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A Manuscript in the Swedish National Archives, Attributed to Grigorii Kotoshikhin

In the "Extranea" collection of the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm[1] there is a handwritten version of the booklet *Alfabetum Rutenorum* – presumably the oldest textbook for students of Russian as a foreign language; it had been printed in Stockholm by Peter van Selow in the late 1630s or the early1640s. (On the printed textbook see [Maier 2012], with extensive bibliography.) However, the Stockholm manuscript is not an exact copy of the imprint: on the one hand, it is shorter than the printed *Alfabetum Rutenorum*; on the other hand, it contains some elements that were not present in the printed version. For instance, everything that was written in Swedish in the printed booklet is missing in the manuscript: instructions for the pronunciation of certain Russian sounds, and also a Swedish equivalent to the Russian (or Russian Church Slavonic) texts, namely the most essential parts of Luther's small catechism.

Almost exactly one year ago, in March 2014, I was invited by B. A. Uspenskii to present a paper about this manuscript at his seminar in the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Among the public at my presentation (in English) were Andrei Anatol´evich Zalizniak and Elena Viktorovna Paducheva. There was no written text at that time as I had only prepared slides for an oral presentation. Now, one year later, I have a good reason to write up a text, for the occasion of Andrei Anatol´evich's 80th birthday.

The manuscript consists of a single gathering of eight leaves, measuring 227 × 167 mm. The first leaf and also the last page, f. [8]v, are empty, except for a double-lined frame, divided into two columns (some folios have five columns; see below). The frame is on almost every page, except f. [2]r and f. [4]. Since the completely empty pages also have the frame we can draw the conclusion that, according to the author's plan, they were to be filled with some text later on. The Cyrillic alphabet in capital letters appears in the upper part of f. [2]r, and in the lower part are the lowercase letters (see fig. 1, showing one of the pages without the double-lined frame).[2] The two series of letters do not correspond completely, either to each other or to any of the five series in the printed *Alfabetum* (for instance, the letter <ѧ> – which is present in most of the series in the *Alfabetum* – does not appear in these first listings of the manuscript). The similarities, however, are sufficient to make it clear that the lists in the *Alfabetum* were used as a prototype; above all, both the printed version and the manuscript contain not only the

[1] The signature in the archive is Extranea 157:6.

[2] In the appendix of a Swedish-language article, [Maier 2014], there are photographs of the whole manuscript. The article is available on line: http://www2.moderna.uu.se/slovo/Archives/2014-55/10_Maier_1.pdf (25 March 2015).

grapheme <є>, but also <э>, something that was very unusual at the time (see Uspenskii 2014).

Figure 1: F. [2]r of the manuscript (right) and its printed prototype, Alfabetum (left).

The following three pages (ff. [2]v, [3]r–v) correspond to ff. A1v–A2v in the printed *Alfabetum*. In contrast to the *Alfabetum*, where these three pages are divided into four columns, the manuscript has five columns, two of which are empty (presumably with the intention to add the Swedish-language instructions for the pronunciation of individual Russian sounds later on). The three columns to the left contain (1) a Latin transcription of the Cyrillic alphabet; (2) the Cyrillic alphabet, in red ink, and the letter names in transcription (black ink); and (3) the letter names in Cyrillic script (the first letter of each name is written in red ink). Although the letter names are virtually identical in the printed version and in the manuscript, we can observe some minor differences in the Latin transcriptions of these names; for instance, the printed *Alfabetum* has *Zemlä* and *Jäät* (for *Земля,*[3] *Ять*), whereas the manuscript has *Zemla*, *jaat.* (The somewhat unusual transcription *Lyydi – for Люди –* was left unchanged.) An interesting detail is that the Latin equivalent to the letter *Земля*, <З>, which was a capital "S" in the printed version, is now rendered as "z"; this is, incidentally, also the Polish correspondence of the Russian letter <з>. (Most certainly this was meant as a "pronunciation equivalent" for

[3] The printed *Alfabetum* has the unusual spelling *Земьля* (f. A1v), which was not taken over in the manuscript.

<з>; cf. the symbols [z/z´] which would be used in a modern phonetical transcription of the Russian words *зал* / *земля*.) Some other minor differences can be observed. For instance, in the printed *Alfabetum* both *Иже* and *ї* had "i" as the Latin correspondence in the first column, whereas the manuscript gives "i" for *Иже*, but "ij" (or "ÿ") for *ї*. These, and similar, small differences show that the author of our manuscript was actually an author, not just a copyist.

In the following pages, there is no correspondence at all between the printed and the handwritten version: where the printed *Alfabetum* has three pages with syllables (ба ва га ..., бе ве ге ..., бла вла гла ..., бле вле гле ...), the manuscript has two pages with cursive letters (*скоропись*) – something that, of course, would have been impossible in any typeset booklet. The syllables were typical for East-Slavic primers of the 16th and 17th centuries, where their purpose was to present some easy "words" for students who could not yet read. In the case of both the printed and the handwritten *Alfabetum*, the purpose was quite different: neither of these sources was intended as a primer for students who could not read; rather, both were conceived as textbooks for Russian as a foreign language aimed at Swedish students. From the fact that the handwritten *Alfabetum* has a special section for the cursive letters, we can draw the conclusion that it was made for a special group of students, namely, future translators in the service of the Swedish state, because they would have to read and translate letters and other documents produced at the Diplomatic Chancery (*Посольский приказ*) in Moscow. The author of the manuscript had a very good repertoire of cursive letter forms: each of the letters *а, б, в* contains a whole line of variants (19 for *а*, 21 for *б*, and 23 for *в*), the latter two including 4–5 variants of superscript letters (*выносные вуквы*). Only half a line is dedicated to most of the remaining letters (usually about 7–12 variants each); the letter *Фита* (Ѳ), however, received an entire line, as did the "variants" of the graphemes *ѧ, ꙗ*, and *я*.[4]

On f. [5]r the "catechism part" starts with the Lord's Prayer, again very similar to the printed *Alfabetum*. Of course, there are minor orthographical differences between the two, and apparent mistakes in the printed version are not reproduced (e.g., *даждъ* in the printed version, *даждь* 'give' in the manuscript). Whereas the prayer in the imprint does not contain the doxology (in the printed version, the last word, *аминь*, follows immediately after the phrase "но избави насъ от лукаваго", 'but deliver us from evil'), the manuscript version has: "яко твое есть царство отца и сына и святаго духа. нынѣ и присно и во вѣки вѣковъ" ('for thine is the kingdom of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever'). The doxology was not part of The Lord's Prayer in the earliest manuscripts of Matthew 6:9–13, nor was it present, in any variant,

[4] It is clear that the different forms of the graphemes *ѧ, ꙗ* (*йотированное а*), and *я* were considered to be variants of one and the same "letter" by this scribe, since a form that first appears to be a distinct *ꙗ* gradually changes into *я*; the same happens with *ѧ*. The graphemes *ѧ* and *ꙗ* were considered as variants already in the printed *Alfabetum*; the manuscript version has *ѧ* in the second column (with the transcribed letter name *Jaa*) and *я* in the third column, the column for the Cyrillic letter names. We can thus read out these columns as follows: "The letter *ѧ* has the name *Jaa* in Latin transcription, and *ꙗ* in Cyrillic script."

in the earliest Swedish catechisms (printed in 1567 and 1572). However, at the time when the "Extranea" manuscript was produced (in the later 1660s; see below), a form of the doxology – albeit somewhat different from the one used in the manuscript – did belong to the liturgical form of the prayer in the Swedish Lutheran church,[5] and I suppose that our author knew this and tried to imitate the Swedish liturgical form, although he did not know the exact wording. This is the reason, I think, why he added a form of the doxology as he remembered it from the Orthodox rite – not the "correct" one, so apparently he did not have any written source. In Russia, this sentence was n o t pronounced by the church community but only by the priest, something that can explain why our author's version does not coincide with any printed or handwritten source: apparently, he made up a version of his own, not remembering the exact wording. (See more details about this issue in [Maier 2014a, 576–580[6]].)

The Lord's Prayer – and also the two following sections that belong to Luther's small catechism, that is the Creed and the Ten Commandments – are placed in a double-lined frame, divided into two columns, as in the printed *Alfabetum*; however, the right-hand column, containing the corresponding Swedish texts in the imprint, is empty. I suppose that the author's intention was to have this column filled in by somebody else, perhaps because he could not read (or at least could not reproduce) anything similar to the Gothic letters of the Swedish text in the imprint. All headings in the catechism part are written in red ink (except the very first letter of each heading), and also the first letter of each section has a red initial – for instance, the first letter of each of the Ten Commandments (see the photographs in the appendix of [Maier 2014b]).

In some cases the syntax of the Creed seems to be more modern in the manuscript version than in the *Alfabetum*; cf. the following discrepancies (*Alfabetum* / manuscript):

> Вѣрую въ […] сотворителя неб**у** (Dative) и земли /
> Вѣрую въ […] сотворителя неб**а** (Genitive) и земли
>
> и оттуды онъ приидетъ судит(ь) живы**мъ** и меръртвы**мъ** (Dative) /
> оттуды приидетъ судити живы**хъ** и меръртвы**хъ** (Gen.-Accusative)

The first two catechism sections are written in half-uncial script, very similar to the printed *Alfabetum*; however, the last section, the Ten Commandments, is written in a typical chancery cursive style (*скоропись*). This, again, corresponds to the purpose, namely, a textbook for future translators of Russian: for this group, the cursive script was even more important than the print forms of the letters. Finally, f. [8]r – the last page that contains any text at all – represents one more addition to the printed *Alfabetum*, intended

[5] The first printed catechism in Swedish that contains the doxology is *D Mart. Lutheri Catechismus*…, printed in Uppsala in the year 1617: "Ty Rijket är titt och Machten, och herligheten i ewigheet" ('For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever').
[6] This article is available on line; permanent URL: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-239333.

for the specific target group: a whole page with Cyrillic numerals, from 1 to 1 000 000.[7] (The numerals from 1 to 30 are given *in extenso*, then we get "31 etc.; 40, 41 etc.; 50, 51 etc.") The "numbering system" is the one that was used in the Diplomatic Chancery, that is, the thousands are indicated with the symbol ≠ in front of the numeral (written as a subscript), and also after 9 000, so 10 000 would be ≠I, 11 000 – ≠a≠I, and so forth (fig. 2; see also the decorative flourish to fill the empty space at the end).

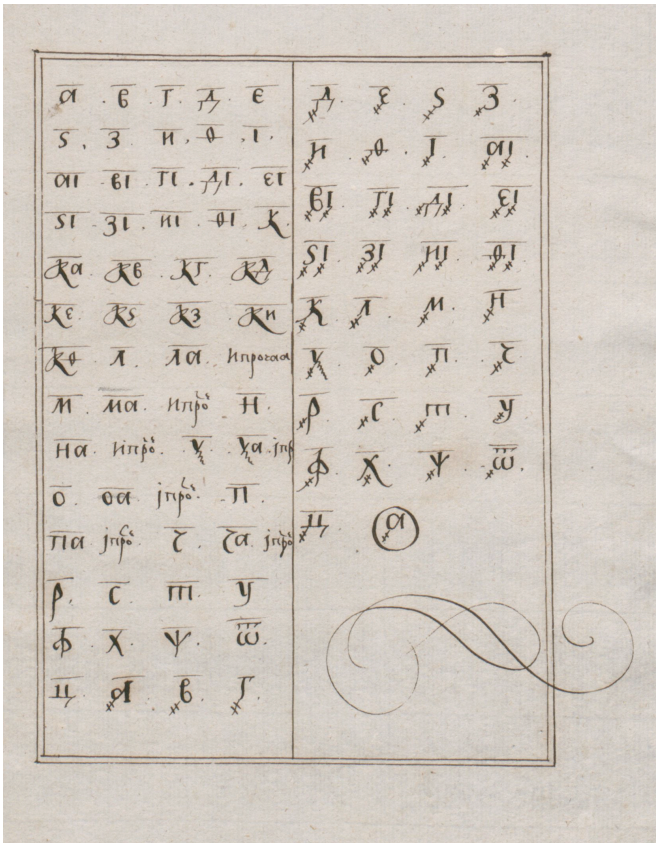

Figure 2: Fol. [8]r of the Stockholm manuscript (Extranea 157:6).

This "chancery numbering system" is different from the one traditionally used in books, where 10 000, 20 000 would have been the corresponding numerals for '1', '2', etc. in a circle (for instance, *a* in a circle would have meant '10 000'). For the "book system" see, for instance, the examples given in Tönnies Fenne's Low German manual of spoken Russian, compiled in Pskov, 1607 (cf. [Hammerich et al. 1961, 559]); for 10 000, 20 000 etc. see fig. 3:

[7] I could not document the last sign – which I here interpret as 'one million', extrapolating from the context – in any chancery documents; in the *kuranty*, for instance, the word *миллион* occasionally appears, whereas the sign given here does not. I suppose that the author of this manuscript mentioned this last sign as a theoretical possibility rather than something he had been taught.

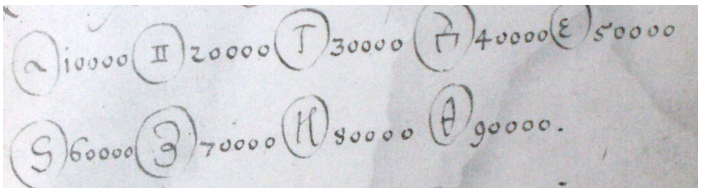

Figure 3: The numbers from 10 000 to 90 000 in Tönnies Fenne's manual.

The Diplomatic Chancery was exactly the place where Russian scribes would have had to deal on a regular basis with very high numbers, for instance in newspaper translations, where there were reports of huge armies, with thousands of killed or injured soldiers, and also – to give one more example, with even more impressive quantities – lists of goods imported to the Netherlands on ships that had come from the East Indies, mentioning thousands of pounds of sugar, pepper, or pieces of uncut diamonds.[8] The fact that our manuscript contains the "chancery type" of the Russian numbering system is also relevant to our discussion about its presumed author – this must be a person with a past in the Muscovite Diplomatic Chancery.

The manuscript has no date on it, but fortunately an analysis of the watermark gave a clear result (something that does not happen very often). On f. [2] there appears the upper part of a very distinct five-pointed foolscap (the lower part is on f. [7]); whereas ff. [3], [5], and [8] contain the initials "PHO" as a countermark (see fig. 4 for the main watermark and fig. 5 for the countermark). This specific five-pointed foolscap with the PHO countermark has been mentioned in the scholarly literature several times (for details

Fig. 4: Foolscap watermark (upper part) from f. [2] of the "Extranea" manuscript.

Fig. 5: Countermark from f. [3] of the same manuscript.

[8] Cf., for instance, from the *kuranty* of 1671: "О*т* Нижне*и* Элбы реки июня въ S [6] день [...] к намъ в галанскую землю ожидаютъ ИІ [18] торговыхъ кара*б*ле*и* из восточно*и* Индеи а *в* нихъ товаро*в* ≠Ф≠Л≠ӨСИ [539 208] фунто*в* черного перцу ≠Р≠О≠ДУІ [174 410] фунто*в* мала*к*ского олова ≠Л≠ДТН [34 350] крашеныхъ полотенъ" (RGADA, f. 155, op. 1, 1671, no. 7, f. 165). Of course, this system makes nicer lines than a dual system in which some of the numerals would be given in a circle, while others would have the sign "≠", as a subscript.

see [Maier 2014a, 567f.]). This paper originates from papermaker Pierre Homo in Caen, Normandy [Lindberg 1998, A179]. It was apparently widely used in Stockholm in the second half of the 1660s, as can be seen from Rudén's meticulous study of watermarks in the Düben music collection at Uppsala University Library [Rudén 1968[9]]. Several of the foolscap watermarks traced by Rudén from musical manuscripts at UUL as well as from documents in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm are indeed identical to the one in the "Extranea" manuscript. In any event, all foolscap watermarks with the countermark PHO I have seen – both in archival documents and in secondary literature about watermarks – are from the period 1664–1673. We can therefore be confident that our manuscript also was produced during this time span.

With this approximate dating in mind, who could have been the author of our manuscript? We can exclude from consideration a person who was born and educated in Sweden. Such an author could hardly have learned to write in a nice half-uncial script (similar to Van Selow's printing type) nor would he have been able to give so many varieties of the kinds of cursive letters used at the Diplomatic Chancery; indeed, this list even today might be used as a text for students who need to write or – more frequently – to read texts produced in a 17th-century Muscovite chancery (above all the *Посольский приказ*). In other words, we need to look for a scribe who had worked at the Diplomatic Chancery in Moscow and who had excellent calligraphic skills. The best-known candidate (and probably the only candidate!) who was living in Sweden in the second half of the 1660s and fulfils all our criteria is, of course, Grigorii Kotoshikhin.[10] He worked in the Diplomatic Chancery from around 1645 to 1664, when he was sent to Poland. Eventually he left the tsar's service – that is, in fact, he defected – and went to Silesia, Prussia, and Lübeck; via Narva he was finally, after numerous adventures, allowed to come to Stockholm, where he arrived on 5 February 1666.[11] Because of his excellent calligraphic skills he had been ordered, while he was still working at the Diplomatic Chancery in Moscow, to make the fair copies of many letters from the tsar to, for example, the kings of Sweden and Denmark.[12] Moreover, a comparison of the foolscap watermark in the "Extranea" manuscript with some watermarks in the second part of Kotoshikhin's manuscript book about Muscovy during the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich[13] (ff. 191–249) showed that both watermarks not only belong to the same type (a

[9] Rudén's licenciate dissertation is available on line: http://www.ordommusik.se/duben (25 March 2015).
[10] A still very useful monograph about G. Kotoshikhin is [Markevich 1895]. In recent years a newer monograph appeared in Poland [Łaszkiewicz 2007].
[11] On 5 February 1666 a letter sent by Jacob Johan Taube, governor-general in Swedish Ingria, arrived in Stockholm (according to a note on the letter itself, dated Narva, 19 January 1666; see National Archives Stockholm, Livonica II, vol. 178, without foliation). I suppose that Kotoshikhin actually was the person with whom Taube had sent the letter to Stockholm, that is, Kotoshikhin served as a postman in this specific case. For more details see [Maier 2014b, 125].
[12] For details, see [Maier 2014b, 120f., especially note no. 8].
[13] Uppsala University Library (UUL), shelf-mark Slav. 29.

five-pointed foolscap with a PHO countermark), but that the paper for both manuscripts was produced in the same pair of moulds, thus also at approximately the same time.[14]

Of course, a comparison of the watermark and the subsequent conclusion that the same paper was used both in Kotoshikhin's handwritten book and in the manuscript version of the *Alfabetum* would not prove that both manuscripts were made by the same person; the watermark only gives us the time frame for the production. Therefore my next step was a careful comparison of the handwriting in both manuscripts as well as other details, such as the use of artistic initials, other ornaments, and the use of both red and black ink. The identification of the handwriting is tricky, since even one and the same person can write in different ways, depending on the scribe's mood, the amount of time at his disposal, etc. But if we compare, for instance, the numerals in Kotoshikhin's book (especially in the "table of contents" on ff. 234–249, where there is a concentration of numbers; see fig. 6) with the numerals in the "Extranea" manuscript, there can scarcely be any doubt about Kotoshikhin's authorship of the latter manuscript. Even the decorative flourishes that are used sometimes to fill out pages where there is some empty space in Kotoshikhin's "table of contents" at the end of the book (ff. 232v and 249v; for the latter page see fig. 6) can also be found in the manuscript (ff. [4]v, [8]r; see fig. 2). Finally, the fact that our author mentions the letter <z> as a correspondence to the Cyrillic <з> conforms with our knowledge about Kotoshikhin, who had learned Polish on his way to Sweden.[15]

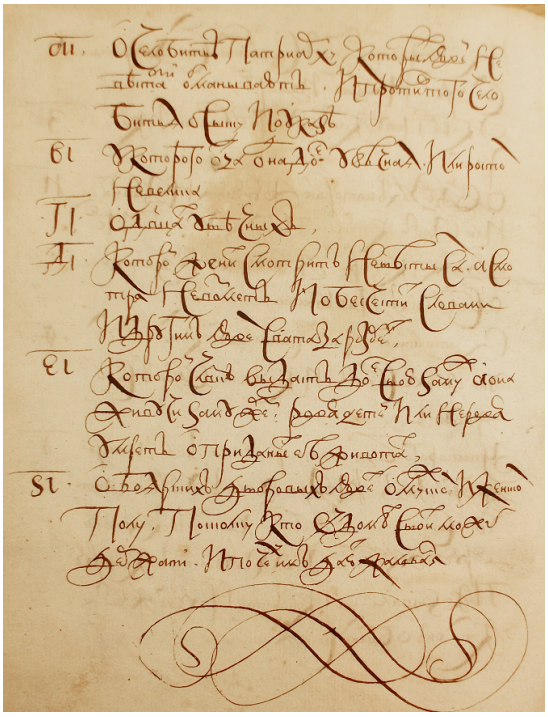

Fig. 6: The last page (f. 249v) of Kotoshikhin's handwritten book at UUL.

If my attribution is correct and Kotoshikhin was indeed the author of the small textbook "Russian as a foreign language" (using a copy of the *Alfabetum Rutenorum*), he can have done so either at his own initiative or on demand from above. With this author in

[14] I am well aware that the paper mills always used two dip moulds at the same time, with two very similar, albeit not identical, figures made of copper wire. As a result, we always find pairs of watermarks in one and the same printed book, or in a bigger manuscript ("twins"; see [Stevenson 1952]). This is the reason why my tracings from the "Extranea" manuscript are not identical with all of the tracings I made from the second part of Kotoshikhin's book at UUL, but only with approximately every second tracing. The following leaves in the Uppsala book have a mark that is identical to the one in the "Extranea" manuscript: ff. 193, 194, 199, 218, 224, 234 (upper part only).

[15] More arguments for Kotoshikhin as the author of the "Extranea" manuscript are given in [Maier 2014a, 570–574].

mind, the possible production period can be narrowed down from a period of seven to eight years to a period of about one and one-half years: because Kotoshikhin arrived in Stockholm in February 1666 and was executed in late October 1667 [Maier 2014b, 128], he must have produced both the fair copy of the manuscript book about Muscovy and the "Russian language textbook" within this time span. Since the watermark in the Russian textbook is the same as that in the second part of the "big book", I find it likely that our manuscript was made in 1667, toward the end of Kotoshikhin's short life (rather than in 1666, at the beginning of his "Swedish period"). It was just bad luck for future students of Russian in Sweden that Kotoshikhin happened to kill his landlord in Stockholm, the Russian translator Daniel Anastasius, in August 1667, because otherwise several generations of Swedish translators might have had a native Russian speaker with broad experience at the Muscovite Diplomatic Chancery as their teacher of Russian![16]

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