'Dobraia Staraia Angliia' in Russian Perception: Literary Representations of Englishness in Translated Children's Literature in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

This thesis explores Englishness and its representation in translated children's literature in Russia during the Soviet period (from 1917 until 1991) and the post-Soviet period (from 1992 until 2015). It focuses on Russian translations of English children's classics published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War. It studies how Russian translations of English children's literature construct literary portrayals of Englishness in varied socio-cultural and historical contexts. It investigates the complex processes involved in re-creating national specificities of English literary texts in Russian culture. The Anglo-centric essence of Englishness – or 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] – is expressed to a greater degree in the classics of English children's literature. It is this particular idealised Englishness that is represented in the Russian translations. This thesis demonstrates that various manifestations of Englishness are modified in Russian translations and that the degree of modification varies according to changes in the political climate in Russia. A significant role is played by ideology – of a prevailing political nature during in the Soviet Union and a commercial ideology in post-Soviet Russia.

The first chapter lays the theoretical foundation for the whole thesis and outlines the methodology adopted. Chapters 2 and 3 set out the contextual background for understanding Englishness by focusing on the question of Englishness perceived from English and Russian perspectives, and discussing the main tendencies of representing Englishness in both cultures. Chapter 4 presents the historical background by highlighting the political and cultural circumstances in which Russian translations were made. The second half of the thesis (chapters five, six and seven) focuses on the analysis of the representation of Englishness in Russian translations. Chapter 5 discusses which English children's books, published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War, were selected for translation and at what point between 1918 and 2015. Chapters 6 and 7 present the case studies in this thesis. These provide an analysis of how different manifestations of Englishness were translated and, taking into account the Soviet and post-Soviet historical contexts, examine why they were translated in certain ways.

Transliteration

The Library of Congress system without diacritics is followed for the transliteration from Cyrillic of Russian words and names. When a Russian name has an accepted English spelling, this form was used – e.g. Chukovsky instead of Chukovskii.

Translations

Unless otherwise stated, translations are my own and references are made to the original source. All back-translations from Russian to English of citations from primary sources are my own.

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Contents

Introduction

Aims and objectives of the thesis

Two Russian expressions – 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] and 'tumannyi Al'bion' [foggy Albion] – are stereotypes, widely held in Russian culture, connoting the image of mysterious and cosy England. 'Dobraia staraia Angliia' is a Russian version of the English phrase 'Merry England'[1] meaning 'a particular Arcadian attitude to the past, prevalent in Victorian and Edwardian times but with roots stretching back to the turn of the 19th century and with continuing power to the present day'.[2] According to the Russian researcher I. O. Naumova, the Russian phrase is a phraseological calque of the old English expression 'Merrie old England' and the widespread expression 'good old times' which is present in various languages around the world and connotes the idealistic perception of the past.[3] In Russian popular understanding, the phrase 'dobraia staraia Angliia' stands for a conventional image of England of past centuries, which symbolises an island of calm and comfort, traditions and conservatism, law and order, with attributes such as aristocracy and castles, ladies and gentlemen, bowler hats, umbrellas and pipes, afternoon tea and puddings, thatched cottages and roses. The popular symbolic image of the 'dobraia staraia Angliia' can also be found in works by William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Oscar Wilde, P. G. Wodehouse, G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, Agatha Christie, as well as by such writers of children's literature as Lewis Carroll, Kenneth Grahame, A. A. Milne, J. M. Barrie, C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien.

The well-known Russian expression 'tumannyi Al'bion' was popularised in poetry by Konstantin N. Batiushkov and Marina Tsvetaeva. The first line of Batiushkov's elegy 'Ten' druga' [The shade of a friend], written in 1814 as he was sailing from England to Sweden, reads 'Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona'

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[1] The English phrase 'Merry England' is used in this thesis rather than the equally widespread alternative 'Merrie England' (as per Google Books Ngram Viewer, https://books.google.com/ngrams [accessed 10 January 2017]), as the change in spelling does not alter the connotation of the phrase and the results of Google Scholar search demonstrate that 'Merry England' has been a more popular choice since 2010.

[2] 'Merrie England', in *A Dictionary of English Folklore* (Oxford: Oxford Reference, 2003) <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100151694?rskey=Y9rBX5&result=5> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[3] I. O. Naumova, *Frazeologicheskie kal'ki angliiskogo proiskhozhdeniia v sovremennom russkom iazyke (na materiale publitsistiki): Monografiia* (Kharkov: KhNAGKh, 2012), p. 80.

[I was leaving the foggy shore of Albion].[4] Tsvetaeva referred to this line of Batiushkov's elegy for her poem 'Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona' written in 1918 and dedicated to Byron.[5] The phrase 'tumannyi Al'bion' is a well-known toponym in Russian culture associated with England, and as a metaphor it evokes the image of a mysterious land wrapped in mist, where King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table once reigned. At the same time, this image is linked in the Russian imagination to an island constantly covered in fog and rarely visited by the sun. Russian nineteenth-century literature offered the image of England as a foggy island shedding melancholy upon the people who live there.[6]

Despite their melancholic connotations, both the Russian stereotypes of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' and 'tumannyi Al'bion' create a positive image of England in Russian culture. At the same time, there continues to be a negative perception of England among Russian people. In the nineteenth century it was connected with commerce and foreign relations. As the Russian scholar N. A. Erofeev claims, the nineteenth century brought about the image of an unfriendly England whose business people were greedy and self-centred. Moreover, the Crimean War led to the formation of a new symbolic image of England as 'kovarnyi Al'bion' [perfidious Albion].[7] This negative stereotypical image became entrenched in Russian perception and has reappeared in Russian political discourse whenever relations between both countries take a turn for the worse.[8]

Such opposing views are inherent not only in the perception of England but also in the overall attitude towards the West in Russian culture. Ambivalence about the West has been a characteristic feature of the Russian mentality. If one looks at Russian attitudes to the West diachronically from the

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[4] K. N. Batiushkov, 'Ten' druga', in *K. N. Batiushkov. Polnoe sobranie stikhotvorenii* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1964), pp. 170–71.

[5] M. I. Tsvetaeva, 'Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...', in *Marina Tsvetaeva. Stikhotvoreniia. Poemy* (Moscow: RIPOL klassik, 2007), pp. 158–59.

[6] For example, N. M. Karamzin, P. I. Sumarokov, and A. I. Herzen mentioned the depressing nature of English fog and rain. See more on this in Nikolai A. Erofeev, *Tumannyi Al'bion: Angliia i anglichane glazami russkikh, 1825–1853 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), p. 179; and *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945*, ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001).

[7] Erofeev, p. 289, 298.

[8] For example, Russian Anglophobic views, which are based on Russian political antipathy towards Britain, are discussed in Apollon B. Davidson, 'Obraz Britanii i Rossii XIX i XX stoletii', *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*, 5 (2005) <http://vivovoco.astronet.ru/VV/PAPERS/HISTORY/ ALBION.HTM#15> [accessed 20 December 2017] and in Apollon B. Davidson, *Na putiakh k vzaimoponimaniiu*, 2014 <http://histrf.ru/ru/biblioteka/book/na-putiakh-k-vzaimoponimaniiu#_edn13> [accessed 20 December 2017].

beginning of the twentieth century up to the present moment (that is, Russia before the revolution, Soviet Russia and post-Soviet Russia), one can see a definite tendency: to manifest contradictory attitudes towards the West. This dichotomy was highlighted as far back as the eighteenth century by the Russian playwright Denis Fonvizin: 'How can we remedy two contradictory and most harmful prejudices: the first, that everything with us is awful, while in foreign lands everything is good; the second, that in foreign lands everything is awful, while with us everything is good?'[9]

On the one hand, there has always been a Russian willingness to learn about the West, to understand it and to accept its presence in Russian culture. This inclination can be exemplified by the words of two prominent Russian writers: Joseph Brodsky, who said that '[i]f you are born in Russia, nostalgia for an alternative genesis is inevitable' as well as Sergei Dovlatov who wrote that '   ,   ' [We like imported goods very much, including translated literature too].[10] Certainly, one could argue that these points of view are subjective. However, the enormous popularity in the Soviet Union and in post-Soviet Russia of literature translated from major languages of Western countries points to a great interest in the culture of the West among Russian people. On the other hand, there has always been a tendency to dislike the West (which has become quite prevalent in Russian society and the political establishment since 2014), to diminish its influence on Russian culture and, consequently, to create a negative image of it.[11] However, despite the presence of negative attitudes

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[9] Leah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 223.

[10] Joseph Brodsky, 'In Memory of Stephen Spender', in *On Grief And Reason: Essays* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), pp. part X, Kindle edition; 'Perevodnye kartinki', in *Sergei Dovlatov. Sobraniie sochinenii v 4-kh tomakh*, 4 vols (Saint Petersburg: Azbuka-klassika, 2005), iv, 328–48 <http://www.sergeidovlatov.com/books/perev_kart.html> [accessed 6 January 2016].

[11] Fedor Dostoevskii's anti-western sentiments, expressed in his later life, are supported by his ardent Orthodox Christianity attitudes. See, for example, Fedor Dostoevskii, *A Writer's Diary,* trans. by Kenneth Lantz, 2 vols (Evanston, IS: Northwestern University Press, 1994). On anti-western views in modern Russian literature and the media in the 1990s and the early twenty-first century, see Rosalind Marsh, *Literature, History and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia, 1991–2006* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), particularly pp. 522–32. Marsh mentions Aleksandr Prokhanov and Eduard Limonov, as well as Viktor Dotsenko and Anatolii Afanas'ev who wrote thrillers popular in the early 1990s. Regarding the Russian public opinion, according to the survey conducted by the Levada Centre in May 2016, 62 per cent of respondents (from 48 regions in Russia) stated their attitude toward the European Union in general in 2016 as negative, against 25 per cent of respondents who rated their attitude as positive. See 'Russia's Friends and Enemies', The Levada Centre Survey, 10 June 2016, <http://www.levada.ru/2016/06/10/russia-s-friends-and-enemies-2/> [accessed 20 February 2017]. For the anti-

about the West in Russian perceptions, the West has been 'an integral, indelible part of Russian *national* consciousness', as Leah Greenfield puts it.[12] A similar opinion is given by Vera Tolz who, referring to Fedor Dostoevskii's 'Pushkin Speech', explains that Russian openness to foreign cultures and traditions was seen by Dostoevskii as the determining element of the Russian national character.[13]

Even though views of the West in general and of England in particular have often been negative, such views still contribute to the creation of a pool of cultural information about foreign cultures in Russia, which, in its turn, plays an important role in understanding Russian national identity. A good explanation of this phenomenon in general is given by N. A. Erofeev, who claims that it is not curiosity alone that makes people interested in the Other, but also the desire to know one's own identity. By getting to know a foreign nation, especially learning about the cultural specifics of its way of life, one compares and contrasts oneself to that nation. This leads to a better understanding of one's own nation, as well as one's own character traits and peculiarities.[14]

Hence, these ambivalent attitudes towards England create the overall picture of how England is perceived in Russia. This perception has been constructed via different experiences and media: through political discourses prevalent at different periods in Russian history, through the personal experience of different people travelling to England, through cinema, theatre, TV and mass media as well as through various fictional and non-fictional sources. Literature plays an important role in this process by creating images of foreign countries in the corpus of national literatures and by introducing foreign books through translation. Translated children's literature occupies a significant position in this hierarchy. As cultural and cross-cultural socialisation starts in childhood and translated literature provides plenty of textual material on the cultural specificity of foreign countries, it seems likely that translated children's literature plays a significant role in the process of forming perceptions of foreign cultures. Regarding English children's literature, I assume that the way in which Russian writers and translators imagine England, its literature and its literary

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western political rhetoric, see Vladimir Putin's Crimean Speech of 18 March 2014. The full official transcript translated into English can be found at <http://en.kremlin.ru/ events/president/news/20603> [accessed 20 February 2016].

[12] Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, p. 254.

[13] Vera Tolz, *Russia* (London: Arnold, 2001), p. 201.

[14] Erofeev, p. 11.

style, helps young readers to form their vision of English culture. This, in its turn, contributes to mutual cultural dialogue and forms the basis for readers' awareness and understanding of England and its culture from childhood.

In the light of the ambivalence of Russian perceptions of England and its culture, this thesis aims to explore Englishness and its representation in translated children's literature in Russia during the Soviet period (from 1917 until 1991) and the post-Soviet period (from 1992 until 2015). It focuses on Russian translations of English children's classics published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War. It studies how Russian translations of English children's literature construct a literary discourse of Englishness and whether the ambivalence of attitudes towards England and its culture, prevalent in the adult world, appears in a similar way in Russian translations of English children's books.

The notion of Englishness is set apart from the notion of Britishness in this thesis. Sometimes both notions become blurred especially when approached by foreigners, who have a tendency to equate the two ideas when discussing questions of identity in relation to England and Britain. However, there is a clear difference. For example, Iain Chambers divides Britishness into two versions: Britishness as 'Anglo-centric, frequently conservative, backward-looking, and increasingly located in a frozen and largely stereotyped' perception of English culture, and 'ex-centric, open-ended and multi-ethnic' Britishness.[15] I have decided to exclude the multi-ethnic component of Britishness, which is more applicable to contemporary British children's literature. Instead, I focus mainly on Englishness, acknowledging that its stereotyped and conservative nature is Anglo-centric. The Anglo-centric essence of Englishness – or 'dobraia staraia Angliia' – is expressed to a greater degree in the classics of English children's literature. It is this particular Anglo-centrism that is represented in the Russian translations of children's classics which is discussed in this thesis.

The Anglo-centric image of England, which is sometimes projected onto the whole of Britain, seems to be widespread in Russian culture and formed through the agency of stereotypes, which facilitate the mythologisation of England in Russian translations. During the Soviet period the dominant narrative of this mythologisation was political, with state ideology playing a

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[15] Iain Chambers, *Border Dialogues: Journeys in Postmodernity* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 27.

significant role. The post-Soviet period has seen a shift towards the cultural narrative in the mythologisation of Englishness. During this period, ideology has still been present, although its nature was modified: the commercial approach to translated literature has superseded the overwhelming influence of state ideology.

In this thesis I argue that in English children's literature the various manifestations of Anglo-centric Englishness can be divided into three major groups: institutional Englishness, which relates to themes with political and ideological connotations (the class system, empire, historical past, and traditions); cultural Englishness, which relates to the mythologised environment and way of life; and expressions of English national character, which relate to discourses of the fantastic and silliness.[16] Regarding Russian translations of English children's books, I argue that it is predominantly institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character which are affected by censorship and given ideological interpretations; whereas cultural Englishness is re-imagined and partially Russified. At the same time, I argue that the degree of modifications in representing different manifestations of Englishness varies according to changes in the political climate in Russia. Consequently, examples of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character that are both affected by ideology prevail in translations produced during the Soviet period and a modified myth of cultural Englishness dominates in translations created during the post-Soviet period. I also argue that in both cases ideology plays a significant role in the representation of Englishness in Russian translations, with political ideology dominating in the Soviet Union and commercial ideology prevailing in post-Soviet Russia.

In order to develop my argument, I will pursue three objectives. First, I aim to analyse the literary transfer of manifestations of Englishness from English children's literature to Russian translations during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods in order to discover the extent to which manifestations of Englishness have been preserved, modified or misrepresented in these translations. Second, I intend to understand why certain English texts were chosen for translation. Third, I seek to identify the role that Russian translators

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[16] This classification emerges from my own research and is not presented as a final definition.

played in the process of literary transfer of manifestations of Englishness and to analyse how translators' approaches have changed over time.

I draw on several theoretical frameworks which provide the basis for approaching my objectives. The first theoretical idea refers to Englishness as a concept constructed in literature. It has been proposed by David Gervais, who states that 'every idea of England predicates a slightly different England'[17] as well as by Tim Middleton and Judy Giles suggesting that there is no complete construction of Englishness, there are always alternative versions of it.[18] The other four theoretical frameworks refer to the translation of Englishness. André Lefevere claims that a different culture is 'naturalised' in literary translations.[19] Emer O'Sullivan and Maria Nikolajeva assert that translation of children's literature balances between domestication and foreignisation.[20] Siobhan Brownlie claims that the choice to retranslate texts is affected by the change in ideologies and norms in the receiving culture.[21] Lawrence Venuti states that the choice to translate the original text is determined by common social situations, themes and discourses.[22] These theoretical approaches provide a suitable context for analysing the process of translating Englishness and selecting English children's books for translation.

The corpus of texts selected for the analysis

In order to gather textual evidence to support my argument and objectives, I will apply textual analysis for identifying manifestations of Englishness in the original texts and use contrastive textual analysis to identify them within the corresponding Russian translations. Additionally, I will use paratexts (prefaces, footnotes and commentary, as well as critics' and readers' reviews) to

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[17] David Gervais, *Literary Englands: Versions of 'Englishness' in Modern Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 1.

[18] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950: An Introductory Sourcebook on National Identity*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

[19] André Lefevere, 'Mother Courage's Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature', in *The Translation Studies Reader,* ed. by Lawrence Venuti, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 233–49 (p. 237).

[20] Emer O'Sullivan, *Comparative Children's Literature*, trans. by Anthea Bell (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 74; Maria Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age: Toward a New Aesthetic* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 35–6.

[21] Siobhan Brownlie, 'Narrative Theory and Retranslation Theory', *Across Languages and Cultures,* 7 (2006), 145–70 (p. 150).

[22] Lawrence Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 119.

contextualise and analyse the cultural transfer of various manifestations of Englishness between English and Russian texts.

I will examine a corpus of the following English children's books and their various translations:

– J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy* (1911) translated by L. Bubnova in 1918, N. Demurova in 1968, an adapted version called *Peter Pan* produced by I. Tokmakova in 1981, a translation of the play *Peter Pan* done by Boris Zakhoder in 1967.

– Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) translated by an unknown translator and edited by E. Sysoeva in 1888, S. Dolgov in 1893, Z. P. Ivanova in 1901, E. Taborovskaia in 1913, N. Demurova in 1992.

– Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden* (1911) translated by A. Repina in 1914, R. Rubinova in 1914, Irina Senderikhina in 1992, Nina Demurova in 1996.

– Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows* (1908) translated by Irina Tokmakova in 1988, V. Reznik in 1992, M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov in 1993, Leonid Iakhnin in 2002, Viktor Lunin in 2011.

– Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) translated by Anna Enkvist in 1916, Aleksei Slobozhan (poetry by Galina Usova) in 1984, Gennadii Kruzhkov and Marina Boroditskaia in 1996, Irina Gurova in 1996.

– Rudyard Kipling, *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) translated by Aleksei Slobozhan (poetry by Galina Usova) in 1984, Gennadii Kruzhkov and Marina Boroditskaia in 1996, Irina Gurova in 1996.

– A. A. Milne, *When We Were Very Young* (one poem only – *The King's Breakfast*) (1924) translated by Samuil Marshak in 1946.

– A. A. Milne, *Now We Are Six* (one poem only – *King Hilary and the Beggarman*) (1927) translated by Nonna Slepakova in 1968.

– E. Nesbit, *The Railway Children* (1906) translated by A. Sharapova in 2010, Anton Ivanov and Anna Ustinova in 2015.

– P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins* (1934), *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935), *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943) translated by Boris Zakhoder in 1968, Igor' Rodin in 1994, Marina Litvinova in 1996.

– *The King and the Bishop*, an English folk ballad (17th century), translated and revised by Samuil Marshak in 1918, 1926 and 1936.

I have selected these books for the analysis of Englishness for several reasons. The corpus of English works consists of children's classics, as representative examples in which English national identity manifests itself. These texts are culturally specific, and, consequently, they can be regarded as products of the English cultural context. They contain descriptions of 'Merry England' or, in Russian, of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England], which explicitly and/or implicitly pertain to a certain time frame: late Victorian and Edwardian England, as well as England between the First and the Second World Wars. This group of books share common late Victorian and Edwardian cultural features which are easily recognised as manifestations of idealised Englishness by readers around the world and even by those who have never seen England and base their perceptions on English literature. My corpus is dominated by English books written during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. I have decided to add the first three books about Mary Poppins written in the 1930s and 1940s and two of Milne's poems written in the 1920s to this group of books. In support of my decision, I refer to Rebecca Knuth, who states that English children's books written during the Victorian and Edwardian period depict an English lifestyle which reflects this epoch and 'most children's books of the late 1920s and 1930s can be seen as carrying forward Edwardian attitudes and tropes'.[23]

One of the works in my corpus – the folk ballad *The King and the Bishop* – differs from the others. Although this ballad is not considered children's literature in England, I have decided to include it for two reasons. Firstly, it reflects an idealised view of medieval England and at the same time it can be placed within the context of 'Merry England'. Secondly, it was positioned in the Soviet Union as reading material for children and it is a good example of how the representation of Englishness was affected by state ideology.

There are two renowned English children's classics *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Winnie-the-Pooh*, which I have deliberately chosen not to include in my corpus of texts to be analysed, although they reflect the spirit of an idealised 'Merry England' and depict Englishness in the best possible way. Aspects of translation and Englishness in these books have already been

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[23] Rebecca Knuth, *Children's Literature and British Identity: Imagining a People and a Nation* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), pp. 9, 127.

researched in Russia and in the English-speaking world.[24] Therefore, it seems more reasonable to focus on the analysis of Russian translations of the English children's books from my corpus which have not received much scholarly attention so far.

I refer to the original texts as English children's literature, basing my decision on Patrick Parrinder's definition of an English novel as a novel written in English by 'an author of English nationality, descent, or domicile' and 'a novel wholly or partly set within a fictionalized version of English society would qualify as an English novel'.[25] I acknowledge that regarding the authors from the corpus of English texts the term 'English novel' may seem controversial, as they were either not born in England but lived in England or being of English descent they lived abroad. Frances Hodgson Burnett was of English nationality but lived in the United States for a long time. Pamela L. Travers was born in Australia but moved to live in England at the age of twenty-five. Kenneth Grahame was born in Scotland but at the age of five moved to live with his grandmother in England and continued to live in England for the rest of his life. Rudyard Kipling was born in India and was moved to live in England at the age of five (he lived abroad before settling in England permanently). James Matthew Barrie was of Scottish origin but went to live in England after graduating from Edinburgh University. However, all of the original texts are set in England and the authors chose England as their place of residence, therefore, as follows from Parrinder's definition, they can be considered as English texts written for children.

Almost all of the Russian translations included in the corpus (except the books by Burnett and Nesbit) were initially published during the Soviet period and afterwards were reprinted in post-Soviet Russia. These translations are well represented on the contemporary Russian book market and can be found in

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[24] See, for example, Alexandra Borisenko, 'Pesni nevinnosti i pesni opyta: O novykh perevodakh "Vinni-Pukha"', *Inostrannaia literatura*, 4 (2002) <http://magazines.russ.ru/inostran/2002/4/ boris.html> [accessed 13 December 2016]; Alexandra Borisenko, '"The Good Are Always the Merry": British Children's Literature in Soviet Russia', in *A collection of articles based on papers presented at the conference 'Translation in Russian Contexts: Transcultural, Translingual and Transdisciplinary Points of Departure', Uppsala University, 3–7 June 2014* ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 2016, forthcoming), pp. not known; Nina Demurova, 'Golos i skripka (k perevodu ekstsentricheskikh skazok L'iuisa Kerrolla)', *Masterstvo perevoda,* 7 (1970), 150–85; Judith Inggs, 'Translation and Transformation: English-Language Children's Literature in (Soviet) Russian Guise', *International Research in Children's Literature,* 8 (2015), 1–16.
[25] Patrick Parrinder, *Nation and Novel: The English Novel from Its Origins to the Present Day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 3, 4.

bookshops in major Russian cities and the main online bookshops such as ozon.ru, labirint.ru and read.ru. Russian readers (children and their parents) are familiar with them. As the results of a Russian survey of 2013 demonstrate, Russian children chose the following translated English children's books for their extracurricular reading (several of these books are included in my corpus): Michael Bond's stories about Paddington Bear, J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, Frances H. Burnett's *The Secret Garden* and *A Little Princess*, Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, Dick King-Smith's *The Sheep-pig* and *Lady Daisy*, Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, Arthur Conan Doyle's stories about Sherlock Holmes, James Greenwood's *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin*, Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, C. S. Lewis's *The Chronicles of Narnia*, A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, J. K. Rowling's books about Harry Potter, R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, and Pamela Travers's books about Mary Poppins.[26]

Gaps in scholarly research and contribution made by the thesis

In this thesis I will explore the existing scholarship which has provided the foundations for the theoretical observations, arguments and objectives presented in my research, specifically for understanding Englishness as national identity (Chapter 1), for analysing the representation of Englishness in English and Russian literature (Chapters 2 and 3), for understanding translation in the Russian context and the role of Russian translators in representing Englishness and for discussing how to situate Russian translations with a focus on Englishness in the context of Russian children's literature (Chapters 4 and 5). Therefore, the scholarship applied in this thesis is broad and covers a number of areas. It will be explored in detail in the corresponding chapters. In this section I will present a brief review of existing scholarly studies covering three key themes that intersect in this thesis: national identity in children's literature, Englishness, and Russian translation (including translated children's literature). This brief overview will enable me to demonstrate the original contribution of this thesis.

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[26] This survey was held by Labirint.ru. For more information see Labirint.ru, 'Vneklassnoe chtenie. Otchet dlia pedagogov i roditelei po resul'tatam vserossiiskogo onlain-oprosa' (May 2013) <http://www.labirint.ru/downloads/ labirint_report_chtenie.pdf> [accessed 13 December 2016].

National identity in children's literature is a popular subject for research. There have been several noteworthy scholarly efforts to provide comparative analyses of the relationship between nationhood and children's literature.[27] For example, Margaret Meek's volume of essays *Children's Literature and National Identity* pays attention to the role of the self and the other in defining national identity, and to the importance of perceiving one's own national identity through the lenses of otherness. It also examines the role of language as a key element of national identity, interrelations between national identity and stereotypes, and the influence of class difference on the perceptions of national identity in England. The main idea of Jean Webb's volume *Text, Culture and National Identity in Children's Literature* is concentrated around the assumption that writing for children is based on cultural and historical contexts and that children's literature also constructs such contexts. In her comprehensive study *Children's Literature and British Identity: Imagining a People and a Nation*, Rebecca Knuth discusses how British children's books have influenced the formation of national identity in children and young people.

The relation between the theme of nationhood and children's books has also been explored in the following separate essays and chapters. Tony Watkins analyses the place of national identity in children's literature; and Dominique Sandis provides a study of nationality in children's books.[28] Maria Nikolajeva, in several sections of her book *Children's Literature Comes of Age: Toward a New Aesthetic,* discusses notions of national children's literature and cultural contexts in international children's literatures.[29] In addition to this, C. C. Barfoot examines stereotypes of European nationalities presented in a children's book anonymously published in 1824 called *Pug's Tour Through*

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[27] *Gunpowder and Sealing-Wax: Nationhood in Children's Literature,* ed. by Ann Lawson Lucas (Market Harborough: Troubadur Publishing, 1997); *Text Culture and National Identity in Children's Literature*, ed. by Jean Webb (Helsinki: NORDINFO, 2000); *Children's Literature and National Identity*, ed. by Margaret Meek (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 2001); Rebecca Knuth, *Children's Literature and British Identity: Imagining a People and a Nation* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012); *The Nation in Children's Literature: Nations of Childhood*, ed. by Christopher Kelen and Björn Sundmark (New York: Routledge, 2013); Nora Maguire and Beth Rodgers, *Children's Literature on the Move: Nations, Translations, Migrations* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).

[28] Tony Watkins, 'Cultural Studies, New Historicism and Children's Literature', in *Literature for Children: Contemporary Criticism,* ed. by Peter Hunt (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 173–95; Dominique Sandis, 'Proposing a Methodology for the Study of Nation(ality) in Children's Literature', in *New voices in children's literature criticism,* ed. by Sebastien Chapleau (Lichfield: Pied Piper, 2004), pp. 105–18.

[29] Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age.*

Europe; or The Travell'd Monkey: containing His Wonderful Adventures in the Principal Capitals of the Greatest Empires, Kingdoms, and States. Written by Himself and claims that this book can be used for research into how national stereotypes are instilled in children and maintained in adults.[30]

Three studies link images of national identity and translated children's literature. Martina Seifert, who studies images of Canada in children's fiction translated into German, shows that images of the country are mostly influenced by existing stereotypes and demonstrates that only those Canadian books that fit into an existing image of Canada are translated into German.[31] By using concepts of stereotype, image and otherness, Helen T. Frank examines how images of Australia are constructed in children's books translated into French. Her detailed model for analysis, which is relevant to this thesis, includes the selection of books for translation, translation of paratexts, landscape, flora, fauna, food, people, folklore and culture-specific terms, as well as intertextual references.[32] Emer O'Sullivan examines English and German constructions of Englishness in German translations of *Alice in Wonderland*. By combining imagology and translation studies, she demonstrates that the trope of English eccentricity and English humour is neutralised and domesticated in German translations, although in forewords and afterwords this trope is presented as quintessentially English.[33] These three studies offer valuable ideas about how to approach the identification and analysis of images of English national identity. I have not found any research which studies the translation of English national identity in the context of translated literature in Russia.

There is a considerable body of scholarly research on the essence of Englishness and its representation in English literature. Several major sources form the theoretical basis for ideas about Englishness which are used in this thesis, the detailed review of which will be given in Chapter 2. For example,

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[30] C.C. Barfoot, 'Beyond Pug's Tour: Stereotyping Our "Fellow-Creatures"', in *Beyond Pug's Tour: National and Ethnic Stereotyping in Theory and Literary Practice,* ed. by C.C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 5–36 (p.12).
[31] Martina Seifert, 'The Image Trap: The Translation of English-Canadian Children's Literature into German', in *Children's Literature Global and Local: Social and Aesthetic Perspectives,* ed. by E. O'Sullivan, K. Reynolds and R. Romøren (Oslo: Novus Press, 2005), pp. 227–39.
[32] Helen T. Frank, *Cultural Encounters in Translated Children's Literature: Images of Australia in French Translation* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2007).
[33] Emer O'Sullivan, 'Englishness in German Translations of *Alice in Wonderland*', in *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology,* ed. by Luc van Doorslaer and others (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016), pp. 87–107.

views on the essence of Englishness are given in Anthony Easthope's *Englishness and National Culture*, Krishan Kumar's *The Making of English National Identity*, and Margaret Meek's chapter 'The Englishness of English Children's Books'.[34] An analysis of different literary portraits of England and its people created by English writers, who draw on their own perceptions of Englishness, is given in David Gervais's *Literary Englands: Versions of 'Englishness' in Modern Writing*, Menno Spiering's *Englishness: Foreigners and Images of National Identity in Postwar Literature* and the volume *Writing Englishness 1900-1950: An Introductory Sourcebook on National Identity* compiled by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton.[35] As for Russian studies, there is a wide bibliography on the dialogue between English and Russian culture, as well as the image of Englishness in Russian literature, which provides information about the existing stereotypes of England and the English in Russian culture. These scholarly works offer insights into how national English stereotypes and perceptions might have influenced the decisions of Russian translators in how they render original English texts.[36] However, no attention has been given so far to how Englishness is presented in literature translated into Russian.

There is a considerable body of scholarly work on literary translation in Russia. These publications provide detailed research into translation theory and praxis in Russia in a wide historical context, including the influence of ideology and censorship on translation.[37] Scholarship on Russian translations of English-

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[34] Anthony Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999); Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Margaret Meek, 'The Englishness of English Children's Books', in *Children's Literature and National Identity,* pp. 89–100.

[35] Gervais, *Literary Englands*; Menno Spiering, *Englishness: Foreigners and Images of National Identity in Postwar Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992); *Writing Englishness 1900–1950,* ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton.

[36] For example, the major studies are the following: Nina P. Mikhal'skaia, *Rossiia i Angliia: problemy imagologii* (Samara: OOO "Porto-print", 2012); Tat'iana N. Breeva and Liliia F. Khabibulina, *Natsional'nyi mif v russkoi i angliiskoi literature* (Kazan': RITs "Shkola", 2009); Viacheslav P. Shestakov, *Angliiskaia literatura i angliiskii natsional'nyi kharakter* (St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2010); Erofeev, *Tumannyi Al'bion*; *Lingvokul'turnyi Tipazh "Angliiskii Chudak"*, ed. by Vladimir Karasik and Elena Iarmakhova (Moscow: Gnozis, 2006); *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona..."*, ed. by Olga Kaznina.

[37] See, for example, Andrei Azov, *Poverzhennye bukvalisty: Iz istorii khudozhestvennogo perevoda v SSSR v 1920–1960-e gody* (Moscow: Vysshaia shkola ekonomiki, 2013); *Contexts, Subtexts and Pretexts: Literary Translation in Eastern Europe and Russia*, ed. by Brian J. Baer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011); *Russian Writers on Translation: An Anthology*, ed. by Brian James Baer and Natalia Olshanskaya (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2013); Brian James Baer, *Translation and the Making of Modern Russian Literature* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); *The Art of Accommodation: Literary Translation in Russia*, ed. by Leon Burnett and Emily Lygo (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013); *The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars, and Censors in the USSR*, ed. by Marianna Tax Choldin and Maurice Friedberg (Boston: Unwin

language children's literature is not extensive. However, it provides an overall idea of the major developments in this field. For example, a brief overview of the history of translated children's literature in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia is given in an article by Maria Nikolajeva.[38] Another noteworthy brief overview of the history of translated English children's literature can be found in Ben Hellman's extensive study *Fairy Tales and True Stories: The History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574 – 2010)*. He discusses the development of children's literature in different periods of Russian history and throughout the book provides information on English children's classics that appeared in translation.[39]

An overall picture of English-language children's literature in Russia is presented in Judith Inggs's article. Her main emphasis is on how ideological constraints affected the choice of several English children's classics for translation during the Soviet period. Inggs touches upon the history of the translation of Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*.[40] In another article, Inggs analyses the translation of English culture-specific elements in Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* and Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. Inggs's article is the only evidence of a brief analysis of Englishness in these two books.[41] Moreover, the accommodation within Russian culture of elements of mystical England depicted in *The Chronicles of Narnia* is discussed by Olga Bukhina, one of Russian translators of the Narnia books. She also traces the

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Hyman, 1989); Maurice Friedberg, *Literary Translation in Russia: A Cultural History* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Elena Kalashnikova, *Po-russki s liubov'iu: besedy s perevodchikami* (Moscow: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2008); *Domestication and Foreignization in Translation Studies*, ed. by Hannu Kemppanen and others (Leipzig: Frank & Timme, 2012); Vilen N. Komissarov, 'Russian Tradition', in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* ed. by Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 694– 705; Lauren G. Leighton, *Two Worlds, One Art: Literary Translation in Russia and America* (DeKalb, IS: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991); Iu.D. Levin, *Russkie perevodchiki XIX veka* (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1985); Samantha Sherry, 'Better Something Than Nothing: The Editors and Translators of Inostrannaia literatura as Censorial Agents', *The Slavonic and East European Review,* 91 (2013), 731–58.
[38] Maria Nikolajeva, 'Russian Children's Literature Before and After Perestroika', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly,* 20 (1995), 105–11.
[39] Ben Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories: The History of Russian Literature for Children and Young People (1574 – 2010)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
[40] Judith Inggs, 'Translation and Transformation: English-Language Children's Literature in (Soviet) Russian Guise', *International Research in Children's Literature,* 8 (2015), 1–16.
[41] Judith Inggs, 'From Harry to Garri: Strategies for the Transfer of Culture and Ideology in Russian Translations of Two English Fantasy Stories', *Meta,* 48 (2003), 285–97.

history of the translation of the Narnia books in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia.[42] Also, the history of the translation and reception of Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* in Russia in the Soviet and post-Soviet context has been analysed by Mark T. Hooker in his extensive study *Tolkien through Russian Eyes* as well as in an article written by Olga Markova.[43]

There are three noteworthy examples of scholarship on censorship in Soviet translations of English-language children's literature. Alexandra Borisenko examines Soviet translations of Barrie's *Peter Pan* and Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* in order to demonstrate that Soviet translators of children's literature had to comply with censorship but at the same time experienced a certain level of freedom to introduce changes to the original texts.[44] Inggs's article on censorship and the translation of children's books in the Soviet Union provides a brief discussion of the role of censorship and focuses more on the Soviet adaptation of Baum's *The Wizard of Oz* in order to explore how political and cultural forces came into play under conditions of censorship.[45] Nina Demurova, the translator of Barrie's *Peter Pan and Wendy*, shows how self-censorship affected translation of this book.[46]

It emerges from this brief overview of the existing scholarship on Russian translation, that the representation of Englishness in translated literature in Russia, including translated children's literature, has been barely researched by English or Russian scholars. The Russian translations of most of the English children's books analysed in this thesis have not been researched in the context of Englishness by English or Russian scholars. Therefore, my research will add new knowledge to existing scholarship on the history of Russian translations of major English classics of children's literature.

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[42] Olga Bukhina, 'From Narnia to Russia: A History of Translation', *Proceedings of the 33rd IBBY International Congress "Crossing Boundaries: Translations and Migrations", 23rd – 26th August 2012,* (2012) <http://www.congress2012.ibby.org.uk/transcripts.php> [accessed 30 April 2016], web.

[43] Mark T. Hooker, *Tolkien through Russian Eyes* (Zurich: Walking Tree Publishers, 2003); Olga Markova, 'When Philology Becomes Ideology: The Russian Perspective of J.R.R. Tolkien', *Tolkien Studies,* 1 (2004), 163–70.

[44] Borisenko, '"The Good Are Always the Merry": British Children's Literature in Soviet Russia', pp. not known.

[45] Judith Inggs, 'Censorship and Translated Children's Literature in the Soviet Union: The Example of the Wizards Oz and Goodwin', *Target,* 23 (2011), 77–91.

[46] N. M. Demurova, 'Peter Pan in Russia: or Peter Pan, Korney Chukovsky and the Soviet Censor', in *The Neverland: Two Flights Over the Territory,* ed. by Chris Routh and Nina Demurova ([n.p.]: Children's Books History Society, Occasional Paper II, 1995), pp. 19–28.

This thesis aims to make an original contribution to the study of Englishness in children's literature by understanding how Englishness is represented in Russian culture through a literary case study of English children's classics and their Russian translations. This thesis offers suggestions about how translated literature can contribute to the analysis of representations of national identity and how translators from different traditions of literary translation deal with conveying cultural meanings of national identity. The findings of this thesis will also shed light on the role of literary translators in constructing images of other countries. The findings of this thesis will offer a possible explanation as to why the classics of English children's literature under discussion were retranslated; how the retranslations happened over time; whether the representation of the image of England and its culture has changed in different retranslations of these works; and what role ideology and censorship played in translation and, consequently, in forming images of Englishness.

By taking into account Luc van Doorslaer's suggestion that 'the study of national and cultural image building' is a 'highly interesting field for Translation Studies',[47] this thesis proposes an original view on interpretations of national identity in translated children's literature. It applies Laurence Venuti's argument on national identity and translation in a new context, namely the field of Russian translations of children's literature. By drawing on previously unpublished archive materials, this thesis adds new knowledge on censorship in Russian translations of English children's literature and about translation practice in Russia in the field of children's literature during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 lays the theoretical foundation for the whole thesis. I will discuss several ideas from reader-response criticism, descriptive translation studies, as well as translation of children's literature in order to prepare the theoretical ground for the analysis of Russian translations. By drawing on scholarship in the field of cultural studies, I will discuss key theoretical views that pertain to national identity, on the basis of which I will propose that Englishness can be

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[47] Luc van Doorslaer, 'National and Cultural Images', in *Handbook of Translation Studies,* ed. by Yves Gambier and Luc Van Doorslaer, 3 vols (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), iii, pp. 122–27 (p. 122).

approached as a national identity. By reviewing existing research on national myths and national stereotypes, I will discuss how national stereotypes become involved in the process of creating the mythologised image of a nation. This will allow me to approach the narrative of Englishness in the original texts as mythologised. Following this, I will propose my understanding of how Englishness, as a national identity, has been conveyed in Russian translations. I will also outline the methodology according to which the English books, the Russian translations and the supporting examples from Russian fiction and non-fiction, including Russian children's literature, will be analysed in reference to various manifestations of Englishness.

Chapters 2 and 3 set out the contextual background for understanding Englishness. These two chapters will focus on the question of Englishness perceived from English and Russian perspectives, and discuss the main tendencies of representing Englishness in both cultures. Chapter 2 will propose three categories to help refine the broad understanding of Englishness: institutional and cultural manifestations of Englishness, and expressions of English national character. Institutional Englishness consists of themes that have political and ideological connotations (the class system, empire, historical past, and traditions). Cultural Englishness is closely connected with the concept of mythologisation and includes such manifestations as environment (the landscape) and the English way of life (the city, village, home, and national character). Expressions of English national character are linked with the discourses of the fantastic and silliness. In the third chapter I will devote particular attention to the perception of Englishness in Russian literature and culture, with regard to embedded stereotypes about England in modern Russia and the Soviet Union. In the third chapter I will also discuss whether the Russian understanding of Englishness was similar or different to the English view. Hence, in the second and third chapters I will attempt to understand how both types of perceptions of Englishness (Russian and English) can be used for identifying images of Englishness in the original and translated books.

Chapter 4 presents the historical background by highlighting the political and cultural circumstances in which Russian translations were made. I will discuss the ideological conventions of the Soviet literary world by looking at the history of translation theory and praxis and the way translation was regulated in

the Soviet Union. As ideology played one of the key roles in the regulation of cultural life in Soviet society, I will devote special attention to the discussion of censorship and translation norms as measures of state control over the translated literature. As the Soviet Union imposed restrictions on access to the outside world, an adequate representation of images of foreign cultures was not possible. This lack of accessible information about other cultures would very likely lead to the mythologisation of their images. The post-Soviet period brought more possibilities for cross-cultural activities between Russia and the outer world. As a consequence, Russian translators became free to work with a vast amount of information about the West which for a long time was closed to them. Hence, I will also analyse what Russian translators might have known about England, so they could make informed decisions about how to translate cultural content of the original books.

The first four chapters provide the theoretical and contextual framework on which the analytical aspects of the remaining chapters of the thesis are based. The subsequent three chapters concentrate on the analysis of the representation of Englishness in Russian translations of English children's literature.

Chapter 5 contextualises Englishness in Russian translations of English children's books published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War. It discusses which English texts have been selected for translation and when between 1918 and 2015. I will trace the general dynamics of representation of Englishness in these translations by placing the translated books that have examples of Englishness into the historical context. By analysing the bibliographical data about Russian translations, I will concentrate on how translation responded to ideological demands, and political and cultural changes during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. In order to understand how the translated books fit into the historical context, I will discuss the views of Soviet/Russian researchers and writers about translated and non-translated English children's literature. This will clarify three questions: which English books children were given to read in the Soviet Union; which English books were not available for Soviet children; and what kind of English books that portray Englishness are prevalent in contemporary Russia.

Chapters 6 and 7 present the case studies in this thesis. They provide an analysis of how different manifestations of Englishness were translated. At the same time, taking into account the Soviet and post-Soviet historical contexts, these chapters attempt to answer the question of why Englishness was translated in certain ways. Chapter 6 focuses on the representation of institutional Englishness and expressions of the English national character in Russian translations. By paying special attention to ideology and censorship, I will analyse how manifestations of Englishness were manipulated in an ideological context in Soviet and post-Soviet translations. I will look at examples from the following original children's classics and their translations: Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies;* Barrie's *Peter Pan;* Travers's *Mary Poppins;* Milne's *The King's Breakfast* and *King Hilary and the Beggarman;* Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*; and the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop.* I will identify and analyse ideological expressions in the re-created Russian literary images of institutional Englishness by concentrating on themes with political and ideological connotations (the class system, empire, historical past, and traditions) and expressions of the English national character relating to discourses of the fantastic and silliness. I will demonstrate that Russian responses to examples of Englishness diverge from the way the images are represented in the original texts. I propose that this can be explained by the dual role that ideology played in the field of children's literature in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia: in the case of the Soviet Union it was ideological doctrine and censorship; in the case of modern Russia, commercial interests and revived patriotic views in Russian society. In order to understand how and why changes occurred in translated texts during the Soviet period (the main focus in this chapter), I will explore the influence of censorship and ideological demands on the selection and translation of the original texts. For this I will examine the history behind the creation of each translated text.

While the sixth chapter focuses on ideological influences, chapter 7 engages with mythologised images of cultural Englishness which undergo creative transformations in Russian translations. I analyse examples from the following original classics and their translations: Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *The Secret Garden*, Nesbit's *The Railway Children*, Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*, and Travers's *Mary Poppins*. I examine the extent to which images of Russianness

created in Russian literature have had an impact on the translation of cultural Englishness. By setting examples from the translated texts against examples of Russianness taken from Russian literature, I will show how images of Russianness have influenced translators' decisions to 'naturalise' (or Russify) their translations. I will demonstrate that Soviet/Russian translators add their perceptions of the original and receiving culture while creating images of Englishness in the translated texts. Consequently, they re-imagine manifestations of cultural Englishness that are mythologised in the original texts. Hence, these cultural transformations result in transforming 'merry England' of the original classics into the stereotyped 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] in Russian translations.

Chapter 1: Translation, national identity, culture: theoretical considerations and methods

This chapter explains the theoretical foundations and methodology for the study of different manifestations of Englishness in works of English children's literature and their translations. The first section of this chapter sets out the theoretical basis for the analysis of Russian translations by drawing on several ideas from literary studies and translation studies. I will discuss how reader-response criticism can be applied to establish that Englishness does not have a final meaning and how this suggestion bears on different interpretations of English culture by Russian translators. I will also present several theoretical aspects of translation theory in order to provide the basis for analysing the portrayal of Englishness in Russian translations. I will draw on theoretical ideas expressed by Gideon Toury who states the importance of seeing and studying translations as facts of the receiving culture and by André Lefevere who argues that a different culture is 'naturalised' in literary translations.[48] At the same time, I will engage with Lawrence Venuti's dichotomy of domestication and foreignisation as well as theoretical observations of the phenomenon of retranslation. I will conclude the first section with a discussion of how culture is translated in children's literature.

The second section provides the theoretical basis for connecting the notions of Englishness and national identity together, for understanding the essence of components that construct Englishness and how they can be represented through translation. By drawing on cultural studies, I will discuss the connection between national identity and culture, and introduce the term 'cultural meanings of national identities', which is essential for the analysis of the essence of Englishness. As my research considers the mythologisation of Englishness, I will devote particular attention to the role of concepts of national myths and stereotypes in the formation of national identity. Afterwards, I will discuss theoretical approaches to the translation of national identity. Drawing on Lawrence Venuti's views on the role of translation in the process of forming national identities, I will offer my understanding of how national identity in original foreign texts can be translated.

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[48] Lefevere, p. 273.

The third section explains the methodology of analysing Englishness in Russian translations. This methodological approach uses as a point of departure the concept of ideology, which bears a relation to the construction of the image of Englishness in the translated texts. The concept of ideology is applied in its broad sense: as a set of principles, views and beliefs, which are present in the children's books translated during the Soviet period and in contemporary Russia. At the same time, the imagological approach is used for identifying and describing images of Englishness in the original texts and also for looking at images in their historical and socio-cultural context. It explains why I will be paying attention to other sources of information such as literary works and non-fictional writings related to national images. Imagology also provides the methodological background for examining how existing perceptions of Englishness in Russian culture influence decisions made during the selection and translation of the original texts.

1. Theoretical foundations

1.1. Reader-response criticism: applying concepts of different interpretations of a text and implied readers

The overall theoretical idea running through the thesis is based on the principle of reader-response criticism, according to which a literary text is open to different interpretations and, consequently, bears no final meaning. This idea is supported by the theoretical assumptions of the reader-response critics Hans Robert Jauss, Wolfgang Iser and Norman Holland[49] Jauss states that the meaning of a text is never fixed because readers in different historical periods interpret it according to what they value. From the point of view of Holland, all interpretations made by readers of a text are based on their own subjective experience, but nevertheless all these interpretations are valid. As do Jauss and Holland, Iser supports the idea that a text is interpreted by readers in different ways. Texts do not tell everything to their readers and have so-called 'gaps' that readers are supposed to fill and interpret on the basis of their own social, cultural and historical knowledge, as well as personal values and beliefs.

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[49] Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Brighton: Harvester, 1982); Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978); Norman N. Holland, *5 Readers Reading* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975).

Therefore, I conclude that every literary translator offers his/her own interpretation of an original text. Consequently, there will be as many versions of Englishness as there will be retranslations of the original text.

In addition, I apply the theoretical model of the implied translator as the first reader of the original text, put forward by Emer O'Sullivan in her 'communicative model of translation'. O'Sullivan's model draws on the concept of the implied reader developed by Iser. O'Sullivan divides the process of translation of a text into two consecutive stages. First, the translator acts as the first reader of the original text, taking the position of the implied reader and the real reader at the same time. The implied reader of the original text is expected by the author to perceive the meaning of the text; whereas the real reader knows the cultural and historical specificity of the original and applies this knowledge during the reading process. Secondly, the translator acts as a creator of the translated text thus becoming a counterpart of the author of the original text. In this second stage the translator's goal lies in the creation of the translated text so that readers of the receiving culture can understand it. Certainly, readers of the translated text would perceive it according to their linguistic and cultural norms, which are inevitably different from those in the original culture. Consequently, the translator creates the implied reader of the translated text. O'Sullivan emphasises that the implied reader of the translated text could be 'roughly equivalent' to the implied reader of the original text, but there can be instances when they both 'deviate significantly' from each other.[50] This is an important argument which supports my idea that changes are inevitable in the translated text and can be justified by differences between the cultures of the original and the translated texts. This modified theoretical model is appropriate, because my thesis looks at how literary translators approach the actual translation process by adding their cultural background, views, attitudes, values and stereotypes to the interpretation of the original text.

At the same time, the reader-response critical approach supports my assumption that Russian translators (as well as other agents of the translation process, such as publishers, editors and, in the Soviet period, censors) create their own representations of Englishness in the translated texts; and that these representations change over time. I bear in mind that translators see original

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[50] O'Sullivan, *Comparative Children's Literature*, pp. 105–07.

texts through the lens of their own experience of English culture. Consequently, social-cultural factors and stereotypes influence translators' decisions at the particular period of time when translations are produced. It would be expected that translators should think about their implied readers and create their versions of original texts according to their assumptions of who these potential readers are. Therefore, the final implied reader of the translated text becomes different from the final implied reader of the original texts – he or she is modified according to how all agents of translation perceive the culture of the original text.

1.2. Applying theoretical concepts from translation studies

In this thesis, which is target culture driven, I focus on the fact that a different culture is assimilated in translation to some degree. With this in view, I take into consideration the views of two theorists belonging to the school of descriptive translation studies: Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans. I draw on Toury's arguments stating that translated texts are 'facts of target cultures'[51] and that translations should be studied within the context of receiving cultures.[52] Theo Hermans explains that within the frameworks of descriptive translation studies, a researcher examines translations as they are and endeavours to explain the nature of translated texts. He advocates considering as objects of study not only actual translations but also 'statements about translations, including prescriptive and evaluative pronouncements' produced by translators and translation scholars.[53] Bearing in mind Toury's argument and the theoretical approach of descriptive translation studies in general, I will look at Soviet/Russian translation practices, Russian literature as inspiration for translators in their search for translation solutions, Soviet/Russian translation norms, translators' personal writings in the form of memoirs, diaries, essays, statements and prefaces for understanding translators' decisions, as well as influence of ideology and

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[51] 'Target culture' is understood as the culture of the country into which the language of the original text is translated; 'source culture' stands for the culture of the country where the original text is produced.
[52] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond*, rev. edn (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012), pp. 22–3.
[53] Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1999), p. 35.

censorship on translation.[54] The purpose of this will be to position translated children's books within the contexts of Soviet and post-Soviet culture.

Toury also suggests that the position of a translated text in the target culture would never reflect the position of the original texts in the source culture environment.[55] This suggestion points to inevitability of changes occurring in the translated text: it will be closer to either the culture of the original text or the receiving culture to which the translated text belongs. In this thesis, I draw on the hypothesis proposed by André Lefevere that a different culture is 'naturalised' in translations.[56] In other words, translations tend to conform more to what the target readers are used to – the literary language and content of the receiving culture. This hypothesis fits well into the field of translation of children's literature because logically children might feel most comfortable with what they already know and might even feel suspicious when presented with new and foreign ideas and concepts. Lefevere's hypothesis also echoes the principal idea of the Soviet/Russian school of literary translation, including the translation of children's literature. According to Russian translation tradition, it is assumed that translated texts should fulfil two functions. Firstly, it should be incorporated into the receiving culture, so the content is familiar and stylistically the text will be more recognisable for Russian child readers. And secondly, for educational purposes the translated text should familiarise child readers with the Russian literary language.[57]

Lefevere's hypothesis also resonates with the concept of foreignisation and domestication. These opposing translation strategies were theoretically developed in translation studies by Lawrence Venuti, however, they date back to Friedrich Schleiermacher.[58] Broadly speaking, when the original text is domesticated, it means that its unfamiliar foreign components are replaced with those known to readers of the receiving culture. In contrast to domestication, the original text which is foreignised in translation introduces its foreignness to readers of the receiving culture so that they can see differences between cultures. Venuti, who clearly favours a foreignising translation strategy, still

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[54] These issues will be analysed in chapters 4 – 7 of this thesis.
[55] Toury, p. 25.
[56] Lefevere, p. 237.
[57] For translation of Russian children's literature, see subsections 1.2 and 1.3 in chapter 4 of this thesis. For translation of children's literature in general, see subsection 1.3 in this chapter.
[58] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.15–6.

asserts that foreign texts are 'often rewritten to conform to styles and themes that currently prevail in domestic literatures'.[59] Therefore, Venuti's assertion supports the hypothesis of Lefevere that culture is 'naturalised' in translations.

Moreover, Venuti argues that it is unavoidable that a translator will domesticate original foreign texts, adding 'linguistic and cultural values' that the audience will understand. He explains that these new values can be added to the translated texts during the stages of producing translations, when translators decide how to rewrite the original text 'in domestic dialects and discourses' and how to choose the domestic values that will exclude values unknown to the readers of the translated texts.[60] Venuti explains that during the process of translation the interpretation of the form and meaning of the original foreign text is determined by the knowledge that the translator has about the culture and language of the original text, as well as the translator's understanding of 'domestic cultural values'. Therefore, the translated text will always be an altered version of the original foreign text, 'supplemented with features peculiar to the translating language'.[61] Once again, Venuti's statement agrees with the hypothesis of Lefevere that culture is 'naturalised' in translations.

As I am looking at how and whether images of Englishness change over time in the translated texts, I also draw on Siobhan Brownlie's views on retranslation. According to Brownlie, translators are influenced in their decision to retranslate original texts by changing ideologies and norms in the receiving culture, as well as by the ageing or unacceptability of the translated text because 'it no longer conforms to the current ways of thinking or behaving' in the receiving culture.[62] It is not only changes in context and time period (when translations become outdated with time), which cause the production of retranslations of the original text. Brownlie notes that literary translations can be published simultaneously and in this case readers are faced with 'different readings of and different manners of rendering the source text', i.e. different

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[59] Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 67.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Lawrence Venuti, 'Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities', in *Cultural Functions of Translation,* ed. by Christina Schäffner and Helen Kelly-Holmes (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1995), pp. 9–25 (p. 10).
[62] Brownlie, p. 150. By ideology Brownlie means 'sets of beliefs', and norms are 'sets of practices'. She also suggests that 'the main types of norms which affect translation are linguistic, literary, and translational' (Brownlie, p. 151).

interpretations.[63] Brownlie looks at different interpretations of an original text claiming that every time the text is retranslated a translator re-reads the original text in a new context. She explains that new interpretations more often occur on the level of individual passages, sentences and phrases, and that it is less common that whole novels are retranslated. She concludes that

> each of the motivations for reinterpretation is dependent on a new context, whether that involves a new interpreter, a different time period, a new conceptual framework, a changed institutional goal, a new interest group, and/or a new intertextual set, thus corroborating the notion that it is a new context which gives birth to a reinterpretation informing a retranslation.[64]

Therefore, different interpretations of the original text are produced by translators, who are the first readers. Consequently, retranslations will differ from each other because every translator brings his or her own factual, cultural, and literary knowledge to the translated text. This knowledge includes the translator's perceptions and stereotypes about the plot, the setting and characters in the original text, as well as the norms and ideology that affect the translated text. Thus, culture-bound elements, especially those that are unknown to the readers of the translated text, can be interpreted differently by each retranslator. In Russian translations of English children's literature, these culture-bound elements relate to images of Englishness and the intent to retranslate may be caused by inaccurate representation of Englishness from the point of view of a subsequent translator.

1.3. Translation of culture in children's literature

Through children's literature young readers are educated and entertained. These two purposes are also fulfilled by translated children's books. According to Zohar Shavit, two basic principles govern translation for children: a) the original text should be adjusted in such a way that it is 'appropriate and useful, in accordance with what society regards (at a certain point in time) as educationally good for the child'; and b) the plot, language and characters should be adjusted in such a way to fulfil 'society's perceptions of the child's

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[63] Ibid., p. 157.
[64] Ibid., pp. 152–53.

ability to read and comprehend'. The degree of adherence to these principles determines the level of liberties taken by translators in making changes to the translated texts.[65]

Translators can challenge the prevailing expectations of the receiving culture and to some extent resist adapting the national and cultural context of the original book to the expectations of the receiving culture. For example, translated children's texts, which belong to the group of books celebrated for their aesthetic and literary quality, can enrich the literature of the receiving culture and familiarise children with foreign traditions in literature. However, as happens quite often, young readers are protected from otherness, which foreign literature signifies, on the grounds that children are not able to understand elements of foreign culture and style different from their own. Thus, as Emer O'Sullivan explains, the translation of children's literature balances 'between the adaptation of foreign elements to the child reader's level of comprehension, and the preservation of the differences that constitutes a translated foreign text's potential for enrichment of the [receiving] culture'.[66] In the context of translation studies, these two strategies refer to domestication and foreignisation respectively.

However, domestication and foreignisation are very delicate issues in the field of children's literature translation, as Riita Oittinen points out. She explains that, on the one hand, children should be able to identify foreignness in a book which is predominantly translated with the use of the foreignisation strategy, and consequently learn to tolerate the otherness of the world that is different to theirs. Yet, on the other hand, as children have limited knowledge about other countries, languages and ideas, they might find a translated text too strange and thus refuse to read it. Oittinen concludes that the adult's view about children and childhood influences the choice of the strategies and, eventually, translators always domesticate the translated texts to a certain extent.[67] Emer O'Sullivan expresses a similar point of view when discussing the specifics of translating for children. She stresses that it is translators who appeal to child

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[65] Zohar Shavit, 'Translation of Children's Literature', in *The Translation of Children's Literature: A Reader,* ed. by Gillian Lathey (Clevedon: Multulingual Matters, 2006), pp. 25–40 (p. 26).
[66] O'Sullivan, *Comparative Children's Literature*, p. 74.
[67] Riitta Oittinen, 'No Innocent Act: On the Ethics of Translating for Children', in *Children's Literature in Translation: Challenges and Strategies,* ed. by Jan Van Coillie and Walter P. Verschueren (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2006), pp. 35–45 (p. 43).

readers of the translated text and consequently they decide on the choice between the domesticating and foreignising translation strategy.[68] However, unlike Oittinen, who clearly favours domestication as a prevailing translation strategy in the field of children's literature, O'Sullivan suggests that translation of children's literature is 'a balancing act' between domestication and foreignisation.[69] Nevertheless, it is clear from the statements of Oittinen and O'Sullivan that domestication to a certain extent will always be applied in a text translated for children.

Maria Nikolajeva states that it is quite common in translated children's books for culture-specific elements, such as 'foreign food, clothing, weights and measures, currency, flora and fauna, feasts, customs and traditions' to be domesticated. She refers to domestication as dialogic translation, the goal of which is to 'approximate the response' of readers of the original text and in which 'substituting a familiar notion for a foreign one would be considered more adequate'.[70] The dialogic translation has been developed by Riitta Oittinen, whose theory draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas of dialogism and the carnivalesque. The dialogic translation is focused on readers of both the original and the translated texts with the aim of re-creating similar reading experiences. It involves a creative dialogue between the original and receiving cultures. Such dialogue leads to the accommodation of culturally marked elements within the receiving culture, making them more familiar to young readers who interact with the translated text. Oittinen says that translators must be loyal to readers of translations and loyal to authors of the original texts. At the same time they must be 'faithful to their own texts, to their own childhoods, childhood languages' because they translate 'in a dialogic interaction with their authors, with their future readers, with themselves'.[71]

Oittinen's views are supported by Maria Nikolajeva who applies a semiotic approach to cultural differences in translation. She regards translation as an interaction between the cultures of the original and the translated texts.

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[68] Emer O'Sullivan, 'Children's Literature and Translation Studies', in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies,* ed. by Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 451–63 (p. 454).
[69] O'Sullivan, *Comparative Children's Literature*, p. 74.
[70] Maria Nikolajeva, 'Translation and Crosscultural Reception', in *Handbook of Research on Children's and Young Adult Literature,* ed. by Shelby A. Wolf and others (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 404–16 (p. 409).
[71] Riitta Oittinen, *Translating for Children* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), p. 162.

This interaction happens when boundaries between both cultures come into contact. Nikolajeva draws on Yury Lotman's cultural semiotics for developing her ideas of translation as an interaction between cultures. She states that the process of translation means finding 'significative (semiotic) equivalents to the signs of the [original] text.' She applies Lotman's semiotic model of communication and develops her 'scheme of interaction of contexts in translation', which clearly explains the concept of translatability and untranslatability between cultures. According to this scheme, the semiotic space of the reader of the original text and the semiotic space of the reader of the translated text overlap, thus producing a 'zone of mutual understanding or translatability'. Similarly, the intersection of semiotic spaces produces a boundary zone of mutual untranslatability, which forces translators to discard the most alien culture-specific elements. Drawing on Lotman's understanding of the zone of untranslatability as an opportunity for productive communication between cultures, Nikolajeva concludes that 'a well-balanced mix of "native" and "exotic" is the best recipe for ensuring the success of a literary phenomenon in another culture'.[72]

Theoretical suggestions proposed by Oittinen and Nikolajeva support my main idea that runs through the whole thesis: that the representation of Englishness in children's books translated into Russian would not necessarily be depicted in the same way as it is shown in the original English texts. On the contrary, if it is domesticated, Russian child and adult readers should be able to 'accept and utilise' the original text, as Nikolajeva puts it,[73] because represented Englishness would not sound too alien to them. Domesticated culture-bound phenomena from the original text would sound familiar, to some extent reminding Russian readers of Russianness. Such an effect would depend on the readers' response anticipated by translators and the reception of English texts by translators: what translators expect from the translated text, grounding their expectations on existing stereotypes and actual information about the culture of the original text.

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[72] Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age*, pp. 28, 35–6.
[73] Ibid., p. 27.

2. Constructing and translating national identity: theoretical considerations

2.1. National identity and culture

Notions of Englishness and English national identity stand as synonymous in my research and together they pertain to the broad concept of national identity.[74] Therefore, with the aim of understanding Englishness and the components of which it is constructed, it is essential to start with the discussion of what national identity means and how it relates to the notion of culture.

Notions of national identity and culture are used as interconnected concepts in this thesis. My understanding of the relation between national identity and culture is based on the views of Anthony D. Smith and Stuart Hall. Smith sees national identity as a constructed concept, which consists of interrelated 'ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political' components. These components 'signify bonds of solidarity among members of communities united by shared memories, myths and traditions'.[75] National identity can also be approached from political and cultural points of view. In Smith's understanding, national identity is a concept which includes 'both a cultural and political identity' and which is situated 'in a political community as well as a cultural one'.[76] According to Hall, national identities offer 'both membership of the political nation-state and identification with the national culture'.[77]

Thus, cultural distinctiveness lies at the heart of national identity. Culture can be understood from both anthropological and sociological points of view. As Hall explains, it refers to 'whatever is distinctive about "the way of life" of a people, community, nation or a social group' (anthropological view); and the

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[74] The concept of Englishness is discussed in this thesis in Chapter 2 (see pp. 62–66). Anthony D. Smith proposes the following essential features of national identity: 'an historic territory', 'common myths and historical memories', 'a common, mass public culture', 'common legal rights and duties for all members', and a common economy' (p. 14). For more on this, and also elements, functions and problems of national identity see Anthony D. Smith, National Identity (London: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 8–18.

[75] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 15.

[76] Ibid., p. 99.

[77] Stuart Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', in *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies,* ed. by Stuart Hall and others. (Malden, MS: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp. 595–634 (p. 616).

'shared values of a group or society' (sociological emphasis).[78] In Hall's view, cultural information about 'the way of life' and 'shared values' of a group of people is shaped in the form of cultural meanings.[79] These meanings constitute the narrative of a national culture, and they are expressed in 'stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols, and rituals' that are meaningful to the nation.[80] So, paraphrasing Hall, collective cultural meanings are that basis on which national identity draws in order to turn the abstract idea of a nation into real content.[81]

Practical application of cultural meanings of national identity is demonstrated in two models collated in the article of Dominique Sandis and in the *Parekh Report*. Sandis has identified various elements which characterise national cultures and which can be included into the broad notion of cultural meanings. Sandis proposes the model of the literary construction of a nation, into which she includes such elements as customs and traditions, religion, history, cultural heritage, language, geography (landscape), flora and fauna, society, as well as everyday life and objects.[82] The *Parekh Report* is another useful source of information explaining what can be understood by cultural meanings of national identity. According to the *Report*, cultural meanings are rooted in multiple aspects of cultural life of a nation and include such elements as: 'customs, habits, daily rituals, unwritten social codes, the way masculinity and femininity are expressed, speech, idiom and body language, feelings for the landscape, and collective memories of national glories'.[83] As far as English culture is concerned, cultural meanings, which evoke images and symbols of national identity in the imagination of English people and foreigners as well, construct and maintain the representation of 'the idea of England as an imagined community', as emphasised in the *Report*. This idea of England is shared by large numbers of people who, not knowing each other, perceive a similar 'mental image of [England's] typical sights and sounds, its customs and

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[78] Stuart Hall, 'Introduction', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices,* ed. by Stuart Hall (London: SAGE Publications, 1997), pp. 1–11 (p. 2).
[79] Ibid., pp. 2, 3.
[80] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 611, 613.
[81] Stuart Hall, 'Whose heritage? Un-settling 'the Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation', *Third Text,* 13:49 (1999), 3–13 (p. 4).
[82] Sandis, (p. 112).
[83] *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, ed. by Bhikhu Parekh (London: Profile Books, 2000), pp. 19–20. Hereafter known as the *Parekh Report.*

habits, the characteristic features of its landscapes and weather, and a sense of what is distinctive about the national character and established institutions'.[84]

Hence, the aforementioned views provide a context for understanding cultural meanings of national identity and manifestations of Englishness as concepts signifying the same thing – components which constitute English national identity. I will approach the terms 'cultural meanings' and 'manifestations' with reference to Englishness as equal, and throughout the thesis these terms will be used interchangeably.

2.2. Stereotyping and mythologising national identity

People's perception of other cultures is influenced by literature to a great extent. Such influence can be direct or indirect and may be exerted to a greater or lesser degree. However, irrespective of its closeness to reality, images of other cultures are subjective: they are still formed in the mind and then projected onto real situations in which intercultural communication takes place. The same can be said about national cultures – they are created in national literatures in a similar way. Subjective perception of one's own and foreign cultures to a certain extent involves the creation of national stereotypes and myths. With this in view, I can explore the role of national myths and stereotypical perception of own and foreign cultures in the process of forming and representing images of the self and the other in national cultures and literatures.

It is inevitable that a nation will produce a stereotyped image of itself or other nations. A nation as a huge collective of people who do not know each other or, in Benedict Anderson's terms as an 'imagined community',[85] is not able to produce a detailed portrait of itself or others. That is when typification of national attributes becomes useful. In his 1922 book *Public Opinion*, Walter Lippmann concludes that public opinions of home or other national identities are prone to summarisation and generalisation in selecting samples of national characters and treating them as typical.[86] These typical samples of national characters are national stereotypes. The 'subtlest and most pervasive of all influences', as Lippmann describes them,[87] national stereotypes play a special

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[84] Ibid., pp. 19–20 and 15–16.
[85] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.
[86] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998), p. 148.
[87] Ibid., pp. 89–90.

part in the creation of the national view of the world. They ascribe qualities and traits as typical to nationalities, and explain 'cultural and social patterns' of national characters.[88] They can be distinguished through the 'effet de typique', which means those salient features of the national character that are 'representative', 'unusual and remarkable', such as, for example, 'English bowler hats'.[89]

Literature is a suitable medium for disseminating national stereotypes. The discourse of national stereotyping is expressed in such literary genres as the novel, drama and poetry. As far as children are concerned, national stereotypes are infused into the collective cultural memory in childhood through reading children's classics. Literary characters, representing certain groups of people, speak and behave according to the stereotypes typical for this group, as Ruth Florack emphasises. She particularly highlights the presence of negative and positive connotations in the stereotypical perception of the world, stressing that positive and negative traits of literary characters 'correspond with the reader's knowledge about the national character of the people they represent'.[90]

By taking into consideration the above views, I understand national stereotypes as sets of perceptions of a nation that may or may not reflect reality. I also suggest that national stereotypes can become building blocks in the formation of the overall imagined vision of a nation. There is a logical connection between stereotyping of the image of one's own and a foreign nation, and subsequently turning it into myth. My suggestion is supported by the view on national stereotyping expressed by the Russian scholar, Al. A. Gromyko. According to him, the construction of national stereotypes is influenced by emotions, subconscious perceptions, and understanding of the essence of one's own and foreign cultures. Once formed, national stereotypes begin a life of their own, with little in common with reality, and subsequently become myths.[91]

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[88] Joseph Th. Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey', *Poetics Today,* 21 (2000), 267–92 (pp. 281–84).

[89] Ibid., pp. 281–84, 286, 288.

[90] Ruth Florack, 'Ethnic Stereotypes as Elements of Character Formation', in *Characters in Fictional Worlds: Understanding Imaginary Beings in Literature, Film, and Other Media,* ed. by Jens Eder, Fotis Jannidis and Ralf Schneider (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 478–505 (pp. 497–98).

[91] Al. A. Gromyko, *Obrazy Rossii v Velikobritanii: real'nost' i predrassudki* (Moscow: Institut Evropy RAN: Russkii suvenir, 2008), pp. 11, 20.

People mythologise the reality in which they live: they create myths about the different things that surround them. Nikolai Berdyaev gives a thorough explanation of this phenomenon:

> It is a mistake to think that all mankind lives in one and the same objective world, given from without. Man lives in various, sometimes fictitious worlds, which if taken separately, do not correspond to complex and many-sided reality. […] One's conception of the world also depends upon beliefs and ideological tendencies: is he Catholic or Marxist, liberal or socialist, materialist or spiritualist, etc. Again, the world is viewed differently by different classes: capitalists, workers or intellectuals. More often than they think, men live in a realm of abstraction, fiction, myth.[92]

Hence, myth can be viewed as a narrative that recreates reality.

Myth is a polysemous word. It is broadly defined in the Oxford English Dictionary and different meanings of it are divided into the following groups. Myth is (1) a 'traditional story, typically involving supernatural beings or forces, which embodies and provides an explanation, aetiology, or justification for something such as the early history of a society, a religious belief or ritual, or a natural phenomenon'. At the same time, myth is (2) a 'widespread but untrue or erroneous story or belief; a widely held misconception; a misrepresentation of the truth'; a fictitious or imaginary person or thing'. It is also (3) a 'person or thing held in awe or generally referred to with near reverential admiration on the basis of popularly repeated stories (whether real or fictitious)'. Finally, it is (4) a 'popular conception of a person or thing which exaggerates or idealizes the truth'.[93]

It is parts (2) and (4) of the above definition that are applicable to my understanding of the concept of national myth within the context of this thesis. When one thinks of myth in general, what comes to mind immediately is the part (1) of the definition. However, it is not the ancient past alone that generates myths. Modern life also undergoes mythologisation. Just as gods, national heroes and natural phenomena were subjects of ancient myths, so national heroes and important events of recent past form the basis of modern-day

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[92] Nikolai Berdyaev, *The Realm of the Spirit and the Ream of Caesar*, trans. by Donald A. Lowrie ([n.p.]: Victor Gollancz, 1952), pp. 23–4.
[93] 'Myth, n.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, March 2014, Web) <http://0-www.oed.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk/view/Entry/124670?rskey=mPYJER&result=1&isAdvanced=%20false> [accessed 13 December 2016].

myths. Therefore, there are two general concepts of myth: a classical sacred fable that involves super-human and supernatural beings or events, and a narrative as an illusion or a false story that refers to the modern time. It is this second general concept of myth as an illusion that I draw on in my understanding of the idea of myth in connection with national identity. This understanding coincides with Ivan Strenski's identification of myth as an illusion or an unreal thing, which is created by artists, writers, philosophers and scholars for the purposes of 'the myth industry'.[94]

Myth can also be seen from a semiotic point of view. It is a set of signs presented in the form of fictitious images and/or words that reflect the world around us. In this thesis I apply Roland Barthes's semiotic theory of myth. Within the semiotic context I look at myth as imagined information (or illusion), which consists of signs and signifies additional meaning. In Barthesian terminology, myth is '*a second-order semiological system*'.[95] On the first level of language a sign contains a signifier (an image or a word) and a signified (mental concepts of an image or a word), so on the second level of myth a sign becomes a signifier and cultural connotations of the sign are signified. As an illustration to this, an image of a thatched cottage denotes a house and in the context of Englishness it produces a cultural connotation of an idyllic rural England.

Myths are seen by Barthes as ideologies that dominate people's perception of the world around them. Barthes explains the notion of myth in the following way: 'the mythical is present everywhere *sentences are turned, stories told* (in all senses of the two expressions): from inner speech to conversation, from newspaper article to political sermon, from novel […] to advertising image'.[96] In his view, myth is 'a type of speech'; and 'everything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by a discourse'. Therefore, the object of myth communicates its message.[97] According to Barthes, contemporary myth has a quickly changing nature. It consists of 'a corpus of phrases (of stereotypes)', which are expressed in a discourse, but not in 'long fixed narratives' which

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[94] Ivan Strenski, *Four Theories of Myth in Twentieth-Century History: Cassirer, Eliade, Lévi-Strauss and Malinowski* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p. 1.

[95] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), p. 114.

[96] Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), p. 169.

[97] Barthes, *Mythologies*, p. 109.

constitute ancient myths.[98] Moreover, in Barthesian understanding, there is always a reason behind the creation of a modern myth. This reason is conditioned by the ideology (as a set of principles, views and beliefs), prevalent at the time when myth is being created.[99] Hence, myths have an ideological nature, and through ideology the Barthesian semiotic concept of myth can be applied to my understanding of the concept of national myth. Consequently, there are reasonable grounds to interpret national myths as collective illusions created in society in a manner dictated by ideologies (or in other words, beliefs and opinions about one's own and foreign nations).

Duncan S. A. Bell's explanation of the notion of national myth also helps to explicate the nature of national myths: they encompass different 'events, personalities, traditions, artefacts and social practices that (self) define the nation and its relation to the past, present and future'.[100] According to Anthony D. Smith, national myths create cultural ideologies of communities, which, in their turn, develop and promote images of nations as imagined communities.[101] Based on collective memory about real events from the past and imagined stories that are part of the collective imagination, national myths can be seen as narratives or, in other words, stories told for the purposes of consolidating the constructed image of a nation. Thus, national myths can be considered as one of the means of constructing an image of national identity.

Drawing on Benedict Anderson's view of a nation as an 'imagined community', I understand national myth as a narrative used by a nation for the collective perception of itself. Due to the fact that national populations do not know each other, they are most likely to imagine that other members of the same community would have similar traits of character, and be likely to go about their lives and follow national traditions in a similar way. These imagined perceptions of members of one's own community and foreigners can be characterised as national stereotypes, which are undoubtedly involved in the creation of the mythologised image of one's own and other nations. National myths are communicated through literature and the media. Literary national

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[98] Barthes, *Image*, *Music, Text,* p. 165.
[99] Barthes, *Mythologies,* pp. 142–59.
[100] Duncan S. A. Bell, 'Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity', *British Journal of Sociology,* 54 (2003), 63–81 (p. 75).
[101] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 165.

myths express writers' idealised perceptions of the past of their own or other nations. These idealised perceptions and imagined creations are shared with implied readers whose understanding of national identity is based on collective cultural memory. As Smith emphasises, nations use 'novels, plays, poems, operas, ballads, pamphlets, and newspapers' for the creation of an imagined representation both of itself and foreigners in the form of images and symbols, which carry cultural meanings of national identity.[102]

Construction of myths of national identity also plays an essential role in children's literature. A myth of national identity can be used in connection with the prevailing ideology to achieve an educational aim: to develop the sense and understanding of the homeland, as well as providing information on foreign lands. From early childhood, the prevailing culture shapes children's understanding of the world that surrounds them. Children are provided with spoken and written narratives which are part of the myth-making process, and they encounter national myths first through engagement with books written for them. For example, as Tony Watkins explains, children's writers create numerous depictions of landscape and townscape which contain constructed images of an 'imaginary homeland that help sustain myths of national identity, community and common heritage'.[103] Although Watkins's words refer to national children's literature, the same can be said about translated books – they portray idealised foreign lands, thus introducing readers to mythologised national identities of other countries.

2.3. National identity in translation

The concept of the mythologisation of national identity is used in this thesis for the purposes of analysing how national identity becomes transformed through the process of translation. Understanding national identity as a mythologised image, the construction of which is based on cultural meanings, enables me to identify cultural components of national identity in the original texts in order to analyse the cross-cultural transfer of mythologised forms of national identity between the original and receiving cultures. The analysis of the translation of national myths will be approached in this thesis in the following way. First,

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[102] Ibid.

[103] Watkins, 'Cultural Studies, New Historicism and Children's Literature', p. 184.

different cultural meanings of national identity are considered as mythologised in the original texts, because nations are imagined constructs created by writers who belong to the original culture. Second, myths of national identity are reconstructed in translated and retranslated texts, because the cultural meanings of national identity in the original text are interpreted by each translator according to his/her own perceptions of the original culture, which unavoidably involves national stereotypes.

Translators negotiate cultural meanings of national identity between the original and the translated texts by interpreting the original cultural values in different ways. Hence, translation is a powerful tool for creating representations of cultural meanings of the original text, which are retained or modified in the translated text. Translators introduce modifications to cultural meanings of national identity in such forms as 'changes of perspective, the use of stereotypes, omissions or additions, and manipulations, up to and including varying features of censorship'.[104] These modifications happen because translators perceive the culture of the text they are translating in a different way to the author who wrote the text. At the same time, in their decisions to apply modifications to cultural meanings, translators are influenced by ideologies prevalent in society.

Translators' perceptions of foreign countries to which translated books belong may be based on various national stereotypes about the cultures of these countries. On the other hand, ideologies determine what kinds of stereotypes of foreign cultures are prevalent in the societies in which translators operate. Either way, be it the translator's own will or the result of external influences, the connection between national stereotypes and translation of national identity is obvious. As Lawrence Venuti states, national stereotypes in translated texts can greatly influence the creation of images and meanings of the foreign culture in the translated text. According to Venuti, if a country's cultural image, created through translation, is based on a stereotype, it can become unrepresentative of the country of the original text and can determine readers' perceptions and expectations of this country. This stereotyped image can be sometimes hard to break. Venuti calls this process 'cultural

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[104] van Doorslaer, p. 122.

stereotyping'.[105] As far as readers of the translated text are concerned, they will be faced with a modified image of the foreign country and people about which they are reading in the translated text. However, most probably, they will not be aware it is an altered image and will take it for granted.

Thus, translation shapes the attitude of the receiving culture towards foreign countries. As Venuti explains, this attitude ranges from 'esteem' to 'stigma' about specific nationalities. Consequently, translation builds 'respect for cultural difference or hatred based on ethnocentrism, racism, or patriotism'. By negotiating meanings between cultures, translation reinforces 'alliances, antagonisms, and hegemonies between nations', as Venuti puts it.[106] It can be assumed that translators, editors, publishers, reviewers and readers are those who make the decision as to whether nations drift towards each other or away from each other. Nevertheless, according to Venuti, translation 'overcomes boundaries between national literatures and cultures'. However, the communicative process between cultures can become more difficult because the process of translation to a certain extent is shaped by 'linguistic and cultural differences'. Hence, as Venuti argues, translation 'can never entirely remove the foreignness' of an original text.[107]

Even though Venuti is an outspoken advocate of foreignising translation, in this thesis I devote more attention to his acknowledgement of the fact that a foreign text will inevitably be assimilated by the receiving culture. Venuti points out that although translation might 'adhere closely' to certain passages in the original text, when a culturally marked element or term appears in the original text, translation reveals a discursive strategy, which Venuti calls 'Anglocentric' in his example of an Italian text translated into English. He explains that by applying an Anglocentric discursive strategy the translator chooses to 'enhance intelligibility for a broad English-language readership' and concludes that the translator is aimed at bringing 'English-language cultural traditions to bear on his translating'.[108] And such a strategy is aimed at the readers of translated texts who would recognise cultural identity of the original texts expressed in 'domestic cultural norms and resources'; or as Venuti explains,

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[105] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 67.
[106] Venuti, *Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities*, p. 10.
[107] Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything*, pp. 118, 125.
[108] Ibid., 120–22.

the foreign text becomes intelligible when the reader recognises himself or herself in the translation by identifying the domestic values that motivated the selection of that particular foreign text, and that are inscribed in it through a particular discursive strategy.[109]

In this example Venuti's observation coincides with André Lefevere's hypothesis that a different culture is 'naturalised' in translation.

Venuti's views on national identity in translation also provide a basis for understanding how the concept of national identity influences the choice of books for translation in the receiving culture. Venuti argues that original texts are chosen for translation in order to strengthen national literature and national rhetoric. Thus, original texts may be selected for translation because their themes and their forms 'contribute to the creation of a specific discourse of nation in the translating culture'. Another reason for choosing an original text for translation lies in the similarity of social situations in which the original text was written and the translated text would be produced. In this instance, translation highlights problems, which 'a nation must confront in its emergence'.[110]

Venuti's observations on the nature of national identity in translation have inspired me to reflect on the following questions. What happens when one national identity is represented in another culture through translation? How does the receiving culture accommodate the national identity of the original text? Is national identity modified in order to be hosted and assimilated by the receiving culture? Drawing on Homi K. Bhabha's notion of in-betweenness in relation to cultural difference,[111] I place national identity of the original text in the 'in-between' space, in other words, between the original text and its translation. In translation the original national identity does not belong to the culture of the original text, but it is still not in the receiving culture completely. Instead, it is 'in-between' cultures, and, consequently, it becomes modified or altered (depending on the significance of changes). My understanding of national identity in translation is also based on Maria Nikolajeva's 'scheme of interaction of contexts in translation' which draws on Yuri Lotman's semiotic model of communication.[112] When cultural meanings of the original and the receiving

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[109] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 77.
[110] Venuti, *Translation Changes Everything*, p. 119.
[111] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 38, 217.
[112] Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age*, pp. 28–30. Nikolajeva's theoretical scheme was reviewed in sub-section 1.3 of this chapter.

texts overlap, then national identity enters the zone of translatability. Hence, it can be assimilated in the receiving culture completely or partially (or according to translation studies, it is naturalised/domesticated). When cultural meanings of the original and the receiving texts do not overlap, then national identity enters the zone of untranslatability. In this case, elements of national identity can be intentionally omitted, or the original national identity can still contain its essence of foreignness (or according to translation studies, it is foreignised).

3. Ideology and imagology as methodological approaches

My methodological approach employs the application of the concept of ideology and the imagological method as essential tools for understanding and identifying various manifestations of Englishness in the original texts, and also for contextualising and analysing the translation process in Russia, in general, and the translation of specific children's books with reference to different Russian representations of Englishness.

3.1. The concept of ideology

It is a widespread phenomenon in many national literatures that ideology in its broad sense brings influence to bear on children's literature to a certain extent. Several scholars researching children's literature have reflected on this matter. For example, Nike K. Pokorn asserts that the ideology of a target culture at a given historical period will inevitably be reflected in children's literature.[113] Tiina Puurtinen explains that ideology in children's literature draws on 'implicit assumptions, beliefs and power relations'.[114] Perry Nodelman states that ideology in children's literature manifests itself through expressed 'values and assumptions of a culture'.[115] Reflecting on the statements of these scholars, I add that in the field of children's literature these assumptions, beliefs, values and power relations, through which ideology is expressed, belong to adults who decide on what children's literature should be.

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[113] Nike K. Pokorn, *Post-socialist Translation Practices: Ideological Struggle in Children's Literature* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012), p. 7.
[114] Tiina Puurtinen, 'Syntax, Readability and Ideology in Children's Literature', *Meta: Translators' Journal,* 43 (1998), 524–33 (p. 2).
[115] Perry Nodelman, 'Fear of Children's Literature: What's Left (or Right) After Theory?', in *Reflections of Change: Children's Literature Since 1945,* ed. by Sandra L. Beckett (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), pp. 3-14 (p. 9).

Taking these views into account, for the purposes of this thesis, my understanding of the notion of ideology will be based on Ian Mason's definition of this concept and will be applied within the context of Soviet/Russian culture.[116] I see ideology as a notion composed of a set of principles, views and beliefs, which determine an attitude towards reality for readers and agents of the translation process (who are literary translators, authors of literature, editors, publishers, governing and educational institutions). Readers and agents of the translation process influence each other in a mutually complementary and interactive way. Generally, readers' opinions would be influenced by the current ideology of the agents of the translation process. At the same time, agents of the translation process would anticipate that the translated literature should be guided by the established ideological principles in their culture.

In relation to translation, ideology can be viewed as an instrument by which society is enabled to carry out its political and social rhetoric. In translated children's literature, ideology plays a didactic role because stories that are told to children in the translated books form the image of other cultures from a very early age. Ideology plays an important role in the process of choosing which original text to translate. As a reflection of readers' attitudes towards the reality, ideology influences the process of the reception of the translated text. At the same time, as a reflection of attitudes of producers of translated texts towards reality, ideology influences decisions made by all agents of the translation process.

Therefore, by drawing on a broad understanding of the concept of ideology, I argue that, as a set of principles, views and beliefs, including its political aspect, ideology is closely connected with the construction of images of Englishness in the original texts, and that ideology is present in the translated children's books produced during the Soviet period and in modern Russia. This argument will be employed throughout my thesis when dealing with the representation of various manifestations of Englishness perceived from English and Russian perspectives.

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[116] Ian Mason, 'Discourse, Ideology and Translation', in *Translation Studies: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*, ed. by Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 2009), iii, pp. 141–56 (p. 143).

3.2. Imagological method

With the view of analysing the representation of Englishness in the original and translated texts, I draw on the imagological method which sheds light on how to analyse images of national identity in literature. This method is applied in imagology, which is a branch of comparative literature concerned with the discourse of literary representation of national and foreign cultures in the shape of stereotypes and clichés. By focusing on cultural differences, it addresses imagined characterisations, or, in simple terms, images of own and foreign nations. It studies the way national images are 'formulated, perpetuated and disseminated'.[117] As a theory of national stereotypes, imagology sees national identity as a collective image or set of stereotypes constructed in literary texts.[118] It studies national identity as 'an inherently subjective concept', which is an image shaped by people's emotions, feelings and convictions. Simply put, national identity is 'what people feel it to be'.[119] Thus, by applying an imagological understanding of national identity to Englishness, I conclude that English national identity is a constructed image.

As this research project is target-culture driven, the imagological method fits in well with descriptive translation studies and offers a suitable method for a more detailed understanding of how images of national and foreign cultures are formed. As Joep Leerssen explains, imagology uses textual interpretation for the analysis of national representation by referring to two types of images: auto-image (or self-image, i.e. how a nation perceives itself) and hetero-image (or image of the other, i.e. how this nation perceives foreigners).[120] Although the principal aim of imagology is to study how the other is represented in a national literature through hetero-images and how these hetero-images affect the construction of auto-images in national literatures, the representation of auto-images of national identity still plays an important role in comparative imagological analysis. As William L. Chew puts it, auto-images of national identity are expressed in literature by 'evoking a common cultural identity based

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[117] Joep Leerssen, 'History and Method', in *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey,* ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 17–32, p. 26.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Spiering, pp. 8, 12.
[120] Leerssen, *History and Method,* p. 27.

on language, religion, manners, common myths and common-place national symbols'.[121]

According to the imagological point of view, auto- and hetero-images created in literature intertextually bear on the socio-cultural and historical context and literary traditions of the country where the writer is from.[122] Also the creation of hetero-images is influenced by the writer's own ideas of the culture of the country they are writing about. These ideas include positive and negative stereotypes of that country, knowledge of the culture and history of that country, perceptions of foreign cultures (emotions, attitudes and beliefs), as well as expectations of the writer about the response of readers to the created image of the foreign culture. Therefore, an imagological understanding of the importance of the socio-cultural and historical context justifies the need for this thesis to analyse the construction of images of English national identity in Russian fiction and non-fiction in order to understand how the existing literary and non-literary images of Englishness may have influenced the selection of original books for translation.

Reflecting on one's own identity through the lens of otherness is a key to the understanding of one's own national identity. In imagology auto- and hetero-images mirror each other in the same way as identity and alterity (or otherness) mirror each other.[123] In order to be meaningful, national identity requires alterity. Leerssen states that perception of alterity makes the self-identification of a person or a nation more explicit.[124] For example, in his autobiography *Drugie berega* (in chapter twelve) Vladimir Nabokov speaks about his stronger feelings for his own Russian national identity, as well as the greater understanding and appreciation of Russian literature he was able to develop when he studied in England.[125] The contraposition of identity and alterity is used in this thesis as a

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[121] William L. Chew, 'What's in a National Stereotype? An Introduction to Imagology at the Threshold of the 21st Century', *Language and Intercultural Communication,* 6 (2006), 179–87 (p.183).
[122] Joseph Th. Leerssen, *Mere Irish & Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986), p. 3; Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, *Imagology Revisited* (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2010), p. 374.
[123] Leerssen, 'Identity/Alterity/Hybridity', in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey,* ed. by Joep Leerssen and Manfred Beller (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 335–42 (p. 340).
[124] Ibid.
[125] Vladimir Nabokov, 'Drugie berega', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646-1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 401–05 (p. 403). This was initially written in English and called *Speak, Memory.*

point of departure for comparing ideas about Russianness and Englishness. Such comparisons will enable me to trace possible influences of the image of Russianness on the construction of the image of Englishness in the translated texts, and therefore, to discuss issues of subjectivity in the construction of national identity in translation.

In connection with translation studies, imagology offers a valuable explanation of how the transfer of national images between original texts and their translations can be analysed. The possibility of interconnection between literary translation and imagology was first discussed in Hugo Dyserinck's study *Komparatistik, eine Einführung*, in the chapters on comparative imagology and on literary translation as a comparative research object.[126] Dyserinck indicates that existing images of other cultures affect the process of literary translation: firstly, during the selection of books to be translated, and, secondly, during the stage of actual translation when translators make certain decisions.[127] Nedret Kuran Burço lu adds a third point to the connection between imagology and translation: 'during the reception process of the target text' the decision of readers about selecting translated books is based on their opinion about the existing images of other nations.[128] Johan Soenen draws attention to the fact that the construction of images of other cultures in the translated literature is influenced by national stereotyping and 'the translator's subjectivity'. By the 'translator's subjectivity' he understands the translator's own stereotypes, stereotypes of other people, ideology, censorship, common views and beliefs, knowledge about and practical experience of countries where source texts were produced, opinions of publishers and critics, as well as assumptions about how potential readers of the target country will receive translations. All these factors are necessary to bear in mind while analysing literary translations. Also Soenen points out that there can be instances when translators do not take into account that stereotyped images of other nations can have a misleading nature. This may lead to misrepresented images during each phase of the translation process, including the selection of texts for translation, the interpretation of the

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[126] Hugo Dyserinck, *Komparatistik, Eine Einführung* (Bonn, 1977), pp. 125–42.
[127] Johan Soenen, 'Imagology and Translation', in *Multiculturalism: Identity and Otherness,* ed. by Nedret Kuran Burço lu (Istanbul: Bo aziçi University Press, 1997), pp. 125–38 (p. 128); Nedret Kuran Burço lu, 'At the Crossroads of Translation Studies and Imagology', in *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress, Granada, 1998,* ed. by Andrew Chesterman and others (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), pp. 143–52 (p. 147).
[128] Burço lu, p. 145.

source text content, and the use of 'certain semantic and stylistic devices, in order to bring the translated text closer to the expected [stereotyped] image' of other countries in the receiving culture.[129]

The recent study *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology* provides a constructive insight into aspects of overlap between translation and image construction by analysing image translation in prose, travelogues and film.[130] Imagology offers translation studies 'a methodological apparatus':

> [t]he threefold approach of textual analysis (usually employing narratological and discourse-analytical tools), contextual analysis (situating a text, and also the reception history of a text, historically, in its ambience of real-world international relations) and, most importantly, intertextual analysis (following the textual dissemination history of a given trope or commonplace concerning a given nation's "character").[131]

This approach can be applied to the analysis of cultural transfer of auto- and hetero-images through translation.

As regards children's literature, Emer O'Sullivan uses paratexts to study the construction of hetero-images in translation. She sees paratexts as a 'zone of confluence of national images and translation' and 'elements that bridge translated texts with their readers'.[132] O'Sullivan draws on Gérard Genette's conceptualisation of paratexts understood as 'verbal or other productions' that reinforce and accompany a text.[133] Genette divides paratexts into two major groups: peritexts and epitexts.[134] From the imagological point of view, peritexts may include book titles, subtitles, as well as forewords, commentary, and afterwords written by writers of the original texts and translators. Epitexts may contain interviews with writers and translators, reviews, letters and memoirs of writers and translators. O'Sullivan sees paratexts as complimentary devices that reveal the historical and socio-cultural contexts of the translated texts. By studying the construction of auto- and hetero-images in the translated texts

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[129] Soenen, p. 137.

[130] *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology*, ed. by Luc van Doorslaer, Peter Flynn, and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016).

[131] Peter Flynn, Joep Leerssen and Luc van Doorslaer, 'On Translated Images, Stereotypes and Disciplines', in *Interconnecting Translation Studies and Imagology,* ed. by Luc van Doorslaer and others (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016), pp. 1-18 (p. 3).

[132] O'Sullivan, 'Englishness in German Translations of *Alice in Wonderland'*, p. 89–90.

[133] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 1.

[134] Ibid., p. 5.

along with their related paratexts, she claims that paratexts provide additional information about the otherness of the translated texts, which is valuable for researchers.

Conclusion

To summarise, this chapter has laid out the theoretical foundations for the analysis of Englishness in English children's books and their Russian translations. I have shown that my idea of different interpretations of Englishness is supported by reader-response criticism, which both state that a literary text bears no final meaning. In reference to the original manifestations of Englishness and their translations, it means that English writers and Russian translators create their own representations of Englishness in the original and translated texts. Moreover, translations and retranslations are bound to be different from each other, because each translator interprets original texts in accordance with his/her view of the world. Four frameworks from translation studies will be applied further in this thesis: Lefevere's assumption about a foreign culture being 'naturalised' in translation; Brownlie's supposition about the influence of the changing nature of ideologies and norms prevalent in the receiving culture on the choice to retranslate texts; Venuti's postulate that the choice of translated texts is determined by similar social situation, themes and discourses between the original and the receiving cultures; and the assumption of O'Sullivan and Nikolajeva about the balance between domestication and foreignisation occurring in translation of children's literature.

In this thesis I consider the notions of English national identity and Englishness as equivalent. So, in parallel to understanding of cultural meanings of national identity, I have concluded that cultural meanings, rooted in various aspects of cultural life of a nation, are those components that constitute Englishness. I have discussed the role of national myths in literature, as illusory stories created by writers and illustrators that refer to past and modern times, in constructing and representing images of national identity. This discussion has led me to conclude that the mythologised image of national identity includes national stereotypes that can be both positive and negative, and that national stereotypes are embedded into the cultural meanings of English national identity. Therefore, the concepts of national myths and national stereotypes will

be used in this thesis in order to analyse the representation of Englishness in English children's literature.

Theoretical views on translation and national identity, considered in the discussion in this chapter, have shaped my approach to the analysis of translation of national identity, and, consequently, of Englishness as a manifestation of national identity. I propose that the original national identity in translation occupies a place 'in-between' the original and receiving cultures. Therefore, by looking at national identity in translation as a cultural product existing 'in-between' English and Russian cultures, I suggest that the cultural meanings of Englishness are 'naturalised' or Russified to some degree in Russian translations. Venuti's observations on the translation of national identity will be used to justify the approach to translation of Englishness as the one focused on the receiving culture. I suggest that Russian culture influences the translation of the English-language texts. At the same time, Venuti's hypothesis on the selection of books for translation, tied to the concept of ideology, will be applied to explain why particular books were chosen for translation in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia.

Englishness is considered in this thesis as a set of cultural meanings which are mythologised in the original texts. I will divide translation of cultural meanings of Englishness between English and Russian literatures into two stages. On the one hand, I will focus on cultural meanings of Englishness that are mythologised by authors of English children's books. On the other hand, I will focus on how these mythologised cultural meanings are interpreted by Russian/Soviet translators, bearing in mind the translators' role as first readers of the original English texts whose perception of Englishness depends on their ideological and political background.

By drawing on my conclusions that the notion of manifestations of Englishness is connected with the concepts of cultural meanings of national identity, stereotypes and myth, I will discuss in the following two chapters how different manifestations of Englishness are perceived through English and Russian perspectives. By applying the imagological method, in the following chapters 2 and 3, I will analyse English and Russian perceptions of Englishness. The former can be viewed as an auto-image in the English context (or how the English see themselves) and the latter can be regarded as a hetero-

image in the Russian context (or how Russia perceives England). Russian hetero-images and English auto-images can be compared and, consequently, the overall portrait of Englishness can benefit from additional information about how it is perceived in Russia. Imagology explains that literary representations of images are intertextually related to historical and socio-cultural context as well as to literary traditions of the country under analysis.[135] Therefore, in chapters 2 and 3, I will consider non-fictional sources of information, related to auto- and hetero-images, when analysing literary representations of Englishness from the Russian and English perspectives. At the same time, the imagological approach will be applied in chapters 6 and 7 for analysing the cultural transfer of images of Englishness to the translated texts, taking into account the importance of putting translation of these images into historical and socio-cultural contexts as well as paying attention to paratexts and other literary materials related to images. Imagological approach will also be used in chapter 5 for examining the influence of existing perceptions of English culture on decisions made during the selection of original texts for translation.

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[135] Leerssen, p. 3; and Zacharasiewicz, p. 374.

Chapter 2: Englishness through the lens of English fictional and non-fictional writing

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the contextual background for understanding Englishness as it is perceived through English eyes. Therefore, it lays the basis for the analysis of the literary transfer of manifestations of Englishness between English and Russian children's books. By drawing on fictional and non-fictional sources, it analyses the ways in which Englishness and its components are represented. This exploration of the meaning of Englishness helps to explain the approaches applied in this thesis to the identification of various manifestations of Englishness in the original texts chosen for the case study. This chapter builds on my theoretical and methodological considerations discussed previously. It explains the ways in which the first part of my argument will be developed.

In the first section of this chapter I will examine Englishness as a constructed concept, interpretations of which vary. By drawing on the existing scholarly sources in English literary criticism and several literary works, I will explain how I intend to look at how various components of the broad concept of Englishness can be generalised. Hence, I will argue that various manifestations of Englishness can be divided into three groups: institutional Englishness, which covers themes with political and ideological connotations (class system, empire, historical past, and traditions); cultural Englishness, which includes mythologised images of the English environment and way of life; and expressions of English national character that relate to the discourses of the fantastic and of silliness. In the second section I will explore themes that are included in institutional Englishness and why they are important for understanding of the broad concept of Englishness. In the third section, cultural Englishness will be considered. I will discuss its components and look into the reason why it is mythologised in English literature and culture. In the fourth section I will discuss discourses of the fantastic and of silliness as expressions of English national character. At the same time, I will show that all three groups of Englishness have various points of connection and that they cannot be analysed separately.

1. Various ideas of England: towards an understanding of Englishness as a cultural construct in literature

In this thesis I approach Englishness as a concept constructed in literature. Englishness is a shared cultural memory of the writers who create it and the readers who interpret it. Consequently, its overall portrait is subjective and will vary depending on the prevailing ideology that determines each author's concept of English culture. Thus, imagined Englishness can be characterised as a mental construct. Following this logic, it seems impossible to arrive at a conclusive description or a satistfactory definition.

Scholarly views on literary discourse of Englishness provide the point of departure for examining Englishness as a constructed concept. David Gervais states that English writers create different versions of England. These versions are based on writers' personal feelings towards Englishness. Gervais claims that 'every idea of England predicates a slightly different England'.[136] Such multiple and varying versions of Englishness seem to make it impossible to use the words of English writers to arrive at what Gervais calls 'any general sense of England'.[137] In their compilation of writings on Englishness by English writers published between 1900 and 1950, Judy Giles and Tim Middleton argue that Englishness is 'a state of mind: a belief in a national identity which is part and parcel of one's sense of self'. Giles and Middleton state that there is no complete construction of Englishness but always alternative versions.[138] Menno Spiering's analysis of English national identity on post-war literature backs up the idea that constructed Englishness is open to interpretation in different ways. He states that Englishness can have as many meanings as possible and only reflects the real world to a certain extent in which authors live.[139]

Given that an exact definition of Englishness cannot be achieved, different versions of Englishness provide a wide range of possibilities for the identification of its components. The most representative work of contemporary literature in which most common perceptions of Englishness are summarised, is Julian Barnes's satirical and dystopian 1998 novel *England, England*. Although

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[136] Gervais, p. 1.
[137] Ibid., p. 270.
[138] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, pp. 5–6.
[139] Spiering, pp. 170–71.

Barnes draws a list of 'Fifty Quintessences of Englishness', many of the attributes included in his list resonate in children's books: the class system, imperialism, snobbery, the stiff upper lip, hypocrisy, untrustworthiness, thatched cottages, the cup of tea, marmalade, bowler hats, red buses, Robin Hood and his Merrie Men, *Alice in Wonderland*, Queen Victoria and the Magna Carta.[140] Barnes's list is quite substantial, covering a wide range of manifestations of Englishness, including widespread national stereotypes. Barnes's list can be supplemented by Margaret Meek's suggestions on the following features of Englishness commonly found in children's literature: the fantasy genre, issues of class, nostalgia, 'rural scenery', and 'eccentricities of the characters'. She proposes six main children's classics that are generally used by critics outside the UK for discussing issues of Englishness: Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, Barrie's *Peter Pan*, Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, and C. S. Lewis's *The Chronicles of Narnia.*[141]

The concept of Englishness also includes national character, values, beliefs and attitudes by which English people identify themselves, as Judy Giles and Tim Middleton suggest.[142] The historical past and tradition are accentuated by Stuart Hall. According to him, England is 'deeply embedded' in specific cultural meanings which derive from the concept of heritage –a 'collective representation of the British version of *tradition*'. He lists the following cultural meanings, which are representations of artefacts of England: 'cathedrals, churches, castles and country houses', as well as 'gardens, thatched cottages and hedgerowed landscapes'.[143] Hall offers his example of Englishness, easily recognised by the English people: 'England's green and pleasant land, its gentle, rolling countryside, rose-trellised cottages and country-house gardens'.[144] David Gervais recognises the importance of nostalgia, which is an essential inheritance of Edwardian England, for the discourse of Englishness in modern English writing.[145] In addition to this, the following recurring tropes as manifestations of Englishness in literature written in English between 1900 and 1950 are highlighted by Giles and Middleton: England's traditions are

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[140] Julian Barnes, *England, England* (London: Vintage Books, 2012), pp. 81–3.
[141] Meek, 'Preface', p. xv; Meek, 'The Englishness of English Children's Books', p. 90.
[142] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, p. 6.
[143] Hall, 'Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'the Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation', pp. 4–5.
[144] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', p. 613.
[145] Gervais, pp. 195–96.

represented by historical allusions; English good manners refer to the image of English middle-class gentlemen; the idealised rural landscape symbolises a pastoral England; domestic England is depicted by the use of images of the English home and family; and finally, urban England is expressed in the form of the English city landscape.[146]

Rebecca Knuth and Jean Webb refer specifically to the time frame considered in this thesis and put an accent on the themes of empire and patriotism. Knuth sees Victorian and Edwardian children's literature as a vehicle that shaped English national character and constructed English national identity: '[t]he authors of English children's books were engaged in a semi-self-conscious exercise in creating useful citizens, imbuing them with common values, and making sure they would define themselves in terms of their country and culture: as Englishmen'. She emphasises that the notion of Englishness in late Victorian children's books reflects 'a love of country' and summarises such qualities of the English character as being 'manly, courageous, chivalrous, and unabashedly patriotic'.[147] Knuth divides Englishness into two major stages: the 'Big England' before the First World War 'with its imperialistic, hyper-patriotic mind-sets'; and the 'little England' of the inter-war period when English people considered themselves as 'a peaceful, commonsensical people' and saw England as anti-heroic, cosy, domestic and mostly rural.[148] Webb argues that the construction of Englishness in English children's literature of the Victorian and Edwardian period is associated with imperialism. She explains that although England is represented as a manly and heroic centre of the Empire, the colonial power and heroism of England is questioned and reconsidered, for example, in such books as Burnett's *The Secret Garden* and Kipling's *Kim*.[149]

Hence, the most commonly cited aspects of Englishness are the following: English literature, nostalgia, patriotism, the English class system, imperialism, English countryside, domestic and urban England, national character, sense of humour, common sense, silliness, privacy, values, beliefs and attitudes, traditions, and a sense of continuity which also signifies the

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[146] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, pp. 22–3, 195–96.
[147] Knuth, pp. 5–7.
[148] Ibid., pp. 152-53.
[149] Jean Webb, 'Walking into the Sky: Englishness, Heroism, and Cultural Identity: A Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century Perspective', in *Children's Literature and the Fin de Siècle,* ed. by Roderick McGillis (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), pp. 51–6.

historical past. At the same time, these aspects of Englishness create a narrative of the idealised 'Merry England' and pertain explicitly and/or implicitly to the period of time considered in this research – late Victorian and Edwardian England, as well as England between the First and the Second World Wars. In Krishan Kumar's words, the concept of Englishness as a 'highly selective, partly nostalgic and backward-looking' cultural construct was first developed in literature, literary criticism and historical studies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and has continued to the present day.[150]

Thus, as I have shown, various features can be attributed to Englishness, which is variously perceived by literary authors. Thus the concept requires a certain level of generalisation. For this, I draw on Anthony Easthope's idea of Englishness, who divides its characterisation into two groups by claiming that 'both state and culture' can be identified as English. He explains:

> On the side of the state, the nation as "English" is produced and sustained by a series of institutions and practices, including the Royal Navy, Parliament, Whitehall, the Inland Revenue, the Old Bailey, Lloyds of London, the Bank of England, […] Eton College, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the British Council, and so on, all of which can be defined as in some way characteristically English. […] [O]n the culture side of the division, a notion of Englishness can seem to preside over "the English language" and English "way of talking", a canon of literature established as English, English landscape, a certain sense of humour felt to be English, English common sense, and so on and so on.[151]

This quote suggests that there are two major groups that include components of Englishness. On the side of the state, Easthope proposes that Englishness involves certain institutions signifying English national identity and policies associated with them (in other words, how they articulate English national discourse through their actions). On the side of culture, he suggests attributes of Englishness that involve a special environment and way of life.

By analogy with Easthope's division, I propose that the various manifestations of Englishness can be split into three groups: institutional Englishness, cultural Englishness, and expressions of English national character. Each group has several aspects which are widely agreed to be

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[150] Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, pp. 269–70.
[151] Easthope, pp. 55–6.

specific to English culture and which offer challenges to Russian translators. Thus, they present the chance to assess how translators address these challenges. In my understanding, institutional Englishness consists of themes that have political and ideological connotations. These include the class system, empire, historical past, and traditions. Cultural Englishness relates to way of life and environment, and tends to be mythologised in children's books published between the late Victorian period and the Second World War. It involves depictions of character traits commonly used in literary works as signifiers of English way of life and the surroundings in which English way of life takes place. Expressions of English national character are a logical continuation of cultural Englishness. Expressions of English national character are linked with the discourses of the fantastic and of silliness. Both discourses are conventional modes of conveying features of English national character, and hold a considerable place in English children's literature.

2. Institutional Englishness: political and ideological contexts

In this thesis I consider institutional Englishness as a notion having both a political and ideological nature. In institutional Englishness English national discourse is articulated by means of national themes. The following scholarly views contextualise English national themes. According to the *Parekh Report*, common English national themes include the continuity of England's history and hence the respect for traditions and social conventions; the mentality of islanders and hence the belief in resistance to any foreign influence and consequently the uniqueness of the English nation; Britain's colonial and imperial role in the past and hence a sense of superiority over others.[152] The English national themes commonly found in literature during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods are highlighted by Phillip Mallett. They include the widespread tendency to find one's roots in the country's historical past and the developing interest in local history; the belief that an essential Englishness is deeply rooted in the English language and hence that local dialects are important and should be explored and preserved; the conviction that Englishness is stored 'in places and in artefacts' which was reflected in the founding of the National Trust in 1895 and local museums around the country;

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[152] *The Parekh Report*, pp. 17, 18, 21.

the belief in 'the island's greatness' and the necessity to maintain it which was manifested in patriotic feelings about England.[153] So, drawing on the *Parekh Report* and Mallett's ideas, my understanding of institutional Englishness includes the following themes that have political and ideological connotations: the class system, empire, the historical past, and traditions. These themes recur in the discourse of Englishness, thus contributing to the creation of the literary portrait of England. At the same time, they quite often occur in children's books written between the late Victorian period and the Second World War.

The themes of class system and empire are connected to literary depictions of Englishness in children's literature. The issue of class is entwined with English children's literature, as emphasised by Margaret Meek. In her view, the class system is 'the most pervasive aspect of social life in England'. It includes 'a subtle network of social, linguistic and literary codes' that can be found in English children's books.[154] At the same time, in foreign representations of literary Englishness – in children's and adult's literatures alike – the issues of class also play a considerable role. This is hardly surprising, because it is how England is perceived around the world – as the class-ridden society. Or, as George Orwell calls England: the 'most class-ridden country under the sun' and 'the land of snobbery and privilege'.[155] Orwell's views on the class system are shared by J. B. Priestley who points to the 'inbuilt sense of class' and social snobbery as a predominant part of English national character.[156]

The notion of class in the discourse on Englishness depends on a particular social group, historical period and regional character. In many children's books written between the late Victorian period and the Second World War, Englishness is represented from the perspective of the class to which an author belongs. Looking at English classics of children's literature, one can observe that the foremost writers, such as Lewis Carroll, Beatrix Potter, Frances Hodgson Burnett, E. Nesbit, Rudyard Kipling, J. M. Barrie, Kenneth Grahame,

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[153] Phillip Mallett, 'Rudyard Kipling and the Invention of Englishness', in *Beyond Pug's Tour: National and Ethnic Stereotyping in Theory and Literary Practice,* ed. by C.C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 255–66 (pp. 263-64).
[154] Meek, 'The Englishness of English Children's Books', p. 94.
[155] George Orwell, 'England Your England', in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), pp. 63–90 (p. 77).
[156] J. B. Priestley, 'The English', in *Angliiskii natsional'nyi kharakter: uchebnoe posobie,* ed. by M. M. Filippova (Moscow: Astrel, 2007), pp. 42–3.

A. A. Milne, Arthur Ransome, C. S. Lewis, J. R. R. Tolkien, and P. L. Travers, are associated with the middle- and upper-classes. Their books reflect the values of the middle- and aristocratic classes, and the main characters – children and adults – belong predominantly to these classes. At the same time, when people from the lower classes are portrayed, it is done so that these portraits can provide a contrast. This tendency is highlighted by Bob Dixon. In his view, the language of the middle class prevails in English children's books written in the first half of the twentieth century, and the working class characters are 'defined and delimited by middle-class characters [who are] seen from an exclusively middle-class point of view'.[157] The same tendency is reflected in late Victorian and Edwardian literature. For example, Emer O'Sullivan in her analysis of *Babies of all Nations* (published in 1909) concludes that the book depicts an image of an English child as 'a self-confident, rich, white, beautiful, and privileged' and that this image is used to establish and maintain 'English selfhood'.[158]

The social and regional character of the English class system is expressed in dialect. As George Bernard Show famously commented on the class essence of the English language in the Preface to *Pygmalion*, 'It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him'.[159] Dialect, as a variation of English language peculiar to a region or a social group, is an explicit marker of class in English adult and children's literatures. Dialect and English national character have points of connection. Varieties of the English language based on class distinction are represented in the figures of the common folk, as a contrast to the gentleman and ladies. I will return to class issues when manifestations of English national character are discussed in the next section.

Englishness is interrelated with England's imperial past. According to the *Parekh Report*, at its zenith the British Empire played an important role in 'consolidating cross-national and cross-class solidarities' and strengthening English national identity as a part of the overall idea of Britishness.[160] As M.

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[157] Bob Dixon, *Catching Them Young. 1, Sex, Race and Class in Children's Fiction* (London: Pluto Press, 1977), p. 59.

[158] Emer O'Sullivan, 'S is for Spaniard', *European Journal of English Studies,* 13 (2009), 333–49 (p. 345).

[159] George Bernard Shaw, *Pygmalion* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), p. 3.

[160] *The Parekh Report*, p. 21.

Daphne Kutzer explains, imperial discourse could be seen everywhere in the English culture of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods – in Christmas pantomimes, music hall songs, children's magazines, advertising, and, inevitably, in English children's fiction. Kutzer argues that during the Edwardian period and in later times, when the empire began to shrink, it was believed that 'empire was a good thing and should continue'. English children's literature reflects this belief.[161] She also adds that in the twentieth century the sentimental feelings about empire were encoded 'as nostalgia for a more Arcadian and ordered English life'. In Kutzer's view, the imperialist enterprise was 'almost entirely a male endeavor' and the British believed that good imperial leaders should adhere to such values as 'resourcefulness, hierarchy, and democracy', which is reflected in the fiction of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. She specifies that such tropes as 'resourcefulness, leadership, pluck, moral virtue, and chivalry' occur in children's books in relation to empire and English national character and connote the good course of imperialism.[162] This example, again, signals that there is an interaction between empire, as institutional Englishness, and national character, as cultural Englishness. Hence, when analysed together in a literary text, they can contribute to the overall understanding of Englishness.

It is important to clarify what imperialism stands for in a British/English context. I draw on Kutzer's definition of empire, which includes 'the advocacy and glorification of military force to both expand and maintain the empire; the promotion of racial superiority of white […] Englishmen over darker-skinned non-Europeans; the waving of the flag of patriotism and nationalism'. Kutzer particularly puts the stress on the important role of ideology as a driving force for promoting ideas of empire and expanding it. This ideology is all-permeating in classics of English children's literature written in the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century.[163]

Another scholar who draws attention to the role of ideology in English imperialist discourse is Rebecca Knuth. She explains that the cultural rituals and values depicted in English adventure stories and historical fiction written for children in the late nineteenth century were direct reflections of ideological

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[161] M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. xiv, xv.
[162] Ibid., pp. xvi, 3, 5, 10.
[163] Ibid., pp. xvii, xx.

purposes: 'girls were schooled in domesticity and charged with maintaining the home' and 'boys were socialized to be clean-living Britons and to defend the nation and empire'. English imperialism was romanticised and ideological Englishness embraced 'obedience, racial pride, and heroism'.[164] The children's fiction of Henty, Ballantyne, Kingsley and Haggard is underpinned by imperialist ideology. Also imperialist ideology is foregrounded, encoded or used in the background in the books written for children by Kipling, Nesbit, Burnett and Milne.[165] However, imperial discourse in English children's literature lost its importance after the First World War, and books written in the mid and late-twentieth-century generally supported 'diversity, multiculturalism, and social equality'.[166] However, as Kutzer emphasises, attitudes about empire 'have continued to be conveyed in British children's books well into the 1980s' and '[t]he longing for empire, or at least for national importance, is reflected in children's books of the golden age and our age'.[167]

As for the themes of historical past and traditions, they are very often represented in English children's literature of the period that I consider in this thesis, and are connected through feelings of nostalgia with way of life and surroundings in which people live. I will devote more attention to the themes of historical past and traditions in the following section which discusses the English way of life and rural landscape.

3. Cultural Englishness

Cultural Englishness relates to the English environment and way of life, where environment refers to landscape and way of life is understood to mean places (city, town, village, country house, and home) and national character (kinds of people and character traits). These categories are not independent from each other. On the contrary, the way Englishness is constructed is strongly shaped by the landscape in which English people live, so places, national character and landscape are connected.

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[164] Knuth, p. 11.
[165] Bob Dixon, *Catching Them Young. 2, Political Ideas in Children's Fiction* (London: Pluto Press, 1977), p. 83–113; Kutzer, p. xiv.
[166] Knuth, p. 12.
[167] Kutzer, p. 11.

Manifestations of cultural Englishness are broadly represented in English literature, including books for children, and non-fiction works documenting English life. Moreover, cultural Englishness is often mythologised in English literature. Fictional and non-fictional texts, which deal with cultural Englishness, reflect each author's view of England, its culture and people. Therefore, England is imagined by each author individually. At the same time, the understanding of imagined England is shared by many people in the form of 'a mental image of the country's typical sights and sounds, its customs and habits, the characteristic features of its landscapes and weather, and a sense of what is distinctive about the national character and established institutions,' as emphasised in the *Parekh Report.*[168] When the imagined vision of England starts having little or nothing in common with reality, it is likely to become a myth. This myth is connected to the imagined past and present of England. It can be seen as a narrative, in which connotative meanings are attached to English culture-specific events, traditions, social practices, artefacts and natural.[169]

In my understanding of cultural Englishness as a myth I draw on the views of Ina Habermann, whose ideas about national mythmaking involve cultural stereotypes and coincide with my understanding of the mythologised nature of Englishness. Habermann states that speaking about Englishness always means telling 'stories about collective identity' and consequently engaging 'in a process of mythmaking'. She sees Englishness as a set of stereotypes which are cultural constructs characterising England. She also understands Englishness as 'a symbolic form', which is created 'by the interaction of various kinds of mythmaking and memory'.[170] Habermann divides cultural stereotypes of Englishness into three groups and gives the following description. Firstly, the stereotypical English character has 'a sense of humour, stoicism and emotional reticence (the "stiff upper lip"), politeness verging on hypocrisy, self-deprecation, decency, endurance, individualism and refined manners, as well as hooliganism'. Secondly, stereotypes of England as a

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[168] *The Parekh Report*, p. 16.
[169] The term 'social practices' is understood in this thesis as the habitual activities of people within a community which shape everyday life, e.g. routine behaviour. Also social practices are performed according to a community's worldview and the perception of the community's sense of identity, e.g. formal greetings.
[170] Ina Habermann, *Myth, Memory and the Middlebrow: Priestley, du Maurier and the Symbolic Form of Englishness* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 7, 8, 29.

country involve 'pastoralism and ruralism, most frequently expressed in the imagery of the "English countryside", but also by the smoking chimneys of the industrial North'. Thirdly, stereotypical English society is perceived as 'class-ridden but also harmonious (as in the "upstairs, downstairs" motif)'.[171] Hence, following Habermann's argument, I propose that the myth of Englishness is woven around national character, landscape and home.

Although the English have changed over time, the literary myth of England as a rural idyll, as the land of gentlemen and ladies, as well as the cosy English home, where characters can maintain their privacy, remains very much alive every time readers open English classics of children's literature. This myth is sustained by promoting the image of England as an idyllic place. Such a positive image helps to popularise Englishness as a tourist destination around the world and literary representations of England without doubt still play an effective role in this process.

At the end of *Homage to Catalonia* George Orwell describes the dreamlike image of England of his childhood. It is southern England where nothing changes:

> …the railway-cuttings smothered in wild flowers, the deep meadows where the great shining horses browse and meditate, the slow-moving streams bordered by willows, the green bosoms of the elms, the larkspurs in the cottage gardens; and then the huge peaceful wilderness of outer London, the barges on the miry river, the familiar streets, the posters telling of cricket matches and Royal weddings, the men in bowler hats, the pigeons in Trafalgar Square, the red buses, the blue policemen--all sleeping the deep, deep sleep of England, from which I sometimes fear that we shall never wake till we are jerked out of it by the roar of bombs.[172]

This is precisely the literary portrait of ideal cosy Englishness that is so widespread in English children's books written between the late 1880s and the 1940s. Krishan Kumar gives a somewhat similar description of the essential features of an imagined timeless England cultivated in the literature of the Edwardian period, including children's books: 'a country of cathedral cities and small towns and villages set in the 'southern' countryside […]; the ancient

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[171] Ibid., p. 7.
[172] George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 221.

colleges of Oxford and Cambridge; 'vernacular' domestic architecture […] in the half-timbered 'Tudor' or gabled Queen Anne style; village life centred on the green, the pub and the church, all cosily clustered together […], the new 'Garden Cities' such as Letchworth, and rural suburbs such as Bedford Park in London'.[173] Kumar states that the Englishness, as described in the works of Edwardian writers, is far from the reality in which modern British society exists. However, 'all levels of society' in Britain support such a notion of Englishness.[174] Giles and Middleton emphasise the idealised depiction of England in the writings of Edward Thomas and Edmund Blunden: 'patchwork fields, distant spires, village greens, warm beer and inter-class solidarity'.[175] According to Knuth, an idealised sense of Englishness was promoted through 'the pseudohistorical concept of medieval and "Merrie Old England" with its atmosphere of cosiness, folk life, and rusticity, which was given form in Queen Anne-style buildings and images in children's books'. She states that many late-Victorian and Edwardian authors and illustrators of children's books were inspired by the English countryside, which was a place where they could hide from industrialised England. This inspiration resulted in re-created images of idealised rural England – or the English idyll – and 'nostalgic evocations of Eden' found in the major classics of English children's literature. In this idealised literary England there are lush meadows, cosy cottages, brave heroes, and home is 'a very English place to return to'. This idyllic imagined England is a world of 'gardens, lakes, woods, villages, suburban and city homes, and private boarding schools'.[176]

3.1. Rural Arcadia – evocations of the idealised English landscape

Rural landscape occupies a significant place in literary discourse on English national identity.[177] One can undoubtedly start with William Blake's famous line from *Jerusalem* – 'England's green and pleasant land' – while referring to evocations of the rural in the image of England. Similarly, in many texts written

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[173] Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, p. 218.
[174] Krishan Kumar, ''Englishness' and English National Identity', in *British Cultural Studies: Geography, Nationality, and Identity,* ed. by David Morley and Kevin Robins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 41–55 (p. 53).
[175] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, p. 73.
[176] Knuth, pp. 88, 180, 181.
[177] Robert Burden, 'Introduction: Englishness and Spatial Practices', in *Landscape and Englishness,* ed. by Robert Burden and Stephan Kohl (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 13–26 (p. 23); Robert J. C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 7, 9.

for children, Englishness is also characterised by rural landscape.[178] The representation of English landscape in late-Victorian and Edwardian literature, including children's books, is predominantly focused on the countryside, offering a vision of a green, pastoral land. An interesting depiction of the English landscape relevant to Edwardian England is given by Price Collier, who wrote about the country from an American point of view at the beginning of the twentieth century: 'this stretch of green fields, these hills and valleys, these hedges and fruit trees, this soft landscape is the England men love'.[179] In his lecture *The Lesser Arts* (1877), William Morris gives his account of the image of English nature, emphasising the small size of the country:

> The land is a little land; too much shut up within the narrow seas, as it seems, to have much space for swelling into hugeness: […] no great solitudes of forests, no terrible untrodden mountain walls: all is measured, mingled, varied, gliding easily one thing into another: little rivers, little plains, […] little hills, little mountains […] neither prison, nor palace, but a decent home.[180]

As for English literature written between 1900 and 1950, rural England is represented as 'a pastoral Eden' – a metaphorical depiction which recurs in many literary texts, as shown by Giles and Middleton.[181]

The literary representation of English landscape has a regional character. There is a clear domination of a north-south divide in literary works written during the late Victorian and Edwardian period. The idealised literary image of the southern English countryside with Tudor-style cottages, gardens and hedges, green fields and rolling hills prevails in most late Victorian and Edwardian literary evocations of English landscape.[182] The description of the English countryside in the north of England is presented in in the works of the Lake Poets, the Brontë sisters, Frances Hodgson Burnett, and Arthur

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[178] Meek, 'The Englishness of English Children's Books', p. 96; Anne H. Lundin, *Constructing the Canon of Children's Literature: Beyond Library Walls and Ivory Towers* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 112–21.

[179] Price Collier, *England and the English from an American Point of View* (London: [n. pub.] 1912), p. 265.

[180] William Morris, 'The Lesser Arts', in *News from Nowhere and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 1993), pp. 231–54 (p. 245).

[181] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, p. 22.

[182] David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 17; Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England', in *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880–1920,* ed. by Philip Dodd and Robert Colls (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 62–88 (pp. 73–4).

Ransome.[183] In contrast to the image of the south of England, the northern English landscape is depicted as less welcoming, less cultivated, less warm, but still its sharp beauty is clearly expressed by the authors, and the moor, mountains, dales and lakes are the most distinct elements of the image of its scenery.

In this thesis I approach the image of rural England, created by writers of the late Victorian and Edwardian period, as a constructed myth. This idea has been widely discussed by scholars who have investigated the significance of symbolic landscapes and place. For example, Robert Burden explains that myths of national identity are constructed and spread through the representative cultural meanings of the symbolic landscapes and places.[184] David Matless states that the ideal Southern English landscape is a picturesque myth which generates feelings of nostalgia.[185] Put another way, these feelings of nostalgia are similar to the myth of 'a Golden Age' which, according to Manfred Beller, is popular in most national cultures, because it 'looks backward in time towards a lost paradise and forwards towards an idealized future'.[186] Giles and Middleton point to a mythologisation of English landscape by arguing that, although for many of the Anglophone writers featured in their compilation England in fact means rural England as a central portrayal of Englishness, still, rural England 'had either disappeared in the first wave of industrialisation in the nineteenth century or was being changed beyond recognition through the introduction of electricity, the impact of the wireless, increased mechanisation of agriculture, and the expansion of public transport and car ownership'.[187] This argument about the myth of rural England is echoed by Alun Howkins who concludes that, notwithstanding the wide urbanisation and industrialisation of England since 1861, the concept of the English countryside as an ideal image prevails in the ideology of Englishness in Edwardian England.[188]

The myth of rural England was articulated throughout the twentieth century in British political discourse, for example by prime ministers Stanley

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[183] Wendy Joy Darby, *Landscape and Identity: Geographies of Nation and Class in England* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).
[184] Burden, p. 14.
[185] Matless, p. 18.
[186] Manfred Beller, 'Myth', in *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey,* ed. by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi), pp. 373–77 (pp. 374, 375).
[187] *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, p. 73.
[188] Howkins, p. 62.

Baldwin and John Major in the form of nostalgic views about England's past and traditional values. In his speech to the Annual Dinner of the Royal Society of St George on 6 May 1924, Baldwin proposed his vision of rural England as the true essence of the whole country, drawing on nostalgic evocations of the English countryside:

> The sounds of England, the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill, […] for centuries the one eternal sight of England. The wild anemones in the woods in April, the last load at night of hay being drawn down a lane as the twilight comes on, […] the smell of wood smoke coming up in an autumn evening…[189]

The same nostalgic evocation of England's idyllic countryside was repeated by Major in his speech to the Conservative Group for Europe on 22 April 1993. He presented the portrait of mythical England: 'the country of long shadows on county grounds, warm beer, invincible green suburbs, dog lovers, […] and – as George Orwell said – "old maids bicycling to holy communion through the morning mist"'.[190] This nostalgia for the mythologised English rural idyll can be also traced in Philip Larkin's poem *Going, Going* (1972), which has served well enough to promote the idea of English national identity: 'And that will be England gone, The shadows, the meadows, the lanes, | The guildhalls, the carved choirs'.[191] Such discourse sounds like the re-invention of history or, in other words, the mythologisation of England's past.

It is not only political discourse that contributes to the process of formation of the myth of England's rural idyll. National music and literature are other drivers in the process. As Fiona Clampin concludes, the music of Ralph Vaughan Williams and Edward Elgar bring to mind a mythologised image of English countryside: 'images spring quickly to the mind of rolling hills and we like to imagine that the music reminds us of "old England"'.[192] Equally, the same myth is well presented in children's books written during the late-Victorian and

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[189] Stanley Baldwin, 'England is the Country and the Country is England', in *Writing Englishness 1900–1950: An Introductory Sourcebook on National Identity,* ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 97–102 (p. 101).

[190] John Major, 'Speech to the Conservative Group for Europe on 22nd April 1993' (1993) <http://www.johnmajor.co.uk/page1086.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[191] Philip Larkin, *Collected Poems* (London: Faber, 1988), p. 190.

[192] Fiona Clampin, ''Those blue remembered hills...': National Identity in English Music (1900–1930)', in *National Identity,* ed. by Keith Cameron (Exeter: Intellect, 1999), pp. 64–79 (p. 76).

Edwardian periods. The power to evoke images of mystic landscapes is attributed by Margaret Drabble to children's literature of this period. She especially mentions two books set in the idyllic English countryside: *The Wind in the Willows* and *Puck of Pook's Hill*, and says that Pan, 'the spirit of countryside', in the former book, as well as Puck, 'the spirit of the earth', in the latter book, both represent the mystical and unchanging English countryside.[193] Tony Watkins states that *The Wind in the Willows* 'encapsulates an image of England which developed at the end of the nineteenth century' and creates the myth of 'real' England as an unchanging rural Arcadia. He concludes that this myth plays an important role in the formation and promotion of the sense of Englishness from childhood.[194]

3.2. City, town, village, country house and home as essential characteristics of English way of life

It is not only landscape that predominates in literary discourses of Englishness. Images of cities, villages and home are also regarded as essential characteristics of English national identity. For example, George Orwell's essay *England, Your England,* written in 1941, refers to Englishness in the context of the city, village and home in the following way:

> … [English culture] is somehow bound up with solid breakfasts and gloomy Sundays, smoky towns and winding roads, green fields and red pillar-boxes. It has a flavour of its own. Moreover it is continuous, it stretches into the future and the past….[195]

In this example 'winding roads' and 'green fields' evoke images of the English countryside; however, smog and 'red pillar-boxes' are common stereotypes that can easily evoke London, as a typical representation of English cities. London is also often used as a setting in children's literature. Literary characters either have adventures in London on its streets, in its parks and gardens, as in C. S. Lewis's *The Magician's Nephew,* P L. Travers's *Mary Poppins* and J. M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, or leave London in anticipation of adventures in the countryside, as in Edith Nesbit's *The Railway Children* and Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. The imagined world of London in these books includes hansom

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[193] Margaret Drabble, *A Writer's Britain: Landscape in Literature* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 247.
[194] Watkins, 'Cultural Studies', p. 191.
[195] Orwell, 'England Your England', p. 64.

cabs, omnibuses, policemen, housemaids, butlers, gentlemen in bowler hats, department stores, museums, Kensington Gardens and London Zoo, railway stations and trains.

English towns and villages are also frequent choices for settings in English classic children's literature. As Peter Childs notes, contemporary traditional English towns preserve several architectural features of Victorian and Edwardian England. These features make up a general outline of an English town: 'Victorian, iron-framed, glass-roofed, covered markets', 'magnificent municipal buildings' and 'grand public houses from the turn of the 1900s'; also central parks, terraced houses, 'shops, factories, and schools around church, railway station, […], town hall and square'.[196] A typical English village includes the following features: pub, shop, parish church, a market, a village hall and a village green. Childs describes some of the English villages which are typical for Southern England: 'rows of thatched cottages nestling in country fields between hedgerows and small streams'.[197] These attributes also pertain to images of the English town and village in children's literature.

As Sue Clifford and Angela King explain, English villages are generally located in lowlands, whereas uplands are dominated by hamlets and isolated farms, typically containing cottages and farmhouses. Defining features of a typical English cottage include thatched roof, low eaves, tall chimney, dormer windows and carved barge-boards. Farmhouses are characterised by local distinctiveness: the white-washed farmhouses of the Lake District, the bare-stone houses of Yorkshire, the black-and-white houses of Shropshire, the brick houses of Nottinghamshire, the weatherboard houses of Kent and the white/pink-painted cob houses of Devon.[198] Cottages and farmhouses are not the only types of buildings that evoke images of Englishness. The English country house is also widely represented in English children's literature: it provides a setting for books such as Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*, Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden*, C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, Philippa Pearce's *Tom's Midnight Garden*,

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[196] Peter Childs, 'Places and Peoples: Nation and Region', in *British Cultural Identities,* ed. by Mike Storry and Peter Childs, 2nd edn (London: Routledge), pp. 35–72 (pp. 59, 60).
[197] Ibid., p. 61.
[198] Sue Clifford and Angela King, *England in Particular: A Celebration of the Commonplace, the Local, the Vernacular and the Distinctive* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2006), pp. 423, 113, 157.

as well as for texts widely read by children such as Oscar Wilde's *The Canterville Ghost* and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles*. The notion of the English country house is associated with the landed gentry and includes palaces, castles, courts, halls, manors and mansions.

The above types of traditional English house also symbolise an English home. According to James Laver, the home is 'in some ways an especially English thing, and all Englishmen have the sentiment of the home'.[199] The specificity of the English word 'home' lies in the reflection of the concept of homeland, as emphasised by Tony Watkins, as well as of family.[200] Furthermore, according to Rebecca Knuth, late Victorian and Edwardian Englishness is depicted in rural and urban settings in which the concept of home plays an important role. The English home is recognised in such family 'rituals' as tea drinking and country walks, environments such as the kitchen and sitting by the fire, as well as 'images of snug cottages, country estates, and London scenes'.[201] To this list of connotations connected with the concept of English home I also add Christmas celebrations which are also centred on the family.

The symbolic representation of home as an idealised perception of the nucleus of English life can be viewed as nostalgia for the Golden Age. In this context, the concept of home becomes mythologised. If one looks at the reality of life in England and depictions of Englishness in children's literature starting from the late Victorian period and up to the Second World War, one would notice an obvious discrepancy between the real and the imagined English worlds. In reality England was to a great extent a class-ridden society and the social gap between rich and poor was not really reflected in children's literature. The literary idealised English home represented the world of wealthy middle and upper-classes. For example, in Alan Howkins's view '[t]hrough children's books from Beatrix Potter onwards generations learned that home was a cottage and, if not a cottage, then the "Janet and John" mock-Tudor of the inter-war suburb'. (Janet and John are fictious middle-class English children; these characters from educational books for children became popular in England in

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[199] James Laver, 'Homes and Habits', in *The Character of England*, ed. by Ernest Barker (Oxford: The Claredon Press, 1947), p. 479.
[200] Watkins, 'Cultural Studies', p. 184.
[201] Knuth, p. 9.

1950s and lasted until early 1970s when they were considered to be out-of-date and stereotypical). The home that Hawkins describes was decent and honest and the garden evoked images of an ideal rural past. Hawkins describes the idealised images of the garden of late Victorian and Edwardian England where 'roses, hollyhocks and Sweet Williams pushed themselves to the curving edges of the lawn in an apparently unplanned profusion of colour that came to be known as "cottage garden"'.[202]

The myth of home includes the stately houses of the aristocracy as well as the country and town houses of the middle class. What is missing from such an idealised literary representation of England are homes of the majority of the country's population – the working class. The reality of the situation referring to the period when major English classic children's books were written is described by Robert Colls. He emphasises that up until the 1950s 'the look of England was dominated by terraced housing' most of which was 'extremely compact in the hearts of towns and cities' and overcrowded. However, despite the austere conditions of life, the home of working class England still had 'its front room for Sundays, its shining fire to dry the washing, and its slightly larger bedroom for the proletarian double bed'.[203]

3.3. The English gentleman, governess and country folk as the embodiment of national character

English national character has been widely referred to in literature and broadly researched in literary criticism. I will only touch upon several views on the subject in literary criticism and literature, which are relevant to my argument. A useful explanation of national character is given by Joep Leerssen. He understands it as an 'essential, central set of temperamental attributes that distinguishes the nation as such from others and that motivates and explains the specificity of its presence and behaviour in the world'.[204] Bhikhu Parekh distinguishes the traditional national virtues that pertain to English national character such as 'tolerance, moderation, readiness to compromise, fair play, individualism, love of freedom, eccentricity, ironic detachment, emotional

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[202] Howkins, pp. 73–4.
[203] Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 243, 244.
[204] Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of English National Character', p. 283.

reticence'.[205] Stephen Siddall refers to national symbolism in the representation of English character. In his view, the oak tree embodies such particular traits of English character as manliness, independence and personal liberty.[206] Orwell highlights the distinctive attributes of English national character such as 'gentleness, the hypocrisy, the thoughtlessness, the reverence for law', as well as privacy, love of different hobbies and a strong feeling of the liberty of the individual. Regarding hobbies, Orwell explains that the English are a nation of 'flower-lovers […] stamp collectors, pigeon-fanciers, amateur carpenters, coupon-snippers, darts-players, crossword-puzzle fans'. The liberty of the individual, in his understanding is 'the liberty to have a home of your own, to do what you like in your spare time, to choose your amusements instead of having them chosen for you from above'.[207] In his essay *The English,* J. B. Priestley reflects on the essence of the English national character with a critical eye and sometimes rather unfavourably. In his view, the English are not purely rational because they let intuition and instinct shape their thinking; the English are not particularly practical compared to other nations, however, they are good at inventing and originating new things; the English are not particularly kind-hearted at home and in war they have been known to be hard on themselves and ruthless towards their enemies; the English are not witty but rather have a deep sense of humour.[208] In contrast to Priestley, John Fowles and J. R. R. Tolkien are more tolerant in their views on English national character. Fowles highlights such characteristics as imaginativeness, humour, melancholia, choleric temper, bitterness, sentimentality, possessiveness, frankness, privacy.[209] For Tolkien, quintessentially English qualities include 'bravery, individual action, self-sacrifice, and personal honour'.[210]

The attributes mentioned above cover a broad spectrum of English national character. Equally, each of these can be located within the three tropes symbolically representing the English people: the English gentleman, the governess and country folk. In what follows, I will look at these groups in more detail.

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[205] *The Parekh Report*, pp. 21, 23.
[206] Stephen Siddall, *Landscape and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 20.
[207] Orwell, 'England Your England', pp. 90, 66.
[208] Priestley, pp. 35–54.
[209] John Fowles, 'On Being English But Not British', in *Wormholes: Essays and Occasional Writings by John Fowles* (London: Vintage, 1999), pp. 91–103 (p. 100).
[210] Knuth, p. 152.

The character of the gentleman is so deeply rooted in the English national character that it would probably be almost impossible to imagine English or foreign readers who would not associate England with its image. In general, there are two ways of understanding the concept of a gentleman: a man who holds a high position in society by virtue of noble birth and/or a man of any social class who abides by moral values and principles. A substantial description of the stereotypical character and appearance of the gentleman, which reflects the upper-class nature of the concept, is given by Christine Berberich: 'top hat, stiff upper lip, public school, emotional frigidity, clubs, evening clothes, arrogance, fox hunting, courteous behaviour, cricket, aristocracy, good manners, fair play, […], country houses, […] moustaches, cigars, Pall Mall, dandyism, menservants, class'. At the same time, Berberich emphasises the most common moral values that are associated with the gentleman, but without the specifically class-related associations, as 'tradition, honour, loyalty, dignity and duty'.[211] She also connects the image of the Victorian gentleman with imperialism: the 'almost identical, uniform-like apparel – dark, drab colours, stiff, high collars, top-hat – has only added to their image as over-moral, stiff-upper-lipped characters, preoccupied with class issues and Empire building, and undisposed to change'.[212]

The figure of the gentleman is another focus of the literary myth of Englishness in the context of national character. As Berberich argues, the gentleman is a well-known trope in twentieth-century literature, symbolically representing Englishness, and that the myth of the gentleman for several centuries has inspired the imagination of English writers and readers in England as well as around the world. Berberich shows that the gentleman is represented in literature in a nostalgic manner, praising ideal gentlemanly values that existed in the past but appear to be lost in contemporary society.[213] The gentleman appears as an idealised and civilised person in English and world-wide perception, as Werner Glinga notes. In his understanding, the myth of the gentleman includes such varied images as 'the benevolent feudal landlord', 'the superior military commander', 'the cultured aristocrat', 'the colonial officer' and 'the fine statesman' fighting for the ideals of the empire. The myth of the

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[211] Christine Berberich, *The Image of the English Gentleman in Twentieth-Century Literature: Englishness and Nostalgia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 38, 136.
[212] Ibid., p. 39.
[213] Ibid., pp. 12, 34, 35.

gentleman is characterised an important feature: it is not only high social position and material wealth alone that make a gentleman but noble deeds as well. Glinga explains that by virtue of birth the gentleman had natural superiority which enabled him to excel in everything he did. This myth of the gentleman was promoted in adventure books written in the nineteenth century. The gentlemanly ideal – 'chivalrous decency, honesty as well as natural superiority' – shaped the imperial colonial ideology of Britain. This myth is still present in modern literature. For example, as Glinga shows, the character of James Bond created by Ian Fleming represents the myth of the 'confident and superior' gentleman who 'masters the difficulties of life almost without effort' and 'solves the world's problems with elegance and style'.[214]

The image of the English governess is most commonly associated with middle and upper-class families in Victorian and Edwardian society. The governess provided proper upbringing and education for the daughters and the sons of wealthy families. The governess was not one of the servants but, at the same time, was not considered equal to the members of the family who employed her. Quite often a young woman who was born into the privileged classes but whose family lost its fortune was forced to seek employment as a governess. Such employment was socially acceptable. Other governesses came from a middle-class background. Notwithstanding the governess's social upbringing, she was considered a lady but with reduced status mostly because she was employed and received a salary.[215]

The role of the governess became very important during the Victorian period. It is during this time that her duties and uniform became formalised. Giorgia Grilli describes the governess's uniform in the following way: 'the distinctive cap or a hat (her head was never exposed), the familiar long grey skirt, the wide belt, the all-important collars, and the boots'. The governess had authority and control over the lives of the children of the family and chose their clothes, food, friends, books and activities 'with her uncompromising tone and

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[214] Werner Glinga, *Legacy of Empire: A Journey Through British Society*, trans. by Stephan Paul Jost (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 1, 28, 32.
[215] More on the status and the role of the English governess can be found in Giorgia Grilli, *Myth, Symbol, and Meaning in Mary Poppins: The Governess As Provocateur*, trans. by Jennifer Varney (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 119–27; as well as Ulrike Lentz, 'The Representation of Western European Governesses and Tutors on the Russian Country Estate in Historical Documents and Literary Texts', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Surrey, 2008), pp. 59–65.

manner'.[216] The powerful role of the governess had almost ended by the beginning of World War II and following post-war social changes the figure disappeared altogether from the life of the average middle- or upper-class family.

According to Grilli, the governess enforced what was considered good behaviour: 'silence during mealtimes, silence in bed, no playing on Sundays, gloves designed to stop children sucking their fingers, the banning of books (especially when full of wonderful illustrations), the endless washing and preening of bodies, the walking […] at particular times of the day as well as the vital importance of remembering to say one's *pleases* and *thank-yous.*'[217] Therefore, in order to implement her duties efficiently, the governess had to have special traits of character such as independence, intelligence, common sense, self-control in any situation, hard work and loyalty to the family who employed her. Ulrike Lentz notes that on the one hand the governess was seen as cruel, snobbish and cold-hearted, but on the other she was known for being loving, caring and sympathetic.[218] Famous literary depictions of the governess – Jane Eyre, Agnes Grey, Becky Sharp and Mary Poppins – contain similar character traits to those identified by Grilli and Lentz.

In comparison to the gentleman, the image of the governess is mythologised to a minor extent, if not at all. Undoubtedly, one of the most famous literary governesses is represented by the character of Mary Poppins who is 'the impeccable English governess of the early twentieth century' and 'a model of competency and efficiency'.[219] Unmistakably, Mary Poppins represents a literary image of the strongest, the shrewdest, the most attractive and independent-minded English governess. More often the governess corresponds to the Victorian and Edwardian stereotype of a lonely, down-trodden and pathetic, as well as homely, unfeminine, severe and even cruel type of woman, who had no chance to become a married woman, as M. Jeanne Peterson and Kathryn Hughes note. The reason for such characterisation was the association of the governess with the archetype of the old maid. However, in the real world, as Hughes explains, there is little evidence that governesses conformed to this stereotype. Instead, they were far from being old, plain and

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[216] Grilli, pp. 122, 127.
[217] Ibid., p. 138.
[218] Lentz, p. 66.
[219] Grilli, pp. 2, 4.

sexless; many of them were under thirty and had high hopes of being married.[220]

The image of country folk is another manifestation of the English national character. This trope is connected with rural England and includes landed gentry and common people. The representation of the image of country folk in literature can be divided into two groups, as Robert Colls suggests: the labourer and the farmer were favoured in Victorian and Edwardian literature, and middle-class men and women during the post-Edwardian period.[221] Richard R. Marsh's analysis of literary texts written before the Second World War shows that the structure of the English rural world presented in literature and characterised by class division included the squire, the farmer and the labourer. The squire is depicted as the owner of farms which are leased to tenants; and the farmer, being a tenant or an owner, controls the agricultural labourers.[222]

The representation of country folk in literature between the late 1880s and the 1940s tends to idealisation. For example, the idealised image of the traditional English country folk can be seen in Tolkien's character Bilbo Baggins from *The Hobbit,* as Rebecca Knuth shows*.* In her view, Bilbo represents 'the spirit of rural England'. Half peasant and half squire, Bilbo risked his life to protect his home and traditions, thus showing his 'patriotism and courage'.[223] As Richard R. Marsh emphasises, the creation of the image of the fictional farmer was influenced by nostalgia for the past.[224] His view is repeated by Charles. F. G. Masterman in the book *The Condition of England* (1909), in which he connects the image of the pastoral England with the country's idealised past: 'The little red-roofed […] hamlets, the labourer in the fields at noontide or evening, […] now stand but as the historical survival of a once great and splendid past'.[225] Giles and Middleton stress that regarding the depiction of farmers and farm labourers, none of the authors presented in their anthology

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[220] M. Jeanne Peterson, 'The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society', in *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age,* ed. by Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), pp. 3–19 (pp. 9, 15); Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1993), p. 118.
[221] Colls, pp. 300–11.
[222] Richard R. Marsh, 'The Farmer in Modern English Fiction', *Agricultural History,* 23 (1949), 146–59 (p. 148).
[223] Knuth, pp. 86, 153, 157.
[224] Richard R. Marsh, p. 159.
[225] Quoted in *Writing Englishness 1900–1950*, ed. by Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, p. 41.

had 'first-hand experience' of farming life.[226] Peasants were perceived as 'the rural poor' during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, as Colls explains. The idealised perceptions of 'the rural poor' stood as a true embodiment of the English national character. The idealisation of the rural poor meant that they would 'stand before all the wiles of modern living' – grim modern cities offering numerous temptations and the developing industry conquering a peaceful rural life.[227] It was also thought that the rural poor knew the secret of true English life. As Colls notes, they lived in villages 'in the dimly lit dwellings, and it wasn't possible to be more English than them'.[228]

4. Expressions of English national character

As I have demonstrated in the previous section, English national character, which is a signifier of cultural Englishness, includes quintessential English traits, such as adventurous spirit, politeness, ambiguity, melancholia, practicality, humour, self-respect, and the love of hobbies. These features are personified in tropes of the English gentleman, governess and country folk. Moreover, these features are expressed in English literature, including children's literature, through the discourse of the fantastic and discourse of silliness.

My understanding of the discourse of silliness and its relation to English national character is underpinned by the views of Anthony Easthope. He ascribes common sense and silliness to major traits of English national character and sees them as important characteristics of Englishness.[229] He situates silliness in a binary opposition of 'serious/silly'. In this dichotomy silliness is opposed to and at the same time is dependent on English common sense: 'the English preoccupation with fact generates its converse in a special kind of consciously playful, seemingly harmless but excessive fictionalising and white magic'.[230] In Easthope's view, silliness includes humour, 'deliberate absurdity', nonsense, eccentricity, 'playful exaggeration and impossibility', as well as fantasy 'when seen from the point of view of common sense'.[231] Easthope suggests that silliness is especially expressed in the works of Lewis

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[226] Ibid., p. 75.
[227] Colls, p. 248, 306.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Easthope, p. 107.
[230] Ibid., p. 107.
[231] Ibid., p. 109.

Carroll and Edward Lear, in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill,* Barrie's *Peter Pan*, and Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*. He clarifies how silliness is connected with Englishness in children's literature: 'being English means you know that the work of Lewis Carroll [*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*] is self-evidently *silly*, that it is a series of jokes, a premeditated transgression, which delightfully plays with impossibilities from the perspective of common sense'.[232]

In this thesis, I will narrow the broad concept of silliness to playful absurdity, exaggeration and impossibility, nonsense and eccentricity, which are well represented in English writing for children. Playful absurdity, exaggeration and impossibility include the state of being not serious and illogical, foolish behaviour, dreamlike states, and inexplicable things and events. Nonsense can be understood as 'a simple and unmixed play of the mind, free from the shadow of grumble'.[233] Humphrey Carpenter and Mary Prichard clarify that nonsense is based on the premise that some aspects of the real world can be distorted, inverted and exaggerated. These aspects include the size of people and animals, time and events, outlandish food and other substances. Carpenter and Prichard emphasise that in most cases nonsense involves linguistic attributes, such as invented words, rhymed words, alliteration and literal-minded pedantry.[234] As for eccentricity, which is generally seen as part of the English cult of individual personality, the eccentric behaviour of the English can be seen as 'rebellion against conventions and canons'.[235] Eccentric behaviour is quite often connected in literature with the notion of an English gentleman. For example, there are well-known literary characters from Charles Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers* – Samuel Pickwick and his travelling companions – are famous eccentric gentlemen.

In order to understand how the discourse of the fantastic and Englishness are connected, I draw on two studies of English fantasy literature produced by Colin Manlove.[236] In his view, fantasy literature is a product of the English national character. The tendency of the English 'for individuating

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[232] Ibid., p. 207.

[233] Ernest Barker, 'An Attempt at Perspective', in *The Character of England,* ed. by Ernest Barker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), pp. 550–75 (p. 570).

[234] Humphrey Carpenter and Mari Prichard, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 380.

[235] Barker, p. 569.

[236] Colin Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999); Colin Manlove, *From Alice to Harry Potter: Children's Fantasy in England* (Christchurch, NZ: Cybereditions, 2003).

whatever they touch' is that particular quality that makes England the birthplace and centre of fantasy literature.[237] The English freedom of expression, peculiar imagination, 'rebellion against repression', 'rebellion […] against all confining imperatives and stereotypes', eccentricity, and the English temperament which is interested in 'a supernatural reality' – all these aspects of English national character played a significant role in creating the perfect environment for the appearance of the discourse of the fantastic in English literature.[238] Manlove also notes that the fantastic provides the English with the possibility of expressing their love of play:

> play with the imagination, play with the rules of fairy-tale, play with philosophical ideas concerning such topics as time or fourth dimension, play by mixing the supernatural comically with real life, by animating toys, having speaking animals or inventing wholly new worlds with their own rules.[239]

According to Manlove, the following words associated with the features of the English national character often occur in relation to the discourse of the fantastic: 'conscious, solid, empirical, organized, connected, logical, witty, expansive, accretive, evolutionary, social, creative, various, adventure, quest, circle, happy ending, home, time, desire, nostalgia'.[240] The above mentioned aspects of English national character become pronounced by means of the discourse of the fantastic, and, consequently can be considered as expressions of English national character in English fantasy literature, including children's fantasy too.

The fantastic can be broadly described as a genre that involves supernatural elements and magical creatures by setting them in imaginary other worlds. It is also 'about the construction of the impossible'.[241] The fantastic not only lets readers escape reality but can also be regarded as a way of 'commenting upon society from a particular angle' and interpreting a certain 'cultural period'.[242] It is not only the national character that the fantastic reflects, but also the native landscape and mythology of the country in which it is

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[237] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, p. 191.
[238] Ibid., p. 2.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid., p. 198–99.
[241] Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn, 'Introduction', in *Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature* ed. by Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1–4, (p. 1).
[242] Fiona McCulloch, *Children's Literature in Context* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 154.

created.[243] This way of thinking about the fantastic literature helps to connect its discourse with the narrative of Englishness. For example, Margaret Meek uses the fantastic to describe Englishness of English children's books. She clarifies that Englishness lies 'in the details that compose' the fantastic genre and that 'the fantasy label sticks to [English children's] books'.[244] Therefore, English fantasy literature written for children is related to the narrative of Englishness. The major titles of English fantasy, in which the discourse of the fantastic acts as an expression of English national character, include Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, Lewis Carroll's *Alice Adventures in Wonderland*, the fantasy stories and novels of George Macdonald and Oscar Wilde, the fantasy novels of E. Nesbit, Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind on the Willows*, Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*, J.M. Barrie's *Peter Pan*, Hugh Lofting's *The Doctor Dolittle*, John Masefield's *The Midnight Folk* and *The Box of Delights*, P. L. Travers's series of *Mary Poppins* novels, J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, C. S. Lewis's series of *Narnia* novels, the fantasy novels of Alan Garner, Philippa Pearce's Tom's *Midnight Garden*, the fantasy novels of Susan Cooper, Penelope Lively, Diana Wynne Jones, and Eva Ibbotson, J. K. Rowling's series of *Harry Potter* novels, and Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* trilogy.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have established that Englishness is a constructed concept, interpreted by each author differently. As I have demonstrated, a single definition of Englishness cannot be achieved; therefore, there are different ways of identifying its components. By drawing on suggestions from scholarship and literature across various aspects of Englishness, I have proposed my classification that will be applied further in chapters 6 and 7 in this thesis, with the aim of identifying components of Englishness in the original texts. Hence, I have identified three groups: institutional Englishness, cultural Englishness, and expressions of English national character. The suggested interpretation of various manifestations of Englishness refer to the late Victorian and Edwardian England, as well as England between the First and the Second World Wars, and depicts the idealised image of England as 'Merry England'.

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[243] Manlove, *The Fantasy Literature of England*, p. 1.
[244] Meek, 'The Englishness of English Children's Books', p. 90.

What I call institutional Englishness connotes political and ideological associations, such as the class system, empire, the historical past, and traditions. These notions which are commonly represented in the narrative of Englishness and help paint the literary portrait of England, its culture and people in adult and children's literature. To this I have added cultural Englishness which encompasses landscape, the way of life (understood as places, such as city, town, village, and home), and national character (which includes such tropes as the gentleman, the governess, and the country folk), as well as expressions of English national character through the discourses of silliness and the fantastic. I have demonstrated that all three groups of manifestations of Englishness have points of connection. The class system, historical past, and traditions, on the one side, and landscape, home, national character, discourses of the fantastic and of silliness, on the other side, overlap. The themes of institutional Englishness take part in creating the imagined story of England and, consequently, bind together different manifestations of cultural Englishness and expressions of English national character.

In terms of identifying manifestations of Englishness in the original texts in chapters 6 and 7, institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character will be approached on the level of a whole text and separate extracts containing their relevant connotations. Cultural Englishness will be identified by looking at particular elements of the text.

I conclude that Englishness depicted in literature of the late Victorian period and the Second World War tends to be mythologised, by which I mean linked to England's imagined past. This myth is mostly knitted into national character, landscape and home to evoke among readers of children's literature comforting notions of an idyllic rural realm where ladies and gentlemen dwell in blissful privacy of a cosy home. The promotion of this image serves to sustain and feed the myth of England as a charming, often rustic haven, idealised as 'Merry England', with its connotations in Russian culture as 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England].

Chapter 3: The image of Englishness as the other: Russian perception of England

This chapter continues the discussion of Englishness and focuses on the Russian point of view. Building on the previous chapter, which analysed Englishness from the English perspective, it draws on the views of Russian scholars and writers and discusses the differences and similarities in representations of Englishness from the Russian and English perspectives. I bear in mind imagological views on the importance of looking at national images from the foreign point of view to be able to construct an overall idea of the image of Englishness. This chapter shows an alternative view of Englishness and analyses knowledge of Russian audiences (Russian writers, translators and readers) about England. This chapter aims to see how Russian understanding of Englishness informs its overall image. The discussion about Russian perception of England will inform my analysis of how Englishness is represented in Russian translations. I will touch upon the discourse on Englishness that appeared in writings before the October Revolution, but I will pay more attention to what was written during the Soviet and post-Soviet period, since the majority of the original texts to be analysed in the case study of this thesis, were translated by Soviet and modern Russian translators.

This chapter starts with the outline of specific aspects of Russian perceptions of Englishness. I will argue that English and Russian interpretations of Englishness both do and do not coincide. Areas of potential misunderstanding come from the institutional and cultural divide of Englishness. Russian and English interpretations match when cultural Englishness is considered, particularly regarding such manifestations as landscape and home. However, they do not coincide when institutional Englishness comes into play, particularly when dealing with political themes such as empire and the class system. I will also discuss how mythologised Englishness is seen in Russian publications and whether Russian and English cultures share the same myth of Englishness.

I have decided to include perceptions of Russian writers about Englishness for the following reason. Drawing on the imagological method of analysing literary texts, I bear in mind that writers' views on the national identity

of the other become part of a so-called cultural pool of knowledge, memories, perceptions, emotions, and feelings towards the other. This can be considered as a cultural repository to which writers and translators might refer in order to decide how to represent the other in their versions of the original texts. As applicable to my thesis, this cultural repository includes stereotypes about England. Therefore, I will discuss how the Russian stereotyped perception of England, its culture and people influences the understanding of Englishness by Russian writers.

Given that children's literature is the main focus in this thesis, the second part of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of how Englishness has been recreated through the literary dialogue between Russia and England in Russian children's literature during the pre-revolutionary, Soviet and post-Soviet periods. I will suggest that the way Russian writers imagine English culture and the literary style of Russian books influences the formation of the vision of England in the minds of young readers. I will argue that Russian writers resort to positive literary stereotypes of England when they create images of the country, its culture and people in their books, and that these stereotypical images stay mostly the same throughout the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries.

1. Interpreting England from the Russian perspective in non-fictional publications: a retrospective overview

England has captivated the Russian imagination since the seventeenth century, and as political relations between Russia and Britain changed from warm to cold, so the Russian fascination with England rose and fell.[245] In the second half of the nineteenth century Russian philosophers and historians – both Westernizers and Slavophiles – were interested in England. On the one hand, England was seen as a dangerous enemy and characterised as Perfidious Albion. This image was actively disseminated in Russia during 'the Great Game' rivalry between the British and the Russian Empires (famously portrayed by

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[245] Detailed reviews of representing England in Russian culture in the historical perspective are given in Olga A. Kaznina, 'Angliia glazami russkikh', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 3–24; Apollon B. Davidson, 'Obraz Britanii i Rossii XIX i XX stoletii', *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia,* 5 (2005) <http://vivovoco.astronet.ru/VV/PAPERS/ HISTORY/ALBION.HTM#15> [accessed 13 December 2016]; and Apollon B. Davidson, *Na putiakh k vzaimoponimaniiu*, 2014, <http://histrf.ru/ru/biblioteka/book/na-putiakh-k-vzaimoponimaniiu#_edn13> [accessed 13 December 2016].

Kipling in his novel *Kim* in 1901). On the other hand, England intrigued the Russian intellectual mind and it was not only the political aspect of Englishness that was appealing. Russian philosophers and writers analysed the nature of the English national character and the realities of everyday life in England. Much attention was given to the study and translation of English literature. In general, before the Revolution of 1917, information about England was widely available. Russian readers were able to learn about English culture, politics, technological achievements and various aspects of English life thanks to sketches about late-Victorian and Edwardian England written by London-based Russian correspondents, such as Dioneo (Isaak Shklovsky), Kornei Chukovsky and Samuil Marshak. These sketches were regularly published in Russian newspapers and were accessible to a great number of people.[246]

In pre-revolutionary Russian non-fictional works in the beginning of the twentieth century, the image of England and the English national character was documented by writers based on their own encounters with the country. Although these personal experiences were far from objective, still a genuine interest and even fascination with the country can be observed. This, in turn, had an impact on the overall awareness and knowledge about England among the Russian people. This tendency is exemplified in an essay by N. I. Kareev, a Modern History professor of the University of Petrograd, about what Russians knew about England at the beginning of the twentieth century. He emphasised that it was fashionable among 'the intelligent, the well-educated' Russians to be interested in England and that information about England was confined mainly 'to the cultured classes' who knew the English language and could read various informative books about England as well as its literature, or had studied England in translations or read translated literature. At the same time, the average Russian reader could access information about 'the inner life of the English nation' by means of various Russian periodicals that reported on everything that happened in England.[247] Hence, following Kareev's analysis, it is clear that knowledge about England was actively disseminated among the

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[246] See more on this in Anna Vaninskaya, 'Under Russian Eyes: Foreign Correspondents in Edwardian Britain', *The Times Literary Supplement,* (26 Nov 2014), 17–19; and Anna Vaninskaya, 'Korney Chukovsky in Britain', *Translation and Literature,* 20 (2011), 373–92.
[247] N. I. Kareev, 'How Far Russia Knows England', in *The Soul of Russia,* ed. by Winifred Stephens, trans. by Adeline L. Kaye (London: Macmillan and Co., 1916), pp. 96–101 (pp. 96, 99, 101).

Russian reading public and was accessible to both readers and non-readers of the English language.

Information about England was offered to Russian readers in printed materials, such as various translated books and sources in the original, as well as non-fictional books specifically dedicated to England.[248] Two informative books written before 1917 are worthy of attention. At the end of the nineteenth century, Elizaveta N. Vodovozova, a children's author and an educator, wrote a book about England, in which she portrayed the peculiarities of English life, paying attention to both the rich and the poor.[249] Another detailed non-fictional book about England was written by the Russian geographer and writer Sergei P. Mech at the beginning of the twentieth century. He devoted great attention to descriptions of English landscape, London, various aspects of everyday life, peculiarities of the national character and issues of social inequality.[250] Sketches by Samuil Marshak are interesting because he portrayed England as he had seen it when staying there between 1912 and 1914. He studied at the University of London and during summer breaks went hiking in the South West. Marshak recorded his impressions of Devon and Cornwall in three sketches *Otdykh moriaka* [Sailor's rest], *Lift* [lift/giving a lift] and *Rybaki Polperro* [Fishermen of Polperro] – all published in the periodical press in 1914.[251] He also documented his walks in Devon and Cornwall in a poem *20 iiunia – 7 iiulia* [20 June – 7 July] written in 1913 but published only in 1973.[252] In addition to this, Marshak described aspects of daily life in England, English folklore, landscape and national character in private letters written between 1912 and 1914.[253] All the non-fiction publications mentioned above concern the historical reality of late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Existence of these publications suggest that a cultural portrait of England and the English national character was available in Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century and later for

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[248] See the list of main non-fictional sources in Appendix 1, part 1.

[249] Elizaveta N. Vodovozova, *Kak liudi na belom svete zhivut. Anglichane* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 51–4, 60–6.

[250] Sergei Mech, *Angliia. Tretie izdanie* (Moscow: Tipo-litograficheskoe tovarischestvo I.N. Kushnerev i Ko, 1914).

[251] Samuil Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), vi: *Stat'i. Vystupleniia. Zametki. Vospominaniia. Proza raznykh let*, ed. by S. S. Chulkova and E. B. Skorospelova (1971), pp. 474–91.

[252] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy* (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1973), pp. 440-52.

[253] Samuil Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), viii: *Izbrannye pis'ma,* ed. by S. S. Chulkova (1972), letters 26–30, 32, 43.

readers who were interested in England and who needed to learn about the country and its people.

Post-revolutionary Russia continued to be interested in England, though the interest depended on political relations between both countries. In the 1920s, when relations between Soviet Russia and Britain worsened, discourse on England included satirical sketches and propaganda slogans, such as 'Nash otvet Chemberlenu' [Our response to Chamberlain] and 'Lordu – v mordu' [Smash the lord in the face], as well as a satirical article *Anglichane, kogda oni liubezny* [The English, when they are polite] written by Alexey Tolstoy, a Russian and Soviet writer, in which he mocks English lords by accentuating their hypocrisy.[254] Although strongly-worded discourse of this kind softened later on, ideological overtones in the representation of England prevailed in Soviet non-fiction. Nevertheless, Soviet writers showed interest in and appreciation of the country. The 1984 compilation of different publications produced by Soviet writers and journalists called *Sovetskie pisateli ob Anglii* [Soviet writers about England] is an illustrative example.[255] Different sketches, extracts from books and articles included in this volume were written over several decades dating from the 1920s until the 1980s by famous Soviet writers Il'ia Ehrenburg, Marietta Shaginian, Konstantin Paustovsky, Yuri Nagibin and Larisa Vasil'eva, as well as journalists Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, Mikhail Ozerov and others. These authors had spent some time in England, either working as foreign correspondents or staying in the country as tourists. Therefore, they provided inside stories about England. They offered Soviet readers many interesting facts about English history, places, attractions, peculiarities of character and aspects of daily life. The authors analysed its image attentively and showed a positive attitude towards England. However, all the writings in this volume are infused with Soviet ideology. The authors use a class approach to the study of England typical for Soviet times, thus focusing their attention on the hardships of the English working class, social problems and class differences. The same conclusion can be drawn from separate non-fiction books about England written by authors included in the above volume.[256]

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[254] A. N. Tolstoy, 'Anglichane, kogda oni liubezny', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 362–69.
[255] O. S. Vasil'ev, *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984).
[256] The main works are given in Appendix 1, part 1 'Englishness in Russian non-fiction'.

In post-Soviet Russia the portrait of England has been less biased. Moreover, Russian readers nowadays have unrestricted access to different printed and online publications, and are also able to travel abroad freely. However, compared to the Soviet period, there are considerably fewer journalistic publications providing a contemporary portrait of England. The most notable of them are two books containing factual information about contemporary England presented to Russian readers by foreign correspondents working there – Anton Vol'skii and Zurab Nalbandian.[257] Moreover, among recent publications it is worth mentioning the following books. Mikhail Lyubimov, a former Soviet foreign intelligence officer working in England and nowadays an author of spy novels, wrote a memoir, *Guliania s Cheshirskim kotom* [Walking with the Cheshire cat], drawing on his personal experiences during his stay in England in the 1960s and various Anglophone literary and anthropological sources. Lyubimov's book is a literary revision of his dissertation written in 1970s and entitled *Osobennosti natsional'nogo kharaktera, byta i nravov anglichan i ikh ispol'zovanie v operativnoi rabote* [Peculiarities of English national character, aspects of daily life and of the English people and how it can be used in operational work]. Lyubimov was assisted by the infamous British double agent Kim Philby. In his book Lyubimov gives a great deal of thought to the secrets of the English mind and discusses London and daily life in England. He concludes that it is impossible to provide an exact definition of the English soul, but admits that although certain special traits of the English national character do exist, it does not mean that they are inherent in each person living in England. He also adds that the English national character has changed over the course of time.[258] Kseniia Atarova, a literary translator and a critic, in her book *Angliia, moia Angliia* [England, my England] recreates the image of England which she knows and loves by analysing works of classic English literature.[259] The historian Anna Pavlovskaia in her books *Angliia i anglichane* [England and the English] and *5 O'clock i drugie traditsii Anglii* [5 O'clock and other traditions of England] discusses the image of England and the English

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[257] Anton Vol'skii, *Angliia. Bilet v odnu storonu* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2014); Zurab Nalbandian, *Chaepitie u korolevy: v nachale XXI veka v Britanii* (Moscow: Vremia, 2007).
[258] Mikhail Lyubimov, *Gulianiia s Cheshirskim kotom: memuar-esse ob angliiskoi dushe* (St. Petersburg: Amfora, 2015), ebook.
[259] Kseniia Atarova, *Angliia, moia Angliia* (Moscow: Raduga, 2008).

national character by looking at daily life, English customs and traditions as well as history.[260]

Furthermore, Soviet and Russian scholars have devoted considerable attention to the study of Englishness. A major study during the Soviet period was produced by Soviet historian Nikolai A. Erofeev under the title *Tumannyi Al'bion: Angliia i anglichane glazami russkikh, 1825–1853 gg* [Foggy Albion: England and the English through Russian eyes, 1825–1853]. Erofeev describes the formation and development of stereotypes about England in the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. He concludes that England was idealised by Russian perception to a considerable extent.[261] Erofeev's study has influenced different post-Soviet studies of Englishness produced by the following Russian scholars: Apollon Davidson, Nina Mikhal'skaia, Viacheslav Shestakov, Olga Kaznina, Ekaterina Viazova, Tat'iana Breeva, Liliia Khabibulina, and Vladimir Karasik.[262]

2. Englishness from a Russian viewpoint: comparison to the English perspective

All of the above non-fictional sources offer various depictions of Englishness. In this section I discuss how the characteristic features of Englishness are seen in Russian non-fictional publications and how they compare to the English perspective. This discussion will inform my analysis of representations of England, its culture and people in Russian translations given in chapters 6 and 7.

There is diverse information about various aspects of cultural Englishness in Russian non-fictional sources. Depictions of landscape, London, village, and national character are widely represented. Russian perceptions of the English landscape coincide with the English point of view. In most examples Russian scholars and writers depict the idyllic beauty of rural England and highlight its tranquillity, creating their version of the image of the idealised

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[260] Anna Pavlovskaia, *Angliia i anglichane* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo: Moskovskii universitet, Triada, 2004); Anna Pavlovskaia, *5 O'Clock i drugie traditsii Anglii* (Moscow: Algoritm, 2014).
[261] Erofeev, 5, 7, 22.
[262] The main works for the post-Soviet period are given in Appendix 1, part 1 'Englishness in Russian non-fiction'.

'Merry England'. For Viacheslav Shestakov, green lawns, green hills and valleys, beautiful parks and gardens symbolise the unique landscape of England.[263] Samuil Marshak describes the countryside of Southern England at the beginning of the twentieth century. He depicts the Devonshire landscape in his poem *20 June – 7 July* as '   ' [In the barrenness of Devonshire among copses and fields]; '   ' [There are lots of lovely thatched roofs dear to my heart]; and '   .   […]   ,   ,   ' [Road. Villages and roses around houses. […] The road is in bloom on both sides like a front garden'].[264] Konstantin Paustovsky gives a poetic portrait of English landscape which recalls the depictions of rural idyllic Englishness widespread in English literature. He describes the beauty of the low rolling hills and valleys of rural England wrapped in a bluish mist, which makes numerous castles look elusive.[265] Marietta Shaginian mentions the beauty of English parks: their vastness, green lawns and free standing trees.[266] The beauty of the idyllic rural English landscape – its emerald green meadows, wide-branching trees, twisty rivers, wondrous parks, gentle sloping hills lined with hedgerows, sheep freely grazing upon hills, church spires and lovely cottages in pastoral countryside – is highlighted by Sergei Mech and Vsevolod Ovchinikov.[267]

Russian scholars and writers also devote their attention to contrasting the English and Russian landscapes. From the imagological point of view, in order to be meaningful national identity needs the foreign other. Therefore, by comparing the landscapes of both countries a more precise portrait of England can be achieved (or, in other words, England is what Russia is not). Shestakov contrasts English nature to the Russian one, stressing that the two cannot be compared. He sets Russian vastness, endless plains, impassable forests and wide rivers against the low hills, small plains and narrow rivers of England. However, he emphasises that, notwithstanding the small size of England

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[263] Shestakov, p. 13.
[264] Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* viii, letters 27 and 32; Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* vi, pp. 479–484; Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, pp. 445, 447, 448.
[265] Konstantin Paustovsky, 'Ogni La-Mansha', in *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii,* ed. by O. S. Vasil'ev (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984), pp. 201–09 (pp. 201, 206).
[266] Marietta Shaginian, 'Progulki po Londonu', in *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii,* ed. by O. S. Vasil'ev (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1985), pp. 210–40 (p. 222).
[267] Mech, pp. 5–9; Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, *Korni duba: Vpechatleniia i razmyshleniia ob Anglii i anglichanakh* (Moscow: Mysl', 1980).

(compared to Russia), the variety of the English landscape makes English nature rather distinctive.[268] Nikolas Zernov, a Russian émigré philosopher, in his essay on England written in the early 1930s, says that the English landscape seemed unusual to a Russian traveller: the bright green fields, separated by hedges; small towns, which were so unlike the wide expanses of Russian land with its forests and wild nature.[269] Aleksei S. Khomiakov, a Russian writer and philosopher who travelled in England in 1847, contrasted the field, as a national image of Russia, to the green wood, as a characteristic feature of Britain: as a Russian would sing '   ,   ' [Oh, the field, the open field], so a British song would say 'Merry it is in the good green wood'.[270] Ovchinnikov observes that although the English landscape is not ostentatiously bright or breathtaking, still its secret lyricism makes it somehow similar to that of Central Russia.[271]

The difference between English and Russian approaches to depicting cultural Englishness emerges in the examples connected with the city, town, village and home. These aspects of cultural Englishness are widely discussed by Russian writers and scholars. London commands by far the most attention. If the English present it in an unbiased way, then the Russian attitude to the capital city and consequently its depiction varies in accordance with the changing political mood and the oscillating nature of Soviet-British relations. Marietta Shaginian and Il'ia Ehrenburg, who both wrote their books during the Soviet period, demonstrate such opposite views. Shaginian gives a glowing account of London of the late 1960s, concluding that such factors as the mild climate, the possibility to be oneself and do what one wants knowing that nobody would pay any attention (which was very unusual for restricted Soviet society) helps to ease one's nerves, '

' [provide a good night's sleep and a happy awakening].[272] Ehrenburg, whose book about England was first published in 1931, emphasises

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[268] Shestakov, pp. 20–21.
[269] N. M. Zernov, 'Angliia', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 549–51 (p. 550).
[270] A. S. Khomiakov, 'Pis'mo ob Anglii', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 215–38 (p. 226). He quotes Walter Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake*, Canto fourth *The Prophecy*, stanza XII *Ballad – Alice Brand.*
[271] Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, *Sakura i dub: vpechatleniia i razmyshleniia o iapontsakh i anglichanakh* (Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1983), pp. 219–220.
[272] Shaginian, pp. 210–211.

that London was a city of contrasts where poverty could be found side by side with affluence, and that the grandeur of London is illusory. He calls London a giant city grown on 'an island of hops and heather, […] among dampness and constant melancholy'.[273]

Two other examples show similar views on London, despite a gap of almost a century between them. Sergei Mech depicts the London of the beginning of the twentieth century, where busy main streets were full of omnibuses and comfortable cabs, coachmen were dressed like gentlemen, policemen were calm and polite, and houses were similar in appearance, not counting, of course, the palaces and mansions of the West End.[274] Lyubimov's recollections of London date back to the 1960s, when he lived there, as well as the 1990s, when he was able to visit again. He shows his appreciation, highlighting the free spirit of the city as well as the splendour of its parks and gardens. Although Lyubimov wrote his book in 2001, he still admits that he used a class-specific approach to his descriptions of London, which he described as a city of great contrasts between the poor and the rich.[275]

Images of the English town, village and home have not escaped the attention of Russian writers and critics either. If images of London are more given an ideological interpretations, then towns and villages are presented as idyllic England. Such representation coincides with the English view. Samuil Marshak describes small towns and villages located around London. He tells of well-designed and tidy small towns with two-storey houses, pubs and inns, as well as villages with small country cottages with one or two gable dormer windows. He mentions that English towns and villages he saw exactly matched images from English children's books he read. In the sketch *Fishermen of Polperro* Marshak describes the daily life of an English village – haymaking and sheep shearing. He also depicts the life of a fishing village and shows fishermen as the personification of true working class Englishmen, full of stamina and unbreakable spirit.[276] Elizaveta Vodovozova states that a typical English village

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[273] Ilya G. Ehrenburg, 'Angliia', in *I. G. Ehrenburg. Sobranie sochinenii v 9 tomakh*, 9 vols (Moscow: Khudizhestvennaia literatura, 1962–1967), vii: *Khronika nashikh dnei. Viza vremeni. Ispaniia. Grazhdanskaia voina v Avstrii. Stat'i* (1966), pp. 444–78 (p. 451). The original quote goes as this: '   , […]   '.
[274] Mech, pp. 128–132.
[275] Lyubimov, *Gulianiia s Cheshirskim kotom,* ebook.
[276] Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* viii, letters 26, 27 and 29; and *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* vi, pp. 484–91.

is populated mostly by rich country gentlemen and farmers, saying that one would struggle to spot the houses of poor tenants amid the farms, mansions, and castles of prosperous landowners.[277] In contrast to Vodovozova, Sergei Mech emphasises that peasants were the soul of English village life. He sees the English village as the remaining intact part of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] of Dickens's times; the life of peasants happens against the background of green meadows and at home by the fireplace quietly talking and drinking tea or grog.[278]

Konstantin Paustovsky adds stereotypical perceptions to the image of idyllic rural England when recalling his trip to England in 1964. His negative stereotypes about England were dispelled the very moment he arrived. Instead of fog he saw the sun, and despite stereotyped unfriendliness, England turned out to be easy-going and welcoming. He emphasises that stereotypes about old-fashioned England were widespread among his contemporaries and were based on the novels of Robert Louis Stevenson and Walter Scott. It was expected that England should look as follows:

[«   », «

      », «   »]   ,   ,

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              ,   ,

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> [Inns that have such names ["The Eyes of a Deer", "The Loud Cockerel",
> "The Foaming Pint"] should be dry and bright with a scent of lavender and
> heather, old kerosene lamps streaming a radiant warmth of light should be
> lit, and pork should be roasted on the fire for dinner].[279]

A scholarly view of the image of an English house (which is closely connected with the concept of home and English national character) can be found in M. V. Tsvetkova's essay about Englishness and L. F. Khabibulina's study of the national myth in English literature. Tsvetkova describes the English house as 'a micromodel of an island: a solid fence, isolating the house from the outer world, and a small and well-cared-for piece of land'. In her view, the concept of home signifies the English idea of isolation and remoteness from the whole world, as well as withdrawal into one's own small but comfortable

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[277] Vodovozova, p. 26.

[278] Mech, p. 87.

[279] Paustovsky, p. 202 and p. 205.

home.[280] Khabibulina says that such attributes as the celebration of Christmas as a family festivity and 5 o'clock tea are related to the lifestyle of a traditional Victorian and Edwardian family. She also states that the English home is usually represented by a castle, a stately home, a country house and a town house.[281] Khabibulina's view reflects the middle- and upper-class nature of the English home. Hence, this view coincides with the English image of home, the depiction of which is connected with the class issues of the English society.

As with the Russian depictions of London, views on English national character in non-fiction publications are polarised due to the influence of ideology. Ovchinnikov, Ozerov and Lyubimov highlight such traits of the English character as the tendency to lead a quiet and solitary life in the countryside, a dislike of openly expressing one's feelings, respect for privacy and the law, veneration of traditions, love of freedom, tolerance, individualism and eccentricity.[282] Osipov and Ozerov have a high opinion of the English, describing them as polite, discreet and honest. Osipov offers praise, concluding on their sense of humour: '   ,

,   ,   .   .' [A nation which is able to smile in times of war deserves to win. It is worthy of respect.][283] In contrast, Ehrenburg's view reflects the negativity towards the English widespread in the 1920s and 1930s: he calls England '

,   ' [the island of cold-hearted dealers, cunning tradesmen and ruthless colonisers]. However, he sees positive aspects to the English national character. He says that the English managed to preserve '

' [a childlike credulity and an ability to be honestly surprised]. He describes them as brave sailors and excellent sportsmen.[284] The fondness for sport is also highlighted by Vodovozova, who particularly emphasises that the English spend a great deal of time hunting, horseback riding, and practicing archery.[285]

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[280] M. V. Tsvetkova, 'Angliiskoe', in *Mezhkul'turnaia kommunikatsiia: Uchebnoe posobie*, ed. by V. G. Zinchenko, and V. G. Zusman (Nizhnii Novgorod: [n. pub.], 2001), p. 168.
[281] Breeva and Khabibulina, pp. 244, 279–83.
[282] Ovchinnikov; Lyubimov; Mikhail Ozerov, *Angliia bez tumanov* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1977).
[283] Vladimir D. Osipov, *Britaniia 60-e gody* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1967), pp. 57, 67, 77.
[284] Ehrenburg, pp. 452, 455.
[285] Vodovozova, p. 41.

Russian perceptions of English national character are also influenced by the prevailing stereotypes about England. The major Soviet study of the formation of stereotypes about England by Nikolai Erofeev sheds light on how the image of Englishness became stereotyped in Russian culture during the first half of the 19th century. Erofeev concludes that the following stereotypes about the typical English national character prevailed, based on the perceptions of the Russian nobility and the country's middle and upper classes who were able to see England themselves: English gentlemen were full of pride and valour; the English wet and gloomy climate had affected the development of melancholia as a distinctive trait of the national character; also the English people, personified in the image of John Bull, were practical, logical, reasonable, hardworking, ethical and honest. At the same time, Erofeev stresses that the widespread Russian opinion of the English people as unemotional and practical-minded was based on the Russian vision of England as a very successful industrial and commercial nation. This vision was not drawn from actual facts but rather what Russian people thought about English business people. This, as Erofeev demonstrates, had led to the creation of the stereotyped portrait of the English national character in the first half of the 19th century. This perception did not undergo radical transformations later on, as Erofeev concludes.[286]

For example, Nikolai N. Nikitin, who travelled in England in 1923, notes that popular Russian guides to Englishness drew on images from Charles Dickens's novels and Conan Doyle's books about Sherlock Holmes. He adds that this was the way the Russian people learned about England. However, these images had nothing in common with the real portrait of the typical Englishman.[287] Liudmila Uvarova, who visited England in the early 1980s, describes a gentlemen's outfitters shop in the City called Dombey and Son.[288] Her image of a gentleman has positive connotations. Uvarova encountered a shop assistant who, in her view, symbolised a stereotypical image of a typical English gentleman familiar to Soviet readers who read Charles Dickens, John

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[286] Erofeev, pp. 5, 7, 22, 30.
[287] N. N. Nikitin, 'The English Mirrors', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona..."*: *russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646–1945,* ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 475–512 (p. 486).
[288] The name of the shop alludes to Charles Dickens's 1848 novel *Dombey and Son.*

Galsworthy and George Bernard Show: a tall, lean, comely, prudent and presentable man wearing striped trousers and a long jacket.[289]

The Russian views on English national character can be divided into two groups: English gentleman and country folk.[290] Often, by analogy with the English views, images of the gentleman and country folk are seen as idealised in Russian non-fiction sources. For example, Marshak devotes his attention to a description of the image of country folk. He mentions that English people living in the countryside were full of energy and fun, and, compared to Londoners, were friendlier, more talkative, easy-going and hospitable. He mentions that a traveller walking along a dusty road would always be given a lift in Cornwall and Devon by coachmen who were kind, well-mannered and behaved like gentlemen.[291] Khabibulina approaches the concept of the English gentleman in three ways: as an idealised gentleman whose life style and behaviour conforms to the expected image; as a false gentleman who acts as a villain; and as a parody of a gentleman whose behaviour is characterised as eccentric.[292] At the same time, Vladimir Karasik and Elena Iarmakhova in their monograph *Linguistic-cultural Character Type: An English Eccentric*, summarise how the Russians see the image of an English gentleman, which is closely connected with the image of an English eccentric gentleman: '

' [a stout cheerful elderly gentleman or a lean reserved gentleman with an umbrella].[293]

The themes of institutional Englishness – imperialism, class differences in society, as well as the importance of the historical past and traditions – are also discussed in Russian and Soviet publications. The importance of traditions is emphasised in several works. According to Boris Izakov, a Soviet journalist and a translator, the English are known for their strong traditions, habits and conventions, as well as for cherishing their heritage.[294] Vodovozova notes that

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[289] Liudmila Z. Uvarova, 'Vstrecha na mostu Naitbridzh', in *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii,* ed. by O. S. Vasil'ev (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984), pp. 494–506 (p. 499).

[290] I have not found examples of the English governess in the Russian discourse on Englishness in non-fiction sources.

[291] Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* viii, letters 27 and 30; Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh,* vi, pp. 479–84; Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, poem *20 iiunia – 7 iiulia*, pp. 440–52.

[292] Breeva and Khabibulina, pp. 251–52.

[293] *Lingvokul'turnyi Tipazh "Angliiskii Chudak"*, ed. by Vladimir Karasik and Elena Iarmakhova, p. 218.

[294] Boris Izakov, 'Vse meniaetsia dazhe v Anglii ', in *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii,* ed. by O. S. Vasil'ev (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984), pp. 71–90.

the English care about their traditions and keep them alive. She states that Christmas is the most important time when even the poor have a chance to celebrate by sitting by the fire and eating festive food. She also describes the Harvest Home celebrations, calling it the merriest day for English villagers and farmers.[295] A Russian émigré, philosopher and theologian, Nikolas Zernov, wrote about his impressions of England and the University of Oxford in the early 1930s. He stressed that unlike the English, who have respect for traditions, the Russian people had lost the sense of continuity and forgotten their past.[296]

At the same time, Soviet writers focus on ideology. They very often note the negative side of imperialism and highlight class differences. For example, Ehrenburg closely links the image of an English gentleman with imperialism, colonialism and arrogant attitudes towards the working class.[297] Mech points to the distinctive class differences in English society by emphasising that a huge gap existed between the rich and the poor, the owner and the worker, the master and the servant, as well as a private school pupil and a child from a poor background of the same age.[298] The absence of any reference to the middle class in this example is noteworthy: it points to a significant difference with English perceptions which are heavily biased towards the middle class. The same can be concluded regarding examples which covered depictions of London (considered above) – images of middle class are not discussed.

Institutional Englishness is also stereotyped in Soviet perception: England is presented as a country where social contrasts dominate. Yuri Nagibin, who visited England in the early 1980s, stresses the class divisions. He contrasts the stereotypical image of the opulent England of the middle and upper classes to the poor England of the lower classes: mansions, cottages, parks and gardens, old castles, like mirages in fog, sit alongside the image of England of the poor and the homeless.[299] Also Ehrenburg presented a typical English gentleman to Soviet readers in negative tones. His portrait of a gentleman is drawn from the image of a real political figure from the 1930s – Neville Chamberlain. Ehrenburg's stereotyped image of a gentleman includes

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[295] Vodovozova, pp. 51–4.
[296] Zernov, p. 551.
[297] Ehrenburg, p. 462.
[298] Mech, p. 36.
[299] Yuri Nagibin, 'Dva starika', in *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii,* ed. by O. S. Vasil'ev (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984), pp. 381–90 (p. 383).

such essential attributes as '   ,   ,

          ' [a tail coat, a top-hat, a monocle and an undisguised contempt for the working class members of Parliament], as well as love of travelling, 5 o'clock tea, playing cricket and the need to belong to a club.[300]

As for expressions of English national character, they are less represented in Russian publications, compared to the themes of institutional Englishness. The discourse of silliness (nonsense mainly) is discussed in connection with English national character and seen as its important attribute.[301] Karasik and Iarmakhova consider nonsense to be a childlike attitude towards the world, and this attitude is cheerful and vivacious. They refer to Nina Demurova, a scholar of English literature and a translator, who looks at nonsense as an important attribute of the English national character, explaining that nonsense manifests itself in the play with sounds and words.[302] In this way, Russian views on nonsense coincide with what has been written on this theme in English.

3. Literary popularisation of England in Russian children's literature during the pre-revolutionary, Soviet and post-Soviet periods

Discussions of Englishness in non-fictional publications are based on factual information and influenced by stereotypical perceptions of writers and scholars who created portraits of England. When it comes to fiction, Russian representations of Englishness rely on its socio-cultural context. At the same time, authors' perceptions, imagination and stereotypes about the English way of life and national character are also involved in the creation of Russian literary images of Englishness. Russian responses to English culture are widespread in literature.[303] In comparison, children's fiction has fewer representations of

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[300] Ehrenburg, pp. 460, 462.
[301] I have not found Russian scholarly works analysing Englishness in connection with the discourse of the fantastic.
[302] *Lingvokul'turnyi Tipazh "Angliiskii Chudak"*, ed. by V. Karasik and E. Iarmakhova pp. 89–90.
[303] A list of books in which Russian authors depict the English national character and English life is given in Appendix 1, part 2 'Englishness in Russian fiction'. The noteworthy scholarly studies of images of the English in Russian literature are Valentin Kiparsky, *English and American Characters in Russian Fiction* (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1964) and

England. Nevertheless, the vivid images of Englishness created in Russian children's literature can be considered to have contributed to the formation of Russian perceptions of Englishness. These images often involve Russian stereotypes of Englishness. Most of the time, the stereotypical representations have a positive nature. In what follows, I will discuss Russian children's books that have depictions of an imagined England. I will divide the books into the following groups, in accordance with their approach to Englishness: stories that retell the history of England; books in which stereotypical Englishness is represented only occasionally; novels that are set in England; and books that imitate Englishness.

3.1. Fantasy depictions of the English historical past

Several noteworthy historical novels and stories offer fantasy depictions of English historical realia and legends to their readers. A popular Soviet and Russian fantasy writer, Kir Bulychev, in his book *Angliia: bogi i geroi* [England: gods and heroes] retold English legends about druids, Boudica, Robin Hood, King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table.[304] Two other retellings of the English folk ballads about Robin Hood were produced by the Soviet writer and translator Mikhail Gershenzon in the 1960s and by the Soviet/Russian children's writer and translator by Irina Tokmakova in the 1990s.[305] The theme of this English heroic outlaw was popular in the Soviet Union and undoubtedly appealing in terms of state ideology: a hero who robbed the rich to give to the poor, and fought for freedom and justice.[306] The popularity of Robin Hood endured even after the Soviet period. By portraying him as an honourable and generous character, the authors promoted the romantisation of the image of 'good old England' in Russia.

The history of medieval England is recreated in two books: *Dzhek-solominka* [Jack the straw] written in 1943 by the Soviet writer Zinaida Shishova, and' *Kot Lantselot i zolotoi gorod, staraia angliiskaia istoriia* [Lancelot, the cat, and a golden city, an old English story] written in 2014 by the

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Mikhal'skaia, *Rossiia I Angliia*: *problemy imagologii*. However, modern Russian literature is not covered in these studies.
[304] Kir Bulychev, *Angliia: bogi i geroi* (Tver': Izdatel'stvo "Polina", 1997).
[305] Mikhail Gershenzon, *Robin Gud* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1966); Irina Tokmakova, *Robin Gud* (Moscow: Terra, 1996).
[306] Ballads about Robin Hood were also translated during the Soviet period. I will discuss these translations in chapter 6 of this thesis.

Russian children's writer Marina Aromshtam.[307] Although written in different epochs, portrayals of medieval England have recognisable ideological contexts. These portrayals might be considered as the writers' implicit responses to contemporary political realities.

Shishova retells a story of the Peasants' Revolt led by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw in the fourteenth century during the reign of Richard II. The rebels wanted to overthrow the aristocracy and bring back the idealised time of the Saxons when people lived in equality and freedom. Shishova offers her vision of Jack Straw's story. The book abounds in historical facts about the Revolt as well as aspects of daily life in medieval England. Amid the historical events, the author tells the tragic love story of Joanna, a rich and beautiful young woman of noble origin, and Jack Straw, a poor blacksmith's son. According to the book's foreword, written by Viktor Shklovsky, the romantic narrative might have happened in real medieval England. Certainly, seen from the Soviet perspective, there were more chances to imagine that a relationship of this kind would be possible. As Shklovsky says, the female protagonist was 'a young woman hurt by her own class' who lived during 'the epoch when a new kind of self-awareness and attitude to personal life appeared'.[308] At the same time, Shishova represents mediaeval England as a country ready for and striving for change. This representation echoes the ideological theme of the Soviet Union as a country having gone through changes and having defeated capitalism.

Aromshtam's recent novel *Kot Lantselot i zolotoi gorod, staraia angliiskaia istoriia* is a book written in a different epoch. Hence, it has a different ideological message. Inspired by the English folk tale *Dick Whittington and His Cat*, Aromshtam recreates the atmosphere of London of the fourteenth century. A young orphan, Dick Whittington, destined to become one of the famous Lord Mayors of London, escapes to the city of his dreams, where citizens are free to elect their mayor. Dick faces many hardships in London, however he manages to overcome them. Aromshtam portrays the daily life and traditions of medieval England; she uses a Russian vernacular to convey the atmosphere of English countryside and London, and to accentuate the different social background of

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[307] Zinaida Shishova, *Dzhek-solominka* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1971); Marina Aromshtam, *Kot Lantselot i zolotoi gorod. Staraia angliiskaia istoriia* (Moscow: Kompasgid, 2014).
[308] Viktor Shklovsky, 'O romane Zinaidy Shishovoi "Dzhek-solominka"', in *Zinaida Shishova. Dzhek-solominka* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1971), pp. 3–6.

her characters. This book reflects the author's opinion – Aromshtam depicts an image of England which is focused on the theme of London as a free city where all dreams come true. In a way, this theme might be considered as an allusion to a dream of a free and happy country where a brave and hardworking man (as an independent personality) can build his own destiny, and this is a significant change from Soviet portrayals.

3.2. Episodic examples of stereotypical Englishness

If the books discussed above cover Russian responses to the English national past, then episodic examples from the following books reflect Russian stereotypes of Englishness. There is a brief mention of England in two classic children's novels: *Detstvo Tiomy* [Tyoma's Childhood] by Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky (1892) and *Detskie gody Bagrova-vnuka* [The Childhood of Bagrov's Grandson] by Sergey Aksakov (1858). Both authors resort to the prevailing stereotypes about the English people and the English way of life. In Garin-Mikhailovsky's novel, Tioma's mother talks about the importance of self-esteem for children. She blames teachers for not respecting children: '

' [a child's dignity is thought nothing of and ruthlessly disregarded by our teachers]. She refers to England, as a contrasting example: '   !

' [Look at the English! Even a ten-year-old boy there thinks of himself as a gentleman].[309] Thus, in this example the author refers to dignity as a typical character trait associated with the trope of an English gentleman and easily recognised by readers in other countries. Aksakov's brief representation of Englishness is a dream imagined by a main character – an impressionable boy who reads French and English sentimental novels from the eighteenth century.[310] Together with his parents he goes to visit a rich Russian landowner, Durasov, who has a big country house overlooking a river and a spacious garden with ponds and a stream. This picture evokes imaginary England in Serezha's memory:

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[309] Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky, *Detstvo Tiomy* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1971), p. 108.
[310] Sergey Aksakov, *Detskie gody Bagrova-vnuka* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1962), p. 201.

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[… I was much impressed and at once applied to the scene before me the descriptions, which I had read in books and which still lingered in my memory, of castles or country palaces of English lords.][312]

Thus this scene reflects a popular stereotype of England as a country associated with aristocracy.

Stereotypical representations of the Englishman can be found in children's poems by Daniil Kharms and Samuil Marshak. Kharms produced a free translation of a humorous poem *Plisch und Plum* written by German poet Wilhelm Busch in 1882. In his adaptation, first published in children's magazine *Chizh* (8–12, 1936), Kharms introduced an Englishman who is an eccentric explorer wearing a helmet, reminiscent of a pith helmet (as illustrations in several editions show).[313] Hence, it can be suggested that the stereotypical image of the Englishman is connected with the imperialist past of England. The translation satirically alludes to the weakened power of the former empire: '   .   ,   .   ,   ' [An Englishman Mister Hopp is looking through a long telescope. He sees mountains and forests, clouds and sky. But he does not see what is happening under his nose].[314]

In his poem *Pochta* [Mail], first published in 1927, Samuil Marshak created an image of an English postman: '   -   ,   ' [… along Bobkin street mister Smit is walking very fast, he wears a blue postman's cap and he is as thin as a rake]. Although Marshak did not write much about his English postman, the image was completed by illustrators M. Tsekhanovsky (1927), Yu. Korovin (1957), A. Eliseev and M. Skobelev (1967), and F. Lemkul'

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[311] Ibid., p. 253.

[312] Sergey Aksakov, *Years of Childhood*, trans. by J. D. Duff (London: Edward Arnold, 1916), p. 267.

[313] See, for example, Vil'gel'm Bush, *Plikh i Pliukh. Vol'nyi perevod Daniila Kharmsa*, trans. by Daniil Kharms (Moscow, Leningrad, 1937) and Daniil Kharms, *Plikh i Pliukh*, (Moscow: Izdatel stvo "Respublika", 1993) – both with illustrations by Wilhelm Busch; and Daniil Kharms, *Plikh i Pliukh. Stikhi i rasskazy* (Moscow: Rosmen, 1996) with illustrations by Mikhail Skobelev.

[314] Kharms, *Plikh i Pliukh. Stikhi i rasskazy*, p. 116.

(1980). The image of the postman can be seen as a personification of a widespread Soviet stereotype of England and the English national character: umbrellas, rain, fog, dogs, red double-decker buses, tall thin gentlemen smoking pipes.[315]

3.3. Novels set in England

Two Soviet novels (Vissarion Sisnev's *Zapiski Vikvikskogo kluba* and Vasilii Aksenov's *Moi dedushka – pamiatnik*) are set in England, depictions of which are manipulated in an ideological context, and at the same time are influenced by positive stereotypes. Most scenes of Sisnev's 1980 novel *Zapiski Vikvikskogo kluba* [Vikvik's Papers] are set in England.[316] This book tells about the adventures of a Soviet schoolboy from Moscow who moves to London with his parents, members of the Soviet trade delegation. The title alludes to *The Pickwick Papers*, implying parallels with the adventures of members of the Pickwick club. Although the book is fictional, it is full of cultural and ideological information about England. Having worked in England for several years as a Soviet journalist, Sisnev was able to tell his readers about the peculiarities of English life, not forgetting to emphasise the contradictory nature of the capitalist world.

Sisnev dispels the stereotype about constant pouring rain and fog in England by saying that English weather was not much different from Moscow. The author gives an example of a typical English red brick cottage with a grey tiled pointed roof. He also describes the Southern English countryside and a castle straight out of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (which was popular in the Soviet Union at the time Sisnev wrote his book). Sisnev depicts a stereotypical English lord who wears a top hat and drives a Rolls Royce, and as a stereotypical Englishman, who wears a tweed jacket. Sisnev emphasises that English people are polite and punctual and refers his readers to literary images of the English created by Charles Dickens and Arthur Conan Doyle. He also stresses that the national food is not porridge but fish and chips, explaining that it is takeaway food wrapped in newspaper, and that English people drink tea with milk at five o'clock. Although there are many positive images of England, there are also

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[315] Samuil Marshak, *Pochta* (Moscow, Leningrad: Raduga, 1927), p. 6; Samuil Marshak, *Pochta* (Moscow: Malysh, 1967), pp. 11–12; Samuil Marshak, *Pochta* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1957), pp. 10–11; Samuil Marshak, *Pochta* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1980), pp. 10–11.
[316] Sisnev also describes life in Northern Ireland and Scotland.

negative ideological connotations. For example, Sisnev describes the beautiful English countryside but at the same time he does not forget to add that, unlike England, Moscow does not have big plots of land fenced by barbed wire with signs saying 'private property'.[317] He presents London as a city of contrasts putting much emphasis on the East End and the poor conditions in which ethnic minorities live.

Aksenov's 1970 novel *Moi dedushka – pamiatnik* [My grandfather, the monument] is only partially set in England; but his England is imaginary.[318] It tells about adventures of a young Leningrad Pioneer Gennadii Stratofontov in Oceania – in the fictional country called Empirei.[319] He learns about a secret plot to win power in Empirei. Gennadii pretends to be an English aristocrat in order to charm his way into the company of pirates who are plotting to take over the country. He goes to London to find out about their treacherous plan. On his return to Empirei, Gennadii exposes their plot, the country is saved and the villains are defeated.

From the modern point of view, this novel can be read as a grotesque parody on Soviet reality. As Naum Leiderman and Mark Lipovetsky argue, in this book stereotypes of Soviet mass culture were conceptualised in the form of fantastic representations.[320] At the same time, it seems that negative characterisations of foreign reality were necessary for the book to be accepted as suitable for Soviet child readers. These negative characterisations are set against a positive image of a Soviet Pioneer. For example, Gennadii refuses any money offered to him by Lady Lekonsfild on the grounds of being brought up in a completely different system. Lady Lekonsfild praises Gennadii for risking his life in order to save a small country and calls him a saint. To this, Aksenov retorts that Gennadii points to '   ' [foolishness of any religious behaviour] and explains that Soviet Pioneers would act bravely because they care about the fate of all nations.[321]

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[317] Vissarion Sisnev, *Zapiski Vikvikskogo kluba* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1980), p. 52.

[318] This novel first appeared in the monthly children's magazine *Kostior* in 1970 (issues 7–10). Afterwards it was published by Detskaia literatura publishing house in 1972.

[319] Pioneers were young members of a Soviet ideological organisation that was compulsory for all children to join.

[320] N.L. Leiderman and M.N. Lipovetskii, *Russkaia Literatura XX veka 1950 – 1990,* 2 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'skii tsentr "Akademiia", 2008), ii, 153.

[321] Vasilii Aksenov, *Moi dedushka – pamiatnik* (Kemerovo: Sovremennaia otechestvennaia kniga, 1991), p. 129.

As far as representations of Englishness are concerned, Aksenov resorts to positive and negative stereotypes. He turns to the stereotypical image of England as foggy Albion and dispels it: '   ,

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' [Gennadii is in London but the famous fogs are nowhere near. The sun reigns in the cloudless sky from dawn till dusk].[322] Aksenov's imagined London has red double-deckers and countless cars. He also depicts an English country house by choosing typical attributes associated with the image, such as a white building situated in a park, a spacious courtyard, bright-green grass and pruned bushes.[323] In order to recreate the spirit of Englishness, Aksenov uses English aristocratic titles and invents names that sound as if they are English. The main character Gennadii is brave and can be considered as an adventurous James Bond type of hero.[324]

At the same time, in the book England is presented not as an idyllic place but as a stronghold of villainy. Aksenov portrays London as a hide-out of outlaws. They have secret meetings to discuss their plot of taking over Empirei in a pub in Soho, where '   ,   ' [loaders, shop workers and all sorts of dubious people] used to spend time, which then was turned into a place attracting '   ' [fancy Jaguar and Bentley cars]. It is also this pub where a jazz band plays loud music and a female singer performs '   ' [a song of an adventuress].[325] In this example jazz is also associated with a negative image of London. Aksenov also reminds his readers about the colonial past of the British Empire. He mentions a Gurkha soldier in the text and explains in the footnotes that '   ' [the British colonisers] recruited Gurkhas into units of commandos who were trained to be particularly cruel.[326]

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[322] Ibid., p. 134.
[323] Ibid., pp. 133–34.
[324] J. J. Johnson, 'V. P. Aksenov: A literary biography'', in *Vasiliy Pavlovich Aksenov: A Writer in Quest of Himself,* ed. by Edward Mo ejko and others (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986), pp. 32–52. Also the same suggestion can be found in Valeriia Denisenko, 'Vospitaniie v sovetskom podrostke svobodomysliaschego chitatelia (na materiale analiza povesti V. P. Aksenova "Moi dedushka – pamiatnik")', *Detskie chteniia,* 6:2 (2014), p. 304.
[325] Aksenov, p. 133.
[326] Ibid.

3.4. Books inspired by the theme of Englishness

Two contemporary books – Dina Rubina's 2012 novel *Dzhentl'meny i sobaki* [Gentlemen and Dogs] and Aliosha Dmitriev's 2013 book of poems *Angliiskie dzhentl'meny* [English Gentlemen] – are focused on Englishness.[327] The titles of these books imply that they are about English culture. Both writers use stereotypical images of England, which definitely appeal to Russian readers who are interested in England – its literature, culture, way of life, and language. Obviously, readers are able to respond more readily to something that they can recognise. It seems logical to assume that writers would have this in mind: they would refer to the commonly shared pool of cultural knowledge about England and make assumptions about the kind of images their readers would expect to find. According to the following online readers' reviews, the images struck a chord. Regarding Dina Rubina's *Gentlemen and Dogs*, the readers appreciated the style and the setting: 'Dina Rubina plays with words and idioms beautifully'; 'a funny book which has English humour'; 'about English gentlemen and dogs and their jolly adventures in a small town'; 'it feels as if we are in modern England'; perfect English style, just exactly as Russian readers would expect it to be'; 'subtle humour and wordplay'.[328] As for Dmitriev's *English Gentlemen,* readers' responses point to the style and national stereotypes: 'English styled poems, children can learn new English sounding words'; 'the author plays with English stereotypes […] characters will remind you of limerick poetry […] excellent humour'.[329]

Rubina's novel is by far the most substantial book considered in this section when it comes to analysing Englishness in Russian children's literature. She wrote *Gentlemen and Dogs* in the late 1970s but did not publish it. The book was rescued from oblivion and appeared in print in 2012. The idea for the book came to her after she read poems for children written by her friend Rudolf Barinsky in the style of English children's poetry. Rubina tried to write a

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[327] Dina Rubina, *Dzhentl'meny i sobaki* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2012); Aliosha Dmitriev, *Angliiskie dzhentl'meny* (Moscow: Oktopus, 2013).

[328] Comments on 31 October 2012, 26 October 2012 and 12 April 2014 <http://www.livelib.ru/book/1000555569> [accessed 13 December 2016]; Malakhit Irina, 'Prekrasnaia kniga', 19 September 2012 <http://www.ozon.ru/context/detail/id/18449232/#tab_comments> [accessed 13 December 2016]; comments on 16 June 2013 and 2 September 2012 <http://www.labirint.ru/reviews/goods/350574/> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[329] A comment on 8 August 2013 <http://www.labirint.ru/books/383181/> [accessed 13 December 2016]; Antipkina Inna, 'Otlichnaia kniga', 28 August 2013 <http://www.ozon.ru/context/detail/id/20324986/> [accessed 13 December 2016].

children's novel in the style of English stories: 'I looked at the poems and immediately was fascinated by the playfulness of pseudo-English pseudo-play: by all of these strawberry puddings, slices of toasted bread, gentlemen, cats and dogs…'.[330] In her online blog she says that on first arriving to England, she understood that 'English quirkiness, transformations and sweet eccentricity, as said to be created by English writers, all of these Alice's adventures in wonderland, Peter Pans, and all those Harry Potters, - they not only reflect the English way of thinking but sometimes the true English way of life'.[331] As Rubina had known English literature since childhood, it is highly likely that her knowledge of English literature somehow or other influenced the creation of images of Englishness in the book.[332]

Rubina imitates Englishness. Throughout the book she never mentions directly that her story is set in England. Instead, she creates allusions to Englishness by providing cultural markers that point to it: slices of English-style toasted bread for breakfast, an annual fair in a town called Chesterfield, and English-sounding names, a preoccupation with the weather and a fondness for dogs.

Different funny, absurd, exciting and slightly melancholic things happen to the main characters – Esquire Pen Trikitak and Esquire Benzhamin Smit. Both characters have salient features that can be attributed to the English national character. Gentlemen in the book are very polite; they are on formal terms with each other. Rubina refers to the stereotypes of English practicality, humour and self-respect, as well as melancholia. She mentions that a hobby is a pleasant activity, which everyone needs in order to dispel melancholy and she finds such hobbies for her characters as stargazing and doing crossword puzzles. Esquire Trikitak is depicted as an eccentric gentleman who loves adventures: he flies in a balloon; he is bored of living in a small town and working in a lost property bureau and goes around the world in a travelling circus together with his friends. By portraying Esquire Trikitak this way, Rubina plays with the stereotype of English eccentricity and adventurous spirit. Esquire Trikitak also has the stereotypical outfit of an English gentleman: he wears a stripy satin waistcoat; he has an old watch, a favourite umbrella and a straw

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[330] <http://www.dinarubina.com/news/gentlemen.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[331] <http://www.dinarubina.com/texts/index.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[332] Electronic correspondence with Dina Rubina, 9 December 2014.

boater hat. Also there is an image of another eccentric gentleman – Mr Charli, a zoologist and a collector of dragonflies. He tells an absurd story to the audience in the park for the elderly where every week speakers, standing on a wooden pedestal, deliver lectures on different nonsensical matters. In this scene Rubina plays with the image of Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park.

At the same time, Rubina resorts to the use of literary nonsense. For this she applies playful language in every chapter of her novel. For example, there is a scene about loss of appetite, in which Rubina plays with the expression ' ' [to lose appetite]. Esquire Smith replies to Esquire Trikitak's complaint about lost appetite: "" , .

. […] . ...

... ' [Sir, you have no one to blame but yourself. Things are all over the place here. […] Every single thing must know its place. And so this… APPETITE… It should be chained up and made to guard the house].[333] By imitating an English play on words in this example and numerous other instances throughout the book, Rubina also draws attention to the infinite possibilities and richness of the Russian language.

Moreover, images of dogs play an important role in Rubina's book. They can be considered both as indicators of the English class system and as a manifestation of Englishness. Dogs are represented throughout the book. Everywhere the characters of the novel go, they take dogs with them. The class status of the main characters is emphasised through the different breed of dog that they have. As England is a country where gentlemen live, so they own pedigree dogs: Esquire Smith has a wolfhound and Pen Trikitrak has a dachshund. In contrast to them, a little boy called Johnny, who, according to the illustrations and a description of him in the book, does not seem to belong to the social class of gentlemen, has a non-pedigree dog which is 'small, with a black ear and a curled tail'.[334]

Dmitriev's book *Angliiskie dzhentl'meny* [English Gentlemen], published in 2013, contains poems for primary school children. All of them are about England. Several of them were written and published in 1990. The author uses

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[333] Rubina, p. 12.
[334] Ibid., pp. 24, 29, 40, 71, 76.

positive stereotypical images of English culture, to which readers – primarily parents – would definitely respond. English cultural stereotypes are introduced to children and, consequently, a positive image of English culture is likely to be formed in their minds at an early age. The author draws attention to the following stereotypical beliefs about England and the English in a playful form. There are winds, rain and fogs in England. Changes are not welcome there. The English are fond of their dogs, gardening, and countryside. When one walks around town one will definitely see gentlemen and ladies. An English gentleman owns an umbrella and a dog, and an aristocrat can be identified by his knee-length socks, breeches and a cap; by playing tennis, living on a family estate, and having lots of servants.

Two other children's books –poems written by Vadim Levin in 1969 and Andrei Usachev in 1994 – convey the stereotypical image of England and the style of English nonsense poetry. Levin in his book *Glupaia loshad'* [A silly horse] creates an atmosphere of Englishness by imitating English children's poetry and the style of nonsense poetry. He plays on English sounding names, masterfully interspersing them with the Russian text of his absurd and comic poem-imitations.[335] Usachev included two poems about England in his book *Moi geograficheskie otkrytiia. Vesielye uchebniki* [My geographic discoveries. Jolly textbooks]. In the short poem *Angliia: tumannaia strana* [England: a foggy country] his image of England is based on the following stereotypes which are widespread in Russia: rain, fog, porridge for breakfast and pudding for dinner. In another short poem *Puding* [Pudding] he also imitates English nonsense poetry by playing on the English word 'pudding', which sounds the same in Russian, and turning Russian words into English sounding versions. For example, the word '   ' ('bliuding') is a play on the original Russian word 'bliudo' [an item of food].[336]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Russian non-fictional sources published during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods offer diverse views about a wide range of

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[335] Vadim Levin, *Glupaia loshad'* (Novosibirsk: Zapadno-sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1969).
[336] Andrei Usachev, *Moi geograficheskie otkrytiia. Vesielye uchebniki* (Moscow: Samovar, 1994), pp. 30–2.

manifestations of Englishness and that Russian readers were offered varied information about England and its culture. Since only a small proportion of people in contemporary Russia have the means to travel abroad, it seems logical to assume that the vast majority of Russian people still do not experience English culture at first hand and obtain their information about the country via different forms of media (including Internet and television) and literature. Therefore, Russian fictional and non-fictional publications still play an important role in forming perceptions about Englishness.

I have demonstrated that Russian non-fictional publications aimed at adult readers mostly cover the same aspects of institutional and cultural Englishness as well as expressions of English national character. Russian writers resort to stereotypical images of England when they represent cultural Englishness. They resort to Russian ideological perceptions of England when they deal with institutional Englishness. In general, Russian children's literature tends to employ positive stereotypes about Englishness. According to Rebecca Knuth, child readers in England and abroad 'often respond to the England they encounter in their books as an imaginary country with great numinousness'.[337] The same idea can be attributed to the possibility of the perception of English children's literature by Russian child and adult readers – they see the idealised England as 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England], or, in other words, the mythologised England.

Russian authors of children's books consolidate the idealised image of England that is widespread among reading audience. They offer what readers are expected to like – the myth of good old England. Images of Englishness created by the authors correspond to the common positive cultural stereotype of England: country houses, eccentric adventurous gentlemen, polite behaviour, discussions about the weather and a fondness for dogs. Potential readers of the books can play 'pseudo-Englishness' together with the authors: they should be able to recognise images of the typical English character, and, consequently, to form a positive stereotypical image of England, its people and its culture. Therefore, images of England, its people and culture created by pre-revolutionary and post-Soviet writers have many similarities with the prevailing images in the books of the Soviet period. Also, similar to examples from adult

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[337] Knuth, p. 10.

non-fictional publications, Soviet authors of children's literature employ political ideology in their portrayals of England.

The image emerging from Russian depictions is twofold: the Russian view on Englishness has points of divergence and connection with the English perception. On the one hand, Russian representations of Englishness are affected by ideology. The publications create an image inclining towards negativity by emphasising social aspects, such as inequality, the hardships of the English working class and the country's imperialist past. Hence, empire, power and class form a picture of England that comes from writers in the Soviet era. On the other hand, Russian interpretations of Englishness are idealised and involve prevailing Russian national stereotypes about the English way of life and environment, its people and culture. In most instances these stereotypes have positive connotations and create an idealised image of England as 'dobraia staraiia Angliia'. Therefore, this is an area of agreement where Russian and English versions coincide: they both deal with the image of 'Merry England'. These points of divergence and connection between the Russian and English view on Englishness have influenced the development of my argument in chapters 6 and 7. By using the way Englishness is seen by Russian authors as a point of departure, I will demonstrate that the same tendency is reflected in representations of Englishness in Russian translations of children's literature.

Chapter 4: Translation in Soviet and Post-Soviet contexts

This chapter argues that the representation of different manifestations of Englishness in Russian translations have been determined by the historical, political and cultural context during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. It analyses the social environment, which have provided specific conditions for Russian translators to create a Russian vision of England in their translations. In addition, this chapter discusses the nature of translation activity in Soviet and post-Soviet context.

The first section of this chapter develops the idea that Russian translators, who worked during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, acted as ideological, moral and aesthetic border guards between Russian and English cultures. It looks at Soviet/Russian discourse on translation in the field of adult and children's literature, starting with the Soviet period in the history of translation theory and praxis. I will analyse the dynamics of the theoretical discourse on translation during the Soviet period and trace its influence on translation traditions in modern Russia. Then I will discuss views on translation as a culturally and ideologically significant creative activity expressed by the three major Soviet (Russian) translators of children's literature who were also renowned children's poets: Kornei Chukovsky (1882–1969), Samuil Marshak (1887–1964) and Boris Zakhoder (1918–2000). By drawing on published sources (Chukovsky's diary and criticism on translation, Marshak's and Zakhoder's essays and articles on translation), I will identify how autobiographical and critical narratives about their own and each other's work shed light on the image of Soviet translators of children's texts as ideological and moral border guards between cultures. I will also show that the principles of Soviet realist translation have been and still are prevalent in Russia in the field of translated children's literature.

The second section discusses the ideological constraints imposed on translation in the form of censorship and translation norms as measures of state control over translated literature during the Soviet period. These constraints shed light on how Soviet translators anticipated what kinds of texts to translate and how to translate them. The concept of ideology, referring to the Soviet and

post-Soviet periods, is applied in this chapter in its broader form and means not only political but also educational, moral and aesthetic conventions established by Russian society. The third section looks at the role of Soviet and post-Soviet translators as informed mediators between Russian and English cultures. I will discuss what kind of knowledge about English culture and literature was accessible to Russian translators and how this knowledge might have informed their translation decisions.

1. Soviet and post-Soviet translators as ideological, moral and aesthetic border guards

1.1. Literary translation in the Soviet Union

After the October Revolution of 1917, the new Soviet state saw the advent of the idea of retranslating major world classics. The Soviet publishing house *Vsemirnaia literatura* [*World literature*] was established to carry out this task in 1918.[338] This project gave a boost to translation activity and brought about new developments in theoretical discourse on literary translation as a creative process. By the 1930s theoretical ideas of the Soviet school of translation had been formulated. They were in line with the principles of Socialist Realism and positioned translated books within Russian literature and culture.

The principles of Socialist Realism were established as the dominant methodology in literature in the 1930s. The idea of Socialist Realism was first proposed by Ivan M. Gronsky, a Soviet literary critic and editor of *Novyi Mir* journal (1931–1937), in his publication in *Literaturnaia gazeta* newspaper of 23 May 1932. However, Gronsky claims that, prior to the publication, the concept of Socialist Realism was discussed with Stalin during their meeting in the beginning of May 1932. Stalin authored the term, suggesting to Gronsky that 'the artistic method of literature and art should be called Socialist Realism'.[339]

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[338] The development of Russian theoretical views on literary translation before 1917 is analysed in Komissarov, 'Russian Tradition', Friedberg, *Literary Translation in Russia*, and Leighton, *Two Worlds, One Art.* Also a brief account of the history of Russian literary translation from the 18th century to the Soviet time is given in Mikhail Gasparov's article *Briusov i bukvalism* [*Briusov and Literalism*] first published in *Masterstvo perevoda*, 8 (1971), 88–128 (pp. 108–09) and translated into English in *Russian Writers on Translation*, ed. by Brian James Baer and Natalia Olshanskaya, pp. 132–34.

[339] I. M. Gronsky, *Iz proshlogo...Vospominaniia* (Moscow: Izvestiia, 1991), p. 336. For more on this see ibid., 'Letter of I. M. Gronsky to A. I. Ovcharenko, 22 October 1972' (pp. 334–44).

Later, during meeting with Soviet communist writers in October 1932 Stalin formulated the principle of Socialist Realism and put forward the idea that it was to be developed theoretically as an artistic method in literature.[340] In the end, the principle of Socialist Realism was articulated as an official formula of Soviet literature at the First Congress of Soviet Writers of 1934.

The broad definition of Socialist Realism in literature was given in the Charter of the Union of Soviet Writers, describing it as 'a truthful and historically accurate depiction of reality in its revolutionary development' aimed at 'the ideological remoulding and educating of the working class in the spirit of socialism.'[341] The principles of Socialist Realism were linked with translation in 1936 during the First All-Union Conference of Translators held in the same year.[342] During this conference the Soviet literary critic Iogann Al'tman introduced a new term – '   ' [creative translation] – which greatly influenced the formation of the Soviet school of literary translation. According to Al'tman, creative translation always stays true to reality, it does not invent individual interpretations; on the contrary, it truthfully re-creates the original literary work by accommodating it in a receiving culture.[343] Al'tman's speech led to the identification of the so-called ideological enemies of Socialist Realism in literary translation: naturalism and formalism. In Al'tman's understanding, naturalism meant creating an exact copy of the original text, or a literalist translation. Formalist translation, which was widespread in poetry, in Al'tman's view, meant distorting the content 'for the sake of rhythm, melody and sound form' of the original. [344] Later on, in the 1950s, Al'tman's ideas were developed into the theory of Soviet realist (or adequate) translation by the translation theorist Ivan Kashkin.[345] It was declared that the only acceptable method of translation was based on the principles of Socialist Realism, which

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[340] The transcription of Stalin's speech at the meeting of 20 October 1932 is given in L. Maksimenkov, 'Ocherki nomenklaturnoi istorii sovetskoi literatury (1932–1946). Stalin, Bukharin, Zhdanov, Scherbakov i drugie', *Voprosy literatury,* 4 (2003) <http://magazines.russ.ru/voplit/ 2003/4/maksim.html > [accessed 13 December 2016].
[341] *Pervyi Vsesoiuznyi S'ezd Sovetskikh pisatelei, 1934: Stenographicheskii otchet*, (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1934; repr. Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel, 1990), p. 712.
[342] More on the First All-Union Conference of Translators is given in Susanna Witt, 'Arts of Accommodation: The First All-Union Conference of Translators, Moscow, 1936, and the Ideologization of Norms', in *The Art of Accommodation: Literary Translation in Russia,* ed. by Leon Burnett and Emily Lygo (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 141–84.
[343] Azov, pp. 48–50.
[344] Quoted in Witt, pp. 167, 169.
[345] See more on this in Azov, p. 52.

would provide ways of achieving adequacy between the translated text and its original. Formalism and naturalism as conceptual methods of translation were combined into one term 'formalist translation', which was understood as literalism (or *bukvalism* in Russian). Formalist translation, which was promoted by Evgenii L. Lann (a translator of Charles Dickens) and Georgii A. Shengeli (translator of Byron), fell out of favour with official Soviet critics and theorists from the 1930s and was banned until the end of the Soviet era.

There were substantial differences between realist and formalist translations. According to Andrei Azov, realist translation insisted that the language of translation should be natural and easily understood by Soviet readers who might not be used to aesthetic and stylising nuances. It also demanded that the translator's attention should be focused on the content: literary descriptions should reflect the reality of the original text. Realist translation was focused on the receiving culture: the ideas expressed in the original texts had to comply with Soviet cultural policy and the content and style of the original text had to be accommodated within the context of Soviet culture. In contrast to the realist method, formalist translation adhered to the ideals of literalist translation, promoted in poetic translations of the Silver Age from the end of the nineteenth century and until the 1920s. Formalist translation demanded that translators had to focus on form: the words and structure of the original text.[346] According to formalist translation, the translated text had to be as faithful as possible to the form of the original, and retain nuances of foreignness to some extent, thus making the translated text look different from texts created in Russian. According to the formalist method, the translated text had to transfer almost an exact amount of words and various stylistic effects of the original text. Readers had to be aware that they were reading a translated text originally written by a foreign author. In terms popularised in the contemporary Western field of Translation Studies, this is an exact match of concepts: the opposition between foreignisation (formalism) and domestication (realism).

Realist translation was preferred to formalist translation in the Soviet Union. As Andrei Azov explains, multivoicedness, stylistic diversity and interest in the other, which was typical of 1920s Soviet literature, changed into

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[346] Ibid., pp. 172–73.

univocality, a unified aesthetic system and a single acceptable style. This tendency was formed by the 1930s and reached its peak in the 1950s when theoretical views on translation had been officially approved in the Soviet Union. Variety of literary forms was rejected together with non-standard forms of literary language, such as dialect, slang and borrowed foreign words. In contrast to this, simple, neutral and accessible language was promoted. Soviet translators had to focus on the simplicity and readability of the language that they were using in their translations. Bearing in mind the official view that the Soviet system was the best and the fairest and the Russian language was the richest and the most flexible, it was inevitable that Soviet translators had to focus on Soviet readers, not on foreign authors. The Soviet realist school of translation demanded fidelity to style and content of the original text by depicting everything that was appropriate and progressive according to the Soviet ideological dogma.[347]

There were four fundamental principles upon which the Soviet school of realist translation was based, as Lauren G. Leighton explains referring to the Soviet translation theorist V. M. Rossels: accepting the principle of translatability; acknowledging translation as a literary process; treating translators as writers; and understanding the process of translation not as a copy or an imitation but as an artistic activity in its own right.[348] As it follows from these principles, translation praxis was considered equal to literary activity and creativity, and, consequently, it was treated as a high art. Moreover, realist translation was supposed to satisfy readers' demands and literary tastes of average Soviet readers. It was also considered the best possible method for translating world classics in order to introduce them to the new Soviet reader – the working class reader. Translation became an independent literary work of its own and it was expected that the translated text would replace the original. For example, Kornei Chukovsky stated that 'a new reader is not satisfied any more with different books about Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver retold by unprofessional young female translators; a new reader demands that a translation should replace the original'.[349]

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[347] Ibid., pp. 59–60.
[348] Lauren G. Leighton, 'Translation as a Derived Art', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 134 (1990), 445–54 (pp. 448, 449).
[349] Kornei Chukovsky, *Vysokoe iskusstvo. Printsipy khudozhestvennogo perevoda* (St Petersburg: Azbuka-Klassika, 2011), pp. 342–43.

Consequently, translators became co-authors of the original. But, as not all were able to produce literary translations valued as a high art, only gifted translators were able to succeed. This can be exemplified in Chukovsky's diary when he writes about Samuil Marshak's demands to be presented as co-author of his own translations: '[Marshak] wants his translations to be published in the following way: starting with *Marshak* printed in capital letters, followed by *translation*, and in the end at the bottom *Shakespeare* printed in lower case letters'.[350] Chukovsky's observation was not far from the truth. Although the front covers of Shakespeare's sonnets translated by Marshak did not look exactly as he wished, still, his name was printed in a larger font than the title of the original book, as can been seen in translations of Shakespeare's sonnets published by *Sovetskii pisatel'* and *Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury* publishing houses in 1949, 1955 and 1960.

The underlying premise of the Soviet school of realist translation lay in the assumption that everything was translatable. The Soviet school of realist translation rejected the issue of untranslatability of certain elements of the original text, such as culture-specific and historic elements (realia), the peculiarity/uniqueness of the source language (for example, musicality, emotional nuances and structure, especially in poetic translations). The Soviet school of translation focused on the translatability of every element of a foreign text, calling such translation 'adequate'. Consequently, everything was translatable, and ideologically correct Soviet translators who followed the principles of Soviet realist translation could find equivalents to untranslatable elements by using the domesticating strategy. This meant taking into account the role of Russian literature and culture as an accommodating force and treating translated texts as facts of Russian culture (paraphrasing Toury's term). At the same time, translators could find equivalents by being aware of dominant ideological conventions, which were identified through censorship, and the assumption that '

[every translation is more or less an ideological assimilation of the original]' as stated in *Literary Encyclopaedia* in 1934.[351]

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[350] Kornei Chukovsky, *Sobranie sochinenii v 15 tomakh, 15 vols (Moscow: Agentstvo FTM Ltd, 2013), xiii: Dnevnik (1936–1969), ebook* p. 317.
[351] Aleksandr A. Smirnov and M. P. Alekseev, 'Perevod', in *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia*, ed. by A. V. Lunacharskii and others, 11 vols (Moscow: Kommunisticheskaia akademiia; Moscow:

Hence, Soviet translators can be considered as ideological and moral border guards and informed mediators between cultures (in Lotman's understanding of borders between cultures, see chapter 1 subsection 1.3).

1.2. Soviet translators of children's literature: reflections on the 'high art' of realist translation

Children's literature did not stand aside from ideological battles in literary translation. In the field of children's literature the ideological opposition between Socialist Realism and formalism was also reflected in the discourse on translation. The main spokesmen of realist translation in the context of children's literature were Kornei Chukovsky and Samuil Marshak. They wrote on literary translation in general, as well as on translation in the field of children's literature. Their theoretical views on issues of realist literary translation as a creative and cultural activity created a basis for theoretical ideas on translation in the field of Soviet children's literature.

Soviet translators knew what kind of texts to translate and how to translate them. They did not let untranslatable elements from the original texts penetrate into the Soviet literary system, thus adhering to domesticating principles and focusing on Russian language and culture. Chukovsky condemns formalism, calling it 'a harmful theory of literalism'. He stresses that it was necessary for Soviet translators to read Russian literature and think in Russian; he also emphasised that translation could be called 'faithful' from an artistic point of view only when it recreated the style and content of the original text, accommodating it within the context of Russian culture in such way that average Soviet readers would easily comprehend the translated text. On the translation of culture-specific elements, Chukovsky says that Soviet translators are 'well aware of their task': by using the Russian language, they have to recreate the style of the original and preserve its national and cultural specificity. Regarding the translation of fairy-tales, Chukovsky states that there is no harm if translation is Russified. On the contrary, Russification turns the original fairy-tale into a creative work that belongs to the people of the receiving

culture; however, Russian folklore should not replace the national peculiarity of the original text.[352]

Like Chukovsky, Marshak also rejects formalism, calling it 'dry and pedantic literalism'.[353] He treats the translation of children's literature as 'a high art'[354] and advocates a domesticating strategy in translation:

> [A translator] must have a profound knowledge of the foreign language and, perhaps, an even more profound knowledge of [one's] own. [A translator] must feel the essence of [his] native language so profoundly so as to avoid giving [himself] up to the foreign, being its slave.[355]

Marshak emphasises that translators are supposed to 'create new – Russian – poems, which retain the thoughts, feelings and melody of the original'.[356] Efim Etkind, a Soviet translator of poetry and a translation theorist, summarises Marshak's translation principles, referring to his translations of Kipling's poems for children: details can be changed; the full content, structure and style of the original is more important.[357]

Aware of ideological conventions, Soviet translators had to guard Soviet culture against any ideologically incorrect elements penetrating from the West. This was done first of all through the choice of books for translation. For example, in his speech at the Soviet Writers Congress in 1934, Marshak raised an awareness of not letting bourgeois and idealistic books, such as those written by Lidiia Charskaia before the October Revolution of 1917, appear in the Soviet literary system.[358] Marshak was an advocate of Socialist Realism. In his

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[352] Chukovsky, *Vysokoe iskusstvo*, pp. 295, 153, 188.

[353] Samuil Marshak, 'Portret ili kopiia', in *Marshak S. Ia., Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), vii: *Vospitaniie slovom (Stat'I, zametki, vospominaniia)*, ed. by E. B. Skorospelova (1971), < http://s-marshak.ru/works/prose/vospitanie/vospitanie17.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[354] Samuil Marshak, 'O nasledstve i nasledstvennosti v detskoi literature', in *Marshak S. Ia., Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), vii: *Vospitaniie slovom (Stat'I, zametki, vospominaniia)*, ed. by E. B. Skorospelova (1971), pp. 513–41 <http://s-marshak.ru/works/prose/vospitanie/vospitanie31.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[355] Samuil Marshak, 'Iskusstvo poeticheskogo portreta', in *Masterstvo perevoda, 1* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel, 1959), pp. 245–50 (p. 246), translated into English by Brian James Baer in *Russian Writers on Translation: An Anthology*, ed. by Brian James Baer and Natalia Olshanskaya (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2013), pp. 90–92 (p. 91).

[356] A letter No 197 to V.S. Rudin, 23 February 1952, in Samuil Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), viii: *Izbrannye pis'ma,* ed. by S. S. Chulkova (1972), pp. 256–61 <http://s-marshak.ru/epist/epist170.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[357] Efim Etkind, *Poeziia i perevod* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1963), p. 354.

[358] See more on this in Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories*.

poems for children he reflected the spirit of the time: he praised Soviet patriotism and feats of heroism, satirized the petty bourgeois, as well as creating a negative image of the capitalist world. He clearly expressed his views on ideology in translation: 'A translator doesn't distance himself from the ideological struggle and is not free from ideological responsibility' and 'a good translator inevitably reflects his epoch and himself in his translations'.[359]

At the same time, Soviet translators acted as informed cultural mediators. Both Chukovsky and Marshak, in this role, rejected literal translation, and promoted the poetic adaptation and accommodation of original poems according to the demands and rules of Russian poetry in terms of rhythm, structure and wordplay. They subscribed to the following principle of choosing original authors for translation and promoted this idea among fellow translators: the choice should be based on genuine interest, an appreciation of the foreign author, devotion and a feeling of creative affinity for the author, as well as the desire to make sure the work would be enjoyed by readers of the receiving culture.[360] The fact that Chukovsky and Marshak were anglophiles helps us to understand their strong views on the selection of foreign books for translation. Chukovsky worked in London as a reporter for the weekly newspaper *Odesskie Novosti* between 1901 and 1903 and then visited England before the October Revolution and later in life. Marshak studied at London University between from 1912 until 1914, and then visited England several times later in life. So they both stayed in England long enough to learn about its culture from personal experience and to be influenced by its literature later on in their creative works and translations.

Marshak translated English and Scottish poetry (Shakespeare, Burns, Byron, Blake, Keats, Kipling), English and Scottish folk ballads, children's poems by Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, A. . Milne, and British nursery rhymes. He had a great and genuine interest in British folk poetry. His knowledge of Russian children's folklore influenced his translations of English nursery rhymes, as well as English and Scottish folk and nonsense poetry. He

[359] Samuil Marshak, 'Pocherk veka, pocherk pokoleniia', in *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), vi: *Stat'i. Vystupleniia. Zametki. Vospominaniia. Proza raznykh let*, ed. by S. S. Chulkova and E. B. Skorospelova (1971), pp. 351–54, <http://s-marshak.ru/works/prose/prose28.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[360] Chukovsky, *Vysokoe iskusstvo*, p. 261.

introduced Russian folk elements quite generously in his translations and emphasised the importance of this approach.[361] Marshak also stressed the necessity of poetic imagination in the process of translating children's poetry:

> The deeper and more intently the artist penetrates the essence of a representation, the freer his craft and the more precise his imagination. Poetic precision only comes with bold imagination, rooted in a profound and passionate knowledge of the subject.**[362]**

Chukovsky translated the poetry and prose of Wilde, Kipling, Shakespeare, Conan Doyle, Defoe, as well as English nursery rhymes. Like Marshak, he was influenced by English folklore in his original works, and also emphasised that in his translations he was inspired by Russian folklore and Russian children's rhymes. According to Chukovsky, Soviet translators were expected to know the original culture and focus on creating a national character portrait and the poetic peculiarities of foreign nations through the masterful usage of the Russian language.[363]

Although Boris Zakhoder produced less published material about translation praxis, in comparison to Chukovsky and Marshak, still he actively promoted the traditions of Soviet realist translation in the field of children's literature developed by Chukovsky and Marshak, believing that translation was a high art, and acting as an ideological and moral border guard and cultural mediator. Zakhoder is best known for his adaptations of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, *Mary Poppins*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Peter Pan* (the play). He expressed his views on translation for children as follows: 'Every nation has its own memory. In my translation English memory is replaced by Russian memory, so it would be easier for our children to perceive a foreign fairy-tale. So the fairy-tale becomes fully Russian.'[364] Efim Etkind characterises Zakhoder's method of translation: Zakhoder focused on the re-creation of the

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[361] Samuil Marshak, 'Dom, uvenchannyi globusom. Dve besedy S. Ia. Marshaka s L. K. Chukovskoi', *Novyi mir*, 9 (1968), 158–81 (p. 160).
[362] Samuil Marshak, 'Iskusstvo poeticheskogo portreta', in *Masterstvo perevoda, 1* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1959), pp. 245–50 (p. 250), translated into English by Brian James Baer in *Russian Writers on Translation*, *Russian Writers on Translation*, *Russian Writers on Translation: An Anthology*, ed. by Brian James Baer and Natalia Olshanskaya (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2013), pp. 90–2 (p. 92).
[363] Chukovsky, *Vysokoe iskusstvo*, p. 264.
[364] Viktor Lunin, 'Vospominaniia: Zakhoder i dr.', *Vyshgorod: literaturno-khudozhestvennyi obshchestvenno-politicheskii zhurnal,* 1-2 (2007), 142–59 (p. 152).

essence of the original text, though the form of the original was not so important to him.[365] Indeed, Zakhoder clearly states in his notes that translation for children means 're-creating the vividness of the original literary work for readers', which can only be done if a translator possesses intuition, talent and inspiration. He distrusts literalist translation, calling it 'phonetic nationalism', explaining that the nearer translators get to foreign languages in their translations, the more alien these languages and nations would seem to readers of the translated texts. Zakhoder is adamant that the only way to translate the untranslatable is to re-write it in Russian. A translator must re-write the original text as if the author was writing it initially in Russian. Thus a translator becomes a co-author of the original text and the translated text becomes a fact of Russian culture.[366]

1.3. Contemporary Russian translators of children's literature as successors to the Soviet tradition of realist translation

Mikhail Gasparov, a Soviet/Russian philologist and translator, characterised Soviet realist translation as 'a reaction to the literalism of modernists', which aimed at avoiding extremes, and focused on clarity and faithfulness to the traditions of Russian literature. He mentioned Marshak as an exemplary translator of these traditions. He appealed to the Soviet scholarly community to treat literalism as 'a scientific notion' adding that the tendency to produce literalist translation is 'an expected element in the structure of translated literature'. He clarified that different translations exist for different types of readers: 'classics of world literature […] deserve to be present in Russian literature in several versions – for a wider audience as well as a narrow range of readers'.[367] Unfortunately, this appeal had not been properly heard and, as the Russian scholar of Translation Studies and English literature Alexandra Borisenko emphasises, the fear of literalism as a form of foreignisation has

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[365] Etkind, p. 263.

[366] Boris Zakhoder, *"No est odin po t": neopublikovannoe nasledie v 2-kh tomakh,* 2 vols (Moscow: Gala-Izdatel stvo, 2008), ii: *Moi tainyi sovetnik*, pp. 267, 295, 305-306; Boris Zakhoder, 'Prikliucheniia Vinni-Pukha (Iz istorii moikh publikatsii)', *Voprosi literaturi,* 5 (2002), 197–225 (p. 201).

[367] Mikhail L. Gasparov, 'Briusov i bukvalism', in *Masterstvo perevoda, 8* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1971), pp. 88–128 (pp. 109, 112).

been continuously present in the field of Russian literary translation. She accentuates the fact that, although there has been diversity in the field of literary translation since the demise of the Soviet Union, the foreignising strategy has still not been sufficiently accepted by Russian readers and theorists. As Borisenko says, in modern Russia, literalism is still treated as 'a translator's mistake, a slavish imitation of the original, a wrong method'. However, this does not mean that foreignised translation does not exist at all as a method. Soviet translators applied certain foreignising techniques: footnotes, comments, and introductions. In Borisenko's view, although these techniques destroyed the illusion that Soviet readers were reading literary texts that had been originally written in Russian, they were still in great use by Soviet publishers.[368]

The principles of the Soviet school of realist translation are still prevalent today in Russia in the field of children's literature. The domesticating strategy has been maintained as a distinctive feature in the practice of translating for children. Also, contemporary translators continue to be ideological and moral border guards as well as informed mediators between Russian and English cultures. One would think that, with the demise of the Soviet Union, the influence of ideology on the process of translation would become considerably less. This is true in the context of state ideology: after 1991, many foreign children's books, which had not been accepted by the Soviet state due to censorship, appeared in new uncensored translations. From the general point of view of ideology as a set of norms established by society, however, translated children's literature continues to be under the influence of mainstream didactic views. Therefore, in the context of policing of borders between cultures, modern Russian translators can be seen as actors responsible for filtering and controlling translated literature. Their role is not only to fulfil the didactic purposes of children's literature, including moral issues, and to ensure the clarity and readability of the Russian language, which for a long time has been one of the principal goals of Russian translation practice. They can also be seen as actors who mediate the dissemination of foreign information and, consequently, have agency to introduce new literary forms and stylistic

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[368] Alexandra Borisenko, *Fear of Foreignization - "Soviet School" in Russian Literary Translation. Lecture given at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, 30 September 2011*, online audio recording, Seminar A. Borisenko i V. Son'kina "Khudozhestvennyi perevod", 7 October 2011, <http://persangl.net/2011/10/07/borisenko-fear-foreignization> [accessed 13 December 2016].

nuances, thus enriching the Russian language, as well as promoting new themes within the field of Russian children's literature.

The views of recognised modern Russian translators – heirs to traditions of the Soviet school of realist translation – provide context for understanding roles of translators as border guards and mediators between cultures. Mikhail Iasnov (b. 1946) is a translator of poetry and prose mainly from French, as well as a children's author. He states that it is important to remember that translation is 'an art of losses', and that certain particularities of the original can be sacrificed for the sake of achieving a well-defined task for the translated text.[369] Iasnov says that modern Russian translators of children's poetry follow the main principle of the Soviet school of realist translation developed by Chukovsky and Marshak: they retain the rhythm and poetic allusions of the original poem and at the same time make visible their authorial voices in the translated poems, thus becoming co-authors of the new versions of the originals.[370] Grigirorii Kruzhkov (b. 1945) is a children's poet and a translator of poetry and prose mainly from English. He explains that the original foreign text has to be translated in such way that it seems as if its author wrote it in Russian, and that the translator should fit into the style created by the author.[371] Irina Tokmakova (b. 1929) is a children's poet and a translator of children's literature from English and Swedish. She acknowledges that every time she translates she becomes a co-author of the original text and adds words of her own. However, she does not betray the author of the original work and retains the original voice in the translated text.[372] Iuliana Iakhnina (1928–2004), a translator from French and Norwegian who has translated a few children's books, adheres to the principle of greater freedom while translating for children. She says that it is necessary for translators to know their own national folklore in order to find similar associations and allusions.[373] Olga Varshaver (b. 1959), a translator of

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[369] Elena Kalashnikova, *Interview with Mikhail Iasnov "Perevod – iskusstvo poter'"*, Russkii Zhurnal / Krug chteniia, 11 January 2002, <http://old.russ.ru/krug/20020111_kalash-pr.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[370] Mikhail Iasnov, 'Ot Robina-Bobina do malysha Russelia', *Druzhba narodov,* 12 (2004) <http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/2004/12/ias12-pr.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[371] *Archiv radio programmy "Knizhkin dom": gost' Grigorii Kruzhkov, pisatel'*, online audio recording, 1 November 2014, < http://www.deti.fm/?an=program_child&uid=8&kw1=8&page=2> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[372] Evgenii Kurneshov, *Irina Petrovna Tokmakova predstavliaet knigu "Piter Pen" Dzh. Barri izdatel'stva "Moskovskie uchebniki"*, online video recording, YouTube, 31 May 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PeA5IpUEzGg> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[373] Kalashnikova, *Po-russki s liubov'iu*, p. 549.

American and English children's literature, regards translated texts as bridges not only between different cultures but also between different epochs. In her understanding, a translator acts as an interpreter of a different culture, focusing on preserving the contextual essence of the original and paying less attention to the form of the original text.[374]

Prominent Russian translators Alexander Livergant (b. 1942) and Viktor Golyshev (b. 1937), who both translate English-language literature, sum up the key principles which Russian translators should follow: foreign authors should sound in Russian as if it were their own language; and translation should remain a fact of Russian literature, bearing in mind that elements of foreignness will still be present in the translated text.[375] Irina Gurova (1924–2010), a translator and editor of English-language literature, including books written for children, states that the Soviet school of realist translation went too far in its rejection of foreignisation. Her method consists of recreating the stylistic nuances of the original in the translated text by means of the Russian language, so Russian readers would gain an impression from the translated text that is similar to the aesthetic effect created for readers of the original.[376] Nina Demurova (b. 1930), a translator of English-language literature, including several children's books, supports Gasparov's concept of literalism. She explains her approach to the translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: 'I devised a new method so readers would understand the wordplay and the grotesque of the book, but at the same time I aimed at avoiding Russification'.[377]

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[374] Ol'ga Varshaver, 'Razmyshleniia o nekotorikh kul'turologicheskikh aspektakh perevoda detskoi literatury', in *Konstruiruia detskoe. Filologiia. Istoriia. Antropologiia. Kollektivnaia monografiia. Trudy seminara "Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki". Vypusk 9,* ed. by M. R. Balina et al (Moscow: Azimut, Nestor-Istoriia, 2011), pp. 266–82.

[375] Nataliia Kienia, *Interview with Viktor Golyshev. "Esli perevodish' popsu, nechego tseremonit'sia": Viktor Golyshev o prilizannykh tekstakhm "Garri Pottere" i novoiaze*, Theory&Practice, 25 February 2015, <http://theoryandpractice.ru/posts/10266-golyshev> [accessed 13 December 2016]; and Azamat Rakhimov, 'Interview with Alexander Livergant: "Perevodchik – professiia smirennaia"', *Nasha gazeta. Shveitsarskie novosti na russkom,* (17 December 2014) <http://nashagazeta.ch/news/peoples/18739> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[376] Elena Kalashnikova, *Interview with Irina Gurova "Svoi metod ia nikomu ne rekomenduiu, no sudiat-to po resul'tatu..."*, Russkii Zhurnal / Krug chteniia, 4 December 2002, <http://old.russ.ru/krug/20021128_kalash.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[377] Elena Kalashnikova, *Interview with Nina Demurova: "Vse proizvedeniia ia perevodila s udovol'stviem"*, Russkii Zhurnal / Krug chteniia, 15 March 2002, <http://old.russ.ru/krug/20020315_kalash.html> [accessed 13 December 2016]; and Kalashnikova, *Po-russki s liubov'iu*, p. 202.

From these statements it is clear that the Soviet school of realist translation promoted the domesticating principles of translation and this tendency continues nowadays. It is doubtful that Emer O'Sullivan's supposition, according to which translated children's texts seek a balance between domestication and foreignisation, is true of the majority of Russian translations. The Russian approach to translation for children is in its essence closer to the dialogic translation developed by Riitta Oittinen. In the Russian translation tradition, as the analysis in this section has shown, translated texts tend to be domesticated, or 'naturalised'. As Viktor Golyshev concludes, there was one main characteristic of the Soviet school of literary translation: in their work translators had to focus on 'Russian literary classics and the pure Russian language of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century'.[378]

It is possible to explain the Russian inclination to domesticate foreign literature by the fact that imperial Russia and the Soviet Union aimed to Russify other peoples of the empire. Vera Tolz points to Russification as a strategy for developing the idea of Russian national identity by quoting Nikolai Danilevskii, the advocate of the Slavophile ideology, who hailed 'the assimilating power […] of the Russian people, which converts the aliens with whom it comes into contact into Russian flesh and blood.' Tolz indicates that the Russian language and culture were the unifying force for creating a single nation through cultural assimilation in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.[379] Therefore, by analogy to cultural assimilation of other peoples in Russia, foreign literature can be viewed as having been accommodated within Russian culture with Russian language and Russian literature as the main influences on the domesticating translation strategies. In this connection, antagonism between followers of the literalist/formalist and realistic methods of translation, as well as the result of the conflict, becomes more comprehensible. Following the ideological goal of cultural assimilation, it would be less likely that foreign culture-specific elements are more pronounced in translated literature in Russia, especially children's literature, in which demands to domesticate are even stronger.

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[378] Anna Narinskaia, 'Interview with Viktor Golyshev: "Ne nado k perevodu otnosit'sia kak k sviatyne"', *Kommersant Weekend,* 48 (12 December 2008) <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1091063> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[379] Tolz, pp. 201, 203.

At the same time, ideological constraints imposed on Soviet literary translation through the postulates of Socialist Realism led to the fact that Soviet translators of children's texts acted as ideological and moral border guards between cultures. This section has dealt with the theoretical basis of the political and cultural conditions in which Soviet translators had to work, setting boundaries of translators' creative activity that were equally significant from the cultural and ideological point of view. The next section analyses the political and cultural conditions with the emphasis on the restrictive role of the Soviet state in order to discuss how and what Soviet translators were able to translate.

2. The role of ideological constraints in Soviet translated literature

Bearing in mind that the state controls children's reading by applying ideological restrictions, this section discusses the role of censorship and translation norms as powerful ideological tools in the translated literature in the Soviet Union. It aims to understand what translation norms and censorship meant in the field of literary translation in the Soviet Union with a particular emphasis on the translation of children's literature.

The status of Soviet translated literature depended on the ideological atmosphere which existed in the country during different periods. By using ideological constraints, Soviet authorities controlled what kinds of books could be offered to Soviet adult and child readers and how these books should be translated. According to Soviet literary critic Igor Motiashov, there were four basic criteria for selecting foreign children's books for translation in the Soviet Union: aesthetic, educational, moral and political. The aesthetic criterion meant that the foreign book had to be well written and appeal to adult and child audiences alike. In order to meet the educational criterion, the original book had to be 'edifying and informative', as well as provide authentic and full knowledge about the original culture. A foreign children's book could meet the moral criterion if it promoted diligence, honesty, respect for older people, tolerance, 'a sense of civic responsibility', empathy, and rejection of 'egoism, cruelty, […] falsehood, violence, parasitism, greed', indifference to pain and so on. The political criterion 'expressed the attitude of the publisher and the translator to

the existing political situation'. This meant that the book chosen for translation had to be in line with Soviet ideology, according to which all 'racist, militarist, chauvinist, royalist, clericalist, neo-fascist, neo-colonialist, anti-communist, antisocialist, and anti-democratic ideas and views' were rejected.[380]

The two last criteria – moral and political – are most closely connected with the idea of censorship and give a more explicit suggestion as to what kind of possible excisions, amendments, and substitutions had to be applied in the field of children's literature in order for the translated book to be published. Censorship as a system of control in the field of foreign literature was responsible for the facilitation of the Soviet Union's cultural isolation from the world. By banning references in translated books to certain elements of foreign culture that were not in line with the Soviet ideology, and identifying ideologically correct foreign books suitable for translation, censorship stimulated the creation of imaginary images of foreign cultures contextualised by the Soviet understanding of the outer world. The imaginary images of the capitalist Western world in particular were consequences of the necessity to represent the reality depicted in foreign books within the corresponding Soviet context. One can only ponder now whether Soviet translators did this deliberately or they were forced to do so by the system of restrictions which laid down the rules for the so-called game in the Soviet literary world. However, it is important to mention that, despite the ideological didacticism and the Communist Party control through censorship, children's literature treated 'prescribed historical and ideological themes in a creative way', enabling children's writers to find 'loopholes for originality and retained considerable thematic, stylistic, and generic diversity within it'.[381]

A huge censorship system was built in the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1931 and for up to 60 years its principles did not undergo considerable changes, as Herman Ermolaev points out.[382] The hierarchy of the system of Soviet censorship of national and translated literature consisted of five major

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[380] Igor Motyashov, 'The Social and Aesthetic Criteria Applied in Choosing Children's Books for Translation', in *Children's Books in Translation: the Situation and the Problems,* ed. by Göte Klingberg, Mary Ørvig and Stuart Amor (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1978), pp. 97–103 (pp. 99, 100).

[381] Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova, 'Introduction', *The Slavic and East European Journal, Special Forum Issue: Russian Children's Literature: Changing Paradigms,* 49 (2005), 186–98 (p. 193).

[382] Herman Ermolaev, *Censorship in Soviet literature, 1917–1991* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), p. 10.

levels, according to a Russian historian of Soviet censorship Arlen Blium: the Communist Party control, the department of political control in the Committee for State Security (KGB), Glavlit, the editor and self-censorship. The main government censorship authority Glavlit, the abbreviation for the Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs, played the principal guiding and technical role in the system of censorship. It implemented instructions issued by the Communist Party and KGB, and policed the literature by authorising books for publishing. It was set up in 1922 and closed down in December 1991.

Censorship also was carried out by editors in publishing houses, journals, magazines, newspapers, TV and radio stations, film studios, theatres and so on. More often it was even more severe than censorship control implemented by Glavlit and even substituted functions of Glavlit. Editors were appointed by the state authorities and under their supervision literary texts underwent severe ideological editing. They had to keep a close eye on all possible nuances (such as obscure citations of forbidden texts and unacceptable allusions) and elements of subtext (or in other words Aesopian language) that did not agree with the state ideology.[383] Inna Slobozhan, who was an editor in the Leningrad publishing house Lenizdat from 1956 until 1990s, recalls that the official list of themes in literature banned by censorship existed but was never seen by editors. They had to intuitively guess what a Glavlit censor would cross out from the text. When a censor made remarks on the text forcing an editor to amend it, the blame was always laid solely on the editor. The consequences were usually severe: disciplinary penalties such as deprivation of bonus and reprimand. Inna Slobozhan regards this unpronounced list of forbidden themes as political censorship. The concept of forbidden themes were interpreted broadly: it was not permitted to write about Sergey Esenin's death or publish the works of Mikhail Bulgakov; and it was forbidden to even mention Nikolay Gumilev's name because he was 'an enemy of the people, executed by the Bolsheviks […] not a single line written by him was permitted to appear in print'.[384]

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[383] Arlen V. Blium, *Sovetskaia tsenzura v epokhu total'nogo terrora: 1929–1953* (Saint Petersburg: Gumanitarnoe agentstvo "Akademicheskii proekt", 2000), pp. 14–7.
[384] Inna Slobozhan, '"Belye Nochi" s Innoi Slobozhan. Literaturno-istoricheskii al'manakh', <http://www.beliye-nochi-slobozhan.ru/> [accessed 13 December 2016]. See page '"A v

Such themes had to be guessed by translators too. Moreover, quite often translators had to trust their intuition. In this case it meant self-censorship, which was a self-protecting mechanism for a writer or a literary translator. It existed before the October Revolution, but in the Soviet Union through self-censorship a Soviet writer/literary translator tried to foresee the possible ideological, political, aesthetic or any other issues that the official censor might find in the manuscript and consequently remove. Soviet translators had to keep a close watch on bourgeois values in foreign literature and be vigilant in order not to introduce the essence of so-called bourgeois life in the translated works, because any mistake by a translator could turn into a political mistake.[385] This explains why self-censorship was an everyday tool of survival for Soviet translators. Also, adherence to the postulates of Socialist Realist translation can be viewed as a form of self-censorship. As Samantha Sherry argues, being expected to accommodate original texts within the Soviet context, translators were given the role of authorised interpreters of original texts and encouraged to alter the originals with the purpose of expressing 'what the original should say, rather than what it does say'.[386]

The Soviet translator Alexei Slobozhan, who worked during the late Soviet period, recalls that censorship could be regarded as a so-called last frontier. Translators had their own ideas about what was allowed to be included into the translated text. If a translator wanted a book to be published, he/she had to demonstrate not only the artistic merit and popularity of the original text but also its political, ethical and moral merits, as well as its concordance with the state ideology. According to Slobozhan, ideological censorship depended on the expertise, knowledge and even imagination of the editor and the Glavlit censor. However, the criteria for censorship of literary texts were vague, and censors were not consistent in their decisions.[387] A Russian translator Victor Golyshev recalls that the Soviet Union officially banned only those themes in

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serdyse moiem…Leningrad". 3. Pugalo, ili Byli o sovetskoi tsenzure. Inna Slobozhan',
<http://www.beliye-nochi-slobozhan.ru/literature/180/>. Also email correspondence with Inna Slobozhan.

[385] The Soviet/Russian literary translator and literary critic Vladimir M. Rossels quoted in Leighton, *Two Worlds, One Art*, p. 36.

[386] Samantha Sherry, 'Censorship in Translation in the Soviet Union: The Manipulative Rewriting of Howard Fast's Novel *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*', *Slavonica,* 16 (2010), 1–14 (p. 4).

[387] Email correspondence with Alexei Slobozhan.

foreign literature that were connected with pornography, military secrets and anti-Soviet propaganda; however, these themes could be widely interpreted.[388]

A fragment from the Soviet film *Autumn Marathon* of 1979 (directed by Georgii Daneliia; screenplay written by Aleksandr Volodin) exemplifies in an allegorical form the role of the Soviet editor as censor. The main character – literary translator Andrei Pavlovich Buzykin – is notified by his editor that the author whose work he translated would not be permitted for publication. The reason was typical for the Soviet Union: the author has changed his political views, so they are no longer in line with the Soviet position on world politics. Buzykin passively agrees to that and the expression on his face clearly shows that he did not have any choice but to adjust to new reality. The translator's passivity and conformism points to the existing atmosphere in the Soviet literary translation world: translators did not have absolute freedom in their choices of what and how to translate.

In respect of censorship in children's literature, the following was written in a circular letter from Glavlit sent to its local authorities in August 1923:

> The [Soviet] Republic pays great attention to the upbringing of young people; hence it is necessary to be especially observant of literature for children and young people. Books containing clearly bourgeois values, praising the old way of life and relations between people, as well as describing religious worship are not allowed. These principles ought to be applied in a delicate way especially in regard to historical literature and classics, full of patriotic ideas and militarism, good-hearted kings and queens, the righteous rich, and so on.[389]

Later, in February 1926 the restrictions imposed on children's literature were even more severe – only children's and young people's literature which promoted communist upbringing, was permitted to be published.[390] Arlen Blium quotes a circular letter on foreign literature marked 'Classified', which was sent by the Foreign department (Inotdel) of Glavlit to its subordinate authorities in

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[388] Daniil Adamov and Viktoriia Sal'nikova, 'Perevodchik Viktor Golyshev – o Brodskom, tsenzure i idealizatsii 60-kh', *Setevoe izdanie m24.ru,* (24 May 2015) <http://www.m24.ru/articles/71723> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[389] Arlen V. Blium, *Tsenzura v Sovetskom Soiuze. 1917–1991. Dokumenty* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2004) p. 69, dokument 46 'Tsirkuliari Glavlita ego mestnym organam'.
[390] Ibid., p. 100, document 79 'Dokladnaia zapiska o deiatel'nosti Glavlita'.

July 1923.[391] This document lists types of foreign literature banned from importation to the Soviet Union:

- all works of a clearly hostile nature towards the Soviet power and communism;
- all works containing ideology that is hostile and alien to the proletariat;
- literature that is hostile to Marxism;
- books of an idealistic nature;
- children's literature containing elements of bourgeois values and praising old [pre-1917] way and conditions of life;
- works written by authors who were against the October Revolution;
- works written by authors who died fighting against the Soviet state;
- Russian literature published by religious societies regardless of its content.[392]

From the late 1950s, additional regulations controlling the circulation of foreign books in the Soviet Union were issued. Notwithstanding the fluctuating nature of censorship regulations, expressed in a slight lessening or tightening of control over foreign literature which depended on the political climate in the country throughout the whole Soviet period, the restrictive principles introduced in the beginning of the Soviet era remained the same.

The Soviet Union joined the Universal Copyright Convention in May 1973. Before that foreign authors usually did not know to what extent changes were made to their books during the process of translation or were even sometimes even unaware that their books had been translated into Russian.[393] After May 1973 there was a legal requirement for any translated book, which was in some way modified or adapted, to state that it was printed with abridgements ('pechataetsia s sokrashcheniiami'). However, in reality this general statement did not save the situation and Soviet readers were still unaware of the extent of changes that books underwent during translation, except for those few who could get hold of an original and compare it with the Soviet translation.[394] It was a common practice in the USSR to write prefaces and commentaries to the translated books, in which bourgeois values were exposed and criticised. The same was done for the books published in the

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[391] Arlen V. Blium, *Za kulisami "Ministerstva pravdy": Tainaia istoriia sovetskoi tsenzury. 1917-1929* (Saint Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1994), p. 194.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Marianna Tax Choldin, 'Censorship via Translation: Soviet Treatment of Western Political Writing', in *The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars, and Censors in the USSR,* ed. by Marianna Tax Choldin and Maurice Friedberg (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 29–51 (p. 32).
[394] Ibid., pp. 36–7.

Soviet Union in the original language by the Progress Publishing House – the foreword and commentaries were written in Russian.

Consequently, the ideological context of the Soviet epoch laid the basis for creating ideologically correct translations. The speech of the Soviet literary translator Tatiana Kudriavtseva about the Soviet translations of A. J. Cronin, delivered in 1961 at the meeting of the Moscow section of the Writers Union (the section of criticism, literary studies and literary translation) and the Foreign commission dealing with modern British literature in Russian translations and its criticism, exemplifies the situation: she discussed how British literature was supposed to be translated and what was expected from the British writer and the Soviet translator from an ideological point of view. Kudriavtseva's speech is a good example of political norms prevalent in Soviet translation:

> [We must draw on the standpoint of Soviet literary criticism, the position of the Communist Party on literature; we must draw on the position which clarifies whether the material that we give to our readers is suitable for them. Cronin is a realist writer and by all means he suits us. In his writing he deeply sympathises with the ordinary people. I am not going to say that he is like Galsworthy, absolutely not. However, Cronin is a good average writer who exposes the shady side of bourgeois society. He suits us and we have no right to blackguard him.] [395]

Hence, from the nature of issues discussed in this section, there is no doubt that the political environment during the Soviet period affected representations of Englishness in Russian translations in such a way that they would inevitably have ideological connotations. Chapter 6 will continue this discussion and demonstrate that the Russian representations of Englishness tinged with Soviet

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[395] Moscow, Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva (RGALI), 'Stenogramma ob"edinennogo zasedaniia sektsii kritiki, literaturovedeniia i khudozhestvennogo perevoda Moskovskogo otdeleniia SP RSFSR i Inostrannoi komissii, posviashchennogo sovremennoi angliiskoi literatury v russkikh perevodakh i kritike, 1961 g.', f. 631, op. 26, d. 956, l. 87.

ideology were different from representations of Englishness in the original books.

3. Soviet and post-Soviet translators as informed mediators between English and Russian cultures

It is most unlikely nowadays that contemporary Russian translators would be faced with such difficulties as restrictions on travel abroad and a lack of dictionaries and foreign reference books. Yet, these were major handicaps disrupted Soviet translators' work.[396] Border closures, which started from 1920s, led to the impossibility of travelling abroad for the majority of Soviet population, excluding the inner circle of the political elite. Moreover, cultural and professional exchanges and international correspondence became impossible for most people. These restrictions were eased from the 1960s, when Khruschev was in power, and more contacts with the outer world emerged. Although generally Soviet culture existed in self-willed isolation, official communication with other cultures did not cease.

Cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and Britain went through several ups and downs. As John Morison explains, during the Stalin period cultural relations between Soviet Russia and Britain were reduced to a minimum; however, it became possible for both countries to learn more about each other after Stalin's death.[397] Further possibilities for cultural interaction emerged after the conclusion of agreements on relations in the scientific, educational and cultural fields: for example, Anglo-Soviet Cultural Agreements, which started in 1959. Since then the volume of cultural contacts has fluctuated according to the political relations between the Soviet Union/post-Soviet Russia and Britain. Cultural exchanges were reduced in times of acute political crises and renewed after the improvement of the political situation. Closer to the end of Soviet Russia, the year 1987 saw an increase in cultural contacts due to Soviet Union's efforts improving relations with the West.[398]

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[396] See Friedberg, *Literary Translation in Russia*, pp. 117, 198.
[397] John Morison, 'Anglo-Soviet Cultural Contacts Since 1975', in *Soviet-British Relations Since the 1970s,* ed. by Alex Pravda and Peter J. S. Duncan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 168–92 (p. 168–92).
[398] Ibid.

Officially, cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and Britain were supported on the Soviet side by the USSR–Great Britain Society. It was founded in April 1958 and had branches in various cities. According to its charter, the Society was set up for acquainting the Soviet people with British history, its life, economy and culture. It supported cultural contacts between the Soviet Union and those British organisations and individuals who promoted friendship, cross-cultural understanding and cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union. It also assisted the process of translating books from and into English and Russian in both countries; and organised different Soviet–British exchanges between officials and specialists of both countries. For example, in 1967 the Society received writers Charles Percy Snow and Pamela Hansford Johnson, as well as professors of English studies from the University of Birmingham and the University of London. The Society also organised a visit of a group from a British children's theatre led by Lady Elwyn-Jones (Pearl Binder) and Marjorie Lynette Sigley, who were both artists, writers and promoters of youth theatre, to children's theatres of Moscow and Leningrad.[399]

In the Soviet Union, not all writers and translators were able to take part in cultural exchanges, organised by the USSR–Great Britain Society and its umbrella organisation – the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries. It was expected that Soviet writers would have ideologically correct political views and engage with Soviet themes in their books in order to be able to participate in international exchanges. For example, one Soviet writer, who visited Britain in the 1980s during the first writers' exchange between the Union of Writers of the Soviet Union and the British Council, was the unknown Valerii Stepanovich Rogov. He was in Britain to collect material for his novel on the history of relations between Soviet and British trade unions.[400] As for the ideological correctness of the Soviet writers who travelled abroad, an official letter about an exhibition of Soviet children's literature, organised by the Society of Belgium–Soviet friendship, exemplifies this general trend. This letter, sent by a representative of the Union of Soviet

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[399] Moscow, RGALI, 'Materialy obschestva "SSSR–Velikobritaniia": ustav obschestva, spisok chlenov obschestva i sostava pravleniia i dr. (1958–1982 gg.)', f. 1899, op. 1, d. 633, ll. 2, 7.
[400] See John C. Q. Roberts, *Speak Clearly into the Chandelier: Cultural Politics Between Britain and Russia 1973–2000* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000) p. 157. Writers' exchanges were initiated by the article III (2d) of the 1985/87 Cultural Agreement between Britain and the Soviet Union.

societies for friendship in Belgium and Luxemburg to the deputy chairman of the Union's presidium U. V. Ivanov on 7 December 1973 (691), mentions the Soviet writer Iu. L. Annenkov who 'had a good command of French, proved himself to be an experienced promoter of Soviet propaganda and able to capture the mood and interests of a foreign audience'.[401] Clearly, this writer met the demands for an ideologically reliable representative of the Soviet literary system.

There was another category of writers and translators who benefited from international cultural contacts. These were state prize-winning writers and established translators – those who were accepted by the Soviet system as reliable members of the Writers Union of the Soviet Union – for example, such prominent children's writers and translators as Samuil Marshak, Kornei Chukovsky, Sergey Mikhalkov, Lev Kassil', Agnia Barto, Boris Zakhoder and Nina Demurova. They had access to library resources of foreign literature restricted to the general public and were able to go abroad. For example, Tatiana Kudriavtseva, a leading Soviet/Russian translator of American, English and French literature and an editor of *Inostrannaia literatura* journal from 1962 to 1983, travelled widely in Europe and the United States, conducting research for her translations and finding new foreign books for the journal, and met personally with contemporary foreign writers.[402]

According to an official report written by Rita Rait-Kovaleva (another leading Soviet translator famous for her translation of *The Catcher in the Rye*)*,* who was invited to visit Britain in the spring of 1963. She went together with a Communist Party member, whom she named as Soloukhin (his presence in this trip clearly points to the translator's restricted freedom to establish fruitful communication with the British colleagues). As an official biographer of Robert Burns, Rait-Kovaleva dedicated her visit to studying Burns's legacy in Scotland. She met with members of the Soviet-Scottish Society of Friendship, contemporary Scottish writers, as well as British scholars of Russian studies in Oxford. Her report provides a glimpse of reality of foreign trips organised for Soviet translators. Rait-Kovaleva suggests that it would have been better if

[401] Moscow, RGALI, 'Materialy Soiuza sovetskikh obschestv druzhby i kul'turnoi sviazi s zarubezhnymi stranami: ustav, postanovlenie Vtoroi sessii Soveta i dr. (1958–1982)', f. 2890, op. 1, d. 433, l. 22.
[402] T. A. Kudriavtseva, *Prevratnosti odnoi sud'by. Zapiski literatora i perevodchika* (Moscow: R. Valent, 2008).

Soviet translators and literary scholars visited Britain on personal invitations in small groups, rather than as tourists, so they would have more chances to understand the country of the language in which they specialised.[403]

Britain conducted its cultural relations with the Soviet Union through the British Council and the Great Britain–USSR Association, a government funded organisation established in 1959, which organised official cultural contacts between Soviet and British writers. British cultural links with the Soviet Union were also supported by the following three non-government British societies, sympathetic towards the Soviet Union: the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR (SCR), founded in 1924, the British–Soviet Friendship Society, founded in 1946, and the Scotland–USSR Society, formed in 1945.[404] When the wide Soviet audience is taken into account, British attempts to promote knowledge across the vast Russian territory about contemporary Britain and its culture were not widely supported by the Soviet Union. As John Morison explains, 'any British desire to foster genuine collaborative ventures and mutual understanding between Soviet and British citizens has been seriously impeded by a plethora of Soviet restrictions, for instance, on travel within the Soviet Union […], on the access of Soviet citizens to […] information [about Britain]'.[405] Even in the later 1980s when the Soviet Union was seemingly more open to the West, British–Soviet cultural contacts the were still controlled by the Soviet Union:

> No open lending library or the wide range of cultural activities normally associated with a British Council office abroad have been possible. Even the harmless film shows put on in their tiny office can be viewed only by the select handful of Soviet citizens able to accept personal invitations.[406]

Hence, it seems obvious that the general mass of Soviet readers were not able to freely access information about current British culture, whether it was provided by the Soviet Union or through British channels. Still, this information existed, but it was available for a limited number of Soviet people

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[403] Moscow, RGALI, 'Otchiet R. Ia. Kovalievoi o poezdke v Velikobritaniiu v marte 1963 g.', f. 631, op. 26, d. 1042, ll. 1–5.
[404] The British-Soviet Friendship Society was a successor body to such groups as the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Committee (established in 1940), the Russia Today Society (established in 1934) and the Friends of the Soviet Union (established in 1930): *Routledge Guide to British Political Archives: Sources Since 1945*, ed. by Chris Cook (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 252. For the Scotland–USSR Society and the SCR see ibid., pp. 380 and 389.
[405] Morison, *Anglo-Soviet Cultural Contacts Since 1975*, p. 172.
[406] Ibid., p. 174.

(certainly, translators were among them). For example, the two British editions – *Britanskii soiuznik* [The British Ally] and *Angliia* [England] – that were published in Russian were not kinds of editions that one could easily buy at any Soviet newsagent. *Britanskii soiuznik* was a weekly newspaper published by the British Ministry of Information and printed in the Soviet Union between 1942 and 1950. This newspaper wrote about military and cultural collaboration between Britain and the Soviet Union, educational and informative materials about contemporary English culture, the daily life of the English people, and published works of British writers. By 1946 the weekly circulation of the paper was fifty thousand copies, most of which were sold by subscription to Soviet party and state bodies and only fourteen thousand copies were sold by retail, mostly in Moscow (ten thousand copies) and a few other cities.[407] *Angliia* was a quarterly magazine published by the British Government, printed in Britain and distributed in the Soviet Union in major cities by subscription and retail between 1962 and 1993. Similar to *Britanskii soiuznik, Angliia* covered contemporary British cultural life in Britain, wrote about different parts of Britain, and published works by British writers.

Those translators, who were unable to go abroad for the purposes of gathering information on cultural realia, could still accumulate knowledge about countries of original books by using available literary works, documentary sources, reference materials, or simply consulting fellow translators. For example, anglophile Kornei Chukovsky, who had lived in England before the October Revolution of 1917 and after that kept contacts with English scholars and writers, was acquainted with English realia in a real sense and, therefore, was able to assist other translators who most probably never saw England in reality. In a letter to his son, Nikolai Chukovsky, of 31 January 1941, he criticises translations of Conan Doyle's stories about Sherlock Holmes pointing to incorrect renderings of a *gable* as a pediment ('   ' [fronton] in Russian) and a *top hat* as a high hat ('   ' [vysokaia shliapa]

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[407] Proekt dokladnoi zapiski agitpropa TSK Stalinu I.V. po voprosu o ezhenedel'nike "Britanskii soiuznik", 13 October 1946, Mezhdunarodnyi fond "Demokratiia" (Fond Aleksandra N. Iakovleva), <http://www.alexanderyakovlev.org/fond/issues-doc/69315> [accessed 13 December 2016].

instead of an existing term for this kind of hat in the Russian language, which is '   ' [cylinder hat]).[408]

However, the general public did not have free access to all literary works, documentary sources, and reference materials about England. Access to foreign literature was controlled through the system of censorship: the import of foreign originals was banned and 'a combination of translating, editing, and rewriting techniques had led to the production of 'custom-made versions' of foreign literary works for the Russian readers.[409] Marianna T. Choldin derives 4 categories of grouping foreign publications in the USSR: 'those permitted by the censorship authorities to circulate freely; those banned absolutely; those under a ban "for the public", accessible only to individuals who […] were approved by authorities; and those permitted for circulation only after the excision […] of specified words, lines, or pages'.[410]

Generally, Soviet readers could not freely access original foreign books, therefore they had no chance to understand what had been amended or excluded in translation. Only very few could read foreign books in the original language, most of which were kept in libraries in departments of special storage ('spetskhran' in Russian) unavailable to the general public. Nadezhda Ryzhak in her report on the history of the spetskhran of the Russian State Library (which was known as the Lenin State Library of the USSR from 1925 until 1992) points out that the spetskhran did not officially exist in the library and in reality it was a separate library within the library. By 1987 the stock of the spetskhran in the Russian State Library amounted to '27,000 Russian books, 250,000 foreign books, 572,000 issues of foreign journals' (in 1988 the spetskhran was closed down and its stock became open to the general public). For censorship reasons, the data on the restricted books was only recorded in the manual catalogue card archive and was never published. According to Ryzhak, only postgraduate researchers and academic scholars could get access to the spetskhran books and materials and for that they had to show official letters

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[408] Nikolay K. Chukovsky, *O tom, chto videl: Vospominaniia, pis'ma* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 2005), letter number 146, pp. 572–76.
[409] Marianna Tax Choldin, 'The New Censorship: Censorship by Translation in the Soviet Union', in *Libraries, Books and Culture: Proceedings of Library History Seminar VII 6–8 March 1985 Chapel Hill, North Carolina,* ed. by Jr. Donald G. Davis (Austin: The University of Texas, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, 1986), pp. 334–49 (p. 336).
[410] Ibid., p. 335.

issued by the academic institutions which employed them.[411] According to Maurice Friedberg, there was a restricted and unequal access to foreign books at the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature (Vsesoiuznaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka inostrannoi literatury). Readers could not borrow all books and certain books were allowed for reading at the library only. In order to ask the librarian for a photocopy of a book in a foreign language kept in spetskhran, a professional translator had to provide a contract between him/her and a publisher for a translation of this book; otherwise he/she was allowed only to read this book on the premises.[412]

Hence, this information points to difficulties in access to foreign materials but not to the lack of foreign books in Soviet libraries. The All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature regularly issued bibliographical guides to major works of foreign literature that were held by the library and also had subscription to major foreign periodicals. For example, according to the bibliographical guides providing information of foreign books in original languages deposited in the library between 1941 and 1986, works of the following English authors who wrote for children and young adults were kept in the library, and not fully represented in Russian translation in the Soviet Union:

– 17 original books of Eleanor Farjeon acquired between 1921 and 1979;

– 51 original books of Walter de la Mare acquired between 1916 and 1983;

– 45 original books of C. S. Lewis acquired between 1938 and 1979;

– 28 original books of J. R. Tolkien acquired between 1956 and 1983;

– 19 original titles of collections of English folk and fairy tales acquired between 1895 and 1979.[413]

At the same time, some English children's books were published in the original language by the Progress publishing house (e.g. Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* published in 1981) or as reading books in English for secondary school pupils or university students studying the English language (e.g. Michael

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[411] Nadezhda Ryzhak, 'Censorship in the USSR and the Russian State Library', in *IFLA/FAIFE Satellite meeting 11-12 August 2005/Documenting censorship – libraries linking past and present, and preparing for the future* (The Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway: 11 August 2005) <http://www.bibalex.org/wsisalex/faife.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[412] Maurice Friedberg, 'Soviet Censorship: A View from the Outside', in *The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars, and Censors in the USSR,* ed. by Marianna Tax Choldin and Maurice Friedberg (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 15–28 (p. 23).

[413] *Izdaniia VGBIL: Vyborochnyi bibliograficheckii ukazatel' 1941–1981*, ed. by I.P. Kukhterina (Moscow: VGBIL, 1982); *Izdaniia VGBIL: Vyborochnyi bibliograficheckii ukazatel' 1975–1986*, ed. by I.P. Kukhterina (Moscow: VGBIL, 1987).

Bond's *A Bear Called Paddington* published in 1977; Eve Garnett's *The Family from One End Street* published in 1973; and Arthur Ransome's *Swallows and Amazons* published in 1980).[414] Nina Demurova prepared an anthology of English children's literature which was published in 1965 by the Leningrad educational publishing house. It included extracts from a few classic texts among which were *Peter Pan and Wendy*, *The Wind in the Willows*, *The Jungle Book*, *Winnie-the-Pooh*, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, as well as folk tales, nursery rhymes, poems by Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, R.L. Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, A.A. Milne, Walter de la Mare and others.

Although since 1991 much research has been done in the field of Soviet censorship in literature, it is still not easy to obtain information on a particular translated book and in what way it was censored. It is difficult to get access to the list of banned foreign books, especially given that, a year before it was closed down, Glavlit ordered the destruction of part of its archived documents on censorship dating back ten years or more, including copies of circular letters, data on passages in texts to be amended or cut out, correspondence on censorship with local authorities, and memos by censors.[415] However, according to the data from early publications of the original texts that are kept at the Russian State Library of Foreign Literature, and nowadays can be obtained via the library's electronic catalogue,[416] it seems that many original English children's books might have been kept in spetskhran library departments during the Soviet period. It also seems likely that literary translators, who were quite often literary translation scholars, for example K. Chukovsky, N. Demurova, T. Ozerskaia, N. Volzhina, I. Tokmakova, B. Zakhoder, G. Ostrovskaia, Iu. Kagarlitskii and A. Slobozhan, were given access to these books. Foreign books might have been in the private collections of the translators, or bought abroad, or found in second-hand book shops; although, according to Blium, the content of second-hand book shops was under censorship in the Soviet Union.[417]

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[414] However, a Soviet reader would be unlikely to access these books, as their print runs were not substantial.

[415] Blium, *Tsenzura v Sovetskom Soiuze. 1917 – 1991. Dokumenty*, pp. 554–55, documents 456-457 'Ob archivakh Glavlita'.

[416] Electronic catalogue of the Russian State Library of Foreign Literature, <http://www.libfl.ru/col_cat/ index.php> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[417] See Arlen V. Blium, 'Stat'ia dlia entsiklopedii "Tsenzura"', <http://magazines.russ.ru/nlo/2011/112/bl30-pr.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

A contemporary Russian translator Olga Varshaver, who translates children's and adult literature, explains that the literary journal *Inostrannaia literatura* [Foreign Literature], which published translated works by foreign writers, was the only way for the Soviet people to peep through a curtain hiding the forbidden foreign literature and to imaginatively experience what for them was the magical West. Only at the beginning of the 1960s, during the Thaw when censorship was relaxed, could translators get access to certain foreign literary works that were deemed acceptable for circulation and publication.[418] For example, Boris Zakhoder first learnt about *Winnie-the-Pooh* (a picture of the bear and a couple of quotes from verses) in 1958 in a library where he was browsing through the English children's encyclopaedia and decided to find the original in order to translate this book.[419] Therefore, distinguished Soviet literary translators knew about the existence of English children's classics and contemporary children's books and most probably it was due to them that these books were finally translated in the Soviet Union.

Thus, it seems that it was not always possible for Soviet translators to have hands-on experience of English culture and literature. It can be assumed that due to the lack of easily accessible information about English culture, there were more chances for Soviet translators to create an imaginary picture of England in a broad sense and accommodate cultural realia of English texts in Russian translations. However, as the above discussion has shown, Soviet translators did not exist in a vacuum and were not completely cut off from foreign reality. Therefore, they were able to make informed decisions on how to approach English cultural realia, drawing on the existing knowledge about England. The situation altered in 1990s with the advent of political changes in Russia. After the demise of the Soviet Union, Russian translators got wider access to travel abroad and participate in translators-in-residence programmes. All possible kinds of fiction and non-fiction about England are available in Russia nowadays and the Internet has made cultural realia of foreign countries less incomprehensible. Consequently, more possibilities for further detailed reflection of English cultural reality have emerged. However, it should be taken

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[418] www.mixnews.lv, 'Perevodchik Olga Varshaver (Moscow) v programme "Perepliet"' (7 August 2013) <http://www.mixnews.lv/mixtv/gosti/3038> [accessed 13 December 2016], minutes 13 and 26.
[419] Galina Zakhoder, 'Igra v pustiaki', *Pedologiia,* 4 (2013) <http://goofy.narod.ru/pooh/online/lib/pedologia.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].

into account that in modern Russia commercial reasons and tight deadlines might signify the lack of substantial time available for translators to conduct proper research of the original culture.

Conclusion

According to Sergey Tylenev's study on translation and society, the social motives of translators' decisions 'always lurk behind their individual wills and individual styles'.[420] This chapter has brought the social motives of Russian translators as active members of Soviet and post-Soviet societies to the fore, by examining the historical, political and cultural environment in which Soviet and post-Soviet translators approached the translation of different manifestations of Englishness expressed in English children's books. It has demonstrated that the Soviet school of realist translation supported the domesticating principles of translation, believing that literary translation is 'high art' and should be treated as such. In a similar way to Russian translators working during the Soviet period, contemporary Russian translators continue to focus on the didactic purposes of children's books, aesthetic functions of the translated language and the promotion of new themes in the field of Russian children's literature. At the same time, the Russian tradition of realist translation has been promoting the role of translators as creative co-authors of original texts. The principle of the creative translator coincides with Riitta Oittinen's dialogic approach to translation for children. As she declares, a literary translator has visible presence in the translated text: he/she 'does not hide behind the original author but takes her/his place in the dialogic interaction; she/he steps forward and stands in sight'.[421]

This chapter has also shown that ideological constraints were imposed on Soviet literary translation through the literary norms of Socialist Realism and censorship. Therefore, it is essential to consider ideological constraints when analysing which English children's books were selected for translation and how they were translated during the Soviet period as far as Englishness is concerned. As for post-Soviet Russia, although translators are not controlled by

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[420] Sergey Tyulenev, *Translation and Society: an Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p. 6.
[421] Oittinen, *Translating for Children*, p. 162.

the state, the dominance of commercial ideology means that the market imposes commercial constraints on translation activity. This means that commercially successful books are sure to be translated and modern Russian translators are still limited to a certain extent in their choice of books and strategies for translation.

By looking at Soviet and post-Soviet translators as ideological, moral and aesthetic border guards, on the one hand, and informed cultural and political mediators, on the other hand, and considering the social environment that determined their translation decisions, in chapters 5–7 I will analyse how translators build bridges between English and Russian cultures, and consequently, create their versions of Englishness in the translated texts.

Chapter 5: Translating English Children's Literature into Russian: Responses to Political and Cultural Changes during the Soviet and post-Soviet Periods

In this chapter I will put Russian translations of English children's literature into their historical and cultural context in order to identify which books portraying Englishness, published between the late Victorian period and the Second World War, were offered to readers during the Soviet period, which books have appeared in the post-Soviet time, and which books underwent the greatest number of reprints during both periods. I will look at English books on a broad level in order to identify general tendencies. I will show that during the Soviet period preference was given to those original books that were seen to be in line with Soviet ideology and reflect the country's social situation. Books that did not comply with the Soviet system of values were ignored. In such cases censorship was the instrument controlling the selection of titles for translation. In contrast, during the post-Soviet period, commercial interest lies at the heart of selection of books for translation, and the themes of national rhetoric have less importance. This larger contextual picture provides justification for my choice of books for the case study in chapters 6 and 7.

In order to identify distinctive trends in the translated texts in these two contrasting historical periods, I draw on Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, Zohar Shavit's use of polysystem theory in the field of children's literature, and Lawrence Venuti's views on the interaction between translation and national identity. This scholarship also provides a suitable theoretical context for investigating how Russian translations of children's literature have been shaped by their political and ideological contexts. Shavit's definition of translation fits well with the purpose of this chapter. She understands translation as 'part of a transfer mechanism' of textual models from one system to another. She argues that 'the behaviour of translation of children's literature is largely determined by the position of children's literature within the literary polysystem'.[422] Even-Zohar regards translated literature as an active system operating within a literary polysystem of the receiving culture. Within the translated literature system appropriate works are selected for translation depending on the influence of

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[422] Shavit, p. 25.

ideological, political, social and literary conventions at a given historical moment. The principles of selection of original texts for translation correlate with the accepted conventions and themes in the receiving literature.[423] Venuti looks at the selection of texts for translation in the context of national identity. In his understanding, original texts chosen for translation can strengthen national literature and national rhetoric in two ways. Firstly, by reflecting the themes prevalent in the original culture, translation introduces new themes and strengthens the existing themes in the receiving culture. Secondly, the similarity of social situations in the original and receiving cultures may influence the appearance of new titles in translation.

By employing the approaches of Even-Zohar, Shavit and Venuti, I will demonstrate that the corpus of Russian translations of English children's texts can be seen not as an arbitrary group but as a corpus that has been created under the influence of ideological and cultural factors. The choice of English children's books for translation has been driven by the dynamics of the prevailing themes in Russian children's literature during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. At the same time, there are occasions when several themes of national rhetoric expressed in British children's books are considered suitable within the Soviet and post-Soviet contexts, and, consequently, books are translated.

I have divided the Russian translations analysed in this chapter into two major groups: the Soviet period (1918–1991) and the post-Soviet period (1991–2015).[424] This decision is based on the shifting position of Russian children's literature in the literary polysystem. As Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova explain, Russian children's literature held a central position in the Soviet Union because of its important role 'in constructing Soviet identity, whereas after 1991 Russian children's literature became peripheral and lost its key status.[425] For each group I will give a brief overview of the political and cultural dynamic prevalent in Russian society and how it affected the choice of English children's books for translation. Within each group I will identify the main translated titles

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[423] Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Polysystem Studies', *Poetics Today,* 11 (1990), 7–193 (p. 46).

[424] The list of sources used for choosing Russian translations for the analysis in this chapter is given in the Bibliography.

[425] Balina and Rudova, p. 186.

that held dominant positions in the translated market, and will attempt to answer why this was the case.

The corpus of all English children's books published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War is large. Therefore, I have decided to include for my analysis those books that fall into the category of canonical works and classics of children's literature that contain depictions of Englishness to various degrees. The question of canon in British children's literature is rather a controversial issue: there is no definitive agreement on children's books that form it.[426] However, David Rudd offers four forms in which the establishment determines canons of children's literature lists: 'prizes, critical writings, anthologies and syllabuses'.[427] Canons are lists containing the most important texts of a culture. Perry Nodelman understands a canonical book as worthwhile and/or significant because it is 'controversial, or innovative, or popular'.[428] They are timeless and universal, but unstable, 'with works moving in and out of repute according to the taste and theory of the time.'[429] Classics are also timeless, but they have a more stable nature, or as Maria Nikolajeva suggests, they are 'written by an established writer, featured in textbooks and constantly reprinted'.[430] Hence, taking all this into account, I have referred to the following main sources for compiling the list of British children's books for the analysis, which is given in Appendix 2, part 1 'Canon and classics of English children's literature': Anne H. Lundin's *Constructing the Canon of Children's Literature: Beyond Library Walls and Ivory Towers*, Perry Nodelman's 'A Tentative List of Books Everyone Interested in Children's Literature Should Know', and three British book awards (Carnegie Medal, Costa Children's Book Award, and Guardian Children's Fiction Prize).[431]

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[426] See more on this in Roderick McGillis, 'Literary Studies, Cultural Studies, Children's Literature, and the Case of Jeff Smith', in *Handbook of Research on Children's and Young Adult Literature,* ed. by Shelby Anne Wolf and and others (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 345–55 (pp. 345, 346).

[427] *The Routledge Companion to Children's Literature*, ed. by David Rudd (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 153.

[428] Perry Nodelman, 'Grand Canon Suite, including 'A Tentative List of Books Everyone Interested in Children's Literature Should Know'', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly,* 5:2 (1980), 1–8 (p. 6).

[429] Lundin, *Constructing the Canon of Children's Literature*, p. xvii.

[430] Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age*, p. 19.

[431] See Anne H. Lundin, *Constructing the Canon of Children's Literature,* pp. 68–108*;* Perry Nodelman, 'Grand Canon Suite', pp. 6–8; and Humphrey Carpenter, Mari Prichard and Daniel Hahn, *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 659–63.

1. Selection of books for Russian translation during the Soviet period (1918–1991)

Children's literature was crucial for the Soviet state and played an important role in the formation of the new Soviet identity. It was seen as a major vehicle for Communist ideology, which aimed at promoting a positive image of man and his ability to build the socialist world. The situation during the Soviet period was characterised by control over what kinds of books children and young adults were supposed to read. The prevailing ideological norms and censorship were the essential tools with which the state control was implemented. From the point of view of polysystem theory, during the Soviet period, Soviet children's literature occupies a central position in the Soviet literary polysystem. The state determined the publishing policy regarding national and translated children's literature. The state also supported children's literature by means of forwarding the published books to Soviet libraries and schools, and promoting them among Soviet readers.

1.1. From 1918 to the early 1950

Historical and cultural context of Russian children's literature

Over the period from the early years of the Soviet state until the end of Stalin's reign children's literature had been transformed into an ideological propaganda tool achieving political ends. The importance of ideological and educational functions was imposed on Russian children's literature long before 1917 by the two very influential nineteenth-century literary critics Vissarion Belinsky and Nikolay Dobrolyubov. As Marina Balina concludes, the fundamental idea of ideological content and didactic purpose of literary works written for children, which was formed by these critics, was 'transferred into the post-revolutionary environment and applied to the whole body of literature, past and present, foreign and domestic'.[432] In the early years of the Soviet state, children's literature was focused on forming a new citizen for a new society. Children's literature was seen as 'the most important "front" of socialist creative labour and

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[432] Marina Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint: The Beginnings of Soviet Children's literature', in *Russian Children's Literature and Culture,* ed. by Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 3–17 (p. 4).

a natural ground for creating the "new Soviet man".[433] For this reason it was necessary to erode old traditions and consequently get rid of old books which contained pre-revolutionary bourgeois religious, mystical, and middle class attitudes and features. The 1920s were marked by strong state control of literature that was offered to children. Moreover, the educational reforms of the 1920s, which had a direct bearing on children's literature, were focused on new educational and didactic principles: patriotism, internationalism, collectivism, and class solidarity.[434]

State control over children's literature manifested itself in the campaign against the fairy tale and fantasy genre that started in the mid-1920s. The most radical literary scholars considered fairy tales as books that harmed 'the fragile consciousness of a child', taught superstitions and mysticism, and obscured the 'materialist picture of the world'.[435] Fairy tales were associated with pre-revolutionary Imperial Russia. They expressed the ideals of the pre-revolutionary ruling classes, had a tendency to amuse children with nonsense, sensations and tricks, and contained petty-bourgeois mentality, mysticism, religion and distorted reality. They also had such features as magic, fantasy, animism, and anthropomorphism that were 'condemned as "idealism"'.[436] Certainly, according to Soviet ideology, pre-revolutionary fairy tales and fantasy books were unable to follow the main objective of creating a new Soviet man. However, despite attacks on folk and fairy tales in the 1920s, this genre remained popular among Russian child readers, as Catriona Kelly notes.[437]

It was not until the mid-1930s that fairy tales and fantasy books were rehabilitated in all Soviet art. Fairy tales and fantasy were brought back to Soviet readers owing to the strong support of Maxim Gorky and Samuil Marshak. This time their content and moralistic message had to be 'purely Soviet'.[438] This process instigated the birth of the Soviet utopian fairy tale. The

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[433] Balina and Rudova, 'Introduction', p. 193.

[434] Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint', pp. 5, 11.

[435] Evgeny Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Reader: Social and Aesthetic Contexts of the Reception of Soviet Literature*, trans. by Jesse M. Savage (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 191.

[436] Marina Balina, 'Fairy Tales of Socialist Realism: Introduction', in *Politicizing Magic: An Anthology of Russian and Soviet Fairy Tales,* ed. by Marina Balina and others (Evanston, IS: Northwestern University Press, 2005), pp. 105–21 (p. 107).

[437] Catriona Kelly, *Children's World: Growing Up In Russia, 1890–1991* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 458.

[438] Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories*, p. 356.

focus on a bad past 'versus a brilliant present and, more specifically, versus a brilliant future' became the rising theme in literature of the 1930s. The utopianism of the early Soviet years influenced the association of children with the promise of a better future and transition though hardship to a fairy tale 'land of light and beauty' began to dominate literature for adults and children in the mid-1930s.[439]

From the 1930s onwards ideological constraints were hardened. The Sovietisation of children's literature started with the adoption of the Central Committee Resolution 'On the Improvement of Press for Children and Youth' in 1932 and the establishment of full control over children's literature via the state publishing house *Detskaia literatura* that was set up in 1933.[440] Books for children were expected to be of high ideological and literary quality. Class struggle, nationalism and patriotism were the dominant Soviet rhetoric in the 1930s. Moreover, the mid-1930s and the 1940s witnessed a stronger politicisation and militarisation of Soviet society. As a consequence of this tendency, children's literature produced an increased number of titles that responded to military themes.[441] In the first half of the 1940s official Soviet rhetoric was focused on the role of the Russian people in the war effort and turned the years of World War II into the 'new cult of "holy war" and victory'.[442] This cult dominated in the media and the official platform as an important national theme of patriotism and a heroic fight against enemies. During this period, children's literature was an instrument for supporting the war effort and strengthening 'optimism and the will to victory of its readers'.[443] The theme of war was mythologised in children's literature during the postwar period: children and young adults, as main characters, were portrayed as heroes who performed 'acts of heroism, self-sacrifice, and dedication to their Motherland'.[444]

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[439] Kelly, *Children's World,* pp. 100–01.

[440] See more on this in Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint', p. 12.

[441] Ibid., p. 13.

[442] Katerina Clark and Evgeny Dobrenko, *Soviet Culture and Power: A History in Documents, 1917–1953* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 348–49, 478.

[443] Ben Hellman, *Children's Books in Soviet Russia: From October Revolution 1917 to Perestroika 1986*, 1991, <http://www.helsinki.fi/~bhellman/summary.html> [accessed 20 May 2016].

[444] Larissa Rudova, 'From Character-Building to Criminal Pursuits', in *Russian Children's Literature and Culture,* ed. by Marina Balina and others (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 19–40 (p. 24).

As the above overview of the dynamics of changing historical and political factors in Soviet society shows, Soviet writers had to address several politically correct themes when writing for children between 1918 and the early 1950s. Most of the themes were politicised and included the October Revolution and the new Soviet reality, the Civil War, heroism and contextualisation of the Second World War, class struggle, nationalism, industrialisation and collectivisation, patriotism and socialist moral principles. At the same time, these themes covered such social problems as the misfortunes of orphans, the hard life of children in other countries, the troubled childhood in pre-revolutionary Russia, the life of the young Soviet pioneers as builders of a new idyllic socialist society. These themes also had to be reflected in children's books created in such genres as the school tale, adventure stories, science fiction, Soviet fairy tales and fantasy, and popular science books.

English children's books selected for translation into Russian

Several of these themes were reflected in translated literature during the period from 1918 to the early 1950s. Political changes instigated new principles that determined how foreign books were to be selected for translation. Official state ideology and the major themes reflecting the national rhetoric were interconnected. This period is characterised by the predominance of politicised themes in translated literature. At the same time, slight changes in the political climate brought about the appearance of several original books that contained elements of nonsense and so-called bourgeois values.

During the first half of the Soviet period, emphasis was mainly given to the translation of canonical works and classics of English children's literature as well as books accepted as literature suitable for children. There are several titles that first appeared in translation in the early years of the new Soviet state and were reprinted and retranslated throughout the Soviet period. They include adaptations for children of the major novels of Charles Dickens (translated in 1918), Samuil Marshak's and Kornei Chukovsky's retellings of selected English nursery rhymes (translated in 1923 and 1936), translations of several English folk ballads (first translated in 1919), Rudyard Kipling's *Just So Stories* and *The Jungle Book* (translated in 1918), adaptations for children of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (translated in 1922) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*

(translated in 1918); Robert Louise Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (two different reprints of pre-revolutionary translations in 1918 and 1926 and afterwards a new retranslation in 1935); Walter Scott's *Rob Roy* (translated in 1928) and *Ivanhoe* (reprint of the pre-revolutionary translation in 1936) which were both positioned as books for young adults; Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* (translated in 1923); H.G. Wells's *The Invisible Man*, *The War of the Worlds*, and *The Time Machine* (translated in 1935); as well as Arthur Conan Doyle's stories about Sherlock Holmes (one story, *The Adventure of the Blue Carbuncle* was translated in 1937 and then all stories were translated in 1945–46) and the novel *The Lost World* (translated in 1936-37 and then retranslated in 1947).

Most of these books meet the demand for major political and social themes that Soviet children's literature were expected to contain. Moreover, they are classics and considered as the canon of British children's literature. However, two titles in this group are not classics nor have a canonical status in Britain but they were included into the canon of translated literature by the Soviet authorities. They are James Greenwood's *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin,* originally written in 1866 and retold in 1926; and Ethel Lilian Voynich's *The Gadfly,* originally written in 1897; a pre-revolutionary translation was first reprinted in 1918 and the new Soviet retranslation appeared in 1945. *The Gadfly* novel is forgotten now in the English-speaking world. However, it has enjoyed great popularity in Russia since its first appearance in Russian translation in 1898. Set in Italy and concerned with the Italian nationalist uprising of 1840s, the novel depicts young English people in the midst of the unsuccessful revolutionary events, including common aspects of Englishness such as drinking tea, melancholic character, and reservedness. As the novel developed anti-religious and revolutionary themes, which resonated with major Soviet themes in literature, there is little wonder that it had experienced such enormous popularity during the Soviet period. It also has not been out of print since the demise of the Soviet Union – the last publication was in 2011. One possible explanation is that it is a commercially safe classic easily recognisable by Russian reader: two Soviet film adaptations and music from Dmitry Shostakovich (*The Gadfly Suite*) must have also contributed to its popularity.

If the Soviet translation of *The Gadfly* contributed to the development of the discourse of war and the fight for independence, then the Soviet translation of *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin* perfectly addressed the theme of hardships of the poorest classes in Victorian Britain. It also repeated the historical trajectory of *The Gadfly* in the Soviet Union. Initially an adult text, not particularly known during the nineteenth century in Britain and forgotten today, this book had become a children's classic, achieved its canonical status in the Soviet Union and it is still in publication now. Nina Demurova's article published in 1979 in the journal *Detskaia literatura* provides a good explanation why this book appealed to the Soviet ideology: '

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' [It is the first realistic work fully dedicated to the children of "the bottom" of a capitalist city].[445] Written in the style of *Oliver Twist*, it is a sentimental story of the hardship of an impoverished child, Jimmy, who runs away from home, lives in the slums of Victorian London and joins its gangs. The book was known to children in pre-revolutionary Russia. During the Soviet period it was retold by K. Chukovsky and T. Bogdanovich. They adapted the book for children and significantly changed the ending of the story. In their version Jimmy leaves the gang and finds a job at a factory thus becoming a member of the working class. In the original, by contrast, Jimmy is put into prison, after that he goes to Australia and upon his return to England starts helping homeless children.[446]

The main themes popularised in translation in this period were connected with political rhetoric: about heroes who fought for independence and wanted to overthrow a corrupt social order to bring happiness to society, as well as about the life of orphans under the capitalist system. The latter was addressed in Frederic Marryat's *Jacob Faithful* (1834) translated in 1928, the adaptation for children of Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling* (1749) which appeared in abridged translation in 1931. The revolutionary theme of the fight for freedom and a better life for the oppressed class, which echoes the spirit of the early Soviet times, is also well covered in the stories of Robin Hood. Translations of stories and popular ballads about Robin Hood appeared

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[445] Nina Demurova, 'Malen'kie oborvyshi v bol'shoi literature', *Detskaia literatura,* 7 (1979), 21– 33 (p. 30).
[446] For more information on the Russian translation of this book, see Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age*, p. 18, and *Zarubezhnye detskie pisateli v Rossii: biobibliograficheskii slovar*, ed. by I. G. Mineralova (Moscow: Flinta, Nauka, 2005), pp. 122–27.

between 1919 and 1928. This English heroic outlaw was popular in the Soviet Union and undoubtedly chimed with state ideology. The ideological topicality of the Robin Hood stories for the new Soviet state can be found in the words of Maxim Gorky who wrote the foreword to the 1919 translation of the ballads: '

, […]   ' [Folk ballads portray Robin Hood as an indefatigable enemy of the Norman oppressors and a defender of poor people].[447] Taking into account this image of Robin Hood, the reason for selecting Robin Hood ballads and stories becomes obvious – the connotation with the image of the young Soviet working class fighting for its freedom and breaking ties with the capitalist world. Also the theme of class struggle in the context of the clever poor and the tyrannical rich was reflected in the translation of the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop*.[448]

Another illustrative example of a response to changes in the political situation is the translation of Oscar Wilde's *The Happy Prince and Other Tales,* and *The Canterville Ghost,* as well as *English Fairy Tales,* collected by Joseph Jacobs. Russian translations of Wilde's tales were published in 1918 and 1920, before the official ban on fairy tales. *English Fairy Tales* were translated in 1918 and 1921 and included such famous English folk tales as *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Jack and the Beanstalk*, *The Three Little Pigs* and *The History of Tom Thumb.* Almost two decades later, when the theme of fairy tales and the fantastic was allowed by authorities to be used in children's literature again, Soviet children were offered a retelling of *The Three Little Pigs* by Sergei Mikhalkov in 1936 which was afterwards reprinted throughout the Soviet period almost every year. The late 1930s editions of this fairy tale used illustrations by Walt Disney, and the first Soviet publication appeared during the same year that Soviet children saw the Walt Disney version of the fairy tale. As for Wilde's tales, only *The Devoted Friend* was reprinted in 1937, and it was not until 1972 when retranslations of his tales were published by *Detskaia literatura* again.

Throughout the period between 1918 and 1930, the early Soviet state allowed a certain level of creative freedom in children's literature, notwithstanding the ideological didacticism and Party control. This resulted in

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[447] *Ballady o Robin Gude*, ed. by N. Gumilev (Petrograd: Vsemirnaia literatura pri Narodnom komissariate po prosveshcheniiu, 1919).

[448] The translation of this ballad is analysed in chapter 6 in this thesis.

literary experiments with the theme of nonsense in the 1920s, for example the OBERIU group of writers. In turn, this tendency instigated the appearance of Russian translations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* and *Through the Looking-Glass,* Edward Lear's nonsense poems and English nursery rhymes.

At the same time, throughout the early 1920s new Soviet and pre-revolutionary books co-existed. With the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921, private publishers became more active in the Soviet publishing industry. Among them were those which published translated books: *Sytin*, *Raduga* and *Svetliachok* publishing houses. Hence, considering that the foremost goal of these publishing houses was profit, it is obvious that they would choose titles that were popular among readers and would be easily sold. Two state publishing houses – *Molodaia Gvardiia* and *Zemlia i fabrika* – also focused their print runs on popular mass literature. As NEP brought about some relaxation in attitude of the state authorities towards translated literature, pre-revolutionary titles were reprinted and the politically neutral books were translated. Several translated books, which did not follow the Soviet socialist context circulated between 1918 and the late-1920s. They contain the so-called bourgeois values reflecting Englishness of the middle classes: the spirit of adventurous and courageous colonisers, the spirit of adventurous boarding school boys, and sentimentality. These books are J. M. Barrie's prose version of the play *Peter Pan,* Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy,* Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for boys: a handbook for instruction in good citizenship,* Kipling's *Stalky and Co.* and *Captains Courageous,* Talbot Baines Reed's *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's* and *The Willoughby Captains,* R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island,* Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready, or the Wreck of the Pacific* and *Mr. Midshipman Easy,* and Hugh Lofting's *Doctor Dolittle.*[449] However, these books were just a minor example overlooked by the state. The short-term freedom ended in the early 1930s and these English titles, which appeared in translation in the period of 1918 – the late 1920s, were cast into oblivion for several decades (except for Reed's *The Willoughby Captains* that was retranslated in 1946).

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[449] Hugh Lofting's *Doctor Dolittle* also inspired K. Chukovsky to write his version of the book and call it *Doktor Aibolit.*

The mid-1930s until the early 1950s can be characterised as years of severe restrictions imposed on translation of children's literature, as a culture of suspicion and hostility towards foreigners dominated in the country. Consequently, English children's literature was little represented in Soviet translations. This period had seen the appearance of a group of reprinted popular classics and nursery rhymes (given above), as well as translations of the English folk ballads and Songs and A. A. Milne's poem *The King's Breakfast* included in his volume *When We Were Very Young* which underwent subsequent reprints during the Soviet period. Two volumes of English folk ballads and songs were published in the early 1940s: *Angliiskie ballady i pesni* [English ballads and songs] translated and reprinted in 1941 and 1947, and *Ballady i pesni angliiskogo naroda* [Ballads and songs of the English people] translated in 1942.[450] It is no coincidence that these translations appeared during the Second World War. The Soviet patriotic theme was strengthened by translating folk ballads and poems focused on patriotic Englishness. Moreover, the collaboration between the Soviet Union and Britain during the war most probably influenced the appearance of English folk ballads in Soviet translation. The afterword to the 1942 edition of *Ballady i pesni angliiskogo naroda* says that this book contains poems glorifying the devotion to homeland and ballads telling a story of Robin Hood who was described as '

                                           ,   ' [a merciless enemy of all oppressors of the people, a true friend of the humiliated and the dispossessed].[451] Also in 1946 Marshak translated Milne's poem *The King's Breakfast,* in which, by adding nuances to the image of the king, Marshak represents him as a tyrant.[452] Moreover, several English nursery rhymes appeared in Marshak's translation in 1944–45. The popularisation of nursery rhymes, which can be seen as an obvious expression of national identity through folk art, considerably influences the creation of the image of Englishness in Russian translations. At the same time, it raises the national spirit in the post-war Soviet Union.[453]

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[450] *Ballady i pesni angliiskogo naroda*, trans. M. Tsvetaeva, and others, ed. by M. Morozov (Moscow: Detgiz, 1942); *Angliiskie ballady i pesni*, trans. by S. Marshak (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1941).
[451] *Ballady i pesni angliiskogo naroda*, pp. 62–3.
[452] The translation of this poem is analysed in chapter 6 of this thesis.
[453] *Angliiskie narodnye pesenki*, trans. by S. Marshak (Moscow: Detgiz, 1944).

The second half of the 1940s had seen two more translations that do not fit the general corpus: Talbot Baines Reed's *The Willoughby Captains* (retranslated in 1946) and John Meade Falkner's *Moonfleet* (translated in 1949). Regarding *The Willoughby Captains* (an English boarding school story), Catriona Kelly explains this phenomenon by the fact that official Soviet propaganda sometimes allowed occasional but selective contacts with foreign culture that was considered to be progressive.[454] As for Falkner's *Moonfleet,* translation of this novel appeared in the *Britanskii soiuznik* weekly newspaper (published by the British Ministry of Information and printed in the Soviet Union between 1942 and 1950).[455] Given the limited circulation of *Britanskii soiuznik* among the general public, this attempt to introduce a popular adventure classic to Soviet readers resulted in a translation that was not widely noticed by Soviet readers.[456]

Hence, drawing on Even-Zohar and Venuti's approaches to choosing books for translation, it emerges that the corpus of English children's books translated between 1918 and the early 1950s clearly reflects the political and cultural changes in Soviet society. The themes of national rhetoric, which appear in English texts, were strengthened in Russian translations. These themes include anti-religious and revolutionary ideas, class struggle, war and the fight for independence. Also included are empire and patriotism, the hardships of the poorest classes and orphans, as well as discourses of the fantastic and of silliness. At the same time, looking at this corpus from the point of view of how Englishness is represented, it emerges that the themes in the selected English texts clearly point to the prevalence of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character in Soviet translations.

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[454] Catriona Kelly, '"Malen'kie grazhdane bol'shoi strany": internatsionalism, deti i sovetskaia propaganda', *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie,* 60 (2003), 218–51 (p. 236).

[455] *Britanskii soiuznik*, issues 38–40 (1949).

[456] As already mentioned in chapter 4, section 3 in this thesis, in 1946 only 14,000 copies of *Britanskii soiuznik* were sold by retail, mostly in Moscow (10,000 copies) and a few other cities.

1.2. From the mid-1950s to 1991

Historical and cultural context of Russian children's literature

Compared to the 1940s, the next decade saw distinctive changes in the cultural life of the country and censorship of literary works became relaxed to some extent, especially after the death of Stalin in 1953. During the Thaw period (1954–1968) children's literature became diverse. Soviet children's writers got a chance to experiment more with themes and literary styles.[457] As Balina emphasises, a new generation of Soviet children's poets emerging in the 1950s and 1960s 'rediscovered the avant-garde poetic experiments of the 1920s and embraced children's rhymes and folklore'.[458] Catriona Kelly argues that the Thaw brought about changes in literature for children commensurable to literature for adults. Children's books which had been out of print in 1930s underwent selective rehabilitation: for example, works that contained elements of silliness written by Kharms, Oleinikov and Vvedensky, who belonged to OBERIU group.[459] Also adventure stories, fantasy novels, science fiction, stories for girls and humorous novels became a revived trend in Thaw children's literature.

In the 1950s and 1960s heroic child characters were replaced by children who faced problems at school and at home. School novels taught children how to make the right moral choices by using teachers as role models. Between the 1920s and the Thaw the theme of family did not play any significant role in Soviet children's literature. It was replaced by the school theme which reflected the role of class teams and children's ideological organisations (pioneers) as important links in Soviet children's upbringing. During the Thaw period the role of family was restored in children's literature. By generally promoting positive values and personal growth, the school and family tales and novels created idealistic view of the world of Soviet children.[460] However, despite the political and cultural changes during the Thaw period, the political and historical themes that covered the Revolutionary period, the cult of Lenin, and the Second World

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[457] See more on this in A. V. Fateev, *Stalinizm i Detskaia Literatura v Politike Nomenklatury SSSR, 1930-e – 1950-e gg.* (Moscow: Maks Press, 2007), chapter V 'Reformy i detskaia literatura v 1953–1958 gg, <http://psyfactor.org/lib/detlit5.htm> [accessed 2 June 2016].

[458] Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint', p. 15.

[459] Kelly, *Children's World*, pp. 137–39.

[460] Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint', pp. 24–5; Evgeny Dobrenko, 'The School Tale in Children's Literature of Socialist Realism', in *Russian Children's Literature and Culture,* ed. by Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 43–66 (p. 65).

War kept their solid position in books 'that remained faithful to the prescribed formulas of Socialist Realism', as Balina and Rudova emphasise.[461]

The focus on these themes and genres remained unchanged during the years of stagnation (1969–1985). This period did not bring any major developments or new restrictions in Soviet children's literature.[462] Changes in themes and genres in Soviet children's literature started appearing towards the end of the Soviet Union. The last years of perestroika (1986–1991) witnessed more liberated views on religion and a revived interest in the literary pre-revolutionary heritage. From the early 1980s the tastes of children and young adults shifted from a culture promoted by the state ideology towards popular culture, and children and young adults 'no longer viewed Soviet heroes as their role models'.[463] Hence there were calls for more realistic characters that could reflect the spirit of the epoch as well as real life and the interests of young people.

However, the ideological message of Soviet children's literature was still solid. Patriotism was one of the major ideological themes actively promoted by the Soviet State among its people, and children's literature was seen as a suitable means for developing patriotic feelings in children. The national theme of patriotism in literature in general was closely connected with the historical past of Russia, especially with the themes of labour and war heroism. At the same time, Soviet patriotism was influenced by the anti-imperialist discourse, as explained in an article in *Detskaia literautura* in 1985 on the importance of the theme of patriotism in books published by *Malysh* publishing house:

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[One of the aims of a patriotic upbringing is to teach citizens to respect other nations, to teach them to be proud of their nation and to share the pain of nations driven into the abyss of misfortune by imperialism. Books

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[461] Balina and Rudova, 'Introduction', p. 194.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Balina, 'Creativity Through Restraint', p. 25.

about solidarity with people from other countries are also necessary for promoting Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism].[464]

English children's books selected for translation into Russian

All of the above themes and genres were reflected in the translated literature during the period between the mid-1950s and 1991. The changed political climate of the 1950s instigated the intention to develop cultural ties between Britain and the Soviet Union, and, consequently, to introduce English culture to Soviet readers. Party control over publishing houses and literary journals was relaxed. This led to less control over the ideological and class meanings of foreign literature. As Soviet home and foreign policy was liberalised to a certain extent, the 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of a demand for new sources of information – domestic and foreign. A new section of foreign literature was created in the publishing house *Detskaia literatura* in 1955. Moreover, the Moscow Youth festival in 1957 contributed to the inflow of cultural information into the Soviet Union from the West. Partly as a consequence of these changes, new translated children's books started to appear from the late 1950s. However, the number of books translated from English representing new themes and genres was limited.

Despite the fact that in the Soviet Union translated literature had to represent ideological values, the selection of foreign books for translation was not solely ideology-driven. Sometimes books were chosen on a random basis. Soviet publishers and children's literature critics did not receive up-to-date information about contemporary foreign children's literature and did not know which books were the best, as a Soviet scholar and critic of children's literature Irina Cherniavskaia emphasised in 1970 in the journal *Detskaia literatura*.[465] However, Soviet literary critics and translators knew about several emerging names in the English children's literature of the twentieth century, though this awareness did not make it possible for the books to be translated. For example, Cherniavskaia mentioned Mary Norton and Kenneth Grahame as the best representatives of English fantasy literature, but their books were not translated

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[464] V. Golov, 'Rastit' patriota – internatsionalista', *Detskaia literatura,* 1 (1985), 2–6 (p. 6)
[465] I. Cherniavskaia, 'O nekotorykh tendentsiiakh v sovremennoi zarubezhnoi literature', *Detskaia literatura,* 3 (1970), 26–9 (p. 29).

in the Soviet Union until 1980 and 1988 respectively.[466] Two other articles published in in 1979 in *Detskaia literatura* provided information on British children's writers whose books were not translated during the Soviet period. Maria Nikolajeva discussed Edith Nesbit's and Mary Norton's fantasy books as well as Philippa Pearce's *Tom's Midnight Garden* praising them as books worth reading.[467] In contrast to her, Irina Tokmakova criticised the books of Alison Uttley, Lucy M. Boston and Ted Hughes, characterising them as reading that lacks '   ,   ,

' [motifs that are common to all mankind and able to unite people but not separate them] and consequently not particularly suitable for Soviet readers.[468] In his letters to the publishing house *Detskaia literatura*, which appeared in in the same journal in 1972, Kornei Chukovsky recommended publishing Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *The Little Princess* instead of *The Secret Garden* that was scheduled for publication, claiming that Burnett's books were '   ,

' [humanistic books inspiring a feeling of sympathy for the weak].[469] This means that there was a plan to publish *The Secret Garden*, but for some reason it did not happen. Most probably, official reservations about retranslating this book or reprinting its pre-revolutionary translation were based on the book's sentimental and mystical nature: the Soviet critic of children's literature Evgenii Brandis stated, for example, that *The Secret Garden* '

' [permeated with covert mysticism].[470]

Considering the ideological context prevailing during the Soviet period, the time was not right for the books of Burnett and Nesbit to be offered to Soviet readers. However, the relaxed political and cultural atmosphere in the 1950s instigated the appearance of other books that explored themes of adventures, family, magic and silliness. These themes found considerable responses in the Soviet cultural context. During the 1960s and 1970s new translations of English classics (written between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War)

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[466] Ibid.

[467] Maria Nikolajeva, 'U istokov angliiskoi detskoi literatury XX veka', *Detskaia literatura,* 7 (1979), 33–7.

[468] Irina Tokmakova, 'Zheleznyi chelovek i velosipedist-prizrak: Kratkie zametki po povodu sovremennoi detskoi literatury v Anglii', *Detskaia literatura,* 7 (1979), 40–4 (p. 43).

[469] Kornei Chukovsky, 'Tri pis'ma Chukovskogo', *Detskaia literatura,* 4 (1972), 44–5 (p.44).

[470] Evgenii Brandis, *Ot Ezopa do Dzhanni Rodari: Zarubezhnaia literatura v detskom i iunosheskom chtenii* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1980), p. 111.

were added to the group of popular classics reprinted during the Soviet period. These books, which create an image of idealised England, include English folk tales, Beatrix Potter's *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle,* A. A. Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *The King's Breakfast* (from *When We Were Very Young*), J. M. Barrie's play *Peter Pan* and the novel *Peter and Wendy*, P. L. Travers's novels about Mary Poppins, Edward Lear's *Nonsense Songs* (selected poems), and J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit.* The 1980s saw the appearance of new translations of Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* (in 1984) and Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* (in 1988), which would go on to be actively reprinted and retranslated during the post-Soviet period.[471] Also Soviet child readers were offered in 1978 a retelling of Walter de la Mare's selected nonsense poems for children with elements of fantasy.[472] This translation was reprinted several times during the post-Soviet period. In addition to this, Henry Williamson's *Tarka the Otter*, which offers poetic descriptions of the Devonshire landscape, was translated in 1979.[473] This book was not republished and only reappeared during the post-Soviet period.

The demand for these books originated from Soviet urban intelligentsia – those parents who wanted to buy new books for their children because they were no longer satisfied with the traditional set of Soviet children's books, as a Russian cultural studies scholar Igor' Iakovenko explains. He adds that new translations and the retellings of famous foreign authors appeared as a response to this new demand.[474] Although these books introduced new themes for Soviet culture, they still had to express ideological values. This precondition was often met by means of highlighting the ideological context in forewords and afterwords to the published translations. It is important to note that children's literature in the Soviet Union faced fewer ideological restrictions compared to adult literature. Therefore, translators, editors and publishers had more scope to manoeuvre in translating and publishing foreign books. For example, it seems obvious that the theme of fighting evil, as seen from the Soviet point of view,

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[471] The influence of ideology on the translations of *Mary Poppins, The King's Breakfast*, *Peter Pan, Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* is analysed in chapter 6.

[472] Walter de la Mare, *Sygraem v priatki*, trans. by Viktor Lunin (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1978).

[473] Henry Williamson, *Vydra po imeni Tarka. Ee radostnaia zhizn' i ee smert' v doline dvikh rek*, trans. by G. Ostrovskaia (Moscow: Mir, 1979).

[474] I. Iakovenko, 'Krizis adekvatnosti: Razdum'ia kul'turologa', *Vestnik Evropy,* 33 (2012) <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2012/33/ia3.html> [accessed 2 June 2016].

offered a suitable opportunity for introducing the first Russian translation of Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950) in 1978 to Soviet readers.[475] The preface to the translation well illustrates the ideological context of the Soviet time into which this fantasy was accommodated: '

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.' [It is not difficult to guess that the White Witch personifies fascism in all its manifestations. Simply speaking, evil can be defeated only by people of good will who are brave and honest and who come to the aid of each other unselfishly.][476] Moreover, the religious discourse of the original was intentionally excluded by censorship. As Russian translator Olga Bukhina explains, the censor removed all Christian connotations: 'A Godfather became an uncle, Christmas […] was changed into the New Year, and all mentioning of the great Emperor-beyond-the-sea was eliminated from the text'.[477]

The same tendency can be observed with Tolkien's *The Hobbit* that was translated by N. Rakhmanova in 1976. Although Rakhmanova's translation is the first official Russian version of *The Hobbit*, there was an initial attempt to introduce *The Hobbit* to Soviet readers. A short abstract with a brief explanation about the book were published in the quarterly magazine *Angliia* in 1969.[478] The first translation of *The Hobbit* was abridged and Rakhmanova suggests that the editor and the censor made amendments to the translated text. She did not know about *The Lord of the Rings* and possible allusions in this book to the opposition between the Socialist East and the capitalist West.[479] It seems likely that the assumed political allusions (both in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) were the reason for presenting *The Hobbit* to Soviet readers only in the 1970s. It is stated in the book blurb to the first publication of *The Hobbit* that this book is about '   ,   ' [the destructive power of money, about the struggle between the good and the

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[475] Although this book is not included in my corpus of English texts, I have decided to include it here as an illustrative example of how ideology plays a key role in the selection of books for translation.

[476] C. S. Lewis, *Lev, Koldun'ia i platianoi shkaf*, trans. by G. Ostrovskaia (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1978).

[477] Bukhina, *From Narnia to Russia*, web.

[478] This publication can be found in *Angliia*, volume 2 (issue 30), 1969, pp. 30–40.

[479] Natal'ia Rakhmanova, 'Vospominaniia' <www.kulichki.com/tolkien/arhiv/ugolok/ rakhmanova_int.shtml> [accessed 13 December 2016].

evil].[480] These words point to the accordance of the book's themes with the Soviet ideological rhetoric. The first book of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy – *The Fellowship of the Ring* (1954) – was translated only in 1982 and positioned as a book for older children and young people. Initially a shortened version, it was later revised and offered to Soviet readers in 1989 in its full version.[481] In the same year, Soviet readers saw the revised version of *The Hobbit.* The advent of political changes of the early 1990s brought new full versions of both Tolkien's works and Lewis's *The Chronicles of Narnia*, and they have proved to be one of the most popular English titles that have been reprinted in different retranslations between 1991 and 2015.[482]

As with translated fantasy books, translations of English folk tales and ballads had to be contextualised ideologically in order to be published during the Thaw period. According to the Soviet publishing house *Malysh*, national folk tales and ballads promoted patriotic feelings among young readers.[483] This statement can be equally applicable to foreign folklore – it can demonstrate patriotic discourse in reference to a foreign country and this discourse can subsequently be projected by readers onto their own culture. The theme of patriotism is expressed in ballads about Robin Hood that were retranslated by Ignatii Ivanovskii in 1959.[484] Ivanovskii's translation was afterwards frequently reprinted during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. As in previous years, the image of Robin Hood had not lost its ideological topicality during Soviet time. As Ivanovskii recalls, it was an official demand of the editor that the translated ballads had to be put into social context. Hence the translator was required to provide an introductory ballad that would cover social themes. As a solution to this problem, Ivanovskii wrote a new ballad himself in which Robin Hood was depicted as a character who robbed the rich, helped the hungry and did not have mercy on priests.[485] As Ivanovskii says, this introductory poem was

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[480] J. R. R. Tolkien, *Khobbit, ili Tuda i obratno. Skazochnaia povest'*, trans. by N. Rakhmanova (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1976).
[481] J. R. R. Tolkien, *Khraniteli: Letopis' pervaia iz epopei "Vlastelin Kolets"* trans. by A. Kistiakovskii and V. Murav'ev (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1982).
[482] For the analysis of numerous Russian translations of both books see Hooker, *Tolkien Through Russian Eyes.*
[483] Golov, p. 3.
[484] Ignatii Ivanovskii, *Ballady o Robin Gude* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1959).
[485] Ignatii Ivanovskii, *Ballady o Robin Gude* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1963), pp. 5–7.

favoured by the authorities responsible for ideological issues within Soviet children's literature.[486]

Additionally, the following books have elements that are deemed as ideological within the context of Soviet ideological thinking and this might have been a reason for their selection for translation during the 1960s and the 1970s. Henry Rider Haggard's, *King Solomon's Mines*, *Fair Margaret*, and *The Lady of Blossholme* were translated in the late 1950s. As Brandis emphasised in 1980, Haggard '   ,

' [truthfully recreated the atmosphere of the late Middle Ages and depict the moral decay of the feudal elite].[487] The reason for the delay with translation of these books is trivial: Lenin denounced categorically Haggard's socio-political book *Rural England: Being an Account of the Agricultural and Social Researches Carried Out in 1901 and 1902* published in 1906.[488] Geofrey Trease's three historical adventure novels – *Cue For Treason* (1940)*, Comrades for the Charter* (1934), and *Missing from Home* (1937) – were translated in 1960. According to Brandis's categorisation, these books portray the history of the peasant and working class movements in England.[489] Although these books were not republished, Trease's other historical adventure novel *The Hills of Varna* (set in the Balkans with a main character who is English) has proved to be more popular with Soviet and Russian publishers. Trease's socialist views and connection to the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR (SCR) gained for *The Hills of Varna* a privileged position in the Soviet canon of children's literature. Eric Knight's *Lassie Come-Home* (translated in the 1960s) was probably chosen for translation because the dog Lassie is owned by a family of an English miner. William M. Thackeray, *The Rose and The Ring* (1854), translated in 1970, is a satirical fantasy tale which criticises monarchy and high society.

Although the following English texts first appeared in print after 1945 it is necessary to mention them in order to understand the general pattern in the field of translated English children's literature during the second half of the

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[486] Ignatii Ivanovskii, 'Fragmenty', *Zarubezhnye zapiski,* 4 (2005) <http://magazines.russ.ru/zz/2005/4/ii11.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[487] Brandis, *Ot Ezopa do Dzhanni Rodari*, p. 159.
[488] Ibid., p. 157.
[489] Ibid., p. 347.

Soviet period. These books complete the general image of Englishness that was presented to Soviet readers.

As a counter to ideological discourse, the 1970s and the 1980s saw the appearance of translated fantasy stories that were published once only and then reprinted in the post-Soviet period: Eleanor Farjeon's *The King's Daughter Cries for the Moon* from *The Little Bookroom* (1955), Alison Uttley's *Sam Pig* (written between 1939 and 1965), Michael Bond's, *A Bear Called Paddington* (1958), Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* (1952), selected tales by Joan Aiken from *A Necklace of Raindrops and Other Stories* (1968), and Richard Adams's *Watership Down* (1972). This list also includes Robert Graves's volume of nonsense poems *The Penny Fiddle: Poems for Children* (1960) that was translated in 1965 only and are out of print nowadays. Three books focusing on the social problems and moral choices faced by real teenagers covering social themes were also translated. Cecil Day Lewis's school adventure novel *The Otterbury Incident* (1948) set in post-war Britain appeared in Russian translation in the 1970s. Nina Bawden's *Kerrie's War* was translated in 1984 and never reprinted, and Sue Townsend's *The Secret Diary of Adrian Mole, Aged 13¾* was translated in 1989 and afterwards retranslated in 2001.[490]

Additionally, several translated books became popular during the second half of the Soviet period. However, their popular status in the Soviet Union did not match their lesser standing in Britain. Firstly, Leila Berg's novels about the adventures of ordinary English children: the 1950 novel *The Adventures of Chunky,* written in and translated in 1959, and *Little Pete Stories,* that appeared in England in 1952 and was translated into Russian in 1956 and reprinted in 1981. These books were popular during the Soviet period and their print run ended with the demise of the Soviet Union. Donald Bissett's selected fairy tales for small children, written between the 1950s and the 1970s and in a playful form presenting Englishness, were first translated in the 1960s and then reprinted throughout the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Gerald Darrell's 1974 fantasy novel *The Talking Parcel* about the adventures of two English children in a magical land was translated in 1981 and afterwards reprinted during the

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[490] As director of the Great Britain–USSR Association John C. Q. Roberts recalls, this book was given as a gift in the mid-1980s to one of his Moscow friends who had close links to Soviet publishing and whose teenage daughter was studying English at school. Thus a chance gift led to the book's publication in the Russian translation in 1989. See Roberts, pp. 177, 179.

post-Soviet period. It is important to note that Leila Berg, Donald Bissett and Gerald Darrell were favoured by the Soviet authorities as these writers showed sympathies towards the Soviet Union. Moreover, Berg and Bissett were involved in the activities of the SCR Writers Group promoting Soviet children's literature.[491] Darrell visited the Soviet Union in the 1980s and made a documentary about Russian wildlife.

As with the corpus of English children's books translated during the first half of the Soviet period, English texts translated between the mid-1950s and 1991 also reflect political and cultural changes in Soviet society. However, the pattern in the translated texts is different. The themes from the English texts, such as adventures and family as well as discourses of the fantastic and silliness, were further developed in Russian translations. At the same time, the ideological values continued to be addressed in Russian translations. The ideological themes, which have clear political connotations, include the negative implications of capitalism, class struggle, anti-religious ideas and the fight for independence. Also included are empire and patriotism, as well as social issues around young people. At the same time, looking at this corpus from the point of view of how Englishness is represented, it emerges that the themes in the selected English texts still point to the prevalence of institutional Englishness in Soviet translations. However, cultural Englishness and expressions of English national character noticeably start to play an important role in Soviet translations.

2. Selection of books for Russian translation during the Post-Soviet period (1992–2015)

Historical and cultural context of Russian children's literature

The cultural and political atmosphere in Russia underwent considerable changes after the break-up of the Soviet Union. As Rosalind Marsh emphasises, 'the former emphasis on Soviet values has been replaced by an interest in Russian literature and philosophy, both of the pre-revolutionary and émigré varieties, and Russian culture re-established its links with world

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[491] Jane Rosen, 'Baba Yaga in Brixton', *SCRSS Digest*, Summer (2014), 13–5 (p. 14).

culture'.[492] Cultural and political changes inevitably had an impact on Russian children's literature, which lost its dominat position and shifted to the periphery of the country's literary polysystem. After 1991 the situation regarding state control of children's literature changed drastically: political ideology and censorship gave way to market forces (which are commercial success and readers' demand). The publishing market has experienced a reorientation from a culture that was focused on political and patriotic values and Socialist Realism during the Soviet era to the popular commercial culture that dominated in the 1990s and 2000s. The aesthetic value of children's literature played a significant role too during the Soviet period. However, commercial reasons meant less attention was given to aesthetics in children's books in the 1990s.

As a result, the first decade of the post-Soviet period saw the prevalence of popular fiction for children that included the children's detective and mystery novels, fantasy books, fairy tales, children's horror stories, comics, and playful literature.[493] The dominance of popular fiction over thought-provoking realist literature instigated the appearance of new themes. Russian modern children's detective novels of the 1990s and the 2000s promoted new middle-class values, and the demand for the children's detective genre increased among the growing middle class families of post-Soviet Russia.[494] The popular Soviet genres, such as the school novel, realist stories, moralistic tales and ideological poems, have been superseded by playful literature and fantasy. Playful literature was based on absurd and inventive language. It was also highly influenced by the English tradition of nonsense which led to the appearance of the eccentric hero.[495] The themes of family life, religion, and the historical past of the pre-revolutionary Russia and the ideologised Soviet Union have also been popular in the post-Soviet period. Since the end of the 2000s Russian children's literature started engaging with controversial historical themes such as painful memories of Stalin's epoch and the Second World War. Also the 2010s have brought slow responses to contemporary social themes

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[492] Rosalind Marsh, *Literature, History and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia, 1991–2006* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 553.
[493] Rudova, 'From Character-Building to Criminal Pursuits', p. 19.
[494] Ibid., pp. 28, 38.
[495] I. N. Arzamastseva and S. A. Nikolaeva, *Detskaia literatura*, 6th edn (Moscow: Academiia, 2009), pp. 475–76.

such as class and regional differences, unemployment, poverty and family conflicts.[496]

<u>English children's books selected for translation into Russian</u>

As post-Soviet children's literature faced social and political changes, translated literature helped in the search for new names and themes. The greater openness of Russia to the West in the post-Soviet period has led to the saturation of the children's literature market with translated books. In the 1990s especially there was a great demand for translated literature. As Ben Hellman notes, by the year 2000 translations amounted to 'around half of all children's titles'.[497] Between 1991 and 2015 the selection of English children's books for translation reflected changes in the cultural and political climate in Russian society. Ideological censorship has been replaced by the needs of the publishing market: the preference has been given to those books that are commercially safe and sell well. These undoubtedly include the classics of children's literature.

Several new translated titles from the list of English books published between the late 1860s and 1945 appeared after the break-up of the Soviet Union. They included new titles that were not translated before as well as retranslations and reprints of the pre-revolutionary editions of books by Burnett and Nesbit, new translations of Lewis's *The Chronicles of Narnia*, Tolkien's *The Hobbit*, Carroll's *The Haunting of the Snark*, and Spike Milligan's selected nonsense poems.[498] At the same time, the list of popular Soviet translations of English children's classics and books accepted as literature suitable for children, discussed in the previous section in this chapter, did not undergo any major changes during the post-Soviet period and titles from this corpus have been constantly reprinted.[499]

The post-Soviet period has seen the revival of the themes of historical past and religion rather stand out. The 1990s renewed interest in pre-revolutionary Russia points to a nostalgic attitude towards life before 1917.

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[496] These themes have been promoted by the *KompasGid* and *Samokat* publishing houses.
[497] Hellman, *Fairy Tales and True Stories*, p. 563.
[498] See Appendix 3 part 2 and part 3 for the list of books that were not translated during the Soviet period and only appeared in translation after 1991.
[499] See Appendix 3 part 1 'Mostly reprinted Russian translations that appeared during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods'.

Therefore, the example of re-translations and reprints of pre-revolutionary editions of Burnett's and Nesbit's novels as well as new re-translations of Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* shows that translated literature about mythologised life in the late-Victorian and Edwardian England contributed to the promotion of the theme of nostalgia for the mythologised Russian pre-revolutionary past. For example, the topicality of Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy, The Little Princess* and *The Secret Garden* was emphasised in an article that appeared in *Detskaia literatura* journal in 1993. The author of the article stresses that the main characters of Burnett's idyllic novels were indispensable for Russian children who lived 'in the unkind world' of the early 1990s. The mythologised Englishness of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* is particularly highlighted in this article: '   ,   –   ,

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                                      .' [Thus Cedric Errol is back – a little lord from a big magical kingdom, which we could not visit at the right time. This kingdom populated by princesses, lords and fairies was created by Frances Hodgson Burnett.][500] What this article implies is that depictions of mythologised late-Victorian and Edwardian England resonated with the nostalgic feelings for the idealised past of Tsarist Russia that had been erased from official cultural memory during the Soviet period.

As a response to nostalgia for Imperial Russia before the Revolution, English books published from the late Victorian period through to the end of the Second World War together with such books as the fantasy tales of Eleanor Farjeon and J. R. R. Tolkien, which refer to the past with nostalgic sentiments, were translated, retranslated and reprinted in the post-Soviet period. At the same time, the nostalgic feeling for the mythologised past was strengthened by the re-published sentimental novels of Lidia Charskaia who wrote mostly about the adventures of middle-class and upper-class girls in Tsarist Russia. These novels had regained their popularity in Russia during the 1990s. Also the renewed interest in the Russian Orthodox religion in a changed Russian society could have been the reason for translating Victorian sentimental fiction for children, which often contained moralistic messages. For example, Georgiana

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[500] Elena Chudinova, 'Vozvraschenie Sedrika Errola. O tvorchestve Frensis Bernet', *Detskaia literatura,* 5 (1993), 31–6 (pp. 36, 31).

M. Craik's novel for girls *Cousin Trix and Her Welcome Tales* written in 1868 was published in Russian translation by the Russian Orthodox Church publishing house Izdatel'stvo Sretenskogo monastyria in 2013.[501] Another example is Charlotte Mary Yonge's moralistic and sentimental novel *Countess Kate* which first appeared in England in 1862 – it was translated into Russian in 1865, shunned during the Soviet period and reprinted again in 2015.

Since 1991, many popular modern British classics dealing with Englishness to some extent have been translated, including fantasy novels by celebrated authors such as Roald Dahl, J. K. Rowling and Philip Pullman. The theme of contemporary English children and their problems are represented in Russian translations of the books written by David Almond who is also a prize-winning author.[502] A considerable volume of books belonging to English popular fiction for children has been translated, among which are children's detective stories, thrillers, mystery books and teenage girl stories. For example, Enid Blyton's *The Famous Five* and *The Secret Seven* immediately appeared after the demise of the Soviet Union and have proved to be very popular.

In modern Russia, foreign books for translation are no longer selected according to the ideological demands of the state. Instead, publishers are guided by the publishing market expectations and the commercial success of foreign books. For example, the Russian translation of Chris Riddle's book *Goth Girl and the Ghost of a Mouse* (2013) was commissioned by the publishing house AST because Chris Riddle illustrated Neil Gaiman's books which are popular among Russian readers.[503] Also the translation of Elizabeth Goudge's *The Little White* Horse (1946) was commissioned to compliment the 2009 release of the fantasy film *The Secret of Moonacre* based on this book. Philippa Pearce's *Tom's Midnight Garden* (1958) was selected because the author's

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[501] See Georgiana M. Craik, *Istorii kuziny Triks. Sbornik dlia detei*, trans. by A. Berseneva-Shankevich (Moscow: Izdatel'stvovo Sretenskogo monastyria, 2013).

[502] See, for example, Russian translations of *Skellig* (1998), *My Name is Mina* (2010) and *The Boy Who Swam With Piranhas* (2012): David Almond, *Skellig*, trans. by O. Varshaver (Moscow: Inostranka, 2004), David Almond, *Menia zovut Mina*, trans. by O. Varshaver (Moscow: Azbuka, 2014), and David Almond, *Mal'chik, kotoryi plaval s piran'iami*, trans. by O. Varshaver (Moscow: Samokat, 2015).

[503] Mikhail Visel, 'Perevod kalamburov, alliuzii, perekodirovka kul'turnykh kodov na materiale, nakoplennom v khode raboty nad perevodom trilogii Krisa Ridella "Lunnaia Ledi Got" (AST, redaktsiia Mainstream, 2013–2015)', paper presented at the International conference *Detskaia literatura kak sobytie* [Children's literature as happening], The State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education of the City of Moscow Moscow City Teacher Training University, 11–13 December, 2015.

name was mentioned by Philip Pullman upon receiving a readers' award in 2007 (Pullman was voted by readers as their favourite winner of the Carnegie medal).[504]

To sum up, during the post-Soviet period the following English themes that appear in the original texts are fully represented in translation: patriotism, empire, historical past, religion, school family and home. Also included are adventures, detective stories and mystery, as well as discourses of fantasy and of silliness. These are the themes that are equally present in Russian and English children's literatures. This is clear evidence of Venuti's argument that the promotion of new and existing themes through the selection of the original books for translation develops national rhetoric in the receiving literature. As it emerges, during the post-Soviet period a considerable emphasis is given to cultural Englishness, although all three groups of manifestations of Englisheness are present in Russian translations. Nostalgia for the past seems to be dominant and expressed in the re-creation of the image of 'good old England'. If, during the Soviet period, the image of 'good old England' had political connotations, then during the post-Soviet period its idealisation resonates with the idealisation of Russian past.

Conclusion

The prevailing themes in English children's literature (including books accepted as literature suitable for children), published between the late Victorian period and the Second World War, in its essence were different from those prescribed by the authorities for Soviet children's literature. The late-Victorian and Edwardian periods offered adventure stories depicting Englishmen in challenging situations. The themes of heroism, patriotism and empire also found their way into fiction written for children (or accepted as children's literature) contributing to the romanticising of Englishness. English children's literature of this period also offered versions of nostalgia for idyllic Arcadia, visions of an

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[504] Olga Bukhina, who translated *The Little White* and *Tom's Midnight Garden,* told me about both books when I briefly interviewed her at the International conference "Detskaia literatura kak sobytie" [Children's literature as happening] (The State Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education of the City of Moscow "Moscow City Teacher Training University", 11–13 December, 2015). See Philippa Pearce, *Tom i polnochnyi sad*, trans. by O. Bukhina (Moscow: Samokat, 2011) and Elizabeth Goudge, *Taina lunnoi doliny*, trans. by O. Bukhina (Moscow: Zakharov, 2009).

English past with elements of fantasy, and expressions of silliness. It also treated such themes as family, home and the adventures of the middle- and upper-class children at school and during holidays. Although English children's literature published between the two World Wars continued to explore major themes of the Edwardian period, it is mostly characterised by the retreat from memories of the threat of war and social changes. This was achieved by delving into the fantasy genre.

Several books that portray Englishness have never been translated into Russian during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, leaving the representation of Englishness to Russian readers as incomplete. Among them are three books that are deeply rooted in the discourse of the fantastic: *The Midnight Folk* (1927) and *The Box of Delights* (1930) by John Masefield and *The Little Grey Men* (1942) by Denys Watkins-Pitchford. Social changes in British society brought about emergence of the theme of working class families.[505] For example, Eve Garnett's *The Family from One End Street* (1937) has never been translated either (it only appeared in English as a textbook for students in 1973). This book has a clear social purpose as the author depicts episodes in the everyday life of English children from a working-class background. Another notable absence is the theme of resilience in English national character during the Second World War, which was explored in three books that were published in the 1940s – Kitty Barne's *Visitors from London* (1940), Noel Streatfield's *The Children of Primrose Lane* (1941), and Mary Treadgold's *We Couldn't Leave Dinah* (1941). Again, these books have never been translated during the Soviet or post-Soviet periods.

If one compares the corpus of English children's literature and the corpus of Russian translations of English children's literature that appeared synchronically during the first half of the Soviet period, one would see that the Russian translations did not respond to the prevailing themes of English children's literature. Most of the titles appeared in translation considerably later, with only several books being translated during the Thaw period. The reason for that can be found in the divergence of social situations in Britain and the Soviet Union during the same period as well as in Soviet censorship that determined

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[505] Lists of books grouped under different themes are given in Appendix 2, part 2 'Main themes addressed in English children's literature'.

the selection of books for translation. Throughout the whole Soviet period there was a marked difference between the English corpus of texts and the Russian translations. In selecting original titles for translation, Soviet translators and publishers did not entirely base their choices on the prevailing themes in English children's literature. On the contrary, the selection of original books generally consolidated the formation, development and promotion of Soviet themes in Soviet children's literary polysystem. Hence, the English themes served as point of departure, or inspiration, rather than an example to follow and reproduce in the receiving literature. The English themes resonated with the ideological demands of the translated literature and through them the Soviet rhetoric was promoted in books offered to Soviet readers. This is clear evidence of Venuti's claim that original texts are chosen for translation in order to strengthen national rhetoric and national literature.

Two major tendencies emerge in the Soviet period: active translation of old and modern classics and less widespread translation of contemporary books. In both cases books had to meet ideological demands, which, in turn determined the preference for those themes in English children's literature that did not conflict with Soviet ideology. This case validates Even-Zohar's claim that the principle of selecting original texts for translation correlates with the accepted themes in the receiving literature. Within the Soviet children's literature system the translated children's literature underwent shifts from a central position during the 1920s and the Thaw period, when it responded to innovatory ideas of Soviet children's literature, to the peripheral position between 1930s and the mid-1950s as well as during the Stagnation period and the late-Soviet period, when it complemented and strengthened Soviet children's literature. During the post-Soviet time decisions to select books for translation were not influenced by state ideology. On the contrary, they are generally determined more often by commercial demands rather than official national discourse.

My analysis of the selected books for translation helps to draw a broad picture of the representation of Englishness in the Russian cultural context. The emphasis is given to themes of institutional Englishness such as class difference, heroism, imperialism, and historical past. Clearly, the selection of English children's books during the Soviet period followed the ideological

demands of the time and Englishness appears to be politicised. As I have shown in this chapter, the criteria for such selections were established by the ideological norms and by censorship. Despite a level of contemporary and historical knowledge about England among Soviet translators and publishers (as I argued in chapter 4), still, in general, during the Soviet period mostly original books judged to be ideologically correct and that were written by the ideologically suitable authors, were the ones chosen for translation.

It can be generally concluded that during the first half of the Soviet period the choice fell on those original books that were in accord with a recurring ideological motif of a new hero for a new Soviet country. Starting from the Thaw years, the desire to read new foreign books and find out about life in the West resulted in the appearance of more translated books. Broadly speaking, from looking at the selected English titles only (and not at texts in details), it appears that the mythologised image of England that suited the Soviet ideological discourse had affected the choice of books for translation. On the one hand, throughout the whole Soviet period there is a focus on the myth of heroic England where poor people stand up for freedom and oppose the rich and the powerful. On the other hand, there is a negative myth of capitalist and imperialist England where the life of the working class is hard. This myth is generally emphasised through the translated books published between 1918 and the beginning of the Thaw. At the same time, capitalist England is presented in a good light, mostly by choosing the original books focused on motifs of family and home, fantastic adventures and some aspects of silliness. These motifs are part of the literary image of 'Dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] that often appears in the English children's books written between the late Victorian period and the Second World War. Taking into account social and political contexts in which these books were translated, it logically follows that the image good old England in Soviet translations would be affected by ideology, as I will show in the following chapter 6.

Following the political changes of 1991, the Soviet ideological context of the translated literature lost its utmost importance. As a consequence of this, lots of English children's books have been translated in order to fill the void caused by ideological restrictions imposed on the translated literature through censorship. Most of the English children's books written between the late

Victorian period and the Second World War have been translated. In these translations images of the idealised 'good old England' prevail; quite often such images are underpinned by the nostalgic vision of the past of England and Russia.

The larger contextual picture presented in this chapter also enables me to justify my choice of translated books for further detailed analysis. I have decided to single out several books from the list of English titles that have been translated, retranslated and reprinted during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods and that are the most representative in terms of having examples of Englishness.[506] These books are the most popular choice of publishers and are available for reading. Moreover, most of these books are included into the list of translated foreign books compiled by the Russian State Library and recommended for purchase in school libraries.[507]

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[506] The list of mostly reprinted Russian translations that appeared during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods is given in Appendix 3 part 1.

[507] A. V. Teplitskaia and and others, 'Tysiacha luchshikh proizvedenii mirovoi khudozhestvennoi literatury v russkikh perevodakh, rekomendovannykh dlia komplektovaniia shkil'noi biblioteki', NIO bibliografii RGB, (2004) <http://www.rsl.ru/ru/s3/s331/s122/d311/> [accessed 13 June 2016].

Chapter 6: Framing Englishness in an ideological context: case study of Soviet and Post-Soviet representations

This chapter looks at those textual manifestations of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character that have been manipulated in an ideological context in Russian translations of English children's classics. I will develop the idea that the representation of these manifestations depends on current state ideology and reflects the shifting nature of the political and cultural climate in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia. I will focus mostly on the Soviet period, because it laid the foundations for later changes in translations of the original texts chosen for the analysis in this chapter. As Soviet policy imposed restrictions on what and how to translate, it is interesting to see how translation dealt with and built bridges between cultures in a restricted environment in order to represent the image of Englishness. I will also consider translations that appeared after the demise of the Soviet Union, in order to identify the main trends in representing Englishness for Russian readers.

I will show that the portrayal of Englishness in Soviet translations is set within the historical context, with ideology and censorship playing an important role. I will analyse how Soviet ideology manifests itself in the translated texts. At the same time, ideology plays a didactic role because stories translated books promote images of other cultures among young readers and the perception of these images can be manipulated for political ends. I will show that manifestations of Englishness are conveyed in Soviet and post-Soviet translations according to literary norms, with the emphasis on the domesticating principle in translation supported by André Lefevere's theoretical view about different cultures being 'naturalised' in translations.[508] When dealing with retranslations, I will draw on Siobhan Brownlie's views stating that changes in context and outdatedness instigate the appearance of new interpretations of the original text, and that new interpretations appear on the level of individual passages, sentences and phrases.[509] I will also refer to paratexts as part of an imagological approach, to unearth the historical and socio-cultural contexts of

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[508] Lefevere, p. 237.
[509] Brownlie, pp. 152–53.

the translated texts and understand the construction of Englishness in the translated texts. I will demonstrate that paratextual discourse is used to get books past the censor and have them published.

I will discuss nuances in the portrayal of Englishness in the translations of selected original works that were offered to Soviet and post-Soviet readers. I will propose that the perceptions of Englishness created by translators were affected by state ideology during the Soviet period. Bearing in mind that the Soviet literary system was restricted by censorship, it seems that some ideological interpretation of Englishness was unavoidable. In modern Russia, the market for translated literature is inevitably affected by commercial considerations of the kinds of translated books likely to be sold and influenced by the patriotic and imperialistic nature of the current state ideology. I will analyse how these processes affect Russian representations of the following themes of institutional Englishness: empire and the historical past in Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*; empire and the class system in J. M. Barrie's novel *Peter and Wendy* and the play *Peter Pan*; the historical past in the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop.* As for expressions of English national character, I will analyse Russian representations of the discourse of silliness in A. A. Milne's *The King's Breakfast* and *King Hilary and the Beggarman,* as well as discourses of the fantastic and of silliness in P. L. Travers's *Mary Poppins.*

In each subsection I will start by tracing the history of each original text in Russia and then discuss why it took so long to select them for translation during the Soviet period (except *King John and the Bishop*). This discussion will provide the background for understanding translation approaches to representing institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character. The analysis of translations in each subsection will focus mostly on the Soviet period, looking at how the translator as self-censor and the editor as a censor interfered with the final version of the translated text, thus modifying the representations of Englishness. The point of departure for this analysis is Aleksandra Borisenko's view that the Soviet ideological understanding of childhood affected translated children's literature. Borisenko explains the basic principles for translating books written for children during the Soviet period. It was expected that translators and editors would remove or reduce the effect of

everything that was 'sad/tragic, morbid, violent, sentimental, ambiguous, complicated, too long and descriptive'. As a contrasting measure, it was 'advisable to make the text in question' appear 'cheerful, optimistic, light, brisk, straightforward, simple, dynamic'.[510] An understanding of the historical and political context will enable a deeper analysis of the representations of Englishness asking why they were treated ideologically in Russian translations and whether subsequent changes in the translations and/or retranslations followed after the fall of the Soviet Union. I will also consider examples of Soviet translations in which expressions of English national character are accommodated within the Russian cultural and literary context.

As I have shown in the third chapter, Russian children's literature mostly turns to positive stereotypes about Englishness and authors offer their readers the myth of good old England. This tendency is characteristic for books published during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras. However, there are instances when representations of Englishness in Russian children's literature are changed through ideology. The themes of empire, power and social inequality add important nuances to the picture of England that comes from writers in the Soviet period. By analogy with the case study of representations of Englishness in Russian children's literature, I will demonstrate that Soviet translators resort to a stereotypical perception of the capitalist West, which was shaped by Soviet ideology and had negative connotations, and embed it into their views of how England should be portrayed. By contrast, during the post-Soviet period, when several original books were re-translated and/or re-edited, the ideologically influenced stereotypes have ceased to play any role in the translating process. Thus, I presume that the portrayal of Englishness is stereotyped and imagined. At the same time, it is to some extent true to life. As I have discussed in the fourth chapter, Soviet translators knew about England and its culture despite the restricted access to information about the West during the Soviet era.

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[510] Borisenko, '"The Good Are Always the Merry": British Children's Literature in Soviet Russia', section 'Censorship matters', 2016 forthcoming, pp. not known.

1. Representations of institutional Englishness in Soviet and post-Soviet translations

1.1. Empire and historical past in Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*

Kipling's poetry and prose first appeared in translation in Russia in the 1890s. At that time the imperialist nature of his writings was emphasised by Russian critics. At the same time, his work was praised for its literary originality and creativity. Attitudes to Kipling in the Soviet Union were ambivalent too. On the one hand, there were negative views on Kipling's imperialist and racist position. As the Soviet literary critic Evgenii Brandis emphasises, Kipling had conservative views and promoted the ethos of British imperialism.[511] Although the tsarist empire was dismantled, Kipling, as a poet of empire, was not consigned to oblivion by the October Revolution of 1917. His poetry and prose (although not everything, only what suited Soviet ideology) had been translated in the Soviet Union, on the premise that his work contained universal human values such as 'duty and selfless dedication to a noble cause', praise for technology and progress, the use of ordinary people as main characters, as Katharine Hodgson explains.[512]

Kipling was presented to Soviet readers selectively. Those books and poems which manifested his strong conservative and imperialist views were not translated. After 1991 interest in Kipling's works was revived in Russia and many of his works were republished or newly translated. Kipling's two volumes of fantasy stories about Puck – *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* – were first translated in 1916. However, they were forgotten for most of the Soviet period and only retranslated closer to the end of Communism. A substantial explanation of this fact can be found in a Soviet publication of the late 1950s written by T. Motyleva. She refers to both books about Puck calling them 'two volumes of historical legends'. In her view, medieval England is shown conventionally in the context of decorative heroism. Motyleva adds that Kipling idealises the British monarchy and, according to him, this idealisation should strengthen young people's allegiance to the throne, belief in the divine

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[511] Brandis, p. 172.
[512] Katharine Hodgson, 'The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling in Soviet Russia', *Modern Language Review,* 93 (1998), 1058–071 (pp. 1061–062).

role of England to conquer and rule other parts of the world. Motyleva concludes that Kipling's both volumes of stories about Puck are artificial, sentimental and boring.[513]

The first Soviet abridged version of Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies,* translated by Aleksei Slobozhan, was published in 1984 and then revised in 1992. Slobozhan researched Kipling's poetry and found that his stories about Puck had not been translated in the Soviet Union, notwithstanding the popularity of Kipling among Soviet readers. While preparing a translation proposal for the publishing house he emphasised that Kipling's stories about Puck teach love of a native land and value its past, something which would resonate with the Soviet reader. He knew that *Puck of Pook's Hill* was translated in 1916 by Anna Enkvist and that this translation was not republished during the Soviet period.[514] The pre-revolutionary editions were hardly circulated in the Soviet Union. Therefore, Slobozhan discovered Kipling's stories about Puck and made them available, though in abridged form, for Soviet readers. However, in order to introduce the books to the Soviet readers, Slobozhan had to make sacrifices in the form of alterations. The reason for doing this was based on textual conflicts arising from censorship, Soviet publishing policy, and the translator's and his editor's perceptions of England and the Soviet Union. The translator had to find a balance between wanting to translate Kipling's books, and finding a way to have them published.

Slobozhan's translation was titled as *Mech Vilanda: Skazki Staroi Anglii* [Weland's Sword: Tales of Old England]. Both original books were combined into one with only a selection of chapters presented in the Russian translation: four translated chapters out of the original ten in *Puck of Pook's Hill* and three translated chapters out of the original eleven in *Rewards and Fairies.*[515] According to Slobozhan, the reason for omitting chapters was based on publishing house policy: the size of the collection of stories was limited. He was free to choose the chapters for his translation and the censor was not involved in the process of selection of stories. As Kipling's stories describe the history of England and, in Slobozhan's opinion, Russian readers would not know much

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[513] T. Motyleva, 'Kipling', in *Istoriia angliiskoi literaturi. Tom 3* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1958), pp. 256–79 (p. 261).
[514] Email correspondence with Aleksei Slobozhan.
[515] See Appendix 4, part 1.

about the past of England, he chose chapters about events with which Russian readers would be familiar. These chapters were divided into three logical groups: stories about fairies (*Weland's Sword*, '*Dymchurch Flit'*, and *Cold Iron*); stories about the Roman invasion of Britain (*A Centurion of the Thirtieth*, *On the Great Wall*, and *The Winged Hats*); and about universal themes such as ancient people (*The Knife and the Naked Chalk*), as well as astrology and plague (*A Doctor of Medicine*).[516]

In a letter to the editor of the *Kipling Journal* in 1989, Slobozhan alludes that the publisher (as part of the literary translation process) acted as a censor. He says that '[u]nfortunately, in some cases, while translating the stories, I had to make a kind of adaptation because the publishers had their own ideas about children's literature, and I was forced to yield to compromises'.[517] According to Slobozhan, changes to the translated text were made by the editor who decided to exclude references to supernatural forces. The editor also omitted frequent references to god and empire. In the editor's view, empire alluded to the Soviet Union and was seen as a possible implicit criticism of the Soviet Union being a continuation of the Russian Empire.[518] These are the three areas, affected by censorship, in which institutional Englishness manifests itself through the themes of empire and the historical past.

The stories included in both books deal with the survival of the past into the present. In these stories two children – Dan and Una, who live in Sussex, – meet with Puck on Midsummer Eve and Midsummer Day. Puck, an English mythological fairy or Robin Goodfellow from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, is referred to as Faun or Pan. Puck explains that he is the last of the People of the Hills, who started as gods before descending into this world. He leads both children in a series of extraordinary historical adventures set during the flint and iron ages, the time when Britain was governed by the Roman Empire, during invasions of Britain by the Saxons, the Vikings and the Normans, as well as during the reign of kings Henry VII, Henry VIII and Charles I, Queen Mary I, Queen Elizabeth I and the Napoleonic Wars.

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[516] Email correspondence with Aleksei Slobozhan.
[517] Aleksei Slobozhan, '"Puck" Stories in Russian', *Kipling Journal,* 63 (March, 1989), 35–6 (p. 36).
[518] Email correspondence with Aleksei Slobozhan. The Roman chapters are also considerably reduced, compared to the original.

In both books, by idealising England's historical past and populating it with fictitious characters, Kipling creates his own version of the myth of Englishness as 'Merry England'. In *Puck of Pook's Hill* in the first chapter 'Weland's Sword' Kipling focuses on the exclusiveness of Englishness, saying that the ancient gods left the English land because 'they could not get on with the English for one reason or another'.[519] In the last chapter 'The Treasure and the Law' of *Puck of Pook's Hill* he extends the notion of Englishness and modifies its exclusiveness 'by making a Jew instrumental in the formulation of Magna Carta'.[520] Moreover, by telling the story of how Magna Carta was signed, Kipling proposes that England will become 'a promised land of freedom for everybody'.[521] Hence, this chapter is a celebration of English liberty. In *Rewards and Fairies* the imaginative of historical Englishness includes many references to the theme of Christianity, as well as leadership and the heroic English character.

Kipling's line of narrative about the English past given in *Puck of Pook's Hill* is lost in Slobozhan's translation. By omitting the Norman stories, the chapter 'Hal o' the Draft' and especially the culminating chapter 'The Treasure and the Law', Slobozhan's translation offers a distorted original message about the transformation of historical Englishness from exclusiveness to racial mixing. At the same time, by not translating all the chapters of *Rewards and Fairies* and omitting frequent references to Christianity, Slobozhan's translation does not reproduce the completeness of the historical portrait of England.

However, despite the fact that Slobozhan's 1984 version of the original is abridged, the general idea of Kipling's patriotic discourse is preserved in his translation. In a letter about *Puck of Pook's Hill* addressed to Edward Bok, the editor of the American magazine *Ladies' Home Journal*, in which several stories from this book were published in 1906, Kipling states that 'history rightly understood means love of one's fellow men and the lands one lives in'.[522] In the preface to his 1984 translation, Slobozhan stresses the significance of devotion to the native land and veneration of its past. He also accentuates the

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[519] Rudyard Kipling, 'Puck of Pook's Hill', in *Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 1–176 (p. 14).
[520] Sarah Wintle, 'Introduction', in *Rudyard Kipling. Puck of Pook's Hill* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), pp. 7–34 (p. 26).
[521] Ibid., p. 33.
[522] Letter to Edward Bok of 28 July 1905, in *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling,* ed. by Thomas Pinney, 3 vols (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), iii, 189.

importance of the connection between the English national character and the past of England, the importance of the continuity of generations in English culture, the allusions linking the original texts to other literary sources, as well as the heroism and self-sacrifice of the English people.[523] Thus, in general, Slobozhan succeeds in recreating Kipling's general theme of the English national past and patriotism.

As an important part of the idealised historical narrative of 'Merry England', Kipling tells imaginary stories of Old England when fairies and gods populated the land. Hence, in the chapters 'Dymchurch Flit', 'Cold Iron', 'A Doctor of Medicine', and 'The Knife and the Naked Chalk' the theme of the historical past is interwoven with elements of the fantastic, folklore and mysticism. Slobozhan kept the chapters 'Cold Iron', 'The Knife and the Naked Chalk', and 'A Doctor of Medicine' in his translation published in 1984. However, the chapter 'Dymchurch Flit' was removed from the draft by the editor, according to Slobozhan. The reason for doing that is straightforward. Being a tale about fairies – 'people of the hills' – who left England forever, and being set around the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth century during the rule of Henry VIII, this chapter had too many references to mysticism. Hence, the chapter was clearly against the Soviet atheist ideology in relation to children's literature. In the chapter 'A Doctor of Medicine' Nicholas Culpeper explains how he stopped the plague in a Sussex village by using astrology in order to get the rats killed. There is only one omission in this chapter, referring to the theme of religion. However, a considerable difference between the Soviet translation and the subsequent retranslation can be found in the translator's commentary, in which Slobozhan states that Kipling mocks astrology and explains to his readers that astrology is a false teaching which misleads people.[524]

Empire is another major theme that refers to institutional Englishness and manifests itself in the three chapters about the Roman invasion of Britain in *Puck of Pook's Hill*: 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth', 'On the Great Wall', and 'The Winged Hats'. These chapters are a story about a Roman soldier named

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[523] Aleksei Slobozhan, '"Skazki Staroi Anglii" Red'iarda Kiplinga', in *Red'iard Kipling. Mech Vilanda: Skazki Staroi Anglii* (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1984), pp. 5–12.
[524] Rudyard Kipling, *Mech Vilanda: Skazki staroi Anglii*, trans. by A. Slobozhan (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1984), p. 282.

Parnesius, who was born into a family of assimilated Romans and lived in the later days of Roman Britain in the 4th century. It was a time when the borders of the empire were threatened by the intrusion of barbarians and when political rivalry within destabilised the country. Parnesius is stationed on Hadrian's Wall on the northern border of the empire and witnesses the fall of the general Magnus Maximus, the commander of Britain. In Kipling's portrayal in these chapters, a strong empire meant good local administration and respecting the traditions of other peoples who lived in the empire, and the idea that constant struggles for power could threaten stability.

According to Slobozhan, the Soviet editor imposed quite a lot of omissions, because there were allusions to the Soviet Union regarding power and empire.[525] Kipling depicted the fragility of the formerly powerful Roman Empire and hinted at possible consequences for ambitious emperors who forget about their people. Therefore, in a way, allusions to the fragility of empire could have prompted the editor to suspect an implicit reference to the Soviet Union which could have been seen as an empire which was doomed. Allusions of this kind were most probably not permitted, especially in children's literature. Moreover, the editor's excessive caution can be explained by the existing allegorical similarity in late Soviet poetry between the ideologies of the Roman Empire and the Soviet Union, as it appears, for example, in Joseph Brodsky's poetry.[526] The metaphorical depiction of empire frequently emerges in Brodsky's poems and his portrayal of ancient Rome evokes the stagnation of the empire, which, as Emily Lygo notes, 'recalls specifically the USSR under Brezhnev'.[527] Although the Soviet Union never officially referred to itself as an imperial power (the concept of empire in Soviet understanding was applicable only to the capitalist West), implicit references to the Soviet state as an empire emerged in Soviet society in the 1970s and the 1980s. As Petr Vail' and Aleksandr Genis argue, by the end of the 1960s the change in political ideologies (from communism to friendship of the peoples) revived responses to the idea of empire in Soviet culture, which were expressed in withdrawing oneself from the

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[525] Email correspondence with Aleksei Slobozhan.
[526] This idea was suggested to me by Dr Alexandra Smith during the discussion of my paper based on this section, which was presented at the BASEES 2015 Annual Conference. The title of my paper: 'The story of Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) in Russia'.
[527] Emily Lygo, *Leningrad Poetry 1953–1975: The Thaw Generation* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 303.

life of the destructive empire in order to survive.[528] Considering the circumstances, in which ideological demands played a significant role, and ideas circulating among Soviet intelligentsia that empire had a destructive force (in reference to the Soviet Union), it becomes apparent that the Soviet censor/editor might well have become sensitive to literary allusions connected with the empire.

As a consequence of the editor's intervention in the final translated text, the theme of empire became less vivid in Slobozhan's translation and consequently lost its original message. In the following examples, by employing the theme of empire, Kipling accentuates the particular traits of the English national character – liberal-mindedness and respect for the traditions of other peoples. However, the Soviet translation represents Kipling's view of Englishness rather differently: Kipling's Englishness becomes manipulated due to the influence of Soviet political ideology.

In the chapter 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth' Kipling gives a description of Bath (Aquae Sulis) as a cosmopolitan place in Roman Britain. Parnesius, who is the protagonist in this story, says that Bath is a city where

> you meet fortune-tellers, and goldsmiths, and merchants, and philosophers, and feather-sellers, and ultra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans, and tame tribesmen pretending to be civilised, and Jew lecturers, and – oh, everybody interesting.[529]

This example refers to Kipling's admiration of the British Empire as a place that attracted diversity and solidarity. In this context Kipling's views on the theme of empire strengthen Englishness and develop its concept further in the book. In Kipling's idealistic view, Englishness encompasses respect for personal liberties, tolerance, and traditions of newcomers. '[U]ltra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans', and 'Jew lecturers' are omitted in Slobozhan's 1984 translation. It is possible that the Soviet editor noticed allusions to nationalism and a likely connection to anti-Semitic attitudes in the late Soviet Union. One would not expect that these two issues would be mentioned in the Soviet children's literature. Therefore, the symbolic allusion to empire as a constructive

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[528] Petr Vail' and Aleksandr Genis, *60-e. Mir sovetskogo cheloveka*, 2nd edn (Moscow: Novoe literaturnue obozrenie, 1998), pp. 282, 290.
[529] Kipling, 'Puck of Pook's Hill', in *Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies,* p. 87. See the extract and examples of all translations in Appendix 4, part 1, example 1.

element of institutional Englishness is lost in Slobozhan's 1984 translation and the influence of ideological conventions is clear.

In the next example, also taken from chapter 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth', Parnesius and his father are talking about the later years of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, when it was divided into two halves – the eastern and the western. Parnesius's father ponders over the reason why it happened and Parnesius comments on his father's thoughts: 'and to listen to him you would have thought Eternal Rome herself was on the edge of destruction, just because a few people had become a little large-minded'.[530] On the one hand, it might seem that the presence of liberal-minded people could lead to the fall of the empire. However, Kipling implies that 'large-minded' people could become an asset to empire, and it is that feature of the English national character that makes it so distinctive. In Slobozhan's translation only the first part of this extract (about the fall of the empire) is retained and the reason that might lead to the fall of empire is omitted: '

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' [Then he started recollecting the events of the bygone centuries, and by listening to his words one would have thought that Eternal Rome was on the edge of falling].[531] Most probably, the Soviet editor drew parallels with the Soviet Union and assumed that the allusion was too clear: the presence of liberal-minded people might lead to the destruction of the Soviet empire. Again, as in the previous example, the Kipling's view of Englishness is lost in the Soviet translation.

In a final example, in the chapter 'On the Great Wall', Parnesius draws caricatures of the life of the general Magnus Maximus's soldiers stationed on Hadrian's Wall. Maximus dislikes the caricatures and says that people used to be punished for laughing at soldiers of the Roman Empire:

> 'Not long since,' he [Maximus] went on, 'men's names were sent up to
> Caesar for smaller jokes than this.' […]

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[530] Ibid., p. 89–90. See the extract and examples of all translations in Appendix 4, part 1, example 2.
[531] Kipling, *Mech Vilanda: Skazki staroi Anglii*, p. 69.

'I was speaking of time past', said Maximus, never fluttering an eyelid. 'Nowadays one is only too pleased to find boys who can think for themselves and their friends'.[532]

In this extract Kipling draws attention to freedom of speech, which is another feature of his version of the English national character. This extract is also removed from Slobozhan's translation, so that Soviet readers and modern Russian readers would not be exposed to the portrayal of Parnesius as a brave and 'large-minded' ancestor of the future heroes of the British Empire idealised by Kipling.

Slobozhan's 1984 translation was reviewed in the Soviet journal *Detskaia literatura* in 1986. The reviewer says that the stories about Puck familiarise Soviet readers with the 'complicated history of England' and enable them to understand how the English national character was formed.[533] It follows from my analysis that a full portrait of institutional Englishness is not reflected in Slobozhan's translation. However, the numerous omissions were necessary to ensure the book's approval for publication, as Slobozhan emphasised.[534] Kipling's England is not fully represented in Slobozhan's translation due to such ideological factors as censorship and the Soviet publishing policy. At the same time, the translator's presence is apparent in the translated text. Slobozhan's voice is expressed through self-censorship and his own perception of Russian and English cultures in the core text and paratext, which resulted in a modified image of Englishness.

Slobozhan edited his translation for the version published in 1992. This time it was called *Skazki Paka* [Fairy tales of Puck], and all the cuts, changes and substitutions that occurred in the Soviet translation were restored in the new edition. The 1992 version contained edited chapters from the 1984 translation, newly translated poems and the '*Dymchurch Flit*' chapter. Although the new edition was still a shortened version of the original two volumes, the meaning of Kipling's idealised Englishness was restored. However, for a full acquaintance with the original texts and the full picture of Englishness, Russian readers would have to refer to the two re-translations which were both first

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[532] Kipling, 'Puck of Pook's Hill', in *Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies*, pp. 106–07. See the extract and examples of all translations in Appendix 4, part 1, Example 3.
[533] V. Gopman, 'Red'iard Kipling. Mech Vilanda. Skazki staroi Anglii', *Detskaia literatura,* 1 (1986), 73–4 (p. 74).
[534] Email correspondence with Aleksei Slobozhan.

published in 1996 by Grigorii Kruzhkov (*Pak s volshebnikh kholmov* [Puck of the magic hills] and *Podarki fei* [Presents from fairies]) and by Irina Gurova (*Pak s kholmov* [Puck of the hills] and *Nagrady i fei* [Rewards and fairies]), or to the translation of *Puck of Pook's Hill* by Anna Enkvist (*Staraia Angliia* [Old England]) which first appeared in 1916 in pre-revolutionary Russia and was republished after 1991.[535] Translations of Enkvist, Krizhkov and Gurova did not have significant modifications and consequently did not change the nature of institutional Englishness initially portrayed in the original texts.

Both before and after the 1917 Revolution, the ideological and cultural context in Russia made it possible for Kipling's works to appear in translation. Kipling's patriotic discourse and his emphasis on importance of historical continuity as valuable examples to follow are equally important for Soviet and post-Soviet translations. As mentioned earlier, Slobozhan's Soviet translation implicitly appeals to Russian national identity. The post-Soviet re-translations by Kruzhkov and Gurova were first published at a time when Russia was actively searching for a new national idea to unite the nation. In the 2010s, when these re-translations were reprinted, patriotic discourse was no less important, the political rhetoric in Russia emphasising the notion of national identity and a sense of national pride. Ideas of empire are also applicable to the translations of both periods. Although the theme of empire in connection with the Soviet Union was problematic for Soviet publications, it seems that starting from the 1990s the theme of empire as part of Englishness might have contributed to the promotion of a new Russianness. As Rosalind Marsh emphasises, by the late 1990s the search for a new Russianness and 'the propagation of patriotic values had now entered the mainstream of Russian culture and political thinking'.[536] From the general point of view, the post-Soviet translations can be seen as supporting Russia's modern imperial rhetoric in the context of the idealisation of a strong empire. Hence, in a way, Englishness and Russianness, as concepts, both contributed to the publication and popularity of Kipling's fantasy stories about Puck in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia.

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[535] As of 2014–2016 situation, Kruzhkov's translation is mostly favoured by the Russian publishers, followed by Enkvist's translation. It is less likely to find Gurova's translation and Slobozhan's translation has not been reprinted since 2003.
[536] Marsh, *History and Identity in Post-Soviet Russia,* p. 510.

1.2. Empire and class in J. M. Barrie's novel *Peter and Wendy* and the play *Peter Pan*

The first Russian translation of J. M. Barrie's story about Peter Pan was published in 1918 and called *Prikliucheniia Pitera Pana* [The Adventures of Peter Pan].[537] It was a translation of the prose version of the play *Peter Pan* (first performed in England in 1904). The translation went largely unnoticed by Russian readers and critics as it appeared at a most unsuitable time. As Evgenii Brandis explains, there was little chance for a story about the adventures of Peter Pan to be presented to a large audience of young Soviet readers and their parents, because of the widespread campaign against nonsense literature in the 1920s and 1930s.[538] In her book *V laboratorii redaktora* [In an editor's laboratory], first published in 1960, Lydia Chukovskaya notes that the fear of turning children into idealists who might have a distorted perception of the real world had led to a ban on fairy tale, fantasy and playfulness in children's literature.[539] Moreover, the 1930 *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia* [Literary Encyclopaedia] characterises Barrie as

> …   -   […].
>   ,   -
>   ,   .
>   ,
>   .

> […an author of sentimental fairytale books written for children […].
> Detached from real life and restricted by narrow and individualistic
> limits, Barrie idealises reality in his works, thus siding ideologically with
> the most conservative part of the petty bourgeoisie.][540]

These factors, together with the sentimentality and middle-class essence of the original novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911) and the play *Peter Pan* (1928), made it unlikely that either work would have appeared before the Thaw. It was not until

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[537] J. M. Barrie, *Prikliucheniia Pitera Pana*, trans. by L. A. Bubnova (Moscow: Detskaia kniga, 1918).
[538] Brandis, p. 269.
[539] Lydia Chukovskaya, *V laboratorii redaktora* (Arkhangel'sk: OAO "IPP "Pravda Severa", 2005), <http://www.chukfamily.ru/Lidia/Publ/Laboratoria/glava7.htm> [accessed 20 April 2016], chapter 7 'Marshak-redaktor', section 15.
[540] 'Barri Dzh.', in *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia. V 11 tomakh, 1929–1939,* ed. by P. I. Lebedev-Polianskii and others, 11 vols (Moscow: Kommunisticheskaia akademiia, 1930), i (1930), 720–21 <http://feb-web.ru/feb/ litenc/encyclop/le1/le1-7205.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

the end of the 1950s that the translators Nina Demurova and Boris Zakhoder attempted to interest Soviet publishers in Barrie's fantasy about Peter Pan. They both started translating Barrie's works at the same time: Demurova translated the novel and Zakhoder translated the play. Even though they might not have known each other in the late 1950s, this coincidence points to an understanding that it was possible to have stories about Peter Pan in the Soviet cultural milieu.[541] It is noticeable that the ideological tone of encyclopaedia information about Barrie published in 1962 is considerably downplayed compared to the 1930 edition:

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« » («Peter Pan», 1904) —   .

, -   […]. .

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[Barrie ridicules bourgeois theory about the natural inequality of people. The play *Peter Pan* (1904) is a moving fantastic story about a boy who has never grown up […]. At times Barrie complied with petty bourgeois tastes overusing sentimentality, but he could combine the plausible with the fantastic and the crudely humorous description of daily life with romantic intrigue.[542]

Demurova first found out about *Peter and Wendy* in 1956 when she bought it from a street vendor in India while working as an interpreter for a small cultural delegation from the USSR.[543] She had her translation ready by 1957 but it was rejected by a publisher. She tried to get her translation published for ten years. According to her, the Soviet policy 'against fairy-tales and fantasy in children's books' can be seen as the main reason for rejection of her

[541] Demurova recollects that in 1962 the *Detskii Mir* (Children's World) publishing house had plans to publish the translation and Zakhoder agreed to supervise the edition of Demurova's translation. However, this publishing house could not fulfil its plans as it was banned from publishing foreign literature in the same year. See Demurova, 'Peter Pan in Russia or Peter Pan, Korney Chukovsky and the Soviet Censor', (pp. 20–1).

[542] B. A. Gilenson and N. Ia. D'iakonova, 'Barri', in *Kratkaia literaturnaia entsiklopediia,* ed. by A. A. Surkov, 9 vols (Moscow: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1962–178), i (162), 459 <http://feb-web.ru/feb/kle/kle-abc/ke1/ke1-4591.htm> [accessed 10 April 2016].

[543] Kalashnikova, *Po-russki s liubov'iu: besedy s perevodchikami,* pp. 199–200.

translation.[544] However, Demurova did not give up all hope of introducing *Peter and Wendy* to Soviet child and adult readers. She read her translation to her friends, relatives and their children. *Peter and Wendy* became known to Soviet readers only in 1968, when Demurova was finally invited by *Detgiz* publishing house to publish her translation.

While negotiating the conditions for the publication of her translation of *Peter and Wendy* with Detgiz in 1968, Demurova emphasised that the original book had classic status, which was 'a key word that opened the door to many publications in the Soviet Union'.[545] However, while discussing omissions with Demurova, the censor pointed to serious issues in the original that were considered inappropriate for Soviet children. The book described a flying boy, a nanny dog and a ten-year-old girl cleaning the house. Moreover, as Demurova explains, the censor disliked Captain Hook's ponderings over his identity as a gentleman and insisted on removing this word from the translated text, as Soviet children were not aware of this concept.[546] In order to protect her translation from the suggested changes, Demurova asked Kornei Chukovsky for help. He suggested to the publishing house that the character of the little housemaid should stay in the book – Soviet children needed to know about the exploitation of child labour in England. This ironic suggestion saved the translation and the book was published. However, the word 'dzhentelmen' was not included.[547] Demurova acknowledges that she acted as self-censor and removed 'a few lines which, [she] was certain, would never be permitted to appear in a Soviet children's publication'.[548] These lines refer to the theme of the British Empire. In the end, the book was published by Detgiz in 1968 'with minimal cuts' and an acknowledgement that the book was slightly abridged.[549] Only in 1987 and then 1992 were Russian readers offered a full edition of Russian *Peter and Wendy* without any omissions.[550]

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[544] Demurova, 'Peter Pan in Russia or Peter Pan, Korney Chukovsky and the Soviet Censor', p. 20.

[545] Ibid., p. 22.

[546] Kalashnikova, *Po-russki s liubov'iu: besedy s perevodchikami,* pp. 199–200.

[547] Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[548] Demurova, 'Peter Pan in Russia: or Peter Pan, Korney Chukovsky and the Soviet Censor', p. 24.

[549] Ibid., p. 26. See also J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen i Vendi*, trans. by Nina Demurova (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1968).

[550] J. M. Barrie, 'Piter Pen i Vendi', in *Pochti kak v zhizni,* ed. by Iulii Kagarlitskii, trans. by Nina Demurova (Moscow: Pravda, 1987), pp. 443–579; J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen i Vendi*, trans. by Nina Demurova (Moscow: Slovo, 1992).

Demurova's translation was not reprinted between 1968 and 1987. Instead, in 1981 Soviet children were offered a new translation of the novel called *Piter Pen* [Peter Pan]: it was an abridged version retold by Irina Tokmakova.[551] As Tokmakova recalls, the *Detskaia literatura* publishing house asked her to translate the story about the adventures of Peter Pan (she translated *Peter and Wendy*). Believing that the language of the original book was 'a bit too ponderous' to produce a faithful translation, Tokmakova suggested to the publishing house that she would retell the original, abridge it 'slightly', and use somewhat more colloquial Russian language. She admits that she became the co-author of the Russian version of *Peter and Wendy* but emphasises that essentially her translation remained the *Peter and Wendy* originally written by Barrie.[552] If Demurova openly points to the role of the editor as a censor and to her own role as a self-censor in the process of translating *Peter and Wendy*, then Tokmakova does not admit any awareness of the necessity to censor the original text. However, Tokmakova's role as a co-author can be considered an act of self-censorship in terms of deciding what is stylistically and contextually suitable for Soviet child readers (for example, she omitted episodes in which Peter Pan is unsympathetic towards others, and the author's thoughts about life and death).

The play *Peter Pan* was first presented to Soviet readers in 1966: an extract from the second act was published in the magazine *Detskaia literatura* [Children's literature].[553] Zakhoder started working on this play in the late 1950s, as evidenced by his officially submitted application of 3 May 1959 for a stage adaptation of Barrie's play *Peter Pan*.[554] In this application Zakhoder emphasises the patriotic message of the play, stating that children '   ' [refuse to betray their friends and their homeland]. He also accentuates the character-building and didactic function of the play: '

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[551] J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen*, trans. by Irina Tokmakova (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1981).

[552] Kurneshov, *Irina Petrovna Tokmakova predstavliaet knigu "Piter Pen" Dzh. Barri izdatel'stva "Moskovskie uchebniki"*, online video recording, YouTube, 31 May 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PeA5IpUEzGg> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[553] J. M. Barrie, 'Dzheims Barri. Piter Pen. P'esa v 5 deistviiakh. Akt 2. ', *Detskaia literatura,* 12 (1966), 37–8. It was translated by Boris Zakhoder.

[554] See Moscow, RGALI, 'Zaiavka B. V. Zakhodera na instsenirovku p'esy D. Barri "Piter Pen", 1959 g.', f. 2939, op. 2, d. 449.

,   ' [the play addresses many serious issues, important for children, in a playful and interesting manner – such as a mother's love and true friendship, attitudes to girls, courage and cowardice]. At the same time, Zakhoder highlights the novelty of *Peter Pan* for the Soviet audience, saying that it is about play and reality, about the fantastic and the real.[555] These were substantial reasons for allowing *Peter Pan* to be performed on stage. This performance was officially endorsed in 1960 by the Glavlit stamp on the first draft of Zakhoder's translation.[556] However, it was not until 1966 that the play appeared in a magazine publication and was performed by the Young People's Theatre of Riazan' region and then by the Central Children's Theatre in Moscow in 1968. The full text translation of the play was published as a book in 1971 and called *Piter Pen, ili Mal'chik, Kotoryi Ne Khotel Rasti* [Peter Pan or the boy who did not want to grow up].[557]

In the epilogue to the 1971 edition Zakhoder points to his modifications in the translated play and how he tried to convey the spirit of the original text so that Soviet readers of the 1970s would understand it:

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:   .   ,

«   », —   ,

                                                      —

! –   .

[The translator tried to be as close, or rather, faithful, to the original as possible. But the translator allowed himself small liberties. These liberties were brought about by the translator's wish to be faithful to the author and to be understood by the (youthful!) spectator of today].[558]

This statement does not clearly reflect Zakhoder's awareness of the necessity to self-censor the text, but rather the existence of liberties, with which he approached the text. Therefore, this statement points to the translator's presence in the text. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that self-censorship

[555] Ibid., ll. 6, 7.
[556] Moscow, RGALI, '"Piter Pen" - p'esa v 5 deistviiakh L. Barri. Perevod s angliiskogo B. V. Zakhodera. Pervyi variant', f. 2939, op. 2, d. 446.
[557] J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen, ili Mal'chik, Kotoryi Ne Khotel Rasti*, trans. by Boris Zakhoder (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1971).
[558] Ibid., p. 126.

might have played a certain role in making a decision about what is contextually suitable for Soviet child readers.

In the case of all three translations censorship and self-censorship responded to the two themes of institutional Englishness: empire and class system. The original novel and play contain implicit hints to the theme of empire and more obvious allusions to the theme of class differences deeply embedded in the English national character. Moreover, both themes are interconnected: such traits of English national character as physical strength, courage and prowess were praised in the late-Victorian and Edwardian literature as suitable qualities for builders and defenders of the British Empire. In light of the above, it seems that Demurova, Tokmakova and Zakhoder were well aware of the Soviet ideological conventions and toned down the original in the versions they produced during the Soviet period – as it would not have been ideologically correct to give a full account of Barrie's thoughts on the themes of class divisions and empire. The following examples of Soviet translations exemplify my point of view.

The character of Captain James Hook is an illustrative representation of the theme of class difference. He is an Etonian and belongs to the English gentry. Peter Hollindale explains that 'Hook's Etonian reminiscences [...] are full of sharp-edged comedy for those familiar with the English public school system'.[559] There are several scenes in the novel and the play, in which Barrie speaks ironically about Hook's position at the top of the British class system. In the novel, in chapter 5 'The Island Come True', Barrie says of him,

> He was never more sinister than when he was most polite, which is probably the truest test of breeding; and the elegance of his diction, even when he was swearing, no less than the distinction of his demeanour, showed him one of a different cast from his crew'.[560]

Tokmakova omits this passage. Demurova conveys the essential meaning of the passage: the Russian Hook ([Dzheims Kriuk] in Russian) behaves properly, his diction is elegant and his manners are noble. However, Demurova is not as exact as Barrie in showing Hook's assumed high position in

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[559] Peter Hollindale, 'Introduction', in *J. M. Barrie. Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. vii–xxviii (p. xxii).
[560] J. M. Barrie, 'Peter and Wendy', in *J. M. Barrie. Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 67–226 (p. 114).

society which he used to have: her Hook is '   '
[not an equal to his subordinates].[561] In the play, in Act II 'The Never Land',
Hook is described as follows:

> He is never more sinister than when he is most polite, and the elegance
> of his diction, the distinction of his demeanour, show him one of a
> different class from his crew, a solitary among uncultured
> companions.'[562]

In a similar way to Demurova, Zakhoder stays faithful to the original and retains
such characteristics of Hook as politeness, elegant diction and manners.
However, by describing Hook as only '

               ' [a solitary among his uncultured accomplices], he considerably
downplays the fact that Hook's position in society is much higher than that of his
crew.[563]

Hook's upper-class upbringing is alluded to in the novel in the following
examples. In chapter 14 'The Pirate Ship', Barrie says that other pirates were
'socially so inferior to him' and that Hook

> had been at a famous public school; and its traditions still clung to him
> like garments, with which indeed they are largely concerned. Thus it
> was offensive to him even now to board a ship in the same dress in
> which he grappled her, and he still adhered in his walk to the school's
> distinguished slouch. But above all he retained the passion for good
> form. Good form! However much he may have degenerated, he still
> knew that this is all that really matters.[564]

Demurova conveys Barrie's ironic description of Hook as a representative of the
upper classes, concerned about looking good and behaving according to set
rules in society, whereas Tokmakova only generally refers to Hook's upper-
class upbringing and omits the details. Moreover, Tokmakova considerably
tones down the class difference between Hook and the pirates, thus failing to
show his social superiority, and mistakenly turns Hook's fixation with propriety
into concern about being fit.[565] This misunderstanding prevented Tokmakova

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[561] Barrie, *Piter pen i Vendi*, p. 51. See Demurova's translation in Appendix 4, part 2, example 1.
[562] J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan: a Fantasy in Five Acts* (London: Samuel French, 1977), pp. 27–8.
[563] Barrie, *Piter Pen, ili Mak'chik, Kotoryi Ne Khotel Rasti,* p. 47. See Zakhoder's translation in Appendix 4, part 2, example 2.
[564] Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, p. 188.
[565] See translations of Demurova and Tokmakova in Appendix 4, part 2, example 3.

from showing Hook's dramatic end. Barrie draws the attention of his readers to the importance for Hook of doing everything right according to the rules set by the gentry. Moreover, Barrie shows some sympathy towards Hook, which in its turn points to the importance of class traditions as part of the English national character:

> What sort of form was Hook himself showing? Misguided man though he was, we may be glad, without sympathising with him, that in the end he was true to the traditions of his race. […] his mind was no longer with them; it was slouching in the playing fields of long ago, or being sent up for good, or watching the wall-game from a famous wall. And his shoes were right, and his waistcoat was right, and his tie was right, and his socks were right. James Hook, thou not wholly unheroic figure, farewell.[566]

Tokmakova omits the whole passage and only translates its last sentence. Even this sentence is transformed in her version: '   ,   ,   !' [Dzheims Kriuk, who ceased to be a heroic person from this moment, farewell forever!][567] On the contrary, there is something heroic about Hook in the original text. Barrie's Hook is a gentleman who is true to the traditions of his social class. This is exactly how Demurova portrays him in the example above. However, she domesticates activities typical for English public schools in Edwardian England (playing fields, being sent up for good, wall games) and in her version it looks as though Hook was a graduate of a Soviet school. It was no accident that she chose this strategy – if she had done otherwise, her translation would not have been published.[568]

In the scene describing Hook's final moment, Barrie says that Hook provokes Peter Pan to behave badly. Hook needs this provocation to be convinced that Peter is not a gentleman, and to Hook's satisfaction, Peter proves him right. Demurova faithfully conveys this scene and shows the main pirate as a man anxious to look like a gentleman until the last minute of his life. On the contrary, this scene in Tokmakova's version is expressed differently: she

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[566] Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, pp. 203–04.
[567] Barrie, *Piter Pen*, p. 164.
[568] See the full extract and translations of Demurova and Tokmakova in Appendix 4, part 2, example 4.

presents Hook as a villain.[569] Zakhoder offers a third interpretation of the end of Hook in the play (in Act V Scene 1 'The Pirate Ship'). Barrie says, seeing that Peter Pan is not afraid of Hook,

> 'the great heart of HOOK breaks. That not wholly unheroic figure climbs
> the bulwarks murmuring "Floreat Etona", and prostrates himself into the
> water, where the Crocodile is waiting for him open-mouthed'.[570]

Not only does Zahoder turn a heartbroken Hook into the insane pirate Dzheims Kriuk, but he also creates a different impression of Hook's upper-class background. In his version, Hook's last words are from the students' anthem 'Gaudeamus Igitur', very widespread in Russia. These words signify that Dzheims Kriuk was an educated man. At the same time, this song signifies a connection with the educated circles of Soviet society. Therefore, by accommodating this scene within the context of Soviet culture, Zakhoder still conveys the original meaning: Dzheims Kriuk stands high in the social hierarchy.[571]

In these examples from the novel and the play Barrie points to the importance of protecting 'the stability of British order' by conforming to customs, being conservative in behaviour and maintaining 'good form', as Rashina B. Singh notes.[572] These traits add nuances of upper-class distinctiveness to the English national character. The stability of the British order means the stability of the British Empire. Therefore, allusions to empire are linked to the portrayal of the English national character: in the original texts the character of Hook implicitly personifies the heroic and upper-class nature of the idealised British Empire. Allusions to empire are only partially conveyed in Demurova's translation, whereas Tokmakova and Zakhoder remove any hints to empire in Hook's character. Moreover, 'the dreams of empire' and 'the cult of boyhood' are coupled in Barrie's novel and play about Peter Pan, as Singh explains. She clarifies that boyhood crystallises such masculine traits as strength, courage,

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[569] See the full extract and translations of Demurova and Tokmakova in Appendix 4, part 2, example 5.

[570] Barrie, *Peter Pan: a Fantasy in Five Acts,* p. 73.

[571] See the full extract and Zakhoder's translation in Appendix 4, part 2, example 6. Moreover, a discussion of this and other examples of Russian translations of Barrie's *Peter Pan* can be found in Borisenko, '"The Good Are Always the Merry": British Children's Literature in Soviet Russia', 2016 forthcoming, pp. not known.

[572] Rashna B. Singh, *Goodly Is Our Heritage: Children's Literature,Empire, and the Certitude of Character* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), pp. 79–80.

prowess, and 'yearning for adventure', which were supposed to be used for serving the Empire.[573]

Courage and valour, as distinctive traits of the English national character placed within the context of empire, are shown in the walking the plank scene (chapter 14 'The Pirate Ship' of the novel and Act V scene 1 'The Pirate Ship' of the play). Like Hook, the Lost Boys personify the heroism of the English people who were an important part of the British Empire. In both original texts the boys are waiting to be executed by the pirates – they are about to walk the plank. Hook tells the boys that two of them could become cabin boys. The boys think of joining the pirates and ask if they would still be considered 'respectful subjects of the King', to which Hook says they would have to swear 'Down with the King!', but the boys refuse and shout 'Rule Britannia!' After that Wendy encourages them to 'die like English gentlemen.'[574] In translations by Demurova and Zakhoder the original heroic, imperial and patriotic nuances are transformed into a general image about the importance of being loyal to one's own homeland. Tokmakova removes all nuances and provides only a simplified version of the original message.[575] Demurova says of her translation of 1968 that she had to reformulate these passages, otherwise the book's publication would have been compromised: 'With the sinister shadow of Glavlit over us, I could not help realizing that if those lines were read by the editor the book would be rejected outright.'[576] She changes 'Shall we still be respectful subjects of the King?' into '   ?' [Will England still be our homeland?]; 'You would have to swear "Down with the King!"' into '   !' [You would have to renounce your homeland!]; 'Rule Britannia!' into '   !' [Long live England!]; and 'our sons will die like English gentlemen' into '   ,   ' [you will die like Englishmen].[577] Consequently, Demurova self-censors the original text and considerably downplays Barrie's message. Zakhoder follows Demurova's steps and changes the original meaning in his translation. In his version the boys are worried if they would still

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[573] Ibid., pp. 150–51.
[574] Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*, pp. 191–92.
[575] See the full extract and translations of Demurova and Tokmakova in Appendix 4, Part 2, examples 7 and 8.
[576] Demurova, 'Peter Pan in Russia: or Peter Pan, Korney Chukovsky and the Soviet Censor', p. 24.
[577] Barrie, *Piter Pen i Vendi*, p. 125.

be Englishmen, they refuse to curse their homeland forever, and Wendy encourages the boys to die as true loyal sons of England. There is no 'Rule Britannia' exclamation in the original play but only a note that the boys sing the National Anthem, which Zakhoder faithfully translates.[578] Unlike Demurova and Zakhoder, Tokmakova omits the original passage in which the boys refuse to betray their King and shout 'Rule Britannia'. Therefore, Tokmakova prevents her readers from perceiving the full image of institutional Englishness. Although she retains Wendy's words, still in her version Wendy does not appeal to the boys' sense of Englishness but gives them a general encouragement – to die as brave and proud boys.[579]

To sum up, Tokmakova's translation has not been revised after its first edition and is still published with cuts. As mentioned above, Demurova brought out her full uncut translation in 1987. Her translation was published by the *Pravda* publishing house in a volume of translated English fantasy stories and fairy tales that was not primarily aimed at child readers. Simultaneously in the same year the same publishing house reprinted Tokmakova's translation. Between 1981 and 2015 there has been a notably larger amount of reprints of Tokmakova' translations compared to Demurova's translations. Zakhoder's translation was reissued in 1992 only and remained unchanged. Thus, readers' perception of the image of Englishness depends on which translated version they choose. From Tokmakova's translation of the novel especially, and Zakhoder's translation of the play to a lesser extent, Russian readers would not understand that Hook belonged to high society, that it was important for him to be perceived as a member of the gentry, and that the actions of Hook and the boys are linked to the context of the British Empire. Consequently, essential elements of institutional Englishness – the themes of class society and empire – are lost in two translations produced during the Soviet period due to the influence of current state ideology.

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[578] Barrie, *Piter Pen, ili Mal'chik, Kotoryi Ne Khotel Rasti,* pp. 95, 96.
[579] Barrie, *Piter Pen*, p. 149, 152. See Appendix 4, part 2, example 8.

1.3. The historical past in the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop*

The English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop* is an English folk-song first printed in the 17th century.[580] Although this ballad is not considered as a text written for children in the world of English literature, I have decided to include it for two reasons. Firstly, it was positioned in the Soviet Union as children's reading. Secondly, it can serve as an illustrative example of the theme of the historical past. This ballad is set in Medieval England and tells the story of King John – a collective folk image of an English king – and the Bishop of Canterbury, who was rich and powerful. The king suspects the bishop of treason and gives him three questions to answer. The desperate bishop asks a shepherd for help. The clever shepherd offers to swap places with the bishop, goes to the king, answers his questions and saves the bishop.

The first translation of this ballad was produced in 1918 by Samuil Marshak, who widely promoted English folk ballads and children's folk songs in Soviet culture. It was published in the provincial newspaper *Utro Iuga* under the title of *Korol' Dzhon i episkop* [King John and the bishop]. The second revised version was called *Korol' i pastukh* [The King and the Shepherd] and published as a separate book in 1926 by *Raduga* publishing house. (*Raduga* was the leading private publisher specialising in children's literature in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and Marshak was its literary editor). The translation was revised again and published under the same title in 1936 in the first volume of the children's magazine *Kostior*. This final third revised version was printed in 1937 and 1940 by the *Detizdat* publishing house.[581] This version was subsequently reprinted during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

According to the archive holdings of the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, the book version of 1940 has an endorsement issued by Glavlit on 13 March 1940 (a square stamp saying 'permitted for typesetting'), which signifies that there was nothing ideologically incorrect in the Soviet

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[580] 'King John and the Bishop', in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. by Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge (London: George G. Harrap and Company, 1904), pp. 403–14.

[581] Samuil Marshak, *Korol' i pastukh. Angliiskaia narodnaia ballada* (Leningrad: Raduga, 1926); Samuil Marshak, 'Korol' i pastukh', in *Tri skazki* (Leningrad: Detizdat, 1937), Samuil Marshak, *Korol' i pastukh* (Moscow: Detizdat, 1940).

version of the English ballad.[582] It can be assumed that from the point of view of the Soviet censor, the ballad looked acceptable. However, the Glavlit endorsement can also mean that there were changes in the translated ballad. Considering the position of Marshak in the Soviet literary establishment, there is good reason to believe that changes were dictated by the spirit of the time. Being an advocate of Socialist Realism, Marshak reflected the ideological demands of the time in his popular poems for children. He praised Soviet patriotism and feats of heroism, satirized the petty bourgeoisie, while creating a negative image of the capitalist world. Two of his poems which exemplify Marshak's response to contemporary ideology are *Kto on?* [Who is he?] (1938) and *Mister Tvister* (1933). In these poems Marshak uses the stereotypical image of a rich American, who thinks in terms of the capitalist world, and contrasts this image to the just world of the socialist Soviet Union:

Marshak's literary work can be considered a reflection of ideological and cultural changes in Soviet society. Parallels between the historical context and the shifting nature of Marshak's literary activity are drawn by Ben Hellman:

> In the twenties Marshak was part of the avant-garde culture; in the thirties, as Socialist Realism became the literary norm, his poems about the transformation of the country and feats of heroism played an active part in pushing children's literature in a new direction. After World War II, Soviet patriotism with all its insignia dominated his works, leading to the author's crowning as poet laureate.[583]

Hellman observes that throughout 1930s Marshak became 'a responsible and reliable Soviet writer', whose writing was 'ideologically charged'.[584] This explains the prolific volume of poetic works, translations and literary criticism he created, which were in line with Soviet ideology.

Marshak held an influential position in the field of Soviet children's literature – from 1924 until 1938 he was an editor-in-chief in the Leningrad branch of the children's literature state publishing house *Izdatel'stvo detskoi*

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[582] Moscow, RGALI, 'Marshak, Samuil Iakovlevich. "Dom, kotoryi postroil Dzhek", "Korol' i pastukh" i dr. Angliiskie narodnye skazki v stikhakh. Obrabotka', f. 630, op. 1, d. 1921.

[583] Ben Hellman, 'Samuil Marshak: Yesterday and Today', in *Russian Children's Literature and Culture,* ed. by Marina Balina and Larissa Rudova (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 217–39 (p. 217).

[584] Ibid., pp. 232–33.

literary (*Detizdat*).[585] The Leningrad branch of *Detizdat* was dismantled in 1937. The children's writers working for it, who were Marshak's colleagues (known as the 'Marshak group'), were arrested and some of them executed.[586] The destruction of *Detizdat* was initiated by its political editor and censor D. I. Chevychelov who accused the Marshak group of being traitors and Marshak of being a 'faker and saboteur', regardless of the fact that he was considered an authority in the world of children's literature. Chevychelov stressed that under Marshak's guidance, the Leningrad branch of Detizdat 'eradicated political-educational Bolshevik content'.[587] Despite this, Marshak evaded purges aimed at him and his literary circle.

Thus it seems obvious that the working atmosphere was tense, and that the translation of the ballad *King John and the Bishop* had to be self-censored if it was ever to be published.[588] It seems clear that Marshak, of all people, would know the rules under which Soviet society operated. Hence, the political atmosphere of the 1930s predetermined the final version of the ballad's translation. Marshak's translation can be put into its historical context, thus providing the opportunity to understand what was left of the historical theme of institutional Englishness in his translation after it had been corrected with the view of the current ideological demands. For this purpose I will look at the disparities between the original ballad and its Soviet version in the following analysis. The ballad exists in two versions – A and B which are both available in printed form. For his translation Marshak used both versions.

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[585] First in 1924 it was the Leningrad children's branch of the state publishing house *Gosizdat.* Then in 1933 the children's literature publishing house *Detgiz* was established, which was renamed as *Detizdat* in 1936, then *Detgiz* in 1941, and finally, *Detskaia literatura* in 1963.

[586] Among them were Tamara Gabbe (arrested and released in 1937), Alexandra Liubarskaia (arrested in 1937 and released in 1939), Raisa Vasilieva (died in a labour camp in 1938), Nikolay Oleynikov (executed in 1937), Grigorii Belykh (died in in a labour camp in 1938), Daniil Kharms (arrested in 1941 and died in psychiatric ward in 1942). These writers also worked for *Ezh* (abbreviated from 'Ezhenedel'nyi zhurnal' – the weekly magazine), which was published between 1928 and 1935, and Chizh (abbreviated from 'Chrezvychaino interesnyi zhurnal' – the extremely interesting magazine), which was published from 1930 until June 1941, as well as Leningrad section of *Molodaia Gvardia* publishing house. See memoirs of Alexandra Liubarskaia about arrests in the Leningrad branch of Detizdat in *Neva* journal: A. I. Liubarskaia, 'Za tiuremnoi stenoi', *Neva,* 5 (1998), 148–72.

[587] 'Dokladnaia zapiska o polozhenii v leningradskom otdelenii "Izdatel'stva detskoi literatury" tsenzora Chevychelova', document   226, in Arlen V. Blium, *Tsenzura v Sovetskom Soiuze. 1917–1991. Dokumenty*, p. 264.

[588] It was published in the Soviet magazine *Pioner* in 1936 and later as a book in 1940.

In the ballad the English King John is shown as merciful, however, it is noted that he was not good at all. The extract from the first stanza of version A goes as follows:

> 'Of a notable prince *that* was called King John,
>
> In England was borne, with maine and with might;
>
> Hee did much wrong and mainteined little right'.

The same extract of the first stanza of the version B goes as follows:

> 'Of a noble prince, and his name was King John;
>
> For he was a prince, and a prince of great might,
>
> He held up great wrongs, but he put down great right.'[589]

Marshak's translation does not reflect this. Instead, in both translations of 1926 and 1936 he does not mention that the king did at least something good:

> '   ,   .
>
>   ,
>
>   ,   .'
>
> [About a valiant price whose name was John. He judged and ruled from an oak throne, not knowing any rules, not knowing any law.] [590]

Marshak creates a distorted image of an unjust king, which corresponds to Soviet stereotypical perception of the capitalist West and suits the Soviet anti-royal and anti-religious rhetoric. His translation mocks the English king John, who '   , | , ' [he judged and ruled from an oak throne, not knowing any rules, not knowing any law]. It also mocks the Abbot of Canterbury, who '   -   , ,   ' [lived happily, never being in need of anything, and gained a reputation of the richest man].[591] Marshak places more stress on the negative image of the bishop, which also reflects Soviet stereotypical representation and suits Soviet anti-religious propaganda. In the original text the king accuses the bishop of being a traitor and his accusation is described in one line only: 'As thou that works treason against my crowne' (stanza 4 version A) and 'I fear thou hast treason against my crown' (stanza 3 version B).[592] Marshak expands this line to supply further

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[589] 'King John and the Bishop', in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 403.

[590] Marshak, *Stikhorvoreniia i poemy*, p. 461.

[591] Ibid., p. 461.

[592] 'King John and the Bishop', in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 406.

lines in the Russian version saying that the bishop was 'a cunning traitor' and 'a bold-headed abbot': ' ' [You are a cunning traitor to our crown] and ' , , , ' [Do not tell lies in vain, the bold-headed abbot, it is clear for everyone that you are to blame].[593]

An illustrative example of censorship that the original text underwent in Russian translation can be found in the middle part of the ballad that has religious allusions. The king demands an answer to his question: 'Now tell me to one penny what I am worth' (stanza 14, version B). The shepherd replies (stanza 15, version B):

> 'For thirty pence our Saviour was sold,
>
> Amongst the false Jews, as you have been told,
>
> And nine and twenty's the worth of thee,
>
> For I think thou art one penny worser than he'.[594]

In 1918 Marshak translated shepherd's reply as:

> ' ,
>
> ,
>
> , – .'
>
> [For thirty pence only the Saviour was sold, I will give twenty nine for your grace, you are one penny cheaper – but you know that.][595]

In 1926 Marshak replaced English pence with Russian kopecks and finally in the last version of 1936 he completely rewrote the shepherd's words:

> ' .
>
> , ,
>
> !'
>
> [I do not know the price for the crowns and thrones. For what you are worth, ask your nobility who managed to sell you not just once!][596]

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[593] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy,* p. 462.

[594] 'King John and the Bishop', in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 410.

[595] These changes were highlighted in the annotation to *Angliiskie i shotlandskie ballady v perevodakh S. Marshaka*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), p. 141. No explanation was given. Later in 1988 these changes were pointed out in the bilingual edition of *Angliiskaia i shotlandskaia narodnaia ballada*, ed. by L.M. Arinshtein (Moscow: Raduga, 1988) with the brief commentary that Marshak changed the meaning of the answer according to 'the spirit of the time' (p. 486). This bilingual edition provided late-Soviet readers with the revised translation of the ballad: all three Russian versions of 1918, 1926 and 1936 were amalgamated into one (pp. 335–40), as well as the pre-revolutionary translation produced by F. Miller in the nineteenth century.

It is clear that the translator's decision has completely changed the message of the ballad. In the original the shepherd is clever and careful – he knows how to save himself by making the king equal to Christ. In Marshak's final version the shepherd is also clever but at the same time daring – he exposes the king's inner circle as dishonest. Ignatii Ivanovskii, a Soviet and Russian translator of poetry, including ballads about Robin Hood, briefly refers to this matter, explaining that Marshak had to 'battle his way through censorship' in order to get *The King and the Bishop* published. Therefore, there was no chance for Marshak to include any reference to Christ.[597]

It would be groundless to expect that the religious allusions, which set the image of the king against the image of the shepherd, would be preserved in the final translation. The whole context of the Russian version of 1936 goes in line with the spirit of the time. It reflects Soviet ideology and class attitudes in Soviet society. The bad king captures the image of the ruling class in Russia before the 1917 Revolution and the clever shepherd mirrors the image of the Soviet ruling class of workers and peasants. Hence, Marshak re-creates the image of clever English commoners – he praises wit, resourcefulness and the common sense of the shepherd who says that '   ,
                          ' [a fool may help a wise man who is in trouble].[598]

At the end of the ballad the king demands an answer to the third question from the shepherd: 'But tell me truly what I do think' (stanza 17 version B). For this, the shepherd replies:

> 'For you think I'm the Abbot of Canterbury,
>
> But I'm his poor shepherd, as you may see,
>
> And am come to beg pardon for he and for me' (stanza 17 version B).[599]

Then in the following two stanzas the king pardons the shepherd and the bishop and rewards the shepherd with money for being witty and merry. In Marshak's version the king asks the question: '   ,'
[what your merciful king thinks]. The shepherd's answer goes as follows:

> '   ,   ,   ...

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[596] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, p. 465.
[597] Ivanovskii, 'Fragmenty', *Zarubezhnye zapiski*, 4 (2005) <http://magazines.russ.ru/zz/2005/4/ii11.html> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[598] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, p. 465. In the original the shepherd's words go as follows: 'a fool may learn a wiseman wit' (stanza 13 version B).
[599] 'King John and the Bishop', in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. 413.

,

!'

[You think, Sir, that you see the abbot… But a swineherd is standing in
front of you, the one who has saved the abbot from death!][600]

This is the reply of the shepherd used in the 1926 and 1936 versions of the
Russian translation. However, the first translation of 1918 preserves the whole
meaning of the last three stanzas of the original ballad. Thus the final Russian
version contains no information about the English king being merciful, just and
generous. It ends with the praise of the clever and brave commoner shepherd
who was not afraid to look the king in the face of and save the bishop.

The King and the Bishop was republished several times throughout the
Soviet period. After 1991 it appeared only occasionally in Marshak's collections
of children's poetry.[601] This ballad is a good example of how the historical
theme of Englishness was accommodated within the Soviet context and
manipulated in ideological context. It seems that the changes discussed were
the only possible way for Marshak to make the ballad accessible to Soviet
readers – one of the examples of English folk literature that he loved so much –
and thus to introduce children to the history of England.

2. Expressions of English national character in Soviet and post-Soviet translations

2.1. Silliness in A. A. Milne's *The King's Breakfast* and *King Hilary and the Beggarman*

A. A. Milne is widely known in Russia as the author of the stories about *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926–1928). The Russian translation of this book appeared only in
1960 owing to the effort and enthusiasm of Boris Zakhoder and the *Detskii mir*
publishing house. Zakhoder first offered his translation to the *Detgiz* publishing
house, but the manuscript was rejected because the original was considered to

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[600] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy*, p. 466.
[601] For example, recently this ballad was included in Samuil Marshak, *Deti nashego dvora*
(Moscow: AST/Astrel', 2008), pp. 240–46.

be too American.[602] The *Detgiz* editorial view of *Winnie-the-Pooh* goes some way towards explaining why Milne's children's books were neglected for some time in the Soviet Union. Most probably his literature was considered sentimental, something that was not favoured by Soviet ideology. Milne's writings for children followed the traditions of the nonsense poetry of Edward Lear and there was a certain level of official antagonism towards foreign traditions of silliness in Soviet children's literature at the end of the 1920s and the 1930s. Thus it is hardly surprising that translations of Milne's children's books only appeared closer to the Thaw when ideological restrictions on published children's literature became more relaxed.

Milne's two books of poetry for children *When We Were Very Young* (1924) and *Now We Are Six* (1927) were not fully translated until the post-Soviet period, however several poems from both books appeared during Soviet times. Milne's poetry was introduced to Soviet children by Samuil Marshak who translated several poems included in Milne's volume *When We Were Very Young.* There is good reason for this: English nonsense literature was rated highly by Marshak. In his article 'Skazka krylataia i beskrylaia' [Imaginative and unimaginative fairy tales] Marshak characterises Milne's poems and stories as 'fantastical fairy tales'.[603] He also mentions Milne in his letter to Eduard Gol'derness, a Russian poet and translator, saying '

.   ,   […]

' [I very much love the merry children's poetry of England. I think Milne […] was the last person who represented it].[604]

The poem *The King's Breakfast,* from the volume *When We Were Very Young,* considered in this analysis, was first translated in 1946.[605] The translation was entitled *Ballada o korolevskom buterbrode* [Ballad about the king's bread and butter]. Afterwards, in 1965 this poem was included in a book called *Korolevskii buterbrod* [The king's bread and butter] and comprised seven

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[602] Zakhoder, 'Prikliucheniia Vinni-Pukha (Iz istorii moikh publikatsii)', p. 198. Prior to the official book publication, a short extract from *Winnie-the-Pooh* appeared in the children's magazine *Murzilka* in 1958, volume 8, pp. 20–2.
[603] Samuil Marshak, *Vospitanie slovom: stat'i, zametki, vospominaniia* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1961), p. 33.
[604] 'Pis'ma S. Ia. Marshaka E. R. Gol'dernessu, pp. 445-447. Letter No 359, Yalta, 28 September 1962', in Marshak, *Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, viii: *Izbrannye pis'ma*, p. 446.
[605] It was published in Samuil Marshak, *Izbrannye perevody* (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1946).

poems from A. A. Milne's book *When We Were Very Young.*[606] The other poem to be analysed in this section – *King Hilary and the Beggarman* from the volume *Now We Are Six* – was translated by Russian poet and translator Nonna Slepakova. It first appeared in the children's magazine *Koster* in 1968 and was included in 1987 in the translation of *Now We Are Six* that was called *Ia byl odnazhdy v dome* [Once I was in the house].[607]

On the book jacket of *Korolevskii buterbrod* readers were told that Marshak had produced a free translation preserving the distinctive intonations and rhythm of the original poems.[608] These intonations and rhythms (e.g. using repetitions, matching sound with rhythm, creating puns, and imitating physical movements with the pattern of the verse) are an important part of the discourse of silliness that is a characteristic feature of all the original poems in both Milne's books. The other significant part of the discourse of silliness is hilarious nonsense, the use of humour, distorted representations, and playful mockery. The poem *The King's Breakfast* contains all these important features. Milne creates an image of 'a most unkinglike king' in this poem that inspires nothing more but charm.[609] Milne transforms the King into a humorous figure with whom children can identify: the King does not want to 'settle for marmalade instead of butter just to make things easier for everyone else', and thinks that 'his day is ruined', as Anita Wilson and Humphrey Carpenter say in their analysis of this poem.[610] On the one hand, Marshak recreates the atmosphere of silliness in his translation, but on the other hand, he adds Soviet ideological nuances.

Marshak's translation of *The King's Breakfast* is an illustrative example of how ideology bears a relation to the construction of the image of Englishness in the Soviet cultural environment. As is the case with the translation of the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop*, analysed in the previous section,

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[606] Samuil Marshak, *Korolevskii buterbrod* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1965).
[607] A. A. Milne, 'Korol' i brodiaga', trans. by Nonna Slepakova, *Koster*, December 1968, pp. 44–5; A. A. Milne, *Ia byl odnazhdy v dome*, trans. by Nonna Slepakova (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1987), pp. 73–83.
[608] Marshak, *Korolevskii buterbrod*.
[609] Patricia Parker, 'What Comes After Mother Goose?', *Elementary English,* 46 (1969), 505–10 (p. 507).
[610] Anita Wilson, 'A. A. Milne's When We Were Very Young and Now We Are Six: A Small World of Everyday Pleasures', in *Touchstones: Reflections on the Best in Children's Literature. Volume Two: Fairt Tales, Fables, Myths, Legends, and Poetry,* ed. by Perry Nodelman (West Lafayette, IN: ChLA Publishers, 1987), pp. 173–82 (p. 174); Humphrey Carpenter, *Secret Gardens: A Study of the Golden Age of Children's Literature* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), p. 199.

Marshak, as a translator, is ambivalent: on the one hand, he is interested in England; on the other hand, he follows the prevailing Soviet ideology that was expressed in negative stereotypes of the capitalist West. In the translation of *The King's Breakfast* Marshak creates an image of a good-hearted eccentric king, but at the same time he points to 'typical' characteristics of monarchs, according to Soviet ideology, such as tyranny and foolishness. Considering that Marshak was an advocate of the principles of ideological responsibility that were paramount for Soviet translators,[611] his move to make the end of the poem ideologically appropriate in his translation is understandable. It is not the whole poem that underwent changes, only a few nuances. However, these translated nuances modify the theme of silliness.

The King wants to have some butter for his 'Royal slice of bread', but upon hearing that it would be better to use marmalade instead, he sobs and whimpers:

> "Nobody,"
> He whimpered,
> "Could call me
> A fussy man;
> I only want
> A little bit
> Of butter for
> My bread!"[612]

Afterwards, when the Queen brings butter to him, the King becomes hilariously happy – he bounces out of bed and slides down the banisters – and exclaims:

> "Nobody,
> My darling,
> Could call me
> A fussy man—
> BUT
> I do like a little bit of butter to my bread!"[613]

The King in Milne says that he is not 'a fussy man'. The word 'fussy' reflects the playful mockery that is part of the discourse of silliness in the original text. In both examples in Marshak's translation this feature is modified. In the original poem, the King whimpers and refuses to be called 'fussy', whereas in the translated text he sighs and does not want to be called 'capricious':

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[611] Marshak, 'Pocherk veka, pocherk pokoleniia', <http://s-marshak.ru/works/prose/prose28.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[612] A. A. Milne, 'The King's Breakfast', in *A. A. Milne. When We Were Very Young* (London: Puffins Books, 1992), pp. 55–9 (pp. 55, 58).
[613] Ibid., p. 59.

–   , –

              , –

                    …

                    !

["No one," he said, "Has ever called me capricious… I only asked to be served butter for breakfast!"][614]

As follows from the examples from the original and the translated texts, Milne's King insists on the particular way he wanted his bread-and-butter, whereas Marshak's King is guided by a whim (he suddenly changes his mind and behaviour about what he orders, something that Marshak emphasises) that points to a slight negative connotation in presenting the King's image. At the end of the original poem, the King again insists that he cannot be called a 'fussy man'. However, in Marshak's translation the King says '   ' [a tyrant and a madman/unbalanced person]:

              ,

                    ,

        ,

                    .

["…No one will say that I am a tyrant and a madman because I like to have a good bread and butter with my tea."][615]

In this case, by turning the King into 'a tyrant and a madman', the discourse of silliness transmits political ideology, reflecting the spirit of the time. It could be considered a minor detail that readers might not even notice but it refers to a certain ideological concept that would be useful to add to ensure the book was published. The addition might seem a trivial detail at the end of the poem, but still it transmits the message that the image of a king can be linked to the stereotypical image of tyrannical Western monarchs.

The state ideology of the Soviet Union is apparent from a review of Marshak's translation published in 1966 in the journal *Detskaia Literatura.* The reviewer, Iurii Koval', concludes that kings are never kind, they sit on thrones, hoard gold, torment their subjects, and brandish their swords; nobody likes them because they are tyrants and despots. Koval' goes on to say that there

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[614] A. A. Milne, 'Ballada o korolevskim buterbrode', in *Samuil Marshak. Korolevskii buterbrod*, trans. by S. Marshak (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1965), pp. 2–7 (p. 4).
[615] Ibid., p. 7.

was a king who did not want to be called a tyrant, that all he wanted was bread and butter. He calls him a nice king and reminds the reader of another 'merry king Cole', saying that both characters were given a Russian voice by the same translator – Samuil Marshak.[616] This review is important in understanding why Marshak added ideological connotations to the King's image. Moreover, the Russian translation scholar Efim Etkind mentioned Marshak's translation in his critical essay 'Dlia malen'kikh chitatelei' [For small readers]. He says that the original discourse of silliness is preserved in Marshak's translation. Etkind emphasises that Marshak added an important nuance, which consisted in mocking a lazy king, who does nothing, and contrasting the king to the useful cow, who produces the butter that is, eventually, served up to the King.[617] Hence, there are two ways of looking at Marshak's King: either he is lazy, as Etkind describes him, or he is a nice king who does not want to be called a tyrant. It depends on the reader how this image is perceived. At the same time, it might be equally suggested that Marshak added 'a tyrant and a madman' to fit the rhythm of the verse. Illustrations in the book *Korolevskii buterbrod* (1965) do not reflect the implicit political discourse and only convey connotations of silliness used by Milne to create the King's image. The addition of the words 'a tyrant and a madman' met the demands of current political ideology. Marshak's translation demonstrates his view that the current epoch should be reflected in translation. Hence, it was inevitable that there would be elements of Soviet ideology in Marshak's translation, particularly considering his poem *Mister Twister* and his views on translation. Nevertheless, it does not diminish the place of Marshak's version of *The King's Breakfast* in Russian culture. His version has been popular since its appearance and subsequently republished in various editions; moreover, Milne's original poem has never been retranslated.[618]

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[616] Iu. Koval', 'S. Marshak. Iz A. A. Mil'na. Korolevskii buterbrod. Ris. E. Meshkova. M., izd. "Detskaia literatura", 1965', *Detskaia literatura,* 3 (1966), 51-53. Marshak's translation of the popular British nursery rhyme *Old King Cole was a Merry Old Soul* was first published in the children's magazines *Pioner* in 1937 (7) and *Murzilka* 1941, (7).

[617] Etkind, *Poeziia i perevod*, <http://s-marshak.ru/articles/etkind.htm> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[618] For example, Marshak's translation of *The King's Breakfast* is included into the latest translation of all poems that appear in Milne's *When We Were Very Young*. See A. A. Milne, *Kristofer Robin i vse-vse-vse. Kogda my byli esche malen'kie*, trans. by M. Boroditskaia, G. Kruzhkov, S. Marshak, N. Voronel', N. Slepakova (Moscow: AST, 2014).

It is noteworthy that Marshak's translations of the English folk ballad *King John and the Bishop* (final version was published between 1936 and 1940) and *The King's Breakfast* (the translated text was first published in 1946) appeared within a decade and carried a similar implicit message about stereotypical tyrant kings who lived in the Western world. Another illustrative example of a Soviet translation which fits into ideologically interpreted representation of English tyrant kings and enslaved but clever common people is Geoffrey Trease's play for children *The Dragon Who Was Different* (1938).[619] This play was translated by Natalia Konchalovskaia in 1939 under the title *Drakon, kotoryi ne pokhozh na drugikh* [The dragon who was not like the others] and was allowed to be performed in Soviet children's theatre groups. L. Dirik, a political editor/censor from Glavrepertkom (the state department controlling both theatrical repertoire and performances), issued a report that authorised the performance of the play. This report particularly stressed that the play told a story of a greedy and tyrant king who fooled his people and of a small poor boy whose courage and determination helped the oppressed people to overthrow the king.[620] A decade later, an image of the foolish king Iagupop (reverse of Popugay [parrot]) was coined in Vitalii Gubarev's fantasy novel *Korolevstvo krivykh zerkal* [The kingdom of crooked mirrors] – a Soviet dystopian fairy tale hinting at the negative essence of the capitalist world. The novel was published in 1951, then turned into a play in 1952 and adapted into a very popular fairy tale film under the same name in 1963.[621] Marshak's decision to add nuances to the image of his King is not coincidental: his portrayal of the King as a tyrant and a madman/unbalanced man reflects the existence of such an image in Soviet children's literature, theatre and cinema.[622]

Milne's poem *King Hilary and the Beggarman,* from *Now We Are Six*, is another illustrative example of how minor ideological nuances were introduced

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[619] See Geoffrey Trease, *The Dragon Who Was Different: And Other Plays For Children* (London: Muller, 1938).

[620] Moscow, RGALI, '"Triz Dzhoffri. Drakon, kotoryi ne pokhozh na drugikh". P'esa dlia detei mladshego vozrasta (22 July 1939 – 31 July 1939)', f. 656, op.3, d. 2650, l. 3.

[621] Vitalii Gubarev, *Korolevstvo krivykh zerkal (povest'-skazka)* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1951). This book has been very popular in Russia. For the recent edition see Vitalii Gubarev, *Korolevstvo krivykh zerkal* (Moscow: Makhaon, 2015). The film *Korolevstvo krivykh zerkal* was directed by Aleksandr Rou and produced at Gorky Film Studio.

[622] Afterwards, in 1985 the silliness of the original poem was turned into an ideological parody in the Soviet animated film *Korolevskii buterbrod* [The king's bread-and-butter] directed by Andrei Khrzhanovskii and produced by Soiuzmul'tfil'm: the 'fussy' king was presented as a tyrant and the royal household was shown as foolish.

and how the original impression of the discourse of silliness was altered in the Soviet translation. Playful silliness is expressed in the narrative of this poem: King Hilary, just like a small child, excitingly anticipates various Christmas gifts that might appear at his door and dismisses his arrogant Chancellor who does not do what the King wants. The whole poem has a Christmassy spirit, and can also be seen as an example of the theme of traditions in institutional Englishness. Milne starts the poem by saying 'Of Hilary the Great and Good they tell a tale at Christmas time'[623] and focuses the attention of his readers on a Christmas stocking, which is to be filled with presents, as a traditional attribute of English Christmas celebrations. In the 1968 translation, Nonna Slepakova omits any reference to the Christmas theme. She substitutes the first two lines of the original poem with a neutral version: '   ,

                       !' [How often I heard the story that is in front of you!]. Also she translates the recurring line 'to put in my stocking' as '   […]

        ' [to put at our royal feet].[624]

The omission of references to Christmas celebrations in the 1968 translation is not surprising. It was an accepted Soviet censorship practice not to allow religious themes in children's literature. Hence, in Slepakova's 1968 translation readers could not understand why the king was so anxious to see who was waiting at the door and why the king expected presents. The original theme of Christmas tradition is lost in this translation. In the Soviet version the original poem carries a new meaning – it has a king who just wants presents and no nuances that specifically connect this poem to Christmas. Slepakova's 1968 version was included in the book *Ia byl odnazhdy v dome* [Once I was in the house], which was published in 1987, and the changes referring to the theme of Christmas were retained. *King Hilary and the Beggarman* was retranslated in 1992 by Nina Voronel' and the original spirit of Christmas was returned in the new post-Soviet version.[625]

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[623] A. A. Milne, 'King Hilary and the Beggarman', in *A. A. Milne. Now We Are Six* (London: Puffin Books, 1992), pp. 68–74 (p. 68).
[624] Milne, 'Korol' i brodiaga', *Koster*, p. 44–5.
[625] A. A. Milne, *Dela korolevskie*, trans. by Nina Voronel' (Moscow: Art-Bisnes-Tsentr, 1992), pp. 73–83. The latest translation of all poems that appear in Milne's *Now We Are Six* includes Nina Voronel's translation of *King Hilary and the Beggarman*. See A. A. Milne, *Kristofer Robin i vse-vse-vse. A teper' nam shest'*, trans. by G. Kruzhkov, M. Boroditskaia, S. Marshak, N. Voronel', N. Slepakova (Moscow: AST, 2014), pp. 78–84.

2.2. Fantasy and silliness in P. L. Travers's *Mary Poppins*[626]

Soviet readers were first introduced to *Mary Poppins* books in 1968. The Soviet version was called *Meri Poppins* [Mary Poppins] and consisted of two parts (*The House   17* and *Mary Poppins Comes Back*) with a mention on the title page that the translation was abridged.[627] Boris Zakhoder, the first translator of the *Mary Poppins* books, did not have the originals and had to borrow them from the library. He mentions in his letter to Pamela Travers in 1969 that, strange as it may seem, he did not own any of her books and that he used library copies in order to produce his translation.[628] P. L. Travers sent all her *Mary Poppins* books to Boris Zakhoder by the end of 1969 (the first four books of the series), and he mentions this in his reply to her.[629] This correspondence points to my supposition that the original books were not freely accessible to the general public and might have been on a censor's list as not allowed for circulation. The reason why Mary Poppins was not translated into Russian for so long was perhaps revealed by Travers herself when she suggested in an interview given to *The New Yorker* in 1962 that the Soviet authorities might consider Mary Poppins 'a bourgeois institution':

> My great hope is to have her translated into Russian […]. I know we don't have any copyright agreement with Russia, but I say to my agent, 'Never mind. Leave her around where the Russians can steal her.' We haven't left her around enough yet. I suppose the authorities would take her *au pied de la lettre*—they'd say a nursemaid was a bourgeois institution—but the children would understand her.[630]

A narrow circle of people might have known about the existence of Mary Poppins as a literary character. The Disney film *Mary Poppins* was shown at the Fourth Moscow International Film Festival in July 1965. The title of the book and the name of the author are shown in the opening credits of the film and an attentive viewer could most probably notice that the film was based on the books about Mary Poppins. Although the Disney film was shown as an out-of-

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[626] Information on all of the original books about Mary Poppins and Russian translations is given in Appendix 4, part 3.
[627] However, Zakhoder's translation was first published in the Soviet children's magazine *Pioner* in 1967, issues 3–8.
[628] Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University, The Lilly Library, Lilly Library Manuscript Collections, Travers, P. L. MSS., 2nd letter from B. Zakhoder to P. L. Travers, 1969.
[629] Travers, P. L. MSS., 3rd letter from B. Zakhoder to P. L. Travers, Dec 1969.
[630] Geoffrey T. Hellman, 'The Talk of the Town: Mary Poppins', *The New Yorker,* 38:35 (20 October 1962), 44.

competition film, it was a hit with the festival viewers.[631] However, it was not shown in Soviet cinemas after the festival. In the 1980s people could find it only on pirated videotapes and only after the demise of the Soviet Union did the Disney *Mary Poppins* become available to the general public.

Another reason for failing to introduce books about Mary Poppins to Soviet readers might be explained by Travers's negative views about the Soviet Union. In 1932 Travers went to the Soviet Union to see Leningrad and Moscow and published a book about her journey in 1934 (before she wrote *Mary Poppins*), which was called *Moscow Excursion*.[632] This book was immediately reviewed and called 'impertinent and gay'; it was mentioned that 'the seriousness of the Russian State appalled' Travers and that '[m]iss Travers will probably be denounced as a "class enemy"'.[633] Travers depicted the Soviet Union as a depressing society and noted '[t]he drabness, the universal grey, the complete sameness of the people'.[634] According to Sheila Fitzpatrick, Travers 'went to the Soviet Union to look at politics, but had little sympathy for it before or after her trip'.[635] Travers's lack of sympathy towards Soviet society is explicitly shown in the book's introduction: 'In a world rocking madly between Fascism and Communism the writer prefers the latter form of tyranny if the choice must be made'.[636] In the 1930s there were severe restrictions on the circulation of foreign literature in the Soviet Union; censorship control was strengthened amid fears of intervention by international capitalism in the USSR; foreign mass media, as well as literature were considered a great force for the promotion of 'hatred towards the Soviet Union'.[637] This is the most logical explanation why the foreign publication of Travers's *Moscow Excursion* might

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[631] <http://www.disney.ru/DisneyCMS/Content/History/Events/12.jsp> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[632] P. L. Travers, *Moscow Excursion* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1935). This book has recently been translated into Russian: P. L. Travers, *Moskovskaia ekskursiia*, trans. by Ol'ga Miaeots (Saint Petersburg: Limbus Press, 2016).

[633] John Chamberlain, 'Books of the Times', *New York Times (1923-Current file),* (8 Aug 1935), 15.

[634] Travers, *Moscow Excursion*, p. 30.

[635] Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Australian Visitors to the Soviet Union: The View from the Soviet Side', in *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920s-1940s,* ed. by S. Fitzpatrick and C. Rasmussen (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2008), pp. 1–39 (p. 24).

[636] Travers, *Moscow Excursion*, p. 10.

[637] Document 182 'Iz protokola zasedania kollegii Lenobllita', in Blium*, Tsenzura v Sovetskom Soiuze. 1917–1991. Dokumenty,* p. 203.

have affected the possibility of her *Mary Poppins* books being translated in the Soviet Union.

According to the correspondence between Travers and Zakhoder, it was the famous Soviet children's poet Sergei Mikhalkov who met Travers in Switzerland at the end of the 1960s and told that her books had been translated into Russian.[638] The Soviet *Mary Poppins* immediately became very popular among Soviet adult and child readers, as the correspondence between Travers and Zakhoder shows. Zakhoder wrote in his letter to Travers in 1969 that the print-run of ten thousand copies was instantly sold out in Moscow and that there were favourable reviews, including in the literary journal *Novyi mir*.[639] In the 1970s the translation was adapted for a radio show and for the stage, the script of which was also written by Zakhoder, and new adaptations have been performed in theatres around the country since 1991. In 1983 Mary Poppins appeared on Soviet TV screens in the film *Meri Poppins, do svidania*. It immediately became a hit and is still very popular nowadays in Russia. At the same time, Mary Poppins has become a household name in Russia – babysitter agencies, cafes, family fun centres and even a fashion label are all called after the famous nanny.

Zakhoder regretted in his letter to Travers that his translation was 'strongly abridged' – 15 chapters only from the first, the second and the third books – and mentioned that he was not able to obtain the fourth book.[640] In the preface to the first edition Zakhoder promised Soviet children that they would meet with Mary Poppins again and that the story would be continued.[641] Unfortunately, he did not keep his promise and the omitted chapters have never been recovered in the subsequent reprints of Zakhoder's translation.[642] Although two retranslations appeared in the 1990s (by Marina Litvinova and

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[638] Travers, P.L. MSS., 1st letter from B. Zakhoder to P. L. Travers, Dec 1968, and Letter from P. L. Travers to B. Zakhoder, February 1969.

[639] Travers, P.L. MSS., 2nd letter from B. Zakhoder to P. L. Travers, 1969.

[640] The books that Zakhoder translated are *Mary Poppins* (1934), *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935), *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943).

[641] Travers, P.L. MSS., 1st letter from B. Zakhoder to P. L. Travers, Dec 1968.

[642] In 2007 all Mary Poppins stories were published in one volume, which included Zakhoder's translations of the first three books and the new translations of the remaining books by Leonid Yakhnin, Aleksandra Borisenko and Irina Tokmakova. However, the original order of chapters in the first two books (*Mary Poppins* and *Mary Poppins Comes Back*) was not restored and Zakhoder's selection was retained. The third book *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* had chapters initially translated by Zakhoder and newly translated remaining chapters by Yakhnin. See P. L. Travers, *Meri Poppins: skazochnie povesti* (Moscow: ROSMEN, 2012).

Igor Rodin), Zakhoder's translation is considered a canonical text in Russian culture, and is well positioned in the Russian children's literature market.[643]

In a letter to Travers in July 1969 the director of the *Detskaia Literatura* publishing house K. Piskunov explained why the Russian translation was abridged:

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[Abridgement of separate chapters was necessary partly owing to difficulties of translating and the desire to publish both parts at the same time and because to the younger children for whom this book is intended we do not like and avoid giving bulky books.][644]

He also mentioned that it was uncertain whether B. Zakhoder would continue the translation of the next books about Mary Poppins and whether *Detskaia Literatura* would be able to revise the current translation.[645] This letter points to the prevailing ideological conventions in Soviet literature written for children. At the same time, it signals the presence of censorship, although this is not clearly expressed in the correspondence. It is possible that self-censorship and editorial decisions could have somehow influenced Zakhoder's opinion, to a certain extent, on why certain chapters should not be included and how to construct the image of the English nanny in a way that the Soviet child and adult readers of the late 1960s would accept, understand and like.

The first three books, *Mary Poppins* (1934), *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935)*,* and *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943)*,* have elements of myth and are structured as myth – the interconnected chapters are repeated and

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[643] Marina Litvinova retranslated the first book about Mary Poppins in 1996 – see P. L. Travers, *Meri Poppins s Vishnievoi ulitsy*, trans. by M. Litvinova (Moscow: ROSMEN, 2012). Igor Rodin retranslated the first four books about Mary Poppins in 1994 – see P. L. Travers, *Meri Poppins*, trans. by Igor Rodin (Moscow: EKSMO-Press, 2002). For information on the canonicity of Zakhoder's translation, see Borisenko, 'Pesni nevinnosti i pesni opyta', and *Zarubezhnye detskie pisateli v Rossii: biobibliograficheskii slovar*, p. 426. Readers' responses to the 'classic' translation of B. Zakhoder can be found online: <http://www.ozon.ru/context/detail/id/4066228/> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[644] Travers, P.L. MSS., Letter from K. Piskunov to P. L. Travers, 2 July 1969. Quoted from the Russian original and its English translation, which was enclosed to the official letter sent to P. L. Travers.

[645] Ibid.

everything returns, but in a modified manner.[646] In Zakhoder's translation the books' original structure is modified. This led to the distortion of Travers's intention to create the books about Mary Poppins in the form of myth. Travers was not happy about the new structure of the stories in Zakhoder's translation and pointed out in a letter to Zakhoder that 'the books are written in a definite rhythm and the stories should be read in their proper sequence'. She also added that she had 'always thought that Russian readers would like it as they have a great sense of humour and poetry', as she discovered when she went to Russia in the 1930s.[647] Unfortunately, the Soviet readers who could not obtain the original texts, as well as the Russian readers nowadays who prefer Zakhoder's translation, were not aware of the original narrative and Travers's intention to create the original in the form of myth.

Zakhoder omitted one of every pair of repetitive chapters.[648] It is difficult to guess whether there was too much of the untranslatable in these chapters from the point of view of Zakhoder and the editor of *Detskaia literatura* publishing house, or whether there were ideological reasons for the omissions. For example, the chapters 'The Day Out' and 'Christmas Shopping' contain lengthy descriptions of Mary Poppins' clothes and of what the characters bought as their Christmas presents in, as Travers says, 'the Largest Shop in the World'[649]. Also the chapter 'Christmas Shopping' refers to Christmas as a religious celebration. From the point of view of Soviet ideology, both chapters might have looked like propaganda for religion and consumerism in the West, which might have been thought unsuitable for Soviet children. The chapter 'Nellie-Rubina' might have been left out because it echoes the chapter 'Mrs Cory' included in the translation, or because it alludes to Noah's Ark as a Biblical topos. The chapter 'The New One' might have not been thought suitable for Soviet children because of its existential ideas widely incorporated by Travers throughout the whole series of books about Mary Poppins. (Travers

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[646] See more on myth in *Mary Poppins* in Grilli, pp. 2, 26, 48, 51, 64, 76 also the influence of myth on Mary Poppins' books is analysed in Staffan Bergsten, *Mary Poppins and Myth* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1978).
[647] Travers, P.L. MSS., Letter from P. L. Travers to B. Zakhoder to, Feb 1969.
[648] In the first book *Mary Poppins* Zakhoder excluded the chapters 'The Day Out', 'Bad Tuesday', 'The Bird Woman', and 'Christmas Shopping'. In the second book *Mary Poppins Comes Back* he excluded the chapters 'Topsy-Turvy', 'The New One', 'Robertson Ay's Story', 'The Evening Out', and 'Nellie-Rubina'.
[649] P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins* (London: Harper Collins, 2008), p. 151.

was interested in fairy-tales, mythological literature and mysticism).[650] The new-born Annabel says that she came from 'the Dark where all things have their beginning': 'I am earth and air and fire and water […] I come from the sea and its tides […] It was a long journey'.[651]

It appears that ideological norms (in the form of self-censorship) played a partial role in the process of choosing which chapter to translate. At the same time, it is important to take into account the counter–argument of Alexandra Borisenko, who argues that in order to avoid repetitions and to make the Russian translation a more interesting read Zakhoder chose his favourite chapter from two repetitive ones.[652] A similar opinion is expressed by Galina Zakhoder (Zakhoder's widow):

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> [Pamela Travers often exploits the same [literary] devices. In one chapter [characters] are flying under the ceiling, in another chapter – they are flying in some other way. And the narration in these parts loses its pace. Boria omitted passages of such a kind. I think Travers got angry when she found out the truth. It appeared to me that she felt that Zakhoder was right, that is why she was angry.][653]

This view is feasible and can be explained by Zakhoder's possible misunderstanding of the peculiarities of the narrative structure of the *Mary Poppins* books. This view also points to the presence of the translator's co-authorial voice based on his own literary preferences.

The books about Mary Poppins have elements that refer to the discourse of the fantastic. There are four categories of the fantastic, according to Farah

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[650] See more about this in Bergsten, *Mary Poppins and Myth*, p. 19, and P. L. Travers, 'Only Connect', *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress,* 24 (1967), 232–48 (p. 241).
[651] P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (London: Collins, 1976), pp. 118–19.
[652] Alexandra Borisenko, 'Istoria skazki', in *Trevers Pamela Lindon. Vse o Meri Poppins* (Moscow: ROSMEN, 2012), pp. 628–36 (p. 634).
[653] Shaul' Reznik, 'Galina Zakhoder: "Boris ne pozvolial sebia toptat'"', interview with Galina Zakhoder', *Lekhaim,* 288 (1 March 2016) <http://www.lechaim.ru/7959> [accessed 18 April 2016], web.

Mendlesohn: 'the portal-quest, the immersive, the intrusive, and the liminal'. As Mendlesohn explains, '[i]n the portal-quest we are invited through into the fantastic, in the intrusion fantasy the fantastic enters the fictional world, in the liminal fantasy the magic hovers in the corner of our eye; while the immersive fantasy allows us no escape'.[654] This classification works across children's fantasy and helps analyse its narrative. The examples of the portal and the intrusion are the most widespread categories in children's fantasy. In the former a protagonist enters a fantastic world through a portal. In the intrusion fantasy, as Mendlesohn explains, the fantastic repeatedly breaks into the real world creating horror and/or amazement.[655] These two categories can also be interconnected: the portal fantasy can use elements of the intrusion fantasy and vice versa. Both categories are illustrated by the *Mary Poppins* books: the protagonists find themselves in the fantastic world with the aid of different portals.

Travers casts Mary Poppins as the supernatural Mother Goddess, connecting her image with the discourse of the fantastic. Travers herself continually emphasised that the character of Mary Poppins is drawn from myth and that she is 'either the Mother Goddess or one of her creatures — that is, if we're going to look for the mythological or fairy-tale origins of *Mary Poppins*'.[656] In the context that it is used by Travers, myth stands for a story involving supernatural elements and echoes of fantasy and fairy tales. The fantastic and the daily life interact in P. L. Travers's stories about Mary Poppins. Mixing the two contrasting phenomena is an English literary tradition. According to Colin Manlove, the Mary Poppins books create a portrait of a governess to a middle-class English family and also 'a fairy of amazing power' who 'transforms the domestic lives of the children' into fantastic adventures.[657] Moreover, Staffan Bergsten notes that in books about Mary Poppins one can find a 'mixture of sober fact and sheer fantasy' as well as 'playful variations on old themes and motifs'. Thus, according to Bergsten, the *Mary Poppins* books have 'features of

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[654] Farah Mendlesohn, *Rhetorics of Fantasy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), p. xiv.
[655] Ibid., p. xxii.
[656] See, for example, Edwina Burness and Jerry Griswold, 'The Art of Fiction No. 63, The Interview with P. L. Travers', *The Paris Review,* 86 (1982) <http://www.theparisreview.org/interviews/3099/the-art-of-fiction-no-63-p-l-travers> [accessed 13 December 2016]. Also Travers talks about the mythical nature of her writings in Travers, 'Only Connect', pp. 240, 247.
[657] Manlove, *From Alice to Harry Potter: Children's Fantasy in England*, p. 64.

the fantastic tale and of nonsense literature but they are also strongly rooted in an historically and sociologically identifiable reality'.[658] Giorgia Grilli argues that the character of Mary Poppins is entrusted with a dual role. As governess she teaches 'discipline and good behaviour' and 'prepares the children for entry into the social order, introducing them to all the various demands that such an order will make on the individual'. At the same time, as Grilli clarifies, Mary Poppins is 'the source of magical experience' and acts as 'provocateur' providing 'access to a deeply subversive world in which individuals are given extra-ordinary possibilities'.[659]

In an interview with Richard R. Lingerman for *The New York Times* in 1966, Travers confirmed that her *Mary Poppins* books can be characterised as 'very English' and she wondered how 'so English a book could have attained world popularity'.[660] In an interview with Jane L. Mickelson, given between 1985 and 1988, Pamela Travers talked about the Russian translation of *Mary Poppins* and stressed that she could not read Russian and therefore did not have 'any idea what they [the Soviet translator and the Soviet publisher, and presumably the Soviet editor/censor] have Mary Poppins saying'. She joked about the absurdity of the idea that the Soviets might have made Mary Poppins pronounce all sorts of propaganda.[661] There was no propaganda in Zakhoder's rewriting of *Mary Poppins* books. Generally, Zakhoder retains many of the fantastic elements of the original books – Mary Poppins takes the children on amazing adventures in the world of the supernatural that exists in Mary Poppins's England. As a character, Mary Poppins represents the discourse of the fantastic, because she is the portal between the supernatural and existential knowledge and the real world. When Zakhoder changes the nuances in Mary Poppins's representation, he alters the discourse of the fantastic expressed in Mary Poppins's character.

The fantastic invokes 'mystery, occult knowledge, or laws that encompass the supernatural'.[662] The fantastic genre provides children's writers

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[658] Bergsten, p. 9, 12.

[659] Grilli, p. xvi.

[660] Richard R. Lingerman, 'Visit With Mary Poppins And P. L. Travers', *New York Times (1923-Current file),* (25 Dec 1966), p. A12.

[661] Jane L. Mickelson, 'P.L. Travers: 1906–1996', *The Horn Book Magazine,* 72 (1996), 640–44 (p. 641).

[662] Dorothea E. von Mücke, *The Seduction of the Occult and the Rise of the Fantastic Tale* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 2.

with the opportunity 'to deal with important psychological, ethical and existential questions', as Maria Nikolajeva notes.[663] So, by using the discourse of the fantastic Travers speaks to her readers about existential matters. In the chapter 'Full Moon' from the first book Mary Poppins exposes the children to the supernatural. In this chapter Mary Poppins's birthday falls on the full moon and is celebrated in the zoo. Travers turns the existing world upside down: the animals are free and people are put in cages. However, the world is harmonious. The culmination of the party is the great chain which is formed by animals who dance around Mary Poppins – all together and united. Through the words of a king cobra, the Hamadryad, Travers communicates her existential ideas to the readers:

> We are all made of the same stuff, remember, we of the Jungle, you of the City. The same substance composes us — the tree overhead, the stone beneath us, the bird, the beast, the star — we are all one, all moving to the same end. Remember that when you no longer remember me, my child.[664]

Zakhoder translates this passage as:

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> [… all of us – you of cities and we of the jungle – are made of the same stuff. Of the same substance – the tree overhead us, the stone beneath us; the beast, the bird, the star – we are all going towards one aim. Remember that, child, when you no longer remember me.][665]

Zakhoder changes the meaning of the original phrase 'we are all one, all moving to the same end' that has existential connotations. In Travers's articulation it symbolises death and rebirth – the inevitable end of everything and subsequent reincarnation; especially taking into account the symbolic circular dance which follows the wise words of the king cobra. One would not be able to decode the original's symbolism in Zakhoder's translation. His version

[663] Maria Nikolajeva, 'The development of children's fantasy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Fantasy Literature*, ed. by Edward James and Farah Mendlesohn (Cambridge University Press, 2012) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521429597.006> [accessed 20 July 2016], p. 60.
[664] Travers, *Mary Poppins*, p. 147.
[665] P. L. Travers, 'Meri Poppins', in *Vsie o Meri Poppins: skazochnie povesti*, trans. by Boris Zakhoder (Moscow: ROSMEN, 2012), pp. 5–82, p. 74.

plays down the original and offers a general careful phrase that 'we are all going towards one aim'. Although his rendering of the dance covers all the details, it is doubtful that readers would be able to guess which 'aim' is meant in the translated book.

It is noteworthy that the chapter 'Full Moon' was retained in Zakhoder's translation, although the example mentioned above sounds too thought-provoking for Soviet children's literature. By drawing on this example, I suggest that the demands of Soviet censorship were not particularly strong in relation to translated children's literature. At the same time, I assume that the supernatural in this example was modified in Zakhoder's translation, because it sounded too idealistic and ambiguous for a book offered to Soviet children. Therefore, it was either not approved by a censor due to its idealism or was self-censored by Zakhoder. In any case, all the omitted chapters that have portrayals of the supernatural along with the altered nuances of the supernatural in the chapter 'Full Moon' fail to contribute to the creation of the overall image of Mary Poppins as the fantastic Mother Goddess that opens the door to the world of the fantastic England.

As Russian readers venerate canonical translations (many comments on online forums and online bookshop sites point to this) and there is a widespread opinion that canonical translations should not be challenged, most probably publishers prefer the canonical translation of *Mary Poppins* books produced by Zakhoder. This means that the distorted image of the books as a representation of the discourse of the fantastic is likely to persist. That is, unless Russian readers decide to read the books in English or choose the new translations produced in the 1990s by Marina Litvinova and Igor Rodin who retained the original mystical structure of Travers's books. Both Litvinova and Rodin preserve Travers's mystical message from the chapter 'Full Moon' of the first book about 'all moving to the same end': '   ' [all is moving to one end] in Litvinova's translation and '   […]   ,   ' [all is born in its own time, lives and dies in its own time] paraphrased by Rodin.[666]

Another illustrative example of how the fantastic content is treated ideologically can be found in Zakhoder's translation of the chapter 'The Cat that

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[666] Travers, *Meri Poppins s Vishnievoi ulitsy*, p. 137 and Travers, *Meri Poppins*, p. 106.

Looked at a King'. In the play and the book Zakhoder adds new informaiion which can be considered as hidden satirical allusions to Soviet way of life.[667] In the original chapter Mary tells the children a story about a king who thought a lot and did not look after his kingdom:

> You must not think the King meant to be unkind. Indeed, it seemed to him that his subjects were luckier than most, for hadn't they a King who knew practically everything? But while he was busy gathering knowledge his people grew poorer and poorer. Houses fell into ruin and fields went untilled, because the King needed all the men to help him in his thinking.[668]

Zakhoder translated this passage. However, he adds a new paragraph:

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> [And all women were terribly angry. It seemed to them that all the knowledge that the king had was nothing but nonsense and trifles. You see, knowledge will not feed a baby, they thought, and certainly, information will not pay for a flat! Even swineherds and shepherdesses were unhappy and quietly complained. And if you remember that they are usually the happiest people in the whole world (because they know that they are enchanted princesses and princes), then you will understand how bad things were in the kingdom.][669]

By contrast, the post-Soviet translation produced by Rodin makes no alterations in the chapter 'The Cat that Looked at a King', thus preserving the original meaning of the text.[670]

The role of Mary Poppins as the magical 'provocateur' connecting reality with the supernatural and the fantastic Mother Goddess is reduced in

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[667] As Borisenko notes, Zakhoder 'certainly was not a fan of Soviet ideology in general' – see Borisenko, "The Good Are Always the Merry", chapter 'The Sunny World of a Soviet Child: The Case of Boris Zakhoder', 2016 forthcoming, pp. not known.
[668] P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (London: Collins, 1971), pp. 76–7.
[669] Travers, *Meri Poppins vozvraschaetsia*, p. 137; Moscow, RGALI, '"Meri Poppins". Komediia v 2-kh deistviiakh B. Zakhodera i V. Klimovskogo', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 1414, l. 61.
[670] Travers, *Meri Poppins*, pp. 491–92.

Zakhoder's translation by the alterations that he made. What is important is that Zakhoder puts more emphasis on the character-building and didactic role of Mary Poppins as a character.[671] However, it is important to note that, notwithstanding these changes, Zakhoder preserves the playful and adventurous spirit of the original books. This was emphasised in the 1969 review of *Mary Poppins,* in which Zakhoder's translation was characterised as the book 'full of captivating and marvellous adventures and wonders' addressed to those readers who have never ceased to remember their childhood.[672]

The tendency towards toning down the supernatural elements and devoting more attention to the character-building and didactic function in the Soviet translation can be explained by the general ideological demands prevalent in Soviet children's literature. Adherence to the principles of Socialist Realism demanded a truthful and historically accurate reflection of reality, as well as an educational and character-building role for children's literature. Another important factor in this process is highlighted by Borisenko who reminds us that 'Soviet mass culture put forward a very strong concept of happy, sunny, carefree childhood'.[673] Such an idea of an ideal childhood seems to underlie the choices about how to translate literature for Soviet children.

My supposition about the importance of the character-building and didacticism in Zakhoder's translation can be supported by two archival documents relating to the play *Mary Poppins.* Based on Zakhoder's translation of *Mary Poppins* books, this play was adapted for the stage by Zakhoder together with Vadim Klimovskii. It was first performed in 1976 in the Ermolova Moscow Theatre and then aired on television in 1980. A short review of the TV play accentuates its character-building and didactic function:

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[671] Character-building and didacticism in Soviet children's literature were seen as important factors for socialisation of Soviet children.
[672] S. Sivokon', 'P. L. Trevers. Meri Poppins', *Novyi mir,* 5 (1969), 284–85.
[673] Borisenko, 'The Good Are Always the Merry', section 'Censorship matters', 2016 forthcoming, pp. not known.

[Lots of miracles happen in P. Travers's book *Mary Poppins*. This book was turned into a cheerful play with lively rhymes and songs by B. Zakhoder and V. Klimovskii. … The play is primarily addressed to children, and it will also spark the interest of adults because it is about the importance of being patient, considerate towards others and responsive to the needs of everyone and everything around us.][674]

Moreover, the first performance of the play was discussed at a meeting in the Ministry of Culture's department of theatre in 1976. According to the shorthand report of this meeting, the princial message of the play ties together three important concepts: kindness, joy and generosity. The play is aimed at educating children who are theatre audience of the future. This report also states that the play emphasises the changes in the attitudes of the children – Jane and Michael – towards their parents: at the end of the play the children no longer think that their mother is unkind. As Zakhoder pointed out during the discussion, it is important that in the finale Mary's pedagogy is proved to be successful – that the children change from being disobedient, when Mary Poppins first meets them, to good, when she leaves them.[675]

Illustrative examples of character-building and didacticism in Zakhoder's translation can be found the fifth and the sixth acts of the play, which are based on the chapters 'The Cat that Looked at a King' from the third book and *West Wind* from the first book. In the fifth act of the play Zakhoder adds a new conversation between Jane and Mary Poppins at the end (his book translation and the original text do not have this conversation). Jane tells Mary Poppins that she now knows who she is and is praised for starting to behave and think sensibly:

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> (   ).   ?
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[JANE (suddenly). Mary Poppins! May I look into your eyes?

[674] This review was published in the newspaper *Sovetskaia kul'tura* [Soviet culture] of 22 August 1980. See: Moscow, RGALI, 'Zametka o spektakle "Meri Poppins". Gazetnaia vyrezka', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 1418, l. 2.

[675] Moscow, RGALI, 'Stenogramma obsuzhdeniia v Upravlenii teatrov Minesterstva kul'tury RSFSR spektaklia "Meri Poppins"', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 383, ll. 3, 4, 22, 25.

MARY (bending over Jane). What have you seen in them?

JANE. I won't be able to tell, Mary Poppins, but I think I now know who I am!

MARY (suddenly putting her hand gently on Jane's head) Finally, Jane, you are growing up!][676]

In the last chapter of the first book, 'West Wind', Mary Poppins is parting with the children:

Then she put one hand lightly on Michael's head and the other on Jane's shoulder. "Now," she said, "I am just going to take the shoes down for Robertson Ay to clean. Behave yourselves, please, till I come back".[677]

In the last act of the play, which is based on the chapter *West Wind*, this scene goes as follows:

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[MARY (having looked around the room). Well, there. (Putting one hand on Michael's head and the other on Jane's shoulder). And now I am going to take my shoes down. Let Robertson Ay clean them. Behave yourselves properly until I come back. Michael! Be a good boy! Jane! Take care of Michael. You are a grown-up girl now!][678]

Unlike the play, Zakhoder's book translation does not contain the phrase about Jane who, as Mary Poppins thinks, has become a grown-up girl ('You are a grown-up girl now!'). In the translated book Mary Poppins only says 'Behave yourselves properly until I come back'.[679] She pronounces the same words in the original text. As for two other Russian translators, both Rodin and Litvinova translate this passage as 'behave yourselves well'.[680]

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[676] Moscow, RGALI, '"Meri Poppins". Komediia v 2-kh deistviiakh B. Zakhodera i V. Klimovskogo', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 1414, l. 74.
[677] Travers, *Mary Poppins*, p. 167.
[678] Moscow, RGALI, '"Meri Poppins". Komediia v 2-kh deistviiakh B. Zakhodera i V. Klimovskogo', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 1414, l. 78.
[679] Travers, *Meri Poppins*, p. 79.
[680] Rodin: ' , , , ' [Behave yourselves well, please, until I come back] – Travers, *Meri Poppins*, p. 120. Litvinova: ' , ' [Behave yourselves well while I am away] – Travers, *Meri Poppins s Vishnievoi ulitsy*, p. 157.

From the above examples it becomes obvious that in the Soviet play Mary Poppins plays a more accentuated didactic and character-building role, compared to the original and the translayed book. Consequently, the image of Mary Poppins as the fantastic Mother Goddess is given an ideological intepretation in line with the Soviet tradition of educating children by means of using literature, theatre, cinema and the fine arts. In the original books the journey that Mary Poppins has prepared for the children does not just merely turn them from badly behaved children into good ones, but this journey has a more existential nature. With Mary Poppins's help, the children experience the fantastic world that exists beyond their reality. When, in the third book, Mary Poppins is parting with the children for good, she says: "'Now, be good children!" she said quietly. "And remember all I have told you."'[681] She has given them new knowledge about the world around them and the one inside them. The fantastic events that happen to the children beyond their real world are psychologically fulfilling, as emphasised in Grilli's study of the *Mary Poppins* books. Mary Poppins steers the children towards mystical experiences, from which they emerge 'with a greater understanding both of themselves and of the world that surrounds them – […] of something deeper, more complete'.[682] It would be misleading to treat the *Mary Poppins* books as pedagogical narrative only. The dual nature of Travers's writing for children is well argued by Grilli's study. According to Grilli,

> Travers […] aims to liberate her readers from all overly strict and reductive pedagogical claims, from a very specific civilization process and its standards, and from narrow-mindedness in general. Yet at the same time, […] she believes that, in order to grow and develop as authentically as possible, certain lessons must be learned and certain rules must be respected, or at least recognized. [These lessons] are the ones of Life, rather than those of the specific society we find ourselves living in.[683]

Grilli's point supports my suggestion that in the books about Mary Poppins the supernatural aspect, which is part of the fantastic narrative, exists on equal terms with the character-building narrative. With the reduced amount of chapters, Travers's existential message, encoded for her English-speaking

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[681] Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*, p. 250.
[682] Grilli, p. 16.
[683] Ibid., pp. 17–8.

readers (that life could be perceived differently and not as prescribed by the society in which one lives), is unlikely to be received in its full extent in Zakhoder's translation and would not have been welcome in the Soviet Union.

If, in the examples referring to the discourse of fantastic, expressions of English national character are treated ideologically in the Soviet translation, then the representation of the discourse of silliness has a different tendency in both Soviet and post-Soviet translations – it is Russified. In the following examples from the original chapter 'The Cat that Looked at a King', silliness is represented in a form of playful absurdity and through allusions to English fairy tales and nursery rhymes. In the first example, the King says to the Cat:

> My court is composed of the Very Best People. Jack-the-Giant-Killer
> digs my garden. My flocks are tended by no less a person than Bo-
> Peep. And all my pies contain Four-and-Twenty Blackbirds.[684]

Here Travers resorts to wordplay on the themes of the English fairy tale *Jack the Giant Killer* and two English nursery rhymes *Little Bo Peep* and *Sing a Song of Sixpence.* By placing characters from English folklore familiar to English readers into the new fantastic environment, she creates a nonsensical effect in her text.

In Zakhoder's translation (both the play and the book) playful silliness is accommodated within the Russian cultural and literary context:

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> [Only the cream of society are at my court! Jack-the-Giants-Ripper
> looks after my garden! My flocks are guarded by no less a person than
> the Thumb-sized boy! And all my pies have exactly Forty seven
> magpies!][685]

Zakhoder uses allusions to the English folk tale *Jack the Giant Killer.* This fairy tale was translated in 1957 as – [Dzhek the Giant's Conqueror], so it seems that it would have been known to Soviet child readers. At the same time, Zakhoder uses a familiar fairy tale character –

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[684] Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*, p. 80.
[685] Travers, *Meri Poppins vozvraschaetsia*, p. 139; Moscow, RGALI, '"Meri Poppins". Komediia v 2-kh deistviiakh B. Zakhodera i V. Klimovskogo', f. 2949, op. 1, d. 1414, l. 64.

'   ' [the Thumb-sized boy] – instead of Bo Peep from the *Little Bo Peep* nursery rhyme. On the one hand, this character can be recognised as an English folklore character Tom Thumb. On the other hand, this character belongs to Russian folklore. Moreover, Zakhoder refers to Marshak's free translation of the English nursery rhyme *Sing a Song of Sixpence*.[686] Hence, it can be assumed that in this example, Zakhoder accommodates the passage from the original text within the boundaries of Russian culture (if the Thumb-sized boy is approached as belonging to a Russian fairy tale) and at the same time, reminds his readers of existing translations of English material.

Rodin translates this passage in the following way:

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22   !

[My court has the cream of society! Jack-the-Giants-Conqueror guards

my garden! My sheep are tended by no less the person than the Little

Mary! And exactly twenty two crows are baked in each of my pie!][687]

As it can be seen from his translation, similarly to Zakhoder, Rodin also refers to the Russian translation of *Jack the Giant Killer*. At the same time, Rodin introduces new literary, culture-specific material in his version: he provides his translation of *Sing a Song of Sixpence* and calls it   [the King's pie] as well as substituting *Little Bo Peep* with another popular nursery rhyme *Mary Had a Little Lamb* by translating it as   [Little Mary].[688] Hence, compared to Zakhoder, Rodin stays more in line with the original allusions and wordplay.

In the next example Travers alludes to other popular English nursery rhymes – *Hey Diddle Diddle* and *A Frog He Would A-wooing Go* – in which she again creates a playful nonsensical effect. The Cat tells the Cow that there was no point in jumping over the Moon, because 'there might be something else' for her to do. The Cat also tells the Frog that he should have listened to his mother and not got married at all.[689] Zakhoder chooses popular Russian nursery and

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[686] Marshak's translation is called   [Birds in a pie]. This translation is given in the Appendix 4, part 3, example 1.
[687] Travers, *Meri Poppins*, p. 493.
[688] Ibid., pp. 599–600.
[689] The full extract from the original text is given in Appendix 4, part 3, example 2. See Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*, pp. 94–95.

counting rhymes as a replacement. The English cow that jumped over the Moon is turned into the Russian nanny goat with big horns that wanted to butt the disobedient children. This nanny goat is a character from a well-known Russian nursery rhyme *Idiet koza rogataia* [A nanny goat with big horns is coming] widely used by Russian parents to playfully scare their disobedient children. The English frog from the original text that courted the mouse becomes the Russian toad that hopped accidentally into the tsar's house. In this instance, Zakhoder combines two popular Russian counting rhymes into one, and in his version the toad finds itself in the tsar's house, so that 'tsar' becomes a key word signifying Russianness. This extract demonstrates that Zakhoder's version reflects the tendency to naturalise English culture in Russian translation. Moreover, in the case of the nanny goat, he adds a disciplinary message to his translation. In contrast to Zakhoder, Rodin provides his own translations of both English nursery rhymes which stay faithful to the original text.[690]

Although in the above examples the strategies of translation vary depending on the historical period, in the following example Zakhoder and Rodin adhere to the same strategy – accommodation of the content to a Russian context. Both translators tone down the original text; and, consequently, the nuances that allude to the English tradition of village celebrations are lost. In the original, Travers writes:

> The King commanded his subjects […] to put up Maypoles and dance
> around them; to get out Merry-go-rounds and ride them; to dance and
> feast and sing and grow fat and love one another dearly.[691]

Both translators omit 'dancing around Maypoles' and substitute this tradition with '   /   ' [a feast of feasts / a great feast], which evoke associations with a Russian saying '   ' [a feast of feasts]. This saying is very often used in Russian fairy tales as a culmination of a hero's victory over numerous hardships.[692]

To summarise, in the 1969 review of Zakhoder's translation it is emphasised that *Mary Poppins* has a deep thought-provoking meaning in the

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[690] The full extracts from translations of Zakhoder and Rodin are given in Appendix 4, part 3, example 2. For the Russian nursery and counting rhymes see Appendix 4, part 3, examples 3 and 4. See Travers, *Meri Poppins vozvraschaentia*, pp. 146–47, and Travers, *Meri Poppins*, p. 502–03.
[691] Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*, p. 95.
[692] See examples of both translations in Appendix 4, part 3, example 5.

way that ordinary things and ordinary people can turn out to be miraculous; nevertheless the book remains an amusing and exciting fairy-tale.[693] What the review does not mention is that the existential content is attenuated in Zakhoder's translation. Certainly, one possible explanation is that Zakhoder's version was abridged; therefore, the connection between the existential and the fantastic regarding expressions of English national character in his translation was not obvious. Reaction to the demands of the time is an important factor for understanding Zakhoder's translation choices. It was important to consider educational and character-building functions in translated books in general. Hence, taking into account the fact that Russian fairy tales are often didactic, in this case it can be suggested that Zakhoder's version is accommodated within the Soviet ideological context. As it may be supposed that Zakhoder did not support Soviet ideology enthusiastically, most probably the way he conveyed expressions of English national character – in the form of the discourse of the fantastic and parts of the discourse of silliness – was a necessary requirement for his translation to be published. Most probably, such a situation was voluntarily accepted by Zakhoder. Therefore, it seems that it was inevitable that certain elements pertaining to expressions of English national character were treated ideologically in the Soviet translation of stories about Mary Poppins.

Still, censorship and ideology were not the only decisive factors in Zakhoder's translation. His own authorial voice played an important role and was determined by literary norms that set up the rules of the game – how to write and translate for Soviet children. His translation strategy was influenced by the necessity for the translated text to sound as if it was originally written in Russian, and to recreate a similar aesthetic and emotional effect by sacrificing faithfulness to the original. Thus, accommodating the impressions created by the original work within the context of Russian children's literature meant that the original text would inevitably be Russified. The post-Soviet translations offer stories about Mary Poppins that are closer to the original text in comparison to Zakhoder's translation. The image of the post-Soviet Mary Poppins is not changed through ideology, although it is also partially Russified.

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[693] I. Bochkareva, 'P. Trevers. Meri Poppins', *Detskaia literatura,* 3 (1969), 62–3.

Conclusion

I have demonstrated that political changes induced Russian translations to adjust to varying ideologies in their representation of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia. The areas of emphasis in the translated texts are in line with the themes that are made ideologically appropriate in Soviet children's literature (as shown in chapter 5). I have shown that Soviet stereotyping of the capitalist West to some extent affects the translation and censorship of the original texts. Images of Englishness created in Soviet children's literature influence and complement the representation of Englishness in the translated texts. In all the examples there were external circumstances to which translators were forced to respond, so that their translations could be published. As I have shown in the examples from the Russian translations, both ideological norms and censorship as a form of control over literary translation contributed to the creation of a modified image of Englishness, expressed generally in the translated texts produced during the Soviet period. This has led to my suggestion that Englishness can also be seen in this context as a propaganda tool for various political ends beneficial to Soviet ideology and modern Russian imperial and patriotic discourses. Clearly, entire texts are not changed through ideology, but those elements that are adapted under the influence of ideology contribute to the creation of a Soviet vision of the original texts. With the end of the Soviet Union and the appearance of subsequent retranslations, the Russian image of Englishness shifted closer to its original meaning.

What is certain is that it was not censorship alone that caused institutional Englishness to be modified in the Soviet translations. Literary norms prevalent in Soviet children's literature that set the rules of how to translate for children stimulated creative decisions in Soviet translations. By adding their perceptions of English culture coupled with the equivalent images from Russian culture, they re-imagine the image of 'Merry England' and turn it into the Soviet vision of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England]. Thus Englishness becomes Russified to some extent. The Soviet tendency to domesticate the original text due to the prevailing ideological norms and literary conventions is reduced during the post-Soviet period. There are attempts to be more faithful to the original text. The post-Soviet translators introduce elements of foreignisation

in their translations, though such instances are still rare. Although instances of domestication and foreignisation occur, still manifestations of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character, which both are made ideologically appropriate, prevail in Soviet and post-Soviet translations.

Most of the translations considered in this analysis are still published with excisions. In addition, there are new re-translations and revised translations, in which all the censored parts have been restored. Therefore, it can be concluded that Englishness, affected by ideology, being a distinct feature of the Soviet time, is still presented to readers in modern Russia. However, Russian readers might not be aware of what kind of Englishness they encounter. Roland Barthes theorises that contemporary mythologisation is socially determined and should be seen as an inverted reflection of an idea which is taken from its original context and re-shaped in line with the view of current ideology; subsequently, the new ideological content of this idea becomes 'natural' or, in other words, 'Common Sense, Right Reason, the Norm, General Opinion'.[694] Taking Barthes's view into account, it can be concluded that by changing the original content of Englishness through ideology, Russian translators create a Soviet myth of Englishness based on the demands of Socialist Realism in Soviet children's literature and its educational, moralistic and character-building functions, as well as Soviet stereotypes of capitalist England.

If Englishness is made ideologically appropriate in Soviet translations, then considering that ideology was present in Soviet society it can be said that manifestations of Englishness were accommodated within the Soviet culture. In other words, manifestations of Englishness are 'naturalised', as Lefevere puts it, or domesticated. This chapter has also presented evidence of Brownlie's theoretical views that new translations appear when historical and socio-cultural contexts change.

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[694] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, p. 165.

Chapter 7: Re-imagining cultural Englishness: images of mythical rural England and the English way of life seen through Russian eyes

In this chapter I will analyse Russian translations of cultural Englishness that relate to a mythologised English landscape and way of life. As I have shown in chapters 2 and 3, the literary myth of cultural Englishness as 'Dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England] in classics of children's literature, written between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War, includes three groups of images: England as a rural idyll, England as the land of gentlemen and ladies and England as the cosy English home. Therefore, in this chapter I will focus on these three groups. As I have also shown in chapter 3, Russian writers who created fictional and non-fictional portraits of England tend to idealise cultural Englishness, thereby creating a Russian myth of 'good old England'. In this chapter I will look at mythologised images of cultural Englishness that undergo creative transformations in Russian translations. I argue that in Russian translations cultural Englishness is re-imagined and partially Russified irrespective of whether the translated texts appeared during the Soviet or post-Soviet periods.

For supporting my argument, I will analyse Russian translations of the following original texts Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *The Secret Garden;* Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows;* Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies;* E. Nesbit's *The Railway Children;* and P. L. Travers's *Mary Poppins*, *Mary Poppins Comes Back*, and *Mary Poppins Opens the Door.*[695] These texts have a strong sense of cultural Englishness and the image of 'good old England' plays a significant role in them.

It is important to note that in contrast to the previous chapter, in which I analysed the translation of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character, state ideology is not involved in the representation of cultural Englishness. However, the commercial ideology prevailing in the post-Soviet

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[695] The list of the original texts and their translations is given in the *Primary Literature* section of the Bibliography. Further references to the original texts and their translations in this chapter are given after quotations in the text.

period has played a dominant role in the process of representation of cultural Englishness in Russian translations. The appeal of the myth of 'good old England' may well have informed the decision to select these texts for translation. Most of the translations of the original books included in my analysis have appeared during the post-Soviet period, and representations of cultural Englishness in these translations include the idealised image of 'good old England'.

In this chapter I draw on André Lefevere's hypothesis stating that different cultures are 'naturalised' in translations,[696] and on the assumption of Emer O'Sullivan and Maria Nikolajeva who state that translation of children's literature balances between domestication and foreignisation.[697] Regarding retranslations, I take into account Siobhan Brownlie's views stating that changes in context and outdatedness create motivations for reinterpretations of the original text, and that such interpretations often happen on the level of individual passages, sentences and phrases.[698] At the same time, I apply an imagological approach as it relates to translation studies. As mentioned in chapter 1, Johan Soenen emphasises the importance of taking into account the translator's subjectivity and national stereotyping when analysing the construction of images of other cultures in translated literature.[699] Therefore, I assume that the translators' own stereotypes, knowledge about and practical experience of the cultures of the original texts, as well as their expectations of how the implied readers will receive their translations come into play in the process of representing cultural Englishness. In this chapter I will show that representations of cultural Englishness in Russian translations are subjective and different from the way they appear in the original texts. By drawing on an imagological approach I will also pay particular attention to the influence of images of Russianness on creating representations of the English landscape in Russian translations. By tracing the influence of the translators' possible perceptions of English and Russian cultures on the way cultural Englishness is re-imagined, I will be able to highlight the translators' presence in re-creating images of Englishness for Russian readers.

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[696] Lefevere, p. 237.
[697] O'Sullivan, p. 74; Nikolajeva, *Children's Literature Comes of Age*, p.35–6.
[698] Brownlie, pp. 152–53.
[699] Soenen, p. 137.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first examines Russian representations of images of the mythologised English countryside and the second analyses Russian representations of images of mythologised home and national character that are brought together under a broad concept of the English way of life.

1. The Russian vision of a mythical English rural landscape

The rural landscape was identified as one of the significant features of cultural Englishness in the second chapter of this thesis. In this section I will demonstrate that landscape can be characterised as a manifestation of Englishness based on the analysis of evidence from the original English texts and their Russian translations. I will show how images of mythical rural England have been recreated by the Russian translators and how the representation of these images has contributed to the overall representation of England as quintessentially rural. I will analyse the representation of English landscape in the following original texts and their translations: Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy*; Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*; Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*. These books, written in the Edwardian period, are set in the English countryside and tend to depict England as a mythical idyllic Arcadia.

The textual evidence that I analyse will support my assumption that Russian translators introduce significant features in the translated texts that point to a modified myth of rural England. I will show that Russian translators tend to Russify images of idyllic England to some extent, though they do not seek to accommodate their texts fully within the context of Russian culture. I will emphasise the Russian translators' presence in the translated texts, and show how their perceptions of the English culture results in re-imagined images of the English landscape. And finally, by comparing different translations of the same original texts I will discuss the extent to which the depiction of the images of landscape has been adapted to the changed cultural context.

In the second chapter I identified key features of the rural landscape understood as a manifestation of cultural Englishness: gardens, winding roads, green fields, hills and valleys, the moor and rivers. For my analysis I will group

the elements of landscape by drawing on the existing scholarship in the field of the study of literary landscape. From the theoretical point of view, the literary representation of landscape is subjective. It depends on how a writer experiences a particular landscape and later imagines it in writing, by binding cultural meanings together with constructs of landscape. Moreover, as David Gervais claims, readers construct imaginary landscapes for themselves.[700] Thus the literary representation of landscape is constructed (or imagined). Landscape is seen through the lens of both writers and readers, and its construction is influenced by historical and cultural factors.[701] As I consider literary landscape as an imagined construct, I place special emphasis on an analytical method that uses topoi as conventional settings in literature which are easily identified by readers. Applying topoi to the classification of elements of English landscape is useful because topoi do not carry a meaning of a particular place.[702] According to Jane S. Carroll, topoi are used in different literary works for depicting landscape: they are pure elements of landscape, they consist of basic components and their significance does not change through time.[703]

My list of topoi to be discussed includes the following: the roadway, the moorland, the green space, the pleasance, the wilderness, and the garden. Regarding the roadway topos, Carroll explains that the road 'connects distant places, often crossing vast tracts of land in order to do so' and helps travellers to learn about the surrounding landscape.[704] Mikhail Bakhtin indicates that usually the author uses the high road topos in order to depict his/her native country and to show the socio-historical diversity of the native land.[705] With reference to the moorland topos, Chris Thurgar-Dawson states that 'the moorland landscape is both conspicuous vacuum and symbolic feast' and that it is 'a particularly English trope and topos'. He delineates English moorland as 'lacking desert, prairie and wilderness, lacking steppe, salt lake and plateau,

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[700] Gervais, p. 2.
[701] Jane Suzanne Carroll, *Landscape in Children's Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 2-3.
[702] See more on topoi in literature in Siddall, p. 40.
[703] Carroll, p. 3.
[704] Ibid., p. 108.
[705] M. Bakhtin, 'Formy vremeni i khronotopa v romane: Ocherki po istoricheskoi poetike', in *Voprosy literatury i estetiki: Issledovaniia raznykh let,* ed. by M. Bakhtin (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1975), pp. 234–408, pp. (393–94).

lacking highland, mesa and glacier'.[706] The green space topos, as Carroll explains, is the main element of landscape and especially important in children's literature. Green spaces are represented in descriptions of landscapes in many different forms: 'cultivated and wild, bounded and unbounded, from the urban garden to the wild wood'.[707] According to Carroll, the green space topos also contains the following sub-topoi: the wilderness, the pleasance, and the garden. For the explanation of the pleasance topos Carroll cites Ernst Robert Curtius's work *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, in which he identifies six physical attributes of the pleasance – 'grass, trees, shade, flowing water, wild flowers, and a gentle breeze'.[708] Regarding the wilderness topos, Carroll states that 'in 20th and 21st-century children's literature, wilderness is often manifested through a figure or a person' and that in many literary works this figure is 'a spirit of the topos, and is closely linked with a feature of the landscape'.[709] In the late Victorian and Edwardian children's literature the role of this spirit was given to Pan who represented a literary Pagan god.[710] In terms of the garden topos, Reinbert Tabbert states that the garden can be considered a symbol of Englishness, quoting Francis Bacon's words: 'God Almighty first planted a garden and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures'.[711] Robert Colls refers to the garden as a symbolic image of England due to the country's temperate climate and the mild character of English people. He emphasises that the garden metaphor has always been used to describe the English and their country.[712]

In the following subsections I will group the roadway, the moorland, the green space, the pleasance, the wilderness and the garden topoi into four sections. In this way I will be able to demonstrate that rural England as depicted

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[706] Chris Thurgar-Dawson, 'Negotiating Englishness: Choropoetics, Reciprocal Spatial Realities and Holistic Spatial Semantics in William Renton's 'The Fork of the Road' (1876)', in *Landscape and Englishness,* ed. by Robert Burden and Stephan Kohl (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 27–45 (p. 32).
[707] Carroll, p. 49.
[708] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Task (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953) quoted in Carroll, p. 70.
[709] Carroll, p. 79.
[710] Peter Bramwell, *Pagan Themes in Modern Children's Fiction: Green Man, Shamanism, Earth Mysteries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 38.
[711] Reinbert Tabbert, 'National Myths in Three Classical Picture Books', in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature,* ed. by Maria Nikolajeva (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 151–63 (p. 154).
[712] Colls, pp. 203–06.

by the Russian translators is an idyllic Arcadia and an Edenic garden, as well as a mysterious place unfamiliar to Russian readers.

As Ford Madox Ford states in his trilogy *England and the English,* every writer creates his own ideal image of the English countryside.[713] In the original texts which I analyse, the image of the English landscape is an imaginary construct, individually imagined by each author. However, general locations exist – e.g. the Yorkshire moors, the South Downs, the Thames. In general, the overall image of rural England is conveyed in all of the Russian translations. The Russian translators reconstruct the South of England as the setting for *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *The Wind in the Willows*, as well as the North of England for *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *The Secret Garden*. Grigorii Kruzhkov and Aleksei Slobozhan, who translated *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*, visited England and saw the places that Kipling used as settings for his both books. Therefore, the real geographical names of locations were retained in most of the cases. However, all the translated texts contain elements that point to a modified image of Englishness. It can be assumed that this happens because translators add their own ideas (stereotypes and perceptions) of the essence of Englishness to the original image of the English countryside. Translators also add their perceptions of the receiving culture to their translated texts. This way of looking at translation is informed by the imagological approach, according to which stereotypes and existing images influence the creation of literary images of one's own and foreign cultures.

I will show that existing stereotypes and visions of Russianness in Russian literature and culture, as well as images of Russian landscape from Russian literature, contribute to the creation of a modified image of the English landscape. This tendency is supported by the view of Viktor Golyshev (b. 1937), a renowned Russian translator of modern American and English literature, who claims that translators usually imagine a scene that they have never seen or known before and reconstruct it via their imagination; or as he puts it more bluntly: 'we just make it up'.[714] Existing images of rural Russia may, therefore, be substituted for an unfamiliar English rural landscape. So, if the image of rural England is mythologised in the original texts, and the Russian translators decide

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[713] Ford Madox Ford, *England and the English: a Trilogy* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2003), p. 109.
[714] Shkola zlosloviia, NTV, 01 February 2010, 20'11 minute <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=drnK6cUHYlg> [accessed 13 December 2016].

to domesticate or Russify this myth, basing their decisions on stereotypes and perceptions of the English and the Russian culture, as well as ideological and literary norms, they actually create a new myth of Englishness. I will investigate how the image of the English countryside as a constructed myth has been accommodated within Russian cultural boundaries through translation and will demonstrate that Russian translators arrive at a modified myth of rural England.

In order to understand what features of the Russian landscape might have affected the translators' decisions as they recreate an imaginary English landscape (when they have not seen it first hand) and to identify features that might point to the attributes of domestication in their representation of the English landscape, I will consider scholarly views on the Russian landscape as the essence of Russianness. Nikolai Berdyaev links the vast Russian landscape to the vastness of the Russian national character: 'in the Russian soul there is a sort of immensity, a vagueness, a predilection for the infinite, such as is suggested by the great plain of Russia'.[715] Christopher Ely, in his study on landscape and national identity in Russia of the 19th century, argues that admiration of the native landscape had not always been a significant trait of the Russian character. An idealised image of the Russian landscape became a manifestation of Russianness only in the 19th century, with such characteristic elements as 'bare plains and dense forests', 'vast open steppes', 'the bleak, rundown, snow-covered, and swampy places', 'overgrown corners and boundless space'. Ely describes the image of the Russian terrain as half real and half idealised; the key concept is represented by the extensive open steppes and uncultivated land, symbolising the sense that the Russian people are free to roam.[716] Emma Widdis elaborates the notion of the Russian national space into unlimited open land, where the edge – the horizon – does not exist.[717] And finally, Gregory and Alexander Guroff, in their study on Russian national identity, emphasise the following significant features of the Russian

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[715] Nikolai Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea*, trans. by R. M. French (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1947), p. 2.
[716] Christopher Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, IS: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002), pp. 227, 228.
[717] Emma Widdis, 'Russia as Space', in *National Identity in Russian Culture,* ed. by Emma Widdis and Simon Franklin (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 2004), pp. 30–49 (p. 39).

land as the essence of Russianness: 'the Russian steppe, the Siberian taiga, and the peasant villages of the Black Earth region'.[718]

1.1. The road and the moor: translating the unfamiliar England

In this subsection I focus on the original texts that contain elements of the road, the moor, and the green space topoi in their depiction of the English rural landscape. The representation of landscape in the examples from *The Secret Garden*, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, and *The Wind in the Willows* demonstrates the vision of the quintessential English countryside that contains such distinctive elements as hedgerows, heathland, moorland, the open road, as well as the historical associations with the road. Though familiar to English readers, these concepts are not widely recognised in Russian culture, and so this section will focus on the way the Russian translators dealt with this problem. Firstly, I will look at the recreation of the English rural landscape through the road topos in four Russian translations of *The Secret Garden*, followed by an analysis of the road and the green space topoi in five Russian translations of *The Wind in the Willows*. This section will conclude with an analysis of the moor topos in four Russian translations of *The Secret Garden* and in five Russian translations of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*.

In the third chapter of *The Secret Garden,* which is called 'Across the Moor', Mary and Mrs Medlock are travelling by carriage to Misselthwaite Manor which is located in Yorkshire in the fictitious Missel Moor. The protagonists set off from a station, pass through a village and cross the moor. The depiction of the start of their journey exemplifies the road topos: 'A brougham stood on the road before the little outside platform. Mary saw that it was a smart carriage' (p. 17).

The Russian translators render this passage in the following way:

– . Repina (1914): '   ...' [A smart carriage was standing at the exit from the station] (p. 219);

[718] Gregory Guroff and Alexander Guroff, 'The Paradox of Russian National Identity', in *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia,* ed. by Roman Szporluk (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 78–100 (p. 81).

– R. Rubinova (1914): '   ,

          ,   ...' [A carriage was standing near a platform and Mary saw at once that that it was a dandified carriage] (p. 27);

– Irina Senderikhina (1992): '

          .   ,   ...' [A carriage was standing on a road near a small platform. Mary noticed that it was a very elegant carriage] (p. 13);

– and finally Nina Demurova (1996): '

          .   ,   ...' [A carriage was standing on a road near a platform. Mary noticed that it was a dandified two-seat carriage] (p. 23).

Although the book was published in 1910, Burnett set her story around 1860, in Victorian England.[719] According to the Oxford English Dictionary Online, a *brougham* is 'a one-horse closed carriage, with two or four wheels, for two or four persons'.[720] Repina (p. 219) and Rubinova (p. 27) translate the word *brougham* as '   ' [carriage], which is French in origin and in Russian is used as a general word denoting all types of horse-drawn carriages. Demurova (p. 23) and Senderikhina (p. 13) decide to render a *brougham* by two words '   ' [carriage] and '   ', the former denotes in Russian the historical means of transport for aristocrats and rich middle class people. In Rubinova's translation (p. 31) there is an illustration of a one-horse closed carriage with two wheels and in Demurova's translation (pp. 24-25) an illustration of a two-horse closed carriage with four wheels. These illustrations contribute to a better representation of an image associated with the road which has a historical value for the readers. However, the translators choose not to emphasise the Englishness of the word *brougham,* which was a popular type of a light carriage in Victorian England, through giving additional information in footnotes or even using loan words '   ' and '   '.[721] Instead, the translators generalise and domesticate the historical image of the road used in the original text.

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[719] Peter Hunt, 'Explanatory Notes', in *The Secret Garden* by Frances Hodgson Burnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 221–39 (p. 221).
[720] 'brougham, n.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, March 2014, Web) <http://0-www.oed.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk/view/Entry/23824?redirectedFrom=brougham> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[721] 'brum', *Slovar' inostrannikh slov, voshedshikh v sostav russkogo iazyka*, ed. by A. N. Chudinov (1910)

As for the stated location of the carriage – 'on the road before the little outside platform' – Hunt quotes Robin Coulthard, a librarian and archivist of the North Eastern Railway Association, who explains that 'some wayside stations did have a short length of platform fronting the road outside to facilitate loading and unloading, particularly milk churns. […] The platform may well have also served to permit the gentry to gain easy access to their coaches'.[722] Repina does not convey the image created by Burnett, translating it as '

' [at the exit from the station] and consequently its historical value is lost. This can be explained by the fact that the translator most probably did not have 'knowledge and emotional experience of the foreign cultural context' as Göte Klingberg explains,[723] whether due to the lack of good reference material or actual visits to England, or a decision to omit the detailed explanation of culture specific elements as is often done in the translation of children's literature.[724] The other three translators generalise this phrase as 'on the road near the platform' and thus as a whole convey the concept of the 'outside platform', but again the historical value of it is not retained and the image of Victorian England is blurred. It can be argued that it is not important to maintain in the contemporary translated text all the details pertaining to the historical value, that a simplified image of the past would suffice for the contemporary reader. However, it seems reasonable that for the sake of retaining the spirit of Victorian England details like these should be preserved in the translated text, especially if the educational value of children's literature is to be prioritised and readers are expected to learn about the past of the country of origin.

If the first example shows modified images of Englishness created by the translators in their treatment of historical realia, there are also examples of the depiction of the Yorkshire road imagined by Burnett which demonstrate that the translators succeeded in creating a representation of the image of the North of

<http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_fwords/8308/%D0%91%D0%A0%D0%A3%D0%9C> [accessed 13 December 2016]; 'bruggem', *Slovar' inostrannikh slov, voshedshikh v sostav russkogo iazyka*, ed. by A. N. Chudinov (1910) <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dic_fwords/8304/%D0%91%D0%A0%D0%A3%D0%93%D0%93%20%D0%95%D0%9C> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[722] Hunt, 'Explanatory Notes', p. 225.

[723] Göte Klingberg, 'The Different Aspects of Research into the Translation of Children's Books and Its Practical Application', in *Children's Books in Translation: the Situation and the Problems,* ed. by Göte Klingberg, Mary Ørvig and Stuart Amor (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1978), pp. 84–9 (p. 86).

[724] For the simplification strategy, see Maria Nikolajeva, *Aesthetic Approaches to Children's Literature: an Introduction* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2005), pp. 237–38, and also Shavit, p. 36.

England which corresponds to the one created by the original author. The only difficulty encountered in the passage below is the rendering of the word *hedge:*

> After they had left the station they had driven through a tiny village […]
> Then they were on the highroad and she saw hedges and trees. […]
> The carriage lamps shed a yellow light on a rough-looking road which
> seemed to be cut through bushes and low-growing things which ended
> in the great expanse of dark apparently spread out before and around
> them. A wind was rising and making a singular, wild, low, rushing sound
> (p. 18).[725]

Repina and Rubinova translate the word *hedge* as '   ' [fence], which suggests to Russian readers a general image of a fence made of stakes, pickets, sticks, twigs, etc., and therefore creates a different image of the road, rather than the typical English road with hedgerows along its borders. Demurova and Senderikhina use the Russian phrase '   ' [living hedge], which equates to the English concept of the hedge, but does not exist as such in the actual Russian landscape.

For a better understanding of why the decision to translate 'hedge' as '   ' [fence] points to a modified image of Englishness, which is closer to the image of a Russian rural road, it is helpful to look at the depiction of hedgerows in the English literature of the Edwardian period. For, example, Ford Madox Ford in his book *The Heart of the Country* (1906), part of the trilogy *England and the English*, devotes a whole chapter to English roads. In his view, hedges are inherent elements of English roads, as well as 'the essential first note' of the English pastoral countryside; he describes hedgerows as 'riotous with dog-rose, odorous with elder in blossom, along which the nefarious but beloved bramble will carry the delighted eye [of a traveller] from briony to briony'.[726] The etymology of the word 'hedge' can be traced to Saxon settlers who used the word 'haga' for defining the hedge as 'haga' was their name for the fruit of the hawthorn tree.[727] The semantic relationship between the notions of the hedge and greenery confirms the suggestion that rendering the word 'hedge' as '   ' [fence] in two of the four Russian translations diverts the reader's attention from the presentation of Englishness per se towards a

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[725] Translations of this passage are given in Appendix 5, part 2, example 1.
[726] Ford, pp. 130–31.
[727] Clifford and King, p. 224.

generalised image of the English landscape. Moreover, it creates allusions to elements of scenery which might remind the Russian readers of their native landscape.

Cultural changes in Russian society mean that the post-Soviet translations by Senderikhina and Demurova are closer to the original than the translations by Repina and Rubinova, first published before the Revolution of 1917. However, given that there is no single canonical translation of *The Secret Garden* and that the Russian book market offers all four translations, Russian readers are faced with different images of Englishness recreated by the book's Russian translators.

To accurately consider the depiction of the English rural landscape, it is necessary to explore the topoi of the road and green space, beginning with the following example from *The Wind in the Willows*. In the second chapter, 'The Open Road', Toad tries to convince his friends Mole and Rat to travel with him in his new gypsy caravan by describing what they might see during their journey along the English road: 'The open road, the dusty highway, the heath, the common, the hedgerows, the rolling downs!' (p. 19). The Russian translations go as follows.

– I. Tokmakova (1988): '   ,   ,

                    ,   ,   ,

    !' [Wide country lanes, dusty highways, the heather wasteland, the plains, the walks between hedges, descents, ascents!] (p. 46);

– V. Reznik (1992): '   ,   ,   ,

          ,   ,   !' [Wide roads, dusty country lanes, health, simplicity, the meadows, the hillocks!] (p. 21);

– M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993): '   ,   ,

       ,   ' [The wide road, dusty highways, meadows, fields and hills] (p. 21);

– Iakhnin's (2002): '   ,   ,   ,

          ,   !' [Straight roads, noisy highways, small meadows, copses, the waves of hills!] (p. 43);

– V. Lunin (2011): '   ,   ,   ,

          ,   !' [The faraway road, the dusty highway, steppes, pastures, mountains and valleys!] (p. 35).

The passage from the original text exemplifies the idyllic image of the English countryside common in Edwardian literature and recognisable nowadays. All of the elements of the road and the green space topoi in this passage are major features that signify the Englishness of English landscape. Grahame first mentions that the story is set in England only at the end of chapter VI ('Mr. Toad'). Nevertheless, English readers are left in no doubt of the setting: images of the rural landscapes of Berkshire, the river Thames and the Cornish river Fowey are used by Grahame to construct lyrical depictions of the imagined landscape in *The Wind in the Willows*.[728] Most probably, it is not so easy for Russian readers to recognise scenes set in an English rural environment. As I will show in my analysis, the Russian translators conveyed the original texts' evocation of the landscape and in doing so formed the image of Englishness for the Russian readers.

'The open road', with its meaning of a main country road, does not appear to pose any difficulty for translators. However, the metaphorical meaning of 'the open road' as an endless road is also a historical allusion to a popular Edwardian anthology of poetry and prose about open air travelling - *The Open Road, A Little Book for Wayfarers* (written in 1899) compiled by E.V. Lucas.[729] Moreover, according to Seth Lerer, Edwardian readers imagined 'the open road' as a symbol of freedom and adventure.[730] Only Lunin creates the image of the faraway road, which partly preserves the historical message of the original text. All other translators choose a generalised image of a wide road. As for 'the dusty highway', Ford Madox Ford in *The Heart of the Country* (1906) gives an impressionistic view of the highways of Edwardian England: 'level, white and engrossed beneath the sky […], the great highways run across the green islands' and describes them as 'singularly deserted' 'except for the automobiles, which as yet have done little to change the face of the country'.[731] Therefore, the decision of Iakhnin to translate 'the dusty highways' as '   ' [noisy highways] seems misleading from a historical point of view. At the same time, the decision of Tokmakova and Lunin to render 'the highway' by the

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[728] See, for example, on Berkshire – Lundin, p. 120, about rivers – Peter Hunt, 'Explanatory notes', in *The Wind in the Willows* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 147–70 (p. 148). Also in explanatory notes in Russian, on rivers – A.V. Preobrazhenskaia, 'Kommentarii', in *The Wind in the Willows* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981), pp. 315–59 (p. 323).
[729] Hunt, 'Explanatory Notes', p. 151.
[730] Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows: an Annotated edition*, ed. by Seth Lerer (Cambridge, MS: The Belknap Press of Harward University Press, 2009), p. 63.
[731] Ford, pp. 145–46.

Russian vernacular word '   ' [bol'shak], which signifies 'a wide country road, as opposed to country by-roads and lanes',[732] points to the Russification of the image of the highway in the original text.

Bearing in mind Gideon Toury's view that translations are 'facts of target cultures' which should be studied within the context of receiving cultures,[733] I will refer to examples from Russian literature to inform my understanding of the translation decisions employed by the Russian translators and to reveal their presence in the translated texts. My idea of drawing on the literature of the receiving culture is based on the views of Soviet translators Maria Lorie (1904–1992) and Nikolai Liubimov (1912–1992), who both stress the importance for Russian translators of reading Russian writers either of the same historical period or genre. This would enable Russian translators to find new possibilities in the Russian language for conveying style and content of the original.[734]

The usage of the Russian word '   ' [bol'shak] in the depiction of a Russian road can be found in a number of literary works written between 1870 and 1930. Ivan Bunin in a miniature called *Muravskii shliakh* [Muravskii trail] (1930) describes a country road as: '   ,   ,

          ,   ...

…' [The summer evening, the coachman's troika, the endless deserted bol'shak… There are many deserted roads and fields in Russia…].[735] Mikhail Prishvin in his autobiographical novel *Kashcheeva tsep'* [Kashchey's chain] (1953) writes: '

                    ,   ,   –   ,

[Meanwhile, lots of peasants' carts drove onto the bol'shak from country paths, they stretched out as a long chain and it all became a caravan].[736] Ivan Turgenev evokes the image of a country road in a short story *Rasskaz otsa Aleksseia* (1877): '   —   :

          .   ,   ' [Six versts from the town – I see

[732] S. I. Ozhegov, *Slovar' russkogo iazyka*, ed. by N. Iu. Shvedova (Moscow: Russkii iazyk, 1991), p. 60.
[733] Toury, pp. 23, 22 accordingly.
[734] Friedberg, *Literary Translation in Russia*, pp. 159, 160.
[735] I. A. Bunin, 'Muravskii shliakh', in *Sobranie sochinenii v 9 tomakh,* 9 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia literatura", 1965–1967), v: *Povesti i rasskazy 1917–1930* (1966), p. 427.
[736] M. M. Prishvin, *Sobranie sochineniiv shesti tomakh,* 6 vols (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1956–1957), i: *Kashcheeva tsep'* (1956), p. 80.

him striding down the bol'shak. I drove up to him and jumped off the cart].[737] Drawing on these examples, I propose that the existing literary images of the Russian country road might have inspired the two translators (Tokmakova and Lunin) in their creation of the image of the English country road.

The image of the open road in the example under analysis contains elements of several green space topoi: 'the heath', 'the common', 'the hedgerows', and 'the rolling downs'. 'The heath' is only conveyed in the translation of Tokmakova. Reznik, Iasnov and Kolotov, as well as Iakhnin put 'the heath' and 'the common' together and assign it a general meaning of a common land, which in their translations is represented by fields, meadows and coppice. Lunin creates a new image for 'the heath' – in his translation it becomes 'the steppe', thereby sending a message to Russian readers that his imagined English landscape resembles something more of a Russian nature (a steppe) than an English one (a heathland). 'The hedgerows' are represented in Tokmakova's translation only as 'walks between hedges', all other translators decide to leave out this important element of English rural landscape. As for 'the rolling downs' – an essential feature pointing to the setting of the novel in the South of England – Tokmakova and Lunin misrepresent the original landscape, thus leaving their readers with a generalised image of any countryside. Other translators are closer to the original image of 'the rolling downs' which they render as 'hills'. All in all, the Russian translators create a modified image of the rural English landscape and lean towards generalisation and partial Russification as strategies for conveying Englishness. I would suggest that the Edwardian literary picture of the rural idyll masterfully portrayed by Grahame is hardly recognisable in the Russian translations.

If all fiction and non-fiction works about England written in the Soviet Union, as well as in pre- and post-Soviet Russia, are considered as possible sources of information about Englishness, the translators should have been able to utilise available knowledge about England in their translations. However, the translators go further than simply rendering written words about the harsh and bleak beauty of the English landscape of the North in *The Secret Garden* and the pleasant idyll of the South in *The Wind in the Willows* – they alter the cultural myth of Englishness by adding to it their vision of the Russian

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[737] I. S. Turgenev, 'Rasskaz otza Alekseia', in *Sochineniia. Tom 11. Povesti i rasskazy 1871–1877* (Moscow–Leningrad: Nauka, 1966), pp. 291–304 (p. 303).

landscape based on Russian literary sources. The road topos, which has an association with the English setting in the original texts, gives a different picture to Russian readers about the English countryside – this picture is altered by the Russian translators based on their perceptions of the Russian landscape as a source of inspiration.

Leaving the road, the focus now turns to another evocative element: the moor topos. This feature is an important part of the novel *The Secret Garden*, in which the Russian translators succeed in conveying the contradictory image of the moorland in Yorkshire represented by Burnett through the main characters' different attitudes to the moor. They convey Mary's despair and the dreary gloomy moor, Martha's happy emotions about the beauty of the moor and later Mary's similar feelings after she learns to love Yorkshire. However, the problem lies in the lack of an exact translation of the word 'moor'. All four translators use different Russian words when they talk about the Yorkshire moor:

– '   ' [wasteland covered by heather] in the translations of Demurova and Senderikhina;

– '   ' [heathland] in the text produced by Repina;

– '   ' [steppe] as translated by Repina and Rubinova;

– '   ' [a plain overgrown with heather and gorse] as rendered by Demurova;

– '   ' [fields] and '   ' [fields of heather] in the translation of Repina;

– '   ' [plain] in the translations of Senderikhina and Demurova.

The steppe, the plain and the field evoke images of the Russian landscape as an extensive boundless open land. The steppe is considered to be a symbol of freedom in Russian culture. The decision to use the Russian word '   ' [plain] seems contradictory to the image of the moor created in the original text: it is mentioned that the carriage, in which Mary and Martha were going across the moor to the manor, was 'climbing up-hill' and that Mary looked at the moor through the window and saw 'a great climbing stretch of land'.[738] A field evokes an image of a plain or an expanse of land devoid of trees; also a field can be fenced and used for cultivation, but generally a moor is

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[738] Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 18, 21.

uncultivated land covered with heather.[739] However, it should be added that the phrase ' ' [fields of heather] has another connotation: vast natural expanses of heather. Therefore, it depends on the reader which image is evoked by the phrase ' ': whether it is vast expanses of land covered by heather or whether it is Russian fields in a typical Russian landscape. The use of ' ' [wasteland covered by heather] and ' ' [heathland] for the translation of the moor seems the best possible choice, as it coincides with the description of the upland moor given by David Hey:

> Huge stretches of the uncultivated hills of northern and south-western England are largely covered in peat […], supporting only heather or ling, bilberries, crowberries, cranberries, and whortleberries. […] For much of the year these moors are dark and devoid of colour, but in late summer they are transformed gloriously by the flowering of the purple ling.[740]

In chapter 9 of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* , 'The Poor Cottages'*,* Little Lord Fauntleroy and his grandfather are observing the landscape around Dorincourt Castle:

> That same morning he drew up his horse on an elevated point of the moor over which they rode, and made a gesture with his whip, over the broad, beautiful landscape spread before them. [...]
>
> Little Lord Fauntleroy sat very still in his saddle for a few moments. He looked over the broad moors, the green farms, the beautiful copses, the cottages in the lanes, the pretty village, and over the trees to where the turrets of the great castle rose, grey and stately   (pp. 116–117).

The moor is one of the key elements in this description of the landscape. Since there is no exact translation of the word 'moor', all the translators again use different Russian words when they depict the English landscape. In the translation edited by Sysoeva (1888) 'an elevated point of the moor' is generalised as ' ' [an elevated place] and the moor is omitted. At the same time, 'the broad moors' is translated as ' ' [fields] (pp.

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[739] 'moor, n. 1', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, March 2014, Web) <http://0-www.oed.com.lib.exeter.ac.uk/view/Entry/121964?rskey=wBY4aO&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 13 December 2016].

[740] David Hey, 'Moorlands', in *The English Rural Landscape,* ed. by Joan Thirsk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207 (p. 188).

129–130). Dolgov (1893) translates 'the moor' as '   ' [meadow] and 'the broad moors' as '   ' [broad meadows] (pp. 134–135). Ivanova (1901) renders 'the moor' as '   ' [the open space] and '   ' [the plain], as well as 'the broad moors' as '   ' [the endless open plain] (pp. 163–164). Taborovskaia (1913) generalises 'an elevated point of the moor' as '   ' [hummock] and 'the broad moors' as '   ' [the broad plains] (p. 214). Demurova (1992) renders 'the moor' as '   ' [the heather wasteland] and 'the broad moor' as '   ' [the broad wasteland stretched away] (p. 105).

This pattern of dealing with translation of the concept 'the moor' in *Little Lord Fauntleroy* resembles the way the Russian translators convey it in *The Secret Garden*. The English landscape imagined by the Russian translators is transformed into a partly Russified countryside. On the one hand, the fields and the plain can evoke images of the Russian landscape in the minds of Russian readers. On the other hand, the meadows, the fields and the plains denote the image of a generalised landscape which can be found in many countries. Only Demurova uses 'the heather wasteland' in her translation, which conveys the connotative meaning of the moor to some extent; she translates 'the moor' in a similar way in *The Secret Garden*. Demurova's more detailed approach to translating this culture-specific element of Englishness may have been informed by her expertise as a scholar of English literature and by the fact that her translation was published in the post-Soviet period. Again, all other pre-revolutionary translations have been reprinted since 1991. Therefore, Russian readers can choose between different images of the Yorkshire moor created in the translated texts.

As with the analysis of the road topos, I consider these translations of the 'moor' within their Russian cultural and literary context. The Russian historian of the late 19th century Vasilii Kliuchevskii said: 'The forest, the steppe, the river – these, one might say, are the fundamental elements of Russian nature in its historical significance'.[741] The vastness of the steppe and the field, as the key elements of Russian landscape, is broadly represented in Russian prose and

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[741] V.O. Kliuchevskii, *Sochineniia: Kurs russkoi istorii* (Moscow: Politicheskaia literatura, 1956), p. 66, quoted in Ely, p. 223.

poetry, for example, in the writings of Anton Chekhov, Ivan Bunin, Ivan Turgenev, Alexander Blok, and Mikhail Lermontov.

Anton Chekhov's short novel *The Steppe*, written in 1888, depicts the steppe as '   ,   ' [a vast, endless plain] and '   ,   , […]   –   ,   ' [the cut rye, the wild steppe grass, the spurge, the hemp – all turned brown under the hot sun and half dead].[742] Petr Viazemsky – who greatly influenced the development of Russian landscape poetry[743] – starts his poem *The Steppe*, written in 1828: '   ' [boundless Russia like eternity on earth] and his steppe is vast, barren and as hot as a fiery sea.[744] Aleksei Kol'tsov in his poem *Kosar'* [the reader] written in 1836 depicts the vastness of the southern Russian steppe in the following way, referring to the feather grass [-   ] which is an important and distinctive feature of the Russian steppe: '… | , | - | !..| ,   ,   , | , | ,   , | , | | !' [The spacious steppe stretches far away, it is covered with feather grass! Oh, my steppe, the broad steppe, you spread far away, you go as far as the Black Sea!].[745] The heat and vastness of the steppe is pictured in Ivan Bunin's poem *Kamennaia baba* [The stone idol] (1906) in the following lines: '   . | -   ,   ' [The grass has withered and died in the heat. The steppe is boundless but the distance appears slightly blue.][746] The feeling of freedom evoked by the Russian steppes is conveyed by Mikhail Lermontov in his poem of 1831 *Prekrasny vy, polia zemli rodnoi* [Beautiful you are, the fields of my dear land]: '   , | ,   , | …' [The steppe is spread out as a purple veil, it is so fresh and so close to the soul, as if it were created for

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[742] A.P. Chekhov, 'Step': Istoriia odnoi poezdki', in *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v 3 tomakh,* 3 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1970), i, 422–515 (p. 431).
[743] Ely, p. 68.
[744] P.A. Viazemskii, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Moscow – Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1969), p. 332.
[745] A. V. Kol'tsov, *Sochinenia v dvukh tomakh. Stikhotvoreniia,* 2 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaia Rossia", 1958), i: *Stikhotvoreniia*, p. 139.
[746] I. A. Bunin, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel', 1961), p. 258.

freedom only].[747] Similar ideas are found in Ivan Turgenev's 1852 collection of short stories *Zapiski okhotnika* [*A Sportsman's Notebook*] in chapter IX 'Kassyan from fair springs':

> And then, beyond Kursk, come the steppes, the steppe-country, the surprise of it, the joy to your heart, the spaciousness of it, the blessing of God! Why, the steppes run, so they say, right to the warm seas, where lives the Gamayun bird with the sweet voice.[748]

The image of endless Russian fields as a typical Russian landscape is found in Sergei Esenin's poem *Glianu v pole, glianu v nebo…* [I look at the field, I look at the sky…] written in 1917: '   ,   – |

· | | ' [I look at the field, I look at the sky – there is heaven in the field and in the sky. And again my unploughed country is drowned in sheaves of wheat].[749] Bunin depicts endless Russian fields in the novel *Zhizn' Arsen'eva* [The Life of Arseniev] (1939) in the following way: '   ,   –

,   ...   ' [In winter – the boundless sea of snow, in summer – the sea of wheat, grass and flowers... And the eternal stillness of these fields].[750] Similarly Ivan Turgenev recreates the image of endless fields [   ] in the closing chapter 'Forest and Steppe' of *A Sportsman's Notebook*.[751] In Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Mashen'ka* [Mary] (1926) the main character Ganin recalls his past life in Russia and his fond memories of his love for Mashen'ka are set against the vast fields of Russian landscape in late summer: 'the broad fields, already harvested' [   ].[752] These examples from literary works create a sense of the breadth and expanse of the Russian landscape. While reading descriptions of landscape in translated English literature, Russian readers might

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[747] M. Iu. Lermontov, *Sobranie sochinenii v chetyrekh tomakh,* 4 vols (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1957–1958), i: *Stikhotvoreniia* (1957), p. 198.
[748] I. S. Turgenev, *A Sportsman's Notebook*, trans. by Charles and Natasha Hepburn (London: The Book Society, 1959), p. 188.
[749] S. Esenin, *Stikhotvoreniia. Poemy. Povesti. Rasskazy* (Moscow: EKSMO, 2008), p. 129.
[750] I. A. Bunin, *Sobranie sochinenii v 9 tomakh,* 9 vols(Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Khudozhestvennaia literatura", 1965–1967), vi: *Zhizn' Arsen'eva. Iunost'* (1966), p. 9.
[751] I. S. Turgenev, 'Forest and Steppe', in *A Sportsman's Notebook*, trans. by Charles and Natasha Hepburn (London: The Book Society, 1959), pp. 391–98.
[752] Vladimir Nabokov, *Mary*, trans. by Michael Glenny (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1970), p. 86.

visualise the vastness of the Russian landscape, which may shape the way the image of Englishness is constructed in their imagination.

And finally, as a contrast, it is useful to look at the concept of the moor in the Soviet translations of the following novels which are widely read by children and young adults in Russia: Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), which are set in the Yorkshire moors, and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), which is set in Dartmoor. In *Jane Eyre*, translated in 1952 by Vera Stanevich, the moor is conveyed as '   ' [swamps/bogs], '   ' [marshland], '   ' [desolate place], '   ' [swamps/bogs and wasteland], '   ' [banks overgrown with heather].[753] In *Wuthering Heights*, translated in 1956 by Nadezhda Vol'pin, the moor is rendered as '   ' [thickets of heather], '   ' [peat bog], '   ' [fields of heather], '   ' [fields].[754] And in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, translated by N. Volzhina in 1956. In this translation the moor is rendered as '   ' [peat bogs] and the Grimpen Mire is translated as '   ' [Grimpenskaia mire].[755]

According to the English-Russian dictionary edited by V. K. Miuller (1953), the word 'moor' is translated as 'peat land covered by heather'.[756] However, in the English-Russian dictionary, edited by A. Aleksandrov (1909) the word moor is translated as 'swamp; mire; a place covered by heather; steppe; wasteland'.[757] Although this dictionary went out of print in 1916, there is a probability that Soviet translators continued using it even when other major English-Russian dictionaries were published in the Soviet Union. The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (1952) provides the following description of Devon: 'There are small uplands called the Dartmoor Forest (621 meters) in the south west of Devon. The highest points of Dartmoor Forest are covered by turf wasteland'.[758]

[753] Charlotte Brontë, *Dzhen Eir*, trans. by Vera Stanevich (Moscow: Pravda, 1982), pp. 21, 364.
[754] Emily Brontë, *Grozovoi pereval*, trans. by Nadezhda Vol'pin (Moscow: Pravda, 1988). Online <http://www.lib.ru/INOOLD/BRONTE_E/wutherng.txt> [accessed 13 December 2016].
[755] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Sobaka Baskervilei', in *A. Konan Doil. Zapiski o Sherloke Kholmse*, trans. by N. Volzhina (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1983), pp. 457–622 (pp. 510, 523).
[756] *Anglo-russkkii slovar'*, ed. by V. K. Miuller (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i natsional'nykh slovarei, 1953), p. 388.
[757] *Polnyi anglo-russkii slovar'*, ed. by A. Aleksandrov (St. Petersburg: Izdanie glavnogo shtaba, 1909), p. 488.
[758] *Bol'shaia sovetskaia etsiklopediia. Tom 13*, ed. by B. A. Vvedenskii (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe nauchnoe izdatel'stvo "BSE", 1952), pp. 537–38.

East Yorkshire is characterised as follows in the same encyclopaedia: 'hilly plain, heather wasteland, and grass meadows used as pasture land'.[759] These examples from reference works show that compared to the translators of children's literature, the authors of books aimed at adult readers render culture-specific elements in ways that are closer to the original texts and thus preserve the cultural specificity of the original image of Englishness. By contrast, translators of children's literature tend to accommodate their translations within the context of Russian culture and literary tradition. This difference exists because in the field of children's literature translation it is generally assumed that translations for children should be simplified so the content of the translated texts is familiar and the setting is more recognisable for child readers.

1.2. Rural England as a pastoral idyll

In this subsection I demonstrate how Englishness is conveyed in three Russian translations of *The Wind in the Willows* and *Puck of Pook's Hill*, which are representative of the pleasance topos. This topos carries a meaning of the mythologised England as a rural pastoral idyll and has a sense of peacefulness and delight. It contains such distinctive elements as river, flowers, grass, and meadows. This pastoral idyll is depicted in *Puck of Pook's Hill* where in a peaceful and safe place Dan and Una are visited by Puck and other spirits of the land. In *The Wind in the Willows* the pleasance topos is reflected through the creation of a mythical idyllic Arcadia, a riverbank and surrounding green spaces.[760] According to Peter Hunt, the landscape in *The Wind in the Willows* is quintessentially English; the central symbol of Grahame's idyll is the River, which is the Thames, 'the most English of rivers'.[761]

At the beginning of the first chapter 'The River Bank', Mole leaves his underground home in search of sunlight, finds himself enjoying 'the delight' of the English spring as he explores the world above his burrow:

> Hither and thither through the meadows he rambled busily, along the
> hedgerows, across the copses, finding everywhere birds building, flowers

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[759] *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia. Tom 19*, ed. by B. A. Vvedenskii (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe nauchnoe izdatel'stvo "BSE", 1952), p. 187.
[760] Carroll, pp. 72, 77.
[761] Peter Hunt, 'Landscapes and Journeys, Metaphors and Maps: The Distinctive Feature of English Fantasy', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly,* 12 (1987), 11–4 (p. 12).

budding, leaves thrusting – everything happy, and progressive, and occupied (p. 6).

The translated extracts (which are given in Appendix 10, example 1) show that the Russian translators do not attempt to recreate Grahame's text stylistically – its rhythm which foregrounds the author's adoring and nostalgic contemplation of English nature. However, they convey the key lexical elements of the original extract (the meadows, the hedgerows, the copses) that symbolise the English countryside of the south, thereby introducing Russian readers to the beauty of the English landscape from the very beginning of the book. Two translators pay no attention to transferring the word 'hedgerow', the importance of which I have analysed above , and translate it as 'fence' [   ] (Reznik) and 'prickly bushes' [   ] (Iakhnin) which in a way is closer to the concept of 'hedgerow'. Three other translators preserve the concept of 'hedgerow' in their translations. Consequently, having introduced only minor modifications to the image of Englishness created by Grahame, the Russian translators picture England as a mythical pastoral idyll and recreate the original sense of delight.

In chapter III 'The Wild Wood', Mole and Rat spend quiet winter days sitting in the burrow by the fire and remembering beautiful summer days. Grahame creates masterful evocations of the ideal English pastoral summer. By alluding to the protagonists' reminiscences of scenes from the ideal past at the beginning of the extract given below, Grahame creates a sense of nostalgia in his representation of the river bank idyll. This sense of nostalgia is reflected in symbolic Arcadian images of the English landscape – the Thames near Cookham.[762] Grahame uses metaphorical literary language by giving the flowers that grow along the river bank (purple loosestrife, willow-herb, comfrey, dog-rose and meadow-sweet) different roles in the pageant, according to how these flowers start blooming one after another in summer. An important feature added to this pleasance topos is the metaphorical language which Grahame employs to introduce pastoral, medieval romance and fairy-tale allusions. The sense of nostalgia, descriptions of flowers and metaphorical language recreate the image of mythical idyllic Arcadia as a manifestation of Englishness and are

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[762] Tony Watkins, 'Reconstructing the Homeland: Loss and Hope in the English Landscape', in *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature,* ed. by Maria Nikolajeva (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 165–72 (p. 167).

important for analysing the extracts from the Russian translations. For my analysis I agree with Gillian Avery's view that Grahame might have based his choice of flowers in his description of the river bank on Richard Jefferies' book about English rural life *The Life of the Fields* (1884).[763] The description of the river bank represents the English idyllic landscape imagined by Grahame (p. 28).[764]

Three translators (Reznik, Iakhnin, and Lunin) clearly retain the sense of nostalgia for the idyllic past by constructing the following emotions: 'How wonderful the past seems when you find time to look back at it!' (Reznik); 'Oh, when one remembers, those were the happy days!' (Iakhnin); 'How abundant and full of life was every chapter of their memories!' (Lunin). Tokmakova decides to apply a more neutral approach to conveying nostalgic emotions about the past: 'Oh, summer was a lush chapter in the great book of Nature, if one attentively reads oneself into it.' As for the personification of the meadow-sweet, the pastoral, medieval romance and fairy-tale motifs are retained in all four translations. And finally, four of the five types of flowers – purple loosestrife, comfrey, dog-rose, and meadow-sweet –are represented in the Russian translations. The willow-herb flower is translated by Reznik, Iakhnin, and Lunin as '   -   ' [ivan-chai], which is a Russian common name for this flower. It creates an association with Russian culture, unlike the botanical name – '   ' [kiprei] which is used in the translation of Tokmakova. All of these flowers grow on river banks in both Russia and England. Therefore, it is important to point out that Reznik does not mention that the whole scene is set on a river bank and, consequently, fails to recreate the original image. Although the translators introduce one Russified element in this extract, it can be concluded that they recreate Grahame's evocations of the ideal English pastoral summer, and, consequently, demonstrate the vision of rural England as a mythical idyllic Arcadia.

In *Puck of Pook's Hill*, in the chapter 'On the Great Wall'*,* which takes readers to fourth-century Britain and talks about the defence of Hadrian's Wall against the Picts, the main characters talk about the Roman soldiers burning

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[763] Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*, ed. by Gillian Avery (New York: Penguin Classics, 2005), pp. 194–95.
[764] The passage from the original text and corresponding Russian translations are given in the Appendix 5, part 1, example 2. Iasnov and Kolotov omit the whole passage from their translation.

the heather that the Picts grow. Allo, the Pict, says: 'How can we make our holy heather-wine, if you burn our bee-pasture?' (p. 108). Kruzhkov (1996) translates 'holy heather-wine', which is closely connected with the image of the landscape from the original text, as '   ' [holy heather ale] (p. 198), Enkvist (1916) – as '   ' [holy heather wine] (p. 255), Gurova – as '   ' [holy heather wine] (p. 500). Slobozhan conveys the heather wine as '   ,   ' [wonderful drink, heather mead] (p. 182) and creates a literary allusion to the Soviet translation of R. L. Stevenson's poem *Heather Ale: A Galloway Legend* (1890) produced by Samuil Marshak in 1941. This translation was very popular in the Soviet Union and has been included in the school curriculum on literature in the Soviet Union and modern Russia. It is notable that through this intertextual link readers are referred to another classic work of English literature, well known to child and adult readers, in which the translator recreates the image of the Scottish landscape and the courageous character of the Picts. Therefore, the stereotyped vision of British culture based on translated literature (that the heather mead used to be a popular drink in the North of Britain) might have influenced Slobozhan's decision to refer to the existing literary image of 'heather wine'.

1.3. Pan as a spirit of wilderness: the personification of the English countryside

In this subsection I analyse the representation of Pan in *The Wind in the Willows* and Puck in *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*. Pan and Puck, as spirits of the wilderness topos, are associated with the mystical English rural landscape. The way Grahame personified Pan in *The Wind in the Willows* was typical for Edwardian fiction in which Pan, as an ancient Greek pagan god from Arcadia, represented a central figure in the way Nature was imagined.[765] In *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* Puck is presented as the oldest thing in England and 'a force of nature'.[766] He tells the children about the connection between England's landscape and history and teaches

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[765] Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows: an Annotated edition*, ed. by Seth Lerer, p.148 and p. 156.
[766] Carroll, p. 80.

them to love their land. Pan and Puck in both original and translated texts as a personified spirit of English landscape represent different mythological universes of Russian and English cultures. Bearing in mind that the myth of Englishness in the original texts is developed from the borrowed Greek myth of Arcadia, I will demonstrate that in the translated text this myth is altered with added elements of Slavic mythology.

According to the mythological tradition in English literature, midsummer night is the time when it is most likely that Pan would appear. In the opening of the lyrical seventh chapter 'The Piper at the Gates of Dawn' Grahame points to midsummer night:

> Though it was past ten o'clock at night, the sky still clung to and retained
> some lingering skirts of light from the departed day; and the sullen heats
> of the torrid afternoon broke up and rolled away at the dispersing touch
> of the cool fingers of the short midsummer night (p. 72).

Unfortunately all four Russian translators fail to notice the allusion to the significance of the night and they deal with the translation of 'the cool fingers of the short midsummer night' in the following way: Tokmakova as '

' [by cool fingers of the July night] (p. 190); Reznik as '

' [cool small palms of the July night] (p. 102); Iasnov and Kolotov as '   ' [of the cool fingers of the night] (p. 85); Iakhnin as '   ' [of the cool small palm of the summer night] (p. 189); Lunin as '

' [cool fingers of the short summer night] (p. 124).

In the translations of Reznik, Yakhnin, Iasnov, and Lunin, Pan is an ancient Greek pagan god from Arcadia who protects shepherds and herdsmen, flora and fauna, and a popular character in the art of late-Victorian and Edwardian England, 'the satyr, who is both man and beast' and 'demigod'.[767] Moreover, in the translations of Iakhnin and Lunin the image of Pan is backed up by illustrations, which help Russian readers to identify him as a demigod. However, in the translation of Tokmakova he is just an apparition. Tokmakova's image of Pan does not have any religious connotation, and it is not supported by any illustration. Tokmakova offers a generalised depiction of Pan by calling

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[767] Michael Mendelson, 'The Wind in the Willows and the Plotting of Contrast', *Children's Literature,* 16 (1988), 127–44 (p. 126); Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*, 77.

him ' 　　　　　　　　 ' [the friend and helper] and ' 　,
　　　 ' [the one who played the pipe] (pp. 202–205). Unlike the other translators, whose texts were published after 1991 and who could adhere to the context of this mystical and lyrical chapter, Tokmakova's choice to simplify the image of Pan can be explained by the prevailing atheist ideology in the Soviet Union and norms in literature that restricted references to or use of religious material.

Moreover, there is another distinctive feature that points to the Russification of Pan's image. Grahame's Pan plays the pan-pipes. In all of the translations the pan-pipes appear as ' 　　　 ' [svirel'] and ' 　　　 ' [dudochka] (both mean 'pipe' in English). Mikhail Vrubel's painting *Pan* could be used for reference to pan-pipes – an instrument consisting of several pipes bound together, which means *the flute of Pan* or *double flute* in Russian. At the same time, Pan can be shown playing a double flute. The Russian word 'svirel' is used in connection with the image of Pan. However, more often, especially for those who do not know Greek mythology, the word 'svirel' evokes an old Russian folk instrument made of wood, similar to a single or double flute. For example, such flute is played by Lel', the son of the Slavic pagan goddess of spring and love Lada. This in turn brings to mind the evocations of Alexander Ostrovsky's play *Snegurochka* [The Snow Maiden: A Spring Fairy Tale] and the opera of the same name by Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. Therefore, the decision to translate the 'pan-pipe' as 'svirel' or 'dudochka' points towards the Russification of this image.

In both Kipling's books *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* the two main characters Dan and Una meet Puck on Midsummer Eve and Midsummer Day. At the beginning of *Puck of Pook's Hill* Puck says:

> Then what on Human Earth made you act *Midsummer Night's Dream*
> three times over, *on* Midsummer Eve, in the middle of a Ring, and
> *under* – right under one of my oldest hills in Old England? (p. 8).

Enkvist finds a neutral way of rendering 'Midsummer Eve': '
　　　　　　 ' [on the eve of the day in the middle of summer] (p. 170).
Slobozhan translates it in his text as: ' 　　　　　　　　　 ' [right on St. John's day] (p. 21) and adds a translator's commentary in the endnotes to the

book explaining that St. John's day is a summer solstice ancient celebration when the so-called magical powers are especially strong (p. 275). Kruzhkov renders 'Midsummer Eve' as '   ' [on the eve of the magic Kupala night] (p. 25) and adds an explanation earlier in the text saying that it is the night when all the miracles happen in Shakespeare's play *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (p. 23) .Gurova translates it as '   ' [on the eve of St. John's night] (p. 396). In *Rewards and Fairies* Slobozhan, Gurova and Kruzhkov translate 'Midsummer Day' as '   ' [St. John's day].

Hence, Slobozhan, Kruzhkov, and Gurova create a specific allusion to Russian culture – the celebration of Ivan Kupala. The motif of the Kupala or Ivanov (St. John's) night as a Slavic pagan celebration was used by Sergei Esenin, Konstantin Paustovskii, Nikolai Gogol, and Ivan Bunin. It also brings to mind evocations of the Kupala celebrations (dances and songs) in the drama *Finist – Iasnyi Sokol* (Finist, the Bright Falcon) written by Nikolai Shestakov, based on the Russian folk tale of the same name. It was made into a popular children's fantasy film first shown in 1975. The Ivan Kupala celebration is related to the summer solstice and St. John's day and involves Slavic Pagan rituals connected with water, bonfires, and different magic herbs (including fern which is supposed to flower during that night and make any wish come true).

As for the image of Puck as a mythological fairy, or Robin Goodfellow from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, all four translators retain the detailed depiction of Puck as an English fairy in their texts, as well as literary references connected with this character. Moreover, Slobozhan tells his readers about Puck in the foreword to the translated text (p. 8), whereas Kruzhkov explains who Puck is in the endnotes to the translated text, which is an illustrated commentary (p. 323). When Puck is referred to as Faun or Pan (chapters: 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth' and 'On the Great Wall') Slobozhan (p. 281) and Kruzhkov (p. 346) explain in the translator's commentary that he is a woodland deity in Roman and Greek mythology; Enkvist and Gurova provide no explanation.

To sum up, the Russian translators successfully create the image of Puck associated with the spirit of the wilderness topos and retain the historical context of the Arcadian image of this character as a distinctive feature of

Edwardian literature. At the same time, regardless of whether the translated text was produced during the late Soviet or the post-Soviet period, the translators Russify the representation of Puck by adding their perceptions of Russian culture. As a result, this points to a re-imagined vision of the English rural landscape in Russian translations.

1.4. Gardens showing England as Eden

This subsection considers three examples from *The Secret Garden* which are representative of the garden topos. In the novel the garden plays an important role in the moulding of the character of the two protagonists, Mary and Colin. At the same time, the garden is represented as a manifestation of the beauty of the English landscape as well as the grandeur of the manor. Like the moor, the garden is depicted in contrasting ways, either as bleak and deserted, or as a lush and beautiful Edenic garden full of roses. This portrayal follows Mary and Colin's feelings towards their surroundings and the change of seasons from winter to summer. All four translators successfully recreate this changing image of the garden. However, there are slight modifications in the created image that point to Russification and generalisation.

In chapter XIX 'It Has Come!' Dickon, 'a common moor boy', talks about the flowers in the secret garden:

> Dickon knew all the flowers by their country names and knew exactly which ones were already growing in the secret garden.
> 'I couldna' say that there name,' he said, pointing to one under which was written "Aquilegia," but us calls that a columbine, an' that there one it's a snapdragon and they both grow wild in hedges, but these is garden ones an' they're bigger an' grander. There's some big clumps o' columbine in th' garden. They'll look like a bed o' blue an' white butterflies flutterin' when they're out.' (pp. 72, 144)[768]

It is specified in the original text that both flowers – columbine and snapdragon – grow in hedges. It can be assumed that Rubinova and Repina mistakenly turn the snapdragon, which is a wild as well as an ornamental flower, into a hemp nettle [   ], which is a weed growing in fields and garden. Also Rubinova

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[768] The Russian translations of this extract are given in the Appendix 5, part 2, example 2.

and Repina use the Russian vernacular name '   ' [doves] for the columbine flower. Although it is mentioned in the original text that Dickon knew the flowers by their country name, giving 'columbine' a Russian vernacular name is a feature that indicates the Russification of Englishness. At the same time, it renders the contrast between the formal and the vernacular names of this flower. Demurova and Senderikhina choose neutral common names for the flowers – '   ' [columbine] and '   ' [snapdragon]. It is interesting to note that only Demurova translatesv hedges as '   ', the connotation of which corresponds to the English notion of hedgerows. The other three translators convey hedges as '   /   ', [fence] and consequently draw readers' attention away from the image created in the original text.

In chapter XXIII 'Magic' the garden is in bloom: 'Iris and white lilies rose out of the grass in sheaves, and the green alcoves filled themselves with amazing armies of the blue and white flower lances of tall delphiniums or columbines or campanulas' (p. 167).[769] Senderikhina chooses to transliterate into Russian the Latin names of the three last flowers in the example (she gives the columbine flower its Latin name in her translation). This translation strategy can be seen as an intention to retain the original names of flowers and as the result to keep the sense of foreignness in the translated text. Rubinova again uses a Russian vernacular name '   ' [doves] for the columbine flower and Repina and Demurova also transliterate the Latin name of the delphinium flower.

In chapter XXIV 'Let Them Laugh' Burnett describes Dickon's garden 'enclosed by a low wall of rough stones', which he planted near his cottage on the moor:

> The low wall was one of the prettiest things in Yorkshire because he had
> tucked moorland foxglove and ferns and rock-cress and hedgerow flowers
> into every crevice until only here and there glimpses of the stones were to
> be seen (p. 175).[770]

The moorland foxglove flower is translated by Repina, Senderikhina, and Demurova as '   /   ' [foxglove] without indicating

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[769] The Russian translations of this passage are given in Appendix 5, part 2, example 3.
[770] The Russian translations of this extract are given in Appendix 5, part 2, example 4.

that this flower grows on the moorland, as pointed out in the original text. All four translators render 'ferns and rock-cress and hedgerow flowers' as fern and other wild flowers that grow on the stone fence, thus omitting the details of the moor stone wall garden and generalising its image.

These examples show that the Russian translators convey the original vision of England as an Edenic garden through the representation of the image of the lush and beautiful garden in the translated texts. However, the image of the garden is to some extent Russified and generalised, so that it does not reflect the full picture of the beauty of the Northern English landscape created by Burnett. In these examples the Russian translators create a modified image of Englishness that reflects the way they see England. These changes happened irrespective of the period when the translated texts were published (before the Revolution or after the end of the Soviet era).

The analysis in section 1 of this chapter has demonstrated that the vision of England created in the Russian translations is quintessentially rural. It also shows that the Russian translators portray England as an idyllic Arcadia and an Edenic garden as well as a mysterious land unfamiliar to Russian readers, who are offered a partially Russified version of the English countryside.

The partial Russification of the image of the English landscape in the Russian translations, which I have identified, while analysing the moor and the road topoi, leads to a reimagined image of Englishness in the translated texts. This image has the power to evoke a vision of the Russian landscape with its vast plains, fields and steppe. Similarly, the Russian translators deal with the historical and cultural context of the image of the English road – they partly domesticate it and overlook elements pointing to the historical connotations of the original image. In the examples dealing with the representation of the green space and the road topoi, the translators are influenced by the existing images of Russian landscape in Russian literature and culture. This, in turn, points to a mythologised representation of Englishness evoking images of Russian landscape and folklore (steppe, fields of wheat, Kupala night, St. John's day and svirel).

Examples of the landscape of the North of England equally demonstrate the mythologised literary image of Englishness, as do the examples from the

texts set in the south of England. Russian translations preserve images of the Southern and Northern landscape, through which Englishness manifests itself, providing Russian readers with the full picture of lush and beautiful English nature as imagined by the original authors and subsequently recreated by the Russian translators. Regarding the pleasance and the garden topoi, the Russian translators convey the key elements that symbolise the English countryside and introduce the Russian readers to its beauty, as well as retaining the original sense of nostalgia for rural England. However, by adding elements of Russian culture they reimagine the symbolic and idyllic image of the English countryside of the Edwardian period, which is recognisable nowadays as a manifestation of Englishness of the English landscape (the open road, the heath, the common, the rolling downs, the hedgerows), and offer it as a new myth of Englishness to Russian adult and child readers. The recreated image of the English landscape reflects the way the Russian translators see English nature.

2. Images of the English way of life in Russian perceptions

In chapters 2 and 3 in this thesis I identified attributes of the English way of life as a manifestation of Englishness. These include London, town, villages, home, family, the English gentleman, governess and country folk. I have chosen to omit examples dealing with representations of London, towns, and villages as there aren't that many examples to serve as a useful basis for discussion. I will focus instead on the concepts of the English home and family, particularly because images of these elements of the English way of life are often mythologised in the original books. I will look at Russian representations of the mythologised image of the cosy English home, the idealised image of England as a land of gentlemen and ladies and, as a contrast to them, the image of the common folk as a personification of the rural English landscape. It is important to note that cultural Englishness in the following examples is tightly linked with issues of the English class system. Analysis of this offers a useful way to gauge the extent to which translators are providing an accurate representation of English society, or at least as accurate as exists in the original texts.

2.1. The idyll of the English home

In this subsection I demonstrate how manifestations of the English home and family are conveyed in examples taken from Russian translations of *The Railway Children, The Secret Garden* and *The Wind in the Willows.* I aim to see to what extent the original images of the idyllic English home and family are retained in the translated texts.

In *The Railway Children* Edith Nesbit creates an idealised portrayal of an Edwardian family living in a mythical English rural idyll. This book was first translated into Russian in 2010 by A. Sharapova and then retranslated in 2015 by A. Ivanov and A. Ustinova. In general, the portrayal of the Edwardian home is close to the original book in both translations. However, there are a few details in the description of houses that are translated differently. It is these details, as finishing touches to the portrait, that point to a slight modification of the Edwardian family image in both Russian translations. Markers of class difference play an important role in *The Railway Children*, as Nesbit creates a portrait of a middle class family that is dispossessed and subsequently restored to respect and prosperity.

The family of three children (Bobbie, Peter and Phyllis) and their father and mother belonged to the suburban middle-classes of London. They lived

> in an ordinary red-brick-fronted villa, with coloured glass in the front door, a tiled passage that was called a hall, a bath-room with hot and cold water, electric bells, French windows, and a good deal of white paint, and 'every modern convenience', as the house-agents say (p. 11).

Nesbit emphasises the children's middle-class background by describing that they had 'pretty clothes, good fires, a lovely nursery with heaps of toys, and a Mother Goose wall-paper' and 'a kind and merry nursemaid' (pp. 11–12). Both Russian translators represent the London house as a dwelling modern for the Edwardian times. Thus, they convey this important feature that points to the fact that the family belonged to the middle classes who could afford 'every modern convenience', as Nesbit says in the above example.[771] At the same time, there are slight divergences from the original text. A. Sharapova translates the red-brick-fronted villa as '   ' [villa], which in the Russian cultural context usually

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[771] Russian translations of this extract are given in Appendix 5, part 3, example 1.

has the connotation of a big country house with a park or garden. However, in the Victorian and Edwardian times 'villa' referred to a detached house in a residential area. Sharapova changes the French windows, which seem to be an important historical characteristic of the house, into the more general '   ' [casement windows]. Moreover, she fails to show that the children's rooms were comfortably warm, because having good fires in children's nursery signifies the middle-class status of the family (pp. 5–6). Hence, several important characteristic of the Edwardian home are not conveyed in Sharapova's translation, and consequently the image of an English home has a more generalised description. In the 2015 retranslation A. Ivanov and A. Ustinova retain the original image of a red-brick-fronted house with French windows, thus making it clear that the family lived in Edwardian England. However, the image of good fires in the children's nursery is still not fully translated: in their version they present a general image of '   ' [a warm and cosy house] (pp. 7–8).

After the father (who worked in a Government Office) was arrested for selling state secrets, the children and their mother had to move to the countryside. They settled in a little white house near a railway line. Their new house had a thatched roof covered in moss and flowers, a cobblestoned yard with stables and outbuildings, and a garden.[772] As in the example about the London house, both translators introduce a few changes which affect the representation of the image of an English home. The house had a name – Three Chimneys – which emphasises the middle class status of the family. Both translators retain the house name in their translations. Also both translators clearly say that the house was small but cosy, that it was white and had a cobble-stone yard and outbuildings. However, there are two nuances in Ivanov and Ustinova's retranslation that slightly divert Russian readers' attention from the expected stereotypical image of an English house. Here, there is no clear message about the location of the house, as '   ' [out of town] which might bring to mind either a suburban area or the countryside. Also in this retranslation the thatched roof of the house is rendered as '

' [roof made of reed], notwithstanding the widespread image of an English house with '   ' [roof made of straw] in Russian culture

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[772] Relevant extracts from the original and their corresponding Russian translations are given in Appendix 5, part 3, example 2.

(pp. 24, 39). In contrast, the first Russian version produced by Sharapova retains all the original elements in the description of the thatched roof and the English house located in the countryside.

If the above examples dealing with images of the London house demonstrate that retranslations can improve previously translated versions, then the translation of the stately home in *The Secret Garden* house provides a clear example of a decision to balance an element of foreignization with touches of domestication. The house where the main characters (Mary and Colin) lived is called Misselthwaite Manor. Burnett refers to the owner of the Manor as 'her uncle, Mr Archibald Craven, who lived at Misselthwaite Manor' (p. 11). Repina (1914) translates this as '   ,   ,   -   ' and adds the word '   ' [estate], which shows that it is the big house of a rich man (p. 212). This might be explained by the fact that Repina produced her translation before the October revolution of 1917 and was more aware of such details, and adept at describing people who belonged to different social classes. Demurova (1996) translates the name of the owner as '   ,   ,   ' (p. 16), however she mentions in the very beginning of the text that *Misselthwaite Manor* is '   ' (p. 10). This brings to mind an image of a Russian country manor that existed before the October Revolution of 1917. Senderikhina (1992) and Rubinova (1914) do not expand on the meaning of the word manor and translate the name of the owner as '   ,   ' (Senderikhina, p. 8) and '   ,   ,   -   ' (Rubinova, p. 17). By applying a foreignising strategy to their translation of the word 'manor', they create an image of a foreign house that sounds like English, but the readers (children and adults who do not know the English language) might have to refer to the additional information in order to understand the meaning of the word '   '. However, all four translators create the presence of foreignness in their translations, which adds an important nuance to the representation of an English stately home.

If the above examples represent the homes of the upper and middle-classes, then Mole's dwelling, called 'Mole End', in chapter V 'Dulce Domum' of

The Wind in the Willows symbolises the lifestyle of the lower-middle-class during late-Victorian and Edwardian England. As Peter Hunt says, Mole's home is 'little England, Thomas Hardy at his most benign, with a skittle-alley, carol-singers, home-made produce from the village shops, and ale in the cellar'.[773] According to Seth Lerer, Mole's home is decorated 'in the fashions of the late Victorian period', thus representing 'an ideal of the aesthetic', in which Grahame 'synthesized a world of perceptions'.[774] Grahame included into the description of the courtyard in front of 'Mole End' elements characteristic to the era, such as a garden seat, a roller, wire baskets with ferns, plaster statuary, a skittle-alley and a small round pond. All of these elements are conveyed in translations by Irina Tokmakova (1988), V. Reznik (1992), Leonid Iakhnin (2002) and Viktor Lunin (2011). However, M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993) simplified their version by excluding the garden seat, the roller and the skittle-alley from their portrayal of Mole's home.[775]

Grahame mentions that Mole had plaster statues of 'Garibaldi, and the infant Samuel, and Queen Victoria, and other heroes of modern Italy' in brackets hanging outside on the walls of his house (p. 54). According to Hunt, this description refers to a joke, by which Grahame commented 'on the lower-class Victorian fashion for plaster statues'.[776] Moreover, Lerer explains that images of Garibaldi and the Queen were 'everywhere in English homes' due to their popularity in the country, and the infant Samuel was 'a favorite image of Victorian piety'.[777] Therefore, it seems important to convey the detailed description of the statues in translations in order to reflect the spirit of the late-Victorian and Edwardian era. However, Tokmakova omits the names of the statues and instead generalises them as '   ' [plaster statuettes] (p. 142). Yakhnin mentions Queen Victoria only and substitutes other names with a general expression '   ,

                    ,   ' [plaster statuary depicting famous heroes, princes] (pp. 139–140). M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov omit the infant Samuel, add

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[773] Peter Hunt, 'Introduction', in *The Wind in the Willows* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. vii–xxxii (p. xiv).
[774] Seth Lerer, 'Introduction', in *Kenneth Grahame. The Wind in the Willows, an annotated edition,* ed. by Seth Lerer (Cambridge, MS: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 1–43 (pp. 28, 29).
[775] An extract from the description of Mole's home and corresponding translations are given in Appendix 5, part 1, example 3.
[776] Hunt, 'Explanatory Notes', p. 158.
[777] Lerer, 'Introduction', p. 28.

Count Cagliostro and use Spain instead of Italy (p. 62). Only Lunin (p. 93) and Reznik (p. 72) are consistent in their translations: they retain all the names of the statues and thus represent the particular interior of an English home of the late-Victorian and Edwardian time. The approaches of Tokmakova and Iakhnin can be explained by the prevailing universal norm of simplification of translated children's literature. At the same time, taking into account that both translations are aimed at younger children, it seems possible that in choosing their approaches Tokmakova and Iakhnin might have resorted to their own opinions about the scope of historical knowledge of their assumed readers and how well they could cope with unknown information in the translated text.

The celebration of Christmas at Mole's home is another distinctive feature of late-Victorian and Edwardian domesticity. In the original text the field-mice 'go round carol-singing regularly at this time of the year' (p. 56). Tokmakova simplifies the image of Christmas celebrations by turning it into a general celebration: '   ' [they go around, visit homes and sing songs] (p. 148). Iakhnin renders it as '   ' [they always on Christmas go around, visit homes and sing their songs] (p. 146). Iasnov and Kolotov translate it as: '

' [They go around here every year and sing Christmas ballads] (p. 65). Lunin conveys this passage as: '   ,

' [they always appear at this time of the year to sing a carol hymn] (p. 95). Unlike previous translators, Reznik introduces elements of Russification: '

, –   ' [On Christmas Eve they go around and sing special songs – something like koliadka] (p. 74). Reznik he uses koliadka – a traditional Russian Orthodox Christmas celebration song – for conveying the idea of carol-singing.

The field-mice sing 'one of the old-time carols […] at Yule-time' (the carol is given in the original text) (pp. 56–57). Tokmakova translates it as 'с

[...]   ' [an old song in December] and omits the Christmas carol in her version (pp. 149–150). In all other post-Soviet translations it is conveyed

that the field-mice sing a Christmas song for celebrating Christmas.[778] Also all post-Soviet translators include the Christmas carol, rendering it in verse form. In the end of the celebration the field-mice leave the Mole and the Rat with 'wishes of the season' (p. 59). Tokmakova and Reznik generalise this expression by presenting it as '   ' [greetings] (p. 155) and '

                ' [festive greetings] (p. 80) respectively. Iasnov and Kolotov domesticate this phrase and present it as '   ' [New Year greetings] (p. 69). The connotation of Christmas is retained in the translations by Iakhnin as '   ' [to wish a merry Christmas'] (p. 155) and by Lunin as '   ' [wished hosts a merry Christmas] (p. 100). It is clear from the above examples that Tokmakova, whose version of *The Wind in the Willows* was published in 1988, omits any reference to Christmas. Therefore, her version becomes generalised and simplified. In contrast to her, the post-Soviet translations convey the celebration of Christmas in full and from their translations the target readers can grasp the idea of Christmas festivities in late-Victorian and Edwardian England. Tokmakova's choice can be explained by the influence of Soviet ideological policy and norms prohibiting references to religion. By contrast, after the fall of the Soviet Union, religion became popular, thereby bringing translations of Christmas celebrations closer to the original, though with elements of Russification in one post-Soviet translation.

2.2. A mythical land of gentlemen and ladies

In this subsection I focus on the representation of the idealised image of English gentlemen and ladies in Russian translations of *The Railway Children*, *The Wind in the Willows* and *Mary Poppins.*

One of the most widely known personifications of the English gentleman in children's literature can be found in *The Wind in the Willows*. As Peter Green notes, 'the River-Bankers: Rat, Mole, Badger, Otter, and their friends form a close-knit community of leisured landowners who observe an extremely strict

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[778] Iakhnin (pp. 147–148), Iasnov and Kolotov (pp. 65–66), Reznik (pp. 76, 78) and Lunin (p. 96).

code of responsible behaviour'.[779] The River-Bankers symbolise the middle and upper-classes of the English establishment of the late-Victorian and Edwardian era. Being gentlemen by birth and/or social status, the main characters lead a life of 'one unending holiday, boating, tramping round the countryside, eating enormous meals, and getting caught up in occasional adventures.'[780] In the first chapter of *The Wind in the Willows* Mole pronounces the famous motto that symbolises the idyllic lifestyle of the English gentleman: 'there is nothing – absolutely nothing – half so much worth doing as simply messing about in boats' (p. 7). As Lerer explains, the phrase 'messing about' first appeared in the 1880s and connoted 'pleasant time wasting'.[781] Only two translations accord with the original connotation of this phrase: Iakhnin (2002) translates it as '   ' [to idle around in a boat] (p. 15) and Lunin renders it as '   ' [lazing away in a boat] (p. 14). Three other translations generalise the original by offering their readers new versions, such as '   ' [to be busy with a boat] (Tokmakova, p. 14); '   ' [going boating] (Reznik, p. 5); and '   ' [boating] (Iasnov and Kolotov, p. 8).[782] Therefore, these translations fail to emphasise the status of the main characters as gentlemen of leisure. Hence, Grahame's depiction of the idyllic lifestyle of the country gentleman is made less vivid, or lost altogether, in the translations produced in 1988 and the early 1990s and reconstructed in later retranslations.

Another personification of the myth of English gentlemen and ladies can be found in the portrayal of the children in *The Railway Children*. The family becomes poor after the father has been arrested. Nesbit shows that the mother is always aware of keeping up the appearance of a middle-class family, although the family struggles to make ends meet. Nesbit depicts the mother as a lady whose middle class status is recognised by the unprivileged villagers. Similarly, Bobbie, Peter and Phyllis are shown as well-behaved, polite, thoughtful and kind-hearted Edwardian middle-class children. However, often all they want is to play and have fun.

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[779] Peter Green, *Kenneth Grahame 1959 – 1932: A study of his life, work and times* (London: John Murray, 1959), p. 245.
[780] Ibid., p. 248.
[781] *Kenneth Grahame. The Wind in the Willows, an annotated edition*, ed. by Seth Lerer (Cambridge, MS: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 51.
[782] See Appendix 5, part 1, example 4.

In general, the overall portrayal of the Edwardian family is close to the original book in both translations (similar to the examples in the previous subsection). However, there are a few details in the description of the English family in connection to the English national character which are translated differently. Again, these details referring to the myth of gentlemen and ladies point to the slight modification of the Edwardian family image in both Russian translations. These examples are deeply rooted in the context of the English class system. In the fifth chapter 'Prisoners and Captives' a Russian exile, Mr Szczepansky, causes a stir at the railway station. He is on his way to London and has to change trains at the station but has lost his ticket and his purse. He does not speak a single word of English and the local people at the station become suspicious of him. The children offer their help to use French to speak to the man but it does not work. Having shown different postage stamps to the man, the children understand that he is Russian. Until the children's mother appears on the platform and speaks to the Russian man in French to find out his story, no one at the station believes that the man can be trusted. In this scene Nesbit emphasises that the children's attitude towards the Russian, as a representative of foreigners, included tolerance and pity. The children are shown as brave. One of the children (Peter) says that 'Russia's an awful place. That's why he's so frightened. They do dreadful things to you there just for nothing at all – Mother told me' (p. 77). In spite of what Peter says, the children are not afraid of the stranger and are eager to help him. Hence, in this scene Nesbit portrays the children as kind-hearted, supportive, tolerant and open-minded. These traits of the English national character are commonly ascribed to the typical English gentleman (see chapter 2 of this thesis). In both Russian translations Peter's words about Russia being a dangerous place are omitted (Sharapova, p. 89; Ivanov and Ustinova, p. 127). Consequently, this important nuance in depicting the English national character is lost. However, all the other words and actions of the characters aimed at protecting the Russian exile are conveyed in both translations. Hence, one cannot understand why in the translated text the children are presented as brave and supportive.

Like the children, the mother is reassuring and welcoming to the foreigner. In contrast to the children and their mother, the villagers (farmers, the station master and the porter), who represent the working class, express

feelings of resentment, fear of the unknown and distrust. When the mother mentions that she would give shelter to the Russian, who is a 'great man in his own country, writes books – beautiful books', the station master doubtfully replies 'I hope you won't find you're taking home a frozen viper' (p. 78). In this scene Nesbit counterposes the image of the middle class family to the working class villagers and, through the contrast that is created, positive traits of the character of the gentleman and lady become more obvious. Both translators fully preserve the content of this scene. Consequently, the idealised image of the Edwardian middle class family is almost fully conveyed in Russian translations in both examples.

The way of life of the middle classes is also reflected through the representation of the image of an English governess. The most typical and popular governess is undoubtedly Mary Poppins. Under her supervision children are expected to acquire good manners, become well-behaved and disciplined. She is an impeccable English governess whose favourite book is *Everything a Lady Should Know.*[783] Giorgia Grilli describes Mary Poppins as someone who is 'almost always mute, breaking her silence only to issue orders, call into line or reprimand the children with all the severity normally associated with the figure of the governess'.[784] In her interview with Richard R. Lingerman for *The New York Times* in 1966, Pamela Travers admitted that the books about Mary Poppins are set in a relatively realistic depiction of the England of the 1930s. She also pointed out that Mary Poppins's clothes and accessories were exactly what a stereotyped English nanny of that time would wear and agreed that her books about Mary Poppins are 'very English'.[785] The literary image of Mary Poppins in the translations of Boris Zakhoder (in 1968), Igor' Rodin (in 1994) and Marina Litvinova (in 1996) corresponds to the one created by Travers. The Russian Mary Poppins is also elegant, she loves her image in the mirror and the description of her clothes is conveyed fully. The severity of her character in the three Russian translations accords with the portrayal drawn by Travers. Russian Mary Poppins also grins, sniffs, frowns, and seldom smiles, she is stern and sometimes arrogant but full of surprises. However, there are

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[783] Travers, *Mary Poppins Oppens the Door.*
[784] Grilli, pp. 1, 2, 11.
[785] Lingerman, p. A12.

elements that are Russified in the image of Mary Poppins constructed in all three translations.

For example, in the chapter 'Full Moon' in the first book Michael wants to know 'what happens in the Zoo at night, when everybody's gone home'. Mary Poppins uses an English proverb for her answer: 'Care killed a cat' (p. 130). Zakhoder and Rodin translate Mary's answer as '   ,   ' [if you know too much, you get old sooner] (p. 62 and p. 93 respectively). It is a well-known Russian proverb and is used for a reply when one doesn't now want to answer a question. Whereas Litvinova uses calque for the first example – '   ' [care killed a cat], which does not have a similar connotation in Russian culture (p. 119). In the second example, in the chapter 'West Wind' Mary Poppins says: 'trouble trouble and it will trouble you!' (p. 167). In this example Travers plays on the meaning of the English proverb. Zakhoder finds a Russian equivalent of this proverb and his Mary Poppins pronounces the Russian proverb instead: '   ,   !' [do not wake sorrow up while it is sleeping] (p. 79). According to Slavonic myths,   [likho] is a one-eyed evil spirit bringing misfortune and sorrow. Similar to Zakhoder, Rodin finds another Russian proverb: '   ' [one does not expect more good deeds from something good that has already happened] (p. 120). Litvinova applies a popular Russian saying: '   –   ' [do not look for more ill fortune, you might bring it] (p. 156).

In the third example, at the end of the chapter 'Full Moon' Mary Poppins says: 'Me? A quite orderly person who knows that early to bed, early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise?' (p. 150). Zakhoder translates Mary's words as: ' ,   ,   ,   –   ?' [Me? A well brought-up young woman who knows what is supposed to be done and what is not?] (p. 76). In this case the translator finds a neutral way to translate the English proverb. However, the word '   ' evokes an old-fashioned image of an unmarried young Russian woman (stress on ' ') or Russian folklore expressions '   ', '   -   ' (stress on ' '). In contrast to Zakhoder, Rodin renders Mary's words as '   ...' [not a single well brought-up and self-respecting woman would not do…] (p. 108) and Litvinova translates it as ' ,   ,   ?' [Me, a good-

tempered and right-minded woman?] (p. 141). Both versions recreate the lady-like arrogant behaviour, thereby reproducing the traits of Mary Poppins's character presented in the original.

2.3. Personifications of country folk

The class distinction between country folk and the upper classes is expressed through the use of regional dialect in *The Railway Children*, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *The Secret Garden*. As a literary device, dialect is used in *The Railway Children* to create portrayals of the Bargee people and the station porter in order to contrast their images to the middle-class status of the children. In *Puck of Pook's Hill* the image of Hobden the Hedger is integrated into the English landscape. Kipling uses dialect to demonstrate Hobden's connection to rural England. In *The Secret Garden* the representation of the Yorkshire moor is connected with the Yorkshire dialect. It is used by Burnett to reflect class distinction and to emphasise the connection between the beauty of the Yorkshire landscape and the rural working class.

Translation of dialect is a problematic issue for translators, especially when the cultures of the original and translated texts are rather distant from each other, as in the case with Russia and England. V. S. Vinogradov, a Russian scholar of literary translation, argues that regional variations of two different languages will never be equivalent. Therefore, content losses can be compensated for in two ways: by using a vernacular language of the receiving culture, which can be considered a substitution of the original dialect, or by using the standard literary language of the receiving culture and explaining the context. As Vinogradov suggests, in both cases translators should aim not to Russify their translations too much.[786] In Russian translations of *The Railway Children*, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *The Secret Garden* translators use both strategies. One such case is translation of dialect in *The Secret Garden*.

In *The Secret Garden* in chapter 2 'Mistress Mary Quite Contrary' Mrs. Medlock, the housekeeper at Misselthwaite Manor, thinks that Mary is a 'marred-looking' girl. The author explains in brackets in the text that 'Marred is a

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[786] V.S. Vinogradov, *Vvedenie v perevodovedenie (obshchie i leksicheskie voprosy)* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo instituta obshchego srednego obrazovaniia RAO, 2001), p. 85.

Yorkshire word and means spoiled and pettish' (p. 13). Only Demurova uses a Russian colloquial word '   ' [spoilt] to reflect the Yorkshire dialect (p.18). The other three translators render Mrs. Medlock's words in standard literary language. None of the translators include Burnett's comment on the Yorkshire usage of the word. In another example in chapter 3 'Across the Moor' Mary and Mrs. Medlock arrive at a small station in Yorkshire where they are met by a station-master who spoke 'in a queer broad fashion which Mary found out afterward was Yorkshire. "I see tha's got back," he said. "An' tha's browt th' young 'un with thee."' (p. 17). The whole passage is omitted in the translation of Rubinova. Other translators – Repina, Senderikhina and Demurova – only mention that the station master spoke in a local dialect and then convey his and Mrs. Medlock's words in standard literary language. And finally, in chapter 7 'The Key of the Garden' Martha describes the moor:

> 'Yorkshire's th' sunniest place on earth when it is sunny. I told thee tha'd like th' moor after a bit. Just you wait till you see th' gold-colored gorse blossoms an' th' blossoms o' th' broom, an' th' heather flowerin', all purple bells...' (p. 46)

Only Demurova uses the Russian vernacular word '   ' [later] to signify Martha's belonging to the rural working class. The other three translators resort to the standard literary language. Hence, the image of country folk is partially Russified in Demurova's translation only and all other existing translations do not represent the dialect language of the characters closely connected with the image of the moor.

Russian translations of *The Railways Children* and *Puck of Pook's Hill* repeat a similar tendency: the English regional dialect is either represented via the use of Russian vernacular language or standard literary language. Hence, partial Russification or generalisation are inevitable in translation of English dialect into Russian, and, consequently, the representation of the country folk is either generalised or partially Russified.

As I have demonstrated in this section, the general pattern in all Russian translations suggests that the overall portrayal of the English way of life recreated by Russian translators is close to the original. However, the difference between the translated and the original texts lies in certain details. It is these details which refer to the mythologised image of the English way of life in the

original books and which are subsequently modified in Russian translations. Russian representations of the idyll of the English home and family show a tendency towards generalisation and partial Russification. Hence, the recreated image can evoke an analogy to Russian home in the readers' mind. At the same time, simplified descriptions of the image of an English home appear in those translations that are aimed at younger children. By omitting details in the description of the houses, the original image of the English home becomes less precise and more generalised, with fewer indications of the middle class origin of the English family. As for the portrayal of England as an idealised land of gentlemen, ladies and country folk, these images are less lifelike in Russian translations compared to the originals while elements of Russification are also present.

In many cases subsequent retranslations do not always elaborate on the incomplete images of cultural Englishness created in previous translations. As the examples analysed above have shown, this tendency is inconsistent. Changes in translations depend more on the age of the implied readers. More often the changes which bring the translated texts closer to the originals appear in later retranslations. Also elements of foreignness and faithfulness to historical detail appear in later retranslations, which are usually aimed at older children.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the representation of cultural Englishness is re-imagined in Russian translations. This happens through re-creating a broader image of cultural Englishness that often becomes simplified and partially Russified. I have demonstrated that Russian translations of the English classics written between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War offer an adapted image of the mythologised 'Dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England]. This adapted representation evokes images of Russianness in the readers' mind. Thus, this chapter has shown that the translation of cultural Englishness is focused on the receiving culture, and that Russian cultural and literary traditions influence the translation of the English texts. Also taking into account the imagological approach, stating that difference from others determines national identity, I conclude that when Russian translators Russify

their translated texts, they bring Englishness closer to Russianness. As a result of this, the borders between Russian and English cultures become less obvious and Englishness becomes modified. The textual evidence presented in this chapter has demonstrated that when Russian translators represent Englishness contained in original texts they tend to apply a strategy of translating national identity which is focused on the receiving culture.

Boris Zakhoder wrote in the foreword to his translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*:

                              :

–   !   ?

–   , –   , –   ,   ,

                 ,   ...   !

[And when my friends used to tell me: 'Why don't you translate *Alice*? Don't you ever want to do it?' 'Very much so', I used to answer, 'but I've had enough time to find out that perhaps it would be easier … to move England to Russia!][787]

He retold *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, thereby integrating his version into Russian culture. The strategy of translating original texts so that they conform to the receiving culture is popular among Russian translators of children's literature, especially taking into account literary and translation norms prevalent in the field of Russian children's literature. The examples analysed in this chapter show that Russian translators domesticate the original texts, thus blurring the image of England and combining it with the image of Russia. Russian children might create familiar images of Russian culture-specific elements while reading about England, rather than trying to imagine how things exist in England, a country which seems strange and mysterious to them. Certainly, it would be easier for children to imagine an unknown land by making associations with their native landscape and way of life they know so well. However, when they visit England, they might be surprised that the land looks very different from the one they imagined.

It is important to remember that children's literature plays an educational and aesthetic role and that translated children's books teach readers about

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[787] Boris Zakhoder, 'Glava nikakaia, iz kotoroi tem ne menee mozhno koe-chto uznat'', in *Lewis Carroll. Prikliucheniia Alisy v strane chudes*, trans. by Boris Zakhoder (Moscow: Studiia 4+4, 2012), pp. 9–14 (p. 13).

foreign cultures. If educational purpose is the principal aim of translators, it seems that it would be better not to mix the two different landscapes and ways of life of England and Russia. However, as far as subjectivity in the representation of cultural Englishness is concerned, and aesthetic concerns are taken into account, it is inevitable that the representation of the English landscape and way of life as purely English will be influenced by elements of the landscape and way of life present in Russian culture. This is especially true if the translated text is supposed to be read as if it was initially written in the Russian literary language, which is the dominating norm of the country's traditional approach to translation.

The translation pattern emerging from the examples analysed in this chapter indicates that in general Russian translators seek to retain the educational value of the original texts by introducing the new culture to their Russian readers. At the same time, they still partly domesticate those important cultural elements that denote cultural Englishness in the original books and do not have equivalents in the receiving culture. This is clear evidence of André Lefevere's hypothesis, according to which translations tend to conform more to what readers of translations are used to – the literary language and content of the receiving culture.[788] My analysis also provides evidence which supports the hypothesis of Gideon Toury, according to which translations are considered 'facts of target culture' and shows that it is important to study translations within the context of the receiving culture, taking into the account the literary tradition and cultural specificity of the country into which language the original texts are translated.[789]

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[788] Lefevere, p. 237.
[789] Toury, p. 23.

Conclusion

I have analysed the literary transfer of manifestations of institutional and cultural Englishness and expressions of English national character in Russian translations of English children's classics published between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War. Englishness, as depicted in these books, is linked to England's imagined past and, as I have shown, tends to be mythologised. England in these books is often idealised as 'Merry England'.

In Russian translations of these books, as I have demonstrated, representations of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character are manipulated in terms of ideological context. These representations prevail in translations produced during the Soviet period. Some of the representations are carried over to the post-Soviet period in those English books that were first translated during the Soviet period and are still available for contemporary Russian readers. Censorship and literary norms prevalent in Soviet children's literature set the rules of how to translate for children and determined the way Englishness was approached in Soviet translations. Those elements of Englishness that are adapted under the influence of ideology contribute to the creation of a Soviet vision of the original texts. By adding their perceptions of English culture, including stereotypes of England as the capitalist West, and the equivalent images from Russian culture, Soviet and post-Soviet translators re-imagine the image of 'Merry England' and turn it into the Soviet vision of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' [good old England]. The Soviet practice of following prevailing ideological norms and literary conventions by domesticating original texts dwindles after 1991 with moves to a more faithful representation of the original text. Elements of foreignisation emerge in translations though examples of this are limited. Although instances of domestication and foreignisation can be found, manifestations of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character, which are both adjusted to meet prevailing ideological norms, continue to represent the majority in Soviet and post-Soviet translations.

As for cultural Englishness, I have demonstrated that its representations are re-imagined and partially Russified. Since Russian cultural and literary traditions influence the translation of the English texts, the translation of cultural Englishness is focused on Russian culture. It has emerged from the examples

analysed that the modified myth of cultural Englishness dominates in translations created during the post-Soviet period. Russian translations present an adapted image of the mythologised 'dobraia staraia Angliia'. As representations of cultural Englishness are quite often Russified, they evoke images of Russianness in the readers' mind.

I have addressed questions of how, why and when English children's classics were chosen for translation. Obviously the choice of English children's books during the Soviet period was also in keeping with the demands of ideology, and Englishness appears to be politicised. The criteria for such selections were established by the censorship and by the ideological norms in Soviet children's literature. Although translators and publishers had a reasonable contemporary and historical knowledge about England, during Soviet times the original books chosen for translation were for the most those judged to be ideologically correct and written by approved authors. In the post-Soviet period, books were not picked for translation according to state ideology. On the contrary, more often they were subject to commercial considerations.

I have analysed the role that Russian translators played in recreating Englishness for Russian readers. They have contributed to the process of cross-cultural interaction between Russia and England, and established a productive dialogue between Russian and English national identities. The creative voices of the Russian translators are present in the translated texts. The translators add their perceptions of English and Russian cultures and refer to the cultural pool of knowledge about England, its culture and people when they re-create images of Englishness in the translated texts. Therefore they re-imagine various manifestations of Englishness, which they might see through the prism of their own experience and publications about England, its culture and people.

Having analysed the cultural and historical contexts of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, I conclude that Russian translators create an imaginary England: what could not be experienced in reality could be re-created with the help of the imagination. However, it may not have been just a lack of knowledge that contributed to the depiction of England as an imaginary land. Ideological constraints also influenced the representation of England in translation. Some things were forbidden from appearing in translated texts, so translators had to

introduce changes in their versions of original books. Sometimes this led to the distortion of the original material, and sometimes to re-imagined stories.

So, Russian translators create their own representations of Englishness by adding their cultural background, views, attitudes, values and stereotypes to the interpretations of original Englishness. However, to assess the extent to which this is done, a researcher needs to interview each translator personally. Where this is not feasible, one can only speculate about the extent of translators' creative involvement with the original texts. At the same time, paratextual analysis offers a helpful context for the analysis of the translations. However, paratexts might not always be available in children's literature.

The representation of Englishness in Russian translations of English children's classics published in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia reflects the spirit of the times, the political mood in Russian society and Russian stereotypes of England. The translation of Englishness is informed by Russian traditions of literary translation. This thesis does not argue that Englishness is completely different in Russian translations compared to the originals. It is only certain elements of Englishness that are modified, and that is the area of focus for this thesis. Yet, the whole picture of Englishness consists of separate elements. Therefore, I conclude that Englishness is altered in Russian translations of English children's classics. I also conclude that the idealised image of Englishness expressed as 'dobraia staraia Angliia' has been perpetuated through Soviet and post-Soviet periods. Such an image of England fits into the Soviet literary and ideological framework.

Historical, political and cultural circumstances had led to the Russian mythologisation of Englishness during the Soviet period. Through ideologically driven modification of Englishness presented in the original texts, Russian translators developed a Soviet myth of Englishness. This is shaped by the demands of Socialist Realism in Soviet children's literature – the educational, moralistic and character-building functions – as well as Soviet stereotypes of capitalist England. Based on the doctrine of Socialist Realism, Soviet ideology was 'political and attempted to displace actual reality with a surrogate ideal realm that did not exist in the world of daily experience'.[790] Equally, in the field of translated children's literature, Soviet translators were compelled to create

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[790] Balina and Rudova, p. 194.

images of foreign countries in an ideologically constrained environment. In the case of England, the image of the country was an idealised one. As for post-Soviet Russia, although translators are not controlled by the state, the dominance of commercial ideology means that the market imposes its own constraints on translation activity. Commercially successful books are sure to be translated and the popular myth of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' is a marketable concept.

The image of mythologised 'dobraia staraia Angliia' is equally present in Russian translations published during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, but its connotations depend on the historical and political contexts. The politicised environment affects translated literature, especially children's literature in translation, because it can be used as means of forming an image of and controlling attitudes towards foreigners. This leads to the emergence of a mythologised image of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' manipulated in an ideological context. In times of political quiet, ideological connotations of Englishness are given considerably less attention, or none at all. So during such times the imaginary England in Russian perceptions has cultural connotations referring to the original image of 'Merry England'.

This image of England as the imaginary country in Soviet and post-Soviet understanding is supported by Alexei Yurchak's concept of the imaginary West in his study of late Soviet society.[791] He argues that the West was imagined by Soviet people, and proposes a concept of 'a Soviet imaginary "elsewhere" that was not necessarily about any real place'. This place was created in the minds of Soviet people because 'the real West could not be encountered'. Therefore, he looks at the Soviet version of 'elsewhere' as 'the Imaginary West'.[792] Yurchak concludes that between the 1950s and the 1980s 'the entity of the Imaginary West emerged as an internal "elsewhere" of late Soviet culture and imagination'.[793] Several key translated children's books appeared at that time too, which contributed to the creation of the discourse of an imaginary 'elsewhere'. The concept of the imaginary England coincides with the concept of the mythologised England. Yurchak demonstrates that the West

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[791] Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), chapter 5 'Imaginary West: the Elsewhere of Late Socialism', pp. 158–206.
[792] Ibid., p. 159.
[793] Ibid., p. 162.

was imagined by Soviet people, in other words, the conception of the West did not correspond to the real place. It was a dream about the West, an illusion. As I have shown, the image of England in Russian translations is mythologised. Considering the didactic and educational role of children's literature, it seems that it is easier and safer to introduce children to a myth of England, which includes stereotyped images of the country familiar to children and adult readers.

The modified image of Englishness, unearthed in my analysis of Russian translations, corresponds to the generally accepted stereotypical image of 'dobraia staraia Angliia' in contemporary Russian culture. Despite the openness of the country to the rest of the world, stereotyped representations of Englishness are still widespread in Russian society. Russian digital media publications about modern popular stereotyped perceptions of English life are one of the key sources for understanding the contemporary stereotypical image of England.[794] The most common views are the following. The English are polite and they preserve their traditions, they are snobbish, prim and proper, and they talk about the weather and have a peculiar sense of humour (which the Russians call '   ' [subtle English humour]). An English gentleman is reserved; he wears a smoking jacket, or a tweed jacket, and a bowler hat; he carries an umbrella and smokes a pipe. It always rains in England. Foggy Albion – as the Russian often call England – is populated by gentlemen and ladies who like their five 'o'clock tea, eat porridge for breakfast, and leave without saying goodbye. At the same time, England is sometimes thought of as a mystical land with haunted castles where knights fought for freedom. Undoubtedly, there are many reasons to assume that such a heavily stereotyped image of England has been formed under the influence of mass media publications, television, cinema, and literary works.

Examples of widespread stereotypes among Russian young people are given in Arkadii Kuznetsov's article about Russian perceptions of England. According to this, Russian upper-form students have associated English culture over the last twenty years with red double-decker buses, Big Ben, the Tower,

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[794] For example, http://www.km.ru/glavnoe/2006/04/25/kniga/v-anglii-vse-naoborot-antologiya-angliiskogo-yumora> [accessed 13 December 2016]; and Anna Pavlovskaia, 'Osobennosti natsional'nogo kharaktera, ili za chto anglichane liubiat ocheredi', *Vokrug sveta,* 6 (2003) <http://www.vokrugsveta.ru/vs/article/512/> [accessed 13 December 2016].

the Queen, Parliament, gentlemen, five 'o'clock tea, porridge, fog and rain, football, as well as Winston Churchill, William Shakespeare, Agatha Christie and Sherlock Holmes.[795] The popular Russian stereotypical vision of England as a foggy and a treacherous Albion is highlighted in Alexei Gromyko's monograph on images of Russia and England. Gromyko mentions that the Russians see England in terms of centuries-old traditions and consider the English as arrogant, conservative and practical minded. He also reminds us of the stereotypical sayings widespread in Russia that characterise the English, such as '   –   ' [my home is my castle], '

          ' [a gentlemen's word], and '   ' [The White Man's Burden].[796] Nearly the same ideas about English culture are presented in an opinion poll called *Interest in Great Britain. What do Russian people know about Britain? Would they like to visit Britain?*, produced by the Russian Public Opinion Foundation (Fond Obschestvennoe Mnenie, FOM). The survey was conducted in March 2014 with respondents from cities, towns and villages in Russia. The peculiarity of this poll is that only two per cent of those questioned had been to England.[797] This statement points to a mostly stereotypical perception of the country and its culture by people who have never seen it in reality.

A similar picture emerges from Russian fictional and non-fictional texts that deal with Englishness. I have demonstrated that Russian stereotypes of Englishness offer an illustrative example of the fictitious Englishness found in the Russian literary world. Russian authors often tend to idealise Englishness. Such idealisation acts as a tool for creating the Russian myth of Englishness, which draws on the English myth and then departs from it. The Russian view of the myth of Englishness is modified under the influence of existing stereotypes about England that are both negative and positive. It also rests on Russian authors' individual memories, knowledge and feelings about English culture. For example, Vladimir Posner's documentary *Angliia v obschem i v chastnosti* [*England in General and in Particular*], shown on Russian television in January

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[795] Arkadii Iu. Kuznetsov, 'Britanskii sled v Rossii. Vstrechaia god Velikobritanii', *Biblioteka v shkole,* 2 (317) (2014), 57–61 (58).

[796] Gromyko, p. 21.

[797] FOM, 'Opinion Poll 'Interes k Velikobritanii. Chto rossiiane znaiut o Velikobritanii? I khotiat li pobivat' v etoi strane?' [Interest in Great Britain. What do Russian people know about Britain? Would they like to visit Britain?]' (24 March 2014) <http://fom.ru/Mir/11416> [accessed 13 December 2016].

2015, is a good demonstration of Russian myths about England. All the elements of mythologised Englishness are present in the film. It constructs an image of a Merrie England, a country of tradition built on the class system. It also attempts to describe certain aspects of the English national character, not least based on the widespread Russian stereotypical perceptions of the English, such as privacy, the 'stiff upper lip', eccentricity, self-irony, absurdity and a peculiar sense of humour; to this can be added tolerance, as well as the tendency to complain, apologise for everything and not to draw attention to oneself.[798]

Stereotyped perceptions of England derived from Soviet non-fiction writings offer two contrasting sets of opinions: on the one hand, England is portrayed as an idyllic land; on the other, it is presented as a country where social contrasts dominate. The Russian writers in the examples analysed in this thesis demonstrate a wide knowledge and appreciation of English culture, and their England is imagined and stereotyped. It seems clear that notwithstanding changes in political and cultural relations between Russia and Britain, authors continue to create an illusionary image of English culture based on their own preferences, knowledge and stereotypes. In doing so, they promote interest in and understanding of England.

Alongside the analysis of representations of Englishness, I have demonstrated how theoretical ideas on the translation of national identity and culture-specific elements can be applicable to the translation of children's literature. Drawing on the views of Toury and Lefevere, I conclude that Russian translated texts are considered as belonging to Russian culture. They are naturalised to some degree, and with each translation this naturalisation takes place in a unique context, depending on the historical period. Drawing on the views of Oittinen and Nikolajeva regarding the translation of children's literature, I conclude that domestication of national and cultural specificity of English children's books is always present to some extent in Russian translations, thus reminding Russian readers of Russian culture. The choice to domesticate is influenced by ideological constraints and literary norms existing in Russian culture. Drawing on Brownlie's views on the nature of retranslations, I conclude

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[798] Vladimir Posner, *Angliia v obschem i v chastnosti*, 2015, <http://pozneronline.ru/category/filmy-v-poznera/angliya-v-obshhem-i-v-chastnosti/> [accessed 13 December 2016].

that with each retranslation of original texts Russian translators are influenced by changes in the ideologies, cultural environment and conventions in Russian culture. Thus, the representation of Englishness, which includes culturally marked elements, especially those that are unknown to the readers of the translated text, is interpreted differently by each re-translator. And finally, drawing on Venuti's views on the translation of national identity, I conclude that decisions to choose original texts for translation and certain strategies for producing translations are determined by prevalent national themes in Russian children's literature. I also conclude that due to the greater openness of Russia to the West in the post-Soviet period the representation of Englishness has changed over time and these changes brought Englishness closer to Russian readers.

This thesis has combined the study of national and cultural image construction in children's literature with translation studies. It has demonstrated that complex processes are involved in re-creating the national specificities of English children's books for Russian culture, especially when it comes to children's literature. Having located the translated Englishness 'in-between' English and Russian cultures, this thesis has demonstrated that national identity in translation is inevitably influenced by the receiving culture, thus forming something of a cultural hybrid. It proves that Venuti's postulate about the selection of original texts for translation in connection to national identity can be successfully applied in cultural contexts that are beyond the English-speaking world.

The work contributes to the study of Englishness in children's literature by demonstrating that, for the purposes of analysing representations of Englishness in other national and translated literatures, the broad concept of Englishness can be divided into three groups: institutional, cultural and expressions of national character. It follows that this classification can be applied to analyses of portrayals of Englishness in the literatures of other countries.

The interdisciplinary nature of this thesis highlights both the new interrelationship between, and the fresh insights from, translation theory and praxis, comparative literature (including imagology), culture, national identity, censorship and ideology. By doing so, it shows the richness and complexity of

the considerations and processes that are involved in making Russian translations of English children's literature. The results of my study have interdisciplinary implications, crossing over into politics and adding to the study of how culture is used in terms of ideology and censorship. The findings break new ground in the field of study around Englishness as most of the Russian translations of the major classics of English children's literature under consideration were researched in this way for the first time. The work has brought to light new knowledge about the way translators operate within the confines of an ideologically restricted state by revealing the previously unseen effect of Russian translation norms in the field of Russian children's literature. Using a wide sample of classic books, supplemented by hitherto unpublished information from archives, this thesis has broadened existing scholarship on Russian translations of children's classics. It has gathered together scattered views of Russian translators and translation studies scholars on how to translate literature for children, by compiling and introducing them in English for the first time. It is not an exhaustive study, and is time limited by the Second World War, but provides a springboard for further research. Further study into the Englishness in contemporary British literature might shed more light on how images are constructed by translators and provide a useful modern-day contrast.

Appendix 1

1. Englishness in Russian non-fiction[799]

<u>Before 1917:</u>

– Kornei Chukovsky, *Zagovorili molchavshie: Anglichane i voina* (Petrograd: Izdatel'stvo tovarischestva A. F. Marks, 1916).

– Samuil Marshak, letters 26-30, 32, 43, in *Marshak S. Ia., Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), viii: *Izbrannye pis'ma,* ed. by S. S. Chulkova (1972).

– Samuil Marshak, sketches *Otdykh moriaka* [Sailor's rest], *Lift* [lift/giving a lift] and *Rybaki Polperro* [Fishermen of Polperro], in *Marshak S. Ia., Sobranie sochinenii v 8 tomakh*, ed. by V. M. Zhirmunskii, 8 vols (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1968–1972), vi: *Stat'i. Vystupleniia. Zametki. Vospominaniia. Proza raznykh let*, ed. by S. S. Chulkova and E. B. Skorospelova (1971), pp. 474–91.

– Samuil Marshak, poem *20 iiunia – 7 iiulia* [20 June – 7 July], in *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy* (Leningrad: Sovetskii pisatel, 1973), pp. 440–52.

– Sergei Mech, *Angliia. Tret'ie izdanie* (Moscow: Tipo-litograficheskoe tovarischestvo I.N. Kushnerev i Ko, 1914).

– Elizaveta N. Vodovozova, *Kak liudi na belom svete zhivut. Anglichane* (St. Petersburg, [n. pub.], 1897).

<u>Soviet period:</u>

– Gerontii V. Efimov, *Na Britanskikh ostrovakh* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1967).

– Ilya G. Ehrenburg, *Angliia* (Moscow: Federatsiia, 1931), also published in Ilya G. Ehrenburg, *Sobranie sochinenii v 9 tomakh,* 9 vols (Moscow: Khudizhestvennaia literatura, 1962–1967), vii: *Khronika nashikh dnei. Viza vremeni. Ispaniia. Grazhdanskaia voina v Avstrii. Stat'i* (1966), pp. 444–78.

– Boris Izakov, *Vse meniaetsia dazhe v Anglii* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1965).

– Yuri Nagibin, 'Dva starika', in *Yu. Nagibin. Nauka dal'nikh stranstvii* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1982), first published in *Ogoniek*, 15, 1979.

– Vladimir D. Osipov, *Britaniia 60-e gody* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1967).

– Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, *Korni duba: Vpechatleniia i razmyshleniia ob Anglii i anglichanakh* (Moscow: Mysl', 1980), also published in English translation as V.

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[799] This list is not comprehensive. I have only listed those sources that have been discussed in Chapter II. More publications referring to the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods can be found in two compilations: *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646-1945*, ed. by Olga A. Kaznina and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001) and O. S. Vasil'ev, *Sovetskie Pisateli ob Anglii* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1984).

V. Ovchinnikov, *Britain Observed: A Russian View*, trans. by Michael Basker (Pergamon Press, 1981).

– Mikhail Ozerov, *Angliia bez tumanov* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1977).

– Konstantin Paustovsky, 'Ogni La-Mansha', in *K. Paustovskii. Sobranie sochinenii v 9 tomakh, volume 7. Skazki. Ocherki. Literaturnye portrety* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literature, 1983), first published in *Nedelia*, 47, 1964.

– Marietta Shaginian, 'Progulki po Londonu', in *M. Shaginian. Zarubezhnye pis'ma* (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1977).

– A. N. Tolstoy, 'Anglichane, kogda oni liubezny', in *"Ia bereg pokidal tumannyi Al'biona...": russkie pisateli ob Anglii, 1646-1945*, ed. by Olga A. Kaznina, and A. N. Nikoliukin (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2001), pp. 362–369.

– Liudmila Z. Uvarova, 'Vstrecha na mostu Naitbridzh', in *Sovetskaia kul'tura,* 8 January, 1983.

– Larisa Vasil'eva, *Al'bion i taina vremeni* (Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1983), first published in *Novyi mir*, 3–4, 1978.

– Erofeev, N.A., *Tumannyi Al'bion: Angliia i anglichane glazami russkikh, 1825-1853 gg.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982).

Post-Soviet period:

– Kseniia Atarova, *Angliia, moia Angliia* (Moscow: Raduga, 2008).

– Tat'iana N. Breeva and Liliia F. Khabibulina, *Natsional'nyi mif v russkoi i angliiskoi literature* (Kazan': RITs "Shkola", 2009).

– *Rossiia i Britaniia. Sviazi i vzaimnye predstavleniia XIX-XX veka*, ed. by Apollon Davidson (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2006).

– *Rossiia i Britaniia. Vypusk 5. Na putiakh k vzaimoponimaniiu*, ed. by Apollon Davidson (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2010).

– *Lingvokul'turnyi Tipazh "Angliiskii chudak"*, ed. by Vladimir I. Karasik and Elena Iarmakhova (Moscow: Gnozis, 2006).

– Mikhail Liubimov, *Gulianiia s Cheshirskim kotom: memuar-esse ob angliiskoi dushe* (St. Petersburg: Amfora, 2001).

– Nina P. Mikhal'skaia, *Rossiia i Angliia: problemy imagologii* (Samara: OOO "Porto-print", 2012).

– Zurab Nalbandian, *Chaepitie u korolevy: v nachale XXI veka v Britanii* (Moscow: Vremia, 2007).

– A. V. Pavlovskaia, *Angliia i anglichane* (Moscow: Moskovskii universitet, Triada, 2004).

– Anna Pavlovskaya, *5 O'Clock i drugie traditsii Anglii* (Moscow: Algoritm, 2014).

– Viacheslav P. Shestakov, *Angliiskaia literatura i angliiskii natsional'nyi kharakter* (St. Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2010).

– Ekaterina Viazova, *Gipnoz anglomanii. Angliia i "angliiskoe" v russkoi kul'ture rubezha XIX-XX vekov* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2009).

– Anton Vol'skii, *Angliia. Bilet v odnu storonu* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2014).

2. Englishness in Russian fiction

Englishness in Soviet and Russian fiction

– Vasilii Aksenov, *Zatovarennaia bochkotara* (1968).

– Mark Aldanov, *Kliuch / Begstvo / Peschera* (1929–1932).

– Joseph Brodsky, *Temsa v Chelsi* (1974), *V Anglii* (1977).

– Ivan Bunin, *Brat'ia* (1914).

– Anton Chekhov, *Doch' Al'biona* (1883).

– Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Igrok* (1866).

– Fasil' Iskander, *Anglichanin s zhenoi i rebenkom* (1974).

– Yurii German, *Dorogoi moi chelovek* (1962).

– Ivan Goncharov, *Fregat "Pallada"* (1858).

– Alexander Kuprin, *Zhidkoe solntse* (1913).

– Evgenii Lann, *Staraia Angliia: istoricheskii roman* (1943).

– Nikolay Leskov, *Levsha* (1881), *Zapechatlennyi angel* (1873).

– Vladimir E. Maksimov, *Zaglianut' v bezdnu* (1986).

– Vladimir Nabokov, *Podvig* (1930–1932).

– Vladimir Odoyevsky, *Chernaia perchatka* (1838).

– Boris Pil'niak, *Staryi syr* (1924), *Otrtvki iz "Povesti v pis'makh", kotoruiu skuchno konchit'*(1924), *Tret'ia stolitsa* (1923).

– Valentin Pikul', *Rekviem karavanu PQ-17* (1970),

– Alexander Pushkin, *Baryshnia-krest'ianka* (1831),

– Aleksey Remizov, *Podstrizhennymi glazami*, chapter 'Anglichanin' (1951).

– Mikhail Sholokhov, *Tikhii Don* (1928–1940).

– Teffi, *Trubka* (1924).

– Ivan Turgenev, *Dvorianskoe gnezdo* (1859), *Ottsy i deti* (1862).

– Alexey N. Tolstoy, *Petr Pervyi* (1934).

– Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina* (1878).

– Evgenii Zamiatin, *Ostrovitiane* (1917), *Lovets chelovekov* (1918)*.*

<u>Englishness in Soviet and Russian children's literature</u>

– Sergey Aksakov, *Detskie gody Bagrova-vnuka* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo detskoi literatury, 1962), written in 1858.

– Vasilii Aksenov, *Moi dedushka – pamiatnik* (Kemerovo: Sovremennaia otechestvennaia kniga, 1991), first published in 1970.

– Marina Aromshtam, *Kot Lantselot i zolotoi gorod. Staraia angliiskaia istoriia* (Moscow: Kompasgid, 2014).

– Kir Bulychev, *Angliia: bogi i geroi* (Tver': Izdatel'stvo "Polina", 1997).

– Aliosha Dmitriev, *Angliiskie dzhentl'meny* (Moscow: Oktopus, 2013).

– Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky, *Detstvo Tiomy* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1971), written in 1892.

– Mikhail Gershenzon, *Robin Gud* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1966).

– Daniil Kharms, *Plikh i Pliukh* (Moscow, Leningrad: Detizdat, 1937); 'Plikh i Pliukh (poema) (vol'nyi perevod knigi Vil'gel'ma Busha)', in Daniil Kharms, *Chto eto bylo?* (Moscow: Malysh, 1966).

– Vadim Levin, *Glupaia loshad'* (Novosibirsk: Zapadno-sibirskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1969).

– Samuil Marshak, *Pochta* (Moscow, Leningrad: Raduga, 1927).

– Dina Rubina, *Dzhentl'meny i sobaki* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2012).

– Zinaida Shishova, *Dzhek-solominka* (Moscow: Detgiz, 1946).

– Vissarion Sisnev, *Zapiski Vikvikskogo kluba* (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1980).

– Irina Tokmakova, *Robin Gud* (Moscow: Terra, 1996).

– Andrei Usachev, 'Angliia', in *Moi geograficheskie otkrytiia. Vesielye uchebniki* (Moscow: Samovar, 1994), pp. 30–32.

Appendix 2

1. Canon and classics of English children's literature (including books accepted as literature suitable for children)

The late-Victorian period

R.M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island* (1858)

Frances Hodgson, Burnett *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886)

Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871).

John Meade Falkner, *Moonfleet (*1898)

Henry Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (1886),

Richard Jeffries, *Bevis* (1882)

Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies* (1863)

Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky & Co.* (1899)

Edward Lear, *Nonsense Songs* (1871)

George Macdonald, *At the Back of the North Wind* (1871), *The Princess and the Goblin* (1972)

Edith Nesbit, *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* (1899)

Talbot Baines Reed, *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's* (1887), *The Willoughby Captains* (serialised 1883–84)

Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty* (1877)

Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* (1883)

Oscar Wilde, *The Canterville Ghost* (1887), *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* (1888)

H. G. Wells, *The Time Machine* (1895), *The Invisible Man* (1897), *The War of the Worlds* (1898)

The Edwardian period

J.M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (1906), *Peter and Wendy* (1911)

Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for boys: a handbook for instruction in good citizenship* (1908)

Hilaire Belloc, *Cautionary Tales for Children* (1907)

Angela Brazil, *The Fortunes of Philippa* (1906)

Frances Hodgson Burnett, *A Little Princess* (1905), *The Secret Garden* (1911).

Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* (1902), *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (1892), *The Lost World* (1912)

Kenneth Graham, *The Wind in the Willows* (1908)

Henry Rider Haggard, *Fair Margaret* (1907), *The Lady of Blossholme* (1909)

Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (1901), *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906), *Rewards and Fairies* (1910)

Edith Nesbit, *Five Children and It* (1902), *The Phoenix and the Carpet* (1904), *The Story of the Amulet* (1906), *The Railway Children* (1906), *The Enchanted Castle* (1907), *The House of Arden* (1908)

Beatrix Potter, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1901) and other stories

1914-1945

Kitty Barne, *Visitors from London* (1940)

Enid Blyton, *The Famous Five* (1942–1963)

Richmal Crompton, *Just William* series (1922-70)

Walter de la Mare, *Songs of Childhood* (1902), *Peacock Pie* (1913), *Come Hither* (1923), *Broomsticks and Other Tales* (1925); *The Lord Fish* (1933)

T. S. Eliot, *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* (1939)

Eleanor Farjeon, *Martin Pippin in the Apple Orchard* (1921) and *Martin Pippin in the Daisy Field* (1937)

Eve Garnett, *The Family from One End Street* (1937)

Norman Hunter, *The Incredible Adventures of Professor Branestawm* (1933)

Eric Knight, *Lassie Come-Home* (1940)

Hugh Lofting, *The Story of Dr Dolittle* (1920/1922)

John Masefield, *The Midnight Folk* (1927); *The Box of Delight*s (1930)

A. A. Milne, *When We Were Very Young* (1924), *Now We are Six* (1927), *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926), *The House at Pooh Corner* (1928)

Mary Norton, *The Magic Bed Knob* (1943), *Bonfires and Broomsticks* (1947)

Arthur Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons* (1930)

Noel Streatfield, *Ballet Shoes* (1936), *The Circus Is Coming (1938), The Children of Primrose Lane* (1941)

J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit* (1937)

P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins* (1934), *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935), *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943)

Geoffrey Trease, *Bows Against the Barons* (1934), *Cue For Treason* (1940)

Mary Treadgold, *We Couldn't Leave Dinah* (1941)

Alison Uttley, *A Traveller in Time* (1939)

Denys Watkins-Pitchford (BB), *The Little Grey Men* (1942)

Terence Hanbury White, *The Sword in the Stone* (1938)

Henry Williamson, *Tarka the Otter* (1927)

2. Main themes addressed in English children's literature (including books accepted as literature suitable for children)

The late-Victorian and Edwardian periods

Adventures: R.M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island*; Richard Jeffries, *Bevis*; Henry Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines*; Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped*; John Meade Falkner, *Moonfleet*

Historical past: Henry Rider Haggard, *Fair Margaret* and *The Lady of Blossholme*

Historical past with elements of fantasy: Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*

Family and home: Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, *A Little Princess* and *The Secret Garden*; Edith Nesbit, *The Railway Children;* Oscar Wilde, *The Canterville Ghost*

Family and adventures: Edith Nesbit, *The Story of the Treasure Seekers* and *The New Treasure Seekers*

School: Angela Brazil, *The Fortunes of Philippa;* Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky & Co.*; Talbot Baines Reed, *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's* and *The Willoughby Captains*

Silliness: Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass;* Edward Lear, *Book of Nonsense*; Hilaire Belloc, *Cautionary Tales*

Fantasy and fairy tales (including elements of the moral narrative): Oscar Wilde, *The Canterville Ghost, The Happy Prince and Other Tales*; Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies;* George Macdonald, *At the Back of the North Wind*; J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens, Peter and Wendy; English Fairy Tales* collected by Joseph Jacobs; Edith Nesbit, *Five Children and It*, *The Phoenix and the Carpet*, *The Amulet*, *The Enchanted Castle*, *The House of Arden*, *Harding's Luck*, *The Magic City*

Animals: Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*

Heroism, patriotism and empire: Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for boys: a handbook for instruction in good citizenship;* Henry Rider Haggard**,** *King Solomon's Mines*; Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies;* J. M. Barrie, *Peter and Wendy*

Detective adventures: Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles* and *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*

Arcadian image of the English countryside: Richard Jeffries, *Bevis*; Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*; Beatrix Potter, 'Peter Rabbit' series; Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*

Nostalgia and home: Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*

Between the two World Wars (1914–1945)

War: Kitty Barne, *Visitors from London*; Noel Streatfield, *The Children of Primrose Lane*; Mary Treadgold, *We Couldn't Leave Dinah*

Adventures during school holidays: Enid Blyton, *The Famous Five*; Arthur Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons*

Fantasy: Walter de la Mare, *Broomsticks and Other Tales* and *The Lord Fish*; Eleanor Farjeon, *Martin Pippin in the Apple Orchard* and *Martin Pippin in the Daisy Field;* Hugh Lofting, *The Story of Dr Dolittle*; John Masefield, *The Midnight Folk* and *The Box of Delight*s; A.A. Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner*; J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*; T. H. White, *The Sword in the Stone*; Alison Uttley, *A Traveller in Time*; P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*, *Mary Poppins Comes Back* and *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*

Silliness: T. S. Eliot, *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats;* Norman Hunter, *The Incredible Adventures of Professor Branestawm;* A.A. Milne, *When We Were Very Young* and *Now We are Six*, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner*; P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*, *Mary Poppins Comes Back* and *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*

Historical past (including elements of fantasy): Walter de la Mare, 'The Three Sleeping Boys of Yorkshire' in *Broomsticks and Other Tales*; T. H. White, *The Sword in the Stone*; Alison Uttley, *A Traveller in Time*; Geoffrey Trease, *Bows Against the Barons, Cue For Treason*

Family: Eve Garnett, *The Family from One End Street*; Eric Knight, *Lassie Come-Home*; P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*, *Mary Poppins Comes Back* and *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*

Working class family and children and home: Eve Garnett, *The Family from One End Street*

Adventures of middle class school children: Richmal Crompton, *Just William* series

Orphan children: Noel Streatfeild, *Ballet Shoes* and *The Circus is Coming*

Animals: T. S. Eliot, *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats;* Eric Knight, *Lassie Come-Home*; Henry Williamson, *Tarka the Otter*

Personal growth and heroism: J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*

English countryside: Norman Hunter, *The Incredible Adventures of Professor Branestawm;* Henry Williamson, *Tarka the Otter*; Denys Watkins-Pitchford, ("BB"), *The Little Grey Men*

Nostalgia and home: A.A. Milne, *When We Were Very Young* and *Now We are Six*, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner*; Arthur Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons*; J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit* (1937)

Appendix 3.

Translations of English children's classics (and books considered as reading for children) written between the late-Victorian period and the Second World War

1. Mostly reprinted Russian translations that appeared during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods

List of mostly reprinted English texts that were translated into Russian during the Soviet period

- adaptations for children of the major novels of Charles Dickens

- retellings of selected English nursery rhymes

- selected English folk ballads

- selected English folk tales

- J. M. Barrie, the play *Peter Pan* and the novel *Peter and Wendy*

- Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*

- Arthur Conan Doyle, stories about Sherlock Holmes and *The Lost World* (positioned as books for young adults)

- James Greenwood, *The True History of a Little Ragamuffin*

- Rudyard Kipling, *Just So Stories* and *The Jungle Book*

- Edward Lear, *Nonsense Songs* (selected poems)

- A. A. Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh* and *The King's Breakfast* (from *When We Were Very Young*)

- Beatrix Potter, *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle* (only)

- Robert Louise Stevenson, *Treasure Island*

- P. L. Travers, novels about Mary Poppins

- Ethel Lilian Voynich, *The Gadfly*

- H.G. Wells, *The Invisible Man*, *The War of the Worlds*, and *The Time Machine*

List of mostly reprinted English texts that appeared in Russian translation during the post-Soviet period

The books from the previous group and:

- Enid Blyton, *The Famous Five*

- Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy, A Little Princess* and *The Secret Garden*

- Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*

- Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*

- Eric Knight, *Lassie Come-Home*

- C. S. Lewis, *The Chronicles of Narnia*

- George Macdonald*, The Princess and the Goblin*

- A. A. Milne, all poems from *When We Were Very Young* and *Now We Are Six*

- Edith Nesbit, *The Story of the Treasure Seekers*, *Five Children and It*, *The Phoenix and the Carpet*, *The Story of the Amulet*, *The Railway Children*, *The Enchanted Castle*

- Beatrix Potter*, The Tale of Peter Rabbit* and other tales

- Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*

- J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*

2. English children's books that were not translated during the Soviet period and appeared in translation in the post-Soviet period

Hilaire Belloc, *Cautionary Tales for Children*

Enid Blyton, *The Famous Five*

Frances Hodgson Burnett, *A Little Princess* and *The Secret Garden*

Richmal Crompton, *Just William* series

Eleanor Farjeon, *Martin Pippin in the Daisy Field* and *Martin Pippin in the Apple Orchard*

Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies*

Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*

George Macdonald, *At the Back of the North Wind*, *The Princess and the Goblin* (one fairy tale only was translated in 1986)

Edith Nesbit, *The Story of the Treasure Seekers*, *Five Children and It*, *The Phoenix and the Carpet*, *The Story of the Amulet*, *The Railway Children*, *The Enchanted Castle* (only two fairy tales – *Billy the King* and *The Charmed Life* – were translated in 1986)

Beatrix Potter, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* and other stories (only *The Tale of Mrs. Tiggy-Winkle* was translated in 1958 and subsequently reprinted during the Soviet period)

Arthur Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons* (it was published in English as a textbook for students of English in 1980)

Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty* (it was published in English in 1961 and 1967 as a textbook for students of English)

Noel Streatfield, *Ballet Shoes*

Terence Hanbury White, *The Sword in the Stone*

3. English texts that were only translated once and not reprinted afterwards during the Soviet period, and then appeared in translation in the post-Soviet period[800]

J.M. Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* (translated in 1986)

Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (the pre-revolutionary translation was reprinted only once in 1918)

John Meade Falkner, *Moonfleet* (an extract was translated in 1949 only)

Kenneth Graham, *The Wind in the Willows* (translated in 1988 only)

Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky & Co.* (translated in 1925 only), *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* (stories about Puck were translated in 1984)

Eric Knight, *Lassie Come-Home* (translated in 1963 only)

Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: a Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (the pre-revolutionary version was reprinted in 1918 only)

Henry Williamson, *Tarka the Otter* (translated in 1979 only)

4. English texts that have not been translated at all during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods

Kitty Barne, *Visitors from London*

Angela Brazil, *The Fortunes of Philippa*

Richard Jeffries, *Bevis*

Eve Garnett, *The Family from One End Street* (only appeared in English as a textbook for students of English in 1973)

Norman Hunter, *The Incredible Adventures of Professor Branestawm*

John Masefield, *The Midnight Folk* and *The Box of Delight*s

Noel Streatfeild, *The Circus Is Coming* and *The Children of Primrose Lane*

Mary Treadgold, *We Couldn't Leave Dinah*

Alison Uttley, *A Traveller in Time*

Denys Watkins-Pitchford (BB), *The Little Grey Men*

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[800] T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats:* only 'Macavity: The Mystery Cat' and 'Old Deuteronomy' were translated in 1959 and 1984 respectively; the whole book was translated after 1991. The translation of Oscar Wilde's The Canterville Ghost was published in 1960 and then reprinted in the late 1980s; afterwards, it was reprinted and retranslated after 1991.

Appendix 4.

Russian translations of institutional Englishness and expressions of English national character

1. Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and *Rewards and Fairies* (1910)

1.1. Translations of both books

a) by Aleksei Slobozhan (1984)

Puck of Pook's Hill:	Chapters translated and included into *Mech Vilanda: Skazki staroi Anglii* [Weland's Sword: Tales of Old England]:[801]
1. Weland's Sword	1. Mech Vilanda [Weland's Sword]
2. Young Men at the Manor	2. *Not translated*
3. The Knights of the Joyous Venture	3. *Not translated*
4. Old Men at Pevensey	4. *Not translated*
5. A Centurion of the Thirtieth	5. Tsenturion trinadtsatogo [A Centurion of the Thirtieth]
6. On the Great Wall	6. Na velikoi stene [On the Great Wall]
7. The Winged Hats	7. Krylatye shlemy [The Winged Hats]
8. Hal o' the Draft	8. *Not translated*
9. 'Dymchurch Flit'	9. Translated but removed from the final draft.[802]
10. The Treasure and the Law	10. *Not translated*

Rewards and Fairies:	Chapters translated by A. Slobozhan in 1984 and included into *Mech Vilanda* [Weland's Sword]
1. Cold Iron	1. Kholodnoe zhelezo [Cold Iron]
2. Gloriana	2. *Not translated*
3. The Wrong Thing	3. *Not translated*
4. Marklake Witches	4. *Not translated*
5. The Knife and the Naked Chalk	5. Nozh i belye skaly [The Knife and the Naked Chalk]
6. Brother Square-Toes	
7. 'A Priest in Spite of	6. *Not translated*

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[801] See Rudyard Kipling, *Mech Vilanda: Skazki staroi Anglii*, trans. by A. Slobozhan (Leningrad: Detskaia literatura, 1984).
[802] This chapter was included into the revised translation of 1992 which was called *Skazki Paka* [Fairy tales of Puck] (Moscow: Master, 1992). The revised translation was republished in 1993 and 2003.

Himself'
8. The Conversion of St Wilfrid
9. A Doctor of Medicine
10. Simple Simon
11. The Tree of Justice

7. *Not translated*
8. *Not translated*
9. Doktor meditsyny [A Doctor of Medicine]
10. *Not translated*
11. *Not translated*

b) Other translations

Translation by Anna Enkvist

All chapters of *Puck of Pook's Hill* was translated by Anna Enkvist in 1916 and called *Staraia Angliia* [Old England]. Her translation has been reprinted in several editions since 1991.

Translation by Grigorii Kruzhkov

Both books were translated by Grigorii Kruzhkov in 1996. All chapters were retained in his translations which were called *Pak s Volshbnikh Kholmov* [Puck of the magic hills] and *Podarki Fei* [Presents from fairies]. Kruzhkov's translation was subsequently reprinted several times. From 2014 his translation has been reprinted under the title *Skazki Staroi Anglii* [Fairy tales of Old England].

Translation by Irina Gurova

Both books were translated by Irina Gurova in 1996. All chapters were retained in her translations which were called *Pak s Kholmov* [Puck of the hills] and *Nagrady i Fei* [Rewards and fairies]. Gurova's translation was also reprinted in 2000s.

1.2. Examples referring to the theme of empire

Example 1. From chapter 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth':

The best baths in Britain. Just as good, I'm told, as Rome. All the old gluttons sit in hot water, and talk scandal and politics. And the Generals come through the streets with their guards behind them; and the magistrates come in their chairs with their stiff guards behind them; and you meet fortune-tellers, and

goldsmiths, and merchants, and philosophers, and feather-sellers, and **ultra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans**, and tame tribesmen pretending to be civilised, and **Jew lecturers**, and—oh, everybody interesting. We young people, of course, took no interest in politics. We had not the gout. There were many of our age like us. We did not find life sad.[803]

Translation by Aleksei Slobozhan (1992)

'[U]ltra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans', and 'Jew lecturers' are translated as '

' [pro-Roman Britons and pro-British Romans] and
'   ' [Jewish preachers].[804]

Translation by Anna Enkvist

'[U]ltra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans', and 'Jew lecturers' are translated as '   -   -   ' [ultra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans] and '   '
[Jewish preachers].[805]

Translation by Irina Gurova

'[U]ltra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans', and 'Jew lecturers' are translated as '   ,   '
[true Roman Britons, and true British Romans] and '   -   ' [Jew preachers].[806]

Translation by Grigorii Kruzhkov

'[U]ltra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans', and 'Jew lecturers' are translated as '   ' [ultra-

[803] Rudyard Kipling, 'Puck of Pook's Hill', in *Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 1–176 (p. 87). Words, highlighted in bold, are those that were omitted in Slobozhan's 1984 translation.
[804] Rudyard Kipling, 'Skazki Paka', in *Skazki syatoi Anglii*, trans. by Aleksei Slobozhan (Moscow: Master, 1992), pp. 10–204 (p. 41).
[805] Rudyard Kipling, 'Staraia Angliia', in *Red'iard Kipling. Otvazhnye moreplavateli. Indiiskie rasskazy. Sbornik (biblioteka P. P. Soikina)*, trans. by A. Enkvist (Saint Petersburg Logos, 1995), pp. 149–303 (p. 232).
[806] Rudyard Kipling, 'Pek s kholmov. Nagrady i fei', in *Rediard Kipling. Polnoe sobranie rasskazov dlia detei v odnom tome*, trans. by I. Gurova (Moscow: Al'pha-Kniga, 2009), pp. 391–768 (p. 478).

Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans] and '   ,'
[Jewish preachers].[807]

Example 2. From chapter 'A Centurion of the Thirtieth':

He went back to the time of Diocletian; and to listen to him you would have thought Eternal Rome herself was on the edge of destruction, just because a few people had become a little large-minded (p. 89–90).

Translation by Aleksei Slobozhan (1984)

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,   .

[Then he started recollecting the events of bygone centuries, and according to his words, one would have thought that Eternal Rome was on the edge of falling.] (p. 69)

Translation by Aleksei Slobozhan (1992)

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[He went back to the time of Diocletian. To listen to him one would have thought that Eternal Rome was on the edge of falling, just because a few people had become rather large-minded in the way they saw the world.] (p. 44)

Translation by Anna Enkvist

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[Then he remembered the time of Diocletian, and to believe him one should think that Eternal Rome was on the edge of destruction, just because some people had become open-minded.] (p. 235)

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[807] Rudyard Kipling, *Pak s Volshebnykh Kholmov*, trans. by G. Kruzhkov and M. Boroditskaia (Moscow: RIPOL klassik, 2011), p. 159.

<u>Translation by Irina Gurova</u>

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[And he got to the time of Diocletian. To listen to him one would imagine that Eternal Rome was about to perish, just because a handful of people had developed a little bit more of an open mind.] (p. 480)

<u>Translation by Grigorii Kruzhkov</u>

.   ,   ,

-          ,

.

[Then my father started recollecting the time of Diocletian and even older times. To listen to him it was as if Eternal Rome was to perish, just because a few liberal minded people appeared there.] (p. 162)

Example 3. From chapter 'On the Great Wall':

He [Maximus] pulled out a roll of letters I had written to my people, full of drawings of Picts, and bears, and men I had met on the Wall. […] He handed me one that I had called "Maximus's Soldiers". It showed a row of fat wine-skins, and our old Doctor of the Hunno hospital snuffing at them. Each time that Maximus had taken troops out of Britain to help him to conquer Gaul, he used to send the garrisons more wine – to keep them quiet, I suppose. On the Wall, we always called a wine-skin a "Maximus". Oh, yes; and I had drawn them in Imperial helmets.

'Not long since,' he [Maximus] went on, 'men's names were sent up to Caesar for smaller jokes than this.' […]

'I was speaking of time past,' said Maximus, never fluttering an eyelid. 'Nowadays one is only too pleased to find boys who can think for themselves and their friends.' (pp. 106–107)

Translation by Aleksei Slobozhan (1992)

Slobozhan translates the whole extract. The words of Maximus are translated as:

«   , ―   , ―

                              .» […]

«   , ―   ,

 . ―   ,   ,   ,

                    ,   […]   ».

['Not long before,' Maximus went on, 'the names of such jokers were sent up to Caesar for even smaller pranks.' […]

'I was speaking of past years,' said Maximus, not turning a hair. 'Nowadays I am only pleased when I find out that there are young men who can think for themselves and that they have […] friends.'] (p. 67)

Translation by Anna Enkvist

Enkvist translates the whole extract. The words of Maximus are translated as:

 ―   , ―   , ―

          ,   . […]

 ―   , ―   ,

        . ―   ,

                        .

['Not long before,' he went on, 'people's names were sent up to Caesar for smaller jokes than this. […]'

'I was speaking of time past,' noted Maximus, and his eyelids didn't even flicker. 'Nowadays one is pleased to find young men who can think for themselves and their friends.'] (p. 254)

Translation by Irina Gurova

Gurova translates the whole extract. The words of Maximus are translated as:

«   , —   , —

!» […]

«   , —   ,   .

—   ,

,   ...   ».

['Not too long ago,' he went on, 'people's names were sent up to Caesar for far more inoffensive jokes!'

'I was talking of the old days,' said Maximus, not even turning a hair. 'Nowadays one is only too happy at finding those who are capable of thinking for themselves … and also their friends.'] (p. 499)

Translation by Grigorii Kruzhkov

Gurova translates the whole extract. Maximus's words are translated as:

«   , —   , —

». […]

«   , —   ,

. —   ,

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['In recent times,' Maximus went on, 'people were called to account for far more inoffensive jokes.'

'I was speaking of former times,' said Maximus, without batting an eyelid. 'Nowadays one is only pleased to find young men capable of thinking for themselves and their friends.'] (pp. 195–196)

2. J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan* (1928) and *Peter and Wendy* (1911)

Example 1. Extract from the novel *Peter and Wendy* (chapter 5 'The Island Come True'):

He was never more sinister than when he was most polite, which is probably the truest test of breeding; and the elegance of his diction, even when he was swearing, no less than the distinction of his demeanour, showed him one of a different cast from his crew'.[808]

Translation by Nina Demurova (1968):

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[He was most sinister at the moment when he was most courteous – this probably indicates proper behaviour. The elegance of his diction never betrayed him even when he was swearing, and his noble manners showed that he was not equal to his crew.][809]

Translation by Irina Tokmakova (1981)

Irina Tokmakova omitted this passage.

Example 2. Extract from the play *Peter Pan* (Act II 'The Never Land'):

He is never more sinister than when he is most polite, and the elegance of his diction, the distinction of his demeanour, show him one of a different class from his crew, a solitary among uncultured companions.'[810]

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[808] J. M. Barrie, 'Peter and Wendy', in *J. M. Barrie. Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens and Peter and Wendy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 67–226 (p. 114).
[809] J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen i Vendi*, trans. by Nina Demurova (Moscow: Detskaia literatura, 1968), p. 51.
[810] J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan: a Fantasy in Five Acts* (London: Samuel French, 1977), pp. 27–8.

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[He is most dangerous at the moment when he is most polite; the elegance of his diction and manners make him vastly different from the others; Captain Hook is solitary among his uncultured accomplices.][811]

Example 3. Extract from the novel *Peter and Wendy* (chapter 14 'The Pirate Ship'):

[Pirates] were socially so inferior to him. […] [Hook] had been at a famous public school; and its traditions still clung to him like garments, with which indeed they are largely concerned. Thus it was offensive to him even now to board a ship in the same dress in which he grappled her, and he still adhered in his walk to the school's distinguished slouch. But above all he retained the passion for good form. Good form! However much he may have degenerated, he still knew that this is all that really matters (p. 188).

Translation by Tokmakova:

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[Pirates, loyal dogs, were not his friends. […] He came from a good family and had once graduated from a public school. He still sticks to some of its traditions. And especially it is a concern for being in good form always. Is he in good form now? That is what gloomy Hook was pondering over.] (pp. 147–148)

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[811] J. M. Barrie, *Piter Pen, ili Mal'chik, Kotoryi Ne Khotel Rasti*, trans. by Boris Zakhoder (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1971), p. 47.

<u>Translation by Demurova:</u>

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[You see, of all pirates he was the only man of good breeding. […] he was a pupil at one of our most famous schools. Traditions of this renowned school were as sacred as the skill to dress tastefully. Even now he would never board a ship in the same dress in which he first attacked her. And of course he slouched when he walked, as a graduate of his famous school should walk. But above all he took good manners as of the utmost importance; and only well-bred people have good manners. Good manners! However much he may have brought himself down, it was clear to him that this was most important.] (p. 121)

Example 4. Extract from the novel *Peter and Wendy* (chapter 15 'Hook or Me This Time'):

What sort of form was Hook himself showing? Misguided man though he was, we may be glad, without sympathising with him, that in the end he was true to the traditions of his race. The other boys were flying around him now, flouting, scornful; and he staggered about the deck striking up at them impotently, his mind was no longer with them; it was slouching in the playing fields of long ago, or being sent up for good, or watching the wall-game from a famous wall. And his shoes were right, and his waistcoat was right, and his tie was right, and his socks were right. James Hook, thou not wholly unheroic figure, farewell (pp. 203–204).

Translation by Tokmakova:

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[Dzheims Kriuk, ceased to be a heroic person from this moment, farewell forever!] (pp. 164)

Translation by Demurova:

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[So, and how did Hook prove himself? Well, we can happily mention that though he was misguided, and we don't sympathise with him at all, in the end he did not betray his English traditions. The boys were dancing around him, scoffing at him, but he was slowly stepping back, fighting his way blindly with his iron hand. But his mind was elsewhere. He was slouching along the sports ground of his faraway youth, he was being summoned to the principal of his school, he was supporting the football team of his famous school. And his boots were right, and his waistcoat was right, and his tie was right, and his socks were right! James Hook, you do not wholly lack heroism. So, farewell, James Hook!] (p. 137)

Example 5. Extract from the novel *Peter and Wendy* (chapter 15 'Hook or Me This Time'):

He had one last triumph, which I think we need not grudge him. As he stood on the bulwark looking over his shoulder at Peter gliding through the air, he invited him with a gesture to use his foot. It made Peter kick instead of stab. At last Hook had got the boon for which he craved. 'Bad form,' he cried

jeeringly, and went content to the crocodile. Thus perished James Hook (p. 204).

Translation by Tokmakova:

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[But he managed to have one last triumph in the end, and we will try not to be partial towards him. Standing on the bulwark, he saw over his shoulder that Peter flew up to him. When the moment was right, the pirate bent down, and Peter kicked him instead of stabbing him. At last the villain had got his own way.

'It's bad form!' he cried jeeringly and went content to the crocodile mouth. Thus perished James Hook.] (p. 165)

Translation by Demurova:

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[We won't refuse him one more, last pleasure. Standing on the bulwark he looked over at Peter easily gliding through the air, and invited him with a gesture to kick but not to stab. And Peter did so – he kicked Hook. The greatest dream of the captain had come true.

'Ill-bred little boy!' he cried happily and fell into the sea. Thus perished James Hook.'] (p. 137)

Example 6. Extract from the play *Peter Pan* (Act V Scene 1 'The Pirate Ship')

PETER […] is sitting on a barrel playing upon his pipes. This may surprise others but does not surprise HOOK. Lifting a blunderbuss he strikes forlornly not at the boy but at the barrel, which is hurled across the deck. PETER remains sitting in the air still playing upon his pipes. At this sight the great heart of HOOK breaks. That not wholly unheroic figure climbs the bulwarks murmuring 'Floreat Etona,' and prostrates himself into the water, where the crocodile is waiting for him open-mouthed (p. 73).

Translation by Zakhoder:

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[Peter […] is sitting in a barrel playing upon his svirel. This may surprise anyone but Hook. After grabbing a blunderbuss, he strikes with the gun stock in despair – not at Peter but at the barrel; it is rolling across the deck, and Peter is sitting calmly in the air still playing upon his svirel. The pirate's mind became clouded. Singing the student's song *Gaudeamus Igitur*, he is climbing up the bulwarks and prostrates himself into the water, where the crocodile is opening his mouth hospitably towards him.] (p. 104)

Example 7. Extract from the novel *Peter and Wendy* (chapter 14 'The Pirate Ship'):

a) 'Shall we still be respectful subjects of the King?' John inquired.

Through Hook's teeth came the answer: 'You would have to swear, "Down with the King."'

Perhaps John had not behaved very well so far, but he shone out now.

'Then I refuse,' he cried, banging the barrel in front of Hook.

'And I refuse,' cried Michael.

'Rule Britannia!' squeaked Curly. (pp. 124–125)

b) At this moment Wendy was grand. 'These are my last words, dear boys,' she said firmly. 'I feel that I have a message to you from your real mothers, and it is this: "We hope our sons will die like English gentlemen."' (p. 125)

Translation by Tokmakova:

a) omitted.

b)   .

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[Wendy was grand at this moment.

'This is my last word for you, my dear boys. I know what kind of message I have to tell you from your real mothers. They always say in this situation: "If our children were fated to die, let them die courageously and proudly.] (pp. 149, 152)

Translation by Demurova:

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['Will England still be our homeland?' asked John.

'No way!' Hook hissed through clenched teeth. 'You would have to renounce your homeland!'

Perhaps John had not behaved very well so far, but this time he did not make a blunder.

'Then I refuse!' he cried, slamming his fist on the barrel right under Hook's nose.

'And I refuse!' cried Michael.

'Long live England!' squeaked Bully.] (p. 125)

b)   !

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[Now Wendy was grand!

'This is my last word, boys,' she said firmly. 'It's not just me who is saying this to you but also your real mothers: "If you are to die, then we hope you will die like Englishmen!] (p. 126)

Example 8. Extract from the play *Peter Pan* (Act V Scene 1 'The Pirate Ship')

a) JOHN. Stop, should we still be respectful subjects of King George?

HOOK. You would have to swear "Down with King George."

JOHN (*grandly*). Then I refuse!

MICHAEL. And I refuse (pp. 65–66).

b) WENDY. These are my last words. Dear boys, I feel that I have a message to you from your real mothers, and it is this, "We hope our sons will die like English gentlemen." (p. 66)

Translation by Zakhoder:

a)   :   - .   ?

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[JOHN: Hold on. Will we still be Englishmen?

HOOK: You will have to curse your homeland forever!

JOHN (grandly). Then I don't agree!

MICHAEL: And I don't agree!] (p. 95)

b)   :   ,   ,

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[WENDY: Dear Boys, I will tell you what your real mothers would have told you. Listen: "We hope our sons will die as true loyal sons of England."] (p. 96)

Appendix 4 (continued)

3. P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*

3.1. Translations of *Mary Poppins*

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins

– *Mary Poppins* (1934)

– *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935)

– *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943)

– *Mary Poppins in the Park* (1952)

– *Mary Poppins From A to Z* (1962)

– *Mary Poppins in the Kitchen* (1975)

– *Mary Poppins in Cherry Tree Lane* (1982)

– *Mary Poppins and the House Next Door* (1988)

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Boris Zakhoder (first translated in 1967)

Zakhoder's translation is called *Meri Poppins* [Mary Poppins] and consists of two parts *Dom 17* [The House 17] and *Meri Poppins vozvraschaetsia* [Mary Poppins Comes Back].

Chapters of *Mary Poppins* (1934)	Chapters translated into Russian
– East Wind	– Vostochnyi veter [East wind]
– The Day Out	*not translated*
– Laughing Gas	– Smeshinka [A giggle]
– Miss Lark's Andrew	– Miss Lark i ee Eduard [Miss Lark and her Andrew]
– The Dancing Cow	– Tantsuiuschaia korova [The dancing cow]
– Bad Tuesday	*not translated*
– The Bird Woman	*not translated*
– Mrs Cory	– Missis Kori [Mrs Cory]
– John and Barbara Story	– Istoriia bliznetsov [The twin's story]
– Full Moon	– Polnoluniie [Full moon]
– Christmas Shopping	*not translated*

– West Wind	– Zapadnyi veter [West Wind]

Chapters of *Mary Poppins Comes Back (1935)*	Chapters translated into Russian
– The Kite	– Zmei [The kite]
– Miss Andrew's Lark	– Zhavoronok Miss Endriu {Miss Andrew's lark]
– Bad Wednesday	– Tiazhelyi den' [A hard day]
– Topsy-Turvy	*not translated*
– The New One	*not translated*
– Robertson Ay's Story	*not translated*
– The Evening Out	*not translated*
– Ballons and Baloons	– Sharik shariku rozn' [Baloons differ]
– Nellie-Rubina	*not translated*
– Merry-go-Round	– Karusel' [Merry-go-round]

Chapters of *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943)	Chapters translated into Russian
– The Fifth of November	*not translated*
– Mr Twigley's Wishes	*not translated*
– The Cat that Looked at a King	– Koshka, kotoraia smotrela na korolia [The cat that looked at a king]
– The Marble Boy	– Mramornyi mal'chik [The marble boy]
– Peppermint Horses	*not translated*
– High Tide	*not translated*
– Happy Ever After	*not translated*
– The Other Door	*not translated*

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Igor Rodin

Igor Rodin retranslated the first four books about Mary Poppins in 1994: *Mary Poppins* (1934); *Mary Poppins Comes Back* (1935); *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943); *Mary Poppins in the Park* (1952). Rodin's version contains all original chapters.

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Marina Litvinova

Marina Litvinova retranslated the first book only – *Mary Poppins* (1934) – in 1996. Her retranslation is called *Meri Poppins s Vishnievoi ulitsy* [Mary Poppins from Cherry Street]. Litvinova's version contains all original chapters.

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Leonid Yaknin

Leonid Yakhnin translated the third book– *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (1943) – in 2006. His translation does not include the two chapters – *The Cat that Looked at a King*, and The Marble Boy – which are translated by Zakhoder. Yakhnin also translated the fourth book – *Mary Poppins in the Park* (1952) – in 2007 which is called *S dniem rozhdeniia, Meri Poppins* [Happy birthday, Mary Poppins].

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Aleksandra Borisenko

Aleksandra Borisenko translated *Mary Poppins in Cherry Tree Lane* (1982) in 2007 and *Mary Poppins and the House Next Door* (1988) in 1993.

P. L. Travers's books about Mary Poppins translated by Irina Tokmakova

Irina Tokmakova translated *Mary Poppins From A to Z* (1962) and *Mary Poppins in the Kitchen* (1975) in 2007.

3.2. Examples referring to the discourse of silliness in *Mary Poppins*

Example 1. Samuil Marshak, *Ptitsy v piroge* [Birds in a pie] – an extract from the translation of *Sing a Song of Sixpence*

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[Many, many birds
Were baked in a pie:
Seventy tits,
Forty seven magpies.
It is hard for the fidgets
To stay in the dough –
The birds started singing
Very loud at dinner...][812]

Example 2. Extract from the chapter *The Cat that Looked at a King* (in *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*)

… On the Palace lawn a red cow was admiring her reflection in an ornamental pond.

"Who are you?" she enquired, as the Cat passed by.

"I'm the Cat that Looked at a King," he replied.

"And I," she remarked with a toss of her head, "am the Cow that Jumped Over the Moon."

"Is that so?" said the Cat. "Whatever for?"

The Cow stared. She had never before been asked that question. And suddenly it occurred to her that there might be something else to do than jumping over moons.

"Now that you mention it," she said shyly, "I don't think I really know." And she trotted away across the lawn to think the matter over. …

… Plop! A green shape dropped in front of the Cat.

"I'm the Frog that Would a-Wooing Go," it said proudly.

"Do you tell me that, now?" the Cat said gravely. "Well, I trust you are

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[812] Samuil Marshak, *Stikhotvoreniia i poemy* (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskii pisatel'", 1973), 'Ptitsy v piroge', p. 490.

happily married."

"Er — now that you mention it — not exactly. In fact — er — no!" confessed the Frog.

"Ah," said the Cat, with a shake of his head. "You should have obeyed your Mother!"

And before the Frog could do more than blink, the Cat had passed on. …[813]

Translation by Boris Zakhoder

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[813] P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins Opens the Door* (London: Collins, 1971), pp. 94–5.

[On the lawn she saw a nanny goat who was admiring her reflection in a pool by a fountain.

"Who are you?" asked the goat when the Cat was passing by.

"I am the Cat that Looked at a King", the Cat replied.

"And I", the Nanny Goat said with a toss of her head, "am the Nanny Goat who is coming to get the little children!"

"Is that so?" said the Cat. "Whatever for?"

The Nanny Goat was really puzzled. She had never thought about that before. And suddenly it seemed to her that there was no need to butt the little children! For the first time in her life she understood that what she did was nonsense.

"It seems to me", she said confusedly, "it seems to me that I really don't know myself!"

And she trotted away to think about her behaviour.

Plop! Someone dropped on the path in front of the Cat.

"I am a Toad who hopped about!" it croaked proudly.

"And got into the Tsar's house", said the Cat. "I think it would have been better for you to get into a bog!"

"Croak-croak! It is so true!" admitted the Toad. "I think I've made a big mistake!"

But the Cat had already passed on.][814]

<u>Translation by Igor Rodin:</u>

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[814] P. L. Travers, 'Meri Poppins vozvraschaetsia', in *Vsie o Meri Poppins: skazochnie povesti*, trans. by Boris Zakhoder (Moscow: ROSMEN, 2012), pp. 83–188 (pp. 146–47).

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[On the lawn she saw a red cow who was admiring her reflection in a small pond.

"Who are you?" she asked when the cat was passing by.

"I am the cat who looked at a king," replied the cat.

"And I am," the cow tossed her head, "the cow who jumped over the Moon."

"Is that so?" wondered the cat. "Whatever for?"

The cow opened her mouth. Nobody has asked her that question before. She suddenly thought that there was no point doing it.

"If I ponder over it," she said sadly, "I don't really know.

And the cow trotted away thinking about her hard luck.

Plop! Something green dropped on the path right in front of the cat.

"I am Mister Frog!" said the new friend, proudly. "And I am going to visit the Mouse!"

"Oh, do you have serious intentions?" asked the cat.

"What do you mean?"

"I thought you were going to get married?"

"Er, well, actually, no."

"Then it would be better for you to stay at home, with your mother," sneered the cat, "or your late strolls won't end well!"

And before Mister Frog could say anything, the cat had passed on.][815]

Example 3. Popular Russian children's counting rhymes

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[A squirrel hopped about

It did not hop into a spruce,

But got into a tsar's house,

Where the tsar and his son,

The king and his son,

The cobbler and the tailor

Were sitting at the table.

And who are you?]

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[A toad hopped about

And nearly fell into a bog.

An old man got out of the bog,

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[815] P. L. Travers, *Meri Poppins*, trans. by Igor Rodin (Moscow: EKSMO-Press, 2002), pp. 502–03.

Who was two hundred and eighty years old.

He was carrying herbs and flowers.

It is your turn to leave the circle!][816]

Example 4. Russian nursery rhyme 'Idiet koza rogataia…' [A nanny goat with big horns is coming]

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[A nanny goat with big horns

Is coming to get the children.

It will butt those children

Who do not drink milk!][817]

Example 5. Extract from the chapter *The Cat that Looked at a King* (in *Mary Poppins Opens the Door*)

The King commanded his subjects […] to put up Maypoles and dance around them; to get out Merry-go-rounds and ride them; to dance and feast and sing and grow fat and love one another dearly (p. 95).

Translation by Boris Zakhoder:

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[The Old Minister wrote the King's Decree, and the King signed it. It said that a feast should be thrown all over the country, that merry-go-rounds and devil's wheels should be built, that people would ride them and live happily and never quarrel!] (p. 147)

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[816] M. Iu. Novitskaia and I. Raikova, *Detskii fol'klor* (Moscow: Russkaia kniga, 2002), p. 240.

[817] M. N. Mel'nikov, *Russkii detskii fol'klor* (Moscow: Prosvescheniie, 1987), p. 174.

<u>Translation by Igor Rodin:</u>

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     [… the king orders all of his subjects to throw a great feast, that he orders
to dance and sing, to laugh and ride merry-go-rounds, to do round dances in the
green countryside and be polite to one another.] (p. 503)

Appendix 5

Russian translations of cultural Englishness

1. Kenneth Grahame*, The Wind in the Willows* (1908)

Example 1.

Hither and thither through the meadows he rambled busily, along the hedgerows, across the copses, finding everywhere birds building, flowers budding, leaves thrusting...'. (p. 6)

Translation by I. Tokmakova (1988)

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[The Mole busily pattered along the hedgerow, first to one side then to another. Having crossed the coppice, he saw that birds were building their houses, flowers were budding, small leaves were hatching.]

Translation by V. Reznik (1992)

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…(pp. 3–4)

[The Mole rambled through the meadows: along the fences, through the coppices he rambled, and everywhere birds were nesting, flowers were burgeoning, leaves were sprouting…]

Translation by M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993)

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,   ,   ... (p. 6)

[He was merrily running through the meadows and the coppices, along the hedgerows, and everywhere birds were building their nests, buds were breaking, flowers were coming out…]

Translation by L. Iakhnin (2002)

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[The Mole rambled around the meadow. Now he scurried about along the prickly bushes. Then he glided through the clear copse. Here birds were building their nests. There flowers were opening their buds. Here and there leaves were unfurling from buds.]

Translation by V. Lunin (2011)

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... (p. 11)

[The Mole busily marched along the meadow past the hedgerows, past the thickets where bird's nests could be seen, past the blossoming flowers under new green leaves…]

Example 2.

Such a rich chapter it had been, when one came to look back on it all! With illustrations so numerous and so very highly coloured! The pageant of the river bank had marched steadily along, unfolding itself in scene-pictures that succeeded each other in stately procession. Purple loosestrife arrived early, shaking luxuriant tangled locks along the edge of the mirror whence its own face laughed back at it. Willow-herb, tender and wistful, like a pink sunset cloud, was not slow to follow. Comfrey, the purple hand-in-hand with the white, crept forth to take its place in the line; and at last one morning the diffident and delaying dog-rose stepped delicately on the stage, and one knew, as if string-music had announced it in stately chords that strayed into a gavotte, that June at last was here'. One member of the company was still awaited; the shepherd-boy for the nymphs to woo, the knight for whom the ladies waited at the window, the prince that was to kiss the sleeping summer back to life and love. But when meadow-sweet, debonair and odorous in amber jerkin, moved graciously to his place in the group, then the play was ready to begin. (p. 28)

Translation by I. Tokmakova (1988)

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[Oh, summer was a lush chapter in the great book of Nature, if one attentively reads oneself into it. With countless brightly coloured illustrations! They depicted the whole motley carnival, which was happening on the river bank as vivid pictures. Crimson loosestrife appeared first, shaking tangled locks, looking from the edge into the mirror of the river and smiling at its reflection. Then willow-herb was not slow to follow, tender and wistful, like a sunset cloud. Comfrey, the white hand-in-hand with the scarlet, crept along. At last one morning the shy and humble dog-rose stepped quietly on the stage, and everyone knew, as if the chords of the string orchestra announced it, turning into a gavotte, that June was finally there. One more character was awaited on stage – the shepherd-boy who will frolic with the nymphs, the knight for whom the ladies waited at the window, the prince who will wake with a kiss the sleeping princess – the summer. And when meadow-sweet, joyful and debonair, dressed in the odorous cream jerkin, took its place, then everything was ready on stage so the summer play could begin.]

Translation by V. Reznik (1992)

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[How wonderful the past seems when you find time to look back at it! How numerous, how colourful its pictures are! Over the mantelpiece the long-gone summer comes to life: purple loosestrife again is looking at its reflection in the water, admiring its fanciful hairstyle, after it flowers of ivan-chai[818] come to mind, tender and sad, like clouds before sunset. Comfrey – lilac with white – is climbing to take the rightful place. At last dog-rose starts to blossom, hesitantly

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[818] Ivan-chai is a Russian name of willow-herb. This plant is used in Russia as tea substitute – koporskii chai.

and so diffidently, as if string-music, having lost its way in majestic chords, blossoms into a gavotte, celebrating the beginning of June. The only one who is missing is the shepherd-boy, the knight or the prince who would wake with a kiss the sleeping beauty – the summer. And now meadow-sweet appears – a sweet scented new flower in amber jerkin – and then the long-awaited festivity begins.]

Translation by M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993)

The passage is omitted.

Translation by L. Iakhnin (2002)

. (p. 66–67)

[Oh, when one remembers, those were the happy days! Painted with the brightest colours, as if it were a painting. These lively colourful pictures on the summer river were changing, one after another. Here appears crimson loosestrife, lowering its plaits to the water and looking into it as if it was a mirror. And here is ivan-chai, tender and wistful, like a small pink sunset cloud. After these, comfrey, a white and pink flower, followed. At last, one beautiful morning the diffident and always late dog-rose appeared. And everyone knows that July came into its own right accompanied by the cheerful loud music of a summer chorus. And the festival of flowers has begun. That one is like the shepherd-boy, frolicking with shepherd-girls. This one looks like the knight among the ladies in sumptuous clothes. And that one, no doubt, is the fairy-tale prince who has woken with a kiss the sleeping beauty called the summer. But as soon as tender meadow-sweet appeared, dressed in a sweet-scented amber frock, the festival kindled with new vigour.]

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[How abundant and full of life was every chapter of their memories! Thousands of splendid colourful pictures were brought back to the listeners. As if the river bank was being prepared for the theatrical performance and the characters were stepping one after another in a solemn procession. First appeared purple loosestrife, swaying its exuberant tangled locks over the edge of the mirror from which a laughing reflection was looking back. Then walked ivan-chai, tender and wistful, like a pink sunset cloud. Purple comfrey, hand-in-hand with the white, crept along trying to take its place in the captured space. And then one beautiful morning the diffident and late blossoming wild rose stepped on the stage, and everyone knew, as if the orchestra heralded it with majestic chords then strayed into a gavotte, that June had finally arrived. It was expected that the new members of this lovely company would soon appear: the shepherd-boy, waiting for the nymph; the knight for whom the maidens were waiting by the window; the prince whose kiss would bring life and love to the sleeping summer. And now meadow-sweet, debonair and odorous, in amber attire, having graciously fluttered out onto the stage, took its place, and the play began this very minute.]

Example 3.

Mole reached down a lantern from a nail on the wall and lit it, and the Rat, looking round him, saw that they were in a sort of fore-court. A garden-seat stood on one side of the door, and on the other a roller […]. On the walls hung

wire baskets with ferns in them, alternating with brackets carrying plaster statuary—Garibaldi, and the infant Samuel, and Queen Victoria, and other heroes of modern Italy. Down on one side of the fore-court ran a skittle-alley, with benches along it and little wooden tables marked with rings that hinted at beer-mugs. In the middle was a small round pond containing gold-fish and surrounded by a cockle-shell border. Out of the centre of the pond rose a fanciful erection clothed in more cockle-shells and topped by a large silvered glass ball that reflected everything all wrong and had a very pleasing effect. (pp. 53–54)

Translation by I. Tokmakova (1988)

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. (p. 140–141)

[Mole took down a lantern from a nail and lit it. Uncle Ret saw that they were in a front yard. A garden bench stood to the right of the door, a lawn-mower to the left. […] On the walls hung wire baskets with ferns growing in them, alternated with small shelves with plaster statuettes standing on them. On one side of the front yard ran a skittle-alley, along it stood benches and little wooden tables with round coasters which hinted that guests were treated to beer here. In the middle was a small pond with a shell border in which gold-fish swam. Out of the centre of the pond rose a fanciful construction, also decorated with shells, topped by a large silver glass ball that reflected everything in a distorted way and had a pleasing effect.]

Translation by V. Reznik (1992)

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. (pp. 71–72)

[Mole took down a lamp from a nail, lit it, and Krys, looking round properly, realised that in this case this area served as a front garden. A garden bench stood on one side of the door, and a roller next to it […] On the walls in a chessboard order, were alternated pots with fern wrapped in foil; small shelves bent under heavy sculptured figures of Garibaldi, the infant Samuel, Queen Victoria and other plaster heroes of modern Italy. In the far corner ran a skittle-alley, with benches along it and little wooden tables marked by the sticky rings from beer mugs. In the middle, a small pond stood out, ringed with cobblestones containing a gold-fish and a fountain. Out of the centre of the pond rose a fanciful construction, also decorated with cobblestones and topped by a mirror ball. This ball, reflecting everything in a very nonsensical way, created a pleasant impression.]

Translation by M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993)

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. (pp. 62–63)

[Mole took down an oil lamp from a nail, lit it. Krys looked round. There by the door stood brooms and rakes. […]. they went to the closed yard where on the walls hung baskets with fern leaves, and in the alcoves stood plaster statuettes of Count Cagliostro, Guiseppe Garibaldi, Queen Victoria and other heroes of modern Spain. Part of the small yard was taken by little wooden tables stained all over with rings that hinted at beer mugs. In the middle shone a small round pond with a shell border. Out of the water rose a fanciful pyramid, also decorated with shells and topped by a large silver glass ball. The ball distorted everything that was reflected in it, and it was very amusing.]

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Translation by L. Iakhnin (2002)

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,   . (pp. 139–140)

[Mole took a lantern, hung on the wall, and lit it. Having looked around, Kryssi realised that they were in a front yard. A garden bench stood on one side of the door, and a small roller on the other. […] On the walls hung wire baskets with ferns growing in them. Alternating with these, dominated plaster sculptures of famous heroes, princes and even Queen Victoria. In one corner of the small yard ran a long skittle-alley, along it on both sides stood benches and little wooden tables with coasters for beer mugs. In the middle of the small yard was a small round pond with a shell border in which gold-fish swam. Out of the centre of the pond rose a fanciful column with shells scattered around it. On top shone a silver glass ball that reflected everything in a false mirror way, and it looked rather amusing.]

Translation by Lunin (2011)

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,   . (p. 93)

[Having taken down a lantern from a nail, Mole lit it, and Ret, having looked around, realised that they were in a small yard. A garden bench stood on

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one side of the door, and a small roller on the other. […] On the walls hung wire baskets with ferns and shelves carrying plaster statuettes of Garibaldi, the infant Samuel, Queen Victoria and other heroes of modern Italy. In the small yard ran a skittle-alley with benches and there were little wooden tables with dark rings, probably marked by beer mugs. In the middle of the small yard was a small round pond with a shell border. In the pond gold-fish swam. Out of its centre rose a fanciful construction decorated with bigger shells and topped by a large silver glass ball that distorted everything around in a an amusing way.]

Example 4.

'there is nothing – absolutely nothing – half so much worth doing as simply messing about in boats' (p. 7).

Translation by I. Tokmakova (1988)

'   ,   ,
            –   –   ' [there is nothing half so much worth doing as simply – simply – being busy with a boat] (p. 14).

Translation by V. Reznik (1992)

'   ,
                    ' [there is absolutely nothing half so much worth doing as simply going boating] (. 5).

Translation by M. Iasnov and A. Kolotov (1993)

'   ,
        ' [there is nothing in the world half so much comparable to boating] (p. 8).

Translation by L. Iakhnin (2002)

'   ,   ,   ,
            -   ' [there is absolutely nothing worth doing as simply idling around in a boat] (p. 15).

Translation by V. Lunin (2011)

'   ,
                                                !' [Nothins, absolutely nothing can be compared to the delightful feeling of lazing away in a boat!] (p. 14)

Appendix 5 (continued)

2. Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden* (1910)

Example 1.

After they had left the station, they had driven through a tiny village […] Then they were on the highroad and she saw hedges and trees.

The carriage lamps shed a yellow light on a rough-looking road which seemed to be cut through bushes and low-growing things which ended in the great expanse of dark apparently spread out before and around them. A wind was rising and making a singular, wild, low, rushing sound. (p. 18)

Translation by   . Repina (1914):

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. (pp. 219–220)

[Having driven away from the station, they passed through a tiny village […] Then they drove onto the highroad, and Mary saw fences and trees…

The carriage lamps shed a yellow light on a stony road, which seemed to be cut through bushes and some low-growing plants; the vast dark expanse was stretched ahead of them and behind them. The rising wind was making some quiet, strange, wild, gusty sound.]

Translation by R. Rubinova (1914):

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[…]   ,   ,   ,

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. (pp. 28–29)

[When they drove off the station, they passed through a small village, […] and, finally, they drove into the highroad, where Mary could see trees and fences only…

The carriage lamps shed a yellow light on a rough road, which seemed to run between bushes and low-growing plants, going away to the immense dark expanse surrounding them all around. A wind was rising, in its wild howl one could hear strange low rustling sounds.]

Translation by Irina Senderikhina (1992):

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. . (pp. 13–14)

[Having left the station, they found themselves in a tiny village […] Then they drove into the road, and Mary saw trees and hedges…

The carriage lamps cast a yellow light on a road full of potholes, as if it was cut through bushes and some low-growing plants, disappearing somewhere faraway in darkness. The wind was making a strange, quiet and abrupt sound.]

Translation by Nina Demurova (1996):

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. (pp. 23, 26)

[Having left the station behind them, they passed through a tiny village […] Then the road started – Mary saw hedges and trees…

The yellow light of the lamps fell on a road full of potholes, going through bushes and some low-growing plants, and blackness was everywhere and faraway. A wind rose, one could hear a singular, piercing and wild note in its sounds.]

Example 2.

Dickon knew all the flowers by their country names and knew exactly which ones were already growing in the secret garden.

"I couldna' say that there name," he said, pointing to one under which was written "Aquilegia," "but us calls that a columbine, an' that there one it's a snapdragon and they both grow wild in hedges, but these is garden ones an' they're bigger an' grander. There's some big clumps o' columbine in th' garden. They'll look like a bed o' blue an' white butterflies flutterin' when they're out." (p. 144)

Translation by . Repina (1914):

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     –   , –   ,
          ,   : «Aquilegia», –
«   »,   –   ,   ,
              .   .
                    ,   . (p. 381)

[…Dickon knew all the flowers by their local names and knew exactly which ones were already in bloom in the secret garden.

"I don't know this name," he said, pointing at the picture of a flower under which was written 'Aquilegia', "our folk call it 'the doves', and this one is a hemp nettle, they both grow wild along fences, but the garden ones are bigger and more beautiful. There are a few big bushes of 'the doves' in this garden. When they are blooming, they are like fluttering white and blue butterflies."]

Translation by R. Rubinova (1914):

                    «   »   ,
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     –   , –   ,
          ,   «Aquilegia», –
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          . (p. 233)

[Dickon knew all the flowers by their country names and he knew exactly which ones were growing in their secret garden.

"I can't utter this name," he said pointing at a picture under which was written 'Aquilegia', "but our folk call these flowers 'the doves', and these ones are called hemp nettles, and they grow along fences; only those that grow in

gardens are bigger and more beautiful. There are big flower-beds of 'the doves' in the garden; when they blossom they look like white and blue moths."]

Translation by Irina Senderikhina (1992):

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                              .   .
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                              -                        . (p. 120)

[…and Dickon knew all the flowers by their local names, he knew if they were in the garden.

"I did not know that they are called this way," he pointed at the picture near which was written 'Aquilegia', "but our folk call it a columbine. And these ones are snap dragons, they grow in our place along fences. But these garden ones are bigger and grander. There are a few big bushes of columbines in the garden. When they blossom, they will look like white and blue butterflies."]

Translation by Nina Demurova (1996):

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                «   », —   .
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                                                              . (p. 184)

[…Dickon knew how the local folk call different flowers, and he could precisely tell which were already out in the garden.

"I don't know this name," he said pointing at the flower under which was written 'aquilegia', "but our folk call it a columbine. And this one if a snap dragon, they both grow wild, lots of them grow on hedges in our place. But these are garden ones, their flowers are bigger and brighter. There are lots of columbines in our garden. When they blossom, it seems that they are like butterflies, blue and white, sitting on a flower-bed and fluttering their wings."]

Example 3.

Iris and white lilies rose out of the grass in sheaves, and the green alcoves filled themselves with amazing armies of the blue and white flower lances of tall delphiniums or columbines or campanulas. (p. 167)

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<u>Translation by . Repina (1914):</u>

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. (p. 408)

[The whole sheaves of irises and white lilies rose out of the grass, and the green alcoves filled themselves with whole armies of blue and white delphiniums and bluebells.]

<u>Translation by R. Rubinova (1914):</u>

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(pp. 272–273)

[Irises and white lilies rose out of the grass in whole sheaves, and green alcoves were full of blue and white bluebells and 'doves'.]

<u>Translation by Irina Senderikhina (1992):</u>

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,   . (p. 138)

[Irises and white lilies in whole sheaves rose out of the grass. Green alcoves were filled with tall blue and white thickets of delphiniums, aquilegias and campanulas.]

<u>Translation by Nina Demurova (1996):</u>

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,   ,   . (p. 210)

[Straight lines of irises and white lilies rose out of the grass, and in green alcoves stood like pointed lances white and blue delphiniums, columbines, bluebellls.]

Example 4.

The low wall was one of the prettiest things in Yorkshire because he had tucked moorland foxglove and ferns and rock-cress and hedgerow flowers into every crevice until only here and there glimpses of the stones were to be seen. (p. 175)

Translation by . Repina (1914):

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. (p. 415)

[The low fence was one of the most beautiful in Yorkshire, because Dickon had tucked foxglove, ferns and different plants, growing on fences, into every crevice, so that the stones were hardly seen between them.]

Translation by R. Rubinova (1914):

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. (p. 289)

[The fence was particularly beautiful, because in crevices between the stones grew different flowers and ferns and only here and there the stones were seen.]

Translation by Irina Senderikhina (1992):

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. (p. 146)

[The low wall around the vegetable garden was probably the most beautiful in Yorkshire, because into every crevice he planted wild foxglove, ferns, creepers, so that the stones were hardly seen.]

Translation by Nina Demurova (1996):

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! (p. 221)

[The new stone wall was very beautiful – into crevices between the stones Dickon planted foxglove, ferns and other wild flowers which were covering the wall almost entirely. There was no better fence in the whole of Yorkshire than this one!]

Appendix 5 (continued)

3. Edith Nesbit, *The Railway Children* (published in 1906)

Example 1.

They were just ordinary suburban children, and they lived with their Father and Mother in an ordinary red-brick-fronted villa, with coloured glass in the front door, a tiled passage that was called a hall, a bath-room with hot and cold water, electric bells, French windows, and a good deal of white paint, and 'every modern convenience', as the house-agents say. […]

These three lucky children always had everything they needed: pretty clothes, good fires, a lovely nursery with heaps of toys, and a Mother Goose wall-paper. They had a kind and merry nursemaid… (p. 11–12).

Translation by A. Sharapova (2010)

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[They were just children from the suburbs. They lived with their father and mother in a villa: red-brick facade, coloured glass in the front door, a hall, a bathroom with hot and cold water, electric bells, casement windows, a good deal of white colour, and everything that is called modern convenience by the bureaucrats dealing with housing matters. […]

These three had everything that can be wished for: pretty clothes, all sorts of things of good quality, a lovely nursery with heaps of toys and a wall-paper featuring scenes from a life of Mother Goose. (*Mother Goose is a character from English and American fairy tales) They also had a nanny, a kind and merry woman…] (pp. 5–6)

Translation by A. Ivanov and A. Ustinova (2015)

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[Ordinary children from the suburbs, they lived with their father and mother in an ordinary red-brick-fronted townhouse, with a stained-glass window, a tiled floor in the hall, electric bells, a bathroom with hot and cold water, French windows from the floor to the ceiling, a good deal of white paint, and all other modern conveniences, as the agents selling these houses describe them. […]

These lucky children had everything one could ever dream of: pretty clothes; a warm and cosy house; a splendid nursery full of various toys and covered with merry wall-paper featuring Mother Goose; a kind and cheerful nanny…] (pp. 7–8)

Example 2.

Mother came down one morning to breakfast, […] and said, '[…] We're going to leave this house, and go and live in the country. Such a ducky dear little white house…' (p. 20)

The cart went on along by the garden wall, and round to the back of the house, and here it clattered into a cobble-stoned yard and stopped at the back door. (p. 23)

The roof of the back kitchen sloped down quite low. It was made of thatch and it had moss on it, and [flowers]. (p. 27)

They went round the house and round the house. The yard occupied the back, and across it were stables and outbuildings. (p. 28)

Translation by A. Sharapova (2010)

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[Then mother came down to the sitting room. […]
– […] We are not going to live in this house anymore. We are moving to the country. We will have a small house there. A cosy, white little house, like a dovecote.] (p. 17)

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[The cart went around the wall and came to the back of the house. Then it clattered into a cobble-stoned yard and stopped at the back door.] (p. 21)

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[The roof of the back kitchen sloped down to the ground. It was a thatched roof, and moss and flowers appeared through it.] (p. 27)

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[They went around the house twice. The back yard had sheds and other outbuildings.] (p.28)

Translation by A. Ivanov and A. Ustinova (2015)

[…]   :

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...

[Mother came down to breakfast on the third morning […] and announced:
– […] We are going to leave this house and live out of town. In a small pretty white little house…] (pp. 24–25)

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[Having passed the garden wall, the cart turned to the house. Its wheels rattled on a cobble-stoned yard, and the cart driver stopped at the back door.] (p. 29)

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[The slope of the reed roof over the kitchen, sloping down abruptly and almost touching the ground, was densely covered with moss [and flowers].] (p. 39)

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[They walked around the house and found themselves in the back yard, and behind it they found stables and other outbuildings.] (p. 40)

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