SOVIET CHILDREN'S CULTURE FROM THE WEST: THE SUCCESS OF THE SWEDISH STORY OF KARLSSON-ON-THE-ROOF IN POST-STALINIST USSR

By

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Submitted to

Central European University

Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Second Reader: Professor Oksana Sarkisova

Vienna, Austria

2022

Abstract

In this thesis, I am working with Soviet adaptations of a Swedish children's tale by Astrid Lindgren "Karlsson-on-the-Roof" (1955). This book was translated into Russian in 1957, only two years after it was published in Swedish. The translator, Lilianna Lungina, approached the text in a Soviet tradition that put interpretation higher than the literal original text. Thus, Lungina adapted the tale for the child audience by adding some details from Soviet everyday life, such as food and topics of conversation. What is more, she made Karlsson a more likeable character than he was in the original book. Eleven years later, in 1968, Karlsson was adapted into an animated movie by the film director Boris Stepantsev. The movie continued the translator's approach and used many phases from the translated book. The creators of the movie also changed some of the scenery to make the story more familiar to viewers. Thus, Karlsson became extremely popular in the USSR, even more popular than in other western countries. In the 1990s another translator, Ludmila Braude, created a new translation, reworking all the details Lungina added for the Soviet context. Braude's version was more literal and responded both to Lungina and the movie version, but it was criticized for being too formal. In this thesis, I am exploring the difference between the two versions of translation, and the way the West was depicted in the movie. I also analyze Soviet details of everyday life that were added to the first translation and to the movie which help to account for Karlsson's closeness to the Soviet audience.

Acknowledgments

This thesis could not have been completed without the great support that I received from many different people while I was working on it. I express my appreciation to the following people.

To my supervisor, Professor Marsha Siefert, who always supported me. Thank you for all your advice, and sincere worrying for me and my research during this harsh time. Thank you for believing in me and for your drive that gave me lots of motivation.

To my second reader, Professor Oksana Sarkisova, who advised me a lot on my research and who helped me write it without archives when this opportunity was closed due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

To my supervisor in the Higher School of Economics, Professor Ludmila Novikova, who has always believed in me and supported me in all the research work.

To CEU History Department and especially Aniko Molnar, without whom all my CEU studies would be way harder than it was. Thank you for your support, kindness, and help in many different situations.

To my psychiatrist, Dr. Michael Lazansky, who has been helping me to go through the depression I got since the war started.

To my mom, who has always believed in me and supported my research work, and whose love encouraged me to do what I love.

And finally, to my partner Christophor Kosmidis, whose advice encouraged me a lot and who has supported me all the way in writing this thesis.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The children's world in the USSR has always been a place under party ideological influence. It was meant to be a space of "happy Soviet childhood" even though most of the children in the USSR faced many troubles and their lives did not fit this "happy" picture[1]. Nevertheless, the shortage of food and goods, repressions, World War II, and its consequences never stopped filmmakers from depicting a "happier" world in children's movies and publishers from selecting books with similar topics. Even though for Soviet children the Soviet authors were mostly known, they were also familiar with some foreign authors – mostly from the socialistic states or friendly ones. One of them was Astrid Lindgren, whose book about Karlsson-on-the-Roof (1955) was translated only two years after it appeared in Sweden. The book was highly acclaimed by a child audience, and in 1968 Soyuzmultfilm – the Soviet animation studio – released an animated version, which remained a classic Soviet movie for children throughout the rest of the Soviet period. Lindgren's story offers episodes in the life of a young boy, who is faced with typical children's problems – misunderstandings with parents, mockery from siblings. He ends up creating an imaginary friend – Karlsson, "who lives on the roof" and who makes his life better. Through translations and on film Karlsson illustrates the way in which the Soviet publishing and film industries found ways to adapt foreign culture to retain its origins while Sovietizing the everyday aspects for their own child audience.

Literature Overview:

Scholars approached children's culture from different perspectives; to my research three areas of scholarship are relevant: the studies about Soviet children's culture and life in general, children's literature studies, and research on animated children's films. They all rely on different sources and therefore on various methodologies.

[1] Rebecca Knight, "Representations of Soviet Childhood in Post-Soviet Texts by Liudmila Ulitskaia and Nina Gabrielian". *Modern Language Review*, 104, no. 3 (2009): 790-794; Eleni Karvounidou, *The Manipulation of Children's Literature: The Russian Translations of "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland"*, (PhD thesis. University of Surrey (United Kingdom), 2017).

For the first group, one of the most important scholars is Catriona Kelly, who researched many aspects of Soviet childhood and created a generalizing work about growing up in the USSR[2]. She points out that in the Soviet state childhood became the most important period of life – and the happiest one. It was a propagandistic tool to influence children and their parents to make them believe that it was the Soviet government that was doing its best for children. On the other hand, Kelly claims that children's experience was not homogenous and depended on social status and differences between city and village: it all marked the culture with which children were familiar. Overall, Kelly shows that childhood was not as "happy" period in the life of Soviet citizens as the state was trying to present.

Researchers of children's literature usually tried to conceptualize the texts within Soviet political life. Thus, in the collective monograph edited by Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova[3], the authors also refer to the idea of a "happy childhood". Literature, especially those used in school, was seen as an ideological tool in children's education. This was also a reason for themes of books with which children were familiar, for example, revolution and war topics. Still, the literary tradition was changing depending on political life and changes in government. Eventually, the most popular texts usually were adapted to the cinema or animated films.

In contrast, the third group of research, concerning the visual part of the Soviet childhood, seems to be less connected with concepts of ideology and propaganda and mostly with the perception of well-known characters. An example of such research can be found in the collective monograph edited by Ilya Kukulin, Mark Lipovetsky, and Maria Mayofis[4]. This research is notable since the authors approach the subject from different perspectives: anthropology, cinema studies, folklore studies, history. The authors see the characters they are writing about as a peculiar "pantheon" of Soviet childhood. They approach cartoons not as an ideological propagandistic tool, but on the contrary, as characters who were not against the

[2] Catriona Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia 1890-1991* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[3] Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova, eds. *Russian children's literature and culture* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[4] Ilya Kukulin, Mark Lipovetsky and Maria Mayofis, eds. *Veselye Chelovechki: Kul'turnye Geroi Sovetskogo Detstva* [Merry Little Men: Cultural Heroes of Soviet Childhood] (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2008).

ideology but were somewhere "sideways". Still, the authors show that the cartoons did not completely ignore changes in political life and sometimes this can be seen through artistic methods. Thus, the animation is seen not completely torn off Soviet reality but rather not as a total ideological tool.

Overall, the research dedicated to Soviet childhood seems to be general, not often referring to specific cases – authors, film directors, particular books/cartoons. The research views children's culture through concepts rather than contextualizing specific cases. That is why in my research I would like to focus on one case and research it through different prisms of Soviet visual culture, translations, and Soviet children's culture in general.

Hypothesis:

Astrid Lindgren's Karlsson is now one of the characters among the "pantheon" of Soviet childhood. This happened even though the original book depicted Stockholm's everyday life. Karlsson himself also is not the best-behaved character who can find sympathy among children – he is sometimes naughty, rude, and selfish. Still, the book and the cartoon became extremely popular in the USSR[5]. My hypothesis, thus, is that the way Soviet adaptation was made – both in translation and in the movie – played a significant role in this process. The translation of the book made in the USSR attempted to get the text and the characters closer to the Soviet child reader, just as it was with many translations of other children's foreign books[6]. The cartoon went further by inviting famous actors for voice acting and adding Soviet patterns into the animation. Overall, the book and the movie in the USSR were far from the original – in the details of everyday life, in the depiction of the main and other characters – but this story still turned out to be extremely popular in the USSR.

[5] Olga Maeots, "Karlsson flies over Russia: Astrid Lindgren's Books in Russia". *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature*, 42, no. 1 (2004): 19-23.
[6] See, for example: Elena Goodwin, *Translating England into Russian: The Politics of Children's Literature in the Soviet Union and Modern Russia* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).

Research Objectives:

The main objective of this research is to trace how "Karlsson-on-the-Roof" was acquired by the USSR. Firstly, how was the book translated and in which ways was the first translation different from the second one, which was made after the collapse of the USSR? Secondly, how did the first translation of the book influence the creation of the animated movie, in which ways did the movie change the Swedish scenery? How exactly did the movie depict the West and what did it add from Soviet realities? All in all, I would determine the context of how the Swedish book was becoming a classic for Soviet children.

Methodology and Sources:

In my thesis, I will use the method of textual analysis to explore translations of "Karlsson-on-the-Roof" Also, I will approach with a comparative method to different versions of the book's translation. The visual analysis will be applied to the animated movie – I will trace the image of the West and the aspects of Soviet realities which were added by the cartoon creators.

My sources can be grouped into different parts. First of all, there are sources dedicated to the book itself – the two translations of Astrid Lindgren's book "Karlsson-on-the-Roof". The first one was made in 1957 by Lilianna Lungina, and the other one – after the collapse of the Soviet Union – in 1994 by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova. I will also use the original Swedish book: "Lillebror och Karlsson på taket" to compare some parts with the translations. Secondly, it is the animated movie that consists of two parts: "Malysh i Karlson" ("Kid and Karlsson") which was created in 1968, and "Karlsson is Back" *("Karlson Vernulsya")* which was filmed two years later in 1970. Both cartoons were directed by Boris Stepantsev, the script was written by Boris Larin, and Anatoly Savchenko was the animator of the cartoons. I will also

use the musical film “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” which was directed by Leonid Kvinikhidze and was released in 1984, to compare portrayals of the West in late Soviet children’s films.

Thesis Outline:

In the first chapter, I will explore the context in which Karlsson was adapted: what has the Thaw brought to Soviet culture? How did films and books for children change? How did translators approach the texts in the USSR? In the second chapter, I am going to analyze the translations of Karlsson: who were the translators working with Karlsson? How were Karlsson and everyday life changed in the translations? In the last third chapter, I will analyze the movie: under what circumstances was the animated Karlsson film made? How did the creators depict the West? In which ways did they add Soviet realities?

Chapter 1. The Context of Creating Soviet Adaptations of "Karlsson-on-the-Roof".

The Soviet adaptation of Karlsson is contextualized by political processes and phenomena in Soviet history and culture that I discuss in this introductory chapter. First, even though I am going to analyze several of Karlsson's adaptations from different times, the first translation done during the Thaw sets the stage for what is to come. The Thaw period, which is usually associated with Khrushchev's rule, so dates from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. The first translation of Karlsson had many changes in comparison to the original exactly because of the time it was created (1957). It was not the case with the second translation from the 1990s since it was mostly a response to the first translation and the movie. Since the 1968 movie was based on the translation and not the original Swedish text, and also it was created soon after the Thaw, every rough edge has already been smoothed. However, it is important to focus on several other phenomena apart from the period. We should bear in mind the overall tradition of Soviet literature in Thaw, especially the foreign translations and children's books. The ways of translation and different approaches are also notable for the comparison of Soviet and post-Soviet translations. And last but not least is the children's films and animated films tradition. I am going to discuss these four topics in this chapter to better frame my research and analysis of the sources.

1.1. The Thaw

The expression appeared almost at the beginning of what has since been labeled "the Thaw". It was highly used by Soviet people of that time, and it is still very well-known. This expression was a metaphor for the "spring" in the political context which came after the death of Stalin. Such "spring" meant that maybe soon the "summer" will come, and in Soviet realities, it meant political freedom. The expression first came from the short novel "The Thaw" *("Ottepel")* written by Ilya Ehrenburg in 1954. Afterward, in western historiography, the expression "de-

Stalinization" was used to describe the changes in the culture and political world in Khrushchev's times[7].

One of the main topics in Soviet culture in the Thaw starting from the end of the 1950s was the criticism of all bureaucratic procedures and overall bureaucracy in the Soviet leadership. It also included indifference of the officials to Soviet citizens, their rudeness, and formalism in dealing with citizens' problems. All these issues have been already discussed in Soviet culture, but now they appeared to be a critique of a whole system connected with Stalin's system of government[8]. Such a type of critique can be found in two cultural works of 1956: in the novel "Not by Bread Alone" *("Ne Hlebom Edinym")* written by Vladimir Dudintsev and in the movie "Carnival Night" *("Karnavalnaya Noch")* directed by Eldar Ryazanov. Dudintsev's novel tells a story about an inventor who faces a conspiracy by a factory's board of directors and some high officials, and Ryazanov's movie is about a progressive youth who works in a House of Culture and who faces a bureaucratic New Year's program by a new director.

Notably, during the Thaw period, the amount of international cultural contacts increases dramatically. For example, in 1953 Moscow held several exhibitions of foreign artists from India and Finland. An important event of foreign cultural life in the USSR was the reopening of the permanent exposition in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts which was one of the largest museums of European art in the USSR. Before, instead of the permanent exposition, there was an exposition about gifts to Stalin for his anniversary. This museum played an important role in the process of international contact. For example, during the Thaw it held exhibitions of paintings from the Dresden Gallery and paintings by Pablo Picasso. The last one was a shock for a Soviet audience who was not familiar with contemporary art, and most had seen only art in a socialist realism style. One of the most notable international contacts is associated with The World Festival of Youth and Students which was held in Moscow in 1957, where Soviet citizens

[7] Stephen Lovell, *Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR 1941 to the present* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 14, 20.
[8] Stephen Lovell, "Books and Their Readers in Twentieth-Century Russia", in *The Space of the Book*, edited by Miranda Remnek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 239.

had a chance to meet foreign artists[9]. Thus, during the Thaw Soviet people got familiar with different types of art, and they also got an opportunity to rethink Soviet art. All in all, it brought new ideas to literature and films.

1.2. Soviet Literature during the Thaw

The Thaw brought many changes to Soviet literature, and most of them relate to the overall liberalization of the USSR. Among the authors who came back to literature and publications were both those who had been forbidden and who had died because of repressions. For example, several authors from Moscow created an almanac "Literary Moscow" *("Literaturnaya Moskva")*. Ilya Ehrenburg wrote an introduction, and the almanac published poetry by Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetaeva, whose literature had not been published for a long time. The more important change was connected not to names that returned to Soviet culture, but the fact the number of topics discussed in literature became wider than it was before – lots of taboos, including the topic of repressions, were removed.

We can see some changes connected with Thaw in children's literature, but they were not as notable as those for adults. All the most-known writers of the Thaw created books for adults: already mentioned novel "Not by Bread Alone" by Vladimir Dudintsev, the forbidden novel "Doctor Zhivago" written by Boris Pasternak in 1957, a novel "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" *("Odin Den' Ivana Denisovicha")* written by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and published in 1962. The issue of repressions in Stalin's times, important for Thaw literature, was not very influential for children's literature. However, during the Thaw children's literature became more open to experiments. Writers also got an opportunity to create more complex characters and write with more psychological insight[10].

[9] Eleonory Gilburd, *To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018), 254-256.
[10] Ben Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: The History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People* (1574–2010) (Boston: Brill, 2013), 472-476; Maria Mayofis, Dmitry Uskov, and Olga Bukhina, "Soviet Children's

An important change during the Thaw in children's literature was the fact that Soviet publishers started to translate more foreign authors. Of course, authors from socialist countries or somehow connected with the socialist movement had more chances to be published in the USSR. Apart from Astrid Lindgren who I chose for this thesis, a nice example is a poetry and prose by Italian author Giovanni "Gianni" Rodari. He joined the Italian Communist Party in 1944, and in 1952 he visited the USSR. From that moment, his poetry was translated into Russian by a famous children's writer and translator Samuil Marshak. In the USSR, the most popular book by Rodari was "The Adventures of the Little Onion" (or "The Adventures of the Chipollino" as it was renamed in English) written in 1951 and translated by Marshak in 1953 *("Priklyucheniya Chipollino").* Just like Karlsson, Chipollino became very famous among Soviet children not only because of the book but also due to the animated movie, created in 1961. Also, a famous Soviet poet and writer Boris Zakhoder in 1960 translated into Russian Alan Milne's "Winnie-the-Pooh" (1926) as *"Vinni-Puh i vse-vse-vse"* ("Winnie-the-Pooh and all-all-all"). He also translated in 1968 "Mary Poppins" (1934) written by Pamela Travers. Among other well-known translated books of this period can be named "The Little Prince" (1943) written by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry and translated by a famous interpreter Nora Gal in 1958 *("Malen'kij prints").*

We should also note that during the Thaw the amount of children's literature in the USSR increased, and it led to the creation of new places where children's books could be published. The most important publisher was still Detgiz (shortened from "Children's State Publishing House"). However, in 1957 was created a new publisher – Detskij Mir (Children's World), and a new children's section appeared in the publisher of adult literature Sovetskaya Rossiya (Soviet Russia). Children also had some magazines created for them: old *Murzilka* and *Pioner* (Pioneer) continued to be published from 1924, but children also got a new magazine *Vesyolye Kartinki* (Funny Pictures) in 1956. Soviet youth got a special magazine *Yunost'* (Youth) in 1955, but some literature for teenagers was also published in such magazines as *Novy Mir* (New World)

Literature of the "Thaw" Period: Discoveries and Utopias", *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature*, 58, no. 2 (2020): 13-17.

and *Zvezda* (Star). Overall, we see that the translation of Karlsson in 1957 was a part of these changes when children's literature became more complex and diverse.

1.3. Soviet Approaches to Translation

The Soviet tradition of translation began with the creation of a publishing house Vsemirnaya Literatura (World Literature) by Maxim Gorky in 1919 to show readers the authors from different countries. For this purpose, the publishing house needed many interpreters who could translate all this literature quite fast. Before this event, literary translation was mostly a hobby but after 1919 it turned into a profession. During this time, some famous authors such as Korney Chukovsky and Nikolay Gumilyov began to do translations. In 1920 All-Russian Union of Writers was created, and one of the sections was dedicated to translators. One of the main features of Soviet translations was censorship of all the books and translations. In 1922 was created Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs under the People's Commissariat of Education of the RSFSR *(Glavnoe Upravlenie po Delam Literatury i Izdatel'stv pri Narkomate Prosveshcheniya RSFSR)* or simply Glavlit. This authority controlled all printed materials and existed till 1991. However, censorship in the USSR was not only a matter of authority. Self-censorship among translators was very widespread[11], and we will see in the following chapter that Karlsson was not an exception. The influence of censorship and politicization of the whole translation sphere can be seen in the example of the novel "The Catcher in the Rye" written by Jerome David Salinger. This book was forbidden in the USA for some time; however, it was published in the USSR and became an "anti-American novel" to criticize the American way of life[12].

[11] Judith A. Inggs, "Censorship and Translated Children's Literature in the Soviet Union. The Example of the Wizards Oz and Goodwin", *Target*, 23, no. 11 (2011): 82-84.
[12] Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 101-102.

In the USSR due to harsh censorship for many writers, it was hard to publish their literature. That is why many of them eventually became translators since it was easier to make a career and earn money in that sphere. Among famous writers who also became famous translators were Anna Akhmatova, Boris Pasternak (he is especially famous for the translation of Goethe's "Faust"), and Samuil Marshak. Gender roles were also important in Soviet translations. In the case of famous writers who could not be published, the problem was the censorship. However, in the case of beginning authors, it was harder for women to be published or become famous as a writer since it was considered a prestigious role in Soviet society[13]. That is why many women with philological backgrounds eventually became translators – we also can see it in Karlsson's example.

In the Thaw and after, the censorship became less strict, and afterward, the approach to translation also changed. For example, in 1953 was published the book *Vvedenie v Teoriyu Perevoda* ("Introduction to Translation Theory") written by a translator Andrey Fyodorov. It started a theoretical background for an approach to translation as an interpretation of the text in a different language. Basically, this approach was already widespread in the USSR and most translators tried to make a translation not close to the original but a poetic one, especially when it came to children's literature[14]. However, in the Thaw, this approach received a theoretical frame. As we will see, the first translation of Karlsson was also made in this paradigm.

The Thaw also brought more foreign literature to the USSR. Apart from the magazine *Druzhba Narodov* (Friendship of Peoples), in 1955 was founded the magazine *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature). In 1967 the publishing house Hudozhestvennaya Literatura (Fiction Literature) created a separate series of books: *Biblioteka Vsemirnoj Literatury* (Library of World Literature) which for over 10 years published 200 foreign books in Russian translation.

[13] Maurice Friedberg, *Literary Translation in Russia: A Cultural History* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 92-95.
[14] Natalia Kaloh Vid, "Translation of Children's Literature in the Soviet Union: How Pinocchio Got a Golden Key", *International Research in Children's Literature*, 6, no. 1 (2013): 97; Mee Ryoung Park, "A Case Study of Russification in Two Translations of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland by Vladimir Nabokov and Boris Zakhoder", *Children's Literature in Education*, 49, no. 2 (2018): 149.

The profession of translator grew, and universities also supported the profession by opening new places for training translators and interpreters. We see that in the Thaw the process of translating foreign literature from different countries was well established, and Soviet citizens (including children) got the opportunity to frequently read new foreign authors.

1.4. Soviet Children's Movies and Animated Films

Soviet children's movies were one of the most thriving genres in Soviet movies since the state had its own interest in producing this type of film. Even though children's films were created as entertaining ones, their main purpose was not only to "teach what is good" but to raise in children the Soviet values. That is why for a long time this genre of film was one of the most politicized[15]. Nevertheless, just like the books for children and teenagers, during the Thaw characters in children's films become more complex, raising issues like finding a place in life as well as inner worries.

In 1936, two studios for children's culture were created: Soyuzdetfilm (All-Union Children's Film Studio) for films, which was later renamed "Maxim Gorky Film Studio" *(*Kinostudiya Imeni M. Gor'kogo*),* and Soyuzmul'tfil'm (All-Union Animated Film Studio) for animated movies. Films and movies for children in this time included book adaptations, some fairy tales, and adventure plots. After the war, for example, appeared film adaptations of "Fifteen-Year-Old Captain" *("Pyatnadcatiletnij Kapitan")* written by Jules Verne and filmed by Vasilij Zhuravlyov in 1945, "Old Man Hottabych" *("Starik Hottabych")* written by Lazar Lagin and filmed by Gennadi Kazansky in 1956, and "Cinderella" directed by Nadezhda Kosheverova and Mikhail Shapiro in 1947. Among postwar popular full-length animated movies can be named "The Snow Queen" *("Snezhnaya Koroleva"),* directed by Lev Atamanov and released in 1957, and "The Scarlet Flower" *("Alenkiy Tsvetochek")* also directed by Atamanov and released

[15] Robert W. Clawson, "Political Socialization of Children in the USSR", *Political Science Quarterly*, 88, no. 4 (1973): 692.

in 1952. Notably, in the beginning, Soyuzmul'tfil'm tried to copy Disney's approach to animated movies; however, after the war, the studio started to create cartoons in its own style[16]. Soviet cartoons of this time were very realistic due to the technic of rotoscoping (or known in the USSR as "eclair" named after a French camera) in which before cartooning the scenes are filmed at first, and then cartoonists draw them with a special projector[17]; Lev Atamanov's cartoons were created exactly in this technic.

The Thaw has also changed children's films – the film studio Mosfilm was reorganized into several different structures; one of them was the so-called creative association "Youth". Just like in books, films for children stopped being strictly propagandistic characters and raised problems that became more complex[18]. Among such films can be named a school romantic drama where adults interfere with children's love "But What If This Is Love" *("A Esli Eto Lyubov?")* , directed by Yuli Raizman and released in 1961, and "We'll Live Till Monday" *("Dozhivyom do Ponedelnika")* directed by Stanislav Rostotsky and released in 1968 – teachers there were shown as complex people with their own worries and not only as authorities.

Nevertheless, the Thaw did not bring many changes to animated movies. Still, there were some changes in technic, for example, realistic pictures were replaced by simple drawing, and later another technic appeared – puppet animation. Among the most famous cartoons in this technic can be named "The Mitten" *("Varezhka"),* directed by Roman Kachanov and released in 1967, and especially famous "Gena the Crocodile" *("Krokodil Gena")* – an adaptation of Eduard Uspensky's books that was also directed by Kachanov and released in 1969. During this time cartoons also became a series of animated films, for example, three cartoons about Winnie-the-Pooh (1969-1972) directed by Fyodor Khitruk, and 16 cartoons "Well, Just You Wait!" *("Nu, Pogodi!")* directed by Vyacheslav Kotyonochkin. Thus, during the Thaw and after, cartoons and especially children's films featured new topics and technics. Book adaptations were very popular

[16] Laura Pontieri Hlavacek, "Russian Animated Films of the 1960s as a Reflection of the Thaw: Ambiguities and Violation of Boundaries in Story of a Crime", *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema*, 3, no. 1 (2009): 55-57.
[17] Masha Kowell, and Ian MacMillen, "Cartoon Jazz: Soviet Animations and the Khrushchev "Thaw". *Film & History*, 45, no. 2 (2015): 33.
[18] Olga Voronina, eds., *A Companion to Soviet Children's Literature and Film* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 398.

in children's culture, and Karlsson was also filmed as a part of this interest in children's book adaptations.

Overall, we see that translation and later film adaptations of Karlsson were created during the time when children's culture was changing. An interest in foreign literature was raised, as well as an increase in children's movies. Karlsson appeared as a new character, unlike any before in Soviet culture. The translation made him very Soviet in a tradition that was widespread among translators. The movie continued this change, and made Karlsson one of the most popular Soviet children's characters. In the following chapters, I will reveal how the story about Karlsson was adapted in the translation and the movie, and how this story and the character became so close to the Soviet audience.

Chapter 2. The Translations of "Karlsson-on-the-Roof" in the Russian Language.

In this chapter, I will focus on the Soviet and post-Soviet translations of Astrid Lindgren's "Karlsson-on-the-Roof", which was published in Sweden in 1955. Lindgren's story was quickly picked up by the Soviet children's publisher, and the book was translated in 1957 by Liliana Lungina. This version of the book became widespread in the USSR; it was the groundwork for creating a movie eleven years later. The next time when this story received attention was after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This time the book was translated again by two translators: Lyudmila Braude and Natalia Belyakova. The main translator in this duet was Braude, who had the idea of making a new translation, closer to the Swedish original. Unlike Lungina who had to make many changes in the text due to Soviet politics of publishing children's literature, Braude's translation was not so influenced by the time; she was not happy with the first translation and simply decided to make her own. However, she was responding not only to Lungina's translation but also to the movie. This translation was made at the beginning of the 1990s and was quickly included in the collected edition of Astrid Lindgren's works in the Russian language (1994). Despite this, in 2008 another new translation was made by Eduard Uspenskiy – a famous Soviet children's writer. I do not include his version in my research since I focus on the Soviet adaptation and its rethinking just after the collapse of the USSR. We see that this story, which became extremely popular in the USSR, continues to gain attention in modern Russia. According to Astrid Lindgren, the story about Karlsson became that popular only in Sweden and the USSR – in the latter its total circulation was 5 million copies. In the following chapter, I am going to trace the history of these translations and also their differences, since these translations were created with a gap of almost 40 years.

2.1. Women who Translated "Karlsson-on-the-Roof"

The first translation by Lilianna Lungina came out just two years after the book was published in Sweden – in 1957. Lungina was born in 1920 and was a philologist and translator of French, German, and Scandinavian languages (Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish). She was a daughter of Zinovii Lungin – a deputy of Anatoly Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar for Education. Later Lungin became a Soviet head of the trade mission. That is why Lilianna Lungina grew up in France, Germany, and Palestine. When she returned to the USSR in the early 1950s, she tried to find a job as a translator in French and German, but was unsuccessful due to the anti-cosmopolitan campaign.[19]. Still, in university, she was studying Scandinavian languages, which is how she discovered Swedish children's literature, and eventually found the story about Karlsson.

According to her, "literally from the very first page [she] saw that this is not just a book, that this is some kind of miracle that this is something that one can only dream of"[20]. Lungina was thrilled about the book and thought that Lindgren would become world-renowned. However, she did not know that by this time Lindgren had already become well-known and received the Hans Christian Andersen Award – the most prestigious award in the world of children's literature. Lungina was right and the book became a bestseller in the USSR, just in a few years, its print runs were up to 300 thousand copies. At the same time, several radio and theatrical plays were created, and eventually the carton – which I will analyze in the next chapter.

This first version of the book kept the Swedish illustrations by Ilon Wikland, even though later they were replaced by illustrations based on the movie. Lungina also translated other of Lindgren's books: "Pippi Longstocking", "Emil of Lönneberga", "Six Bullerby Children" and "Ronia the Robber's Daughter". After this Lungina became a well-known translator in the USSR and she finally started to get orders for translations from German and French. Lungina wrote: "Translation is a great blessing. I would compare the art of translation only with a musical

[19] Stephen Lovell, *Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR 1941 to the present*, 212-213; Oleg Dorman, *Podstrochnik: Zhizn' Lilianny Lunginoj, Rasskazannaya Eyu v Fil'me Olega Dormana* [Word for Word: The Life of Lilianna Lungina, Told by Her in the Film by Oleg Dorman] (Moscow: Corpus, 2010), 37.
[20] Ibid, 192.

performance. This is an interpretation. I do not dare to say which is better, which is worse – everyone chooses what they like"[21].

In the 1960s Lindgren visited Moscow and during this visit, Lungina managed to meet the writer whose books she translated. They kept in touch by correspondence for many years. For Lungina, meeting Lindgren became a memorable experience, which she shared later: "Astrid Lindgren is completely out of her books. She is wonderful; she is thin, tall, very cheerful, very lively, and somehow very directly reacting to everything… When we saw her off in the evening to the "Russia Hotel", she got off the trolleybus and began to dance – at midnight, saying goodbye to us. And it was so contagious that Sima [Lungina's husband] and I had to answer her and also performed some dance steps in an empty trolleybus"[22]. Lindgren was also happy about her books being so popular in the USSR. The author saw there was personal merit of Lungina who managed to adapt the story to Soviet realities and everyday language. In the 1970s Lindgren even wrote a letter to the publisher "Children's Literature" *("Detgiz")* and allowed to publish the books about Karlsson (eventually, the author wrote three of them) without any reward to her.

In the 1970-1980s, Lungina opened a seminar for young translators, and many of them later became famous. In 1990 she wrote a book "Moscow seasons" in French where she depicted life in the USSR for a western audience[23]. The book told stories of Soviet artists, dissidents, politicians, and just ordinary people. Lungina's work was awarded by the French journal "Elle". The memory of Lungina remained not only in the books she translated but also in the documentary film "Word for Word" based on Lungina's memoirs. The movie received attention since many people were charmed by the way Lungina shared her experience of living in the twentieth century. I assume that Lungina describes her attitude to life in these words: "Life is crazy but still beautiful. She is crazy, scary, terrible, but at the same time beautiful and I think that the good in it prevails over the bad, over scary. I am even sure of it. In any case, my

[21] Jens Andersen, *Astrid Lindgren: The Woman Behind Pippi Longstocking* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2018), 54.
[22] Oleg Dorman, *Podstrochnik: Zhizn' Lilianny Lunginoj, Rasskazannaya Eyu v Fil'me Olega Dormana,* 215.
[23] Lilianna Lungina, *Les saisons de Moscou: 1933-1990: racontées à Claude Kiejman* (Paris: Plon, 1990).

experience teaches this. Because the main thing in this life is people, and there are many more wonderful people than you think"[24]. Lungina died in 1998 and saw how Karlsson has been translated again – for her it was a shock that in the collected edition of Lindgren's work in Russian another version of the translation was included, not hers.

Ludmila Braude was younger than Lungina but they still were the same generation – Braude was born seven years after Lungina, in 1927. She was a philologist with a specialization in Scandinavia. Braude became well-known primarily not as a translator but as a scholar – she was a specialist on Scandinavian tales, wrote books about Astrid Lindgren and Hans Christian Andersen, she also taught German. In 1980 she became a professor at Leningrad State University (now – Saint Petersburg State University) and later – a professor at Saint-Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts. As an additional job, Braude translated tales from German, Dutch, Norwegian, and Swedish. Even though the age of the two translators was similar, Braude started her job later. She was from another generation of translators and paid more attention to the original text and not the poetry of translation. She used to work on the popularization of Scandinavian culture and saw the purpose of the new translation to show Lindgren's characters exactly as the author created them, since she did not value the first translation by Lungina. Braude considered Lungina's translation too poetic and not close enough to the original. Eventually, Braude's translations became a subject of criticism since they were not as bright and cheerful as Lungina's ones.

Just like Lungina, Braude managed to meet Astrid Lindgren in 1987 when the Swedish author visited Leningrad. They also corresponded a lot and after a while, Braude convinced Lindgren that a new version of Karlsson was necessary. That is how Braude recalled this conversation in one of the interviews: "I remember Astrid asked me: "Why do you want to retranslate Carlson? Isn't he so popular in the Soviet Union?" And I told her: "Because when you and I watched Pippi Longstocking at the theater, you kept pushing me to the side and saying:

[24] Oleg Dorman, *Podstrochnik: Zhizn' Lilianny Lunginoj, Rasskazannaya Eyu v Fil'me Olega Dormana*, 328.

"Ludmila, did I really write this?" So I want you to stop pushing me to the side. I want your voice to be heard in my translations"[25].

Nevertheless, in the 2000s translations of Karlsson and other Lindgren's books faced a problem caused by Braude herself. The translator together with a publisher "Text" reached Lindgren's agent to discuss an issue of copyright. The letter by Lindgren written in the 1970s continued to be used after the collapse of the Soviet Union, so the new generation would like to establish a new copyright approach. Braude insisted that after the collapse of the USSR, many new publishers apart from "Children's Literature" *("Detgiz")* appeared and they all used an excuse from Lindgren's letter to publish her books without paying anything to the author. By this time, Lindgren was in her 90s, so she did not participate in this process. Her agent was glad to accept Braude's offer about buying exclusive rights to publishing Lindgren's books. From that time, Lungina's translations stopped being published. Having such exclusive rights, the publisher refused any offers about publishing the first translation. The publisher eventually gave the rights to its successor after being closed but by this time Lungina's translation was almost forgotten in the Russian book market[26].

The situation would remain the same if one of Lungina's friends did not address her by asking where he could find her translation – it turned out that it was almost impossible. Lungina contacted Astrid Lindgren directly to find out more about the new version of the translation. Lindgren was shocked and promised to speak with the agent, noting that she could not guarantee anything since she was not doing business anymore. Lindgren did not manage to do anything and in 2001 the publisher Azbuka (Alphabet) made collected works by Lindgren with the translation made by Braude. Even though the first version of such collected works was already made in 1994, it was published by a small publishing house Biblioteka Zvezdy (The Star Library) and

[25] Alexey Karakhan, "On Zaletel, no Obeshchal Vernut'sya" ["He Flew, but Promised to Return"], *Kommersant Vlast'* [Commerce Man Power], 13/364 (2000): 52.
[26] Ibid, 56.

remained unnoticed. Azbuka is a large publishing house, so this collected works in a way canonized Lindgren's books in Russian translated by Braude and not by Lungina.

However, the readers remembered Lungina's translations and wanted to make their own choice between the two versions. They continued addressing the press and publishing houses to get public attention and resolve the occurred problem. Eventually, the publisher agreed to print not only Braude's translations but Lungina's as well. The issue of the copyright was settled, and the Azbuka shared the rights with other publishing houses. One of them, Makhaon (Swallowtail) published an illustrated five-volume edition of Astrid Lindgren's book. The most important detail is that the book used the works of different translators – not only Lungina and Braude but also other translators who worked on Lindgren's texts. From now on, Russian-speaking readers can choose the preferable version of the translation. In the following part, I will compare Braude's and Lungina's translations to see how translation practices changed in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia and how these versions captured the details of their times.

2.2. "Karlsson-on-the-Roof": 1957 vs 1990s

Astrid Lindgren wrote three books about Karlsson: "Karlsson-on-the-Roof" (1955), "Karlsson Returns" (1962), and "The World's Best Karlsson" (1968). In my thesis I will focus only on the first book – that was the one book that Lungina found and translated in 1957, and later it became the basis for different interpretations in theatre, and eventually the movie (which eventually used the second book as well). Other books about Karlsson were translated later: "Karlsson Returns" appeared in the USSR in 1965 (three years after its original publication), and "The World's Best Karlsson" was translated in 1973 (five years after publication in Sweden). I will not analyze the means of artistic expression; instead, I will look at the details of portraying characters, their relationships, and everyday life. Even though both translators did not change the main story, the details become extremely important since every translation refers to its time.

2.2.1. Karlsson as a Character

Astrid Lindgren like many western readers was always surprised that Karlsson became so popular in the USSR. This naughty, self-righteous, boastful character[27] surprisingly found its audience among Soviet children. I assume that it was in many ways the merit of Lilianna Lungina, who managed to soften the edges while portraying Karlsson.

In the first pages, we see such a portrait of Karlsson: "a little plump self-confident little man"[28]. He is portrayed in a funny and a bit simple manner – he is just a boy. It probably could not be otherwise in the USSR since Astrid Lindgren used the word *"herre"*[29] which can be translated as "lord" or "master". Braude in her turn kept the purpose to use original senses and named Karlsson "sir" ("*gospodin"*)[30]. This detail would not be so important if we would discuss any other country. However, in the Soviet context, the word used by Braude had a very negative sense after the revolution since it referred to the hierarchy that existed in the Russian Empire: "*gospodin"* used to be a name for noblemen. Thus, Lungina did not change the sense of this description a lot but made it more familiar for Soviet citizens.

In some places, Lungina just shorted the text without changing the meaning. It is probably connected to the Soviet publication culture which expected books not to be very long[31]. We can see as an example the scene where Karlsson and Kid first met, and Kid says that he is Svante Svanteson, but everyone calls him Kid. In the Swedish original[32], and Braude's version,[33] Karlsson not only introduces himself but also is surprised by two different names: "Just imagine that you can be called differently!" Lungina simply omits this part, and Karlsson just tells his

[27] Lance Weldy, "The Queerness of the Man-Child: Narcissism and Silencing in Astrid Lindgren's Karlson on the Roof Series", *Barnboken,* 44 (2021): 8.
[28] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe* [Kid and Karlsson who Lives on the Roof], translated by Lilianna Lungina. (Moscow: Detgiz, 1957), 6.
[29] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket* [Kid and Karlsson-on-the-Roof]. (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1955), 5.
[30] Astrid Lindgren, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe* [Karlsson who Lives on the Roof], translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova in *Sobranie sochinenij* [Collected Works] *by Astrid Lindgren*, vol. 4. (Saint-Petersburg: Biblioteka "Zvezdy", 1994), 4.
[31] Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova, eds. *Russian Children's Literature and Culture*. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 53; Catriona Kelly, "Thank you for the Wonderful Book": Soviet Child Readers and the Management of Children's Reading, 1950-1975", *Kritika*, 6, no. 4 (2005): 727-728.
[32] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 6.
[33] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 9.

name[34]. A similar thing can be noticed when Kid asks Karlsson whether it is hard for Karlsson to fly. In the Swedish[35] and Braude[36] versions, Karlson tells that he is an "artistic flying world champion", while Lungina keeps it simple – her Karlsson is just "the best flyer"[37]. Such examples do not influence a lot the meaning or the perception of the character, but it just makes the text shorter and probably easier to follow for children.

Further, Lungina compared Karlsson to a "director" talking about Karlsson's view while he was flying[38]. Braude and Lindgren compared Karlsson to "bureau chief" *("byråchef"[39])*. In this case, Lungina did not try to make the description softer but used vocabulary which was more understandable and closer to everyday speech. The same thing happened with the greeting Karlsson uses: *"Hejsan hoppsan"[40]*. It is just a familiar way to say "hey" in Swedish, so Lungina used a simple "hello"[41]. Braude instead saved this phrase without translation, and just wrote it in Russian[42]. On the one hand, it made the text more westernized with expressions that are not familiar to the Soviet reader. On the other hand, Lungina's version was easier to follow and understand by Soviet people who mostly did not know a lot about western culture and especially the Scandinavian one. Eventually, Lungina's translation ended up being extremely popular and cited among Soviet citizens, and many of the phrases were included in the movie.

Talking about Braude's translation, I have to mention that even though the purpose of "being close to the original" was extremely important for the translator, sometimes it did not perform well. Thus, Braude translated the phrase that Karlsson uses during the whole book as "No panic!"[43] Astrid Lindgren in her turn wrote: *"Lugn, bara lugn"* which can be translated as

[34] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 10.
[35] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 6.
[36] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 9.
[37] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 10.
[38] Ibid, 6.
[39] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 6; Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 5.
[40] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 7.
[41] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 10.
[42] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 6.
[43] Ibid, 12.

"Calm down, just calm down"[44]. Notably, Lungina used the construction which translated into English the same way: *"Spokoystviye, tol'ko spokoystviye"*[45]. We cannot know precisely why Braude ignored the Swedish original to which she used to adhere to. Especially it is interesting since this phrase became one of the most popular in the USSR. Probably, Braude's idea was to create her interpretation even of the most well-known phrases. Still, this theory is not perfect because in other places of the text concerning popular phrases Braude retained Lungina's translation untouched.

Talking about Karlsson, we should keep in mind that he is a naughty character. It is not always clear, especially in the Lungina translation. Astrid Lindgren like many children's writers created a text with some pieces that children might not fully understand but parents would. In the original story, these moments when Karlsson is being naughty sometimes overlap with so-called "adult" phrases. For example, in the scene where Kid wants Karlsson to meet his parents, Karlsson is talking about all of his advantages and how Kid's parents will be pleased to see him. However, in the end Karlsson says: "*En man i sina bästa år. Blir roligt för din mamma att få träffa mig*"[46]. Braude translates it just the way Lindgren wrote the phrase: "A man in the prime of life. Your mom will be delighted"[47]. We see that this joke can be considered as not exactly a children's one. That is why Lungina changed the part about Kid's mom: "Your parents will be pleased to meet me"[48]. This change seems to be natural since most of the Soviet literature was usually modest and such a joke in 1957 would be inappropriate. Thus, following Soviet ideas about children's culture, Lungina at the same time made Karlsson sweeter than he was in Swedish.

At the same time, Karlsson's behavior was a subject of judgment in Lungina's translation. Soviet books – both children's and adults' – should show some moral lessons and the

[44] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket,* 7.
[45] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 13.
[46] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket,* 10.
[47] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 22.
[48] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 21.

appropriate attitude[49]. That is why Lungina brought moral aspects to parts where it was missing but in a Soviet moral universe, it was essential to show readers how to feel about the character's behavior. For example, in one of the scenes Kid brings his family to his room to meet Karlsson as they agreed – but by this time Karlsson has already flown away. Kid is upset about the situation, and here is how he expresses it in the later translation by Braude: "How boring it became without him, how boring!"[50] It is very similar to the original where Kid tells: "It was empty without him, very empty" ("*Men det var tomt efter honom, väldigt tomt"*)[51]. However, in the first translation by Lungina Kid thinks about different things: "How badly Karlsson treated him, how badly!"[52] We see that Lungina made an accent not on Kid's personal feelings, but on the moral side – trying to show Soviet kids how wrong it is to break promises. Though it was typical for Soviet literature to have this strong attitude to moral values, in Karlsson's case it changed character – from a naughty person to a friend who sometimes acts not the best way. Thus, it reduced the overall impression of Karlsson as naughty to separate acts of misbehavior.

2.2.2. Everyday Life

At the beginning of the book, we see the description of the Kid's family. His brother and sister are "ordinary", but Lungina and Braude explain it differently. Thus, Bosse Kid's brother, according to Lungina, "is more willing to stand at the football goal than at the school board"[53]. A fifteen-year-old boy can prefer football to school but in a book published in Soviet times, he cannot be described as a completely lazy schoolboy. On the contrary, Braude was not so gentle with words, and in her version, Bosse "loves football and is a bad pupil"[54]. It is not a soft description, but it is closer to Lindgren's book, where she wrote the same phrase: "*och klarar sig*

[49] Marina Balina and Serguei A. Oushakine, eds. *The Pedagogy of Images: Depicting Communism for Children*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), 43-45; Felicity Ann O'Dell, *Socialisation Through Children's Literature: The Soviet Example* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 21-24.
[50] Astrid Lindgren, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 33.
[51] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket,* 14.
[52] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 28.
[53] Ibid, 5.
[54] Astrid Lindgren, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 4.

dåligt i skolan"[55]. Lungina created a version that could be easily understood by Soviet readers, and a boy who fails in school cannot be seen as "ordinary" or "normal". A similar transformation happened with Kid's sister, Bettan, who used to wear a "ponytail" in the original ("*hästsvans*") and Braude's version[56]. However, Soviet ordinary girls did not wear such hairstyles, so Lungina changed it to "braid" which was widespread in the USSR[57].

Further, Lungina changed the food that the characters ate. In one of the scenes, Kid smelled the "*köttbullar*"[58] – Swedish meatballs. To translate it, Braude uses the word "*frikadel'ki*"[59] – a modern word, which is used for meatballs in post-Soviet Russia. Originally, this word has roots in French and German languages, and it was not familiar to Soviet people. Instead, Lungina uses the word "*tefteli*"[60] – a word with Turkic and Romanian roots, perfectly known by Soviet citizens[61]. Even though, in modern Russian, these words are synonyms, in the 1950s Lungina's word was far more understandable. The same thing happened with peas – Kid asks his mom for "peas and pancakes"[62]. In the USSR peas were not spread as a side dish which is why Lungina changed it to "pea soup"[63] – a widespread meal in the USSR, with which all Soviet readers were familiar. We see that Lungina used elements familiar to Soviet readers even though the characters were not Soviet. Still, the translation practice tradition at least for children's books saw its purpose to be close to child readers.

Kid's everyday life has also been changed so Soviet children could relate to the character. While Kid goes to the kitchen, Karlsson asks him whether he has something to play with. Kid

[55] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 5.
[56] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 5; Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 4.
[57] Astrid Lindgren*, Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 6.
[58] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 10.
[59] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 22.
[60] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 23.
[61] Natalia Lebina. *Povsednevnost' Epokhi Kosmosa i Kukuruzy. Destruktsiya Bol'shogo Stilya. Leningrad, 1950–1960-ye gody* [Everyday Life of the Era of Space and Corn: Destruction of the Big Style: Leningrad, 1950-1960s] (Saint-Petersburg: Kriega, 2015), 73-76.
[62] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 11; Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 24.
[63] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 22.

suggests him to play with "*bygglåda*"[64] – a box with construction tools. Such a toy was widespread in the USSR and is still popular in Russia. Despite this fact, Lungina used a more popular toy – cubes[65]. Braude in her turn changed it to the "construction set"[66] – a toy not from the 1950s but the late USSR and 1990s. We see that in this case, both interpreters tried to describe toys in the most widespread way for their times, making the connection between the character and the readers.

Everyday conversations have also been changed to become more relatable to small readers. For example, in one of the evenings, all the family gathers together to drink coffee and relax. Parents start to ask Kid about his school. In both the original and second translation parents ask Kid about his school life – what did he study, how did he answer during lessons[67]. However, Lungina created a situation more familiar to Soviet schoolchildren. In her version, parents are more curious about Kid's homework – how much is it and did Kid do everything[68]. Such control of homework was typical for the USSR (and is typical in modern Russia), more typical than simple curiosity about school life. The Soviet upbringing was supposed to be strict, unlike Scandinavian tradition, and included control over children's studies and usually grades[69]. Notably, the scene was not changed completely – in the USSR there was no such tradition as drinking coffee together. Moreover, the coffee usually was not the best quality, so the most common drink was tea[70]. Still, Lungina decided to keep these foreign details and not to locate the book completely on Soviet ground.

The translations of Karlsson also reveal the differences in gender relationships. Despite the lack of religious institutions and religious life in the USSR, the norms of behavior, especially

[64] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 12.
[65] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 24.
[66] Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 27.
[67] Astrid Lindgren, Lillebror och Karlsson på taket, 15-16; Idem, Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 35-36.
[68] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 31-32.
[69] Catriona Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up in Russia 1890-1991*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 537-542; Fedor Sinitsyn, "Dva Sotsializma": "Skandinavskaya Model'" i SSSR vo Vtoroy Polovine 1960-kh – 1970-kh gg." ["Two Socialisms": The Soviet Perception of the "Scandinavian Model" in the Second Half of the 1960s and 1970s"], *Novaia i Noveishaia Istoriia* [New and Contemporary History], 3 (2021): 179-180.
[70] Natalia Lebina, *Povsednevnost' Epokhi Kosmosa i Kukuruzy. Destruktsiya Bol'shogo Stilya. Leningrad, 1950–1960-ye gody*, 89-93.

among young people were strict and conservative[71]. Children's love was supposed to be pure and strong as, for example, in the book "Could One Imagine?" *("Vam i Ne Snilos'")* by Galina Shcherbakova. Light crushes and changes of boyfriends/girlfriends were usually depicted as bad traits or were not depicted at all. Kid's family in Lungina's translation appears to be prosperous even though in the original it was not that perfect (but I will elaborate on it later in this chapter). Lindgren described Kid's brother and sister as more or less typical teenagers, even though they were not the main characters. In one of the scenes, the siblings talk about Bettan's new boyfriend since she invited him to her place while the family is not at home. Even though the relationships with this and other boys Lindgren described clearly as romantic ones[72], Lungina kept it only in a way of friendship, avoiding the word "boyfriend", for example[73]. Such details seem to be unnecessary for secondary characters, but Lungina chose to make the translation more neutral, even in small details.

2.2.3. Relationships in Kid's Family

In the USSR as well as in post-Soviet Russia, stories about Karlsson have always been seen as funny, especially after the movie came out. It was a consequence of the approach Lungina chose for Karlsson and later the creators of the movie did the same thing. Sharp corners were smoothed, so the whole story was light and kind. Instead, the original Karlsson is not the most popular children's book in Sweden in many ways due to the bleakness of the plot and characters in some places. These differences can be seen in both Russian-language versions since Braude used formal translation. Thus, in the episode where Kid is sad because he does not have a dog, his mother is trying to comfort him. She says that instead of a dog, Kid has his whole family. In the first, lighter version, Kid is still sad after his mother's words, and he answers: "I

[71] Lisa Kirschenbaum, *Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917-1932*. (New York and London: Routledge Falmer, 2001), 74-75; Margaret Peacock, *Innocent Weapons: The Soviet and American Politics of Childhood in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 23-27.
[72] Astrid Lindgren, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 20-23; Idem, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 40-45.
[73] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 37-41.

do not know"[74]. At the same time, in Braude's version, he answers "with more resentment": "That is not true!"[75] We see that the second response is definitely harder. However, if we look at the Swedish original, Kid answers: "*Det har jag väl inte visst det*"[76], which can literally be translated as "I do not know". As in the case of the phrase "Calm down, just calm down", we see that in some places Braude was the one who changed the original, following her own understanding of the book, while Lungina kept the original phrase. So the second translation after all seems harsher, and not every time it is due to the "dark original".

Still, I cannot deny that Braude did not have reason to make this moment darker. For example, later in the book Kid is trying to convince his mother that Karlsson is real. For all his arguments his mother says: "*Lillebror, var inte dum nu*"[77], which can be translated as "Kid, don't be stupid" and Braude kept this phrase[78]. Lungina instead softened the tone and in her translation mother says: "Kid, don't be stubborn"[79] – and it does sound kinder even though Kid's mother still disagrees with him. In the same dialogue Kid says that Karlsson cannot visit him tomorrow because he needs "fixing", and Kid's mother answers – both in the original and in Braude's translation[80] – that it is Kid who needs to be fixed. Lungina again changes the meaning and softens Kid's mother – in the first translation she answers: "Stop telling tales" – showing again her disagreement and tiredness of this dialogue but not threatening Kid.

The fate of Karlsson in the USSR and post-Soviet Russia had its ups and downs: incredible popularity, but at the same time problems with copyrights and versions of translation. In post-Soviet Russia, we now have an opportunity to choose from other translations apart from Lungina's and Braude's – for example, the version by Uspenskiy. All these translations are very

[74] Ibid, 10.
[75] Astrid Lindgren, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 7.
[76] Idem, *Lillebror och Karlsson på taket*, 6.
[77] Ibid, 9.
[78] Astrid Lindgren, *Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 17.
[79] Idem, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 17.
[80] Astrid Lindgren, Lillebror och Karlsson på taket, 9; Idem, Karlsson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe, translated by Ludmila Braude and Nina Belyakova, 18.

different in their styles. From the examples of Braude and Lungina, we see that the translators followed different types of translation: formal and poetic.

Lungina's poetic translation made the story lighter. In this version, Karlsson is much nicer than in the Swedish original, and the relationships in Kid's family are better, without any rude dialogues. What is more, Lungina indeed adapted the Swedish story to Soviet realities. Small details like food or toys were changed to help Soviet readers relate more to the book. Even though this translation is usually criticized for this freedom in details and interpretations, I assume that Lungina's style and refusal of using strict formal translation helped to make the book popular in the USSR. Lungina's Karlsson turned out to be a nice Kid's friend, Kid's life was not so bad, and the world they lived in was familiar to the reader – even though readers still knew that the story is happening in Sweden.

Braude approached Karlsson after almost 40 years of the first translation. She worked at a different time, and it influenced her translation. Even though she wanted to be closer to the original, her translation remained her own interpretation. Thus, Braude changed popular phrases, translated by Lungina closer to the original, willing to bring her own understanding of the story and its characters. Still, Braude's translation is indeed closer to the Swedish original book. Her changes in everyday life details were not so large, even though she tried to reflect on her time in the translation as well. Braude's characters turned out to be darker, stricter, and naughtier. Kid's family was not so perfect in this translation, and from Braude's point of view, it is more obvious how Kid came to have an imaginary friend. The entire world in the second translation is more westernized, as expected in a foreign book. However, Braude's translation misses the poetry of language that Lungina's version has, and it is usually the main object of the criticism of this translation.

All in all, in the Russian language Karlsson received different interpretations, with different purposes, and made at different times. They both influenced the popularity of this

character and the story in the USSR and post-Soviet Russia, which always has been a surprise for Astrid Lindgren.

Chapter 3. Karlsson-on-the-Roof: The Movie

The success of the translation by Lilianna Lungina was quite unpredictable and surprising. Firstly, popular Soviet children's literature was mostly written by Soviet authors[81]; secondly, as foreign literature, more popular was western literature from other countries of Europe and not from Scandinavia[82]. Nevertheless, such success led to the idea of creating a cartoon based on the book, and the movie was released 11 years later after the first translation – in 1968 with the title "Kid and Karlson" *("Malysh i Karlson").* On the one hand, the movie continued the approach Lungina suggested. It was based, first of all, on the translation and not on the original book, so it is not surprising that the movie used a lot of Lungina's phrases – eventually, these phases became well-known and highly cited in everyday life. I assume that more important is the fact that the scene where the plot is revealing, and details of everyday life were changed even more than in the book to create the Soviet atmosphere. On the other hand, the creators did not completely ignore the fact that the book was about Sweden. That is why we still can see some western scenery, even though these instances were not that important due to all these changes in favor of Soviet realities. In this chapter, I am going to trace, firstly, how exactly these realities of Soviet everyday life were created in the movie, and secondly, I will analyze the image of the West that remains in "Karlsson-on-the-Roof". To reach this second goal I will include in my thesis a comparison of Karlsson with another Soviet movie from a different time and with a slightly different approach to the depiction of the western world – "Mary Poppins, Goodbye" (1984).

[81] Marina Balina, Helena Goscilo, and Mark Lipovetsky eds., *Politicizing Magic: An Anthology of Russian and Soviet Fairy Tales* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 106-108.
[82] Maurice Friedberg, *A Decade of Euphoria: Western Literature in Post-Stalin Russia, 1954-64* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 151-154; Eleonory Gilburd, *To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018), 99-100.

3.1. Creation of "Kid and Karlson"

As we mentioned, the movie was released not immediately after the book, but 11 years after. That is why the movie consists of two parts: "Kid and Karlsson" and "Karlsson is Back" *("Karlson Vernulsya")* which was released in 1970 – two years after the first one. The second part is based on the second book by Lindgren – "Karlsson Returns" which was written in 1962 and translated into Russian in 1965 again by Lungina. Both movies are quite short – only 20 minutes each. Therefore, both movies are not an exact depiction of books' plots but only a few stories from them.

The team for the two movies was the same: the director of the movie Boris Stepantsev, the screenwriter Boris Larin and the animator Anatoly Savchenko. All these people have already been working in "Soyuzmultfilm" – a Soviet animation studio that created movies about Karlsson and which created almost all animated films in the USSR. Before Karlsson, all members of the team have had already several well-known projects. For example, Stepantsev was the director of the famous movie "Vovka in Far Far Away Kingdom" *("Vovka v Tridevyatom Tsarstve")* released in 1965. Stepantsev used characters and plots from different Slavic fairytales to create a new story. Initially, Stepantsev was an animator, so he also worked in this role for several Soviet animated movies.

Anatoly Savchenko, who created an image of Karlsson for the movie, also had well-known projects before Karlsson both in animated films and in children's books illustrations. What is more, Savchenko has already worked with Stepantsev before Karlsson as an animator for "Vovka in Far Far Away Kingdom", - but Stepantsev and Savchenko worked together on several other projects. Later in 1973, their team created a Soviet version of "The Nutcracker" *("Shchelkunchik")* – another popular Soviet cartoon. Apart from this, Savchenko was a cartoonist in *"Moydodyr"* (which can be literally translated from Russian as "Wash till Holes") – a movie based on a children's story in verse by popular children's poet Korney Chukovsky. Talking about Karlsson, it is notable that Savchenko did not read Lindgren's books before

creating a character, only the script. His Karlsson turned out to be a nice, kind, and funny character, similar to the one in Lungina's translation. Still, Karlsson was also a bit similar to a man from Ilon Wikland's original illustrations – it was probably unintentional. In these illustrations, Karlsson did not look very nice and pleasant (ill. 1[83]), and the movie adapted Karlsson to look funnier and more likeable to children. Savchenko talked about his work this way: "I really enjoyed working on funny films. And I tried to make my characters funny, warm and, most importantly, kind. Cartoon characters must be kind I believe"[84].

Unlike Stepantsev and Savchenko, screenwriter Boris Larin (initially, Epstein) did not have big projects in animations before Karlsson since he worked mostly as a screenwriter for films and as a children's writer. Still, he also joined the team of Stepantsev-Savchenko after Karlsson in the movie "The Nutcracker".

Apart from the creators, it is also important to mention the actors whose voices were used in the movie. Karlsson was voiced by Vasily Livanov – a famous Soviet actor who is mostly known for his role as Sherlock Holmes in a Soviet series of films (1979-1986)[85]. However, Livanov was quite popular before Karlsson and Sherlock Holmes for other movies. Later, he also voiced many Soviet cartoon characters. For the role of Freken Bock – a housekeeper woman from the second book – Savchenko invited Faina Ranevskaya who had a brilliant carrier by the time the movie was created. She was mostly a theater actress but also had a large list of films in which she played. We see that this choice of actors seems to be substantial for such popularity of the movie since these actors have already been popular in 1968, especially Ranevskaya.

Such a well-known team of the movie led to the fact that, just like the books, the movie became extremely successful and affected later publishing of the books. First of all, books started to have different versions of illustrations. Before the movie, Soviet translations used illustrations by Ilon Wikland – a Swedish artist who created the illustrations for the Swedish

[83] All illustrations can be found in the end of the chapter.
[84] Alexey Karakhan, "On Zaletel, no Obeshchal Vernut'sya" ["He Flew, but Promised to Return"], *Kommersant Vlast'* [Commerce Man Power], 13/364 (2000): 56.
[85] Unfortunately, now Livanov is more known for his open support of president Putin and the Russian invasion of Ukraine: https://regnum.ru/news/polit/3524646.html

original. The question of copyrights was not very strict in the USSR, so we might suggest the illustrations were taken from the original probably without special permission. A similar thing could also happen with the book in the beginning before Lindgren started the communication with the Soviet side. Illustrations by Wikalnd were black and white and Karlsson there did not look very pleasant. Bearing in mind the popularity of the film – it is probably even higher than the popularity of the books – later publishers started to use the images from the movie as illustrations. Eventually, Soviet readers got the opportunity to choose between different editions with different illustrations. The same thing happened with the translation after all as we discussed in the previous chapter. Talking about the movie, it is important to mention that the new translation by Braude was made as a response not only to the first translation but also to the movies. In the following part, I will reveal how exactly the movie continued Lungina's idea about Soviet realities and added details from Soviet everyday life.

3.2. Soviet Everyday Life in "Kid and Karlson"

The first episode is built around Kid meeting Karlsson. Kid sits in his room after fighting with his parents. At this moment he sees Karlsson who flew in through the window. He says that his propeller is out of order, and he needs raspberry jam to fix it. After that Karlsson starts to full around in the Kid's room and flies away before Kid's parents see the mess in the room. Then we see different adventures of Kid and Karlsson; the movie ends with Kid's birthday when his parents give him a puppy as a gift.

The second episode focuses more on a new character – Freken Bock, who is a housekeeper. Kid's parents hire a caregiver for Kid; she is very stern with strict rules for Kid. After Kid's parents leave, Freken Bock locks Kid in his room. Karlsson flies back to Kid and asks for another "refueling" for his propeller but Kid cannot leave the room. Meanwhile, Freken Bock watches television in the kitchen. Karlsson sees that Kid is upset and comes up with a plan for how to take revenge on Freken Bock. Karlsson locks Freken Bock in Kid's room and then,

after some adventures, she meets Karlsson. Kid's parents come back home, and Kid wants to show Karlsson to them, but he has already flown away.

The creators retained Stockholm as a place of action, but the Soviet reality still can be seen. It starts even before visual creation – in the book he is Svante Swanteson and this name has remained in the translated book[86]. In the movie, he just tells that his name is Kid, suggesting his role as a "trickster" from Soviet tradition[87]. Another important detail is the name of Freken Bock – in the titles, she is written as "Freken" (ill. 2) – under this name she became well-known in USSR. This "freken" is nothing more than a title of a woman in Sweden and not a separate name. We see that some foreign aspects were brought to the movie without adaptation which made Soviet Karlsson sounds original.

Minor characters play an important role in being close to Soviet viewers. For example, Kid's mom and dad are very typical in their image: the dad looks like a scientific worker and the mom is very far from Lindgren's housewife – she goes to work just like the dad and as most Soviet women did. Eventually, it led to a change in the script of the movie concerning the appearance of Freken Bock. In the book, Kid's parents hire a housekeeper because Kid's mother is going to therapy. In the movie, the plot was changed to Kid, who "makes up" Karlsson, and his parents are worried about his behavior – that is why they need a housekeeper and a caregiver.

Actually, Kid's parents look so typical that it is easy to confuse them with another family – the parents of Uncle Fyodor in the cartoon "Three from Prostokvashino" (*"Troe iz Prostokvashino",* directed by Vladimir Popov) (ill. 3) which was released later – in 1978. Just like Kid's parents, they look like a typical Soviet couple: they wear similar clothes and hairstyles, and even their faces look quite similar to each other. Another episodic character that would be recognizable to Soviet viewers is a traffic light that Kid sees in the crosswalk (ill. 4). It

[86] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe* [Kid and Karlsson who Lives on the Roof], translated by Lilianna Lungina. (Moscow: Detgiz, 1957), 10.
[87] Maria Mayofis, "Milyj, Milyj Trikster: Karlson i Sovetskaya Utopiya o "Nastoyashchem Detstve" [Sweet, Sweet Trickster: Karlsson and the Soviet Utopia about "Real Childhood"], in *Veselye Chelovechki: Kul'turnye Geroi Sovetskogo Detstva* [Merry Little Men: Cultural Heroes of Soviet Childhood], ed. Ilya Kukulin, Mark Lipovetsky and Maria Mayofis (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2008), 211.

looks very similar to one Soviet character – Uncle Styopa (ill. 5), from the cartoon "Uncle Styopa – policeman" *("Dyadya Styopa – Militsioner")* directed by Ivan Aksenchuk and released in 1964. We see that the cartoon is made in the Soviet tradition of animation[88] and it can be seen even in details of images minor characters and decorations.

A similar episode made in a typical Soviet tradition is the first scene, where Kid sees a dog. Just after he noticed a dog, he sees a schoolboy – the owner of the dog, who looks like a school bully (ill. 6). The movie shows later the consequences of their fight (ill. 7), and this idea of a bully who fights with the main character appears in many Soviet films and cartoons – for example, in the famous Soviet movie "Scarecrow" *("Chuchelo"),* directed by Rolan Bykov and released in 1984. The original Karlsson book does not have such a scene – Kid just sees a dog, and then an owner calls it. Apart from adding a typical Soviet story, this episode also should make viewers sympathize with Kid.

Some sympathetic material was added by a small scene, perfectly understandable and relatable to almost all Soviet viewers. It is a scene, where after the first mischief of Karlsson, the parents punish Kid for a broken chandelier (in the book – a toy steaming machine) by putting him in a corner of the room (ill. 8). Notable, in the book parents do not punish him at all and are mostly worried about him: "You could have been killed!" – says Kid's mother in Lungina's translation[89]. However, the upbringing of children in the USSR was far stricter than in Scandinavia, and the ways of punishment were similar and widespread[90]. One such practice is about putting children in the room's corner for several hours, to give a child time to "think about his/her behavior". Such interpretation appeared in the Soviet time, while initially, this practice was a religious one. In every house there used to be a "red corner" with icons, so children were put there, and other family members should have been praying for them. However, later such practice lost its initial meaning and turned into a simple punishment with isolation, which is,

[88] See, for example: David MacFadyen, *Yellow Crocodiles and Blue Oranges: Russian Animated Film since World War II* (Verlag: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2005).
[89] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 16.
[90] Neringa Klumbyte and Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964-1985* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 30-31.

unfortunately, still widespread in modern Russia. Perhaps, the creators of the movie added such a small scene to show very succinctly that Kid's behavior was judged by his parents – and this scene was very understandable by viewers.

Notably, the cartoon also reveals Soviet difficulties which were familiar to many families. Thus, Kid is talking to his mom in the movie, asking whether he would have to marry his brother's wife after his death. Even though this episode is from the original book, the accents are different. In the book, Kid says that he does not want to marry his brother's wife since he wants to marry his mom because he loves her[91]. This nice naïve dialogue in the movie was changed to Kid's complaining that he had to wear everything after his brother – widespread practice in the Stagnation times of the USSR[92].

Some of the minor characters in the movie are thieves who are stealing… linen (ill. 9). In the book, they are stealing money and jewelry[93], and this change can be seen differently: whether it is a parody of western movies about thefts or an image of Soviet reality where even linen could be stolen given the shortage of many things.

One of the most well-known images of Karlson is him eating the jam (ill. 10). In the book, Karlsson ate meatballs and this change seems to be truly Soviet since lots of Soviet families had a tradition of roll-up big jars of jams and vegetables[94]. During translation, Lungina also changed some elements in the food characters are eating, but still, the changes were not as notable, as in the movie. Also, in all scenes, characters drink tea instead of coffee as in the book. And if we look at the tea set that they use (ill. 11), we notice that it is a typical Soviet design that was widespread in many families (ill. 12).

Overall, we see that in a foreign story lots of European aspects were changed. To be closer to the audience, the creators change many details – from Kid's mom, going to work in a

[91] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 45-46.
[92] Neringa Klumbyte and Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *Soviet Society in the Era of Late Socialism, 1964-1985*, 46-48.
[93] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 66-68.
[94] Natalia Lebina, *Povsednevnost' Epokhi Kosmosa i Kukuruzy. Destruktsiya Bol'shogo Stilya. Leningrad, 1950–1960-ye gody* [Everyday Life of the Era of Space and Corn: Destruction of the Big Style: Leningrad, 1950-1960s] (Saint-Petersburg: Kriega, 2015), 99-105.

Soviet version, to everyday habits such as drinking coffee instead of tea in the movie. Karlsson was highly connected to children's world and their upbringing. Thus, the image should be close and relatable to the child audience, so as the situations where Kid is placed – like in the scene with the punishment. Despite some "adult" topics that were added (such as the dialogue about Kid's brother's wife), mostly the movie about Karlsson is very bright, funny, and memorable, also because of popular and catchy phrases from Lungina's translation. Although Karlsson became a product of his time with many Soviet traits, some western scenery still remained in the movie. In the following part, I will reveal what exactly the West looked like in the Soviet movies by analyzing Karlsson and comparing it to "Mary Poppins, Goodbye".

3.3. The Image of the West in "Kid and Karlson"

As we have seen, Karlsson in the movie became even more Soviet than in the translated book. However, the creators still kept some western decorations since they wanted only to adapt the Swedish original for Soviet children's audience. Talking about Karlsson, I assume that it is relevant to compare this movie with another one – "Mary Poppins, Goodbye" *("Meri Poppins, do svidaniya")* directed by Leonid Kvinikhidze and released in 1984. Just like Karlsson, it is a foreign children's story adapted by the USSR. This film differs a lot from Karlsson. Firstly, it is a movie, not a cartoon; moreover, it was adapted as a musical film, and initially, the director created the film for adults, but afterward children also enjoyed it. Secondly, it was created almost at the beginning of Perestroika when movies had much more freedom. What is more, the original book about Mary Poppins is from the interwar period – the first book was written in 1934, and it was translated into Russian only in the 1960s. However, Mary Poppins also became one of the famous children's films in the USSR. Even though the scenery in the film was more precise, there are still some common patterns with Karlsson, and using this film, I am going to explore how Soviet TV showed the West.

One of the most visible parts of the West in both films is the decorations. In Karlsson, the characters are in the city in many scenes, so the scenery is important. The city itself does not look like Stockholm. Instead, it looks more like an idea of the west, some "imaginary West" that was described by Yurchak[95]. We can see a double-decker bus (ill. 13) and lots of buildings of different styles from gothic to baroque (ill. 14, 15, 16). The panorama of the city resembles the architecture of Prague (ill. 17) which was then a part of the socialist bloc and perhaps was more familiar to creators. Creating Karlsson, it was impossible to avoid these "western" elements due to some plot lines, for example, the adventures of Kid and Karlsson on the roofs. Also, Karlsson's house on the roof could not be placed on a typical Soviet roof since it should have had a design common in Western Europe. The adventures on the roofs also would not be possible without these sloping roofs unfamiliar to most parts of the USSR (ill. 18). For example, when thieves are trying to escape from Karlsson who is playing a ghost, they climb on a weathervane, which was not widespread on the Soviet houses (ill. 19). Thus, seeing the movie we might say that the scene is not in the USSR but it is a proper Soviet West which was in people's minds but not in the reality.

On the other hand, we do not see in the movie anything in the Swedish language – some lettering is made in English (ill. 20) but most of them are in Russian (ill. 21, 22). Sometimes, these languages were combined. At the beginning of the second episode, Kid's parents are looking for a caregiver for Kid, and we see an announcement in the newspaper (ill. 23). The text of the announcement is in Russian: "A caregiver for Kid in needed: Address: Stockholm, st. …" (*"Trebuetsya vospitatel'nitsa dlya Malysha. Obrashchat'sya po adresu: Stokgol'm, ul. …").* However, all other announcements are written in English, and one on the right lower corner is probably in French. Another important detail is that despite the Sovietization of Karlsson's story in the movie, the creators kept the original address – Stockholm.

[95] Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 165-168.

At first glance, we see a completely different picture in Mary Poppins. Characters live in proper English houses (ill. 24), and all the lettering is made in English (ill. 25). Children's parents wear western clothes (ill. 26, 27). However, in many aspects, the idea of the West turns out to be quite naïve and caricatured. For example, during the movie many characters discuss the weather, Mr. Banks usually complains about his stress, and Mrs. Banks goes to a women's meeting on their street. Mister Banks is also obsessed with morning newspapers and money, and the whole family eats porridge for breakfast. All in all, it looks like a cacophony of the stereotypes about the western world in general and England particularly. Thus, despite the difference of 16 years between Karlsson and Mary Poppins, and despite better visual scenery in the latter, the tradition of showing the West as something imaginary and caricatured remained the same.

Still, visual cues in Karlsson do not end in the image of the city – the Kid's house is also an important part of it. If we look at the TV to which Freken Bock watches (ill. 28, 29), the armchair where Karlsson sits (ill. 30, 31), or Kid's toys (ill. 32-36), we could find examples in Soviet production that were placed in many Soviet flats. Astrid Lindgren described properly in the book many aspects of Swedish everyday life which were replaced by Soviet reality in the process of movie creation. In the book Kid used to have many great toys[96], his family had 5 rooms[97], they used to drink coffee together[98] – in the Soviet version we see only Kid's room with ordinary toys, a small bathroom, a kitchen, a part of dad's room, and probably a living room. Even though the creators did not intend to create a Soviet communal apartment, the set decorations lost many of the European aspects written by Lindgren. In comparison, the children's world in Mary Poppins looks more westernized: children listen to western music and watch the TV in their room (ill. 37), and the girl wears jeans (ill. 38). Still, it does not affect the rest of the stereotypes that can be seen in Mary Poppins.

[96] Astrid Lindgren, *Malysh i Karlson, kotoryy zhiv'ot na kryshe*, translated by Lilianna Lungina, 16-17.
[97] Ibid, 10.
[98] Ibid, 30-31.

However, some of the European aspects were kept in Karlsson, probably unintentionally. For example, when Freken Bock watches the television, we see that it looks like a Soviet one, but at the same time, it is a color TV (ill. 39), which was not widespread during this time in the USSR – while in Europe color TV started to be common sooner than in the USSR. So, on the one hand, it was another try to show the western world, but on the other hand, color TV was just better looking in the color movie. On the TV, we see a show with thieves who appeared in the first episode. Near to thieves, we see a few policemen, and they wear western uniforms (ill. 40). Such a uniform is also a part of the imaginary West since in Mary Poppins we see policemen in the same uniform (ill. 41) – but the story happens in England. However, no matter which country, Soviet creators of movies just used the same patterns to make the audience believe that this is the western world, not a Soviet one, even though in many aspects it looks very caricatured to the modern viewer.

Also, when we see the room of Kid's dad, we can notice several things. Firstly, that mom and dad apparently have different bedrooms. It was not very typical for the USSR, mostly because of the lack of living space for citizens. Sometimes whole families had to live in one room, especially in communal apartments[99]. Instead, we see that the family has not only their own flat, but even all family members have different rooms: we also can notice that Kid has his own room, and he does not live in one room with his siblings. Secondly, dad's bed looks very elegant (ill. 42) and unlike other furniture that we saw before, it is not a typical Soviet bed. The same thing can be said about an episode where Freken Bock, Karlsson and Kid drink tea in a living room (ill. 43). The room looks elegant, especially the sofa – the whole interior is not Soviet at all. So we see that mostly, Kid's world at home is Soviet, but some European details were still kept by the creators, probably to not lose completely the original foreign background.

Talking about western aspects, we should not miss the image of a western caregiver, which is almost the same in Mary Poppins and Karlsson (ill. 44, 45). Karlsson's Freken Bock

[99] Stephen Lovell, *The Soviet Union: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29-30.

appears at the beginning of the second episode, and the first scene with her shows a lot about the perception of the idea of a caregiver in the USSR. Even though Mary Poppins was filmed 14 years after the second episode of Karlsson, the two caregivers look almost identical. In both movies, it is a big woman with a harsh facial expression, and with a pet in a cage – in Karlsson, it is a cat (ill. 46), and in Mary Poppins, it is a parrot (ill. 47). They both do not actually like or care about children. At the beginning of the second episode, Kid's dad asks Freken Bock whether she likes children, and she answers: "How shall I put it…Madly!" *("Kak vam skazat'... Bezumno!").* And the first thing Freken Bock does – she locks Kid in his room. Talking about Freken Bock with Karlsson, Kid says: "This housekeeper is just some kind of housetormentress! *("Eta domopravitel'nitsa prosto kakaya-to domomuchitel'nictsa!").* Miss Andrew from Mary Poppins creates a strict order for the whole family, where they cannot even start breakfast without her command. Mostly they both are bossy and create order. Notably, eventually Freken Bock becomes softer and becomes friends with Karlsson, while Miss Andrew does not have much character development.

This idea of a highly strict woman-caregiver led even to the fact that in Mary Poppins this role was played by a man – an actor Oleg Tabakov. Such similarities after all show that the image of the West in the USSR, even in the latter one, was still just an image. Creators of movies had some patterns in how they can deliver an understandable image to viewers, and they used them despite the fact that from the modern point of view, it looks almost always like a caricature of western realities. It is especially important regarding Karlsson, where the whole western world looks very naïve and rough, just to give the audience the idea that the plot happens in the West, but not to focus on this fact more than it was needed to understand the story.

Overall, we see that Soviet creators of children's movies did not see the scenery as a very important detail for their films and cartoons. They usually kept the original place of action, but it was depicted very formally and sometimes caricatured – like in Mary Poppins. Eventually, Karlsson ended up as a very Soviet movie, with a hint of the West, but nothing more. Such an

approach was a part of the eventual success of the story in the USSR. Some parts of the city or the flat could be unfamiliar for children, but the characters, their problems and behavior, were so Soviet that after all, we should not be surprised that Karlsson in the USSR got a new life, very far from the one it has in western countries. It became a part of the Soviet pantheon of children's characters. This was a result of Lungina's translation since she first came up with this Sovietization of Karlsson, but also of the film team that worked on Karlsson, since these people have already had the experience in creating popular Soviet cartoons, so they extended this tradition to a story with a foreign background. After all, Karlsson and his story became a part of Soviet culture with some western accents, which were mostly the Soviet image of the West and not the West itself.

Illustrations[100]**:**

1. 

(Karlsson by Ilon Wikland – a Swedish artist, who illustrated the original books)

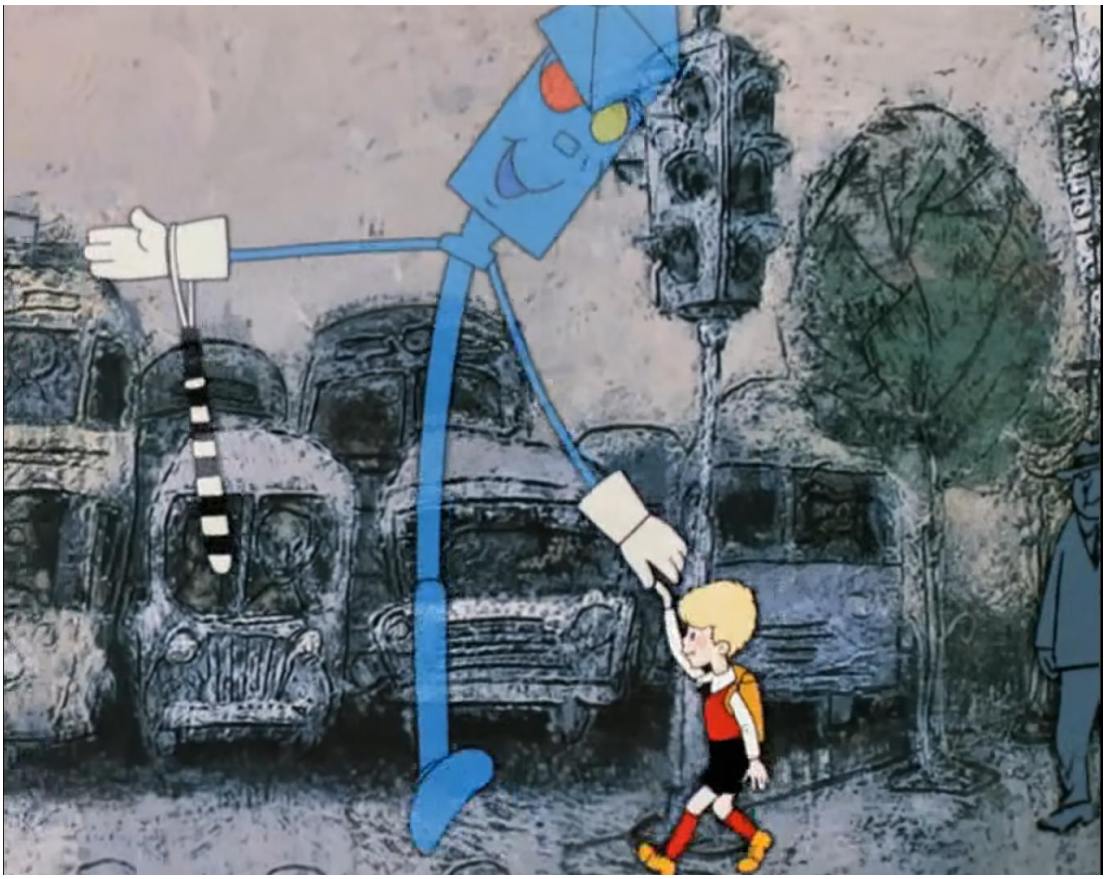
2. 

(The roles were voiced: Freken – F. Ranevskaya)

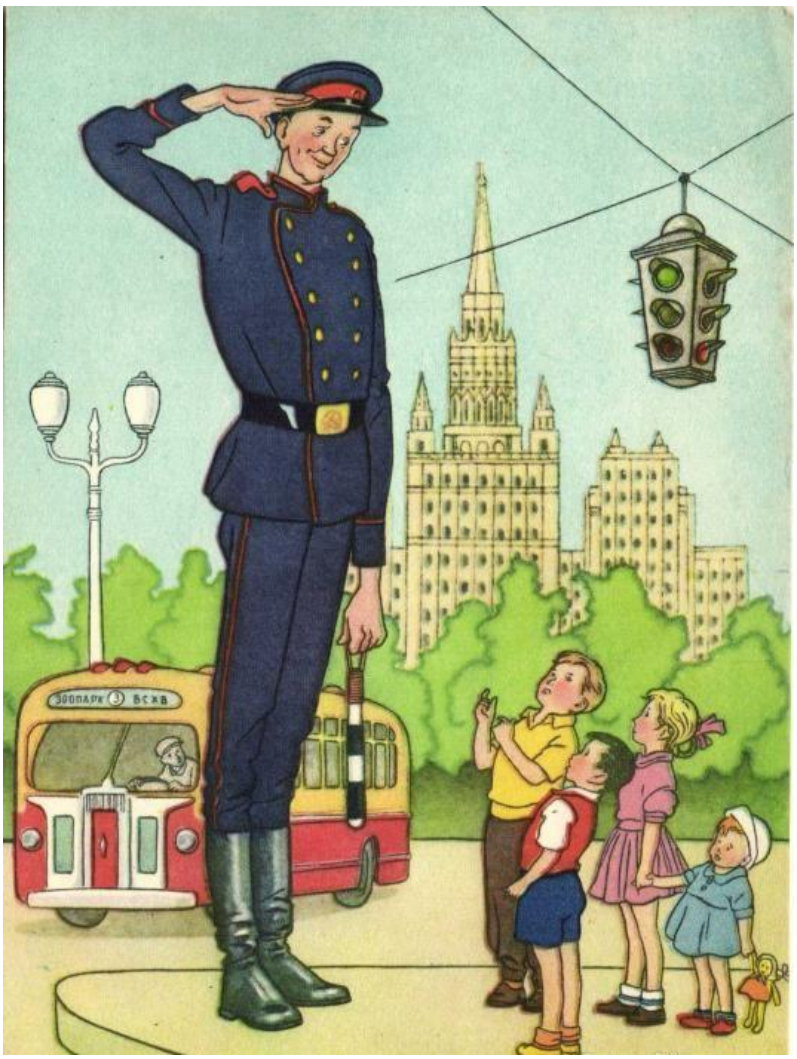
[100] All images from the films are screen shots from the following websites *"Malysh i Karlson"* ("Kid and Karlsson"), *"Karlson Vernulsya"* ("Karlsson is Back") URL: https://youtu.be/TZTjr-DN9xY (access date: 10.06.2022), *"Meri Poppins, do svidaniya"* ("Mary Poppins, Goodbye") Series 1 URL: https://youtu.be/NHUbnASEzPM (access date: 10.06.2022) and *"Meri Poppins, do svidaniya"* ("Mary Poppins, Goodbye") Series 2 URL: https://youtu.be/eefix1T7KvA (access date: 10.06.2022).

3. 

(Comparison of the Kid's parents (on the left) and Uncle Fyodor's parents from "Three from Prostokvashino" (on the right))

4. 

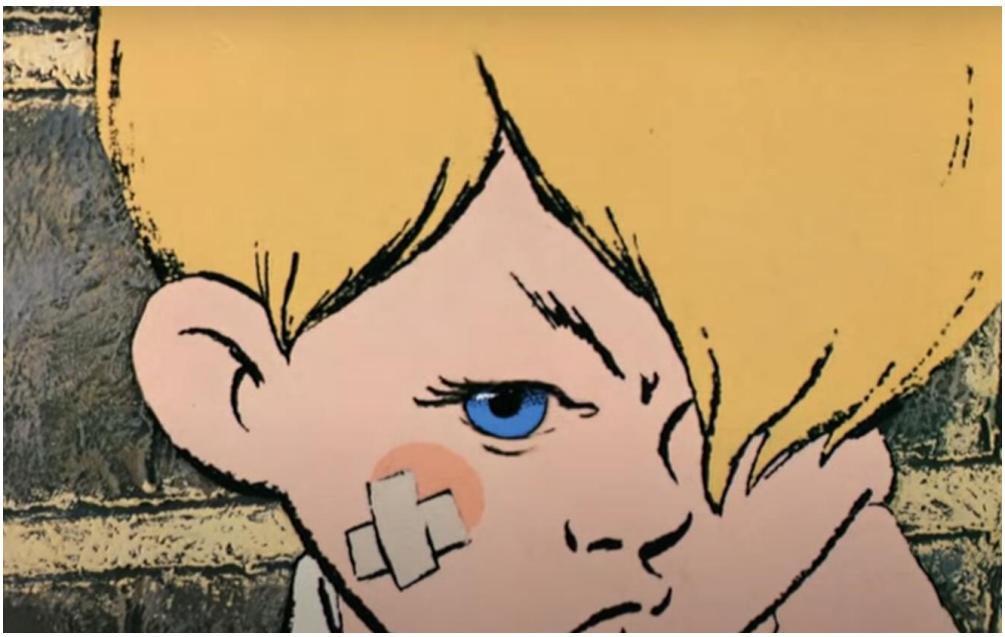
(Kid meets the traffic light)

5. 

(Poster “Uncle Styopa is a policeman”)

6. 

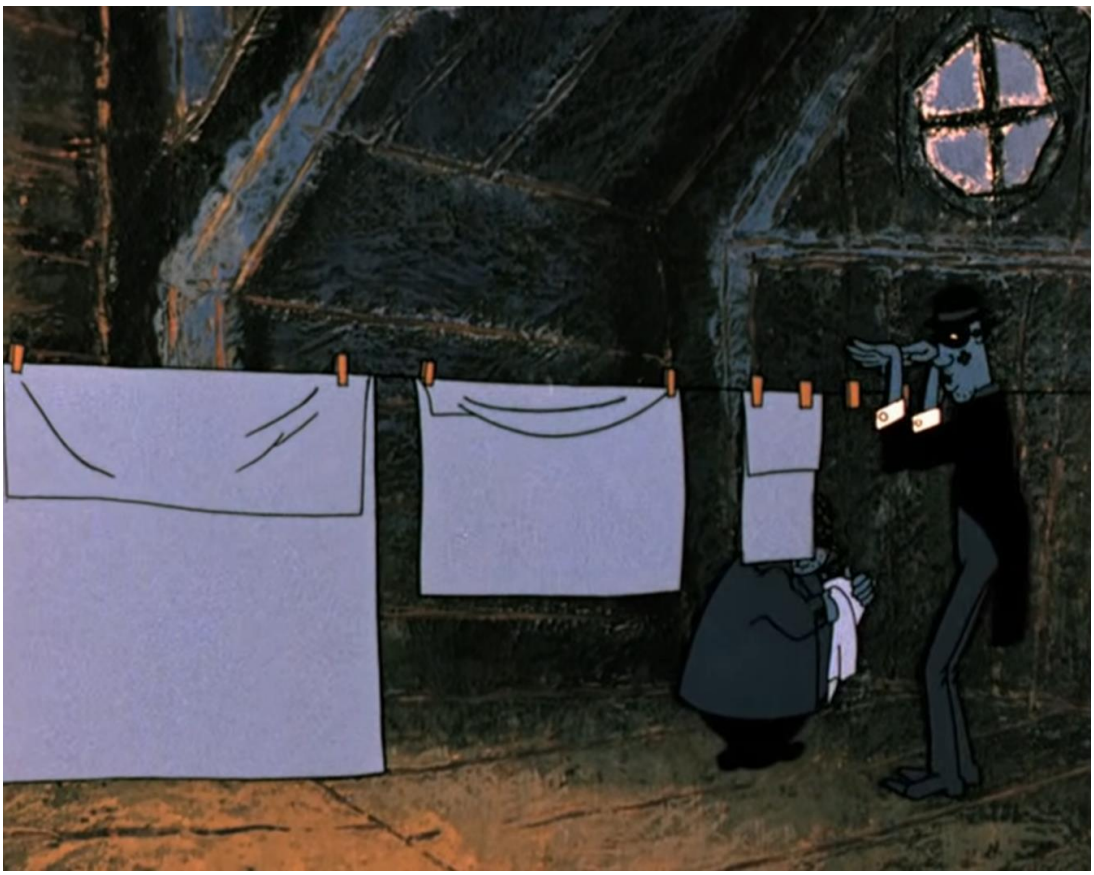
(Kid meets a bully – the owner of the dog)

7. 

(The consequences of Kid's fight with a bully)

8. 

(Kid is being punished by standing alone in the corner of the room)

9. 

(The thieves are stealing linen in “Kid and Karlsson”)

10. 

(Karlsson eats the raspberry jam)

11. 

(Freken Bock, Karlsson and Kid drink tea in a Soviet tea set)

12. 

(A typical Soviet tea set)

13. 

(A double-decker bus in “Kid and Karlsson”)

14. 

(City’s architecture in “Kid and Karlsson”)

15. 

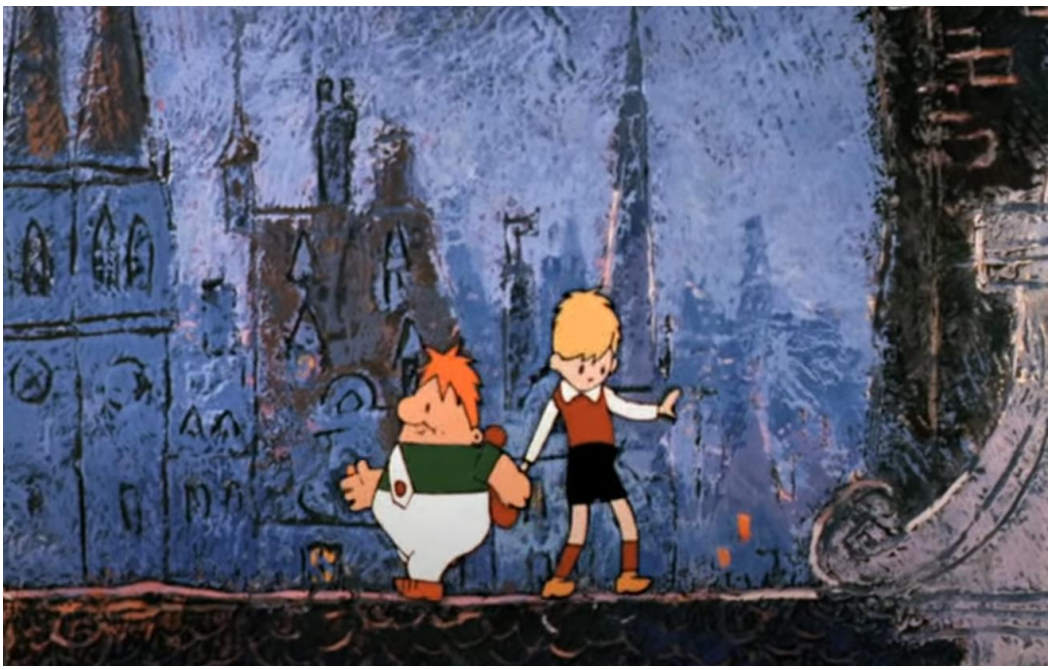
(City's architecture in "Kid and Karlsson")

16. 

(City's architecture in "Kid and Karlsson")

17. 

(The architecture of Prague, the Czech Republic)

18. 

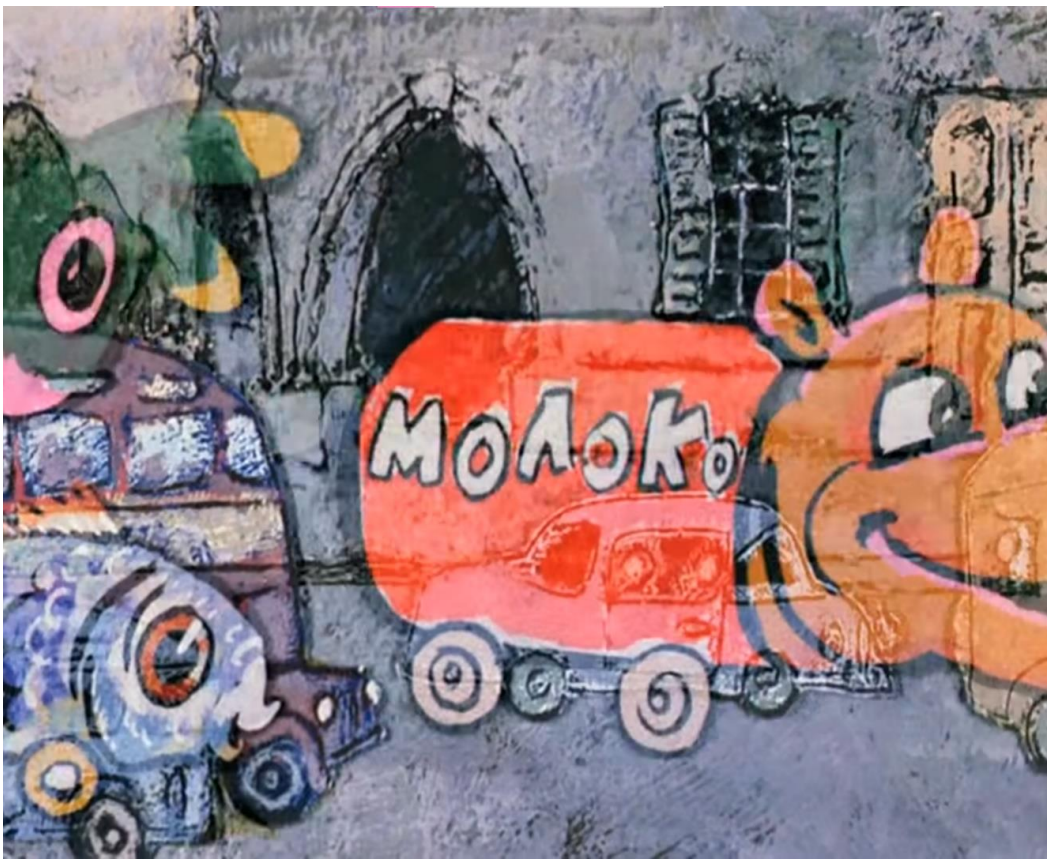
(Kid and Karlsson are walking on the sloping roofs)

19. 

(The thieves climb on a weathervane in “Kid and Karlsson”)

20. 

(Kid’s dad is reading a newspaper, it is in English)

21. 

(A car with milk in “Kid and Karlsson” – the lettering is in Russian)

22. 

(A sign on Karlsson’s house – “Karlsson who lives on the Roof”, the lettering is in Russian)

23. 

(An announcement in the newspaper: “A caregiver for Kid in needed: Address: Stockholm, st. …”. Lettering is in Russian, English and probably French)

24. 

(English houses from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye”)

25. 

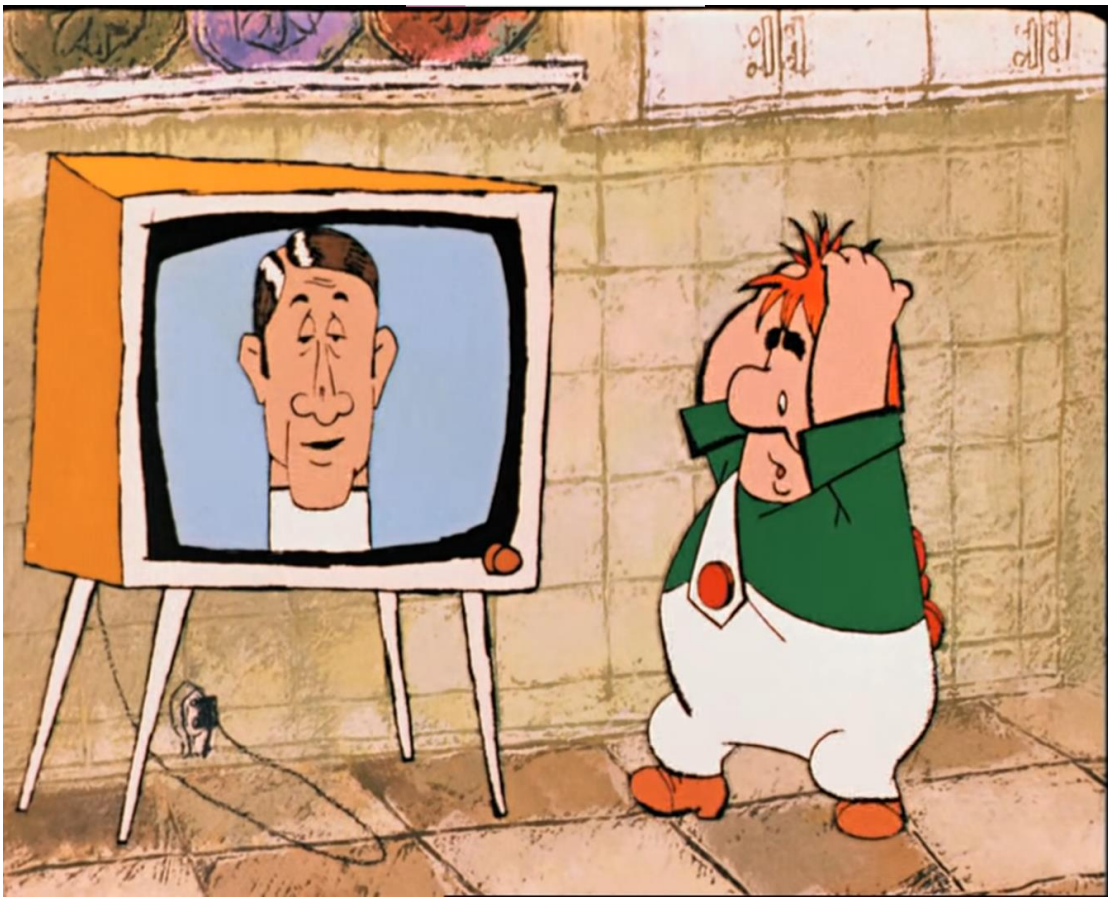
(A street from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” – the lettering is in English)

26. 

(A dad from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” wears a black costume)

27. 

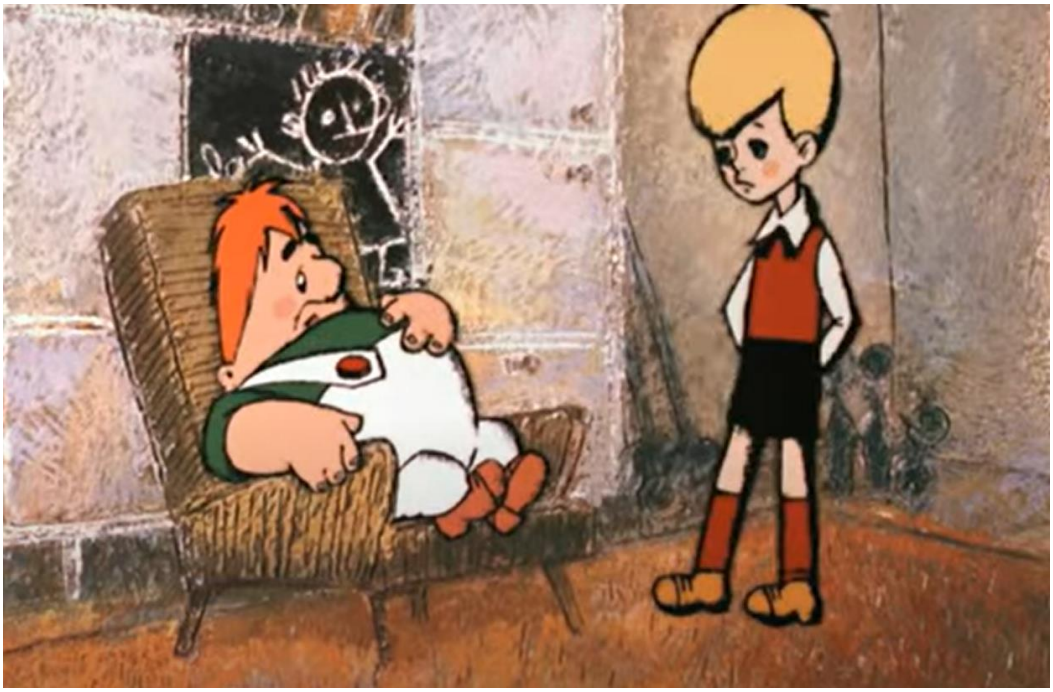
(A mom from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” wears a blouse and a skirt in Scottish style)

28. 

(TV from “Karlsson is Back”)

29. 

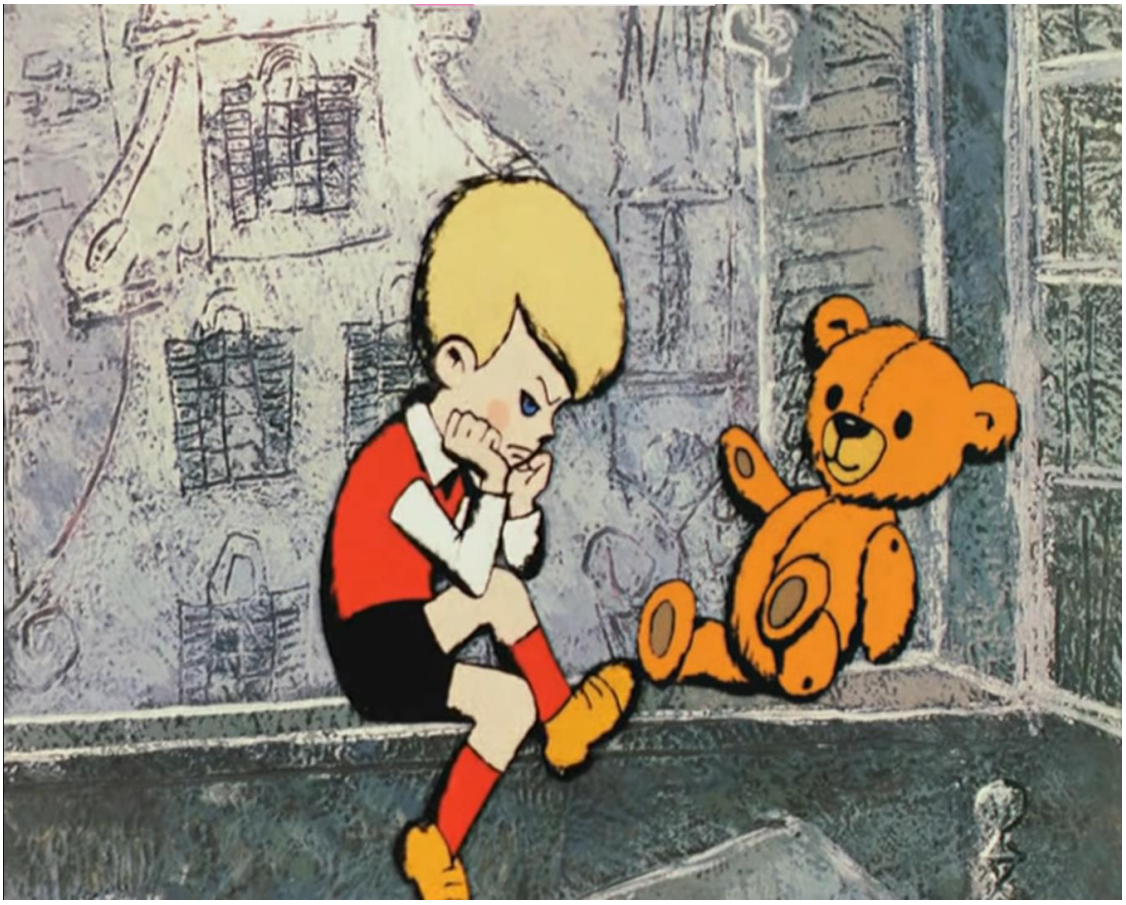
(A typical Soviet TV)

30. 

(Karlsson sits in the armchair)

31. 

(An example of a Soviet armchair)

32. 

(Kid's toy bear)

33. 

(Karlsson is playing with Kid's toys)

34. 

(An example of a Soviet toy bear)

35. 

(An example of a Soviet toy horse – similar to with which Karlsson is playing)

36. 

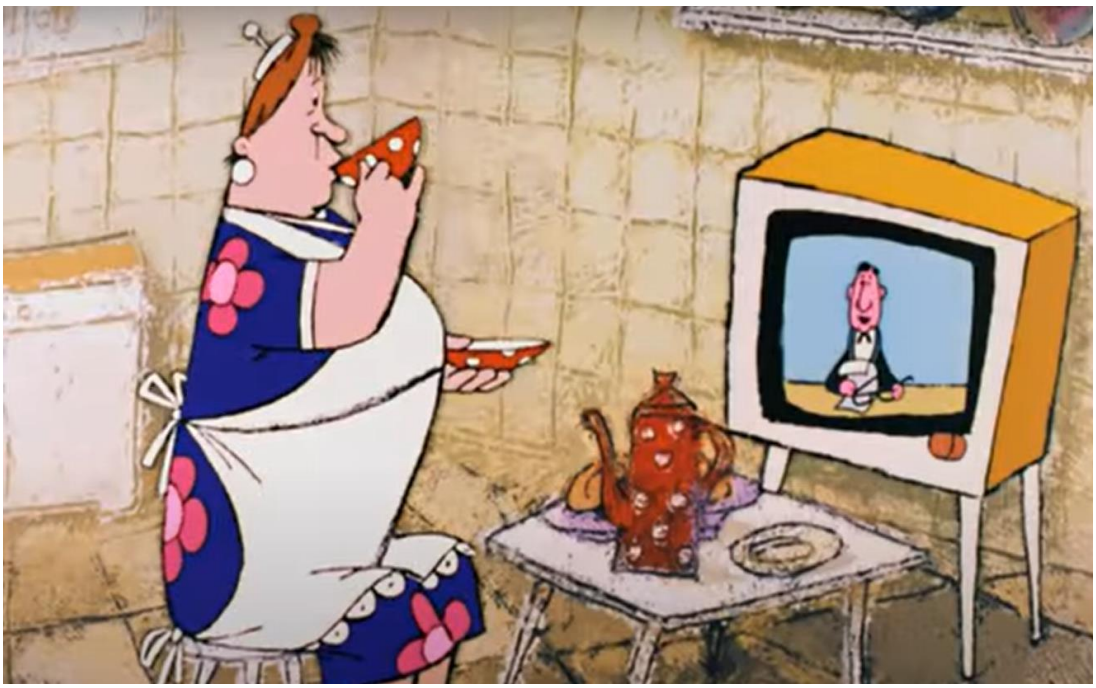
(A Soviet toy pyramid – can be found in the background of the 33rd illustration)

37. 

(Children from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” watch the TV in their room)

38. 

(A girl from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye” wears jeans)

39. 

(Freken Bock watches color TV in “Karlsson is Back”)

40. 

(Policemen in a western uniform in “Karlsson is Back”)

41. 

(A policeman in a western uniform in “Mary Poppins, Goodbye”)

42. 

(Kid’s dad’s bedroom)

43. 

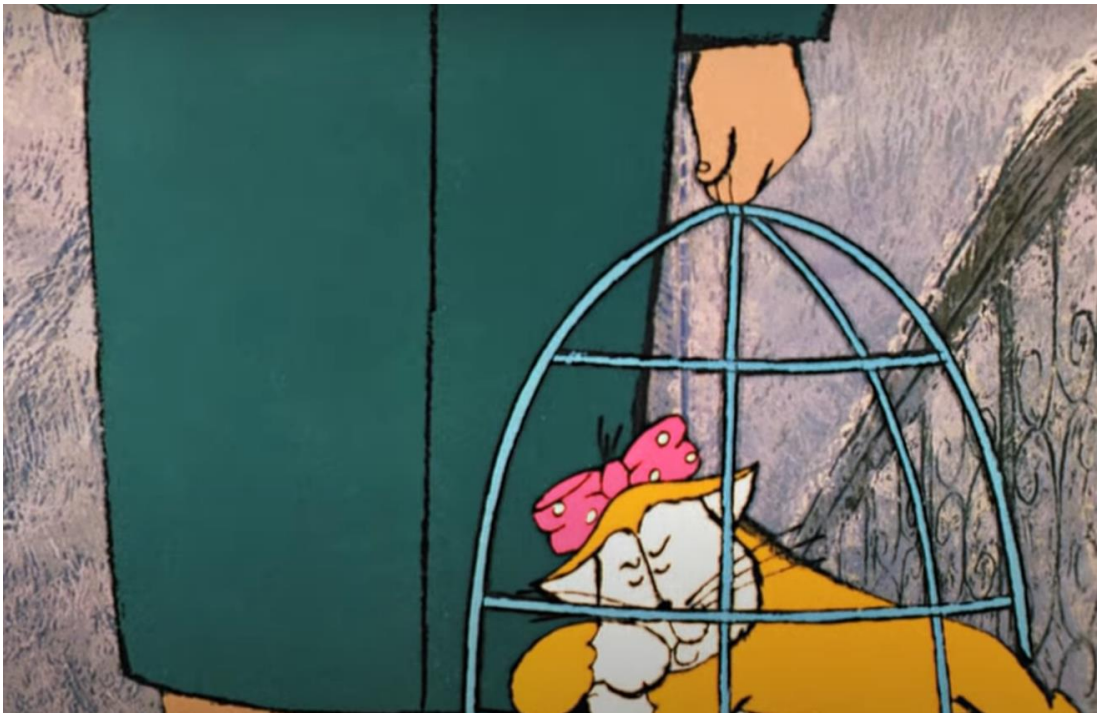
(Freken Bock, Karlsson and Kid drink tea in a living room)

44. 

(Freken Bock – a caregiver from “Karlsson is Back”)

45. 

(Miss Andrew – a caregiver from “Mary Poppins, Goodbye”)

46. 

(Freken Bock’s cat in a cage)

47. 

(Miss Andrew’s parrot in a cage)

Conclusion

"Karlsson-on-the-Roof" had many different lives in the USSR and after its collapse – different versions of translation and an animated movie. All these versions differ significantly from each other, and for sure from the original Swedish book by Astrid Lindgren.

The first translation by Lilianna Lungina was created during the Thaw when children's literature, like all of Soviet culture, became less strict, and children got an opportunity to experience new characters, new topics, and new foreign books. That was the time when Lungina discovered Karlsson while she was working in "Detgiz". She thought that Lindgren would become famous, not knowing that the author has already received some awards for her books. The interpreter approached the book with a Soviet-style of translation, bringing it closer to Soviet children and their realities by changing details like food or topics for family conversations. However, she also made the whole story lighter and Karlsson himself less naughty and rude. Lungina made Soviet readers love Karlsson even though this story was not so popular in western countries.

Eleven years later the translated book was turned into a movie, and the creators of the movie also considered the setting of the story to be important. Thus, they kept an image of the West, but mostly it was caricatured and used patterns that were similar to other Soviet films about the West – as, for example, in the musical film "Mary Poppins, Goodbye" (1984) where England did not look very convincing, just like Sweden in "Kid and Karlson". The movie raised problems familiar to Soviet children and made the character look the way children could relate to them. The movie was an adaptation of the translation, and the creators widely used phrases from Lungina's translation that already were familiar to children. After the movie, Karlsson became one of the most popular characters in Soviet children's culture even though popular children's characters in the USSR usually were originally Soviet.

After the Soviet Union collapsed, the approach to translation was rethought, and many interpreters wanted to make new translations of popular books. One of such translators was

Ludmila Braude who was acquainted with Astrid Lindgren just like Lilianna Lungina, and who finally convinced Lindgren that the first translation was very free in many details, so another translation is needed to present the Russian-speaking audience with the original story. Braude together with Natalia Belyakova created a new translation that was closer to the original Swedish book but still was criticized for being too formal and less poetic. Braude responded not only to Lungina's translation but also to the movie, so she changed even the most popular phrases, well-known to people who grew up in the USSR.

Overall, after almost 70 years since Astrid Lindgren wrote Karlsson, the Russian-speaking audience has many versions of this story, but the most famous ones were created in the USSR. Lungina's translation and the animated movie added many details from Soviet realities to these adaptations, so Karlsson got a completely new life in another country. The new translations interpret the story differently, but these first versions which were influenced by the time when they were created, made Karlsson an extremely popular character among Soviet children.

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