

The Cooperation of Grimm Brothers, Jernej Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić*

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*This article is focused on Kopitar's work for oral tradition in the eras of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, and on his contribution to South Slavic publications of folk narrative and linguistics, especially from the perspective of his cooperation with Jacob Grimm and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), Slovene linguist, censor, and scribe in Vienna, was one of the founders of Slavic studies and the author of the renowned first Slovene scientific grammar book, entitled *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steiermark* (Grammar of Slavic languages in Carniola, Carinthia and Styria 1809). He was also translator of the *Freising Manuscripts* (*Brižinski spomeniki*). As an accomplished philologist, Kopitar maintained contacts and corresponded with numerous intellectuals of that period, notably with Josef Dobrovský and the great German philologists Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Some of their letters have been preserved to this day. As a mentor to Vuk Karadžić, whom he encouraged to publish literary folklore, dictionaries, and grammar, he introduced Karadžić to Jacob Grimm and made references of Karadžić in his letters to Grimm, who took Karadžić under his guidance.*

Keywords: Jernej Kopitar, Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, Vuk Karadžić, fairy tale, folk tale, folk song, Enlightenment, romanticism, philology, folklore, folk narrative, Kinder- und Hausmärchen

The Reformation period and the beginnings of Romanticism left visible cultural and political effects in Slavic lands. The movement that had originated in Scotland with James Macpherson's ballad collection of the Celtic bard Ossian, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), and with Thomas Percy's publications,¹ stirred wide interest in literary folklore. Particularly resonant in the Slovene ethnic territory was the work of Johann Gottfried von Herder who proclaimed, in the spirit of the teachings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, that folk songs were a product of natural poetry worthy of becoming the foundation of modern poetry. In his collection *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1778/9, 1807) Herder also published translations of the folk songs of Slavic peoples, for

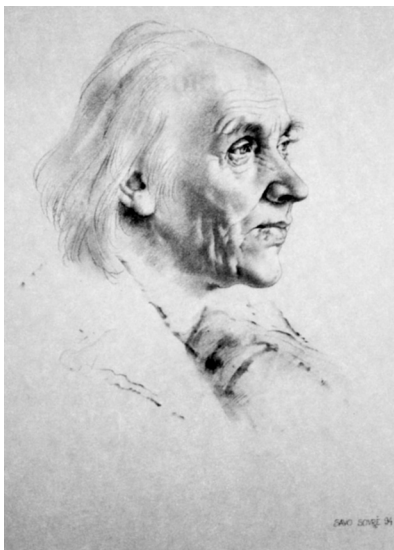
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¹ *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* (1763) and *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765).

example the Serbian *Hasanaginica* (*Klaggensang von der edlen Frauen der Asanaga*)². Yet it was not until Josef Dobrovsky observed in the *Slavin* magazine in 1806 (Kidrič 1930: 151) that the Slavic nations became acquainted with Herder's homage to the Slavs in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1791).

In Slovenia, Marko Pohlin, an initiator of the Slovene cultural revival, encouraged the creation of the first collection of Slovenian folk songs collected by Jožef Zakotnik. Pohlin's initiative was followed by Anton Janez Zupančič, who published, on August 8, 1807 in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, an article with an appeal to the general public to send him folk songs and other ethnographic material. It was in this period that Jernej Kopitar started his linguistic and philological work.

Jernej Kopitar (Repnje near Ljubljana on August 21–Vienna on August 11, 1844) was a younger representative of cultural revival and one of the most prominent Slovene philologists.



Jernej Kopitar (by Savo Sovre) and the house in Repnje near Ljubljana in which Jernej (Bartholomäus) Kopitar was born.

It was of great importance for the young Jernej Kopitar that Žiga Zois Baron Edelstein took him under his wing in 1803. The founder of the “literary republic” (*res publica litteraria*),³ Zois was the central figure of the Slovene cultural revival during the Enlightenment. After completing his education, Jernej Kopitar came in 1800 to live in the house of Zois's sister who was married to a nobleman by the name of Bonazza. Kopitar became the private teacher of their son Franz Anton. After Franz Anton had left for Vienna, Kopitar worked in Zois's private residence as a secretary, librarian, and curator of Zois's mineral collection. Among the intellectuals of that time that have been gathering in Zois's circle were also poet Valentin Vodnik and count Anton

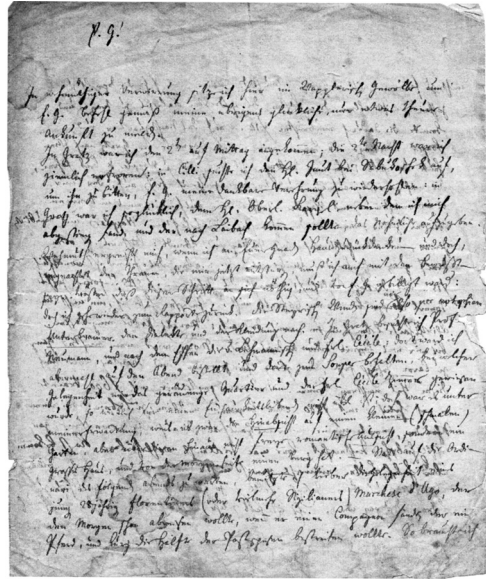
² The song was translated by Goethe after Alberto Fortis had published it in *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774) (Kidrič 1929–1938: 177; Jezernik 1988: 71–72).

³ Jernej Kopitar, who became an orphan, after cholera outbreak 1795

Rudež; both were pupils of Marko Pohlin, who had instilled in them an interest in folk lore.

While teaching the Slovene language to Countess Eugénie L. A. Belegarde, Kopitar started to closely examine Slovene grammar. A result of this interest was his grammar book *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (1809) that was published after he had already left for Vienna.⁴

Since 1804, Kopitar had greatly admired Bohemian literary historian and linguist **Josef Dobrovsky** (Balassagyarmat, Hungary, August 17, 1753–Brno, January 6, 1829), and introduced Dobrovsky and his *Slavin* newspaper to the public by publishing



Žiga Zois Baron Edelstein, the founder of the “literary republic” (*Res publica litteraria*) in Ljubljana, and a central figure of the Slovene cultural revival.

The first letter of Jernej Kopitar from Vienna (1808) to Baron Žiga Zois.

an article in the newspaper *Laibacher Wochenblatt* titled *Nachricht an die Freunde der slavischen Literatur* (1806).

Because Valentin Vodnik, in his letter to Dobrovsky on January 28, 1808, in which he reported on the situation in the field of Slavic studies in Slovenia, mentioned

⁴ The standards of this first Slovene scientific grammar were based on the folk language. Rather than adopting the principle of the language being determined by grammatical rules, Kopitar decided to seek these rules in the spoken language. His preface to the book discusses, on the basis of works written by Schlözer and Herder, Slavism; the history of Slavic tribes; the work of Saints Cyril and Methodius; and their alphabet. In addition, he presents his classification of Slavic languages after Dobrovsky and discusses at length the concept of Pan-Slavism that would enable the use of a universal Slavic alphabet. Kopitar also lists Slovene manuscripts and printed grammar books written first by Adam Bohorič and Jurij Japelj, all the way to Marko Pohlin. The first part of the book contains a critical overview of the development of the Slovene written language and spelling from 1550 to 1808. A true reformer of the Slovene literary language, Kopitar took the common man and as an example of the only strata of society that still masters the genuine Slovene language as opposed to the artificial language spoken by the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

only his own work on the Slovene grammar book and chose to completely overlook Kopitar's efforts in that field, on March 3, 1808, Kopitar wrote his own letter to Dobrovsky in which he introduced his work on his Slovene grammar book and offered to become Dobrovsky's correspondent and to contribute news and information on this subject. From then on, Dobrovsky and Kopitar had an intensive working relationship. It would seem that Kopitar's repeated initiatives and requests for collecting Slovene folk songs and tales addressed to the Slovene public, were mainly the result of his wish to satisfy the famous Bohemian philologist (SBL 1932: 508).

In October 1808, Zois sent Kopitar to Vienna, which he reached on November 5) to study law. However, Kopitar soon discovered his talent for philology and also started to study Slavic languages. He was instructed by Zois to establish ties between Zois' circle and other Slavic centres in the Austrian Empire. Zois' personal, financial, and social support and his letters of recommendation enabled Jernej Kopitar access to the higher social circles and intellectual society.

During his studies in Vienna, Jernej Kopitar was also in contact with Josef Dobrovsky, and sent him information on Slovenian language and folklore. Acting upon Kopitar's request, Zois had been looking for a long time, although with no success, for the manuscript collection of adages collected by Janez Mihelič, a pupil of Marko Pohlin and a collector of folk songs and tales.⁵ Zois sent to Kopitar "songs of a truly national character" that had been collected by Valentin Vodnik and Jurij Japelj, a priest and a linguist, 27 of which Kopitar translated to German and forwarded to Dobrovsky.

Kopitar graduated in 1810, and at the end of that year he took the post of a private teacher in the house of Gika, a Romanian nobleman. However, Kopitar's innate talent for languages made him embark on the study of philology. Spending much time in the library, he was able to meet many prominent scholars of the day (SBL 1932: 499). The fact that he was mentored by Zois opened up many doors, for example to the Imperial court, government cabinets, the archbishopric's palace, salons of the nobility (e.g. the salon of Karl von Schreibers, the house of historiographer Jožef Kalasanc Baron Erberg), and to the university (Vidmar 2010: 160). Even though Kopitar did make acquaintances on his own, he still very much depended on letters of recommen-

⁵ In his report on the period when Mihelič was a parish priest in Radovljica, Marko Pohlin states that Mihelič was in possession of a number of Carniolan proverbs (*Adagia Carniolica*). If this very extensive manuscript could be edited and published systematically, a great deed would be done for Carniolan (Slovenian) literature. When this report was published, the collector of proverbs was probably already deceased. Although Kopitar found Pohlin's report only after he had returned to Vienna, he must have assumed from the first letter sent to him by Dobrovsky that the great patriarch of Slavicism felt very strongly about the discovery of Mihelič's proverb collection. On February 1, 1809, Kopitar wrote to Zois the following: "According to the bibliography of Father Marko Pohlin, there is allegedly a priest in Dolenjsko by the name of Mihelič who is in possession of a collection of Carniolan proverbs. It seems that Dobrovsky cares about this collection very much. Although Mihelič is already deceased it might still be possible to find the manuscript." Zois enlisted others to look for the manuscript in Kropa and elsewhere but with no avail (SBL 1933: 113).

Examining Pohlin's *Bibliotheca Carnioliae* (1803) in Vienna, Kopitar found a report on the Father Dizma Zakotnik (Jožef Zakotnik). Largely under the influence of Pohlin's cultural revival circle, Zakotnik was collecting folk songs among the common people, including the oldest ones such as *Pegam and Lambergar*, *Jurij Kobila*, *Kralj Matjaž*, and *Lepa Vida* (SBL 1932: 501), this collection was lost as well.

dation written by Zois. These letters were particularly valuable when Kopitar applied for a position in the Imperial Library in Vienna.

On September 7, 1810, he became the censor for books written in Slavic languages and in Modern Greek. On December 10 of the same year, he was finally appointed to the post of the fourth scribe of the Imperial Library (Vidmar 2010: 163). Nine years later, in May 1819, Kopitar became the first scribe of the Imperial Library. He was also inducted into office of the censor for Slavic, Romanian, and Modern Greek books. Yet it was not until April 24, 1844, that Kopitar finally attained the highest position in his line of work and was appointed First Curator and an imperial councillor. He belonged to over twenty prominent European scientific academies and societies, e. g. of France, Russia, Bavaria, Prussia, Göttingen, and Serbia (Pogačnik 1977: 8).

Although Kopitar's scientific explorations focused on Slavic philology, he was also keenly interested in cultural and political ideologies. Even before he had obtained his first post in Vienna, Kopitar was already known as an authority on the circumstances concerning the South Slavs. It was in his favourite inn, "Zum weissen Wolf", where Kopitar socialized with Balkan merchants and learned to speak their languages.



*Dimitrij Davidović and Dimitrije Frušić with his family (by Jožef Tominc, National Gallery in Ljubljana). Serbian physicians who with the help of Bartholomäus Kopitar started to publish a Serbian newspaper in Vienna, *Novine serpske* (1813–1821).*

In addition to his friends at home, Kopitar had a wide network of friends and acquaintances abroad – over six hundred correspondents. Among the more prominent were Wilhelm von Humboldt, Friedrik Schlegel, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Leopold von Ranke, Polish patriot Count Ossolinski and Serbian writer Dimitrij Davidović. Together with Dimitrije Frušić, Davidović was encouraged and aided by Kopitar to start publishing a Serbian newspaper in Vienna, called *Novine serpske* (1813–1821). There was also Wenzel Hanka, a pupil of Dobrovsky, whom Kopitar met at the beginning of 1814 when Hanka made a stop in Vienna. In 1813, Kopitar met Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in Vienna, and two years later Jakob Grimm who at that time was a librarian in Kassel and had come to Vienna on diplomatic business. Grimm stayed there from October 1814 to June 1815. Kopitar met Štefan Stratimirović, the Serbian Metropolitan, on March 22, 1817. In 1818, Kopitar struck up a friendship with Pavel Solarić, a

Serbian Enlightenment philosopher and a proofreader of the Slavic printing house in Venice. Among others, Kopitar corresponded with Paul Josef Šafařík who in 1819 was still a private teacher in Bratislava. One of Kopitar's subsequent correspondents was also Jan Kollar (SBL 1832: 504).

His stimulating environment and his exceptional aptitude for linguistics enabled Kopitar to produce an exceptional number of articles. His texts were published in numerous journals, for example in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat*, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, and *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. Kopitar received descriptions of the Slovene folk culture as well as folk songs and folk tales mainly from Urban Jarnik, a priest and poet from Carinthia,⁶ and from the aforementioned Anton Rudež.⁷ In 1813, he published in *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (191, 192) a legend about the rib of a giant maiden (*ajdovska deklica*) in the church in Gornji Grad in Štajersko/Styria.⁸ The tale, about the rib from which drips a single drop each year until eventually it dissolves completely, is very similar to the folk tale from Crngrob.

In 1838, Kopitar made a number of suggestions to Emil Korytko, a young Polish emigrant, obviously trying to mould the enthusiastic Pole into a man similar to Vuk Karadžić (SBL 1932: 509). However, Korytko's untimely death prevented him from publishing all the instances of the Carniolan folk lore that he had originally planned. In his article entitled *Historische Frage* (*Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung* 1813), Kopitar examines Slovene folk songs about Pegam and Lambergar and analyses the etymology of the name Pegam from *Beheime* (Bohemian = hist. Czech).

Kopitar published notes written by Polish count Jan Potocki during his travels through Resia in approximately 1790 in his article *Die Slaven im Thale Resia* in the publication *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat* (1815).

Kopitar's enthusiasm for cultural revival is particularly pronounced in his work *Patriotische Phantasien eines Slaven* in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat* (1810) that aroused widespread enthusiasm. It was due to this article that Jan Kollar pronounced Kopitar one of the principal proponents of the concept of Slavic mutuality. The article also induced Pavel Josef Šafařík to write his *Geschichte der slav. Literatur nach allen Mundarten*, requesting Kopitar to contribute a list of Slovene authors furnished with short biographies. Kopitar complied, but instead of compiling the list himself he enlisted Matija Čop, whom he had met at the Imperial Library in Vienna, either in 1816 or in 1817. When Čop forwarded the completed text to Šafařík through Kopitar, Kopitar enclosed a letter with a very flattering evaluation of Čop's work. Years later, however, Kopitar became an opponent of Čop's literary theory. In addition, he also sharply criticized France Prešeren, the most prominent Slovene poet, who had sent a small volume of his poems for evaluation (SBL 1932: 504) to Kopitar in 1825/26. In 1833, when Kopitar had a falling-out with Čop and Prešeren, and consequently lost his fight for the so-called *metelčica*⁹ script, and after 1837, when Kopitar

⁶ In the Imperial Library in Vienna, Jarnik's letters to Kopitar from 1813 to 1833 are preserved: Signature ÖNB 140/29-1 to 140/29-41 Han.

⁷ Kopitar published their texts in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (Vienna 1812).

⁸ Rippe zu Oberburg in Steirmark (Kopitar / Miklošič 1857: 151).

⁹ In 1820 and 1821, when Dobrovsky was in Vienna due to the upcoming publication of his Old Church Slavonic grammar, Kopitar established closer contact with him. Since Dobrovsky had no intention of composing a Slavic alphabet, Kopitar set to work by himself. The so-called *metelčica*, a special alphabet

took an even fiercer stance against Ljudevit Gaj and against supporters of the concept of Illyrism, it became obvious that the conflict over the alphabet was essentially a conflict between two cultural periods (Murko 1908: 351).

It was only due to his close friendship with Vuk Karadžić that Kopitar was able to recover from this breach between himself and his fellow citizens in Slovenia. Further stricken by Dobrovsky's death in 1829, Kopitar started to focus primarily on Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. In 1836 he published *Kločev glagolit »Glagolita Clozianus«*, a manuscript written in the Glagolitic alphabet and in the possession of Count Cloz from Trident. This publication brought Kopitar considerable fame. The book also contained the so-called *Brižinski spomeniki* (Freising Manuscripts) with translation and several scholarly treatises.

In the summer of 1837, and at his own expense, Kopitar travelled to Rome and Bologna, where he made notes on Glagolitic manuscripts and on the Old Church Slavonic Psalter (Bonazza 1980). Several years later, Kopitar was selected to establish the Chair of Old Church Slavonic in Rome, which is why on October 28, 1842, he once again departed for Rome. Although originally planning to remain in Rome for two years and to lecture on Slavic literature to his Ruthenian students, he was forced to return to Vienna at the end of April of the following year due to his advanced lung disease. It was at that time that he met Franc Miklošič who had come to Vienna upon the recommendation of Polish count Ostrovski. Recognizing Miklošič's considerable talent, Kopitar provided him in 1844 with the post of the civil clerk in the Imperial Library, which enabled Miklošič to devote most of his time to Slavic studies. As his disease progressed, Kopitar was installed in the home of his fellow countryman, Professor Jožef Jenko, where he died in August. After his death, Miklošič – who remained loyal to his teacher and also supported his “Carinthian and Pannonian theory” about the origin of Old Church Slavonic – published Kopitar's *Kleinere Schriften I* in 1857.

The Cooperation

Kopitar was avidly interested also in folk songs, tales, proverbs, and customs. Among the non-Slavic Romaticists, he particularly respected Herder, Grimm, Schlegel, and Kant among the philosophers. He was searching for a gifted Slavacist who would, under his mentorship, lay the foundations of the Slovene language and literature. Unable to find such a person among the Slovenes, Kopitar was all the more impressed by Vuk Karadžić. He pledged his considerable influence and his powerful position to defend Karadžić from many hateful accusations and criticisms from Serbia as well as from Vienna, particularly in disputes over spelling and other linguistic issues. Kopitar also helped him financially, since Karadžić frequently had financial problems due to the fact that he was generally without permanent employment. **Vuk Stefanović Karadžić** was originally from a Herzegovinian family that later moved to Tršič. He briefly went to school in Srijemski Karlovci and later worked as a teacher and a judge, but not for long. A frequent and enthusiastic traveller, he was constantly taking notes on folk heritage and on the history of places he was encountering on his journeys.

composed by Franc Metelko, originated during the 1820 “alphabet assembly” in Vienna but did not entirely meet Kopitar's requirements. In view of this, Kopitar hastened to further Dobrovsky's publication *Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris* (Vienna 1822), also adding *Epimetra tria*.



Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (Tršić, October 26, 1787 – Vienna, January 26, 1864)

In 1813, he had joined the leaders of the Serbian uprising who were fleeing the Ottoman Empire's repeated assault on Serbia, and arrived in Vienna. He met Kopitar in December of that year.¹⁰ Very impressed by his extraordinary intelligence and kind manners, Kopitar became Karadžić's most loyal friend, teacher, consultant, and patron. He perceived Karadžić as the figure who could end the anarchy in the Serbian literary language and lay the foundations of spelling and literature. Wasting no time, he wrote about Karadžić in a letter sent that very month to **Jacob Grimm**, a prominent German philologist. This was also the period in which Grimm started his diplomatic career. After Napoleon's defeat in 1814, Grimm arrived to attend the Congress of Vienna. But Kopitar departed for Paris on July 11, 1814 in order to arrange the return of the books, manuscripts, and other valuables Napoleon had taken from Vienna, and before returning to Vienna on February 14, also visited London and Oxford. Although in Paris at that time,¹¹ Kopitar was able to establish contacts between Grimm and

¹⁰ After the death of Dositej Obradović in 1811, Kopitar started to look for a Serbian writer who would be ready to, and capable of, realizing his reform of the Serbian literary language. Neither Pavel Solarić nor Lukijan Mušicki, who were two of his correspondents, possessed the ability to realize this task. In 1813, Kopitar met Vuk Karadžić, who soon became his principal helper in the realization of his meticulously planned Serbian literary revival. On March 9, Kopitar sent an enthusiastic report on this meeting to Žiga Zois, stating: "Have I already written to Your Lordship about the wonderful Serbian folk songs that have been published, upon my initiative, by an exile here in Vienna? There are about one hundred poems, each more beautiful than the last one. [...] This Serbian exile, who is extremely bright, had studied in Karlovci in three different schools but is unfortunately lame due to syphilis. I have tried my best to help him regain his health." However, Kopitar's Serbian protégé resisted his help (Vidmar 2010: 250). Their relation was nevertheless extremely harmonious, a reliable proof of which was the fact that in his letters to Zois, Kopitar never uttered a single negative word about Karadžić; the same could not be said for the majority of Kopitar's many Viennese acquaintances (Vidmar 2010: 251).

¹¹ In his letter sent to Dobrovsky in 1814, Grimm regretfully mentioned that he had been unable to become acquainted with Kopitar in Vienna since Kopitar had gone to Paris at that time. Feeling that they shared



Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm (Hanau, January 4, 1785–Berlin, September 20, 1863) and Wilhelm Carl Grimm (Hanau, February 24, 1786–Berlin, December, 16., 1859)

Karadžić¹² but he himself had not personally met Grimm in Vienna until 1815 (Glonar 1938: 134).

The first Slavic scholar that Grimm, who at that time was already interested in Slavic languages, established contacts with was Dobrovsky; acting upon Brentano's¹³ intervention, Dobrovsky had sent his *Slavin* to Grimm in 1810. The following year Grimm and Docen, a Germanist from Munich, advanced the discovery of the Freising Manuscripts. Grimm started to learn Old Church Slavonic from Dobrovsky's *Institutiunes*; Slovene from Kopitar's grammar book; and Russian from the grammar book written by J. S. Vater (Glonar 1938: 133-134). Grimm founded the Scientific Society for the Collection of Folklore Material (Vasmer 1938: X, ref. 1; Lauer 1987: 8) and in 1815 composed the *Circular wegen Aufsammlung der Volkspoesie* (A Circular on Collecting Folk Poetry). Together with an enclosed list of the then known books of folk tales, the Circular was sent to Vuk Karadžić through Kopitar.

Kopitar also exchanged letters with **Wilhelm Grimm**,¹⁴ but his cooperation was much stronger with Jacob Grimm, who was interested in Slavic philology. A large part of their correspondence was preserved in Berlin in Preussische Staatsbibliothek, and was published with comments by Max Vasmer (1938).

the same scholarly interests, Grimm felt that Kopitar's expertise on Slavic studies could be very beneficial (Glonar 1938: 134).

¹² Grimm's close relationship with Karadžić, who was of simple birth, was rather surprising since Grimm was from a distinguished family and highly educated. Kopitar certainly played an important role in this process, but also Grimm's interest in non-Germanic languages was prevalent. Grimm participated in the publication of many collections of folk tales of other nations and often included in his literary studies Serbian, Russian, Finnish, Italian, and Greek folk lore.

¹³ Even in his youth, Jacob Grimm collaborated with Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentan on the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805).

¹⁴ In Imperial Library in Vienna is preserved Wilhelm Grimm's letter to Kopitar from the year 1828: Signature ÖNB 45/36-1 Han.

The communication between Kopitar, Karadžić, and Grimm never completely ceased. Pronouncing folk songs the pinnacle of folk poetry, quite in the spirit of Romanticism, Karadžić collected and published Serbian folk songs. The first two collections were published in the 1814-15 period.¹⁵ Kopitar wrote enthusiastic reviews of Karadžić's books that were published in various newspapers and magazines, for example in *Wiener Literaturzeitung* in 1815. In that same year, Kopitar translated the first part of Karadžić's folk songs in German and forwarded the translation to Goethe, hoping to arouse his interest in Serbian folk songs since Goethe had translated so magnificently the *Hasanaginica* in German. Goethe did publish one of them, namely the song titled *Dioba Jakšića* (The Division of the Jakšić Brothers), in his newspaper *Über Kunst und Altertum*. After the publication of Grimm's review of Karadžić's folk songs in *Göttingenische Gelehrten Anzeigen* in 1819, the interest of the German public in Serbian folk songs further increased.

Inspired by Kopitar's work, and with his considerable help, Karadžić wrote a grammar book of the Serbian language (1814).¹⁶ Following Kopitar's grammatical principles, he reformed the Cyrillic alphabet and faithfully followed the phonetic principle of Johann Christoph Adelung, a German grammarian. Karadžić's literary and linguistic reform reflected the Romantic notion of the unity of language, nation, and folk songs and tales. While writing his grammar book, Karadžić followed Kopitar's advice to allot each phoneme its own letter and to construct the grammar according to the speech of common people. Another philologist who agreed with this concept was Grimm, who was of the opinion that the pure speech of the common people should definitely be taken into account when establishing linguistic rules. This is also one of the reasons it is so important to collect folk songs, tales, belief legends, and proverbs, and to record customs and usages. In 1824, Grimm published an abridged German edition of Karadžić's *Serbian Grammar Book* from 1814, furnished with his own preface *Kleine Serbische Grammatik*¹⁷. This introduction of Vuk Karadžić and his work to the German-speaking part of the world garnered Karadžić recognition both in Serbia and abroad. Having assumed a prominent position in the development process of the Serbian Slavic studies in the German-speaking part of Europe, this book also indicates how thoroughly Grimm had investigated Slavic linguistics, etymology, and mythology.

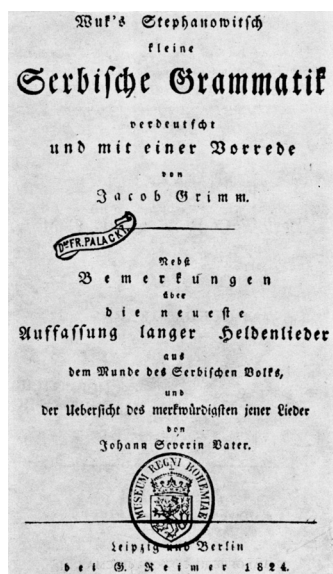
In 1818, Karadžić compiled his Serbian dictionary,¹⁸ which was once again the result of cooperation with Kopitar and Grimm. Kopitar prepared the Latin and the German part of the dictionary in the period from October 1816 to March 1817. This dictionary is a true indication of the joint efforts of these three prominent philologists. In addition to contributing translations in German and Latin, Kopitar also provided Karadžić with the relevant literature. Grimm suggested to include practical explanations of the dictionary's entries, which gave the book special value (Glonar 1938: 135). After the dictionary's release, Kopitar consistently rejected all negative reviews and critical remarks, particularly those of Štefan Stratimirović, against Karadžić's linguistic reform (*Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1818). Moreover, he ensured that Grimm could draw

¹⁵ *Mala prostonarodna slavenoserbska Pesmarica* (Serbian folk songs, Volume I). Beograd 1814.

¹⁶ *Pismenica serbskog jezika, po govoru prostoga naroda*. Beograd 1814.

¹⁷ Vuk's Stephanowitsch, *Kleine serbische Grammatik mit der Vorrede J. Grimms*. Berlin-Leipzig: G. Reimer 1834.

¹⁸ *Srbski rječnik*. Beograd 1818.



Kleine serbische Grammatik (Berlin-Leipzig 1834) published by Jacob Grimm.

upon the rich data collected in this dictionary for his material on German traditional law (Glonar 1938: 134).

Throughout this period, Kopitar strived to help his protégé achieve a professional breakthrough in the German scholarly world and gain the well-deserved recognition that Karadžić needed in order to succeed with his reforms in Serbia. Kopitar and Grimm also helped Karadžić to get his doctoral degree from the German university in Jena. Karadžić became a member of various German scholarly societies¹⁹ and was even received in 1823 in Weimar by none other than Goethe, which was considered a particular honor at that time (Glonar 1938; 143; Lauer 1987; 8).

Jernej Kopitar helped also Therese Albertine Loise von Jacob (Talvj) to arrange and publish his translations of the first part of Karadžić's collection of folk songs arranged by Goethe, under the title *Volklieder der Serben* (1825–1826).

Kopitar also intervened on Karadžić's behalf in England, linking him with John Bowring. Bowring's interest in Serbian folk songs was aroused in 1826 when *Westminster Review* published an article on *Pesnarica* (Serbian Popular Poetry) Karadžić had published (Portridge 1987: 12, 13). In 1827, Bowring translated them in English and prepared English edition published in London.²⁰

The correspondence between Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić is extremely extensive (Stojanović 1907ff). They discussed folk songs and tales, customs, traditional legal customs, narratives, and proverbs.²¹ While Karadžić always wrote his letters in Serbian,

¹⁹ Karadžić became a fellow of the Academy in Jena, was elected a corresponding member of the Göttingen Scientific Society in 1824, and in 1849 became a fellow of the Academy of Science in Berlin. Grimm, on the other hand, became a member of the Belgrade Society of Serbian Science at Karadžić's initiative.

²⁰ *Narodne Srpske Pjesme: Servian Popular Poetry*. Translated by John Bowring. London 1827.

²¹ In 1836, Karadžić published a collection of Serbian proverbs entitled *Narodne srpske poslovice*. Revised editions were released in 1849 and posthumously in 1900. Among other things, he published historic essays and descriptions of the lifestyle, customs, and traditional law practices of the Serbs.

Kopitar constantly replied in German. Their letters clearly illustrate just how intensive their cooperation was regarding all aspects of Karadžić's work.

In contrast, Grimm and Karadžić actually only rarely met in person. While he was travelling around Germany in 1823, Karadžić stopped at the end of September in Kassel to visit Grimm at his home. This visit additionally stimulated Karadžić to continue collecting folk songs and tales, which resulted in further publications in 1823, 1824, 1826, 1828, 1829, and 1833. When Grimm lived in Berlin, Karadžić repeatedly visited him (in 1843, 1844, 1854, and in 1857). In 1853, Karadžić published a book of Serbian folk tales,²² and dedicated it to Jacob Grimm. Among other material, the book contains 166 riddles and a preface by Grimm. While some of the tales were those Karadžić had heard in childhood, others had been collected and written down by friends and acquaintances, teachers, students, merchants, etc. It needs to be mentioned that Karadžić already distinguished and pointed out the difference between folk tales told by female and male narrators.

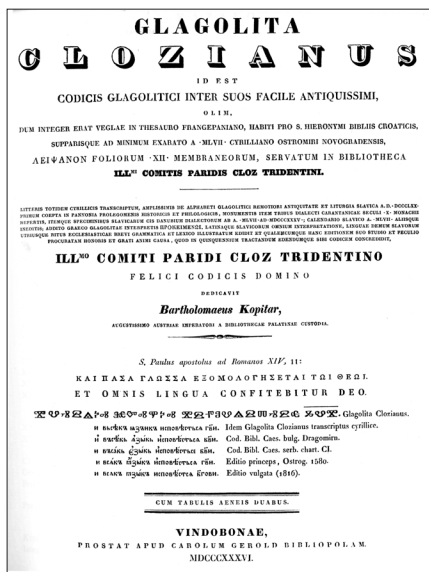
This long and prolific cooperation was also the result of Grimm's growing interest in Slavism and in all authentic manifestations of the common people's spirit, and particularly in those that had been incorporated in the language and song. Corresponding with Jozef Dobrovsky and a number of other Slavists, Grimm studied Bohemian belief tales and the old Russian epic *Slovo o polku Igořevě* (The Song of Igor's Campaign). He believed that the Slavic nations within the Austrian Empire should maintain close cooperation and contacts (Lauer 1987: 6).

After Dobrovsky's death in 1829, Kopitar was considered the most important Slavist. Indeed, Grimm pronounced him the Slavist who, after Dobrovsky had passed away, assumed the leadership of all Slavists of the day (Glonar 1938: 137). The copious correspondence between Kopitar and Grimm that has been preserved to this day is a proof of their mutual respect and fruitful cooperation (Sauer 1908; Vasmer 1938; Stojanović 1907). The first letter written by Kopitar to Grimm that has been preserved bears the date February 4, 1819 (Vasmer 1938: 1-2). Its content already shows their efforts to help Karadžić in collecting folk lore and in documenting the Serbian language; Kopitar's endeavours for language reform among the Serbs; and their willingness to popularize Karadžić's work among the Germans and other non-Slavic nations (Vasmer 1938: letters 1, 2).²³

Grimm and Kopitar shared an interest in etymology, grammar, and Old Church Slavonic records. In addition to this, their letters reflect a concern for literary folklore and mythological traditions. In many of his letters, Kopitar was sending Grimm information on the significance and etymology of Slavic as well as Greek and Albanian words; on grammar; on Slovene folk songs and tales; and on fables and mythology, all of which Grimm needed for his future publications. Among other subjects, Kopitar wrote about supernatural beings from Slavic folk tradition, such as Korant, Torca, Kresnik, Veles and Perun, and explained customs such as the *kolednica* and the *kupalo* (Vasmer 1938: 95-104; 135-138). Grimm and Kopitar exchanged views on linguistic

²² *Srpske narodne pripovijetke, skupio ih i na svijet izdao Vuk Stef. Karadžić*, in Vienna, in the Jermen monastery publishing house, 1853.

²³ At Kopitar's initiative, Grimm wrote a review of Karadžić's dictionary and published it in *Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen* 10. April 1819, 569-578. His review of Karadžić's songbook *Pesmarica 1-2* was published in *Wiener Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung* 1815, 1168ff. In 1816, 314ff.



Bartholomaeus Kopitar, *Glagolita Clozianus* (Vienna 1836)

research of the Albanian language, the Romanian dialect of the Vlachs; Bulgarian and Celtic languages; and the language spoken in Brittany (Vasmer 1938: 15-16). They also discussed Kopitar’s “Pannonian theory” about the origin of Old Church Slavonic.

Initially a proponent of Kopitar’s theory, Grimm changed his opinion when Kopitar published his notable *Glagolita Clozianus*,²⁴ the very work intended to successfully justify his theory (*contra omnes et singulos*). Grimm became an advocate of the so-called “Macedonian-Bulgarian theory”, taking in his review the position of Kopitar’s opponents, for example of Šafařík, Köppen, and Vostokov. This position slightly dampened their friendship²⁵ and their correspondence became, although briefly, less frequent. Afterwards, they resumed their close relations, exchanging relevant literature and views on philologists and publications on philology, literature, mythology, and ethnology until Kopitar’s health critically deteriorated at the end of the summer of 1842. Kopitar’s last preserved letter to Grimm is dated July 5, 1842.

Conclusion

Jernej Kopitar was, together with Josef Dobrovsky, the founder of Slavic philology. He was generally known and admired for his enormous erudition and extreme intelligence (he was called “monstrum scientiarum” by Jacob Grimm). But toward the end of his life, Kopitar engaged in a dispute with his fellow citizens. Kopitar’s character was notoriously difficult. His testiness additionally contributed to his unpopular

²⁴ Bartholomaeus Kopitar, *Glagolita Clozianus* (Vienna 1836) a manuscript written in the Glagolitic alphabet, at that time in the possession of Count Cloz from Trident.

²⁵ The only person who remained faithful to Kopitar and his concepts until his death was his prominent pupil Fran Miklošič and, owing to Miklošič’s considerable reputation, this particular theory of Jernej Kopitar remained artificially alive for several more decades. It was conclusively refuted by Vatroslav Jagić, a Croatian philologist who succeeded Miklošič at the Department of Slavic Studies in Vienna.

status among the scholars (he was named *Visoki Gromovnik*, the “Supreme Thunderer” by France Prešeren, the greatest Slovenian poet). Many of Slovenian scholars unjustly underestimated him for producing fewer books than other leading Slavacists of that time.

Kopitar’s unpopular status among the scholars in his field increased with his rejection of the Bohemian cultural revival movement and of Hank’s falsifications of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. Far more impartial were Grimm and Leopold Ranke, who thought highly of Kopitar’s work with which they were thoroughly familiar. Ranke, who personally knew Kopitar well, wrote after his death to the grieving Karadžić: “His departure denotes a heavy loss not only for you but also for me – and indeed for the entire world. He was quite possibly the best philologist, and possessed knowledge that in its scope and exactitude was unsurpassable in the entire Austrian Empire” (Glonar 1938: 137). Karadžić was well aware that he could not have achieved what he had without Kopitar’s help and, although to a lesser extent, also without Grimm who helped him win respect and reputation throughout Europe, and gave him many important scientific instructions.

Vuk Karadžić’s efforts to collect folklore, particularly literary folklore, were invaluable. His many publications were followed by a number of translations.²⁶ A special committee entrusted with the task of publishing his extensive legacy edited in Belgrade his collected works (*Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića*) in thirty-six volumes (1965–1974). But while his work and cooperation with Jacob Grimm are well known, very few are aware of the role that Jernej Kopitar had played in Karadžić’s life, although it may be said that it was Kopitar who had created the scholar that Karadžić certainly was. The cooperation of Grimm, Karadžić, and Kopitar reflects their diversified aims and interests. Both Karadžić and Grimm lay the foundations of their respective languages and wrote, each for his own nation, a grammar book and a dictionary, in addition to collecting and publishing numerous folk songs. Moreover, Grimm published articles on mythology, traditional law, and etymology. Kopitar prepared for his nation a grammar book and published studies on Old Church Slavonic and on etymology. The cooperation between the three scholars was based on their desire to strengthen their respective nations’ self-affirmation. Grimm was also stimulated by his belief in the cognate characteristics between German and Slavic languages. He was certain that the key to an understanding of the etymology of German words lies in Slavic languages (Vasmer 1938: VII), and he tried, among other things, to explain traditional German relics of the past with the help of Slavic languages. In this way, the research of the three scholars was constantly enriched, and their achievements have remained of fundamental importance to this day.

²⁶ Translated into German by his daughter Wilhelmina, Karadžić’s collection of folk tales titled *W. Stephani-Karadschitsch: Volksmärchen der Serben* (1854/) contains fifty folk tales and approximately 1000 proverbs. After Karadžić’s death, his widow Ana ensured the publication of his folk tales that were published in 1870.

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Sodelovanje bratov Grimm, Jerneja Kopitarja in Vuka Karadžića

Monika Krojej

V članku je predstavljeno delo Jerneja Kopitarja v luči sodelovanja z Jacobom in Wilhelmom Grimmom ter Vukom Stefanovićem Karadžićem. Osvetljeno je predvsem njihovo sodelovanje na področju ljudskega slovstva v času razsvetljenstva in romantike. Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), slovenski jezikoslovec, cenzor in skriptor na Dunaju, je bil eden od utemeljiteljev slavistike in avtor prve slovenske znanstvene slovnice *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (Slovnica slovanskega jezika na Kranjskem, Koroškem in Štajerskem, 1809). Prevedel je *Brižinske spomenike* ter izdal Kločev glagolit (1836). Bil je razgledan filolog in si je dopisoval s številnimi izobraženci tistega časa, med drugim tudi z Josefom Dobrovským ter Jacobom in Wilhelmom Grimmom. Bil je mentor Vuku Karadžiću in ga je spodbujal k pripravi izdaje ljudskega slovstva, slovarjev in slovnice. Pri nastajanju marsikaterega Karadžićevega dela je tudi aktivno sodeloval. Predstavil ga je velikemu nemškemu filologu Jacobu Grimmu, ki je Karadžićevo delo – predvsem izdaje ljudskih pravljic in povedk ter slovnice in slovarja – strokovno usmerjal in mu utiral pot v svet. Njihovo delo in sodelovanje pa se je poslej nenehno prepletalo in pri tem so se uresničevali zelo različni interesi in cilji. Tako Grimm kot Karadžić sta za svoj narod pripravila temelje jezika, slovnico ter slovar in narodno poezijo; Grimm poleg tega tudi mitologijo, pravne starine ter etimologijo. Tudi Kopitar je pripravil slovensko slovnico in študije o stari cerkveni slovanščini in etimologiji. Sodelovanje med Grimmom, Karadžićem in Kopitarjem je usmerjala želja po utrditvi nacionalne samozavesti, poleg tega pa tudi Grimmovo prepričanje o sorodnosti med germanskimi in slovanskimi jeziki ter njegova domneva, da v slovanskih jezikih leži ključ za razumevanje etimologije germanskih besed. Pravzaprav bi lahko rekli, da je skušal Jacob Grimm s slovanskim jezikom osvetliti germanske jezikovne starine in korenine. Z medsebojnim sodelovanjem so se njihove raziskave bogatile in dosežki vseh treh so dobili neprecenljivo vrednost.