

The Voice of a Culture: Folktales in Russia

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History 435

Every culture across the globe has its own set of beliefs, values, and tales that make up the psyche of its people. These tales, which often come in the form of what is considered a folktale or fairytale, give others a look into the lives of those people in a way that is often psychologically intimate and bridges generations. Folklore is deeply ingrained into Russia's history. It carried the essence of the people and their values. In this way it has served as a voice for the Russian culture and its people, which has been both stifled and amplified over time in an attempt to help define Russia. Folklore has been viewed alternately as a path to damnation, or a tool for nationalism, and has been viewed by many as a step towards answering questions of Russian identity.

Folklore in Russia was born of myths and rituals of tribal forms of society¹. These elements came together over time from every corner of Russia. The nation's size is duly reflected in its wide array of folktales. It is not difficult to find more than one version of essentially the same story depending on what area of the country one is in. All the way into the 19th century, previously unknown works were being found on the fringes of the Russian empire, meaning that there was no successful wide sweep of folklore done, at least up until that time².

In the tenth century, Orthodoxy entered Russia and quickly became an everyday part of life in the country³. Folktales were popular by this time, especially for the peasants, but the clergy had a strong standing against folklore. This was primarily due to the fact that much of the folklore in the country revealed "pre-Christian concepts, beliefs, and modes of symbolic thought"⁴. This included things like astrology, totemic beliefs (animal ancestors), ancestor worship, initiation rites, and even human sacrifice⁵. It was due to this stance against folklore that caused the collection of folktales to be put off until about the 19th century⁶.

Even into the 17th century, the clergy was against the telling and collection of folklore. In the early half of the 17th century, Abbot Panphilus, a churchman, complained about the pagan celebrations of the people. He insisted that festivals and songs provoked damning behavior in women, which created a terrible temptation for men and youths⁷. With the skill of writing being held primarily by clergy members, written accounts of folklore and the collection of these pieces were virtually nonexistent⁸. Ironically, elements of folklore sometimes wove themselves into tales of the church, including the story of St. Mercurius of the 15th century, who was said to have walked home from a battle with the invading Tatars carrying his own severed head under his arm⁹.

Folklore is known for its roots in the peasant culture. Most of the peasantry was illiterate, and the

folklore of this pre-collective period is said to define "the values and attitudes of the ordinary people of a preindustrial society"¹⁰. There is some speculation to this concept. Some think that the themes and values of folktales were indeed based in the peasant psyche, but they also believe that these attitudes and values of the rural population were, in fact, mediated through the consciousness and prejudice of the educated elite. This idea implies that the views of the lower classes were simply based upon those of the higher classes, from an earlier period in time¹¹.

Be they a product of the peasantry or of the elite in days passed, folktales were valued as escapist entertainment and had meaning to the people as a part of a living tradition¹¹. A large portion of the peasantry practiced a dual faith, *dvoeverie*, which blended aspects of Christianity with those of the original animistic beliefs of the area¹². Many people followed the guidelines of Orthodoxy in their lives, but also believed in the old ways and stories of the time before Christianity. Russians had to be Orthodox in the public sphere, but within their homes they could practice their own personal beliefs.

Despite the oppression of folklore by the church, it still circulated. This is made clear by the presence and popularity of storytellers. From ancient times until the 18th century, there was a specialized caste of storytellers called *bakhari* or *skazochniki*¹³. They were known to play an important role in Russian social life. Princes and nobles often kept a storyteller as an entertainer, and they were also popular figures in the rest of society¹⁴. Others were hired by groups of workers, such as the lumbermen, fishermen, and hunters in northern Russia as tools of leisure between work periods¹⁵.

Almost all of these "professional" storytellers were men. It was believed that female storytellers were "less informed" than males and could never meet the skill and experience of male storytellers¹⁶. This did not mean that women did not also partake in the act of storytelling. Adolescent girls as well as women of middle age or beyond commonly told folktales in the home to entertain and educate children. Sometimes elderly women worked in the homes of families as nannies, and a large part of her occupation would be her storytelling skills¹⁷. Ironically, while men were held in higher esteem for their storytelling skills as entertainers, it was women who used their storytelling to transmit values and morals for future generations¹⁸. Despite gender differences, storytellers had leeway with the stories that they shared, and were encouraged to add their own styles to the story. This helped to set them apart from others, as the telling of a tale was considered a useful skill¹⁹.

It is in the setting of home life that most children were imbued with folktales. This included Aleksandr Pushkin, the first writer to really put to use the folktales taught to him by a peasant woman in his own writing²⁰. Other authors began to use folkloric elements in their professional writings as well, including Gogol²¹. Dostoevsky also recreated oral traditions within the style

and plots of his stories²². This helped prove the centrality of folklore to the people of Russia, and it became an area for exploration as well as a proud part of the Russian identity.

As the telling of tales lived on, so did the interest in them. Soon people wanted to begin collecting these tales, as well as songs and others forms of folk tradition. The first to begin seriously recording folktales in Russia was a foreigner. Perhaps this was because of the ever-present rules of the church upon the locals or simply that no one had seen the need to collect them before. The collecting started with an Englishman named Richard James, quickly followed by Samuel Collins. James collected folk songs between 1619 and 1620, and Collins collected folktales in the 1660s²³. Casual collecting of folklore continued throughout the 17th and 18th centuries as a sort of curiosity, primarily by foreigners interested in Russian culture²⁴. This was partly due to the thriving study of folklore in the West, which was slowly brought to Russia, though even during this time many of the tales were subject to editing and change²⁵.

The 19th century was a period of great change for the world of Russian folklore. This was when collections of folklore were becoming popular, though the folktales in these collections began to sound less and less like the oral tales from which they were scribed. Tales often underwent editorial "improvement" during this period²⁶. Due to this fact, it can sometimes be difficult to determine the depth of meaning behind some of these tales as they were in their original form. Another difficulty is that since most of the tales were collected during this century and into the 20th century, it is no simple task to find clear evidence of the changes in popular attitudes of the common people over time²⁷. However, it is known that during this time the common people still viewed folklore and superstitions as a mix of fact and faith, and integral to their lives²⁸.

The Romanticism of the 1820s brought about a thriving effort to collect Russian folktales. Scholarly study was also initiated at this time. It was also at this point in time that folktales came to the forefront of literary thought, and several authors began to imitate the style of folklore in their own work²⁹. This only further spurred the collectors to unearth what they could. Of course this rise in folklore did not go unnoticed. In the 1830s, a slavophile by the name of P.V Kireeskij wished to use folklore as a means of projecting the greatness of Russia and its people. This idea of using folklore to assert "Russianness" would be repeated in the following century³⁰.

In the 1860s, there was a surge in the study of folktales, most of which followed in the footsteps of the studies being done in Western Europe³¹. This was spurred by the discovery of a flourishing tradition of *byliny*—folksongs—in a remote region of Russia³². It was around this time that multiple schools of study for folktales arose. There was the mythological school, which was developed in Germany by the Grimm Brothers, which

reduced plots of folksongs and folktales into "primeval cosmological myths"³³. The historical school viewed folktales through a different lens, linking themes or plots to specific historical events or periods. This school was considered "the last word in scholarship" up until the revolution of 1917³⁴. There was also the comparative school, which tracked themes, plots, and other elements across cultures and linguistic boundaries³⁵. The Finnish school used the historical-geographical method of analysis, which aimed to present the entire history of the tale by analyzing all of the available versions and viewing them all through the lens of historical as well as geographic factors³⁶. This was done in an attempt to clarify the origin and migration patterns of certain folktales across Russia³⁷.

Those who studied folklore broke the tales into different genres, though the titles and guidelines for these genres vary. There are the magic tales, called *volshebnye skazki*, which incorporate elements of the supernatural. These often included such things as ogres, dragons, spirits, vampires, and witches, as well as enchanted objects. These enchanted objects are alive and active members of the story, often doing things themselves, without the aid of human hands³⁸. The hero is usually a young man—a prince or a fool—and in the case of a heroine, she is usually either a princess or an orphan. The protagonist will go through a sequence of trials or adventures, and the story always has a happy ending³⁹. On their adventure, the hero or heroine is often aided either by an animal or another beneficial character, such as the witch Baba Yaga⁴⁰. The magic tale is one of the oldest in folklore, which has pre-Christian origins⁴¹.

The next most popular genre of folktale is the everyday tale, called the *bytovaia skazka*⁴². These folktales make up about 60% of Russian folklore, and of these, the anecdotes are the most popular⁴³. These have a clear moral message, and often focus on "real" everyday issues for the people, such as family relations and peasant-landlord relations, from the peasant's point of view⁴⁴. This genre of folklore is the youngest. Their aim is often to glorify the "lesser" peoples, such as the hard-workers and the poor. These tales grew out of the peasantry and their ways of looking at life⁴⁵. It is these later tales that tell more of society through a somewhat realistic lens⁴⁶. Most of these tales focus on the peasant's concepts of fairness and retribution, the rise of the underdog from oppression to salvation⁴⁷.

Another popular genre of folktale is the animal tale, called *skazka o zhivotnykh*⁴⁸. These stories give the animals humanlike qualities, and make up a solid 10% of Russian folklore⁴⁹. These anamorphic beasts often help out the heroes and other humans in the tale. In this way, the beasts are able to point out the vices and other shortcomings of the human world⁵⁰. The animals most prevalent in these tales are foxes and wolves, the two of which are often juxtaposed. The fox is portrayed as a clever fellow, whereas the wolf is portrayed as simple-minded and often receives the punishments in the

stories⁵¹. Other animals that are sometimes present are the clumsy and slow bear, the cowardly hare, and the contented cat⁵².

There are also allegorical, religious, and satirical tales in Russian folklore. These genres often cross with everyday tales, as they all focus on the life of the peasantry, and are often realistic, reflecting the complaints of the lower classes. Many of these sorts of tales focused on the divide between the upper classes and lower classes, as well as the corruption of the clergy⁵³. The anecdotal tales often mocked the clergy for their professional hypocrisy, fondness for bribes, and lack of chastity⁵⁴. Many of these satirical tales involve some sort of retribution against those in power. These included violent acts—such as beatings—as well as non-violent humiliations performed by the community⁵⁵. It is clear in these tales how the peasantry actually felt about the church as well as other forms of authority, and in a way, it shows how much folktales meant to the common people because of this. They could not speak out as such in church or on the streets, but through the folktales, the voice of their true selves and their culture, they were able to express themselves and undergo catharsis, purging the stress of their everyday lives away with a bit of laughter and finger pointing.

A common theme throughout most of the folklore was the status of the hero, who was almost always of a lower class than his opponent⁵⁶. A common theme was role reversal immersion, which swaps power from those who usually have it to those who usually do not. This is obviously wish fulfillment for the peasantry, who wish to rise above their situation and would surely enjoy the treatment and power of the upper classes for a while⁵⁷.

These heroes are usually defined by their humble ways and ingenuity, whereas the opponents are most often portrayed as stupid and greedy⁵⁸. Interestingly, when a third power player is added to the story, it is most often the tsar. Though the tsar is the ultimate power in the land and many of these folktales revolve around power reversal, the tsar is almost always a benefactor for the hero in these folk tales. The tsar is viewed as a “just judge”, and legitimizes the values of the hero rather than attempting to undermine them, like the other authoritative character, who is most often a member of the nobility⁵⁹. This might be because of the fact that many peasants saw the tsar as a fatherly character.

One of the most infamous characters of Russian folklore is Baba Yaga, who spans across the nation of Russia and defies the compartmentalization of time or space. Baba Yaga has been present in hundreds if not thousands of Russian folktales⁶⁰. She is a staple character of many magic tales, existing at the crossroads between logic and imagination. She is the character that most clearly represents the chasm between logic and paradox that defines the magic tale of folklore⁶¹. Baba translates to “grandma” or “old woman”. Some believe that the second half of her name refers to the word

yagat, meaning to abuse or to find fault⁶². Her presence in folklore stretches from a time before Christianity all the way to the present. She is noted to have links with the Ugrian goddess, Jamala, who was thought to have contained all things within her body⁶³.

This concept of motherliness has been attached to Baba Yaga for centuries, despite or perhaps due to her dual nature. Interestingly enough, she is also present in the folktales of the Ukraine and Belarus, meaning she is not of purely Russian design⁶⁴. This implies the vastness of Russia and shows how one character or tale can take on different meanings or details across the nation. The quantity of tales that include her imply that she must have held great meaning to the people, an appeal which has not seemed to lighten over the past several centuries. Baba Yaga is not simply one character. She is many different things depending upon which folktale one comes in contact with.

Some of this appeal may come from Baba Yaga's duality. She is seen as both a dangerous witch and a benefactress in her tales. She is best known for her role as a witch who lives on the edge of a wood in a house that stands on chicken feet. When inside, she lies on her stove, with her nose touching the ceiling and her body stretching from one corner of the hut to the other. In this type of story, she often has a mortar, pestle, and mop or broom on which to travel⁶⁵. Her hut is surrounded by a fence of human bones, with skeletons as fence stakes, and with hands instead of bolts in the doorways, and teeth where a lock should be⁶⁶. This is the somewhat modern or popular version of Baba Yaga that has made its way into world consciousness. This is not the only Baba Yaga.

Baba Yaga has many other names, including *lagaia*, *lagabora*, and *Gigibikha*⁶⁷. She is linked back to being an underworld goddess for the ancient Slavs. It is said that they made blood sacrifices to her, and perhaps this is why modern tales of Baba Yaga have her hungry for the blood and flesh of youngsters and maidens⁶⁸. Baba Yaga's link with the underworld has not been upturned. The forest in the Russian culture is seen as a place of initiation and possibly an entrance to the land of the dead, making this passage a symbolic death. Baba Yaga's hut sits at the edge of a forest, and it is the hero of the tale that has to somehow get her hut to face him and turn its back to the forest so that he can pass. This is reminiscent of the tales of heroes passing to the underworld in other cultures, such as the tales of the mighty heroes of Greek mythology. This makes Baba Yaga the guardian of the underworld, a somewhat terrifying figure⁶⁹.

Baba Yaga also has a very motherly aura to her character. She is often viewed as portraying the Jungian archetype of the “Great Mother”, whereas Freudians see her as one's infantile experience of the mother—both loving and at times frightening, protector and devourer⁷⁰. She is also considered the mother of animals, as they reside in the forest that she guards⁷¹.

Baba Yaga's immediate role within stories

also has a tendency to be motherly or have references to motherhood. The protagonists sometimes refer to her as “mother”, and sometimes she uses the guise of a mother-- either by literally disguising herself as the hero's mother or by simply imitating her voice⁷². This has all helped lead to the belief that Baba Yaga originated during a matriarchal period in time, and was blackened into an image of wickedness later through the rise of patriarchy⁷³.

The most notable reference to Baba Yaga as a motherly figure plays into how the peasantry viewed Russia itself. Russia is often referenced as the “Motherland.” Most of the peasantry worked the land, making a living off of the crops that they could grow. Like many other cultures, that of the Russian peasantry viewed the land as a motherly figure, due to its fertility. The earth could be a very beneficial or destructive being, just as Baba Yaga could be. In this way, Baba Yaga was linked to the “Moist Mother Earth”⁷⁴. This may add to why she came to be cast in a more negative light over time, as she represented pagan values and wisdom concerning the earth, which the church surely did not approve of⁷⁵. This helps explain why her character was so present in the folklore of the common people. Their lives revolved around the fertility of the land, and many people were dependent upon the changing “moods” of the weather and the seasons. A fruitful year could be massively beneficial to their living, but a bad harvest year could lead to death. With this duality constantly on their minds, it is not difficult to see how the idea of Baba Yaga may have come to be.

Russian folklore changed drastically with the rise of the Soviet Union. Folklore became a tool of Russian self-expression more than ever before. The everyday tale came to the forefront of the movement of folklore into the political sphere, concentrating on social relations and class struggles⁷⁶. Peasant tales and tales of the working class swiftly became tools to those in power⁷⁷. The collection of folklore was initiated by the government—primarily Stalin—in an attempt to advance communism⁷⁸. Due to the closeness of folklore to the common people, it was seen as an excellent propaganda tool for communism and socialism⁷⁹.

Many folktales and songs were collected during Stalin's reign, as he saw these tales as tools for furthering his regimes as well as boosting the Russian culture. Most of the tales collected and used were “everyday tales”, but some magic tales were also collected. These were often changed to be less fantastical and more realistic, with the introduction to the tale detailing a contemporary life⁸⁰. One of the most notable changes in the tales that were edited was the position of the tsar. In the original folktales concerning power dynamics, the tsar was often seen as a beneficial character, the real evildoers being the upper classes. In Soviet folklore, the tsar became a very unlikable character; merciless, cowardly, stupid, and sometimes downright comical⁸¹. This obviously played at the heartstrings of those who had followed the

monarchy, and tried to give the Russian people another nudge towards forgetting the tsar and accepting the new regime.

Besides these reworked folktales, the Soviet Union was the catalyst for a whole new era of folklore, which was specifically created for political use. These new tales, which began to rise into the public sphere in the mid-1930s, imitated traditional folklore through motifs and poetical devices, but were set in contemporary life and stuck primarily to the rules of such⁸². Instead of princes or fools, the heroes became those who were mighty and brave enough to defend the socialist fatherland. The most common of these were of course Lenin and Stalin, who replaced the epic heroes of yesteryear⁸³. The creation of these modernized folktales was taken very seriously. Many writers and folklorists were assigned as tutors to storytellers and singers in an attempt to get them to all work together in the most genuine and useful way possible⁸⁴. These tales were published in local newspapers and magazines across most of Russia, acting as another finger of Stalin's reign upon the mind of the Russian people⁸⁵.

Though folklore may have been at a form of its prime in the 1920s through the 1930s, things began to change for folklore once again. In the 1940s, an intense campaign was launched to rid all Russian literature—and folklore—of any Western elements⁸⁶. After the death of Stalin in 1953, folklore began to fall back into the backdrop of Russian life, and efforts to use it as a form of propaganda ceased. The censorship and following liberation of folklore seems to have happened multiple times in Russian history.

In the 1970s through the 1980s, many scholars avoided certain topics of study within folklore. Some folklorists were even hired to purge certain texts of objectionable content before they could be released to the public⁸⁷. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, folklore scholarship was revived once again. Folklorists were finally allowed to study what they pleased, and this of course led to many of them reveling in the formerly forbidden topics of folklore, including tales with connections or references to the West⁸⁸. Some tales were rereleased in their uncensored forms, and emulation of western folklore scholarship rose. There was also a dedicated movement to reclaim folklore as it had been before the Soviet Union, to try to get back to the true roots of the timeless and culturally important tradition⁸⁹.

Folklore has continued to thrive in Russia, and is still central to the lives of many in the nation. There has been a rise in “urban folklore” in recent years, sometimes termed “post-folklore” or “anti-folklore”. These are tales set in urban, contemporary settings, not unlike the everyday tales of their time⁹⁰. Folklore in Russia has now also become a part of the popular culture, continuing its jump from one generation to the next⁹¹. Though it is still going strong in its home nation, Russian folklore has failed to make a lasting and widespread impression on North America⁹². Perhaps this is due to the issues of

the past or simply because not enough of the tales have made their way to stick. Either way, there is a small but thriving study of it, of its colorful characters and fruitful storylines.

Russian folklore has changed greatly over time. Tales coagulated over the vastness of the nation over hundreds of years, with pockets of stories and songs found here and there over the centuries that prove the diversity of the people and their beliefs. It has been used as a voice for the people who did not have one, and it has also been used by those in power to personify their voices to the "little people". It has been used to discuss issues of class relations as well as to provide entertainment and hopes for a magical realm just out of reach of the everyday lives that they filled with satire and superstition. Though most of the writing down and collection of these folklore elements have occurred in the past couple of centuries, there is a distinct evolution of the mentality of the people visible in these stories which to this day put the readers and listeners in touch with the world as it was hundreds of years ago. Folklore in Russia is indeed an "echo of the past, but at the same time it is also the vigorous voice of the present"⁹³. Hopefully it will continue to be an outlet of cultural voice and beliefs for generations to come, and will never die if for no other reason than the fact that "it was just too much a part of being human"⁹⁴.

Notes

¹ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 122. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.

² *Ibid.*, 121.

³ Gregory Manaev, "Scary Monsters: Russia's Creatures of Folklore Live On," *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, accessed April 15, 2015, http://rbth.co.uk/arts/2014/06/13/scary_monsters_russias_creatures_of_folklore_live_on_36659.html.

⁴ *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English*, trans. Alex E. Alexander (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1973), 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁶ Atelia Clarkson and Gilbert B. Cross, *World Folktales: A Scribner Resource Collection* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 3.

⁷ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 1.

⁸ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 362. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.

⁹ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 1.

¹⁰ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 119. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹² Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 362. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.

¹⁶ Olson J. Laura and Svetlana Adonyeva, *Worlds of Russian Women: Tradition, Transgression, Compromise* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013) 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁹ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 9.

²⁰ Vladimir Yakovlevich Propp, *The Russian Folktale*, ed. Sibelan Forrester (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012) 47.

²¹ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 362. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.

²² Linda Ivanits, "The Early Dostoyevsky and Folklore: The Case of the Landlady," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 52, no. 4 (2008): 513. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40651269>.

²³ Felix J. Oinas, and Stephen Soudakoff, *The Study of Russian Folklore* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1975), 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁵ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 383-384.

²⁶ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 120. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.

²⁷ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 121. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.

- ²⁸ Jack Zipes, *Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012), 63.
- ²⁹ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 2.
- ³⁰ Felix J. Oinas, and Stephen Soudakoff, *The Study of Russian Folklore* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1975), 2.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ³² Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 363. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.
- ³³ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 3.
- ³⁴ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 363. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.
- ³⁵ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 3.
- ³⁶ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore and Politics in the Soviet Union," *Slavic Review* 32, no. 1 (1973): 46. Accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2494072>.
- ³⁷ Felix J. Oinas, "Folklore Activities in Russia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 74, no. 294 (1961): 364. Accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/538259>.
- ³⁸ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 425-426.
- ³⁹ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 9.
- ⁴⁰ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 424.
- ⁴¹ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 9.
- ⁴² *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English*, trans. Alex E. Alexander (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1973), 127.
- ⁴³ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 439.
- ⁴⁴ Victor Terras, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Yale University Press, 1991), 9-10.
- ⁴⁵ *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English*, trans. Alex E. Alexander (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1973), 131.
- ⁴⁶ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 122-123. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.
- ⁴⁸ *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English*, trans. Alex E. Alexander (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1973), 127.
- ⁴⁹ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 433.
- ⁵⁰ *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English*, trans. Alex E. Alexander (Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1973), 130-131.
- ⁵¹ Y.M Sokolov, *Russian Folklore* (Detroit: American Council of Learned Societies, 1950), 435.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 435-436.
- ⁵³ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 124. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.
- ⁵⁷ Maureen Perrie, "Folklore as Evidence of Peasant Mentalite: Social Attitudes and Values in Russian Popular Culture," *Russian Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 129. Accessed April 5, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130323>.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 128.
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- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.
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