



Learning grammar in eighteenth-century Russia

Ekaterina Kislova, Tatiana Kostina, Vladislav Rjeoutski

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*Edited by
Simon Coffey*

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7. Learning grammar in eighteenth-century Russia

*Ekaterina Kislova, Tatiana Kostina and Vladislav Rjéoutski**

Abstract

In eighteenth-century Russia, Latin was the main language of tuition in Church seminaries and the grammatical approach played a very important role. In schools for nobility, the word 'grammar' was hardly used for living languages. Early grammar teaching was combined with translation, dialogue memorization, reading, etc. The shift in focus towards more grammar in French and German classes had likely begun by the middle of the century, and was related to the general proliferation of the grammatical approach. A greater emphasis was placed on analysing grammatical form. These changes mark a shift away from the syncretic language learning approach of the Age of Enlightenment towards a new age characterised by the increasing separation of the aspects of language learning and the erosion of the links between them.

Keywords: grammar; foreign languages; Russia; nobility; clergy; Noble Cadet Corps; Academy of Sciences

In eighteenth-century Russia, the Land Noble Cadet Corps (founded 1731), the learning institutions of the Academy of Sciences (founded 1725) and seminaries represent three types of foreign language education. German and French were the main languages taught in the Cadet Corps (with the addition of Italian in the second half of the century, but only in a secondary capacity), but Latin received little attention in general. Unlike other European countries, Latin as a means for nobles to access knowledge was unnecessary in Russia, with modern European languages taking preference.¹ Students of

* This research has been supported by the foundations RFBR (Russia) and FMSH (France), project n°20-513-22001.

¹ See Rjéoutski, 'Latin in the education of nobility in Russia'.

the Academy's Gymnasium (who came from a wide range of social groups, including children of the nobility, merchants, artisans, non-commissioned officers, soldiers from guard regiments and more) studied German and Latin, though French was also a major focus. Language learning in the noble and non-gentry gymnasia of Moscow University was very similar to that in the Academy's Gymnasium. Seminary education (for children of the clergy) was centred around the idea of teaching Latin, which over time became not only a language to be studied, but also the language of instruction. German and French were also introduced there, but occupied a relatively minor role.²

The attitude towards Latin differentiated the nobility from the clergy, as well the nobility from the scholars, and the trend of teaching two modern living languages (German and French) spread from the learning institutions of the nobility and the Academy of Sciences to church schools. This reflected the acceptance of the roles of these languages in the cultural outlook of all privileged social groups.

The first part of this chapter gives a short overview of how 'grammar' was understood in Russia prior to the eighteenth century. The second part is devoted to an analysis of the role of grammar among other aspects of language teaching in the eighteenth century, as well as the teaching methods used in the main educational institutions in Russia. The third and final part looks at the grammar books used to teach foreign and classical languages in Russia. The scope of this article is limited to Latin, French and German, as these were the main languages in the cultural and educational fields in eighteenth-century Russia.

'Grammar' in Russia before the eighteenth century

The development of the grammatical approach to literary languages and the very status of grammars in Russia at the turn of the seventeenth century require specific comments. From the fifteenth century onwards, anonymous articles on the orthographic and orthoepic norms of the Church Slavonic language and the associated classification of words by parts of speech were regularly found in manuscript collections of Muscovy. By the turn of the fifteenth century, the term 'grammar' was primarily understood in Muscovy as the art of writing, i.e. orthography (spelling).³ Grammar properly speaking was described by treatises called 'osmochastiye' (in eight-parts),

2 For more on French and German in seminaries, see: Kislova, 'Le français et l'allemand'.

3 Kuz'minova, 'Razvitie grammaticheskoi mysli Rossii XVI-XVIII vv.', 14-20, 43-44.

devoted to the eight parts of speech. They described the general system of language without focusing on specific grammatical features.⁴ The modern understanding of the term 'grammar' (description of the language system) spread in south-western Russian writings starting from late fifteenth – early sixteenth centuries. Usually they described the Church Slavonic language system according to the Latin or Greek model. This approach was linked to the tradition of the philosophical understanding of grammar rather than a linguistic one. It traced its origin to Aristotle's position in Ramon Llull's interpretation. The grammatical system of any language was regarded as a reflection of a universal and unified reality; therefore the Greek or Latin system of parts of speech could be used to describe any language in the world. Such an approach must have caused problems in teaching the grammar of Church Slavonic. For example, the etymology section of Smotritski's Church Slavonic grammar presented six moods and six tenses of the verb according to the Greek model of Lascaris's Greek grammar, invented parts of speech inexistent in Church Slavonic (e.g. analogues for the article, the gerund, etc.)⁵ ... Thus, in the Russian Church Slavonic linguistic tradition, until the mid-eighteenth century, 'grammar' referred to a graphic and spelling reference book proper for learning to write and read correctly, but unsuitable for mastering the morphological system of the Church Slavonic language.

Such a focus on the graphic part was due to the widespread model of education: children of all social classes mastered grammar using the 'traditional method', i.e. reading and memorizing the ABC book, the Book of Hours, and the Psalms. It was not necessary to understand these texts in order to participate in religious service and therefore, to understand the nuances of the meanings of grammatical forms was redundant. An ordinary Orthodox person was not supposed to create his or her own texts in the language, writing was a separate skill, associated with the Russian language and cursive writing. Thanks to this model of education common in Muscovy the ability to read church script and the knowledge of the main church texts were relatively widespread. Thus, grammar turned out to be redundant in teaching children and was needed only for narrow specialists, for example, for proofreaders of the Moscow printing house. A grammar-oriented teaching of Church Slavonic developed in the nineteenth century and followed the development of grammatical teaching of Russian

4 *Ibidem*, 48-52, 102-108.

5 *Ibidem*, 25-26.

in schools; the 'traditional method' persisted in the peasant milieu until the end of the nineteenth century.⁶

In the eighteenth century new civil and church schools in Russia started teaching living and ancient languages according to new models coming from Western Europe. The understanding of grammar and its role in this teaching was substantially different from the prior model. However among these new schools there were substantial differences as well which we will explain in the following section.

The role of grammar in learning and methods of grammar instruction

The Cadet Corps (founded 1731) and the Academy's school (Gymnasium, 1726) differed greatly from seminaries in terms of the national makeup of their students and faculty, which in turn led to some fundamental differences in teaching methods used and students' results. The majority of students and teachers in seminaries were Russian speakers.⁷ In contrast, a significant proportion of students in the Cadet Corps and the Academy's school came from German-speaking families in the Russian Empire, with an even greater number of German-speaking teachers. Germans made up the entirety of the Latin teaching faculty at the Academy up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Many could not speak Russian, which meant that before taking classes in Latin grammar, Russian students needed to learn German.⁸

Between the second half of the 1730s and 1747, many students at the Academy's school finished their education in the higher German class (they studied German grammar, German letter-writing, reading of German and Latin authors, Latin grammar). The others enrolled in Latin school (where studies ended with poetics and rhetoric). Latin was taught in German and students practised translation from Latin into German and vice versa. This practice was deemed to be harmful and was prohibited in 1747.

Both the Cadet Corps and the Academy's Gymnasium had to face the question of teaching in the students' native language. In the Cadet Corps'

6 Kravetskii, Pletneva, 'Istoriia tserkovnoslavianskogo iazyka v Rossii. Konets XIX-XX v.', 25-41; Kislova, "Grammaticheskoe uchenie" i modeli tserkovnogo obrazovaniia 1720-kh gg., 476-480.

7 In the first half of the century, many students in seminaries were of Ukrainian descent – though their language was considered a variation of Russian: Kislova, 'Iz istorii lingvisticheskoi kompetentsii dukhovenstva'; Okenfuss, *The Rise and Fall of Latin Humanism*; Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*.

8 Amburger, *Die nichtrussischen Schüler*; Rjéoutski, 'Migrants and language learning in Russia'.

new charter (1766), the director Ivan Betskoi wrote of the need to teach subjects not in a foreign language, but in the 'natural' language of the student. The new Regulations of the Academy (1747) prescribed a transition to Russian-language instruction for all subjects, though this did not happen immediately.⁹

The general outline of classes in seminaries was established in the Spiritual Regulation (1721); this document remained the main guideline for church education until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The content of classes arose from the traditions of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the principles of *Ratio Studiorum*. There was almost no variation to this in the eighteenth century. Elementary seminary classes were spent learning Latin and Russian spelling, followed later by grammar and 'sintaxima' classes (or lower and higher grammar classes) which taught the morphology and syntax of Latin, which gradually transitioned to communicating in Latin and subsequent classes on poetics, rhetoric, philosophy and theology. Instruction in these classes was given either primarily or entirely in Latin. Other languages (French, German, Greek and Hebrew) could be taught as secondary or optional subjects.¹⁰

Grammar could occupy different roles in learning depending on the institution and language. In 1739 at the Academy of Sciences language learning began with reading and writing in tandem with vocabulary memorization. In the middle of the century, younger gymnasium students (5-6 years old) started being taught orally, by direct method. Once students had learned around three hundred words and phrases, they progressed to writing letters and numbers on a blackboard.¹¹ Only afterwards did they move on to learning grammar. In the fourth Latin class, they studied grammar (declension, conjugation, the rudiments of syntax and vocabulary memorization, 9 hours per week); *Maturini Corderii Colloquiorum* and *Christophori Cellarii Latinitatis* (6 hours); etymology and ex tempore translation (i.e. without prior preparation, 6 hours); reading and writing (4 hours).¹² Students in their third year analysed simpler classical writers, studied syntax and etymology, did ex tempore German and Latin translations and continued to memorize vocabulary. Less time was devoted to language learning as students started studying other subjects.¹³ In 1752, the secretariat of the Academy of Sciences

9 *Reglament Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk i khudozhestv*, 1747, § 46.

10 See Kislova, 'Latin as the language of the orthodox clergy'; Kislova, "Latin" and "Slavonic" Education in the Primary Classes of Russian Seminaries'.

11 SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 828, fol. 68r.

12 Kostin, Kostina, 'Reglament Gimnazii', 246.

13 *Ibidem*, 247.

criticized the fact that too much time was spent on learning the rules of grammar and prescribed a greater emphasis on grammar practice. Teachers were to set 'tasks' (which could be in the form of questions to test students' knowledge), practise declension and conjugation, and show students 'ways of composing whole speech', as well as reading the works of writers, explaining 'school conversations' and providing examples for students to emulate. We can see that in the middle of the century grammar was not clearly delineated from other learning activities.¹⁴ From 1770, Latin grammar was taught after learning Russian grammar and using it as a basis. In the 1790s, the gradual inclusion of languages in the programme was rejected and (in decreasing order of importance) the French, German, Russian and Latin languages were offered, along with optional languages: Greek, English and Italian.¹⁵ Study of the grammar of all these languages was offered simultaneously in the fourth year, once students had attained reading and writing skills.¹⁶

Initially, 'grammar' as a separate subject did not exist at the Cadet Corps and was seldom mentioned in descriptions of the learning process. The term 'grammar' itself first and foremost appears in regard to Latin, only beginning to appear in reference to German and particularly French in the middle of the century. This likely reflects the gradual transition of grammar learning from Latin to living languages. Common references in 1748 mention students learning via 'simple conversations' (meaning 'dialogues' – of which there were many) or via 'simple translations' or (much more infrequently) 'simple authors'.¹⁷

In the gymnasia of Moscow University (founded in 1755), an emphasis was placed on etymology and syntax, followed by a gradual transition towards translation.¹⁸ Grammar was combined with the reading and analysis of French newspapers,¹⁹ *Les aventures de Télémaque* and *Dialogues domestiques*,²⁰ translating Latin writers into French, and the composition of letters, speeches and conversations. In 1771, Moscow University published a concise teaching guide in four languages (Russian, French, German and Latin), in which it summarized the prescriptions for the teaching staff at its gymnasia.²¹ For all languages, it was advised that an emphasis be

14 SPbF ARAN, R. IV.5, d. 2-(1752), fol. 165r.

15 Margolis, Tishkin, 'Edinym vdokhnoveniem', 60.

16 SPbF ARAN, R. IV.5, d. 46, fol. 3r.

17 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2178, fol. 18v, 28v, 29v, 68r, 69r, 70r, 74r, 76r, 81v.

18 *Istoriia Moskovskogo universiteta*, 357-360; *Reestr uchenii i uprazhnenii*.

19 *Istoriia Moskovskogo universiteta*, 68.

20 *Dialogues domestiques*.

21 *Sposob ucheniia*.

placed on declension and conjugation, which teachers were to 'write on the blackboard or, should there be a small number of students, on paper, while at the same time declining and conjugating a large number of words and instructing students to do the same'. After this, it was suggested that the teacher read and translate a fragment of text by a 'simple author', then have the students repeat. 'The teacher should take a translated text and analyse in it according to etymological rules the parts of speech and patterns which have previously been learned by students, instructing them to search for the necessary grammar rules.' After thorough review and repetition, the teacher 'instructs students to copy down the completed and corrected translation. Then, in the following class, the teacher instructs students to translate the same text without looking at the author and with no preparation back into the language it was translated from in the previous class.'²²

In comparison with the early days of the Cadet Corps, the significance of grammar grew significantly, as demonstrated by the frequent use of the word 'grammar' in descriptions of language courses at the University's gymnasia.²³ In the second half of the century, grammar begins to appear in other learning institutions such as the Academy of Fine Arts in the 1760s and 1770s,²⁴ often as a separate discipline²⁵ (unlike in the first half of the century). The increasing significance of a grammar-based approach in noble education can be seen in the example of a noble school in Tver' (not far from Moscow) founded in 1779.²⁶ The school's 'General Timetable' lists subjects such as 'the fundamentals of French grammar', 'French grammar and translation', 'German grammar and translation' and 'Russian grammar' in addition to other aspects of language learning such as 'the alphabet' and 'writing'. A large amount of time was devoted to grammar instruction.²⁷ A 'standard' timetable of a student (clearly of an advanced level) shows that in addition to other subjects, he spent 12 hours a week studying French grammar and translation, 8 hours studying German grammar, and 4 hours

²² *Ibidem*, 3.

²³ *Istoriia Moskovskogo universiteta*, 357-360. Also note that in the announcement of public lectures at Moscow University, grammar is mentioned only once – in reference to a German course taught by Johann Gottfried Reichel. *Ibidem*, 354.

²⁴ SPF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 225, fol. 11r; op. 9, d. 262, fol. 5r.

²⁵ For example, in the Cadet Artillery and Engineering Corps. Mézin, Rjéoutski, *Les Français en Russie*, 193. The same can be observed in the Theatrical School at the end of the eighteenth century. *Ibidem*, 352.

²⁶ RNB, Mss, f. Erm., d. 82. The school's 130 students came almost entirely from noble Russian families in the local province.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, fol. 47r.

studying Russian grammar.²⁸ At 24 hours per week, languages occupied the majority of the student's time. All remaining subjects (4 hours each for catechism, geography, arithmetic, drawing and dance) took up 20 hours of class time per week.²⁹ For comparison, when French and German classes were being organized at Moscow Theological Academy in 1781, the 'Frenchman Ivan Schmid' was hired to teach each language four days a week for just one hour.³⁰

At the Tver' school, in French and German classes parts of speech had to be learned – but 'with a Russian translation'. During classes, rules were illustrated by the teacher using examples, then students were instructed to find examples of them. In order to leave 'a strong impression in the memory', students were told to take note in their exercise books. Instructions for teaching exceptions read: 'The teacher asks them [the students] to make examples, while interspersing among them some words which do not follow the general rules so that they themselves notice and follow the rule for the exception.'³¹ Students were also directed towards grammar while translating texts; once a translated text had been corrected, 'the teacher instructs the students to deconstruct the translated text into its component parts of speech and find the applicable grammatical rules.'³² Here we can see the systematic approach to grammar as a set of rules. At the same time, grammar was studied using text examples and was an inherent part of other activities, not only linguistic (translation), but also not directly connected to language learning (such as ideological education through reading official texts).

There was also the question of how grammatical knowledge was to be checked. The recommended method at the Tver' nobles' school was the joint marking of exercise books, whereby students were tasked with finding errors in the work of their classmates and 'demonstrating the error using a grammatical rule'.³³ The justification for this from a teaching perspective was that 'when children discover a mistake for themselves, they more easily memorize the rules of word construction'.³⁴ Teachers also participated in this process by checking exercise books.

Were there any exercises for learning grammatical rules? Exercises in the modern sense are a relatively recent form of language learning that were

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ RGB, Mss, f. 277, d. 9, fol. 62r.

³¹ RNB, Mss, f. Erm., d. 82, fol. 54r-54v.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*, fol. 54v.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, fol. 55r.

only fully developed in the twentieth century. However, some early forms of grammar exercises did exist in the eighteenth century. The Tver' school prescribed: 'the exercises that children should study most are declension and conjugation, making singular forms plural and masculine forms feminine'.³⁵

In theological seminaries, given the range of possible scenarios, the manner in which various aspects of language were studied was generally as follows: Once students had attained a suitable level of reading and writing skills in Russian, they started learning to write in the Latin alphabet and study the basics of grammar ('informatory' class), studied morphology and gradually progressed to syntax (grammar or higher grammar class), then continued studying syntax and starting 'prosody' ('syntaxima' or higher grammar class). They studied the fundamentals of Latin versification, which served as preparation for classes in poetics and rhetoric. Students in elementary grades had Latin classes five days a week both before and after lunch, usually studying grammar before lunch on 3-4 of these days. The sixth day was devoted to their regular studies of catechism and arithmetic.

As far as we can tell from detailed reports from the last quarter of the century, seminary classes differed in the volume and nature of their extra materials – which students studied in tandem with grammar – and grammatical material itself was not oriented around the beginning or the end of the academic year. September could begin with the study of 'the third declension',³⁶ and after finishing morphology, the teacher was not obliged to progress to syntax, but could begin their textbook from the beginning section.³⁷ The same topic – syntax – could be 'explained and learned' three times in the same academic year in the same class.³⁸ This can be explained by the fact that students entered and moved through grades individually as and when they finished the course.³⁹ In one grade, there were students who studied grammar once, twice or even three times. Students in provincial seminaries could end up studying in the same class despite being in different grades. Sooner or later, each student would study all of the required material – though not always in the required order.

35 *Ibidem*, fol. 54r.

36 RGB, Mss, f. 277, d. 12, fol. 370r.

37 RGB, Mss, f. 277, d. 14, fol. 205r.

38 RNB, Mss, f. 522, d. 209, fol. 94v.

39 Smirnov, *Istoriia Moskovskoi Slaviano-greko-latinskoi akademii*, 181; Agntsev, *Istoriia Riazanskoi dukhovnoi seminarii*, 130. Lists of students of the Tver' seminary in 1787 mention students who progressed through three grades in two years and two grades in one year (Kolosoov, *Istoriia Tverskoi dukhovnoi seminarii*, 62). Instructions to an 'informatory' class teacher at Novgorod Seminary in 1800 mention the same. (RNB, Mss, f. 522, d. 209, fol. 146r).

The main learning method in seminaries was the learning of large corpora of texts by heart. This method was applied not only to languages, but also to catechism, arithmetic, poetics, rhetoric and more. Teachers would verbally discuss grammar while adding their own examples and tasks. The studied portion of grammar was then to be learned by heart. Certain exercises ('ekzertsitsii', 'zadachi') were also used: at the end of the century, reports by teachers reveal that they gave exercises to students to do translations which were then checked and corrected in class. The teachers explained mistakes and placed special emphasis on grammatical and syntactical accuracy. Students were then instructed to learn the texts by heart.

There is a dearth of information about the role of grammar in private education. It is telling that certificates issued to teachers working in families and private boarding schools in the 1750s contain extremely little reference to the word 'grammar'. It appears that many French native speaking teachers had a poor grasp of grammar; indeed, there were cases where teachers wrote poorly in their native language, which makes it difficult to make any assumptions about their grammatical knowledge.⁴⁰ It is also difficult to know what kind of role grammar played in noble families even when the tutor was capable of teaching it. It is possible that the formal teaching of grammar seen in learning institutions for the nobility in the second half of the eighteenth century was not present in these families. The French national Laval proves a rare exception to this. While working for the Princes Trubetskoi he authored a grammar book that was used both within that family and in some boarding schools.⁴¹

However, the progression from purely practical language learning (which, by all accounts, was widespread among families with hired tutors) towards a more formal methodology with a greater focus on grammar did extend to private education – as evidenced by some individual examples.⁴²

Grammar books

This section deals only with the more popular grammar books. However the reasons of their popularity are not clear. We can assume that in most cases

40 SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 9, d. 178, fol. 11-12.

41 Laval, *Explication de la Grammaire Française*.

42 For example, the family of Mikhail Dmitriev, nephew of a famous poet, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dmitriev, *Glavy iz vospominanii moei zhizni*, 40-41.

it can be explained by their large circulation in Europe and particularly in the parts of Europe which had close ties with Russia, i.e. German lands.

The Cadet Corps and the Academy's Gymnasium used imported grammar books from Eastern and Central Europe as well as books created and published specifically with Russian-speaking students in mind. Imported books used at the Cadet Corps include the works of Jean du Grain⁴³ and Jean-Robert de Pepliers⁴⁴ (1730-1750s),⁴⁵ the latter of which was particularly popular. One of Pepliers's books was used by the German Baron Heinrich van Huysen to teach French to Peter the Great's son Alexei.⁴⁶ By 1756, only six copies of this book remained in the Corps library, so the decision was made to purchase twenty more.⁴⁷ All evidence suggests that du Grain's book fell out of use, whereas Pepliers's endured; it was still extremely popular at the Corps in the late 1760s.⁴⁸ Pepliers's book was also used at the gymnasium at the Academy of Sciences.⁴⁹ 'New French Grammar, Composed in Questions and Answers' was published in 1752, having been translated from Restaut's German grammar by Vasilii Teplov.⁵⁰ It was reprinted with additional material in 1762, 1777, and 1787, and its overall sales totalled 5,837 copies – a huge number for eighteenth-century Russia.⁵¹ When this book was no longer on sale, copies of the same Pepliers's popular French grammar for Germans were bought for the Academy's Gymnasium.⁵² The middle of the century saw the appearance of a slew of French grammars, likely due to the widespread use of the language among, first and foremost, the nobility. Nevertheless, these books did not enjoy the popularity of their above-mentioned counterparts.⁵³ Restaut and Pepliers's books are mentioned

43 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1960, fol. 4r. In reference to: DuGrain, Gründlichste und leichteste Anweisung (multiple editions).

44 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 1667, fol. 6r; 2867, fol. 17r. In reference to: [Pépliers], Grammaire Royale françoise & allemande (multiple editions).

45 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2442, fol. gv.

46 Kareva, 'Pervye izdannye v Rossii grammatiki'.

47 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 2867, fol. 17.

48 RGVIA, f. 314, op. 1, d. 3391, fol. 1r.

49 This work can be found in «Catalogus der Bücher, die nach Anzeige des Reglament in dem Gymansio sollen gebraucht werden» 1739 r. SPbF ARAN, R.I.70, d. 5, fol. 81v-82v.

50 Teplov, *Novaia frantsuskaia grammatika; Neue und vollständige Französische Grammatic*. For more information, see: Kareva, Sergeev, 'Pervaia pechatnaia grammatika'; Kareva, 'Pervye izdannye v Rossii grammatiki'.

51 *Svodnyi katalog*, 216-217.

52 SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 9, d. 214, fol. 1r. Pepliers's book was one of the most sought-after books at the Academy of Science's book shop (*Materialy dlia istorii*, 652-653).

53 For more on French grammar books in eighteenth-century Russia, see: Rjéoutski, Vlassov, 'L'enseignement de la grammaire française'.

in reference to boarding schools in 1750s St. Petersburg, as is *Grammaire des Dames*.⁵⁴ However, teachers at these schools often admitted that they had an inadequate knowledge of grammar and only dictated passages from grammar books to their students.⁵⁵

One of the most popular French grammar books of the second part of the eighteenth century was Martyn Sokolovskii's bilingual grammar (1762, numerous editions), which was widely used at the university (in the university's gymnasia in particular), as well as in other learning institutions such as the Moscow Theology Academy (between 1781-1794 when the Academy's French class was closed due to revolutionary activity in France) and the Tver school for the nobility. It is an abridged version of de la Touche's *Art de bien parler François*.⁵⁶

One of the first bilingual grammar books for modern languages was compiled by Martin Schwanwitz at the end of the 1720s.⁵⁷ It was very popular⁵⁸: by 1732, the entire print run had already sold out and it had become difficult to find.⁵⁹ Schwanwitz's work – particularly its 1734 second reprint developed by Vasilii Adodurov – had a large influence on the development of the grammatical tradition in Russia.⁶⁰ It was reworked by Jacob von Stäehlin in 1745 and reprinted in 1762, 1791 and 1802, becoming widely used to teach German in Russian schools.⁶¹ There were other German grammars of lesser importance.⁶²

Latin classes at the Academy of Sciences initially used Johannis Renius's *Donatus*, reportedly with a Polish translation,⁶³ as well as a grammar book by J. Lange (1670-1744).⁶⁴ However, by 1732 both the full and abridged versions of *Grammaticae Marchica* had begun to supplant them.⁶⁵ This book was developed by a group of gymnasia rectors heavily influenced by J. Lange's work

54 SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 9, d. 78, 80. There were several books entitled *Grammaire des dames*.

55 RGIA, f. 730, op. 1, d. 70.

56 La Touche, *L'Art de bien parler François* (multiple editions).

57 Schwanwitz, *Die Deutsche Grammatica; Materialy dlia istorii*, 404.

58 Ulianinskii, *Sredi knig*, 88.

59 *Materialy dlia istorii*, 177.

60 Keipert, 'Der Fremdsprachenunterricht', 74-75.

61 Koch, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, 222-226.

62 *Ibidem*, Chapter VI.

63 See M. Johannis Rhenii Donatus. For more, see: Kirikova, Kostina, 'Uchebnye knigi', 197; Archaimbault, 'Traditsiia Donata', 21.

64 Lange, *Verbesserte und Erleichterte Lateinische Grammatica*.

65 *Compendium Grammaticae Latinae; Vollständigere lateinische Grammatica Marchica*. For more on the quick uptake of this grammar book in studies at the Academic Gymnasium, see: Keipert, 'Der Fremdsprachenunterricht', 76.

for compulsory use in the state gymnasia of the Margraviate of Brandenburg. *Sokrashchenie grammatiki latinskoi* [*Compendium of Latin grammar*] was published in 1746; Vasilii Lebedev seemingly translated the abridged edition into Russian on his own initiative.⁶⁶ The book was republished with some changes a further six times (1762, 1769, 1779, 1789, 1791, 1792) and was in demand at various kinds of educational institutions. However, Lebedev's work did not immediately supplant *Compendium grammaticae Marchica* at the Academy's Gymnasium due to the continued practice of teaching Latin in German.⁶⁷ Even when the print run of Lebedev's book was coming to an end in 1758, the Academy's Gymnasium was still purchasing the German version.⁶⁸ Italian was taught at the Academy's Gymnasium using Veneroni's grammar book.⁶⁹

In seminaries, the types of books used (much like the methods for teaching languages) remained practically unchanged throughout the century. As in the Academy's Gymnasium, seminary students learned various common phrases and words from dictionaries by heart. Materials in the first half of the century were often handwritten, but in 1767 the Commission of Public Schools began circulating unified printed resources for all subjects.⁷⁰ The basic elements of grammar could be given as part of the very first language-learning resources i.e. alphabet and vocabulary books. For example, Evgenii Bolkhovitinov's *Novaia latinskaia azbuka* [*New Latin grammar*], intended for seminaries and published in 1788, contained a comprehensive beginner-level Latin course: rules of pronunciation, 'elementary Latin phrases and the forms of their grammatical changes', frequently used Greek words in Latin, 'brief polite dialogues and phrases' and even a 'clear and detailed Roman calendar'.

Grammar books came to replace alphabet books. Up until the last quarter of the eighteenth century (and until the beginning of the nineteenth century in provincial seminaries) this meant Emannuel Alvar's *De Institutione Grammatica Libri Tres*. From the middle of the century onwards, Lebedev's Russian-language book on Latin grammar, *Kratkaia grammatika latinskaia* [*Short Latin grammar*], began to replace it.⁷¹ Its 1779 edition of 3,600 copies

66 *Sokrashchenie grammatiki latinskoi*. See: Keipert, 'Vasilij Lebedev'.

67 *Materialy dlia istorii*, 189.

68 SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 234, fol. 59v.

69 Veneroni, Herrn von Veneroni (multiple editions); SPbF ARAN, f. 3, op. 1, d. 519, fol. 38r.

70 Agntsev, *Istoriia Riazanskoi dukhovnoi seminarii*, 133.

71 This largely depended on the preferences of whichever church elder was in charge of the seminary. Dmitriy Sechenov (1752-1757) implemented the teaching of Alvar in addition to Lebedev's book, while Simon Lagov (1778-1804) replaced it with a book by Bantysh-Kamenskii (*Ibidem*, 114).

was funded by the Holy Synod and distributed among seminaries.⁷² Other grammar books were to be used as supplementary materials.⁷³

The grammar books of this period often included elements that do not seem directly related to grammar. Pepliers's book, in addition to explaining rules, contains lists of words organized by theme, French dialogues with German translations, reading texts, writing samples on various topics (visitations, clothing, noblemen at the tailor's, breakfast, etc.).⁷⁴ Grammar books published in Russia followed this model. The above-mentioned book by Teplov contains examples by Restaut translated into Russian, and features a section called 'proverbs' (approximately 50 pages on set phrases),⁷⁵ followed by a vocabulary list (approximately 150 pages) in French, Russian and German and organized by theme.⁷⁶ We can only guess how these set phrases and dialogues with translations were used, but they may have played a part in grammar practice. For example, syntactical structures could be studied via translation – especially given that the translations provided were of high quality, rather than word-for-word syntactical copies of the original. Some of these 'grammar' books bear more resemblance to collections of language-learning texts. The grammar book compiled by Moscow University teacher Henry Lavie (1767) contains 'reading in French' (Sunday sermons, the ten commandments, evening prayers etc.), a collection of French and Russian words organized by theme, and 'dialogues familiers' about school life all with Russian translations. Later grammar textbooks, at least those for French, also include analyses of morphological forms, as seen in an 1807 textbook which examines phrases in closer detail.⁷⁷ The apparent goal was not practice in translation (which unquestionably helped train grammar skills), but rather a deeper formal study of grammar, including grammatical terminology that students were expected not only to understand, but use independently. It is no coincidence that these kinds of analyses started to appear more and more frequently without Russian translations, given that the goal of the exercise had changed.

We can observe in the seminaries of the time not only the traditional emphasis on grammar, but also a growth in the analysis of grammatical forms. In the senior grammar teaching department of the 'informatory' class in 1804 there is a noted focus on learning declensions and conjugations

72 RGB, Mss, f. 277, d. 12, fol. 289r.

73 RGB, Mss, f. 522, d. 209, fol. 90v.

74 Des Pepliers 1702, 1-40; 67-73 (phrases for parts of the body); 73-80 (clothing phrases), etc.

75 Teplov, *Novaia frantsusskaia grammatika*, 331-380.

76 *Ibidem*, new pagination 1-149.

77 *Grammaire française écrite*, 98.

by heart, as well as some simple rules of Latin syntax.⁷⁸ The analysis of grammar itself began in grammar and 'syntaxima' classes; students read sentences and 'looked for the grammatical meaning by forming questions in Latin.'⁷⁹

Conclusion

Various factors influenced the development of modern and classical-language grammar teaching in Russia. One such factor was the nationality of the teacher; French and German native speakers could teach without referring to grammar, but rather using a communicative method (although some taught through grammar). Russian teachers of these languages, who needed to rely on authoritative sources – namely grammar books, had to use grammar. The first approach can be observed in private education intended for the nobility, where the majority of teachers were foreign native speakers. The second approach is evident in seminaries, where foreign teachers were extremely rare and were replaced by their own graduates within one or two years. In this case, grammar was the main focus in learning a foreign language. The bilingual makeup of the students and faculty of the Academy of Sciences and the Cadet Corps led to the circulation of German-language grammar books for Latin and French in Russia and their subsequent translation into Russian.

Grammar played a very significant role in the teaching of Latin. On one hand, this was part of the traditions of the Kiev-Mohyla Academy and the West Slavic Jesuit colleges. On the other hand, it was not possible to study Latin without a reliance on grammar, given its nature as a dead language with no native speakers to teach using the communicative method (although this approach was sometimes adopted in private education, and teachers' tasks in seminary Latin classes quickly transitioned into communicating with students in Latin). It is therefore unsurprising that Latin was taught in a similar way in seminaries and at the Academy of Sciences, for example (however using different grammar books, Alvar's grammar in the first case and Russian translations of Latin grammars by Protestant authors in the second case).

The word 'grammar' itself is first mentioned in Cadet Corps documentation predominantly in reference to Latin; initially it is almost never used

⁷⁸ RNB, Mss, f. 522, d. 209, fol. 91r.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, fol. 90v.

alongside French or German. The role of grammar among other aspects of language learning and the structure of the most popular grammar books of the first half of the century (Restaut and Pepliers's works for French) illustrate that the approach towards learning grammar remained complex for a long time – grammar was combined with translation, dialogue memorization, reading sections of various works and so on.

The shift in focus towards grammar in French and German, at least at the Cadet Corps, had likely begun by the middle of the century, and was related to the spread of the grammatical approach in general. In the latter half of the century, grammar appeared as a separate subject in many academic institutions and an increased amount of time was devoted to it. It is evident that a greater emphasis was placed on analysing grammatical form, as particularly noticeable in seminary education at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as well as in contemporary modern language textbooks. These changes mark the shift away from the syncretic language learning approach of the Age of Enlightenment towards a new age marked by the increasing separation of the aspects of language learning and the erosion of the links between them.

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