

TOLSTOY'S "THE THREE BEARS": THE METAMORPHOSIS OF AN ENGLISH TALE INTO A RUSSIAN NATIONAL MYTH

BEN HELLMAN

The bear is a recurrent figure in Russian folk and animal tales. Sometimes he is pictured as naïve, simple and goodhearted, but he can also be represented as brutal, strong and powerful. The same ambivalence is also typical for the bears from Slavic myths and Russian literary tales and poems [Розенгольм, Савкина: 297]. As a metaphor for Russia bear got its final, conceptual form in the early 18th century; in foreign, primarily British, political caricatures he came to denote not only the national character but also the politics of the country [Росомахин, Хрусталеv: 127]. The bear symbol conveys a notion of “a foreign, backward, aggressive, despotic, strong, but clumsy country” [Рябов, Константинова: 118]. It became a stereotype, denoting the essential difference between Europe and Russia. The bear functions as a symbolic frontier guard, marking the differing line between civilization and barbarity, culture and nature, progress and backwardness, freedom and despotism, Europe and Asia, West and East [Ibid.].

A literary work which has not been introduced into the Russian bear discourse is Leo Tolstoy's “The Three Bears” (“Tri medvedya”). It is, however, a good example of how the bear symbol functions in a literary work and its illustrations, ultimately growing into a national myth. The tale is one of Tolstoy's most popular works for children, and possibly his most read work in Russia. Printed in millions of copies, it is known to practically all Russians. “The Three Bears” has mostly been taken to be a purely national Russian tale, adapted by one of the country's greatest writers. Certain similarities to the folk tale “Mashenka and the Bear” (“Mashenka i medved”) have added to this misconception.

“The Three Bears” tells about a girl who loses her way in the forest and comes to the house of three bears. After having tasted their food and broken a chair she goes to sleep in one of their beds. When the bears return she hastily escapes through the window. A Western reader has no problems in recognizing the story — not as a work by Leo Tolstoy, though, but as an English tale, usually published under the title “Goldilocks and the Three Bears”. It has been reworked and translated into most languages, not from Russian, however, but from English¹. It has been the subject of many analyses², but none of them helps us when it comes to interpreting its Russian version. What Tolstoy produced and Russian artists later further developed is an original work, which can be analysed in its own right.

“The Three Bears” was originally published in *The New ABC Book* (*Novaya azbuka*) in 1875. Together with the four volumes of *Russian Readers* (*Russkie knigi dlya chteniya, 1875–85*)³ it gave Tolstoy a prominent place also in the history of Russian children’s literature. For his reader Tolstoy borrowed freely from various sources, like Aesop’s fables, English folklore and Hans Christian Andersen. Tolstoy not only translated the foreign texts but he also revised and rewrote them. At the centre of his attention was not so much the moral side of the works as the formal part; the aim was to create examples of good art. The ideal was brevity and simplicity; the writing should have few words and be as concise as possible.

In order to fully understand the nature of the metamorphosis that the English tale went through in Russia, it is necessary to establish the probable source of Tolstoy’s “The Three Bears”. The author’s first mention of the tale is to be found in *Anna Karenina*, which he was working on from 1872 onwards:

“Yes, we’re growing up”, she said to him, glancing towards Kitty, “and growing old. Tiny bear has grown big now!” added the Frenchwoman with a laugh, and she reminded him of his joke about the three young ladies whom he had called the three bears from the English tale. “Do you remember that you used to call them so?”

¹ There are, to be sure, translations also of Tolstoy’s “The Three Bears”, but in these cases he is always attributed as the author.

² See, for example, [Elms 1977; Hammel 1972 and Philips 1954]. There are also some recent analyses of Tolstoy’s “The Three Bears”. In two articles, Leonid Chernov employs Vladimir Propp’s theories, applying the morphology of Russian folk tales to Tolstoy’s tale [Чернов 1999a] and interpreting it as a visit to the realm of death [Чернов 1999b].

³ About Tolstoy’s pedagogical practice and writings in a broad context of his evolution see [Эйхенбаум: 575–606]. See also recent paper [Осипова].

He did not remember it, but she had been laughing at the joke for about ten years now, and was fond of it⁴.

It is Mademoiselle Linon, the French governess of the Shcherbatsky family that reminds Konstantin Levin of an old joke of his: he used to call the three Shcherbatsky sisters — Dolly, Natalia and Kitty — the three bears from the English nursery tale. As Professor Barbara Lönnqvist [Леннквист: 98] has pointed out, external details also strengthen the bear parallel, as when the narrator presents the three sisters according to the length of their fur coats: "they drove in their coach to the Tver boulevard, dressed in their satin furs — Dolly in a long one, Natalia in a semi-long, and Kitty in a very short fur <...>"⁵.

Levin fails to remember the joke, but he would not miss its implications. As a student "he had a feeling that he had to fall in love with one of the sisters, only he could not figure out which one"⁶. He has romantic feelings for all three of them in turn, and tests them all, starting with the oldest, Dolly, then moving on to the middle sister, Natalia, and finally focusing on Kitty. It is Kitty, then "only a child", whom Linon calls "tiny bear" and who has now grown up⁷. Courting the three sisters in turn, Levin each time feels as though he has been chased away from the Shcherbatsky house, but eventually he ends up in the "the tiny bear's" bed. Once married to Kitty, he is consequently told by one of his friends that now his bear-hunting days are over⁸.

The role of the bear motif in *Anna Karenina* is reminiscent of the psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim's interpretation of "Goldilocks and the Three Bears". For him the tale is "a voyage of self-discovery", the point of which is a search for sexual identity [Bettelheim: 220]. In Tolstoy's novel, all three objects for Lev-

⁴ "— Да, вот растем, — сказала она ему, указывая глазами на Кити, — и стареем. Тиню bear уже стал большой! — продолжала француженка, смеясь, и напомнила ему его шутку о трех барышнях, которых он называл тремя медведями из английской сказки. — Помните, вы, бывало, так говорили?"

Он решительно не помнил этого, но она уже лет десять смеялась этой шутке и любила ее" [Толстой 1934: 34]. — The translation is mine.

⁵ "<...> подъезжали в коляске к Тверскому бульвару в своих атласных шубах — Доли в длинной, Натали в полуаудинной, а Кити в совершенно короткой <...>" [Толстой 1934: 25]. — The translation is mine.

⁶ "Он как будто чувствовал, что ему надо влюбиться в одну из сестер, только не мог разобрать, в какую именно" [Толстой 1934:25] The translation is mine.

⁷ There is no ground for interpreting the words "tiny bear" to refer to Levin, and not to Kitty, as Alla Polosoina does [Полосина: 40]. Speaking these words, Linon is looking at Kitty, and it is explicitly the three sisters, with Kitty as the young one, whom had been called the three bears.

⁸ Richard Gregg [Gregg: 99] has pointed out an interesting biographical link in connection with Tolstoy's tale. Tolstoy married one of three sisters with the surname Bers, that is Bears. As he did not choose the youngest one, he disrupted "the domestic tranquillity of that trio".

in's erotic feelings are sisters, all possible candidates for marriage, but still Bettelheim's concept is applicable also in this context.

Tolstoy started the publication of *Anna Karenina* in 1875. *The New ABC Book*, which included "The Three Bears", appeared in the same year. What was Tolstoy's source?⁹ No edition of the tale is to be found in his library and likewise it is not mentioned in his diaries, letters or other people's memoirs. But as the tale is said to be English in *Anna Karenina*, we can assume that Tolstoy originally read or heard it in English. "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" was first published as an anonymous folk tale in England in 1837 under the title "The Story of the Three Bears". In this edition the animals are all male bears and the intruder an old woman. The girl, initially called "Silver Hair", is introduced only in 1850, and the group of bears turns into a family ten years later. The name of the girl was changed to "Golden Hair" in the 1860 edition¹⁰.

When we look for Tolstoy's initial source, a small detail is of great importance; it is the words "tiny bear", which in *Anna Karenina* are given in English with Latin letters. In early English variants of the tale the bear cub is called either "the little, small, wee bear" or "the baby bear", and only in one version published prior to 1875 is the word "tiny" linked to the little bear. The book is "The Three Bears", published in London in 1867 by George Routledge and Sons¹¹. Tolstoy's knowledge of English was not sufficiently proficient for him to have come up with the synonym himself. Other exceptional details confirm that this must be the edition that Tolstoy used. Both tales start with the girl leaving for a walk in the forest and not with a description of the peaceful life of the bears, the bears do not eat porridge but soup, and in both cases the bears have names. And, indeed, the animals had names for the first time in precisely this Routledge publication from 1867.

In the commentaries in Tolstoy's *Complete Collected Works* (The Jubilee Edition) it is said that his text comes close to "the French original", *Une fille nommée* [sic] *boucles d'orès* [sic], *ou Les trois our* [Толстой 1957: 622–623]. Because of the faulty spelling of its title, this book was not found for a long time, and its very existence was in doubt [Жданов, Зайденшнур: 471]. Only recently was a Tolstoy scholar, Alla Polosina, able to identify the publication that V. S. Spiridonov, the commentator in 1957, obviously had in mind. It is a bilingual, French-Russian volume, *Une fille nommée Flacons-d'or*¹² *ou Les trois ours*.

⁹ Here we bypass the question where and when Levin, and not Tolstoy, became familiar with the English tale, as it has only a theoretical interest in this connection.

¹⁰ Early English versions of the tale are reprinted in [Ober 1981].

¹¹ This edition is reprinted with a foreword in [Ober: 189–206].

¹² In the text itself the girl is called Flacon-d'or.

Devochka – Zolotyie kudri ili Tri medvedya, published by the historian Mikhail Pogodin in Moscow in 1871 (2nd ed. – 1873)¹³. Having found in the French text some verbal parallels with Tolstoy's "The Three Bears", that is, the references to the blue colour of the bear cub's bowl and the English words "tiny bear", Polosina decided that the source of Tolstoy's tale had been found¹⁴.

I am, however, of a different opinion. The Moscow French-Russian volume is a word-for-word translation of Routledge's 1867 publication, and even the illustrations are the same. As this is the case, on what grounds can we then decide which one of the two publications Tolstoy used as his source? First of all, Tolstoy knew that the tale was English. In the Moscow publication this is not said; it is not even stated that the French text is a translation. Secondly, it is notable that Tolstoy does not use any words or expressions from the Russian translation, which at places is very skilful. For example, the unknown translator calls the bears Kosmach, Mufta and Toptyshka. The purely Russian names could have fitted Tolstoy well, but he does not repeat them in his version. The Moscow bear cub has a "miska" (bowl), while in Tolstoy's rendering he eats from a "chashechka" (little cup). One gets the impression that Tolstoy was not

¹³ As A. Polosina [Полосина: 34–35] shows, Pogodin and Tolstoy were acquaintances. Pogodin sometimes presented Tolstoy with books, and from a letter of August 22, 1872, it is also clear that Pogodin knew about Tolstoy's work on the first *ABC Book* (*Azbuka*, 1872). Naturally, this does not yet mean that Pogodin would have sent his French-Russian publication of the tale to Tolstoy. If the French and the Russian translations were done in Moscow, it means that Pogodin also had the English original of 1867 and that he could thus have given Tolstoy this particular edition. It is also possible that the London edition came to Yasnaya Polyana through one of the English governesses who stayed with the Tolstoy family in these years — Hanna Tarsey (1866–1872), Dora Helliyer (1872–73) and Emily Tabor (1873–76).

¹⁴ A. Polosina [Полосина: 33–34, 40–41] also propose the book *Les petits enfants: Contes d'une mère* (Paris, 1861), in which "L'histoire des trois ours" is included, as yet another possible source for Tolstoy's "The Three Bears". The supposition is based on the fact that the author of the volume, Henriette Witt-Guizot, was known to Tolstoy (he even had some of her books in his library) and that it is explicitly said that it is a translation from English. However, many counter-arguments can be raised against this proposal: the title, the beginning of the tale (it starts with the bears and not with the girl), the colour of the bowl is not mentioned, the bears do not have names, and the volume of their voices is given with the same letter size. In this connection yet another possible source can be rejected, that is, the possibility that Tolstoy found "The Three Bears" in one of readers that the American diplomat Eugene Schuyler gave him at the end of the 1860s [Ober 1981: 220]. These readers have been identified as *Willson's First Reader* (New York, s. a.), *The Third Reader of the School and Family Series* (NY, [1863]), *A Fourth Reader: Of a Grade between the Third and Fourth Readers of the School and Family Series* (NY, [1866]), *The Fourth Reader* (NY, [1860]) and *The Fifth Reader of the School and Family Series* (NY, 1861), and it turns out that the English tale is not included in any of these volumes. "The Three Bears" can be found in *Second Reader* (1873), edited by Lewis B. Monroe, but this is a pre-Routledge version and thus very different from Tolstoy's work.

familiar with this, presumably the first, Russian translation of the English tale¹⁵. Thirdly, the title of the English book is simply *The Three Bears*, while the French-Russian edition carries the long title *Devochka – Zolotyie kudry ili Tri medvedya* (The Girl Goldilocks, or The Three Bears). Tolstoy, that is, named his version according to the London version. Fourthly, and this is the most important evidence, the cries of the bears at the unexpected sight of the chaos in their house are given in Tolstoy's tale by different letter sizes, dependent upon the volume of the speaker. This unusual device Tolstoy could find in the Routledge publication, but not in the Moscow one. Tolstoy is highly unlikely to have invented such a radical and extremely rare typographical device on his own¹⁶.

Tolstoy has moulded the verbose English tale in accordance with his ideal of simplicity and clarity and thereby shortened it to about half the length of the original. The narrator's comments are removed; likewise the ending with its moral (uninvited guests should not enter people's homes) is left out. Simultaneously Tolstoy made some changes to the text, changes which may appear to be insignificant but read within the new framework become meaningful. Paradoxically, the passages that Tolstoy left untouched also take on new significance in his version.

Tolstoy thus called his tale "The Three Bears" in accordance with the original London edition. The French-Russian variant which anticipates a conflict between two forces, placing the girl in the foreground, would not have suited him. For Tolstoy, the hero is clearly not the girl but the bear family, not the curious, active and adventurous individual, but the organic, harmonious family collective. The reader is invited to side with the bears and look at events from their perspective. There is a distinct division between the self and the other, when the familiar and the foreign are confronted. And as in the dispute between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, the collective is perceived as a Russian ideal, here strengthened by the number three with its religious connotations, while the individual, the loner, is seen as a foreign, Western concept.

At the time of the birth of the English tale "The Tale of the Three Bears", the bear was already a symbol of Russia. But when we look at the first English publications of the tale — both the texts and the illustrations — there are no

¹⁵ The English tale is not to be found in Russian children's magazines and anthologies of Tolstoy's time.

¹⁶ How much importance Tolstoy attached to the device can be seen from his instructions for *The New ABC Book* to N. M. Nagornov. In a letter of March 8, 1875, Tolstoy writes: "In the tale 'Tri medvedya', which absolutely has to be included, that which has been written with big, medium and small letters, should be set using different types. The biggest — just like it is on the first leaf of paper, only darker, and the smallest with *petit*" [Толстой 1958: 157].

associations with Russia. The bears are either wild animals, or they are dressed up like proper British citizens. What Tolstoy did — and this is his most radical change to the text — was to make the bears and their surrounding explicitly Russian. In the earliest editions and in the numerous later variations of the tale, the bears are named after their family status — the old Papa Bear, the Mama Bear and the little boy Bear, or according to their size — Huge, Middle-sized and Little. In the Routledge edition of 1867 they are “Rough Bruin”, “Mrs Bruin” (sometimes “Mammy Muff”) and “Tiny”. In Tolstoy’s tale we find Mikhail Ivanych (or Ivanovich), Nastasya Petrovna and Mishutka. Mikhail, or rather its familiar variants Misha and Mishka, is the traditional name for a bear in Russian folk tales, and the little bear in Tolstoy’s text is indeed Mikhail Mikhailovich, thus carrying a double Russian bear identity. The name of one of his grandfathers is Ivan, a name traditionally denoting the Russian everyman, and the names connected with the tiny bear’s mother — Nastasya and Pyotr — also suggest pure Russian ancestry. When talking about the head of the family, Tolstoy switches between Mikhail and Mikhailo, another way of stressing the bear’s folksy character. In the Russian animal tale “The Cat and the Fox” (“Kot i lisa”) there is a bear named Mikhailo Ivanych, and in the memoirs of Tolstoy’s eldest son, Sergey, it is said that a tame bear with that name “performed” at the courtyard of their manor house, Yasnaya Polyana, presumably around 1870 [Толстой 1956: 18]. Moreover, Tolstoy’s Papa Bear shares his name with Mikhailo Ivanovich Potyk, a well-known hero, a *bogatyř*, from a Russian folk epos.

Similarly, Tolstoy also nationalized the food. His bears are not eating ‘sup’, that is, soup in general, but ‘pokhliopka’. The word ‘sup’ came to Russia from abroad along with foreign cooks who were invited to rich Russian houses, while ‘pokhliopka’ is a genuinely Russian word. “The ‘pokhliopkas’ are typically domestic, you can say strictly family <uzkosemeynye>, homely <pridvornye> soups in the best meaning of the word”, says V. Pokhlebkin [Похлебкин: 299]. The Tolstoyan bears thus enjoy a purely national Russian dish, a connotation that Tolstoy added to his tale with one single detail.

The transition process continued when illustrations were added to “The Three Bears” in Soviet time. Tolstoy did not consider illustrations necessary as he suspected they would draw too much attention away from the text, and it was only after his death when his tale started to appear in separate editions that illustrations become an indispensable part of the work.

Two great artists, Yuri Vasnetsov and Vladimir Lebedev, drew the classic illustrations for Tolstoy’s tale: Vasnetsov three times, in 1935, 1944 and 1952, and Lebedev in 1948. Both sensed the essence and the spirit of Tolstoy’s version of the tales, extending its Russification. The natural surrounding, the

house and the furniture are given distinct national traits. Everything is pictured in a rustic, domestic style. This is also true of Marina Uspenskaya's illustrations for a 1973 edition. Uspenskaya also changed Vasnetsov's and Lebedev's spruces to birches, a tree with even stronger Russian connotations. Even the illustrations for the book *The Three Bears*, published in the USA in 1948 in the famous serial *A Little Golden Book* have a Russian flavour. The text is the standard English version, not Tolstoy's, but the setting is clearly Russian. The anomaly is explained by the fact that the artist Fyodor Rojankovsky was a Russian émigré, who naturally saw the tale as part of his native culture.

While the three bears were given a national identity by Tolstoy, the girl has no name and no background. Not even the original epithet "Silverlocks" of the 1867 London original was accepted by the Russian author. The girl was to remain an anonymous, featureless protagonist, and from the bears' perspective it remains unclear where she comes from and where she flees to at the end of the tale. For them it is an open question what her mission and real intentions are. In the meeting with the foreign, "the unknown other", the girl in essence differs from the forest dwellers. As she trespasses into their sphere, disturbing their peaceful life, she becomes a threat to their way of life, to the whole existence of the Russian bears. In Tolstoy's tale the reactions of the bears are more violent than in the original. The tiny bear Mishutka, who suffered more than the others from the impudence of the foreigner, even wants to bite the girl. There is no hint of possible compromises or a reconciliation, as the girl is driven away by the angry house owners. Goodhearted and peaceful by nature, they turn aggressive when their territorial rights are threatened. Just like in another work by Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, the intruder, who ravaged Russian property and desecrated its sacred places, must be chased away. And just like the panic-stricken Napoleon of Tolstoy's novel, the girl runs for her life without looking back.

There is another explanation for the bears' violent reactions. Whereas the girl is a human being, the bears themselves are wild animals who have only adopted human behaviour with difficulty. These primitive beasts are living a pseudo-human life which is foreign to their true nature. They are dressed in clothes, sit on chairs, eat cooked food on plates and sleep in beds. They protect themselves from the sun with umbrellas, as shown in Vasnetsov's illustration from 1935. Not content with the traditional bear name Mishka, they are hiding their true background with other human names.

The arrival of a human being ruthlessly reveals the falseness of the bear family's life. The thin layer of civilization, or to use a Russian expression — the Potemkin village, falls away, and the bears stand there, symbolically naked, mercilessly exposed, now that their true collective animal identity has been



Illustration 1



Illustration 2



Illustration 3



Иллюстрация 4



Иллюстрация 5



Иллюстрация 6

revealed. Read as part of the national identity discourse, the interpretation presents itself thus: Russia is trying to adopt the Western pattern of development, simultaneously suppressing all feelings of inferiority. However, the situation is fragile, and the risk of identity collapse is imminent. What the girl unintentionally does is expose the falseness of the Russian choice, the artificiality of their Western pretensions.

Looking at the illustrations we find an interesting development. When striving to visualize the bear tale, illustrators also involuntarily reflected the ongoing changes in the national self-image. One of the first illustrated Soviet edition is from 1925, a book printed in Odessa. The first years of the Soviet state with wars, famine and destruction are accurately reflected in the appearance of the illustrator V. Mel's three bears (Illustration 3). The very cover of the book creates a tension: can these emaciated and shaggy representatives of Russia mobilize the necessary strength to chase away an intruder?

In Vasnetsov's illustrations from the thirties, a decade of attempted stabilization and return to traditional values, the bears are dressed up with the male bears in waistcoats and Mama Bear in a national costume (Illustration 2). The art critic Erast Kuznetsov accurately comments: "They look like peaceful city folk, posing for a provincial photographer" [Кузнецов: 104]. However, in Lebedev's post-war and Uspenskaya's (Illustration 1) more recent illustrations the bears have refused to participate in this humiliating masquerade. After a victorious World War II, after having chased away yet another intruder, a new national pride and self respect arose in the Soviet Union, an acceptance of what was seen as a true Russian identity. Tolstoy's bears reject the role of mannequins for a Western public and throw off the now odious clothes. Vasnetsov follows this pattern: in his 1935 publication all the bears are dressed up, but in 1944 the only clothing is Mama Bear's apron (Illustration 4) and, finally, in 1953, the year of Stalin's death, even this piece of cloth is thrown away, and all the three appear as nature intended (Illustration 5).

Another peculiar feature of the illustrations is the tendency to marginalize the girl. Vasnetsov left her out from his 1935 cover illustration, and Uspenskaya followed his example. During the Cold War Lebedev turned her into a hardly noticeable white spot in the background. In the foreground we see the three bears as a border patrol, no longer just symbolic, watching out for possible threats from the outside (Illustration 6). Compare this, the Soviet tradition, with the cover for the American *A Little Golden Book* publication. The artist Rojankovsky is a Russian, but he has definitely been Americanized. On the cover we see the dramatic *peripeteia* of the tale, the scene where the uninvited guest is found in Tiny Bear's bed, but the bears are completely deprived of all

signs of menace. Rojanovsky's bears have the look of cuddly teddy bears, dressed in doll's clothes, and this in 1948, when the Soviet illustrators removed the last stitch of clothing from Tolstoy's bears.

This Soviet line of development can be seen as reflecting the xenophobia which was especially strong during Stalin's last years. Children's literature taught children to watch out for the strangers and foreigners as possible infiltrators and spies. The ideal was a homogenous national collective, untouched by impulses from the outside world. Only after the fall of the Soviet Union did the picture change. In post-Soviet illustrations the bear family is again wearing clothes, often Russian folk dresses, and they willingly pose with the girl. The new search for national identity is mixed with a wish to appear in a more attractive, civilized form in the eyes of other nations. Even conciliation between the *own* and the *foreign* becomes possible.

It is possible that Tolstoy saw "The Three Bears" as a counterpart to *A Prisoner in the Caucasus* (*Кавказский пленник*), the longest story in his *Russian Readers*. *A Prisoner in the Caucasus* is Tolstoy's best juvenile story with an exciting plot of imprisonment and escape. A Russian officer is taken prisoner by the Muslim Caucasians but manages to flee and save his life, incidentally aided by a little local girl¹⁷. In the same way, the girl of "The Three Bears" goes astray during her journey, ends up in a totally foreign milieu, the home of exotic strangers, and it is only due to her presence of mind and quick reactions that she manages to escape the impending dangers. This is probably what Tolstoy saw in the English tale and what attracted him, something which naturally does not exclude other explanations and meanings of his own "The Three Bears". The Russification of the bears and their living milieu came to start a transformation process which ultimately touched upon national myths and the Russian self-image.

Works Cited

Жданов, Зайденшнур: *Жданов В. А., Зайденшнур Э. Е.* О юбилейном Собрании сочинений // Лев Толстой: В 2 кн. Литературное наследство. М., 1961. Т. 69. Кн. 2.

Кузнецов: *Кузнецов Э.* Медведь летит, хвостом вертит: Рассказы о художнике Юрии Васнецове. СПб., 2007.

Леннквист: *Леннквист Б.* Путешествие вглубь романа. Лев Толстой: Анна Каренина. М., 2010.

¹⁷ We will not go into Pushkin pretext of Tolstoy's story because it is not so important in this context.

Осипова: *Осипова Н.* Азбука Л. Н. Толстого как идеологический проект // *Лотмановский сборник*. 4. М., 2014. С. 335–348.

Полосина: *Полосина А.* Источники сказок Л. Н. Толстого "Три медведя" и "Уж" из "Азбуки" и "Русских книг для чтения" // *Материалы VI Международного семинара переводчиков /* Ред.-сост. Г. Алексеева. Музей-усадьба Л. Н. Толстого "Ясная Поляна", 2012. С. 31–44.

Похлебкин: *Похлебкин В.* Кулинарный словарь. Новосибирск, 1994.

Розенгольм, Савкина: *Розенгольм А., Савкина И.* Генерал Топтыгин, Михальч и Медведь (Особенности национальной мужественности и власти в комедиях А. Рогожкина) // "Русский медведь": История, семиотика, политика / Под ред. О. В. Рябова и А. де Лазари. М., 2012. С. 297–312.

Россомехин, Хрусталева: *Россомехин А., Хрусталева Д.* Россия как медведь: Истоки визуализации (XVI–XVIII века) // *Границы. Альманах центра этнических и национальных исследований ИВГУ*. Иваново, 2008. Вып. 2. С. 123–161.

Рябов, Константинова: *Рябов О. В., Константинова М. А.* "Русская медведь" как символический пограничник // *Труды Карельского научного центра РАН*. 2011. № 6. С. 114–123.

Толстой 1934: *Толстой Л. Н.* Полное собрание сочинений. М.; Л., 1934. Т. 18.

Толстой 1956: *Толстой С. Л.* Очерки былого. М., 1956. 2-е изд.

Толстой 1957: *Толстой Л. Н.* Полное собрание сочинений. М.; Л., 1957. Т. 21.

Толстой 1958: *Толстой Л. Н.* Полное собрание сочинений. М.; Л., 1958. Т. 62.

Чернов 1999а: *Чернов Леонид.* Сказка Л. Толстого "Три медведя" (<http://seminariumhumanitatis.positiv.lv/15%20almanax/15%20sernov.htm>).

Чернов 1999б: *Чернов Л.* Сказка и миф: "Три медведя" и "Военная тайна" (<http://seminariumhumanitatis.info/15%20almanax/15%20sernov%20taina.htm>).

Эйхенбаум: *Эйхенбаум Б. М.* Работы о Льве Толстом. СПб., 2009.

Bettelheim: *Bettelheim, Bruno.* The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales. London, 1976.

Elms 1977: *Elms, Alan C.* "The Three Bears": Four Interpretations // *Journal of American Folklore*. 1977. Vol. 90. № 357. P. 257–273.

Gregg: *Gregg, Richard.* Tolstoy as Goldilocks: The Solution to a Mystery // *Tolstoy Studies Journal*. 2002. Vol. XV.

Hammel 1972: *Hammel, Eugene A.* The Myth of Structural Analysis. Lévi Strauss and Three Bears // *Current Topics in Anthropology. Theory, Methods, and Content*. Vol. 5. Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology. Module 25. Reading, Mass. 1972. P. 1–29.

Ober: *Ober, Warren U.* The Story of the Three Bears: The Evolution of an International Classic. Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints: Delmar, New York, 1981.

Philips 1954: *Philips, E. D.* "The Three Bears" // *Man*. 1954. Vol. 54. № 182–183.