



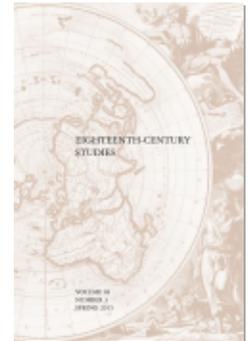
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TARAS KOZNARSKY

IZMAIL SREZNEVSKY'S ZAPOROZHIAN ANTIQUITY AS A MEMORY PROJECT

The collection *Zaporozhian Antiquity*, often defined as an almanac, reflected new ways by which historic tradition, folkloric resources, and romantic imagination came together as a memory project within both the local Ukrainian and the Russian-imperial institutional contexts. Its compiler, Izmail Sreznevsky, was one of the first and most prominent scholars of Slavic philology in the Russian Empire. To explore the ideological environment and intellectual trends that conditioned the appearance, shape, and purpose of Sreznevsky's work, published from 1833 to 1838, I will begin with an outline of several overlapping "memory projects" run by Ukrainian noblemen and intelligentsia in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

What I will call the "historic memory project" was activated by processes of centralization in the Russian Empire, in particular, in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the residence of the Cossacks at the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed and the remnants of Cossack political autonomy, the Hetmanate, was abolished. The process by which descendants of the Cossack officers were admitted to the ranks of the Russian imperial nobility mobilized Ukrainian gentry to turn into *volens nolens* archeographers and historians, collecting and producing family genealogies, documents, and chronicles to prove their descent from noble families of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This mass archeography resulted in the nineteenth century in several histories of Ukraine (by Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky and Mykola Markevych) and the publication of important historic documents (such as Cossack chronicles). It also led to attempts to produce an alternative, if not subversive, historic narrative of Ukraine in the so-called *Istoriia Rusov* (*History of the Rus' People*) and, in the 1840s, in Panteleimon Kulish's *Book of Deeds of the Ukrainian People and the Glorious Army of Zaporozhian Cossacks* and in Mykola Kostomarov's messianic *Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People*.¹

Along with an interest in history, the Ukrainian intelligentsia focused on the Ukrainian vernacular language as an ethnographic extension of the Cossack past. Yet history in the first three decades of the nineteenth century did not speak vernacular. Neutral and high intellectual discourse, to be legitimate, had to be in Russian. Well into the 1830s, Ukrainian was perceived as a language of jokes and parody. The popularity of the first major text in the Ukrainian vernacular, Ivan Kotliarevsky's poetic travesty of Vergil's *Aeneid*, published in 1798, where characters of high Roman epic were immersed in Ukrainian Cossack ethnographic realia and jocular vernacular, greatly contributed to this perception.² The probability of the Ukrainian vernacular becoming a full-fledged literary language was seen as far-fetched. Aleksei Levshin, in his travelogue published in 1816, characterized the Ukrainian language as "abandoned by virtually all enlightened inhab-

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itants of Ukraine.”³ Even the first “linguist-amateur” of the Ukrainian vernacular, Oleksii Pavlovsky, who in 1818 published the first and rather sketchy *Grammar of the Little Ukrainian Dialect*, described his subject as “neither alive nor dead.”⁴

The state of the Ukrainian language inspired the Ukrainian intelligentsia to embark on preservation efforts. The rhetoric of nostalgia for a language in the process of extinction was epitomized in a letter of Hulak-Artemovsky, a poet and a professor at Kharkiv University:

I dream of a Little Russian [i.e., Ukrainian] dictionary! The thought that perhaps the moment is near when not only the features of Little Russian antiquity and ways of life will be erased by time, but the [Ukrainian] language itself will merge into the huge stream of the dominant Great-Russian discourse leaving no trace of its existence, this thought brings upon me such depression that there are moments when I could renounce the tempting hopes of my narrow ambition and retire to the peaceful dwelling of a simple-hearted *Polianin*, to catch the last sounds of a language dying with every passing day. . . . As long as memory has not betrayed me entirely, it seems to me that I could realize this consoling idea. . . . I said memory, since for the realization of this project there is nothing but the childhood recollections of sounds with which I expressed my first senses.⁵

This statement emphasizes a preromantic, sentimentalist vision of pastoral virtues opposed to a metropolitan, rationalistic notion of progress that levels differences and erases traces of the past. The rational compiling of a dictionary is articulated as an emotional recovery of childhood memories and the natural innocence of an ancient Slavic tribe, a project never realized by Hulak-Artemovsky.

This “linguistic memory project” devoted to exploration and reevaluation of the Ukrainian vernacular was coterminous with the discovery of folkloric treasures in the lands of Little Russia, the common name for Ukraine within the imperial framework. As in the case of the vernacular, the recovery and appropriation of folklore in the first decades of the nineteenth century was connected with a dramatic sense of nostalgia for Ukrainian folk tradition and historic memory that was dying out along with the old bards and Cossacks, the last witnesses of the heroic and epic Ukrainian past. The first collection of Ukrainian historic songs was published in St. Petersburg in 1819 by Prince Nikolai Tsertelev, who, while living in Ukraine, spent time culling the memory of a Ukrainian bard. While raving about the poetic qualities of the songs, Tsertelev characterizes them according with the Romantic fashion as “ugly ruins that bear witness to the beauty of a structure now destroyed! A dying echo of the harmonies heard some time ago on the banks of the Dnipro River.”⁶ This attitude may have provided Tsertelev with justification (at least according to several scholars of folklore) to improve upon the artistic qualities of the texts he recorded. Tsertelev’s collection had a strong impact in further stimulating interest in Ukrainian folklore.

In 1827, Mykhailo Maksymovych, a Ukrainian who at the time was a young professor of botany at Moscow University and on good terms with metropolitan literary circles, published his celebrated “Little Russian [Ukrainian] Songs” in Moscow. It was this collection, of much larger scope than Tsertelev’s, that set the whole Ukrainian folkloristic machine in motion. From this time on, Ukrainian intellectuals start seriously unearthing and exchanging thousands of gems dug from the rich folkloric mines of Ukraine.⁷

Of course, the three Ukrainian projects—the historic, linguistic, and folkloric—existed within and interacted with the larger cultural, ideological, and in-

stitutional framework of the Russian Empire. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Ukrainian themes emerged in Russian imperial literary and intellectual discourses with a wide variety of uses. For sentimental travelers of the early nineteenth century (such as Vladimir Izmailov, Petr Shalikov, and Ivan Dolgorukov), Ukraine appeared as a kind of local southern resort with a benevolent climate, lush landscape, awesome produce, and funny, exotic yet domesticated costumed folk. This use of Ukraine, which we may call “touristic,” would continue on various levels well into the nineteenth century. For many Russian writers, critics, and intellectuals of the late 1820s to early 1830s (such as Nikolai Nadezhdin, Mikhail Pogodin, Vladimir Dal), who were engaged in the search for and shaping of a Russian cultural identity and literary language, Ukraine—or Little Russia—was a source of inspiration and historic imagination and a valuable linguistic resource for avoiding foreign words (German, French) in Russian. For those who adopted Herder’s lead on Ukraine as a new Greece and Schiller’s stance on naive and sentimental literature, it was a land where the deepest folk roots, most attractive epic deeds, and living ancient traditions could be found in abundance. This imperial cultural interest or even investment in Ukraine in the late 1820s to early 1830s, often labeled as the Ukrainian fashion in Russian literature, coincided with the Russian search for a national physiognomy, for distinctive and organic features, characters, and colors.⁸

It is this environment that nourished and shaped the young generation of poets and intellectuals born around 1810–15, who came forward in the 1830s, to which belonged Izmail Sreznevsky. Sreznevsky, a Russian born in Kursk in 1812, would become in the 1830s the driving force in a circle of young intellectuals and writers who explored Ukrainian folklore and history. Sreznevsky grew up in Kharkiv, Sloboda Ukraine. The members of his circle, who were almost all former classmates and graduates of Kharkiv University (founded in 1805), collected documents, gathered folk songs, stories, and sayings, recorded folk beliefs, and engaged in literary pastimes. These activities resulted in a series of almanacs in the 1830s.⁹

The literary almanacs of the Russian Empire of that period were not unlike European pocket books in French, English, and German literatures, representing yearly samplings of literary products. In Russia in the mid-1820s to the mid-1830s, the almanac became the central literary institution, a vehicle for literary socialization and professionalization, and a potentially profitable enterprise for editor and publisher. For provincial circles such as Sreznevsky’s, the medium of the almanac was particularly useful for displaying literary and scholarly toils, as a reputation builder, and, for some participants, as an experimental platform for the articulation of Ukrainian cultural autonomy. Already in the first Ukrainian almanacs, which were produced by Sreznevsky’s circle and were bilingual Ukrainian-Russian efforts—*Ukrainian Almanac* (1831) and *The Morning Star* (1833)—there is an attempt to explore Ukrainian vernacular diction beyond the scope of low comic style in such genres as ballads, translations, and stories. The kaleidoscopic and inclusive nature of the medium allowed for the testing of various editorial and aesthetic programs. The Sreznevskian almanacs of the 1830s represent a wide range of scenarios for the realization and marketing of Ukrainian cultural capital, both on the Ukrainian provincial and Russian metropolitan cultural markets.¹⁰

Sreznevsky’s collection, or almanac, *Zaporozhian Antiquity*, is the centerpiece of his activities in the 1830s, a period of searching for self-definition for

both Russian and Ukrainian cultures. It was also a period of self-definition for Sreznevsky himself, who from his initial specialization at the Ethical-Political Department (which prepared civil servants) at Kharkiv University shifted to the field where he would earn his reputation—Slavic studies (a career shift as risky then as it would be today). The publication of *Zaporozhian Antiquity* had a great impact in the 1830s and 1840s on historians and folklorists. Yet, with time, after Sreznevsky had distanced himself from his youthful, enthusiastic Ukrainian projects and embarked on a career in general Slavic studies, *Zaporozhian Antiquity* came under suspicion of containing forged folk materials, blamed by some on careless or unscrupulous contributors. Thus, *Zaporozhian Antiquity* became an embarrassment in Ukrainian ethnography and historiography and a personal embarrassment for Sreznevsky.¹¹ Yet, looking at this publication today in a broad ideological and intellectual context, we find it a remarkable attempt at synthesizing historic and folkloric memories.

Sreznevsky's *Zaporozhian Antiquity* appeared over a period of roughly six years, from 1833 to 1838. Sreznevsky acted as treasurer of the valuables unearthed by his circle of friends and enthusiasts, whose correspondence reveals intensive communication, collecting activities, and dilettante research. In 1833, he became a private tutor for the Podolsky family—Ukrainian landowners residing at their estate of Varvarivka near the Dnipro currents, where Zaporozhian Cossacks once lived. It was there that Sreznevsky had the time and support from his hosts to organize his so-called *Ukrainian Chest* (*Ukrainskaia Skryn'ia*), the collection of materials from which he compiled his almanacs.

What exactly is *Zaporozhian Antiquity*? It is an impressively large series of six issues, organized as two three-volume sets. The first volume encompasses sources on Cossack history, starting from the earliest Cossack conflicts with the Poles documented in “historic songs” (late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries) and even earlier historic excursions into the fourteenth century, when the Lithuanian Prince Gediminas conquered Kyiv. The volume (first issue) opens with historic songs and *dumy* (the epic songs that were the specialty of Ukrainian bards, *kobzari*), while other historic sources (chronicles, tales, documents) are included as extended commentary. The first volume comprises Cossack history before Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The second volume begins with Khmelnytsky and continues through the period of the so-called “Ruin” or civil war to the death of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1709.

Is it an almanac? Of course, it is not an almanac in the usual sense of a salon companion consisting of short poems, fragments from larger works, letters, editorials, sentimental or historic tales, and translations. Yet we find in Russian literature from the mid-1820s on that the almanac medium oscillated between the format of a magazine (such as Wilhelm Kuechelbecker's quarterly *Mnemozina*) and an authorial collection (Vasilii Zhukovsky's *Für Wenige*). As an example of a non-belletristic almanac, Alexander Kornilovich's *Russkaia starina* (1826) is perhaps most characteristic. In short, my characterization of Sreznevsky's publication as an almanac is based on, besides its periodicity, its collected nature—the way materials in various genres are integrated from various sources and participants. Yet, while the previous almanacs of Sreznevsky's circle are more characteristic of the almanac form, *Zaporozhian Antiquity* stands out as an attempt at arranging and synthesizing diverse materials into a chronologically and ideologically coherent picture with, as we shall see, a touch of literary inventiveness.

In the introduction, Sreznevsky puts forward his methodology as an attempt to combine the so-called “external” and “internal” history of the Cossacks. For Sreznevsky, the external history or accounts of Cossack deeds found in Polish, Moldovan, and Ruthenian chronicles and documents were often superficial and perfunctory, as well as contradictory. He explains that the scarce nature of external history forces him to turn to “internal” history found in the oral folk tradition. This tradition lives in the memory of a professional caste of bards, “the descendants of those bards who like the Scandinavian *skalds* [bards], accompanied the brave Zaporozhian warriors during their raids, inspiring them with their songs to battle, and preserving the heroic deeds of the Cossacks for their descendants.” The recollections of the bards, according to Sreznevsky, are more important than any chronicle since they preserve the “internal” history, the true inner spirit of the Cossack wars, even if the folk narratives are sometimes incoherent and lacking in historic data.¹²

Sreznevsky envisions an audience of both lovers of folk poetry and those interested in the history of the Cossacks—“the militant nation that by their bravery, by their impact on the South-East of Europe and Asia Minor, by their way of life, by their character so different from anything around them, deserve a place in the memory of their descendants.”¹³ He defines two basic genres of his folk sources according to their “authorship”: “the songs of a young lad, whose unwavering and austere heart, having cooled off from the touching feelings of love, celebrates victories and trophies, indifferently faces fate, hoping to live in the memory of future generations”—these Sreznevsky defines as historic songs. The other genre is *dumy*, epic songs of the old Zaporozhian bards, focused on the past and full of resignation and melancholy.¹⁴ This naive classification provides a generational and emotional closure to the whole enterprise. In short, in his collection Sreznevsky attempts to synthesize both historic and folkloric mnemonic resources in order to recover and produce a comprehensive picture of the Zaporozhian Cossacks from their emergence to their decline.

Now to the sources, their scope, hierarchy, and authenticity. At the core of Sreznevsky’s enterprise are historic songs and *dumy*. Their authenticity was questioned already in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1874, in a collection of historic songs by the Ukrainian historians and ethnographers Antonovych and Drahomanov, claims of forgery by Sreznevsky were supported by a comparative analysis of the available corpus of Ukrainian lore.¹⁵ Sreznevsky did not reply to these allegations. In the 1930s, Kateryna Hrushevska, in her comprehensive survey of available *dumy*, makes the case that Sreznevsky’s work includes compilations from various sources, stylizations, and forgeries.¹⁶ For a contemporary reader familiar with the study of folklore, the collage quality and historic and ideological anachronisms in Sreznevsky are not difficult to discern. In terms of “historic truth,” we find in Sreznevsky legendary historic figures and events that can be traced not to historic fact but to texts, such as *Istoriia Rusov* (*History of the Rus’ People*), produced most likely in the 1810s or in the late eighteenth century at the earliest. One of the clearest instances is the tale of the Cossack leader Nalyvaiko being burnt alive by Polish enemies in a copper bull, which appears only in Sreznevsky and *Istoriia Rusov*. Second, in *Zaporozhian Antiquity*, the ideological horizon of texts describing Cossack rebellions against Polish oppression is too modern, such as references to Ukraine and Ukrainians as a nation, highly unlikely before the nineteenth century, all the more so in folklore. Third, the form of some of the alleged folk songs is collage-like, combining elements too diverse and fragmentary for traditional folk songs. This patchiness was admitted to by Sreznevsky,

who in some instances expresses concern that a song seemed to consist of fragments from various songs. Nonetheless, he states that he verified some of these texts himself against actual performances of a bard. Finally, there are many instances of unclear words and usage that may reflect Sreznevsky's imperfect knowledge of Ukrainian or mistakes in his recording. Also, there are words recorded in the Ukrainian vernacular that seem to be inserted Russian words. For example, in the first song, when in the purported original tambourines "resound," the word resound is expressed by the word "orat'."¹⁷ While "orat'" has two meanings in Russian, "to shout" and also "to plow," in Ukrainian, "orat'" can only mean "to plow." Such instances of Russian words or imprecisely or incorrectly used Ukrainian words or grammar testify to Sreznevsky's imperfect command of Ukrainian and perhaps creative recording on his part, as he strove to produce a complete oral counterpart to events depicted in the written sources.

Yet it is the overall design of the collection that is especially remarkable. Serving as the core of his work, these alleged folkloric songs provide Sreznevsky a basis for several textual layers. First, he provides translations of his folkloric material into Russian. Second, he includes extensive ethnographic and historic commentary to the events and characters depicted in his songs. Finally, he provides historic narratives taken from other sources such as chronicles, directly or as a retelling. Thus, the modest corpus of twelve songs and six *dumy* in the first volume turns into three issues more than 440 pages total. It is clear that, for Sreznevsky, folklore serves as a departure for his commentary. It is also clear that the folkloric texts were organized chronologically to cover the history of the Cossacks according to historic schemes imparted from non-folkloric sources. Further examination of the text reveals surprises most often overlooked by scholars. Occasionally, the Russian translation of a text is more complete than that presented as the original. For example, in the text of the *duma* "The Gifts of Batory," now generally considered a forgery, the Russian "translation" includes text absent in the original—namely, a soliloquy of Cossack Hetman Bohdanko, who rallies his army with a description of Ottoman treasures to be claimed by the Cossacks: "There," he says, "the land is full of gold and silver; and there are mountains reaching the sky. There, the big river-sea flows, and every stream in it carries sand along, and golden fishes swim along the sand, and red apples lay on every fish, and the yellow ones follow. . . ."¹⁸ This gibberish sounds not so much like a Ukrainian *duma*, but rather like a corrupted piece from *One Thousand and One Nights*. If we look carefully at some of the non-folkloric supporting texts, we again find an approach all too creative. For example, the second issue of the first volume opens with a narrative on the genesis of the Cossacks and by what deeds they were known. The text is written in stylized language emulating the Church Slavonic of a monastic chronicle (appropriate for a genesis narrative), yet it provides a section unthinkable in a monastic or Cossack chronicle—namely, an ethnographic description of the climate, food, and dwelling of the Cossacks.¹⁹ Such observations by their nature would be written from outside of the Cossack frame of reference. In short, on every textual level we encounter liberties that point to the programmatic manipulation of the texts by Izmail Sreznevsky.

At this point, I would like to turn to the story of *Zaporozhian Antiquity* as an enterprise. While tutoring and compiling *Zaporozhian Antiquity*, Sreznevsky kept up a regular correspondence with his mother, describing in some detail his plans and the circumstances of his ethnographic work. Based on this correspondence, there are several conclusions we can make. First, in 1833 the 21 year-old Sreznevsky, despite having read Herder, was an inexperienced ethnographer. His

generalizations about Ukrainian peasants and characters are occasionally satiric, yet more often naive (for example, his comparison of Ukrainian peasants to Germans).²⁰ Second, it is striking the extent to which he finds lore everywhere: not only bards but landlords and their children are engaged in singing, playing, performing. The standard of authenticity in the folkloric enterprise (as we know it from later positivistic standards) is far from the reality of Sreznevsky's work. Third, we notice the extent to which *Zaporozhian Antiquity* was a collective project—Sreznevsky was aided by the children he tutored, his hosts and his friends, all helping with recording, gathering, and interpreting texts he did not always understand. Finally, it is fascinating to note how the landscape and the folk, with their stories and memories to be explored, lend themselves to the imagination and creative powers of the self-appointed ethnographer. He eagerly sees in those around him quasi-Ossianic bards or Hetmans, objects with memories to be harvested. Tsertelev's image of the Ukrainian epic as a ruin lives in Sreznevsky's account: "Yesterday, a Zaporozhian ruin stopped by, an old fellow, 80 years old . . . I asked him about many things, and found out a lot. I wrote down several ancient songs and *dumy* . . . Mom, now I know the Zaporozhians like my ABCs."²¹ Sometimes the enterprise turns into a peculiar interaction between ethnographer and source, as in the case of Sreznevsky's debriefing of the 97 year-old Cossack Hrechka: "I know Zaporozhian antiquity as well as I know my own life. Bit by bit, I've collected lots of information. Hrechka especially helped me in this. . . . Too bad his memory occasionally lapses, but in such cases I instruct him, and he then recalls, corrects my mistakes, and everything works out fine!"²² This mutual correction-instruction epitomizes the approach of *Zaporozhian Antiquity* to sources.

In conclusion, *Zaporozhian Antiquity* represents a remarkable attempt to bring together several Ukrainian memory projects into one synthetic and monumental enterprise. It is a meeting of Ukrainian historic memory with folkloric tradition and, for that matter, the romantic literary imagination and even linguistic resourcefulness. Perhaps Sreznevsky's youthful verve and monumental framework diverted his readers from the textual discrepancies that abound in *Zaporozhian Antiquity*; moreover, the criteria applied to "naive" and "artless" folk texts were rather flexible in the 1830s. Sreznevsky's likely forging and stylizing of his sources certainly does not stand alone in the fermenting atmosphere of Slavic national revivals. Close in time are Václav Hanka's *Rukopis královédvorský* that proudly served as a Czech national epic for several generations of patriots and writers. In Russia, the authenticity of a famous collection of folk customs and superstitions by Ivan Sakharov was later seriously questioned. We should also recall the Khlestakovian imagination and the impulse and grandiose appetite of Nikolai Gogol that led him to advertise monumental projects such as multivolume histories of Europe, of the Middle Ages, of Ukraine, and even a work on Ukraine to be written in a foreign language! (Needless to say, they remained unrealized.)

Sreznevsky's activities had a tremendous impact on the Ukrainian generation of poets and intellectuals of the 1830s–1840s, especially Amvrosii Metlynsky, Mykola Kostomarov, Panteleimon Kulish, and Taras Shevchenko. Attempts at syntheses of folklore, history, and vernacular continued into the early 1840s. For example, young Kulish in his epic poem "Ukraine" extended the form of the *duma* back to Kyivan Rus'. Kostomarov in his poems and translations assumed the role of prophetic bard whose song could rouse a nation. Finally, it was in the works of Shevchenko that the various Ukrainian memory projects came together in poetic diction in the Ukrainian vernacular that encompasses, sublimates, and transcends the historic and folkloric, the sacred and personal, in a powerful millenarian vision.

NOTES

1. *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii. Sochinenie Georgiia Konisskogo, arkhiepiskopa Belorusskogo*, ed. Osyp Bodians'ky (Moscow: v universitetskoi tipografii, 1848). For Panteleimon Kulish's *Knyha o dilakh narodu ukrains'koho i slavnoho viis'ka kozats'koho Zaporoz'koho* and Mykola Kostomarov's *Knyhy buttia ukrains'koho narodu*, see *Kyrylo-Mefodiivs'ke tovarystvo*, eds. Ivan Hlyz', Mariia Butych, and Oksana Franko, 3 vols. (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1990), 1:152–69; 2:66–80. Perhaps the best up-to-date overview of Ukrainian historic writing of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries can be found in Volodymyr Kravchenko's monograph *Narysy z ukrains'koi istoriografii epokhy natsional'noho Vidrodzhennia (druha polovyna XVIII–seredyna XIX st.)* (Kharkiv: Osnova, 1996). For an English language introduction to Ukrainian historic and folkloric enterprises, see George Luckyj, *Between Gogol and Shevchenko. Polarity in the Literary Ukraine: 1798–1848* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971), 11–37.

2. For a reliable treatment of the impact of Kotliarevsky, see Iarema Aizenshtok, “Kotliarevshchyna,” in *Ukrains'ki propilei*, vol. 1 (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928), 1:5–121, and George Grabowicz, “Semantyka kotliarevshchyny,” in his *Do istorii ukrains'koi literatury (Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature)* (Kyiv: Osnovy, 1997), 316–32.

3. Aleksei Levshin, *Pis'ma iz Malorossii* (Kharkiv, 1816), 78.

4. Oleksii Pavlovs'kyi (Aleksei Pavlovskii), *Grammatika malorossiiskogo narechia* (St. Petersburg: v tipografii V. Plavil'shchikova, 1818), v.

5. Remarkably, in this nostalgic reverie on the Ukrainian language, Hulak-Artemovsky harks back as far as the ancient tribe of Poliany, legendary ancestors of the early Kyivites. Petro Hulak-Artemovsky, letter to Vasyl Anastasevych from 11 February 1828, in Petro Hulak-Artemovs'kyi *Tvory* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1964), 218–9. We know about several Ukrainian dictionaries produced in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Oleksii Pavlovsky's and Pavlo Biletsky-Nosenko's (published only in the twentieth century). The above-mentioned *Eneida* by Kotliarevsky included a vocabulary of Ukrainian words at the end.

6. Mykola Tsertelev, “O starinnykh malorossiiskikh pesniakh,” quoted from Pavlo Fedchenko, ed., *Istoriia ukrains'koi literaturnoi krytyky ta literaturoznavstva. Khrestomatiia*, 2 vols. (Kyiv: Lybid', 1996), 1:58.

7. For an overview of Ukrainian folkloric projects, see Borys Kyrдан, *Sobirатели народной поэзии. Из истории украинской фольклористики XIX в.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974).

8. For a discussion of the “Ukrainian fashion” in Russian literature as well as Ukrainian-Russian relations in the first decades of the nineteenth century, see George Grabowicz, “Ukrainian-Russian Literary Relations in the Nineteenth Century: A Formulation of the Problem,” in Peter Potichnyj, ed., *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992), 214–44; David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture 1750–1850* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1985), 145–75; George Luckyj, *Between Gogol and Shevchenko*, 68–87; and A. Komarov, “Ukrainskii iazyk, fol'klor i literatura v russkom obshchestve nachala XIX veka,” in *Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 47 (1939):125–58.

9. For a survey of Izmail Sreznevsky's early scholarly and literary activities, see Vsevolod Sreznevskii, “Iz pervykh let nauchno-literaturnoi deiatel'nosti I. I. Sreznevskogo (1831–1839),” in *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchenia* 1 (St. Petersburg, 1898): 1–39, and Ahapii Shamrai, “Literaturnyi hurtok I. Sreznevs'koho,” in Shamrai, ed., *Kharkivs'ka shkola romantykiv*, 3 vols. (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1930), 1:20–31.

10. I discuss the cultural and institutional framework of Ukrainian almanacs in detail in my Ph.D. dissertation, “Kharkiv Literary Almanacs of the 1830s,” Harvard Univ., 2001.

11. For a useful discussion of the issue of forgery and stylization in Sreznevsky, see Ahapii Shamrai, “Zaporozhskaia starina iak istoryko-literaturnyi fakt,” in Shamrai, *Kharkivs'ka shkola romantykiv*, 1:51–74, and Kyrдан, *Sobirатели народной поэзии*, 81–137.

12. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, vol. 1, issue 1 (Kharkiv: v universitetskoï tipografii, 1833), 5–9.
13. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, 5–6.
14. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, 11–3.
15. Volodymyr Antonovych and Mykhailo Drahomanov, eds., *Istoricheskie pesni maloruskogo naroda*, 2 vols. (Kyiv, tipografiia M. P. Fritsa, 1874–75), 1:xix–xxiii and 162–3, 2:ii–iv.
16. Kateryna Hrushevs'ka, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy*, 2 vols. (Kharkiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1927), 1:xxxv–xxxix.
17. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, 27.
18. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, vol. 1, issue 2 (Kharkiv, 1833), 108–9.
19. *Zaporozhskaia starina*, 15–33.
20. Vsevolod Sreznevskii, “Iz perepiski I. I. Sreznevskogo, 1829–1839 gg.” *Kievskaia starina* 6 (Kyiv, 1901): 332.
21. Vsevolod Sreznevskii, *Kievskaia starina* 7–8 (Kyiv, 1901): 223.
22. Sreznevskii, *Kievskaia starina*, 221.

