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## **Polikarpov's Primer of 1701: Elementary education project in transitional Russia\***

### **Summary**

The article discusses one of the first Muscovy primers printed in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and used for over fifty years. The primer's structure and its overall concept are analysed in detail. The article also considers the primer's dictionary section and the theological concept which allowed to offer Russian students a three-language study book containing study materials in three languages (Church Slavonic, Greek, and Latin) but one Orthodox credo. Close reading methods allowed the author to consider such type of early Modern primers as a tool for strict confessional religious education and not for wider purposes.

**Key words:** Primer, elementary education, orthodox schooling, Fedor Polikarpov

### **Streszczenie**

ELEMENTARZ POLIKARPOVA Z ROKU 1701 – PROJEKT EDUKACJI POCZĄTKOWEJ W ROSJI  
W OKRESIE PRZEŁOMU

W artykule omawiany jest jeden z pierwszych moskiewskich elementarzy, wydrukowany na początku XVIII wieku i używany przez ponad pół wieku. Tekst zawiera dokładną analizę struktury tego podręcznika i jego koncepcji. Przedstawiono w nim zarówno zamysł teologiczny, jak i językowy elementarza. Zgodnie z założeniami podręcznik umożliwił rosyjskiemu uczniowi zdobywać wiedzę w trzech językach: cerkiewnosłowiańskim, greckim i łacińskim.

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Elementarz został napisany i opublikowany w Moskwie przez Fiodora Polikarpowa, ucznia a następnie nauczyciela Słowiańsko-Grecko-Łacińskiej Akademii, pierwszej w Rosji teologicznej szkoły wyższej. Książka osiągnęła nakład 2400 egzemplarzy. Na podstawie porównania różnych fragmentów zachowanych egzemplarzy można założyć, że hipotetyczny pełny egzemplarz, który liczył około 320 stron, wyglądał następująco.

Na początku elementarza znajduje się karta tytułowa. Zawiera ona dziękczynienie Bogu i Panu, w które wpleciony jest tytuł: „Elementarz pism słowiańskich, greckich i łacińskich dla chcących się uczyć i zdobywać mądrość na użytek zbawienia (Букварь славенскими, греческими, римскими писмены, учитися хотящим, и любомудрие в пользу душеспасительную обрести тщашимся). W przedmowie wyłożone są przyczyny opublikowania podręcznika. Czytamy w niej, że: tylko dzięki znajomości innych języków i czytaniu modlitw we wszystkich językach, można doświadczyć „soli wiary prawosławnej”, wielkość której zobaczyłyby dla swego zbawienia wszystkie krańce ziemi. W dalszej części umieszczone są wskazówki metodyczne o prawidłowej wymowie, akcentowaniu, interpunkcji, łacińskiej ortografii i ortofonii, a także zalecenia, jak powinien wyglądać proces nauczania. Według elementarza Polikarpowa nauczanie czytania i pisanie powinno być prowadzone równoległe w trzech językach: słowiańskim, greckim i łacińskim.

Proces uczenia czytania po krótkim wprowadzeniu do zasad łacińskiej wymowy i pisowni, rozpoczął się od uczenia znaków alfabetu słowiańskiego (cyrylicy), sylab i wyrazów. W kolejnej części następuje nauczanie w języku greckim i łacińskim – według tego samego schematu, z tym że teraz opiera się ono na znajomości wcześniej poznanych słowiańskich liter i sylab. W elementarzu mamy stosunkowo bogate słownictwo, które przedstawione zostało w ułożonym tematycznie słowniku w trzech językach: ok. 1967 słówek, którym odpowiada jedno lub więcej słówek w języku obcym a także kilka synonimów, w jednym lub dwóch językach. Po opanowaniu trzech alfabetów i sylab, w części przed-, a w części po- słowniku, następują teksty modlitw: *Psalm 50*, *Symbol wiary*, *Zdrowaś Mario*, *Dekalog*, „Siedem sakramentów Nowego Testamentu” razem z innymi tekstami katechizmowymi (trzy cnoty teologiczne, cztery cnoty kardynalne, siedem darów Ducha Świętego, owoce Ducha Świętego, siedem uczynków miłosierdzia względem duszy i względem ciała, siedem grzechów głównych, grzechy przeciw Duchowi Świętemu, cztery grzechy wołające o pomstę do nieba, Osiem błogosławieństw, pięć zmysłów ciała, pięć przymiotów duszy, cztery rzeczy ostateczne tj. śmierć, sąd Boży, piekło, Królestwo Boże „wieczne”. Następnie umieszczone są nauki moralne: (a) obowiązki prawosławnego chrześcijanina, (b) o zmysłach ciała, (c) św. Grzegorza z Nazjanzu wersety pouczające numerowane alfabetycznie (po grecku, po słowiańsku i po łacinie), (d) „Stosłowiec” (Столословец) patriarchy Gennadija, (e) „Nauki św. Ojca Bazylego Wielkiego dla młodych”, (f) „Pouczenie św. Ojca naszego Grzegorza z Nazjanzu patriarchy o życiu na użytek młodych”, (g) „Św. Jana Chrystostoma – z jego dialogów – o bojaźni Bożej i jej pożytkach”. Całość elementarza kończy temat: godności życia po śmierci.

Pod względem wyznaniowym elementarz jest przykładem przenikania do kultury rosyjskiej religijno-pedagogicznych wpływów nie tylko greckich, ale i zachodnioruskich, ukraińskich, polsko-białoruskich i czeskich, a także ogólnoeuropejskich. Książka do nauczania początko-

wego czytania i pisania, podsumowuje elementy wiedzy epoki sprzed Piotra I, a jednocześnie formułuje jeden z wariantów przejścia do nowego, czy „innego starego” świata. Wybór tekstów przez Polikarpowa jest próbą łączenia kontynuacji tradycyjnego kształcenia prawosławnego, zbudowanego na znajomości języka słowiańskiego i greckiego, z elementami kultury łacińskiej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Elementarz, nauczanie początkowe, szkoła prawosławna, Fiodor Polikarpov

tłum. Adam Fijalkowski

### Аннотация

#### БУКВАРЬ ФЕДОРА ПОЛИКАРПОВА 1701 ГОДА КАК ПРОЕКТ НАЧАЛЬНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ ДЛЯ РОССИИ ПЕРЕХОДНОЙ ЭПОХИ

Рассмотрен один из первых московских букварей, отпечатанный в начале XVIII столетия и применявшийся в течении более чем полувека. Проведен детальный анализ структуры пособия, его общей концепции. Изучены словарная часть букваря и богословская концепция, позволившая предложить российским учащимся трехъязычную учебную книгу, дававшую знания в церковнославянском, греческом и латинском языках.

Букварь составлен Фёдором Поликарповым, учеником и преподавателем Славяно-греко-латинской академии, первого в России теологического учебного заведения повышенного типа, и напечатан в Москве тиражом 2400 экземпляров. Путем сличения различных экземпляров можно сказать, что инвариантное содержание около 320 страниц книги выглядит следующим образом.

В начале «Букваря» помещен пространный титульный лист со славословием Бога и Государа, куда вплетено заглавие: «Букварь славенскими, греческими, римскими писмены, учиться хотящим, и любомудрие в пользу душеспасительную обрести тщащимся». В предисловии излагаются причины издания учебной книги: только зная другие языки и читая на всех языках молитвы, можно создать «православныя веры столп», высоту которого увидели бы к своему спасению все концы земли. Далее идут методические указания о правильном произношении, ударении, знаках препинания, латинской орфоэпии и о том, как строить процесс обучения. По «Букварю» Ф. Поликарпова обучение чтению и письму велось на трёх языках: славянском, греческом и латинском. Процесс обучения чтению после краткого введения в латинское произношение и орфографию начинается с изучения славянского алфавита, слогов и слов. Далее следует наставление в греческом и латыни. Обучение греческому и латинскому языкам выстроено по той же схеме, только теперь оно опирается на изученный славянский алфавит и слоги. В «Букваре» представлена богатая лексика, приведённая в тематическом словаре параллельно на трёх языках: примерно 1967 словарных позиций, в каждой из которых может быть как по одному слову каждого языка, так и несколько синонимов одного языка или слова лишь на одном-двух языках. После освоения трёх алфавитов и слогов, частью до, частью после словаря следуют тексты молитв, псалом 50, Символ веры, Благословение Марии, Декалог, «Семь тайн нового Завета» вместе с другими перечнями катехетического рода: тремя богословскими добродетелями, четырьмя главными добродетелями, семью дарами Святого Духа, плодами Духа Святого, «семью делами милости телесныя», «семью

делами милости духовных», семью смертными грехами и «честными» добродетелями, перечнем грехов против Святого Духа, четырех грехов, «вопиющих на небо», девяти евангельских блаженств, пяти чувств телесных и пяти душевных, «четырех последних и достопамятных», т.е. смерти, суда Божия, геены, Царства Вечного.

Затем помещены различные нравственные поучения, посвященные: а) «обязанностям православного христианина», б) «обучению чувств телесных», в) «Святого Григория Богослова Назианзина стихи нравоучительные по алфавиту» (все подборки даны по-гречески, по-славянски, и на латыни). Дан «Стословец» патриарха Геннадия, «Почтения Святого отца нашего Василия Великого к юным», «Святого отца нашего Григория богослова патриарха извещение о жизни его юным в пользу», «Святого Иоанна Златоуста, како страх Божий имети и учиться полезно, из бесед его». Завершает весь «Букварь» тема достойного посмертного существования.

Конфессиональная составляющая вобрала в себя не только греческие, но и западно-русские, украинские, польско-белорусские, чешские и общеевропейские религиозно-педагогические влияния. Книга для первоначального обучения грамоте подводит итог допетровской эпохе и предлагает себя одним из вариантов перехода к новому как «иному старому». Выбор его создатель делал в пользу продолжения традиционного образования, основанного на славянском и греческом языках с привлечением перешедшей в православие латыни.

**Ключевые слова:** Букварь, начальное обучение, православная школа, Федор Поликарпов.

### **Exposition: Russian culture, education and religion on the watershed between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries**

In old/medieval Russia before the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century nearly every phase of life was influenced by Orthodox religion. The faithful believed the Cyrillic alphabet and books to be ways to salvation. Slavonic letter images, accessible to the literate and illiterate alike, were powerful bearers of important religious messages and mean(ing)s. Education through letter and book was a way mostly toward religious literacy. 'To read books' meant 'to read religious canon texts'. Science, philosophy, education were not 'truths' if they were would not inside the faith.

Peter the Great on the eve of the 18<sup>th</sup> century began with an effort to modernise the country's governmental and military spheres, and as the era progressed, the reforms expanded, instigating intellectual reorientation, new literacy and new educational goals. The invention of new, *civil* script for state communication set the precedence for the onslaught of a top-down modernisation of everyday life and mentality, as well as the closing of Old Slavonic only

to church liturgy, canon transmission and other spiritual needs. Peter abolished the traditional leadership of the church – the Patriarchate of Moscow, establishing a state council called the Holy Synod in 1721. He entrusted control of the church to this newly created administrative institution and tried to create a civil government separated from the Church domination (Marker 1985; Kotilaine & Poe 2004; Garrard 1973; Cracraft 2004).

In between these two phases we see the confessionalisation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, religious polemics in education. Russia was not in the 'big medieval' isolation until the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From the start of the Luther Reformation the communication with Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist European regions became much more intensive and forced the book printing involvement into such polemics. The first Orthodox ABC-books printed since 1561/74 were aimed to be useful tools firstly in the 'regions between' i.e. in the contact zones where one could meet schools of various denominations and where many parents would like to teach their children in the Orthodox literacy but had only Protestant or Catholic ABCs, catechisms, etc. So the first Orthodox printed school textbooks that introduced first formal religious education in Slavia Orthodoxa were mostly for the border Orthodox dwellers on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth territories (Lithuania, Belorussia, Ukraine) than for the inner Muscovites. Within circa 100 editions since 1574 till 1710 approximately one third was printed in Muscovia, the other two thirds in the Western Slavic states along the borderline of the Muscovite 'Great Russia' (Lvov, Ostrog, Vilnius, Evje, Mogilev, Kutejno/Kutein, Kiev, Novgorod-Severskij, Chernigov, Unev, Trnava, Alba Iulia). This specific group of basic traditional instructional texts with active Orthodox contents printed in Cyrillic script was widespread in the East Slavic territories during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was like a Shield-of-Faith-crescent between western religious cultures with long printing traditions and the Muscovy as the eastern large Orthodox state with newborn printing tradition. This state and its education was caught between two poles: a world of Greek Orthodoxy and the Latin West. Since 1634 the formal religious education started in Muscovy via printed primers and basic readers in the Cyrillic script. The first Muscovy primer was printed in 1634. Subsequently, primers were printed in 1637, 1664, 1657, 1669, 1679, and 1694. During the 1630s to the 1690s the Latin, Polish and other west European languages were under suspicion in Moscow and for some time even semi-abandoned. One could see various forms of polemics between different concepts of Orthodoxy in the long scale from strong rejection of any western influences to allowing of some communication with "contact zones"

on the western borders of Muscovy and assimilating some useful features, ideas and institutions (Frick 2013).

The 1701 edition offered the second step of evolution: the legitimised Latin with Greek and Slavonic words make the Shield of Orthodox Faith as their common umbrella and armour facing to other Christian denominations. Its design is defined by the interplay of traditional Orthodox culture and new ideas directly taken from the contact zone with other denominations and European educational practices. “All souls could be saved not with one language but via one faith”, its author and editor wrote in the preface of the book. This vision was one of the versions of possible future, an idea of quasi-ecumenical unity of three languages but under single Orthodox faith, a version how to survive tradition in religious education with widening the contacts between cultures. This version was one to construct future education with basic traditional manual used some new principles for previous type of textbooks aimed to teach youth to preserve Orthodox faith first of all. That version had been forced into a big tension with the Petrine reforms during the 18<sup>th</sup> century but nevertheless survived till October 1917.

The following paper will show you a short investigation of this particular case in the early Modern textbooks repertoire. Let us now examine the *Primer* of 1701 in more detail in order to define more precisely the type of education and rudiments it provided to the young readers. At the end we will try to make some preliminary comparisons and define the main features of such type of elementary textbooks demonstrating the 1701 edition as an example of that kind of manuals which kept faith as the first and main treasure to be taught.

### **Author, editor and printer**

The 18<sup>th</sup> century, a century of educational reforms in Russia, is inaugurated with the *Primer* printed in the Moscow Synodal Printing House by Fedor Polikarpov, formerly a student and then a teacher of the Slavic Greek Latin Academy, Russia’s first advanced theological school. On Peter I’s order, Polikarpov was taken away from the Academy in 1690 and nevertheless his continuing to study and then to teach at this institution placed with the Moscow Printing House where he worked as a scribe, reader, *spravshchik* (editor), and director in 1709–1722 and 1726–1731. He modernised the printing facilities, expanded the number of titles produced, and authored and translated some of them himself.

### The book: description

“The primer for those willing to learn Slavonic, Greek, and Latin letters and for the benefit of those striving to acquire salvific knowledge...” (*Bukvar’ slaven-skimi, grecheskimi, rimskimi pismeny uchitisya khotyashchim i lyubomudrie v pol’zu spasitel’nyyu obresti tshchashchimsya...*) was printed, as D.N. Ramazanova found, in 2,400 copies in two printing runs of 1,200 copies each (Ramazanova 2014). Each extant copy has its own specific features which reflect the binding process: the placing of the contents, presence/absence of the title, etc., but by comparing different copies, we can conclude that the book invariant is as follows: 1. “Preface for the pious reader to rejoice in God, to continue well, and to gain in knowledge” (*Predslovie blagochestivomu chitatelyu o Gospode radovatisya, zdravstvovati i umudryatisya*); 2. “Teaching proper reading and writing” (*Pravilnoe obuchenie chinnago chteniya i pisaniya*) – on pronunciation, stress, punctuation, and spelling; 3. “What the reader should know about Latin pronunciation and spelling” (*K sim chitatelyu predrechennym lepotstvuet znati otchasti i o prochem proiznoshenii, i pisanii latinskago dialekta*); 4. “The contents of items to be found in this book” (*Oglavlenie veshchey obretayushchikhsya v knizhitse sey*); 5. “Writing Slavonic initials” (*Izobrazhenie slavenskikh pismen nachalnykh*) – tables of initials with and without flourishes; 6. “Letters of ‘The Slavonic alphabet of different forms’” (*Bukvy ili pismena ‘Azbuky slavenskiya raznykh nachertaniy’*); 7. “On the division of Slavic letters, a short grammatical note” (*O razdelenii pismen slavenskikh v kratse po grammatitse*) – on vowels and consonants; 8. “Two-letter syllables beginning with consonants” (*Slozi dvopismennii, ot soglasnykh nachinaemii*); 9. “Three-letter syllables” (*Slozi tripismennii*); 10. “Stressed three-letter syllables” (*Slozi znamenatel’nii, tripismennii*); 11. “For the improvement of the youth’s literacy skills, word syllables, titled in alphabetical order” (*Vo ispravlenie yazyka otrochate slozi imen po azbutse, pod titlami*); 12. “The upper prosody, or voice stress as used by Slavs” (*Prosodiya verkhnyaya, ili udareniya glasa izhe upotrebyayut slavyane*); 13. “Punctuation” (*Strochnaya preprianiya*); 14. “Numbers” (*Chisla*); 15. “Greek letters with Slavonic renderings” (*Izobrazheniya ellinogrecheskikh pismen so iz’yavleniem slavenskikh pismen*); 16. “Uppercase and lowercase Latin letters with Slavonic renderings” (*Pismena latinskaya bolshaya i menshaya so iz’yavleniem slavenskikh pismen*); 17. “Prayer to the Holy Spirit and other prayers” (*Tsaryu nebesnyy i s protchimi molitvami*); 18. “Seven mysteries of the New Testament in images” (*Sedm’ tain novago zaveta v litsakh*); 19. “On the works of every Orthodox Christian” (*O delekh vsyakago pravoslavnago khristianina*) – in Russian, Greek, and Latin; the text is set out in three columns;

20. “A beneficial collection to educate bodily senses” (*Ino sobranie polezno, ko obucheniyu chuvstv telesnykh*) – also in three languages; 21. “St. Gregory Nazianzen the Theologian’s didactic verses, alphabetically arranged, newly translated from Greek for the education of those wishing for their benefit” (*Svyatago Grigoriya bogoslova Nazianzina stikhi nravouchitel’noi po alfavitu, s grecheskikh novopovedenii vo obuchenie zhelayushchim polzy*); 22. “A short collection of words arranged in chapters in three languages, for the benefit of those wishing to learn the Greek and Latin languages” (*Kratkoe sobranie imen, po glaviznam raspolozhenoe tremi dialektami, v polzu khotyashchim vedeti svoystvo ellinogrecheskago i latinskogo dialekta*) – a Russian-Greek-Latin dictionary of nouns arranged by subject; 23. “‘On faith’ by St. Gennadius, the Patriarch of Constantinople” (*Svyatago Genadia, patriarkha konstantinopolskogo o vere*); 24. “Sermon to the youth by our holy father St. Basil the Great” (*Pouchenie svyatago ottsa nashego Vasiliya Velikago k yunym*); 25. “Sermon on his life by our holy father Gregory the Theologian for the benefit of the young ones” (*Svyatago ottsa nashego Grigoriya Bogoslova patriarkha izveshchenie o zhizni ego yunym v polzu*); 26. “St. John Chrysostom’s conversations on the benefit of the fear of god and of learning” (*Svyatago Ioanna Zlatoustago, kako strakh bozhiy imeti, i uchitisya polezno iz besed ego*); 27. “Verses to remember one’s mortality” (*Stikhi vspominati smert’ privetstvom*).<sup>1</sup> Depending on the quality of bookbinders’ work, different copies of the *Primer* have these elements arranged in different sequences. Our article will describe **one of the two copies kept in the Scientific Pedagogical Library named after K.D. Ushinsky** of the Russian Academy of Education (SPLU). The copy originally was in a private collection, the Library received it in 1977. The SPLU *Primer* has been restored in the Russian State Library Document Research and Conservation Centre. This is a voluminous book containing 322 pages, measuring 20.5 × 16 cm, in a leather binding with metal clasps. We suppose that the slow reading approach will reveal some important features of the parts of the book and the whole primer itself.

### The run-up

Since books were published exclusively with the permission of the Czar and the Patriarch, the *Primer* has a wordy title page glorifying the Lord and the Monarch, with an interwoven title which reads: “To the Glory of God the

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.raruss.ru/slavonic/1609-abc-polykarpov.html> (latest retrieval on February 12, 2014).



Father and the Holy Spirit, by the Order of our Tsar and Great Prince Petr Alexeevich, the Monarch of all the Great, Small, and White Russia, and the most noble [heir apparent] Lord-Prince the Tsarevich Alexei Petrovich, with the permission and benediction of the eminent eparchs, this book has been published, the primer of Slavonic, Greek, and Roman letters for those wishing to learn and striving to find wisdom for the benefit of their souls, in the great capital city of Moscow, in the year 7209 since the creation of the world and the year 1701 since the birth of God-the Word, in the month of June” (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

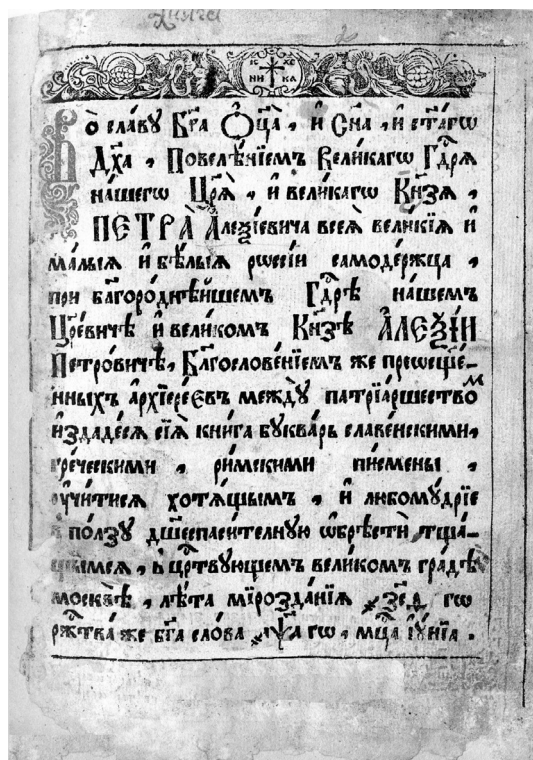


Fig. 1. The 1701 *Primer*'s title page<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Publication date on the title page is given in Cyrillic letters. Sometimes the book has been given different titles: “Abecedarium, i.e. Slavonic Greek Latin Primer...” (*alfavitar', rekshe bukvar' slavenogrekolatinski...*). This variant appeared from description of copies without the title page, when the book title was inferred from the text of the preface.

<sup>3</sup> All images used for illustrations to this article are taken from the open public website of the K.D. Ushinsky Academic Pedagogical Library (Научная педагогическая библиотека имени К. Д. Ушинского) in Moscow: [http://www.dates.gnpbu.ru/1-6/bukvar\\_polikarpova/bukvar\\_polikarpova.html](http://www.dates.gnpbu.ru/1-6/bukvar_polikarpova/bukvar_polikarpova.html) (accessed 27.03.2017 – public domain).

The reverse side of the title page bears an oval emblematic medallion filled in with flowers, and an inscription along its edge reading “as a flower of the field, so the man flourisheth.” These words refer to Psalm 103:15 (102:15 in the Russian Bible) where the fleeting human life is compared to short-lived flowers. Yet people, like bees, should make haste to collect the spiritual nectar of knowledge. For Polikarpov, the flowers of the field signified the spiritual aspect of human life. Above the medallion there is an hourglass and two boys holding flowers in their hands. Flowers grow upward toward the sky, and boys should reach for knowledge. Top and bottom of the page have verses in Greek and Slavonic, an acrostic referring to the name of the *Primer’s* compiler: “Bogodara trud,” i.e. the work of Bogodar, God’s gift, Theodor, Fedor in Russian (fig. 2).



Fig. 2. The reverse side of the 1701 *Primer’s* title page with the acrostic

<p><i>Bogomudriya raznozrachny tsveti</i>  <i>Various flowers of God's Wisdom</i></p>	<p><i>Obrazno zryatsya da uchatsya deti</i>  <i>Let the children see images and learn</i></p>
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<i>Grecheskikh dogmat sladost' obonyati</i> <i>To feel the sweet scent of the Greek dogmas</i>	<i>Ognem blagikh del slabost' otgonyati</i> <i>To drive away weakness with the fire of good works</i>
<i>Da khranit tvrdo uma vo ograde</i> <i>Let him keep secure in the fold of his mind</i>	<i>Ashche chto sberet v knizhnom vertograde</i> <i>What he has collected in the book garden</i>
<i>Rukovodit sey bukvar' treyazychnyy</i> <i>This three-language primer will guide</i>	<i>Agntsy mladye, gde glas v shkolakh zychnyy</i> <i>Young lambs in the schools where a loud voice</i>
<i>Troitsu v Boze znati nauchayushch'</i> <i>Teaches them the Trinity</i>	<i>Razum naukam volnym otverzayushch'</i> <i>Opens their minds to the liberal arts</i>
<i>Ubo se pchelki deti obletayte</i> <i>And like bees, the children should fly about</i>	<i>Dobrotnykh nauk tsvety sobirayte</i> <i>Collecting the nectar of good learning</i>

The book contains a preface addressed to the “pious reader.” It is a ten-page long exposition of the motives that drove the author to publish this study book. He believes that it is necessary to know the attributes and qualities of various languages, since in many parts of the world people speaking different tongues are burdened with “polytheism.” And only by learning other languages, can one create “a pillar of the Orthodox faith” whose height would be seen by everybody on earth to their ultimate salvation. And in order to erect this pillar of faith, as Polikarpov claims in the Preface, Czar Peter “used books in different languages like shields to protect the church,” for “the Lord is glorified through such books, the holy Greek faith is promulgated, the learning flourishes, and his royal name is worthy of eternal glory for erecting this sturdy pillar in the house of the Lord.” Polikarpov positions his study book as a shield of the church and faith.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Polikarpov acknowledged the possibility of proclaiming the Orthodox faith not only in Greek and in Slavonic, but also in Latin, and it means he sided with the new understanding of learning which began to appear in Russia. Of course, Polikarpov did not entirely share the views of Peter, the reformer Czar, a proponent of secular education, but Polikarpov also did not adhere to the traditional views with their rigid and unequivocal link between language and faith, as is the case, for instance, in the preface to another primer compiled in the late 1680s–1690s: “For without knowing Greek writing, whether one knows other tongues, such as Latin or Polish, learning them in the desire for perfect wisdom, without having learned Greek, they will fall into temptation” (The National Library of Russia, MS Q.I.1430, л. 5 об., cited after: Панич 2004: 160). It is well-known that even as late as the 1630s–1640s, the plans to teach foreign languages in Moscow did not meet with approval, and Greek was taught starting in 1680s. The Latin alphabet appears in Russian primers only in the 1690s (Karion Istomin’s 1694 primer). Polikarpov was the first to include in his primer sections on basic Latin, even though a manuscript of a Latin study book was in existence since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (see: Tomelleri 2002).

### The *Primer's* purposes and objectives

Polikarpov offers his primer as “the first guidance for children’s wax-like mind ... since this learning is highly appropriate for our faith.” Polikarpov also says that other people, having studied his book, will turn to the Greek Orthodox faith. Given the direction of Peter’s reforms and the fact that foreign books in Latin slowly seeped into Russia, Polikarpov includes the Latin alphabet into his primer as well: “... and if one sees the Roman, or Latin, letters printed here too, it will do no harm since they convey the Greek dogmas, and not the Roman ones”; and although the primer contains three languages, it educates only in “the teaching of the Greek Orthodox church.”

Here the bodily and spiritual sense of the man that is made of soul and flesh, those senses that guide him to virtue will be strengthened by the laws, but not of those laws that had come down from Solon and Lycurgus, but of the laws that had come down from the Lord the Creator of all to His friend Moses, the laws that had been given to him on two tablets and in ten commandments; and other laws that had come not from Cicero and Socrates, but from the Church fathers. Here you will find verses written not by Ovid or Virgil, but by Gregory the Theologian, a man of great intelligence ... the verses of wisdom that are the fruit of an all-world light, and Gregory’s one verse will transform the stone-like heart of a person being instructed in learning. Here you will see printed not the laughter-inducing fables of Aesop the Phrygian, but you will find the hundred-rung ladder leading to heaven, that is, the hundred sayings of Gennadius the holy Patriarch, guiding people to piety like Jacob’s ladder... (Polikarpov 1701: [fol. 8]).

Addressing adherents of the “western” faith, Polikarpov calls upon them to convert to the Greek faith as the original one, and to suckle from the “pap” of Greek wisdom as well as the “pap” of the Latin one, since the Greek wisdom is higher both in rank, and in antiquity, and in the degree of wisdom reflected in the Greek language which is particularly appropriate for “instructing the mind.”

The antiquity of the Greek language is clear to all, and nowhere else can wisdom be found. It is clear to all the faithful that the Greek language preserves the laws and dogmas of faith. And thus to those who have excelled in the liberal arts in different languages see clearly the similarity of the dogmas of faith and they receive the true faith which is being thus preached. (Polikarpov 1701: [fol. 7]).

Polikarpov’s primary motive in compiling the *Primer* was, as in the case of 17<sup>th</sup> century study books, the desire to lead children to Orthodoxy through learning to read and write in Slavonic and Greek, but already with a smattering of Latin. At the end of the preface the author begs forgiveness for the mistakes of

scribers or illuminators “for we all sin much ... and we humbly beg for forgiveness and bow down.”

### User assistance

The preface is followed by sections which would today be called methodological: “Teaching of proper reading and writing.” This section dwells on the necessity to learn proper pronunciation, explains what stress and punctuation marks are. The next section is titled “What the reader should also know about Latin pronunciation and spelling.” It gives the basics of Latin orthoepy and advice on how to structure the learning process.

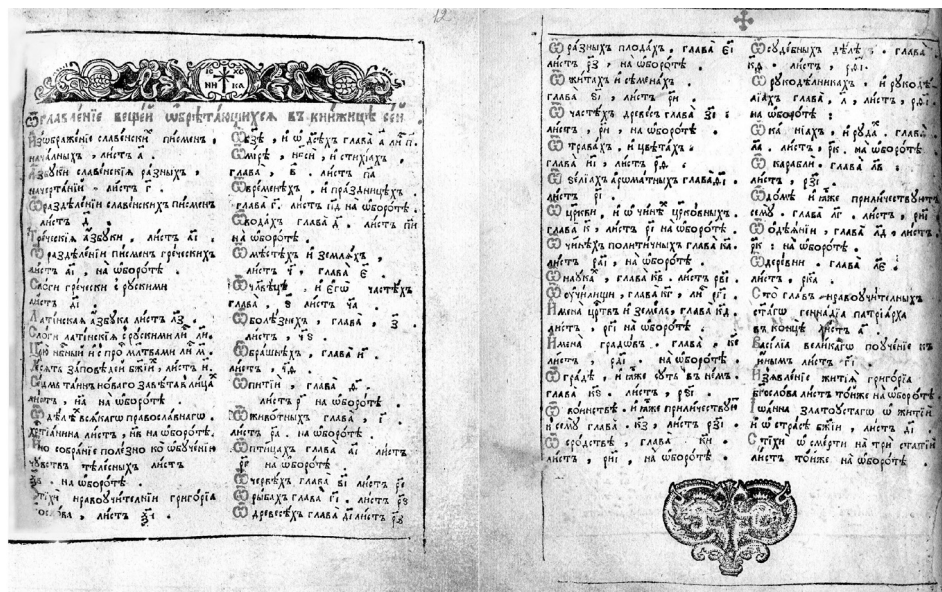


Fig. 3. “The list of items to be found in this book”

For the first time, the primer includes “the list of items to be found in this book”; previously, Cyrillic study books did not have a specifically set out table of contents (fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> It acquaints the readers in detail with the contents of the

<sup>5</sup> Manuscripts did contain tables of contents before. In 17<sup>th</sup> century abecedaria, their developed form can be seen in a manuscript No. 211 of the Theological Seminary Library at the Arkhangelsk Collection now kept at the Academy of Sciences Library (see: Bragone 2008). At

*Primer*, although it is not comprehensive; sometimes the real sequence of parts differs from the one indicated. The table of contents contains 54 sections given below for the reader to see the richness of the primer's contents and the compiler's logic.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Writing Slavonic initials</li> <li>– Slavonic <i>Az</i> (A) and <i>Buki</i> (B) written in various ways</li> <li>– On the division of Slavonic letters</li> <li>– Greek alphabet</li> <li>– On the division of Greek letters</li> <li>– Greek syllables and their Russian renderings</li> <li>– The Latin alphabet</li> <li>– Latin syllables and their Russian renderings</li> <li>– The Prayer to the Holy Spirit and other prayers</li> <li>– The ten commandments</li> <li>– Seven mysteries of the New Testaments in persons</li> <li>– On the works of every Orthodox Christian</li> <li>– Another collection to educate the bodily senses</li> <li>– Gregory the Theologian's didactic verses</li> <li>– On God and on the spirits</li> <li>– On the universe, heaven, and elements</li> <li>– On the times and feasts</li> <li>– On waters</li> <li>– On places and lands</li> <li>– On humans and their parts</li> <li>– On diseases</li> <li>– On food</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– On trees</li> <li>– On various fruits</li> <li>– On grains and seeds</li> <li>– On plant parts</li> <li>– On grass and flowers</li> <li>– On aromatic potions</li> <li>– On the church and the church ranks</li> <li>– On political ranks</li> <li>– On sciences</li> <li>– On school</li> <li>– The names of kingdoms and lands</li> <li>– The names of cities</li> <li>– On the city and its dwellers</li> <li>– On the army and on what is appropriate to it</li> <li>– On kinship</li> <li>– On litigation</li> <li>– On crafts and craftsmen</li> <li>– On stones and ores</li> <li>– On ships</li> <li>– On the house and on what's appropriate to it</li> <li>– On clothes</li> <li>– On villages</li> <li>– The hundred didactic sayings of St. Gennadius the Patriarch</li> <li>– Basil the Great's instruction to the young</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

the same time as the manuscripts, early 16<sup>th</sup> century printed publications also begin to “play” with tables of contents. Something like a table of contents can be found in Francisk Skoryna's *Malaya podorozhnaya knizhitsa*, although it is even further from the real contents that Polikarpov's table of contents. Laurentius Zizanius's 1627 printed *Catechism* also had a table of contents. Probably, study book compilers made use of both the Biblical legacy (Gospel manuscripts included chapter indices) and of the experience of translators and editors from the Printing Yard who compiled working tables of contents while preparing manuscripts. The contents were titled “chapters (of this book)” [«главы (яже суть книги сея)»], “list of chapters” [«сказание главам»], “list (of items)” [«изъявление (о вдержных)»], “list (of items to be found in this book)” [«оглавление (вещей обретающихся в книжице сей)»]. I am grateful to Yu.E. Shustova, L.V. Moshkova, and M.A. Korzo for pointing me to Francisk Skoryna's books, L. Zizanius's *Catechism*, the Gospel manuscripts, and the techniques used by editors, including F. Polikarpov.

- On drinks
  - On animals
  - On birds
  - On worms
  - On fish
- ones
  - The life of Gregory the Theologian
  - John Chrysostom on living and the fear of God
  - Verses on death (in three parts).

Chapter titles in the table of contents and in the book do not always coincide: the text contains more detailed titles. For instance, in the table of contents we have “Gregory the Theologian’s didactic verses” and the corresponding section is titled “St. Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus’s didactic verses, alphabetically arranged, newly translated from Greek for the education of those wishing for their benefit.”

As the title and the table of contents show, F. Polikarpov’s *Primer* presupposed teaching reading and writing in three languages: Slavonic, Greek, and Latin. After a short introduction to the Latin pronunciation and orthography, teaching to read begins with studying the Slavonic alphabet (45 letters, fig. 4) in the “Slavonic initials” in figures section which contains, in the alphabetical order, the initials which continue the tradition of Leonty Bunin’s Lombardic Capitals done for Karion Istomin’s 1694 primer. The initials are followed by the alphabet in small and large letters in various fonts.

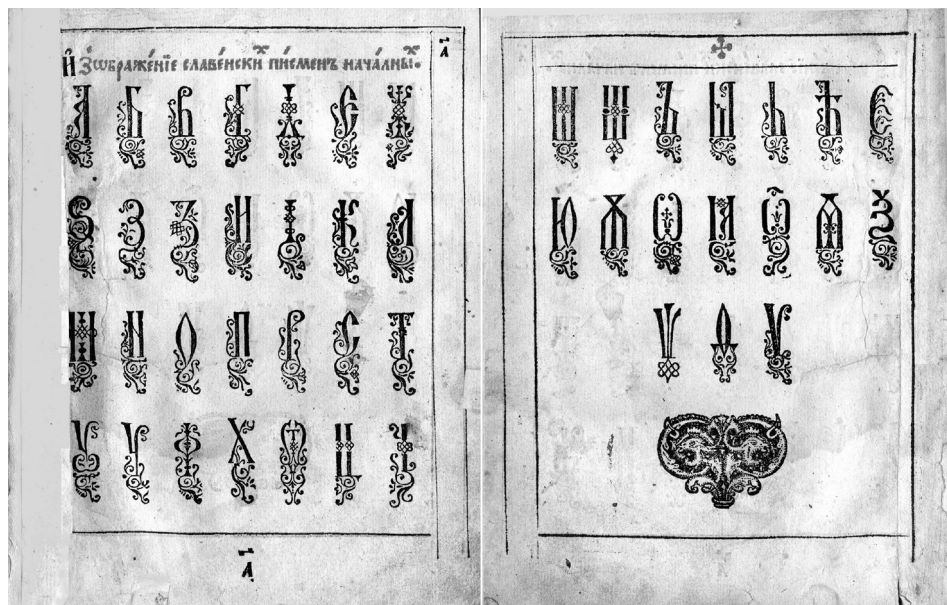


Fig. 4. Initials in the alphabetical order

### Reading letters, syllables, and words

Next comes the chapter titled “On the division of Slavic letters, a short grammatical note.” It contains definitions of vowels and consonants: “Those are called vowels which are voiced by themselves without an attendant consonant, such as a, o, and so on.” Vowels are divided into “independent” «самогласные», “co-dependent” «припряжногласные» (there are two of them, er and er’ Ъ and Ь), “two-vowels” «двогласные» and “three-vowels” «трегласные», i.e. diphthongs and triphthongs. Consonants are divided into “half-voiced” «полгласные», which “produce a small voice” and “voiceless” which “have no voice in pronunciation.” The syllable is defined. Polikarpov adopts the *alphabet letters’ names-syllable technique* (буквослагательный метод, Buchstabiermethode), following the earlier primers (Ivan Fedorov and the entire 16<sup>th</sup> century), although Karion Istomin’s primer published in the 1690s did not adopt this method. Still, this alphabetical method of teaching reading and writing (when students learn first the names of the letters, then syllables of two, three, and even four letters) was used in Russia throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Polikarpov’s *Primer* contains tables of two- and three-letter syllables with different combinations of

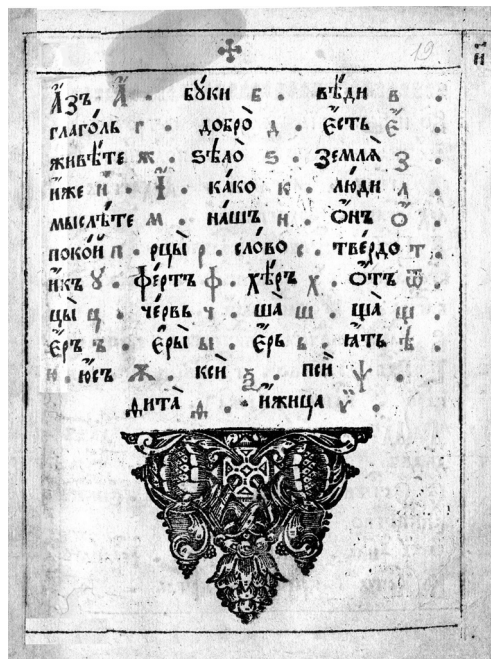


Fig. 5. Slavonic alphabet with names of 36 letters



vowels and consonants: “Two-letter syllables beginning with consonants” and “Three-letter syllables.” At the end of the list of syllables comes the Slavonic alphabet in its 36-letter version with letter names (fig. 5). The difference in the number of letters is due to the fact that in the first instance, up until the chapter titled “On the division of letters,” some letters (initials) are given in different fonts, and now each given in a single variant (besides two “*izhe*”).

Then come title words: “For the improvement of the youths’ literacy skills, word syllables, titled, in the alphabetical order,” a small alphabetically arranged dictionary of the most frequently used title words. The following pages contain small grammatical sections on stress (“The upper prosody, or voice stress as used by Slavs”) and on punctuation. A separate page is dedicated to numbers rendered with Slavonic letters (fig. 6) used both by clerics and the lay people.



Fig. 6. Numbers rendered with Slavonic letters

### The holy polylogue

Before transitioning to Greek, the primer includes an etching which depicts two teachers and six students: four are preparing, one, on his knees, is reciting

his lessons, the other, also on his knees, bows down to his teacher; each student has his own book he's using to learn his lesson (fig. 7, on the left). Typically for Polikarpov, the picture is accompanied by a didactic verse:

Each man is to praise God, / his duty is to learn his letters. / For through learning, he learns what is good, / and will enter the Lord's Kingdom together with His saints. / Therefore, young ones, labour on, / don't waste hours and time on merrymaking. (Polikarpov 1701: [fol. 21v]).

Transition to Latin is marked with a similar etching with two teachers and six students (fig. 7 on the right).



Fig. 7. The learning process

The students like learning Latin less than Greek, and out of four waiting for their turn to answer, only three are working (two are reading, one is writing), and the fourth one is misbehaving and teasing his neighbour, not only due to the scarcity of books compared to the Greek class.<sup>6</sup> His classmates are not doing too well in their answers either, one of them is being flogged for lack of diligence. The scene is also accompanied by a verse:

<sup>6</sup> Max Okenfuss noted the differences in clothes and rooms which also indicate Latin's secondary status (Okenfuss 1980: 36–37).

Every man should learn writing, / and dedicate himself to serving God since childhood. / For he who learns his syllables eagerly, / he speaks languages well. / He will please people with his wisdom, / everyone will be glad to meet him. / The idlers are beaten for their idleness, / and let them watch out so they don't sin. (Polikarpov, 1701: [fol. 47v]).

There are no scenes of learning one's native tongue (sections on learning Slavonic are introduced with marvellous initials), but we can witness the learning of the other two languages and observe the diligence and awe in studying Greek, and the temptation of idleness and dereliction in learning Latin. The rods are on display in the Greek classroom and they are put to use in the Latin class.

Teaching Greek and Latin, which follows teaching "Slavonic," is arranged in the same vein as teaching Slavonic, except it relies on the knowledge of the Slavonic alphabet and syllables. The section titled "Greek letters with Slavonic renderings" (fig. 8) gives various ways of writing 24 letters with their names in Greek and Russian, a classification of vowels and consonants, their lengths (prosodies), and also numbers rendered by letters in the two languages. The words "after this brief classification we shall proceed to syllables" are followed by 45 pages (!) containing the table of Greek syllables and their equivalents in Slavonic letters. There are two-, three-, four- and even five-letter syllables. The section titled "Uppercase and lowercase Latin letters with Slavonic renderings"

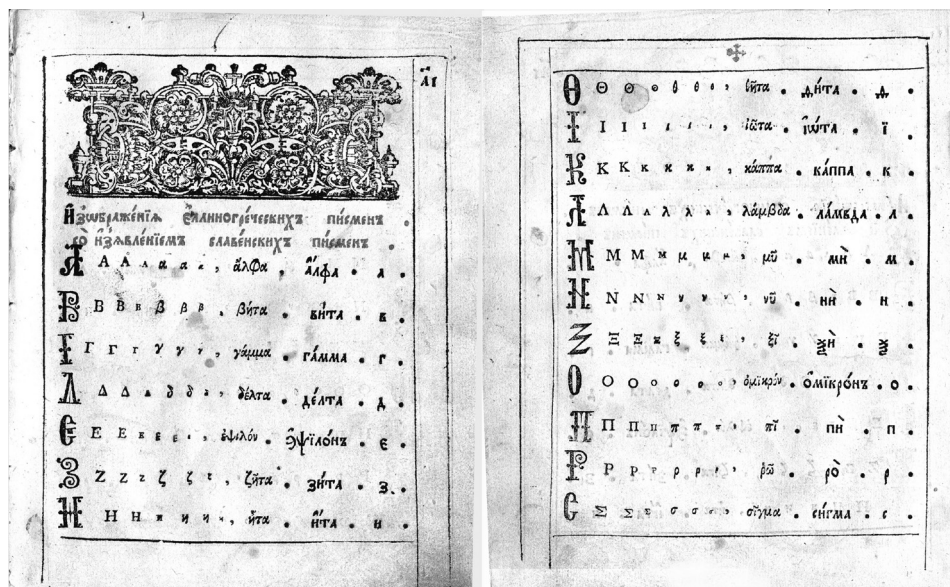


Fig. 8. Greek letters with their names in Greek and Russian

contains 23 letters with their names (fig. 9), division into vowels, consonants, and diphthongs. Then comes a short table of two- and three-letter syllables, accompanied by short explanations of pronunciation. The syllables are considered depending on the place of the vowel, and the full forms of some syllables' abbreviations are given. The number of pages devoted to Latin (3.5) is far smaller than the number of folios on Slavonic (11.5) and Greek (25.5). The Latin alphabet contains nearly two times fewer variants of letters (4) than the Greek one (7) (Okenfuss 1980: 37). Greek has the highest authority, followed by the New Church Slavonic, and Latin comes at the very end as the lowest of the three languages considered and permissible with a lot of qualifications. Aside from indoctrinating the students, the primer also taught the language and culture hierarchy.

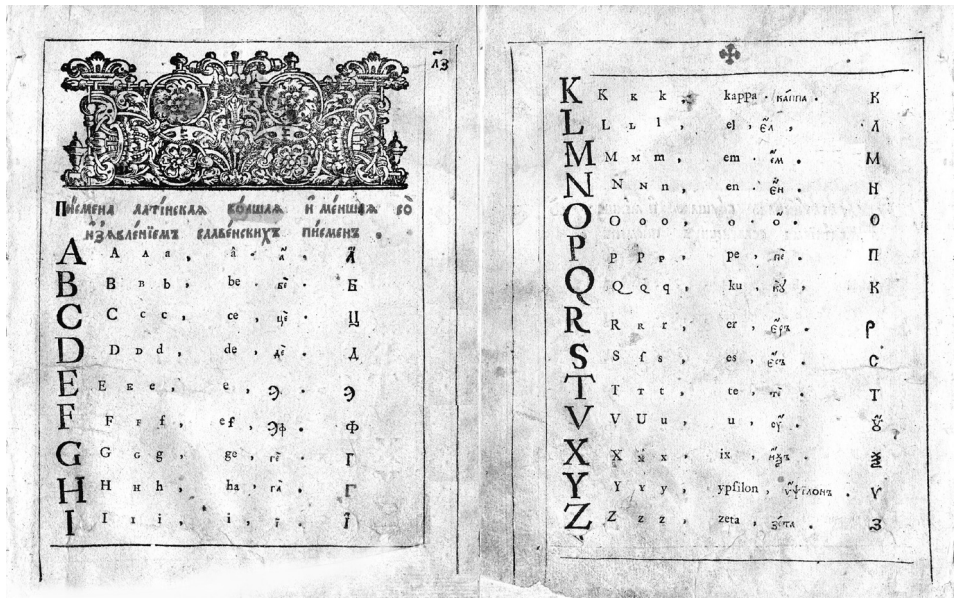


Fig. 9. Latin letters with their names in Russian

The *Primer* contains a rich vocabulary given below in a special section in three languages: “A short collection of words arranged in chapters in three languages, for the benefit of those wishing to learn the Greek and Latin languages.” 46 sheets and 35 chapters include about 1,967 entries each containing either one word in each language, or several synonyms in the same language or words in just one or two languages. The words are arranged by subject, but without connections to the textual part of the primer: on God and on the spirits;

on the universe, heaven, and elements; on counting the time and on feasts; on waters, places, and lands; on human being and its parts and diseases; on various beverages; on animals, birds, worms, fish; on trees, vegetables, grains, seeds, plant parts, grass, flowers, aromatic potions; on the church, its things, on church and lay ranks; on sciences, school, and books; on the names of kingdoms, lands, cities, and their structure; on the army, kinship, litigation; on craftsmen, artists, stones and ores; on ships; on the house and clothes; on villages and fields. This educational dictionary included in the primer comprises mostly everyday words and some professional terms.<sup>7</sup> Being an ardent promoter of Orthodoxy, Polikarpov certainly did think about training translators of Greek and Latin texts. Work on the *Primer's* dictionary prompted Polikarpov to publish in 1704 a separate book titled "Three-language dictionary, that is a treasury of words Slavonic, Greek, and Latin." That was the first multilingual dictionary published in Moscow (Рамазанова 2009).

### Sacred texts

The sections designed to help students master the three alphabets and syllables are followed by prayers: Slavonic texts are printed in lines, and under each Slavonic text there is a two-column table with the Greek text of the same prayer and the Greek pronunciation written in Slavonic letters, the Latin text of the same prayer and its phonetic rendering in Slavonic letters. The principal prayers (*Gloria, Rex coeli, Sancte Deus, Gloria patri et filio, Sanctissima trinitas, Sancte*

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<sup>7</sup> Thematic dictionary in Polikarpov's *Primer* is in some ways analogous to Eliash (Elias, Ilya) Kopievich's (1651–1714) three-language dictionary (*Nomenklator*) first published in Amsterdam in 1700 in two variants (Latin-Russian-German and Latin-Russian-Dutch) to be distributed in Russia, although, unlike Ilya, Polikarpov makes his Russian-language column the principal one, then follows the Greek column, then the Latin one. Scholars have already noted that Polikarpov's first 19 subjects are identical to Kopievich's (plus out of Kopievich's 29 remaining subjects, 15 more are present in Polikarpov's *Primer*, which has only one section absent from Kopievich's book, "On Sciences"). Both authors have a common predecessor, 1591 Latin-Russian-Polish *Nomenklator* (in print up until 1684), and both Kopievich and Polikarpov rely on its didactic legacy (either simultaneously or consecutively; the 50 subjects covered in the study book of 1603 include all the subjects Kopievich's and Polikarpov's books have in common; however, Polikarpov's separate section "De scientija" is absent from the 1603 publication). (See: Biberus, Mylius, Artomius 1603; Марков & Еселевич 1957; Березина 1980; Власов & Московкин 2009а, 2009б; Кузнецова 2009а, 2009б, 2013; Рамазанова 2013).

*visita, Domine miserere, Pater noster, Venite adoremus*) are followed by Psalm 50 (Psalm 51 in the English language Bible), Credo, and Ave Maria set out in the same way: first the Slavonic text in a line, then, a two-table column with the Greek and then Latin text on the left and the pronunciation in Slavonic letters on the right. Then in three languages either in three columns, or in three consecutive lines follow “The Lord’s Ten Commandments given to Moses on two tablets,” “Seven mysteries of the New Testament” together with other doctrinal catechismal lists: three theological virtues, four principal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the fruit of the Holy Spirit, “seven works of the bodily benefaction,” i.e. mercy toward one’s neighbour’s flesh, “seven works of the spiritual benefaction,” i.e. mercy toward one’s neighbour’s soul, seven deadly sins and “honest” virtues, a list of sins against the Holy Spirit, four sins “crying to heaven,” nine Evangelical glories, five bodily senses and five senses of the soul, “four final remembrances,” i.e. death, God’s judgment, Gehenna, and the Eternal Kingdom.

### **The *Primer*’s exhortations**

The prayers are followed by various moral exhortations dedicated to a) “works of an Orthodox Christian” (love, honour, fear, obedience, “heeding the teaching presbyters,” “obedience to prohibitions,” “honour and payment to workers,” “obedience to kings and authorities,” honouring one’s parents, “caring for the elderly,” “teaching children,” remembering friends, caring for one’s “kin,” loyalty, “mercy to enemies” and love for them, honouring one’s lords and masters, “obedience [once again], fear, loyalty” to one’s superiors, love and honest payments to one’s servants, and punishment to misbehaving servants, “payment to hired hands,” honour to the elderly, mercy to beggars, prayers for all), b) “A beneficial collection to educate bodily senses” (not to sleep to excess, to keep quiet, not to lie, not to gawp, not to drink to excess, to work, “to avoid the evil ways,” “not to yield to passions,” to know one’s limitations, to remember one’s mortality while burying the dead, to remember the image of “the Last Judgment” where the Lord gives their dues to the good and the evil); c) “St. Gregory the Theologian of Nazianzus’s didactic verses newly translated from Greek for the education of those wishing for their benefit” “Verses by the same St. Gregory on the world and on proper living” («Ини стихи тогожде Святаго Григория о мире и житии»), “Two-line verses by the same

saint” («Ины стихи тогожде святаго двоестишнии»), “Other verses by the same St. Gregory on happiness and reason” («Ины стихи тогожде Святаго Григория о счастье и разуме») (all the collections are given in Greek, Slavonic, and Latin). Then follows the above-mentioned dictionary arranged by subject.

### Church Fathers' teachings

The final part of the book that comes after the dictionary is dedicated to the didactic teachings of church fathers. First comes “The Hundred Sayings” traditionally attributed to Patriarch Gennadius: “‘On Faith’ by St. Gennadius, the Patriarch of Constantinople: being of Orthodox faith is the foundation of good works; also how by their faith words beget,”<sup>8</sup> then come “Sermon to the youth by our holy father St. Basil the Great,” “Sermon on his life by our holy father Gregory the Theologian for the benefit of the young ones,” “St. John Chrysostom’s conversations on the benefit of the fear of God and of learning.”<sup>9</sup> Each selection in this part of the primer contains popular sayings that formed parts of various collections of wise pronouncements attributed to some authoritative Orthodox church father. Thus, Basil the Great’s teachings state:

First of all, the young people should maintain the purity of the soul and refrain from bodily passions. They should tread gently, look about modestly, speak decorously. They should eat and drink moderately. They should keep their silence when in the presence of their elders. They should heed the wise ones and obey powers that be. They should love sincerely their peers and those of lower standing. They should avoid carnal evils. ... They shouldn’t disobey their teachers, but learn piety and proper living at all times. ... And the Lord’s man will be perfect, as St. Apostle Paul taught us, and ready for the Lord’s every work, and first and foremost, he will receive the evangelical bliss and eternal joy in heaven with Christ the Lord for ever and ever, amen. (Polikarpov, 1701: [fol. 150]).

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<sup>8</sup> “The Hundred Sayings of Gennadius” that Polikarpov included in his primer is a popular South Slavic collection of a hundred sayings attributed to Patriarch Gennadius of Constantinople (ca. 400–471). Starting with the 1076 *Izbornik*, this collection is a staple of various manuscripts. F. Polikarpov was also familiar with printed texts published as parts of *The Short Collection of the Articles of Faith* [«Собрания краткого науки о артикулах верь»] (Moscow, 1649), л. 65–77 and in *Anthologion* [«Анфологион»] (Moscow, 1660, л. 368 об.–394). See: (Сперанский 1904: 505–515; Копресева 1980).

<sup>9</sup> On the transmission of the works by John Chrysostom in Russia (see: Бруни 2004, 2010; Гранстрем, Творогов, Валевицюс 1998).

Gregory the Theologian dwells on how his spirit fought his flesh, already in his youth refused the burden of wealth, he dwells on how he bound his limbs, turned laughter into tears, and in tears made harsh ground his bed. John Chrysostom discourses on teaching the fear of God as the foundation of all education of the true Christian: “Who will learn letters in other way but through fear?” You should never be idle, Chrysostom says, for idleness is the result of the devil’s victory in his eternal struggle against men. The text attributes the following statement to St. John: “What kind of fear is that? Let us think that God is everywhere, He hears everything, He sees everything, not only what we do and say, but He also sees into our hearts and our deepest thoughts.” God judges the thoughts and the movements of the heart, so the reader-student should do, say, or even think nothing “crafty.” Then he achieves the true education of the soul, the purity and vigilance of the body, and then he is ready, with his earthly Christian education, to come before the Lord in heaven.

## Epilogue

The *Primer* is concluded with an appropriate and optimistic result for students who learn their faith. The *Primer* concludes with the subject of the proper afterlife: “Verses on Remembering Death.” The epilogue consists of three different verses separated by a line and number on the book’s margins. The first verse is borrowed from Karion Istomin’s 1696 *Primer* where it is printed under the letter K with a title “Epitaph to Czarina Natalya Kirillovna.” Philosophical ruminations on death were popular in song collections of the time (Истомин 1994; Пономарев 2012; Сазонова 2006; Копылова & Панченко 1986). The second verse (“There is no other miracle such as man, for he has a noble elected soul” «Нестъ ина чюда – человека зданна, благородна бо душа в нем избранна») was, mostly likely, also written by Karion (Сукина 2005). The author of the third verse (“Whoever in the world has joy has, I know for certain, turned his eye to the Lord” «Кто ли в мире сем радость прямо емлет, знаю, что оком к Богу той не дремлет») is so far unknown. Here, joy is combined with attention to all things heavenly, and it says:

Striving for the heights, he disregards the lows. / His every thought is directed to the Creator of creatures. / It is by this hope that he is held up in tribulations. / In death, he will be parted from body and wealth. / And when we look at the earth’s orb, / what tribulations don’t we see. / We should be saying it to people, / so that they don’t harm themselves through temptation. / Death ever walks under our windows, / whenever senses lead us into sinning. / Life



inevitably ends in death, / but those who led a pious life find salvation in death. / That began with Adam, / when he was chased away from the temple of paradise. / Ah, being stripped and ashamed of his God-given clothes, / he covered himself with leaves. / All dwellers here are prey to passion, / they can hardly escape the peril of sin. / Kings prostrate themselves below the fig tree, / many a king has been led astray by temptation. / I won't have time to enumerate them all, / those grandees who had been cut down by death. / I truly don't know what to do, / how to arrive sinless in paradise. / Yet in everything I strive to dwell there, / that together with you I will forever dwell in bliss. / I beg you to enter pure and safe, / the beauties of heaven destined for the saints. (Polikarpov 1701: [fol. 153–153v]).

The 1701 *Primer* concludes with this note which sounded quite positive for a medieval man.

Some copies have an extra page where the author mentions typographical “faults” and corrections. The copies held at the National Public Library do not have such a page (Брайловский 1894, 1889, 1902). Corrections were made twice directly in the text, through the use of white pigment.

Polikarpov's *Primer* was in use for several decades. D.N. Ramazanova discovered about 70 extant copies in museums and libraries (Рамазанова 2013). Notes made in those books show that those primers were in use up until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, there is an inscription on one of the primers: “On the seventeenth day of August 1710 (1703) this book was given to the House of Cyril of the White Novoozersk monastery by hierodeacon Savvaty Siysky in the memory of my mother Vassa, written down by my own hand.” This primer was considered to be “state property,” it was used in the White Lake district in the Vologda region as late as 1776, which is most likely attested by another note in the same book.<sup>10</sup> Polikarpov's study book was taken into account by the compiler of “The French and Russian Grammar Book” (1730) and by authors of several other books (Карева 2013; Карева & Сергеев 2013).

## The Primer's visuals

The *Primer* is richly illustrated. In the copy from K.D. Ushinsky Academic Pedagogical Library, which we have analysed in detail, we see four illustrations on separate pages (the title page is preceded by the picture of the Mother of

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<sup>10</sup> Тсереповец local museum [Череповецкий краеведческий музей]. Cat. No. 9-1925; 921/49: Поликарпов 1701. The book is bound in embossed leather-upholstered wooden plates, the clasps had been lost (Колесников 1983, № 82). Some copies also have inscriptions by their owners (Lobachevsky University Library, Kazan. cat. No. 143749, etc.); see: Гадалова (2000).

God enthroned, with Child, surrounded with Moscow miracle-workers St. John, St. Alexis, St. Philip, and St. Peter; the first part of the prayers is preceded by the picture “the King of Heavens”: Christ among the Jewish teachers (on all four sides of the picture there are explanations and verses exhorting to study<sup>11</sup>); the picture of St. Gregory the Theologian; St. John of Damascus), and also four etchings in the text, 17 beautifully ornamented vignettes in the beginning and in the end of book chapters and sections.

By mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, woodcuts (xylography) and steel engravings (etchings) had become widespread. In 1665, “Seven Deadly Sins,” Russia’s first sheet engraving by Simon Ushakov (1626–1686), was published. Human vices (pride, greed, envy, wrath, lust, gluttony, sloth or despair) were depicted in different pictures. Maybe this is why, by contrast, F. Polikarpov in his *Primer* includes “seven mysteries” in oval medallions on two pages: baptism, anointment, Eucharist (communion), penitence, priesthood, marriage, extreme unction. Each mystery is depicted in a separate medallion with its name in three languages. The medallions were printed from old woodcuts found in the printing yard. It is confirmed by A.S. Zernova in her album which reproduces four medallions depicting the church mysteries, three of them being identical to the pictures in the *Primer* under consideration (Зернова 1952: 57). The fourth picture is dedicated on the same subject, but the figures are arranged in a slightly different way, which does not exclude the existence of two different woodcuts with similar subjects. A.S. Zernova indicates that the woodcuts had been prepared for the 1658 *Missal* by Zacharia Lukin, engraver of the Moscow Printing Yard. S.N. Brailovsky points out the *Missal* had illustrations not present in The National Public Library (NPL) copy: the preface is preceded by a picture of the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, then there is a picture of “Moses Receiving the Commandments on Mount Zion,” of St. Gennadius the Patriarch, St. Basil the Great. Two of the absent illustrations are present in another copy also kept at the NPL.

## Discussion

Compiler and publisher of the study book views it as a comprehensive integral whole embracing teaching how to read, the knowledge of the principal

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<sup>11</sup> “1. The Lord Jesus among the law teachers. 2. Teaches all people the right faith, so that they would achieve the heavenly glory. 3. For those students will achieve salvation, who care for good works. 4. Both old and young need learning, for wisdom is amusement for everyone.”

prayers, doctrinal education, and moral exhortations by the authoritative Orthodox fathers, and the knowledge of words pertaining to various realms of life, and also learning the rules of behaviour in these realms. The etatist, faith-teaching, propagandistic, moral components are the leading ones. The practical point consisted in comprehending the faith and in the confessional Orthodox upbringing through mastering the texts included in the *Primer* as the basics for the students to rely on in their lives. It is an entirely different matter that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the confessional component implicitly absorbed Western Russian, Ukrainian, and also possibly Polish, Belorussian, Czech, and pan-European religious and pedagogical influences, particularly in the selection of doctrinal texts which followed the prayers (Рамазанова 2013). Playing the part of a certain “cosmos of the Russian paideia,” being published shortly before the introduction of the civil type in Russia, Polikarpov’s *Primer* draws a line under the pre-Petrine era and offers itself up as a variant of a transition toward some “new education” as “another old one”. According to V.M. Zhivov, “Peter actively used [Fedor Polikarpov] in his cultural initiatives, despite the fact that for Polikarpov, the new secular culture Peter was creating appeared as something alien and hostile. Still, carrying out the Czar’s orders, Polikarpov (and his many associates) negotiated for himself the possibility of working within the framework of the traditional culture, although that culture fell by the wayside of the sociocultural process” (ЖИВОВ 1996: 84). He made use of those Orthodox Kievan and western translated publications he deemed tolerable, of the praxis of seminaries where students wrote and spoke both Greek and Latin since Polikarpov believed that the Orthodox faith should be conveyed not only in Slavonic and Greek, but also in Latin. Polikarpov made no concessions and refused the Czar’s demand to print prayers in the civil type, but he included in his primer the basics of Latin and secular dictionary subjects (ЖИВОВ 1996: 75; Мечковская 2002; Рамазанова 2013).

The 1701 *Primer* was intended for those who wanted to strengthen their Christian faith through studying the letters of the Slavonic, Greek, and Latin languages, for those who developed within themselves the need to read religious books, to master their faith and piety through the written culture (Appel & Fink-Jensen 2011). All the reading materials in the 1701 primer instruct students in Christian humility, in fearing the Czar and the authorities. The choice is in favour of traditional education based on the Slavonic and Greek languages, yet with some Latin which was being tamed by Orthodoxy. Yet lesser ritualisation compared to the primers from the previous century, three languages allowed to be taught, struggle for faith through literacy proved to be non-traditional factors in the

dialogue between the late medieval and modern types of education, the dialogue that was going on in Russia up until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Polikarpov's *Primer*, like Janus, took its place on the threshold of the two eras of education in Russia.

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