Attention is called to a substantial number of loose manuscript pages of an intended Practical Grammar and Reader of Illyrian for use of foreigners with a knowledge of Italian. This survives in England in the archive of Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford (1766–1827). Quotations from the text and a description of this Grammar are given and some biographical information about North, a polyglot philhellene. He visited Dubrovnik on several occasions, knew F.–M. Appendini and the Dubrovnik “latinisti” and learned Illyrian. The Grammar was intended for use in the University of Corfu, of which Guilford became the first Chancellor on its foundation in 1824, but was never published.

A recent article in Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagabriensis on the influence of Italian orthography on the orthography of Croatian,1 pays particular attention to the ideas of Francesco Maria Appendini as expressed in his Grammatica della lingua illirica published in Ragusa in 1808 and his De praestantia et vetustate linguae illyriceae published there by him two years earlier.2

In view of the continuing interest today in the question of the influence of Italian on Croatian orthography, and of the long-standing interest in Anglo–Croatian relations of Rudolf Filipović to whom this volume is dedicated, it seems appropriate to call attention here to the existence in an English archive3

2. It is worthy of note that Appendini uses the spelling “illyriceae” in the title of his earlier work and “illirica” in the later one. Except for quotations where the spelling of the original is used, the English variant “illyrian” is used in the text here rather than the Croatian “illirian” (“ilirski”). See Englesko–Hrvatski Rječnik, ed. R. Filipović et al., Zagreb, 1955, p. 495.
3. Kent County Archives, County Hall, Maidstone. Hereafter referred to as KCA. Add. mss. North, U 471. Unless stated otherwise all items quoted here from the North Archives are held with other papers in U 471 which are not all individually identified. I wish to record here my thanks for the permission granted to me to quote from the North Papers.
of a substantial number of manuscript pages evidently intended for eventual publication as a *Practical Grammar and Reader of Illyrian* for the use of foreigners with a knowledge of Italian. These manuscript pages must all have been written before 1827 since Frederick North, the Fifth Earl of Guilford, in whose archive they survive, died early in that year. Since he is today virtually unknown except, in Greece, as a philhelle, it is necessary for our purpose here to give some biographical details about him.

Born into the high aristocracy in 1766, Frederick North was the youngest son of a Prime Minister of George III and a friend of the Prince Regent, later George IV. He became Fifth Earl of Guilford on the death of his elder brother in 1817. A brilliant linguist, he wrote impeccable Latin and classical Greek, spoke fluent Romanic as well as English, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian. He also acquired a reading knowledge of Church Slavonic sufficient to enable him to study the differences between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches from the source material. As a student at Oxford, where he studied classics, he became a committed philhelle. On leaving Oxford he set out on his *tour de l'Europe*. Starting from Spain he travelled through Mediterranean lands visiting, among other places, the Ionian Islands and the eastern shores of the Adriatic, including Dubrovnik, on his way to Greece. After some time in Athens he continued his travels, to include Smyrna, Cyprus, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Constantinople before returning to Athens. Later he travelled still more widely to yet other lands, including Russia.

When first setting foot on the Ionian Islands, North had been appalled by the “terrible patois” spoken by the Greeks there. He became deeply concerned as to how their speech could be purified — and was eventually to some extent to succeed in doing so. While first visiting Dubrovnik he became interested in the slavonic language spoken around him by the people living there. Perhaps with the debased patois of the Greeks on the Ionian Islands in mind, he took lessons in “la langue illyrienne” from Pavel Djuračić, a native of Ston (within the recently fallen Republic of Dubrovnik), while he and North were both living in Athens. This would enable him to recognise illyrian elements pervading the speech of the Ionian Greeks.

On returning home after his prolonged *tour de l'Europe*, following his father’s death, he took the family seat in Parliament and a minor government post. He soon moved from this, having quickly been recognised by the British Government as a brilliant administrator and hence quickly appointed to increasingly important government office. These were to include, eventually, six years as Governor of Ceylon and then Secretary of State to the newly-appoint ed British Viceroy of Corsica. When the Ionian Islands became a British Protectorate after the Treaty of Paris in 1815 he was sent by the British Government on a special mission to the Ionian Islands to organise education throughout the Protectorate. He now earned a wide reputation and great respect in that whole region (including Dubrovnik) and even further afield, for his success in introducing a liberal system of education which included the founding of fifty-nine schools, and senior high schools (or “Colleges”) for the higher
education of the children of the nobility whom he saw on his arrival there to be “absolutely destitute of knowledge”.4

In Dubrovnik North, (who became 5th Earl of Guilford on his elder brother’s death in 1817) was introduced to Appendini through Pavel Djuračić. He must have discussed linguistic questions with Appendini. It would have been interesting to hear Guilford’s views on Appendini’s “hallucination” concerning the etymology of European languages. Whatever the outcome of their conversations Appendini certainly respected Guilford’s erudition and held him in high esteem. He was, wrote Appendini, “nempe cum primo per litteras deinde ex colloquis et lectione operis, quod de antiquissimis Europeanum gentium linguaramque originibus tunc prae manibus habebam quoque ad veterem Geographiam et Historiam illustrandam peridoneum judicabat, non dubie cognovisset”.5

However, in Dubrovnik Guilford probably enjoyed himself most in the company of the “latinisti”, who welcomed him warmly into their circle. Bernard Djamanjić, addressed an elegant Ode “Perhonorabili viro ac Domino Frederico Comiti Guilfordio”, who impressed them all by his charm and erudition.

After inheriting the Earldom and with it the very considerable family fortune, Guilford resolved to act upon the idea he had long ago conceived with his friend Count Capodistria, a native of Corfu, to found there a higher academic institution, a University, no less, whose academic standards were to be comparable with those of Oxford and Cambridge Universities. It was to provide for the education of young men from the nobility and upper classes of those regions, including Athens, for whom no such Institution at that time existed. Apart from his wealth and considerable administrative experience at the highest level and in those regions, Frederick North, son of a former Prime Minister and friend of the former Prince Regent now George IV, was not without considerable personal influence in British Government circles. And in 1818, as the result of Guilford’s persistent efforts, the British Parliament promulgated its “Charter for the Ionian Islands” providing for the founding of a University in Corfu and naming Guilford as its first Chancellor. Guilford dedicated himself unreservedly to the task of its detailed organisation; and the University of Corfu was in 1824 officially inaugurated by the British Government. Its four Faculties had already enlisted students and staff, while several of the most promising young men from those part had been sent to some of the most prestigious universities abroad, including Oxford and Cambridge, to study under specially appointed tutors. They were destined for election in due course to Chairs at Corfu University. The University flourished — until Guilford’s sudden, unexpected and untimely death in 1827. Without Guilford’s inspiration, persistence, personal influence and wealth, the new Corfu University gradually lost the high academic status regarded as essential by its first Chancellor who had already done much to achieve this, and though his original ob-

4. The Obituary on Frederick North in The Gentleman’s Magazine. March 1827, p. 461 records that as a result of the liberal educational reforms introduced there by Guilford “the Greek patois which has hitherto been spoken in the Ionian Islands, is gradually changing to the more elegant and copious language of continental Greece.”

5. F. M. Appendini, De vita et scriptis Bernardi Zamagnae, Jaderaee, 1830, Preface.
jective of creating a Greek-speaking University was abandoned when Italian replaced Greek as the working language, it continued to exist as an Institute of higher education.6

* * *

The first section of the collective manuscript with which we are here concerned describes the grammar of Illyrian as spoken then by the slav people living in Dubrovnik. It consists of a substantial number of carefully written pages of text, all drawn up in the same way, each foolscap-sized page being regularly divided vertically into two halves. On the left is an Italian text, on the right its translation. Thus it begins:

**Della Pronunzia**

Le lettere della Lingua Illirica sono ventisei...

**Od Ifgovaragna**

Slovva od Jesika flovinskoga allite Naschi jesu dvadesti i jces...

The letters of each alphabet having been given, the text continues:

**Della Nove Parti dell’ Orazione**

Orazione e un Unione di parole abili a paleseare i concetti della nostra mente.

**Od Devet djelaa od Rašgovora**

Rašgovor jes jedno sadrujegnie od rječi podobnitjeh fa ocvitovat misli do nasce pameti.

Novi sono le spezie delle parole che concerrono a forma il discorso.

**Od Devet djelaa od Rašgovora**

Jesu devet varstaa od rječi, koje pomagaju fa sastucit rašgovor.7

These nine categories of speech are listed in tabular form in Italian and Illyrian, each on its own side, the Illyrian grammatical terminology being noticeably indebted to the Italian *viz*: “Artikuo”, “imme”, “prifime”, “verab”, “participio”, “adverbio”, “prepožition”, “congiuntion”, “interjetion”. Of these the first five, it is explained, are declined, the last four indeclinable. The declineable article, which exists as a separate word in Italian but not in Illyrian, is neatly illustrated via the comparative method being used in this Grammar, showing how the Italian article is equated in Illyrian by the declensional case-endings of the Illyrian nouns. These are now exemplified. The masculine nouns “kragl”, “ciovjek” and “bogh”, feminine nouns “kraljiza” and “duscia” and neuter nouns, are all set out in full tabular form in all their cases both singular and plural. Full attention is paid similarly to the verb. The verbs “biti” and “gliubiti” (an example of a verb of the so-termed “Pârva Conjuga- zion”) are each set out at length, in tables, alongside their Italian equivalents “essere” and “amare” in all three persons of both the singular and plural and in all tenses and moods. These range from the Indicative Present via the Im-


7. KCA, U 471, C124–5. It is interesting to see that “della lingua illirica” is translated in the illyrian version as “od Jesika flovinskoga ili Naschi”.

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perfect and Future to the Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect. The Passive Mood of each verb, the Conditional, Conjunctive, the Disjunctive are all presented except for the Passive of “biti” which, as the learner is reminded, does not exist. Participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections and their uses or functions are then tersely explained, with examples.

Not so much the choice of the material but its lay–out and manner of presentation, distinguishes the practical purpose of this Grammar rather than the more academic purpose underlying the method of exposition used by Appendini in his Grammatica della lingua illirica.

Of greatest interest, perhaps, are the pages evidently intended to provide reading material for the learner. Several of these take the form of lively conversations between two people, such as might have been heard in Dubrovnik and recorded verbatim by the writer of this Grammar. These conversations also are set out in parallel Italian and Illyrian columns. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Illyrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queste Lettere porterai subito alla Posta.</td>
<td>Ovvechjesk kgngjhe oncias poniet na Postu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se commanda darmi delli denari per pagare la Posta.</td>
<td>Ako japowiedate datmi dinara fa platti Postu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecco cento Para.</td>
<td>Evoti stò parà.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non basta per queste d’oggi ma si deve pagar la Posta da tre Mesi, e più.</td>
<td>Nje dosta ni fa ovve danascgne immase platti Posta od na-fjad tri Miesezaa, i vechie.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elsewhere there is a terse exchange between master and servant before setting off to join the hunt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Illyrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Che tempo fà.</td>
<td>Koije brieme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il vento si è tirato à Tramontana.</td>
<td>Vietarseje poteghnuo na Burru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fà gran freddo.</td>
<td>Jeli velika $ima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediocrement.</td>
<td>U sredgmu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>È lavato il mio fchioppo.</td>
<td>Jeli oplakana moja Puscka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>È pronto.</td>
<td>$pravnaje.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These conversations are the more interesting since they record the colloquial, non–literary language as heard spoken live in Dubrovnik by the writer. Other conversations include such items as “Dialogo tra una fignora ed una ferva: Rafgovor meghiui jednom Gospoghiom i fudgbenikom”, “Discorso fra due Cacciatori: Rafgovor meghiui dva lozva”, “Dialogo tra il Sigr. Pietro e Nikolo: Govoregne meghiui Gosparom Petrom i Nikolom”, “Una Visita da un fignore da Viaggio: Jedno Pohodjegnie u jednoga Gospara od Puta”, “Discorso fpóra il Carnovale: Rafgovor od Pokladan”. This last Conversation is unique for the first–hand impression it gives of the atmosphere and excitement in Dubrovnik on the day of the annual Masked Carnival, as the speakers watch the carnival procession passing under their window:
Venite presto alla finestra,  
Sig[no]re  
Elena, ecco passano più di venti  
Maschere parlanti...  
Guardate quella Mora, quanto e  
bene mascherata, osservate  
quelle freccie, quel Arco.  
E cosa dite della lungheza,  
e bianchezza dei Pennacchi  
E tutta vestita di jeta, è la  
migliore di questa giornata.  

Doghi bárfo na Prozor, Gospo.  
Jele, evvo probodu visce od dvadesti  
Masckáraa govorechjih...  
Pogledaj onnu Morizu, kolikoje  
ljepo masckarana, pogledaj  
onne štrjele, onni Lak (sic!)  
A scto govorite od duglinme,  
i hjalochie od perjanizzaa.  
švaje obucena u jvili, jes najboglja  
od danaske  

There is some reading material of a more literary kind in the form of a poem entitled “Consiglio ad un Amico” rendered in Illyrian as “vjet jednomu Prijategliu”, and four four–line fables given in Italian and Illyrian, each complete with its “Tomacegne”. For instance “Della Volpe”, “Od Kune”, “Od Orla”.

* * *

Whether or not Frederick North himself collected, translated and wrote down or dictated all this material which is in several hand, is not clear. This is unlikely. But it certainly resulted from his inspiration and acumen. At the time of his death he was especially concerned as to how text books necessary for students at his Corfu University might be procured. He was planning to set up a press for Corfu University and was already negotiating to obtain cyrillic fonts for it. The manuscript described above was probably intended for publication there.

Quotations from the manuscript given here in Italian and Illyrian are both in the orthography as it appears in the manuscript. A comparison of the orthography of Illyrian used in Guilford’s manuscript with that of Appendini could be of interest for those more competent to do so than is the present writer. The purpose of this paper is simply to call attention to the existence in England of this manuscript, and of its inspirer if not author, an Englishman who in the early years of the nineteenth century not only learned the Illyrian language himself but sought to provide the means by which other foreigners might learn it. There are grounds for believing that Guilford was invited to join the Spelling Commission held in Zadar in 1820, of which Appendini was Chairman, but was unable to attend.

Prva slovnica i čitanka ilirskoga jezika?