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Carving the Perfect Citizen: The Adventures of Soviet Pinocchio in Text and on Screen

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Carving the Perfect Citizen:

The Adventures of Italian Pinocchio in the Soviet Union and the United States

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Approaches to what exactly a fairy tale should accomplish and how it accomplishes it are varied. Nevertheless, however diverse the conclusions of different fairy-tale genre studies may be, they all come to a similar result: a fairy tale is a representation of cultural perspective and understanding that acts as an important socialization tool, whether it teaches its audience how to understand and mitigate basic fears and human functions or reinforces an existing moral and social structure. Maria Tatar, a contemporary folktale and fairy tale scholar, writes that the "staying power" of fairy tales "suggests that they must be addressing issues that have a significant social function" (xi). Tatar also goes on to write that "fairy tales…develop maps for coping with personal anxieties, family conflicts, social frictions, and the myriad frustrations of everyday life" (xi). In other words, fairy tales at once confront prominent sociocultural issues while simultaneously performing a didactic function for how to contend with the reality of these issues.

The structure of fairy tales, their character-types, and motifs are universally and almost instantly recognizable. Formalism, one of the prominent school of fairy tale genre theories of the 20th-century upon which other contemporary fairy-tale theory builds, attempts to trace specific characteristics that can be found in all fairy tales and identify story patterns that are often repeated and adapted. However, formalism does not explain how fairy tales maintain their "staying power." Vladimir Propp, an important Soviet formalist scholar, writes that formalism "can only *discover* the phenomenon and the law of folklore poetics, but it is unable to *explain* them" ("Folklore" 378-9) (original emphasis). Therefore, formalism acknowledges the fairy-tale genre's ability to adapt to different cultures, time periods, and ideology, but it does not attempt to explain it.

The re-use and re-adaptation of the same fairy tale structure and character-types have appealed to a particular type of cultural memory in which the fairy tale continues to thrive as a *meme*, as Jack Zipes, one of the most prominent contemporary fairy tale scholar, writes:

> When we hear or read the phrase 'once upon a time,' we immediately and naturally think that we are about to hear a fairy tale. We are disposed to listening and reading in a particular way and register metaphors in our brain so that they make sense and so we can replicate them in our own way and in our own time. (*Why* xi)

Therefore, the benefits of adapting and reworking fairy tales, especially well-known fairy tales, creates an instantaneous connection between an author and his or her audience, bypassing the need to familiarize the audience with the structure of the tale and allowing for a reiteration or transformation of the tale's message. With such a protean ability, the fairy tale genre and its didactic tradition is particularly suited for the adaptation of ideological messages. My analysis of fairy tales' function will attest to the genre's extraordinary cultural power as a seemingly innocuous genre is employed in the diffusion of ideas that either undermine or reinforce a dominant power.

One such readapted and reworked tale is *The Adventures of Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi (1883). The original publication of *Pinocchio*, was adapted into *The Golden Key, or The Adventures of Buratino* by Alexei Tolstoy (1936) in Soviet Russia. *Buratino* was one of the forerunners in the use of children's literature and fairy tale structure as an ideological and transformative tool for children in the Soviet Union. Alexei Tolstoy's alleged recreation from memory of Carlo Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1883), was a Soviet fairy tale, portraying Buratino as a hero for his fellow puppets in helping to free them from the corrupt and oppressive power of Karabas Barabas, the owner of the puppet theater. While Barabas serves as

an embodiment of an exploiter and degenerate capitalist, Buratino represents a true revolutionary. The *Buratino* text was again adapted in the following years by Tolstoy in creating a play entitled, *The Golden Key (Zolotoi Kluchik)*, which was later readapted into a film of the same name in 1939. By coincidence, the following year, Disney released its second full-length animated feature film, *Pinocchio.*

In my analyses of the transformation from Collodi's text to Tolstoy's *Buratino* and later from the Soviet 1939 film, *The Golden Key*, to the Disney 1940 film, *Pinocchio*, I will use a hybrid formalist-memetic theoretical approach that proves that the familiar framework of a fairy tale and its inherent didactic nature make it particularly suitable to become a vehicle for ideological content. For my purposes, I rely on several of the leading definitions of the term "ideology" when writing about the intent of the didactic literary fairy tale, as provided by Terry Eagleton: "ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power"; "false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power"; "systematically distorted communications"; "socially necessary illusion"; "the conjecture of discourse and power" (Eagleton 1). Additionally, I will focus primarily upon literary fairy tales of magical transformation, by which I mean published fairy tales created or collected by an author that concern the magical transformation of one or more characters, chiefly the protagonist. In tales of magical transformation, the protagonist wins the hand of a prince or princess, gains riches, or perhaps wins victory over an enemy or a rival through magical means as a reward for the trials the protagonist endured. In order to understand how this sub-genre of fairy tales becomes useful in disseminating ideological messages, I turn now to a more detailed analysis of formalism.

Formalism: A Study of the Fairy Tale Genre

An explanation for the fairy tale's longevity must first be understood through the examination of *formalism*, a genre theory originating with a prominent Soviet scholar named Vladimir Propp. Propp and his colleagues' work originated from the Formal Method in folktale studies which relied on the collection and classification of fairy tales and folktale. This type of collecting tracked patterns in folktales and fairy tales in order to discover how these patterns dictated the structure, the language, and the recurring elements of this genre. In mapping the trajectory of fairy tale components, formalist scholars hoped to better interpret the tales. However, Propp himself admitted to formalism's inability to understand why the generic patterns occurred. Formalism only recognizes the specific characteristics that can be found in all fairy tales, the order in which specific events must always occur, and the character-types which are always present. These elements create a skeleton for how a fairy tale must grow, but do not explain how fairy tales continue to live on as a notable genre. Propp offers up what he believes to provide the "flesh" for his fairy-tale skeleton:

> Similarity [in fairy tales] indicates a regular process; the similarity of works of folklore is a particular case of the historical law by which identical forms of production in material culture give rise to identical or similar social institutions, to similar tools, and, in *ideology*, to the similarity of forms and categories of thought, religion, rituals, languages, and folklore. All of these live, influence one another, change, grow, and die. (*Folklore* 379) (emphasis mine - RB)

However, Propp's work on fairy tales does not attempt to explain why fairy tales and their uniform structure continue to thrive. Propp only analyzes fairy tales in retrospect and does not try

to predict their future. In order to understand what Propp begins to elucidate, I will turn to Jack Zipes and his particular argument for the fairy tale as a "meme."

Fairy Tale as Meme

Propp's discussion on the "changeability of folklore" ("Folklore" 379) accounts for the fairy tale's ability to adapt to different cultures, time periods, and ideology, but does not attempt to explain it. Jack Zipes works upon the foundation for fairy tale studies set out by Propp and other formalist scholars and introduces *memetics*, a theory first defined by the biologist Richard Dawkins, into fairy tale theory.

Dawkins originated the term "meme" through his observation of the gene, the biological and evolutionary replicator that has the peculiar ability to change and adapt to an organism's needs. Dawkins's memetics theory argues for the existence of the "meme," or, "a unit of cultural transmission" (*Why* 4) that allows for certain entities of culture to replicate similarly to the gene, *but in human mind and memory* rather than through biological processes. Zipes adopts this theory, writing that memetics "generally maintains that a meme is an informational pattern contained in a human brain (or in artifacts such as books or pictures) and stored in its memory, capable of being copied to another individual's brain that will store it and replicate it" (*Why* 4). In this sense, a meme creates efficiency for communication between humans, playing on already established cultural structures to explicate new information more quickly and accurately.

According to Zipes, fairy tales are a successful meme because they "give voice to utopian wishes and…ponder instinctual drives and gender, ethnic, family, and social conflicts" (*Why* 14). Through this, a fairy tale "communicates information" and "selects that which has become relevant in a community to inform members of that community what has become crucial for

adaptation to the environment in the most effective manner possible that might be entertaining and instructive" (*Why* 14). Therefore, a meme has to be an important cultural entity in order to survive. Because a fairy tale is often used to resolve sociocultural conflicts in a community through story, the fairy tale structures and orders life which is inherently disorderly. Thus, the meme of a fairy tale is born, as it creates a shared cultural experience and sense of community for those who encounter it. In order for it to survive, the meme must continue to fulfill this function, otherwise it becomes obsolete. Additionally, fairy tales are so widely recognizable that any adaptation of the fairy tale's familiar structure efficiently communicates new information that may go beyond the intent of the original tale. Such new information may effectively present social or moral struggles to an audience or reader in a new perspective. One successful adaptation of a fairy tale that changed the essential message of the original to suit the ideology of the new was Alexei Tolstoy's *The Golden Key, or the Adventures of Buratino* from *The Adventures of Pinocchio* by Carlo Collodi.

What the Fairy Tale "Remembers" from Russian Cultural History

The purpose of memetic theory in fairy tales is to understand how the meme shapes the fairy tale, making the fairy tale into a unit of cultural memory. The fairy tale in Russian cultural history is a particular instance of the fairy tale as meme and, before *Buratino,* the tradition of fairy tale and folktale in Russian literary history was strong and long-established. Just as Propp's formalist approach to fairy tales recognized, Russian fairy tales and folklore are deeply rooted in specific tropes, plot development, recurring character types, and typical magical objects. The Russian fairy tale tradition calls for a particular set of character types which Helena Goscilo outlines as: (1) the fairy-tale hero who is either a "handsome, desirable prince," or "the

irresponsible youngest of three sons," (12) both of whom are meant to represent a common man; (2) a young, virginal, and beautiful woman waiting to be rescued or a similar young and beautiful maiden who assists the hero in achieving an "elevated status" (12); (3) villains who are siblings, rivals, or supernatural creatures and figures (13), the most famous of whom is Baba Yaga, a complicated witch-like anti-villain with a recurring role in many traditional Russian folk tales.

However, while there is a long tradition in Russian folktale and fairy tale, the genre itself fell out of vogue for several decades until it again resurfaced in the mid-1800s, during the period of Romanticism in Russia, and became once again a tool for instructing the behaviors and societal expectations of its audience, most particularly children. Romanticism was a natural fit for the fairy tale genre, since the period of Romanticism in Russia brought about "a more favourable attitude to imagination and emotional life" (Hellman 24) in regards to how childhood was to be fostered. Romantics viewed children as "higher beings with an enchanted, poetic world of their own" who could live within "'a dual world,'" between the "coexistence of everyday life and a world of fantasy, with the child effortlessly crossing the borderline" (Hellman 24). Fairy tales were used to capture and encourage the imagination within the life of a child, while acting as an important socialization tool. Because of this, the tale of magic transformation, typical for many fairy tales, became a tale of moral transformation.

Though the fairy tale reemerged during the Romantic period in Russia, it maintained criticisms from the Church, Democrats, and Socialists up through the October Revolution in 1917 and beyond. Such criticisms cautioned against the popularity and prevalence of fairy tales and fairy-tale structures. These critics warned against allowing children to mix fantasy and reality in their minds, writing that fairy tales were of "no 'benefit' to the children because they pointed an immature imagination in a dangerous, unsound direction" (Hellman 131). In order for

children's literature to maintain any sort of value, it must be educational. The criticism that fairy tales and fairy-tale-like tales consisted only of "nonsense" (Hellman 131) and, later, "bourgeois" ideals (Hellman 358) faced the fairy tale as Russia moved from a tsarist regime to a Soviet one.

This fight against the fairy tale was exemplified in two individuals, Korney Chukovsky, a well-renowned children's writer known for his nonsense poetry largely about anthropomorphized animals, and Nadezhda Krupskaya, the widow of Vladimir Lenin and the highest authority on censorship in children's literature. While Chukovsky wrote largely out of a desire to provide an appropriate type of literature, engaging the mind of a child with largely no ulterior agenda, Krupskaya was a strong opponent of Chukovsky's nonsensical poetry since it served no greater purpose in the establishment of "a genuine Soviet children's literature, able to serve communist goals" (Hellman 354). The Soviet government was already beginning to see the use of fairy tales as a constructive tool in furthering its communist goals in its young citizens, though with many precautions against the typical "bourgeois" tropes that traditional Russian fairy tales were steeped in. In the mid-1920s, anthropomorphized animals and inanimate objects were banned in children's literature and the presence of fantasy in children's literature was strongly discouraged for young children since it was feared that they would not be able to distinguish between a fantastic and a realistic world. Chukovsky's work stood in stark opposition to such ideas of what new children's literature should be and came under heavy criticism because of it. According to Krupskaya, the content of children's literature "must be unfailingly communist....It did not need to set out the Party programme or resolutions of the Party Congresses, but it should provide children with concepts and images that might help them to become conscientious communists" (Hellman 357).

However, once Maxim Gorky, a well-established proletarian writer and political activist, returned to Soviet Russia after some years abroad, he effectively "rehabilitated" the fairy tale, helping it to find its place among literature for children, maintaining the fantasy while also promoting soviet ideals. Gorky felt that "literature should not merely reflect reality," but "should also encourage readers to use their imagination, to think ahead and be creative" (Hellman 363). Maxim Gorky reestablished the foundation on which fairy tales and folklore were to be understood and created in the Soviet Union. It was under Gorky that the Union of Soviet Writers was founded in 1932 and its First Congress of the Writers' Union was held in 1934. In a speech to the writer's congress, Gorky "stressed the close connection of folklore to the life and working conditions of the people, the life optimism of folklore, and its high artistic value" (Terras 140). In doing so, Gorky depicted folklore and fairy tale as an already existing tool that represented the lives of ordinary, diligent people whose hard work was rewarded and transformed into an optimistic future. The role of fantasy and magic in fairy tales as a tool for advancing utopian communist ideals and its futuristic visions would officially meet at the First Congress for the Writers' Union.

Fairy Tale and Socialist Realism

Up to this point, folklore study under the Soviet government had been ruled by one primary school of thought: formalism. Formalism focused primarily upon the structure of a fairy tale, disregarding the ideological and historical conditions under which fairy tales and folklore were created and propagated. Because formalism was not rooted in history and contained no reflection on class-struggle, formalism was heavily criticized as a fairy tale theory as it ignored the negative in a fairy tale: potential to encourage bourgeois values. This ultimately led to the rejection of formalism in fairy-tale studies under Soviet leadership, even though Propp laid out

the foundation on which it was possible for Soviet writers to compose "appropriate" literature for children.

The 1936 date of *Buratino*'s publication fell during a particularly restrictive time for Soviet writers which began in force with the First Congress of Soviet Writers in August 1934, chaired by Gorky. The First Congress of Soviet Writers occurred nearly seven months after opposition to Stalin arose during a congressional session of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – such public opposition led to the beginning of the Great Purge in December 1934, a five-year wave of horrific political repression which claimed an estimated 1.2 million victims in its last two years (1937-1939) alone (Ellman 1155). Eager to present a façade of political and social stability, the First Congress of Soviet Writers was the Soviet leadership's first substantial move in exercising full control over the arts. Writers were strongly encouraged to adjust their work to reflect a recently coined concept: *socialist realism.* Allegedly conceived by Stalin himself, socialist realism was to lead an artist to the actualization of a true Soviet reality in his or her work. However, this could only be achieved when the artist depicted Soviet life truthfully and with "historical concreteness" in order to implement "the ideological remaking and education of working people in the spirit of socialism" (Brooks 108).

Socialist realism was built on four cornerstones which all socialist realist works must foster: narodnost', partiinost', ideinost', and klassovost'. Narodnost' translates to "popular spirit" (Terras 430) through which written works were meant to reflect "patriotic themes" (Terras 430). Partiinost' translates roughly to "Party support," and was believed to be a higher element of narodnost' because "the Party supposedly expresses the people's aspirations' (Terras 430). Ideinost' translates to "ideological commitment" (Terras 430) and klassovost' was meant to denote literature for the working classes. Concerning these last two prescriptions for socialist

realist work, fairy tales and folktales already fulfilled them since fairy tales' didactic structure demonstrated "ideological commitment" and folktales, of which fairy tales are a part, were the mode of story-telling for the lowest and illiterate classes of society. Thus, the fairy tale was the perfect tool through which Soviet writers could institute socialist realist literature. To promote anything besides socialist realism would demonstrate a consummate failure on the part of the artist.

The Fairy Tale in Alexei Tolstoy's Personal Work

Alexei Nikolaevich Tolstoy composed *Buratino* under these creative restraints set forth by the First Congress of Soviet Writers. Having fled Russia in 1920 due to the Russian Civil War as an already well-established writer, Tolstoy returned to Russia in 1923 on invitation of the Soviet leadership. Upon returning to Soviet Russia, Tolstoy was initially regarded as a "fellow-traveler" (Lipovetsky 128) – bourgeois individuals belonging to Russia's intelligentsia who had left during the Civil War and returned after its conclusion by the government's invitation. These individuals were welcomed back with open arms because Russia had lost many of its most celebrated artists and writers to emigration or war. However, due to their emigration, fellow-travelers were often mistrusted and viewed as a potential political threat since many had left Russia initially because of political dissidence. Many that returned were later victims of the Great Purge.

Tolstoy was born into an aristocratic family, but raised in the household of his mother, Alexandra Turgeneva, a children's author, and her lover. As an adult, Tolstoy fled Russian during the Russian Civil War as his support of the Russian White Army seemed likely to put him in danger in wake of the strengthening of the Bolshevik forces. While abroad in Paris, and then

later in Berlin, Tolstoy published several books and was a major contributor to a Russian émigré newspaper in Berlin called *Nakanune/On the Eve*. It was in *Nakanune* that Tolstoy first published a retelling of Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio*, though this tale was only the beginning of what later became *Buratino*. Shortly after this publication, in 1923, Tolstoy returned to Soviet Russia for good.

Tolstoy did not become a fellow-traveler suspected as a political threat, as he adjusted to his homecoming very cleverly. Upon his return, he condemned the White Army, presented a keynote speech at the First Congress of Soviet Writers, and was elected to the Board of the Union of Soviet Writers. His historical novels won him great acclaim and made him a favorite of Stalin's. By all intents and purposes, Tolstoy had returned to Soviet Russia with no inclination of reveling in his émigré or "fellow-traveler" status. Through his personal gains within the Party, Tolstoy managed to become a "cornerstone and classic of Soviet Literature" (Lipovetsky 128) whose most famous children's tale, *The Golden Key, or the Adventures of Buratino* developed a wide subculture of its own.

Buratino was initially imagined as a simple retelling of Carlo Collodi's *The Adventures of Pinocchio* that Tolstoy began work on while still in Berlin as a "White émigré." Tolstoy's retelling of *Pinocchio* was for a children's section of *Nakanune*, and he worked with a fellow emigrant, Nina Petrovskaya. Tolstoy and Petrovskaya's translation was not the first attempt at a translation of *Pinocchio*. The first translation of *The Adventures of Pinocchio* into Russian was published in 1906 by Kamill Danini in a Russian children's magazine, Tropinka (in English, *Footpath*), from the 15th Italian edition of *Pinocchio* (Bezrukova 474). In 1906, Alexei Tolstoy was 23 years old and not at all the "little boy" that the author claimed to be when he was first introduced to the *Pinocchio* narrative. Such information appears to imply specific purpose on

Tolstoy's part in choosing the *Pinocchio* narrative for his adaptation that I will later explore.

Pinocchio was republished and retranslated into Russian in 1908 and, in 1924, Tolstoy and

Petrovskaya published their retranslated and reworked version of *Pinocchio* for *Nakanune*.

However, it was not until 1933 that Tolstoy was officially at work and under contract for

Buratino. It was during the composition of *Buratino* that Tolstoy became a rising star as a

member of the Soviet literati and as an important political figure. Through Tolstoy's fairy tale

short story for children, Tolstoy himself impressed the major political and cultural authorities of

his time.

In order to understand the transformation of the *Pinocchio* fairy tale as shaped by

memetics, it is important to first turn to the original source from which Tolstoy conceived his

puppet, Buratino.

The Adventures of Pinocchio: Map of Moral Transformation

The Adventures of Pinocchio by Carlo Collodi (Italy, 1833) is a tale of moral

transformation in the guise of magical transformation. The narrative follows the transformation

of a mischievous, sullen, and immature marionette who acts selfishly and foolishly for his own

amusement to a boy who strives to be good, nurture his education, and perform sacrificial deeds

for others. *The Adventures of Pinocchio* is a novel of education (*Bildungsroman*) concerned with

the development and maturation of its young protagonist. Ultimately, this moral development

leads to the magical transformation of Pinocchio from a puppet to a living boy because he

succeeded through suffering and personal losses.

Like other fairy tales about magical transformation, *Pinocchio* is an overtly didactic tale

hoping to engage its impressionable young audience with fantasy in order to coach them in

morality. Pinocchio comes into being laughing, sticking out his tongue, and tormenting his

creator, Geppetto, by snatching Geppetto's wig off his head and growing out a wooden nose that

refuses to be cut: "[Geppetto] then proceeded to carve the nose; but no sooner had he made it

than it began to grow….the more he cut and shortened it, the longer did the impertinent nose

become!" (Collodi 12). As a marionette, Pinocchio proceeds to cause trouble for himself and

those around him. Pinocchio's most notable antics land poor Geppetto in jail, lead Pinocchio to

near death at the hands of the owner of the local puppet theater, to death by hanging by a Cat and

Fox determined to steal from the puppet, disappointment of his adopted mother, the Fairy with

Blue Hair, and transformation into a donkey because of his laziness.

Repeatedly, throughout the entire course of the narrative, Pinocchio is reprimanded for

his foolishness, laziness, and selfishness. In addition to being reprimanded for his actions, he is

offered advice on how to reform. Pinocchio is provided with a *map to conversion* and such

words of wisdom as the following, peppered throughout the narrative, work to carve the wooden

puppet into a respectable young man:

1. Woe to those boys who rebel against their parents, and run away capriciously from
   home. They will never come to any good in the world, and sooner or later they will
   repent bitterly. (Collodi 19)

2. I was right when I said to you that it did not do to accustom ourselves to be too
   particular or too dainty in our tastes. (Collodi 35)

3. Pinocchio, don't listen to the advice of bad companions: if you do you will repent it! (Collodi 61)

4. Let me tell you that every man, whether he is born rich or poor, is obliged to do something in this world – to occupy himself, to work. Woe to those who lead slothful lives. (Collodi 149)

5. Boys who do not listen to the advice of those who know more than they do always meet with some misfortune or other. (Collodi 184)

6. Boys who minister tenderly to their parents, and assist them in their misery and infirmities, are deserving of great praise and affection. (Collodi 252).

Pinocchio is only transformed into a living boy once his promises are kept and his selfish tendencies are forgotten. He earns the ability to grow from a boy to a man by demonstrating that he is reliable, caring, hardworking, and dedicated. Pinocchio transitions from being a deceiving, sullen, and immature marionette to learning how to sacrifice himself for others through saving Candlewick from backbreaking work as a donkey, his father from his prison in the belly of the giant fish, and giving up the money he earned to save the Fairy who lay ill in the hospital. Because of his moral transformation, Pinocchio undergoes a physical transformation as a reward "for [his] good heart" (Collodi 252). Though Pinocchio must endure the consequences of his bad habits in his many adventures, he learns from his mistakes with the careful guidance of the wise authorities around him, such as the Talking Cricket, the Fairy, and his father Geppetto. When

Pinocchio transforms into a living boy, he inquires as to "how this sudden change be accounted for" (Collodi 254). Geppetto answers that it is all because of what Pinocchio did for himself because "when boys who have behaved badly turn over a new leaf and become good, they have the power of bringing contentment and happiness to their families" (Collodi 254). However, Pinocchio's transformation is not complete simply because he has been granted his wish of becoming a living boy, as the Fairy instructs:

> Boys who minister tenderly to their parents, and assist them in their misery and infirmities, are deserving of great praise and affection, *even if they cannot be cited as examples of obedience and good behavior. Try and do better in the future and you will be happy.* (Collodi 252) (emphasis mine - RB)

Though Pinocchio has learned much from the consequences of his mistakes, he is not a perfect being and must continually strive to be better.

Rather than spending his life as a puppet – a block of wood carved into the imitation of a boy doomed to continually repeat his mistakes – Pinocchio earns the privilege of being able to live conscientiously and freely. The text then ends on the following words spoken by Pinocchio: "How ridiculous I was when I was a puppet! And how glad I am that I have become a well-behaved little boy!" (Collodi 255). Before Pinocchio realized that his conversion could lead him to a happy and selfless life as a living boy, he was simply a puppet for others to control and use to their own benefits.

In order to become a fully realized human being, rather than a puppet in the guise of a human being that others could easily persuade and manipulate, a child must learn how to be discerning, respectful, hardworking, and responsible – such is Collodi's persistent message throughout *Pinocchio*. The tale of *Pinocchio* is a tale of magical transformation in which the

protagonist must endure educational trials that often leads the character through a "watershed transition – from childhood to adolescence…from dependence to independence, from alienation to integration, from helplessness to control" (Goscilo 11). The text of *Pinocchio* follows the same generic structure of a fairy tale of magical transformation that is analogous to the moral transformation Pinocchio must undergo. The substitution of the magical transformation tale for a tale of *strictly moral transformation* is a strategy employed by Collodi to capture the interest of his young audience while simultaneously educating them. In this way, Collodi's tale follows strongly in the tradition of fairy tales' didacticism, relying on the cultural memory/meme of the fairy tale to create a story republished so often that it is the third most published book after the Bible and the Koran (Bezrukova 476). However, while *Pinocchio* follows in the fairy tale tradition, it is an original and authentic tale, not an adapted tale. This story of an animated marionette who must realize a self-actualizing goal becomes the older brother of a later tale written with similar didactic goals in mind: *The Golden Key, or the Adventures of Buratino* by Alexi Tolstoy (1936).

The Adventures of Buratino: Map of Ideological Transformation

From the beginning of Tolstoy's tale, the writer acknowledges *Buratino*'s predecessor, writing directly to his readers that,

> When I was a little boy, very, very long ago, I had a book called *Pinocchio, or the*
> *Adventures of the Little Wooden Puppet* (in Italian, a wooden puppet is "buratino"). I
> often used to tell my playmates, boys and girls, all about Buratino's exciting adventures.
> But the book got lost, and so each time I would tell the story differently and invent all
> kinds of adventures that were never actually in the book at all. And now, children, after

many, many years, my memory harks back to my old friend Buratino, and I have made

up my mind to tell you all about the little wooden puppet's extraordinary adventures.

(Balina 131)

Despite Tolstoy's recognition of Buratino's Italian "brother," Pinocchio, the author's explanation

of how he conceived Buratino is calculated and allows Tolstoy to proceed with his modified tale.

Tolstoy writes *Buratino* initially as if it is a direct retelling of the original *Pinocchio*

story. Many of the same characters are present even if their names have changed except for one

notable figure, Karabas Barabas, "a doctor of doll sciences" (Chernisheva 5), modeled after Fire

Eater, the owner of the puppet theater that Pinocchio encounters at the beginning of his

adventures. Instead of Gepetto, Buratino's creator and father is Carlo (an homage to Carlo

Collodi), the scheming cat and fox have names, and rather than the fairy who has "blue hair and

a face as white as a waxen image" (Collodi 79), Tolstoy introduces Malvina, the Little Girl with

Blue Hair, who is also a puppet. These are the most prominent changes that occur in characters

between Collodi's *Pinocchio* and Tolstoy's *Buratino*. However, these changes are significant

because they ultimately lead to a momentous digression from the original *Pinocchio* tale at the

end of the tale and fulfill the purpose of Tolstoy's role as a socialist realist writer.

Tolstoy's *Buratino* begins to structurally deviate from Collodi's original plot with the

character of Karabas Barabas and the mystery of Papa Carlo's secret door behind his canvas

fireplace. Karabas Barabas, the corrupt and oppressive owner of the Puppet Theater, unlike his

Pinocchio counterpart Fire Eater, remains a key figure in the events in *Buratino*. With Karabas

Barabas comes the ideological motif of an exploiter. To his core, he is evil, degenerate, and

domineering, wishing only to use those around him to his own purposes. He is unable to be

redeemed and therefore deserves every misfortune that he must endure by the end of the tale.

Thus, the revelation of Papa Carlo's secret door as a door leading to a beautiful and fantastical puppet theater in which Buratino and his friends work collectively and happily out of the control of Karabas Barabas is particularly satisfying for the reader.

Papa Carlo's secret door foreshadows the divergence from the original *Pinocchio* plot and a deviation of the overt moral lessons peppered throughout Collodi's *Pinocchio* which transform Pinocchio from a puppet who will "never grow" (Collodi 146) to a living boy capable of becoming a man. Morally instructive homilies like those of the Fairy's in *Pinocchio* are not present in the *Buratino* text. While Buratino eventually becomes an unwilling pupil of Malvina, the Blue Fairy's counterpart, who hopes to instruct Buratino in "manners and arithmetic" (Tolstoy 142), Malvina is depicted as prissy and demanding. She is disastrously unsuccessful in her instruction of Buratino and decides that an appropriate form of punishment would be to lock Buratino in a "dark cupboard" (Tolstoy 145). Malvina is not the gracious and mother-like figure of the Fairy in *Pinocchio* who aids Pinocchio in his transformation from a puppet to a boy.

Once in the cupboard, Buratino makes his escape and he is led to the Land of Fools to again meet Basilio the Cat and Alice the Fox who successfully trick Buratino out of his money. However, Buratino does not learn from this enterprise, but is instead rewarded with the Golden Key. Fundamentally, Buratino's education is a failure and an unnecessary endeavor; Malvina's attempts are depicted as whiny and absurd and Buratino faces no consequence for his disobedience and stupidity. Similarly, moral instruction from other characters throughout the narrative is also absent in the *Buratino* text. Though Buratino is infrequently chastised for his foolish actions, any emphasis on a true change in character for Buratino is an unimportant element in the story.

Tolstoy's story does not attempt to teach his young readers how to be better, more obedient children like Collodi's text does, but rather how to adapt to the expectations of those in power around you. Buratino's defiance of Malvina's poor attempt at pedagogy rejects the notion that Buratino needs any instruction at all and Buratino himself is a far cry from a model of perfect childhood. As a character, Buratino undergoes no real change and remains a marionette throughout the duration of the narrative. The *Pinocchio* text, however, relies solely upon the moral transformation narrative as the crux of its didactic power. In *Buratino*, the moral transformation which is shown through the magical transformation into a living boy is absent. In fact, no real transformation takes place in *Buratino*. Rather than the knowledge, experience, selflessness, and obedience that provides the "key" to Pinocchio's transformation, Buratino receives a physical key that leads him to a world where he can undermine the Karabas Barabases of the world. In the beautiful and intricate puppet theater that Buratino and his fellow puppets discover behind the fireplace in Papa Carlo's house, Buratino and his friends can work in harmony and tell the true story for the greater public of how they overcame Karabas Barabas's tyranny and greed, a very welcome plot in Soviet literature. The puppet troupe seeks to tell their story truthfully and compellingly, hoping to fulfill what is required by the story-tellers of the social realist period. Rather than a moral transformation or a physical transformation — both of which Pinocchio encounters in *his* story — in the *Buratino* text, there is a collective transformation of the puppets as they gain their own space in which to be creative and work as one to benefit each other.

Life After Text: Ideology on Screen in *Zolotoi Kluchik/The Golden Key* (1939)

The 1939 Soviet film, *Zolotoi Kluchik/The Golden Key,* the screenplay for which was also written by Alexei Tolstoy, further demonstrates the soviet ideological content of Tolstoy's tale. The film combines live action and stop-motion animation in bringing the puppets and animals of *Buratino* alive on the screen.

The film opens upon the song, "Daleko, daleko za morem" (in English, "Far, Far Beyond the Sea"), the lyrics of which speak of a perfect egalitarian land far away where all children are educated, and no old person is poor, hungry, or disrespected. As the film sets the first scene, the audience sees that it is Papa Carlo singing this song while playing his organ grinder in order to earn a living among other impoverished people and children who are playing out on the streets. Just as soon as Papa Carlo's organ grinder breaks down, Karabas Barabas, the corrupt and greedy owner of a traveling puppet theater pulls into town. Karabas Barabas boasts that his puppets are stupid and never rebel against him because they are too afraid of him. He takes all of the profits from the shows for himself and enslaves the puppets, showing horrible cruelty towards them as he frequently whips them and nearly breaks them. Although he is already rich, Barabas is in possession of a golden key to a secret little door guarding the greatest treasure which Barabas hopes to acquire in order to become even richer and to further dominate his puppets.

Meanwhile, the impoverished Papa Carlo receives a talking log from his friend, Master Cherry. He takes it home with the intent of carving it into a puppet, cherishing the log as he begins to form it, a stark contrast to the anger Barabas chooses to inflict upon his own puppets. Papa Carlo nurtures the puppet as he peels away the layers of wood with his knife, and it becomes apparent that the form of the puppet already resides in this log. Carlo is the puppet's

creator and foster parent who only needs to uncover and carve slightly in order to gain the form of Buratino. Like the log, Buratino needs to be carved and refined, but his innate innocence, naiveté, and instinct to help and rescue the downtrodden and abused already exist within him, just as his physical form already existed within the wood. Here, then, is "klassovost'," one of the socialist realism requirements in action: Buratino is ingrained with the virtue of proper class instinct as he comes from the rough and simple structure of a log, therefore establishing solidarity with the underprivileged of the world. Through carving the log and finding the figure of Buratino within, Carlo frees Buratino and allows him to become who he was meant to be; there is no need for Buratino to further transform from a puppet to a living boy. After freeing Buratino from the confines of the wooden log — quite different than Barabas's enslavement of his puppets — he works to provide Buratino with the important elements in a young child's life such as warm clothes and an education. Carlo sells his own jacket in order to purchase Buratino an ABC book, giving up what he has worked hard to acquire in order to foster Buratino.

Though Buratino plays and gets into trouble because he does not know any better, like his textual counterpart, Buratino does not represent the cruel trickster of Collodi's Pinocchio. Rather, he is a naive young boy who is naturally inclined to fight against injustice and strive to do good. As Buratino goes out into the world, he gets distracted by Barabas's puppet theater on his way to school. Hoping to sell his ABC book from his father for an entrance to the puppet theater, he instead uses that money in order to rescue a turtle who had been cruelly stolen from his home and was now being sold. Though Buratino disobeys his father, he does so in pursuit of a greater good. Buratino is a clever puppet, rather than a trickster like Pinocchio, always knows how to undermine the corrupt, greedy, and evil people and creatures around him. Similarly, he is always recognized as an ally by those who can help Buratino. For instance, after Buratino saves

the baby turtle, he is later rewarded by the turtle's mother with Barabas's golden key, the door to which Buratino had discovered behind Papa Carlo's fireplace by accident.

Upon acquiring the key and realizing what it is for, Buratino rushes back to Papa Carlo's house with the three escapees from Barabas's theater, Pierrot, Malvina, and Malvina's pet dog Artemon. With Papa Carlo, the group open the door and proceed through to an underground cave where they find a giant magical book in which the pictures represent the far away egalitarian country that Papa Carlo sang about in the opening scene of the film, bringing the film full circle. Unmistakably, the first picture of this egalitarian society is a recognizable silhouette of the Kremlin. Immediately, Buratino insists that the group use this book in order to help Barabas's oppressed and abused puppets. In the final scene of the film, Buratino and his friends take the magical book to the puppet theater and call forth a giant ship with men dressed as Soviet North Pole explorers to come help them rescue the underprivileged puppets. The sailors immediately agree to help and the puppets climb aboard to safety, singing again the song of the far away land to which they will now travel where there is no sorrow, only beauty, friendship, and equality. However, upon their departure, Barabas is knocked back and thrown to the ground after demanding that he be paid reparations for the puppets who have escaped, much to the enjoyment of many. Friendship and kindness is open to all, except those who are capitalist oppressors, thereby demonstrating that class consciousness remains a constant virtue of the oppressed.

In the original *Buratino* text, the saving grace for Buratino and his friends was a beautiful puppet theater in which they could collectively create an enterprise which would benefit not only themselves, but fulfill socialist realist goals for a Soviet storyteller by telling their story for the public to enjoy as well. However, in *The Golden Key* film, rather than staying to make the place in which the puppets live a better home for everyone through their creative undertaking, Buratino

and the other puppets leave for a new country, abandoning their corrupt and inegalitarian home for a new, magical one. The portrayal of this land exists on two levels: it is beautiful and wonderful and representative of the Soviet Union and demonstrates that those who deserve to live there because they were either oppressed and impoverished like Barabas's puppets, or a revolutionary fighter, like Buratino. Conversely, this land is magical and fantastic, not at all representing reality. The image of the flying ship and the explorers guiding it is an absurd image and rather out of tone of the rest of the film. Though Buratino and his friends sing that they are heading to this new country, this country exists only in the magical book they found behind Papa Carlo's secret door. They go to a utopia; in other words - nowhere.

Tolstoy's version of *The Golden Key* film at first seems to represent a delusional perfection of the Soviet Union. However, like the *Buratino* text where the marionette never loses his status as a puppet - by definition, an object controlled by others - the film also maintains a subtext that appears to refute the very message that it promotes. As an individual, Tolstoy utterly sold out to the Stalinist government, as a result, becoming a favorite, well-known, and long-lived author. However, the absurdity of the final scene and Tolstoy's own affinity with his protagonist speak to a larger subtext of the film that undermined the state's accepted message. After all, Buratino with whom Tolstoy felt a great bond, for no reason at all, maintains the long, insolent nose from Buratino's predecessor, Pinocchio. Perhaps the author is presenting an image of himself as a lying, but clever trickster?

The *Pinocchio* narrative as an ideological force does not stop with Tolstoy's adaptation of Pinocchio into his character of Buratino. The 1940 Disney film, *Pinocchio*, also presents an ideologically charged and more didactic visualization of the old fairy tale.

Life After Text: Ideology on Screen, in *Pinocchio* (1940)

Walt Disney was a great innovator who employed revolutionary technical resources in creating some of the most beloved American animated films. Disney was drawn to fairy tales as the stories he was most compelled to animate. Jack Zipes writes of this, noting that, "through these moving pictures, the animators appropriated literary and oral fairy tales to subsume the word [of the original texts], to have the final word, often through image and book, for Disney began publishing books during the 1930s to complement his films" ("Breaking" 343). Though the Disney films are merely adaptations of the original tales, Disney and the Disney Corporation have continued to use the original titles, creating the illusion that the animated films were a direct retelling of the original tale. For example, such appropriated titles include "Puss in Boots," "Snow White," "Sleeping Beauty," "Cinderella," "The Little Mermaid," "Beauty and the Beast," and, of course, "Pinocchio." Despite this, the Disney animated versions of these tales deviate, often radically so, from the original story lines. Because of Disney's success in telling these tales, Walt Disney and the Disney Corporation have forever altered the fabric and accepted content of the most well-known fairy tales in the Western world and have become an incredibly influential force in the ways in which the Disney version of fairy tales are disseminated. Walt Disney made traditional fairy tales his own, appropriating them to serve one particular world view to a mass audience. However, it is because of this that fairy tales have also become successful memes ("Breaking" 332-52).

The power of a fairy tale, which has sustained its evolution first through "dialectical appropriation that set the cultural conditions for its institutionalization," has allowed for the fairy tale's "expansion as a mass-mediated form through radio, film, and television" ("Breaking" 333). Fairy tales appropriated by Disney for his films demonstrate the movement of fairy tales from a

printed to a visual text. This allowed for Disney films to become increasingly popular as now fairy tales were a form of mass-media entertainment in the form of films and, later, television cartoons. Disney animated films are one primary example of the dissemination of the fairy tale meme through film, television, associated books, and other merchandise. The telling of fairy tales was "based on rituals intended to endow with meaning the daily lives of members of a tribe" ("Breaking" 333). Disney animated films at first fit into this ritual, solidifying cultural status quo, most especially a patriarchal and white-dominated status quo. However, now Disney animated films have *become* the ritual. Through the appropriation of popular fairy tales, Disney now dominates the fairy tale form and dictates how many people, primarily those of the Western world, begin to understand and tell a fairy tale. Walt Disney's work, rather than settling as a simple example of how a fairy tale can be successfully adapted, absolutely redefined the meme of the fairy tale.

Consequently, because Disney has become so ritualized as the parameters by which contemporary readers understand a fairy tale, Disney ideology has also been ritualized and internalized. The 1940 *Pinocchio* film is a strong example of this ideology about morality, some of which is maintained from the original *Pinocchio* text and some of which greatly diverges from any telling of the *Pinocchio* narrative previous.

The film immediately places itself within the context of other fairy tales, as it opens upon an image of other fairy tale books set out on a table, *Pinocchio* being the most visible tale. The character of Jiminy Cricket, loosely based upon the talking cricket of the *Pinocchio* text who is killed by Pinocchio within the first few chapters, opens the film singing "When You Wish Upon a Star," a song that now epitomizes the American Dream through the success of an underdog. Such a setting presents *Pinocchio* as a timeless and core text in the canon of fairy tales.

Pinocchio himself is the product of the childless carpenter, Geppetto, whose love for his marionette leads him to wish upon the evening star for Pinocchio to become a real boy for whom he can be a father. After Geppetto has fallen fast asleep, a beautiful, blonde, and slender fairy appears, granting life to the puppet because "Geppetto has given happiness to so many others that he deserves to have his wish come true." The fairy then explains to Pinocchio that he is only still a marionette, but could become a real boy if he proves himself to be "brave, truthful, and unselfish" and to learn right from wrong, mimicking many of the lessons that Pinocchio is given throughout Collodi's text. Jiminy is made Pinocchio's conscience, as Pinocchio is not a living boy and must have guidance from an external source on how to live his life well enough to become real. As Jiminy says to Pinocchio, "let your conscience be your guide."

Rather than act as an impudent trickster, the Pinocchio of the Disney film is innocent and excessively naïve. His poor decisions are not due to his selfish nature, but because he simply does not know any better and cannot always be with Jiminy Cricket who is supposed to guide him. When Pinocchio is approached by Honest John the Fox and his feline sidekick, though Jiminy advises Pinocchio to continue on to school and not be tempted by the lure of the theater and of fame, Pinocchio ignores the advice. However, this is not depicted as impudence on Pinocchio's part. Rather, it is Pinocchio's own naïveté and wish to help his father and to please those around him. The difference between Disney's Pinocchio and Collodi's Pinocchio is therefore striking: while there is a moral message in each the Disney and Collodi versions, the Disney *Pinocchio* film is more successful with its young American audience because the primary goal of the film is to entertain, not to preach. A kind and innocent Pinocchio enlists the audience's sympathy when he strays as well as their faith that he will learn to be better.

Pinocchio is then sold to the Stromboli Puppet Theater in which Pinocchio's strings-free act makes him the star of the show and Stromboli's new leading act. Pinocchio's song, "I've got no strings to hold me down" speaks of Pinocchio's supposed freedom though he is in the control of others. When Pinocchio tries to leave Stromboli to go home to Geppetto, he is imprisoned in a cage until the Fairy comes to rescue him. When she questions Pinocchio why he did not do what he was supposed to do, he becomes ashamed and lies, causing his nose to grow long, again creating a parallel with the original Collodi text and even Tolstoy's *Buratino*. However, in Collodi's text, Pinocchio's nose only grows as Geppetto carves him in order to demonstrate how impertinent Pinocchio is; it is a trick that he plays. In *Buratino*, no matter how hard Papa Carlo tries, Buratino's nose simply decides to be long for no particular reason except that it is Buratino's defining feature. The *Pinocchio* Disney film handles Pinocchio's long nose quite differently. Pinocchio's long nose is a symbol of his own shame and wrong doing, a physical representation of his sin for all to see: lying. Once again, however, Pinocchio's wrong actions do not come from a selfish or self-serving place. He is simply ashamed that he was foolish and did not listen to Jiminy's advice and appears to learn quickly from the consequences of his actions. When the Fairy frees Pinocchio, he again promises to be good and makes his way homeward.

Once more, Pinocchio falls into the wrong hands as he is tempted by the Fox and the Cat to Pleasure Island where Pinocchio befriends Lampwick and overindulges in a gluttonous, violent, destructive, and vice-filled funhouse. The more the two friends indulge, however, the more they begin to transform into donkeys that are then sent to do hard labor. Jiminy Cricket and Pinocchio quickly escape, but not before Pinocchio has sprouted donkey ears and a long tail, again as a mark of punishment for his overindulgent lifestyle for which Pinocchio should be ashamed, not unlike his long nose. Pinocchio narrowly escapes sure destruction because of

Jiminy's advice, demonstrating how completely essential Pinocchio's conscience is to a happy and successful life.

Upon his escape, Pinocchio resolves to return home to Geppetto only to find out that Geppetto has been swallowed by a whale. Pinocchio then pursues the whale and finally rescues his father, all of which earns Pinocchio the status of a real boy because he has fulfilled the Fairy's prerequisites for Pinocchio to be "brave, truthful, and unselfish" – everything that a boy ought to be.

The Disney film of *Pinocchio* is, like the original text, engorged with moral one-liners and homilies that provide a map for the "narrow path" that the Fairy insists Pinocchio must follow in order to become a fully realized human boy, rather than just a wooden imitation of one. However, the character of Pinocchio portrays Pinocchio as innocent and truly kind at heart, but misguided, far different than the cruel and selfish Pinocchio of Collodi's tale who must continually make mistakes in order to finally become better. The language used by the Fairy, who herself is a supernatural element of the story and is the only truly focused moral guidance of the tale, is rooted in the language of Biblical messages, as well. Phrases like the "narrow path" are reminiscent of popular Christian tales such as *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan (1678) which follows the every-man protagonist who must endure trials, make mistakes, and redeem himself in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven and realize his ultimate goal. Such a structure is easily recognizable as that of the original *Pinocchio* text and of the 1940 Disney film. Consequently, the ideology in both the *Pinocchio* tale and Christian moral tales like *The Pilgrim's Progress* strike strong resemblances between each other as well, unsurprising given that Disney was prone to reinforce patriarchal, white, and Christian norms of American society.

The Disney *Pinocchio* film is very closely related to Collodi's text in this respect. The story of a protagonist's path to conversion and struggle with sin and temptation is a religious narrative to which both text and film version of *Pinocchio* adhere. However, Pinocchio of the 1940 film is small and sweet, excused from responsibility, unlike his Italian counterpart. Therefore, Disney's Pinocchio is never really punished for what he did. Though he experiences the pitfalls of making wrong decisions, he quickly learns from them with the excuse that he simply didn't know any better — after all, he doesn't even have an internal conscience to be his guide and a cricket can sometimes be hard pressed to keep up with a little boy. Pinocchio is further redeemed in the Disney film because he is, at heart, a rescuer. The moment he discovers that Geppetto has been swallowed by a whale, his next big adventure is to find his father and ensure his safety. In this respect, he is akin to Buratino who is also a rescuer and a fighter. However, rather than a savior of all, Pinocchio is purely a savior for the family as the other characters along the way who experience injustice — for instance, Pinocchio's friend Lampwick who is now doomed to be enslaved as a donkey — are passed by as deserving of their fate. Therefore, though the *Pinocchio* film demonstrates a close relationship to its textual predecessor, it fundamentally deviates to present an ideological message all its own.

Now, thanks to Disney, Pinocchio is even still a popular character for Disney merchandise and the songs produced for the film have become iconic for the Disney brand. However, the differences between the original Collodi text of *Pinocchio* and Disney's film are significant. It is in this way that Disney has forever changed the foundation of what a contemporary audience might expect from a fairy tale and Disney's work with *Pinocchio* is no exception. Such an altered perspective on the fairy tale genre appropriated for circulating a particular ideological message is no different than what was attempted with Tolstoy's *Buratino*.

With cinema as the medium, the fairy tale as an ideological meme is more available to audiences as it is disguised as entertainment and more easily in the public eye as an event to which people go and share the experience.

Conclusion

As Jack Zipes writes, a fairy tale "creates disorder to create order and…to give voice to utopian wishes and to ponder instinctual drives" (*Why* 14). The crux of a fairy tale meme is that it builds upon the natural habit of constructing the order of a story out of the chaos of life's conflicts in order to find compelling and constructive ways by which to resolve such conflicts. In this way, a fairy tale such as the *Pinocchio* narrative evolution which presents such trials of life and then clearly provides resolutions becomes a part of the way in which we think about the "story" of our lives. The dissemination of the Disney fairy tale, likewise, has inexplicably embedded itself into popular social thought about what it means to live a happy and successful life; the desire for a "happily ever after" is a potent wish that has led many "even without knowing it, to make a fairy tale of [their] lives" (*Why* xi).

Therefore, the dissemination of the familiar framework of a fairy tale frequently casts the protagonist as a substitute for the reader who can endure the trials and hardships as a proxy until they can experience the transformative aspects of a fairy tale's plot within their own selves. In the case of Collodi's *Pinocchio*, Pinocchio represents an every-man striving to become the good, righteous version of themselves. Similarly, in Tolstoy's *Buratino*, Buratino is meant to already represent the ideal citizen. His adventures as a savior for the underprivileged in which the reader can take part allows the reader to see how successful Buratino is and emulate his characteristics.

In educating the young, the meme of a fairy tale thrives on the shared cultural experience of a particular tale. Thus, the use of fairy tales as a vehicle for ideological socialization of young audiences is particularly suited for reproduction and adaptation since the target audience grows to cherish the shared experience and wishes to further reproduce it. In each incarnation of the *Pinocchio* narrative the use of children's literature as the best agent of ideological indoctrination ultimately attests to fairy tales' extraordinary cultural power: a seemingly innocuous genre is employed in the diffusion of potentially "dangerous" ideas.

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