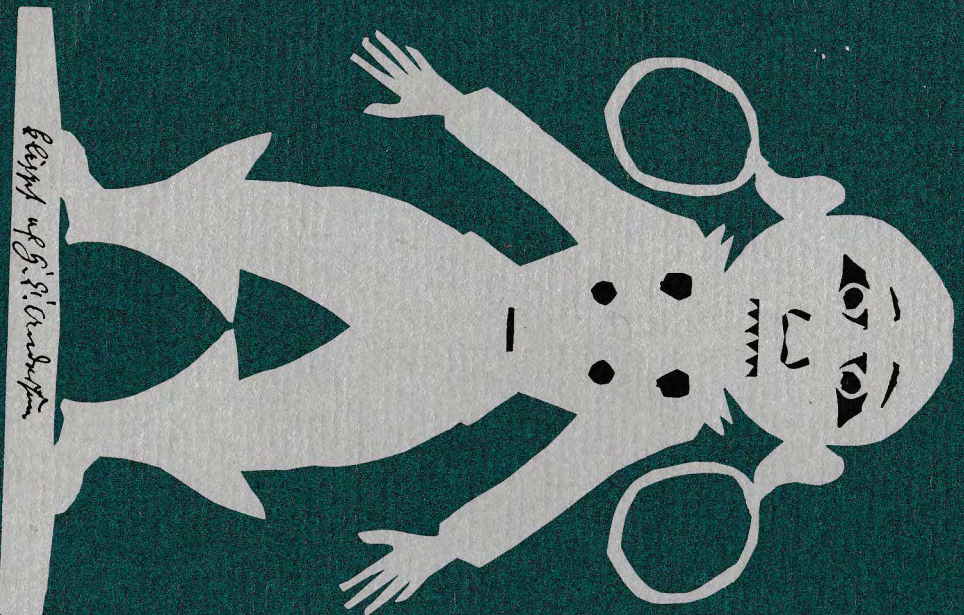


ANDERSENIANNA

SÆRTRYK



Reprint af G. S. Andersen

1978-79

Hans Christian Andersen in China

BY CHRISTOPH HARBSMEIER

Introduction

There are many people here on the island of Fyn who have their doubts whether people who live as far East and Copenhagen really can appreciate the subtleties of HCA. And the problems certainly do not become less when one goes as far East as Shanghai. For in Copenhagen, at least, they know where *Rundetaarn* is, and they can enjoy the thought of a dog with eyes as large as that architectural marvel in the centre of their city. But in Shanghai the children won't even understand when HCA talks about God: they may well ask: 'which God?' For there are no capital letters in Chinese, and there are a great many different gods in China. Worst of all, the children's question is by no means so easy to answer when you come to think of it . . .

Indeed, consider the problem of translating the term 'God' into Chinese. A translator *has to* choose between the catholic term *tianzhu*, the protestant term *shen*, and the name of the ancient Chinese 'highest ancestor' or deity *shangdi*, to name a few of the most obvious possibilities that come to mind. That is to say, the Chinese translator has to take sides on matters of religious doctrine. But in HCA there is no doctrinal God. There is no specific reference to any branch of the Christian religion or even to the Danish Folk Church. It seems to me that HCAs frequent and important references to God lose all their poetic innocence and their lyrical force if they are translated as if they advocated certain religious denominations.

However, in the brief discussion of HCA in China that follows I shall not be concerned with such problems of detailed translation of HCAs texts into Chinese. This subject deserves a separate treatment in its own right. Rather I shall look at the Chinese reception of HCA in a more macroscopic way. I shall ask: How did the Chinese adapt HCA to their cultural context? What did the Chinese do to HCAs fairy tales in order to make them acceptable and relevant in Chinese society?

From this macroscopic point of view the most important problems are not so much those of translation but those of *adaptation* to the various Chinese public media: the children's opera, the propaganda short story, and most importantly the ancient Chinese medium of the 'linked pictures' (*lianhuanhua*) or comic strips. It is healthy to reflect that the Chinese had their printed 'comic strips' long before the art of printing was 'invented' in the west, and that they have an unbroken operatic tradition over the past 800 years. I found it fascinating to see how the Chinese fitted HCA into their modernized traditional media. In this brief introduction I can do no more than present a preliminary and informal report on my findings.

A brief look at HCA translations into Chinese

In 1978 a beautiful 16-volume edition of HCAs tales was printed in Peking. 500 000 copies of this (by Chinese standards very expensive) edition came on the market. Within a few *days* it was completely sold out.

In 1978 alone one million copies of HCA were printed, and an official guess is that over 5 million copies of books with HCAs tales were published in China since the 1920s.

HCA occupies a quite unique position on the Chinese literary scene. He is by far the most popular of the Western poets. Let me begin with a brief survey of the history of chinese HCA translations.

The earliest mention of HCA in China dates from the late 19th century. The scholar Sun Yu-xiu mentions HCA in his *Collected discussions of American and European story-telling* (*Ou Mei xiaoshuo cong tan*). Sun Yu-xiu has also retold *The Little Mermaid* and *The Tin Soldier*. But all this did not apparently arouse much attention among the Chinese public.

It was Zhou Zuo-ren, younger brother to China's most famous modern poet Lu Xun, who first made HCA a well-known figure on the Chinese literary scene. In his *Stories from abroad* (*Yuwai xiaoshuo ji*) from 1909 Zhou Zuo-ren had translated *The Emperor's New Clothes*, but the more important thing was that Zhou published a translation of *The little Girl with the Matches* in the very important left-wing journal *New Youth* (*Xin Qingnian*). *The Little Girl with the Matches* has ever since remained the most popular of HCAs stories in China. (In 1978 it was even put on stage as a ballet in Peking).

Since these frail beginnings there have been two important boom periods for the translation of HCA into Chinese: the period from 1924 to 1926 and the period from 1955 to 1957.

In the 1920s there seems to have been something of a HCA-craze. The journal *The Story Monthly* (*Xiaoshuo yuebao*) from Shanghai devoted two special issues to HCA (nr. 8 and 9, 1925), and other journals like *Woman's Magazine* (*Funü zazhi*), *Literary Survey* (*Wenxue Zhoukan*) carried a disproportionate number of HCA stories, mostly translated from the English. Apparently there were also serious efforts at studying HCA in a more serious vein. Critical works on HCA were reviewed and excerpts translated. Georg Brandes and Edmund Gosse were particularly popular in China. Clearly, the young generation of Chinese writers were hoping to learn from HCA for their own creative writing. And indeed, the (satirical) fairy tale has remained a prominent literary genre in China to this day.

The fact that China's greatest novelist, Mao Dun, published a volume of HCA translations in 1929 will have contributed significantly to HCAs popularity in China.

Apart from the writers' journals in the 1920s HCA was also already popular among compilers of children's books. In compilations like *Literary World Treasury for the Young* (*Shijie shaonian wenku*), *A collection of Stories for the Young* (*Shaonian wenxue gushi congshu*) we find a fair sprinkling of HCA stories, presumably under the influence of the literary magazines mentioned above.

The 1930s and the 1940s are lean years for HCA translations. Political unrest and the civil war in China provide a natural explanation for this. Now one might have expected that the politicization that accompanied liberation in 1949 would leave no room for sensitive, lyrical story-tellers like HCA. But already in 1950/1951 the communist publishing houses issued no less than seven HCA-books.

The general impression is that until the early fifties most if not all the translations of HCA were from the English, i.e. they were really re-translations. But this situation changed radically with the advent of Ye Jun-jian on the Chinese HCA-scene. Ye Jun-jian had spent a number of years in England and had also visited Denmark, and he had learnt to read Danish fluently. Ye Jun-jian was (and is!) a distinguished writer in his own right: he has published a number of novels, both in English and in Chinese. But like so many talented creative writers he

devoted himself whole-heartedly to – politically not so dangerous – translation after 1949. By 1957 Ye Jun-jian had translated practically all HCAs fairy tales, and these were published in Shanghai in a beautiful 16-volume edition.

Ever since then Ye has been polishing and re-editing these translations in different editions. He has also written two monographs on HCA: *The Writer of Fairy Tales HCA* (1955), and *HCA, the Cobbler's Son* (1978). Ye must be regarded as one of the world's leading HCA specialists. That he is a competent creative writer at the same time makes his work all the more fascinating. I propose to review his work on HCA in more detail on another occasion.

The Emperor's New Clothes and what happened afterwards (1930)

It is hardly a coincidence that the first tale by HCA to be translated into Chinese was *The Emperor's New Clothes*. When Zhou Zuo-ren published his Classical Chinese version of *The Emperor's New Clothes* in 1909 HCAs satire was undoubtedly felt by the Chinese public to be very immediately relevant to what was happening around them. Very probably Zhou Zuo-ren intended his translation as a satirical attack on the decadent pomposity and the hollow hypocrisy of the Manchu court in Peking.

Naturally, *The Emperor's New Clothes* remained popular also after the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, when China became a republic. In 1930 the distinguished writer Ye Sheng-tao published an 'elaborated version' of HCAs famous tale, which starts out like this: "Many people will have read HCAs tale *The Emperor's New Clothes* . . ." After a very brief summary of HCAs story Ye Sheng-tao asks: "But what happened after that? HCA doesn't say. In fact a great deal happened . . ." And then Ye elaborates at length how the people ridicule their naked emperor, how he stubbornly decides to wear only his 'new clothes' in the future.

The Chinese emperor in his new clothes decrees that all those who declare him naked are to be beheaded. When he is drinking with his concubine and spills some wine, the concubine exclaims: "Darling! You've got wet on your chest!" She quickly regrets her unheeded remark. But that is too late: "Off with her head!" says the emperor.

Ye introduces an amusing Chinese palace intrigue. An old courtier is appalled by the many executions and after submitting elaborate praise of the emperor's clothes he shrewdly suggests that perhaps one should change them before they got worn out. Again the emperor flies into a rage, but on account of the courtier's age and his previous loyalty he is not beheaded but sentenced to life-long imprisonment.

The Chinese emperor sees himself forced to make harsher and harsher decrees to control and eradicate the evil rumours that he is going around naked. In the end he forbids all speech within his earshot. When he hears a baby crying and sends his soldiers out to find the culprit and execute him, the people surge out in revolution against the tyrant. "Off with your non-existing clothes!" they shout as they manhandle him.

When the emperor's guards see their master being ridiculed and teased they break out into laughter and join the revolution. The imperial officials sneak away in the fracas. The emperor drops dead.

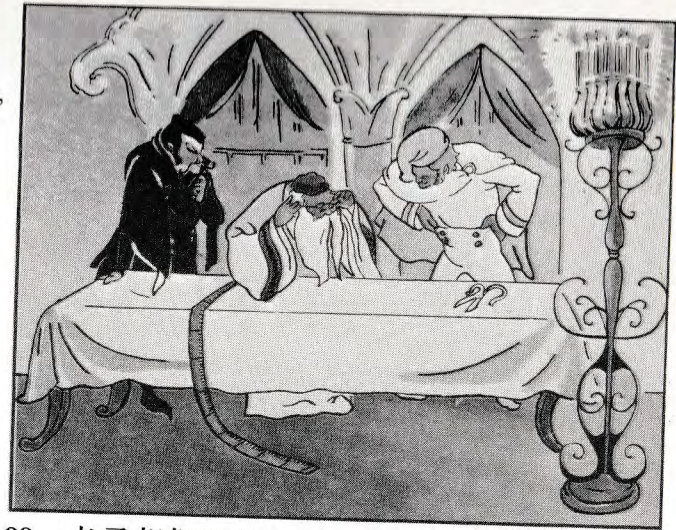
Ye Sheng-tao's elaboration has very little of the lyrical subtlety of HCAs original. Ye's story is much more baroque and burlesque. It provides more earthy and more popular rough humour. Compared with HCAs delicate picture the Chinese elaboration reads rather like a satirical propaganda poster.

Ye Sheng-tao is a very sensitive, fine poet. (He is still very much alive and active in 1979!) He might easily have tried (and succeeded) to write a piece as delicate as HCAs, but his purpose was different. He aimed at a kind of literary propaganda effect. As a literary effort in this direction, his adaptation of *The Emperor's New Clothes* seems very successful. (For an English translation of Ye Sheng-tao's version of HCA see the journal *Chinese Literature* nr. 3, 1954, p. 133-138).

The Emperor's New Clothes as a comic strip (1951 and 1979)

We have seen that *The Emperor's New Clothes* did not cease to be popular when the last emperor of China abdicated. HCAs parody proved especially useful since the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976. Thus in April 1979 the *Comic Strip Monthly* (*Lianhuan hua bao*) which sells millions of copies each month produced a marvellously illustrated cartoon version of the tale in 20 multichrome pictures. (The monthly is generally printed in black-and-white. It is a great distinction for HCA that his work was produced in colour.)

The Emperor's New Clothes, Comic strip 1951 "Amitufo, thought the minister, am I stupid?" 'Amitufo' is the Buddhist equivalent for 'good Lord!'.



22 老丞相把眼镜儿架在额头上想：阿弥陀佛！我难道是愚蠢的和不尽职的人吗？怎么我什么也看不见呢？

The editors of the cartoon version of *The Emperor's New Clothes* don't even have to change any significant details in HCAs plot. Every literate Chinese reader will realize immediately that *The Emperor's New Clothes* is a parody of the hypocrisy and the arbitrary counter-to-fact dogmatism that characterized the reign of the Gang of Four to such a grotesque degree.

But even in their comparatively faithful simplification and adaptation of *The Emperor's New Clothes* the editors cannot keep their hands off HCAs rather open-ended way of finishing the story. A Chinese cartoon story must not leave the reader in suspense. There must be a proper end. Rather innocuously the Chinese weaver-impsters are seen in the final picture to make away with heavy bags full of gold and silk . . . It is only fair to add, though, that the gloriously illustrated 1951 booklet on *The Emperor's New Clothes* involves considerable rewriting of HCAs story. In the 1951 version the working people never begin to pretend that they see the emperor's new clothes. Only the sycophantic members of the aristocracy are so silly!

The Wild Swans as a children's opera (1925)

On the fiftieth anniversary of HCAs death the prolific young writer Zhao Jing-shen wrote a children's play entitled *The Wild Swans*. The whole play is written in rhymed verses to simplified versions of well-known tunes of traditional Chinese opera. On the one hand there is a systematic dramatization of HCAs plot, but on the other hand there are plenty of long and sentimental arias where the audience revels in the emotional upheavals in the main characters. A brief summary may give an idea of what HCA looked like on the Chinese stage in the 'golden twenties'.

First Act

Five jubilant princes enter and sing eight strictly parallel couplets on the joys of court life. Towards the end of their jubilant chorus they mention the source of their pleasure: Elisa. As they sing about her, Elisa enters the stage, but together with her the wicked stepmother sneaks her way onto the stage as well. The stepmother hides and overhears Elisa complain about her 'poisonous mind'. Elisa is so unhappy because she suspects that her mother will chase the five princes, her playmates, away.

Elisa sings about her beloved mother, and the five princes join her in praise of the deceased. At this very emotional point the stepmother steps out into the open: "You little rats! What mischief are you up to now?" She starts beating the children furiously, but the noise causes the king to come out onto the stage: „These may not be your children, but they are my little darlings. If you have to beat someone, beat me!“ In a rage the stepmother orders Elisa to be sent to the countryside, calls her 'an evil little witch'. In vain father and brothers try to hold on to Elisa.

Then the stepmother turns to the princes and calls them five nails in her eyes. "Turn into birds of ill omen! Fly beyond the sea and don't stop! Don't stop!" As the tearful father watches his daughter being led away to the countryside and his sons turning into swans the curtain falls over the first act.

Second Act

Elisa is sitting in front of a peasant house beside a rose-tree, more beautiful than ever. She hums a song of love to her brothers. She remembers her childhood and her mother, and she concludes: „I'll leave! Like a swallow I shall fly, everywhere I shall seek my brothers.“

Third Act

Elisa has got tired after searching for her brothers everywhere. She falls asleep in a thick forest by the sea. As she sleeps, four angels dance round her and shower her with fragrant flowers. Elisa wakes up, prays to the angels to guide her to her brothers. Suddenly five swans settle down on the shore, dance around her, and as the sun goes down (convenient darkening of the scene) they drop their wings and turn into the princes she was looking for. Elisa suggests they take her along to their home. The brothers agree enthusiastically.

Fourth Act

The scene is set in mid-air. The brothers sing hymns of comfort to Elisa one after the other, and afterwards in a chorus that is full of lyricism, describing the dangers of wind and sea. Elisa is grateful but terribly frightened. The act ends with everyone in panic: the sun is almost setting and the shore is still some distance away. "Ayaya, Ayaya, soon we shall live no more!"

Fifth Act

The 'Spirit of Dreams' tells Elisa to weave shirts of nettles for the brothers, and to pretend to be deaf and dumb. The young king on his hunt invites her to join him, although his entourage advise him that this would be an uneven match. Elisa refuses to go. First when the king offers to make a cave for her in the palace, where she can continue to make nettle shirts for her brothers, is she prepared to go along with the king. The act ends with the five princes coming to the cave to play with their sister but finding it empty.

Sixth Act

As the court officials are trying to persuade the king not to marry Elisa she enters, knitting away with her nettles. "Tell me, is it true that you are in communion with the devil?" asks the king. Elisa is just about to answer but remembers in time that she must pretend to be deaf and dumb. A minister is triumphant: "See! See! You ask her if she is an evil spirit and she doesn't say a thing!" The king orders her to be burnt on the stake. As the guards try to drag her off stage to a burning stake five swans fly up to her. She throws the five jackets over them and transforms them into men, only the little one has one wing left. Now Elisa

tells her story in moving rambling lines. Everybody on stage forms a circle round Elisa. They dance and sing. King: "What a wonderful wife I have!" Ministers: "What a steadfast and blameless queen we have!" Princes: "What a loving little sister we have!" Elisa: "What wonderful companions I have as brothers!" The play ends in a triumphant chorus.

As a children's opera, Zhao Jing-shen's adaptation of HCA looks remarkably subtle and sensitive. Unfortunately I have not seen the opera on stage, so I can't tell how effective it would be in practise. But perhaps it is worth noting that in May 1979 what appears to be a re-adaptation of Zhao Jing-Shen's opera was produced as a puppet show in Peking. This puppet show was, I understand, extremely popular with the Chinese public.

The Wild Swans as a comic strip (1951. 1956)

In 1951, two years after the establishment of the socialist People's Republic of China, HCAs *The Wild Swans* was published in Peking as a Chinese book of 'linked pictures' (*lianhuan hua*). The book consisted of 90 black-and-white illustrations with about two lines of text on each illustrated page.

The 'linked pictures' or comic strip books have a very long history in China. And the 90 page version of HCAs fairy tale combined traditional Chinese techniques with an attempt to create a 'Western' atmosphere.

It is well worth studying the way in which the Chinese found it appropriate or necessary to adapt HCAs text for their purposes. The general tendency is to reduce the fantastic or 'surrealist' elements in HCAs tale and to strengthen the edifying or moralizing message of the story.

For example we hear nothing of diamond pencils or stools of mirror-glass. And there are no picture-books costing as much as half the kingdom. Instead we are told that the eleven princes were all both intelligent and diligent at school, something which HCA does not mention at all.

Naturally, the Chinese comic strip version *adds* graphic details. For example the princes are seen asleep in their princely beds when their stepmother tells them to fly off in the shape of birds. On the other hand the detail that the wicked stepmother wants the princes to become *ugly*

The Wild Swans,
Comic strip 1951, p.
38. Elisa and her
brothers are free
to show gentle
affection for each
other.



他們停落在一個長滿了藤蘿的山洞前面。太陽落山了，天鵝們恢復了人形，他們告訴愛莉說：「這就是你的住處，希望你今夜作個好夢。」

voiceless birds but is unable to defeat the princes' inherent goodness so that the end up as wonderful white swans, that sort of 'magical' detail is hard to illustrate and easy to leave out. This detail does not appear in the comic strip. Thus the story becomes both more graphic and more simplified and vastly more accessible for children.

HCA tells us, that when Elisa was 15 she had to go home to the palace, but in the Chinese comic strip she becomes a *heroine* who steals her way into the palace. The reader is encouraged to identify himself with her heroic efforts to find her brothers. And even while Elisa is still working on the farm, the Chinese comic strip facilitates this identification with the heroine by showing Elisa *feeding the chicken* rather than Elisa listening to the wind that whispers in the roses...

When in the comic strip Elisa recognizes her brothers on the sea shore, she 'shouts' their names, although in the Danish she just addresses them with their names. Here, for once, we have not a deliberate modification of HCAs story, but apparently a simple linguistic misunderstanding: To 'call' (*kalde*) someone by his name does *not* normally involve shouting, but the Chinese translator of HCA seems to have thought so.

Misunderstandings of this sort are surprisingly rare. Most changes that the comic introduces have a deep purpose. For example, when the comic lets the *heroic* Elisa *take the initiative* to suggest that she should join her brothers on their long flight over the sea. In HCA the brothers invite her and are afraid that she might not have the courage to come along. But at a time of a vigorous movement of women's liberation in China such details have to go out: Elisa is not just a 'little girl', she is her brothers' equal.

Nonetheless, when Elisa with her eleven brothers alights on the tiny rock island in the middle of the sea and the waves come crashing in on the little freezing group, the Chinese comic – unlike HCA – makes the eleven brothers gallantly protect their sister against the waters.

In the Chinese comic it is the common practical purpose to protect the little sister against the water that keeps the group together. Needless to say, there is no singing of church hymns on the little rock. Here as always HCAs references to popular religion are played down in the Chinese adaptation.

It is therefore not surprising that when Elisa arrives at the cave and falls asleep the Chinese version does not mention her intense prayer to God that even continued into her sleep and led to her dream about how she could deliver her brothers from their plight. The Chinese Elisa is pre-occupied with the fate of her brothers, not the grace of God. That is why the Chinese Elisa doesn't fall on her knees and thank Our Lord when she wakes up from her dream and finds a nettle by her side. She *decides* to do as she was told by the fairy in her dream.

However, the Chinese Elisa does not have to go without *all* forms of magical solace. When her brothers find her mute and covered with blisters all over, their tears prove to be as magically effective as they are in HCAs tale: wherever the tears fall the blisters go away. This sort of magic illustrates poetically the power of brotherly love. It is thus a constructive element in the plot. The magic is comprehensible to the child. It is not just religious superstition.

The Chinese Elisa enjoys considerable freedom in her relationship with her brothers. They are allowed to embrace and caress her even in the illustrations. But when the young king falls in love with her and softens her heart by providing a cave where she can go on working with her nettles to liberate her brothers, we see no more than a very cool and formal young king kissing Elisa's hand from a distance. A gentle em-

brace – as we have it in HCA – would be felt to be outrageously obscene: the young Chinese readers of the comic might get some wrong ideas . . .

One might have thought that a cartoonist would be grateful for an opportunity to give a vivid picture of little Elisa in the murky churchyard facing the awful witches digging the graves with their lean whitish fingers, eating the dead, but the Chinese Elisa just courageously braves the darkness and efficiently collects the nettles she needs. The illustration shows her picking nettles next to a peaceful grave: No witches with whitish fingers.

One might also have thought that a royal wedding between the young kind and beautiful Elisa would have been a splendid theme on which to end. But the Chinese Elisa sticks to her brothers: In the last but one picture she looks affectionately at the king, and he looks kindly at her. But this is only a prelude to the farewell scene with which the cartoon ends: The Chinese Elisa returns home with her brothers. Her family is reunited.

The Little Mermaid as a comic strip (1956, 1959)

The Daughter of the Sea is the title of a remarkable comic strip version of *Den lille havfrue* from 1956. The title page shows an 'exotic' young Western female lying on the beach against the background of a sunset. The illustration bears a remarkable resemblance to the cover of Walther Killy's classical study *Deutscher Kitsch*, and the content of the Chinese comic satisfies the expectations raised by the cover. We have a rather banal dramatization of HCAs story, with the little mermaid inevitably emerging as an admirable romantic heroine. When at the end of the story she casts the dagger into the sea and the sea turns red, it turns out in the Chinese comic that the little mermaid has incidentally hit the abominable witch from below the sea: she has won a victory over the dark and evil forces of the underworld.

Needless to say, there is no union with the waves and the sun for the Chinese little mermaid. She remains intact at the end, is reunited with her sisters in eternal bliss, a model of romantic true love for the rest of the world. The idealistic quest of the little mermaid for a *higher* world doesn't come into the picture at all. There is no question of the little mermaid entering the Kingdom of God, not after 300 years, and certainly not before then.

I have on several occasions tried to read *Den lille havfrue* for my five-year-old son. He always complains that the story is too repetitive, the introduction much too long, the conclusion unsatisfactorily vague. The reason why he will listen to the story at all is because he simply *loves* the Chinese version of it. There he finds a clear line of action to follow and proper emphasis on the dramatic effects of the story. I have had to make a complete Danish translation of the cartoon for my son.

One may not like the Chinese adaptation of *Den lille havfrue*, but there is no denying that it is a very effective 'popularization' of HCAs story. In spite of everything, *The Daughter of the Sea* is an immensely readable comic strip. It is not at all surprising that the comic had to be reprinted in 1959.

The Little Girl with the Matches as a comic strip (1977 and 1979)

There isn't much action in *The Little Girl with the Matches*. But in a Chinese comic there *has to be* action all the time. Things have to be *seen* to happen. HCAs tale begins on New Year's Eve and it ends on New Year's morning. The comic strip version of 1977 published in colour in the Comic Strip Monthly in Peking has the little girl wake up early in the morning, shivering with cold. Her family has no money for an eiderdown that is warm enough. The wind blows in through broken windows which the little girl's family are too poor to repair.

But the little girl in the comic shows herself to be a little heroine. She refuses to be subdued by her poverty and the cold. Resolutely she gets up. Of course, she doesn't think of herself, she is concerned for her mother, who in the comic is sick in bed. Very carefully she puts her own thin blanket over her mother. She doesn't want to wake her mother up. She is a thoughtful heroine.

In the Chinese comic there simply is no food in the kitchen. And although there is a father who should really earn money for the family, the little girl takes things into her own hand. She takes the revolutionary initiative. She is not satisfied with relying on others. She decides to go out to sell the last lot of matches that she didn't manage to sell last time she was out in the streets. In order to make sure that she sells as much as she can she goes out immediately, early in the morning, at a time when there is hardly anybody about in town.

The little heroine fails to sell any matches, but as she is trying to escape a fast horse-carriage driving towards her she loses one of her clogs. (Danish clogs are apparently so proverbial in China that the large slippers HCA makes her wear are turned into wooden clogs in order to create an exotic Danish atmosphere.) HCAs little episode on the boy who takes the slipper away and says he wants to use it as a cradle for his own child, when he gets one, is left out in the comic, although it could make a picturesque little scene to illustrate. But the episode has no edifying or moralizing function. It is no more than a picturesque detail, and that sort of detail has to be left out in a Chinese comic.

Also the point that the little girl in HCAs tale doesn't dare to go home because she is afraid that her cruel father will beat her, since she hasn't managed to sell any matches, has to go out: The father is poor and a member of the working classes. Consequently he has to be a kind and sympathetic father. Working class fathers are always like that, and if HCA paints a different picture he has to be corrected. If the father had been rich, the whole thing would have been entirely different, of course. In that case we should inevitably have got a vivid picture of the blood-thirsty father waiting in the door to pounce upon his innocent daughter to see if she had made any profit on the sales. (But that is not the story we get in this instance.)

When in the end the little girl sinks down in a corner and begins to light the matches more than half the Chinese comic is over, whereas this part covers only a fourth of HCAs story. For the Chinese comic the little girl's struggle against the cold capitalist world that has no place for her is of central importance, and the most striking differences between HCA and the comic are in this first part.

Nonetheless there are significant differences also in the second part. It emerges in HCAs tale that the little girl's grandmother had been the only person who understood her, and treated her with kindness. In HCA it is not just that the father threatens to beat the little girl, the mother isn't a very good mother either. (One suspects that HCA speaks from genuine working class experience!) All this has to be changed into a picture of idyllic working class desperation in the Chinese comic.

The grandmother's superstition that someone is dying when a star falls out of the sky obviously can't be mentioned in the comic.

The meeting of the little girl with her grandmother takes on a completely different meaning in the comic. In HCAs tale the little girl says:

“Oh grandmother, take me along with you! I know you are far away . . .” The grandmother is dead. The little girl has a longing to leave this world. She has given this world up. She longs for the warm world of fantasies, with her grandmother and the smell of fried goose . . . But in the comic the little girl’s vision ends in a plain and warm embrace. There is no lofty notion about ‘being with god’ in the comic.

The little girl in the comic dies in plain desperation over the fact that the capitalist world that she lived in offered her no chance of survival.

The Chinese authors of the comic will – I suspect – point out that they had to change HCAs story because it failed to show a clear political perspective, because in certain ways it was *emptily* romantic. The Danes might well be inclined to retort that the comic version of HCA has none of the fine humour and the delicate sensitivity that make HCAs story into great poetry. The deep truth seems to be that both the Chinese and the Danes are right, each in their own way. What the comic seems to be aiming at is to preserve some of HCAs poetry but *add* a clear political perspective.

HCA and the Four Modernizations in China

HCAs enthusiastic attitude towards scientific and technological progress, his *romantic* attitude towards the blessings of science and technology have always had a deep appeal in China, especially during the campaigns of modernisation of technology.

In an article *Towards Eternity* from September 23, 1979 Ye Jun-jian talks enthusiastically about fairy tales like *The Great Sea Snake* and he recommends particularly the little known story *The Thorny Path of Glory*. *The Thorny Path of Glory* recounts with deep sympathy the sufferings of poets and of the great protagonists of scientific and technological progress. The misery of the lives of Homer, Socrates, Columbus, Galilei, Robert Fulton (inventor of the steam ship) are contrasted with the eternal glory of their historical achievements. In the Chinese context Ye Jun-jian thinks particularly of the trials and tribulations suffered by poets and men of science in China since 1949, and especially since the Cultural Revolution in 1966. They may have died unhappy men, but with their poetry and with their technological contributions they have laid the foundations for the glorious progress of Chinese civilization.

Ye Jun-jian quotes HCA with approval: “Then the thorny path of

glory shows itself as a halo around the earth. Blessed is he who is chosen to wander on this path, who without a salary (!) associates with the builder of the bridge between mankind and god.” But he hastens to add: “The ‘God’ HCA here refers to is not the God religion talks about, it signifies the highest horizon of the ideal human society.”

On the other hand Ye doesn’t need to add any qualifications whatever to the following quotation from HCA: “Soon the Long Wall of China will crumble. Before long the European steam trains will reach the closed and self-contained cultures of China: the two cultures will merge into one!” (from *The New Century’s Muse*) Ye can only exclaim: “What a wide horizon HCA had! But HCA was not a man of illusions. He longed for ‘the new century’, but he knew that the way towards the new century was full of brambles. His thought was that this thorny way was glorious.”

Bibliography

The present bibliography includes only books and articles especially concerned with the translation or explanation of H. C. Andersen’s works.

The bibliography is based mainly on the material available in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and the H. C. Andersen Museum in Odense supplemented by my own personal collection.

Much of the literature listed in this bibliography is not available in Western libraries. In the case of the extensive Chinese literature on H. C. Andersen this seems especially unfortunate.

In the context of cultural relations between Denmark and China it would seem both important and interesting to survey Chinese reactions to the great Danish poet, but such a survey could only be conducted with the co-operation of the authorities in the People’s Republic of China.

In many ways this bibliography is still grossly incomplete. A proper bibliographic survey seems again possible only with the co-operation of the Chinese authorities. It will be noted in this connection that the two most prolific students of Andersen in China, Zhao Jing-shen and Ye Jun-jian are both still active in March 1979. They would be uniquely useful people to consult on the reception of Andersen in China. Ye Jun-jian is 65, Zhao Jing-shen is in his late seventies.

Chinese translations of HCA's works published separately as
books or booklets

(A chronological bibliography)

1. *Shi zhi jiu* (Nine out of ten), tr. Chen Jia-lin and Chen Da-deng, Shanghai pre-1920?
EK 2, 16, 1, 9, 20, 7.
2. *An Tu-sheng tonghua ji* (Collection of fairy tales by HCA), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, Xin Wenhua Shushe, Shanghai 1924 (1928).
EK 4, 3, 63, 12, 26, 52, 92, 84, 21, 1, 9, 13.
Grantræet is translated by Qiao Ju-yin, Boghveden by Huang Zhen-wu. There is an introduction by Zhao p.1 - 10.
3. *Lüban* (The fellow traveller), tr. Lin Lan and Miss C.F., Shanghai 1924, XCS Peking 1929².
EK 7, 25, 20, 8, 1, 46, 36, 106, 21, 5.
4. *An Tu-sheng tonghua quanji* (Complete collection of HCA's fairy tales), tr. Zhou Zuo-ren, Zheng Zhen-duo, Fu Dong-hua, Shen Yan-bing, Hu Yu-zhi, Gao Jun-zhen, Zhao Jing-shen, Gu Jun-zhen and Xu Tiao-fu, volume 1-6, Commercial Press, Shanghai 1926ff.
This edition is advertised in XSYB 16, nr. 8, 1925. The advertisement claims there are 150 pieces by HCA translated in all. Each volume has 35 three-colour pictures and over 100 black and white illustrations. I have not seen this edition.
5. *Wuhua de huatie* (Picture-book without pictures), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, Xin Wenhua Shushe, Shanghai 1925² (1923) Translation, from the English, of *Billedbog uden billeder*.
6. *Yue de hua* (Moon's talk), tr. Zhao Jung-shen, Kaiming Shuju, Shanghai 1929.
Apparently another edition of the preceding.
7. *An Tu-sheng tonghua quanji* (Complete collection of HCA's fairy tales), tr. (from an English version) Xu Pei-ren, vol. 1-3, Ertong Shuju, Shanghai 1930¹ 1932² 1939³.
Vol. I: EK 110, 108, 4, 1, 2, 5.
Vol 2: EK 10, 12, 47, 21, 60, 48.
Vol. 3: EK 29, 101, 102, 90, 16, 17, 35, 52.
There are brief introductory remarks by the translator.
8. *An Tu-sheng tonghua* (HCA's fairy tales), tr. Gan Tang, vol 1 and 2, Commercial Press, Shanghai 1934¹, 1934².
Vol. 1: EK 11, 16, 17, 5.
Vol. 2: EK 9, 20, 26, 25.
There are illustrations by Edna F. Hart, which suggests that Gan Tang probably worked from an English original version.
9. *An Tu-sheng tonghua xuan* (Selection of HCAs fairy tales) abridged and re-written by Fan Quan, YXYSG Shanghai 1950¹, 1978².
10. *Zhaoze wang de erzi* (The son of the marshes), tr. Chen Jing-rong, SLSD Peking 1950.
EK 83.
11. *Renyu* (Half a human being, half a fish), Yan Da-chun, WSHS Shanghai 1950.
12. *Jianding de xiao xibing* (The small staunch tin soldier) tr. Qiu Ling, ZH Shanghai 1951.

13. *Ye tiane* (The wild swans) tr. Ni Tu, ZSSD Tianjin 1951.
14. *Tiane* (The swans), adapted by Hong Yue and Xiang Yang, illustrated (in colour) by Xiao Shu-fang, CHMS Peking 1955² (first uncoloured edition Peking 1951).
- 14a. *Huangdi de xin yi* (The emperor's new clothes) RMMS, Peking 1951¹, 1979² 54 pages, 606 000 copies printed.
15. *Meiyu hua de huace* (Picture-book without pictures), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1953¹, 1954², 1954³ 19000 copies printed.
- 15a. *Yeying* (The Nightingale), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1953¹, 1954², 171 pages 32500 copies printed.
EK 6, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 111, 19, 23.
16. *Muqin de gushi* (Story of a mother), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1953¹, 1954², 161 pages.
19000 copies printed.
EK 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 115, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 47.
17. *Hai de nüer* (The mermaid), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954, 175 1954⁴, 192 pages.
25000 copies printed.
EK 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 8.
18. *Zhaoze wang de nüer* (The daughter of the king of the marshes), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954, 162 pages.
15000 copies printed.
EK 81, 76, 87, 90, 86, 18, 64, 92, 119, 98, 83.
19. *Ben han* (The fool), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954¹, 1954², 165 pages.
22000 copies printed.
EK 51, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 72, 77, 71.
20. *Shaqiu shang de renmen* (The people from the cliffs), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954, 162 pages. 18000 copies printed.
EK 78, 82, 133, 156, 152, 125, 139, 95.
21. *Mei shen* (The beautiful soul), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954, 175 pages.
17000 copies printed.
EK 79, 129, 110, 108, 93, 153, 122, 123, 103, 99, 102, 101, 117, 107.
22. *Meng* (The dream), tr. Ye Jun-jian, PM, Shanghai 1954³ 164 pages.
27000 copies printed.
EK 112, 113, 20, 25, 21, 26, 24, 27, 36, 35, 28.
23. *An Tu-sheng tonghua xuanji* (Selected fairy tales by HCA), tr. Ye Jun-jian, RMWX, Peking 1955.
22500 copies printed.
EK 2, 1, 4, 3, 6, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 22, 24, 23, 28, 32, 37, 41, 43, 62, 65, 71, 79, 106.
24. *An Tu-sheng tonghua xuanji* (Selected from HCA's fairy tales), tr. Ye Jun-jian, ZGQN, Peking 1955¹, 1955², 1955³ 214 pages.
42000 copies printed.
EK 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 21, 23, 25, 36, 37, 65, 71, 101, 102, 103, 110, 133.
25. *Mu zhu ren* (The swineherd), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations based on the Danish edition by Flensted, Odense 1946, SNET, Shanghai 1955.
52000 copies printed.
EK 20.
26. *Lao touzi zong bu hui cuo* (The old man is never wrong), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations based on the Danish edition by Flensted, Odense 1946, SNET, Shanghai 1955, 28 pages.
50200 copies printed.
EK 102.

27. *Huangdi de xin zhuang* (The emperor's new clothes), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations as above, SNET, Shanghai 1955¹, 1979², 28 pages. 220000 copies printed. EK 9.
28. *Chou xiao ya* (The ugly duckling), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations according to the Danish edition by Gyldendal, Copenhagen 1955, SNET, Shanghai 1955, 24 pages. 50200 copies printed. EK 25.
29. *Ben han Hansi* (Stupid Hans), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations according to the Danish edition by Flensted, Odense 1946, SNET, Shanghai 1957, 28 pages. 18000 copies printed. EK 71.
30. *Da huo xia* (The lighter), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations above, SNET, Shanghai 1957, 24 pages. 21000 copies printed. EK 1.
31. *Wandou shang de gongzhu* (The princess on the pea), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations as above, SNET, Shanghai 1957, 28 pages. 21000 copies printed. EK 3, 58.
32. *Xiao Kelaosi he da Kelaosi* (Little Claus and big Claus), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations as above, SNET, Shanghai 1957, 28 pages. 18000 copies printed. EK 2.
33. *Hai de nüer* (The daughter of the sea), adapted by Lü Xiao-peng, MS, Tianjin 1956¹, 1959², 60 pages. 64400 copies printed. EK 8.
34. *An Tu-sheng tonghua zuanji* (Selection from HCA's fairy tales), tr. Ye Jun-jian, illustrations based on the edition by Flensted, Odense 1946, SNET 1957¹, 1959³. 90400 copies printed. EK 9, 20, 102, 2, 1, 3, 58, 71. This is a collected reprint of nr. 25 to 32 above.
35. *An Tu-sheng tonghua quanji* (Complete collection of HCA's fairy tales), tr. Ye Jun-jian, vol. 1-16, XWY, Shanghai 1957¹, 1958², 1978³. Pirate edition published in Hongkong by ZL, Hongkong 1975. Over one million copies printed. Vol. 1: EK 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Vol. 2: EK 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15. Vol. 3: EK 16, 17, 111, 112, 113, 19, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23. Vol. 4: EK 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 36, 34, 29, 35. Vol. 5: EK 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47. Vol. 6: EK 48, 49, 50, 114, 115, 51, 55, 52, 56, 57, 58, 54, 59. Vol. 7: EK 64, 70, 65, 67, 66, 68, 69, 72, 71, 73, 74, 77, 85. Vol. 8: EK Billedbog uden billeder, 78, 79, 80, 82, 81. Vol. 9: EK 83, 84, 76, 18, 86, 87. Vol. 10: EK 88, 89, 90, 75, 92, 91, 93, 94, 95. Vol. 11: EK 134, 96, 109, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106. Vol. 12: EK 98, 107, 108, 119, 120, 110, 99, 121, 122, 123, 117, 118, 129, 130. Vol. 13: EK 131, 124, 125, 97, 116, 126, 127, 132. Vol. 14: EK 137, 128, 133, 136, 140, 141, 142, 143, 138, 135, 139, 145. Vol. 15: EK 147, 146, 144, 149, 148, 150, 156, 152, 153, 154, 155, TF, TE, TD, TP, TM, 151. Vol. 16: Lykke Per.

36. *Tonghua xuan* (Selection of fairy tales) by An Tu-sheng, tr. Ye Jun-jian, edited by the Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, RMWX, Peking 1959, 339 p. EK 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 23, 25, 37, 63, 65, 72, 73, 79, 102, 95, 101, 106, 151.
37. *An Tu-sheng tonghua xuan* (Selection of HCA's fairy tales) tr. Ye Jun-jian, RMWX, Peking 1978², 234 p. EK 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 19, 23, 25, 37, 71, 102.
38. *An Tu-sheng tonghua he gushi xuan* (Selection of fairy tales and stories by HCA), tr. Ye Jun-jian, RMWX, Peking 1978, 441 pages. EK 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 20, 24, 23, 25, 32, 37, 41, 63, 43, 65, 72, 73, Billedbog uden billeder, 79, 102, 95, 101, 106, 151.
39. *Huangdi de xin zhuang* (The emperor's new clothes) RMMS, Shanghai 1979, 38 pages, 300000 copies printed.
40. *Mai huochai de xiao nü hai* (The little girl that sold matches) RMMS, Shanghai 1979, 38 pages, 300000 copies printed.

HCA translations from periodicals

(The arrangement is alphabetical by translator's surnames and pen names. Those items for which I have been unable to give a precise date are definitely pre-1926.)

41. *Lao jiedeng* (The old street lamp), tr. Bo Ken, FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 7. EK 40.
42. *Kuaili jiating* (The happy family), tr. Cen Lin-lang, WXZK nr. 176. EK 46.
43. *Xiao lü chong* (The little green insect), tr. Cen Qi-xiang, XSYB vol 16, nr. 8, 1925. EK 129.
44. *Muzhi Linna* (Thumb-Linna), tr. Miss C.F. (sic!), XSYB vol 14, nr. 8. EK 5.
45. *Chahu* (The tea-pot), tr. Fan Zhong-Yun, XSYB 9, 1925. EK 117.
46. *Xingyun de huaxie* (The shoes of fortune), tr. Fu Dong-hua, XSYB 8, 1925. EK 10.
47. *Tian e* (The swans), tr. Gao Jun-zhen, XSYB vol 15, nr. 10. EK 13.
48. *Feng zhen* (The darning needle), tr. Gao Jun-zhen, XSYB vol. 15, nr. 5. EK 36.
49. *Xiao Kelaosi he da Kelaosi* (Little Claus and big Claus), tr. Cu Jun-zheng, FNZZ vol. 11, nr. 1. EK 2.
50. *Nü renyu* (The mermaid), tr. Gu Jun-zheng and Xu Tiao-fu, WXZK, pre 1925. EK 8.
51. *Ye ying* (The nightingale), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, FNZZ vol 11, nr. 4. EK 23.
52. *Chenshan jingquan* (The shirt collar), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, SSXB, Xuedeng, pre-1925. EK 48.

53. *Xionge de guowang* (The wicked king), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB, vol 15, nr. 7.
EK 18.
54. *Laoren zuode zong bu cuo* (What the old man does is never wrong), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 102.
55. *Leyuan* (Paradise), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 15.
56. *Yige da beiai* (An occasion of great grief), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 60.
57. *Qi yaori* (Seven days of the week), tr. Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 135.
58. *Woniu yu qiangwei huacong* (The snail and the rose-tree), tr. Gui Yu, XSYB, vol 16, nr. 1.
EK 108.
59. *Gongzhu he wandou* (The princess and the pea), tr. Hu Tian-yue, SSXB, Xuedeng, September 1921.
EK 3.
60. *Baozhai shang de fengjing* (The view from the castle walls), tr. Hu Yu-zhi, DFZZ vol. 13, nr. 7.
EK 39.
61. *Jiandao mianbaoshang de nuhaizi* (The girl that stepped on the bread), tr. Hu Yu-zhi, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 87.
62. *Feichen laoren* (The old man of the flying winds), tr. Wang Yan-gao, FNZZ vol. 11, nr. 2.
EK 86.
63. *Haizimen de xiantan* (Children's talk), tr. Xi Di, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 90.
64. *Puman* (The money-pig), tr. Xi Di, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 69.
65. *Fengniao* (The phoenix), tr. Xi Di, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 50.
66. *Qiannian zhi hou* (After a thousand years), tr. Xi Di, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 53.
67. *Hudie* (The butterfly), tr. Xu Tiao-fu and Gu Jun-zheng, XSYB vol 14, nr. 11.
EK 98.
68. *Huorong xiang* (The lighter), tr. Xu Tiao-fu, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 1.
69. *Yaoshan* (The inauspicious mountain), tr. Ji Zhi-yu, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 29.
70. *Hong xie* (The red shoes), tr. Liang Zhi-nan, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 30.
71. *An Tu-sheng de tongnian* (HCA's youth), tr. Qiao Ju-yin, XSYB 9, 1925.
Mit livs eventyr (excerpts translated).
72. *Xueren* (The snowman), tr. Shen Zhi-jian, XSYB 9, 1925.
EK 103.
73. *Yi di shui* (A drop of water), tr. Shi Lin, FNZZ, vol 7, nr. 11.
EK 45.
74. *Xueren* (The snowman), tr. Shi Yuan, MGRB, Juewu, pre-1925.
EK 103.
75. *Yi dui lianren* (A pair of lovers), tr. Tian Ci-sheng, FNZZ vol. 10, nr. 11.
EK 24.

76. *Mu zhu ren* (The swineherd), tr. Xu Tiao-fu, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 20.
77. *Meiguihua yao* (The rose-monster), tr. Xue Qin, FNZZ vol 7, nr. 1.
EK 14.
78. *Wantong* (The naughty boy), tr. Xue Qin, FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 1.
EK 6.
79. *Qiaomai* (Buchwheat), tr. Yan Ji-deng, in *Ertong gushi* (stories for children), Commercial Press, Shanghai pre-1925.
EK 21.
80. *Chou xiaoya* (The ugly duckling), tr. Yan Ji-deng, ETSJ, vol 3, nr. 1.
EK 25.
81. *Huan* (The storks), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 8.
EK 17.
82. *Anqier* (The angel), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ, vol 8, nr. 2.
EK 22.
83. *Zumu* (Grandmother), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol. 8, nr. 12.
EK 35.
84. *Laowu* (The old house), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol 9, nr. 3.
EK 44.
85. *Zhuma xiao zhuan* (A little story about a zhuma tree), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 6.
EK 26.
86. *Liuxia* (Under the willow), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol 10, nr. 1.
EK 63.
86. *Yi xia wu ke dou* (Five peas from one pod), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 11.
EK 64.
87. *Tian e* (The swans), adapted as a children's play by Zhao Jing-shen, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 13.
88. *Suoyan Alai* (The Alai that closes the eyes), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 19.
89. *Muyang nülang he dasaoyanchuangzhe* (The shepherdess and the chimney-sweeper), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 42.
90. *Wandoushang de gongzhu* (The princess on the pea), tr. Zhao Jing-shen, XSYB 8, 1925.
EK 3.
91. *Muqin de gushi* (A story about a mother), tr. Zheng Zhen-duo, ETSJ, vol. 1, nr. 4 cf. also FNZZ vol. 7, nr. 5 for another translation of the same.
EK 47.
92. *Ta bushi haoren* (She is not a good person), tr. Zhong Chi, FNZZ vol. 8, nr. 3.
EK 65.
93. *Duanmu canjie* (The smashed tomb), tr. Zhou Sou-juan, in *Ouzhou mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo* (Famous European Short Stories), Shanghai pre-1925.
EK 55.
94. *Huangdi de zinzhuang* (The emperor's new clothes), illustrated by Zhou Xi-an-che, adapted by Yang Zhi-yu, LHHB nr. 4, 1979: 17-20 (a comic strip version in 20 pictures, illustrations inspired by Danish models.)

95. *Mai huochai de nüer* (The girl that sold matches), tr. Zhou Zuo-ren, in XQN, reprinted in *Diande* (Drops) published by the *Xinchaoshe* publishing house in Shanghai, as a collection of Zhou Zuo-ren's works. EK 37.
96. *Huangde zhi xinyi* (The emperor's new clothes), tr. Zhou Zuo-ren, in YWX-SJI, QY Shanghai 1909. EK 9.

Chinese publications on H. C. Andersen

97. Chen Bo-chui, *Xiang An Tu-sheng xuexi shemma* (What do we learn from H.C.A.?) RMRB, April 2, 1955.
98. Chen Bo-chui, *Tonghua dashi An Tu-sheng* (H.C.A., master of the fairy tale) JFJWY 1955, nr. 4, reprinted in *Zuojia yu ertong wenxue* (Writers and juvenile literature) Tianjin 1957.
99. Chen Bo-chui, *An Tu-sheng tonghua de chuanguo sixiang* (Creative thought in H.C.A.'s fairy tales), WYXX 1955, nr. 4, reprinted in *Zuojia yu ertong wenxue* (Writers and juvenile literature), Tianjin 1957.
100. Chen Bo-chui, *An Tu-sheng tonghua de yishu pingjia* (An artistic critical appraisal of HCA's fairy tales) in *Zuojia yu ertong wenxue* (Writers and juvenile literature) Tianjin 1957.
101. Chen Da-yuan, *An Tu-sheng de guxiang* (HCA's home), Baihua wenyi chubanshe 1960¹, 1978² (A personal account by a Chinese diplomat of his personal experiences in Denmark, with many references to HCA.)
102. Dong Xing-nan, *An Tu-sheng de 'mai huochai de xiao nühaizi'* (HCA's The little girl that sold matches), YWXX 1957, nr. 1.
103. Gan He, *An Tu-sheng he tade tonghua* (HCA and his fairy tales) DGB, April 2, 1955.
104. Gu Jun-zheng, *An Tu-sheng zhuan* (An account of HCA), XSYB 16, nr. 8, 1925, p. 1-26.
105. Gu Jun-zheng and Xu Tiao-fu, *An Tu-sheng nianpu*. (Biographical survey of HCA) XSYB 16, nr. 9, 1925, p. 1-11.
106. Gu Jun-zheng, *An Tu-sheng de lianai gushi* (HCA's love stories) WXZB nr. 186, 1925.
107. He Yi, *An Tu-sheng he tade 'mai huochai de xiao nühai'* (HCA and his The little girl that sold matches), in ETWXYJ nr. 1, 1979.
108. Jin Jin, *An Tu-sheng he tade tonghua* (HCA and his fairy tales) DGB March 18, 1948.
109. Hou Jue, tr., *Chr. M. K. Petersen, An Tu-sheng ji tade shengdi Aodunsai* (translation of 'Andersen og hans fødeby Odense') XSYB 16, nr. 9, 1925.
110. Mu Lu, *An Tu-sheng tonghua zai Zhongguo* (HCAs fairy tales in China) GMRB September 14, 1979.
111. Shen Chang-yue, *An Tu-sheng he tade tonghua* (HCA and his fairy tales) NJDXXB December 1956, nr. 4.
112. Shi Wen, *An Tu-sheng de huida* (HCAs answers) ETSD 5, 1979.

113. Wu Yan, *An Tu-sheng de 'Huangdi de xin zhuang'* (HCA's 'The Emperor's New Clothes') WHB 13/1/1980. RM Peking 1978 A monograph on HCA, based on *Mit lius eventyr*.
114. Xi Di, *An Tu-sheng de zuopin ji guanyu An Tu-sheng de cankao shuji*, XSYB 16, nr. 8, 1925 (HCA's works and reference works on HCA).
115. Xu Tiao-fu, *Gege An Tu-sheng shi shui?* (Brother, who is HCA?) WXZB nr. 186, 1925.
116. Xu Tiao-fu, *An Tu-sheng de chunüzu* (HCA's first works), WXZB nr. 186, 1925.
117. Ye Jun-jian, *An Tu-sheng de tonghua* (HCA's fairy tales) WYB 1955, nr. 3.
118. Ye Jun-jian, *An Tu-sheng de tonghua* (HCA's fairy tales) WXZS 1959, nr. 6.
119. Ye Jun-jian, *An Tu-sheng he tade zuopin* (HCA and his works) RMWX 1955, nr. 4.
120. Ye Jun-jian, *Guanyu An Tu-sheng de 'mai huochai de xiao nühaizi'* (On HCA's Den lille pige med svovlstikkerne), WYXX 1955, nr. 4, also in XGC 1955, nr. 4.
121. Ye Jun-jian, *An Tu-sheng de tonghua chuanguo* (HCA's creation of the fairy tales) JFRB May 5, 1955.
122. Ye Jun-jian, *Tonghua zuojia An Tu-sheng*, (The writer of fairy tales HCA) SNET Shanghai 1955.
123. Ye Jun-jian, *Zou xiang yongheng* (Towards Eternity) GMRB 23/9/1979 (On HCA, The thorny way of honour).
124. Ye Jun-jian, *Xiejiangde erzi An Tu-sheng*, (HCA, a cobbler's son),
125. Zhang You-song, tr., *An Tu-sheng tonghua de lai yuan he xitong* (»HCA's Eventyrs Oprindelse og Sammenhæng, efter hans egne Optegnelser«) XSYB 16 nr. 9, 1925.
126. Zhang You-song, tr., *An Tu-sheng pingzhuan* (A critical biography of HCA, translated from a work by H. H. Boyesen), XSYB 16, nr. 8, 1925.
127. Zhao Jing-shen, *An Tu-sheng tonghua li de sixiang* (The thoughts in HCA's fairy tales), WXZB nr. 186, 1925.
128. Zhao Jing-shen, tr., *An Tu-sheng lun* (»On An Tu-sheng« by Yan kenina, translated by Zhao from the Russian original) ETWXYJ 1958, nr. 4 (February).
129. Zhao Jing-shen, tr., *An Tu-sheng tonghua de yishu* (»HCA's Eventyrkunst« by G. Brandes, translated by Zhao from the English version of Brandes' book on HCA.) XSYB 16, nr. 9, 1925.
130. Zhao Jing-shen, *An Tu-sheng yi shi* (Anecdotes from HCA's life) XSYB 16, nr. 8, 1925.
131. Zhou Zuo-ren, *Du Shi zhi jiu* (Review of Chen Jia-lin and Chen Da-deng, *Nine Tenths*, a collection of translations from HCA published in 1925) XQN, reprinted in Zhao Jing-shen, ed., *Tonghua pinglun*, Shanghai 1934.
132. Zhu Da-lu, *An Tu-sheng gei women de qishi* (The inspiration we can get from HCA) WHB March 22, 1979.
133. Zhu Min-zhi, *An Tu-sheng he Zhongguo* (HCA and China) WHB 5/12/1979.

Index of Chinese Names and Pen Names

Cen Lin-xiang 岑麟祥	Ni Tu 泥土
Cen Qi-xiang 岑麒祥	Qiao Ju-yin 焦菊隱
Chen Bo-chui 陳伯吹	Qiu Ling 邱陵
Chen Da-deng 陳大鏗	Shen Chang-yue 沈長鈺
Chen Jia-lin 陳家麟	Shen Zhi-jian 沈志堅
Chen Jing-rong 陳敬容	Shi Lin 石鹿麟
Dong Xing-nan 董星南	Shi Yuan 士元
Fan Zhong-yun 樊仲雲	Sun Yu-xiu 孫毓修
Fu Dong-hua 傅東華	Tian-ci Sheng 天賜生
Gan He 甘河	Wang Yan-gao 汪延高
Gan Tang 甘棠	Xi Di 西諦
Gao Jun-Zhen 高君箴	Xu Pei-ren 徐培仁
Gu Jun-zheng 顧均正	Xu Tiao-fu 徐調孚
Gui Yu 桂裕	Xue Qin 學勤
He Yi 賀宜	Yan Da-chun 嚴大椿
Hong Yue 洪岳	Yan Ji-deng 嚴既澄
Hou Jue 後覺	Ye Jun-jian 叶君健
Hu Tian-yue 胡天月	Zhang You-song 張友松
Hu Yu-zhi 胡愈之	Zhao Jing-shen 趙景深
Ji Zan-yu 季贊育	Zheng Zhen-duo 鄭振鐸
Jin Jin 金近	Zhong Chi 仲持
Liang Zhi-nan 梁指南	Zhou Jia 周嘉
Lin Lan 林蘭	Zhou Shou-juan 周瘦鵑
Lü Xiao-peng 呂小朋	Zhou Xian-che 周宅物
Mao Dun 茅盾	Zhou Zuo-ren 周作人
Mu Lu 穆路	Zhou Da-lu 周大綸

Abbreviations

DFZZ: <i>Dongfang zazhi</i> (Eastern Magazine) 東方雜誌	ETSD: <i>Ertongshidai</i> (The Young Generation Magazine) 兒童時代
DGB: <i>Dagongbao</i> (Public Daily) 大公報	ETSJ: <i>Ertongshuju</i> (Youth Bookshop Publishers) 兒童書局
EK: Code number of HCAs fairy tales, as used by the Royal Library of Copen- hagen in its bibliographies on HCA.	ETWXYJ: <i>Ertongwenxue yanjiu</i> (Studies on Juvenile Literature) 兒童文學研究

FNZZ: <i>Funü zazhi</i> (Women's Magazine) 婦女雜誌	RMRB: <i>Renmin Ribao</i> (People's Daily) 人民日報
GMRB: <i>Guangming Ribao</i> (Light Daily) 光明日報	RMWX: <i>Renmin Wenxue</i> (People's Literature Journal) 人民文學
JFRB: <i>Jiefang Ribao</i> (Liberation Daily) 解放日報	SHWY: <i>Shanghai Wenyi chubanshe</i> (Shanghai Culture Publishers) 上海文藝出版社
JFWY: <i>Jiefang Wenyi</i> (Liberation Culture Magazine) 解放文藝	SL: <i>San Lian shudian</i> (Three Link Bookshop Publishers) 三聯書店
KM: <i>Kaiming shudian</i> (Enlightenment Bookshop Publishers) 開明書店	SNET: <i>Shaonian ertong chubanshe</i> (Juvenile Literature Publishers) 少年兒童出版社
MGRB: <i>Minguo Ribao</i> (Republican Daily) 民國日報	SSXB: <i>Shishi xinbao</i> (Journal of Contemporary News) 時事新報
MS: <i>Meishu chubanshe</i> (Art Publishers) 美術出版社	WHB: <i>Wenhui bao</i> (Cultural Reports Daily) 文匯報
NJDXXB: <i>Nanjing Daxue xuebao</i> (Nanjing University Gazette) 南京大學學報	WHSB: <i>Wenhua shenghuo chubanshe</i> (Cultural Life Publishers) 文化生活出版社
PM: <i>Pingning chubanshe</i> (Equal Light Publishers) 平明出版社	WXZK: <i>Wenxue Zhoukan</i> (Literature Review) 文學週刊
QY: <i>Qunyi chubanshe</i> (Mass Advancement Publishers) 群益出版社	WYB: <i>Wenyi bao</i> (Culture Magazine) 文藝報

WYXX: *Wenyi Xuexi*
(Cultural Study Magazine)
文艺学习

XQN: *Xin qingnian*
(New Youth Magazine)
新青年

XSYB: *Xiaoshuo Yuebao*
(Short Story Monthly)
小说月报

XWXX: *Yuwen Xuexi*
(Language Study Magazine)
语文学习

YXYSG: *Yongxiang yinshuguan*
(Eternal Bliss Printers and Publishers)
永祥印书馆

ZGQN: *Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe*
(China Youth Publishers)
中国青年出版社

ZH: *Zhonghua shuju*
(China Bookshop Publishers)
中华书局

ZL: *Zhouliu chubanshe*
(Universal Circulation Publishers,
Hongkong)
周流出版社

ZSSD: *Zhishi shudian*
(Knowledge Publishers)
知识书店

Postscript

While travelling in China in November 1979 I often had to explain where I came from, and I got into the habit of saying 'from H. C. Andersen's home island.' That was more readily understood than 'from *Danmai*.' – Not surprisingly the only book on Denmark that one can buy in China is entitled *H. C. Andersen's Home*. (A very charming little book, incidentally, which makes one reflect on the difficulty of describing a very distant culture. One wonders how the Chinese would react to the things *we* go on writing about them...)

I was in Peking during the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists. The president of the conference, China's greatest living novelist Mao Dun, summed up on this occasion what he had felt was wrong with Chinese juvenile literature in 1961, and what he still felt was wrong with Chinese juvenile literature in 1979: "1. Politics play too dominating a

part at the expense of artistic excellence. 2. The plots are predictable and schematic. 3. The characters are lifelessly abstract and conceptual. 4. The style is dry and lifeless." Then he continued: "Now we must emphasize the artistic aspect. We must liven things up. Even if we cannot achieve the high level of H. C. Andersen's tales, we must at least study these tales, take the good things in and convert them into our own flesh and blood..."

The famous realistic novelist Mao Dun has translated a number of HCAs tales into Chinese during the 1920s, and so have quite a few other prominent Chinese writers. The fable or fairy tale has become one of the strong points of 20th century Chinese literature. A collection of Chinese fables from the 1920s to the 1970s was published in 1978 in Shanghai: *Tonghua xuan*, 680 pages.)

However, it is important to emphasize that the modern Chinese fables *in no way*

are imitations of HCA. They build on an extremely rich Chinese folkloric tradition and they aim at effects quite alien to HCA. By studying the systematic ways in which the Chinese have rewritten HCA for their purpose since 1949 we can appreciate the considerable gap there is between HCAs art and official Chinese cultural policy. The gap is narrowing, but it is still very much present.

Ye Jun-jian, the great HCA translator of modern China, has recently republished his biography of HCA, which is almost entirely in the tradition of romantic socialist realism. HCA emerges as a pure and unselfish proletarian hero, a literary fighter against wealth and privilege.

In fact, Ye Jun-jian is a very distinguished communist author in his own right. From 1946 to 1949 he has published three English novels in London, using the name Chun Chan Yeh. One of these novels, *Mountain Village*, has been widely translated into different languages, among others Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic, but deplorably not yet into the language of HCA!!

In 1950 Ye returned to China to take up a professorship in the University of Peking. Since then he has published a considerable number of Chinese books. His new

magnum opus is a trilogy of novels about Chinese society in the early 20th century, of which he has recently sent me the first volume. As a creative writer Ye shows little of HCAs romantic and good-humoured understanding for *all* sorts of people, for *all* classes in society. Ye takes sides in the class struggle. He is merciless in his castigation of the class enemy, and orthodox in his glorification of the oppressed. He is not a romanticist, he is a *romantic revolutionary*.

Ye tells me that what fascinated him in HCA was his humour and his warm humanity. And indeed I perceive a warm sensitivity and a deep human concern as the driving force behind all of Ye Jun-jian's writing that I have read. But still it remains strange to ponder that Ye, the writer of propaganda stories, is the same Ye who translated the whole lot of HCAs *fairy tale* with such meticulous and loving care.

It is as if somewhere, deep below the surface of different literary and ideological conventions, Andersen's poetry and socialist propaganda are profoundly complementary. And if anyone is in a position to *merge* the two, it must be a poet like Ye Jun-jian.