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SOVIET MAGIC: THE SUBVERSIVE POWER OF THE FAIRY TALE

The position of children's literature was always paradoxical in the Soviet Union. (Kukulin and Maiofis, 214) Although children's literature was a distinct part of the Soviet propaganda system, it was at the same time one of the most liberal domains of creative literary expression. The Russian critic Marietta Chudakova explains this special status of children's literature as a direct result of the limitation of the socialist realist method. Since its themes and characters suffered from ideological and stylistic 'infantilism,' writers viewed children's literature as a more natural sphere for dealing with this phenomenon. According to Chudakova, children's literature was able to offer Soviet writers an alternative way of creative expression that literature for adult readers denied them. (248) In children's literature, writers were able to avoid ideological subjects, as did, for example, Vitalii Bianki (1894-1959), who became a respected writer within the Soviet literary establishment, despite his non-ideological themes. Generations of Soviet children grew up with his *Forest Gazette* (*Лесная газета*) and numerous stories about nature. However, such a popular genre of children's literature as the fairy tale did not escape the ideological pressures, and became, in both its forms — the folkloristic and the literary — the subject of intense political battles.

Utopian features of socialist realist literature have been the subject of many studies. Jacobson and Bogatyrew wrote in their study of the Russian fairy tale: "A fairy tale fulfills the role of a social utopia... It is a dream about the conquest of nature; about a magic world where 'at the pikes command, at my own request,' all the pails will go up the hill by themselves, the axes will chop all alone." (99) The dream of hope for a better life, the very essence of many folk and literary fairy tales, became the focus of confrontation in many fairy tales of the Soviet period since Soviet life, according to the Soviet propaganda, *was* already better, and it was believed that equality and improvements in social status had already been achieved as a result of the October Revolution. The Soviet fairy tale was assigned the function of proof that present life is *better* than the fairy tale, and that the future

will be even better than this life today. Two orders of reality — the ordinary and the extraordinary — identified by Katerina Clark in her study of socialist realism, confronted each other within the fairy tale narrative of the Soviet period. (146) As Clark notes, it is the ordinary that wins and subordinates the extraordinary for its own didactic purposes. This approach became one of the leading devices in the creation of the Soviet literary fairy tales.

The most ‘militant’ period in the formation of the Soviet fairy tale genre falls into the late 1920s. In 1928 E. Janovskaia’s article appeared with the title “Is the Fairy Tale Needed for the Proletarian Child?” in the collectively authored volume *We Are Against The Fairy Tale*, edited by Sokolianskii, Popov, and Zaluzhnyi, in Khar’kov. (Lupanova, 69) The Kharkov Pedagogical School represented a new approach in education, pedology (педология), that came to replace old pedagogy (педагогика), which was declared to be an “empirical, science-like discipline.” (Pedagogicheskaiia, 91) Trying to create standards and apply measurements to every child’s activity, pedology attempted to create rules and regulations that also could be applied to children’s literature, viewed as a utilitarian tool rather than as a means to influence children’s imagination. It demanded “class-oriented content” (ibid) which was considered the only true measurement of the usefulness of literary works for children. As for the fairy tale, the remaining question was what kind of ‘class-oriented content’ could be provided by it with its prevalence of princes and princesses, kings and queens, and beautiful palaces into which the fairy tale simpleton moves after successfully completing difficult tasks? If the victory of the poor over the rich was in tune with revolutionary ideology, it was the wish to become mighty and wealthy that the new Soviet educational science did not want to support. Therefore, the folktale and the literary fairy tale were considered as “negative factor[s] in class-oriented education.” (Rybakov, 3)

Pedology¹ as a science experienced a complete defeat in the Soviet Union. The special decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party from July 4, 1936 “On pedological perversions in Soviet educational institutions” has condemned this ‘innovative’ approach. It was labeled as “anti-Marxist, reactionary, and false science about children” primarily for its focus on the influence of milieu and heredity. (Postanovlenie) Pedologists had their true supporters among party leaders and government institutions. According to Felix J. Oinas, in the early 1920s

¹ Pedology came to replace traditional pedagogy in the 1920s and 1930s in the USSR. Based on the idea of collective education, pedologists conducted special psychological testing of students and used the results to evaluate intellectual abilities, and create educational profiles. However, pedology ‘fell out of grace’ in 1936, since it undermined the communist ideological stress on overall equality of all students, and their universal right to education. Lev Trotsky was a big supporter of pedologists, and in 1936, after his exile from the USSR, a special party decree was published, denouncing pedology as valuable science.

the belief that folklore reflected the ideology of the ruling classes gave rise to a strongly negative attitude toward it. ... A special Children's Proletcult sought to eradicate folktales on the basis that they glorified tsars and tsareviches, corrupted and instigated sickly fantasies in children, developed the kulak attitude, and strengthened bourgeois ideals. (77)

Among the 'enemies' of the fairy tale was powerful Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaja, Lenin's widow as well as a leading authority on education and library science of the new Soviet state. In 1924 Krupskaja, (then the chair of the Central Committee of Political Education (Главполитпросвет)), was instrumental in putting together an influential manual that led to the exclusion of fairy tales from library shelves. (Dobrenko, 173) Among those books were the folktale collections by Afanas'iev, the famous literary fairy tale "Scarlet Flower" by Sergei Aksakov, collections of fairy tales by Elizaveta Vasl'eva and Klavdiia Lukashevich, and *Russian Fairy Tales for the Little Ones* by Ol'ga Rogova, among others. Both the folktales and literary fairytales were labeled as works that "badly influenced the yet-to-be developed conscience of children [and destroyed] their ability to comprehend materialistic images of the world." (Dobrenko, 174)

Four years later Krupskaja launched a campaign against Kornei Chukovskii's literary fairy tales, by publishing an article in the leading governmental newspaper *Pravda*, entitled "On *Crocodile*," in which she attacked his famous fairy tale for being "bourgeois nonsense" («буржуазная муть»). (Krupskaja) This attack was supported by another 'party widow,' Klavdiia Sverdlova (the wife of the late Iakov Sverdlov). In her article "On Chukovshchina," Sverdlova accused Chukovskii of neglecting new developments in children's education, namely, collective education. As a result of the focus on collective, rather than individual needs of the child, according to Sverdlova, a "new type of children are born with their orientation toward the collective, toward physical endurance and courage." (445) Chukovskii, according to his critics, remained the "singer of the bourgeois nursery" (Chukovskii, 178) where all attention is focused on children's fears and playing out their fantasies. For Chukovskii, these attacks equaled his death sentence as a children's writer, since in 1928 Krupskaja was the Chair of the Children's Books Committee. His most famous fairy tales, *Moidodyr* (1923), *Tarakanishche* (1923), *Wonder-Tree* (*Чудо-дерево*) (1924), *Telephone* (1925), and *Mukha-Tsekotukha* (1924), were doomed for publication until much later in the 1930s.

Chukovskii was not the only one under attack. Samuil Marshak, Boris Zhitkov, Vitalii Bianki, all canonical names in Soviet children's literature, were subjects of constant criticism for their attempts to employ the fairy-tale genre in their writings. This criticism was sometimes paradoxical. For example, the highly ideological and equally cruel *Fairy Tale about Petya, a Fat Child, and Sima, a Skinny One* (*Сказка о Пете, толстом ребенке, и о Симе, который тонкий*) (1925) by Vladimir Maiakovskii, (1925), was identified as "unacceptable as ideologically wrong and full of nonsense"

since it referred to young pioneers “collecting and eating the leftovers from greedy Petya who bursts after stuffing himself with an enormous quantity of goods.” (Cherniavskaia and Rosanov, 40) In 1925, A. Kozhevnikova wrote the play “Hey, Fairy Tale, Come to the Young Pioneers’ Court” («Сказка, выходи на пионерский суд») for the special purpose of being staged in school theaters. The plot of this anti-fairy tale play was based, paradoxically, on the fairy tale. It was overpopulated with devils and fairies, angels and Baba Yaga, princes and cruel magicians. Playing with the basic concept of magical transformation, the author brought standard fairy-tale characters into real life to be destroyed. Instead, however, in front of captivated audiences, the fairy tale creatures were winning over the real life characters.²

The fairy tale was considered to be ‘bourgeois’ in its very nature. Its form and structure was “in direct opposition to the task of fostering communist values” and therefore should not have been used “even if it did contain revolutionary content” (Rybakov, 12.) Fairy tale features such as magic, fantasy, animism and anthropomorphism — all the devices that compose the essence of this genre — were marked as ‘idealism’ and the Soviet writers abandoned the fairy-tale genre for the fear to be labeled as politically incorrect.

The rebirth of the fairy tale as a genre in Soviet literature should be attributed to Maxim Gor’kii, the father of socialist realism. The ‘signal’ to the fairy tales’ ideological rehabilitation was given in Gor’kii’s speech at the First Soviet Writers’ Congress in August 1934. In his reference to this opening speech at the First Soviet Writers’ Congress Felix J. Oinas writes:

Gorkii’s insistence that folklore belonged, first of all, to working people had far-reaching implications. As if by magic, it opened the eyes of the party leaders to the possibilities that folklore would have for the advancement of communism. And from that time on, we can follow the conscious use of folklore for social and political use. (78)

In his speech, Gor’kii went even further, naming such folktale characters as Vasilisa the Wise and the “ironically lucky Ivan the Simple” as being of merit. Both, folklore and the folktale alike, were praised in his speech for lacking pessimism and participating in the struggle for the “renovation of life.” “If the notes of despair and of doubt in the meaning of terrestrial existence are sometimes to be heard in folklore,” stated Gor’kii, “such notes are clearly traceable to the influence of the Christian Church, which preached pessimism...” (Ibid) Thus, the positive forces of the folk tradition were re-discovered, so that folktales could find their way back to their Soviet readers.

However, this was only the first step. Samuil Marshak who delivered his speech immediately after Gor’kii’s made the next important statement. The topic of his

² On the fairy tale discussions of the 1920s, see Marina Balina, “Fairy Tales of socialist realism.” In *Politicizing Magic. An Anthology of Russian and Soviet Fairy Tales*, eds. Marina Balina, Helena Goscilo, and Mark Lipovetsky. Evanston, 2005.

presentation was children's literature. The fact that this subject was given such attention indicates the special importance that the Party assigned literature of the new generation. In his speech, Marshak outlined the most important moments in the development of children's literature. He mainly focused on the future and what new children's literature should be. The word "fairy tale" appears several times in one short paragraph of his presentation. He talks about children's literature in the Ukraine, and worries that the Ukrainian poets and writers Lev Kvitko and Natail'ia Zabilo "will create new *Soviet* fairy tales sooner than we." (Marshak, 14; emphasis added) He insists that in the Soviet Union "we have everything that is necessary for the development of an outstanding and unique literature for children, for the creation of such fairy tales.... as have never existed anywhere else before." (Ibid.) While Gor'kii very carefully restrains himself to general statements about folklore, Marshak is straight forward and unrestrictive in his use of the word "fairy tale" («сказка»), a word that had acquired negative connotations in the pedagogical debates of the late 1920s and early 1930s. As a result of Marshak's speech, many prominent Soviet writers such as Aleksei Tolstoi, Arkadii Gaidar, Mikhail Prishvin and Konstantin Paustovskii started to employ the fairy tale as one of their favorite literary genres. Thus, the fairy tale returned to the arsenal of Soviet literary genres, but it did not emerge as a free agent. It came back to fulfill an important ideological function in the education of the future; fairy tales became 'builders for communism.' Katerina Clark writes: "In order to describe *homo extraordinarius*, one needed more fabulous forms, such as fairy tales." (147) I would argue that the Soviet fairy tale made a significant contribution to the creation process of the Soviet *homo extraordinarius*.

In discussing the successful revival of fairy tales, one should not forget the new readership of the 1930s which played an important role in the direction that the consumption of works of literature took. Richard Stites suggests:

[T]he 'ruralisation' or 'rustification' of Soviet cities in the 1930s affected the economy and culture of Soviet civilization.... The general influx of poorly educated masses led to an overall narrowing of culture, and to a spread of 'irrational and obscurantist tendencies' in the workplace and in all walks of life. Peasants were unable to leave their values behind in the villages. (82)

In the 1930s, the demand to make art, in general, and literature, in particular, to be intelligible and appealing to the masses, led to the introduction of the concept of 'populism' (*народность*) in socialist realism. The fairy tale, known to this social group from the very early days of childhood, (in its folkloristic form), was the perfect vehicle to convey new values promoted by the Soviet system.

No matter how unique the way in which Soviet literary fairy tales treated the peculiar relationship between ordinary, everyday reality and the extraordinary reality of the fairy-tale world, they all shared the same ideological message: So-

viet reality wins over any fantasy. To prove this point, Soviet literary fairy tales relied on the traditional features of this genre: their major characters resembled the simpletons of the folktales, they were ordinary everyday characters. Every fairy tale started with a conflict at hand. Their protagonists also had to overcome a surmounting number of obstacles on the way to their ultimate goal, which was “the restoration of natural order.” (Roehrich, 208) However, the representation of ‘natural order’ equaled Soviet everyday reality. The motif of wandering, which is a crucial element of the fairy-tale narrative, brought the protagonist(s) back home but it did not result in a change in their social status, as it did in the case of the folk versions. Protagonist(s) became wiser, more experienced, and therefore more appreciative of the Soviet reality in which they lived.

One of the most intriguing cases in the development of the fairy-tale genre in Soviet literature for children was the literary fairy tale that belonged to the canon of this literature. Aleksei Tolstoi’s *The Golden Key or the Adventures of Buratino* (*Золотой ключик или приключения Буратино*), was written in 1935 and then appeared in two film versions, first in 1939 and then almost forty years later in 1976.

Tolstoi’s narrative seems to move away from the ideology of the time period by transporting his young audience into a real fairy-tale land. Yet, no matter how far removed, Buratino (the wooden puppet and the main character of the story) and his world are from socialist reality, the didactic features of this tale bring its readers back to their homeland. In his speech at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934 Aleksei Tolstoi focused on the special tasks of writing for the theater. Among many issues discussed was the urge to understand the new spectator and the ability of the author to respond to his/her needs. Tolstoi writes: “The Soviet spectator wants to see on stage his own representative who is first and foremost a great optimist; *the new hero of the folktale* who came into being in our revolutionary time...” (Tolstoi, 372; emphasis added)

The writer himself began creating such a character by re-telling the story of the *Adventures of Pinocchio*, the famous Italian literary fairy tale by Carlo Collodi. This fairy tale was well known to the pre-revolutionary generation of Russian readers since the first translation of Collodi’s tale entitled *Pinocchio or The Adventures of the Wooden Puppet* had been previously published in 1908. In 1924 the new translation by Nina Petrovskaja appeared in Berlin in the periodical *Nakanune* in which Aleksei Tolstoi was listed as an editor to the Russian text (Arzamastseva, 114). *The Golden Key or the Adventures of Buratino* (the new title of the fairy tale), appeared almost a decade later after the return of the writer from emigration back to Soviet Russia. It was first published in the Young Pioneers’ newspaper *Pioneers Truth* (*Пионерская правда*) in 1935. Two years later it was re-worked into a play for the Central Children’s Theater and staged by Nataliia Sats.

In the course of *The Golden Key*’s manipulation through different media forms (Tolstoi was asked to write a play for the puppet theater and a libretto for a

children's opera; a board game, "The Golden Key," was also produced), the fairy tale's ideological message became more and more direct. Thus, its theatrical version replaces the mysterious dreamland for which the protagonists are searching with a concrete location: the USSR. Papa Carlo speaks about only one country in the world "where old people live in prosperity and comfort." (Tolstoi, 307) Finally, it is the poodle Artemon, who 'completes' the 'discovery.' Looking from the stage directly into the audience he says to Buratino: "Look, Buratino, I recognize it — it is the country of happy children — the USSR!" (Tolstoi, 314)

Tolstoi creates a very class-conscious world in his story. Doctor of Puppetry, Signor Karabas Barabas, is a true villain whose degeneracy is found not only in being rich, but also in the source of his wealth. He has amassed sums of money by exploiting poor little dolls that fear and never resist him. The traditional binary opposition of reality/fantasy in the fairy-tale world is stressed in the fantasy world of *The Golden Key*. The class struggle enters the world of the imaginary, generating a longing for a strong leader who will come and inspire everybody to unite forces for the right cause: happiness for the poor and the end of exploitation. To make Buratino into a leader, Tolstoi empowers him with the special knowledge of a secret which attests to his ability to lead others, however, this secret knowledge does not make him perfect. Buratino in many cases is worse than his fellow puppets: he is a liar, he sells his ABC blocks that Papa Carlo made for him to buy a theater ticket; he is also lazy. However, the liar Buratino is a real truth hunter, and the process of his search for truth brings the fairy tale closer to its primary purpose of educating its audience while also making its didactic message less blunt and direct. One of the most intriguing features of the Soviet version is the permanent presence of Buratino's long nose. While Pinocchio's nose grows only when the puppet lies, Buratino is born with the long nose and all attempts of Papa Carlo to adapt it to the normal size lead nowhere. In their reading of this fairy tale, Elena Tolstaia, as well as Mark Lipovetskii, have different explanations of this twist of the plot and base them on adult polemics over the esthetics of Silver Age (Tolstaia, 31), or on ideological struggles of the 1930s (Lipovetskii, 252). I believe that it is based rather on the taboos imposed on a child by the adults. The infamous "don't poke your nose where it doesn't belong" is the most frequently applied restriction in proper children's code of behavior. Buratino's nose does not allow him to follow this rule: he simply cannot help it, his physique prohibits him from being obedient and polite. He is 'nosy' by his very design! I would hardly translate this element of the story into the larger political context of Tolstoi's message about untruthful nature of his narrative. It is already a fairy tale: why would the writer need to fantasize even more than he already did? Buratino's long nose is the sign of both imperfection as well as reality since he is constantly 'wiping his enemy's nose' (*утирает нос врагу*) and is pulling his tricks 'under the nose' (*под носом*) of Karabas and other villains in the story.

The Golden Key employs many traditional fairy tale motifs. Its very title refers to a magic object, the key of gold that is supposed to open a magic door into a dreamland of justice and equality. The golden key is the key to happiness, but Collodi's fairy tale lacks this image. Buratino has already seen the door that the key is supposed to open and the search for the magic object is at the core of his journey. In the true fairy-tale spirit, this object is made out of pure gold, which supports Max Luethi's observation that the folktale "... tends to render things in metallic or mineral terms." (27) While Collodi's fairy tale focuses on magical transformation of a puppet into a boy, Tolstoi made the depiction of moral transformation of his characters his primary goal. At the end of the story Buratino does not become human, he already is, since he acts like a man. Unlike Collodi's Pinocchio for whom obtaining the knowledge of human values resulted in a magical change, Tolstoi's Buratino never complains about his 'wooden' origin. He is a leader, belonging to a larger whole — the collective of other puppets — and as their representative he is accepted the way he is.

The protagonist of *The Golden Key* shares many common features with the traditional fairy-tale hero. Buratino sets upon a journey to find happiness, he is given a task that he needs to achieve in order to become happy, he is naïve and simple, so he is "untainted and can recognize the wondrous signs" (Zipes, 5) no matter how messily they appear (Buratino tries to stick his nose into a pot painted on the carpet, leading him to discover a secret door). However, the primary difference between Buratino and the fairy tale simpleton, as well as Buratino and Pinocchio, is the very pursuit of happiness. Both, the folktale hero and Pinocchio are searching for self-centered, happy solutions, while Buratino from the very beginning of the story aims at achieving universal happiness for everyone. He searches for a world where not only his social status will be improved, but the needs of the communal utopian fantasy will be met. Pinocchio's transformation into a human is the realization of the central principle of the bourgeois work ethic: hard work will finally be rewarded. On his way to join the human race he becomes an animal (a donkey) who works very hard and is beaten quite cruelly. For every mistake he makes, he pays with personal losses and physical pain. The moral transformation of Buratino is a collective effort. Through his encounters with Pierro, Malvina, and the other puppets, he becomes a better person. He is courageous, but somewhat restless and misbehaved. Only through the help of his friends is he able to find the magic door. The Fairy with the Blue Hair that needed to grant Pinocchio his wish to become a boy is absent in the socialist realist narrative. Magic power is replaced by the power of the organized group, the collective, which is capable of bringing out the best in an individual. Here *The Golden Key* comes the closest to the most celebrated *Erziehungsroman* (novel of education) of socialist realism, *The Road to Life* (1939) (*Педагогическая поэма*), by Anton Makarenko. The power of collective labor working towards a common goal, served as a perfect

tool for the transformation of delinquents (*беспризорники*) into the ‘new Soviet men.’ Buratino served as a perfect example of how a simple block of wood, with no appropriate heritage and a troubled affiliation with the thieves (Fox Reinard and Cat Basilio), could be changed through proper collective efforts and support of his peers.

1939 marked the beginning of the Soviet canonization of this text since it appeared in the film version by Alexander Ptushko. Aleksei Tolstoi himself wrote the screen adaptation and in general the film follows the text very closely up to the closing episode where the flying ship comes to rescue the puppets and take them to the wonderful land of the free. The rescuer, suspiciously resembling an Arctic explorer from the ship *Cheluskin*, denies Karabas the entrance into the beautiful world of the future, hits him straight into his face, and knocks the villain into a big puddle. A remarkable addition to the movie was the song written by Mikhail Froman which bears an interesting resemblance to the famous “Over the Rainbow” song of the Hollywood MGM 1939 version of *The Wizard of Oz*. Although in both songs the beautiful land where the dreams “that you dare to dream really do come true” appears as a utopian landscape without any specific geographical locators, the song from the movie *The Golden Key* has many recognizable references: its land is big, it is “far away beyond the sea” (*«далеко, далеко за морем»*), so that an inquisitive reader could de-code the mystery and see the obvious resemblance to Soviet Russia.

The popularity of the film lasted many years after its creation and contributed to the whole cult of commercial enterprises in the Soviet Union: Buratino became a household name and walked into the Soviet life in the form of the waffles, pencils, names of children’s cloth stores, parks and playgrounds, and cafés. It was one of the typical examples of Soviet absurdities when three adult males would share a bottle of vodka under the table in a small ice parlor named “Buratino.” Although still popular among children, Buratino as an image was highjacked by the world of adults.

The fairy tale made an incredible return in 1975 as a two-part TV musical *The Adventures of Buratino* directed by Leonid Nechaev and filmed in Minsk, Belorussia. Carefully stating in the opening text that this film is an adaptation of *The Golden Key*, Inna Vetkina, the screenplay writer, made every effort for the story to be returned into the children’s domain, and the film proclaims this return from the very first frame which includes children’s actual drawings of different characters and events of the story. These frames are put at the beginning and the end of each part of the film and their meaning could be seen as somewhat twofold: on the one hand, they reclaim the plot as children’s territory, on the other hand, they serve in the way that became almost customary for controversial works of Soviet children’s literature to protect the work from accusations in possible political undertone. And indeed, the film attacks general attitude of the 1970s known to the Soviet citizens

as the years of ‘stagnation,’ and the story of a wooden boy who was created for the human happiness (*на радость людям*) and will bring it to them because in this corrupted world of failed utopia the children are the only ones who still believe in the *golden key* and to whom the *golden key* as a metaphor of the future should be entrusted. (Buratino)

Buratino in this new version is still the leader: he is strong and fearless, but he is not a liar anymore. In fact, he vigorously stands up against every injustice he sees: thus, the theater where one puppet hurts another for the sake of spectators’ laughter is a ‘bad theater’ and Buratino jumps on stage to protect the victim, thus destroying the play. While presenting the young viewers with the lesson in compassion, the authors make their adult audience recognize Karabas Barabas praising of his own creative work as a contemporary allusion: Brezhnev’s celebration of his memoir being published by major journals in the country. This double message remains one of the most attractive features of the film and is expressed mainly through the songs written by Bulat Okudzhava and Iurii Entin. Such statements in the film as, for example: “We are very poor and we walk to the Country of Fools to get rich,” “Who eats well, works well” instead of the traditional “Who doesn’t work, doesn’t eat” are given to the most dreadful characters, Cat Basilio and Fox Alisa.³

Nechaev uses real children as his main actors: Buratino, Mal’vina, Pierro, the poodle Artemon are all played by the actors who are between six and seven years of age. Thus, the whole film is appeared to be like a game with an indefinite number of participants: everybody is invited to join in. At the very last moment of the film, after Buratino and his friends walked into the magic door and found themselves on the stage of the real theater, they face the children’s audience among which the children — actors in the film — are placed. Such interchangeability compromises the borders between fantasy and reality and might — only might — look like it brings the Soviet viewer back to the notion that the Soviet reality is the fulfillment of the dream.

The viewer could pose a question: are we back to the well known socialist realist discourse? However, for his last frame Nechaev brings the camera back to the stage, and his fairy-tale characters move in the opposite direction of their Soviet audience — back into the book, back into the fairy tale thus insisting on the message that their time did not come yet. During the highly corrupted times, this film promoted hope in the humanist ideals that should be part of every child’s upbringing and moved beyond the educational agenda of Aleksei Tolstoi, the creator of the book:

³ Nechaev was highly criticized for his conceptual style in presenting these two. The Fox retains her human face and has just touches of fox fur on her dress, as does the Tomcat who is played by Rolan Bykov. The make-up for the Turtle Tortila and the frogs is minimal as well. All these devices were meant to trigger children’s imagination and create the make-believe story where outer elements (such as strict resemblance) are not needed, and even more, they are prohibited, since they might block children’s creative fantasy.

the Golden Key became the metaphor of a Golden Heart that one cannot obtain for any amount of money.

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СОВЕТСКОЕ ВОЛШЕБНОЕ: РАЗРУШИТЕЛЬНАЯ СИЛА СКАЗКИ

Резюме

В данной статье рассматриваются ключевые моменты в развитии жанра волшебной сказки в советской детской литературе. На примере текстологического анализа такого канонического текста советской детской литературы как сказка А.Н. Толстого *Золотой ключик или приключения Буратино* (1935) предпринята попытка показать внутренние механизмы превращения сказочного сюжета в нарратив, легко подчиняющийся требованиям новой советской идеологии. «Советскость» сказки закрепляется и в перенесении её сюжета на экран в фильме Александра Птушко «Золотой ключик» (1939). Популярность текста и фильма превращают Буратино из героя детской сказки в своеобразный «бренд» мира взрослых, где функции деревянной куклы настолько многообразны, что она выступает и как герой взрослых анекдотов, и как торговая реклама самых разнообразных товаров. Новый телевизионный фильм *Приключения Буратино*, снятый в 1975 году режиссёром Леонидом Нечаевым, не только возвращает сказку в мир детства, но и через песни Булата Окуджавы и Юрия Энтина вносит в неё новый альтернативный идеологический подтекст, доступный взрослому зрителю.

Marina Balina

SOWIECKIE CZARNOKSIĘSTWO: DESTRUKCYJNA SIŁA BAŚNI

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia kluczowe momenty rozwoju gatunku baśni magicznej w radzieckiej literaturze dziecięcej. Na przykładzie tekstologicznej analizy takiego kanonicznego tekstu dziecięcej literatury jak *Złoty kluczyczek, czyli przygody Buratino* Aleksieja Tołstoja podjęto próbę ujawnienia wewnętrznych mechnizmów przekształcenia baśniowej fabuły w dyskurs podporządkowujący się wymogom nowej sowieckiej ideologii. Owa tendencja została utrwalona w filmowej adaptacji tej baśni przez Aleksandra Ptuszkę (*Złoty kluczyczek*) w roku 1939. Buratino przekształca się tam z bohatera dziecięcej bajki w specyficzny element świata dorosłych, w którym funkcje drewnianej lalki są na tyle różnorodne, że zaczyna on funkcjonować jako bohater dowcipów i element reklamy handlowej najróżniejszych produktów. Nowy telewizyjny film *Przygody Buratino* nakręcony w roku 1975 przez Leonida Nieczajewa nie tylko przywraca tę baśń do świata dzieci, ale dzięki piosenkom Bułata Okudżawy i Jurija Entina wnosi do niej nowy, alternatywny, ideologiczny podtekst, dostępny dla dorosłego widza.