

COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM: LITERARY STUDIES OF XIX CENTURY

КОМПАРАТИВНА ІСТОРІЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО РОМАНТИЗМУ: ЛІТЕРАТУРОЗНАВСТВО XIX СТОЛІТТЯ

Pupurs I.V.,

orcid.org/0000-0001-5353-731X

Doctor of Sciences in Philology,

Senior Researcher at the Department of Comparative Studies

Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Ukrainian Romanticism is one of the artistic phenomena that is closely related to pan-European literary processes. Studying it without using a comparative-literary focus is impossible. This was perfectly understood by M. Kostomarov («Ohliad tvoriv, napysanykh malorosiiskoiu movoiu», 1842), I. Vagylevych («Zamitky o ruskii literature», 1848), Y. Holovatskyi («Tri vstupitel'nye prepodavaniya o russkoj slovesnosti», 1849), M. Drahomanov («Literatura rosiiska, velykoruska, ukrainska i halytska», 1873), M. Petrov («Narysy istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX st.», 1884), M. Dashkevych (his review of M. Petrov's «Essays on the History of Ukrainian Literature of the 19th Century», 1888), O. Tretyak («Pro vplyv Mitskevycha na poeziu Shevchenka», 1892), O. Kolessa («Stolitie obnovlenoi ukrainsko-ruskoi literatury (1798–1898)», 1898) and other philologists, who in the 19th century became the first researchers of the Ukrainian Romantic trend. To a greater extent, the facts of translations and the Ukrainian authors' level of familiarity with foreign language material were recorded and some proposals for further comparative studies on genetic-contact connections, typology, impact studies, imagology were expressed in their essays, histories of literature, monographs, articles, reviews and notes, which characterized Ukrainian Romantic poetry, prose, drama.

In my article, which is presented in this magazine, the work of the above-mentioned scientists on the interaction of Ukrainian Romanticism with the Romantic poetics of foreign writers was collected together and analyzed. All the foreign influences and domestic imitations, borrowings, allusions, as well as Ukrainian typologies and similarities with the works of European Romantics, which they recorded, played an important role in the further evolution of comparative literary studies about Ukrainian Romantic literature. Actually, the 19th century is the first stage of the comparative history of Ukrainian Romanticism, when the vision of *the Self (Ukrainian)* as an inseparable part of the *European* was born. Even then it was noticed that *Own (Ukrainian)* and *Foreign* (primarily *English, German, Polish, Russian*) were organically interwoven, combined in the texts of Romantic writers of Ukraine and helped to demonstrate more strongly Ukrainian national identity. All this is covered in detail in the further text of the article.

Key words: Ukrainian Romanticism, comparative studies, literary studies of the 19th century, M. Kostomarov, M. Petrov, M. Dashkevych, European Romantic literature.

Український романтизм – це одне із мистецьких явищ, яке тісно пов'язане із загальноєвропейськими літературними процесами. Вивчення його без використання порівняльно-літературознавчого фокусу неможливо. Це чудово розуміли М. Костомаров («Обзор сочинений, писанных на малороссийском языке», 1842), І. Вагилевич («Замітки о руській літературі», 1848), Я. Головацький («Три вступительные преподавания о русской словесности», 1849), М. Драгоманов («Література російська, великоруська, українська і галицька», 1873), М. Петров («Нариси історії української літератури XIX ст.», 1884), М. Дашкевич (відгук на «Нариси історії української літератури XIX століття...» М. Петрова, 1888), О. Третяк («Про вплив Міцкевича на поезію Шевченка», 1892), О. Колесса («Століття обновленої українсько-руської літератури (1798–1898)», 1898) та інші філологи, які в XIX ст. стали першими дослідниками романтичного напрямку України. В їхніх нарисах, історіях літератури, монографіях, статтях, рецензіях, замітках, де характеризувалась українська романтична поезія, проза, драматургія, здебільшого лише фіксувалися факти перекладів і ступень обізнаності вітчизняних авторів із іншомовним матеріалом, та висловлювалися пропозиції щодо подальших компаративних студій із генетико-контактних зв'язків, типології, впливовості, імагології.

У моїй статті, яка представлена в цьому журналі, зібрано воедино та проаналізовано напрацювання вищеперерахованих вчених щодо взаємодії українського романтизму з романтичною поетикою зарубіжних письменників. Усі зафіксовані ними чужоземні впливи та вітчизняні наслідування, запозичення, алюзії, а також українські типології та схожості з творами романтиків Європи, відіграли важливу роль у подальшій еволюції порівняльно-літературознавчих досліджень української романтичної літератури. Власне, XIX століття – це перший етап компаративної історії українського романтизму, коли зароджувалося бачення *Свого* як нероздільної частини *Європейського*. Вже тоді було помічено, що *Своє (Українське)* та *Чуже* (передусім *Англійське, Німецьке, Польське, Російське*) органічно переплелось, поєдналось у текстах письменників-романтиків України та допомогло сильніше продемонструвати національну своєрідність *Українського*. Все це детально висвітлено у подальшому тексті статті.

Ключові слова: український романтизм, компаративістика, літературознавство XIX ст., М. Костомаров, М. Петров, М. Дашкевич, європейська романтична література.

Problem-setting and groundings for the urgency. In 1924, in the article «Shevchenko and Romanticism» («Shevchenko i romantyzm»), Pavlo Filipovych noted: «Romanticism came to the Slavic

countries from the West, took on a new basis different directions and shades. In some ways, it was unclear and inorganic, alien, in some ways it could not fight back due to various obstacles» [10, p. 55]. In the writing of Ukraine, the Romantic current manifested itself not only vividly and significantly, but also in a nation-building way, because the creativity of domestic Romantics played an important role in the formation of Ukrainian literature as an original world phenomenon. *Own (Ukrainian)* and *Foreign* (primarily *Eastern and Western European*) organically intertwined and combined in the poetics of Ukrainian Romanticism. So far, it has already been proven that foreign Romantic poetics did not nullify the national identity of our Romantic texts, but contributed to their presentation as equal units in the pan-European artistic circle. It is natural that already in the first literary studies of this literary heritage, foreign influences, imitations, borrowings, allusions were ascertained and there were attempts to find typologies, similarities, analogies with the works of Romantics of other countries.

Recent research analysis. The history of comparative literary studies in Ukraine during the period analyzed in this article was already the subject of research by L. Hrytsyk [3], G. Alexandrova [1], O. Teterina [9], I. Pupurs [8] and others. For the most part, these were descriptive and analytical works about the comparative work of literary critics or about the development of translation studies. The history of Ukrainian Romanticism is a fairly popular topic, about which many different literary works have been written by A. Shamrai, D. Chyzhevskiy, P. Volynskiy, Yu. Shevelov, M. Yatsenko, D. Nalyvaiko, M. Naienko, H. Hrabovych, etc. However, the general evolutionary path of studying the literature of Ukrainian Romanticism through the focus of comparativistics currently remains outside the attention of our science.

The objective and tasks. The main purpose of this article is to describe the first stage of the comparative history of Ukrainian Romanticism, when the vision of *Own (Ukrainian)* as an inseparable and equal part of the *European* was born. For this purpose, the works of philological scientists of the 19th century (regarding the interaction of Ukrainian Romanticism with the Romantic poetics of foreign writers) were collected and analyzed.

Presenting the main material. An important role in the entry of Ukrainian literature into European Romanticism was played by translations, or more precisely by re-sings and interpretations. One of the vivid examples is P. Hulak-Artemovskiy's ballad «Fisherman» («Rybalka», 1827), which the

editor of *Vestnyk Evropy* in 1827 presented as the poet's attempt to «convey tender, noble, elevated feelings» of Goethe's tender, noble, sublime poetry («Der Fischer») in the *Malorussian* (Ukrainian) language and offered to compare the original text with its F. Bulgarin's prose Russian translation and V. Zhukovsky's re-singing («The Fisherman», 1818). This construction of such «business card» of the first edition (translation's history + comparison with its original text + comparison with its other translations) quite justifiably turned out to be a scheme for subsequent comparativist reviews. Later, in his article «Adam Mickiewicz in Ukrainian Literature» («Adam Mitskevych v ukrainskii literaturi»), I. Franko noted that the study of translations made to understand the power and character of the translated writer's influence on foreign literature. Thus, in the literary studios from the late 40s of the 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century. (M. Kostomarov, I. Vagylevych, Ya. Holovatskyi, O. Pypin, M. Petrov, M. Drahomanov, O. Konyskyi, M. Dashkevych, O. Kolessa, etc.), which described Ukrainian Romantic poetry, prose, dramaturgy, the facts of translations and the degree of familiarity of artists with foreign material were mostly recorded, and suggestions were made regarding further comparative studies in typology, impact research and imagology. In a short essay on the history of Ukrainian literature of the first half of the 19th century under the title «Review of Works Written in the Little Russian Language» («Ohliad tvoriv, napysanykh malorosiiskoiu movoiu», 1842), M. Kostomarov mentioned the translation activities of three Ukrainian Romantics. These were interpretations by P. Hulak-Artemovskiy (Goethe's «The Fisherman»), A. Mohyla (translations from his collection «Thoughts and Songs»), L. Borovykovskiy (A. Mickiewicz's «Faris»). A year later, in his dissertation monograph «On the Historical Significance of Russian Folk Poetry» («Pro istorychne znachennia ruskoi narodnoi poezii», 1843), M. Kostomarov succinctly characterized the popularity of nationalism idea (increased interest in folklore, which manifested itself in the collection of folk songs, fairy tales, etc.) among the English, Germans, Poles, Ukrainians and other peoples of Europe. Actually, the love for folklore, which M. Kostomarov presented in a comparative-typological context, was Pre-romanticism like a part of the initial stage of literary Romanticism.

By the way, it wasn't mention which specific works were translated by A. Mohyla in M. Kostomarov's «Review of Works Written in the Little Russian Language» (1842). Instead, I. Vagylevych's «Notes on Russian Literature»

(«Zamitky o ruskii literaturi», 1848) were informed that the Romantic poet A. Metlynskyi (A. Mohyla) translated from Polish (A. Mickiewicz, A. Odyniec, S. Witwicki, J. Suchodolski), Serbian (folk songs), Czech (F. Čelakovský), Slovak (J. Kollar) and German (Friedrich von Matthiessen, T. Körner, A. Oehlenschläger, L. Uhland) language. The objects of his translation activity were mainly samples of poetry related to Romanticism.

A. Pypin in «History of Slavic Literatures» («Istoriya slavyanskih literatur», 1879) also noted that P. Hulak-Artemovskiy translated J.V. von Goethe («The Fisherman»), L. Borovykovskiy translated A. Mickiewicz («Faris»), Y. Hrebinka translated A. Pushkin («Poltava»), I. Levitskiy translated F. Schiller (his Ukrainian ballads were published in Przemyśl during 1839–1840).

Since the 70s of the 19th century literary critics not only continue to record the facts of translations in Ukrainian Romantic literature, but also gradually begin to pay attention to other comparativist points. Y. Holovatsky in his article «Three Introductory Lectures on Russian Literature» («Tri vstupitel'nye prepodavaniya o russkoj slovesnosti», 1849) noted the non-receptive function of Ukrainian, but the influential one – the prevalence of Ukrainian themes in Russian and Polish Romantic literatures of the first half of the 19th century. And in 1873, M. Drahomanov's article «Russian, Great Russian, Ukrainian and Galician Literature» («Literatura rosiiska, velykoruska, ukrainska i halytska») appeared in the columns of the Lviv magazine *Pravda*, in which the chain of *Own (Ukrainian Romanticism)* and *Other (foreign literature)* was joined by a third component. It's Russian as an intermediary. M. Drahomanov noted that in Ukrainian literature such general European trends as sentimentalism, Romanticism, nationalism manifested themselves, «but Ukrainians obtained these European ideas and trends not so much directly from European literature as through Russian literature» [4, p. 144]. At the same time, he believed that «the natural circumstances of life and traditions of Ukraine made it so that Ukrainian sentimentalism and Romanticism, as well as Ukrainian Slavophilism, gave something more real, more scientific and nicer than Zhukovsky's «Svetlana» [4, p. 147].

In this literary review, several typological pairs of Romantics were outlined: «T. Shevchenko and A. Pushkin», «T. Shevchenko and V. Zhukovsky», «T. Shevchenko and I. Kozlov». It was also hinted at the need to compare T. Shevchenko with W. Scott and W. Shakespeare.

We also have a brief remark by M. Drahomanov regarding the appearance of orientalism in

Ukrainian literature after the Crimean or Eastern War (1853–1856), more precisely, the appearance of Turkish themes in the context of the revival of old Cossack traditions and stories. In particular, M. Drahomanov noted, «P. Hulak-Artemovskiy and others started writing such as «Abdul is sitting, lips puffed», etc. These poems have little literary and even less moral value, but at one time they served to stimulate the Ukrainian idea, as well as the formation of *pohantsi* (enemies, invaders, bad people) and cosacks of *Malorosiysiya* (Little Russia)» [4, p. 156].

M. Petrov's «Romantic and Artistic Ukrainian Literature» («Romatyko-khudozhnia ukrainska literature») is the third chapter of his «Essays on the History of Ukrainian Literature of the 19th Century» («Narysy istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX st.», 1884). This is the first large-scale study in which there are many facts about the interaction of Ukrainian Romanticism with foreign texts at the genetic-contact, translational, typological, receptive and other levels. It should be added that comparativist observations about the poetics of the Romantic direction also include other parts of this history of literature, since some of the texts analyzed in them are currently considered to belong to Romanticism. The author himself, speaking about the evolutionary division of Ukrainian literature in the 19th century into pseudo-classical, sentimental, Romantic-artistic and other historical-literary periods, noted that «all Ukrainian writers cannot be accurately divided by periods». With the rapid change of literary concepts and tastes, which is explained by the imitability of Ukrainian literature, often the same Ukrainian writer tried himself in different genres and directions, so his activity can be divided between several periods [7, p. 17]. It is clear that this is about imitating both *Own (Ukrainian)* and *Other (English, German, Russian, Polish, etc.)*. M. Petrov was more interested in the interaction of *Own* and *Other*. He already emphasized the imitation of the *Other* in the introduction to «Essays on the History...», where he mentioned and quoted the works of his colleagues who wrote about foreign influences on Ukrainian Romantic writers:

English (the influence of W. Scott's historical novels on M. Gogol's Ukrainian novel was written about in P. Kulish's epilogue to his «The Black Council» («Chorna Rada», 1857);

Russian (*Ukrainets* (Ukrainian man, it's pseudonym of M. Drahomanov) wrote about the Ukrainian literature' reflection of sentimentalism, Romanticism, nationalism and democratism, which prevailed in Russian literature, in his article «Russian, Great Russian, Ukrainian and Galician literature»;

Polish (*Volynets* (it's other pseudonym of M. Drahomanov) wrote about the negative effects of Polonisms in Ukrainian literature in his article «Ukrainophile Movements in South-Western Russia» («Ukrainofilski rukhy v pivdenno-zakhidnii Rosii»).

At the same time, M. Petrov noted that «Ukrainians brought up their ideas and trends in the spirit of the Slavic revival under the direct influence of Polish and Russian literature, whether negative or positive» [7, p. 14]; that «Ukrainian literature got acquainted with the neo-romantic movement through Polish and Russian literature, or firsthand» [7, p. 126]. In his opinion, the Romantic artistic period in Ukrainian literature developed under the mutual authority of the work of Russian and Polish writers (A. Pushkin, A. Mickiewicz, etc.).

M. Petrov started the chapter devoted to Romanticism with a concise overview of the history of the emergence of this direction, a brief description of its English and German versions, with elements of their comparison. At the same time, he was partially guided by the comparative typological analysis of Romanticism with other literary phenomena, carried out by A. Mickiewicz. M. Petrov also described the peculiarity of the manifestation of Western European neo-romanticism in Russian (V. Zhukovsky, K. Batyushkov, A. Pushkin, M. Lermontov) and Polish (A. Mickiewicz, B. Zaleski and other Polish-Ukrainian poets) literature. According to his observations, in contrast to their Russian colleagues, Polish Romantics developed themes of national antiquity more.

For the most part, M. Petrov simply stated the fact of influence, borrowing, imitation, translation or re-singing. However, sometimes he also conducted annotative comparative-typological studies. One of them is a comparative review of the theme of the prophet based on the texts of Pushkin («Prorok»), Lermontov («Prorok») and Shevchenko («Perebendya»). Another example is the description of the similarities and differences between the poetics of A. Metlinskyi's «Autumn» («Osin»), «Under the Sky» («Pid nebom») and his other poems with the poems of A. Pushkin and M. Lermontov.

M. Petrov's research palette also included «mediation», an integral and important part of studies about literary impact. In his «Essays on the History of Ukrainian Literature of the 19th Century» emphasis was placed on the role of Pushkin, Lermontov and Mickiewicz as mediators between Western European and Ukrainian Romantic trends. For example, defining P. Hulak-Artemovskyi as one of the first representatives of Ukrainian Romanticism, M. Petrov noted that Western European Romanticism (whose

authoritative representatives were J.V. von Goethe, F. Schiller and G.G. Byron) was reflected in Russia in the poetry of A. Pushkin and M. Lermontov, and the Poles in the poetry of A. Mickiewicz. According to M. Petrov, «the same Romanticism, which touches the best side of human existence, but without certain outlines, found a fate of compassion in the heart of Hulak-Artemovskyi and caused the appearance of new strings, more sensitive and sympathetic, in his poetry. Regarding this, Hulak-Artemovskyi is known to us for his translations and adaptations of Mickiewicz, Lermontov, Goethe, as well as his own poems in a Romantic spirit» [7, p. 67].

M. Petrov also noticed manifestations of European Romanticism on other non-romantic trends and styles of Ukrainian literature, such as sentimentalism. In his opinion, «the sentimental trend in Ukrainian literature, starting with imitations of sentimental novels by Karamzin and Zhukovsky, in its final development borders on the artistic Romanticism of Pushkin» [7, p. 87], and the influence of A. Pushkin's «Caucasian Prisoner» and T. Shevchenko's poetry on the poem M. Makarovsky's «Harasko, or Talan and in Captivity» («Harasko, abo Talan i v nevoli») is clear.

It is important, that M. Petrov's «Essays on the History of Ukrainian Literature of the 19th Century» was also overview of Ukrainian Romanticism in the focus of translation studies. Ukrainian and Russian translations, adaptations, and re-singsings of various foreign texts made by Ukrainian Romantics were mentioned there.

M. Petrov's book was thoroughly reviewed by M. Dashkevych in his review of «Essays on the History of Ukrainian Literature...» (1888). According to I. Franko, this almost three-hundred-page literary work, «correcting many inaccuracies in Petrov's work, in many points serves as its necessary addition» [11]. Firstly, M. Dashkevych denied M. Petrov's opinion that Ukrainian literature developed under the constant influence of Russian literature and was not distinguished by great national originality. M. Dashkevych pointed out and provided evidence that pan-European (in particular, Romantic) trends penetrated into Ukrainian literature not only through the mediation of Polish and Russian literature, but also directly. The important features of Ukrainian literature, such as nationalism, the desire to express one's national character in words were overshadowed by M. Petrov, but singled out by M. Dashkevych. He changed the emphasis from the Russian factor as a shape-maker of Ukrainian literary poetics (which M. Petrov wrote about) to the Ukrainian one. After all, M. Dashkevych gave

an example, primarily the love of Ukrainians for their own folklore caused the ethnographic boom in the first half of the 19th century on the territory of Ukraine, and not the influence of a similar Russian movement. Secondly, he analyzed some literary points regarding external influences, which were only indicated by M. Petrov. In particular, in the largest section of M. Dashkevych's review, which deals with the influence of the idea of nationalism on the formation of Romanticism in Poland, Russia and Ukraine, the researcher conducted a detailed description of the Polish-Ukrainian school of writers (B. Zaleski, S. Goszczyński, etc.), noting its prominent place in both Ukrainian and Polish literary life. At the same time, M. Dashkevych pointed out M. Petrov's false statements, such as regarding his definition of A. Mickiewicz as the founder of this «Ukrainian school».

From the point of view of comparative literary studies, O. Tretyak's work «On the influence of Mickiewicz on Shevchenko's poetry» («Pro vplyv Mitskevycha na poeziiu Shevchenka»), published in Krakow in 1892, is a theoretical and methodological exemplary study. Its structure is as follows: review of previous works on a given topic; indication and assumption of T. Shevchenko's genetic-contact ties with Poland; presentation of arguments and counter-arguments regarding foreign literary influences; triadic comparative-typological comparisons (Shevchenko, Pushkin, Mickiewicz). Two years later, O. Kolessa's typologically similar monograph was published. This book was much larger and had a title «Shevchenko and Mickiewicz. About the Significance of Mickiewicz's influence in the development of poetic creativity and in the genesis of Shevchenko's individual poems» («Shevchenko i Mitskevych. Pro znachiennia vplyvu Mitskevycha v rozvytok poetychnoi tvorchosti ta v genezi poodynokikh poem Shevchenka», 1894).

O. Kolessa in his essay «A Century of Renewed Ukrainian-Russian Literature (1798–1898)» («Stolitie obnovenoi ukrainsko-ruskoj literatury...») tried to understand whether «our literature managed to create an original physiognomy» [6, p. 1]. As for the «Ukrainian physiognomy» of the period of Romanticism, in his opinion, it was formed with the help of Western European Romanticism, which reached Ukraine through Polish and Russian literatures. At the same time, he noted their perceptive role of Ukrainian topics. O. Kolessa wrote: «Ukrainian *buvalshchyna* (what was before, in the past) gave birth, on the one hand, to some remarkable works written in the Great Russian language... and on the other hand, the writings of Goszczyński, Zaleski, Czajkowski and other Polish writers» [6, p. 8]. By the

way, O. Kolessa included both Russian and Ukrainian Romantics (Gogol, Hrebinka, Markevych, Ryleyev and Pushkin) in the list of writers who wrote iconic works on Ukrainian topics in Russian.

Certain genetic and contact information in the matrix of texts, where the poetics of Ukrainian Romanticism is analyzed, is also contained in O. Ohonovsky's «History of Russian Literature» («Istoriia literatury ruskoi», 1887–1894). S. Yefremov said about O. Ohonovsky, that he finished to collect material «and it was thanks to him that synthesis, that calculation of the literary heritage became possible» [5, p. 42].

Findings and Conclusions. The 19th century is the time of the appearance and formation of the literature of Ukrainian Romanticism, as well as the first literary studies about it. At the same time, M. Kostomarov, I. Vagylevych, Y. Holovatskyi, M. Drahomanov, M. Petrov, M. Dashkevych, O. Tretyak, O. Kolessa and other philologists of the 19th century began to use the methods and techniques of comparative literary studies analyzing the works of Ukrainian Romantics. It was logical and absolutely necessary, because Ukrainian Romanticism was closely connected with the European tendencies of this literary direction. In fact, some obvious facts of the relations between the *Own (Ukrainian)* and the *Other (English, German, Polish, Russian, etc.)* were recorded in the works of the above-mentioned researchers. First of all, it was about translations, re-sings, influences, receptions, typologies, allusions, borrowings, contacts, which appeared in the creative work of Ukrainian Romantic writers. This first period of the comparative history of Ukrainian Romanticism laid the foundations and outlined the prospects for the further literary study of Romantic poetics. Among which were the following: comparing the translation or re-singing with its original text and other foreign language variations; distinguishing *Own (Ukrainian)* as perceiving and influencing foreign literature; remarks about the role of Polish and Russian literature as mediators; description of the phenomena of the Ukrainian school in Polish and Russian Romanticisms; delineation of typological pairs of Romantics («T. Shevchenko and O. Pushkin», «T. Shevchenko and V. Zhukovsky», «T. Shevchenko and A. Mickiewicz», «T. Shevchenko and W. Scott», etc.); a comparative review of one theme in the works of Romantics from different countries (the theme of a prophet in the poems of Pushkin, Lermontov and Shevchenko); remarks about English, German, Polish, and Russian influences on Ukrainian Romantic literature. In the following centuries (XX and XXI), most of these

comparative theses and schemes were successfully developed and used. One of the vivid examples is Iryna Arendarenko's monograph «On the Road and Towards (English and Ukrainian Romantic Poetry: Comparative Typology and Poetics)» («По дорозі й назустріч (англійська та українська романтичні поезії: порівняльна типологія і поетика)», 2004), where the following Romantic currents, represented both in England and in Ukraine, were covered: pre-

romantic, folklore, historical-poetic and Byronic» [2, p. 5] and moreover, both the common vectoriality of the development of these phenomena was proved, and their typological differences were demonstrated. The main idea, which philologists of the 19th century tried to argue and popularize, concerned the fact that Ukrainian Romanticism was an inseparable and full-fledged part of the pan-European literary context of the Romantic direction.

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