## Hans Christian Andersen as a Children's Writer, as Reflected in Russian Criticism from the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century to 1917

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In Russian culture, Hans Christian Andersen enjoys the status of a universally recognized classic children's author. His books are essential reading for children of virtually every sociocultural stratum, which, however, does not keep modern readers from also attributing to him the tales of Charles Perrault, the brothers Grimm, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Wilhelm Hauff, and Selma Lagerlöf, and vice versa. Andersen could be said to stand, in the mass consciousness, as a universal figure, as *the* Storyteller, the author of virtually every European literary fairy tale; while Charles Perrault or the brothers Grimm, whose tales are also extremely popular in Russia, do not enjoy such a reputation. The names of Perrault and the brothers Grimm to some extent represent the French and German folkloric and literary tale; whereas Andersen, despite the vivid national flavor of his fairy tales, is perceived by the general Russian reader as the author of the Western European fairy tale overall—which undoubtedly attests to a certain mythologization of his image.

Having appeared in Russia in the 1850s,¹ by the late nineteenth century Andersen's tales had come to be perceived (thanks in large part to the translations of Peter and Anna Hansen) as children's classics, and have since been regularly reprinted. Publication of the tales did not cease even amid the devastation wrought by the revolution and civil war (1917-22), nor during the economic crisis of the 1990s—that is, periods when the publishing of children's books in Russia was reduced to a minimum. As corroboration of this phenomenon, we might recall the widely known edition of Andersen's tales that was published in 1943 in Leningrad during the Nazis' horrific siege of that city. (fig. 1)

The first Russian critical responses to Andersen's writings appeared in the 1840s; today, critical and scholarly articles on Andersen and his

First to become part of the typical reading of children and adults were such French-language editions as *Contes d'Andersen, traduits du danois par D. Soldi.* Paris: Hachette, 1856.

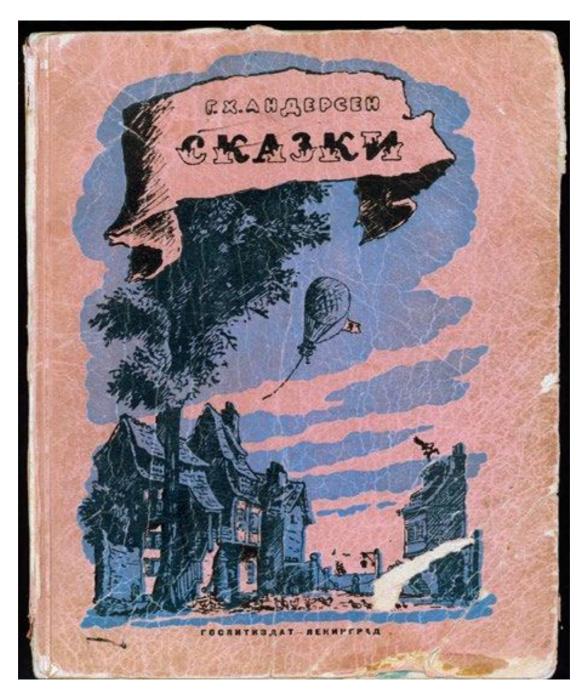


Fig. 1. Cover. Leningrad, 1943. Hans Christian Andersen Museum.

oeuvre number in the hundreds. An exhaustive bibliography of Russian studies of the author has not yet been compiled, but certain stages in Andersen's critical reception in Russia have already been analyzed in detail by Danish and Russian researchers and covered in their scholarly publications.<sup>2</sup>

Dane, "H. C. Andersen-receptionen i Rusland og Sovjetunionen"; Braude, "Andersen v russkoi i sovetskoi kritike"; Pereslegina, *Khans-Kristian Andersen: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*; Braude, "Khans-Kristian Andersen v Rossii"; Orlova, *Kh.-K. Andersen v russkoi literature kontsa XIX-nachala XX veka*.

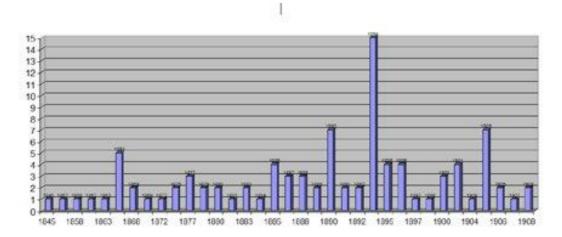


Fig. 2. Critical pieces on Andersen published in the Russian press, 1845-1918. Inna Sergienko.

This study examines articles on Andersen published in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth (often referred to in the Russian tradition as the "prerevolutionary period"). The primary focus will be on the process by which Andersen gained the status of classic writer of children's literature in the eyes of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Russian critics. It should be noted that the question of dividing Andersen's works into "children's" and "adult" (given the conventionality of these categories) is not entirely obvious. Neither is it always possible to clearly state whether a given critic discusses Andersen's work as something addressed to the universal reader, or exclusively to children. In this regard, the only works not considered in this study are those few that deal exclusively with Andersen's writings for adults.<sup>3</sup>

This study is based on the corpus of critical articles from the period of 1845-1918 that deal with the Andersen works now considered essential children's reading, and that describe Andersen himself as a children's writer. Analyzed here are such forms of critical literature, included in various bibliographic indexes and lists on children's literature, as reviews, literary-critical and pedagogical articles, Andersen biographies (including fictionalized ones), and instructional texts (so-called *razbory* or analyses). Not considered, except in a few isolated cases, were the prefaces to various editions of Andersen's works for children, although these too are of great interest. (fig. 2)

The graph in figure 2 shows the trend in publication of works on Andersen's writings in the prerevolutionary period, with interest peaking in

<sup>3</sup> For example: Anon., "Retsenziia na: *Improvizator ili Molodost' i mechty ital'ianskogo poeta*. SPb, 1844," *Finskii vestnik* 2, otd. 5 (1845): 17; Berg, "Neskol'ko slov o novoi datskoi poezii."

1894 (in connection with the publication that year of the four-volume collected works translated by the Hansens) and 1905 (in connection with the centenary of the author's birth). This interest then subsides, to reemerge with new vigor in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

Andersen's books first appeared in Russia in the years 1840-50, a period that saw the emergence of the revolutionary-democratic movement's first wave. Most of this movement's ideologists-Vissarion Belinsky (1811-48), Aleksandr Herzen (1812-70), Nikolai Chernyshevsky (1828-89), Aleksandr Dobroliubov (1836-61), and others—were active literary critics, setting in this capacity a certain tone. Representatives of the revolutionary-democratic trend believed that the primary goal of literature and art in general was to reflect the "truth of life." They welcomed the active expression of a civic position, and encouraged authors to focus on depicting modern society's social evils, including class inequality, as the main source of social and spiritual troubles. Among artistic methods, they hailed realism, were sympathetic to naturalism, and looked upon romanticism as hopelessly outdated. On the whole, their views were conditioned by the same ideas and sentiments permeating European literature of this period, in which the social novels of Stendhal, Balzac, Dickens, Flaubert, and others had come to the fore.

It was in this period that Russian critics began to take an interest in children's literature, for the first time treating it as a topic for analysis and reflection. Representatives of the revolutionary-democratic trend demanded, first and foremost, that children's literature attend to social problems and depict reality realistically; they vociferously condemned "empty fantasies," and had no particular fondness for the genre of fairy tale. However, even against this background, Andersen's works earned, along with criticism, also appreciation.

The first publication to address the issue of whether Andersen's works should be recommended for children's reading is thought to be a review by Vissarion Belinsky, the well-known literary critic who, among other things, helped to establish children's literary criticism in Russia. In 1845, he published a review of Andersen's novel *The Improvisatore* (1835), in which he remarked on the protagonist's childishness and the farfetchedness of the plot, which relegate the novel, according to Belinsky, to the rubric of "adolescent reading." "However," writes Belinsky, "this innocent romance may be read with pleasure and benefit by young girls and boys in their free time outside class," perspicaciously adding that "this novel may not, perhaps, be Andersen's finest work."

<sup>4</sup> Belinskii, "Retsenziia na: Improvizator ili Molodost' i mechty ital'ianskogo poeta. SPb, 1844," 4.

In 1857, one of the first works on Andersen's biography appeared, presaging the later veritable torrent of publications on this subject. (Andersen biographies, both documentary and fictionalized, would constitute a significant part of Russian Anderseniana.) The book *The Tales of Andersen (Povesti Andersena)* included, as an afterword, an essay ("Something about Andersen") by the book's translator, Iuliia-Sharlotta von Ikskiul (?–1863), who indicated that in writing it, she had relied on material found in the autobiographical *The Fairy Tale of My Life without Poetry*, published in German in 1847. The essay recounts the main episodes of *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, but Ikskiul also offers her own treatment of the writer's personality, an interpretation that would subsequently prove integral to the "Andersen myth" in Russia.

One of Ikskiul's starting points is a metaphor Andersen uses repeatedly in The Fairy Tale of My Life, that of the author as a "wild bird that has flown into an environment alien to it" (in Andersen's narrative of his confirmation), a "frightened forest bird, languishing in a cage" (describing his time at the grammar school in Slagelse), etc. Iuliia Ikskiul thus became one of the first in the Russian critical tradition to portray Andersen as a "child of nature," emphasizing the opposition between his natural "simplicity and childlike tenderness" and, on the other hand, genteel society: "The most famous poets of Denmark ... extended him a brotherly hand, and the beautiful ladies bestowed smiles of favor on this innocent young man who guilelessly sang tender elegies and idylls full of freshness." Along with the image of the poet who was "not of this world," Iuliia Ikskiul's essay also includes the image, which would become "textbook" in Russian treatments of the author, of Andersen the fighter: "Born of low rank, Andersen was animated from quite a young age by a premonition of his higher calling, and fought courageously, inexorably, tirelessly against the poverty oppressing him, against the obstacles blocking his path .... [H]e made for himself a name that shall always be celebrated in the history of ingenious people and the misfortunes that befall them."6

It is characteristic that, despite the didactic nature of her essay, the translator analyzes Andersen's "adult" works—the novels *The Improvisatore*, *O. T.*, *Only a Fiddler*, the play *The Mulatto*, poems, etc.—and makes no mention of the fairy tales. The composition of the collection, which included "The Steadfast Tin Soldier" (later consistently categorized by publishers, critics, and educators as a tale for children), as well as more

<sup>5</sup> Ikskiul', "Nechto ob Andersene," 113.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 117.

adult-oriented works like "The Darning Needle," "The Buckwheat," "The Fir Tree," "The Naughty Boy," "The Story of a Mother," and "Scenes from Children's Life" (fragments from the series "A Picture-Book without Pictures"), may likewise attest that the readerly address of Andersen's prose was not yet fully clear.

One of the first works to deal specifically with Andersen's tales for children was an article by the critic Aleksandr Dobroliubov published in 1858.7 Reviewing a collection of Andersen's fairy tales published in French, Dobroliubov gives a positive evaluation of his talent as a children's writer. Being one of the most radical representatives of the revolutionary-democratic movement, the critic warmly welcomes the social relevance and satirical thrust of Andersen's tales. In particular, he singles out "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Little Match Girl," "The Princess on the Pea," and "The Traveling Companion." Somewhat unusual for the discourse of revolutionary-democratic commentary here is that Dobroliubov approves of the inclusion of elements of the fantastic in children's reading. Commenting on the tales "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "Little Ida's Flowers," and "The Flax" Dobroliubov is the first critic to draw attention to one of Andersen's primary techniques: "Realistic representations take on, in a highly poetic way, a fantastic character.... Andersen animates ordinary inanimate objects and makes them act," he writes.8 This stylistic feature would go on to be remarked on by most critics (to the present day), who refer to it as the "Andersen tradition."

From this point on, Russian criticism treated Andersen primarily as a children's writer. At the same time, the border between "Andersen for children" and "Andersen for adults" was not easy to draw, insofar as the readerly address of the works included in the collections *Fairy Tales Told to Children* (1835-42) and *New Fairy Tales* (1844-48) was and remains controversial in and of itself, as critics everywhere have discussed heatedly and at length.

In the late 1860s, Andersen's tales appeared in Russia in the Russian language, and the number of editions and translations continued to increase. Responding to this phenomenon were literary critics (in pieces addressed to adult readers) as well as pedagogical critics, who addressed their statements on Andersen to teachers, parents, and other persons concerned with the question of children's reading. As Gaiane Orlova has observed in her research,<sup>9</sup> it was generally in the former,

<sup>7</sup> Dobroliubov, "Frantsuzskie knigi. Retsenziia na: Contes d'Andersen traduits du danois par Soldi. Paris, 1856," 370.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 370.

<sup>9</sup> Orlova, Kh.-K. Andersen v russkoj literature kontsa XIX-nachala XX veka.

the literary as opposed to pedagogical criticism, that Andersen's tales were spoken of approvingly as reading matter for children. This was in part because educators in this period were generally oriented toward realism, usefulness (*pol'za*), and educational significance as the main criteria of children's literature; and harbored a considerable antipathy for the fairy tale genre, and for the whole aesthetic of the fantastic (and also romantic) in general.

The author of the first Russian bibliography of children's literature (*Our Children's Literature* [*Nasha detskaia literatura*], 1862), the well-known educator Feliks Toll (1823-67), says of Andersen's tales: "Andersen's stories are not without great and vivid merit, but they aim solely to moralize, and they thus serve to blunt the child's memory and deprive him of precious minutes of exercise, and distract him from more useful reading." By "useful reading," Toll means, primarily, popular science literature. We might note that, given Feliks Toll's status as one of the staunchest adherents of revolutionary-democratic ideals (for which he even spent some time in penal servitude), his evaluation of Andersen's fairy tales appears quite natural and, on the whole, is in keeping with typical revolutionary-democratic views on children's literature.

Such commentators' consistent antipathy toward the genre of magic tale led, at times, to curious statements. Thus for instance, the educator Evgenii Kemnits (1832-71), a colleague and fellow-thinker of Feliks Toll, penned one of the most devastating reviews of Andersen's tales ever to appear in the whole Russian critical Anderseniana—published, characteristically, in the journal *Teacher* (*Uchitel'*) in 1864.

Kemnits fiercely opposes the fairy tale genre on principle: "[I]n adults, the inclination toward the fantastic is a sign of an abnormal state of mind!" He sees the Russian people's penchant for fairy tales and fables as causative of the "people's moral apathy," and considers it dangerous to give fairy tales to Russians as reading material. The critic is similarly merciless to the tales of Andersen: "Without denying Andersen's wit and talent, we find that his works are too redolent of the ravings of a frustrated imagination ('The Bell,' 'The Rose Elf,' 'The Story of a Mother,' 'The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweep,' etc.) .... 'The Galoshes of Fortune' and 'The Shadow'—these 'stories' have nothing to offer but bad puns." 12

As for the idea of including Andersen's fairy tales in children's reading, Kemnits writes:

<sup>10</sup> Toll', Nasha detskaia literatura, 177.

<sup>11</sup> Kemnits, "Retsenziia na: Polnoe sobranie skazok Andersena v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi. SPb, 1863," 537.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 539.

With the exception of two or three, which can be selected with some difficulty, the tales must not be given to children! Andersen has not written his fairy tales for children at all! Some of them are too sentimental, others are mystical, and still others are too affected and elaborate. Some of the tales contain indecent hints that are in no wise compatible with childhood ("The Naughty Boy"), and neither children nor adults would want to read such rubbish as "The Flying Trunk!"<sup>13</sup>

Kemnits especially disapproves of Andersen's tales based on folkloric plots: "The Tinder Box' and 'The Swineherd'—how long can we keep having plots like this, in which some honest pauper, some simpleton, after certain tribulations, invariably marries a princess?" Although, consciously or otherwise, the critic here is distorting the plot of "The Swineherd," insofar as the tale's main character could hardly be called a "pauper" or "simpleton," and, as the reader might well recall, he does not marry the princess at all.

(We might note that throughout the prerevolutionary period, Russian educators considered "The Tinder Box" and "Little Claus and Big Claus" to be Andersen's crudest and most indecent tales. These were published in separate editions, in comparatively minimal quantities.)

At the same time, critics oriented toward adult readers appreciated Andersen's works and recommended them for children: "Anyone wishing to give fairy tales to children could do no better than the books of Grimm and Andersen"; "Fantastic imagery full of poetry; a childlike, naive tone; such an inimitably charming presentation, such originality and ease of form .... Even as they are children's tales, they are entertaining for adults as well; Andersen's fantasy is strong in its content!" <sup>16</sup>

However, pedagogical criticism in the late 1860s remained quite conservative, and concomitantly skeptical as to the Danish storyteller's edificatory worth: "In terms of educational value, most of Andersen's tales can be dismissed," writes the author of an anonymous review published in the journal *People's School (Narodnaia shkola)* in 1869. "Many of them arouse interest only by the unexpectedness and extreme unnaturalness of their events, like folktales: 'Little Claus and Big Claus,' 'The Tinder Box,' 'The Traveling Companion,' 'The Flying Trunk,' 'Little

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 540.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 539.

<sup>15</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: *Polnoe sobranie skazok v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi.* SPb, 1863," *Russkoe slovo*, no. 11-12 (1863): 43.

<sup>16</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: *Polnoe sobranie skazok v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi.* SPb, 1863," *Sovremennik* 9, no. 1 (1864): 96, 100.

Ida's Flowers,' 'The Darning Needle,' 'Little Tuck,' 'The Old House' ... 'The Princess on the Pea' is an utterly vacuous tale. To put such books in the hands of children would be perverse!"<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the critic remarks that some of Andersen's stories would serve as "an excellent developmental tool," should children read them under the guidance of their parents. The tales "The Fir Tree," "Thumbelina," "The Daisy," "Flax," "The Little Mermaid," "The Ugly Duckling," and "The Snow Queen," says the anonymous critic, are permeated with an "extraordinary warmth of feeling," contain "poetic and comforting descriptions of nature," and may be included in children's reading material, so long as parents make an effort to forestall "the indiscriminate excitation of fantasy" in their children.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, in the 1850s-60s, publications on Andersen represented (with a single exception<sup>19</sup>) reviews of the translations of Andersen's books published during this time: The Tales of Andersen as translated by Iuliia Ikskiul; The Complete Fairy Tales, translated by Mariia Trubnikova and Nadezhda Stasova;<sup>20</sup> and *The Complete Fairy Tales*, translated by Petr Veinberg and Marko Vovchok.21 It is important to emphasize that all these translations were made not from the original Danish, but from German translations. Evaluating Andersen as a children's writer, critics vacillate between the aesthetic and the pedagogical mode: "While we share the views... regarding the artistic value of Andersen's fairy tales, as recognized [throughout Europe], we cannot recognize all the tales as being educationally effective," writes the anonymous People's School critic in 1869.22 One and the same translation receives a positive evaluation, if the critic writes for a journal covering "literature for adults"-"The choice of translators is a successful one .... The Russian public will for the first time get to know the works of a remarkable, one-of-a-kind storyteller, whose fairy tales are fresh and poetic"23—and negative, when it comes to children's reading; in the latter case, it is said that the translators would have been better advised "to separate the stories that are suitable for children from those that are not; and to

<sup>17</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Polnoe sobranie skazok G. Kh. Andersena v perevode Petra Veinberga so 120 kartinkami i biograficheskim ocherkom," Narodnaia shkola, no. 2 (1869): 34.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>19</sup> Anon., "Sutki v Kopengagene," Biblioteka dlia chteniia, no. 6 (1864).

<sup>20</sup> Andersen, Polnoe sobranie skazok v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi.

<sup>21</sup> Andersen, Polnoe sobranie skazok v 3-kh tomakh. V perevode P. Veinberga, Marko Vovchka, S. Maikovoj

<sup>22</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Polnoe sobranie skazok G. Kh. Andersena v perevode Petra Veinberga so 120 kartinkami i biograficheskim ocherkom," Narodnaia shkola, no. 2 (1869): 34.

<sup>23</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: *Polnoe sobranie skazok v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi.* SPb, 1863," *Sovremennik* 9, no. 1 (1864): 100.

remove, from those that are suitable, anything that does not meet the requirements of healthy pedagogy."<sup>24</sup> As we can see, Andersen is still far from gaining the status of classic and luminary of children's literature, but in the next two decades this road will have been traversed.

The 1870s saw an increase, albeit not a significant one, in critical interest in Andersen's work. In part this critical reticence was due to the fact that there were no significant new translations. *The Last Tales of Andersen (Poslednie skazki Andersena*) translated by the children's writer Ekaterina Sysoeva, came out in 1876; but despite the fact that the collection came with an essay on the history of the tales' writing, and reminiscences by Andersen's friends on his last days, this edition received only a few reviews. And even upon the writer's seventieth jubilee and death in 1875, the press response was surprisingly meager. The magazine *Field (Niva)*<sup>25</sup> ran a lead article (accompanied by a striking page-one portrait of the anniversary celebrant), which spoke mainly of the "Danish poet's" warm love for children; and one of the literary journals published a biographical sketch<sup>26</sup>—but this is the sum total of the 1875 publications it has been possible to find.

Critics did, however, continue to discuss whether Andersen's books should be included in children's reading material: "[I]t is unclear how Andersen's tales came to be considered reading material for children. The ideas behind many of his older tales are either inaccessible to children, or are so vaguely expressed, for a child's comprehension, that the

<sup>24</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Novye skazki Andersena v perevode M. V. Trubnikovoi i N. V. Stasovoi. SPb, 1868," Delo, no. 6 (1868): 37. By "healthy pedagogy," the anonymous critic refers to the new currents in educational ideas and techniques that came to Russia in the midnineteenth century and were associated with changes in the historical and cultural situation in Russian society as a whole: the process by which the conservative-protective paradigm from the reign of Nicholas I (1825-55) was being replaced by a more liberal one since the accession of Alexander II (1855-81), which led to a revival of public life. In pedagogy, these tendencies were reflected in a changeover from the system of unquestioning obedience to a greater recognition of the child's independence. Representatives of the democratic trend in pedagogy believed that the child was capable of understanding social problems, and called for the child's leisure to be organized such that this time be spent in an exclusively "useful" manner (s pol'zoi). They frowned on the reading of fiction, and were skeptical of fairy tales, fantasy, and "reveries," which they saw as incompatible with the primary aim of education-the inculcation of civic-mindedness and morality. Teachers of both the old and new "schools" did not approve of the topic of love in works for children, and would not tolerate any erotic motifs, or motifs that struck them as erotic.

One of Russia's most popular mass illustrated magazines of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; a weekly, it was considered a magazine for family reading.

<sup>26</sup> Anon., "Gans-Khristian Andersen: biografiia i kharakteristika," *Niva*, no. 16 (1875): 1-2; Anon., "Gans-Khristian Andersen," *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia*, no. 344 (1875): 106-7; no. 345 (1875): 121-22.

only thing children will get out of them is the plot."<sup>27</sup> The "excitation of fantasy," crudeness and impropriety—this is what representatives of pedagogical criticism of the 1860s–70s feared most. Some publications of this period proposed that Andersen's *Tales and Stories* be adapted for children in accordance with these ideas: for example, in 1879 the educator and future censor Nikolai Treskin (1828–94) published an article titled "On Adapting Andersen's Fairy Tales for Children" ("O pererabotke skazok Andersena dlia detskogo chteniia").

Here Treskin states directly: "Andersen's famous fairy tales are not suitable to be read by children without adaptation!" And so he undertakes to explain how this task should be carried out. To begin with, the critic advises that "thirty-four of the forty-seven tales should be discarded," without explaining his choice, although some of the "discarded" tales are accompanied by brief remarks: "The story 'Under the Willow Tree' tells of the bitterness of an unhappy love—not for children, is it?"; "'The Nightcap of the 'Pebersvend' depicts all the bleakness of bachelorhood-it's no good"; "The moral of 'The Money Pig' is alien to a child"28; and so on. It is proposed that the thirteen tales selected for adaptation ("She was Good For Nothing," "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," "The Ice Maiden," "Psyche," "What the Old Man Does is Always Right," "The Old Oak Tree's Last Dream," "The Old Tombstone," "Five Peas from a Pod," "Something," "The Bottle Neck," "The Bell," "There Is a Difference," and "The Metal Pig") be abridged, and that "all details of love and mention of drunkenness be removed." In this regard, the selection of the story "Psyche" for this purpose seems mysterious, insofar as its entire plot hinges on the unrequited passion of a brilliant sculptor for a proud aristocratic woman, upon whose rejection of him, he seeks oblivion in a binge—even, at one point, in the company of "Bacchantes." But the critic is determined to act decisively: "The whole story needs to be adapted to another plot, so as to remove the amatory foundation on which it is based."29 The critic proposes doing the same with the story "The Bottle Neck."

Treskin's recommendations were never literally implemented, but the idea of "correcting" Andersen's fairy tales in editions for children was carried out frequently, both in the prerevolutionary and Soviet periods; and this is still done today. Tales have been abridged or amended; and "indecent," ideologically unacceptable, obscure, or "crude" episodes have

<sup>27</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Poslednie skazki Andersena v perevode E. Sysoevoi. SPb, 1876," Vospitanie i obuchenie, no. 2 (1877): 73.

<sup>28</sup> Treskin, "O pererabotke skazok Andersena dlia detskogo chteniia," 129.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 130.

been cut. Thus for example, in the translation of O. I. Rogova, which she herself calls a retelling (pereskaz), many of the storylines and details of well-known fairy tales are left out: in "The Wild Swans," the episode of Elisa's bathing, during which her stepmother sends toads to torment her, is omitted; the description of Elisa's walk in the graveyard is abridged (in particular, a fragment mentioning the vampires there has been cut), etc.<sup>30</sup> In an anonymous translation of "The Ice Maiden" published in 1918,<sup>31</sup> the sentimental episode about the "cretin," Saperli, "a poor imbecile," is omitted; in the 1924 collection translated by S. G. Zaimovskii,<sup>32</sup> the tale "Little Claus and Big Claus" is run without the description of the death of Little Claus's grandmother and the various tricks played with her corpse; the finale of "The Little Mermaid" is abridged, so that the story concludes with the death of the little mermaid; etc. The most frequent victim of abridgment-minded translators was "The Snow Queen." Most editions omitted the stories told by the flowers (the chapter "The Flower Garden of the Woman Skilled in Magic"), and the psalm that Kai and Gerda sing upon returning home (in the chapter "What Happened in the Snow Queen's Palace and What Came of It").

In the 1880s, certain changes took place in Russian public life that would influence the particular manner in which Andersen's tales were incorporated both in children's reading and in Russian culture generally. This period saw a decline in the revolutionary-democratic movement, and was marked by public disenchantment with political struggle and by spiritual and political reaction. Readers' interests now shifted from politics and social issues to the sphere of private life, psychological experience, contemplation, and even mysticism.<sup>33</sup> Leaving civic activism behind, many among the educated classes turned to literature and theater, and sought support in art. Thus despite the increased censorship and political crackdown, the 1880s constituted a new stage in the flourishing of Russian culture.

It was in this period, for instance, that the first currents of modernism came to Russia, which led to the rehabilitation of the fantasy genre and of the aesthetic of the fantastic in general; and to a new surge of inter-

<sup>30</sup> Andersen, Izbrannye skazki v pereskaze O. I. Rogovoi.

<sup>31</sup> Andersen, Skazki. Ledianitsa.

<sup>32</sup> Andersen, Ognivo.

<sup>33</sup> In 1881, Tsar Alexander II was killed by a member of the People's Will terrorist organization, which led to the onset of political reaction in the country and the curtailing of public rights and initiatives. Society was gripped with the fear of political persecution; bureaucratization intensified, and art was dominated by censorship. The prominent early twentieth-century literary critic Arkadii Gorenfeld described the 1880s thus: "All was quiet, sedate, and genteel in that period of deathly lifelessness" ("O khudozhestvennoi chestnosti," 69).

est in folklore. At the same time, the Russian reading public was for the first time swept up in a wave of enthusiasm for Scandinavian literature, due mainly to the plays of Henrik Ibsen. Readers likewise took an interest in the Scandinavian literary fairy tale; now published in Russian, along with books by Andersen, were the tales of Svend Grundtvig, Peter Christen Asbjornsen, Zachris Topelius, and others.<sup>34</sup> As Nikolai Chekhov, Russia's first historian of children's literature, would say of this period in 1915: "Scandinavian literature, which made a triumphant march through Europe in the late nineteenth century, continues to live and develop. Its sincerity, the peculiar beauty of its images, the depth of its thoughts—all this is reflected in the children's branch of this literature."<sup>35</sup>

As the book market expanded, so did the range of children's books: not only did publishers issue (every year!) collections of Andersen's fairy tales, but also certain of the tales as standalone books, including some that would number among the most beloved children's publications of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries: *The Ugly Duckling, Thumbelina, The Steadfast Tin Soldier*, and *The Tinder Box*. In 1887, the legendary Moscow publishing house of Ivan Sytin (1851–1934), which specialized in the production of low-cost and colorful mass literature, published the first Russian popular print (*lubok*) editions of Andersen's fairy tales: *The Mermaid Princess* (*Tsarevna-rusalochka*) and *The Twelve Swan Brothers and the Star-Princess* (*Dvenadtsat' brat'ev lebedei i Tsarevna-Zvezda*).

The 1880s also saw a growing interest in the figure of Andersen himself. It was not only his literary legacy, available to an ever-broadening readership, that helped make Andersen a cult writer of this period; it was also the writer's colorful and eccentric personality, his amazing biography. In 1880, the journal *Russian Speech (Russkaia rech')* published an extensive essay by the writer Max Nordau (1849-1923) titled "A Visit to Andersen," in which the author discusses his meeting with Andersen in 1874. Nordau reverently describes details from the everyday existence of the dying Andersen, and calls him "a genius." The number of biographical materials on Andersen now grew; most significantly, works by the critic Georg Brandes provoked a lively polemic among Russian readers. Biographical sources of varying quality—from the sensationalistic to the painstakingly researched—continued to fuel the "Andersen myth," that of the sensitive and impressionable eccentric, the "eternal

<sup>34</sup> Grundtvig, Datskie narodnye skazki; Topelius, Skazki Z. Topeliusa, professora Aleksan-drovskogo universiteta v Gel'singforse; Asb'ernsen, Norvezhskie skazki Petera Asb'ernsena.

<sup>35</sup> Chekhov, Vvedenie v izuchenie detskoi literatury, 54.

<sup>36</sup> Nordau, "Poseshchenie Andersena."

child" and intuitive genius, "the son of a shoemaker" who made a dizzying social ascent.

The biographical trend in Russian Anderseniana was matched by a literary-critical one. In the 1880s it became increasingly common to see positive, even panegyric evaluations of Andersen's oeuvre, including in pedagogical criticism. One of the more ecstatic articles to speak of the significance of Andersen's fairy tales for children's reading was published in 1881. Its author, the educator and commentator Ivan Feoktistov (1845-?), includes autobiographical elements in his article:

My goodness! How I devoured these tales as a child! Downtrodden and despised, I withdrew into myself, but my head labored much. Nowhere did I find succor; the future was dark, and nowhere did I hear a warm word. Then, suddenly, I got hold of Andersen's *Tales*, and it was like a breath of fresh air, a burst of warm concern; and hope smiled upon me. I put myself in the position of the ugly duckling; I recited: "Gilding fades fast; but pigskin will last!"

And to this day, I associate the name of Andersen with something fragrant, something lofty, noble, and pure....

These tales are especially dear to unusual, talented, ingenious, sensitive, and nervous natures. These natures do not fit the general standard; they do not know how to lay eggs like a chicken, or curve their back prettily like a cat! For these natures, Andersen's tales are their childhood pals.<sup>37</sup>

In the early 1880s, antipathy to Andersen could still be heard in some corners, especially among still-active representatives of the revolution-ary-democratic movement of the sixties. Thus, one of the first Russian feminists, the writer Mariia Tsebrikova (1835–1917), critiqued Andersen's works as bereft of a social conscience and excessively sentimental, writing: "Andersen did not see social relations in life, and this is why his women are not women, and his men are not men, but beings either loving and meek, or hateful and rude—and that's it! His writing has the whiff of coldness, boredom, a feeling of pique!" (1883). But already by the end of the decade, the tone is set by critics who see Andersen as one of the best children's writers, one whose works need no recommendation, and whose positive influence on the child-reader is beyond doubt. One review of the late 1880s begins with a sort of apophatic turn: "It would be utterly superfluous to expatiate on the artistic merits of Andersen's

<sup>37</sup> Feoktistov, "Andersen i Vagner kak detskie pisateli," 201.

<sup>38</sup> Tsebrikova, "Datskaja literatura," 124.

stories. To whom might these charming tales be unknown?"<sup>39</sup>—a rhetorical device that would become somewhat of a cliché.

Against this background, the attitude toward the pedagogical censorship of Andersen's texts changed as well. Readers and critics now began to resent, not only cases in which educators sought to thoroughly remake his tales, but *any* interference in the text. Such was the reaction, for example, that met the collection *Selected Tales* (1889), as retold by the children's writer Olga Rogova (1851-?).<sup>40</sup>

It would seem that in retelling Andersen's texts, Rogova was taking her cue from the truculent pedagogues of the 1860s-70s, who had been eager to "rewrite everything." The changes Rogova made to the fairy tales are significant: she removes not just particular details, like the mention of the sadness in the little robber girl's dark eyes ("The Snow Queen"), or the phrase in the finale of "The Steadfast Tin Soldier" to the effect that the heat melting him may have been that of "his love"; but also whole episodes and plot lines-for example, the final fragment of "The Little Mermaid," which tells of the "daughters of the air"; an episode from the tale "Ole Lukoie" that mentions insomnia and the pangs of conscience (the chapter "Friday"); the stories of the flowers and the psalm about roses in "The Snow Queen"; etc. Rogova boldly reworks Andersen's texts, retelling them in her own words and abridging them mercilessly. Where in the original we see a paragraph of ten or fifteen sentences, the translator gets by with two or three. (Most substantially reworked is the "Little Robber Girl" chapter from "The Snow Queen.") Sometimes the urge to "improve on Andersen" results in something that not only outrages critics, but is also comically absurd: for example, in the fairy tale "The Snow Queen," the crow's wife is for some unknown reason referred to as his *kuma* (mother of one's godchild<sup>41</sup>), etc. In the devastating review of Rogova's work by the pedagogical journal Education and Learning (Vospitanie i obuchenie), the very idea of censoring Andersen's texts is called into question: "The title of the book itself, Andersen's Tales Retold [v pereskaze], is really something! Who could have any need of retellings of Andersen, and why?"42 The translator's changes are interpreted quite dramatically by the critic: "We have before us a scrubbed and neutered

<sup>39</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Skazki, perevedennye s nemetskogo, pod redaktsiei P. Veinberga. SPb, 1889," Vospitanie i obuchenie, no. 5 (1889): 214.

<sup>40</sup> Andersen, Izbrannye skazki v pereskaze O. I. Rogovoi.

<sup>41</sup> The old-timey words *kum* and *kuma* signify the father and mother of one's godchild. In Russian folklore, the *kum* and *kuma* are primarily comic characters, frequently associated with ribaldry.

<sup>42</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: G. Kh. Andersen. *Izbrannye skazki v pereskaze O. I. Rogovoi.* SPb, 1889," *Vospitanie i obuchenie*, no. 5-6 (1890): 233-34.

Andersen!" Rogova's educational qualifications are likewise called into question: "Mme. Rogova, as we know, gives lectures on the history of children's literature at the Froebel courses<sup>43</sup>.... But what can she teach, what principles can she inspire her students with, if she herself is sowing all manner of lies and untruths in children's hearts and minds?"<sup>44</sup>

Of particular significance here is that, among other things, the reviewer remarks that "we are surprised at Mme. Rogova! She ought to be ashamed of herself for mangling classic works [emphasis mine—IS]!"45 This detail is quite important: by this time-1890-Andersen had become, in Russia, a universally recognized classic. From this point on, the subsequent critical tradition, both in the prerevolutionary and Soviet periods, would develop and reinforce precisely this assessment. Even during the radical campaigns of the 1920s, when the party's literary authorities denounced the fairy tale genre as "ideologically harmful and alien" to Soviet children, private publishers still brought out editions of Andersen's tales, despite the sharp official criticism this earned them. In the 1930s, Soviet culture rehabilitated and appropriated Andersen's writings and persona, interpreting him as a fighter in the war on social injustice and a son of the exploited class—indeed, practically a harbinger of the Russian Revolution.<sup>46</sup> Thus was Andersen restored to the pantheon of literary classics, revered in Soviet Russia by readers and the authorities alike.<sup>47</sup>

In the 1890s–1900s, and right up to the revolution of 1917, the image of Andersen-the- classic rapidly took hold in Russian criticism; the first books on his biography were published,<sup>48</sup> and Andersen's tales became the subject not only of a pedagogical-advisory approach, but also of

The Froebel courses were tuition-based educational institutions that existed in Russia from 1872 to 1917. Their distinctive feature was that their students were mainly women.

<sup>44</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: G. Kh. Andersen. *Izbrannye skazki v pereskaze O. I. Rogovoi.* SPb, 1889," *Vospitanie i obuchenie*, no. 5-6 (1890): 233.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, the critic Aleksandr Deich's comment in an article on Andersen: "Now that children's literature is successfully developing under the Stalinist slogan of socialist realism, we draw abundantly from the treasury of world literature all the best and noblest works that promote the victory of socialism, and we restore Hans Christian Andersen's legacy to its proper place" ("Skazki Andersena," 13).

<sup>47</sup> One fascinating aspect of Russian Anderseniana is that the first publication to sound skeptical notes about Andersen's tales appeared—after a nearly hundred-year hiatus—in 1980, as Soviet authoritarianism was on the wane; and it would be only in 1995, that is, after the collapse of the USSR, that the Russian reading public would see an article openly criticizing the idea of Andersen's tales as children's classics.

<sup>48</sup> Beketova, Gans-Khristian Andersen; Sysoeva, Bessmertnyi tvorets skazok; Anon., Gans Khristian Andersen (biograficheskii ocherk) (Moscow: Obshchestvo rasprostraneniia poleznykh knig, 1901); etc.

literary analysis.<sup>49</sup> Now appeared such generically original critical works as, for instance, a little-known study by the historian Iurii Shcherbachev (1851–1917), who served from 1893 to 1897 at the Russian embassy in Copenhagen. In his article "Another Tale by Andersen" ("Eshche odna skazka Andersena"), Shcherbachev gives a detailed historical commentary on "Godfather's Picture Book"—not among Andersen's best-known stories in Russia—and performs his analysis with great enthusiasm. Admiring its poeticism, precision, and meaningfulness, the critic quite categorically asserts that "this is the fairy tale Danish kids love the most." It might be noted that, unlike in the modern period, the genre of so-called *real'nyi kommentarii* ("real commentary" is virtually absent from prerevolutionary criticism of children's literature.

In 1894 Russian Anderseniana received a powerful new impetus: the publication of the first translation of Andersen's tales to be made from the original Danish, by the husband-and-wife team of the Hansens. This event, whose importance cannot be overstated, caused a flurry of reviews (see fig. 1), in which, in the process of discussing the merits and shortcomings of the translation, critics adopted certain formulas in praise of Andersen's oeuvre that would become standard, alluding, for instance, to "Andersen's ability to animate and spiritualize everything around him"<sup>52</sup>; his "poetry, wealth of fantasy, humor... lyricism, the manifestation of personal psychic life in allegorical imagery"<sup>53</sup>; "the elegance, poetry, and truthful simplicity of his works"<sup>54</sup>; etc.

As such critical clichés took shape, the myth of Andersen himself developed apace. This process was stoked in part by the publications and oral accounts of Georg Brandes, who visited Russia in 1887. Reaching out to youthful literary circles of St. Petersburg, Brandes regaled his listeners with various stories characterizing Andersen in the most unflattering terms (as, for example, the famous story of the poisoned jam, etc.). In Brandes's telling (as described, for example, in the memoirs of

<sup>49</sup> Krasnov, "Datskii skazochnik"; Alferov, "Skazki Andersena"; Kruglov, *Literatura "malen'kago naroda"*; etc.

<sup>50</sup> Shcherbachev, "Eshche odna skazka Andersena," 143.

<sup>51</sup> *Real'nyi kommentarii* is a genre of scholarly commentary that seeks to provide a detailed description of the historical events mentioned in a text, to explain the historical realities: antiquated customs, rituals, topics, turns of phrase, etc.

<sup>52</sup> Krasnov, "Datskii skazochnik," 182.

<sup>53</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Andersen, Sobranie sochinenii v perevode A. i P. Ganzen. SPb, 1894," Mir Bozhii, no. 6 (1894): 198.

<sup>54</sup> Balobanova, "Retsenziia na: Sobranie sochinenii Andersena v 4-kh tomakh." 160.

Sergei Makovsky<sup>55</sup>), Andersen came across as a hypochondriac, morbidly self-involved, infantile, vain, narrow-minded, petty, and selfish.

Coming to the defense of their favorite writer were translators, teachers, and literary critics, who sought in their publications to ascribe the negative view of Andersen to the machinations of the jealous; caught up in these polemics were not just Brandes, but also members of the Collin family,<sup>56</sup> and even the translators, the Hansens, who were said to "get so carried away in defending Andersen that they do not always remain completely impartial."57 As the well-known public figure, journalist, and literary critic Pavel Gaideburov (1841-93) commented in his article "A Story with Andersen on Russian Soil" ("Istoriia s Andersenom na russkoi pochve"): "Great talents always find people ready to denigrate them";<sup>58</sup> on the basis of a letter that Jonas Collin took the occasion to send to St. Petersburg, Gaideburov in this piece refutes the "anecdotes" of Brandes—the story of Andersen giving hungry poor people champagne with nothing to eat it with; the story of him supposedly giving poisoned jam to the children of Collin himself (!); the story of how Andersen, fearing being caught in a fire, carried a rope ladder around on his person; etc.—in effect, repeating these stories once more, and acquainting Russian readers with them.

Despite the "Brandes anecdotes," Andersen's image in Russian criticism in this period becomes more and more idealized, as befits a writer generally recognized as a classic. And in biographies of Andersen aimed at children, he is ultimately ascribed the features of a classic and a demigod; assisting in this process were, among other things, the many publications that came out in connection with the Andersen centenary. One of the most indicative in this regard is the lengthy article (1906) by the elementary school teacher Iakov Aleksandrov, who describes Andersen as "a mighty elder," "the grandfather of all Danish children," and "a wise man and seer to whom are vouchsafed the intentions of the Lord God."

Alluding to the story (published in the newspaper News [Novosti] in

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;It was old Andersen who caught it the most from him. Brandes had anecdote upon anecdote about his famous countryman's self-centeredness" (Makovskii, *Portrety sovremennikov*, 135).

<sup>56</sup> Krasnov, "Datskii skazochnik," 189.

<sup>57</sup> Anon., "Retsenziia na: Sobranie sochinenii Andersena, perevod s datskogo podlinnika A. i P. Ganzen," Russkaia mysl', no.7 (1895): 319.

<sup>58</sup> Gaideburov, "Istoriia s Andersenom na russkoi pochve," 274.

<sup>59</sup> Press, "Gans-Khristian Andersen: po povodu stoletiia"; Anon., "Stoletie so dnia rozhdeniia Andersena," *Vskhody*, no. 5 (1905): 379-80; Abramovich, "Gans Khristian Andersen (K 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia)"; Fedorov-Davydov, "Gans-Khristian Andersen"; Leont'eva, "O detskom chtenii (iz nabliudenii uchitel'nitsy)"; etc.

<sup>60</sup> Aleksandrov, "Velikii skazochnik," 71-72.

1887) of the famous Russian traveler Vladimir Mainov, Aleksandrov unfolds for his readers certain rather unnatural pictures "from the life of Andersen," in which real facts are closely intertwined with fiction. Here he describes, for example, a scene of Andersen being feted by "the children of Denmark" in his native Odense, which, however, has no parallel in *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, even as that text contains scrupulous descriptions of celebrations:

Having left the town ... Mr. Mainov saw many schoolchildren ... holding banners aloft and climbing uphill. Amid this boisterous, cheerful throng, you could see a broad-brimmed feather hat, under which there fluttered the hair, white like silver, of a certain small man in a gray jacket. The children sang, and the man shouted something and waved his hat. When he started to lag behind this crowd and fell in with the next, the ones in front shouted back to him: "Our dear gubbe (grandpa) has fallen behind again! Better we should wait for you, than give our *qubbe* to others!" These others started to clamor with the first ones.... Clutching the hands of the standard-bearers of both groups, the old man clambered with them up the hill .... This old man was Andersen. He knew almost all the schoolchildren by name, and had already managed to note which of them was healthy, and which was ill; who had lost weight, and who had recovered .... The evening rang with a choir of two thousand children's voices. Standing on a table, Andersen read the story of "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," and in the face of the noble elder, everyone understood that he too had in his youth experienced the torments of the little soldier, with the only difference being that he himself was made not of tin, but of blood and nerves.<sup>61</sup>

At this point, things become even more implausible. Aleksandrov writes that, the evening of that same day, "Mr. Mainov and his acquaintance Professor V. listened in on the poet's conversation with a thirteen-year-old peasant girl,"<sup>62</sup> and cites a grotesque dialogue between the writer and the girl in which these interlocutors speak of eternal love, heavenly bliss, the souls of the departed winking to their loved ones from nearby little stars, etc. "So that's how Andersen gathered plots for his immortal tales!"<sup>63</sup>—concludes the critic, clearly unaware of how comical such a conclusion sounds.

Iakov Aleksandrov's article is marked by a combination of detailed

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

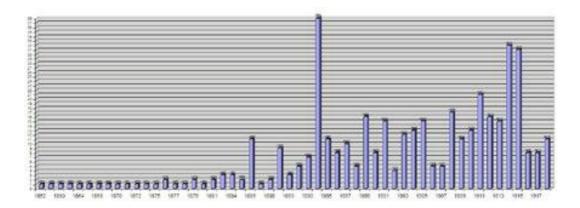


Fig. 3. Russian translations of Andersen's tales published from 1845-1918. Inna Sergienko.

literary analysis of Andersen's fairy tales—not devoid, in places, of depth and insight—and (on the other hand), the broadcast of sensational inventions about Andersen the person. These extensive quotations from Aleksandrov, an ardent and sincere admirer of Andersen, are given here in order to show how Andersen's image begins, in this genre of belletristic biography, to acquire fairytale and even kitschy or *lubok*-like features. This trend will continue, and at times even intensify, both in Soviet and post-Soviet literary and pedagogical criticism.

One common device critics now adopted was to compare (or at times even identify) Andersen with his characters: the ugly duckling, the steadfast tin soldier (Aleksandrov), Ole Lukoie, the swineherd, the gardener (from "The Gardener and the Noble Family"), and even Thumbelina (A. Altaev<sup>64</sup>)—which may be connected with the reading public's increasing familiarity with Andersen's autobiography *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, as well as with the Andersen biographies by Russian authors. (fig. 3)

Something of an ebb can be observed in critics' and educators' interest in Andersen's works after 1905-6 (even as publishers retained this interest entirely, and editions of Andersen's fairy tales continued to proliferate—see fig. 3). During this period, Andersen's tales are more typically mentioned in reading lists and indexes compiled by those preoccupied mainly with the age-appropriateness of particular tales—and coming, at times, to opposite conclusions.<sup>65</sup>

One of the last pre-Soviet articles on Andersen, published in the January 1918 issue of the magazine *Game* (*Igra*), is devoted to recommendations on organizing a theatrical children's festival in honor of Andersen.

<sup>64</sup> Altaev, Velikii skazochnik.

<sup>65</sup> Korol'kov, Chto chitat' detiam; Lemke, Chto chitat' detiam do piatnadtsati let; etc.

It begins with the question: "How to arrange an Andersen festival, now that children's festivals have come into fashion?" And continues with the statement that "the Andersen day should by all means be a day of fairy tales and flowers"66 (and proposes, in particular, the staging of "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" and "The Old Tombstone"). It is recommended that the festival conclude with a recitation of the latter tale's final words: "The good and the beautiful perish never; they live eternally in story and song!" Considering the historical context, this article may be seen as not so much treating the subject of "Andersen on Russian soil" as bearing witness, rather, to the moment when prerevolutionary Russia was about to become the irrevocable past: at the very same moment when the educator and bibliographer Nikolai Bakhtin (1866-1940), who would go on to be a prominent figure in Soviet children's theater, was writing it, Russia's political system, and the country's whole ideological paradigm, were changing. Amid the civil war,67 interventions, famine, and devastation that followed the revolutionary overthrow in 1917, the issue of "children's festivals" was long relegated to the realm of vanished prerevolutionary life. It would be seventy-odd years before Russian critics would return to the view of Andersen predominant in prerevolutionary pedagogical and literary criticism-that of a Christian and humanist writer. (Bakhtin's article develops this interpretation using the image of Andersen as the "kindly gardener" 68).

To sum up, views of Andersen's work in Russian criticism may be presented as follows:

In the period from the late 1850s through the 1870s, Russian critics were generally unenthusiastic about Andersen's works for children, or outright rejected them—a view connected with such factors as a lack of quality translations, a general negativity toward fairy tales and the fantastic in children's literature, etc. Some critics appreciated Andersen's works for featuring social issues (Dobroliubov, Treskin, anonymous authors), while others would have preferred that the social element be sharper-edged and more profound (Toll, Kemnits, Tsebrikova, anonymous authors). From the 1880s on, the dominant trend was to hail Andersen's works for children enthusiastically, even panegyrically. Critics emphasized the humanistic nature of Andersen's creativity, remarking on his

<sup>66</sup> Bakhtin, "Kak ustroit' andersenovskii prazdnik," 12.

<sup>67</sup> The Russian Civil War (1918–22) represented a series of battles between various political, ethnic, and social groups in the territory of the former Russian Empire after the Bolsheviks came to power in the October Revolution of 1917. A large-scale and bloody struggle, it was marked by great casualties, from eight to thirteen million people.

<sup>68</sup> Bakhtin, "Kak ustroit' andersenovskii prazdnik," 13.

artistic talent and the edifying influence his tales had on child-readers (Feoktistov, Krasnov, Kruglov, Leontieva, Aleksandrov, etc.). It was in this period that the main elements of the "Andersen myth" took shape; subjecting the writer's persona to a notable idealization, critics developed ideas and rhetorical clichés about Andersen that would return to Soviet criticism in the 1950s, and remain in Russia to this day.

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This index represents an addendum to the article "Hans Christian Andersen as a Children's Writer, as Reflected in Russian Criticism from the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century to 1917." It is based on materials from the collections of the Russian National Library, the Library of the Academy of Sciences, and the National Electronic Children's Library.

The index includes articles and reviews by critics and educators, excerpts from recommendatory manuals, and a few prefaces; in all, there are 100 sources. The index does not claim to be exhaustive, but it does reflect the main body of pieces published during this period on the figure and oeuvre of Hans Christian Andersen. The brief annotations focus especially on the opinion of the given work's author as to the readerly address of Andersen's tales, insofar as this question was hotly debated throughout the period under consideration. Most of the annotations also indicate which particular works the given critic analyzes and mentions, which can go to show which tales and stories were most popular with Russian readers, and which remained in the shadows.

The author of this index hopes that these materials will be of help in tracing Hans Christian Andersen's path in the Russian pantheon of classics of children's literature.

Belinskii 1845: A detailed review of the novel *The Improvisatore* (published in the journal *Sovremennik* in 1844). Here Belinsky is one of the first to write that Andersen's works make appropriate reading for children and adolescents.

Ikskiul' 1857: One of the first biographical pieces about Andersen, based on the German-language original of Andersen's first biography, *Das Märchen meines Lebens ohne Dichtung* (1847).

Dobroliubov 1858: One of the first Russian-language reviews of Andersen's tales (as published in Russia in French translation). Dobroliubov gives high marks to such tales and stories as "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Princess on the Pea," "The Little Match Girl," and "The Traveling Companion," and offers a description of Andersen's artistic method.

Toll' 1862: The first review of Andersen's fairy tales by a Russian educator; included in a collection of essays on children's books.

Toll' 1863: A brief positive review; the author writes that "Andersen's naive humor is inimitable, and his fairy tales are as rich in content as they are in

wit." The reviewer does note that the fairy tales are more suitable for adult reading: "Only adults will understand their content."

Lavrent'ev 1864: A piece about a personal meeting with Andersen; among other things, the writer's appearance is described.

Kemnits 1864: A harshly negative review, in which the tales included in the collection are called "fantastic ravings." The author of the review was an educator, bibliographer, and translator. The review mentions the tales "The Rose Elf," "The Bell," "The Story of a Mother," "The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweep," "The Galoshes of Fortune," "The Shadow," "The Tinder Box," "The Darning Needle," and "The Flying Trunk."

Anonymous 1864: A detailed positive review of the collection. The reviewer notes the "inimitable charm of [Andersen's] manner of presentation," "the originality of his form," his "profound artistic thought," etc. "The Steadfast Tin Soldier" is analyzed in detail.

Anonymous 1868: A brief review in which Veinberg's translation is given high marks.

P.T. 1868: An extensive review of the collection, focused mainly on pedagogical aspects of the tales and stories. The reviewer deems some of the works unsuitable for children ("The Psyche," "The New Century's Goddess," "Under the Willow Tree," "The Thorny Road of Honor," and "A Rose from Homer's Grave"), and in others ("Five Peas from a Pod," "What the Old Man Does is Always Right") sees "harmful thoughts." The author urges translators to use greater caution in selecting Andersen's works for editions for children; and teachers and parents, to provide guidance for children in reading Andersen's tales.

Anonymous 1869: A negative review of the collection. The author criticizes the tales "Little Claus and Big Claus," "The Tinder Box," "The Traveling Companion," "The Flying Trunk," "The Darning Needle," "Little Ida's Flowers," "The Old House," "The Shadow," "The Shirt Collar," "The Naughty Boy," and "The Princess on the Pea" as incapable of exerting a positive educational influence on the child reader.

Anonymous 1872: This piece includes discussion regarding the accusation that Marko Vovchok, who translated this edition's second volume, borrowed from renderings of the first volume's translator Petr Veinberg.

Anonymous 1875: A jubilee piece of a biographical and sensational nature, based on a retelling of *The Fairy Tale of My Life*. Discussed in detail in the piece is the creation of the poem "The Dying Child"; also mentioned are the novels *The Improvisatore*, *O. T.*, and *Only a Fiddler*, the tale "The Red Shoes," travel notes, etc.

Anonymous 1875: A biographical sketch based on *The Fairy Tale of My Life* and an article by Georg Brandes. The author of the article asserts that Andersen was very fond of children and that the "character of Ole Lukoie was a self-portrait." Comments the reviewer: "Beneath the light, fairytale form there lies serious content; important issues are raised."

E. C. 1877: A brief negative review. The author finds fault with the translator's "unfortunate selection" of Andersen's works for children's reading, and considers that children will find such tales as "Godfather's Picture Book," "Vänö and Glänö," "What Old Johanne Told," and "The Gate Key" incomprehensible and uninteresting, while the tale "The Cripple" teaches submissiveness. "As for Andersen's reputation," says the reviewer, "his translators' excessive zeal is only hurting him in our country."

Anonymous 1877: A brief review in which Andersen's writings are generally accorded high praise. The reviewer notes that Andersen's tales cannot be categorized exclusively as children's reading. The reviewer considers the tales "Godfather's Picture Book" and "The Gate Key" unsuitable for children, which makes it possible that this review and the one listed just above (E. C. 1875) were written by the same person.

Anonymous 1877: A brief review in which it is observed that Andersen's works represent the most successful example of the genre of the literary fairy tale.

Treskin 1879: Here the educator and future censor Nikolai Treskin proposes that Andersen's tales be reworked to be made suitable for children. The article's author finds the themes of drunkenness and "love stories" particularly undesirable. Analyzed in the article are the tales "She Was Good for Nothing," "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," "The Ice Maiden," "The Psyche," "What the Old Man Does is Always Right," "The Old Oak Tree's Last Dream," "The Old Tombstone," "Five Peas from a Pod," "Something," "The Bottle Neck," "The Bell," "There Is a Difference," and "The Metal Pig."

Anonymous 1880: A biographical sketch, supplemented by a description of the Andersen monument in Copenhagen. An enthusiastic evaluation is given of Andersen's oeuvre; it is said that "his wondrous, incomparable tales have had the greatest success!"

Nordau 1880: A piece by the German-Jewish writer and public figure Max Nordau about visiting Andersen in his home.

Feoktistov 1881: A detailed article by the educator Ivan Feoktistov in which the tales of Andersen are compared to the works of the Russian writer Nikolai Vagner. The author gives Andersen's work high marks, and examines features of his artistic method; the article also touches on episodes from Andersen's biography. Tales mentioned include "The Ugly Duckling," "The Nightingale," "The Daisy," "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Shadow," "The Galoshes of Fortune," "The Jumpers," "The Little Match Girl," "The Bell," "The Drop of Water," "The Shirt Collar," "The Tinder Box," "The Traveling Companion," "Little Claus and Big Claus," and "The Old House."

N. P-ia 1883: This piece constitutes a review of a low-cost edition of fairy tales by Andersen published for distribution to peasants and workers. The reviewer approves of the idea of reworking Andersen's tales for "the people," insofar as these works "develop literary taste, and contain honest, wholesome, and noble morals." Concludes the reviewer: "Andersen's tales are highly beneficial, both for children and for the people."

Tsebrikova 1883: In this article, the public figure and feminist Mariia Tsebrikova examines Andersen's work in the context of developments in Western European literature. Giving Andersen's literary talent its due, she reproaches him for lacking a social temperament, characterizing his worldview as "immature and idealistic."

Chto chitat' narodu? (What Should the People Read?) 1884: This is a recommended-reading list for students of Sunday and public schools, including adults. Andersen's tales are evaluated here from the standpoint of their comprehensibility to "the child and the commoner [prostoliudin]," and that of pedagogical "usefulness." The index cites responses by peasant children to Andersen's tales (in particular, "The Ugly Duckling"), and gives retellings by them; and reflects on and attempts to interpret this readerly reception.

Feoktistov 1885: A detailed article by the educator Ivan Feoktistov that examines Andersen's tales in the context of the genre of the literary fairy tale. The author analyzes the features of Andersen's artistic style, and touches on biographical episodes. The author gives high marks to Andersen's work, calling his tales the "swan song of the fairy tale." The article analyzes translations of Andersen, including that of Ekaterina Sysoeva, and observes that Andersen's later tales are not as good as the earlier ones: they are "dry allegories, lacking artistic merit."

Anonymous 1885: A brief review, in which Andersen's tales are called "a welcome guest in our children's literature." However, the reviewer remarks that not all the latest tales "are worthy." The translation is evaluated positively.

Feoktistov 1886: This extensive article is devoted to the controversial issue of the folkloric vs. literary fairy tale in children's reading. Andersen's tales are considered in this context, and given the highest marks. The critic calls Andersen's tales the "people's book of Denmark" and asserts that they deserve their "enormous worldwide success." Andersen's oeuvre is compared with that of the Russian authors Nikolai Vagner and Vsevolod Garshin, who wrote literary fairy tales.

Anonymous 1886: A short review of "The Ugly Duckling," in which it is said that "this story's details are so gracefully rendered, and conveyed by the author with so subtle a mind, that your tenth reading of the tale gives you no less pleasure."

Anonymous 1887: This review was written in connection with the issuing of Andersen's tales in low-cost editions for "the people" (the so-called *lubok* [popular-print] editions, i.e., with pictures and captions). The reviewer notes that the texts have been reworked; they are not only abridged but in some cases added to (e.g., an introduction has been added to "The Wild Swans"), and their titles have been changed to match the *lubok* tradition. The reviewer approves of an Andersen edition for "the people," but is indignant at the alteration of the texts. "The details of Andersen's tales have to be handled with care!" In the reviewer's opinion, "The Galoshes of Fortune" is too complex and incomprehensible, "The Tinder Box" is crude, and "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" should be read only under the guidance of one's teacher.

T. A. 1888: This is a brief preface to a publication by Georg Brandes. It repeats the cliché that likens Andersen to a capricious woman, and cites stories about how Andersen was "furious" to discover that a sculptor wanted to sculpt him surrounded by children; and how Andersen supposedly gave poisoned jam to an acquaintance. The author of the preface remarks that in the published article, "the critic independently and impartially gives an accurate view of the writer."

Anonymous 1888: A brief piece containing biographical information about Andersen. Describing his oeuvre, the reviewer comments that Andersen's tales are the only Danish works to make it into the ranks of world literature. The monument to Andersen is compared with the monument to the famed Russian writer I. A. Krylov in St. Petersburg.

Brandes 1888: An extensive article on Andersen's life and works.

Alchevskaia 1889: The editors of this volume approve of such tales as "The Nightingale," "Thumbelina," and "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" for peasant children's reading. Tales they believe "children will not understand" include "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "The Darning Needle," "The Shepherdess and the Chimney-Sweep," and "The Ugly Duckling." They discuss their experience with reading "A Traveling Companion" and "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" with "children of different development levels."

Anonymous 1889: The reviewer gives high marks to Andersen's tales and warmly recommends their inclusion in the category of reading material for children. The reviewer remarks on the great educational potential of such tales as "The Story of a Mother," "The Snow Queen," "The Wild Swans," "The Little Mermaid," "The Elder-Tree Mother," "Holger Danske," "Little Ida's Flowers," and "Ole Lukoie." The reviewer considers the tales "The Bell," "The Galoshes of Fortune," and "The Shadow" to be "beyond children's understanding"; and that "Little Claus and Big Claus" should not be included in children's reading material, on the grounds that it is "too crude."

Rogova 1889: A highly tendentious consideration of the appropriateness of Andersen's tales as reading material for children. Rogova believes that irony and allegory are incomprehensible to children, and that Andersen has an excessive predilection for stories and plots about love. "What makes these tales so harmful to the young soul is that the imagery in them is so bright, vital, and bold, and that they describe the feeling of love in all its details." She mentions the tales "The Butterfly," "Thumbelina," "Under the Willow Tree," "She Was Good for Nothing," "The Nightcap of the 'Pebersvend,'" "The Ice Maiden," "The Gardener and the Noble Family," "Beautiful," "Aunty Toothache," "The Racers," etc.

Feoktistov 1889: A detailed article in which the educator and literary critic Ivan Feoktistov polemicizes with pedagogical evaluations of Andersen's tales that categorize them "by age." He protests against the idea that such tales as "The Shirt Collar," "The Naughty Boy," "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "The Galoshes of Fortune," and "The Shadow" should be excluded from the category of children's reading. "How lucky we were that we lived when Andersen's tales had not yet been put into pedagogical categories!"

Anonymous 1890: A negative review of Olga Rogova's retellings of Andersen's tales. The reviewer expresses indignation at the very idea of reworking the tales, and analyzes the abridgments and distortions of such tales as "The Snow Queen," "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "The Flying Trunk," and "Little Ida's Flowers."

A. B. 1890: A review of four editions of Andersen. The reviewer praises Nadezhda Stasova's translation; and from among these editions, deems the best selection of tales to be found in that published by Vladimir Marakuev (which includes "The Steadfast Tin Soldier," "The Darning Needle," "The Tinder Box," "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," "Thumbelina," "The Flying Trunk," "What the Old Man Does is Always Right," "The Daisy," "The Bottle Neck," "The Little Mermaid," "The Galoshes of Fortune," "She Was Good for Nothing," and "The Wild Swans"). The reviewer notes that the existence of Andersen publications in different price categories—from the cheap to the luxurious "gift" editions (like "The Snow Queen" as published by Mavrikii Volf)—attests to the Russian reader's love for Andersen's oeuvre.

P-ia-" N. 1890: A brief review of the collection. Rogova's retelling is criticized; the reviewers question why she felt the need to "pluck and chop up a famous text."

Dr. A. B. 1890: The reviewer categorizes this book as belonging to the genre of "charming poems in prose," and remarks that it would be "premature" to give this book to children.

Anonymous 1891: A brief note about Andersen's parents, the circumstances of his birth, and the first years of his life.

Shcherbachev 1891: A brief article about Andersen's tale "Godfather's Picture Book," written in the genre of historical commentary. Iurii Shcherbachev, a historian and diplomat, writes about events from Danish history reflected in the tale, and calls for an edition of this text for children accompanied by commentary of this sort.

Pozniakov 1892: "At last we have a collection of Andersen's tales successfully selected for children's reading," writes the educator, commentator, and children's author Nikolai Pozniakov. "What is chosen here is suitable for children." Appropriate for children, in the reviewer's opinion, are such tales as "The Snow Queen," "The Flax," "The Nightingale," "She Was Good for Nothing," "Thumbelina," "The Old House," "The Shadow," "What the Old Man Does is Always Right," "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," "The Wild Swans," "The Ugly Duckling," "The Old Tombstone," "The Darning Needle," "The Galoshes of Fortune," "The Angel," "The Fir Tree," "The Flying Trunk," "The Daisy," "The Traveling Companion," "The Story of a Mother," "The Metal Pig," "The Little Mermaid," "The Shepherdess and the Chimney-sweep," "The Tinder Box," and "The Steadfast Tin Soldier."

Beketova 1892: The first Andersen biography to be published in Russia as a separate book. The author goes into detail about the life and oeuvre of Andersen, relying on *The Fairy Tale of My Life* and his collected letters.

Pozniakov 1894: A brief review that discusses the project of the publisher Florentii Pavlenkov, who had conceived the idea of an illustrated multivolume (thirty in all) edition of the fairy tales "of all the peoples of the world," including a selection of Andersen works, the translation of which, by Berta Porozovskaia, is praised by the reviewer.

Anonymous 1894: A brief advertising annotation, in which the book is called "an adornment for any desk or coffee table."

M. A. Ch. 1894: The author of this article examines the role of fairy tales in children's reading and education. The fairy tale is said to be integral to children's reading, insofar as, according to the author, it helps to develop the imagination and sense of fantasy. The author attempts to distinguish between "useful" and "harmful" fairy tales, with the former category including the tales of the brothers Grimm, Wilhelm Hauff, and Andersen.

Anonymous 1894: In this brief piece, the reviewer analyzes features of the translation of the Hansens, noting that this was the first Russian translation to be made from the original Danish.

Anonymous 1894: A brief review of the collection that among other things emphasizes the controversy surrounding the readerly address of *Tales and Stories*. The reviewer believes that to a great extent, Andersen wrote for adults.

Anonymous 1894: This brief review gives biographical information, and emphasizes the importance of fairy tales in Andersen's oeuvre and the significance of their having been translated in this case from the original language. The reviewer comments that not all the tales "are suitable for children, and Andersen is hardly a children's writer." "Careful and prudent selection is called for" when compiling collections for children's reading.

Anonymous 1894: This brief review compares translations, with B. Porozovskaia's rendering from a German translation earning praise along with the Hansens' translation. The reviewer discusses the principles behind the publishers' selection of which Andersen tales were to be translated.

Balobanova 1894: This review compares translations; also discussed is Russian translators' growing interest in Scandinavian ("northern") literature generally. The reviewer writes that "no one can compare with Andersen, with the elegance, poetry, and truthful simplicity of his works." Mentioned here are the tales "The Tinder Box," "The Galoshes of Fortune," "The Wild Swans," "The Princess on the Pea," and "Little Claus and Big Claus."

Anonymous 1894: This is a lengthy review of vols. I, II, and III of the *Collected Works*. The Hansens' translation is given high marks. The reviewer offers recommendations on how to incorporate Andersen's tales into children's reading. Noting that some of the tales "may even be read to a four-year-old child," the reviewer remarks that, "given a prudent and reasonable apportioning of one's reading of these works, they will serve as excellent learning material for all ages." Mentioned here are "The Ice Maiden," "The Metal Pig," "She Was Good for Nothing," "The Story of a Mother," "The Dying Child," *The Improvisatore*, and *Lucky Peer*.

W. 1894: A detailed review of the collected works that examines Andersen's oeuvre in the context of the development of Scandinavian literature. The reviewer remarks that Andersen

has created a "new genre" of literature, emphasizing the dual address of his tales, which are aimed at both the adult and child reader. The reviewer admires the tales' artistic style, but criticizes Andersen's penchant for "cheap and sentimental finales." Tales mentioned include "The Nightingale," "The Little Mermaid," "The Wild Swans," "The Ugly Duckling," and "The Emperor's New Clothes."

Krasnov 1895: Platon Krasnov evaluates Andersen's oeuvre positively, and expands on certain features of his personality and biography, denouncing the Danish storyteller's "slanderers," among whom he includes Georg Brandes and some members of the Collin family. Discussed in the article are "The Little Mermaid," "The Ugly Duckling," "The Shepherdess and the Chimney-sweep," "The Nightingale," "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf," "The Story of a Mother," "The Little Match Girl," *The Improvisatore, Lucky Peer*, and *The Fairy Tale of My Life*.

Anonymous 1895: This brief review gives information on Andersen's biography, evaluates the translation and makeup of the *Collected Works*, and touches on the polemic surrounding Andersen's reputation.

Gaideburov 1896: In this article, the writer Pavel Gaideburov, publisher of the liberal journal the *Week* (*Nedelia*), responds to an interview with Georg Brandes that had been published in the newspaper *New Times* (*Novoe vremia*). The author seeks to defend "the famous Danish storyteller" from the attacks of Brandes, refuting stories about Andersen's alleged eccentricities and unseemly acts.

Khir'iakov 1896: A short essay on the genre of the literary fairy tale in children's reading. Andersen's tales are considered a classic example of this genre, and are recommended to be read to children. "The Little Mermaid" is mentioned.

Kruglov 1897: A collection of essays on children's literature and children's reading. The well-known educator and commentator Aleksandr Kruglov, generally skeptical as to the fairytale genre, recognizes the great artistic and educational value of Andersen's tales. "Andersen's *Tales* is a book that can scarcely be rivaled in this area."

Sysoeva 1898: A biographical sketch prefacing the publication ("for the people and children") of the tales "The Fir Tree," "Thumbelina," "The Ugly Duckling," "The Nightingale," "The Story of a Mother," "The Daisy," and "The Little Match Girl."

Klausen and Umanskii 1899: A brief essay about the publication of Andersen's works (mostly tales) in Denmark and Russia.

Hansen and Hansen 1899: In this article, the husband and wife team of the Hansens discuss the principles informing their translation, and the dual address of Andersen's stories and tales: "Children will be engaged by the plot itself; adults will appreciate the depth of the content."

A. B. 1900: A brief review. "There is no need to speak of the incomparable charm of Andersen's tales; they are too familiar to young and old alike," writes the reviewer. Tegner's illustrations are given high marks.

A-v S. 1900: A survey article that discusses Andersen's works for children and the artistic merit of his tales. The article includes some biographical information. The tales "The Shadow," "The Elder-Tree Mother," "The Swineherd," "The Princess on the Pea," "The Jumpers," and "The Shirt Collar" are briefly discussed.

Anonymous 1901: A brief piece depicting Andersen as a combination of a genius and an oddball. Certain episodes from his biography are cited: meeting compatriots in Italy, etc. Andersen is called "a meek, mild person full of inexhaustible humor." Of particular note is the description of him as "a poor, defenseless child of the people."

Koltonovskaia 1901: An essay by the writer Elena Koltonovskaia prefacing a publication of Andersen's tales. Along with biographical fragments, the piece discusses the issue of the tales' readerly address, and analyzes Andersen's artistic techniques. "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Shirt Collar," and "The Ugly Duckling" are mentioned. The description of Andersen's personality emphasizes his piety and humble origins.

Leont'eva 1905: This article is devoted to schoolchildren's reading material and readerly reception. Andersen's tales are discussed in this context, and evaluated quite highly by the author, a schoolteacher. The author remarks that, according to her observations, the tales most beloved by children are "The Little Mermaid," "The Snow Queen," and "The Ice Maiden." She states that works of "a fantastic nature" are a necessary part of the reading material of children and adolescents.

Anonymous 1905: This jubilee piece gives biographical information about Andersen and an ecstatic evaluation of his oeuvre. In particular, the author claims that "Andersen pioneered a new species of literature—the children's artistic fairy tale." Remarking on the humanism of Andersen's works, the author calls him "the great storyteller for the children of all the peoples of the earth."

Anonymous 1905: A biographical sketch on the occasion of the Andersen jubilee, this essay also gives a brief description of his oeuvre, with the highest marks going to the stories and tales. "You can't read your fill of them—so much poetry, humor, and wit do they contain." "The Emperor's New Clothes," "The Swineherd," "The Shadow," and "The Story of a Mother" are mentioned. "The Ugly Duckling" is said to be autobiographical.

Anonymous 1905: A jubilee piece on Andersen, including a biography and a brief survey of his work as a whole. It is remarked that it is specifically the fairy tales that represent "the culmination of his talent."

Alchevskaia 1906: The authors recommend the Andersen collections translated by the Hansens, Petr Veinberg, and Sofiia Maikova for reading in public schools, and remark on standalone publications of "The Ugly Duckling" and "The Wild Swans." A detailed review of the tale "The Cripple" is given; Andersen's tales are said to be meant for "serious children—children who are already contemplating life and its difficult conditions."

A. Ia. 1906: One of the most voluminous and significant articles in all Russian Anderseniana. Based on articles by Georg Brandes and biographical materials on Andersen, the teacher Iakov Aleksandrov offers his own interpretation of Andersen's work and gives methodological recommendations for using Andersen's texts in the classroom. Mentioned in the article are "The Ugly Duckling," "The Snow Queen," *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, the collection *A Poet's Bazaar*, and other works. Andersen's image is subjected to a substantial mythologization.

Anonymous 1907: A brief advertising note that emphasizes that "the selection of fairy tales is canonical."

Press 1908: An essay by the writer and bibliographer Arkadii Press written in the form of a dialogue. The central theme is the personality of Andersen as an author of fairy tales and stories.

Anonymous 1908: An endorsement of the tales of Andersen. The tales are given high marks, with the authors of the index recommending them "for every library." Suggested for younger children are "The Nightingale," "The Emperor's New Clothes," and "The Ugly Duckling"; for teenagers, "The Snow Queen" and "The Little Mermaid"; and for the adult reader, "The Naughty Boy," "The Shadow," "Anne Lisbeth," "The Psyche," and "The Goblin and the Woman." "The Swineherd," "The Tinder Box," and "Little Claus and Big Claus" are said to be "crude" and not suitable for children.

Chekhov 1909: Andersen's tales are analyzed in the context of the history of children's literature; and a quick description of his creative manner is given. Also discussed is the issue of the readerly address of *Fairy Tales and Stories*.

Galanin 1910: An article on the subject of reading material for schoolchildren. Andersen's tales are considered in this context. Cited in the article are children's responses to tales they had read by Andersen.

Liapina 1912: This biographical sketch of Andersen, based on already well-known biographies and *The Fairy Tale of My Life*, is aimed at the child reader and is marked by a moralizing message; the biography emphasizes that Andersen studied diligently, and a lot; that he traveled "for educational purposes"; etc.

Altaev 1915: A fictionalized biography of Andersen based on the biography by Mariia Beketova. It is addressed to the child reader, and conveys a mythologized and legendary image of Andersen. A parallel is drawn between the image of the writer and his characters: the ugly duckling, Thumbelina, and others.

Bakhtin 1918: One of the last publications about Andersen to be written before the October Revolution. Along with methodological recommendations for theatrical performances based on the tales, Andersen's personality is described; in particular, he is likened to a "kindly gardener." Recommended for staging are "The Girl Who Trod on the Loaf" and "The Old Tombstone."

П-я Н.	Рецензия на: О чем рассказывает месяц, СПб, 1890	Женское образо- вание	1890	6-7	648-649	Рецензент, отмечая поэтичность новелл, ставит автору в упрек "недостаточность содержания".
аноним- но	Рождение Андер- сена	Нива	1891	23	518	Краткая заметка о родителях Андерсена, обстоятельствах его рождения и первых годах жизни.
Щерба- чев Ю.Н.	Еще одна сказка Андерсена	Русское обозре- ние	1891	5	143-180	Небольшая статья о новелле Андерсена "Альбом крестного", написанная в жанре историчского комментария. Юрий Щербачев, историк и дипломат, пишет о событиях из истории Дании, нашедших отражение в новелле, и призывает сопровождать подобным комментарием издание этого текста для детей.
Позняков Н.И.	Рецензия на: Избранные сказ- ки Андерсена. Москва. Издание В.Н.Маракуева, 1892	Образо- вание	1892	12	448	"Наконец-то мы имеем сборник сказок Андресена, удачно примененных для детского чтения, пишет Николай Позняков, публицист, детский писатель и педагог, - здесь выбрано то, что пригодно детям." По мнению рецензента для детей подходят такие сказки, как "Снежная королева", "Лен", "Соловей", "Пропащая", "Дюймовочка", "Старый дом", "Тень", "Что муженек не сделает, то и хорошо", "Девочка, наступившая на хлеб", "Дикие лебеди", "Гадкий утенок", "Старая могильная плита", "Штопальная игла", "Калоши счастья", "Ангел", "Елка", "Сундук-самолёт", "Ромашка", "Дорожный товарищ", "История одной матери", "Медный кабан", "Русалочка", "Пастушка и трубочист", "Огниво", "Стойкий оловянный солдатик".
Бекетова М.А.	Ганс-Христиан Андерсен: его жизнь и литера- турная деятель- ность, СПб.		1892			Первая биография Андерсена, изданная отдельной книгой. Автор детально рассказывает о жизни и творчестве Андерсена, опираясь на "Сказку моей жизни" и собрание его писем.
аноним- но	Рецензия на: Собрание сочинений Андерсена в 4-х томах. В переводе А. и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Север	1894	6	325	Краткая рецензия на I и II тома собрания сочинений. Рецензент приветствует перевод с языка оригинала, положительно отзывается о качестве перевода.
Позняков Н.И.	Рецензия на: Сказочная ил- люстрированная библиотека. Из- дание Ф.Павлен- кова, СПб, 1894	Образо- вание	1894	9	241	Краткая рецензия, где говорится о проекте издателя Флорентия Павленкова, задумавшего многотомное издание сказок "всех народов мира, главным образом - культурных". Сказки Андерсена занимают 30 томов. Рецензент с похвалой отзывается о переводе Берты Порозовской.

аноним- но	Рецензия на: "Мать" - сказка Андерсена на 22-х языках. в переводе П.Ганзена, СПб, 1894	Литера- турное прило- жение к журналу "Нива"	1894	6	360	Краткая рецензия, где говорится, что данной издание ставит своей целью привлечение еще более широкого внимания в творчеству Андерсена, и что "История одной матери" идеально подходит для этого.
аноним- но	Рецензия на: "Мать" - сказка Андерсена на 22-х языках. в переводе П.Ганзена, СПб, 1894	Русский вестник	1894	6	298	Краткая рекламная аннотация, где книга назвается "украшением стола кабинета и гостиной".
М.А.Ч.	Воспитательное значение сказки	Воспита- ние и об- учение	1894	1	45-50	В статье рассматривается роль сказки в детском чтении и воспитании. Сказка признается необходимой для включения в круг чтения детей, т.к. по мнению автора, она развивает фантазию и вображение. Автор пытается провести различие между сказками "полезными" и "вредными", относя к первым сказки братьев Гримм, Вильгельма Гауфа и Андерсена.
аноним-	Рецензия на: I том Собрания со- чинений Андер- сена в переводе А. и П. Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Русский вестник	1894	2	292-294	В краткой рецензии анализируются особенности перевода супругов Ганзен, отмечается, что это первый перевод с языка оригинала.
аноним-	Рецензия на: Ил- люстрированные сказки. Полное собрание сказок Андерсена в 6 томах в пер. В.Д.Порозовской. СПб, 1894	Неделя	1894	5	155	Краткая рецензия на сборник, где, в том числе, подчеркивается дискуссионность читательского адреса "Сказок и историй". Рецензент полагает, что Андерсен в большей степени писал для взрослого читателя.
Аноним-	Рецензия на: "Мать" - сказка Андерсена на 22-х языках. в переводе П.Ганзена, СПб, 1894	Неделя	1894	26	834	Краткая рецензия, где издание охарактеризовано как "изящная типографская безделка", а сказки Андерсена отнесены к традиционному детскому чтению.
аноним-	Рецензия на: Собрание сочинений Андерсена в 4-х томах. В переводе А. и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Русская мысль	1894	2	60-61	В краткой рецензии приводятся биографические сведения, подчеркивается значимость сказок в творчестве Андерсена и важность их перевода с языка оригинала. Резцент пишет, что не все сказки "пригодны для детей и Андерсен далеко не детский писатель". При составлении сборников для детского чтения "нужен тщательный и осмотрительный выбор".

аноним-	Рецензия на: Ил- люстрированные сказки Андер- сена в переводе Б.Д.Порозовской. Издание Пав- ленкова, 1894 и Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена в 4-х томах в переводе А. и П. Ганзен. СПб., 1894.	Север- ный вестник	1894	2	62-63	В краткой рецензии сравниваются переводы, причем, переводу В.Порозовской, выполненному с немецкого перевода дается высокая оценка наряду с переводами А. и П.Ганзенов, говорится о приницпах отбора "сказок и историй" Андерсена для перевода.
Балоба- нова Е.	Рецензия на: Ил- люстрированные сказки Андре- сена в переводе Б.Д.Порозовской. Издание Пав- ленкова, 1894 и Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена в 4-х томах в переводе А. и П. Ганзен. СПб., 1894.	Воспитание и об- учение	1894	3	159-163	В рецензии сравниваются переводы, говорится о растущем интерсе переводчиков к скандинавской ("северной") литературе. Рцензент пишет, что "никто не может сравниться с Андресеном в изяществе, поэзии и правдиой простоте произведений". Упоминаются сказки "Огниво", "Калоши счастья", "Дикие лебеди", "Принцесса на горошине", "Большой Клаус, Маленький Клаус"
Краснов Пл.	Рецензия на: Собрание сочи- нений Андерсен в переводе А.и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Всемир- ная ил- люстра- ция	1894	51	302	В небольшой рецензии писатель и переводчик Платон Краснов называет сказки Андерсена наиболее значительными проивзедениями в его творчестве и поднимает вопрос об их читательском адресе. Критик пишет, что сказки издаются преимущественно в формате детской книги, а, по его мнению относить Андресена исключительно к детским писателям - несправедливо. "Сольсказки" остается скрыта от детей, её смысл понимается позднее, когда читатели вырастают.
аноним-	Рецензия на: Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена в 4-х томах. В переводе А. и П.Ганзен. Спб., 1894	Русская мысль	1894	12	584-88	Объемная рецензия на I, II, III тома Собрания сочинений. Высоко оценивается перевод Ганзенов. Автор рецензии дает рекомендации о том, как нужно вводить произвдения Андерсена в круг детского чтения. Отмечая, что некторые сказки Андерсена "могут быть прочитаны и четырех летнему ребенку," - реценезент пишет, - "при осмотрительном и разумном распределении чтения сочинений Андерсена они дадут превосходное образовательное пособие для всех возрастов". Упоминаются произведения "Ледяная дева", "Медный кабан", "Пропащая", "Мать", "Умирающее дитя", "Импровизатор", "Счастливчик Пер".

W.	Рецензия на: Андерсен Собрание сочинений в переводе А.и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Мир Бо- жий	1894	6	198-200	Развернутая рецензия на собрание сочинений, где творчество Андресена рассматривается в контексте развития скандинавской литературы. Автор рецензии отмечает, что Андерсен создал "новый жанр" литературы, подчеркивает двойной адресат его сказок - взролого читателя и читателя-ребенка. Рецензент восхищается художественным стилем сказок, но критикует склонность Андерсена к "пошлым и сентиментальным финалам". Упоминаются сказки "Соловей", "Руса-
						лочка", "Дикие лебеди", "Гадкий утенок", "Новое платье короля".
аноним- но	Рецензия на: "Мать" - сказка Андерсена на 22-х языках. в переводе П.Ганзена, Спб, 1894	Русская мысль	1894	6	290	Краткая рецензия, где говорится, что "это одно из прелестнейших и трогательных произведений" Андерсена
аноним-	Рецензия на: Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена в 4-х томах. В переводе А. и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Новости печати	1895	4	25	В целом положительная рецензия на выход новых томов в собрании сочинений. Рецензент отмечает незначительные погрешности перевода.
аноним- но	Рецензия на: Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена в 4-х томах. В переводе А. и П.Ганзен. СПб., 1894	Литера- турное прило- жение к журналу "Нива"	1895	12	803	Краткая рецензия, где отмечается добросовестность перевода супругов Ганзен.
Краснов Пл.	Датский сказоч- ник	Книжки "Недели"	1895	9	132-134	Известный писатель и публицист Платон Краснов дает положительную оценку творчеству Андерсена, останавливается на некоторых чертах его личности и биографии, обличает "клеветников", к которым причисляет Георга Брандеса и представителей семьи Коллинов. В статье рассматриваются сказки "Русалочка", "Гадкий утенок", "Пастушка и трубочист", "Соловей", "Девочка, наступишая на хлеб", "Мать", "Девочка со спичками", анализируется роман "Импровизатор" и повесть "Счастливчик Пер", а "Сказка моей жизни" оценивается выше, чем автобиография Гёте.
аноним- но	Рецензия на: Собрание сочи- нений Андерсена, перевод с датско- го подлинника А. и П.Ганзен. СПб.,1985	Русская мысль	1895	7	318-321	В краткой рецензии приводятся сведения из биографии Андерсена, оценивается перевод, говорится о составе собрания сочинений и полемике вокруг имени Андерсена.

Остро- горский, В.	Еще об идеа- лизме в детской литературе	Педаго- гический листок	1895	2	20-29	Статья педагога и критика Виктора Острогорского носит теоретический характер. Критик пишет о необходимости соблюдать в детской литературе баланс между увлекательностью и содержательностью. Сказки Андерсена приводятся в качестве примера сочетания безупречной художественной формы и глубины содержания.
Гайдебу- ров В.П.	История с Андерсеном на русской почве	Книжки "Недели"	1896	4	274-276	Статья литератора и издателя либерального журнала "Неделя", являющаяся откликом на интервью Георга Брандеса, напечатанное в газете "Новое время". Автор статьи стремится защитить "знаменитого датского сказочника" от нападок Брандеса, опровергая рассказы о странностях и неблаговидных поступках Андерсена.
Алферов А.	Сказки Андер- сена	Читатель	1896	38	86-87	В статье предпринимается очередная попытка разделить сказки Андресена не "подходящие" для детей "неподходящие". Одной из наиболее "неподохдящих" тем автор статьи считает сказки с "любовными" сюжетами и мотивами.
Хирьяков А	Сказки, собранные братьями Гримм: Рец. на издание "Иллюстрированная сказочная библиотека", Спб, 1894	Образо- вание	1896	2	107-109	Краткий очерк, посвященный жанру литературной сказки в детском чтении. Сказки Андерсена рассматриваются как классический образец этого жанра и рекомендуются к чтению детям. Упоминается сказка "Русалочка"
Круглов А.В.	Литература маленького народа: Критико-педагогические беседы по вопросам детской литературы. Выпуск 2.		1897		84-86	Очерки о детской литературе и детском чтении. Известный публицист и педагог Александр Круглов, в целом скептически относящийся к жанру сказки, признает за сказками Андресена большое художественное воспитательное значение. "Сказки Андресена такая книга, которая едва ли может иметь соперников в этой области".
Сысоева Е.	Бессмертный творец сказок: Картинки из жизни Андерсена	Читальня народной школы	1898	7-8	3-46	Биографический очерк, предварюящий публи- кацию "для народа и детей" сказок "Ель", "Дюй- мовочка", "Гадкий утенок", "Соловей", "Мать", "Ромашка", "Девочка со спичками".
Клау- сен Н., Уманский А.М.	Библиографиче- ские сведения	Собрание сочинений ГХ.Андресена в 4-х тома. Перевод А.и П. Ганзен. Том. 4	1899		493-495	Краткий очерк об издании произведений (в основном, сказок) Андерсена в Дании и России.

Ганзен А. Ганзен П.	К читателям	Собрание сочинений ГХ.Андресена в 4-х тома. Перевод А.и П. Ганзен. Том. 4	1899		496-500	Статья супругов Ганзен, где обосновываются принципы перевода и говорится о двойно адресации сказко и ситорий Андресена: "Дети увлекутся самой фабулой, взрослые - оценят глубину содереания"
А.Б.	Рецензия на: Сказки Андерсена с иллюстрациями Тегнера в переводе А. И П. Ганзен, Спб.,1899	Мир Бо- жий	1900	2	84	Краткая рецензия. "Говорить о несравненной прелести сказок Андресена не приходится, они слишком хорошо знакомы и старому, и малому," - пишет рецензент. Иллюстрации Тегнера оценваются высоко.
Б.А.	Рецензия на: Сказки Андерсена с иллюстрациями Тегнера в переводе А. И П. Ганзен, Спб.,1899	Русская мысль	1900	1	20-21	Краткая рецензия, в которой книга характеризуется как "превосходный подарок для детей".
А-в С.	Гений сказки	Семья	1900	31	6-7	Обзорная статья, где рассматривается творчество Андерсена для детей, подчеркивается художествная ценность сказок. В статью включены биографические фрагменты. Кратко охарактеризованы сказки "Тень", "Волшебный холм ("Ольховый куст"), "Свинопас", "Принцесса на горошине", "Прыгуны", "Воротничек"
аноним-	Ганс Андерсен как человек	Новый журнал ино- странной литера- туры	1901	12	491-492	Небольшая заметка, где в образе Андерсена сочетаются черты гения и эксцентричного чудака. Здесь приводятся некторые эпизоды из его биографии - встреча с соотечественниками в Италии и пр. Андерсен назван "кротким, мягким человеком, полным неистощимого юмора". Интересна его характристика: " бедное, беззащитное дитя народа".
аноним-	Ганс Христиан Андерсен: био-графический очерк датского поэта с приложением его стихотворений, М. Издание Общества старающегося о распространении полезных книг.		1901			Биографический очерк популярного характера, обращенный к широкому читателю, в том числе - и читателю-ребенку.

Колто- новская Е.	Ганс Христиан Андерсен (био- графический очерк)	Юный читатель	1901	16	49-68	Очерк писательницы Елены Колтоновский, предваряющий публикацию сказок Андерсена. Наряду с биографическими фрагментами, обсуждается вопрос читательского адреса сказок и историй, оцениваются художественные приемы Андресена. Упоминаются сказки "Новое платье короля", "Воротничек", "Гадкий утенок". В описании личности Андерсена подчеркивается его благочестие и незнатное происхождение.
аноним- но	Ганс-Христиан Андерсен (1806-1875): биографический очерк. М. Издание Общества старющегося о распространении полезных книг.		1904			Беллетризованная биография Андерсена, адресованная широкому читателю. Основное внимание уделяется детским и юношеским годам писателя.
Леонтье- ва Н.	О детском чтении (из наблюдений учительницы)	Образо- вание	1905	11-12	111-141	Статья посвящена кругу чтения школьников и читательской рецепции. В этом контексте рассматриваются и сказки Андерсена, которые автор статьи - школьная учительница - оценивает очень высоко. Автор отмечает, что по её наблюдениям наиболее любимы детьми такие сказки как "Русалочка", "Снежная королева", "Ледяная дева", и говорит о том, что произведения "фантастического характера" необходимы в круге детского и юношеского чтения.
аноним-	Столетие со дня рождения Андер- сена	Всходы	1905	5	379-380	Юбилейная заметка, где, наряду с биографическими сведениями об Андерсене, дается восторженная оценка его творчества. В частности, автор заметки утверждает, что "Андересен первый создал новый род литературы - детскую художественную сказку", отмечает гуманизм произведений Андерсена и называет его "великим сказочником для детей всех народов земли".
Федо- ров-Да- выдов А.	Ганс-Христиан Андресен	Путе- водный огонёк	1905	7,8,9		Биографический очерк, адресованный читате- лю-ребенку. Автор - популярный детский писа- тель Александр Федоров-Давыдов.
Абрамо- вич Н.А.	Ганс Христи- ан Андерсен (К100-летию со дня рождения)	Детское чтение	1905	6	835-839	Биографический очерк, адресованный читате- лям-детям, где большое место уделено описанию детства Андерсена. Автор - литературный кри- тик, писатель и поэт.
Пресс А.	Ганс-Христиан Андерсен: по по- воду столетия	Природа и люди	1905	4	86-90	Литературный биографический очерк

аноним-	Г.Х.Андресен	Нива	1905	13	259	Юбилейный биографический очерк об Андерсене с краткой характеристикой его творчества, где самая высокая оценка дается сказкам и историям. "Ими нельзя начитаться досыта - столько в них поэзии, юмора и ума". Упоминаются сказки "Новое платье короля", "Свинопас", "Тень", "История одной матери". Сказка "Гадкий утенок" названа автобиографической.
аноним- но	Ганс Христиан Андерсен (К столетию со дня рождения)	Живо- писное обозре- ние	1905	14	340-342	Юбилейная заметка об Андерсене, включающая биографию и кратккий обзор его творчества в целом. Отмечается, что именно сказки стали "кульминацией его таланта".
Алчев-ская Х.Д.	Что читать народу? Критический указатель книг для народного и детского чтения. Составлен учительницами Харьковской частной женской воскресной школы. / Алчевская Х.Д Т.ІІІ; СПб.		1906		68; 102	Составтели рекомендуют к чтению в народных школях сборников сказок Андерсена в переводах супругов Ганзен, Петра Вейнберга, Софии Майковой, отмечают отдельно изданные сказки "Гадкий утёнок" и Дикие лебеди". Дается развернутый отзыв на сказку "Сидень", рецензент пишет, что скази Андерсена предназанчены для "серьезных детей, задумывающихся уже над жизнью с её сложными условиями".
А. Я.	Великий сказочник: несколько слов о жизни Андерсена, его историко-литературном значении, об отношении поэта к детям и педагогических достоинствах его сказок	Началь- ное обу- чение	1906	1, 2	23-31; 71-80	Одна из наиболее объемных и содержательынх статей о творчестве Андерсена. Учитель Яков Александров, опираясь на статьи Георга Брнадеса и биографические материалы об Андесена, предлагает собственную трактовку его творчества и дает метдические рекомендации по работе с текстами Андресена в школе. В статье упоминаются произведения "Гадкий утенок", "Снежная королева", "Огниво", "Пастушка и Трубочист", "Медный кабан", "Пропащая", "Старый церковный колокл", "Сказка моей жизни", сборник "Базар поэта" и др. Образ Андерсена подвергнут существенной мифологизации.
аноним-	Рецензия на: Из- бранные сказки Андерсена в пе- реводе А.и.П.Ган- зен, М., 1906	Всходы	1907	5	без нуме- рации стра- ниц	Краткая рекламная аннотация, где подчеркивается, что "подбор сказок строго выдержан"
Пресс А.	Ганс Христиан Андерсен:Литера- турная беседа	Пресс А. В царстве книг. Очерки и портре- ты. СПб.	1908	T.I		Очерк литератора и библиографа Аркадия Пресса, написанный в форме диалога. Центральная тема - личность Андерсена как автора сказок и историй: "Андерсен создал новую форму сказки".

	О детских книгах: критико-библи- ографический указатель книг, вышедших до 1 января 1907 года, рекомендуемый для чтения детям в возрасте от 7 до 16 лет. М.: Изд-во книжного мага- зина С.Скирмун- та "Труд".		1908		38-39	Рекомендательный отзыв о сказках Андерсена. Сказкам дается высокая оценка, авторы указателя пишут, что "книга сказок желательна для всякой библиотеки". Для младшего возраста предлагается "Соловей", "Новое платье короля", "Гадкий утенок", для подростков - "Снежная королева", "Русалочка", для взрослого читателя - "Злой мальчик", "Тень", Анне Лисбет", "Психея", "Домовой и хозяйка". "Грубыми" и непоходящими для детей названы сказки "Свинопас", "Огниво", "Маленький Клаус, Большой Клаус".
Чехов Н.В.	Переводная литература для детей	Детская литера- тура, М.	1909		179; 190-191	Сказки Андерсена рассматриваются в конексте истории детской литературы, дается беглая характеристика его творческой манеры. Обсуждается проблема читательского адреса "Сказок и историй".
Лемке М.	Что читать детям до пятнадцати лет: Указатель более 600 лучших детских книг. СПб.		1910			Детская писательница Мария Лемке дает рекомендацию сказкам Андерсена и пытается разделить их по возрастам читателей. Для младшего возраста она предлагает сказки "Пастушка и трубочист", "Огниво", "Снежная королева", "Штопальная игла", для среднего возраста - "Цветы маленькой Иды", "Бутылочное горлышко", "Дикие лебеди", "Свинопас", "Русалочка", для подростков - рассказы "Из окна богадельни", "Еврейка", "Старая могильная плита", "С крепостного вала".
Галанин Д.	Детское чтение	Педаго- гический листок	1910	3; 5	172-193; 315-326	Статья посвящена чтению школьников. Сказки Андерсена рассматриваются в контексте круга детского чтения. В статье приводятся отзывы детей на прочитанные сказки Андерсена. Упоминаются сказки "Дорожный товарищ", "Дочь болотного царя", "Снежная королева".
Лялина М.	Ганс-Христиан Андерсен: био- графический очерк	Андерсен ГХ. Из- бранные сказки в переводе М.А.Ля- линой. Петро- град. Издание В.И. Гу- бинского	1912		3-8	Биографический очерк об Андерсене, базирующийся на основе уже известных биографий и "Сказки моей жизни". Обращен к читателю-ребенку и характерен своим нравоучительным посылом - автор подчеркивает, что Андерсен много и старательно учился, путешествия совершал с "образовательной целью" и т.д.

Елачич Е.	Сказка как материал для детского чтения	Сборник статей по вопросам детского чтения	1914		67-115	Известный детский писатель и критик Евгений Елачич негативно относится к жанру сказки. Отдавая должное художественному мастерству Андерсена, критик полагает, что его сказки (и особенно "истории") не годятся для детского чтения, т.к. они могут быть непонятны детям и дурно повлияют на их нравственность и здравый смысл.
Алтаев А.	Великий сказоч- ник:Биографиче- ский рассказ		1915			Беллетризованная биография Андерсена, основанная на биграфии Марии Бекетовой. Адресована читателю-ребенку, рисует мифологизированный и легендарный образ Андерсена. Проводится параллель между образом писателя и его героями - Гадким утенком, Дюймовочкой и др. Автор - популярная детская писательница Маргарита Ямщикова, пишущая под псведонимом Ал.Алтаев.
П.М.	Детство Андер- сена	Игра	1918	2	35-40	Подробное описание детства Андерсена. Автор статьи пытается проследить влияние событий детства на творчество Андерсена, отмечает автобиографические мотивы в сказках.
Бахтин Н.И.	Как устроить андерсеновский праздник	Игра	1918	1	12-19	Одна из последних дореволюционных публикаций об Андерсене. Наряду с методическими рекомендациями о театрализованном представлении по мотивам сказок, дается характеристика личности Андерсена - он сравнивается с "добрым садовником". К постановке рекомендуются сказки "Девочка, наступившая на хлеб" и "Старая могильная плита".