



**FAIRYTALE WOMEN:
GENDER POLITICS IN SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET
ANIMATED ADAPTATIONS OF RUSSIAN NATIONAL
FAIRYTALES**

NADEZDA FADINA

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*FAIRYTALE WOMEN:
GENDER POLITICS IN SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET ANIMATED ADAPTATIONS
OF RUSSIAN NATIONAL FAIRYTALES*

by

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MA in *International Cinema* (Commendation)

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bedfordshire

Research School for Media, Arts and Performance

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Ph.D at the University of Bedfordshire. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Abstract

Despite the volume of research into fairytales, gender and ideology in media studies, the specific subject of animated adaptations of national fairytales and their role in constructing gender identities remains a blind spot at least in relation to non-Western and non-Hollywood animation. This study addresses the gap by analysing animated adaptations of Russian national fairytales in Soviet and post-Soviet cinema and television. It does so as a tool through which to approach the gender politics of the dominant ideologies in national cinema and also, though to a lesser extent, in television. One of the key perspectives this research adopts concerns the reorganization of the myths of femininity, as stored in ‘national memory’ and transferred through the material of national fairytales produced during a century-long period. By providing a detailed critical treatment of animated adaptations of Russian magic fairytales, this research examines the interaction between the cinematic versions of the national fairytales and the representation of female characters on screen. It draws on a range of feminist theoretical approaches on media representation. By performing a systematic study of the under-researched field, through a combination of qualitative and empirical analysis, the work demonstrates how totalitarian regimes and new democratic societies implicitly control gender constructions in similar ways, and specifically through the animated versions of

national fairytale adaptations. The research identifies how the constructions of femininity are manipulated through the reshaping of the national past coded in the ancient folkloric narratives. The findings of the study reveal the principles on which the implicit patriarchal gender politics is based. These principles include the conservative choice of fairytale material adapted to the screen, the reactionary increase of production of animated fairytales targeted against liberalisation, the exclusion and reconstruction of strong matriarchal fairytale female characters, stereotypical representation of selected female characters, and normalisation of domestic violence. In so doing the study identifies a weakness in the existing scholarly discourse on ideology, which traditionally has claimed that Soviet animation was non-violent. Further, the study establishes the constructions of national memory and female identity as a part of the dominant cinematic discourses.

Keywords: Russian, animation, gender, fairytale, ideology

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Introduction

Being one of the most ancient and archetypal forms of art, myths, folklore and fairytales have played a significant role in constructing people's understanding of the world, by offering them role models to follow, insights into society and in particular in constructing their identities. Fairytales are fascinating for people. However, beginning with Romanticism fairytales have started to receive special attention and scrutiny in both academic and non-academic spheres, so one can assume that these stories and their modern media adaptations continue to play an important role in contemporary society and its discourses. As Zipes (2006) argues, fairytale discourse is 'a dynamic part of the historical civilizing process' (p.10).

Similar to fairytales and our human need to tell and listen to stories, there seems to be an inclination to tell the stories not only orally but also visually, be it through performance or drawing. Thus, some anthropological researches such as Azéma and Rivère (2012) have argued for the existence of what appears to be basic proto-animation techniques as early as the Palaeolithic period and its paintings. These are thought to be an early attempt to show movement (a potential ancient ancestor of the sequenced images found in later flip-books). Regardless of the speculative nature of the research, this pre-historic depiction of movement suggests that humans might well be predisposed toward animation as a form of expression. Therefore, one can appreciate the power and significance of animated fairytales in our cultures. Further, as Paul Wells argues, 'animation best identifies and illustrates [...] codes and conditions "in-the-making", and best exemplifies the "mixed traffic" of cross-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary ideas and representational forms' (Wells, 2009: 17); thus making animation a fertile ground for multidisciplinary ideological analysis.

Nowadays we tend to regard old and new fairytales mostly as sources of entertainment, rarely pausing to appreciate their broader role in society. However, once in a while a traditional fairytale does reappear and in so doing reinvents itself in the Western world. As recently as 2012 Canadian fiction writer Eowyn Ivey published her novel *The Snow Child* which closely follows the Russian fairytale *Snegurochka* (Snow Maiden)¹, in which she tells a story of a childless couple who, at the edge of despair, build a daughter from snow, who magically comes alive. This example neatly demonstrates how closely intertwined and influential traditional tales from around the world can be, both in our lives and discourses.

Further, it has become almost impossible to theorise about modern life in general, without considering the media. We live in a mediated world through which societies promote systems of values, prescribed identities and gender norms. Thus mediated products have become one way in which society constructs its ‘fairytales of gender’ in tandem with the assistance of bona fide fairytale adaptations.

Contemporary culture finds fairytales well-suited to the newer media of film, animation and computer games, as they have taken deep roots in the hegemonies and discourses of contemporary culture. However, it is important to note that some ancient fairytales (for example in Russian culture) provide unique examples of older, possibly matriarchal, narratives which have strong, independent and active female protagonists. As will become clear as the thesis unfolds, these fairytales have been ignored by film and television and as of yet have not been adapted to the screen. This

¹Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Russian primary and secondary sources are my own. A system of the Library of Congress for the transliteration of Cyrillic into Latin script was utilised.

neglect might serve as a good example of the gender politics in contemporary society, which makes mediated fairytales a perfect screen for dominant ideologies behind which they can masterfully hide the tacit hierarchies propagated by patriarchy, as argued by Zipes, 1986; Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995; Bacchilega, 1997; Haase, 2004. Be it Hollywood's new seemingly feminist take on Snow White (*Snow White and the Huntsman*, 2012) or yet another animated version of the ancient Slavic fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich I Serii Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011), the female characters are implicitly constructed into a remarkably conservative paradigm (Hockley, 2015), be it female appearance, male dominance, hierarchical dualism or androgyny, as a manifestation of it, which also prescribes gender behaviour that is either punished or praised depending on the adherence of characters to established gendered roles and identities.

Meanwhile, as suggested by Zipes (2011) in our media driven world mediated fairytales with their target audience of children might well contribute to the construction of a child's conception of the world, his or her place within it and their values and self-identity. Thus, according to ongoing research, children's gender schemas and behaviours are heavily influenced by the gendered content they watch (O'Bryant & Corder Bolz, 1978; Graves, 1999; Hedrick, Brookes, and George, 2008). Taking into account that female heroines are less frequently prevalent on the screen than male ones (Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974; Aubrey & Harrison, 2004), and that males rather than females are more often dominant and active (Helleis, 2004), the influence of the mediated fairytale in the construction and gender identity of individuals should not be underestimated. As Zipes puts it, nowadays the 'fairy tale may be the most important cultural and social event in most children's lives' *sic* (Zipes, 2006: 1). Here we are dealing not only with the ideological tools of cultural

production as used by dominant systems, as cinema is 'considered to possess an unrivalled ability to popularize a system of meanings already worked out in a textual form' (Faraday, 2000: 79), but also the human's psyche. As Hockley notes, 'the depth of psychological significance of images in general, and cinema in particular, exists in the way they provide a personal and unique bridge between inner and outer worlds' (Hockley, 2011: 135). This is particularly important in regard to gender construction because film 'reflects and generates our experience of gender (over and above our recognition and observation of it)' (Pomerance, 2001: 11).

The challenging issues of gender politics in fairytale films and animation have drawn interest from feminist academic spheres. However, as for animation studies, the main discourse is concerned with the criticism of Disney's fairytale monopoly and its ideologies (Dorfman & Mattelart 1975; Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995). Despite the volume of research into gender, myth and ideology in media and literary studies, the subject of national animated fairytale adaptations and their role in constructing gender identity in a context other than Disney remains an under-researched field (Zipes, 2011).

Generally animation has been almost excluded from the interests of film scholars, both in Anglophone and non-English discourses (Wells, 1998). Meanwhile, as Bendazzi (1994) notes, 'linguistically, technically, stylistically, animation as an expressive form is indeed autonomous' (xvi) and it, therefore, requires a treatment that is separate to other cultural products and the roles they play in gender, identity-formation, ideological and media analysis. Contemporary animation continues to provide intriguing examples of cultural production - especially when it comes to the debates surrounding body imaging, female experience and the politics of gender representation on screen, as demonstrated by Western academics, such as Sandra Law

(1997) in her article on the British female animators Joanna Quinn, Candy Guard and Alison de Vere, and Paul Wells (1998) in his analysis of Jane Aaron's films.

Meanwhile, in Russian studies, with its abundance of research into political ideology on the Soviet screen, animation criticism lacks any significant feminist works whatsoever, as 'animation in general – and Soviet and Russian animation in particular – has been studied very little' (Beumers, 2008: 153). Meanwhile Soviet animation and its characters became an integral part, and often a symbol, of Russian culture incorporated into the domestic and international multiple spheres of life with examples ranging from the Russian Olympic-team uniforms, Western textbooks on Russian language, to Japanese animation. Thus, a textbook on Russian language *Animation for Russian Conversation* (Merrill, Mikhailova and Alley, 2008) draws on famous Russian animated characters of the Soviet period - Cheburashka, Karlson, Ezhik (the Hedgehog), and Vini Pukh (Winnie-the-Pooh). Meanwhile, Cheburashka - an iconic animation character from the animated Soviet series *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Crocodile, 1969 - 1983) - was put on the uniform of the Russian Olympic team in 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2010. Recently Cheburashka became very popular in Japan. In April, 2006 TV Tokyo broadband announced an acquisition of the rights to remake the animated film. In March 2009 it was announced that the series would be called *Cheburashka arere?*, and would include twenty-six, three-minute episodes.

However, generally in Russian cinema studies most of the works on animation either focus on techniques and history (Pontieri, 2012), (MacFadyen, 2005); prominent animators and their famous works - (Kapkov, 2007; Kitson, 2005); and rarely - ideological criticism of political totalitarianism (Moritz, 1997). Work on animation that combines feminist discourse and academic media criticism are extremely rare indeed (Pirozhenko, 2004; Kononenko, 2011). Perhaps the lack of critical attention

derives from the complexity of the topic and the ways that it combines the discourses of cultural, sociological, political, psychology, media and gender studies. The absence is understandable for as to combine animation with gender politics on screen is to examine a complex intersection in which multiple disciplines and fields of thought are at work.

Nevertheless, a significant shift in scholarly media and gender studies is taking place. Increasingly, researchers are arguing for the importance of integrative approaches (Goscilo, 2005) and for them to be deployed in the systematic studies of national fairytale material. Unfortunately, the existing feminist work on Russian animation does not represent a systematic research of the construction of femininity on screen. The main works on the subject are presented in the publications of just two scholars: Natalie Kononenko and Olga Pirozhenko. Kononenko in her single article on Soviet and post-Soviet animation and folklore does not support her argument with a large-scale research, while Pirozhenko's work (2004a; 2004b) explores a limited number of animated films. She focuses on just two animated series: *Troe iz Prostokvashino* (Three from Prostokvashino, 1978); and its sequels *Kanikuly v Prostokvashino* (Vacations in Prostokvashino, 1980) and *Zima v Prostokvashino* (Winter in Prostokvashino, 1984); and *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Crocodile, 1969 -1983).

Meanwhile, the question of gender in animated fairytales remains important due to the ideological influence of the media itself. Curiously, fairytale films are frequently considered by the public to be 'exempt from material, historical and social influence' (Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995: 4). Instead they are often seen by audiences as if the films were in some way 'ideologically-neutral' products, and it is this orientation that in turn reinforces the public's beliefs in the 'naturalised' essence of fairytale films, thereby ensuring the ideological impact and status quo of such cultural products.

Although 'the ruling ideology has already accommodated the fact that we will be skeptical of it' (Eagleton, 1994: 40), the 'de-ideologisation' of fairytale films (in this case in Russian cinema and television) has crept into academic thought as well. Thus, the established Russian scholar Birgit Beumers argues for the mostly moral function of Soviet animation and exempts the films from ideological constraints (Beumers, 2008). Forming a consensus with Beumers over the 'non-propagandistic' tone of Soviet animation is David MacFadyen, who stresses the 'emotional' component of Soviet animation (MacFadyen, 2005).

That said, Soviet animated films were targeted at children and did indeed have an explicitly pedagogic role. It is correct that most of the animated films produced in the USSR and later Russia were made specifically for children. Although animation for adults existed in some form or other during most of the period under investigation (1922 - 2014), only two decades (1920s and late 1950s to early 1960s) witnessed an impressive amount of animation created for grown-ups. The first post-revolutionary decade was a time of the avant-garde and open political agitation, by means of animation, targeted at adults. The second period was a time of relative liberalism in the USSR known as 'The Thaw' when the vices of society were bared rather than camouflaged, as it was during Stalinism when reality on screen was 'retouched'.

However, in stressing that Soviet ideology was framed by governmental forms and political propaganda, Russian studies scholars have unwittingly excluded culturally implicit patriarchal systems, including gender roles (as integrated and supported by dominant socio-economic classes); gender hierarchy; and vicissitudes of hegemonic masculinity. This research adopts an alternative perspective and argues that Soviet animation can be profitably exposed to ideological criticism and that it should be

systematically examined and analysed with regard to the representation of women on screen.

To do so this thesis advocates the examining of the appropriation of female imagery and the ways this has contributed to the formation of a ‘national memory’, the function of which is to maintain the status quo of patriarchal discourses, both on and off screen. In summary, the research examines the constructions of gender identity of women in Soviet and post-Soviet animated adaptations of national Russian fairytales, exploring the interaction between traditional Russian folklore, national myths of femininity, modern cinematic structures and dominant ideologies.

Taking into account that ‘cinema is an ideological apparatus by nature of its very seamlessness’ (Hayward, 2000: 194), national animation and gender representation in it ignored by the scholars, present a lacuna. This research addresses the gap that exists in Russian film and television studies and sets out to establish non-Disney material in the form of Russian national fairytale animated adaptations as a tool through which to approach the gender politics of the dominant ideologies of Soviet and post-Soviet Russia. By utilising an integrative broadly feminist critique, it exposes a new and under-researched area. Most of the films under discussion in this thesis are new to both Western and Russian academic criticism. They are also something of a treasure trove for research that is concerned with gender, animation and fairytale.

Organisation of the thesis

The research starts with an overview of the fields intercrossing this study: the development of animation in Russia, fairytales and their adaptations and the phenomenon of gender in Russian culture and socio-historical contexts. This establishes the cultural setting and background of the study. In order to provide the context for the research the first part of the work is divided into three chapters:

- Chapter 1 - *Animation in Soviet and post-Soviet Reality*
- Chapter 2 - *Fairytales on Screen: Fairytales and their Cinematic Adaptations*
- Chapter 3 - *The Fairytales of Gender and Identity*

The first chapter *Animation in Soviet and post-Soviet Reality* reflects on the development of cinema and animation in Russia and the academic criticism it has attracted. It follows a chronological order that starts with the early puppet animation by Starewicz in 1910 and 1912 before moving on to the Soviet avant-garde and the first Soviet *politagitki* by Vertov finally transferring to the emergence of Socialist Realism in the 1930s, which would be the dominant cinematic style throughout the Soviet period. Next comes the period referred to as ‘The Thaw’ with its first breaths of freedom and the return of animation for adults. Further ahead comes the period known as the ‘Stagnation’ and *Perestroika* (new politics of transformation); with it the first truly feminist animation comes into being namely *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989). The chapter then moves to the formation of New Russian cinema and television and the establishment of the first post-Soviet animation studios *Melnitsa* and *Pilot*, along with the strengthening of an orthodoxy and sexism in the media and society (Barker, 1999). Moreover, the chapter underlines the paucity of research into

Soviet and post-Soviet animation and in particular national fairytale animated adaptations (Kononenko, 2011) along with the lack of research into questions of gender in animation (Pirozhenko, 2004) and specifically animated adaptations of magical national fairytales.

The Second chapter *Fairytale on Screen: Fairytales and their Cinematic Adaptations* explores national fairytales in Russia and their animated adaptations, paying particular attention to the construction of the ‘fairytale’ on screen of the socialist realist utopia and its ideological constructs which influenced to the core the Russian animation tradition. As the research will show these constructions were closely related to questions of gender and politics. Further the chapter demonstrates the rich heritage and roots of the national magical fairytale, the characters under study and their academic criticism. As most of the animated films under analysis were targeted at children, the research also briefly touches on scholarly works concerned with children’s culture in Soviet Russia, particularly in terms of their narrowly viewed ideology and their active role in the creation of identity.

The third chapter *The Fairytale of Gender and Identity* covers Russian myths of femininity and national identity, the Soviet and post-Soviet patriarchal construction and representation of identity on screen and women’s status in Russian society. The analysis of female representations in animated adaptations of Russian fairytales is not possible without a solid understanding of the ‘national gender question’ in Russian society – including, but not limited to, women’s position in society historically, feminist and other discourses involving femininity as a subject under study, and the media representations of women on Soviet and post-Soviet screen. In correlating the gender politics in Russian animation with the socio-historical position of women in Russian culture and folklore material (including national fairytales) the work will

draw on material from different discourses including anthropological and sociological fields.

Although this historical overview of women's rights and the status of women in Russian society might seem too broad at first, nonetheless, it provides the context which is necessary for a detailed understanding of twentieth and twenty-first century Russia, and its identity discourses and sets them in a historical perspective. The animated films under study have been produced in times of tremendous changes. After the revolution of 1917 Soviet women, ahead of many other countries, got the civil rights their female contemporaries had struggled for: the right to education and work, to divorce, political participation and, of course, the right to vote. However, during the period under investigation (1922-2014) there were times when women were mostly pointed towards their 'natural' place and were positioned as keepers of house and family, although now they were permitted to also function as selfless workers (though not in the top management positions). While being told that they, as citizens, must prioritise community over personal life, women were reminded that the true 'female' happiness lies in a heterosexual marriage. Their bodies were controlled by the demographic policy both mediated (praised mothers on screen), and by the legal structures of society which, for example during the Stalin years, banned abortion and contraception.

On the other hand, almost seventy years after the revolution and the proclamation of seeming equality, the biggest country in the world (the USSR) collapsed, and together with it so did people's identity. This research will reflect on the influence this turbulence had on gender politics, with its deep roots in patriarchal hierarchy and media representations of femininity, as the alarmingly sexist discourses raise their heads in Russia today.

The second part of the research contains the analysis and the findings and is divided into two further chapters:

- Chapter 4 - *The Fairytale Women*

a) *Witches*

b) *Brides*

- Chapter 5 - *When the Fairytale Comes True*

The fourth chapter *The Fairytale Women* starts its argument by establishing a variety of national fairytales with strong and independent female protagonists. Then it correlates the findings with the choice of fairytales adapted to the screen by Russian animators. As the work will demonstrate this choice is directly related to the gender politics in Soviet and post-Soviet society, serving to reinforce the existing patriarchal system of representations of women on screen.

The research follows what is an established sociological view on the 'gender question' as shared by Sarah Ashwin and will argue that, 'although it was a politics of social transformation it was premised on an entirely traditional view of "natural" sexual difference' (Ashwin, 2000: 15). The critical and systematic analysis of the animated films will explore 'how far the Bolshevik conception of gender was from any kind of feminism' (ibid.) in spite of post-revolutionary equality proclamations. Further, the investigation will examine how the utilisation of traditional femininity is used as a tool to suppress female social activity in contemporary Russia. The research will correlate the raising volume of national fairytale adaptations with such restraint. While the analysis of women's representation on screen follows feminist criticism of correlation of gender and media products (Pirozhenko, 2004a, 2004b; Kononenko, 2011) it will be reworked according to the research's objectives.

The fourth chapter will also focus on the two main types of national female characters that have been adapted to the screen, which are speculatively categorized as: *Ved'mi* (Witches) and *Nevesti* (Brides) (the explanation of categorisation is given in the Methodology section). Here of particular importance is the Great Witch of all Russian magical fairytales Baba Yaga. She is probably the most famous character of Russian folklore known in the West. When compared with the research into other fairytale characters, Baba Yaga seems to be the one who has come under the most scrutiny by Western academics. For example, she is mentioned in Zipes's *The Oxford Companion to Fairytales* (Zipes, 2000) in a separate entry while the other characters are not mentioned even in the section on Slavic fairytales (except for one other national fairytale villain – Koschey). There is continuing research and ongoing publications concerning the origins of Baba Yaga; her presence and function in the tales is exemplified in the most thorough work in the field today by Andreas Johns (2004).

The Russian cultural tradition has two types of witches, the first with innate gifts passed down the matrilineal line (she is often a healer, midwife and perhaps this image originates from an ancient priesthood); she was praised and respected. The second type is a woman who serves the Devil, and mostly appears after the adoption of Christianity in 988; she was persecuted and suppressed. As will be demonstrated, the animated Baba Yaga is neither of them, ridiculed and disempowered by most animators, she gradually loses her distinctive magical and female qualities. As will be shown, the patriarchal discourse, adopted by both genders of animators, performed the magic ritual of de-sacralisation of the character, implicitly exorcising many of her gendered attributes.

The next category which will be discussed is *Nevesti* (Brides), and will, therefore, be set against Baba Yaga. The subchapter will have two further subdivisions and will

examine female characters in greater detail. The first subgroup is categorised as either the ‘love interest’ of the hero in fairytales – Tsarevana Nesmyana (Princess-Who-Never-Laugh), Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess), Vasilisa Prekrasnaya (Vasilisa-the-Fair), and Elena Premudraya (Elena-the-Wise), etc. The second subgroup is little girls - Masha, Kroshechka-Khavroshechka (Little Khavroshechka), Stepdaughter, The Snow Girl – ‘brides-to-be’ - who are socialised into a particular type of traditional female behavior and rewarded for prescribed feminine qualities and activities such as kindness, care for others, selflessness, housekeeping activities and so forth. Here the debate on femininity as a cultural product is reinforced by its media representation with a certain choice of tales, as Russian ancient fairytales *do* contain heroines that contradict strict gender differentiation and prescribed modes of being; they just do not make it onto the screen.

The fifth chapter *When the Fairytale Comes True* will provide a detailed analysis of the most adapted fairytales *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders) and *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess). The samples of female characters in these adaptations will be analysed and examined in terms of the following characteristics: the character’s function and action, social position, activity and passivity, body image and object positioning, voice, age, appearance and finally the correlation and/or distortion of their original representation in national fairytales. Following the Western feminist tradition of debating the representation of sexuality, in Soviet and post-Soviet fairytale animations the analysis will incorporate existing discourses on sexuality and the body in Russian culture.

Women's involvement in the process of creating the mediated fairytales will be given attention as well. It is important to note that the major part of the films under consideration represent works in which female filmmakers took an active role, as

(co)directors or (co)screenwriters. This factor will be an integral part of the research's outcome, as the female involvement, or lack of it, in reflecting on their own gender experience helps to establish a fresh, though not particularly encouraging, perspective on the questions raised.

As mentioned earlier, many of the animations under investigation have not been subject to the scrutiny of either Russian film studies or feminism criticism. The originality of this research lies not only in the ways it addresses this under researched area, but also in the new perspective it offers on Soviet and post-Soviet ideology in animation – an area that is underestimated and neglected by Russian studies scholars. The research will clearly demonstrate how patriarchal ideology has been masterful in normalising and justifying male dominance, domestic violence, and the devaluing portrayal of female characters through the means of national fairytale adaptations, thus manipulating the formation of female identity and gender equality.

Methodology and the research question

Research question

The research question seeks to encapsulate both method and topic. The thesis is concerned with the subtle shifts and changes of the representation of women in Soviet and Russian adaptations of national magical fairytales (*volshebnye skazki*). In so doing the films are located as a part of a historical discourse, and are also existing in particular and specific cultural moments as encapsulated in a range of animated forms. Cultural form, representation and politics all have significant roles to play in deconstructing and analysing the animated fairytales in question. In this way the films themselves simultaneously both reveal and occlude the ideological construction of women's gendered identity, often appearing on the surface to be progressive and at times libertarian, while remaining at their core patriarchally conservative. The question then that underpins this research is:

How did the choices made in the process of adaptation of Russian national fairytales and representation of female characters in these animated products reflect the gender politics of the Russian screen?

Hypothesis

The research focuses on the construction and deconstruction of female gender identity in animated adaptations of Russian fairytales during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. The hypothesis proposed is that the apparatus of patriarchal ideology has utilised national fairytale adaptations as a means to strengthen and maintain its status quo. The research suggests that the main tools of such control have involved the

choice of the fairytale material adapted to the screen and the conservative representation of women on screen; a growth in the volume of production of national fairytale adaptations, which can be seen as a reaction to short periods of political liberalisation; the normalisation of gender stereotypes and, to some extent, domestic violence. This research proposes that through the mediated constructions and representation of women the gender politics counteracted a move to equality, thus enabling the dominance of patriarchal hierarchy on and off screen.

As a way to approach the construction of gender, the research examines the specific representation of female characters in animated adaptations of Russian fairytales and adopts a feminist critique of these animated feature films and television films. While noting that feminist thought *per se* is of course in opposition to the dominant ideology it can still offer a synthetic means through which to explore mediated imagery both syntagmatically and paradigmatically. Moreover, the synthetic approach is particularly important to this research as the issues around the historical changes of cultural construction of gender and its representation on screen are positioned as a multidimensional subject.

While taking its methodological departure points from the findings of the structuralist and post-structuralist approaches and the socio-historical analytical models adopted by the Frankfurt school, the research mainly utilises a feminist theory of media representation. Combining the qualitative, empirical and conjunctural analysis, the work follows the approach adopted by Western feminist scholars in their attempt to map 'the ideological contours of economics, politics and pedagogy by drawing the fairy-tale films as vehicles of cultural production' (Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995: 7). All the films that are examined in detail in this study are located in context, both synchronically and diachronically.

Of course, empirical analysis is mainly utilised to gather knowledge and understanding through direct or indirect observation or experience. Normally empirical data is analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively, thus this study gathers empirical data of the animated film productions and uses it as a part of its qualitative analysis. In terms of its empirical approach the study identifies those fairytales which contain strong female characters but which have not been adapted to the screen and other films that contain the representation of certain gender stereotypes and practices, including domestic violence.

The range of cultural, historical, political and economic factors means that an eclectic or synthetic methodology is appropriate. Further, in order to accurately locate the representation of women in contemporary Russian animation it is necessary to see how recent developments are a part of an ongoing process in which the historical antecedents of the current situation are of particular importance. While of course all representation exists as a part of a historical discourse, such concerns are particularly important here as the films in this research, while originating in one country, span two political systems (the Soviet and the Russian).

There are further complexities that need to be taken into consideration, but which eventually could be considered as beneficial for the research. Russia is a country with an unpredictable past, which is literally and symbolically rewritten with every new political form of government. Meanwhile, film is 'a social document' (Haynes, 2003: 181) and national fairytales are the artifacts of the 'national memory' which are (re)constructed again and again on the screen as history is revised. These factors make the mediated fairytale adaptations a platform for ideology to construct identities in a broader sense. However, it is the same factors that can assist a scholarly research in

dissecting the ideology under investigation, given that an appropriate approach is selected.

The complexities of analysing the representation of women across two different political ideologies, within a single country and over a period of political change, necessitate an approach that is both cultural and historical. Gramsci proposed in his conjunctural analysis such a model. It allows for the examination of cultural, social and ideological elements, along with historical factors as they ‘co-join’ in a given moment. While not wishing to adopt the full weight of Gramsci’s argument, nonetheless, the conjunctural approach allows for the interweaving of historical material with contemporary forces as observed in the act of representation. Consequently, the films in this research will be located as the products of historical discourse as shaped through changing cultural practices.

In so doing, the research provides a systematic study of the samples built into ideological, social, political, economic, philosophical, and religious conditions during the century-long period when the films were created and released. The films are discussed in terms of the role they have played within the political sphere of gender and ideology on screen. The methodology and the theoretically eclectic/synthetic approach provide effective tools through which to dissect patriarchal discourse in Russian cinema (and later in television productions) during both the Soviet period (1922-1991) and the post-Soviet period (1992-2014).

It is important to note that the production processes alluded to include, but are not limited to, the gender of the screenwriter and director. Their role in the representation of women requires a separate research and is seen as a potential for a further study, as it requires the establishment of a system of differences or/and similarities in

representation of female fairytale characters in animated films produced by female and male animators. Nevertheless, the inclusion allows the establishment for a non-existent framework in Russian animation studies.

The choice of the material for investigation

The data has been gathered from the following primary and secondary sources:

- 1) Original Russian fairytale texts published in the comprehensive Afanasyev's collection (Afanasyev, 1976), used by the majority of scholars as a primary source for Russian fairytale research;
- 2) The classification system which was utilised is Aarne-Thompson-Uther Classification of Folk Tales (ATU) (Uther, 2004), as well as the Russian language work by Barag, *et al.* (1979), in which Russian scholars applied Aarne-Thompson classification to Russian national fairytales. Importantly Barag *et al.* (1979) classification's primary sources were several compilations of fairytales, not solely Afanasyev's collection;
- 3) Soviet and post-Soviet animated adaptations of national magical fairytales;
- 4) Relevant monographs and academic journals in the Russian language (from Soviet and post-Soviet periods);
- 5) Relevant English language monographs and academic journals.

Investigating the gender politics of the animated adaptations of national fairytales is laden with difficulties, which arise as a result of a number of factors. One of the challenges this research encountered concerned the choice of the material, as Soviet and recently post-Soviet Russian cinema has produced hundreds upon hundreds of

fairytale films. They range in content over Socialist utopian 'fairytales', adaptations of contemporary Soviet and classical international fairytales, adaptations of fairytales written by Russian Silver Age authors (Pushkin, Aksakov, Zhukovsky), and finally adaptations based on traditional national fairytales. However, it was not only the extensive range of the media material produced during a century-long period that posed a problem, it was also the lack of a core theoretical consensus in regard to the original texts that prevails in fairytales studies.

Scholars of fairytale studies have constantly struggled to provide a coherent definition and classification of the fairytale corpus (Zipes, 2000). The definition itself as to what constitutes a fairytale is a subject of a significant dispute (*ibid.*), as every country carries a tremendous diversity of fairytale material that is wide-ranging in both content and style. So far, only a few of the principles concerning the taxonomy of fairytales and their definition have been widely agreed in academia. This work will follow the established principles of identification and differentiation. Thus, it is considered that a fairytale is a tale that contains magic (Swann Jones, 2002); fairytale creatures (e.g., elves, goblins, fairies, talking animals, witches and wizards) (Thompson, 1977); and which takes place in a magic world in an ahistorical context (Zipes, 2000). Another characteristic defining the fairytale is some or other form of transformation (Davidson & Chaudri, 2006); or 'metamorphosis', which is central to the fairytale, as argued by Warner (1994) and Tatar (2010). Importantly, the metamorphosis principle of the fairytale also supports the choice of animation as a valid and appropriate mediated form for the investigation of the adapted fairytales; as Paul Wells notes, 'Virtually all animated films play out this definition of metamorphosis [...], thus rendering the adaptation of a fairy tale on this basis, a matter of relative ease.' (Wells, 1999: 201).

Further, it is important to remember that in the case of this research the original sources in no small part come from the national oral folkloric heritage. This means that the fairytales in this research must satisfy a further and very important criterion, namely the adaptation must be based on a fairytale that has no author – ‘*narodnaya skazka*’. It might sound as though this is an overemphasising of a single methodological point. However, in the course of the research, many animated films were excluded on this basis. For example, many Russian writers produced works based on traditional fairytale motifs. Their literary fairytales were often inspired by common people's stories, with a similar plot and characters who were traditional characters such as Baba Yaga, Prince Ivan, Koschey-the-Deathless and so forth. For example, the classics of Russian literature Petr Ershov's *Konek-Gorbunok* (Humpback Horse, 1834) has a plot that is almost undistinguishable from the traditional Russian fairytale with the identical title. The same is true for Aleksandr Ostrovsky's *Snegurochka* (The Snow Maiden, 1873) which represents the motifs from a national fairytale about the Snow Girl. This practice of 'borrowing' of plots and storylines from traditional fairytale continued in Soviet and post-Soviet times as well. Another example of the contemporary take on the national fairytale is Leonid Filatov's *Skazka pro Fedota Streltsa* (Fairytale about Fedot-the-Shooter, 1986), which is based on the motifs of the fairytale *Poidi Tuda Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go I don't Know Where, Fetch I don't Know What).

Summing up, this research has excluded animated fairytale films that are similar to traditional fairytales but which are nonetheless still based on literary fairytales. For example the animated film *Snegurochka* (The Snow Maiden, 1959) based on Ostrovsky's fairytale was excluded; however the animated films based on the similar national fairytale such as *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About the Snow Girl,

1957), *Snegurka* (The Snow Girl, 1969), *Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, the Snow Girl, 2012) are part of the samples. Nevertheless, these adaptations still constitute a part of the contextual analysis.

Another aspect which was taken into consideration is the country of origin of the fairytale. The fairytale *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb) (Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification - numbers 327 B and 700), for example, can be found in different countries, including Russia. Although the material was adapted to the screen four times, only one film was based on the Russian version of the fairytale. For that reason, just one animated film, *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1977), has been included. The remaining three versions - *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1938) and *Malchik s Palchik, Mashini Skazki* (Tom Thumb, Masha's Fairytales, 2011) based on Charles Perrot fairytale; as well as *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 2006) based on a Belorussian fairytale - were excluded.

After outlining the common 'nature' of the material and the required elements that define a bona fide traditional national fairytale, which served as the source, the next step was to decide on the category of the original fairytales that would be most suitable for our purposes. Taking into account that the original Russian fairytales are divided into several different categories, the research encountered two dilemmas, namely: the characteristics of the categories themselves, and the choice between the categories, which would enable the examination of gender politics on screen in the best possible way.

Just as with the question of the definition as to what constitutes a fairytale so too the taxonomy of fairytales has yet to be clearly defined. Even the terminological units are often confused in different countries. Thus in Russian studies, as in some other

countries (for example in the USA), there is no distinctive differentiation between folklore fairytales and national fairytales, meaning that the terms are often interchanged and used as synonyms. Thus, *Russkii Narodnii Skazki* (Russian National Fairytales) are often referred to as folktales and vice versa. Meanwhile, in the British academic tradition national fairytales are considered to be a subgenre of folktales, and these terms are not mixed in scholarly works. For the sake of clarity in terminology and to avoid the potential confusion between international folkloristic schools, this work will refer to folklore national fairytales, which were adapted to the screen - *Russkaya Narodnaya Skazka* - as national Russian fairytales.

Russian national fairytales are roughly divided into the following categories: about animals, magical fairytales and everyday fairytales. Though Vladimir Propp was critical about this classification ([1928] 1968) it remained more or less intact for decades, and it will be followed in this work.

The question is: which category would enable the research to answer the question most fully? As argued in chapter three, the magic fairytale (*vol'shebnaia skazka*), classified in ATU Classification as 300-749 types: Tales of Magic, can be considered to be a bona fide fairytale (Goscilo, 2005) as it is a 'genuinely folkloric genre steeped in magic' (ibid.: 17). As argued by both the mythological (Propp, Meletinsky) and the neo-Marxist school (Zipes) it is one of the oldest stories available to us today. The magic fairytales are considered to be the carriers of ancient beliefs, customs, initiation rituals, and multilayered symbolic narratives, possibly dating back to times of matrilineal societies typically with female characters who are active, independent and strong agents of action. These fairytales transfer us to faraway kingdoms full of fantastic creatures, princesses and witches, magical transformations and objects, and wonderful heroic journeys. In the course of the work it will be shown that, curiously,

Soviet Russia exercised its gendered politics through adaptations of this ‘dangerous’ anti-materialistic material. So too contemporary Russia, with its politics of reviving an indigenous national past, readdresses the old ideas on femininity, which might well be preserved in these narratives. It will be shown how these sometimes formulaic characters exhibit a type of diaspora in which they move from one fairytale to another as the unwitting carriers of patriarchal discourses.

However, the research would not be thorough and systematic if other categories of fairytales were not considered with regard to their suitability for the research. Especially because every decade of Soviet and (partially) post-Soviet cinema witnessed dozens of released films based on fairytales about animals (*skazki o zhivotnikh*) and everyday fairytales (*bytovie skazki*). These films with their implicitly moral narratives about the lives of animals were used to teach children morals. Thus sly foxes, stupid wolves, and naïve but kindly bears were regularly (re)created on the screen. For example *Lisa i Volk* (The Fox and the Wolf, 1937); *Teremok* (Little Tower, 1945); *Petushok Zolotoi Grebeshok* (Cockerel-Golden Comb, 1955); *Kolobok* (Kolobok, 1956), *Lisa I Medved*, (The Fox and the Bear, 1975) to name a few, adopted a moral and broadly educative tone. It was tempting to choose this type of fairytale to examine gender politics because at the end of the day all these animal characters are implicitly gendered. However, as argued by Helena Goscilo (2005), these fairytales (*skazki*) 'likewise popular in origin' are 'not necessary infused with fantastic elements' (p.17) and are not considered to be the carriers of the ancient traces of matriarchal views of the world. Meanwhile, as will become increasingly clear, even the magic fairytales, including those adhering to traditional patriarchal gender politics, contain some matriarchal remnants and this allows for the examination and discovery of matriarchal features in the samples under analysis.

It is important to underline here that most magic fairytales do have personified talking animals, for example the Grey Wolf in the fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich i Serii Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf) or anthropomorphic wonderful helpers, like the magical fish in the fairytale *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders). Nevertheless, this work excludes material in which personified animals are the only main characters and protagonists. The reason for this is that the mediated adaptations of fairytales about animals present a separate research question, which is not considered and investigated in this work. It could be viewed as a possible progression of the research in its quest to further analyse gender politics in Russian animated fairytales.

The same is true in regard to the everyday fairytales. Quarrelsome wives, clever soldiers and weak husbands are well fitted for feminist examination. However, they lack the characteristics of Russian national ideas on femininity and possible references to the matrilineal societies of the past. The everyday fairytales do not differ that much from other social material; there is no magic in them and as a rule they are morally infused narratives intended for adults. And as with the fairytales about animals the investigation of everyday fairytales suggests an avenue for future research.

Progressing with choosing the material, the research came across another obstacle, as some animated films were not based on the motifs of national fairytales, but contained some traditional characters (such as Baba Yaga, for example). It was eventually decided to exclude such films as they cannot be considered as adaptations of national fairytales, and instead are better regarded as examples of cinematic takes, probably with reference to national memory. However, in order to provide depth for the

research it was decided that these films could be included in the broader discussion of samples in the contextual analysis.

Summing up, the animated films under study have been chosen based on the following criteria:

- 1) The animated films must be based on national fairytales (*narodnaya skazka*), and must not have a known author.
- 2) As the research focuses only on magical fairytales classified by ATU Classification as Tales of Magic under numbers 300-749, which are considered to be the most ancient form of a national tale, the animations must be adaptations of magical Russian national fairytales or be based on motifs of magical Russian national fairytales, taking into account the difference between magical (*volshebnie skazki*), about animals (*skazki pro zhivotnikh*) and everyday fairytales (*bytovye skazki*).
- 3) Animations must be of the Soviet and post-Soviet period, 1922-1991 and 1992-2014 respectively.
- 4) They must be released nationwide and be either broadcasted on national television or exhibited in theaters, as in accord with Soviet censorship system the nationwide release of the film would mean its compliance with the Party's policy and gender politics.
- 5) They must be produced in Soviet period in RSFSR - Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic or in post-Soviet period in Russia.

While the question of 'nationalism' (especially applied to gender discourse) will be discussed in detail as we progress along the thesis, the aspect of the national in terms

of the choice of the samples requires some further clarification. Nowadays, as Condee argues: 'the category of national is displaced by the global circulation of culture, diffused among diasporic communities, dispersed by hybridity, nomadism, the emerging transnational identity, and so forth.' (Condee, 2009: 7). Moreover, in the twenty-first century the notion of 'national cinema' seems to become increasingly problematic: international co-productions and financing, international crews and 'uncertain' national identity of the members of these crews, different languages usage in films and so forth. Meanwhile, the term 'transnational' is not any less problematic (Hjort, 2010).

Researchers combine different factors to define 'national cinema' such as market forces, government funding, and cultural matters. Being a multi-national state, the USSR was composed of 16 Republics, (15 on the date of the USSR collapse), with strong cinema traditions in every Republic, with multi-national crews and themes. Soviet cinema could hardly be considered a pure national enterprise. Indeed 'the conception of national identity reaffirmed by national popular cinema was based on shared cultural tradition, rather than common descent' (Faraday, 2000: 182). Moreover, each Republic in RSFSR had its own national fairytales which they adapted to the screen. Every decade witnessed dozens of films produced similar to *Mikolino Bogatstvo* (Mikolo's Treasure, 1983) produced by Ukrainian *Kievnautchfilm* studio based on a Ukrainian fairytale; or an animated film *Pokatigoroshek* (Pokatigoroshek, 1990), produced by *Belarusfilm* based on the Belarusian fairytale, to name just a few.

Consequently, the research focuses on traditional Russian fairytales and their adaptations produced in RSFSR and later Russian Federation. Historically throughout both the period of Empire and the Soviet period (as is the case today) the Russian

language was the only official national language, and Russian culture and dominance was cultivated. During the USSR time RSFSR was the head of the State and after the collapse of the USSR, 'Russianness' of mediated fairytales becomes even clearer.

Forty-two animated films met the above selection criteria and have contributed to the analysis in some way. Their close inspection has made it possible to highlight the type of tale chosen for adaptation to the screen; categorise female characters into certain groups; examine, analyse and describe each group, and in so doing to extract the parameters and contexts they were used in.

Categorisation created in the process of research

In the course of the research it became evident that it was going to be necessary to devise means by which to categorise female characters. Derived from the representation of women in the films, the female characters were divided into two age groups: young maidens (including girls) and elder women (including Baba Yaga). Therefore, it was decided to create two categories of characters: Witches and Brides. The titles were chosen based on the etymology of the Russian words *Ved'mi* (Witches) and *Nevesti* (Brides) correlated with the following etymology: *Ved'mi* derives from the verb *vedat* - to know, and *Nevesti* - from the words *ne vedat* - do not know. The reference to knowledge in this context engages somewhat with the intersections between language, power, and femininity. Yet, while clearly not appealing to notions of the Lacanian symbolic order, the name of the categories, nevertheless, underlines possible matriarchal traces of sacral powers in fairytale female characters, and the attempts to prescribe the perception of gender and age in patriarchal ideology. As the research unfolds the appropriateness of these titles

becomes clearer, as both potentially all-knowing elder heroines (Baba Yagas, or elderly mothers and nannies) and young heroines (Elena-the-Wise, Vasilisa-the-Fair or little Masha) are devalued and stripped off their knowledge-power in terms of the narrative, which is invariably a male hero's journey.

Trajectory of the research process

Being one of the first systematic studies of female imagery on the Russian animated screen, the research has detected, examined and analysed distortions in the representation of national fairytale female characters in Soviet and post-Soviet animation. First, the research outlined a number of original fairytales adapted (one or more times) during almost a century-long period under investigation. The second stage compared the choice with publically available fairytales, published in the authoritative Afanasyev's collection, supplemented by the extensive classifications of fairytales by Aarne-Thompson-Uther (Uther, 2004) and by Barag *et al.*, (1979). It was immediately striking how the films privileged a significant inclination towards male-oriented material and that this was favoured over fairytales with female protagonists and which had a focus on female experiences and stories.

The next stage of the investigation noted several periods where there was a sharp increase in the adaptations of national fairytales production. These periods 1950s, 1970s and 2000+ followed certain social and historical shifts. As it was established, these shifts have been mostly connected with the reinforcement of female social activity, liberalisation of social norms, and often the weakening of the male position in society. Thus the World War II years enabled women to become part of the driving working force; The Thaw period brought a public discussion on de-masculinisation of

men in Soviet society; while post-Soviet Russia witnessed a massive Westernisation of culture which brought with it liberal discourses.

As will be argued the result could be that a reactionary gender politics was in place, which coincided with the raised volumes of national fairytales on screen. After the establishment of such periods and their influence on the construction of female representation on screen, the research extracted certain types of female characters that were adapted for the screen and categorised these female characters. Through an extensive and thorough analysis the study explored femininity as a social construct. Moreover, it focused on the influence certain gender politics exercised over it.

Literature review

As stated in the Introduction, there is a paucity of research on gender in Russian animation. This study, therefore, found itself in a somewhat challenging situation. Almost lacking a canon and given that only four works (two published peer-reviewed articles, one article in the online journal of Centre for Gender Studies at the European Humanities University in Minsk, and one online source) cover the topic, the research, nevertheless, conducts an examination of cultural, social and ideological elements, along with historical factors of the samples under study. As it unfolded, it became apparent that it would be necessary to combine several fields of academic thought in order to constitute a sound bases for the topic, also while finding some points of intersection. In order to integrate the question of the research into an underdeveloped researched field, while bringing together multiple disciplines, it was necessary to ground the subject heavily in its roots, namely the Russian context, and this in turn became a uniting 'point of intersection' for the different approaches. Although, it was initially tempting to include a multiplicity of works on gender in Western animation and base the research on their findings, it would have meant adopting the axiomatic approach towards Russian animation as deployed by the existing body of scholarship (Kononenko, Beumers). Instead it was decided that by additionally drawing on the findings of Russian animation studies, Russian and Soviet ideological studies, Russian fairytales research, gender and identity researches in Russian culture, it would be possible to establish a foundation for the current research (and a framework for the future researchers) and to investigate gender politics in the adaptations of national fairytales from a fresh perspective.

Further, as the literature review and the following three chapters on animation, fairytales and gender are interconnected, and taken as a whole in order to provide the

contextual framework, the literature review can be considered somewhat as an introduction to those subjects, and they will be discussed in greater detail as the thesis unfolds. Meanwhile, the questions of gender in Russian society have been so intertwined with the theoretical thought on the matter that as such it seemed appropriate to provide a separate chapter on gender, rather than to debate it briefly as a part of the literature review section. That said, gender specifically in Russian animation, which is the actual if limited canon of the research, is included in this literature review under the *Research into Russian Animation* subsection. Literature that provides the context for this research will be divided into three subsections: overview of Russian animation scholarship, including gender in animation; overview of Soviet ideology; overview of scholarship on fairytales and adaptations.

Research into Russian animation

As stated earlier, Soviet and post-Soviet animation has received little critical academic attention in either Russia or in the West, at least in comparison with other cinematic forms, techniques, and genres. As for academic work in the Russian language, during Soviet times critical works on national animation were regularly published both in journals such as *Proletaskoe Kino*, *Kino Panorama*, *Sovetskii Ekran*, *Iskustvo Kino*, etc. and also as monographs, including Babichenko (1964); Gamburg (1966); and Volkov, (1974). Established animators also wrote about their own working practices (V. Brumberg, 1931; Khodataev, 1936; Z. Brumberg, 1979; Ivanov Vano, 1950, 1962; Norshteyn, 1988; and Khryzhanovskiy, 1983). By contrast academics tended to focus either on prominent animators (Yampolsky, 1987), the technical side of animation as in Abol'nik (1972) and Belyaev (1967) or the critical

assessment of animation in regard to its compliance with The Communist Party policy Babichenko, 1961; Asenin, 1974.

By the end of the Soviet period a more critical approach appeared, as more scholars started constructing arguments about stereotypes and the adaptation of classics in animation, as well as the creation of animated heroes (Nikitina, 1987; 1988a; 1988b; 1989). The ideological inclination of such works gradually decreased and following the drop in the production of animation and the drastic situation in national cinema, the critical works on animation in the early post-Soviet period went into severe decline.

In the twenty-first century this situation started to change. More works have been published both in journals such as *Kinograf* and *Kinovedcheskie Zapiski*, and animation festivals publications (*Suzdal': Izdanie otkritogo rossiisogo festivalia animatsionogo kino*). The production of monographs and articles on animation also increased with works by authors including Lotman (1998), Krivulja (2002) Borodin (2007), Lukinykh (1996; 2001; 2002). Animators also continued the tradition of reflecting on their works, including Katenochkin (1999) and Norshteyn (2008). So too scholars continued writing about well known animators, as in Bogdanova's work on the Soviet animator Snezhno-Blotskaya (Bogdanova, 2008) and Nikolai Izvolov's article on the Soviet animator Aleksandr Alekseev (Izvolov, 1999).

While most works still concentrated on directors and the technical aspects of production, some attempted to integrate media and cultural analysis into their investigations, including Shustova (2004) and Romashova (2011). One of the significant recent Russian language works on Soviet animation is Krivulja's thorough research (2002; 2006; 2009) in which she presents a comprehensive socio-cultural

analysis of animated films and the periods they were produced in: the Thaw, the Stagnation and the *Perestroika*. It is one of the contemporary studies, along with Yuri Lotman's work (1992; 1994; 1998), which does indeed include semiotics and media theory in its arguments.

Another recent development that was not present in Soviet times is the combination of the media analysis of animated films with psychoanalysis and Jungian studies (Orlov, 1993; 1995, 2001). The lack of such a discourse in Soviet times was due to the precarious position of psychology in the USSR. These days such works are still scarce in relation to the overall volume of writing on Soviet and post-Soviet animation; however, they suggest an interest in Russian academia towards a deeper and more multilayered examination of animated films.

Another work that should be mentioned here, and which steps outside the common 'animator-technique' path, is the multifaceted collection of articles on the most iconic Soviet animation heroes Cheburashka, Karlson, etc. by Kukulin, Lypovetsky and Mayofis (2008). The book analyses the characters as a socio-cultural phenomenon built into a bigger picture of anthropological and psychological shifts in society during Soviet and post-Soviet times.

As for Western scholars, it is a widely acknowledged fact that animation has largely been outside their sphere of interest and for a considerable time (Wells, 1998; Beumers, 2008). Early examples involve the media criticism of animated films, which started appearing in the 1970s (Dorfman & Mattelart, 1975). Since then more and more works have been produced, incorporating different disciplines and contexts. For example, and relevant in regard to this research, is the feminist take on Disney's gender politics on screen by Griffin, (1994); Bell, Haas and Sells, (1995); and

Schrefer (2002). Meanwhile, works on Russian animation still consist mostly of some brief articles on the history of animation in the USSR and, again, biographies and filmographies of famous directors (Izvolov, 1998; Pavlov, 1998; Bendazii, 1994, 2001; Clare, 2002; Haggart, 2015). However, there are exceptions. For example, Laura Pontieri's (2012) work on Soviet animation during the Thaw provides a detailed analysis of animated films made between the 1950s-1960s, along with the political and cultural frame they were produced in. Also new technology, such as web animation (Wheeler Mjolsness, 2005) and flash animation (Strukov, 2007) has also started receiving some scholarly attention.

Another current shift in academic thought on Russian animation concerns the investigation of its relationship with childhood experiences and its ideological 'purity'. In a manner similar to the work of Ramashova and Shustova mentioned above, some English language researchers - Balina and Rudova (2008) - touch on the issues of childhood and culture in relation to Soviet animation. Being a product mainly addressed at children, Soviet and post-Soviet animation undoubtedly brings to the surface the influence these media products exercise over their young audience.

Consequently some scholars, such as McFadyen (2005), focus on the emotional component of Russian animation while others like Beumers (2008) emphasise its moral and educational function. There seems to be a significant change in the angle that scholars take on the subject. If in Soviet times it was mainly a rigid criticism of socialist ideology on screen (Leihm & Leihm, 1977), the recent perspective on animation is based around the de-ideologisation of media products for children. This change in approach does present a significant problem, as Kononenko rightly underlines: 'closer examination of Soviet animated films reveals that they, too, are hardly innocent or ideology-free' (Kononenko, 2011: 276). Moreover, the narrow

view of Soviet ideology in Russian films in general as a 'repressive evil force', rather than 'a highly productive category that, [...], gives shape to and permeates all cultural production' (Haynes, 2003: 5), often undermines the core of ideological media analysis. As Haynes rightly argues:

the notion that 'ideology' (like 'propaganda') is only a product of extremism – a challenge to, rather than a force underpinning, the status quo – is itself a very effective propaganda tool in the hands of those who seek only to reproduce, rather than to challenge, the current socio-political order.

(Haynes, 2003: 5)

In his attempt to offer a new perspective on Russian ideology on screen, Haynes goes on to add that, 'such a point of view not only legitimises the status quo, but also enshrines it as "obvious", as "common sense" - the (divinely-ordained) standard for comparison, which hierarchises "others" by defining their difference' (ibid). Therefore, Socialist Realism dissected under the specific and sometimes overly restrictive telescopic lens of the Western academic criticism of Soviet ideology provides the bed on which much ideological analysis of the field rests. By contrast this research treads the unpopular path, both in regard to an earlier narrow anti-socialist criticism and contemporary de-ideologising one, as it investigates the sometimes hidden and other times explicit gender politics on Soviet and post-Soviet screens.

In recent years slowly, but steadily, gender studies have entered the realm of Soviet animation both in Russian and English languages and this research is a part of that newly emerging field. Researchers whose work investigates gender representation in Russian animation include Olga Pirozhenko (in the Russian language) and Natalie

Kononenko (in the English language). An online blog by Dr. Michel Bouchard, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern British Columbia, who is an academic specialising in Russian culture, has also been included. That said, it is clear that his unpublished material is of less weight than peer-reviewed articles of the previous scholars. However, the relative paucity of the canon permitted the inclusion of his research, especially when seen in the light of his established academic profile and the relevance of the material for this study.

Though the existing works are significant in the ways that they have been a catalyst for research in the field, they do not provide a solid ground for a thorough and diverse study of the subject. Pirozhenko's articles (2004a; 2004b; 2007) on gender representation in Soviet animation are concerned with animation series *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Crocodile) and *Prostokvashino* (Prostokvashino - the proper name of an imaginary village) produced in the 1970s-1980s. In her article on *Prostokvashino* Pirozhenko explores what is an implicit gender hierarchy in the Soviet family on screen. Through looking at representation of the mother and her interrelations with the male characters (her son and husband), Pirozhenko establishes a two-level family structure - one explicit and one implicit. In the explicit structure the mother is positioned as a matriarch, making the decisions and exercising her authority in the family. Meanwhile the implicit level demonstrates the patriarchal stereotypes of femininity such as household activities and bringing up children. Moreover, her matriarchal function is ridiculed and devalued. Her analysis of the films about *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Crocodile) demonstrates strict gender differentiation in Soviet animation, as well as constructions of 'traditional' femininity on screen. Pirozhenko's research sets up a constructive ideological criticism of Soviet gender politics, which is essential for this study.

The next research touching upon gender representation in adaptations of Russian folklore is the article by Natalie Kononenko *The Politics of Innocence: Soviet and Post-Soviet Animation on Folklore Topics* published in *Journal of American Folklore* in 2011. In the article she debates animation's relationship to folklore material 'from the point of view of an oppressed group' (Kononenko, 2011: 278). Her article critically justifies the necessity of the ideological analysis of Russian animation. As Professor of Ukrainian folklore, Kononenko focuses mostly on the representation of ethnic minorities rather than gender on screen, and consequently her arguments about gender are somewhat sketchy. She refers to just one animated film *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (*Vasilisa-the-Beautiful*, 1977) and draws from it the conclusion that the female characters in magic fairytales are represented as 'passive and submissive', 'very hardworking' and 'modest' (Kononenko, 2011: 277). She compares and opposes *Vasilisa* with the Western female characters in *Red Riding Hood* (1943) and *Little Rural Riding Hood* (1949), who seemingly are more liberated in their aggressive sexuality and seductiveness. It seems that for Kononenko this highly sexualised type of body and sexuality representation on American screen is more liberating than the desexualised Soviet one. However, she does not refer to contemporary animated films even though her article supposedly covers the post-Soviet period as well. Meanwhile, in films such as *Pro Fedota Streltsa Udalogo Molodtsa* (*About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man*, 2008) there are pertinent examples of what, if we are to follow Kononenko, can be termed as liberating female iconography in the form of women's sexuality. However, the film offers the attendant opportunity for male scopophilic engagement rather than truly empowering iconography.

Kononenko's argument about violence in Russian animation follows the established trend among scholars. She, again, refers to only one fairytale adaptation *Vershki I*

Koreshki (Tops and Bottoms, 1974) and reiterates the ‘purification’ of Soviet animation in terms of its representation of violence. Another conservative view which Kononeko shares with Western scholars concerns sexism in folkloric narratives. She opposes Bettelheim (1976) in his psychoanalytic views on the fairytale and its relation to child's development. Instead, she points out the sexist and racist agenda that fairytales carry. Though not denying that such fairytales do exist in the rich folkloric heritage, it is important to underline that Russian national fairytales also contain non-patriarchal narratives. Though Kononenko is one of a few scholars who works with the questions of gender in Soviet animation, it appears that her arguments on gender politics are not supported by a full-scale investigation and seem to be given as if axioms that are the outcomes of gender research elsewhere applied to material under study automatically. Nevertheless, a shift in gender studies concerned with Russian animation is slowly taking place.

In his online blog Dr. Michel Bouchard, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern British Columbia, briefly writes about gender, identity and animation in post-Soviet times. Although Bouchard mainly focuses on nationalism he also touches on gender and representation in animated films *Tri Bogatyria na Dalnikh Beregakh* (Three Strong Knights on Distant Shores, 2012) and *Tri Bogatyria i Shamanskaia Tsaritsa* (Three Strong Knights and the Shamanic Tsarina, 2010).

The franchise about Bogatyrs (Three Famous Strong Knights of Russian epic fables - *Bilini*) was launched in 2004 with the release of the first film *Alesha Popovich I Tugarin Zmey* (Alesha Popovich and Tugarin Snake). For some reason Bouchard dismisses the two following films, *Dobrynya Nikitich I Zmei Gorynich* (Dobrynya Nikitich and Snake Gorynich, 2006) and *Ilya Muromets and Solovey-Razboynik* (Ilya

Muromets and Nightingale-Robber, 2007), and proceeds straightaway to the most recent films (2010, 2012).

While Bouchard (2013) constructs gender as a part of the wider context of national identity and ideology on screen, he follows Natalie Kononenko and her article, discussed earlier, in his argument on gender and representation. Bouchard sets up a paradigm of nationalism, ideology and gender in modern animated adaptations of folkloric structures and this research will integrate these aspects as it unfolds. As has been demonstrated all three of the critical works, of which the admittedly small canon is composed, actively include elements of ideological discourse in their arguments.

Ideology is one of the pillars of this study; therefore it is necessary to provide a separate subsection that deals with that single theme. However is important to keep in mind the uniting point that is the intersection of the diverse approaches through which this research is constellated – namely the Russian context of the research. While it is tempting to include a general overview of the discourse on the ideology, it is essential to keep the focus on the Russian screen and the criticism and some misconceptions, which have accrued in this regard.

The Ideology of the Russian screen

The question of ideology is central for both the actual study and general research of Russian mediated products as Soviet censorship, as well as some form of governmental cultural control in contemporary Russia, is an integral element of the state policy. The Censorship machine as the controlling and editing enforcer of the

'fairytale on screen' paid close attention to the representation of ideology in which all cultural products were required to comply with the politics of the Party. According to Borodin (2007) censorship committees did not care that much about morality or adherence to the norms of socialist realism. Borodin argues that such committees focused mainly on the uncontrolled subtext (ibid). He goes on to say that the main goal was to simplify, to flatten plots, scenes, and some of the characteristics of the characters. Furthermore, what could be more suitable than reworked fairytales, especially if one is highly selective about the type of the material. According to Borodin, if the censorship committee sensed a 'danger' but could not understand or articulate it, they would cut the piece of the film 'just in case' (Borodin, 2007). What was of the utmost importance was the adherence to the notion of *partiinnost'* – adherence and loyalty to the party as the key element of socialist realism as argued by Siniavskii-Tertz (1960) and later Haynes (2003). Soviet era scholars also agreed on the point. Thus, Liehm and Liehm argued that, 'adherence to ideology, fidelity to the Party, and proximity to the people' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 47) were the three main agendas. As the third chapter of this thesis will demonstrate, seemingly liberated female loyal 'followers' actively participated in the creation of the patriarchal mythology on and off screen, constructing both the female experience and its associated representational forms in what was the most lucrative media - film. Moreover, such appropriation of the national myth of femininity enabled the doctrine to extend its roots still deeper into patriarchal ideology and as such it was entrenched in the construction of gendered identities on screen.

Meanwhile, the phenomena of Socialist realism, Soviet ideology and censorship are not as simple as they might seem on the surface and present some critical problems. It is necessary to keep in mind that socialist realism does not equal Soviet censorship.

Equally it does not position Soviet audiences as mere passive receivers as argued, for example, by Peter Kenez (2001) who presented them as 'victims' of ideological manipulation, victims who were 'shown an entirely imaginary and yet seemingly realistic and self-consistent universe' (Kenez in Haynes, 2003: 6). Here seems to be one of the cornerstones of the Western ideological criticism of the Soviet propaganda: the audience is frequently considered to be a passive receiver of everything the Party intended to put in their heads. Thus for Boris Groys: 'Socialist realism was not created by the masses but was formulated in their name by well-educated and experienced elites' (Groys, [1992] 2001: 9).

In the works of Soviet cinema scholars (especially in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet period) all the population of the Soviet Union was conveniently positioned as a victim of the totalitarian regime and the 'evil' Party leaders who created the illusory utopia of the Socialist dream. Of course the oppression and dissatisfaction with the regime were present throughout the history of the Soviet State; nevertheless, it would be an overstatement to claim that the 'masses' in general were themselves opposed to the ideological product they were shown. Neither were the filmmakers, who were mythologising women on screen, forcefully made to construct the imagery in the way they did. In a somewhat Althusserian sense, this work considers Soviet ideology as a circular exchange, not a linear transmission; all participants of the media product production and consumption receive and (re)produce ideology (on both macro and micro levels, on personal and collective levels). This principle can also be applicable to the formation of identity through the means of cinema, as will be shown in the chapter on gender questions in Russian culture and cinema.

It follows that it is an oversimplification to consider filmmakers as either servants of the Party or rebels against the regime and audience as submissive victims of the State,

rather they are the carriers of a private and collective ideological matrix. The contemporary scholars, who consider the fairytale on screen as a linearly created and top-to-bottom message to the masses, do not differ that much from the Party leaders they oppose (at least scholarly views on the party leaders and their hypothetical ideas) who are considered by Western academia to treat 'masses as passively conditioned by an environment which had been in the sole charge of the Bolsheviks' (Haynes, 2003: 43). It is important to keep in mind that, 'it was declared that the masses actually did want to see ideologically-valuable films' (Haynes, 2003: 34). Haynes argues:

Socialist realism was in fact far from the oft-portrayed monolithic structure, exercising its vice-like grip on all forms of art at all times at all places, but rather a shifting discourse, defined more often than not negatively and relationally, and as such had to maintain a degree of flexibility.

(Haynes, 2003: 7)

Haynes goes on to note that, 'the standard model of 'top-down' authoritarian control over socialist realist discourse misses the point that "socialist realism" was rarely wholly determined by, but more often responsive to, the changing needs of Soviet State over a period of many years and in varying locations.' (Haynes, 2003: 7). Another aspect of the problem with Soviet ideology and Western academy concerns the aesthetic value of the works under study and this particular point is also interconnected with the further debate of the adaption and the original text.

As Haynes rightly notes:

One aspect of socialist realism that many critics appear to have found especially difficult to stomach, then, is its overtly political stance – the fact that the ideology underpinning the work of ‘art’ is put on such open display at the expense of more traditional (western) aesthetic categories of plot development and deep characterization. And yet such stance necessarily relies on the absolute dissociation of the fields of aesthetics and politics [...] this distinction is [...] highly problematic.

(Haynes, 2003: 5)

Haynes is not alone in his criticism towards the Western aesthetic judgments applied to Socialist realism. Thus Katerina Clark remarks that it is unproductive to apply Western ‘criteria’ to Soviet material (Clark, 2000). Indeed Western discourses on Russianness continues a cold war tradition of opposing ‘unknown’, ‘different’, ‘female in its irrationality and mystery’ identity of Russia to the West and Anglo-American and European identity. In a sense, it is a continuation of a traditional colonial discourse argued in regard to, for example, Orientalism (Addison, 1993; Said, 2004). So in a manner that is similar to the argument concerning the ideology of gendered representation, Edward Said defines Orientalism as a ‘certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative or novel) world’ (Said, 2004: 12). Although the questions of national and gender identities will be discussed in detail in the next chapters, here it is useful to underline the paradoxical similarity of nationalism and gender discourses.

Importantly, Haynes adroitly argues that, 'we need to begin by grounding Soviet cinema in its social reality' (Haynes, 2003: 8), which in its turn justifies the necessity of the contextual depth this research develops. Indeed if we were to abstract ourselves from the rigidity of the well-established criticism of Soviet ideology, 'Soviet films were, first and foremost, explicitly political rather than aesthetic statements, intimately bound up with problems of governance as and when they arose.' (Haynes, 2003: 6-7). Therefore, Socialist and post-Socialist gender representation in Russian animation which is a part of the ideology on screen, were primarily political, which returns us to the previously identified lacunae in academia and the paucity of systematic research on the topic.

Fairytales and their adaptations

Fairytales

Similar to Soviet animation and ideology on the Russian screen, fairytale discourses present us with some misconceptions as well. The first prejudice surrounding fairytales is their similarity to one another. Although it is correct to assume that there are indeed certain fairytale motifs that have a multitude of variations in different cultures and times, it is exactly the prevalence of the fairytale narrative which makes it valuable from a scientific point of view. While separated by distance and centuries, people have devised similar stories, and many countries in Europe and Russia share somewhat similar tales, patterns and story lines. Could a cultural scholar ask for more? A priori the material is applicable to contexts outside those of particular and individual national cultures. Moreover, in spite of the fascinating similarity, it is also true that every culture has unique features, characters, symbols and codes that are

‘engraved’ in its folkloric heritage (including fairytales); studying these offers a perspective on cultural memory and the formation of national identities, which in its turn becomes productive ground for identity and gender research.

Thus for the past two centuries a comprehensive research of European, African, Asian and American folklore and its origins has been performed. The earliest glimpses of globalisation in the nineteenth century revealed that there are some common traits and motifs in fairytales around the world. This paradox of similar narratives in countries separated from each other by seas and lands attracted attention of academia. Therefore, a theory of a single source of the tales came to being. The philologist Theodor Benfey proposed that European fairytales were of an Indian origin (monogenesis) migrating across continents and epochs (in Leeming, 1997). In Russia the theory of migration was supported by Pypin (1857), Miller (1869), Zhdanov (1904), and to some extent Veselovskii (1873), and later Stasov (1952). The adaptors of the theory believed that India was the sole source and a cradle of the European folk material. Indeed motifs found in abundance in the Indian *Panchatantra* are common among folktales of Persian, Arab, and European origins, and are present in medieval literature as well. However, with the discovery of the ancient Egyptian texts this theory got more and more opponents. Thus, Joseph Bédier insisted on the polygenesis of the fairytale (in Ziolkowski, 2010). While both theories have their strengths and weaknesses, what is truly significant in terms of this research, is the common narratives of national fairytales observed in different cultures. This aspect of fairytales allows for a broader application of the findings of the research.

Returning to the development of fairytale research on the international scale, the phenomenon of similar motifs in fairytales coming from different parts of the world

necessitated an attempt to classify and structure these motifs. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, Antii Aarne established a classification system (later developed by Stith Thomson and recently Uther) of recurring plot patterns in the narrative of fairytales, again underlining the widespread of characters and the similarities of folkloric material in different parts of the world. This system, along with the classification monograph on Eastern European fairytales edited by Barag *et al.*, (1979), is utilised in this work as a reference source for fairytale types.

It is important to underline though that in this research the origin of the national fairytale does not play such a significant role. What is paramount is the way that fairytales are simultaneously widespread and yet can also function as a mythological heritage of the nation. As mentioned earlier, the geographic diversity allows the findings of the research to be applicable to a broader context, while the national perspective to the original sources enables a thorough investigation of the messages the national mythology carries. Besides, it gives an excess to the forms of representation of the traditional female characters that 'live and function' in the original fairytales, as well as in their adaptations for the screen.

Generally, in the twentieth century many disciplines have productively included folklore and fairytales in their discourses. The multidimensional questions of myths and folklore have been debated during the twentieth century by numerous philosophers and academics of different countries, movements, schools and approaches, including such prominent figures as Freud (1900), Jung (1959), Barthes (1957), Lévi-Strauss (1978) and, as might be expected, also by their followers. Be it mythology (Campbell, 1949), analytical psychology (von Franz, 1970, 1972, 1996) or psychoanalysis (Bettelheim, 1976), anthropology (Anderson, 2000) or sociology

(Baker-Sperry & Grauerholz, 2003), scholars have continued to explore the power of fairytales in ancient and modern contexts.

With the development of gender studies, fairytales and their mediated versions received a new perspective, so starting with the second-wave of feminism many feminist researchers have actively included this material in their criticism. Such scholars include: Marcia K. Lieberman (1972), Karen Rowe (1979), Annette Kuhn (1982), Jack Zipes (1983, 1989, 1990, 1994), Marina Warner (1976, 1981, 1994, 1996), Ruth B. Bottigheimer (1987 a; 1987 b), Teresa de Lauretis (1984, 1987), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979), to name a few. Having said that, feminists often tend to consider old fairytales as intrinsically sexist.

However, the concept is not completely accurate. Here lies the second misconception surrounding fairytales. The axiomatic patriarchal stigmatisation of the old fairytales is problematic. While scholars focus on contemporary feminist fairytales created by female authors and continue to debate the correlation between fairytales, gender and politics in post-modern times, as demonstrated in works by Lewis C. Seifert (1996), Cristina Bacchilega (1997), Ruth B. Bottigheimer (2009), Vanessa Joosen (2011) and again Jack Zipes (1994, 1997, 2000, 2011, 2012), the examination of fairytales in this research will demonstrate that ancient fairytales present some vivid examples of non-stereotypical gender material. However, as noted these non-traditional fairytales have yet to be adapted for the screen and exist at the periphery of society and its culture. By exploring which fairytales were chosen as the source material for adaptations and also how gender politics is exercised through fairytale adaptations and female representation on screen, the research will reflect on the issues of patriarchal order and identity.

If we are to look closer at Russian national fairytales it is possible to see that there is a rich tradition of research and analysis; however, once again, gender criticism remains a minority interest. Though it was back in the eighteenth century when Vasilii Levshin published his collection of *Russkie Skazki* (Russian Fairy Tales, 1780 - 1783), the first steps towards examining the subject more academically were taken later. It was not until the nineteenth century that national folklore started receiving attention in literature and folklorist circles. The interest towards national heritage was most evident during the processes of Westernisation and modernisation of Russia and the split that took place among the thinking elite of that time as manifested in *Slavophilia* and *Zapadnichestvo* ('pro-Western-ism').

Slavophilia was especially strong in the mythological movement and it was Afanasyev, Melitinsky, and later Potebnia who incorporated morphology and phonetics into arguments about fairytales. The school debated the mythological, primordial and metaphorical nature of the national fairytale. According to this theory, myths were a primordial form of art that was subject to the evolution of societal structures, losing its primal divine function and in so doing it disintegrated into other forms of storytelling with the fairytale being one of those forms. Interestingly, some contemporary neo-Marxist scholars (Zipes) support these ideas on the magic fairytales and consider them crucial to the lives of earlier societies, as 'fairy tales were [...] based on rituals intended to endow with meaning the daily lives of members of a tribe' *sic* (Zipes, 1995: 22).

Returning to the beginning of the research and preservation of Russian fairytales, one of the most significant academic works of that time that dealt with Russian folklore was Afanasyev's *Poeticheskie Vozzrenia Slavyan na Prirodu* (Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature [vols. 1-3, 1865-1869]). It became one of the first theoretical and

fundamental works on the origin and development of Slavic mythological folklore, devoted to historical, philological and comparative analysis of the language and folklore of the Slavs. This work was preceded by Afanasyev's famous collection of fairytales *Russkie Narodnie Skazki* (Russian National Fairy Tales, 1855-1863), a book addressed at the general public. However, even today the collection is often used by researchers. It is utilised in this study as a source of the original material as well. Since then the research into the matter of Russian national fairytales has experienced its ups and downs but it has never ceased to exist as shown by the work of: Potebnya, 1905; Propp, 1928; Pomerantseva, 1956; Melitinsky, 1958; Anikin, 1977, 1984; Adonyeva, 1989; Dobrovolskaya, 1995; and Abeljuk, 1995, to name a few.

In the twentieth century the national fairytale was polarised in its treatment, being both persecuted and praised, studied and neglected and both banned and adapted for the screen. In times when folk material, of which the fairytale is a part, was seen in a good light, Soviet scholars (Meletinsky, Propp) were focused on the fairytale as a desacralised myth that carried traces of ancient rituals and initiation. In a sense, the tale was seen as a carrier of the national 'soul'. At other times folklore was seen as the remains of the old regime with its tsars, princesses, etc., or as an unscientific atavism in what was, after all, a time of nuclear and space exploration. As will be shown in the next chapter these tendencies can be clearly traced in the historical development of Russian animation.

Further, in 1928 Soviet folklorist Vladimir Propp published a monograph *Morphology of the Folktale* in which he analysed traditional Russian magic fairytales and identified what he considered to be their basic irreducible plot components and functions. After this influential work by Propp there was a gap where studies of the

field were rather limited with almost no significant works produced on the subject until Stalin's death. Meanwhile, fairytales flourished on screen.

This demonstrates one of the discrepancies between implicit and explicit ideological strategies employed by successive governments. This phenomenon was and is present in Russian society and its cultural products in other spheres as well and, significantly for the work, in the gender politics on and off screen and its correlation with construction of female imagery. As the third chapter of the thesis explores, Soviet and Russian patriarchy has always attempted to mask its position as concomitant with status quo, and indeed media products provide direct evidence of such endeavours.

Meanwhile, reflecting on the development of fairytale studies, starting with the 1970s a more extensive research into the subject became evident in literary criticism in the USSR. Thus specialist journals regularly published material on the topic (*Folklor Kak Iskustvo Slova*, *Filologicheskie Nauki*, *Detskaya Literatura*).

After the USSR collapsed, there was a reduction of interest in the scholarly research of the topic. In Putin's Russia, similar to the animation field, one can register a significant increase of attention towards fairytales. There are periodical journals reflecting on the matter, such as *Zhivaya Starina*, which are supported by the Russian Ministry of Culture and numerous academic journals such as *Mir Nauki*, *Kul'tury I Obrazovanya*, *Filologicheskie Nauki* and *Aktual'nye Problem Gumanitarnikh Nauk*, which regularly publish articles on national fairytales. The politics on the 'national idea' is propagated in most spheres of life, including folklore and fairytales. However, there is a paucity of research on the fairytale adaptations themselves. While their Western colleagues have been actively including adaptation studies into their discourses on fairytales (Haase, 1988, 2004; Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995), Russian

scholars for the most part ignored the mediated tales. However, as this research will demonstrate the cinematic and television adaptations of old national fairytales offer a focused lens through which to view the political, ideological, and psychological transformations taking place within the construction of identity.

Adaptations

Although the study does not lie in the field of adaptation studies, instead contributing to feminist discourse on Russian animation, it is, nevertheless, important to comment on this aspect of the animated films. As Paul Wells (1999) notes, 'comparatively little attention has been given to the literary adaptations in animation'. (p. 199). Meanwhile, Wells goes on to underline that, 'animation is a film-form which provides a vocabulary that enables the most sensitive response to literary texts' (ibid.: 212) and has a 'capacity to accommodate the broadest range of literary suggestion' (ibid.: 200).

However, as it will be argued in the second chapter, the subject of the analysis is a complicated material from a point of view of adaptations studies. The films under analysis are based on national (initially oral) fairytales that do not have a single identifiable author. The original texts were recorded by folklorists in the nineteenth century, and have multiple variants in different parts of the country. Whether any of the available collections of fairytales (Afanasyev's for example) were utilised in the process of the production of the samples under study, is not clear, as the production notes are mostly not available. Therefore, it is impossible to argue with certainty as to what the original source was, and whether any material in national fairytale stratum could, in fact, be termed as 'original' at all. It is therefore problematic to adhere strictly to a discourse of adaptation in this particular study.

Of course, matters have changed dramatically since the beginning of adaptation studies more than forty years ago, and ideas have moved on. For example, views about cinema's supposed inferiority in comparison with the original text have changed dramatically since they were first introduced in George Bluestone's *Novels into Films* (1957) and then adhered to during the formalist period of the 1970s by Geoffrey Wagner in *The Novel and the Cinema* (1975), Keith Cohen *Film and Fiction* (1979) and Maurice Beja *Film and Literature First* (1979), to name just a few. Starting with 1980s, the period when poststructuralist thought reached adaptation studies, the ideas of intertextuality and contextuality started appearing in the field, as well as arguments on simulation in our postmodern world (Baudrillard, 1983). But as McCullum rightly points out the 'conceptual approaches to literary texts are always underpinned and shaped by ideological assumptions about relationships between language, meaning, narrative, literature, society and literary audience' (McCallum, 2000: 17).

Following Barthes in his views that the text 'is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning but a 'multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash' (Barthes, 1977: 146), works by Dudley Andrew, John Orr and others turned the discourse of adaption studies into a new stream. Importantly for this research, nowadays the context is considered as important (if not more important) as text itself, and the ideas on fidelity, purity and original primacy are not considered as valid as before (Naremore, Stam, Murray, Warner).

As Christopher Orr remarks, 'within this critical context [i.e. of intertextuality], the issue is not whether the adapted film is faithful to its source, but rather how the choice of a specific source and how the approach to that source serve the film's ideology.' (Orr, 1984: 27).

Further Paul Wells argues:

The act of adaptation in animation [...] is not predicated on the determinants of narrative events as described in a literary text but on the stimulants of function and purpose - not the fact that something happens, but the way it happens.

(Wells, 1999: 210)

The points made by Wells and Orr support the validity of both the contextual approach and the methodology chosen for this study, such as researching and analysing the *choice* made and represented in each particular film sample, starting with the choice of the fairy tale itself, which was chosen to be adapted, and finishing with a textual analysis of every scene that serves to propagate gender ideology on screen. Moreover, it is not always clear whether animators adapted a myth or its literary record; thus it is not possible to accurately define the latter as a source of adaptation. This aspect of adaptation under study also justifies the proposed approach: namely, to avoid the rigid binary opposition of the literary original versus its screen adaptation. The issue is discussed in more detail in the second chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 1: Animation in Soviet and post-Soviet Reality

Early animation in Russia

Cinema has entered its second century. Russian feature film and the animation tradition have recently celebrated its joint hundred years jubilee by acknowledging the first Russian narrative film by Vladimir Romashkov *Ponizovaya Vol'nitsa (Stenka Razin)* (Ponizovaya Vol'nitsa (Stenka Razin), 1908), the first animated stop motion film with a plot *Lucanus Cervus* (1910) and the first animated puppet film *Prekrasnaya Lyukonida ili Voyna Usachei s Rogachami* (The Beautiful Lyukanida or The Battle Between Stag Beetles and Long-horn Beetles, 1912), both produced and directed by Vladislav Starevich (Władysław Starewicz).²

The first Russian film studio 'had been founded as late as 1908' (Parkinson, 1995: 71). The evolving domestic industry had to struggle with strong competition from imported European films of that time. Nevertheless, 'starting with a silent era, Russian cinematographers were at the forefront of discoveries in cinema' (Beumers, 2007: 1). State censorship was not as heavy as it would be two decades later, and there was some support and a favorable attitude towards cinema from the rulers. Significantly, the new industry was not centrally controlled and was privately financed instead. Further, the State generally was not actively involved in creating the 'right' type of material for the masses.

The only exception was the period during World War I when patriotic propaganda came to life and the Skobolev's Committee was established. It had an 'exclusive right to take motion pictures at the Russian front' and 'expended its activities in 1915 to

² See new findings of Beumers's on Shiryaev's animated films (Beumers, Bocharov, and Robinson, 2009) later in the chapter.

include the production of patriotic feature films' (Jahn, 1995: 155-156). Meanwhile most of the home film market was loaded with melodramas many of which had a tragic 'Russian ending' (Morley, 2007: 15) and Vera Kholodnaya's passions.

As LeBlanc argues:

The true interest of the bourgeoisie is that the cinema should make up for what people do not have in life. The pseudo-satisfaction they find there may be sexual, political, emotional or metaphysical, there is something for all the different kinds of alienation engendered by capitalism. The audience tacitly delegates their power to change the world to the characters on the screen. The famous 'window' that the bourgeois cinema is supposed to open on the world is never anything other than a method of permitting the audience to live an imaginary life within a non-existent reality.

(LeBlanc, cited in Rodowick, 1994: 86)

As for animation and its development in pre-revolutionary Russia, for a long time Starewicz was considered to be a pioneer in this sphere with his '*a-la-Levsha*' experiments with insects animated on screen. However, recent findings showed that Alexander Shiryayev – a Russian ballet dancer – made animated films as early as 1905-1909 and, therefore, preceded Starewicz (Beumers, Bocharov and Robinson, 2009). Shiryayev's films were not released publicly and, at least in Russia, the beginning of animation is still considered to start with Starewicz's films, which he fanatically created in *kinoatelie* (film studio) of Khanzhonkov, developing new techniques and methods for making and recording puppet animation.

After the revolution of 1917, when the new Bolshevik regime came to power, it brought with it a brief period of freedom and a fresh cinematic Constructivist-

Marxist-Socialist approach. It was this time that gave rise to Eisenstein's and Kuleshov's montage theories, Vertov's experiments with camera and lens, and the so called 'Soviet school'.

Generally 'in the 1920s animators were relatively free to experiment with the medium that wasn't yet reaching the masses' (Beumers, 2008: 159). Many experiments of the 1920s created by Russian enthusiasts became more acclaimed abroad than at home, firstly because the freedom of experiments in their home country was gradually being exterminated and was substituted with a government-regulated mass product (some filmmakers of the early days, such as the above mentioned Starewicz, emigrated); and secondly because Soviet people tended to escape from the gloomy reality of the civil war by watching imported light entertainment films rather than home produced products (Gillespie, 2000). True that cinema was a very popular means of entertainment among Soviet people but the higher echelons of power quickly realised that it could also be a very powerful tool of propaganda as well. This attitude would not change in either Soviet or in post-Soviet times. Indeed the role of the media should not be underestimated, and as Mary Celeste Kearney rightly argues:

The media are among our most powerful agents of entertainment, information, and socialization. While older social institutions, such as the family, church, state, and educational system, still play important roles in our lives, the media have increasingly become powerful regulators of individual behavior and social practices.

(Kearney, 2012: 3)

Almost every book on Soviet cinema cites Lenin's famous statement on the importance of the seventh art to the new socialist state, or what Liehm and Liehm

termed as 'the ideological-propagandistic concept of film art, the pedagogical role that cinematograph was given, and the almost mystical faith in its effectiveness determined [...] its exceptional position' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 202-203). Taking into account that Russia entered the twentieth century with almost eighty per cent of its population being illiterate, the moving image was certainly a very convenient and visual way for Bolsheviks to address the new Soviet citizens (Youngblood, 1992; Christie and Taylor, 1991; Lawton, 1992). As Richard Taylor puts it in his Editor's preface to Peter Kenez book on cinema and Russian society:

Soviet cinema developed from a fragile but effective tool to gain support among the overwhelmingly illiterate peasant masses in the civil war that followed the October 1917 Revolution, through a welter of experimentation, into a mass weapon of propaganda through entertainment that shaped the public image of the Soviet Union.

(Taylor, 2001: vii)

The film industry was nationalized on 27 of August 1919. Although there was a temporary and slight deviation to commercial advertising in animation during NEP (New Economic Policy), gradually a system of Soviet (socialist) cultural production, which would function until the end of the USSR, was established. According to George Faraday, the system was characterised by the following points:

1. State monopoly: The Party-State assumed responsibility for all aspects of cultural production, distribution, and exhibition.
2. Bureaucratic Control: Each sector of cultural production was administrated through a system of bureaucratic institutions in which, in theory,

senior management exercised complete authority over both creative and organizational question.

3. Aesthetic-Ideological Orthodoxy: All authorized cultural producers were expected to conform to a single system of aesthetic and ideological norms established by the Party leadership.

(Faraday, 2000: 52 - 53)

A succession of film industry state committees – the first one *Goskino* (the USSR State Committee for Cinematography) active 1922-1924, then *Sovkino* (Soviet Committee for Cinematography), functioning 1924-1930; *Soyuzkino* 1930-1963 and again *Goskino* 1963-1991 – decided what to produce or ban, what to show, what to ‘shelve’ and what ideological message must be delivered to the Soviet citizens. As Haynes notes, 'Party officials demonstrated that, alongside teaching the illiterate to write and read [...], they were also attempting to teach the population at large how to read the films in line with Party doctrinal requirements' (Haynes, 2003: 10).

In the 1920s propaganda was for the most part transparent and explicit. The films were honestly called *agitki* (agitation films) and carried ideological messages. Similar to the first Soviet feature films most of the early animated films (called at that time ‘dynamic graphics’) were mainly types of *politagitki* – short films depicting in the most favourable light the new government, ‘rule of proletariat’, class struggle or the collectivisation campaign. A good example of these propaganda films are Vertov’s *Kino-Pravda* (Film Truth) – newsreels produced between 1922 and 1925.

Beumers describes early Soviet animation as ‘animations [which] do not allow the animated world to incorporate events that could not happen in the real world’ (Beumers, 2008: 159). Therefore, they stand in opposition to pre-revolution Starewicz's works and also to later Soviet works influenced by the Party's policy and Disney's fairytale stylistics.

The animation of that time had nothing to do with the future children’s animations and fairytales on screen which would become one of the most potent and powerful ideological tools to construct and deconstruct Soviet children’s identity, values, behavior and pictures of the material world. Such animations would be developed later. In the 1920s, 'most of the early Soviet animated films came out of political manifestos and satirical vignettes; they were primarily caricatures and propaganda works addressed to an adult audience' (Pontieri, 2012: 6). The era was characterised by a rapid formation of the new socialist state that demanded active and well understood ‘agitation’. Soviet cinema aimed at creating a beacon for what was a massively uneducated audience. In this respect, the Soviet animations of that time played a highly significant role in vividly articulating the urgent needs of the Party through educational animations, posters and political caricatures. Despite quite primitive technology, and also taking into account the animators’ predominant backgrounds in design, animation of the early 1920s, nevertheless had some artistic quality. 'Animation emerged as an independent art form that could create entire stories for children and adults.' (Beumers, 2008: 155).

The first Soviet animation was a work directed by a renowned filmmaker Dziga Vertov and was called *Segodnya* (Today, 1923, animators Volkov, Beliakov) – a lost animation, produced in the *Kino-Pravda* series. Laura Pontieri underlines though that 'it was Bushkin who had a bigger role than Vertov in early Soviet animation'

(Pontieri, 2012: 10). In the studio 'Kultkino' a team of artists that included Bushkin, Ivanov and Beliakov created the first Soviet series of short animated black and white films that were mainly dedicated to supporting the Soviet state's opposition to capitalist and bourgeois principles: *Germanskie Dela i Delishki* (The German Business and Affairs, 1924) and *Istoriya Odного Razocharovaniya* (Boris Savinkov) ('The Story of One Disappointment (Boris Savinkov), 1924).

Some animations of that time were created using a simple technique in which flat two-dimensional puppets were cut out from thick cardboard and then placed on a glass or a shooting table with a drawn background behind it. Alternatively they were directly put on a hand-drawn background and moved to create motion. However most films were basic line drawn animations that conveyed their ideological anti-capitalist message with simplicity, clarity and humour, for example *Sovetskie Igrushki* (The Soviet Toys, 1924) and *Yumoreski* (Humoresques, 1924).³

Further, the development of animation in the USSR was supported by the creation of the first experimental animation workshop at the State College of Film in Moscow in 1924. Among students there were soon-to-be well-known animators and at that time graduates of VHUTEMAS (Higher Art and Technical Studios) - Khodataev, Syedyshev, Merkulov, Komissarenko, as well as female animators including Olga Khodataeva, and the sisters Brumberg.

It is important to underline that female filmmakers have been historically more present in the field of animation than in feature film production. Although the film industry has been (and still is) widely considered to be a male dominated industry,

³Some other examples of this type film are *Komu Chto Snitsa* (Everybody has Their Own Dreams, 1924); *Sluchai v Tokyo* (A Case in Tokyo, 1924); *Kar'era MacDonalda* (MacDonald's Career, 1925).

Russian animation, especially the production of fairytale films, has heavily involved women animators. Later, this observation will be integrated in the analysis of the films.

Returning to the first animation workshop, as a team working at the film studio *Mezhrabpom-Rus*, the above mentioned groups of artists strove for new ways to overcome the technical complexities and limitations of hand-drawn films. Thus in 1925 for the first time Soviet animators used a so-called *albomnii* (sketchbook) method. All the movements were divided into cyclical motions, which could be repeated many times and this represented a considerable advance in the stylistic complexity and sophistication that was available. One of the first Soviet animations of this type was the film *Kitaj v Ogne (Ruki Proch' ot Kitaia!)* (China on Fire (Hands off from China!)), 1925).

Creating a soviet citizen, building a bright future

In 1926 at the film studio *Mezhrabpom-Rus*, established during NEP politics as a private joint German-Russian venture, a team of artists Merkulov, Cherkes, Ivanov-Vano and operator Kosmatov began working on the first Soviet children's animated film *Sen'ka-Africanets* (Senka the African, 1927). The animation was an adaptation of a fairytale *Krokodil* (Crocodile) by the Soviet children's writer Chukovsky. The film was released in the beginning of 1927 to a positive reception in the press. Importantly the film successfully attracted a young audience.

This success, along with the Party's politics and academic critical support (Ulovich, 1927), encouraged other artists to start creating children's movies and animation.

Thus, in 1927 there were two children's animations produced and again they were based on Chukovsky's fairytales: *Tarakanische* (Big Cockroach, 1927); and *Moidodir* (Moidodir, 1927). Then came a world-famous animation *Katok* (The Skating Ring, 1927). While the animation was made in a naive children's drawings style, it conveyed a good sense of speed over the ice which was considered innovative at that time.

Generally, animation production showed a stable growth towards the end of 1920s and new film and animation studios were opening not only in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic but in other Soviet republics as well. Thus, in 1927 'Ivanov (1899-1959) obtained permission from Sovkino [...] to organize an animation department at Mezhrabpomfilm, the main Soviet film studio in Moscow' (Beumers, 2008: 155). By the end of the 1920s such 'soon-to-be famous' artists as Tsehanovsky, Amalrik, Mizyakin, Belyakov, Babichenko, started working in animation. Developing their own styles as artists they were also searching for new technological methods and solutions.

This early period of Soviet animation manifested itself with a variety of genres and formats. At the end of the 1920s, in animation, there was a new tendency to create well recognisable characters that would feature in series of animations, such as Tip-Top, Bratishkin, Buzilka (all proper names of the characters, albeit untranslatable). These animations were on the border between children's animation and political propaganda, and carried a certain 'political or social message' (Pontieri, 2012: 18). Animation at the end of the 1920s was of much higher quality than the films of just a few years before. The Party was putting the emphasis on production values, considering the effectiveness of the medium as a means by which to convey ideological messages to the young audience. The intention was also to draw more

people to watch the films, as films with higher production values were more interesting and attractive to the growing population. Nevertheless, 'by 1928 the party was expressing regular dissatisfaction with both the form and content of Soviet-made features' (Haynes, 2003: 32); so a new approach was developed in which the content became targeted in a more differentiated way.

The years 1928-29 saw the emergence of new films produced specifically aimed at children. However, none of them was a fairytale. It would take another ten years for the first national fairytale animated adaptations to be produced, as censorship committees, following the party line, were first reluctant to allow folk material to be adapted to the screen, as the stories were often seen as 'atavism', and a vestige of the past and of the old regime. Folklore itself was widely criticized, thus Clark in her work on Soviet literature cites Gorky who advocated the 'necessity of purifying the literature language and expunging all regionalism, earthiness, and folkisms from Soviet prose' (Gorky in Clark, 2000: 150).

A good example of the first attempts of the Soviet government to implement new ideological politics in cultural products, created specifically for children, is the animation *Samoyedskii Malchik* (The Samoyed Boy, 1928). The animation is based on an original script and tells a story of a little Nenets, a Samoyed boy whose adventures bring him to Leningrad where he is educated to understand the backwardness of his native people and their beliefs. The film is an ideologically complicated piece of work as it, on the one hand, celebrates craft skills and local customs, but on the other mocks religious vestiges of the northern peoples of Russia. Laura Pontieri sees the animation as 'ambivalent', praising the 'immense' size of the USSR and simultaneously controlling 'diversity' (Pontieri 2012: 17).

It is crucial to underline that by the end of 1920s the image of the child becomes a central figure in the creation of a New Soviet Citizen (Balina and Rudova, 2008). As for cinema in general during the 1930s decade 'more than one sixth of the entire production of Soviet film studios, measured by title, was devoted to the young audiences; in the years of the Great Terror, 1937-8, almost the only films made were for children' (Kelly, 2007: 477). For the next two decades (1930s-1950s) animation produced in the Soviet Union would be mostly made for children as well. Animation for grown-ups emerges only briefly during World War II and later, in greater proportion, during the 'Thaw' period of the 1960s.

During Stalin's rule the 'nurturing' of a new Soviet citizen became more simplified and standardized than it was in post-revolution years, with children's cultural content put on a 'conveyor'. Thus Birgit Beumers follows Prokhorov in saying that at the All-Union Party Conference in March 1928 'the ideological use of cinema for children became a focal point' (Beumers, 2008: 156). However, it is exactly Beumers who simultaneously exempts animation from ideological influence. Beumers argues that, 'Soviet animation was much less affected by ideological constraints and thus was able to instill in children universal moral values of right and wrong and often make subversive comments on contemporary society' (Beumers, 2008: 154).

Of course the first task in approaching ideology in Russian animation is the formulation of the terminology. What exactly does Beumers define as 'ideological constraints'? As argued earlier in the chapter, mostly Soviet cinema studies consider communism and socialist realism as the main focal points, often excluding implicit matrixes such as gender politics that are present in those ideologies. Thus contemporary research tends to set children's material aside from the rest of the media content produced (MacFadyen, 2005), assuming the 'pure' nature of such content. In

this newly developed trend contemporary Russian scholars somewhat differ from their colleagues who worked during Soviet times, and who were involved in keenly debating the cultural war between East and West through a rigid high-brow view of Soviet reality both off and on screen. For example Liehm and Liehm (1977) argue that 'the cold war atmosphere even dominated children's films, filling them with instructions to be watchful' (p. 67). Meanwhile, both schools of researchers are similar in their approach to the 'filtration' of what ideology is, depending on the epoch their critical works were produced.

However, the political message which films for children carried and continue to carry nowadays do not differ that much from the content for adults, at least with regard to gender representation. As outlined in the Introduction, only a few scholars have elaborated on the gender issues in Russian animations, which in its turn highlights a lack of adequate feminist studies concerned with the discourse of Russian animation.

Returning to the construction of the new citizen and a bright future, along with feature filmmakers who discovered through film a 'potential to construct a different reality, to build through montage the perfect Utopia, and thus made it open to abuse for the purpose of constructing a myth instead of an identity' (Beumers, 2006a: 1), animators were set to construct children's identities both as Soviet citizens and gendered beings, creating a children's picture of the world often in a prescriptive manner. The massive ideological project was launched at the end of 1920s. Films of that time were not 'intended to portray 'reality' at all, but do in fact function rather well as modern fairy tales' *sic* (Haynes, 2003: 68). Similar to feature films which 'existed to raise the spirit of the people, to set moral standards, to show 'reality' in positive and bright colours, or to depict the path to the 'bright future' ' (Beumers, 2006a: 1), animation became a

crucial part of a political cultural doctrine – Socialist Realism – officially adopted in 1930s and destined 'to dominate the Soviet arts to the very end' (Hutchings, 2007: 69).

Stalin's Socialist Realism of the 1930s, which, according to Evgenii Dobrenko (2007b), was destined to become the most effective sociopolitical tool of the Soviet state, put the end to a turbulent post-revolutionary decade when filmmakers and animators could still ask questions, criticize and mock the government. Starting with the end of 1930s the machinery of propaganda began working at full capacity. According to Haynes, 'socialist realism was introduced as a means to transcend the apparent dichotomy between commerce and ideology' (Haynes, 2003: 24). Starting with the 1930s all available media propaganda, employed by the State, began to form a coherent manageable system that would extinguish creative freedom and create a new type of a 'human being'. However, most importantly, this 'being' was gendered.

Referring to the beginning of Stalinist culture Liehm and Liehm argue:

Stalinism and Zhdanovism played several fundamental roles in Soviet culture and, particularly, in Soviet film: they destroyed the heritage of the old avant-garde, branding it un-Soviet and hostile; they made of the nineteenth century an aesthetic norm and a standard of taste, simplifying its romantic view of the people, of folklore, and of traditions, its descriptive, narrative realism, and transforming them into a sort of vulgar pseudoromanticism and pseudorealism.

(Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 70)

Starting with the end of the 1920s and finishing with World War II 'cinema became an apologist for collectivization, which went hand-in-hand with the suppression of the

individual and the personal, even up to the point of the displacement of private life as a legitimate subject for portrayal on screen' *sic* (Stishova, 1993: 178). Feature films of the 1930s were creating a 'vanished reality' (Taylor, 2007), playing both entertaining and ideological functions 'to divert the mass audience of workers and peasants from their difficulties and to offer them the hope that the future would be better and the present sacrifices were not in vain' (ibid.: 79).

Similar to feature films, animation of the decade presents us with valuable media samples of political ideological constructions of the period both explicitly, for example in *Parovoz, Leti Vpered* (Train, Go Forward, 1932), or implicitly in *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934); the latter film being a blunt critique of the country's imperial past. Over this time it was a medium that created political and ideological implications and it was also well known for its use of so called 'full animation' technique. Although during this period animated films were mainly concerned with political caricature, it is still extremely interesting as *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 1) is the first animated film produced in Soviet Russia based on a compilation of traditional fairytales plots and characters. It tells a story of a tsar who tries to win the love of a tsarina with the help of a common man. The film is a twenty-minute black-and-white animation, with sound. Significantly, it takes the form of a fairytale about class struggle in which national mythology is utilised as a political tool. The film starts with *skomorokhi* who are medieval East Slavic troubadours. They sing, dance, play musical instruments and compose dramatic performances such as fairytales, dancing and singing some entertainment songs prefaced with the traditional fairytale beginning '*eto tol'ko priskazka, skazka v peredi*' ('It's just the beginning, the fairytale is ahead'). The *skomorokhi* start by telling viewers that this will be a fairytale about

Durandai-the-Terrible (the name Durandai is consonant with *durak* - a fool) and beautiful Tsarina Tetekha (though in the animated film it is a proper name, in Russian language the word '*tetekha*' means a clumsy or overweight woman, and visually the character is depicted in an unattractive manner), blacksmith Sila (which in Russian language means Power), and a blind-maid Talani. As frequently happens in fairytales, the Tsarina Tetekha gives her suitors three tasks. The figure of the tsar is caricatured, as is his power and kingdom. He has short stature and a fragile body. His symbol of power which is a *Monomakh's* Cap is too big for him. Importantly for this research, the tsar speaks with a very high pitched female voice, thus underlining his weakness and femininity, which is set against a bass voice of blacksmith Sila - the servant, representing here the working class of the country. This correlation of voice and masculinity/femininity is also something that will be encountered later in representations of Baba Yaga, who was often dubbed by male voice-actors.

Although the film is not a part of the samples under detailed study, it is important to have a brief discussion of it, as the representation of the Tsarina Tetekha in the film is one of the first attempts to utilise national fairytale as a means of exercising gender politics on screen. As will be shown, many examples of similar female representation on screen occur as the field of animation develops. The films, most of them included in this research, will follow some gender 'canons' established by *Fairytale about Tsar Durandai* film. The Tsarina Tetekha is shown in a similar sardonic way as the tsar. Although she is depicted in a very negative way, in the end of the film she wins over the tsar and takes away his kingdom, emphasising the importance of the class struggle over gender question in the post-revolution years. The Tsarina Tetekha's shrill and commanding voice would be borrowed by a future adaptation of *Cinderella* (1947) in which the evil stepmother has similar vocal qualities and is even similar in her

physical appearance. The tsarina whistles like a man and her movements lack grace or femininity. She is also much bigger in size than her bridegroom - the tsar. The twenty-first century will see a similar representation of a female character in the popular animation television series *Masha's Fairytales*, this time though the heroine will be punished for her power and strength.

Another feature of the correspondence between the patriarchal relationship of female appearance and character will also stand the test of time. As will be shown, the link between character and appearance will be something that has been widely utilised by animators throughout the century. The tsarina's appearance is far from what is defined as beautiful in the patriarchal society and she is contrasted with the young maid Talani, who is a slim young woman with long thick hair depicted in a submissive position with her eyes cast down. (This is another prevalent aspect in the iconography of women that will be repeatedly encountered in the forthcoming analyses). Meanwhile the tsarina is overweight and curvy; she is a woman of power and when she learns that the tsar did not perform the tasks himself, she throws him away and punishes the blacksmith. The last act is actually reminiscent of the traditional fairytale *Slepoi i Beznogii* (Blind and Legless) which has a strong and independent female heroine. (It is important to note that the last fairytale has never been adapted to the screen). The tsarina's official seal is an imprint in black of herself, with protruding breast similar to Paleolithic female statuettes, the face of a cat with exotic feathers on its head. An animal (probably a lion) is beneath her. Even so the text reads *Tetekha Prekrasnaya* (Tetekha-the-Beautiful) in a manner that is reminiscent of the character of *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vasilisa-the-Beautiful) in national fairytales. Therefore, *Fairytale about Tsar Durandai* could be seen as somewhat a trendsetter for the future generations of animated fairytales: a weak feminised figure of the tsar is combined

with masculinised, overweight and unattractive women in power who must be punished or degraded, and meek young maidens who are praised and rewarded for these qualities.

Returning to the development of animation in Russia, the Soviet animation of the 1930s was growing, enriched with new talented filmmakers and artists. The advent of sound in cinema opened new paths for Soviet animation. One of the first sound animated films was *Pochta* (Mail, 1930). While the film was originally made in 1929 the sound was added later in 1930. The animation was an adaptation of a Soviet poem written by Marshak. The film tells the story of a letter addressed to the writer Boris Zhitkov. The letter follows the addressee around the world, but finally reaches him when he returns to Leningrad. The film became the first Soviet animated film to be widely exhibited in cinemas. The innovative techniques utilised in the film include unusual diagonal angles and the rhythmic organization of the drawings synchronised with sound (Maliukova, 2006).

In March 1933 the first All-Union Conference of Animators took place. This conference had a significant impact on the future development of animation, as it summarised the experience of the Soviet animators and identified a number of specific activities that enhanced the production of hand-drawn films. The same year a festival of American animation took place in Moscow. Disney won the hearts of both the public and the industry professionals. However, as Kelly notes, Disney films were regarded as 'unacceptable for Soviet consumption', but, nevertheless, would serve as a 'model of technical perfection' (Kelly, 2007: 477). Regardless of the government's suspicion towards Disney films, as time went by Soviet animators would integrate Disney's aesthetics and blend it with their own.

Another technique which was destined to be widely utilised in fairytale films later and which started its development in the 1930s was puppet animation. Ptushko was a pioneer in this field in the USSR. His first puppet films include *Novii Gulliver* (The New Gulliver, 1935), which was a combination of a full-length feature film and puppet animation, and the adaptation from the fairytale by Alexey Tolstoy *Zolotoy Kljuchik* (The Golden Key, 1939). These films were a success both domestically and internationally due to innovative technologies utilised in their production.

In 1936 an animation studio *Souzmultfilm* was established in Moscow. *Mezhrabfilmpromfilm* was reorganized into two studios – *Soyuzdetfilm* (studio of children's films) and *Soyuzmultfilm* – an animation studio which received a 'special permit to produce animations for children' (Beumers, 2008: 156). Building on the achievements of the previous years, Soviet animators of the 1930s were creating content for children on a stable and regular basis. The new conglomerate was set to become a recognizable brand and the largest studio in the USSR. The Studios' prerogative was to produce didactic films for children and youth audiences, combining educational and entertainment purposes. However, even the techniques animators utilised were by now strictly observed and controlled by the government. Thus, as Pontieri notices, 'techniques such as cut-outs and puppet animation, in which the director had to follow the entire development of the filmmaking process, were not used again until the late 1950s.' (Pontieri, 2012: 40).

The studio *Soyuzmultfilm* was making steady progress with technological aspects of animation production, bringing colour into being with the first colour animated film *Sladkiy Pirog* (Sweet Pie, 1937). By that time the style of animation had developed considerably. It had become more complex, with more animated elements in the scene at any one time, the characters and animal figures being much more fully formed.

Importantly, by the end of the 1930s national fairytales found their niche. After the First Congress of Russian Writers in 1934 and the influential speech by Maxim Gorky, in which he had changed his position in regard to the folk tradition (Clark, 2000), the animation industry followed that lead. The first two adaptations of traditional folktales were *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairytale about Yemelya, 1938) and *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938). Both animated films will be analysed in subsequent chapters.

The pre-war years were marked by a brief return of animated films for adults, all of which carried political messages rather than just serving as entertainment. As Pontieri argues, 'mythification of the past, exaltation of the present, and apotheosis of the brilliant future found expression through new patriotic films' (Pontieri, 2012: 42). For example the short film *Pobedniy Marshrut* (Winning Route, 1939) is about five-year economic development plans and the growing power of the Soviet State. Another example of the political agenda on screen is the film *Bojevie Stranitsi* (Battle Pages, 1939). It is a black-and-white short film portraying the Civil War in Russia, reminding the audience of the battles already won by the Soviet State. A similar approach to Soviet patriotism was also inculcated in children's animation, as in *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairytale about a Soldier, 1948). This film is also a part of the samples under study and will be incorporated into the argument later. It illustrates how during the war and post-war years animation was produced and utilised and the ways it was related to the construction of the images of the motherland.

Unsurprisingly, the time during World War II saw less film productions. As Kelly argues 'During the Great Patriotic War little attention was given to children's cinema' (Kelly, 2007: 477). Cinema in general was not on the priority list for the state, and evacuated studios were not producing many films. 'Two brief periods of sharp

production decline, the post-Civil War years (1921-22) and the post-war Stalin years (1948-51), saw fewer than twenty films a year completed' (Condee, 2009: 50). Several years later at the end of the 1940s, though destroyed after World War II and the repressions of the 1930s, the country was getting back on its feet. Meanwhile 'the party ideology had become so oversimplified, especially in the fields of art and culture. [...] All that was asked of art was that it be a weapon of day-to-day political work.' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 47 - 48).

Post World War animation in Russia and Disney's spell

Although some scholars argue that the situation in the country after the war was nothing but the screen image of reality presented to the world and the Soviet audience (Beumers, Condee), one needs to remember that by the beginning of the 1950s, the USSR had evolved from a mainly agrarian society with more than ninety percent of the population working in agriculture into a major economy and industrial power in the world. The postwar years brought the production of animation to a new level. This period is considered to be the time when the Soviet style of animation finally established itself. As Bendazzi notes, 'For fifteen years after the end of World War II, Soviet animation was involved mainly in the production of children's films, favouring the classic technique of drawing on cells and the round American style' (Bendazzi, 1994: 177).

In the 1940s and throughout the 1950s there were attempts to utilise the newly invented Walt Disney narrative and visual tools of animation. The traces of this are clearly evident to filmmakers, experts and casual viewers alike. Thus the famous animator Ivanov-Vano referred to this time as the 'Disney Spell' (Ivanov-Vano, 1984:

80). Eisenstein praised Disney in his emotional storytelling, naturalism, dynamism and expressive movement on screen. He could not but admire synchronisation of senses created by the American animator (Leyda, 1988). However Eisenstein was also suspicious of Disney's creation of fairytale escapism and doubted that it could be applicable to Soviet reality and objectives of the national animation.

It is important to note that Russian filmmakers did not blindly follow Disney-like stylistics. Although they introduced Disney studio's greater degree of naturalism and attention to detail and quality of the backgrounds, rotoscoping of movement, and of course colour - nevertheless, they also searched for a traditional Russian 'spirit' (Pontieri, 2012; Beumers, 2008).⁴ These attempts were actively discussed in writings of that time. Eisenstein in his lectures underlined a necessity to detach from Disney, and go with the line of Russian folklore (cited in Asenin 1974: 103). Thus, while borrowing many elements from American animation the films remained very Russian and in their visual style owed quite a lot to artistic traditions such as *Palekh* and Belibin's drawings as in *Sestra Alenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* (Sister Alenushka and her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953).

However the films produced in the 1950s are significant for this research not only due to their technical excellence and or technique but because the majority of the films were created by female filmmakers both solely and in collaboration with their male colleagues. Thus, two films were directed by Ivanov-Vano, and female director Snezhno-Blotskaya: *Skazka o Mertvoi Tsarevne i Semi Bogatiriach* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951); and *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese-Swans,

⁴For other examples of Disney's influence see films: *Lgunyshka* (Little Lier, 1941); *Skazka o Semi Bogatiriach* (Fairytale about Seven Strong Knights, 1951); *Alenkii Tsvetochek* (Scarlet Flower, 1952); and *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese-Swans, 1949).

1949). Another film *Sestra Alenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* ('Sister Alenushka and her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) was directed by Olga Khodotaeva. As this research progresses it will identify repeatedly the close involvement of female directors in Russian animation and, as stated earlier, this phenomenon would become an integral part of the argument as it will shed light on the ways Russian women directors engage with their own constructions of femininity on screen. The discourse on the traditional male gaze and appropriation of femininity on screen has a long tradition, starting with Mulvey, 1975. However, it has been argued by the Western scholars (Gaines, 1987; Pilling, 1997; Law, 1997) that works created by women might challenge this reality. Although we will return to this aspect later in the work, here it is important to underline that the inclusion of the animator's gender is important in establishing whether the point made by Western scholars is equally applicable to Russian animation.

Returning to the 1950s, on an ideological level post-war Stalin's animation, as well as Disney's, had a 'fleur' of a 'true happiness', visual optimism and bright future. For example, an urban fairytale mentioned earlier *Tsvetik-Semitsvetik* (Flower of Seven Colours, 1948) is an adaptation of Katayev's story, which has a bright triumphant (and different from the original novel) final scene of sun-filled Moscow, happy Soviet children, a rainbow, and of course the Kremlin in the background. On a stylistic and aesthetic levels Disney's influence was very strong until the Thaw of the 1960s. Even the traditional national fairytales that were produced during the 1950s fell under this foreign trend.

Another good example of the type of ideological messages which animation of the period sent to its young audience can be found in the colour animated film *Puteshestvie v Stranu Velikanov* (Trip to the Land of Giants, 1947). Here, the main

characters are a magical little boy and girl who travel by train and on foot across the vast 'land of giants', which of course turns out to be the Soviet Union. The way in which the little girl and boy get into the actual pictures of the book suggests that there is no difference between representation and reality and the implicit suggestion is that this film represents the truth! How different that is to the ways in which, say, American animator Chuck Jones deconstructs the animated visual image.

As the trip to the Land of Giants unfolds, the male train conductor explains its industry, riches, great construction and railways, while a colourful kaleidoscope of the country's power is scrolled on the screen with high speed. The final scene states a militaristic motto: 'So that no one in the world, impinge our country and our dreams we need coal and metal!'

As mentioned earlier, there was a vivid reluctance to produce adaptations of folk material prior to World War II. The post-war years certainly gradually adopted a more positive attitude. If in the 1920s-1930s the main ideological goal was to 'destroy' the past, by the 1940s State politics allowed artists to return to Russian traditional tales. The 1940s saw an increase in the production of this material and numerous national fairytales were adapted to the screen: *Teremok* (Little Tower, 1945); *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about a Soldier, 1948); and *Gusi Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949).

While the main volume of animated folklore adaptations consisted of the fairytales about animals, in comparison to earlier decades, there was still a significant number of magical fairytales that were produced in the 1950s. Almost every year *Souyzmultfilm* released one and sometimes even two full-length animated fairytales

based on national material.⁵ Generally, 'adaptations of fantastic tales become the main trend [...] and the most successful among the young audience' (Pontieri, 2012: 47) at that time.

Such established animators of the time as Ivanov-Vano, the sisters Brumberg, Olga Khodataeva, Alexandra Snezhno-Blotskaya, Al'marik, and Atamanov adapted classical literature and new Soviet fairytales to the screen by masterfully borrowing from traditional art motifs and styles and combining them with technological innovations. In terms of ideological analysis, post-war animations are seen by some researchers as presenting 'magic not as a means of reaching a Stalinist utopia [...] but as a way of redeeming a good behavior in children' (Beumers, 2008: 154). Thus, as argued earlier, Soviet cinema scholars such as Beumers and MacFadyen often 'de-ideologise' magic on screen, ascribing to it educational purposes and an emotional nature.

The educative function of the animated films should not be ignored of course and, contrary to the previous argument, it is that same educational function that carries in its roots the very ideological 'feed' of society. Moreover, as Soviet animators of the 1940s and 1950s were actively adapting Russian literature and folklore to the screen; such appropriation of the national past and collective memory (in the form of traditional fairytales adaptations) became a powerful tool through which to meet certain educational goals that were infused with ideological messages for both the

⁵1950s saw a massive influx of adapted fairytales. Overall six full-length films were released: two in 1953 *Volshebanya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird) and *Sestritsa Alenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* (Sister Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka); two in 1957 *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom) and *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About Snegurochka); and two in 1954 and 1958 *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess) and *Krasa Nenaglyadnaya* (The Beloved Beauty) respectively.

young and adults alike. This is exactly the reason why animated fairytales must be scrutinised. (The close intersection between fairytales and the (re)creation of the national identity past and present will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Returning to the 'golden age' of Soviet animation, it was not only the visual part of animation that was in the process of constant improvement after the war, but the story and screenplay also finally received well-deserved attention as well. Many well-known children's writers, including Bianki, Kassil, Marshak, Mikhalkov and Kataev, collaborated with animators on adapting their own novels and fairytales by writing screenplays for these productions. As the Liehms argue, 'the most secure support for efforts to revive Soviet film in the late fifties and early sixties was the new Soviet literature' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 206).

Adaptation became one of the most established forms. Among literary animated adaptations of the post-war period, one of the first animated full-length feature films is *Konyok-Gorbunok* (The Little Humpbacked Horse, 1947) directed by Ivanov-Vano and female director Milchina, which is based on a well-known tale by Pyotr Yershov. The colour film presented a highly skilled and artistically distinguished piece of work, and was critically acclaimed by winning several international prizes among which was a special prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1950. It was also sufficiently popular to be remade in 1975 by the same director (Ivanov-Vano) and studio.

Generally, animations in the post-Stalinist period were 'perennially popular' (Kelly, 2007: 479). The main trend as underlined by most scholars was that in the cinema of the 1950s the focus was on the 'lack of conflict' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977; Beumers, 2008). Although that is true with regard to the animation of the period it is also the case that Russian scholars have argued that from its inception, Soviet animation

generally followed a creed of non-violence in its storylines so that in the 1950s it simply adhered to that well-established tradition. Interestingly one of the first 'a-la Tom-and-Jerry' chase and slapstick animations would appear later in the series about the Wolf and the Rabbit *Nu Pogodi!* (Just You Wait!, 1969 - 2006). At this point it is extremely important to flag that this research identifies a deviation from the established academic view on Soviet animation. As will be presented in detail in chapter four, the link between violent episodes in animated fairytale films and the gender politics of screen representation will become clear.

The Thaw and animation

In the 1960s in spite of the isolation provided by the so called Iron Curtain and the continued 'progress' to the 'bright future', most of the researchers of Russian cinema agree that the doctrine of Socialist Realism underwent a significant change and 'the nature of that hegemony, as expressed in the doctrine of Socialist Realism, changed and developed over time: what was unacceptable in the 1930s might, for instance, be taken for granted in the 1960s' (Taylor, 2006: 34). As Plakhov puts it, 'the 1960s were a time when people were drawn to films that did more than tell a simple story [...] their (films) appeal stemmed largely from their extraordinary powerful visual language.' (Plakhov, 2007: 151).

Similar developments in cinema took place in European cinema at the time which Giannalberto Bendazzi has termed a 'timid revolution' (Bendazzi, 1994: 177). 'In Russia, these innovations led to the emergence of an intellectual audience that craved

films which we would today call 'art-house' (ibid). Moreover, it was also a time of technological and scientific breakthroughs, space exploration and rapid increase of military conflicts.

How did animation react to such dramatic changes? Animation finally came to the center of attention in the 1960s-1970s and was 'regularly publicized in the Soviet press' (Kelly, 2007: 478). However, the period of the naturalistic style of Disney was gone, probably also due to the Cold War escalation. Kelly argues: 'By the late 1950s a genuine spirit of innovation and excitement had made itself felt in children's cinema' (Kelly, 2007: 478).

First of all, the number of animated films increased significantly during and after the Thaw. In a manner that was similar to the Disney conveyor method of production, the Soviet animation industry produced a high volume of films during 1960s-1980s. Secondly, for the first time in many years animation for grown-ups appeared again on the screen. Films mocking the vices of society such as *Semeinaya Khronika* (Family Chronicals, 1961) or *Bolshie Nepriyatnosti* (Big Troubles, 1961), to name a couple, were in abundance at that time. Although some films were still aesthetically exercising the Western influence, some adhered to the newly established minimalistic trend, which would become popular during the decade.⁶

Along with a general decline of interest towards old styles of animation, there was a significant disfavour towards magic and traditional fairytales on screen. Only two adaptations of magical fairytales were produced in the 1960s decade: *Podi Tuda Ne*

⁶For evidence of Western influence in 1960s films see *Semeinaya Chronika* (Family Chronicles, 1961), which stylistically somewhat resembles Warner Bros animation in its stylization of anthropomorphic figures.

Znayu Kuda (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966), and *Snegurka* (Snow Girl, 1969).

As Andrei Plakhov states about the 1960s:

A growing number of people aspired to the exotic and the unusual, instead of being drawn to the familiar, entertaining and predictable plots of the blockbusters [...] People went to see films even if they could not entirely comprehend them [...] Yet audience longed for aesthetic pleasure and tried to decipher the visual metaphors contained in these films.

(Plakhov, 2007: 152)

Apparently, an old seemingly well-known Russian theme could not perform as an exotic intellectual aspiration. Moreover the new artistic and liberal freedoms of Khrushchev's Thaw in the decade preceding the new artistic aesthetics of the 1970s was 'burning' the old idols of Russian traditional fairytale on screen (Woll, 2000). Some scholars have commented that the new wave was not apparent in animation as it was in feature films (Pontieri, 2012; Bendazzi 1994). Thus Kelly notes that the films for children were still 'well intentioned and dull' (Kelly, 2007: 478). Nevertheless, from a cultural point of view the Thaw was characterized by a certain degree of liberation in all spheres of Soviet life and culture. Totalitarian mythology underwent a substantial change during this period; even so it continued to perform its duties, if somewhat mechanically, to the end of the 1980s.

As Liehm and Liehm (1977) note:

After years of terrorism, cultural terrorism included, the aims were far more humble: if not the truth, then at least no lies; if not an advance with the artistic

avant-garde of the world, then at least not a retreat to the ranks of the reactionaries of art; if not a reality as it is, then at least not a reality painted pink.

(p. 70)

They go on to argue that during the Khrushchev era 'the political leadership was interested in finding better spokesperson for its policy, whereas the artists took the degree of freedom they were granted as an opportunity to speak for themselves and contrast their experience with the official version.' (ibid.: 219). Indeed, along with their feature film counterparts, Soviet animators also enjoyed a relative freedom, although it took them many more years to start expressing themselves more openly.

Pontieri characterises the period as a departure from 'fairy-tale worlds of Stalinist animation' as an attempt to 'bring the audience in contact with reality' *sic* (Pontieri, 2012: 55). Such a tendency towards a new-style of realism is apparent in the animation of that time in general and also in fairytale adaptations and animations with fairytale elements when fairytale characters function outside the original context of the story. Examples include *Vovka v Trediaviatom Tsarstve* (Vovka in a Faraway Kingdom, 1965), *Pro Zluyu Machekhu* (About an Angry Stepmother, 1966) and *Konets Chernoi Topi* (The End of the Black Swamp, 1960). All of these animations depict traditional folklore characters in this new light. In the first film a lazy schoolboy is magically transported into Russian fairytales and learns the value of labour. The second animation is a contemporary take on a traditional fairytale about an urban Baba Yaga, an evil step-mother and hardworking step-daughter and the consequences of laziness. The last film depicts the hard life of magic fairytale heroes

(Baba Yaga, Leshiy, etc.) who find themselves in an age when nobody believes in magic.

As mentioned earlier, an influential stylistic trend of the time was 'limited animation' (Pontieri, 2012: 78). Pontieri also argues that this trend was set in opposition to the Disney's realist style and came to the Soviet Union from Yugoslavia and the Zagreb School of Animated Films (ibid.). The graphic and minimalist style had the effect of carrying animators further and further away from the old somewhat rigid and prescribed forms of 'magic' on screen, and it was also cheaper to produce.

By the 1970s the situation in cinema started to change. Firstly, because 'Soviet cinema was no longer a purely ideological institution; instead it became the most profitable branch of the Soviet culture industry' (Prochorov, 2007: 136). Secondly, 'in the late 1970s, more commercial films gained prestige and ultimately put aside the success that art-house cinema had enjoyed in the 1960s' (Plakhov, 2007: 152).

While some Western critics tend to undervalue the artistic quality of films produced during this period, as Kelly rightly argues, 'there is an interesting divergence between the films that appeal most to adult critics and those recorded as favorites in memories and oral history' (Kelly, 2007: 477). Most of the animated films created after the Thaw and before the collapse of the USSR have become the classics of Soviet and now Russian animation that are still well-known, loved and watched widely by contemporary Russian viewers and include: *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Crocodile, 1969 - 1983) and *Nu Pogadi* ('Just You Wait!' series 1969 – 1993), to name just a couple. The cultural diffusion of the characters was so strong that, for example, Ghena the Crocodile was even put on Soviet postage stamps.

As for the main characteristics of the time, Pontieri argues that the 'tendency towards poetic', which started prevailing over 'social criticism' (Pontieri, 2004: 170). She goes on to say, that 'towards the end of 1960s, animation developed a lyrical genre, a pure manifestation of the artists' subjective vision' (Pontieri, 2012: 2).

Others researchers agree with the rise of the 'individual' inner world of characters depicted on screen, as an opposition to a collective one so popular before the Thaw. As Beumers puts it, 'in 1960s -1970s the collective has collapsed' (Beumers, 2008: 154). Such a sharp shift could not but bring a feeling of confusion to both individuals and society more generally. According to Beumers 'in animations child's loneliness becomes a focal point' (ibid). To cope with these unsettling feelings, grown-up cinema indulged in light entertainment, while children were 'comforted by magic creatures' (ibid), like Ghenya and his friend Cheburashka.

Before the collapse: animation of the late Soviet period.

Although the cinema was still considered a tool of ideological control, the industry continued producing media content that became the classics still watched by the Russian audience in the twenty-first century. As for ideological control and censorship, this was the time of events in Eastern Europe and the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the key point was to maintain the status quo, without controversy or debates, and no search or discoveries, became the guidelines for the tough regime after 1968. 'The use of literature that was once an important source of inspiration, was also sharply curtailed' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 324).

In 1970s the country was living with the new leader Leonid Brezhnev, and was building from that point onwards a ‘communism with a human face’. It was the time when the USSR was still acting as a super-state, but along with the growing technical backwardness, the country faced the problem of financial ‘deficit’ when people could not buy basic everyday products. With regard to cinema, there was the same sort of shortages, which were characterised by technical backwardness and a lack of elementary means. ‘The 1970s were characterized by relative artistic stagnation [...] Popular genres, such as melodramas, musicals, detective-stories, disaster movies and science fiction flooded the movie houses.’ (Lawton, 1992b: 8).

For this research it is the social control that was exercised that is of greater importance. Thus George Faraday argues, ‘the authorities discouraged the trend toward formal complexity and thematic ‘sincerity’ characteristic of cinema during the Thaw period [...] The leadership sought to achieve control [...] by systematically privileging the more compliant directors.’ (Faraday, 2000: 87). Compliant filmmakers, in their turn, produced ideologically compliant pictures about socialism and national heroes. Referring to the quality of films, Faraday describes them as ‘technically well-made’, and notes that in some cases they possessed genuine ‘mass appeal’ (Faraday, 2000: 54). The film industry in general attempted to draw the audience’s attention away from the economic stagnation in the country by producing more films for mass entertainment. As Faraday notes:

The relative liberalism of the Brezhnev regime created a considerably more complex situation: in this period, the extent to which a particular area of cultural production was characterized by orthodoxy depended, first, on the priority the authorities attached to controlling it, and second on the extent to which its inherent technological characteristics made the state’s institutional

control practical to maintain. The importance the state attached to maintaining control over a particular medium depended in part on how directly its output impacted the ideological basis for the regime's legitimacy.

(Faraday, 2000: 82)

Most importantly, the screen was invaded by fairytale adaptations. As will be demonstrated in the fourth chapter, the patriarchal mechanism of gender engineering put the old myths of femininity to its service, as it had done during the 1950s. Interestingly, most of the films of the period are still watched and broadcasted in Russia today, forty years after their release. *Vini Pookh* (Winnie-the-Pooh series 1969, 1971, 1972) and *Malysh I Karlson* (Little Boy and Karlson, 1968, 1970) are typical examples.

Russia was dealing with changes to its ideological undercurrents and their concomitant shifts in culture. As David MacFadyen puts it, 'The philosophy, developed throughout the 1970s, had once battled socialist "naturalism" ' (MacFadyen, 2005: 190), and importantly the platforms for films changed as television entered people's homes. From this point onward children no longer had to go to the cinema to watch films or animations; they could do so from the comfort of their homes. This technological development alone explains the growing popularity of media content produced for children. By the middle of the 1980s about '93 percent of the population had household television sets' (Stites, 1992: 189). As Natalie Kononenko notes, 'television helped stimulate the demand for short animated films; in fact, a prime showcase for animations was a children's program called *Spokoinoi nochi, malyshi* (Good Night, Little Ones), which immediately preceded the evening news.' (Kononenko, 2011: 175).

As more and more content was required, in 1973 *Sverdlovskaya Kinostudia* (film studio based in Sverdlovsk and established in 1943) started producing animated television films along with its slate of feature and documentary content. The studio specialised in and widely used puppet animation, which, for a very long time, has been a part of the traditional Soviet techniques.

While 'it was a time that lacked the inner vitality of the Khrushchev era' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 312), it is widely believed that still 'film-makers frequently found more breathing space when making films on children's topics' (ibid.: 324). The production of animation for children resulted in consistently high numbers of viewers. Of course, for scholars of Soviet animation the decade is particularly interesting because, as already noted, it was the decade of Yuri Norshteyn and his outstanding works *Ezhik v Tumane* (Hedgehog in the Fog, 1975) and *Skazka Skazok* (Tale of Tales, 1979). However, there were some other trends that are also relevant to this study.

As Natalie Kononenko argues:

During the heyday of Soviet animation in the 1970s and 1980s, animations that seemed to follow folktales were altered slightly to convey messages in keeping with Soviet ideology. They not only criticized capitalism, but also depicted women as sexless and self-sacrificing, and urged cooperation, neighborliness, and nonviolence.

(Kononenko, 2011: 272)

Scholarly work on post-1970s animation is scarce, especially in languages other than Russian. Most of the academic writing about 1970s and early 1980s Russian animation is devoted to individual directors. Yuri Norshteyn leads the group, with his

'constant retellings of the psychological and spiritual realities, the culture and the experiences of Russia' (Bendazzi, 1994: 374). He is closely followed by Andrei Khrzhanovsky, Fedor Khitruk and Roman Katsanov, who were all prominent Russian animators of that time.

While accepting the artistic and aesthetic values and innovative approaches of those directors, academic scholars somehow ignored films (some of which are analysed in this research) which were produced in substantial quantities during 1970s and the early 1980s. Generally this period is characterised by a sharp increase in films dedicated, in one form or another, to traditional Russian themes, including *Bilini* (epic tales) and their characters: *Vasilisa Mikulishna* (Vasilisa Mikulishna, 1975); *Ilya Muromets* (Ilya Muromets, 1975), *Ilya Muromets I Solovei Razboinik* (Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber, 1978), or historical novels about ancient Russia such as *Detstvo Ratibora* (Ratibor's Childhood, 1973). The same trend is clearly apparent with regard to the animated adaptation of national fairytales of the time. During the so-called Stagnation period under Brezhnev and then continuing with his successors up until Gorbachev's *Perestroika*, eleven animated adaptations of magic fairytales were produced. (cf. Filmography for a full list.)

Returning to the 1980s, the second part of the decade brought a new and fresh perspective and a comparatively young leader in the figure of Michael Gorbachev. The reforms which he implemented had a crucial influence not only on the USSR, but also on the whole world. As for the USSR itself, it was a time of tremendous change.

Questions of gender were at its epicenter. This starts with the active position of the President's wife (Raisa Gorbacheva) and finishes with feature films that presented a new type of sexually-charged female imagery, like in *Malenkaya Vera* (Little Vera,

1988). As the argument develops it will become clear that the animation also experienced some changes in regard to its gender representation.

One other significant development is closely connected to the government's attitude towards art and artists. This attitude contrasts to the orientation that had existed in the Soviet period, which George Faraday reasonably calls 'the systematic deintellectualization' (Faraday, 2000: 47). When Gorbachev came to power, he countenanced new cinematic topics and freedom of speech. Although it was more ideological support rather than financial, it was still something brand new for the former tsarist and communist society. Another development worthy of mentioning concerns the leader's attitude towards what was the intellectual core of the society, namely the intelligentsia. 'If there was a moment when the Soviet intelligentsia seemed likely to [...] attain "class power," it was the years of *Perestroika*. Gorbachev considered the intelligentsia his primary ally in his campaign to revivify Soviet society.' (Faraday, 2000: 121). The thinking elite were asking new questions; though gender was on a periphery of their intellectual concerns, at least it had finally emerged from obscurity.

As Nicholas Galichenko characterised the period: 'Gorbachev's glasnost is of course more than just a new aesthetic. It's a broadly based social policy that includes economic, political and ideological components.' (Galichenko, 1991: 6).

He goes on to underscore the advantages the era brought:

In the cinema, glasnost can be measured by the films released since Gorbachev's rise to power, by the perceptions of the artists who make the films and the responses of the Soviet people who have seen them. In this respect, glasnost for the film industry has been very much a retrospective

phenomenon. [...] The glasnost movies are eye openers: Stalinist persecution, Jewish emigration, social alienation, even police brutality come under the scrutiny of the lens. [...] Science fiction fantasy, docudrama, political satire, and such long-buried subjects as human spirituality are now actively explored.

(Galichenko, 1991: 2)

Those comments hold good for the animation of the period as well. One of the few examples of the long-buried subject of gender emerges on screen from the ruins of previous attempts at social engineering. Thus, the end of the 1980s witnessed Lydia Surikova's work, which openly questioned the patriarchal status quo through the means of national fairytale adaptation and in particular the film *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarku Dochku Sapsal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989).

Coming to the overview of the end of the Soviet era of cinema and animation, the totalitarian mythology lost its psychological, intellectual and political justification. However, Kononenko points out that children's animated films of the period were still 'of the highest quality, and many won international awards' (Kononenko, 2011: 272). Nevertheless, by the end of the 1980s Soviet cinema was in decline. Preceding the anarchic 1990s, the *Perestroika* era brought a feeling of an impending doom among film experts. Cinema actually reflected the situation in society. From 1985 onward, the USSR entered a period of total crisis. The infamous Fifth Congress resulted in 'more than just the replacement of the industry's leaders' (Faraday, 2000: 127) but 'all production units were to go over to a self-financing system (known as *khozraschet*) under which they would be expected to make a profit or face bankruptcy' (ibid.).

Along with it, the mass-import of American films took place. 'Political democratization and the legalization of market exchange vastly increased the scale on which information and commodities flowed into the country.' (Faraday, 2000: 181). The decade saw the 'Americanisation' and 'Westernisation' of the Soviet audience. Not surprisingly, everything labeled "Russian" was considered in a negative light. The era of 1970s with its interest towards native tradition was long gone. Only three animated films under analysis were produced during the entire time of *Perestroika*. Apart from the above mentioned *How Ivan The Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter*; the other two films were *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989) and *Ivan Tsarevich I Seryi Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991).

New Russia's animation

By the beginning of 1990s the country faced a severe deficit in all categories of production, including film and animation. On a broader political arena, the socialist republics started the process of secession. 'With the demise of the communist state, and more importantly with the collapse of the Soviet dream of socialism, an entire value system disintegrated' (Beumers, 2006b: 76). By the time the USSR collapsed in 1991, the film market like the rest of the national markets was in a state of great depression. Between 1991 and 1997 the GDP halved, capital investment fell by ninety-two percent. By the middle of the 1990s the government stopped any ideological or financial programmes intended for cinema and animation. The political and economic situation was terrible, and there were many other spheres of life that required attention. Birgit Beumers notes that Russia faced a dilemma, 'between the

fetters of ideology and capital, and its dependence on an infrastructure in desperate need of repair or reconstruction' (Beumers, 2007: 233).

In 1996 the Russian film industry, with twenty pictures released, reached rock bottom. On 17 August 1998, the country faced a financial default and the film industry – along with the whole economy of the country, which seemed to start the recovery process – was defeated again. According to Beumers the majority of films of the middle of the 1990s, 'were concerned with crime and the bleakness of Russian life in the Yeltsin era' (Beumers, 2007: 233).

Faraday agrees:

By the mid-1990s Russian filmmaking had entered a period of crisis whose scale and severity is perhaps unique in the experience of the world's major cultural industries. In the previous decade, a film industry that in terms of output and the audience size had been one of the world's largest had been virtually liquidated as a medium of mass entertainment.

(Faraday, 2000: 2)

The films made in a super realism were an honest representation of the reality of that time - gloomy, sharp and nihilistic. They were dedicated to the lost dreams of freedom and new life, which former Soviet people thought 'Western democracy' and its associated style of life would bring. '*Chernukha*' (dark stuff), 'bold attempts to tell the long-suppressed truth about such issues as Stalinist repression, youth alienation, and contemporary moral degradation' (Faraday, 2000: 175) invaded the screens. Beumers (2006a) agrees: 'After the collapse of communist ideology, filmmakers rejected demands to construct the future. [...] Instead they began to portray the reality

that surrounded them without the ideological constraints hitherto imposed.' (p. 1). The audience did not want or need 'Russian product' in any consumer sphere, a preference that was not confined to the cinema or animation only. Fairytales were again unpopular. 'The ideological vacuum, the lack of some uniting idea, and the mythological void became a commonplace' (Tsyrukun, 2006: 58).

A new capitalist philosophy of production and distribution led to an establishment of independent film studios. Several animation studios were opened. The first ones were *Pilot* (founded by a well-known animation producer, Aleksandr Tatarsky), *Mel'nitsa*, and *Christmas Films*. The latter one (founded during the Soviet times in 1989) was a large-scale collaboration project with S4C BBC (Wales) and was set to produce British financed films based on Shakespeare's works, and Biblical adaptations. S4C at that time had a strong animation division; however, the religious subtext of the collaboration is still puzzling. *Christmas Films* studio has been through difficulties since its creation, and in 2005 released a new series of the famous *Nu Pogodi* (Just You Wait!). Since then its production activity has been limited.

The new millennium was marked with by the formation of commercial cinema in Russia during which the first national blockbusters and domestic box-office hits were made. As for animation, it took a decade for the first popular animated film to be produced. According to Larisa Maliukova (2009) the process of animation's 'reanimation' began in 2000, when seventeen short films were produced with support from the state. Thus in 2004 the governmental support reached a new level. According to Maliukova, sixty-eight films were made with state subsidies (ibid). The same year two animated series of films were launched: studio *Pilot*'s most ambitious project *Gora Samotsvetov* (Mountain of Gems) and *Smeshariki* (the name is made of

two abbreviated words which in Russian mean ‘funny’ and ‘little balls’). Both are ongoing projects.

Mountain of Gems is a series of animated fairytales from around Russia and from former USSR republics aimed at promoting cultural tolerance and pursuing educational functions. So far, sixty films have been produced and broadcasted since 2005. Each individual film is produced by a different group of animators and each is unique. Maliukova compares some films in the series with the best Soviet animation samples (Maliukova, 2009). Meanwhile, Natalie Kononenko notices the reflection of Putin's policies in such folklore-based animation together with the image of Russia, 'which are very different from those in the Boris Yeltsin-era' (Kononenko, 2011: 290).

Completely different in its stylistics, technique and goals, *Smeshariki* is a computer animation, depicting imaginary round-shape creatures, which resemble some recognizable animals. The animation is a franchise sold internationally, known abroad as *Kikoriki* or *GoGoRiki*. So far, 312 episodes have been produced and broadcasted.

The first feature-length animated film was *Alesha Popovich I Tugarin Zmei* (Alesha Popovich and Tugarin Snake, 2004) produced by studio *Melnitsa*. The film is loosely based on Russian *Bilini* (epic tales) and presents a light entertainment for an audience of all ages. Its popularity at the domestic box-office prompted the studio to create a series of films about the adventures of these three *Bogatyr*s (strong knights of Russian epic tales). Overall, six films have been released to date with the last one in January 2015. Though the films are seen as the Russian answer to *Shrek* (2001) (Kononenko, 2011), they still indicate a return of interest in Russophilia, questions of national identity, and governmental cultural politics on screen. The technical quality of films could be argued as starting to rise, if it is to be compared to the 1990s, but not so

much if we were to draw parallels with Soviet animation. The structure of the story and the production methods are for the most part influenced by Hollywood, so they can appeal to the young audience, accustomed to the aesthetics of the large-scale American animation.

Unfortunately, this 'Hollywood standardisation' is not a universally positive development. On one hand, the audience has come to the cinemas to watch Russian films and this is obviously a positive change. However, along with it the notion of distinctive and original material has vanished. Importantly for this research, the increase in the volume of fairytale adaptations again coincides with a worsening of women's position in society, including traditional gender roles imposed by the Church, lack of women in governance and parliamentary discussions on the abortion ban. The similarity with Stalin's period and its constructions of femininity is apparent.

Returning to the development of the animation sector, as more and more independent studios have been opening all around the country (Saint Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Kazan', Saratov, etc.), the once influential studio, *Soyuzmultfilm* stopped being the country's key producer. Another current and significant player on the market became *Animos Films*, which specialised in auteur pictures and in collaborating with artists of the old "Soviet" school including Marina Kurchevskaia and Nina Vinogradova. Among the works produced by the studio is the animation *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006), which is a part of the samples under study.

The last series of films which will be mentioned here is an ongoing television series *Mashini Skazki* (Masha's Fairytales) - a spin-off of a popular ongoing animated series

Masha I Medved (Masha and the Bear). Masha's Fairytales are a combination of 2D and 3D computer graphics; the short animated programmes are broadcasted on channel Russia 1 in the famous programme *Spokoinoi nochi, малыши* (Good Night, Little Ones), previously mentioned, and also on channel *Karusel* (national children's channel). The director and screenwriter are Renat Gazizov and Denis Chervyatsov. As already mentioned these animations are based around a little girl Masha who tells fairytales to her toys. Several different episodes from the series have been included in this research as they provide a significant and material insight into the gendered politics of contemporary Russian animation and, therefore, they will be thoroughly analysed and discussed later in the work.

Summing up the chapter, cinema and animation, although being considered a short-lived wonder, turned out to be one of the 'marathon runners' of the last century. It started its life as a *rara avis* in times of imperial Russia with recordings of the last Tsar's coronation, developing further and witnessing the succeeding decades of Soviet avant-garde, then propaganda of the ruling ideology. In modern times it continues to depict and reflect on the images of the New Russia. The cinematograph has found its niche, supplanted theatre from the pedestal of bohemian entertainment and withstood the invasion of both television and the Internet. Probably, it was caused not merely by its entertaining function but also as a result of its ideological purposes. Being one of the most influential tools in political propaganda it was the cinematograph's insurance against extinction.

As has been demonstrated, animation in Russia has rich traditions of commenting, debating, reflecting and adjusting to the socio-cultural and political situation in the country. However, academic research in Russian animation studies is still scarce. Even acclaimed Oscar-winning contemporary animator Aleksandr Petrov has yet to

receive the academic attention that is similar to Norshteyn and other Soviet animators. There is a limited number of works dedicated to the Soviet period of Russian animation and a systematic and critical analysis of the post-Soviet animation reveals the theoretical lacuna. Further, feminist criticism of the subject is virtually non-existent. Meanwhile, and significantly, many female filmmakers worked and continue to work in the animation industry thus actively participating in the construction of female imagery on screen. Moreover, in modern days Russia every year sees more than a hundred animated films released, most of them with assistance from the Ministry of Culture. Not all these animations are widely broadcasted; nevertheless, these films, compared with products of the Soviet period provide invaluable material for multidisciplinary discourses such as gender politics in animated adaptations of national fairytales.

Chapter 2: Fairytale on Screen: Fairytales and their Cinematic Adaptations

Fairytale as a form

This particular chapter will explore the transmigration of fairytales historically and through various literary renderings and film, thus combining fairytale, film and adaptation studies discourses in one section. Therefore, before proceeding to animated adaptations of national fairytales themselves it is firstly important to explore the original source's nature and any possible influence it exercises upon its cinematic versions.

As argued in the Introduction to the research, folklore and fairytales have fascinated researchers and the general public for centuries. Most countries and schools of humanitarian sciences have explored the field of folklore and fairytales. Such a deep engagement with fairytales in such a diversity of disciplines, discourses and domains is probably due to the nature of the material. Indeed, fairytales represent a distinctive mixture of forms of national heritage and people's art, thereby providing a productive base on which theories can thrive.

National fairytales are both puzzling and intriguing. To start with they have an oral background, being a product created by people rather than an individual author. During their historical development they travelled back-and-forth from low-culture to high-culture and from grown-up domain into the children's domain. Their simplicity and depthlessness (as Lüthi, 1970, puts it) is multiplied by common wisdom and possible sacral symbolism. If we are to add to this the national spirit of the material, the philosophical and academic debates around the subject are quite justified. As it has been argued in the literature review section, multiple scholars have examined fairytales. Be it world mythology (Campbell), the investigation of folktales as in the

national context (Propp, Jacobson, Haney) or on an international scale (Eliade, Jones, Warner, Zipes), be it formalism (Propp, Nikiforov) or structuralism (Lévi-Strauss), post-structuralism (Barthes), formalism (Lüthi), psychoanalysis (Freud, Bettelheim) or analytical psychology (Jung, von Franz), feminism (Bottingheimer, Liberman, Rowe, Gubar, Gilbert, Bell, Haas and Sells), anthropology (Anderson), sociology (Baker-Sperry, Grauerholz) and neo-Marxism (Zipes), there is abundant research into fairytales.

As also noted in the literature review section, importantly for this gender-focused research, many scholars, especially from the mythological Russian school (Propp, [1928]1968; Kravchenko, 1987), have argued that magic fairytales carry traces of older pagan myths, in which a strong female role in society differed significantly from the later one in Christian society (Neumann, 1963; Abramova, 1967; Hubbs, 1988). As will be seen, national fairytales can serve as the examples of strong and independent female protagonists. This makes magic fairytales a particularly apposite platform from which to investigate the representation of women.

The debate on the origin, the age of the magic fairytales and their matriarchate specifics is still ongoing (Meletinsky, 1958; Zipes, 2012), and speculation around the existence and significance of earlier matriarchal cultures continues to span a range of views (Ucko, 1968; Fleming, 1969; Gere, 2009). Nevertheless, this type of tale and the film adaptations are particularly potent in terms of this particular research. The cultural phenomenon of magic fairytales, their cinematic adaptations, the relationship between two media, as well as the gender politics in these products remain crucial with regard to the construction of national myths of women and femininity on screen.

Generally, the trajectory of Russian fairytales in both their circulation and research followed a similar route to the one made by its counterpart in the form of the literary fairytale in other countries. However, Slavic mythology has its specificities. Unlike some other cultures (like Egyptian or Greek) that had writing systems to pass down their mythologies in the written form, Slavs lacked such a system and were most likely transferring and preserving their cultural heritage orally, which means that some parts of the folklore material have probably been lost and others were transformed over the centuries. Following the Slavic people's conversion into Christianity this trend was strengthened, as the Church was strongly opposed to pagan mythology and people's folklore, and especially when it came to take account of its matriarchal rhetoric. If it was not for the robust faithfulness of the people to the pre-Christian faith it is quite likely that many of the original sources could have been lost. Though the Christianisation of Kievan Rus' took place in the ninth century, the population adhered to the old beliefs for many years, preserving them as tales, rituals and customs.⁷

Time went by and as Bacchilega rightly argues: 'In the middle ages, folk tales served more of an emancipatory function because they expressed the problems and desires of the underprivileged; in modern times, the fairy tale has more often than not been 'instrumentalized' to support bourgeois and/or conservative interests.' (Bacchilega, 1997: 7). Like the Renaissance fairytale in Europe, Russian fairytales were not addressed at children when they were first published. Such recorded national mythic material served as an entertainment for a small circle of literate elite.

⁷The Church was fighting with this so called *dvoeverie* - double faith in Russia where peasants accepted Christianity but persisted performing ancient rites and pagan cults - up until the Socialist revolution, the time when religion was officially abolished.

As Zipes notes, 'such violation of oral storytelling was crucial and necessary for the establishment of the bourgeoisie because it concerned the control of desire and imagination within the symbolic order of western culture.' (Zipes, 1995: 24). Along with that important function of class control, the fairytale has also been seen as having a 'formative influence' on further literary works (McCallum, 2000: 17). In the twentieth century mediated adaptations of the fairytales would come to play similar controlling and formative functions.

In Russian culture, national fairytales played a vital role in serving educational, moral, entertainment and people-uniting purposes and as Zipes comments, 'there were tales of initiation, worship, warning, and indoctrination' (Zipes, 1995: 22). This culturally loaded material absorbed, adapted and, in a sense, reworked collective cultural codes, customs and canons. Gender, as a cornerstone of the cultural structure and regulation, was also influenced by this cultural material.

Up to the twentieth century the national Russian fairytale as an oral form of people's art was actively created and recreated by illiterate peasantry who throughout the history of the state formed the majority of the population. The long-standing oral tradition of performing the tales is of great importance here and this issue will be returned to later in the chapter when it will be correlated with adaption studies. Being an oral form of narrative, national fairytales were as diverse as their tellers. From village to village, from one tale teller to another, fairytales were changed and adapted for as Dundes argues 'folklore is constantly being created and recreated to suit new situations' (Dundes, 1965: 2). Though an oral fairytale was considered to be a content that was produced by lower classes (peasantry in the case of Russia), the literary fairytale was often inspired by it and upper class writers frequently based their works on the national folklore (Pushkin's fairytales are a good example). Further Maria

Nikolajeva argues that 'fairy tales flourished during the so-called Silver Age of Russian literature from the turn of the century to 1917, when many symbolist poets wrote fairy tales' *sic* (Nikolajeva, 2000: 469).

Surprisingly, there was also a somewhat similar interest in fairytales in post-Tsarist Russia, even though the reasons behind it might have been different. In this regard John Haynes notes that the reasons behind the folk genre 'flourishing' were the formulaic nature of tales; 'the straightforward linear narratives, with the lack of psychological complexity inherent to polarized portrayals of "good" or "bad types", were recycled time and time again without danger of political disfavour' (Haynes, 2003: 69). As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the censorship machine of the late Soviet period considered fairytales (especially targeted at children) as seemingly safe products. Interestingly, nowadays, Western academics have started following Soviet censors in such beliefs, seeing nothing but 'innocent' nursery stories in the old fairytales and their mediated forms (Beumers, 2008; McFadyen, 2005).

However, the fairytale with traditional magical characters like Baba Yaga, Keschey-the-Deathless, Vasilisa-the-Beautiful and Ivan-the-Fool, has been refined in order to adhere to the regulations on children's content. Whether it was in fact harmless for children in its moralisation function and its implicit gender constructions is another question. The Soviet cinematograph, as well as Soviet 'purified' literature, completely eliminated any uncomfortable fairytales from the public domain. Therefore, non-standardised and distinctive tales such as *Danilo Besschastnyi* (Danilo the Luckless), *Mariia Morevna* (Maria Morevna), and *Tsar'-Devitsa* (The Tsar-Maiden), among many others fairytales with active female protagonists, were never adapted to the screen. And of course any material that at times 'sabotage sociosexual expectations

with characters who challenge traditional sexuality and marriage' (McVey, 2011: 22) never reached the masses.

Another extremely important point that differentiates the national fairytale from its nursery or mainstream cinematic modern adaptation is its non-stereotypical nature in terms of gender. As will be demonstrated in the fourth chapter of this research, national fairytales are not as gender stereotypical as their literary counterparts; however, the general public is mainly unaware of that fact. The research suggests that the phenomenon could be considered as an indicator of the politics of elimination and suppression of an active female presence in culture and society. This tendency to abolish and control the female presence did not start with the Soviet regime. Many of the writers and collectors who worked with folklore material such as Afanasyev, and also the Brothers Grimm and Perrault, edited the material and deleted what in their view was deemed inappropriate. This processing or reimagining of the inappropriate elements of traditional (people's) fairytales enabled the stories to become suitable for the nursery. However, even those nineteenth century collections still contained material that depicts active female protagonists. For example *Dve Sestri I Veter* (Two Sisters and the Wind) present a female version of what Campbell terms 'the hero's journey' (Campbell, [1949] 2008), or *Elena Premudraya* (Elena-the-Wise) which held a key to the knowledge in her secret book. These fairytales have not, yet, reached the mass audience.

Gradually transferring from a general overview of the folkloristics development to the cinematic material under study and ideological implications of these adaptations it is important to remember that regardless of the field of academic research, fairytales were mostly considered as an exploration and explanation of the inner and outer worlds by a human being, a human quest for both personal and collective identity as a

means to establish place in society, a 'mirror on the wall' reflecting psycho-socio-cultural experiences of past and present. To sum up, the fairytale has often been seen and mobilised as a collective myth.

Cinematic fairytale and ideology

Throughout the twentieth century, cinema established itself as a major producer of freshly synthesised modern mythologies and a masterful projector of the old myths onto the screen. In their attempts to magically turn a popular (or people's) narrative into a mass product produced by a group of individuals, filmmakers and animators of different countries showed no fear in vigorously copying and pasting what they thought were old myths into the new reality of the cinematic form. As argued in the previous chapter, the adaptation of national fairytales has been a common practice and successfully provided solid evidence of politics (be they of a national or international, collective or individual nature) on screen. Thus by addressing its national heritage Russian cinema unwittingly produced a culturally loaded mythic product which served the political agenda of various governments. While creating its own 'fairytale' on screen (be they constructions of the utopian socialist 'castles in the air' or bona fide fairytale kingdoms) Russian filmmakers adapted a lot of existing mythological texts including fables, epos (*Bilini*), and national fairytales. Animation has been the main medium for such adaptations which presented to its audience both new and traditional national heroes and heroines.

The flourishing of adaptations of national mythology on screen prompts the comparison between traditional (folkloric) fairytales and their filmed versions. There are several factors which make the narrative film such a successful form in which to

create ideologically inflected mythological texts. In a sense, original national (folkloric/oral) fairytales are somewhat similar in nature to cinematic narratives. If we are to draw this parallel, indeed, both cinema and folkloric narratives (traditional fairytale being a part of them) could be considered as an amalgam of the different modes – visual (images in film and a performance part of orally told fairytale), aural – (sound and dialogue in cinema and reading or telling of the storyline in oral tradition). Both media address multiple sensory systems. In a sense it is possible to argue that cinema is closer to the primal form of a fairytale (performed rather read) in its capacity to show and to tell rather than the latter form of the nursery literary fairytale which only utilises one external auditory system. Folk material in general is an oral form of storytelling, yet a complex ritual and performance, including vocal changes, gestures, dancing, singing, and other non-discursive practices. Cinema too is a multilayered sensory experience.

In some ways cinema, as well as the traditional (folkloric) fairytale, ‘continues to grow – embracing, if not swallowing, all types of genres, art forms, and cultural institutions and adjusting itself through the human disposition to re-create relevant narratives’ (Zipes, 2012: 22). Even some sort of escapism, which cinema offers, correlates with the same effect old fairytales can have. Perhaps this similarity of the original material and its cinematic adaptation also adds to the impact of the media product which it has on the audience, as this similarity makes traditional (folkloric) fairytales suitable for an effective adaptation and propagation of a certain mythology. While providing a journey to a faraway magic land both narratives nonetheless still carry certain messages. After a century of existence cinema in a manner that is reminiscent of traditional fairytales, conveys messages that often interconnect with cultural memory, national consciousness and identity.

In the case of Russian cinema it is exactly the mythological nature of the communist doctrine that made it such a fertile ground for an almost magical flourishing on screen. Socialist ideology presents us with an awkward combination of the polished artificial fairytale and a somewhat modified Christian doctrine: the Russian magic-land of Marxism-Leninism, like a Christian kingdom of God on earth, incorporates the messianic mission of the working class to save the world from the evil of bourgeoisie; the Russian faraway-kingdom in which good always wins over evil and a common man Ivan takes the power from the tsar; five-year 'Cinderella' production plans are miraculously performed almost overnight by *stakhanovets* (heroic factory workers); all people are proclaimed equal but in reality gender subordination is preserved as in Christianity with the father-god figure as the ultimate authority. In this system Soviet-princesses are raised into a particular type of national femininity - progressive on the outside and deeply patriarchal in its core. Such doctrine, together with its representations of a Soviet identity, was partially created, maintained and translated to the masses by implicit and explicit ideological fairytales on screen. The ideology was inseminated into any form of art be it children's fairytale animation *Tsevetik Semitsevitk* (The Flower with Seven Colours, 1948) directed by Tzekhanovsky or feature film *Zemlya* (Earth, 1930) directed by Dovzhenko. Like any dominant system of belief it needed a powerful machine of control and devoted acolytes.

If we were to focus on Soviet times it is necessary to keep in mind that the main function of the fairytale films produced in the Soviet period 'was clearly to portray for the people the abundant plentitude of the world to come, the Utopia *they* were constructing' (Haynes, 2003: 70) (emphasis added). As Goscilo rightly argues: 'Soviet Russia, [...] elaborated a very specific relationship to fantasy and wonderland,

harnessing the fairy tale's teleological protagonist to socialist realist do-gooders and achievers [...], the magic helper to benevolent older Soviet "mentors" [...], and the happy ending to the "radiant future".' *sic* (Goscilo, 2005: x). The ideology that has been created in Soviet Russia, especially so during Stalin's period, could reasonably be considered as a period of active creation of totalitarian mythology and national identity, and what Haynes terms as 'mythologisation of everyday life' (Haynes, 2003: 12).

Focusing on contemporary Russian animation, it is important to underline that contemporary Russia has been quite amorphous and transitional. Thus modern Russian myths, as projected onto the screen have been somewhat shaped by the cultural policy of the government, are also polycentric and unstable. The country is urged to return to its roots starting with the renewal of the Orthodox Christian Church (banned under communism) and finishing with cinematic productions of traditional national fairytales. Surprisingly folk traditions are no longer seen as existing in a state of opposition to Christianity as they were throughout the country's history, but instead are considered to be in unity with it. Contemporary Russian society is witnessing a new national mythology as it is being constructed in which women are once more prescribed a certain model of behaviour and position. As the analysis of these films will show, these constructions of traditional femininity on screen, though at times seemingly liberating, in reality reinforce the status quo of patriarchy and do not promote equality between genders.

Filmmakers of contemporary Russia have a rich heritage to work from, stylistically, aesthetically and culturally. As argued earlier, the adaptation of literary fairytales, oral folklore (including but not limited to national fairytales) has a long and established tradition in Russian cinema. As demonstrated in the first chapter, adaptation in

general became one of the most popular sources of content for film production in Soviet and post-soviet Russia during the twentieth century. This tendency could be observed both with regard to feature films and animation.

Soviet and post-Soviet animated adaptations on screen

The first Russian pre-Soviet animated adaptation is generally considered to be Starewich's *Strekoza I Muravei* (The Dragonfly and the Ant, 1911) based on a fable written by the nineteenth century writer Ivan Krylov. It was also the case that the post-revolutionary decade had prerogatives other than the adaptation of tsarist literature, and national fairytale was treated as such. Consequently, there was a significant gap in the production of adaptations.

In general, filmmakers' interest around folklore in general and national fairytale in particular, as a representative of national heritage, was fluctuating and depended heavily on the general politics of the creative industries, particularly on the directives coming from the top echelons of the Party. That said, as Nikolajeva notes, 'During the communist regime in the Soviet Union fairy tales occupied an ambivalent position.' *sic* (Nikolajeva, 2000:469). Thus, after the revolution folklore was considered somewhat an atavistic legacy of the old regime. Consequently there was no place for this type of material in early Soviet Russia's cinematograph with its *politagitki* (political agitation films) and avant-garde.

However, it was during the decade of the 1930s when Russian cinematic adaptations started to become a common practice. However, one of the problems of that time was a lack of qualified screenwriters; therefore, adaptations of Russian and occasionally

foreign classical works were commonplace. Most of these were adapted from popular literary works created by Soviet authors (Chukovsky, Marshak), nineteenth century writers (Pushkin) and classical fairytales resulting in such animated films being produced as *Krasnaya Shapochka* (Red Riding Hood, 1937), *Malen'kiy Muk* (Little Muck, 1938), *Limpopo* (Limpopo, 1940) and *Barmalej* (Barmalej, 1941).

Animators added to what had become the newly established trend, which involved the idealisation of the anti-tsarist nineteenth century writers as exemplified by Pushkin's fairytales. From this time, animation studios regularly adapted such material, including: *Skazka o Ribake I Ribke* (Fairytale about the Fishman and the Fish, 1937) and *Skazka o Pope I Rabotnike ego Balde* (Fairytale about the Priest and his worker Balda, 1940), both based on Pushkin's works. Each decade offered a young viewer a new version of the tales.

Fairytales soon became an integral part of Soviet animation, as more and more of the material was adapted. The trend started at the end of the 1940s with *Seraia Sheika* (The Little Grey Neck, 1948), a film in which a gosling is hunted by a hungry fox and is saved by some heroic rabbits, and was still present a decade later when an adaptation of Andersen's fairytale *Snezhnaya Koroleva* (Snow Queen, 1957) was released. However, compared to the overall volume of fairytale adaptations produced, national fairytales remained very much in the minority.

The nurturing of the young audience became the main point of the cultural politics of the 1930s (Oinas, 1975). The work of the propaganda machine would continue to adhere to this 'child-centered' practice without significant changes up to the 1960s when films for grown-ups started to reappear. The 'States' appropriation of childhood' (Voskoboinikov, 2013: 68) became well established and it was also well-defined

during the Stalin years. It manifested as a cultural politics on screen that incorporated communist ideology, including gender.

The post World-War-II period generally followed the earlier and by now established practice of adapting Russian literature which was composed primarily of classical texts, Soviet novels and also national fairytales, mostly about animals; therefore, Pushkin's fairytales, courageous pioneers and brave rabbits invaded the screen.

The 1950s witnessed a flourishing of fairytale adaptations on the screen. However, fairytales about animals (*skazki o zhivotnikh*) were mainly targeted at the youngest audience and carried a clear moral message; therefore, they remained more popular among Soviet censors than adaptations of the magical fairytales. As argued by Balina and Rudova (2008), Shustova (2004), Ramashova (2011), Kuleshov and Antipova (2011), the educational and moral function of children's content became the main focus of the cinematic content that was addressed at children in the USSR. As Nikolajeva notes, the 'popular strategy for a successful fairy tale was educational [...] At best, fairy tales could be entertaining, creating a childhood utopia comparable with the utopian promises of the communist doctrine' (Nikolajeva, 2000: 472). A good example of that is not only the rich production of fairytales about animals, which were in abundance, but also the adaptation of many classical fables by Ivan Krylov which addressed moral issues: *Qvartet* (Quartet, 1935); *Lisa i Vinograd* (A Fox and Grape, 1936); and *Sterkoza i Muravei* (The Dragonfly and the Ant, 1935). However, in practice these films exercised an implicit gender politics on screen. Thus, in the animated film *Sterkoza i Muravei* (The Dragonfly and the Ant, 1935), directed by Ivanov-Vano and the sisters Brumberg, a female dragonfly is punished for her careless behaviour and is patronised and rescued by the male ant.

Each decade would in turn offer children a new version of the fables. The examples above show the direction of animated fairytales development as each decade witnessed dozens of fairytales adapted; some of them were classical stories (both national and of foreign origin), some of them were fairytales about animals, though only few magic fairytales (*volshebnie skazki*) were produced overall. In the 1930s 'the mobilization of neo-folklorism was clearly intended to rally support for construction of socialism, by speaking to the Soviet public in a language that they could understand.' (Haynes, 2003: 70). More so, Richard Stites notes that in general the cultural content produced after 1936 became 'folklorised' (Stites, 1992: 72), which coincided with the Great Terror in the country. Stites's folklorisation refers more to the process of mythologisation (as already discussed) rather than to an interest in folklore on screen. These fairytale films with their constructed utopias and fairytale kingdoms provided a 'rainbow' bridge to the new Soviet reality and its attempts to marry this reality with centuries of completely different people's lives and beliefs, including religious, political and social formations.

Although the adaptation of bona fide magic fairytales started in 1930s it was not in full flow until the 1950s. Between 1930 and 1949 only four adaptations of magical national fairytales were made (cf. Filmography). Notably, apart from a highly politicised short animated film *Skazka pro Yemelju* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938), which focuses on the battle between the tsar and a common man, three other films were made by or in collaboration with female animators. Thus *Ivashko I Baba Yaga*, (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938) was written and directed by Valentina Brumberg and Zinaida Brumberg; *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about a Soldier, 1948) was directed and written by the same tandem of female filmmakers; and *Gusi - Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949) was directed and written by A. Ivanov and a female filmmaker

A. Snezhno-Blotskaya. The latter film is a colour animation that presents a clear example of the Soviet classical and 'orthodox' (what Paul Wells (1999) defines as industrial 2D cel) animation of the time, as explored in the first chapter, and shows a mixture of Disney's influence with traditional Russian stylistics. The film is based on a national fairytale which, although constructing an active female heroine, nevertheless, still prescribes for her a particular type of 'traditional' feminine behaviour. Significantly, this type of gender politics on screen would continue its trajectory almost unchanged up to the 1980s.

Meanwhile, the 1950s witnessed a vast number of animated fairytales being made. All of them will be thoroughly investigated in the fourth and the fifth chapters of the work. Here it will suffice to note that only one of the six was in collaboration with the female filmmaker Olga Khodotaeva: *Sestra Aljenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* (Sister Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953). This is significant because while female participation did not automatically provide an alternative to patriarchy, in the way that women were represented on screen, the fact remains unchanged that the rest of the five films produced in the 1950s succeeded in highlighting the startling trend of excluding women from active participation in the animation industry. Starting in the 1950s the number of female animators slowly dropped. This is significant and it will subsequently be demonstrated how this distinctive feature was mirrored in the official gender politics and how it was also represented on screen. Up until the end of the 1980s the representation of women in fairytale animations would predominantly be the work of male artists and again this was a trend that would continue up to modern times, when women are gradually returning to the industry.

Meanwhile, in the 1960s the interest towards folklore elements was insignificant, with only two films produced during the ten year period: *Podi Tuda Ne ZnajuKuda* (Go

There I Don't Know Where, 1966); and *Snegurka* (Snow Maiden, 1969). Both films stylistically broke away from the classical style of the 1950s – but they remained rigid in terms of their representation of women.

Nevertheless, the 1970s was a productive decade for filmmakers who worked with folkloric material. After the dismissal of Khrushchev, artists refused 'to believe in the permanence of the turnabout, [...] looked to the language of fables, allegories, and parables as a means for continuing the fight they had begun' (Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 306). During a period of stagnation in the 1970s the stylistics of films obviously differed from the 1950s. However, there was a renewed enthusiasm towards matters pertaining to national heritage as expressed in the large amount of mythological material that was adapted and produced: fables and national epos (*Bilini*), together with an impressive number of magic fairytales were adapted to the screen. Overall, the 1970s was one of the most fruitful decades for fairytale adaptations throughout the whole period of Soviet animation (cf. Filmography and Appendix III). As it will be demonstrated later, all the films of the time were exploring, to a greater or lesser extent, female form, albeit in a manner that conformed to society's expectations of what national femininity means. While academics argued about the death of the masculinity on and off screen at that time, the idea of liberated femininity was as dead as Lenin's mummy in his mausoleum.

In the beginning of the 1980s male animators continued adhering to the established tradition and produced three adapted fairytales: *Moroz Ivanovich*, (Frost Ivanovich, 1981), directed by Ivan Aksenchuk, written by Henry Sapgir; *Po Schyuchemu Veleniju*, (As the Pike Orders, 1984), directed by Valery Fomin, written by Alexander Timofeyevsky; and *Zhar-Ptitsa*, (The Firebird, 1984), directed by Vladimir Samsonov, written by Andrey Khrzhanovsky. Though each work presents a rather

different mode and style, the films relied heavily on stereotyped representations, bordering often with an attempt to silence and immobilise female heroines. Female screen presence and role in the story, if any, was limited. Iconographically they were emaciated, ephemeral, and sometimes with faces resembling Russian icons as in *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 2). We will return to the iconography of women on screen in chapters four and five.

Meanwhile, *Perestroika* brought a change to all spheres of life in the USSR. As a reaction to the new line of the Party, opening borders, the end of the cold war, growth of the feminist movement abroad and social changes inside what was a closed society, it was a time when the first, though already mentioned, truly feminist animation was produced: *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal*, (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989) directed by female director, Lydia Surikova, written by I. Kmit (cf. the CD, folder 1, track 3). Importantly, the film is based on the motifs of traditional Russian fairytales, mocking the patriarchal discourse of constructed femininity and masculinity. The story is told through a male voice-over of patriarchy which narrates the story in a traditional gender paradigm. The story starts with a remark that women in the old times were 'kind, shy and defenseless, not the way they are now'. The male narrator continues the story of the helpless princess who is rescued by Ivan. Crucially, the actual action of the film is completely the opposite - the princess rescues Ivan and wins over the dragon. Although in the beginning of the film the princess is positioned as a traditional damsel in distress, as the story unfolds she is represented as an agent of action and the real protagonist. That being said, it was probably more a critique on masculinity, prevailing in the Soviet society at the time, than a systematic attempt to reflect on the representation of women or self-representation on screen.

The end of the Soviet epoch saw a couple of attempts of the old system of content production to keep the ‘national’ theme alive, but once again it lost its attraction. ‘Sovok’ was the term used to refer to the products of the old Soviet system, and somehow the ancient Russian fairytales were suddenly associated with a seventy-year period of socialism. A very fast and aggressive Westernisation of society left no space for the Old Russian folklore heritage. The last two animated folktale films made in the Soviet period were *Dva Bogatyria* (Two Strong Knights, 1989) produced at *Souzmultfilm*, directed by Alexander Davidov, written by two female screenwriters, Zauria Nurambetova and Tomara Chuganova, and *Ivan Tsarevich I Serii Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991) directed by female director, Galina Barinova, written by Vladimir Golovanov. Despite the involvement of the women screenwriters, the first film is an action packed male narrative, based on several traditional plot lines, with a stereotypical damsel in distress theme, mixed with an appeal to the national diversity of the USSR. This was Soviet patriarchal political discourse at its best. The second film was a close adaptation of the original fairytale as well as a piece of animation based on Bilibin's drawings. The film might be considered the last Soviet attempt to address the theme of a ‘national idea’, and it does so, by adhering to the existing gender representation of women on screen.

As previously argued, the 1990s was a time of complete collapse of cultural production in what was the former USSR. The situations started to change only in the new millennium, but not until the second part of the decade. Thus quickly following each other, two versions of *Kroshecka – Khavroshechka* fairytale were adapted to the screen; both were created by female filmmakers: puppet animation *Kroshecka – Khavroshechka* (Little – Khavroshechka, 2006), directed by Ekaterina Mikhailova, written by Tatiana Shestakova, and *Kroshechka – Khavroshechka* (Little –

Khavroshechka, 2007), directed and written by Inga Korzhneva. The second cartoon is a film from the famous series *Mountain of Gems*, dedicated to patriotic upbringing of the young audience. These two films could be considered the first post-Soviet attempt to return to and reflect on the national mythology, and also the representation of femininity on screen.

To recapitulate the earlier points, the theme of the ‘national idea’ is currently becoming more and more popular following Vladimir Putin’s politics of uniting the nation around its historical roots. The first decade of the new millennium lacked a consistent interest in the subject though. The end of the decade saw only one film made based on the national fairytale: *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (The Beautiful Frog, 2008), directed by female animator Elvira Avakiyan. A simple drawn animated adaptation, which follows the original fairytale and borrows from the earlier Soviet versions of the film, does not step outside the comfort zone of tried and tested narratives and adds to the long list of gender stereotyped films.

Starting with the second decade of the new millennium there was a significant spurt of films which promoted national themes and the reincarnation of the folktale in multiple cultural and media forms. The most commercially viable so far was a film about three epic national strong knights – *bogatyri* – Ylia Muromets, Alesha Popovich and Dabrinya Nikitich. The animated feature films were both structured and structuring around national mythology: they mixed new and old motifs and borrowed some elements and characters from traditional fairytales (for example the character of *Baba Yaga* which is, of course, not present in the epic tales).

The first adaptation of a magic fairytale during the post-Soviet period is a new version of *Ivan Tsarevich I Serii Volk* (Ivan Tsarevich and the Grey Wolf, 2011). The film is

also a mixture of the old narrative and new elements. In a sense it continues an established tradition in its seemingly emancipated female imagery, but dull in its technical embodiment and implicitly stereotypical representation of gender roles. The film will be analysed in detail further in the work.

However, it is an ongoing animated series broadcasted on national television – *Mashini Skazki* (2011 – present) (Masha’s Fairytales) that provides us with a fascinating insight into gender, national politics and mythology in contemporary Russia. It is important to note that these television films are made with the governmental support of the national cinema fund – *Fond Kino*. So far seven bona fide magic fairytale adaptations have been produced. Most of the fairytales are collaboration between Gazizov and Cherviatsov, who (re)construct the national fairytale and female imagery through the eyes of a little girl Masha. Masha narrates the tales in her own distinctive way, often mixing several tales together and commenting on multiple issues, many of them infused with prescribed gender related behaviour. Though in the beginning of the series female screenwriter Nina Imanova took part in the project, later Gazizov and Cherviatsov were the only creators of this female heroine, Masha and her stories. Masha is a character from *Masha i Medved* (Masha and the Bear) on-going animated television series. She is very popular with the Russian audience, possibly due to her bubbly and active character which embodies the very essence of the gender politics on Russian screen - an active seemingly pro-feminist heroine engaged in what are traditionally considered female activities and supporting stereotyped (and often misogynistic) representations of femininity – of which more later.

Summing up, the historical overview of magic fairytales adaptations on Russian screen demonstrates that the animators of the Soviet Union and New Russia have

utilised modern and classical tales, Russian and foreign material, extensively. Cinema, being a powerful tool of propaganda and control adhered only to certain types of fairytales, with active male heroes and passive female characters, which were adapted to the screen again and again. For example, *Po Schyuchemu Veleniju* (As the Pike Orders) and *Ivan Tsarevich I Serii Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf) were adapted five times. The fourth and the fifth chapters of this research will demonstrate the evidence of such eliminations and their direct influence on the representation of women in animated products. Here it is important to note that following patriarchal implicit and explicit ideology, the cinematic versions of refined fairytales were (re)created repeatedly for each decade of the Soviet and then post-Soviet audience.

Adapting Secret Russian Soul for the screen

The volume of the mythological material produced is significant, and cinematic adaptation of fairytales presents a complex problem which can be termed as a triple media-transfer – from an oral form of narrative and performance (national fairytale) into the literary text and then into film and animation. Like any other trans-media texts, national fairytale animated adaptations face the same problems of transfer from one medium to another.

The work follows Robert Stam's argument that adaptations are best thought of as a 'multileveled negotiation of intertexts' (Stam, 2000: 67). Based on these conditions the work challenges the traditional dichotomy of the text and the film, and interprets animated adaptations of Russian wonder folklore fairytales as the carriers of the national myth. In the case of female imagery this research positions animated samples of choices concerned with the national myths of femininity. The study also, in a sense,

follows Naremore's and Bazin's ideas on adaptation as a form of recycling (Naremore, 2000; Bazin, 1997) and Stam's ideas on transformation of texts which generate 'other texts in an endless process of recycling, transformation, and transmutation, with no clear point of origin' (Stam, 2000: 66).

In a sense, the process of adaptation could be seen as a translation from one medium to another. In every study of a translation and adaptation the research stumbles upon questions of fidelity, originality, and the issue of transfer itself. However, what does matter for this research is not the aesthetic visual grammar but the elements of the national fairytales that get added to, cut, rearranged and women's representations in these constructions. However, the notions of losses, additions and distortions that are inevitable in terms of adaptation and translation of any kind, cannot be axiomatically applied to folklore cinematic adaptations as, first and foremost, there is no primal source to compare the adapted versions to. If it is taken into account that 'original' fairytales were told and retold across the centuries and across a multinational and multidialectal country such as Russia, the argument about this 'translation' from one 'language' to another – from oral first then to literary and then to the language of film - becomes ever more multilayered.

As in any translation, the films under study cannot be considered as adequate, if we construct the notion of adequacy in a category of original versus screen version. In regard to an actual literary translation of a text, from one language to another, the major problem is not a linguistic difference *per se* but a semantic, cultural, historical and ideological one of the 'baggage' the text carries, and which is incorporated into a matrix of a media exchange. This matrix in its turn is not linear but circular. The matrix could be seen as a dynamic model in which the sender (producer) is also a receiver of contextualized messages intermingled together, and the message is not a

final product; instead it is created and recreated by the audience (as well as the author himself or herself, as a part of the audience in regard to earlier versions of the narrative, in our case fairytales and their adaptations).

As McCallum argues:

The possibility of arriving at a definitive textually grounded interpretation is indefinitely deferred partly because of the nature of folkloric material and the impossibility of collecting every version and variant, and partially because any interpretation is in part the product of the culture in which it is produced.

(McCallum, 2000: 21)

As was argued in the literature review section, fairytale, being a part of oral folkloric narrative, was retold and replayed repeatedly before it was finally recorded and published. The writers and academics who performed this recording most likely have incorporated in their works a collective and individual mythology of which they are carriers, and a collective (national) and individual world view. The socio-historical context was, of course, also influencing the creation of the recorded fairytale.

Such processes make the literary version far more a record than an imprint. However, the process of re-creation of the myth (translation or transfer, depending on the branch of the science which studies the sample) is not over yet. This record would circulate for decades both as a literary text and as a tale told and consumed by the reading audience (as a nursery tale or as a salon reading) before it would be reconstructed again as an animated film. This film in its turn will be produced by a particular group of individuals during a particular time period, loaded with both collective and private meaning and purposes. It then will be actively consumed and interpreted and in a sense, passed down further by the audience, thus circulating as somewhat a myth on

its own. The next generation of filmmakers would adapt the original fairytale on screen while being subjected to the above mentioned complicated process of fairytale reconstruction.

Moreover, Roland Barthes's (1977) remark that the 'author is dead' cannot be more accurate than it is in the analysis of folklore filmic adaptations. Neither the filmmaker nor the audience and also not the researcher, interact with the product in a vacuum; all of them carry a certain mentality, experience and background which inevitably interfere with the outcome 'reading' of the media text.

The adaptation of national fairytales may appear as if a tangled skein. However, similar to a magic ball of yarn which a helpful fairytale character (most often Baba Yaga in Russian tales) gives to the hero or heroine, if the thread is followed it is possible to reach a much desired 'destination'. This research does not aim to compare the folklore fairytale and its screen adaptation. It does not adhere to a binary opposition model and does not structure its argument around the original literary source as an opposite of the cinematic adaptation. It neither sets out to analyse the fidelity and adherence to the 'letter' or freedom of adaptation in regard to animated fairytales under study. As stated earlier, first of all the nature of the original material does not allow the application of the established approaches and practices utilised in adaptation studies. There is no single source to be found, as the folkloric original version is an oral form of narration, thus making it impossible to debate any criterion of fidelity to the original text, unless the whole purpose of the research was to compare a certain Afansyev's text to a certain (let us say) Ivanov-Vano's cartoon which would require access to production notes (which are often unavailable) and be sure that this particular filmmaker adapted this particular text. In its turn the research does look at the structure and representation.

Though the research sample under study is composed of animated adaptations of folklore fairy tales, and in this work they are considered to have separate qualities to their literary records, the work, nevertheless, refers periodically to Afanasyev's collection of fairytales as an available and a reliable literary *resource* of collected and preserved oral narratives; however in doing it, it treats the literary records not as original texts but rather as subtexts and even in some cases contexts. The work does not utilize per se the terminology of the discipline of adaptation studies and does not propose any labeling of the samples as interpretations or replicas, but rather refers to the samples as adaptations for the lack of a better term. Instead the research focuses on structure, content and representation, starting its investigative journey by analysing the type of fairytales available and the choices that filmmakers made in the process of adaptation. The study also looks at the exclusions and edits that were made in regard to female characters. For example Baba Yaga has been sometimes excluded from the storyline or substituted with other (male) characters. Elena-the-Wise offers another good example of how female characters are stripped of their knowledge.

Summing up, the national fairytale is in itself a broad and multifaceted discourse. In this work its complexity is also multiplied by the phenomenon of the 'national idea', which is set in the context of gender and film. These aspects make the research multilayered and problematic in a meaningful manner.

What we have as a premise of the work is a complex construction made of the following elements: the folklore as an oral form of tale retold and reproduced multiple times with no exact dating and point of origination; the literary text which could have been (or not) utilised by a filmmaker; the literary text utilised in the work to structure the categorisation of the material under study; the animated films themselves chronologically and ideologically diverse; and a female imagery that is analysed

against a background of gender politics as seen on screen during different historical periods. The study works in terms of the non-hierarchical assumption that negates the authority of the writer and the supremacy of the original text and its autonomy.

Concluding, the research looks at an animated adaptation as a recycling of (a) national memory and (b) national identity and (c) gender identity, translated with the means of collective and individual ideas on the national fairytale and its female characters. Further, arguing the power of the cinematic re-creation (adaptation, translation) of the national fairytales, the study demonstrates a paradoxical influence the choices made by filmmakers have on the media embodiment of the national ideas on femininity.

Chapter 3: The Fairytale of Gender and Identity

Politics of national identity (de)construction

Prior to shedding light on the characteristics and changes that have occurred in the representation of female characters in Russian cinematic adaptations of national magic fairytales and the collective idea of the national female imagery, this chapter will outline the evolution of Russian 'mythology' of gender and national identity both on and off screen. The question is highly complex and ambiguous, as gender belongs 'simultaneously to grammatical, biological, and sociocultural categories' (Zaitseva, 2006: 31). Additionally, the films under analysis are mediated carriers of national myths of femininity encoded and transferred through national fairytales. This chapter develops the phenomenon of the 'gender question' in Russian society and the cultural products it creates. It is important to underline that the chapter is not limited to covering the feminist critiques of this topic, most of which have appeared in the last thirty years and then generally in relation to Soviet and post-Soviet feature films. Instead this chapter aims to take a different tack into the subject matter and in doing so it presents a rich tapestry of debates on the national and gender identity phenomenon. In the course of the research it became apparent that a systematic examination of the animated iconography of women on screen requires an eclectic approach in order to marry several discourses as a means to build a solid base for the study. Therefore, in a conjunctural move it has been decided that the chapter will combine the following: a historical overview of the social position of women in Russia; the function of philosophical and political thought in their implicit ideological constructions of national femininity and gendered identity in Russian society; and feminist media criticism of women's representation on the Russian screen.

Taking into account that the animated films under study reflect on the construction and reconstruction of national fairytales and together, with myths of femininity, questions of gender and national identity form one of the cornerstones of the research. The iconography of women in the samples presents something of a crossroads between national cultural memory, ideas on national identity, media representations of gendered national identity, and also media artifacts that pertain to the ideological constructions of such identities. This chapter will argue that gender and national identity have been one of the main areas of political manipulation in the ideologies under investigation, both the Tsarist (as the battleground for a later Communist ideology), the Soviet and later post-Soviet ones.

According to Barker, ideas on identity and representation are considered to be closely interrelated with the discourse on hybrid identities which arise in 'the process of accelerated globalization and is critical to differential and hybrid ethnic and national identifications' (Barker, 1997: 191). In terms of nationalism, how do we define identity? It might not be an exaggeration to say that cultural philosophers have been asking questions about identity in general; and national in particular, for centuries. However, it was in the 1990s when the question of identity, including gender and national identity, came to the forefront of the cultural studies discourse, as both phenomena have started to be considered as interdependent.

Further, it is often argued that the identities (national, gender, class, etc.) are artificially constructed, both on an individual and collective level: hence the argument about nationalism as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983), or gender as a 'cultural construction of power relations' (ibid.) – both are cultural representations and historical practices which people create, identify with, perform and 'recycle' again and again, creating somewhat of a *perpetuum mobile* of the identity myth. This

recycling in turn produces a meta-myth or as Foucault might put it, a metapower (1980) of power/knowledge. In its seemingly prosaic form it becomes a fairytale of a collective gendered national identity which is created and recreated concurrently by individuals, nations, and civilizations. The most pertinent question for this particular research, however, concerns the dilemma of identity and the ways in which the media portrays women and their experiences on screen, ascribing these representations with particular values and connotations.

Hall (1990) emphasised the interrelation between identities, representation and discourse, and noted that such identities are always constructed 'within, and not outside representation and discourse' (p. 222). Meanwhile, Olssen (1999), examining Foucault's work, established identities as 'cultural means' whose 'stability and coherence can be challenged prefiguring the establishment of other identities' (p. 35). For Olssen, identities are 'representations' which are neither fixed nor stable (ibid). The fragmented and unstable nature of identities which 'are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (Hall, 1996: 4), is, nevertheless, challenged by gender phenomenon. Paradoxically, gender seems to be a constant, fixed and well-defined category, and the most stable of them all. In this matrix, female is always different and differentiated with regard to men and maleness, which form the points of reference.

More so, the idea of national identity is seen as intrinsically gendered nowadays (McClintock, 1993, 1995). For McClintock 'Nationalism is [...] constituted from the very beginning as a gendered discourse and cannot be understood without a theory of gender power' (McClintock, 1995: 355). The nationalist discourse is similar to the discourse of gender, in the way in which it constitutes a male doctrine (Gellner, 1964;

Enloe, 1989; Boehmer, 1991; McClintock, 1993). Thus Cynthia Enloe argues that nationalism, 'typically sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope' (Enloe, 1989: 44). Meanwhile, it is not only the discourse of nationalism that presents as a masculinized seal of approval on it. Both cultural content (fairytales and their film adaptations), representations of genders and doctrine of femininity (academic and public) carry what are mostly masculinised ideological constructions. It becomes apparent that examination of gender identity in our research context is not possible without broader contextual notions of national and cultural identity.

Nancy Condee rightly argues that, 'cultural analysis is a project more of argument than of verifiability, and so the invocation of the national is never without a deep subjective element' (Condee, 2009: 6). Moreover, the twentieth century brought with it unprecedented migration and mixtures of cultures. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of national identity has become one of the most urgent matters in the twenty-first century. Wars, terrorism, global migration, and therefore, national question, are the central topics not only in sociology and political science, but also in more directly media related fields. Cinema itself and film studies as a discipline could not stand aside. Russian film studies academicians are united in the opinion that national cinema plays an important role in the creation of national identity (Condee, Beumers, Kovalev, Tsyrukun, Widdis, to name a few) and the notorious 'secret Russian soul' which Nikolai Berdyaev defined as 'oppressed by the boundless Russian lands' (Berdyaev, 1990: 65) is intrinsically connected to the representation of national heroes and heroines on screen. Although nationalism with regard to Russian culture is a problematic concept per se, there remains a type of a kaleidoscope of national stock

images (including those of Russian women) which persists in the minds of foreign and domestic audiences, critics and academics alike.

As was argued in the second chapter, in the USSR, with its dozens of republics and peoples, the question of what constitutes national is particularly problematic. The Soviet Union was a self-proclaimed single multi-national state, but with Russians constituting more than a half of the population and the RSFSR taking more than half of the geographical space, the question over what extent the Soviet Union was actually a Russian nation is appropriate. Perhaps, the path to the solution of this particular problem might in fact lie within the official definition of the state adopted by the Soviet government as, 'single, [and] multi-national'. As Tylor notes, 'Soviet identity [is] something closely related to ideology, and to the notion of class upon which that ideology was based, as something overlaid (or imposed) upon a sense of ethnic identity' (Taylor, 2006:37-38). As Nancy Condee argues, 'A quasi-mythological species, national identity is spotted often as an apparently empirical, inert thing, uniquely available to us now after the fall of communism' (Condee, 2009: 5).

It is reasonable to start the investigation with the chronological emergence of the phenomenon of national identity in Russia. Faraday comments that 'the issue of Russia's identity as a nation has occupied a central place in cultural and political discourse at least as far back as the debates between the Slavophiles and Westernizers of the 1840s.' (Faraday, 2000:180). According to the Russian penchant for self-reflection and *à la* Chernishevsky questioning 'What's to Be Done?', Russian thinkers discussed the so-called 'Russian Idea' and the country's place in the world and its national image - starting with the emergence of country's philosophical thought. Probably, due to its heterogeneity and ambiguity polarised views on the phenomenon

were present since the beginning. As Berdyaev suggests the 'Russian Idea' is a manifestation of the 'twofold nature of the Russian messianic consciousness [...] (humanity and arrogance, slavery and revolt)' (cited in Condee, 2006: 26) and ranges 'politically from free-market capitalism to conservative monarchism' (ibid: 31).

Ardent opponents of the idea's functionality argue that, 'The 'Russian Idea' – though undoubtedly disastrous for the state, the individual and the world – turned out to be unexpectedly fertile for culture, giving humanity the great literature and music of the nineteenth century, and the audacious impulses of the avant-garde' (Kovalov, 2006: 12), thus leaving no doubt about its affect on productivity in art. 'For proletarian culture the historical moment was the arrival of socialism; for national identity, the departure of socialism' (Condee, 2009: 6). Kovalov' disagrees though, saying that: 'The Golden Age of the 'Russian Idea' in cinema is, in fact, the Soviet period' (Kovalov, 2006: 13).

Regardless of this, the search for the national heroes and heroines is especially acute at times of political disturbances, and it was also the case that cinema was 'a medium that provides guidance on the issue of national identity at a time of political disparity' (Beumers, 2006a: 4). This counteraction also acts in support of the hypothesis that the utilisation of national fairytale adaptations was, and remains, a tool in the maintenance of the status quo, established within the patriarchal order, including but not limited to gender and nationalism. It follows that losing roots and stability can lead people into searching for an illusory constant. Could gender serve this function?

The research suggests that the post-revolution period experienced a reaction which attempted to utilise gender as a point of stabilisation. After the Revolution, the new government comprehended the importance of 'national identity' in both domestic

terms (and here the themes of the national hero and the national myth were once again reborn), and in a global context (the image of the country on the international arena). The return to what were the old roots started in the 1930s. If it was not for the outbreak of World War II, there is a high chance this gender grounding could have flourished earlier; however, as will be shown later in the work, the first major reaction to destabilisation of the established order took place in the 1950s.

Another period of similar instability occurred after the Thaw. 'Since the mid-1970s several filmmakers have turned their attention to specific social problems, the first among them being the question of women.' (Lawton, 1992b: 9), and as a reaction to that movement it is possible to observe a rapid increase in the volume of fairytale films that were produced. It appears to have been the case that strong women were silenced and turned back to what were already predefined as models of femininity. The 1980s witnessed some glimpses of women's attempts to bring focus to their experience, as in Lydia Surikova's animated fairytales. However the 1990s would move the gender question back to the periphery of political agenda. Gender and national fairytales did not find favour during what was yet another revolution of the 1990s. It was the anarchy of the 1990s that brought a 'search for a name, an identity, disclosed the illusory and artificial nature of Soviet values, and left both the individual and the nation without an immediate point of reference' (Beumers, 2006b: 76). It was not only the disorientation caused by shifts in the political system but also, it was a response to the loss of the beliefs and values which had been implanted and which had become an integral part of Russian (Soviet) citizens' self-identity.

The 1990s also saw the end of attempts to mythologise the new reality as moulded by the young subculture, and the end of the dominance of the periphery in film art following the collapse of the inter-republican union

(USSR). From that time on, myth-making in Russian film limited itself to easily recognizable mythologems known as components of the 'Russian Idea' and of the well-trodden territory of cinema production. These myths are: the image-myth; the Fatherland; and the myth of abroad and other lands.

(Tsyrukun, 2006: 58)

The 1990s brought a confrontation between old and new generations. Starting with values and finishing with art (film and television in our case), things connected to the old regime were relegated. The mass import of Hollywood entertainment films, especially super-budget blockbusters, did not leave any room in the market for local competition. A younger generation of filmmakers brought up on the MTV format attempted (and still do) to follow the preferences of its audience. The older generation, found itself in a free market economy when the production key-factor is not an artistic value or censorship, but the taste and preferences of the mass audience. However, some filmmakers and later the government started a quest to develop the new heroes and heroines to be on screen. As will be seen in the analysis of the films, the female characters are again constructed in a highly stereotyped and often sexist way. Modern-day Russia is experiencing the next phase of reactionary gender politics on screen. The image of the national mythologised woman comes to the screen as a reaction to changes, in which she is seen as both a stabilising agent and also a national object.

Russian Woman as a National Object and Symbol

As Kearney (2012) cogently argues, 'although many individuals trace feminism back to only the early twentieth century and the women's suffragist movement, gender-based political philosophy is over two hundred years old' (p. 4). Meanwhile, looking into the phenomenon even deeper, the notorious gender question reappears with its ideas on femininity and on women's position in a society again and again. These apparent quests for a true femininity have been present in humanity's discourses as early as the first literary evidence, presenting each culture with patriarchal views on gender differentiation. Indeed, cultural products which construct gender representations might reasonably be considered as central to power relations in society and the sociocultural order itself.

Generally gender differentiation is based on an idea of a binary opposition. Thus a split occurs between male/female, femininity/masculinity, black/white, western/eastern, and public/private, etc. As Chandler argues, 'It is a feature of culture that the binary oppositions come to seem 'natural' to members of a culture.' (Chandler, 2007: 93-94). He continues to comment that, 'whilst there are no opposites in "nature", the binary oppositions which we employ in our cultural practices help to generate order out of the dynamic complexity of experience' (ibid.).

The notions which are put into this binary system are usually ascribed certain characteristics and connotations, depending on the ideological matrix they are a part of. As argued by post-structuralists and feminists in hierarchical societies, these binaries are usually considered not to be equivalent. It follows that 'the effect of poststructuralist theory is to see difference as material, as produced, but as ungrounded in any fixed nature' (Weedon, 1999: 24).

Further, 'Masculinity tries to stay invisible by passing itself off as normal and universal. [...] If masculinity can present itself as normal it automatically makes the feminine seem deviant and different' (Easthorpe, 1986: 1). Certain gendered characteristics are prescribed as obligatory and desirable in regard to both sexes, thereby making femininity and masculinity in general social and ideological constructs. Of course identity formation involves a complex process of (re)discovering and (re)evaluating the outer world, as well as the inner one; nevertheless, identity in a broad sense (including but not limited to gender, nationality and class) is heavily constructed through ideologies, stereotypes, norms, political systems and media products created by these systems, to which the societal order encourages an individual to relate. By valuing one prescribed identity over the other, through a hierarchy of sociocultural relations and positions, hegemonic gender politics maintains the status quo of patriarchy. Here media, any form (be it in the Iliad, Disney cartoons or Russian animated adaptations of national fairytales as a cultural artefact) becomes a powerful tool to transform and influence human's gendered perception of themselves and the world around them as, 'media regularly model particular forms of human identity that consumers use to judge themselves and others' (Kearney, 2012: 3).

Starting with the second wave of feminism, media discourse has become an integral part of gender studies. With the ground-breaking work by Simone de Beauvoir (1949) who developed the core-concept of the 'Other' and revealed the mechanism of patriarchal dominance, the women's liberation movement entered its most active phase to date and media analysis became one of the key elements through which to challenge the existing gendered order. The discourse of the 1960s-1970s established a

solid basis for the future academic field, debating the essence of sexual difference and the objectification of women (Millett, 1970) on and off screen.

Nevertheless, gender studies first focused on the idea of a universal woman as if she was a fixed unitary category, focusing on white, middle-class, women as argued by Spivak (1987) and Mohanty, Russo and Torres (1991). Interestingly, the construction of the 'fairytale women' in Soviet and post-Soviet animation somewhat adhered to the same unitary principle: although the USSR and Russia has been a multinational country, the fairytale female characters have been mainly constructed as 'purely' Russian, with rare exceptions such as the Asian damsel in distress in *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989).

Returning to the feminist discourse in the West; closer to the end of the millennium the focus widened and started to include multicultural and multiclass aspects of the question with Grewal and Kaplan (1994), Warhol and Herndl (1997) and Narayan and Harding (2000), debating gender in terms as diverse as class, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality. Meanwhile, in Russian academic thought feminism has been almost non-existent throughout the Soviet period. However, gender discourse prior to Stalinism not only existed but also provides us with something of a fairytale riddle.

Historically Russian society and its cultural products have been highly ambiguous in their gender-related discourses and in particular of their views about the apparent otherness of women and the supposed normality of men. On the one hand, Russia has been a patriarchal society ruled for centuries with the *Batjushka Tsar'* (Father Tsar) and the adherence to strict gender prescriptions as supported by the Eastern Orthodox Church. Of course, as Susan Rowland rightly argues, 'the key issue is whether (and/or monotheistic systems) is entirely patriarchal or whether it has just become manifestly

so in its collaboration with capitalist culture' (Rowland, 2002: 60). Communist and materialist Soviet Russia, which proclaimed total equality as a core of its social structure, and country's gender politics on and off screen can be a useful tool to approach patriarchy.

More so, it is also argued (Hubbs, 1988), that gender discourse in Russia is partially based on a matrilineal peasantry whose heritage is so strong that the country itself is often referred to as *Matushka – Rus'* (Mother Russia) and also, *Matushka Syra Zemlya* (Mother Damp Earth). These contradictory orientations need also to be contextualised alongside historically high rates of domestic violence and the somewhat progressive pro-feminist philosophical thought of the nineteenth century, predating as it does contemporary feminist critiques. Let us see how these opposites lived side by side in Russian society and how they provide a necessary context for this investigation.

Contemporary researchers of early Russian and Slavic cultures, such as Hubbs (1988), follow, in a sense, the archaeological Kurgan theory and the Great Goddess hypothesis of Marija Gimbutas (1974) which argued that the present patriarchal hierarchy started establishing itself with an expansion of hostile military cultures, imposed on the peaceful, matriarchal cultures of Old Europe. This is similar to Baring and Cashford (1993), who examined the transformation of the Great Primordial Goddess of the Palaeolithic period and her repressed images in religions and cultures throughout millennia. Joanna Hubbs's book *Mother Russia* (1988), details the matriclans of peaceful 'farming settlements [...] destroyed by Indo-European nomadic herders', and how these early matriarchal society's exerted a strong multi-layered influence on culture, beliefs and the national fairytales of Russia. As Hubbs (1988) argues, 'all creation was subordinated' to the laws of the Russian Great Goddess (p.

123). The traces of this totalising female image of power and its struggle with the invasion of the patriarchal order are considered to be present in some of the fairytales whose cinematic adaptations are examined in this research. Although the research of the ancient female images in national fairytales could be speculative indeed (Johns, 2004), nevertheless, this material is still powerfully suggestive of a national and collective memory of the conservative female iconography.

With the arrival of Christianity the picture of female power starts to change even more dramatically. Christian theology is undoubtedly patriarchal, regardless of the discourses on femininity of Christ's teaching and his image; the gendered dichotomy and hierarchy are articulated and explicit (Fedotov, 1960). Of course, the gendered politics adopted and preserved by Christianity is nothing new. Depending on the characteristics that must be ascribed to each gender in order to preserve the status quo of the dominant androcentrism, it is the case that male philosophical and political discourse, as well as social and economic measures, have prescribed those qualities that claim to represent the 'nature' of each gender. Thus, if a cult of the body is promoted (Ancient Greece), women are argued to lack the requisite physical ideals. Surprisingly, after two thousand years this dualism is still working. Thus in Soviet Russia the national fairytale heroines, created around time of Olympic Games in Moscow (1980) and during the golden age of female figure skating and gymnastics were pale, thin and ephemeral in their physicality as in *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984); and *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the the Pike Orders, 1984). If on the contrary, men are considered to be a carrier of an ideal soul (Christianity) women are argued to be intrinsically physical and soulless. Although the image of the female body will be discussed in further detail later in the work, here it is important to note that the phenomenon seems to always have been an area of manipulation. Starting with a

direct correlation between the beauty of a female character and her positive characteristics, as argued by Tobin, Haddock and Zimmerman (2003) and as it will also be demonstrated later in this research, and finishing with the metamorphoses of body-changes examples of which are present in fairytale adaptations such as: *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979) or *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971; 1977; 2008, 2012).

The early Russian philosophical discourse on the nature of men and women was heavily influenced by Byzantine tradition; there is a common (for dominant monotheistic religions) paradigm namely: male – soul, ideal; and female – sinful body, defective. Maleness equals light, power, activity, while women are equated with darkness, passivity and chaos. We will see examples of such duality in samples under study. These apparently natural differences, synthetic as they may be, position women on the outskirts of power relations in society, be they governmental structures or cultural production. This exclusion is maintained by being positioned as ‘different’ from men, maintaining the phallogentrism of sexual differences. It also allows a development of a national identity as:

All too often in male nationalisms, gender difference between women and men serves to symbolically define the limits of national difference and power between men. Excluded from direct action as national citizens, women are subsumed symbolically in to the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit... Women are typically construed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, but are denied any direct relation to national agency.

(McClintock, 1993: 63)

Moving to the symbolic nature of the feminine as a carrier of national identity, it is important to trace the development of the phenomenon, even if only briefly. Thus in his book *Russkaia Filosofia Zhenstvennosti XI – XX veka* (The Russian Philosophy of the Feminine XI – XX centuries), Oleg Riabov (1999) analyses discourses on femininity in Russian philosophical and religious texts. As the thesis continues unfolding it will become clear that the heavy hand of this patriarchal discourse's influence can still be found in Russian culture and society, as well as samples under study.

Further, the maternal principle was highly significant historically with regard to the female role in society. Generally, as Riabov argues, images of women in Russian culture have been desexualised, so it was always more Demeter than Aphrodite (Riabov, 1999). However, Riabov refers to the Christian period, in which the binary opposition of a 'virgin and a whore' (or in case of Russia, of a desexualised motherly principle and female sexuality) was actively propagated. Indeed, as Susan Rowland argues, 'Aphrodite's divinity is neither safe nor comfortable' (Rowland, 2015: 163), as her connection to the 'matter' is dangerous in its 'uncontrollable' erotic desire. Interestingly, the principle of desexualisation would be true for the Soviet period with its proclaimed gender equality. The animation for children reflects on this politics. Women in national fairytale adaptations were portrayed as either old women (desexualised mothers or asexual beings, such as Baba Yaga) or young (innocent and desexualised) girls.

As for the representation of the motherly principle on screen, as early as Pudovkin's *Mat'* (Mother, 1926) an adaptation of Gorky's classic Socialist Realist novel, or in *Chelovek Rodilsa* (A Man is Born, 1956), a film which 'introduced the unwed mother to the puritans ranks of Soviet films heroes and presented her problems to a society'

(Liehm & Liehm, 1977: 200), maternity and motherhood was (re)constructed extensively. As will be shown, fairytale animations also addressed the representation of mothers on screen, though stereotyping and often devaluing elderly motherly figures as in *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) and *Krasa Nenaglyadnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958).

Importantly, the feminine and motherly principle has been ascribed to the whole country. The idea of Mother Russia has been effectively utilised by the state at times of wars and collisions. The ruling ideology of both tsarist Russia and later the Soviet regime masterfully characterised the country in feminine terms, when need be, in its vulnerability to the foe and dependency on its male heroes with the rallying cry of *Rodina Mat' Zovet* (The Motherland Calls You). Even children's animation adhered to the topic, as in *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about the Soldier, 1948), or the contemporary franchise about Russian *Bogatyr*s (2004, 2006, 2012).

In a manner that was similar to Western medieval thinkers, Russian Christian religious discourse focused on women as a lineage of the sinful Eve, and of course, similar to the Western European tradition, Russian philosophy of femininity did not consider woman as Eve only. The woman was also Mary – the mother of God, who is considered to be the:

unrecognized Mother Goddess of the Christian tradition [...] Like all the goddesses before her – Cybele, Aphrodite, Demeter, Astarte, Isis, Hathor, Inanna and Ishtar [...] she is both virgin and mother [...] she gives birth to a half-human, half-divine child, who dies and is reborn.

(Baring & Cashford, 1993: 547 - 548)

As Riabov argues, the ideas of feminine ambivalence, as well as the blame for the primordial sin and evil nature of female powerful sexuality that must be controlled, appeared as early as *Povest Vremyannykh Let* (Tale of Bygone Years) – a Primary Chronicle of the history of Kievan Rus' from about 850 to 1110. However, it was continued well into the twenty first century through female representation on screen. Even in media products for children it is possible to trace the controlling power of patriarchy over women and their bodies, as in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2012), or in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971; 1977), in which men manage women's bodies through changing their forms (turning them into animals). These animated films represent only a small proportion of such demonstrations of control. While they were produced in completely different historical decades with markedly different stylistically and technical specifics, nevertheless, they are united by a uniformed appropriation and in their suppression of women.

Returning to the historical overview of the patriarchal order in Russia, following the Christian tradition which prescribed the complete authority of a husband over his wife, the book *Domostroi* (The Household Management Code) – a text dating back to 1556 that was written by the monk Sylvester – advised on the normalisation of home violence and severe punishments for wife's disobedience.

The execution of these rules was observed by Samuel Collins who resided in Moscow in the 1670s. In a letter to his friend on the present state of Russia he observed a situation when:

A merchant beat his Wife as long as he was able, with a Whip two inches about, and then caused to put on a Smock dip in Brandy three or four time

distilled, which he set on fire, and so the poor creature perished miserably in the flames [...] what is more strange, none prosecuted her death, for in this case they have no penal Law for killing of a Wife or Slave.

(Collins, 1671 [2008]: 17-18)

The right to physical violence survived for centuries and was implicitly present even in the animation of Soviet and post-Soviet periods as in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971) and *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (The Beautiful Frog, 2008). Though Russian content for children has been widely praised for being non-violent (Beumers, 2008; MacFadyen, 2005), this study disproves the universality of the claim.

Returning to the position of women in Russian society, the class and slavery system in Russia put its imprint on the appropriation of the female, her life, body and behaviour. The higher the class the more regulated the prescribed behaviour was and the less freedom of choice women had in regard to the only available occupation for women at that time - marriage. In marriage women were not protected though, as the church allowed men two divorces and a former wife was sent to a monastery where she shaved her head and became God's bride. The experience of gender was different indeed for women of different social classes, as peasantry could not financially allow itself the luxury of divorce. However, the hegemony of the patriarchal order was preserved, regardless of the class or position. Women and slaves were often put in one category. This treatment of women as objects of exchange (to use the Marxist lens of Luce Irigaray's terminology) is vividly present in the cinematic content of the twentieth century as well, and is found in both feature films and animations. Almost all of the films under study demonstrate this aspect of gender politics on screen: from

numerous cinematic takes on the fairytale *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vasilisa-the-Beautiful), to a compilation of fairytale motives in *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989) - female characters are constructed, treated and exchanged in accord with the patriarchal commodification of the female body.

Throughout the history of Russia, women's position in society has been masterfully ordered according to the political conditions and objectives of those in power. In the time of female rule (Elisabeth and Catherine the Great), the discourse seemed to accept female power (Riabov, 1999), though mostly attributing it to male qualities possessed by a certain female ruler (similar to the one present in regard to Elizabeth I of England, for example). Surprisingly, this representation of female power, constructed as a reference to the male qualities, can be observed in Baba Yaga's character in Soviet animation as she is often dubbed with male voice and stripped of her female qualities as in *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938); *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) - Baba Yaga's might and supremacy are ascribed to her androgyny.

However, saying that, in the eighteenth century the position of women in the upper classes began to resonate with new undertones including the politics of Peter the Great, the influence of Western Enlightenment and then the French revolution, as well as female tsarinas and the promotion of education for women in upper classes – all these factors played their role. However, Russia has been a Peasant State, and the lower classes did not experience any of these changes. Russia entered the industrial revolution's age still being a deeply patriarchal country with the majority of the population being illiterate peasants. Moreover, any changes to the engendered aspects of national identity were strongly correlated with the politics of the state and the ideological implications of such politics. The reality is that the real political and

ideological position of women in Russian society has not changed significantly since medieval times (Shashkov, 1879).

It was during the nineteenth century that a more dramatic shift started to take place. The question of gender became a central one in the writings of the most prominent intellectual figures of Russia. It seems that there was almost not a thinker, writer or social activist who did not debate the issue of femininity and women's position in society (Chernishevsky, Soloviev, Berdyaev, Leo Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, to name but a few). It was 'All about Eve' and all about women for the nineteenth century Russian intelligentsia. As Riabov (1999) notes, the old idea of femininity of Russia was returned to the discourse (Khomyakov, Herzen, Kavelin). The Russian messianic idea, and woman as a savior (Dostoevsky), was another popular theme at the time. In the nineteenth century the female image was deeply bound to the idea of national identity through myth, archetype and romantic fantasy. These ideas continued to exercise their power during the following pre-revolutionary Silver Age and into the post-revolutionary period. As Costlow notes, 'Silver Age culture, [...] is marked by the repudiation of the materialist ethos of the 1890s, and by the advent of unprecedented freedoms' (Costlow *et al.*, 1993: 11).

However, most of the thinkers who argued about the qualities of the female principle were male. They continued a discourse in terms of the already well-established paradigm of binary opposition and gender differentiation. Like their Western counterparts of the twentieth century (Freud, Jung for example), most of the intellectual male elite adhered to the old traditions of gender differentiation and their male fantasies on femininity. For example the famous Russian scientist Bakunin (1820-1900), wrote in 1881: 'In order to learn man kills life, and so he knows all the voices of death. Woman, in order to learn, lives and loves, and therefore, knows all

the voices of life.' (Bakunin, 1881: 391). This positioning of femininity in regard to life-giving and love will be maintained well into the twenty first century in Russian animation, as most of the films under study refer in one form or another to this prescribed and supposedly natural aspect of women including: *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954), in which Vasilisa-the-Beautiful resurrects animals with her touch, to *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979), in which love of the man is the only driving force behind the female heroine's life.

It is important to underline that while being an active supporter of the abolishment of social gender and inequality, Bakunin, like many other male theorists, saw the feminine as empty, fluid and volatile. On one hand this meant women were without limitations but on the other it made them a stranger in the masculinised world of order and logos. The elimination of women from the principles of order and knowledge can be observed in *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976) - the animated adaptation of the national fairytale Elena-the-Wise, in which Elena is turned into a mere love interest of the hero, stripped of her knowledge, which is given to her father instead.

There was another tendency to aspire to an ideal unity of both genders, namely, androgyny. Thus Soloviev in *Plato's Drama of Life* in 1898 argued that the true fullness of a human's ideal personality, obviously, cannot be only man or only woman, but in fact should be the result of a higher unity of both. In the early twentieth century (1916) another famous Russian thinker, Berdyaev, supported the ideas of androgyny in his work *The Sense of Creativity*, looking into the concept of human being's transformation, based on the idea of the androgyne. Though these attempts to challenge a long-standing tradition and patriarchal order could have been considered as progressive, they have a differentiated dichotomy of binary opposition in its core and cannot be considered as pro-feminist. (This is also the case of Jung's theory of

contrasexuality, which he was developing at roughly the same time). As Costlow notes, 'The accounts of Karlinsky and Berdyaev shape familiar oppositions (familiar, one notes, not only in Russia): of body versus spirit, of celebration versus repression, of homosexuality versus heterosexual love.' (Costlow, *et al.*, 1993: 11). The attempts to adapt to androgynous gender in post-revolution Russia was later mocked in a famous Soviet film *Sobachie Serdtse* (Dog's Heart, 1988), in which Professor Preobrazhensky questions the sex of the revolutionary female character based on her male-style garments and active social behaviour.

Notwithstanding, some thinkers of the nineteenth century can be considered as foreseers of the feminist discourse. Thus Chernyshevsky (1828-1889), in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was writing about the curse of gender division. He regarded the dominance of men as a source of all other forms of exploitation and injustice. In his view this could have been overcome through abolishment of gender, when there would be just people, neither women nor men (Chernyshevsky, [1878] 1939-1953).

Nevertheless, all these discourses on the nature of femininity and identity (be it gender or nationality), were the products of the intellectual labour of white male upper class representatives. This raises the question as to how women got 'inserted' into this masculine ethos, which is based on the principle of 'production rather than reproduction, participation in the historic process rather than domestic ahistoricity, heavy industry, construction, and, of course, "the struggle" ' (Borenstein, 2000: 3). Until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries women's voice, and the vocalising of the female experience of gender in the patriarchal social order of Russia, was suppressed.

The first wave of Russian feminism dates back to the second part of the nineteenth century. In a manner that is at least somewhat similar to Western Europe and the United States, the emergence of universal suffrage is associated with the introduction of liberal reforms during the 1850s and the early 1860s. The abolition of serfdom and the transformation of the judicial system in the country served as a catalyst for change in the social structures of Russian society. The spread of liberal ideas led to the creation of the first women's organisations; however, as it also happened in the West, these organizations were mostly composed of the middle-class women, noblewomen, intelligentsia and *raznochintsy* (literally 'people of miscellaneous ranks', an official term to define people who did not belong to any of the classes that often included some governmental clerks, discharged military, etc.). As the political activity and discourses were highly censored and regulated, the movement's activities were based outside political spheres and lacked any challenges to the established gendered ideology (Iukina, 2007). Instead the organizations mainly advocated education for women and some minor involvement in public life. Nevertheless, it was a tremendous social change for that time.

In the early twentieth century the rhetoric and discourse of male intelligentsia on civil rights in general and women's rights in particular was diluted through a range of female and feminist interventions. One of the feminists of the time was Ekaterina Schepkina (1854-1938), who was a social activist of the suffragist movement and a famous historian. Later this originally upper and middle-class movement flowed into the masses and women of the working class became much more socially and politically active by establishing organisations such as the socialist all-women unions for female factory workers and the League for Women's Equal Rights. The latter sought to establish equal rights, education for women and social welfare. Similar to

Europe, the First World War had a tremendous effect on emancipation. There was a massive loss of the male population in those countries that participated in the war, and it forced women to enter into the public sphere. By the time of the revolution '12% of the doctors, 26% of the medical personnel and teachers and 11% of the technical staff of the country were women' (Ferro, 1980: 216).

The October Revolution in 1917, the abolition of classes, the civil war and the construction of the new State, all enriched the feminist movement with an anticipation of equality and it finally seemed to be within reach. The same year women were granted the right to vote, one of the early Russian feminist writers and activists Alexandra Kollontai started her debate on the question of gender. Despite these changes, her male counterparts still adhered to the old dichotomy and a metaphorical usage of the concepts of femininity and masculinity, calling the Revolution – *Baba* (a colloquial often rude word meaning 'woman'), who 'came against *muzhik* – *gosudarstvo*' (man-state) (Rozanov, 1990, vol. 1: 261).

Women indeed played a crucial role in the revolution of peasants and workers. First of all because the female population had been historically larger than the male, and secondly female workers represented a large (close to half) of all factory workers (Glickman, 1984), thus making them an essential part of the productive economy. Many women left villages, their abusive husbands and rich peasant-masters (*kulaks*), in order to build a new life in the new State, which promised them independence and a bright future. Soviet cinema perfectly reflected on this period as in *Teni Ischezayut v Polden'* (Shadows Disappear at Noon, 1971), where an oppressed peasant - Marja - leaves the old life ruled by patriarchy and becomes a communist leader in the village. Her famous remark that the communist party made her feel a human being for the first

time in her life, as well as the brutal killing of Marja by the men of the village, speak for itself.

With the proclamation of the new State, Soviet Russia became one of the first societies in the world to give women equal civil rights in the early twentieth century. Elizabeth Wood argues that, 'in the years 1917-30 the practice of gender definition and representation happened primarily on two levels, on the level of political rhetoric and on the level of institutions' (Wood, 1997: 4). Rhetorically, the new government had to find ways to build the new State, a new ideology and also a new mentality. Media including film, magazines, and newspapers were all tools that were used to help reach the targets of the revolution. Of course visual media (and in particular film) were considered the most effective of the media for propaganda purposes, as they could be understood by the largely illiterate population which as Haynes argues was, 'still steeped in folk superstitions and the traditions of Orthodox Christianity, [and] had to be re-cast into a dynamic force that would demonstrate to the world the success, and superiority, of the Communist experiment' (Haynes, 2003: 1). It was also a time of a massive social experiment. In a sense it was a pioneering experience of building a real communism with no classes, no inequality, and without capital as the main source of exchange. Importantly women were actively present in the film industry behind the camera, especially in animation production (Zinaida and Valentina Brumberg, Olga Khodotaeva and Aleksandra Snezhno-Blotskaya), as well as in front of it. While the female characters of the pre-revolutionary screen had a 'poorly developed sense of self-awareness' (Bulgakova, 1993: 151), and were 'accustomed' to their 'subordination' (ibid.), and the female audience was told to 'be satisfied with the fate you were given' (ibid.: 150), after the revolution it was a time of

active women and 'the role of fatal forces was now allotted to the former regime' (Bulgakova, 1993: 151).

Women were no longer victims, they were revolutionaries. Even the first Soviet animated film, containing fairytale characters like the Tsarina Tetekha and the tsar in *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934), had an emancipated female heroine who wins over the tsar. However, *Tetekha* in Russian means a rude girl or a toy, which has the effect of rendering the princess as an ambiguous character. Levi-Strauss (1969) defines such characters as 'anomalous' meaning that they are neither good nor bad and instead function as a means to navigate a binary divide in the narrative. Of course the main principle was the class struggle; nevertheless, the seemingly antagonistic female heroine is the one who is empowered in the end.

However, female characters in fairytales stood little chance of survival in post-revolution times. As Bulgakova (1993) argues, 'War was declared on any form of mystification' (p. 152). Along with that, the heroine of the 1920s was a worker 'representing the masses' (ibid.). Bride-Princesses were not ideologically-necessary elements; equally redundant were all-knowing witches. The State and the male Head of the State were the only grooms needed and stood as emblems of male authority. It would take another decade for the animated fairytale adaptations to appear. The main female character of this fairytale was Baba Yaga, as a kidnapper and eater of little children in *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938). The film was produced by the female director-duo the sisters Brumberg, whose 'mainline production [...] was educational, with attacks against poor study habits and laziness' (Bendazzi, 1994: 178).

As for the institutional aspect of gender definition and representation, several important organisations dealing with women's affairs were established. Among the most notable was *Zhenotdel* (Women's Department (*zhenskii otdel*) of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party. It was established by two Russian feminist revolutionaries - Alexandra Kollontai and Inessa Armand (Lenin's lover) - in 1919. The Department's objective was to improve the conditions of women's lives in the USSR by eradicating illiteracy and educating women about the Communist Party's policies.

Politically underrepresented women finally got a role to play; they finally had a voice and a right to a say. Such thinkers and cultural figures who are now considered as being feminist (Kollontai, Armand), were appearing with fresh ideas about the new order and about gender. Arguing that the family belonged to the old regime atavism, they suggested the abolishment of the institution, proclaiming free love, and proposed new types of communal childcare facilities which would allow mothers to be completely devoted to the State and to work for most of their time. However it proved to be a short-lived post-revolution moment of sexual freedom and it was followed by a move towards oppression by the male party leaders, as argued by Naiman (1997) and Ashwin (2000). Further, in her work on analyzing memorial literature of the 1920s, Elizabeth Jones Hemenway notes that women's revolutionary activity was situated, 'within a more traditional gender structure, in which the women appeared as faithful mothers and sisters, "friends of the working class," and assistants in the birthing process of revolution' (Jones Hemenway, 2006: 79).

Women were an integral part of the armed forces, thus 66,000 women were serving in the Red Army in 1920 (Evans Clements, 1985: 221). Women were also active agents in almost all public spheres aspiring to a new society of total civil equality.

Meanwhile, their male counterparts headed by the revolutionary leader Lenin had other ideas about the shape of the new social order and its structure. Notably, for Lenin, feminism was branded as bourgeois (Lenin, n.d.: 106, quoted in Stites, 1978: 341). Moreover, following Marxist ideology, Lenin considered questions of gender as secondary and as Brashinsky and Horton (1992) underline 'The development of Marxism-Leninism [...] while vaguely espousing gender, actually supported the patriarchal family structure and puritanical values, and thus never delivered true economic, social, personal, or psychological freedom for women in the Soviet Union.' (p. 101). This is an important point for research as the films under study in this thesis are products that are created for children, acting as agents of family entertainment. Meanwhile, according to McClintock family:

offered an indispensable figure for sanctioning social hierarchy within a putative organic unity of interests. Since the subordination of woman to man, and child to adult, was deemed a natural fact, other forms of social hierarchy could be depicted in familial terms to guarantee social difference as a category of nature.

(McClintock, 1993: 65)

Helena Goscilo and Andrea Lenoux agree that the 'Bolshevik conception of gender derived from medieval notions on masculinity and femininity, valorizing women's domestic function while entrusting to men the leadership that vouchsafed them virtual monopoly over public life.' (Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 7). It was a confusing time for both national and gender identities, and as Sarah Ashwin notes, the combination of:

radicalism and tradition in the Bolshevik conception of gender roles found its echo in the lives of Soviet men and women, who were confronted with the

conflicting imperatives of established and revolutionary norms (the latter of which were themselves contradictory).

(Ashwin, 2000: 11-12)

Importantly, the discourse on motherhood re-emerges. Thus, Kollontai supported a communal way of raising children; motherhood, as the main social role of women was playing a crucial ideological role. It was so important that a special journal, *Voprosy Materinstva I Mladenchestva* (Questions of Motherhood and Infancy), was published starting in 1926. Women were mothers of future Soviet citizens, who must be ideologically loyal and devoted to the bright Communist future. Motherhood became a synthetic and symbolic substitution for social power, as in the feature film *Mat'* (Mother, 1926).

Meanwhile, women and their active participation in building a new State from scratch (and it was as if from scratch as the country was lying in post-World War I ruins, the revolution and the civil war) was viewed by the new regime as a crucial one and a temporary liberation of women was seen as a fair price to pay. As Ashwin comments, 'In the initial post-revolutionary period [...] the main role of women was as levers through which the regime could gain increased control over society.' (Ashwin, 2000: 3).

However, one of the main principles on which this research is built is a rejection of the ideological passivity of the Soviet citizen. While women's position in the new society was indeed an ace up the sleeve of the new government, women were active participants of the changes, policies and evolution of what would become known as the 'Soviet woman's image'. Of course it was the case that 'women's labour participation was integral to the Bolshevik political project [...] It was one thing to

undermine the traditional family and the private subordination of women.' (Ashwin, 2000: 9). It is also true that women were considered to be 'liberated from the patriarchal family and transferred from private dependence on men to the 'protection' of the Soviet state' (Ashwin, 2000: 10). Nevertheless, women's participation in both gendered chauvinism and gendered liberation, in any historical period, is self-evident. Similar to Rancour-Laferriere's position on the masochistic nature of Russian women who 'were not forced by men to do what they did. [...] women engaged in self-defeating behavior, behavior which is masochistic by definition' (Rancour-Laferriere, 1995: 163), and Levy's (2005) argument on chauvinism among women in Western culture, this study shows how active women were in constructing their own identity on screen, as many samples under study are made by female directors and screenwriters. As Attwood rightly notes, 'In the society which has consistently devalued women [...] it is not so strange to find women undervaluing themselves' (Attwood, 1993a: 214).

Returning to the position of women in the post-revolutionary period, the majority of women were truly devoted citizens. As Marina Kiblitckaya argues, women born in the 1920s and 1930s were 'married to the state' (Kiblitckaya, 2000: 55), and 'meaning of life was to be found in work' (ibid.). It was a time when the active repression of the private began. Life, work, aspiration, and even the body of women all belonged to the State. There could be nothing private in the community. Family as a bourgeois institution and a private sexual life of an individual had no place in the new country. Through women the Party could transform the private lives of families. As Ashwin comments, addressing the woman question, it 'would give the Bolsheviks access to the private sphere and the chance to form "a generation which places the good of the collective above all else"' (Ashwin, 2000: 6).

Whether the abolishment of the family cell in post-revolution times was an attempt to liberate women (Buckley and Goldman, 1989), or whether it was a war against the Church (Aristarkhova, 1995), does not matter that much. What does matter is the tremendous change that took place in the private lives of Russian women, some of whom embraced the new laws of divorce, voted and proclaimed gender equalities; others were strongly opposed to such changes. Indeed rural people continued to adhere to traditional roles for much longer and peasant households were 'regarded by Bolsheviki as the epitome of backwardness, a cradle of subversion, a remnant of the past which had to be transformed' (Ashwin, 2000: 8). This is why national fairytales were rejected and regarded as ideologically suspect along with earlier discourse on Russian national identity and the old order.

The 1930s was a decade of industrialisation and women were an integral part of the process, and on a positive note this strengthened their social and economic positions. However, *Zhenotdel* (the Women's Department) was shut down in 1930, the reason being that the notorious 'woman question' was solved. In reality the Party did not want any opposing powers to be present. According to Fuqua, 'the real historical significance of *zhenotdel* is not whether they eliminated discrimination or transformed women's social position, but how the *zhenotdel* attempted to redefine and reconstitute the domestic sphere, placing women's traditional family roles under state control' (Fuqua, 1996: 10).

Shortly afterwards, the State executed a ban on abortions and contraception, thereby maintaining control over women's bodies. The construction of a gendered identity was also reiterated through what were utopian pictures of a bright future on screen. This idealised image of a Soviet woman was in part presented to the public in fairytales, be they Lyubov Orlova's female characters in the feature film *Svetlyi Put*

(The Radiant Path, 1940), or as in the later figure of Vasilisa Prekrasnaya in the bona fide fairytale adaptations of *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971; 1977) (the detailed examination of the films and the character is provided in chapter four and five).

Returning to the middle of the 1930s, it was a time when the gender situation started to change dramatically. Stalin's ideology flourished and the family as a cell of society began its return to the ideological stage. As Haynes notes, 'Soviet society and culture were being manipulated towards the re-establishment of a rigid patriarchal order' (Haynes, 2003:43). Women were reminded of their supposedly natural role as mothers and wives for, as 'the redefinition of motherhood was also integral to the Bolshevik project' (Ashwin, 2000: 10). According to Olga Issoupova, the Party positioned maternity as 'not a private matter, but a social one; [...] motherhood was a 'natural' destiny of women; [...] it was a function which was to be facilitated and rewarded by the state.' (Issoupova, 2000: 32). Issoupova goes on to underline that control of women's bodies was a control of women's behaviour and 'was justified on the ground that women's bodies were the incubators of the new generation of communists' (ibid.: 34).

The active desexualisation of women that had started as a reaction against bourgeois femininity turned into a mythologisation of the maternal and citizenry function of women. As Issoupova puts it, 'One very important consequence of the State alliance with the mother, and the attempt to wrest as much control as possible from the parents via nursery provision, was the virtual exclusion of the fathers from childcare' (Issoupova, 2000: 38). According to Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, women in societies in general perform as active reproducers of multiple forms: as biological reproducers, reproducers of boundaries of the 'national' and as agents of reproduction

of national ideology (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989). Therefore, as noted earlier, the Party treated women as the ultimate agents of reproduction for the future Soviet citizens, all of whom had to be raised in a perfect Soviet Family. According to Haynes this Family 'was just as idealized, just as enclosed within monoglot world-view, as the rest of "Soviet reality" ' (Haynes, 2003: 51). Haynes goes on to note that 'the family cell - like so much else in Stalinist culture – represented a return to pre-revolutionary values' (ibid).

In the 1930s 'A leader had stepped forward from the masses. This was reflected in the cinema; a single actor became [...] the hero of life' (Bulgakova, 1993: 157). Though the heroes were of course representing the masses, as in the 1920s, now they were not oppressed, they were the rulers of what was a new ideology. Female characters were 'fully-formed [...] with clear convictions, a developed character, with a mature appearance, clearly moulded figure' (Bulgakova, 1993; 157). Interestingly, iconographically female characters in the future animated fairytales of the 1940s and 1950s would be similar to the idols of the Soviet screen of the time such as Orlova in *Tsyrk*, (Circus, 1934) and *Svetlii Put'* (Bright Path, 1940), as well as Ladinina in *Bogataya Nevesta*, (The Rich Bride, 1937) and *Traktoristi* (Tractor Drivers, 1939). They were 'fair-haired, healthy, sporty and cheerful' (Bulgakova, 1993: 158). While bodily physique of the heroines will change over time following the prescribed appearance standards, still the 'brides' of the animated national fairytales will be similar in appearance to their 1930s counterparts. As argued by Bulgakova these women will possess a healthy beauty, be childless, and generally be a 'Cinderella type' (ibid.).

As in the rest of the world involved in World War II, the period of the 1940s marked the return of women to the public domain. While many women actively fought on the

front, others were left to lead industries at the rear, feeding and producing goods for the army. Perhaps it was unsurprising (as it was argued at the start of this chapter) that the discourse of Motherland, which required defence and loyalty, was revived. In this situation Stalin was positioned as the Absolute Father Figure (Clark, 1977) and an old model of Mother-Russia and Father-Tsar re-emerged as a national myth.

After the war, 'women had been sent out to work, and constituted over half of the labour force in 1945; but after the enormous losses of the war, the regime faced the task of re-population' (Ashwin, 2000: 14). Along with that during the post-war period most researchers (Ashwin, 2000; Haynes, 2003, to name a couple) note the beginning of the process of demasculinisation of men in the Soviet Union commenting, 'the disruption of the patriarchal order through women's independence and engagement in work was having a disastrous impact on the morale and motivation of the male workers' (Ashwin, 2000: 14-15). Ashwin goes on to underline that 'it is difficult for men to perform publicly if they are privately undermined' (Ashwin, 2000: 15). Helena Goscilo and Andrea Lenoux see the phenomenon from a different perspective though:

Projecting men's sense of diminishment and impotence after the horrors of WWII onto little boys whom they saved, sheltered, and treated as "young comrades" may have assuaged ex-soldiers' guilt at having survived their fallen compatriots and reassured men racked by fears of appearing emasculated.

(Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 18)

Regardless of the reason behind it, the argument is that this tendency of demasculinisation is present in Soviet society. In terms of this study it is important as a socio-historical context during which national fairytales were adapted to the screen in large quantities. So the post-war period was the first attempt of what would become

many in which the government explicitly enacted its normally implicit gender politics with regard to the constructed national memory and also in terms of the national myths of femininity. The suggestion is that films were utilised as a tool through which to promulgate what was in effect the State's patriarchal ideology.

The reaction to the brief period of earlier emancipation started to appear in the 1940s and it followed that female characters on screen became more vulnerable. As Bulgakova argues, 'they needed protection', they were waiting for their beloved men to return from the war front. Women were once again inscribed with traditional notions of femininity. However, World War II also required women to take an active part in the social sphere. Therefore, it was in the 1950s when the patriarchal machine of gender differentiation started working at full capacity and fairytales flowed onto the screen. In a manner which is similar to the feature films that were produced during the 1950s, women's characters in national fairytale were typically portrayed as nice, kind, passive girls as in: *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953); *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957); *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairytale about the Snowgirl, 1957); and *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958). Animation followed feature films in another trend of a 'gradual reassertion of the "beautiful woman" ' (Bulgakova, 1993: 166); however, their beauty was considered "suspicious" and in a sense dangerous as in *Tsarevna Lyagushka*, (The Frog Princess, 1954).

In the end of the 1950s with the death of Stalin and with the destruction of the Cult of Personality, the ultimate father figure ceased to exist. 'The 1960s were a time of smashing myths and killing old gods' (Stishova, 1993: 184). However, the decade persisted with the ideas about the new type of the Great Soviet family and the ideal image of the Soviet woman. Thus 'the individual was to be submerged in her or his

social role, then, so blood family was not to be in opposition to the State, but was in fact to act as its microcosmic auxiliary' (Haynes, 2003: 52). Meanwhile, Soviet women continued to perform according the prescribed norms: they were mothers, workers, citizens, wives and communists. For Hashamova (2006), Soviet women were social carriers of a triple identity of womanhood - worker-mother-wife - and a very good example of a mythologised female identity of this kind was later depicted in the feature film *Ofitseri* (Officers, 1971).

By the beginning of the 1960s, ninety per cent of women were employed, while carrying the so called 'double burden' (Evans Clements, Alpern Engel and Worobec, 1991) - a duty to perform all housework and child-upbringing without any help from men. As Lewin notes, 'the very real emancipation of women was marred by two limits: their purely symbolic presence in the power structure and a tenacious patriarchal system [...]. Women still returned home after a hard working day to a good three hours of household chores' (Lewin, 2005: 315). However, the decade witnessed an emergence of the private in what were culturally produced discourses, as well as a progression of the 'feminization of males, or, more precisely, their cooperation of refurbished values "with a human face" ' (Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 17).

As for the issues of identity and representation on screen, in the 1960s 'the simple worker was forced off screen' (Bulgakova, 1993: 167), and the new heroine was 'more refined, reflective and nervy' (ibid.). While the film *Letyat Zhuravli* (The Cranes are Flying, 1957), and thinking women of the intelligentsia were actively pursuing their aspirations, patriarchy in the animated fairytales were awaiting the counterstrike which would happen in the 1970s, which was to be another decade of female fairytale characters on screen. The idealised body image for women changed and from now on

'thin, fragile, Europeanized girls took place of those strong splendid Slavic beauties' (Bulgakova, 1993: 168).

By the beginning of the 1970s Soviet women were 'broadly well educated, were well represented in technical professions, and had a strong presence in scientific research' (Lewin, 2005: 315). Meanwhile, Voronina (1994) argues a complete lack of feminist discourse in the country, and states that the equality was always a mere myth. While Simone de Beauvoir's (1949) work, which analysed the effects of male dominance and developed the concept of the 'Other', was still challenging the naturalness of the order in the West, in the Soviet Union the feminist discourse was, at that moment in history, silent. After Alexandra Kollontai's works of the 1930s there was no active gender discourse in Soviet society until the end of the 1970s, when there was an attempt to question the social position of women, as steps towards equality were made. One indication of the change is the anthology *Women and Russia*, which was written by the activist female group *Maria*.

By contrast, in the West, the second wave feminist movement was reaching its peak and gender studies started its triumphant way into academic discourse. However, Soviet women were not a part of it. Nor were they a part of the contraceptive revolution, or active participants in the sexual freedoms that the period brought to Western women. As Zacharova (1989) and Attwood (1990) argue, women were highly dissatisfied with the position they were in and tended to incline towards traditional and patriarchal models.

As Drozdova argues, 'Soviet society in the 1970s was glued together by the sublimation of the personal into the social, the "citizenly" ' (Drozdova, 1993: 198). Women continued to play the role they were assigned but their dissatisfaction with

that position was growing. The decade, nevertheless, witnessed active, strong, successful, if unhappy in private life, female characters as in *Starie Steni* (Old Walls, 1974) and *Sluzhebnyi Roman* (Office Affair, 1977). The idea of female happiness, found only through heterosexual love relationships, was incorporated into children's animation too: *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974); *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979); and *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970), to name only a few of the films produced during this particular period. However, almost every national fairytale adaptation referred to this as some form of supposedly true female happiness.

Bulgakova (1993) argues that femininity of the 1970s is 'cold, rational, they give impression of frigidity [...]. Especially since their partners are hardly supermen.' (p. 173). Indeed this is the time when discussions on the death of masculinity became as strong as ever. Seemingly as a reaction, it appears that young audiences had to be returned to the established hierarchy and reminded of 'natural' femininity. Initially it can seem as though the female characters who appeared in the national fairytales adaptations of the 1970s were more liberated agents of action. For example, the characters of the mother, the nanny and *Tsarevna-Nesmeyana* (The Princess-Who-Never-Smiles) in the film *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970). Certainly such representations seem more positive than those of the same characters in the earlier versions of the same fairytale. But in reality such equality proves to be illusory as the choice of the tale (which is patriarchal at its core) and the narrative agency of the female characters accompanied by their iconography remained the same as in the 1950s.

The period of Stagnation was followed by those of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* (open public discussions of problematic political and social issues). After decades of silence the Russian feminist discourse was brought to life with a new cycle of democratic

reforms and changes to social structures. At the turn of the 1980s-1990s some form of revitalisation of general public activity began, thus giving way to independent women's organisations. Many activist women's groups did not want to identify themselves with the feminist movement, because in public opinion the word 'feminism' was still burdened with negative connotations. As a result, independent women's organisations remained rare and functioned at the borders of society. Additionally their activities were sporadic and never reached the general public. Chronologically, the 'second wave' (if it can be conceptualised as a movement at all) of Russian feminism almost coincided with the rise of the third wave of feminism in the Western world.

The first part of the 1980s continued to exercise the old patterns of female imagery. However, by the time of Gorbachev's *Perestroika* things started to change. The sexualisation and Westernisation of life was massive and the new type of female character on screen, as depicted in *Malenkaya Vera* (Little Vera, 1989), came to existence: for the first time explicit sexual intercourse was shown on screen. The female character (Vera) was not ashamed of her sexuality; neither was she afraid of the old socialist system. As for animation the changes were subtle. However, in accord with the critique of gender in academic circles, Lydia Surikova's work, *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989), highlighted the sexism of female representation in animated adaptations of national fairytales. Along with that, the supposed ideal of a Russian woman collapsed, along with the collapse of the USSR when the profession of a *volutnaia prostitutka* (a prostitute who works with foreign clients and is paid in foreign currency) became a synonym for female success, as reflected in the cultural

products of the time such as *Interdevochka* (International Girl, 1989) directed by Pyotr Todorovsky.

As had happened in the 1920s, the dramatic economic and social conditions in the late Soviet period gradually pushed the gender question to the periphery of the political agenda. Thus, during *Perestroika* there were 'more children in orphanages [...] than there were after the Second World War' (Stishova, 1993: 176). People were again trying to survive. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the whole system of the social order crumbled. The 'so-bright-future', that had been proffered, was never reached and ideas of national identity disintegrated. The country was in chaos politically, economically and socially. The establishment of a new society based on a market economy had its priorities. New private businesses were opening and the government stopped paying salaries to teachers, doctors, miners, and other workers. Crime flourished. Many people regardless of gender moved into commercial structures. As Meshcherkina (2000) discusses, women adapted quicker and often better to the new order, often supporting their male partners financially while, nevertheless, adhering to an old patriarchal model of natural difference and a strong believe in what was ultimately male leadership and authority.

Along with the perverted form of patriarchy described above, the massive sexualisation of culture and everyday life in Russia took place in the post-Soviet period. It is seen by Helena Goscilo as a 'fig leaf' for concealing male chauvinism, sexual exploitation, and violence against women (Goscilo, 1996: 136; quoted in Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 21). Women were (and are) often considered as objects of male consumerism and as objects of domestic and sexual exploitation.

Twenty years after Surikova's truly feminist animated films, and after a massive cultural gap, caused by economic and political changes, national fairytale heroines

once again started appearing on screen. Unfortunately, they are inserted into the same gender paradigm. Thus, the princess in the film *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011), who is highly educated, seemingly liberated and emancipated, secretly dreams of love and of finding 'true female happiness'. She is at best a helper and supporter to the main male hero and she is also his love-interest. Fairytale adaptations are again utilised to promote and sustain female suppression in public and private spheres. Women are sexually objectified as in *Skazka pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (Fairytale about Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008); vilified and punished as in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2012) or *Tri Bogatyria Na Dalnikh Beregakh* (Three Strong Knights on Faraway Shores, 2012); or victimised and silenced like in the three versions of *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006, 2007, 2012).

As for academic thought, nowadays, the feminist discourse is still scarce and it is not popular among the general public. The work around gender by Russian researchers (for example O. Voronina, T. Klimenkova), still appears from time to time and presents a deep philosophical analysis of the issues raised by feminist theory – the patriarchal worldview, androcentrism, and the present state of gender inequality in Russia, as well as the ideas of national identity. The strong rejection of feminism in contemporary Russia among the public is also present. As Helena Goscilo and Andrea Lenoux argue the 'national-historical context [...] elucidates the inordinate hostility to feminism' (Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 20). According to Goscilo and Lenoux this is caused by a deep suspicion 'regarding any and all aspects of its contemporary instantiation because of its Western provenance and because the unrealized promises

of emancipation under socialism remain sedimented in collective memory' (Goscilo & Lenoux, 2006: 20).

Contemporary Putin's Russia is turning back to some traditional moral values of Christianity and puritan morality: Pussy Riot's imprisonment; the non-acceptance of the LGBTQI community; interference by the now revived Orthodox Church into the secular state's activities; open promotion and support of a motherly female role and political and managerial underrepresentation of women – these are some of the traits observed in Russia nowadays which stand in direct opposition to any progressive goals of eliminating gender inequality.

Chapter 4: The Fairytale Women

Animated films provide a source of remarkable material for historical and socio-cultural analysis. Just as it is possible to trace and investigate numerous ideological campaigns implicitly built into Russian animated films for children (for example the anti-jazz campaign in *Chuzhoi Golos* (Stranger's Voice, 1949), directed by Ivanov-Vano and female director Snezhno-Blotskaya), so too it is also possible to examine other politics on screen, in this case gender construction and representation as a tool of the patriarchal order. Western feminist discourses have been successful in including the analysis of media content (including some particularly relevant work on animated films from the Disney company (Addison, 1993; Zipes, 1995; Bell, Haas and Sells, 1995) in their attempt to challenge an existing patriarchal status quo. This stage of the research draws on the work of Bell, Haas and Sells (1995); Aubrey & Harrison (2004); King, Bloodsworth-Lugo and Lugo-Lugo (2011); and Pirozhenko (2004a; 2004b); and their examination of gender representation on screen as a paradigm of stereotypical characteristics of womanhood. These indicators are matched to factors such as appearance and body weight, female helplessness, victimhood and passivity, domestic and the matrimonial inclination that is ascribed to female characters. At the later stages the findings will be integrated into the larger picture of the sociocultural institutions of gender hierarchy.

Further, the following chapters will continue to debate the suppression of female equality through the utilisation of national fairytale material as adapted for the screen. In the process of research it was established that three periods (1950s, 1970s and 2000s) interestingly coincided with a rise in the release and production of national fairytale adaptations (Appendix III). The increase is curious, particularly as it does not reflect a general expansion of production capacity; the 1970s and 1980s did not differ

significantly in this regard. Further this increase does not appear to have been influenced by the politics of bringing fairytales to the focal point of cultural production either, as the discourse and directive was mainly present in the 1930s. However, these socio-historical periods were marked by an explicit strengthening of traditional gender discourses in society (as in the 1950s and 2000s, and implicitly as in the 1970s). As shown in previous chapters, in the post-war period women were reminded that traditional femininity was a socially accepted and desirable aspect of their identity. During the post-Thaw period when Russian men were publicly proclaimed weak, feminised and victimised (Uralnis, 1968), there was once more a rise in the number of films that were adapted from national magic fairytales. The new millennium witnessed Russia simultaneously returning to its cultural Slavic roots along with a strengthening of the Orthodox religion. Concurrently the objectification of women in both the media and society spread, while the feminist discourse continued to be scarce. However, Russia could not live in isolation from the rest of the world: the freedoms and partial equality which women gained in the Western countries, multiplied by the position women had in Soviet society and female activity in the 1990s, did have their effects. As a result, there was an influx of national fairytales that had previously been adapted for the screen, and which contained what amounts to stereotypical imagery of women.

Firstly, it is important to examine the choice of fairytales that were adapted and to note those which were excluded from the screen. Some Russian national fairytales contain unique material in regard to women's portrayal. Most of these fairytales were neither adapted to the screen nor published widely in fairytale collections. Although this research does not constitute an analysis of original fairytales, neither does it lie in the field of folklore studies; nonetheless, the early stages of this research revealed a

considerable number of fairytales in which female characters act as agents and subjects, rather than objects, do not perform as assistants to male heroes, and are not positioned in a reference to male protagonists. The source of the fairytales is a combination of Afanasyev's collections of the material and Barag's classification. These fairytales are:

1) Fairytale number 311. The fairytale tells a story of three sisters. Unlike fairytales which were chosen for adaptation for the screen, including *Ivan Tsarevich and Serii Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1984, 1991, 2011, 2013) or *Pro Ivana Duraka* (About Ivan the Fool, 2004) - just to name a few films based around the male hero's journey, this narrative is based around the youngest sister's quest to rescue her sisters. Depending on the regional version of the fairytale the male characters are represented as helpers, taking the form of either a bear or a wizard.

2) Fairytale numbers 313 J - *Ved'ma I Sontseva Sestra* (Witch and Sun's Sister) - presents strong female protagonists.

3) Fairytales number 326 B, G, also 366 - narratives about dead people with female protagonists.

4) Fairytale number 329. The main protagonist is Elena Premudraya (Elena-the-Wise). In the text Elena has a magic book which shows her the location of every single thing in the world. She dares a common man to hide from her but finds him every time, thanks to the book. In Soviet times, an animated film with a somewhat similar plot was produced - *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 4); however, in the film the character similar to Elena-the-Wise is positioned as a mere love-interest to the male

protagonist. More importantly, it is her wizard-father (a character not present in the original fairytale) who possesses the magic book and tests the young man.

5) Fairytales numbers 330 A, B and 560 E present narratives with active female protagonists.

6) Fairytale number 330 B tells a story of a cannibal aunt and a niece who is eaten. No male heroes are present.

7) Fairytale number 333 C, in which Baba Yaga eats animals and children. No struggle and winning of the male protagonist over Baba Yaga as depicted in the later animated fairytale *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938).

8) Fairytale number 400 B tells a story of a *Tsar'-Devitsa* (Tsar-Maiden) - the main protagonist; she is the warrior, the ruler of the country and the agent of action.

9) Fairytales numbers 410 and 426 A, tell stories about female adultery; in the first tale it is the tsarina who has a lover, and puts a spell on the whole kingdom, while in the second tale it is a the mother who has a lover. The punishment, which in later times might have been exercised as a male discourse, is absent in the form that we would expect it to be.

10) Fairytales numbers 426 A and 451 present us with independent female characters. In fairytale 451, the protagonists are the Crow-brother and the sister.

11) Fairytale number 428 narrates the story of a female character's initiation as she serves Baba Yaga and earns her rewards.

12) Fairytale number 432 - *Finist Yasnii Sokol*. Unlike the Soviet feature film *Finist Yasnii Sokol* (Finist the Fine Falcon, 1975) in which the protagonist is male, and female characters serve only secondary functions, the original fairytale tells of a young woman who is searching for her groom. Unlike the 'quest for the lost spouse' always performed by the male heroes in animated adaptations of national fairytales, this narrative is a reverse story of the female journey to rescue her beloved one. Unlike the feature film mentioned above which depicts a traditional damsel in distress story, in the original national fairytale the main heroine encounters her evil sisters and after overcoming some difficulties is reunited with her beloved man. This case serves as a tidy example of the patriarchal gender politics on screen and supports the overall hypothesis of the study.

13) Fairytale number 449 tells a story of a wife who puts a spell on her husband and who is not punished in a traditional patriarchal way.

14) Fairytale number 481 A is called *Dve Sestri I Veter* (Two Sisters and the Wind). The Wind kidnaps one sister, and the other one goes on a quest to find her. The heroine guesses the Wind's riddles and rescues her sibling.

15) Finally fairytale number 519 called *Slepoi i Beznogii* (Blind and Legless). The story is about a woman who is a *Bogatyrya* (a Strong Knight). It is important to underline that *Bogatyrya* is a traditionally male character from Russian epic tales; the gender of the word in Russian is also male, but in this fairytale this strong and mighty warrior is the woman. Her groom has to fight

her in order to marry her. However, he tricks his wife-to-be and sends his servant instead to fight her at night. On discovering this deception the *She-Bogatyr* cuts off servant's legs and sends her future-husband to be a shepherd.

Similar examples of different and non-stereotypical gender roles are also present in such national fairytales as *Danilo Besschastnyy* (Danilo the Luckless), number 313; and *Maria Morevna* (Maria Morevna) number 736 in which female heroines exercise social, military and intellectual powers. Similar to the situation with the fairytale about Elena-the-Wise, who was robbed of her magic powers in the animation *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976), Soviet cinema exercised its patriarchal gender politics in the film *Koschey Bessmertny* (Koschey-the-Deathless, 1944). Maria Morevna, in this feature film created by the most established Soviet fairytale director Alexander Rou, is presented as a passive love-interest and the damsel in distress of the male hero. The narration starts by underlying her beauty. She then is kidnapped by Koschey and put under his spell as a Sleeping Beauty. Her governmental and warrior powers and functions, present in the original fairytale, are taken away.

Clearly, there are plenty of examples of active women and independent female protagonists in traditional national fairytales. However, none of these fairytales were adapted to the screen or if they were (as with *Finist the Fine Falcon*, *Elena-the-Wise* and *Maria-Morevna*), they were altered to make the female characters subordinate to the patriarchal order. The films that Russian filmmakers made generally involved stories with active male protagonists, passive and dependent female heroines. They also included fairytales for children, and those had an educative function in which particular types of women with the 'right' female behaviours - were silent and submissive and punished if otherwise.

The research selected forty-two adaptations to examine (Appendix I) which fitted the characteristics outlined in the methodology section of the research. Nine fairytales were adapted to the screen more than once: *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1938; 1957; 1970; 1984; 2012), *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949; 2012), *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess 1954; 1971; 1977; 2008; 2012), *Snegurochka* (The Snow Girl 1957; 1969; 2012), *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go I Don't Know Where, 1966; 2012), *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 1974; 2006; 2007; 2012), *Morozko* (The Frost 1981; 2012), *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf 1974; 1984; 1991; 2001; 2013), and *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 1977; 2006); these constitute the majority of the adaptations and total thirty films (Appendix I, A).

The remaining eleven films were adaptations of fairytales which were adapted to the screen only once. Six of them were based on a single source (rather than a mixture of several fairytales or motifs): *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938), *Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik* (A Miraculous Bell, 1949), *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953), *Volshebnaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953), *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1977) and *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979) (Appendix I, B).

Finally, six fairytale films contained magical fairytale characters, but these were based on a combination of motifs and elements that were taken from several fairytales or the original fairytale was changed; these films did not have one particular fairytale type adapted to the screen: *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about Soldier, 1948), *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (Beloved Beauty, 1958), *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970), *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976), *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku*

Spasal (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing Tsar's Daughter, 1989), and *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989) (Appendix I, C).

Twenty-two of the adaptations presented a male protagonist and lead characters, thirteen had female protagonists and lead characters, and eight mixed protagonists and lead characters (both male and female are actively present on screen) (Appendix IV, Table 1). One fairytale, *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (1938), has a male protagonist but also an active antagonist (Baba Yaga), therefore, based on the time both characters are present on screen, the adaptation was put into the mixed lead characters section.

The female characters represented on screen can be divided into four groups: (1) young women as love interests of the male protagonists; (2) little girls who must exercise a certain behaviour in order to be praised otherwise they will be punished; (3) Baba Yaga as a helper or antagonist; (4) supporting characters including mothers, wives, nannies. Temple (1993) pointed out that films which represented male characters as mainly strong, adventurous and powerful protagonists of the stories, constructed female heroines as characters who mostly needed help and were valued in accord with their beauty. So too in these films, twenty-seven female characters required rescuing, regardless of their infrequent roles as protagonists.

In the course of the research it has been established that fairytale adaptations have the following frequent characteristics of constructed femininity: required rescuing - twenty-seven films (Appendix IV, Table 2); involved in housekeeping and other traditionally considered female activities and crafts – twenty-two films (Appendix IV, Table 3); marriage-driven – twenty-nine films (Appendix IV, Table 4); passive, victimised, submissive, exchanged and objectified female heroines – twenty- three films (Appendix IV, Table 5); direct correlation between appearance and body image

and heroines positive and negative characteristics – thirty-one films (Appendix IV, Table 6). Active female characters were represented in only three films (Appendix IV, Table 5). Female characters whose housekeeping and traditionally considered female behaviour and skills were praised and rewarded were present in twenty-three films. In thirteen films, female heroines who did not exercise such behaviour were punished (Appendix IV, Table 7).

These findings establish that a gender matrix has been implicitly built into the representation of women on screen in these films. In order to provide more supporting evidence it is necessary to look in detail at the categories of represented females. As will be seen, the two age groups which are mostly represented are either very young women (including little girls) or old women (Baba Yaga, mothers and nannies). Women who iconographically would belong to a category of the adult women are virtually non-existent. That said, the more mature appearance of the female characters in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) is noticeable (although this film will be analysed in chapter five, cf. Images 23; 23a). However, that is the sole case of this type of representation. Some nannies or female characters, which are extras and are shown very briefly on screen in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954), *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) and *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958), are of uncertain age, and could be defined as middle-aged women. However, after the 1950s female characters are mostly either elder or young women. Therefore, it has been decided to combine the four categories, mentioned earlier, into just two - Witches (elder women) and Brides - (young women). Along with the female knowledge-power relation, which influenced the choice of the categories' titles (reference to the word *vedat'* - 'know' in Russian),

this aspect of gender and age representation in Russian national fairytales adaptations supported the choice. In the next sections we will examine both categories in detail.

Ved'mi (Those Who Know) - Witches

Baba Yaga plays a distinctive role in Slavic culture. Being amongst the most well researched characters in Russian national fairytales (Johns, 2004), as a figure she is considered to have multiple origins and has been compared to multiple other mythological female characters: the Indian Goddess of Death Kali (Leeming, 2005); Fate, which is why she is sometimes shown spinning (Zipes, 2000); The Great Mother Goddess (Kravchenko, 1987; Hubbs, 1988); the Indo-European Goddess of Death and Winter (Potebnya, 1865, cited in Johns, 2004: 20); a dead person and, or, an anthropomorphised animal (Propp, 2004). Baba Yaga is an anchorite; she lives in the woods and is the all-powerful mistress of nature and the four elements. She is also the mistress of the three riders: White - Morning, Red - Day, and Black - Night. She lives on the border between this world and the other world, which in quality is similar to the liminal space between consciousness and unconsciousness. Curiously, she lives in a house on chicken legs, lies on a stove, has bony legs and sharp teeth (somewhat reminiscent of an animal's teeth), a nose rooted in the ceiling, huge breasts, which she hangs on a hook (this could be an echo of the Paleolithic goddesses). She flies in a mortar, navigating it with a pestle and sweeping away the traces of her journey with a broom. It is worth noting here that in Russian culture the mortar and pestle was traditionally associated with a sexual intercourse. She can also turn herself and others into animals and objects.

Baba Yaga also puts people into a stove, as if to bake them. While Propp (2004) argues that it could be a ritual of cremation or initiation, it could also well be a ritual of healing and immortalising, similar to the one performed by the Egyptian goddess Isis, and later Demeter, who put children into stove to make them immortal - a ritual comprehensively analysed by Ann Baring and Jules Cashford (1993) in their book *The Myth of the Goddess: Evolution of an Image*. The argument that Baba Yaga could be a mythological trace of The Great Goddess (Hubbs, 1988) is an idea that finds some support in Analytical Psychology, hence von Franz's reference to Baba Yaga as the Great Mother Archetype (von Franz, 1993). Most researchers agree that she is a character of a complex nature. Further, Propp rightly argues that Baba Yaga performs a function of both a donor (helper) and a villain (Propp, 2004); she also rewards and punishes (Becker, 1990, cited in Johns, 2004: 30), and indeed she helps the young characters (be they female or male) while she also traps, kidnaps and eats other people.

Actually, it does not matter for this research whether Baba Yaga is The Great Goddess or not, or whether she is the Goddess of Death or Fate. What is crucial is that Baba Yaga is a powerful female figure in Russian national fairytales.

Overall the character of Baba Yaga is depicted in fourteen films in the samples selected for this research. In eight of the films Baba Yaga is given a negative personality, while in five films she is a helper, though in one she initially attempts to kill the hero with a sword – *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970). The construction of her nature as evil occurs both in the samples under study and also in the animated films which contain fairytale characters but which are not based on the actual fairytales. For example, in the puppet animated film *Vsem Chertiam Nazlo* (In spite of All Devils, 1981), directed by L. Koshenikov, written in collaboration

between female and male screenwriters V. Foteev, A. Levina, Baba Yaga is located in the realm of Christian witch-hood, as she unites with devils in their attempt to ruin the happiness of Ivan and Marja. Another example is *Baba Yaga Protiv!* (Baba Yaga is Against!, 1980), directed by V. Peka, written by E. Uspensky, G. Oster and A. Kurlyandsky. This is a mini-series of animated films in which Baba Yaga wants to be the symbol of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. She employs other evil characters from Russian national fairy tales, like Koschey and the Snake-Gorynych, to prevent the famous Olympic bear (Misha) from going to the Games. Recent attempts to vilify Baba Yaga are also present in *Pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008) and the box office hit *Tri Bogatyria na Dalnikh Beregakh* (Three Strong Knights on Faraway Shores, 2012), in which Baba Yaga is represented as a power-obsessed and mean figure. Therefore, similar to Disney's evil stepmothers and witches, Baba Yaga is often portrayed as a negative character in the Soviet and post-Soviet animation tradition, as 'within patriarchal ideology, any woman with power has to be represented as a castrating bitch' (Sells, 1995: 181).

There is a tendency to ridicule the character of Baba Yaga as in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971) (cf. CD, Folder 1, track 19); *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979), *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011), *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989); as well as films which are not under direct investigation, which nevertheless, contain the same trend as in *Pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008). In the films her powerful mythological character is presented as an appearance-obsessed caricature of an envious old woman.

Often Baba Yaga, in Russian animated fairytales, lacks power, significance or respect, especially from male heroes as in *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 11) and *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989). Moreover, in four of the films, Baba Yaga is excluded from the screen although she had appeared in the original version of the fairytale: *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008) (cf. CD, folder 2, track 21), *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012) (cf. CD, folder 2, track 22), *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966), and *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012). In two films she is substituted with other characters: the tsar in *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008), and the fox in *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 2006).

However, Baba Yaga is actually added to the screen in *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011), as the original version of the fairytale does not contain her character. In this adaptation Baba Yaga is an ambiguous figure; on the one hand she lives in a hut which eats warriors (presumably Vikings, as it spits out the helmet traditionally associated with Nordic warriors) and Baba Yaga herself attacks Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf. However paradoxically she is not only calmed by them with compliments about her appearance (which can be considered feminine when compared to other iconography of her), but also trades her knowledge and help (the magical ball of yarn) for make-up cosmetics.

No matter how strange this shift in the collective idea of magical female power and mythological might of matriarchal femininity might seem, it is gaining weight, as is evident from the samples under study. Directors' recent treatments of Baba Yaga

move still further and further away from the originals and from her symbolic and ancient roots. It seems that the tendency to devalue and depower this crucial key character of national fairytales has been gradually implemented.

An example of this type of representation of Baba Yaga in an animated adaptation of a national Russian fairytale can be found in *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938), which was created by the sisters Brumberg (cf. CD, folder 1, track 5). The following examination and a detailed analysis of this female take on the Great Witch will provide an introduction to the main practices in representation of this female character, which demonstrates the pervasive tendency to de-feminise, vilify and punish Baba Yaga. However, it will also show the reference to Baba Yaga's animalistic nature and, partially, some preservation of her magic powers, such as flying. As the analysis of the other samples unfolds it will be shown how Baba Yaga will be gradually de-mythologised, de-sacralised, and stripped of her powers and animalistic qualities. Apart from that in this early animated adaptation of the national fairytale we will see another representation of an elder woman - Ivashko's mother. In her case it illustrates the tendency to devalue and diminish the figure of the older woman, while establishing many of the iconographical trends for the representation of the bodies of the secondary female characters.

It is a black-and-white twelve-minute film (cf. CD, folder 1, track 5). As would become a common practice for the following decades (up till 1970-1980s) Baba Yaga was depicted with some male characteristics - in feature films she was portrayed by the male actor Georgy Milliar and in animation she spoke with a male voice, and in this case it was Abdulov (a man) who provided the voice for the witch. Ivashko (a little boy) in contrast has the female voice of Koreneva.

The opening scene takes place in a traditional Russian village: the old man is making a rod, an old woman is cooking, taking out a pot with food from the traditional stove; she is a traditional *babushka*, and she is shown from the back, as if her face does not matter. This same trend can be seen some twenty years later in representation of Yemelya's mother in *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957), this aspect of female representation will be discussed further as the argument develops.

The story unfolds and Ivashko - a little boy - goes to the pond to fish, when suddenly a crow catches the swan. Ivashko shoots from a forked-stick and the crow flies away. As it turns out the crow is Baba Yaga's servant, which is a very common trait in Russian animated films. The next scene takes us to Baba Yaga's hut, where she is casting a spell over her cauldron. She has a crackling male voice; a nose that is both thin and large, with a headscarf covering a few seemingly short hairs, and some sharp teeth. She has long nails which resemble claws (and this feature will stay with Baba Yaga through the decades). She is singing a song about her 'soup'. She has long and big arms, and her movements are sometimes animalistic (the same movements can be seen in *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 6) and *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) (cf. CD, folder 1; track 18). Next comes the crow and tells Baba Yaga that Ivashko is alone on the pond. Baba Yaga flies there; however, her flying abilities are defective and, in a sense, comic, as so she does not really fly but rather jumps up and down. While not as traditional as flying in a pestle navigating with the mortar, at least some of the magical ability to fly is afforded to Baba Yaga in this version.

The story goes on, she comes to the pond and sees Ivashko's mother calling him, singing a song with a beautiful female voice: 'Ivashko, my little son, come to the shore, I brought you food'. Again, the mother is shown from behind. In a sense she is de-personalised - shown as generally 'a mother'. The first time the mother's profile (not even a full face) is shown is when she feeds her son. Though being at a periphery of the *mise-en-scène*, her only function is to feed the male protagonist and she exists on the screen only in reference to the male figure. Her profile reveals simple round-shaped features, of what in patriarchal iconography can be termed 'unattractive'. It will become apparent that this representation of appearance serves as a particular function in gender politics on screen. Returning to the storyline, after the meal, she leaves and Ivashko goes back to fishing.

It is at this point that Baba Yaga decides to trick the boy and sings the same song to make him return to the shore. Despite the deception, Ivashko recognises that it is not his mother's voice and refuses to go to the shore. Baba Yaga then goes to a blacksmith (who resembles Sila from *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Duradai, 1934), pretending to be an ordinary old woman, and asks him to make her a high voice to sing songs to babies. He makes her the requested voice, as if initiating her into femininity, but as this femininity is used for a disguise she will inevitably be punished in the end.

Baba Yaga goes back to the pond and calls for Ivashko. This time he believes her and she catches him. Baba Yaga orders the crow to prepare the stove to bake Ivashko. Meanwhile, Baba Yaga leaves. Ivashko cunningly tricks the crow and puts it in the oven instead of him. Ivashko runs away and hides in a tree. Upon her arrival Baba Yaga thinks that it is Ivashko who is cooked in the oven, not her crow, and she

anticipates eating her prey. She dances strange dances – rolling on the ground, making some kind of curtseys with her tongue sticking out. Her body sometimes resembles that of a snake.

But then Baba Yaga sees Ivashko in the tree and starts sawing it with her claws, eventually resulting only for Ivashko to jump to another tree. She then tries to gnaw that tree as well, but it breaks her teeth. She returns to the blacksmith asks him to make her metal teeth. Upon receiving these sharp metal teeth, Baba Yaga returns to the tree where Ivashko is hiding. In no other film is Baba Yaga shown so strong and monstrous. However, importantly, her power turns against her. The tree which she was shaking collapses on her. Ivashko is rescued by the swans whom he helped earlier (a trend of helping nature is often present in male hero's journeys in Russian fairytales). He safely returns home. And again viewers are presented with the 'ideal' picture of the family - mother is cooking, an old man is sitting at the table waiting for his food.

During almost a century long period Baba Yaga transfers from a powerful monster who kidnaps and eats children in *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938), *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949), *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953), and *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about Soldier, 1948), to a mysterious helper in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954), to what semioticians would call a 'no-sign' in *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966; 2012), further to a kind grandma in *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977) and *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970), and finally to a ridiculed caricature of female power in *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979), *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971), *Dva*

Bogatyrya (Two Strong Knights, 1989), and *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011).

This process of desacralisation of the Great Witch is particularly apparent in modern animation. It is not only the samples under investigation which present us with this practice; we can observe similar constructions in films about *Three Bogatyrs* (2004; 2006; 2007; 2010; 2012) and in *Pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008). As for the role of women in these films and in particular their participation in the creation of Baba Yaga, it did not significantly influence the witch's representation, and did not differ from the films created by male filmmakers. The only difference is that sisters Brumberg in *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938); Snezhno-Blotskaya in *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949); or Khodataeva in *Alenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) ascribed animalistic features to Baba Yaga, while representing her as an evil character. Meanwhile, many male filmmakers have chosen to ridicule her as in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971); *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979); *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989); and *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011).

Another manifestation of women as evil or dangerous can be observed in the representation of the negative characters and in particular step-mothers and step-sisters. They torture and exploit little step-daughters or they are wives who do not fit into the prescribed behaviour scheme; they are also mothers of other male heroes who are antagonists to the main lead characters, etc. The two most important characteristics lie firstly in the areas of iconography, and secondly in the construction of consequences for particular types of undesired behavior as exercised by the female characters. The first one concerns a correlation between appearance (and what is

conceived of as beautiful in patriarchal body imaging) and the evil/kind character (see Appendix II, Table 6). All the anti-heroines are constructed as unattractive at best, often overweight and loud: step-mothers and step-daughters in the fairytale about *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006; 2007) and *Morozko* (Frost, 1981); or the wife of the protagonist in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 2012); and the wives of the brothers in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971; 1977; 2008). While their voice and their activity and authority are always suppressed through punishment and in so doing the hierarchy of gendered power is preserved, the audience is presented with a form of female behaviour which is socially (un)acceptable. Though this research does not aim at a systematic comparison of male and female versions of the fairytales, nevertheless, it can offer the overview that the sex of the filmmaker does not play any significant role in the maintenance of these stereotypical gender representations. While it might have been expected that female animators would have given their female heroines more screen time, more respect from other heroes (especially male ones) and more dialogue lines, in fact they constructed femininity mainly in accord with the dominant male discourse. Firstly the choice of tales stays the same. Thus the story of one of the most passive and repressed female heroines like Little Khavroshechka was adapted to the screen four times and on two occasions female directors and screenwriters participated in the films. Further, the contemporary versions (2006; 2007) present a fairytale which depicts monstrous female relatives, escapism and a prince charming as the ultimate savior (cf. CD, folder 1, tracks 7 and 8). While the main heroine is utterly passive and submissive, her evil female step-relatives are depicted as horror-like one and three-eyed spiders, as is also the case in Mikhailova's 2006 version.

Secondly the iconography of female representation stays the same, and beauty and body paradigm, which we would discuss in detail in the next chapter, is preserved by both sexes of filmmakers. Women have been and continue to be one of the main carriers of the patriarchal models of representation. There is only one example of a feminist take on the female experience of gender construction in national fairytale films, which is the work by Lydia Surikova: *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989). Apart from that it seems Russian women animators seem to refuse to challenge the status quo of the male dominated discourse on femininity.

Following this character are two other types of female heroines on screen which have been constructed in terms of the (re)creation of national myths of femininity. In contrast to the all-knowing witch, are some characters those who do not know, namely the figures of the *Nevesti* - the Brides and Brides-to-Be.

Nevesti – (Those Who Do not Know) – Brides

In the course of the research another major group of female heroines was identified namely, Brides - *Nevesti*. This sizable group of characters can be classified into two subgroups: 'brides-to-be' and 'brides'. The first subgroup is composed of young girls, and the second of adult females. In the process of the study it was concluded that almost all samples under analysis have verbal and visual references to specific female behaviours that were praised and rewarded. The exception is the film *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938), where there are no female characters at all.

Let us firstly look at the Brides-to-Be subgroup. It is the contention of this research that Brides-to-Be characters reinforce a patriarchal view of feminine identity. In other words, the characters represent the way a girl must be in order to be socially acceptable. As a result, such behavior in the films is rewarded rather than punished. Overall there were twelve films produced in which the main character is a little girl. It was established that all girls exercised and were praised for certain behaviours and characteristics. (cf. Appendix IV, Tables 3 and 7). For example, it was the girl's kindness, willingness to help and housekeeping activities which guaranteed her a happy life as in the two versions of *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949, 2012), or three films about the *Snegurochka* (The Snow Girl, 1957; 1969; 2012) or fairytale about *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 1974; 2006; 2007; 2012).

This section provides an overview of the development of this sub-category of characters during what is almost a century-long period (1922 - 2014). The film *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 6) is an attempt to construct this type of female representation in animated adaptations of Russian fairytales. The film is a nineteen-minute colour adaption of the fairytale of the same title. The film was directed by one of the most acclaimed animation directors of the Soviet period, namely Ivanov-Vano and Alexandra Snezhno-Blotskaya. As earlier noted that period was marked by a significant influence of the Disney studio on Soviet animation. Nonetheless, the artists managed to refer to traditional Russian stylistics as well.

The film opens with a mother and a father leaving home. Both parents look truly old: the mother is wearing traditional female clothes, is slightly overweight and round-shaped; however, unlike the father her hair is not grey. It is important to underline again that it is a paradoxical aspect present in female representation in traditional fairytale adaptations: most of the female characters are either very young (or in their

childhood) or are very old (Baba Yaga, mothers, nannies, step-mothers). Although this trend is quite strong, there are a few exceptions, including *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) where the main heroine and the sisters-in-law are adults. However, this diversion from the established age paradigm might be due to the trend in feature films of that time, in which the heroines must be mature and developed. However, as time went by, the leading female characters became ever younger. In contrast, the older female characters became increasingly aged and more prone to jealousy towards those with youth and beauty. Examples of this include, among others, *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971) and *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007).

Returning to the story line of the film, the mother tells her little daughter Masha not to leave the yard and also to look after her younger brother. The girl promises to her 'matushka' (a respectful and traditional way to refer to mother) to do so and asks her father to bring her sweets. The father tells her again to take good care of Vania (her little brother) and not leave the yard. Iconographically, the girl is depicted in a naturalistic manner; she wears a traditional costume of a headscarf and a sarafan. Both she and her brother have fair hair, which serves to underline their Slavic origin.

However, straight after her parents leave, Masha sees her girlfriends playing, singing and dancing in a ring outside the yard. These supporting female characters are also little girls, dressed in a manner that is similar to Masha's; they are wearing traditional dresses, some are barefoot and some wear headscarves while others do not. Masha leaves the brother to play in the yard and joins her girlfriends.

Suddenly several swans fly over them, and the girls run away (somehow they are intuitively afraid of them). The swans pick up Vania and carry him away. Masha

decides that as she is guilty of negligence and of allowing the kidnapping of her brother she must rescue him. She runs after the swans and into the deep forests. On her journey Masha meets the anthropomorphised stove, a river and an apple tree. They all ask her for help: the stove asks Masha to take cakes out of it, the river asks her to move the stone which has blocked its flow, and the apple tree asks her to pick off the heavy apples. Masha refuses, first saying that she is very busy indeed, but then changes her mind, pities them and kindly helps them. All the objects later function as helpers telling her where the geese flew and also by hiding her from them.

Masha continues her journey until late night. When she finds herself in a deep dark wood, she sits down and cries. A hedgehog (speaking with a male voice) hears this. With the all-knowing and patronising voice of patriarchy he guides her out of the forest.

In the next scene we see Vania looking out of the window of a Baba Yaga's hut. Here comes Baba Yaga flying in a mortar with a broom. She flies first but then while approaching the house she starts jumping and pushing herself with a broom (in a manner that is similar to the problems with flying that was noted in Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938). This time Baba Yaga's voice is female. Iconographically, Baba Yaga's frame is thin, with long arms. She moves strangely (cf. CD, folder 1, track 6) as if performing some shamanic ritual, or impersonating some animal movements. (It is worth noting that starting in the 1960s Baba Yaga would gradually begin losing these animalistic traits, thus losing her magic powers.)

Returning to the initial appearance of Baba Yaga, she gets into her hut stepping on the big mushrooms which grow instantly as she walks over them. Importantly, in this film she is still a mistress of nature. However, her face is not as distorted as in other tales,

although she has a big nose which is thin and pointed; still her face is more of a regular old woman. She wears a skirt, an apron and a blouse. Her hair could be seen a bit on the sides of the face. She is crooked and her back is hunched. Baba Yaga, therefore, is constructed as a powerful female figure, and we are presented with a struggle between two females.

Baba Yaga puts some brushwood into the stove and then sings a song. Importantly, she makes the fire just by singing; this is a testament and representation of her magic powers. She continues to move with all her body and arms, as if practicing witchcraft or performing some ritual dancing, turning and waving. Without touching the pot she commands it to jump by itself onto the stove and it obeys. However, similar to the film *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashka and Baba Yaga, 1938) while her songs are about cooking, there's no incantation.

As she sings, the boy moves closer to the open window, where Masha is waiting for him. When Baba Yaga goes out of the room, Masha grabs her brother and runs away. When Baba Yaga discovers his disappearance, she whistles (surprisingly) in a big key (rather than a whistle) calling the geese-swans. She then orders them to recapture the children.

On their way back home the children are helped by the stove, the river and the apple tree (because Masha helped them before and was kind to them). Thus the prescribed kindness and willingness to help together with selflessness (as Masha was really busy, but helped them regardless of her needs) are rewarded. These magical helpers hide the children from the geese. And then Masha tricks Baba Yaga's birds and bakes them in the oven.

The children safely return home safely and the closing scene depicts Masha being rewarded (now explicitly) for taking care of her brother, and presented with a new red headscarf. Both children are given sweet lollypops by their parents who have returned home. This case neatly demonstrates the gender politics exercised by patriarchy in its representation of young women on screen. By being kind, selfless, caring, willing to assist and to listen to the male guidance, a 'bride-to-be' can win over an elder women and become socially praised and accepted.

Other characteristics that were observed in the representation of little girls on screen included their submissiveness, victimhood and dependence on someone else's help. For example, the films based on the fairytale about Little Khavroshechka were remade four times, with three of the remakes in contemporary Putin's Russia: *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974), *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006), *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007), and *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (The animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012).

It is interesting to note that regardless of the style of animation the tone of impending doom is present in all the films. Be they the naturalistic puppet animations of the Soviet time, or the surrealist and horror styles of the recent productions or the simple 2D animation of Masha's fairytales, each version is inscribed with the clear sense that these are not stories about female emancipation.

Khavroshechka is a little girl who is terrorised and exploited by either her evil step-mother or her step-sister or by both (depending on the film). In the story she is helped by a cow that she inherited from her mother. As such, the cow comes to represent the female principle within the narrative. Every night Khavroshechka gets into one of the

ears of the cow and as she does so she is magically taken to another and better world. Meanwhile, the cow miraculously performs all the tasks that the evil female relatives had ordered Khavroshechka to do. In many ways the fairytale is similar to the European story of *One Eye, Two Eyes and Three Eyes* – it too contains references to the step-daughters of the little girl, who respectively have a different number of eyes and who spy on their victim at night. Khavroshechka in all of the cinematic versions is presented as a small, beautiful and a silent girl. Her demure depiction is in stark contrast to the brash and ugly step-sisters. She submissively performs her duties though only to escape at night to another world. Two versions (1974 and 2012) were directed by men while the other two were released one after the other by female directors. Both of the male versions present a variation on the Cinderella story in which good wins over bad. Meanwhile, female versions are full of pain, terror and extreme monstrosity of female step-relatives. All versions construct a bright ending in which a wonderful prince on a white horse comes to rescue Khavroshechka, although her being a little (age wise) girl. Again the gender politics constructs the main heroine in the paradigm of beauty, housekeeping activities and the victimhood. The ultimate reward for suffering and a happy ending offered to the little girl is the marriage to a male saviour. Importantly, in all films where there is an opposition between the good girl and the evil step-mother or step-sisters, the later must be punished for being lazy in their housekeeping activities, non-caring, and non-performing what is expected from a female heroine. (See appendix II, Table 7). The animations, therefore, value beauty, silence, the ability of women to perform housekeeping activities, their hardworking characteristics, and submissiveness.

Similar to the fairytale about Khavroshechka, the evaluation of women's worth is present in *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About the Snow Girl, 1957), *Snegurka*

(The Snow Girl, 1969) and *Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki* (The Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, the Snow Girl, 2012). It appears that in these films, parents who were waiting to have a child all their lives wanted even more to engage her in hard domestic labour. For example, for most of her time on screen the Snow Girl cleans, washes, cooks and so forth.

The 1957 cinematic adaptation of the national fairytale *Snegurochka* (The Snow Girl) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 9), written by Abramov, directed by Degtyarev and Danilevich, is a short colour puppet animation. The opening scene shows children going down a snow-covered hill on sledges. Importantly it is male narrator (with all its patriarchal overtones) who tells the young audience how good it is in the countryside at winter. We can hear children's voices and laughter in the background, but then the camera reveals what is the sad home of an old woman and an old man. They turn out to be an elderly childless couple who nonetheless hold onto traditional values, as shown literally through their traditional dresses.

The woman tells her husband that all people have children; it is only them who do not. The old man suggests that they make a snow-woman, but instead his wife suggests that they fashion a daughter made out of snow – *Snegurochka* – the Snow Girl. The couple makes the Snow Girl in the yard and they go home. At night a snowstorm starts and an old man appears who might possibly be Father Frost - a famous figure in Russian winter mythology, and who is somewhat similar to Santa Claus. He takes a liking to *Snegurochka* and after enquiring of the small rabbit and the bear as to who made the Snow Girl and why they did it, Father Frost brings her to life. The life-giving capacity is given to a male figure in this film. Before he leaves, Father Frost tells the animals to take good care of the girl, and to keep her away from fire

and heat; otherwise he would have to take her to his cold kingdom. From the start we realise that the Snow Girl needs male protection and is somewhat fragile and helpless.

Iconographically, *Snegurochka* is depicted as a Slavic little girl, underling her Russianness, with big blue eyes and a long blond plait; she wears a nice fur coat. She resembles many of the Soviet toys of Father Frost's grand-daughter who traditionally is also called *Snegurochka* and comes with her grandfather to give presents to children on the New Year's eve. In the morning the Snow Girl comes into the old man and woman's house and refers to them as her mother and father. She also tells them that she will live with them, obey them and help them with their lives. The submissiveness is articulated quite openly.

For the major part of the Snow Girl's screen-life viewers see her doing work around the house. Meanwhile, her father is sitting and eating, while her mother is setting the table. The representation of family roles is at place. The Snow Girl is a very kind girl; she not only takes care of her family, but also treats nicely the rabbit and the bear, giving them the cakes she has made. Apart from carrying water from the well, cleaning the house and cooking, she plays with other children of her age. To underline what a good girl she is, the male narrator tells the audience that everybody liked the Snow Girl for her joyful character, and for her kindness and beauty. The praised characteristics are openly vocalised.

However as the story goes on spring comes. Everybody is happy, except for the Snow Girl. The sun shines ever brighter, and life comes back to the world. Naturally next comes summer and the Snow Girl becomes even sadder. When her friends ask her to come to the field with them to play, she declines, and tells them that she'd rather go to the forest where there is a cool shadow. The climax of the story is a scene that shows

a public holiday. All the children sing and dance in a ring, but as part of their celebrations they also jump over a fire and they call the Snow Girl to join them. The rabbit and the bear try to stop her but the children urge her to jump. She does so and melts, turning into a cloud of a steam. However, the narrator tells us not to be sad as the summer will pass and winter will come and the Snow Girl will return. Therefore, the animated film explicitly underlines the qualities valued in females, utilising a male narrator as the voice of patriarchy. To be likable, the girl should be kind, joyful, and beautiful, obey authority and perform housekeeping activities diligently.

Thus, starting at a young age, all children receive particular and direct messages about the duties of women at home. Such messages identify those female qualities which are publically acceptable, and establish the passive role of women who need to be rescued and rewarded for being a 'good girl' with gifts and, or, love. As we will see, the next category of the female characters, now operating in the domain of adulthood, are expected to exercise similar behaviours.

The analysis of the second category of female representations called - Brides - will start with a detailed examination of a fairytale *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) (cf. CD, folder 1, track 10). The film was created by two female animators, Khodotaeva (director) and Danilova (screenwriter). The first scene is of a traditional small peasant house built in a forest. Again the narrator's voice is male. He starts the film with those most familiar of fairytale openings, 'Once upon a time there lived Alenushka and her little brother Ivanushka'. Alenushka is shown going to work in the field, taking her brother with her. As in the previous adaptations of national fairytales, in order to emphasise her adherence to traditional cultural values, she is dressed in a traditional Russian

costume comprising of a full-length *sarafan*, with long sleeves and a headscarf. Again, in a nod to tradition, she wears her hair in a long thick plait. She is shown working and diligently raking the ground by herself while her little brother sits resting in the shadow. He wants to drink but the jar is empty and he asks his sister if he may drink from the puddle. She answers, 'No. Look there is a horse hoofprint, don't drink or you'll become a foal'. When they go home, Ivanushka is even thirstier and this time insists on drinking from another puddle; she again prohibits. Ivanushka disobeys his older sister and drinks from a puddle. Immediately he turns into a kid (young goat). Alenushka cries, hugging her brother.

Time passes by. A fine young man, riding his horse, comes near Alenushka's house. Meanwhile, she sits outside with her 'kid-brother' while she sings a sad song and cries. He approaches her; she steps backwards with a true concern on her face. The man tells her not to be afraid and to let him drink from the well and to give water to his horse. She says nothing but he quickly (and without getting permission) takes water from the well, underlining that her permission does not matter as such. Alenushka then brings a cup for him, giving it to the man. She bows from her waist, (while this movement could be interpreted as a submissive servant-like pose, it is also a traditional bow utilised in old times to symbolise a deep respect). The man asks her why she is crying, and she tells him the story about her little brother, adding that they are all alone in the whole world and that nobody can help them. Importantly, while talking to the man, she casts her eyes and head down. Interestingly this movement is used in the majority of adaptations under analysis in which female characters are present. This highly submissive and modest pose underlines the gender hierarchy and the desired qualities in women.

Before leaving, the man tells her 'Wait for me until autumn. I did not find a better bride than you, be my wife'. She turns away, covering her face with her hands. However, he goes on saying that her brother will be his brother and he will defend Alenushka. She bows from the waist again and tells him to come back in autumn and what will be then the destiny will decide. He bows from the waist too and goes away. Here again, the film underlines that the female character requires male protection.

Time passes; autumn arrives and Alenushka picks apples from the tree in the garden. She then plays with her brother, saying that 'The dearest guest will soon arrive, and it's a mess here'. Her brother, who did not lose the ability to speak, asks her for permission to go for a walk. As he does, Baba Yaga, disguised as a crow, is waiting for him. She then transforms herself into an old woman and kidnaps Ivanushka.

Alenushka searches for her brother, then sees a red collar that was on his neck, and notices the crow flying above her. She quickly works out what has happened to her brother. In an unexpected move, she throws herself into the pond and disappears under the surface, drowning herself.

The next scene is set in the hut on chicken legs, and Baba Yaga wants to bake Ivanushka. He pleads for Baba Yaga to let him go so that he can say good-bye to the sister. She tells him his sister has drowned. Unnoticed by Baba Yaga, a little mouse helps Ivanushka to escape.

Meanwhile, the fine young man returns to Alenushka's house, but of course no one is there. He then hears Ivanushka's voice. Ivanushka-the-kid stands at the bank of the lake and asks his sister to rescue him from the old woman. She answers from the bottom of the lake that she cannot do that.

The moment the man sees the lake, he dives into the lake and walks across its bottom until he sees her lying there motionlessly. He picks her up and carries back to the surface. He then asks her what has happened and as he touches her forehead, miraculously she comes back to life, as if simply waking up. The old woman returns and wants to steal the brother again, but the fine young man catches her arms. As she tries to escape she turns into a crow, only to be shot with his bow and arrow. He kills the crow and it falls down in flames. Ivanushka turns back to human form, and they live happily ever after.

The film provides an example of a shy, submissive, victimised, respectful young woman who is in need of rescue. This trope is reproduced throughout the following decades, though in the 1960s-1970s more active female characters come to the stage. It is also significant that regardless of the sex of the filmmakers, what is presented on screen is the image of victimised women that are in need of male assistance. It is only in the end of 1980s that Lydia Surikova will attempt to challenge that particular paradigm of gender stereotypes. However, her film is a single example and only serves to underscore the general point that the choice the filmmakers made was in favour of stories with plots that were loaded with passive, dependent, controlled or insignificant women in need of male support.

The film *Krasa Nenaglyadnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958) continues the trend (cf. CD, folder 1, track 11). It is particularly interesting because it is an amalgam of fairytales. Unlike the previous film, this puppet animation is solely made by men and was written by Stepanky and Degtyarev, and directed by Degtyarev. As will be demonstrated, the familiar pattern of weak women who are dependent on men reemerges once more.

The opening scene of the film introduces viewers to a faraway kingdom. Again it is a male narrator who starts the story with the traditional fairytale beginning: ‘Once upon a time there lived a tsar with tsarina and their son Ivan Tsarevich (Prince Ivan). Iconographically the puppet of the Tsarina is overweight and round-shaped. She is bigger than the tsar's puppet, which is a common trait, later used by animators to signal the dominant nature of the female character as in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (2012) (Animation series Masha’s Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders); alternatively it is used as a representational device through which to devalue the character of the tsar.

The royal parents call their son, and have a conversation about his desire to leave the family's home. While talking to his mother Prince Ivan is not respectful towards her, stamping his foot when talking to the woman. Upset by such behaviour the tsarina covers her eyes full of tears with a handkerchief. The tsar continues, saying that maybe it is time for Prince Ivan to marry. The tsar suggests finding him a bride, ideally a plump and rosy *boyarynia* (a daughter of a boyar). This provides another example of the evaluation of women based on their appearance – though the details of what constitutes acceptable appearance will be tailored according to the models of beauty in each cultural period.

The tsarina asks Prince Ivan whether he has got anyone in mind, and Ivan answers that when he was a child his nannies sang him a song about *Krasa Nenaglyadnaya* (the Beloved Beauty) and he has been in love with her ever since. He dreams about her every night and asks his parents to let him go to search for her.

The tsar mocks him and refuses to let him go. Ivan answers that in that case he will go without their permission or blessing. The tsar orders that all doors should be closed

and Ivan kept inside. He also calls for the nannies to come and asks them what song they sang to Ivan. The Nannies (*mamky-nyanky*) arrive. There are seven women, six of whom are young women while one is an old woman. They are all shown as supporting characters with plain unmemorable faces, round figures, and little eyes. The tsar orders them to sing the song they sang to Ivan. But the old woman refuses and observes that it is still daytime. (This disobedience is most probably a class struggle rather than a gender hierarchy. In Soviet and even Russian animation the figure of the tsar is rarely portrayed as strong and powerful.)

The tsar then calls them *sorochie plemya* – a flock of magpies, and in so doing he puts them in their place and so they finally sing the lullaby. The song is about the Beloved Beauty who is a beautiful girl with a long golden plait, and with eyes that shine brighter than the stars and who wears beautiful dresses. Importantly, it is only her appearance that is underlined, not her other qualities – even her name marks her out as solely an object of beauty.

Meanwhile Prince Ivan escapes. The scene changes to some dark woods where two bandits catch Prince Ivan and tie him up. Next comes another typical male hero in the figure of Bulat Molodets who, in accord with working class ideology, is a peasant's son. Bulat rescues Prince Ivan, and very soon, the two men decide to test each other's strength in wrestling. Afterward they go to search for the Beloved Beauty together.

Finally, the film introduces the 'object of desire'. Traditionally the Beloved Beauty is depicted as someone who by virtue of her femininity is close to nature. In this case, the first time viewers see her she is talking to animals, who in turn warn her that men are searching for her. Iconographically, the Beloved Beauty puppet is similar to those female figures that are positioned either as heroines (the Snow Girl) or as a love-

interest (Princesses, Little Khavroshechka, and others). It follows that she has big eyes, with disproportionately long lashes, long thick hair, and a little nose. She moves gracefully as in *Laygushka Tsarevna* (The Frog Princess, 1954). When the men find the Beloved Beauty, both of them fall in love with her instantly. However, there is another candidate as the evil wizard Koschey-the-Deathless is also interested in this 'object' of exchange. So he kidnaps her. As in so many of the animated fairytale films that were adapted before this film, and that would follow after it, the idea that women are an object of exchange and possession is one of the most utilised narrative strategies in what amounts to patriarchal discourse. It is found in adaptations based on a single source like fairytale about *Laygushka Tsarevna* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971; 1977; 2008); fairytale *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda*, (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966; 2012); and in all versions of adaptations of the fairytale about *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1974; 1984; 1991; 2001; 2011; 2013); as well as based on multiple sources, combining different fairytales such as *Skazka Skazivaetsa*, (The Tale is Told, 1970) and *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989).

Returning to the film itself, viewers are transported to Koschey's kingdom where the Beloved Beauty is being kept hostage. She is served by Chernyavka, who is a supporting female character whose appearance corresponds with her character in that she is neither attractive nor likable. The Beloved Beauty refuses to marry Koschey, and is left waiting passively for her male rescuers to come and save her.

Not surprisingly, the major part of the film is dedicated to the male hero's journey to rescue and repossess The Beloved Beauty. Importantly, Baba Yaga's character participates in this quest and she is represented as someone who helps the male heroes

(Prince Ivan and Bulat). That said, the heroes switch between respect for the old lady and being disrespectful when Prince Ivan demands, '*govori staraya*' (tell us, you, old hag). Iconographically, Baba Yaga's character is less 'deformed' in this version. She is still recognisably female, and she also functions as a helper to the male characters. This is rather an exception, as normally Baba Yaga's character is ridiculed and devalued as in *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979) and *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989). Indeed she can even be excluded from the screen altogether as in *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970), *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971), *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008), *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012), *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966), and *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki*, (Go There I Don't Know Where, Masha's Fairytales, 2012).

The story finishes with the victory of the young men over the evil wizard and with the rescuing of both female heroines. A particularly interesting moment is the magical transformation of servant-Chernyavka's character. When her spell is broken, what was her literally frozen heart thaws and as it does she falls in love with Bulat-Molodets and her appearance changes accordingly. She becomes attractive (as termed by patriarchal representations). This once again underlines the paradigm of female beauty that is constructed and maintained within patriarchal society. If a female character is not attractive and young, she does not present a valuable object for the male characters. As a result she is either put on the outskirts of male attention or she must be vilified and/or punished (as in *Little Khavroshechka* fairytale or *Morozko*). Thus love and the rescue of female characters (like Chernyavka) allows them to

become desirable women who are submissive, respectful, hard-working, silent, shy, delicate and feminine brides.

It is important to note that some animated films still contain active female heroines. These characters might seem independent and talkative rather than silenced, like the narrator Masha in *Masha's Fairytales*. Some of them even have a profession, like Natalya in *Volshebnaya Ptitsa* (The Magic Bird, 1953). However most of the time this activity is not a desirable trait and must be controlled as in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2012). While Masha, the teller of the fairytales, is an active agent herself, her characteristics as well as her fairytales preserve conservative views of femininity.

It is worth noting that some heroines are praised for their skills in crafts, and seem to be more independent agents of action. This is the case even for the more active heroines in adaptations of Russian national fairytales. *Volshebnaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953) is a nineteen-minute film that was made in a naturalistic style and was directed by female director Gromova, and written by female screenwriter Rozhkova (cf. CD, folder 1, track 12). Though packaged as a national fairytale, it is actually a rather communist discourse on employment and class struggle. It is important to remember that the USSR was a workers' state, and that every adult able-bodied citizen was expected to work; willful unemployment, which in Russian was called *tuneyadstvo* (social parasitism) was illegal and a criminal offence. And this somewhat nullifies the more active role the character is afforded within the narrative.

The opening of the film shows a wonderful carved bird that was created by a Russian (read Soviet) woodworker; the bird looks as if it is alive. The scene is set in the workshop of the master carver, and a young apprentice wonders when he himself will

be the master. The master then answers him that it is one thing to love your job, but it is another when your job loves you. Viewers next learn that Nikita (one of the male leading character) was himself an apprentice not so long ago. We see his house, iconographically resembling a traditional Russian *pryanik* – a honey cake, underling the true Russianness of the narrative.

Nikita is making a wooden bird-shaped goblet, while his apprentice Ivan (the hero of the story) wishes to be like a bird and to fly and look at the famous Natalya-Krasa (Natalya-the-Beautiful) – a needlewoman. This is the first time in the film we are introduced to this seemingly independent heroine; however, we do not see her yet, we only learn about her from other characters. And straight away she is inserted into the now familiar appearance paradigm.

When Ivan is reminded that human beings cannot fly like a bird, he answers in accord with the patriarchal Soviet discourse, stating that human being can do anything, *he* is the tsar to anything (in Russian language the word '*chelovek*' - human being - belongs to a category of male gendered words). The argument here is that gender is constructed in the linguistic to no lesser an extent than in socio-historical and biological discourses. If the word was gender neutral it would not have excluded women, making them 'Other' in terms of language.

Returning to the storyline, the viewers are next told that Natalya is waiting for a man who can equal her in mastery and intelligence. Only now do we learn that she is masterful and intelligent. However, she is instantly returned into the marriage paradigm as people sing a song telling that it is a big problem to find a man who could match her, but that eventually the man will come and they will wed. Viewers are then introduced to the female character, who will be actively present on screen

(unlike Natalya) but who will be punished at the end of the story. Viewers see the *Boyarinia* (female boyar) who orders the people to stop singing as it might wake up her son. The same moment the son looks out of the window and orders the people to continue singing, as he does not want to sleep. Mother on the contrary snaps at him saying that he does want to sleep. She turns on her heels, her figure of power. Iconographically, as has been seen before in other films, and as we will see later in the analysis of other animations, she is overweight and round, and this positions her as an authoritative character. She also speaks a lot, unlike the ideal Natalya.

What follows is a dialogue between the mother and the son, in which she is clearly marked as an oppressive, smothering mother, telling her child that he is too young to marry at seventeen. Moreover, she reiterates that Natalya will only marry a man who is her equal in mastery and who can create an unusual object. The son orders his mother to get the remarkable item no matter what. And his powerful mother orders guards to find the best master craftsmen. When the craftsmen arrive, she tells them to make something unusual by spring with the incentive that who does well will get a thank you, while who does poorly will go to jail. Of course the Soviet anti-class discourse is very strong here; the mother is an antagonist not only because of her female power, but also because she is upper class.

Time passes by and the master craftsmen fashion their unusual objects: the old man creates a wooden duck, which is lifelike, while Nikita makes a big bird that can fly. The demonstration of the wondrous objects thrills the public, but the mother is aggressive and demanding. However, an unexpected turn of events takes place; Ivan decides to take the wooden bird and fly to meet Natalya, rather than give it to the *Boyarinia's* son, but the mother then becomes bloodthirsty and orders to stop him. However, the men disobey her, and Ivan jumps into the bird and flies away to Natalya

anyway. The *Boyarinia* then orders the execution of Nikita as a revenge for disobedience.

The first time viewers actually see Natalya is in the middle of the film, ten minutes from the start. She is working in the yard near her house, sewing on a hook as she makes lace. She is slender, has brown hair, and a long plait. Importantly, her hair is not covered, which might represent how independent she is. As all the other 'bride' characters, she has big eyes, a small nose, and delicate features.

However, in a manner that is similar to the other fairytale films under analysis such as *Molodilnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974) and *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984), these periods of activity without a man being present do not last long. The prince must appear. Ivan materialises out of the blue and asks her to give him water. The request for water or some other act of kindness is a common motif that marks the female characters as suitable marriage material in that they are able and willing to take care of men. Something similar happens in *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) and also in the four adaptations of the fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1974; 1984; 1991; 2001).

Natalya satisfies his request, while being very modest in her behaviour. Thus she casts her eyes downwards and tries to retreat into the house. He confesses to her that he saw her in his dreams, but she answers that she would marry only the one who is equal in his craftsmanship to her own. She then goes on to and show him her beautiful lacework. Ivan is amazed by it, and she asks him warily whether he would give up on his intention. He answers no, and plays his balalaika masterly. Now it is her turn to be amazed with his skills. Natalya gets up, bows to him from her waist (a traditional bow of respect as discussed earlier) and tells him that he has won, and she will be his wife.

This is the only scene in which Natalya has any agency within the narrative. Viewers will only see her twice again: on the first occasion she will be preparing for the wedding and on the second she will be merely following her man. The marriage and the following (or being carried by the male hero in the end of the film) are the characteristics that are shared by all films where the 'bride' category of the female heroine is present.

Meanwhile, the story switches back to the village where Nikita is about to be executed. Here comes another frequent narrative trope in which the young leading male hero must save everyone, be they brides or whole kingdoms. At this point the hero's journey is about to reach its climax. And there is no place for a seemingly active heroine in it. Here she must step aside and function as an auxiliary element - as a supporter. As it has been argued in chapter three a somewhat similar situation could be observed in actual socio-historical contexts - women who were promised equality had to step aside after revolution or war was won. The emancipation was only an illusion. (As the thesis unfolds still more evidence will be presented to show that many female representations which are seemingly empowering on the surface, turn out to be patriarchal at their core.) The seemingly liberating discourses regardless of whether it is a revolutionary or a fairytale one in reality turns out to be a Trojan Horse - an attempt to regulate and construct femininity according to a patriarchal model of gender hierarchy.

Turning to the death of the truly independent and active female heroine in character of the *Boyarinia*, the punishment for being an engaged and independent woman was inevitable. The story continues and shows us an old man (one who lives in the village) who goes to the faraway land to find Ivan and tell him about the future execution of

his friend. Meanwhile, in the prison strong Nikita breaks the chains but he cannot escape. Viewers anticipate a final scene. Keeping the audience on the edge of their seats, the scene turns to Natalya. She is preparing for her wedding. A girl asks her why she is not crying, as every girl should cry before her wedding, but Natalya answers her that she is happy and her life will be a happy one.

As the wedding begins the old man finally comes and tells Ivan that Nikita will be executed any minute. Ivan leaves and flies on the magic wooden bird to save his friend. Natalya rides the horse (extremely well, ahead of the old man) following her husband. The execution is just starting when suddenly Ivan appears and saves his friend. Realising that their power has come to an end; the *Boyarinia* and her son cowardly jump into the wooden bird and fly away hectically, only to drop into a bog soon afterwards. Ivan sings a song and the magic bird flies back to them. The last sequence of images shows Ivan and Natalya flying in the wooden bird. This is the happy ending.

As demonstrated in this version of the traditional fairytale, the female heroines are, as is now familiar, once again split into two types. They are either brides or evil women. The first set of characters are depicted as modest, silent, beautiful, and orientated towards marriage; the second are punished for their authority, have unattractive appearances (as categorised by the beauty models in society) and unpleasant voices. Moreover, some films are clear examples of a seemingly liberated and independent woman that is redefined later in the story in a reference to the male hero. As observed the female characters can either be an object of exchange, a follower, a supporter, or a helper (like Baba Yaga). Alternatively she is cast as an antagonist who fails and must be punished in the end.

Even when a film's title suggests that the narrative will be orientated around a woman (as, for example, in the Frog Princess fairytale) instead it is the journey of the male characters that turns out to be the focal point of the film's narrative. However, there are films which present viewers with female protagonists. But these exceptions are meant to serve very particular roles - to demonstrate and praise a certain female behavior (kindness, selflessness and housekeeping activities) as in Geese-Swans or the Snow Girl fairytales. Further, even here where the narrative does contain a female protagonist, actually the thinly veiled subtext of the story is the preparation of women to be assimilated at a later point as a wives, brides, or objects of exchange. The female characters are so inculcated into the preexisting patriarchal gender scheme that often they remain unaware of what is happening to them.

Chapter 5: When the Fairytale Comes True

The next type of film in this inquiry into the mediated representation of women, concerns those fairytales which have been adapted to the screen most frequently. The purpose of this undertaking is to identify the elements through which gender is constituted and constructed on screen in these popular films.

During almost a century of animation in Russia the three most frequently adapted magic fairytales were *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders), *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf) and *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess) (cf. Appendix II). The fairytales were produced five times over the studied period (1922 - 2014). The first two films that are based on fairytales, *As the Pike Orders* and *Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf*, are clearly films that have at their narrative centre a male protagonist, and as might be expected it is the development and adventures of a male hero which is the main concern of the film. The third film is *The Frog Princess*. Interestingly, it has men and women as central and important characters and both sexes have active and significant roles to play within the narrative. One of the outcomes of this research is the discovery that the female characters of two of the most frequently adapted fairytales are victimised and objectified. The exception is *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Masha's Fairytales, As the Pike Orders, 2012). However, here the female heroine is punished for inappropriate behavior.

Further, in the animated films based on the fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf) the female characters serve as a means of exchange as Prince Ivan exchanges Sineglazka for a horse, as a part of his deal with Koschey.

Significantly in the original national fairytales Sineglazka is a *bogatyr* (strong knight of epic tales) who exercises power and functions as an agent of action.

Beauty and what are traditionally considered female crafts, such as weaving and sewing, are also key qualities and behaviours through which female heroines are defined. However, if a female character does not adhere to the requisite behaviour and, or, is physically unattractive as in *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Masha's Fairytales, As the Pike Orders, 2012) she ends up being punished. Most importantly, the two films are both adaptations of the fairytale Frog Princess and they troublingly contain scenes of normalised domestic violence.

Transferring to a detailed analysis of the above mentioned films, first will come an examination of the adaptations of the fairytale *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders)*, which is classified by Aarne-Thompson as category 650-699 Supernatural Power or Knowledge; type 675. The fairytale tells the story of Yemelya-the-Fool and a magical fish which fulfills his wishes.

Po Schuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders)

Similar to many other Russian fairytales, the fairytale about Yemelya and the Magic Pike has regional variants and interpretations. Three variants of the tale were published in the collection by Afanasyev's *Russian Fairy Tales sic* under numbers 165-167. Some of them have a reference to a region or place where the fairytale was collected by the author. This fairytale is also present in Alexei Tolstoy's collection.

Information in the form of production notes in Soviet and post-Soviet times, is often non-existent; therefore, it is not possible to be certain about the original literary

source which was utilised by the animators. Naturally, the later versions of the fairytale had at least two reference points: the original fairytale and other adaptations of the same fairytale. The analysis of this interaction and its role in female representation is preceded by a brief plot description which emphasises those narrative episodes where the female characters take part.

The fairytale text of *As the Pike Orders* in Afanasyev's collection starts with a traditional fairytale opening and introduces the audience to the three sons of a peasant: two brothers who are intelligent and hardworking, and the third one Yemelya who is a fool. One day the older brothers went to a nearby town to trade, leaving Yemelya-the-fool at home with his brothers' wives. The brothers promised Yemelya that they would buy him some red boots, a hat and a coat, and they ordered him to listen and obey their wives. Yemelya is extremely lazy and his sisters-in-law beg him repeatedly to do some work. It is a cold winter and Yemelya's sisters-in-law send him to fetch water. He reluctantly goes to a hole made in the iced river, and fills the bucket. To his amazement he catches a pike. Suddenly the fish speaks to him promising to make all his wishes come true. The only condition is to let it go. Yemelya releases the pike and decides to test the magic powers. The only thing he needs to do was to say the magical words: 'According to the Pike's order, according to my volition'. His first wish is to make the buckets with water go home by themselves.

A short time later, his sisters-in-law ask Yemelya to go into the yard and cut wood. Again Yemelya says the magic words and orders the ax to chop wood, and for the logs to then go into the oven themselves, leaving the sisters-in-law in bewilderment. Then they send Yemelya to the forest to get firewood. He does not harness any horses; instead the sleds go by themselves. While driving through the town Yemelya

runs over many people he dislikes. On his way back from the forest all these people try to catch him and beat him, but he orders his bludgeon to hit them instead.

Soon after that the tsar hears about Yemelya and his super powers and sends his officer to visit the man. The officer wants to take the fool to the tsar, but Yemelya disagrees. Angry with the peasant, the officer slaps him, but again Yemelya orders his bludgeon to beat his offender. When the tsar finds out what has happened he sends a cunning man to find the right approach through which to deal with the rebellious Yemelya. After talking to Yemelya's sisters-in-law, the sly man promises all kinds of goodies to him and persuades him to come to the Tsar's court. Yemelya agrees and goes to the palace riding his stove, as he does not want to get up from it.

At the royal palace Yemelya sees the Princess and makes a wish to let her fall in love with him. After Yemelya leaves the palace the princess asks her father to marry Yemelya. The tsar orders the cunning man to deliver Yemelya back to the palace. The man gets Yemelya drunk, ties him up while he is sleeping, and carries him to the palace. The tsar orders that both Yemelya and his daughter should be put in a large barrel, sealed with tar and then thrown out to sea.

When Yemelya finally wakes up in the barrel, the tsar's daughter tells him about everything that has happened to them, and asks him to set them free. Yemelya utters the magic words, and the sea throws the barrel ashore, breaking it and releasing Yemelya and the Princess. Yemelya and the Princess appear on a beautiful island. Yemelya says the magic words again and a beautiful palace appears in front of them, with a crystal bridge to the tsar's palace. Yemelya himself becomes intelligent and handsome. He then invites the tsar to visit them for a feast. However the tsar does not recognise Yemelya at first and it is only after Yemelya tells the tsar what has

happened to them the tsar understands who these people are standing in front of him. Then the tsar rejoices, and agrees to his daughter and Yemelya's wedding. The tsar returns to his palace, and Yemelya and the Princess live happily ever after.

As can be seen, the fairytale is centered around the main male character and his magical powers that are conferred on this common man by the pike. The fairytale has several auxiliary female characters and the female love-interest of Yemelya, who typically does not take any active part in the action.

The fairytale about Yemelia-the-fool and the Magic Pike has been adapted to the screen an impressive five times during both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. As the analysis progresses, it will reveal those specific aspects of this particular fairytale which have given rise to such a regular reemergence of this narrative on Russian screens. Initially it might seem that the combination of the victory over the tsar (a class struggle) and the impossible dream of a common man becoming omniscient and powerful all played key roles in the longevity of the narrative. However, it is the implicit gender politics that is striking first and foremost and that patriarchal discourse, which is conveniently hidden behind the choices made in the adaptations, is what might have truly resulted in its popularity. In order to discover the evidence to support or contradict this point, it is instructive to consider how female characters are constructed in these adaptations and to reflect on the differences between the original and the adapted versions. It is necessary to analyse each of the cinematic versions to establish, describe and analyse the shifts which took place during a century long period in representation of national myths of femininity on screen. It is by examining these subtle shifts that it is possible to reveal the fault lines in the ideological construction of gender. This requires attention to changes in details that often reveal significant insights into gender roles and expectations.

The first adaptation of the fairytale, called *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938), is a short black-and-white animated film which revolves around the class struggle between Yemelya and the tsar, rather than any magic or Yemelya's romantic interests (cf. CD, folder 2, track 13). The animation was released the same year as the feature film *As the Pike Orders* by Alexander Rou (the film director who was famous for directing fairytale adaptations) was shown on Soviet screens. However, the feature film and the animation could not be further away from each other. Unlike Rou's lead character - a poor peasant man who no matter how hard he works cannot break free from poverty because of the tsar's regime oppression - Sazonov and Bochkarev's Yemelia is portrayed as a lazy young man. The feature film has Yemelya's mother (rather than sisters-in-law) and his love-interest as the main female characters. Meanwhile, the 1938 animated version of the fairytale lacks female heroines whatsoever, except for the female anthropomorphised pike and three female passers-by, who appear on the screen for just a moment near the beginning of the film. Importantly, there are no female relatives of Yemelya present in this version (as in Afanasyev's fairytale collection - sisters-in-law; or mother or grandmother as in later animated versions of the fairytale); the love-interest of Yemelya is also missing (as per Afanasyev's collection or other animated films). The significant shortening of the fairytale plot and the exclusion of the female characters suggest that the general focus of the film is a proletariat struggle rather than magic. It makes the film similar to some earlier attempts by Soviet animators to make fairytales serve socialist purposes, discussed in the section on animation development in Soviet Russia. Another example of such an attempt is the film *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934). Therefore, the only evidence of the gender politics on

screen in this adaptation relates to the exclusion of female characters on the premise of their auxiliary function in the class struggle presented on screen.

The 1957 film presents viewers with a different perspective though (cf. CD, folder 2, track 14). The iconography of the film is stereotypical in its Russianness with snow-covered villages (as in the opening shot), national costumes, including women wearing the *kokoshnik* and *sarafan*, and traditional floral patterns on the walls. It underlines the national spirit of the fairytale, referring to myths of traditional identities, be they gender or nationalism. The film follows the established stylistics for fairytale adaptations both visually and musically. Interestingly, the realism of the animation of the 1940s to early 1950s that is present in films such as *Tsarevna Laygushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) and *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese-Swans, 1949), and also in the adaptations of literary fairytales including *Alenkii Tsvetochek* (Scarlet Flower, 1952), gives way to more imaginative stylistic choices in the depiction of the characters. For example, the smallness of the figure of the tsar is exaggerated as are the lanky qualities of the foreign prince. Another shift is that there is less precision in the detail of the animation, with simplified backgrounds and also less detail in the facial features of the characters.

As for female representation on screen, in Panteleymonov and Bochkarev's film female characters can be differentiated into two groups: young beautiful maidens and old insignificant women. The latter group is represented by Yemelia's old relative (who might be his Grandmother, though it is not entirely clear) and the Princess's nannies. Yemelya's grandmother whom Yemelya addresses using a derogatory and rather rude word '*babka*' hints that the woman he lives with is probably his grandmother. She has only one purpose in the film which is to ask Yemelya to do the housework. More importantly, the fleeting moment of grandmother's presence on

screen is utilised to underline her insignificance; viewers watch the grandmother from the back, so that her facial features are hidden (cf. Image 1). Their conversation confirms his attitude. When the woman asks Yemelya to chop some wood, he answers with apparent indifference and little respect, showing that he might do it if he feels like it.

The other supporting female characters are the princess's nannies. Their main function in the 1957 version is to sigh at the view of the foreign prince, to groom the princess and also to announce sheepishly the arrival of the tsar. Iconographically their figures are typical of a very interesting pattern, which appeared in post-World-War-II Soviet animation. One woman is overweight and short with round features, and another thin and tall with a protruding nose and elongated face (cf. Image 2). This pattern of representation of a two supporting female characters (one overweight-round-short and the other thin-elongated-tall), bound either by their serving or antagonistic functions can be seen in numerous fairytale films. For example, the brother's wives in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954, 1977; 2012) or the sisters of the main heroine in the adaptation of Pushkin's *Skazka o Tsare Saltane* (Fairytale about Tsar Saltan, 1984). Such standardised depiction underlines the insignificance of their personalities.

While allowing for such pragmatic considerations, the differentiation and representation still have a direct impact on the message of the films. Significantly there is a strong connection between youthfulness, a slender physique, a beautiful (in accord with the standards of beauty accepted in society) appearance and the good nature of heroines. By contrast, mediocre, asymmetric, unattractive physical characteristics and often old age, generally signal that the female character is either insignificant or an evil heroine.

Further, the 1957 version of the fairytale also has a strong theme which centers around the love interest of Yemelya - Princess Marja and her marriage. Iconographically, the young princess follows in the tradition of beautiful maidens: she has big eyes, a little nose, plump lips, a feminine figure and long thick hair. She talks little, and from start to finish mostly serves as an object of some action addressed at her. She is groomed by her nannies, courted by the Prince, put under spell by Yemelya, locked in a tower by the tsar, and finally in the closing shot of the film she is carried away by Yemelya (riding the stove) to live 'happily ever after'. Her first phrase in the film, setting the tone for her character, is, 'My hair is not done'. This is her response to her father's news that a foreign prince who is a potential fiancé is coming to meet her. During the meeting with the Prince she behaves as a 'proper' woman should, dancing with him and keeping absolutely silent. When the spell is cast, she faints and is put on a bench where she lies motionless (cf. Image 3). In this pose she resembles the Dead Princess from the adaptation of Pushkin's fairytale *Skazka o Mertvoi Tsarevne I Semi Bogatyrakh* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951) (cf. Image 3a). On waking her first words are, 'I love him'. Everybody around rejoices, thinking the marriage will be successfully arranged. But suddenly the princess announces that she does not love the foreign prince. After that she casts down her eyes, covers her face with a veil, and confesses she does not know whom she loves. Regardless of this conundrum, what remains important here is the central drive of this strand in the narrative, in which the unquestioning assumption is that the love of a man is a central and defining part of a woman's life.

The next time viewers see the princess, she is crying and talking with her father, who insists that she stops her behaviour and gets on with marrying the foreign prince. She can only say that you cannot force the heart, and she continues with her tears. When

the tsar tries to find out who won her heart, she rolls her eyes and repeats again she does not know whom she loves. She is not an agent of action even in her feelings and decisions. The tsar then shouts at her, 'Mashka, don't lie to me' and orders that she should be imprisoned in the tower, until she confesses. The princess's only response is to continue weeping. In the next scene, the Princess Marja is in her room sitting silently with her back to the viewer, looking toward the window with only a white dove accompanying her in this distress (cf. Image 4).

After Yemelia is taken to the Tsar's palace, the tsar asks whether Marja has come to her senses, and she answers that she has. He then orders her to go and kiss the one she loves, and Marja runs out and embraces Yemelya. The foreign prince gets offended and issues a declaration of war. For the remaining quarter of the film there is military action in which Yemelya helps the tsar to win over the invading forces. Marja disappears from the screen and will reappear only in the closing sequence when she is riding with Yemelya on his stone-stove and the voice-over proclaims that she and Yemelya lived happily ever after. The Princess Marja character has the following characteristics: being a beautiful object, being a passive receiver of the man's will, being emotionally fragile (crying), being put in the periphery of action when the men are fighting for their power and the possession of the female 'object of exchange'.

The other female character is personified in the figure of the Pike, whose main function in the film is to attend to Yemelya's wishes. Though the sex of the Pike is not stated explicitly, the word Pike belongs to female gender in the Russian language; the Pike also speaks with a female voice. In the beginning the fish appeals to his kindness and begs him to let her go to her little children. No magic power or knowledge she possesses can make her superior to Yemelya; he decides whether she lives or dies.

The gender subordination is guarded effectively in the film even on the level of Yemelya and the Pike's interaction.

The 1970s film is a puppet animation that was directed by Pekar (cf. CD, folder 2, track 15). It is based on both the fairytale and also draws on an adapted play written for a puppet theater by the screenwriter Elizaveta Tarakhovskaya. That the screenwriter is a woman might well provide a partial explanation as to why there are so many female characters in the film. Even more importantly it also features older female heroines treated with more respect. Thus unlike the 1957 film, this film tells us a story of Yemelya who lives with his mother and respects her a great deal. Unlike his character in other versions of the story he addresses her politely and in a caring manner, (this is encapsulated in his use of the old word *matushka* - dear mother). He also asks her opinion a number of times and generally looks after her. For example, when he gets his magic powers he wishes for a fur-coat for his mother to appear. Iconographically, though, the representation of the figure of the mother does not differ significantly from the 1957 version as here too the mother is a rotund puppet, with her hair covered fully with a headscarf and a traditional long dress (cf. Image 5). It is important to underscore that the character is in no way a leading or dominant character. When she talks to Yemelya, he is normally placed in the center of the frame (cf. Image 6) while she is often facing him with her back turned to the audience, so again her face is hidden from the viewers. Nor do the animators show close-ups of her speaking. Indeed, regardless of her presence on the screen, she talks little and her main dialogues revolve around Yemelya. The mother in this version is represented mainly as a caring old woman. She is also passive and submissive as in the way that she objects to her son's rebellious behaviour when Yemelya refuses to follow the tsar's order and go to the palace. At the end of the fairytale the mother receives the

same respectful treatment from her future daughter-in-law, the princess. However, the figure of the mother remains a supporting character although the treatment she receives has changed remarkably from the Panteleymonov and Bochkarev's film.

Yemelya's mother is not the only significant elder female character in this version of the fairytale. Another one is the Princess's nanny. She has an active role to play during the scenes in the palace, where she has a lot of lines (comparing to a general practice of the volume of lines given to female characters). It also turns out that she can speak the exotic language spoken by the foreign potential fiancé who comes to entertain the Princess. Iconographically the puppets of the older women follow the appearance rule - they are shapeless, dressed in simple clothes and have small eyes and big noses, and covered hair (cf. image 7). Nevertheless, the function and action of the elderly female characters is both unique and unusual for both Soviet and post-Soviet fairytale animation.

As for the main female character of the fairytale, the princess herself, this version does not differ in principle from the previous ones. Intrinsically the 1970's version is a combination of two fairytales: *As the Pike Orders* and *The Princess Who Doesn't Laugh - Tsarevna Nesmeyana*. The image of the beautiful maiden in this version of the fairytale is somewhat taken from the *Princess Who Does not Laugh*. In this version of the story the princess cries all the time, and behaves like a spoilt child. Unlike the older women in the adaptation, the princess has big eyes, with disproportionately long eyelashes, and yet again she is drawn with a small nose and a slender figure (cf. Image 8). Importantly, when Yemelya's mother meets her for the first time, she underlines only one quality in the Princess, namely - how beautiful the girl is. The Princess Masha wears a beautiful silver dress with a long white back-veil. Unlike the previous film she is not imprisoned in a tower. On the contrary her father

first wants to marry her with a man who will make her laugh, but when it happens to be Yemelya who is a common man, he changes his mind. If in the 1957 version Yemelya's spell cast over the princess makes her fall in love with him, then in this film he makes her dance and laugh, but apparently she falls in love with him without any magic or a man's will being forced upon her. Nevertheless, Yemelya behaves dominantly towards her, threatening that he will not take her with him if she cries. Duly chastised her response is reminiscent of a child who promises not to misbehave again.

Though Pekar's film might make the Princess a more emancipated and independent character with regard to her father, her action and narrative agency stops when she falls in love with Yemelya and starts to obey his commands. There is no scene in which she is shown as an equal partner to Yemelya. Very significantly, the male characters typically appear in the centre of the frame while female characters (and auxiliary characters) are put to the side of the frame, which means that they face the male heroes and not the audience, and listen attentively to what the male heroes say (cf. Image 9). By the end of the film the princess turns from a spoilt brat, who insists on her point of view, into a submissive bride. In the final scene when Yemelya suggests to his mother that they, along with his animal friends, should all live together, he excludes his bride from this discussion. Nevertheless, Princess Masha steps in and says (though not being asked) that she agrees to live together, the only problem is that she is cold, which leads to the closing moment of the film in which Yemelya exercises his magic powers by ordering winter to turn into summer. This is a curious but revealing moment in which the order of the seasons is overturned in what is, seemingly, a natural move. Such is the established power of Yemelya's patriarchal

presence that this denaturing and unnatural event is presented as not only unproblematic within the film, but actually as desirable.

Another female character in this version of the film is the female magic pike who is also a more active than proactive character. She does not beg Yemelya to let her go, she insists. She speaks more confidently and with self-respect rather than addressing the male hero with reverent as she did in the 1957 version.

Overall the 1970's film exhibits a strengthening of the female presence on screen; however, while more importance is given to the older characters, the younger female heroine is still presented via a stereotypical paradigm of patriarchal discourse. She is constructed, represented, perceived and judged in accordance with her appearance along with her moral qualities which cultivate her female identity as good, lovable and valuable, through such traits of character as modesty, being non-demanding and obedient.

The next version of the fairytale saw the light of day in 1984 (cf. CD, folder 2, track 16). It is a film directed by Fomin and written by Timofeyevsky, made with the cut-out method. The film borrows some elements from another fairytale - *Volshebnoe Koltso* (The Magic Ring). This time in order for Yemelya's wishes to come true, he must also hold the magic ring that the Pike gives him.

In this version of the fairytale, the female characters are the Princess and her nannies. There is also a very brief appearance of some female passers-by (as in the 1938 version) when Yemelya goes to get water from the ice-covered river. There are no female relatives such as sisters-in-law or mothers or grandmothers who would in other versions live with Yemelya. Instead, and in place of the female relatives, there is a male-bird who lives in a nest with Yemelya, and who regularly calls him 'a fool'.

The three nannies do not speak; they are presumably older women who have the same and surprised expression on their faces all the time (cf. Images 10 and 11). The only action they perform is crying (when the Princess is lost in the woods) and then they abruptly shut up when told to do so by the male general.

In Fomin's adaptation the princess is a more active character than in previous adaptations of the fairytale. She has a lot of screen time, though she mostly sings romantic and lyrical songs rather than speaking. However, her agency is shown in the way that she approaches Yemelya first, and starts a conversation with him when they both appear in the woods. Unlike other versions of the story she does not wait to be approached. After the meeting with her beloved one, as if by the wave of a wand, she faints. Yemelya carries her around in the woods in his arms and on his shoulder (cf. Image 12). Unlike the round-shaped and short nannies, the princess is very thin. In a similar manner to the princess in the film of 1957 here too she is locked in a tall tower after she disobeys her father and wants to marry Yemelya. And so the punishment for disobeying the authority of the patriarchal injunction continues from film to film.

In the 'prison' the princess is represented as a damsel in distress (cf. Image 13): waiting for her beloved one, sitting near the barred window, crying and singing sad songs about how much she misses Yemelya. Roughly one third of the film is once again dedicated to exploring the conflict of powers that exists between the tsar and Yemelya, and this time, similar to the 1938 version, the conflict is not based around the love that exists between Yemelya and the Princess. Instead, it is Yemelya's disrespect for the tsar which causes him trouble. As result of Yemelya's careless nature and also the sly actions of the tsar's general, Yemelya's ring is stolen from him and he is put into a barrel and thrown away into the sea. During Yemelya's forced absence the tsar insists on the princess's marriage to any of the noble fiancés waiting

on their doorstep. But the Princess refuses and tells her father to 'give her Yemelya back'. The climax of the narrative occurs when the tsar's general, who still has Yemelya's magic ring, starts incanting the spell that he wishes to put on the Princess so that she will become his wife. Suddenly Yemelya's bird grasps the ring and carries it to the princess, who orders the sea to free Yemelya. As we can see, in the short period when the Princess has the magic power, she requests nothing but her beloved man. After that Yemelya drives the Princess to his simple home in a peasant hut, where they live happily ever after although their life is marked by hard physical labour and the raising of five children. In its ending the film emphasises both a work ethic, and the value of hard labour as natural condition of existence. And everyone is apparently contented in this seemingly natural state of affairs. Thus patriarchal authority and the natural conditions of work that are required by the State coalesce at the end of the narrative with the clear message that this is the right way to live 'happily ever after'.

As in previous versions of the story here too the Magical Pike is once again female. But unlike earlier adaptations the Pike does not ask Yemelya to let her go. When we see her tail sticking out of Yemelya's basket for the first time - it resembles a sword rather than a fishtail which Yemelya takes out from the water (cf. Image 14). When Yemelya fantasises about what a good soup he could make out of this fish, she slaps him on the face and he lets her drop to the ground. Yemelya then suggests that she should go to her little children and puts her back into water. She remains silent. Only when Yemelya appears on the bridge over the river, is it that the Pike dives out and talks to him, giving him the all important gift of the ring and the magic spell in gratitude for letting her go.

In summary, the 1984 version of the fairytale is similar to the 1970's film in that both present the audience with a somewhat more active set of female characters than in the earlier Soviet adaptations of the fairytale: there is more female presence, more lines are spoken by the female leads and they take more active roles in the narrative. However, the Fomin's version follows the lead of his colleagues from the earlier versions and deploys the rhetoric of traditional femininity with its explicit and implicit 'prescribed' gender roles and behaviours which supports and maintains the existing patriarchal order. The Princess is positioned in the reference to the male characters; her main function is to be a love-interest and a bride. Meanwhile, supporting female characters are silenced and particularly insignificant, especially if we compare them to supporting male characters (the tsar, the General, etc.).

In the late Soviet and early post-Soviet period no versions of this particular fairytale were produced. It is not until 2013 that the next adaptation appears. This version is a part of the animation series *Masha's Fairytale* directed by Gazizov and Chervyatsov, written by Chervyatsov (cf. CD, folder 2, track 17). It is a mixture of 2D and 3D animation and is a very popular television-series in which Masha, who is a little girl, tells her toys moral and educational fairytales. Her stories often mix characters from different fairytales and in so doing the series creates a unique perspective on the gender politics of the Russian screen in President Putin's time. The 2013's version is a somewhat awkward combination of two fairytales. The first is about Yemelya and the second is Pushkin's *Skazka o Rybake i Rybke* (Fairytale about Fisherman and the Golden Fish). That said, the ending of the film is created by the filmmakers and does not reflect the end of either of its two sources. Given these progeny it is unsurprising that the film fundamentally deviates from both the original text and also from the earlier celluloid versions.

The story starts with Masha introducing her fairytale characters. She says: 'Once upon a time there lived Yemelya, and it happened so that his wife was lazy, stupid and quarrelsome' (cf. an opening shot - image 15). In Masha's fairytale, it is not Yemelya who lies on the stove all day doing nothing, but the wife. Moreover, she is always unhappy with her husband. In the second scene, which takes place in Yemelya's home, the character of the wife is resting on the stove with a pretzel in her hand and tells Yemelya: 'You are cleaning the floors, washing the clothes and cooking all day, go to the river and bring me water, I'm hot lying here on the stove and I am thirsty'. The representation of Yemelya in this version presents us with a case of gender reversal - he is a small round-shaped and boyish-looking character who is reminiscent of Cinderella, in as much as she is a good, hardworking and modest step-daughter. Similarly the vile wife performs the function of an evil step-mother, exhibiting a controlling behaviour by pointing with her index finger what Yemelya should do (cf. Image 16). Yemelya goes to the river and catches the Pike with his hand. To be precise, it is the Pike who bites his hand and catches Yemelya (cf. Image 17). The Pike tells Yemelya that she is a golden fish and will make three of his wishes come true. Yemelya gets scared and throws the fish back into the water. But the Pike insists and tells Yemelya the magic spell that will realise his wishes. Yemelya gets even more scared and runs back home. Once there he tells his wife what has happened to him but she does not believe it. Yemelya gets upset and in order to prove his story he orders the baskets with water to go home by themselves. The magic happens. Then Yemelya's controlling and powerful wife exclaims that now she can do anything she wants to do, and scolds her husband for not letting her know about these magic powers straight away. She wishes to go shopping riding on the stove. When she returns she is dressed in expensive clothes and in a reference to Pushkin's fairytale,

tells Yemelya to wish for her to become the 'mistress of the sea'. In the Russian language there is a play of words here, which causes Yemelya to misunderstand his wife. He thinks that she wants (*Stat Samoi*) 'to become a cat-fish'. He obeys his wife and turns her into a fish and he puts her in a little aquarium. Masha concludes the story by telling her young audience that before they make wishes they should think about the consequences.

Iconographically, Yemelya's wife, who is nameless, is presented as a scolding mother (or evil step-mother) figure. She is much bigger and taller than Yemelya, who looks more like a boy than a man. As an evil woman she is depicted as both rotund and overweight, with little black eyes, and a big red nose. She is constantly holding something in her hands - it is either food (a pretzel like bread) or a mirror (after she returns home in new clothes). She shouts at Yemelya and jumps when she does not get what she wants immediately. However, when she is turned into a fish, she is silent and motionless in the tiny aquarium (cf. Image 18).

The other female character is the Pike who is also an active agent in the narrative. After all it is she who bites Yemelya, and when he is scared of her magic powers, she reappears from the ice-hole and insists on letting him know the spell. The fear of a powerful female agent is evident and clear in this version.

Summing up the observation and analysis of the films, it has been shown how in the two versions by Sazonov and Bochkarev and Pekar (1957 and 1970 respectively) there is an intensification of Yemelya's status as a hero, compared to the original fairytale. This alone creates the gendered hierarchy in the films in which female characters are destined to be secondary. Women in the analyses of the films are divided into two categories - old, often insignificant, unattractive (as termed by

prescribed standards of appearance) and overweight, female characters; and young, beautiful, slender and compliant maidens. Unless they act as aggressors and are punished for this deviation from the prescribed identities, the female heroines are portrayed as quiet, modest, confused, passive, submissive and obedient.

As the samples demonstrate, during the whole period filmmakers were in a sense debilitating the myth of the traditional fairytale by choosing only a certain type of fairytale to be adapted to screen and cultivated. While some fairytales were adapted many times (e.g. *As the Pike Orders*) others have been completely excluded. The original fairytale (*As the Pike Orders*) is indeed focused on the male hero. So the choice of a tale which revolves around the male rather than female or equal heroes is a significant marker of the gender politics on screen. Moreover, a similar process concerning female imagery took place. Certain types of female characters were constructed. As shown, these are mainly passive, dependant females, which serve to function as beautiful objects of exchange, thus deconstructing myths of national femininity. The 2013 version of the fairytale gives birth to yet another myth, namely that of the punished female who is immobilised, satarised and demonised - these are some of the traits we can extract from the New Russian version of the old fairytale.

The overall submissiveness of the female character in the fairytale and in its Soviet adaptations is counteracted by the powerful and castrating female 'm/others' of the New Russia: this is the female heroine who positions men as scolded boys and in so doing seeks to undermine the status quo of patriarchal discourse. Contemporary Russia, while going through a transitional period, readdresses the ideas on national femininity. Gender seems to be a constant stabiliser in what were times of changes. In doing so patriarchy implicitly reminds women of what happens if they disobey the

established order as happened with the powerful wife in the last adaptation of traditional fairytale.

Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess)

Another fairytale that like *As the Pike Orders* was adapted to the screen a total of five times is *Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess)*. In Afanasyev's collection *Russian Fairy Tales* this fairytale is classified under the number 104, however according to ATU classification it is categorised as number 402 and also falls under categories (400-459 Supernatural or Enchanted Wife (Husband) or Other Relative, 400-424 Enchanted Wife). Similar to other fairytales, *The Frog Princess* is a fairytale that has multiple versions with various origins. Russian variants include fairytales with titles as diverse as *Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess)* and also *Vasilisa Premudraya (Vasilisa-the-Wise)*.

In terms of this research an important feature of this fairytale is that one of its lead characters is female. The narrative revolves around a beautiful woman whose name is Vasilisa and who possesses some magical powers. Koschey-the-Deathless puts a spell on her which turns her into a frog for three years. In some versions Koschey morphs into Vasilisa's father and he puts a spell on her because of her disobedience. In still other versions he wants to marry her off but she refuses. Meanwhile, in a far away kingdom the tsar orders his three sons to search for wives. He tells them to shoot the arrows from their bows and go in the direction where the arrow falls. While the elder and the middle sons find themselves suitable wives, as their arrows land in the houses of an aristocrat and a wealthy merchant respectively, the arrow of the younger son, Ivan Tsarevich (Prince Ivan), leads him into a swamp where all he finds is a frog that

is holding his arrow. He is forced to marry her. The tsar then decides to test his daughters-in-law through a number of domestic tasks, including baking bread and weaving a carpet. Every night the frog turns back into the beautiful Vasilisa and completes the tsar's assignments better than the other wives. The tsar then decides to have a Grand Ball and orders his sons to bring their wives. Vasilisa comes to the ball in her human form. She amazes all the guests with the miracles she performs. Meanwhile, Prince Ivan runs back home and burns her frog skin. As this happens Vasilisa is forced to return to the kingdom of Koschey. Had the prince been patient, the Frog Princess would have been freed but instead he loses her. Prince Ivan goes to faraway lands to find her. On his way he meets Baba Yaga. Baba Yaga asks him why he is here, whether he is forced to come or comes according to his own will. Prince Ivan does not shy away and asks her to offer him hospitality first and then ask questions. Baba Yaga lets him stay in her hut, and she feeds and bathes him. The next morning she explains to Prince Ivan how to find the way to Koschey's kingdom and how to kill the immortal wizard. She shares with him some secret knowledge that she possesses, which is that in order to kill Koschey, Ivan must use the end of a magic needle which is kept under heavy guard. Ivan thanks her and leaves. The animals, birds and fish that Prince Ivan did not kill on his travels, help him to obtain and break the needle. In another version though, Vasilisa flies into Baba Yaga's hut as a bird. Prince Ivan tries to catch her, but she turns into a lizard that he cannot catch. Baba Yaga then sends him to her sister, where yet again he fails to catch Vasilisa. However, when he is sent to Baba Yaga's third sister, he finally catches his wife and holds onto her. The spell is broken and they live happily ever after.

The first film with the title *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954) was directed by Tsekhanovsky, and written by Volpin; the 1971 version was produced

under the same title *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess) and is a film based on Nina Gernet's puppet theater play, directed and written by Yelisseyev. Six years later another version saw the light of day; it was released with the title of the original fairytale *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vasilisa-the-Beautiful) directed by Pekar, and written by Merezhko. In 2008 the new Russia's adaptation of the fairytale was released with the title *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog), this time directed by a female director Elvira Avakiyan, and written by Ussachev. In 2012 the last and contemporary version titled *Laygushka Tsarevna* (The Frog Princess) was released. The film also forms another part of the television series *Masha's Fairytales* directed by Gazizov and Chervyatsov, and written by Chervyatsov.

The first animated version of the fairytale is a seventy-five minute long animation which took two years to complete (cf. CD, folder 2, track 18). One of the contributing factors was the rotoscoping technique which was widely used in Soviet animation at that time. In 1960 the film won the *Silver Oak Leaf* prize at the IFF in *Mar del Plata* (Argentina).

In order to reconstruct the Russianness on screen, Tsekhanovsky followed his colleagues of the 1940s and 1950s and utilised the visual clichés for denoting the stereotypical Russian patterns of backgrounds, and the lighting and techniques similar to other fairytales of the time. Similar approaches are found in *Alenushka I Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Brother Ivanushka, 1953); *Volshebnyaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953); *Alenkii Tsevetochek*, (Scarlet Flower, 1952); *Skazka o Mertvoy Tsarevne I Semi Bogatyriakh* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951), as well as *Snezhnaya Koroleva* (Snow Queen, 1957). All these adaptations of fairytales were made in a naturalistic style, against naturalistic deep backgrounds, using the rotoscope method (which in Russian is called *ekler*). This was the period in

which the style of the animation was somewhat similar to Disney's stylistics and indeed the Disney studios used rotoscoping in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). However in Soviet animation, rotoscoping was not just a naturalistic technique but also served an ideological function being close to the requirements of Soviet Socialist Realism. However the film also adopts some other Russian elements derived from earlier musical feature films and also from Russian art, especially Ivan Bilibin's fairytale illustrations (cf. Images 19, 19a and 20, 20a). While the technique of rotoscoping, in which live footage is traced over by the animation team, was widely used in the United States (having been pioneered by the American animator Max Fleischer), in the Soviet context it carried an ideological message and was promoted as a way for animation to conform to the principles of Soviet Socialist Realism.

The adaptation follows the narrative of the original fairytale precisely. The 1955 version has the following female characters: Vasilisa who is called the Beautiful in the celluloid versions, instead of her 'the Wise' title in the original; the two wives of Ivan's brothers; Baba Yaga; and several female servants. Vasilisa is positioned as the main heroine; the rest of the characters are supporting.

The opening shot depicts Vasilisa picking up flowers in a meadow, talking to the natural world she finds surrounding her. She talks to birds and animals, and bows and talks to a birch tree - a symbol of Russia. The opening sequence underlines her close connection to nature and magic powers, as well as her respect for Mother Russia. It is very important to highlight that the 1953 version presents us with a unique figure of the Frog Princess, as it depicts her not as a young girl but as a woman. It is a singular example of a woman's presence on the screen, because, as has been argued earlier, normally female characters are either depicted as very young (girls) or very old

women. Strangely Tsekhanovsky's Vasilisa resembles more the evil step-mother from the adaptation of Pushkin's *Skazka o Mertvoy Tsarevne I Semi Bogatiriach* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951) than the young princess from the same fairytale (cf. Images 21 and 21a, 22, 23 and 23a). Vasilisa has delicate facial features which resemble the Soviet stars of the 1930s musicals; she has a slender figure and wears *kakoshnik* with a moon crescent shining in the center of it, possibly underling the magic powers of Vasilisa, but it also suggests her celestial and natural beauty.

Returning to the opening scene, after Vasilisa greets all the animals she asks them in a caring manner how their night was and how they spent their mornings. She behaves like a mistress of nature. Suddenly a tornado-like wind starts and it forcefully picks her up and carries her away. She obediently accepts her destiny and does not try to fight back. In the next scene we see Vasilisa at Koschey's palace where everything is made of gold. He shows her his treasures and proposes to her, but she only laughs at him, asking him whether he has seen himself in the mirror. For some reason Vasilisa (surprisingly but very handily) has a mirror with her, presumably underlying her narcissism. To punish her arrogant rejection Koschey turns her into an ugly frog.

Meanwhile, in a faraway kingdom, there lives a tsar who decides to marry off his sons and orders them to shoot their arrows, follow them and find their brides. The eldest son's arrow hits the Boyar's House. A close-up shows viewers the Boyar's daughter with an arrow (cf. Image 24). The middle son also shoots an arrow and it gets onto a merchant's yard. Again, viewers are shown a close-up of the merchant's daughter (cf. Image 24a). The shots are employed to underline that both female characters have less delicate features than Vasilisa, who is also more slender than they are; they also lack her gloss and beautiful garments. Both these female characters have some common

features with their future husbands (hair and eye colours, etc.). Importantly, similar to Vasilisa, the characters are depicted as grown women, rather than young girls. A significant point is also that they are defined by their father's position and consequently they do not have given names. As observed in the adaptations of Yemelya and the Magic Pike in regard to nannies, the wives' physiques are constructed according the dual-paradigm - the one (boyar's daughter) is dark, and has a more square body shape, while the merchant's daughter is round-faced and round-bodied and has blond hair.

The story develops as the arrow of the youngest son falls in a swamp. The next scene takes viewers to the deep woods where Prince Ivan is searching for his promised bride only to find that a frog is holding his arrow and it tells him that she is his bride. But when Prince Ivan rejects her, the frog turns away and cries. However, Prince Ivan cannot break his word and so he marries the frog. The weddings take place.

It is important to note that when the tsar gives his daughters-in-law the task of weaving carpets, they are too lazy to do the job. Instead they call their female servants and delegate the work to them. The female servants are also lazy and reassign the job to some female servants even lower in class, who in their turn call other servants, and finally the task is given to an old male soldier.

Vasilisa goes about her work in a very different spirit. As night falls, Vasilisa still in the form of the frog blows out the candle and hops into the moonlight where she turns into human form - Vasilisa-the-Beautiful. She strokes her hair and asks the birds not to make any sounds as she starts making the carpet. She picks up the light of the moon, which is on the floor and with the help of the birds gathers up flowers from the fields as she fashions a magic carpet. Using the turf she creates mountains, with her

handkerchief she creates a sail, just by touching the carpet she creates rivers and a sailor. The picture on the carpet moves as if it were an actual scene. Vasilisa sings a song about a masterful needlewoman. Stylistically it is very similar to the great Soviet musicals of the 1930 and 1940s. When the work is finished she bows deep down. As we can see this version does not deny Vasilisa her magic powers, however, they are employed to demonstrate her traditional female skills.

The tsar is not pleased with his two daughters-in-law's carpets. Interestingly the daughters-in-law are excluded from this scene and it is the sons who show the father their wives' carpets and say nothing when he makes critical remarks about them. However, the tsar adores the carpet made by Vasilisa and her helpers. The tsar then announces a feast. Vasilisa tells Ivan that she will join him later. As the feast starts Ivan is still alone. He is also sad as his brothers' wives mock Ivan's frog-wife. Then suddenly a loud noise comes from outside, and brothers' wives cowardly hide under the table. Vasilisa enters in her human guise. She arrives in a golden carriage, pulled by white horses (very similar to Disney's Cinderella released four years earlier in 1950). Vasilisa's white dress sparkles as she enters the room. Everybody is stunned. When she approaches her husband, she apologises for being late, explaining that it took her time to get ready as she wanted to meet her father-in-law looking her best. With all her magic powers Vasilisa is still an object of a scopophilic gaze.

A succession of the shots during the feast exposes how the myths of regulated femininity are embodied in the figure of Vasilisa. She is the perfect image of a female: a beautiful and highly skilled (in traditional women's crafts) - an ideal spouse and daughter-in-law, she performs miracles left and right. Thus while drinking and eating she puts drinks in one sleeve and bones in another sleeve. Brothers of Prince Ivan tell their wives to repeat everything that Vasilisa does and they obediently listen

and follow the instructions. Again they have to prove their worth obeying the patriarchal rules imposed on them. Then Vasilisa goes to dance. Waving one hand she creates a lake, waving another - creates swans on the lake. Then she dances and walks on the water's surface with Prince Ivan.

Seeing how beautifully the youngest brother's wife dances, the elder brother commands his wife and his sister-in-law to go and dance as well. When the brothers' wives come to dance they dance without Vasilisa's grace. They try to follow the movements Vasilisa performed, also waving their arms, but all that happens is that the objects hidden up their sleeves fly out and bones and liquid go everywhere. The tsar tells them to go away and they run, bowing their heads. Not being able to conform to patriarchal construction of desired femininity, the women had to retreat in disgrace, underlining their submissiveness by the bowing movement.

While nobody sees him, Prince Ivan runs home and burns the frog's skin. Vasilisa suddenly appears and exclaims that if only he would have waited three more days she would have been his forever. She turns into a white swan and tells Prince Ivan to look for her at Koschey's kingdom. Prince Ivan goes around the world searching for his spouse.

The next time we see Vasilisa, she is back in Koschey's palace, kept there against her will, singing a lyrical song about a damsel in distress. On his way to rescue Vasilisa, Prince Ivan meets an old man who gives him a magic helper (a little mushroom on legs) who brings him to Baba Yaga's hut. Black ravens fly around the hut. Baba Yaga opens the door.

Iconographically she appears as an old creature. It is just possible to tell that it is an old woman, but only because she is wearing a dress and a female headscarf. Other

than that she lacks a female figure, she has a hunched back and androgynous look. Moreover, her voice is dubbed by the male actor Georgy Milyar, who regularly played the character of Baba Yaga in feature films. Baba Yaga also moves hectically, spinning around and her movements resemble some kind of a dance and are somewhat animalistic (cf. image 26 and CD, folder 2, track 18). In some instances Baba Yaga's character in this version of *The Frog Princess* is similar to her depiction in the earlier film *Ivashko I Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938).

Although Baba Yaga is an important character in Russian national fairytales, in the film her appearance is very brief. When Prince Ivan comes to her hut, which is on chicken legs, she opens the door and asks him what he is doing there. Prince Ivan answers her disrespectfully, calling her an 'old hag', and he then asks her to let him stay, to feed him, to give him something to drink and to give him a place to sleep. The next morning he leaves Baba Yaga's hut in the full armour of a knight. Presumably she has given it to him, as he was wearing regular clothes before he came to Baba Yaga's hut and had no bag with him. This ritual of an initiation into the knighthood somehow is dismissed and is not significant in the rest of the film. Baba Yaga then shares with Prince Ivan her secret knowledge how to kill Koschey, mentioning that she has a long standing grudge against the wizard and that she is the only one who knows how to get to the oak tree where the magic chest hangs – this is the chest which contains what will become the instrument of Koschey's death. The sacred sharing of secret knowledge is preceded with the magical gift. Baba Yaga whistles and calls the white flying horse. She tells Prince Ivan that the horse will get him to Koschey's oak. Here Baba Yaga's role finishes and we are transferred to Koschey's palace again.

Koschey sees Ivan riding towards his oak and turns Vasilisa into a golden statue, thus literally making her an 'object'. The next time we see Vasilisa will be after Prince Ivan has already killed Koschey by breaking the needle. He kisses her hand and she turns back to human guise from a golden statue, as if a Sleeping Beauty. Everything around them starts coming back to life. Vasilisa touches a little deer and a bird and this breaks the spell, possibly presenting an allegory of life-giving and, again providing a connection to nature. In the closing sequence, Prince Ivan and Vasilisa-the-Beautiful walk holding hands and are followed by animals. In its direct depiction of an idealised happy ending, the final shots of the film portray a fantasy world of romance.

The 1971 film is shorter than the first animation with a running time of just around thirty minutes (cf. CD, folder 2, track 19). It is a puppet animation directed and written by Yelisseyev. An important factor in this analysis is that the adaptation is based on a play written for the Leningrad puppet theater by Nina Gernet. The animated film basically follows the narrative of the original fairytale with some minor variations, which will be discussed later. In comparison to the 1954 version it uses less visual clichés of Russianness; however, musically it features a balalaika as the main instrument and this certainly underscores the traditional spirit of the narrative.

The film has the following female characters: the tsarina - mother of young princess and the wife of the tsar (not present in either Afanasyev's records of the fairytale nor in any other cinematic versions of the fairytale); Vasilisa - the Frog Princess; the brothers' wives; and Baba Yaga.

Thus, unlike the 1954 film, Yelisseyev's take on the national fairytale starts with the tsar and tsarina suffering from their naughty sons and deciding to bring order into the kingdom by marrying them off. The tsarina is portrayed as an older woman, round-

faced with small eyes, who says very little and when she does it is mostly done to endorse the tsar's actions and words (cf. image 28). (She is similar to the character of Yemelya's mother in Pekar's 1970 film). However, as a character she lacks both independence and agency. This is clearly shown in her on-screen presence in which she is never alone and is instead always in the company of either the tsar, or together with her sons. Notwithstanding and in manner that is rather similar to the film mentioned above about Yemelya (1970) (based on the play by another female writer, Tarakhovskaya), the film does give her a substantial amount of screen time and this is also true for the brothers' wives, as well as for Vasilisa.

Basically, the story develops along the lines of the original fairytale, and there are many similarities with the previous version as here too the brothers find their brides while Prince Ivan has to marry a frog. It is important to underline that the brothers' wives in this adaptation are presented as two distinguishable and active characters. If in the 1954 film they act as if they were one passive entity, always appearing together, having little to say and following the elder brother's commands, in this version both wives have distinct characters, appearances, more lines and actions. The elder brother's wife (cf. Image 29) is the general's daughter; she is a lively and bubbly character who laughs a lot, and speaks French (which the tsarina calls 'monkey's tongue').

The middle brother's wife as a merchant's daughter is an active, loud and confident character. The introduction of the sons' wives to the tsar and the tsarina for the first time is an interesting example of what appears to be a change in gender politics on the Soviet screen. Thus while the elder brother leads the horse with his wife sitting on it, the wife of the middle son leads the horse which carries all her belongings. Her husband lags behind. However, this is another of those changes which only appears to

be progressive, as the patriarchal discourse employs other strategies to maintain its status quo. Firstly, it appears that this attention towards the female characters' deeper and more interesting personalities contradicts the stereotypical gender constructions that are in place. However, in a manner that is similar to the earlier version, the women are defined according to their father's status. They do not have given names and are referred to in patrilineal manner only as the 'daughters of'. Again, as seen in the earlier adaptation, as well as in other fairytales, the wives' bodies are built into a dual-paradigm of coupled personages - one (the general's daughter) is dark, thin, and has a long nose, and the other (the merchant's daughter) is round-faced and round-bodied and has blond hair.

Returning to the story, after Prince Ivan introduces his Frog-Wife, his brothers and sisters-in-law mock and laugh at Vasilisa until the tsar abruptly stops them and exclaims that 'all wives are equal in their kingdom'. This very socialist political message about equality is one that could be considered usual for this period of time in the USSR. Nevertheless, it is misleading to its core as the wives are not equal; they are judged, valued and adapted to the existing system of the implicit gender politics. It is interesting to see how this becomes evident as they are contrasted with the appearance of the ideal female as embodied by Vasilisa in her human form.

The first time viewers encounter Vasilisa is as a disembodied voice. Prince Ivan realises that his arrow has fallen into a swamp and sighs that there are no brides there and that he should go and drown himself. He is stopped by Vasilisa's voice saying that it is very difficult to live here in the swamp. The camera then reveals a frog with a golden crown holding the arrow. The director even gives us a close-up of the frog where the frog suddenly stops speaking and instead just croaks.

The first time when viewers see the Frog Princess in human guise is via a voyeuristic act - the camera lingers, looking through a window, lifting the curtain, signaling that some sacred or secret act is about to take place. Vasilisa, still in her frog skin, comforts her husband and tells him not to worry about the tsar's assignment to make a shirt. She tells him to go to sleep and see what the morning will bring. After he falls asleep, a green light emerges from the frog as Vasilisa takes on human form. Iconographically Vasilisa's puppet resembles Tsarevna-Nesmyana from Pekar's 1970 adaptation of the fairytale about Yemelya and the Magic Pike. Vasilisa has huge alien-like eyes, disproportionately long eyelashes, long thick golden hair, slender figure and a rich golden costume (cf. Image 31). As the magic unfolds and Vasilisa sheds the frog skin, her puppet is illuminated even more brightly.

As encountered in the earlier version of the fairytale, female characters are not denied some magic powers. As an aside, it is interesting to note the unique feature which director Yelisseyev and playwright Nina Garnet constructed in this version of fairytale, is that Vasilisa makes the thread for the shirt from a spider's web. This element is absent in both the original story and other celluloid versions. The spider's web, of course, is featured in mythology, religion, cosmology and oral traditions throughout the world since ancient times. In part the image underlines Vasilisa's divine aspects as ancient goddesses (Neith, Ishtar, Athena, Minerva), but also functions as a simple allegory of spinning and weaving (traditional female crafts). Intrinsically this unusual element does not have any great impact on the story and is not followed by any consequences or outcomes. At the very least, the film shows how as a female she is able to repurpose nature to both win the favour of important men (the tsar) and that she also has the potential to be a good wife. The equation of femininity with nature is of course one of the tropes of patriarchy. However, there is

also just a hint here that Vasilisa might be touched by something ancient from the 'old' Russian qualities of the matriarchal society, as discussed in the chapter on gender.

The succeeding episodes, of the tsar being presented with shirts and bread made by his daughters-in-law, support the argument that it is the implicit politics on screen that sustain the existing gender paradigm. Moreover, the scenes of these presentations normalise domestic violence. In a scene in which the general's daughter is criticised by the tsar, when she begins to faint hearing her father-in-law's disapproval, her husband hits her on the head from the back to bring her to her senses. She does indeed regain consciousness and the story goes on as if nothing had happened, as if such a blow was normal behaviour. There is a well-established academic discourse on the lack of violence in Soviet animation in comparison with other countries, especially the United States (Beumers, 2008; Tereschenko, 2009; Kononenko, 2011). The only case studies that touch on the issues of violence in Soviet animation is the work in Russian language by Barash (2008) and the work in English language by Blackledge (2010). In his analysis of animation series *Kot Leopold* (Leopold the Cat, 1975-1987) Barash notes violent undertones in the adventures of two little mice that attempt to bully Leopold the Cat. However, Barash terms the slapstick nature of the animations as a symbolic representation of social opposition between intelligentsia and hooliganism, and specifies that the preparation for the acts of possible bullying takes centre stage in the films. Blackledge also focuses on violence in the chase animated series *Nu Pogadi!* (Just You Wait! 1969 – 2006) comparing them with American animation.

However, the example in our case demonstrates the actual violence targeted at women rather than a slapstick comic narrative, similar to the one found in *Kot Leopold* (Leopold the Cat) and *Nu Pogadi!* (Just You Wait!). The analysis of another animated film will confirm that this representation of domestic violence is not an isolated example.

Importantly, another type of fairytales, namely the *bytovie* (everyday) fairytales, contains some plot incidents in which husbands beat their wives. However, these *bytovie* are not as ancient as the *volshebnye* (magical fairytales) and as such they do not carry any traces of matriarchal structures, as the *volshebnye* do. One can also argue that violence in puppet-shows (and this film is a puppet animation) is commonplace and that it has existed for a long time. Its roots are in the Italian *Commedia dell'arte*, which many countries later adopted. Indeed the Russian *Petrushka* as well as the British Punch and Judy or French *Guignol* are violent puppet shows often featuring domestic violence in which husbands and wives hit each other. The audience for such shows is not necessary adult. Nevertheless, the point is that it should not be taken as a given that Soviet animation corresponds with this 'idealised' non-violent image that some scholars propose; and the normalisation of domestic violence in the example under investigation is significant.

Meanwhile, 1971's version allegedly constructs a new independent and active female character, at least in comparison to the 1954 film. However, the narrative challenges the patriarchal construction of prescribed femininity in only the most superficial manner. Of course, at the core of the tasks that the women undertake, lies a deep patriarchal hierarchy in which women are required to prove and demonstrate to the ruling male head their traditional domestic skills (sewing, baking, etc). They must

perform such gendered tasks perfectly due to their biological sex, and indeed are pitted against each other in competition.

Crucially, other implicit tactics for preserving the status quo and the existing paradigm of the existing social order are also in place. On the one hand, unlike 1954's daughters-in-law, who are securely silenced and excluded from the scene of their works' presentation, in Yelisseyev's film two of the women are not only present but actively participate in the action. Thus, during the shirt making contest the general's daughter verbally introduces the shirt while showing it together with her husband; while the merchant's daughter introduces her work solely by herself and both praises and shows it, while leaving the husband out of the scene.

The second task which involves making bread is similar to the first task, and again the female characters actively participate in the presentation of their wares. However, neither of their presents gets any praise from the tsar. Instead, he mocks both of his daughters-in-law and their gifts. The present that is truly praised is Vasilisa's shirt and her bread - however she is completely absent from the scene. As in Tsekhanovsky's version, the wife's work is represented in public by her husband. Presumably she is left at home (her 'natural' private environment) while her male spouse acts as an agent in the public domain.

The following scene of the feast and the daughters-in-law dance represents a symbiosis of the fairytale and mythic discourses on 'standardised' national femininity. The tsar does not approve of either the foreign ballet dance shown by the general's daughter, nor the powerful (non-feminine) stamping of the merchant's daughter, which shakes the whole frame and collapses the tsar's table. The first one is Western and threatens the Russianness; the second one endangers the patriarch himself.

However, Vasilisa's dance is viewed as perfect in its passive act of offering a spectacle to be looked at. The dance is accompanied by the balalayka which acts as an embodiment of the national spirit. There are constant close-ups of her dress spinning beautifully but viewers barely catch a glance of Vasilisa's face. It is though the beauty of her dress is more important than the realities of her body. In this sense, in the way that it moves and in the fine quality of its fabric, the dress both reveals her femininity while at the same time it negates the actuality of her womanhood.

Returning to the lead female character in 1971's version, it is when Prince Ivan burns the frog's skin that Koschey-the-Deathless appears and abducts Vasilisa, referring to her as his slave, underling the objectification of female. Unlike in Tsekhanovsy's film, Koschey's figure is much bigger and dominant in size; he sends Vasilisa to sleep and disappears with her.

It is in Koschey's kingdom we meet another significant female character - Baba Yaga - for the first time in the film (cf. Image 32). She is called upon by Koschey to deliver snake skins and rats so that Koschey can turn Vasilisa into one of them (as a punishment for refusing to marry him). Iconographically Baba Yaga's puppet is a strange creature with a big nose (presumably following her description in the original story as an old woman with a nose so big that it is stuck to the ceiling); she wears a female headscarf and holds her traditional broom which she uses for flying. Baba Yaga is treated with little respect by Koschey and when he refuses to exchange her appearance with Vasilisa and calls her ugly she gets offended and flies away, promising to seek revenge for being called ugly. In the next scene she meets Prince Ivan and tells him how to kill *Koschey*. This particular film is one of the examples of a distinct trend of satirisation of Baba Yaga. As it has been argued in the section concerning Baba Yaga, this tendency of desacralisation is present both in the samples

under analysis and in other animations like *Domovenok Kuzya. Skazka dlya Natashi* (Little House Spirit Kuzia. A tale for Natasha, 1986) or *Pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008).

Summing up, this adaptation presents us with a conflicting representation of women. On one hand, it gives them more screen presence, more dialogue and actions. On the other, it continues the objectification and regulation of femininity. While giving heroines some magic powers it simultaneously takes away others. Moreover, it depicts violence towards women.

The next version of the fairytale was produced in 1977 and was released with the title *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vasilisa-the-Beautiful), directed by Pekar (cf. CD, folder 2, track 20). It is a drawn animation film and is just under eighteen minutes in length. While visually the film is significantly different to Tsekhanovsky's 1954 naturalistic film it, nonetheless, has more similarities to it than with the 1970's puppet version. Pekar's fairytale is a flat hand-drawn animation with more attention to symbolism and the atmosphere of magic and the supernatural than to detailed realism - hence the oversimplified facial features, less detailed graphics and the use of a more restricted palette of colours. The film employs a wide range of means to assist the audience as they switch into what is a quite an unusual world including: music, colour scheme, traditional patterns and the even geometrical proportions of spaces and features.

The central female characters are: *Vasilisa* - The Frog Princess; the tsar's daughters-in-law; and Baba Yaga. The Daughters-in-law (somewhat similar to Tsekhanovsky's film) are completely silent. They follow the now familiar established pattern for representing women's bodies with an elongated wife of the elder brother and a round-shaped wife of the middle brother (cf. Image 33). Both women are rather plain in

appearance, and this signals to the audience that the characters can either be disregarded or alternatively that they might bring problems.

The narrative is left unchanged from the original fairytale as once again Prince Ivan decides to marry the frog who caught his arrow. She performs all the same tasks in order to pass the tsar's tests of female skills. However, Vasilisa is silent while sewing with stars and light and cooking the bread. The director employs the rhetoric of prescribed and regulated femininity through the comparison of Vasilisa and her sisters-in-law at the ball. Vasilisa moves gracefully, her smooth actions being accompanied by the pleasant magic-like music; while by contrast the sisters-in-law repeat the behavior from previous films with the same antics, putting drinks in one sleeve and bones in the other. Their actions are accompanied with completely different music underling their average nature and insignificance. During the dance, when Vasilisa creates a lake and some swans, the music continues to be classical and melodic; meanwhile when sisters-in-law start dancing the music changes to a contemporary composition, similar to the one performed in a famous feature comedy *Ivan Vasilievich Meniaet Professiū* (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession, 1973) in which contemporary men are transported to an Old Rus' by a time machine. The music in question is played while these men dance contemporary dances at the old feast of Ivan-the-Terrible. In the animated film this opposition of classical and modern, of 'truly' Russian and Western-infused, is clear. As if opposing myths of contemporary femininity to a national and traditional one, the film mocks the sisters-in-law by underlining certain undesirable female characteristics, thus strengthening a particular representation of women on screen.

While following the original plot line of the fairytale, Pekar' still gives another take on the construction and consumption of femininity. The tsar orders and then literally

consumes what it is that Vasilisa and the daughters-in-law have baked. This act of gluttony is akin to the symbolic assimilation of the symbols of feminine success. Another manifestation to form the same paradigm is Prince Ivan's burning of the frog skin, which returns Vasilisa to Koschey's hands. The male hero believes that he has a right to choose and decide on the appearance and identity of his wife. The scene is a turning point in the plot.

On Prince Ivan's way to find his wife he arrives at Baba Yaga's hut. Represented as an old grandmother, she differs from the two previous versions (cf. Image 34). She lacks the animalistic nature of Tsekhanovsky's Baba Yaga, and she also lacks the ugliness and jealousy of Yelisseyev's Baba Yaga puppet; she is a kind of *babushka*. This is the way Ivan refers to her and she thanks him for calling her '*babushka*'. She then simply flies the hero in a mortar to Koschey's land, while telling him how to kill the apparently immortal wizard. The act itself is not underlined by any magic atmosphere or special music. It is not a sacral ritual any more. Iconographically though, the 1977 Baba Yaga resembles her predecessors in that she is a thin, breastless and hunchbacked figure, who is defined as female through just her skirt and headscarf.

The final scene of the film is the battle between Prince Ivan and Koschey which results in the freeing of Vasilisa, who is brought to the Prince by a brown bear leading a white horse on which Vasilisa is seated (cf. Image 35). Transferred as an object of exchange, Vasilisa silently waves her hand to the animals, which helped Prince Ivan to win over Koschey. Her presence is limited and, in a sense, ephemeral during most of the film.

Summing up, the 1977 version of the fairytale vividly utilises the mechanism of myth production that operates within mass culture, constructing the imaginary ideal 'traditional female' as a myth. The adaptation supports and promotes those skills and activities that are traditionally considered as feminine. While Vasilisa's character superficially has a leading role this is somewhat undercut by her adherence to the old paradigm of beauty and her constant need for male help. Simultaneously the film devalues and depowers Baba Yaga's figure by, again, demythologising her. Regardless of whether the director intended to support or subvert the traditional modes of prescribed femininity the film actually corresponds with the implicit gender politics of the 1970s, which utilised national myths of womanhood and which suppressed gender equality. Though this version of the Frog Princess is deeply rooted in the both literary source and also in previous versions of the fairytale, its myth-oriented perspective based on the patriarchal discourse of genders, leaves no room for female empowerment on and off screen. In this sense, the film encapsulates the ways in which the fairytale celebrates women, but only in a hyper-femininised form in a way that also serves to obscure the bodily realities of womanhood. The animated female body, then, becomes a site of discourse in which the cultural tensions between gender and sex are played out.

The next version of the fairytale was released thirty years after Pekar's film. It was produced in a new State. During the break the country's political and economic system changed dramatically. The fourteen-minute film is titled *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008) and was directed by female director Avakiyan, and written by Ussachev (cf. CD, folder 2, track 21).

The film starts with Koschey punishing Vasilisa for rejecting his 'undying love' and turning her into a frog. The viewers see her for the first time while she is standing

silently accepting her fate, blinking her disproportionately large eyes and playing with curls of her hair (cf. Image 36). The same paradigm of men's right to punish and female passive submissiveness is at play.

The scene changes to the kingdom where Prince Ivan lives. Following the original plot the tsar orders his sons to shoot their arrows and to choose their brides. The eldest son's arrow hits his future bride and gives her a black eye (cf. 37). We are again presented with a violent act which is intertwined into the narrative so smoothly that it threatens to pass unnoticed.

Though iconographically the filmmakers did not match sons and their wives - the eldest son has a round-shaped wife and the middle son has a thinner wife. Instead they adhered to an established paradigm of opposition and also correlation: the eldest son is rude to his wife during the whole film and his wife is rude to him. Further, during his marriage proposal she gives him a black eye too. Thus domestic violence continues to be normalised in adaptations of this fairytale.

Meanwhile the middle son is matched to his spouse as both are greedy. The film also preserves a correlation between appearance and character (similar to Yelisseyev's puppet animation). Thus the round-shaped well-built female character is loud, pushy and manly. Again, following Yelisseyev's version of the fairytale, the second wife is thin, quiet and polite.

The second time viewers see Vasilisa is when Prince Ivan finds her with his arrow. Unlike previous versions Prince Ivan is enthusiastic about marrying the frog and exclaims that he 'never seen such beauty'. This is the first vocalisation of the main heroine characteristics and significantly it is focused on appearance only. The contest between the tsar's daughters-in-law continues the debate started in the previous

versions. The domestic violence in the eldest son's family also continues. The husband throws eggs at his wife and she answers by hitting him with a large bowl of dough on his head.

Importantly, though the sisters-in-law hardly speak, nevertheless, they play a critical role in this version of the fairytale as they are the ones who destroy Vasilisa's frog skin while competing to get it (cf. Image 38). Indeed this version denies the male protagonist a role in controlling both the body-form and the destiny of his female partner. Instead it gives this right to a female character. However, this competition for an idealised femininity, shaped and evaluated by patriarchy, is hardly empowering. It reinforces both the belief in the naturalness of the male entitlement to construct these myths of femininity and female fantasies that some magic object (be it fairytale frog's skin or a magic potion) can move them closer to this ideal.

The following scene of Vasilisa flying away from Prince Ivan is marked by her comment that she (Vasilisa) 'disobeyed' Koschey. Throughout the film Vasilisa is submissive and mostly silent. The next time she is shown, she is in Koschey's palace, grooming herself, while Koschey gives her an ultimatum: she either marries him or he will turn her into a snake. Vasilisa's answer is that Prince Ivan would love her in any guise. Female appearance is again centre stage.

Avakiyan's film excludes Baba Yaga's character and substitutes her helper or donor function (in Vladimir Propp's terminology) with the tsar, who orders his sons to go together with Prince Ivan and tells them how to kill Koschey. This exclusion of Baba Yaga again underlines the disempowering representation of women in contemporary Russian animation. Avakiyan's version of the fairytale also differs from the others as it has a pacifist ending, in which Koschey recognises that life must be treasured much

more than death. While this first female take on the fairytale could have been a new page in the representation of female experiences on screen, it presents viewers with a manifestation of intrinsically patriarchal gender paradigm, in which women must obey male rules and regulations, and compete for the compliance with an idealised femininity that is based around appearance and gender specific crafts.

In four years time, in 2012, yet another animated adaptation of the fairytale came to life - *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess) directed by Gazizov and Chervyatsov, written by Chervyatsov (cf. CD, folder 2, track 22). As with the rest of the episodes, the opening and ending is a 3D animation while the fairytales that little Masha tells her toys is in 2D. This codes the series in particular and curious manner. Masha embodies a living 3D hyper reality, while the instructive stories she narrates are flattened into two dimensions. The result is that Masha's authoritative voice becomes even more important than the fairytales that she tells. Indeed as will become clear, her mastery of the material extends to mixing and matching different stories to create the narrative that she wants, with some surprising and somewhat disappointing outcomes.

On this occasion the narrative starts with Masha looking at her reflection in the mirror, admiring her appearance. In the moralistic tones that are common in this television series, Masha tells her toys that one should not judge the book by its cover. The film then changes scene to a faraway kingdom. Masha introduces us to the tsar who has three sons. This introduction takes up roughly twenty percent of the entire film. At this point the tsar performs as if he is the lead character. While ordering his sons to shoot arrows and chose their wives, Masha has a slip of the tongue: narrating on behalf of the tsar, she says that it is by shooting arrows that the sons will chose a 'horse' (*konja*) instead of a 'wife' (*zhenu*); she then corrects herself; however this slip

is directly related to gender politics in this adaptation. Similar to Masha's fairytale about the Magic Pike in which the pun turns the wife into a fish, this animalisation and objectification of the wife is clearly not accidental and will have a direct correlation with the moral ending Masha gives at the end of the film.

The female characters in this version are Vasilisa and her sisters-in-law. The Sisters-in-law are once again put into the iconographical paradigm which has been present in all the previous versions - a round-shaped and well-built wife and a thin wife with elongated features and a slim figure (cf. Image 39). The wives appear fleetingly on the screen and only in relation to their husbands. They say nothing and do nothing on the screen other than stand beside their husbands.

The first time viewers see the Frog Princess is when Prince Ivan's arrow leads to a sequence of events which break a golden egg where the frog sits. Here Masha mingles two national fairytales and changes the places of motifs, adding the story of *Kurochka-Ryaba* (Ryaba the Hen) to The Frog Princess, and substituting a quest for Koschey's death which is in an egg for the process of finding the frog.

Though Prince Ivan cries as he does not want to marry the frog, he nevertheless, comes to terms with it. Masha shows how peacefully he lives with his frog-wife treating her as a pet, as Masha puts it 'as a terrapin or a guinea pig'. He feeds her with flies and she sings him songs. The episode ensures the ultimate objectification and dehumanisation of the female character, in a way which was also observable in Gazizov and Chervyatsov's adaptation of *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (2012) (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders). Similar to other episodes in the series (and produced by the same filmmakers) Masha's female heroines are rather vigorous, as Masha is herself, so the frog is quite active in terms of

movement. However, with the exception of Masha herself, in terms of the narrative the female characters are rather passive. Iconographically, the Frog wears a bride's veil, but has a male-shaped triangular figure, and lacks any of the magic or traditionally considered feminine characteristics that are found in previous versions of the fairytale (cf. Image 40).

After a colourful portrait of a family life of Prince Ivan and his frog, the scene changes back to the palace where the tsar orders his daughters-in-law to bake a cake and bring it to their weddings, which will be held simultaneously on the same day. Unlike previous versions of the fairytale, the film does not show viewers the baking process at night, or the production of ordinary cakes by the wives of the brothers or the Frog Princess's magic one. When the cake is ready and Prince Ivan sees it, he gets so excited and happy with the beauty of it he wishes to kiss his Frog-bride. However, in a puritan way the frog announces that she cannot kiss him before she becomes his wife. The culminating and final scene shows Prince Ivan kissing his new wife for the first time. The episode signals that magic is about to happen. Naturally the frog turns into a beautiful maiden. In terms of portrayal, Vasilisa's human body resembles another magical wife in the animated film *Pro Fedota Streletsa Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008). Her dress has a deep décolletage; her breasts are large, she has a disproportionately narrow waist and a long and thick blond plait (cf. Images 41 and 41a). Gazizov and Chervyatsov finish the film with a moral of the story which little Masha teaches her toys. She sums up by saying that one should take good care of domestic pets, and then these pets will become true friends bestowed with magic and beauty. The taming of women and their transformation into pets, and the submission this embodies, depicts the explicit politics that this contemporary animation seeks to perpetuate.

Summing up the last adaptation, the film serves as a pretext for continuing the established arguments about women and gender hierarchy – something that is present in the previous versions of the story, even the ones in which female filmmakers or screenwriters had an active role. The male characters, especially the tsar and Prince Ivan, are more frequently present on the screen than the leading women. Further, the supporting female characters are insignificant and stereotyped. The plotline in which Baba Yaga assists Ivan in finding and winning over Koschey is cut out. At the same time the filmmakers shift the emphasis from hero's or heroine's journeys, initiation, and magic in general, to a dehumanisation, animalisation and domestication of women and in particular wives as pets. If in Soviet versions Vasilisa is represented as a friend of the animals (possessing a magic power of communicating with them) here she is turned into one, and not even a wild animal but a pet. Significantly the male filmmakers adopt a female voice through the little girl's narrations, constructing a certain female experience and pseudo-representation on screen. While Masha is female in form, she speaks with the voice of patriarchal authority.

Within the sample corpus of visual adaptations of the fairytale, the post-Soviet versions are less elaborate, less crafted and more sexist than earlier films. As for the adaptations of *The Frog Princess* and the *Fairytale about Yemelia*, it is important to underline, that the adaptations should not be considered as a cornerstone of what is traditionally perceived as true Russian identity or storage of the illusive secret Russian soul. Starting with stereotypical usage of traditional stylistics and finishing with the constructed portrayal of femininity on screen, the influence of this mediated material on the national idea of the fairytale should not be underestimated. Constructing and reconstructing the national memory, and even a public fantasy of what it means to be Russian, is skilfully inserted into the gender scheme, along with

the prescribed notions of femininity and masculinity. Taking into account the contemporary ministry's investment in the creation of the New Russian identity, these fairytale films play a significant role in such politics. It has been shown how the periods of most aggressive utilisation of such constructions correlate with a reaction to women's liberation, and it has also established how specific patterns function in these politics. Moreover, it has proved possible to define particular groups of female characters who, while seemingly active and independent on the surface, actually function as conservative female representations on screen.

As the analysis of the films has shown, the choices the filmmakers made were in favour of fairytales with strong and active male heroes and passive and submissive female characters. Women are represented as mainly passive, submissive, silent, modest, beautiful, and positioned with a reference to the male heroes, orientated towards marriage, requiring rescuing and excellent in what are traditionally considered to be female crafts and activities. Meanwhile, antagonistic and supporting female characters are mainly represented as unattractive, loud, pushy, lazy, and incapable of performing the required housekeeping activities, vilified, and punished for all the foregoing qualities. While that is the case, in film productions created by female directors and screenwriters female heroines were present on the screen longer and were more actively involved in action. In these pictures older females exercised more respect from the male protagonists. However, equally the paradigmatic representation mentioned above (beauty, activity, objectification) stayed unchanged. Female filmmakers chose the same fairytales to be adapted and adhered to the same patriarchal constructions of femininity on screen. More importantly, domestic violence was normalised in some productions, even those that were paradoxically created by female directors.

Conclusion

Despite academic study from the 1960s the interrelated questions of identity and gender politics remains in need of further attention. In the modern world where simplified notions of feminism are becoming ever more widespread, this research has identified what are deeply ingrained problems with persistent stereotypes in society and media. However, it is not only gender specific representations that suffer from the issue of over simplification. Sometimes what are well-established academic concepts turn out to be similarly constrained as well.

Western theorists such as (Beumers, Kenez, Groys, Kononenko) have tended to simplify the social, political and ideological complexity of the Soviet period. The assumption that underpins much of their writing, and which on occasion makes an explicit appearance, is the belief that there was a uniform acceptance of the Party's politics and requirements by society at large. This is a rather curious point of view as in some ways it mirrors the position held by the Party itself, namely that its policies should be accepted and implemented unconditionally. Unsurprisingly, such uniformity turned out to be rather more difficult to achieve in practice than in theory. Yet the idea that society was a passive receiver of ideological dictates is clearly reflected in the dominant Western view on the efficacy of such a system, almost as though the Western academic discourse itself had itself fallen under the spell of the Party's declarations.

In line with this misperception, the minuscule amount of work that has originated from Western scholars about Russian animated fairytales has tended to see them as primarily educational and moral products. Further, the emphasis in that work has been on the way in which the films were regarded as vehicles through which to inculcate

the ideological convictions of the Party. While there is some basis for that point of view, what it fails to demonstrate is an awareness of the significance of gender and its representation in the films. Indeed it would not be unreasonable to argue up until this point that there has been an absence of systematic research into gender, and in particular the portrayal of women in Soviet and post-Soviet animation.

This lacuna means that important trends in animation, for example the three periods in which animated films proliferated, have gone largely unremarked on and significantly have not been adequately explained. However, it is the contention of this research that these three increasing periods in the production of animated content can be understood as a reaction to the gender politics that followed the liberation of women and their increasing presence in society. Thus the World War II years enabled women to become one of the driving working forces. The 1960s Thaw period allowed for liberalisation and ‘demasculation’ in society which in turn led to a subsequent emancipation, while post-Soviet Russia witnessed a massive Westernisation of culture, along with the restructuring of the family cell and the emigration of Russian women through marriage to foreign men. The three periods of ‘reaction’ to these developments followed.

Thus the first of them occurs during the 1950s post World War II where women were reminded that their femininity was defined in relation to their social roles and they were socio-culturally positioned as either mothers, wives or brides. Though fairytale characters were not completely stripped of their magic powers during this period, the de-sacralisation process, whereby their magical powers were to be dissipated, was launched. The second period occurs in the 1970s during the post Thaw years. The critical discourse this time was one of weak Russian men and this brought yet another return to traditional values. While this regressive movement was underway, fairytales

flooded the screen and in so doing reinforced patriarchal views about femininity. The third and final period brings us up to modern times, in which an increasingly sexualised portrayal of women is paired with the established and unreconstructed gender hierarchy. While it might have been expected that the influx of Western cultural values would result in greater liberation for women, and respect for their autonomy with a resulting equality of rights, what actually occurred was a regressive step. Regardless of whether the political system was Soviet or Russian, the representation of women in animated fairytales positions them as subservient to men and defined by male values. While the reasons for this are different in the Soviet and Russian periods the most recent versions of the stories that have been produced in contemporary Russia tend to be more sexist rather than less sexist.

So too culturally women have become increasingly commoditised. A particularly poignant example of this is the cultural status that has been given to women who earn their living as sex workers, paid in foreign currency (*Interdevochka*, 1989). In terms of their representation in animated films, women were both hyper-sexualised and robbed of power. In the film *Pro Fedota Streltsa, Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008), women are depicted with dramatically enlarged breasts, while by contrast *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970), *Molodylnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974) and *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Fire Bird, 1984) show impossibly thin women. Alongside this, the television series *Masha's Fairytales* repeatedly teaches the importance of developing traditional 'feminine' behaviors and values. One of the episodes, a new version of the heavily adapted fairytale *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 2012), shows the price that is to be paid by women who step outside this ideologically prescribed mode of existence. Remarkably the little girl Masha alters the premise of the story, substituting

a love-interest with a dominant wife. The ending of the fairytale is changed as well: instead of a traditional fairytale wedding, the casting of a transformation spell is put on the errant wife, which turns her into a fish. She is subsequently imprisoned in an aquarium.

In summary, ranging over the Soviet and Russian periods what the research shows is how national fairytales were constructed alongside myths of national femininity and used as a means through which to disempower women, both in society and in its animated fairytales. Importantly, and perhaps somewhat dispiritingly, the sex of the directors and writers of animated Russian fairytales makes little difference to the representation of women in those films. This is an indication of just how entrenched the patriarchal values were and are and just how ridged the ideological frame remains.

Importantly, it need not have been that way as there are other seemingly largely forgotten Russian fairytale traditions. This research has uncovered a cluster of traditional Russian fairytales all of which contain what might be considered non-traditional gender narratives. The fairytales include: *Elena Premudraya* (Elena-the-Wise, ATU - 329), *Tsar-Devitsa* (Tsar-Maiden, ATU 400 B) and *Dve Sestri I Veter* (Two Sisters and the Wind, ATU 481A). The women in these stories are strong and assertive rulers of countries; they are warriors and emerge from battles victorious. In every sense they are the equal partners of their husbands. However, it is telling that none of these fairytales have been turned into animated films. Instead Soviet and Russian animation made numerous versions of those fairytales that had conservative narratives. In so doing they made films that often devalued female characters such as Baba Yaga, or stripped them of their magical and powerful qualities. Today, Baba Yaga is frequently represented as a figure of fun, someone to be ridiculed, denatured and desacralised as a figure as in *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970), Dva

Bogatyrya (Two Strong Knights, 1989) and *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011). Another good example of the way women have power taken away from them during the process of adaptation can be found in the film (Brave Fine Man, 1976) in which, despite her name, Elena-the-Wise does not keep the book of total knowledge as she does in the original fairytale. Instead her father, a character that is not present in the original fairytale, owns this key to knowledge. Elena is disempowered from being a wise-woman, who is the owner of a powerful book of wisdom, through her repositioning as the love-interest of the male hero. The significant absence of an important part of the Russian fairytale tradition which contains active and strong female characters from the corpus of animated fairytales reveals how certain ways of representing women were privileged over others, not only in terms of their portrayal but also with regard to their narrative agency and potency. Notwithstanding, there are some exceptions to this disempowerment of women. The most notable of these is the fascinatingly contradictory and problematic figure of Baba Yaga. She is depicted as barely female at all, shapeless and with bodily features that are at best plain and at worst close to hideous. Yet she remains a mistress of nature and a purveyor of secret knowledge and is a remnant of what was once a powerful fairytale figure. It is also the case that other characters still keep their magic qualities as in *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954; 1971) and *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vasilisa-the-Beautiful, 1977) who has the ability to weave carpets from the stars and can converse with animals. However, what is significant here is that the magical abilities of these characters are legitimised through the exercising of a paradigm that equates women with nature. In Western thinking treating woman and nature as almost synonyms can be something of a male orientated fantasy. While on occasions the same is true in these fairytale films as well, it is also the case that in

Russian culture male characters, like their female counterparts, can also be defined by reference to nature, as exemplified in numerous fairytales, such as *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess), *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders) and others. Male heroes too are rewarded for their gentle interaction with nature.

In order to discern the subtle yet significant shifts in the representation of gender in these films and its ideological inscription, the research undertook a number of detailed textual analyses of the films that had been most frequently adapted for the screen. By comparing each version in detail it was possible to identify a number of important changes in the way women were portrayed. The approach was somewhat like the process of traditional hand-drawn animation itself in which one cell is layered on top of the previous one – the results are tiny movements, a minuscule change that as cell follows cell results in the fluid movement of objects and characters. The comparison of the differing filmed versions of the same set of fairytales makes it possible to reveal the ideological fault-lines in the representation of gender that are inscribed into these films. The resulting analysis has shown how women are marginalised in terms of screen-time, the amount of screen space they occupy, and their agency within the narrative of the film. Further, women, who have thin and slender bodies often with platted long hair that is frequently blonde, are used for the depiction of Princesses, whose narrative role is to get married. Supporting female characters are depicted as either plain in appearance or overly rotund. Alongside the character type of the Princess-Bride are the younger Brides-to-be. In the narratives that feature such characters the young women are rewarded for performing domestic tasks, being kind to animals, and generally for embodying traditional feminine characteristics. All of which are deemed to be a good preparation for married life.

While these fine grained textual readings of the different versions of the same fairytale make it possible to distinguish subtle shifts and the ebbs and flows in the representation of women in Russian animated fairytales, the underlying picture remains rather static. And while it is possible to discern something of the mythological remnants of ancient Russian matriarchal culture, these traces are overwhelmed and neutralised by the patriarchal frame of their representation. For example, the ability to cast spells, to manipulate the physical world, to talk to animals and to weave out of the fabric of nature material goods, as in fashioning textiles out of spider's webs, are legitimised as ultimately they make women more 'feminine'.

One of the most troubling insights to emerge challenges the traditional view in Western scholarship that Soviet animation was free of violence and in particular that it was free of violence towards women. However, even in the restricted sample of animated Russian fairytales included in this thesis, clear evidence of domestic violence has been found in two films *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971) and *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008). Both films are based on the fairytale The Frog Princess (ATU 402), and both are created in collaboration with female filmmakers or screenwriters. Further, in terms of the narrative of these films, such violence is treated as unproblematic; indeed the retaliation against a wife through a violent outburst is portrayed as nothing out of the ordinary. The identification of what amounts to the normalisation of domestic violence in these two examples is significant and shows that the supposedly peaceful discourse of Soviet animated films is not as harmonious as is generally thought.

Perhaps it is not surprising that this research has raised more questions than it has answered. It is also the case that the methodology has inevitably occluded certain insights and approaches which might well prove profitable avenues for future

research. Chief amongst these is the psychological aspect of the fairytales and their adapted versions. Here in particular it might well be that viewing this body of films through a Jungian lens could reveal other psychological mechanisms which are at work that would not otherwise be visible. Of course, there are issues with the Jungian approach to gender and sexuality. Having said that, some of the Post-Jungian iterations of that work have striven to develop a more inclusive model of human sexuality. When this is coupled with the emphasis in Jungian thinking around myths, as a means to amplify underlying psychological structures, it suggests that this way of thinking about myths might well provide fertile ground for further research. Not the least of these could be the role and function of animals (*skazki o zhivotnikh*), both their role and ideological and psychological function they play as magical animals in fairytales. In Jung's writing mythological animals have a distinctive role often as theriomorphic symbols and this might well prove helpful in decoding some of the lost matriarchal material from earlier versions of the fairytales.

Another logical extension of this work would be to examine gender and representation in authored fairytales and their adaptations, as the current work has only concerned national narratives that do not have an identifiable author and which belong to the oral tradition of storytelling. Closely related to this are the representations of gender in animation containing traditional fairytale characters but which are not based on bona fide fairytales. A good example of this is *Baba Yaga Protiv!* (Baba Yaga is Against!, 1980). This is a mini-series of animated films in which Baba Yaga wants to be the symbol of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. She employs other evil characters from Russian national fairytales like Koschey and the Snake-Gorynych to prevent the famous Olympic bear Misha from going to the Games. Another recent attempt to reflect on the tradition of female magic powers is

Tri Bogatyria na Dalnikh Beregakh (Three Strong Knights on Faraway Shores, 2012) in which Baba Yaga is represented as a power-obsessed and somewhat mean figure.

It is hoped that as this research investigates the correlation between ancient fairytales and their modern animated adaptations, its findings have the potential to be relevant to a range of academic fields and will further impel research into animation, fairytale films, gender and non-Western cultural studies. It is important to underline that the widespread narratives of national fairytales observed in different cultures is one of the uniting factors which allows for such an application outside the more tightly confined notion of national cinema. This factor, combined with a unifying cinematic language of adaptations and the Americanisation observed in countries all around the world and patriarchal gender politics on screen, might make this particular research a trans-boarder study, enabling the findings to be applicable to different contexts and cultures.

To conclude, the intention is that this research will contribute to a fuller understanding of how society both in Russia and more generally constructs gender and identity through its animated fairytale films. While not quite a fairytale ending the thesis will nonetheless conclude with three wishes: the first is for a society that gives women greater agency socially and also in its cultural products; the second is that the appearance of women particularly in animated fairytales will not be prescribed in terms of patriarchal preferences and desires; the third is that the animated fairytale will rediscover its heritage of powerful women, with agency and drive that are in every sense fully equal to their male counterparts.

Appendix I

Animated adaptations of national fairytales produced during the studied period 1922 - 2014

A) Animated films based on magic fairytales, remade several times over the studied period.

*A1) Films based on the fairytale *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders)**

*A2) Films based on the fairytale *Gusi-Lebedi (Geese – Swans)**

*A3) Films based on the fairytale *Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess)**

*A4) Films based on the fairytale *Snegurochka (The Snow Girl)**

*A5) Films based on the fairytale *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda (Go I Don't Know Where)**

*A6) Films based on the fairytale *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka (Little Khavroshechka)**

*A7) Films based on the fairytale *Morozko (Frost)**

*A8) Films based on the fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf)**

*A9) Films based on the fairytale *Zhikharka (Zhikharka)**

B) Fairytales which have been adapted to the screen only once

C) Films containing fairytale characters and which are based on some motifs and elements that have been derived from several national fairytales.

A) Animated films based on magic fairytales, remade several times over the studied period 1922 - 2014

A1) Films based on the fairytale *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders)*

These films are based on the fairytale classified by ATU 650-699 Supernatural Power or Knowledge, type 675:

1. *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938)

Souzmultfilm

Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev

Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii

2. *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov

Screenwriter: N. Erdman

3. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970) (also mixed with a fairytale type 500-559 Supernatural Helpers, 559 - Tsarevna-Nesmeyana).

Studio - Ecran (Screen)

Director: V. Pekar

Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya

4. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Sverdlovsk Film Studio

Director: V. Fomin

Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky

5. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

A2) Films based on the fairytale *Gusi-Lebedi* (*Geese – Swans*)

These films are based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 500-559 Supernatural Helpers:

1. ***Gusi-Lebedi*** (*Geese – Swans*, 1949)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya

Screenwriter: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya

2. ***Gusi-Lebedi Machini Skazki- Mashini Skazki*** (*Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Geese Swans*, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

A3) Films based on the fairytale *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (*The Frog Princess*)

These films are based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 400-459 Supernatural or Enchanted Wife (Husband) or Other Relative, 400-424 Enchanted Wife, 402:

1. ***Tsarevna Lyagushka*** (*The Frog Princess*, 1954)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: M. Tsechanovsky

Screenwriter: M. Volpin

2. ***Tsarevna Lyagushka*** (*The Frog Princess*, 1971) (based on the fairytale adapted by Nina Gernet's Puppet Play)

Ecran

Director: Yu. Yelisseyev

Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev

3. ***Vasilisa Prekrasnaya*** (*Vassilissa-the-Beautiful*, 1977)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Pekar

Screenwriter: V. Merezhko

4. ***Prekrasnaya Lyagushka*** (*Beautiful Frog*, 2008)

Souzmultfilm

Director: E. Avakiyan

Screenwriter: A. Ussachev

5. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

A4) Films based on the fairytale *Snegurochka* (The Snow Girl)

These films are based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 700-749 Other Tales of the Supernatural, 703 Snow Maiden:

1. *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About the Snow Girl, 1957)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Danilevich, V. Degtyarev
Screenwriter: N. Abramov

2. *Snegurka* (The Snow Girl, 1969)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Degtyarev
Screenwriter: N. Erdman

3. *Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Snow Girl, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: N. Imanova

A5) Films based on the fairytale *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go I Don't Know Where)

These films are based on a fairytale classified by ATU as 460-499 Supernatural Tasks, type 465A:

1. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich
Screenwriter: N. Erdman

2. ***Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki*** (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

A6) Films based on the fairytale *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka)

These films are based on a fairytale classified by ATU as 500-559 Supernatural Helpers, type 511:

1. ***Burenushka*** (Little Cow, 1974)
Sverdlovsk Film Studio
Director: V. Fomin
Screenwriter: L. Tilman

2. ***Kroshechka-Khavroshechka*** (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)
Animos Studio
Directed: E. Mikhailova
Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov

3. ***Kroshechka-Khavroshechka*** (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)
Pilot, Film from series *Mountain of Gems*
Director: I. Korzhneva
Screenplay: I. Korzhneva

4. ***Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki*** (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

A7) Films based on the fairytale *Morozko* (Frost)

These films are based on two types of fairytales classified by ATU as 400-459 Supernatural or Enchanted Wife (Husband) or Other Relative, type 403A and also type 460-499 Supernatural Tasks, 480 (A,B, C, D) - Step-mother and step-daughter:

1. ***Moroz Ivanovich*** (Frost Ivanovich, 1981)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: H. Sapgir

2. ***Morozko - Mashini Skazki*** (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: N. Imanova

A8) Films based on the fairytale *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf)

These films are based on the fairytales classified by ATU as 500-559 Supernatural Helpers, type 551, but also could belong to category 460-499 Supernatural Tasks:

1. ***Molodilnii Yabloki*** (Youth Apples, 1974)
Souzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: A. Sazhin

2. ***Zhar-Ptitsa*** (The Firebird, 1984)
Ecran
Director: V. Samsonov
Screenwriter: A. Khrzhanovsky

3. ***Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk*** (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991)
Christmas Films
Director: G. Barinova
Screenwriter: V. Golovanov

4. ***Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk*** (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011)
Melnitsa
Director: V. Toropchin
Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky

5. ***Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy*** (How to Catch a Feather of the Firebird, 2013)
Wizart Animation
Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis
Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi

A9) Films based on the fairytale Zhikharka (Zhikharka)

These films are based on a fairytale classified by ATU under a group 300-399
Supernatural Adversaries 327C:

1. **Zhikharka** (Zhikharka, 1977)

Souzmultfilm

Director: N. Golovanova

Screenwriter: V. Golovanov

30. **Zhikharka** (Zhikharka, 2006)

Pilot, film from series *Mountain of Gems*

Director: O. Uzhinov

Screenwriter: O. Uzhinov, E. Uzhinova

B) Fairytales which have been adapted to the screen only once:

1. ***Ivashko i Baba Yaga*** (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg

Screenwriter: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg

This film is based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 300-399 Supernatural Adversaries, 327 A

2. ***Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik*** (A Miraculous Bell, 1949)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

Screenwriter: Z. Filimonova, M. Yezinkyan

This film is based on a fairytale classified by ATU as 460-499 Supernatural Tasks, 480 A, B, C.

3. ***Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka*** (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: O. Khodotaeva

Screenwriter V. Danilov

This film is based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 400-459 Supernatural or Enchanted Wife (Husband) or Other Relative, 450 - 459 Brother or Sister, type 450.

4. ***Volshebnaya Ptitsa*** (Magic Bird, 1953)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Gromov

Screenwriter: N. Rozhkov

This film is based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 500-559 Supernatural Helpers, type 575

5. ***Letuchii Korabl*** (Flying Ship, 1979)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: G. Bardin

Screenwriter: A. Simukov

This film is based on the fairytale classified by ATU as 500-559 Supernatural Helpers, type 513 B.

6. *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1977)

Souzmultfilm

Director: R. Davidov,

Screenwriter: V. Danilov

This film is based on the fairytale classified by ATU300-399 Supernatural Adversaries 327 B and also 700-749 Other Tales of the Supernatural, 700 Tom Thumb.

C) Films containing fairytale characters and which are based on some motifs and elements that have been derived from several national fairytales.

These films do not have a clear fairytale they follow; they do not belong to a certain category classified by Aarne-Thompson-Uther:

1. *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about the Soldier, 1948)

Souzmultfilm

Director: sisters Brumbeg

Screenwriter: sisters Brumberg, Kalik

2. *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Degtyarev

Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev

3. *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: I. Aksenchuk

Screenwriter: B. Larin

4. *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976)

Souzmultfilm

Director: Roman Davydov,

Screenwriter: Vladimir Danilov

5. *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing Tsar's Daughter, 1989)

Ecran

Director: L. Surikova

Screenwriter: I. Kmit

6. *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989)

Souzmultfilm

Director: A. Davidov

Screenwriter: Z.Nurambetova, T. Chuganova

Appendix II

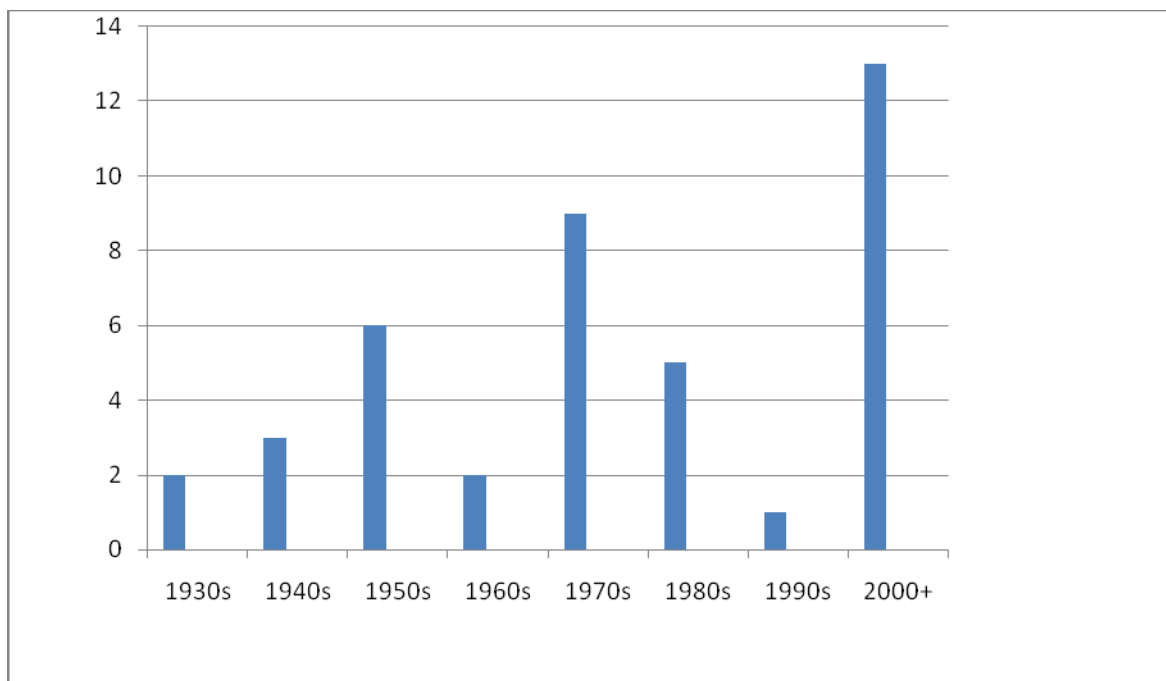
Most frequently adapted fairytales

<p>1. <i>Skazka pro Yemelyu</i> (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938) Souzmultfilm Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii</p>	<p>1. <i>Molodilnii Yablaki</i> (Youth Apples, 1974) Souzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenchuk Screenwriter: A. Sazhin</p>	<p>1. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1954) Soyuzmultfilm Director: M. Tsechanovsky Screenwriter: M. Volpin</p>
<p>2. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i> (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>	<p>2. <i>Zhar-Ptitsa</i> (The Firebird, 1984) Ecran Director: V. Samsonov Screenwriter: A. Khrzhanovsky</p>	<p>2. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1971) (based on the fairytale adapted by Nina Gernet'sto Puppet Play) (puppet animation) Ecran Director: Yu. Yelisseyev Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev</p>
<p>3. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1970) Studio - Ecran (Screen) Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya</p>	<p>3. <i>Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk</i> (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991) Christmas Films Director: G. Barinova Screenwriter: V. Golovanov</p>	<p>3. <i>Vasilisa Prekrasnaya</i> (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: V. Merezhko</p>
<p>4. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1984) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky</p>	<p>4. <i>Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk</i> (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011) Melnitsa Director: V. Toropchin Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky</p>	<p>4. <i>Prekrasnaya Lyagushka</i> (Beautiful Frog, 2008) Souzmultfilm Director: E. Avakiyan Screenwriter: A. Ussachev</p>

<p>5. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>5. <i>Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy</i> (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013) Wizart Animation Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi</p>	<p>5. <i>Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
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Appendix III

The number of animated films adapted from national magic fairytales by each decade from 1930 to 2000+



Note. As the research was undertaken during a decade which is not over yet, the time after 2000 is united in one section; it is also influenced by a political situation in the country, as starting year 2000 Russian cultural politics is influenced by the country's one leader - Vladimir Putin.

Appendix IV

Comparison of adaptations in respect to gender representation

Table 1: Fairytales categorised based on the gender of the protagonist

Male Protagonist	Female Protagonist	Both male and female lead characters
<p>1. <i>Skazka pro Yemelyu</i> (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938) Soyuzmultfilm Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii</p>	<p>1. <i>Gusi-Lebedi</i> (Geese – Swans, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya Screenwriter: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya</p>	<p>1. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1954) Soyuzmultfilm Director: M. Tsechanovsky Screenwriter: M. Volpin</p>
<p>2. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i> (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>	<p>2. <i>Gusi-Lebedi Machini Skazki - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha’s Fairy Tales, Geese-Swans, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>2. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1971) Ecran Director: Yu. Yelisseyev Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev</p>
<p>3. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1970) Studio - Ecran Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya</p>	<p>3. <i>Burenushka</i> (Little Cow, 1974) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: L. Tilman</p>	<p>3. <i>Vasilisa Prekrasnaya</i> (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: V. Merezhko</p>

<p>4. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1984) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky</p>	<p>4. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2006) Animos Studio Directed: E. Mikhailova Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov</p>	<p>4. <i>Prekrasnaya Lyagushka</i> (Beautiful Frog, 2008) Souzmultfilm Director: E. Avakiyan Screenwriter: A. Ussachev</p>
<p>5. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>5. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2007) Pilot, Film from series «Mountain of Gems» Director: I. Korzhneva Screenpaly: I. Korzhneva</p>	<p>5. <i>Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
<p>6. <i>Zhar-Ptitsa</i> (The Firebird, 1984) Ecran Director: V. Samsonov Screenwriter: A.Khrzhanovsky</p>	<p>6. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>6. <i>Ivashko i Baba Yaga</i> (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938) Souzmultfilm Director: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg Screenwriter: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg</p>
<p>7. <i>Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk</i> (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991) Christmas Films Director: G. Barinova Screenwriter: V. Golovanov</p>	<p>7. <i>Moroz Ivanovich</i> (Frost Ivanovich, 1981) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenchuk Screenwriter: H. Sapgir</p>	<p>7. <i>Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka</i> (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) Soyuzmultfilm Director: O. Khodotaeva Screenwriter V. Danilov</p>

<p>8. <i>Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk</i> (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011) Melnitsa Director: V. Toropchin Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky</p>	<p>8. <i>Morozko - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: N. Imanova</p>	<p>8. <i>Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal</i> (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Resqueing Tsar's Daughter, 1989) Ecran Director: L. Surikova Screenwriter: I. Kmit</p>
<p>9. <i>Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy</i> (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013) Wizart Animation Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi</p>	<p>9. <i>Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik</i> (A Miraculous Bell, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg Screenwriter: Z. Filimonova, M. Yerzinkyanyan</p>	
<p>10. <i>Molodilnii Yabloki</i> (Youth Apples, 1974) Souzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenchuk Screenwriter: A. Sazhin</p>	<p>10. <i>Skazka o Snegurochke</i> (Fairy Tale About Snow Girl, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Danilevich, V. Degtyarev Screenwriter: N. Abramov</p>	
<p>11. <i>Zhikharka</i> (Zhikharka, 1977) Souzmultfilm Director: N. Golovanova Screenwriter: V. Golovanov</p>	<p>11. <i>Snegurka</i> (The Snow Girl, 1969) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Degtyarev Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>	
<p>12. <i>Skazka o Soldate</i> (Fairy Tale about Soldier, 1948) Souzmultfilm Director: sisters Brumberg Screenwriter: sisters Brumberg, Kalik</p>	<p>12. <i>Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, the Snow Girl, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov</p>	

<p>13. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i>(Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>	<p>13. <i>Zhikharka</i> (2006) - (Zhikharka) - female Pilot, film from series Mountain of Gems Director: O. Uzhinov Screenwriter: O. Uzhinov, E. Uzhinova</p>	
<p>14. <i>Volshebnaya Ptitsa</i> (Magic Bird, 1953) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Gromov Screenwriter: N. Rozhkov</p>		
<p>15. <i>Letuchii Korabl</i> (Flying Ship, 1979) Soyuzmultfilm Director: G. Bardin Screenwriter: A. Simukov</p>		
<p>16. <i>Malchik s Palchik</i> (Tom Thumb, 1977) Souzmultfilm Director: A. Trusov, R.Davydov Screenwriter: V. Danylov</p>		
<p>17. <i>Krasa Nenaglydnaya</i>(Beloved Beauty, 1958) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Degtyarev Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev</p>		

<p>18. <i>Skazka Skazivaetsa</i> (The Tale is Told, 1970) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenchuk Screenwriter: B. Larin</p>		
<p>19. <i>Dva Bogatyrya</i> (Two Strong Knights, 1989) Souzmultfilm Director: A. Davidov Screenwriter: Z.Nurambetova, T. Chuganova</p>		
<p>20. <i>Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda</i>(Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>		
<p>21. <i>Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>		

<p>22. <i>Khrabrets-Udalets</i> (Brave Fine Man, 1976) Souzmultfilm Director: Roman Davydov, Screenwriter: Vladimir Danilov</p>		
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Table 2: Female Heroines that Require Rescuing by Male Characters

<p>1. <i>Skazka pro Yemelyu</i> (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938) Souzmultfilm Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii</p> <p>2. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i> (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p> <p>3. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1970) Studio - Ecran (Screen) Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya</p> <p>4. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1984) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky</p>
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5. *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984)
Ecran
Director: V. Samsonov
Screenwriter: A.Khrzhanovsky
6. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991)
Christmas Films
Director: G. Barinova
Screenwriter: V. Golovanov
7. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011)
Melnitsa
Director: V. Toropchin
Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky
8. *Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy* (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013)
Wizart Animation
Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis
Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi
9. *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov
Screenwriter: N. Erdman
10. *Molodilnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974)
Souzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: A. Sazhin
11. *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: G. Bardin
Screenwriter: A. Simukov
12. *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (Beloved Beauty, 1958)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Degtyarev
Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev
13. *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: B. Larin
14. *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989)
Souzmultfilm
Director: A. Davidov; Screenwriter: Z.Nurambetova, T. Chuganova

15. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: M. Tsechanovsky
Screenwriter: M. Volpin
16. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971)
Ecran
Director: Yu. Yelisseyev
Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev
17. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Pekar
Screenwriter: V. Merezhko
18. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)
Souzmultfilm
Director: E. Avakiyan
Screenwriter: A. Ussachev
19. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov
20. *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974)
Sverdlovsk Film Studio
Director: V. Fomin
Screenwriter: L. Tilman
21. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)
Animos Studio
Director: E. Mikhailova
Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov
22. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)
Pilot, Film from series *Mountain of Gems*
Director: I. Korzhneva
Screenpaly: I. Korzhneva
23. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov
24. *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 2006)
Pilot, film from series *Mountain of Gems*
Director: O. Uzhinov; Screenwriter: O. Uzhinov, E. Uzhinova

25. *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (1953) (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: O. Khodotaeva

Screenwriter V. Danilov

26. *Skazka o Soldate* (1948) (Fairy Tale about Soldier)

Souzmultfilm

Director: the Brumbegs

Screenwriter: the Brumbergs, Kalik

27. *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (1989) (How Ivan Fine Young Man Was Resqueing Tsar's Daughter)

Ecran

Director: L. Surikova

Screenwriter: I. Kmit

Table 3: Female heroines involved in House-keeping Activities and Other Traditionally Considered Female Activities

1. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: M. Tsechanovsky

Screenwriter: M. Volpin

2. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Ecran

Director: Yu. Yelisseyev

Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev

3. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Pekar

Screenwriter: V. Merezhko

4. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)

Souzmultfilm

Director: E. Avakiyan

Screenwriter: A. Ussachev

5. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

6. *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974)

Sverdlovsk Film Studio

Director: V. Fomin

Screenwriter: L. Tilman

7. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)

Animos Studio

Directed: E. Mikhailova

Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov

8. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)

Pilot, Film from series *Mountain of Gems*

Director: I. Korzhneva

Screenwriter: I. Korzhneva

9. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki*

(Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

10. *Moroz Ivanovich* (Frost Ivanovich, 1981)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: I. Aksenchuk

Screenwriter: H. Sapgir

11. *Morozko - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: N. Imanova

12. *Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik* (A Miraculous Bell, 1949)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

Screenwriter: Z. Filimonova, M. Yezinkyan

13. *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About the Snow Girl, 1957)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Danilevich, V. Degtyarev; Screenwriter: N. Abramov

14. *Snegurka* (The Snow Girl, 1969)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Degtyarev, Screenwriter: N. Erdman

15. *Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki*
(Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Snow Girl, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: N. Imanova
16. *Volshebnaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Gromov
Screenwriter: N. Rozhkov
17. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich
Screenwriter: N. Erdman
18. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov
19. *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938)
Souzmultfilm
Director: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg
Screenwriter: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg
20. *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: O. Khodotaeva
Screenwriter V. Danilov
21. *Krasa Nenaglyadnaya* (Beloved Beauty, 1958)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Degtyarev
Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev
22. *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Resqueing Tsar's Daughter, 1989)
Ecran
Director: L. Surikova
Screenwriter: I. Kmit

Table 4: Marriage-Driven Films, which Focus on the Male Protagonist, and in which the Female Character's Primary Role is as a Love Interest and an Object of Exchange

<p>1. <i>Skazka pro Yemelyu</i> (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938) Souzmultfilm Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii</p>
<p>2. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i> (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>
<p>3. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1970) Studio - Ecran (Screen) Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya</p>
<p>4. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1984) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky</p>
<p>5. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
<p>6. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1954) Soyuzmultfilm Director: M. Tsechanovsky Screenwriter: M. Volpin</p>
<p>7. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1971) (based on the fairytale adapted by Nina Gernet's to Puppet Play) Ecran Director: Yu. Yelisseyev Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev</p>
<p>8. <i>Khrabrets-Udalets</i> (Brave Fine Man, 1976) Souzmultfilm Director: Roman Davydov, Screenwriter: Vladimir Danilov</p>

9. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Pekar
Screenwriter: V. Merezhko
10. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)
Souzmultfilm
Director: E. Avakiyan
Screenwriter: A. Ussachev
11. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov
12. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich
Screenwriter: N. Erdman
13. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov
14. *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974)
Sverdlovsk Film Studio
Director: V. Fomin
Screenwriter: L. Tilman
15. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)
Animos Studio
Directed: E. Mikhailova
Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov
16. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)
Pilot, Film from series *Mountain of Gems*
Director: I. Korzhneva
Screenplay: I. Korzhneva
17. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

18. *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984)
 Ecran
 Director: V. Samsonov
 Screenwriter: A. Khrzhanovsky
19. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991)
 Christmas Films
 Director: G. Barinova
 Screenwriter: V. Golovanov
20. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011)
 Melnitsa
 Director: V. Toropchin
 Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky
21. *Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy* (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013)
 Wizard Animation
 Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis
 Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi
22. *Molodilnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974)
 Souzmultfilm
 Director: I. Aksenchuk
 Screenwriter: A. Sazhin
23. *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953)
 Soyuzmultfilm
 Director: O. Khodotaeva
 Screenwriter V. Danilov
24. *Volshebnyaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953)
 Soyuzmultfilm
 Director: V. Gromov
 Screenwriter: N. Rozhkov
25. *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979)
 Soyuzmultfilm
 Director: G. Bardin
 Screenwriter: A. Simukov
26. *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (Beloved Beauty, 1958)
 Soyuzmultfilm
 Director: V. Degtyarev
 Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev
27. *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970)
 Soyuzmultfilm
 Director: I. Aksenchuk
 Screenwriter: B. Larin

28. *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing Tsar's Daughter, 1989)

Ecran

Director: L. Surikova

Screenwriter: I. Kmit

29. *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989)

Souzmultfilm

Director: A. Davidov

Screenwriter: Z.Nurambetova, T. Chuganova

Table 5: Objectification and activity/passivity of female characters

Passive, submissive, victimised, exchanged and objectified female heroines	Independent female agents of action as protagonist
<p>1. <i>Skazka pro Yemelyu</i> (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938) Soyuzmultfilm Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii</p>	<p>1. <i>Gusi-Lebedi</i> (Geese – Swans, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya Screenwriter: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya</p>
<p>2. <i>V Nekotorom Tsarstve</i> (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p>	<p>2. <i>Gusi-Lebedi Machini Skazki - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Geese-Swans, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
<p>3. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1970) Studio - Ecran (Screen) Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya</p>	<p>3. <i>Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal</i> (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing Tsar's Daughter, 1989) Ecran Director: L. Surikova Screenwriter: I. Kmit</p>

4. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1984)
Sverdlovsk Film Studio
Director: V. Fomin
Screenwriter:
A. Timofeyevsky

5. *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984)
Ecran
Director: V. Samsonov
Screenwriter: A.Khrzhanovsky

6. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and Grey Wolf, 1991)
Christmas Films
Director: G. Barinova
Screenwriter: V. Golovanov

7. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011)
Melnitsa
Director: V. Toropchin
Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky

8. *Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy* (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013)
Wizart Animation
Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis
Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi

9. *Molodilnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974)
Souzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: A. Sazhin

10. *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov
Screenwriter: N. Erdman

11. *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: G. Bardin

Screenwriter: A. Simukov

12. *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974)

Sverdlovsk Film Studio

Director: V. Fomin

Screenwriter: L. Tilman

13. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)

Animos Studio

Directed: E. Mikhailova

Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat

Vladimir Golovanov

14. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)

Pilot, Film from series *Mountain of Gems*

Director: I. Korzhneva

Screenplay: I. Korzhneva

15. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

16. *Moroz Ivanovich* (Frost Ivanovich, 1981)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: I. Aksenchuk

Screenwriter: H. Sapgir

17. *Morozko - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: N. Imanova

18. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: M. Tsechanovsky
Screenwriter: M. Volpin

19. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971)
Ecran
Director: Yu. Yelisseyev
Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev

20. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Pekar
Screenwriter: V. Merezhko

21. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)
Souzmultfilm
Director: E. Avakiyan
Screenwriter: A. Ussachev

22. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princes, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

23. *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 2006)
Pilot, film from series Mountain of Gems
Director: O. Uzhinov
Screenwriter: O. Uzhinov, E. Uzhinova

Table 6: Correlation of female character and her appearance and body representation

1. *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938)
Souzmultfilm
Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev
Screenwriter: L. Lukatzkii

2. *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov
Screenwriter: N. Erdman

3. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970)
Studio - Ecran (Screen)
Director: V. Pekar
Screenwriter: T. Tarakhovskaya

4. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1984)
Sverdlovsk Film Studio
Director: V. Fomin
Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky

5. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

6. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: M. Tsechanovsky
Screenwriter: M. Volpin

7. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971) (based on the fairytale adapted by Nina Gernet's to Puppet Play)
Ecran
Director: Yu. Yelisseyev
Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev

8. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: V. Pekar

Screenwriter: V. Merezhko

9. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)

Souzmultfilm

Director: E. Avakiyan

Screenwriter: A. Ussachev

10. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

11. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966)

Soyuzmultfilm

Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich

Screenwriter: N. Erdman

12. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012)

Animacord Studio

Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

13. *Burenushka* (Little Khavroshechka, 1974)

Sverdlovsk Film Studio

Director: V. Fomin

Screenwriter: L. Tilman

14. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006)

Animos Studio

Directed: E. Mikhailova

Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov

15. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007)

Pilot, Film from series Mountain of Gems

Director: I. Korzhneva

Screenpaly: I. Korzhneva

16. *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

17. *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984)
Ecran
Director: V. Samsonov
Screenwriter: A. Khrzhanovsky

18. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991)
Christmas Films
Director: G. Barinova
Screenwriter: V. Golovanov

19. *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Prince Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011)
Melnitsa
Director: V. Toropchin
Screenwriter: A. Boyarsky

20. *Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy* (How to Catch a Feather of The Firebird, 2013)
Wizart Animation
Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis
Screenwriter: I. Mizrakhi

21. *Molodilnii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974)
Souzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: A. Sazhin

22. *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: O. Khodotaeva
Screenwriter V. Danilov

23. *Volshebnyaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Gromov
Screenwriter: N. Rozhkov

24. *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: G. Bardin
Screenwriter: A. Simukov
25. *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (Beloved Beauty, 1958)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Degtyarev
Screenwriter: E. Speransky, V. Degtyarev
26. *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Aksenchuk
Screenwriter: B. Larin
27. *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Resqueing Tsar's Daughter, 1989)
Ecran
Director: L. Surikova
Screenwriter: I. Kmit
28. *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989)
Souzmultfilm
Director: A. Davidov
Screenwriter: Z.Nurambetova, T. Chuganova
29. *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938)
Souzmultfilm
Director: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg
Screenwriter: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg
30. *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: O. Khodotaeva
Screenwriter V. Danilov
31. *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about Soldier, 1948)
Souzmultfilm
Director: sisters Brumbeg
Screenwriter: sisters Brumberg, Kalik

Table 7: Rewarded and punished behaviour in female characters

<p>Heroines praised and rewarded for exercising traditionally considered as female qualities and characteristics: kindness, care, compassion, tenderness, housekeeping, female crafts, etc.</p>	<p>Heroines punished for not-exercising traditionally considered as female qualities and characteristics</p>
<p>1. <i>Gusi-Lebedi</i> (Geese – Swans, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya Screenwriter: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya</p>	<p>1. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
<p>2. <i>Gusi-Lebedi Machini Skazki - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Geese-Swans, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>2. <i>Burenushka</i> (Little Cow, 1974) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: L. Tilman</p>
<p>3. <i>Burenushka</i> (Little Cow, 1974) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: L. Tilman</p>	<p>3. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2006) Animos Studio Directed: E. Mikhailova Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov</p>
<p>4. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2006) Animos Studio Directed: E. Mikhailova Screenwriter: T. Shestakova, feat Vladimir Golovanov</p>	<p>4. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2007) Pilot, Film from series <i>Mountain of Gems</i> Director: I. Korzhneva Screenpaly: I. Korzhneva</p>
<p>5. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka</i> (Little Khavroshechka, 2007) Pilot, Film from series <i>Mountain of Gems</i> Director: I. Korzhneva Screenpaly: I. Korzhneva</p>	<p>5. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>

<p>6. <i>Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>	<p>6. <i>Moroz Ivanovich</i> (Frost Ivanovich, 1981) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenjuk Screenwriter: H. Sapgir</p>
<p>7. <i>Moroz Ivanovich</i> (Frost Ivanovich, 1981) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Aksenjuk Screenwriter: H. Sapgir</p>	<p>7. <i>Morozko - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: N. Imanova</p>
<p>8. <i>Morozko - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: N. Imanova</p>	<p>8. <i>Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik</i> (A Miraculous Bell, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg Screenwriter: Z. Filimonova, M. Yertzinkyan</p>
<p>9. <i>Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik</i> (A Miraculous Bell, 1949) Soyuzmultfilm Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg Screenwriter: Z. Filimonova, M. Yertzinkyan</p>	<p>9. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1954) Soyuzmultfilm Director: M. Tsechanovskiy Screenwriter: M. Volpin</p>
<p>10. <i>Skazka o Snegurochke</i> (Fairy Tale About Snow Girl, 1957) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Danilevich, V. Degtyarev Screenwriter: N. Abramov</p>	<p>10. <i>Tsarevna Lyagushka</i> (The Frog Princess, 1971) (based on the fairytale adapted by Nina Gernet's to Puppet Play) Ecran Director: Yu. Yelisseyev Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev</p>

<p>11. <i>Snegurka</i> (The Snow Girl, 1969) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Degtyarev Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p> <p>12. <i>Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, the Snow Girl, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: N. Imanova</p> <p>13. <i>Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka</i> (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953) Soyuzmultfilm Director: O. Khodotaeva Screenwriter V. Danilov</p> <p>14. <i>Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda</i> (1966) (Go There I Don't Know Where) Soyuzmultfilm Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich Screenwriter: N. Erdman</p> <p>15. <i>Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p> <p>16. <i>Po Schyuchemu Veleniu</i> (As the Pike Orders, 1984) Sverdlovsk Film Studio Director: V. Fomin Screenwriter: A. Timofeyevsky</p>	<p>11. <i>Vasilisa Prekrasnaya</i> (Vassilissa The Beautiful, 1977) Soyuzmultfilm Director: V. Pekar Screenwriter: V. Merezhko</p> <p>12. <i>Prekrasnaya Lyagushka</i> (Beautiful Frog, 2008) Souzmultfilm Director: E. Avakiyan Screenwriter: A. Ussachev</p> <p>13. <i>Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki</i> (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012) Animacord Studio Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov</p>
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17. *Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

18. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: M. Tsechanovsky
Screenwriter: M. Volpin

19. *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971)
Ecran
Director: Yu. Yelisseyev
Screenwriter: Yu. Yelisseyev

20. *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: V. Pekar
Screenwriter: V. Merezhko

21. *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008)
Souzmultfilm
Director: E. Avakiyan
Screenwriter: A. Ussachev

22. *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 20012)
Animacord Studio
Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov
Screenwriter: D. Chervyatsov

23. *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966)
Soyuzmultfilm
Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich
Screenwriter: N. Erdman

Appendix V

Iconography of female characters

Image 1



V Nekotorom Tsarstve (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)

Image 2



V Nekotorom Tsarstve (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)

Image 3



3a



3 - *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957); 3a - *Skazka o Mertvoi Tsarevne I Semi Bogatyrakh* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951)

Image 4



V Nekotorom Tsarstve (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957)

Image 5



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1970)

Image 6



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1970)

Image 7



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1970)

Image 8



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1970)

Image 9



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1970)

Image 10



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Image 11



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Image 12



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Image 13



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Image 14



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu (As the Pike Orders, 1984)

Image 15



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)

Image 16



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)

Image 17



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)

Image 18



Po Schyuchemu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013)

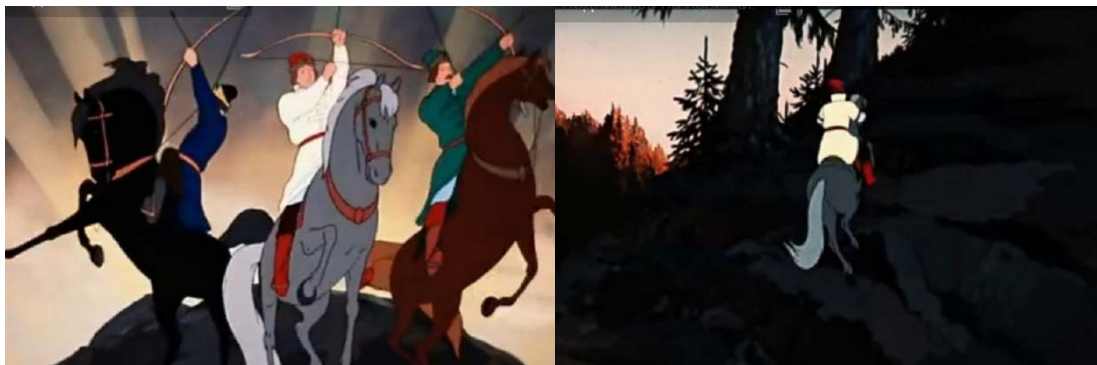
Image 19

19a



Bilibin's illustrations for Russian Fairytales

Image 20, 20a



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Images 21

21a



The evil step-mother from an adaptation of Pushkin's fairytale *Skazka o Mertvoi Tsarevne I Semi Bogatyrakh* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951)

Image 22



Young protagonist in the same fairytale *Skazka o Mertvoi Tsarevne I Semi Bogatyrah* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights, 1951)

Images 23

23a



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Images 24

24 a



Boyar's daughter (to the left), Merchant's daughter (to the right) in *Tsarevna-Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Image 25



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Image 26



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Image 27



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1954)

Image 28



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Image 29



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Image 30



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Image 31



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Image 32



Tsarevna Lyagushka (The Frog Princess, 1971)

Image 33



Vasilisa Prekrasnaya (Vasilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)

Image 34



Vasilisa Prekrasnaya (Vasilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)

Image 35



Vasilisa Prekrasnaya (Vasilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977)

Image 36



Prekrasnaya Lyagushka (Beautiful Frog, 2008)

Image 37



Prekrasnaya Lyagushka (Beautiful Frog, 2008)

Image 38



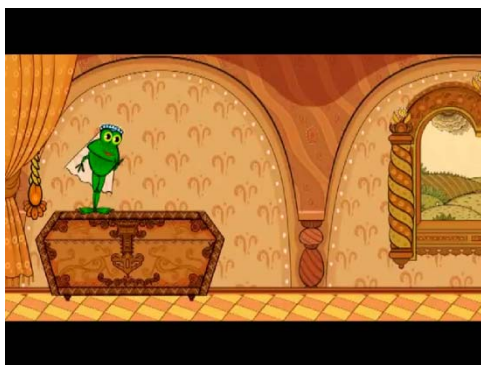
Prekrasnaya Lyagushka (Beautiful Frog, 2008)

Image 39



Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)

Image 40



Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012)

Image 41



41a



41 - *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012); 41a - *Pro Fedota Streltsa Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008).

Appendix VI

CD contents

Folder 1 - Contents:

Track 1 - Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934

Track 2 - The Firebird, 1984

Track 3 - How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing the Tsar's Daughter, 1989

Track 4 - Brave Fine Man, 1976

Track 5 - Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1934

Track 6 - Geese-Swans, 1949

Track 7 - Little Khavroschechka, 2006

Track 8 - Little Khavroschechka, 2007

Track 9 - The Snow Girl, 1957

Track 10 - Alenushka and her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953

Track 11 - The Beloved Beauty, 1958

Track 12 - The Magic Bird, 1953

Folder 2 - Contents:

As the Pike Orders:

Track 13 - Fairytale about Yemelya, 1938

Track 14 - Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957

Track 15 - As the Pike Orders, 1970

Track 16 - As the Pike Orders, 1984

Track 17 - Masha's Fairytales, As the Pike Orders, 2013

The Frog Princess:

The Frog Princess, 1954

The Frog Princess, 1971

Vasilisa-the-Beautiful, 1977

Beautiful Frog, 2008

Masha's Fairytales, the Frog Princess, 2012

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Filmography

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- *Alenushka i Bratets Ivanushka* (Alenushka and Her Little Brother Ivanushka, 1953), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: O. Khodotaeva

- *Alesha Popovich I Tugarin Zmey* (Alesha Popovich and Snake Tugarin, 2004), Milnitsa, Director: K. Bronzit

- *Baba Yaga Protiv!* (Baba Yaga is Against!, 1980), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Pekar

- *Barmalej* (Barmalej, 1941), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Polkovnikov, L. Amalrik

- *Bogataya Nevesta* (The Rich Bride, 1937), Ukrainfilm, Director: I. Pyriev

- *Bojevie Stranitsi* (Battle Pages, 1939), Souzmultfilm, Director: D. Babichenko

- *Bolshie Nepriyatnosti* (Big Troubles, 1961), Souzmultfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Burenushka* (Little Cow, 1974), Sverdlovskaya kinostudia, Director: V. Fomin

- *Cheburashka arere?* (Who is this Cheburashka?, 2009), TV Tokyo, Director: Kudo Susumo

- *Chelovek Rodilsa* (A Man is Born, 1956), Mosfilm, Director: V. Ordynsky

- *Vsem Chertiam Nazlo* (In spite of All Devils, 1981), Souzmultfilm, Director: L. Koshenikov

- *Chudesnyj Kolokol'chik* (A Miraculous Bell, 1949), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Chuzhoi Golos*, (Stranger's Voice, 1949), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano

- *Cinderella* (1950), Disney, Director: C. Geronimi, H. Luske, W. Jackson

- *Detstvo Ratibora* (Ratibor's Childhood, 1973), Souzmultfilm, Director: R. Davydov

- *Djadja Stjepa* (Uncle Stjepa, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Suteev, L. Bredis

- *Dobrynaya Nikitich I Zmei Gorynich* (Dobrynya Nikitich and Snake Gorynich, 2006), Melnitsa, Director: I. Maksimov

- *Domovenok Kuzya. Skazka dlya Natashi* (Little House Spirit Kuzia. A tale for Natasha, 1986), Ekran, Director: A. Zyablikova

- *Dva Bogatyrya* (Two Strong Knights, 1989), Souzmultfilm, Director: A. Davidov

- *Ezhik v Tumane* (Hedgehog in the Fog, 1975), Souzmultfilm, Director: Yu. Norshteyn

- *Finist Yasnii Sokol* (Finist the Fine Falcon, 1975), Kinostudia Gorkogo, Director: G. Vasiliev

- *Germanskije Dela i Delishki* (The German Business and Affairs, 1924), Goskino, Director: A. Bushkin

- *Gusi-Lebedi* (Geese – Swans, 1949), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: A. Ivanov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya

- *Gusi-Lebedi Machini Skazki- Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Geese-Swans, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Ilya Muromets* (Ilya Muromets, 1975), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Aksenchuk

- *Ilya Muromets i Solovey-Razboynik* (Ilya Muromets and Nightingale-Robber, 2007), Melnitsa, Director: V. Toropchin

- *Ilya Muromets I Solovei Razboinik* (Ilya Muromets and Nightingale the Robber, 1978), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Aksenchuk

- *Interdevochka* (International Girl, 1989), Mosfilm/ Filmstallet AB, Director: P. Todorovsky

- *Istoriya Odnogo Razocharovaniya (Boris Savinkov)* (The Story of One Disappointment (Boris Savinkov), 1924), Goskino, Director: A. Bushkin

- *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Princes Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 2011), Melnitsa, Director: V. Toropchin

- *Ivan Tsarevich i Seriy Volk* (Princes Ivan and the Grey Wolf, 1991), Christmas Films, Director: G. Barinova

- *Ivan Vasilievich Meniaet Professiui* (Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession, 1973), Mosfilm, Director: L. Gayday

- *Ivashko i Baba Yaga* (Ivashko and Baba Yaga, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Brumberg, Z. Brumberg

- *Kak Ivan Molodets Tsarsku Dochku Spasal* (How Ivan the Fine Young Man was Rescuing Tsar's Daughter, 1989), Ecran, Director: L. Surikova

- *Kak Poimat Pero Zhar-Ptitsy* (How to Catch a Feather of the Firebird, 2013), Wizart Animation, Director: V. Plotnikov, G. Gitis

- *Kanikuly v Prostokvashino* (Vacations in Prostokvashino, 1980), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Popov

- *Kar'era MacDonalda* (MacDonald's Career, 1925), Goskino, Director: A. Bushkin

- *Katok* (The Skating Ring, 1927), Mezhrabpom-Rus', Director: Yo. Zheliabuzhsky

- *Khrabrets-Udalets* (Brave Fine Man, 1976), Souzmultfilm, Director: Roman Davydov,

- *Kino-Pravda* (Film Truth, 1922 - 1925), Director: D. Vertov, E. Svilova, M. Kaufman

- *Kitaj v Ogne (Ruki Proch' ot Kitaia!)* (China on Fire (Hands off from China!), 1925), GTK, Moskva +, Director: Z. Kommisarenko, Yu. Merkulov, N. Khodataev

- *Kolobok* (Kolobok, 1956), Souzmultfilm, Director: R. Davydov

- *Komu Chto Snitsa* (Everybody has Their Own Dreams, 1924), Goskino, Director: A. Bushkin

- *Konets Chernoi Topi* (The End of the Black Swamp, 1960), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Degtyarev

- *Konyok-Gorbunok* (The Little Humpbacked Horse, 1947), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Gromov, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya

- *Kot Leopold* (Leopold the Cat, 1975-1987), Souzmultfilm, Director: Reznikov, A.

- *Koschey Bessmertniy* (Koschey-the-Deathless, 1944), Souzdetfilm, Director: A. Rou

- *Krasa Nenaglydnaya* (The Beloved Beauty, 1958), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Degtyarev

- *Krasnaya Shapochka* (Red Riding Hood, 1937), Souzmultfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Krokodil Ghena* (Ghena the Krokodile, 1969 - 1983), Souzmultfilm, Director: R. Kochanov

- *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Little Khavroshechka, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2006), Animos Studio, Directed: E. Michailova

- *Kroshechka-Khavroshechka* (Little Khavroshechka, 2007), Pilot, Director: I. Korzhneva

- *Laygushka Tsarevna - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Frog Princess, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Letuchii Korabl* (Flying Ship, 1979), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: G. Bardin

- *Letyat Zhuravli* (The Cranes are Flying, 1957), Mosfilm, Director: M. Kalatozov

- *Lgunyshka* (Little Lier, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano

- *Limpopo* (Limpopo, 1940), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Polkovnikov, L. Amalrik

- *Lisa I Medved*, (The Fox and the Bear, 1975), Souzmultfilm, Director: N. Golovanova

- *Lisa i Vinograd* (The Fox and Grape, 1936), Mosfilm, Director: V. Levandovsky

- *Lisa i Volk* (The Fox and the Wolf, 1937), Mosfilm, Director: S. Mokil

- *Little Rural Riding Hood* (1949), Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Director: T. Avery

- *Lucanus Cervus* (1910), Kinoatelia Khanzhonkova, Director: W. Starewicz

- *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: O. Khodotaeva,

- *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 1977), Souzmultfilm, Director: R. Davidov

- *Malchik s Palchik* (Tom Thumb, 2006), Pilot, Director: M. Aldashin, I. Volchek

- *Malchik s Palchik, Mashini Skazki* (Tom Thumb, Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, 2011), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Malen'kiy Muk* (Little Muck, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: O. Khodataeva

- *Malenkaya Vera* (Little Vera, 1988), Kinostudia Imeni Gorkogo, Director: V. Pichul

- *Malysh I Karlson* (Little Boy and Karlson, 1968, 1970), Souzmultfilm, Director: B. Stepantsev

- *Mat'* (Mother, 1926), Mezhrabpom-Rus', Director: V. Pudovkin

- *Mikolino Bogatstvo* (Mikolo's Treasure, 1983), Kievnauchfilm, Director: B.Khranevich

- *Moidodir* (Moidodir, 1927), Mezhrabpomfilm, Director: M. Benderskaya

- *Molodilniii Yabloki* (Youth Apples, 1974), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Aksenchuk

- *Moroz Ivanovich* (Frost Ivanovich, 1981), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: I. Aksenchuk

- *Morozko - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Frost, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Novii Gulliver* (The New Gulliver, 1935), Moskinokombinat, Director: A. Ptushko

- *Nu Pogodi!* (Just You Wait!, 1969 - 2006), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Kotenochkin

- *Ofitseri* (Officers, 1971), Kinostudia imeni Gorkogo, Director: V. Rogovoy

- *Parovoz, Leti Vpered* (Train, Go Forward, 1932), Souzokino, Director: Z. Brumberg, N. Khodataev

- *Petushok Zolotoi Grebeshok* (Cockerel-Golden Comb, 1955), Souzmultfilm, Director: P. Nosov, D. Anpilov.

- *Po Schyuchenmu Veleniu - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tale, As the Pike Orders, 2013), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Po Schyuchenmu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1970), Ecran, Director: V. Pekar,

- *Po Schyuchenmu Veleniu* (As the Pike Orders, 1984), Sverdlovsk Film Studio, Director: V. Fomin

- *Pobedniy Marshrut* (Winning Route, 1939), Souzmultfilm, Director: D. Babichenko, L. Amalrik, V. Polkovnikov

- *Pochta* (Mail, 1930), Lenigradskaya fabrika Sovkino, Director: M. Tsekhanovsky

- *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, Go I don't Know Where, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Poidi Tuda, Ne Znayu Kuda* (Go There I Don't Know Where, 1966), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, V. Danilevich

- *Pokatigoroshek* (Pokatigoroshek, 1990), Belarusfilm, Director: E. Larchenko

- *Ponizovaya Vol'nitsa (Stenka Razin)* (Ponizovaya Vol'nitsa (Stenka Razin), 1908), Atelje Drankova, Director: V. Romashkov

- *Prekrasnaya Lyagushka* (Beautiful Frog, 2008), Souzmultfilm, Director: E. Avakiyan

- *Prekrasnaya Lyukonida ili Voyna Usachei s Rogachami* (The Beautiful Lyukanida or The Battle Between Stag Beetles and Long-horn Beetles, 1912), Kinoateliye Khanzhonkova, Director: W. Starewicz

- *Pro Fedota Streltsa Udalogo Molodtsa* (About Fedot-the-Shooter, the Fine Young Man, 2008), Melnitsa, Director: L. Steblyanko.

- *Pro Zlyuyu Machekhu* (About an Angry Stepmother, 1966), Souzmultfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Puteshestvie v Stranu Velikanov* (Trip to the Land of Giants, 1947), Souzmultfilm, Director: D. Babichenko
- *Qvartet* (Quartet, 1935), Mosfilm, Director: P.Sazonov, E. Dvinsky, A. Ivanov
- *Red Hot Riding Hood* (1943), Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Director: T. Avery
- *Samoyedskii Malchik* (The Samoyed Boy, 1928), Sovkino, Director: N. Khodataev, Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg.
- *Segodnya* (Today, 1923), Goskino, Director: D. Vertov,
- *Semeinaya Khronika* (Family Chronicals, 1961), Souzmultfilm, Director: L. Amalrik
- *Sen'ka-Africanets* (Senka the African, 1927), Mezhrabpom-Rus', Director: D. Cherkes, I. Ivanov-Vano, Yu. Merkulov
- *Seraia Sheika* (The Little Grey Neck, 1948), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Polkovnikov, L. Amalrik
- *Shrek* (2001), PDI/Dreamworks Animation, Director: A. Adamson, V. Jenson
- *Skazka o Mertvoy Tsarevne I Semi Bogatiriach* (Fairytale about the Dead Princess and Seven Strong Knights Warriors, 1951), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, A. Snezhno-Blotskaya
- *Skazka o Pope I Rabotnike ego Balde* (Fairytale about the Priest and his worker Balda, 1940), Souzmultfilm, Director: P. Sazonov
- *Skazka o Ribake I Ribke* (Fairytale about the Fishman and the Fish, 1937), Mosfilm, Director: A. Ptushko
- *Skazka o Snegurochke* (Fairy Tale About the Snow Girl, 1957), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Danilevich, V. Degtyarev

- *Skazka o Soldate* (Fairy Tale about the Soldier, 1948), Souzmultfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Skazka o Tsare Durandae* (Fairytale about Tsar Durandai, 1934), Mezhrabpomfilm, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg, I. Ivanov-Vano

- *Skazka pro Yemelyu* (Fairy Tale About Yemelya, 1938), Souzmultfilm, Director: P. Sazonov, V. Bochkarev

- *Skazka Skazivaetsa* (The Tale is Told, 1970), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: I. Aksenchuk

- *Skazka Skazok* (Tale of Tales, 1979), Souzmultfilm, Director: Yu. Norshteyn

- *Sluchai v Tokyo* (A Case in Tokyo, 1924), Goskino, Director: A. Bushkin

- *Sluzhebnyi Roman* (Office Affair, 1977), Mosfilm, Director: E. Ryzanov

- *Smeshariki* (Smeshariki, 2003 - present), Computer Animation Studio, Director: D. Chernov

- *Snegurka* (The Snow Girl, 1969), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Degtyarev

- *Snegurochka - Mashini Skazki* (Animation series Masha's Fairy Tales, The Snow Girl, 2012), Animacord Studio, Director: R. Gazizov, D. Chervyatsov

- *Snegurochka* (The Snow Maiden, 1952), Souzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano

- *Snezhnaya Koroleva* (Snow Queen, 1957), Souzmultfilm, Director: L. Atamanov

- *Snow White and the Huntsman*, 2012, Roth Films/Universal Pictures, Director: Rupert Sanders.

- *Sovetskie Igrushki* (The Soviet Toys, 1924), Goskino, Director: D. Vertov

- *Starie Steni* (Old Walls, 1974), Lenfilm, Director: V. Tregubovich

- *Sterkoza i Muravei* (The Dragonfly and the Ant, 1935), Mezhrabpom, Director: Z. Brumberg, V. Brumberg

- *Strekoza I Muravei* (The Dragonfly and the Ant, 1911), Kinoateliie Khanzhonkova, Director: W. Starewicz

- *Svetlyi Put* (The Radiant Path, 1940), Mosfilm, Director: G. Aleksandrov

- *Tarakanische* (Big Cockroach, 1927), Sovkino, Director: A. Ivanov

- *Teni Ischezayut v Polden'* (Shadows Disappear at Noon, 1971), Mosfilms/Telefilm, Director: V. Uskov, V. Krasnopolsky

- *Teremok* (*Little Tower*, 1945), Souzmultfilm, Director: P. Nosov, O. Khodataeva

- *Traktoristi* (Tractor Drivers, 1939), Mosfilm, Director: I. Pyriev

- *Tri Bogatyria i Shamanskaia Tsaritsa* (Three Strong Knights and the Shamanic Tsarina, 2010), Melnitsa, Director: S. Glezin

- *Tri Bogatyria na Dalnikh Beregakh* (Three Strong Knights on Distant Shores, 2012), Melnitsa, Director: K. Feoktistov

- *Troe is Prostokvashino* (Three from Prostokvashino, 1978), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Popov

- *Tsarevna Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1971), Ecran, Director: Yu. Yelisseyev

- *Tsarevna-Lyagushka* (The Frog Princess, 1954), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: M. Tsechanovsky

- *Tsvetik-Semitsvetik* (Flower of Seven Colours, 1948), Souzmultfilm, Director: M. Tsekhanovsky

- *Tsyрк*, (Circus, 1934), Mosfilm, Director: G. Aleksandrov

- *V Nekotorom Tsarstve* (Once Upon a Time in a Kingdom, 1957), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: I. Ivanov-Vano, M. Botov

- *Vasilisa Mikulishna* (Vasilisa Mikulishna, 1975), Souzmultfilm, Director: R. Davydov

- *Vasilisa Prekrasnaya* (Vassilissa-the-Beautiful, 1977), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Pekar

- *Vershki I Koreshki* (Tops and Bottoms, 1974), Souzmultfilm, Director: L. Nosyrev

- *Vini Pookh* (Winnie-the-Pooh series 1969, 1971, 1972), Souzmultfilm, Director: F. Khitruk

- *Volshebnaya Ptitsa* (Magic Bird, 1953), Soyuzmultfilm, Director: V. Gromov

- *Vovka v Trediaviatom Tsarstve* (Vovka in a Faraway Kingdom, 1965), Souzmultfilm, Director: B. Stepantsev

- *Yumoreski* (Humoresques, 1924), Goskino, Director: D. Vertov

- *Zemlya* (Earth, 1930), VUFKU, Director: A. Dovzhenko.

- *Zhar-Ptitsa* (The Firebird, 1984), Ecran, Director: V. Samsonov
- *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 1977), Souzmultfilm, Director: N. Golovanova

- *Zhikharka* (Zhikharka, 2006), Pilot, Director: O. Uzhinov

- *Zima v Prostokvashino* (Winter in Prostokvashino, 1984), Souzmultfilm, Director: V. Popov

- *Zolotoy Kljuchik* (The Golden Key, 1939), Mosfilm, Director: A. Ptushko

- *Zolushka* (Cinderella, 1947), Lenfilm, Director: N. Kosheverova, M. Shapiro, E. Mikhailova