tradition of the destruction of the Moscow press, which apparently has come down from Giles Fletcher's statement in his *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (London, 1591), fol. 85v, where he says: 'Some yeres past in the other Emperors time, there came a Presse and Letters out of *Polonia*, to the citie of *Mosko*, where a printing house was set vp, with great liking & allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, and the presse and letters quite burnt vp, as was thought by the procurement of the Cleargy men.'

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List of Contributors

- ROMAN JAKOBSON, Samuel Hazzard Cross Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Harvard University
- WILLIAM A. JACKSON, Professor of Bibliography and Assistant Librarian of the College Library in charge of the Houghton Library, Harvard University
- FERNANDO ZOBEL DE AYALA, Manila, Philippine Islands
- ELEANOR WITHINGTON, Instructor in English, Queens College
- WILLIAM H. BOND, Curator of Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, Harvard University
- HERBERT DIECKMANN, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Harvard University
- PHILIP KOCH, Teaching Fellow in French, Harvard University
- DAVID C. WEBER, Senior Assistant in the Harvard College Library
- CHARLES SNYDER, Librarian of the Lucien Howe Library of Ophthalmology, Harvard University and Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary
- CHARLTON HINMAN, Research Fellow, Folger Shakespeare Library
- MABEL A. E. STEELE, Custodian of the Keats Memorial Collection, Harvard College Library