

## “Once, Twice and Again!” Kipling’s Works in the Russian Twentieth Century Retranslations

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And a wolf stole back, and a wolf stole back  
To carry the word to the waiting pack,  
And we sought and we found and we bayed on his track  
Once, twice and again!  
Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Book*

### Introduction

Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Rudyard Kipling and his works attracted the attention of the Russian readership despite social change, political disapproval of Kipling, and the Soviet ban on most of the writings of the “bard of imperialism” in the 1930–70s. In the context of the political and social constraints, the Russian readership, however, had good access to some parts of *The Jungle Book* and a certain degree of access to Kipling’s poetry. This article will dwell upon two co-existing tendencies displayed by retranslations of the works by one and the same author (Kipling) in the same cultural and temporal location (Russia, 20<sup>th</sup> century). The first tendency is demonstrated by the retranslations of *The Jungle Book*; it consists in the change of the target audience and the constant growth of the gap between the original and every subsequent retranslation. As we shall see, the angle of divergence of retranslations from the original text was such that retranslations started to be perceived as inborn cultural elements, which gave grounds to further reinterpretations. The other tendency is demonstrated by the retranslations of Kipling’s poetry, which were affected by the expectations of the target audience, political and social conditions in the country, as well as the protest moods which some translators were guided by. In Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva’s words, “[r]etranslations may have more to do with the needs and attitudes within the receiving system than any inherent characteristics of the source text which supposedly makes it ‘prone to’ retranslations” (Susam-Sarajeva 138). Such was the case of Kipling’s poetry retranslations: the Russian readership had an emotional demand for Kipling’s poetry, and the Russian culture possessed an unoccupied slot to assimilate this poetry as part of its own. The concept of a cultural “slot” that accelerates the appropriation of works of literature was suggested by a Russian literary critic and translator Viktor Toporov who translated, among others, a considerable number of Kipling’s poems. Toporov insisted that “to create something of interest in translation one has to make sure that there is an unoccupied place for it in the Russian treasury of poetry” (Toporov 184). The interest towards Kipling in Russia was, indeed, strong; it went far beyond fascination, as Kipling’s works got modified and implanted in the Russian culture.

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar highlights the ability of retranslations to introduce new interpretations of source texts, “sometimes addressing a different readership or creating a new readership altogether” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 235). In the case of Kipling, the degree of cultural appropriation of his works in Russia was such that it consisted not only in the adoption of images and the effacement of the original sources, but also in the emotional claim for Kipling and the attempts to assign him to Russian culture. Russian editors, anthologists, and critics of the twentieth century regularly pointed out the phenomenon of “the Russian Kipling,” whose role in Russian culture and whose perception by the Russian readership was different, if not contradictory, to those in the West (Betaki 10; Dymshits 6, 17-23; Witkowsky 9-11).<sup>1</sup> In 1994, critic and Kipling’s translator Valerii Dymshits called Kipling “a Russian poet... much more a Russian than an English poet” (Dymshits 17). This cultural claim on Kipling owes its existence to the century-long history of retranslations of his works, especially of *The Jungle Book*, which was destined to become a survivor of the ban on Kipling, and of Kipling’s poetry, much affected by the ban, but absorbed and eventually appropriated by the Russian culture of the twentieth century.

### **The Metamorphoses of *The Jungle Book***

The history of *The Jungle Book* retranslations in the Russian Empire and later in the Soviet Union can be described as a story of recycling of existing translations. As we shall see, some translations were recycled by the way of text abridgement and the target audience shift (Zaimovskii’s translation made before the revolution turning into a version for children in the Soviet Russia). Other translations later came to be mixed and matched, *The Jungle Book* editions taking shape of compilations of Kipling’s stories by different translators, each story provided with the best existing translation in the opinion of the editor for the volume.

Kaisa Koskinen and Outi Paloposki rightfully call recycling a feature of factory translation (Koskinen and Paloposki “Retranslations” 26). When Kipling’s translations first appeared in the Russian Empire, its two biggest cities—St. Petersburg and Moscow—had a well-developed publishing industry. Russian publishers eagerly engaged in reprinting existing translations in new formats driven by their cost-effectiveness. The initial orientation of the translations of *The Jungle Book* towards the child readership guaranteed sales: exciting books of exotic content for children invariably found new buyers. The advent of the Soviet system, the subsequent nationalization of publishing houses, and the orientation of literature towards educational purposes increased the demand in high-quality books for children. The overly use of *The Jungle Book* in the Soviet Union as a book for children eventually resulted in its absolute domination over other works by Kipling. Regular re-editions of different combinations of stories and their translations also contributed to the perception of Kipling as an author of only one big book, whilst other works by Kipling were not available, and the broader context of Kipling’s literary legacy therefore remained obscure to the new generations of Russian readers. Retranslations and re-editions of

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<sup>1</sup> All translations of quotes from Russian sources including literal translations of poetry are mine. – N.K.

*The Jungle Book* were preconditioned by a set of factors, including the political and social context, readability standards, and the governing publishing policy (Gambier 65-66). Quite notably, the same factors guided the behaviour of the readership and its willingness to accept retranslations circulated at given historical periods.

As registered by the Russian National Library<sup>2</sup> of St. Petersburg, the first publication of a work by Kipling in Russia took place in 1893, when his story “In Flood Time” appeared in a collection of short stories by contemporary writers (Kipling “V razlive”). At present time, the RNB holds 144 titles by Kipling published before the 1917 October Socialist revolution. Out of these 144 titles, sixteen are included in collections of different writers and 128 are volumes by Kipling only.<sup>3</sup> Out of these 128 editions, one third is related to *The Jungle Book* (39 titles), within which only fourteen editions in six different translations are complete or almost complete texts published under the titles “Jungle” or “The Jungle Book.” This means that two-thirds (25 editions) of the publications related to *The Jungle Book* were either abridged or adopted.

128 editions of Kipling’s works published before the revolution also include eighteen editions of *Captains Courageous*, nine editions of different collections entitled “fairy-tales,” and no less than eight<sup>4</sup> collections of short stories published for children or in children’s series. Thus, the share of children’s books in the total number of Kipling’s editions made up almost half: 60 out of 128. At the same time, *The Light That Failed* was published five times (albeit in three different translations), *The Naulahka* – also five times, and *Kim* – only twice. This proportion contributed to the gradual shift in the readership’s perception of Kipling as a writer for children and youth. The preponderance of children-oriented retranslations from *The Jungle Book* was also in line with the general tendency of publishers.

Quite notably, *The Jungle Book* was seldom published in pre-revolutionary Russia under its original title. The titles the book went by included such wordings as “Jungle,” “Man-Wolf,” or “Indian Stories.” It was regularly published in parts by two or three stories together, or even as single-story editions, hence the titles, “Wolves’ nursling (From *The Jungle Book*),” “The adventures of the little animal Rikki-Tikki,” and “Little Toomai.” These titles are also indicative of the books’ orientation towards children.

The first two translations of *The Jungle Book* appeared in 1895. One of them was published by Aleksandra Rozhdestvenskaia in the journal *Detskoe chtenie* [Children’s Reading] under the title

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<sup>2</sup> Henceforth: RNB

<sup>3</sup> The statistics listed in the article were collected on the basis of the catalogues of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation [www.nlr.ru/](http://www.nlr.ru/). The Russian National Library possesses one of the biggest collections of literature published in the Russian language; however, I am aware of the fact that some titles could be missing from its collection despite the Library’s practiced right of the first copy. This is why in listing numbers and statistics here, I regularly resort to phrases like “no less than,” “the average of,” or “at least,” thus admitting that the quoted data remain subject to further corrections.

<sup>4</sup> Judging by their content, there are more than eight; however, I hereby count only those editions that clearly indicate their orientation towards children or that are published by a children’s publisher.

“Jungle;” the other was the translation by Mariia Korsh published as a separate book under the title “Stories from the Life of Children and Animals in India” (Kipling “Dzhungli;” Kipling *Rasskazy iz zhizni*). Both translations targeted children. Rozhdestvenskaia’s translation was published in a children’s periodical, hence the incompleteness of the translation and the focus on purely “jungle” stories: “Mowgli’s Brothers” and “Tiger! Tiger!” in 1895 and “How Fear Came,” “Letting in the Jungle,” and “The Spring Running” in 1896. The title of “How Fear Came” was altered into “Elephant Hathi’s Story”—clearly so as not to alarm the young readers. Despite the changes made in order to cater for the expectations of children and their parents, Rozhdestvenskaia’s translation preserved the stylistic features of the original including all the verse. In the translation, the stories were preceded by poetic epigraphs, like in the original; the July edition of 1895 also contained the complete translation of “Mowgli’s Song that he Sang on the Council Rock when he Danced on Shere Khan’s Hide,” in which even the translation of a lengthy title was rendered completely. In general, Rozhdestvenskaia’s translation gives the impression of a long-term project, which the translator tested out in a children’s journal while planning to publish it as a separate edition.

Mariia Korsh’s translation published in the same year demonstrated a different approach to rendering *The Jungle Book* (Kipling *Rasskazy iz zhizni*). The book was children-oriented: the title and the brightly-colored, elaborately painted cover clearly targeted young readers. The translation was an abridged adaptation of *The First Jungle Book*; all the poetry was omitted, the sequence of stories was confused, new pieces were added: thus, the story “Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick” was located between “Rikki-Tikki-Tavi” and “The White Seal,” which, in its turn, ended the volume. This liberal rendering of *The Jungle Book* marked the beginning of the domesticating tendency in its translation which we shall study here.

It was also the translations by Rozhdestvenskaia and Korsh that introduced an important change in the text that would become canonical in the Russian translations: it was the transformation of Bagheera from male into female. This metamorphosis was clearly made for the sake of simplification of the text for the new target audience. Indeed, full forms of Russian male names mainly end in a consonant and female—in a vowel, which formally makes the name *Bagheera* sound like a female name. However, the Russian language has exceptions to this general tendency, possessing several full male names ending in ‘a’ and referring to the first grammatical declension: Nikita, Danila, Savva, Gavrila. Thus, the proper name alone could not be a sufficient reason for the gender change. The decisive factor in this case was the combination of the feminine-sounding proper name with the name of the species, namely, panther, which is also feminine in the Russian language. The reduplication of the female form—*pantera Bagira*—is so misleading for a Russian speaker that the child readers were spared the effort and provided with a modification. This substitution taken alone is not as surprising as the fact of its canonization in the subsequent retranslations and even screen versions of *The Jungle Book* made at different times and for target audiences of different ages. The sole attempt to infringe on the canonicity of Bagheera’s image in the Russian culture was the decision of the recording studio Pifagor to give

Bagheera a male voice-over. This happened in 2007 when the 1967 Disney animation of *The Jungle Book* was officially presented to the Russian video market.

It was in the very beginning of the twentieth century that the first two translations of *The Jungle Book* were followed by the retranslation by Varvara Koshevich. Her translation was published in three small books, each including two or three stories, which came out in 1901 and 1902 (Kipling 1901, 1902, 1902). Koshevich's translation also targeted children, albeit the methodology applied by the translator was different. Like Rozhdestvenskaia, Koshevich preserved and rendered all the original verse; at the same time, she chose the technique of text simplification and adjustment to the demands of the age-restricted readership. A considerable number of cultural realia were omitted in Koshevich's translation alongside with some proper names which were also either omitted or changed beyond recognition. Thus, Baloo appeared in Koshevich's translation under the name *Mishka*, which is a word for a bear in the Russian children's language; it is also used as a diminutive of the proper name *Mikhail* in colloquial speech and functions as the most common name for bears in fairy-tales. Bagheera got renamed as *Chernukha*, a name artificially derived from the Russian adjective *chernyi* (=black). The book also had attractive illustrations including a scary albeit zoologically ludicrous picture of a tiger.

The first complete translation of *The Jungle Book*, which preserved the style, the sequence of chapters, the verse, and the target readership of the original, was the 1908 translation by Nadezhda Giliarovskaia (Kipling *Dzhungli: Rasskazy*). The two-volume edition entitled *The Jungle: Stories* contained an almost complete unabridged translation. *The First Jungle Book* in Giliarovskaia's translation was missing the story "Her Majesty's Servants," which can be explained by the fact that it was not always included in all printings of the original standard edition either.

The 1909 translation of *The Jungle Book* by Avgusta Gretman returned *The Jungle Book* to the domain of children's literature (Kipling *Dzhungli. Ocherki i rasskazy*). The book entitled *The jungle. Sketches and Stories from Indian Nature* also abounded in attractive illustrations. Gretman's translation included both *The First* and *The Second Jungle Book*; all the verse, however, was removed, which also catered to the expectations of younger readers.

In 1911, a complete translation of *The First Jungle Book* was presented by Semion Zaimovskii (Kipling *Kniga dzhunglei: Rasskazy*). Quite strikingly, this was the first time that a male translator joined the list of *The Jungle Book* translators since it had first been introduced into the Russian language sixteen years earlier. The intention of the translator was clearly in line with the publisher's plan: the book was published in pocket format with minimal graphic effects which clearly spoke to its orientation towards grown-up intellectuals who would want to carry the book around during the day. This was also the first time the title of Kipling's work was rendered directly—it was published under the title *The Jungle Book* [*Kniga dzhunglei*].



A new children-oriented translation—this time by translator Mariia Blagoveshchenskaia—came out in 1913; the orientation of the retranslation towards children was indicated on the cover and in the preface (Kipling *Dzhungli: Rasskazy dlia detei*). The version did not preserve the original chapter division, poetry, or sequence of events. This translation was followed by the translation of *The First Jungle Book* made by a famous translator and children writer Evgeniia Chistiakova-Ver in Petrograd in 1915 (Kipling *Kniga dzhunglei*). This translation was destined to enjoy a long life. Chistiakova-Ver's translation became known for a naturalness of expression which ensured a good dynamics of the narration comparable to that of the original. The omission of poetic pieces, however, simplified the text, thus making it more fit for children.

The revolution of 1917 created new conditions for revisions of existing translations and their new editions, as the main function of literature came to be seen as educational. Thus, in 1918 writer and literary activist Maksim Gor'kii founded the World Literature Publishing House which was supposed to fulfill the ambitious plan of translating the entire world literature classics into the Russian language. "The Russian nation in its mass," wrote Gor'kii in 1919, "must know the historical, sociological, and psychological characteristics of those nations, with which it is now striving towards the construction of the new forms of social life" (Gorkii 66). Special attention in the Soviet Union was given to the education of children and youth, and in this regard Kipling's works were especially attractive for publishers: they had already been carefully selected, frequently translated and duly adopted for children in tsarist times, and therefore were ready for use under new social circumstances.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Kipling's works were regularly used for children and youth editions. The RNB possesses twenty-eight editions based on *Todd's Amendment* and *Just So Stories* in different combinations published between 1918 and 1930. Another twenty-one editions were based on *The Jungle Book*, and all of them were oriented towards children. They came out as single-story books entitled *Rikki-Tikki-Tavi*, *The White Seal*, or *Kotuko*, or as short stories collections entitled *Jungle* or *Man-Wolf*. An important title under which the editions based on *The Jungle Book* came out was *Mongli*. It is notable that this title seems to have been first used not by a translator, but by a playwright: the play entitled *Mongli* for children theatres in five acts was published in 1923 by Vladimir Volkenshtein (Volkenshtein). Ironically, the first time this title was used for a translation was the 1926 illustrated abridged translation by Zaimovskii—the translator who had presented the readership with the most complete and adult-oriented version of *The Jungle Book* fifteen years earlier (Kipling *Mangli: Iz "Knigi dzhunglei"*). No less than twenty-two editions appeared under the title *Mongli* between 1926 and 1976, which makes it one in every three editions based on *The Jungle Book*.

The only complete text of *The Jungle Book* on the RNB catalogue published between 1918 and 1991 is *The First Jungle Book* edition in the translation of Mikhail Vasil'ev, which came out in Prague in 1921 and did not see re-editions (Kipling *Pervaiia*). Therefore, already in the 1920s we are witnessing a tremendous decline in the publications of "grown-up" editions of Kipling's

works in the Soviet Union. For example, *Captains Courageous* appeared in Soviet print five times between 1918 and 1930 (as compared to eighteen times between 1897 and 1916). Between 1918 and 1930, *The Light That Failed* was published three times, *Stalky and Co*—only once, and *Kim* was not published a single time until 1990. This tendency increased with the advent of the 1930s, at the turn of which all private publishers were either forcefully closed or taken over by the state. State publishers continued to publish Kipling's tales for children and abridged excerpts from *The Jungle Book*. The only "grown-up" editions of Kipling that appeared between 1931 and 1941 were a 1936 volume of prose, a 1936 volume of selected poetry, and a 1937 edition of *The Light That Failed*, all of which were published in Leningrad (former St. Petersburg) (Kipling *Rasskazy; Izbrannye stikhi; Svet*). This dramatic decline took place in the light of a series of anti-Kipling articles which appeared in the 1930s in several widely circulated literary editions.

One of the first attacks on Kipling was launched by critic Teodor Levit in his chapter "Kipling" in a solid multi-volume edition of *Literary encyclopedia* in 1931, in which he characterized Kipling as a racially biased colonist. Levit wrote:

The ideological baggage of Kipling is the diehard imperialistic conservatism, racial pride, Anglo-Saxon selectiveness. The political position of Kipling—the destiny of the Empire is above all, and anyone infringing on its integrity is a criminal. Hence the hatred for the possible claimers for India—the tsarist Russia (novel *Kim*, "The Truce of the Bear," story "The Man Who Was"), hence the frenzy about the Germans during and after the world war (202).

It is notable that all the works mentioned by Levit would form the core of Kipling's most banned titles in the Soviet Union. Indeed, all three are related to Russia and the image of the Russians in the west. Kipling's undisguised dislike of the Russians, Russia, and later of the Soviet Union became the starting point for the official resentment of him and his works. Kipling, however, had made his views known long before the Soviet Union came into being. As early as 1889, Kipling started his story "The Man Who Was" with an unflattering description of the Russian person, charming "as an Oriental" but who is, in fact, "a racial anomaly extremely difficult to handle" (Kipling *Selected* 137).

The subsequent Soviet critique of Kipling contributed to the disfavor of Kipling in the Soviet Union. A special role in this regard was played by the influential Soviet literary critic Rashel' Miller-Budnitskaia who prefaced the 1936 volume of Kipling's poetry edited in Leningrad by a famous translator and critic, Valentin Stenich. The traditional Soviet rhetoric of the 1930s required a substantial amount of criticism in both journal and book prefaces in order to ensure objectivity and to engage the readers in critical thinking. The preface by Miller-Budnitskaia, however, went beyond traditional criticism, turning it into sheer slander. Over twenty-five pages, Miller-Budnitskaia described Kipling's poetry as the "apotheosis of pillage, murder, violence, atrocity" and the legacy of Kipling in general—as that "bearing the seeds of

English fascism,” as the “complete, highly artistic incorporation of ideas and moods of our enemy” (Miller-Budnitskaia, 4, 9, 28). Such characteristics automatically placed Kipling on the list of unwanted writers.

Quite notably, 1936 was marked by another publication of Kipling’s works with a preface by Dmitrii Sviatopolk-Mirskii, who, unlike Miller-Budnitskaia, equipped the volume with very impartial characteristics of Kipling’s works, paying much attention to Kipling’s literary method and insisting that “Kipling’s imperialistic hero is no realistic generalization, but a lyrical theme” (Mirskii 17). As fate would have it, both Sviatopolk-Mirskii and Stenich were arrested at the end of the 1930s; Mirskii died in a labour camp, and Stenich was shot for counterrevolutionary activity.

The officially unpronounced but socially accepted ban on Kipling, thus gradually imposed in the 1930s, was broken a couple of times during World War II. The most striking in these publications was the engagement of Voenmorizdat—a publisher directly supervised by the Ministry of Defense—which published *Captains Courageous* in 1944, clearly in order to boost the morale of soldiers at the fronts (Kipling *Otvazhnye moreplavately*). *Captains Courageous* was published again in a school edition in 1948 by a civilian publisher (Kipling *Otvazhnye kapitany*), after which the next publication of the novel in translation took place only in the 1980s.

The post-war publications of Kipling were mainly reduced to variations on *The Jungle Book*. However, the 1950s were marked by a significant event, namely, the arrival of a new retranslation of *The Jungle Book* for children. It was entitled *Mowgli* and was made by the leading Soviet translator Nina Daruzes, who had by then gained her fame through her translations of *The Good Earth* and *The Mother* by Pearl Buck, *Autobiography* by Mark Twain, and *Martin Chuzhlevit* by Charles Dickens. Daruzes’s translation included only those pieces of *The Jungle Book* that were related directly to the story of Mowgli: “Mowgli’s Brothers,” “Kaa’s Hunting,” “Tiger! Tiger!” “How Fear Came,” “Letting in the Jungle,” “The King’s Ankus,” “Red Dogs,” and “The Spring Running” (Kipling *Maugli*). All poetry in the translation was omitted. The edition was equipped with drawings by a famous Soviet artist Vasilii Vatagin, who had illustrated the 1926 edition of *Mowgli* by Zaimovskii (Kipling *Maugli: Iz “Knigi dzhunglei”*). Daruzes’s highly readable text and Vatagin’s illustrations started a new epoch in the life of *The Jungle Book* in the Soviet Union which consisted of the further narrowing of focus and bringing Kipling’s work down to Mowgli stories and children’s reading, albeit exciting and highly memorable.

The popularity of “Mowgli” increased in 1967 – 1971 with the arrival of the eponymous animated feature-story (later known to the English-speaking audience as *Adventures of Mowgli*). It was filmed by Roman Davydov at Soyuzmultfilm, the main animation studio of the Soviet Union. The success of the series was such that it was soon transformed into a full screen feature film in 1973. Made by the best animators and voiced by the most popular actors of the time, the film became the source of numerous aphorisms, which remain alive till the present day. Among



the aphorisms from the film that are still frequently employed in everyday conversation are the exclamation of Tabaqui the Jackal, “And we shall go north and wait it through” (used in describing extreme cowardice), the dialog of Kaa and Bagheera, “They called me also “yellow fish,” was it not? – “Worm – worm – earth-worm”” (for undisguised provocations), and the remark “Good hunting” (employed in all sorts of contexts related to success from a good day’s work to a pleasant trip to a shopping mall). The film-inspired image of Wolf Akela became the symbol of the Izhevsk zoo in 2008, and Bagheera has remained a popular name for black female cats.

At this point, we can observe that, whereas Kipling’s works remained under a ban for forty years in the Soviet Union, the complete translations of *The Jungle Book* did not enjoy any publications for a longer period. The Prague edition of 1921 marked the beginning of a seventy-year-long gap: the next complete retranslation of *The Jungle Book* in the possession of the RNB is dated as late as 1991. That year saw two simultaneous publications of *The Jungle Book*—in a volume published in the city of Perm’ and in a five-volume collection of Kipling’s works published in Moscow (Kipling *Kim*, *Sobranie*). The multivolume edition made in the Russian capital relied on the complete translation of *The Jungle Book* by Chistiakova-Ver. This classical approach to rendering *The Jungle Book* was contested by the Perm’ edition, which presented the readers with a unique blend of old and new translations of *The Jungle Book*’s prose and poetry, thus bringing together the efforts of several generations of the best translators of the twentieth century: Semion Zaimovskii, Nina Daruzes, Kornei Chukovskii, Samuil Marshak, Irina Komarova, and Mikhail Iasnov. This approach to *The Jungle Book* has been practiced by publishers to the present day: thus, a beautiful gift-book edition with colorful illustrations by Robert Ingpen published in St. Petersburg in 2016 was also a compilation of different translations by Chukovskii, Chistiakova-Ver, Lunin, Daruzes, Chukovskii, Marshak, and Komarova (Kipling *Kniga džunglei*).

### **Kipling’s Poetry: The True Romance**

While *The Jungle Book* got gradually transformed into purely children’s literature and alongside *Just So Stories* became the sole survivor of literary restrictions on Kipling’s prose, Kipling’s poetry managed to find its way to the readers despite the gap in its Russian publications between 1936 and 1976. By the end of the 1930s, Kipling’s poetry had seen two editions in the Russian language. The first volume came out in Petrograd in 1922 and consisted of 22 Kipling poems translated by Ada Onoshkovich-Iatsyna (Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia*). This groundbreaking edition introduced the Russian readership to “Tomlinson,” “The Truce of the Bear,” “Danny Deever,” “Sappers,” “Boots,” and “The Mary Gloster.” This initial selection of poetry by Onoshkovich-Iatsyna worked towards the construction of an image of the poet different from that known and discussed in the west: a traveler, a nomad, and a romantic dreamer. This image remained alive till the end of the twentieth century. Thus, in 1998 critic and translator Evgenii Witkowsky described Kipling as the last romantic of the British Empire (Witkowsky 11).

The second volume of poetry—the aforementioned Stenich volume of 1936 prefaced by Miller-Budnitskaia—included almost all translations from the Onoshkovich-Iatsyna volume, as well as her new translations, like “The Glory of the Garden” and “Soldier an’ Sailor Too.” Among other translations included in the volume were “The Ballad of East and West” by Elizaveta Polonskaia, “The White Man’s Burden” by Mikhail Froman, and “If” by Mikhail Lozinskii. At two instances, Stenich included two translations of one poem: thus, “The Song of the Banjo” and “Mandalay” were given in translations by Polonskaia, who was an already recognized translator and person of letters, and by Mikhail Gutner, a young and daring literary specialist. These two poems and their translations also contributed to the further construction of the romantic image of Kipling’s poetry. Indeed, both “The Song of the Banjo” and “Mandalay” give an account of travels in distant countries across exotic landscapes and contain a note of nostalgia for the beauty of the world beyond the grayness of the home-land. This explains the Russian translators’ interest in these poems: several decades later, “Mandalay” was retranslated by Vera Potapova (Wilde and Kipling, 401), Isidor Gringol’ts (Kipling *Izbrannoe* 369-71), and Vasilii Betaki (Kipling *Stikhi* 43-45), and “The Song of the Banjo” by Andrei Sergeev (Wilde and Kipling, 349-351) and Betaki (Kipling *Stikhi* 23-27). This interest in retranslations and their regular re-editions (see, for instance, Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia* 1994 85-91, 101-105) was particularly notable given the considerable number of poetic works by Kipling which had not been translated by the 1980s.

After the 1936 volume edited by Stenich, Kipling’s poetry was difficult to access. As during my RNB catalogue search established, Stenich’s volume was not removed to the restricted area section, but was registered in the library in such a way that made it impossible to find and borrow. The next publication of Kipling’s poetry after 1936 was a 1976 edition of Kipling’s short stories and poems published in one volume with Oscar Wilde (Wilde and Kipling). This striking mismatch of authors was accounted for by the editor for the volume, Dmitrii Urnov, in his preface, entitled “The Rise and Fall of a Talent,” where he identified similarities between the lives and careers of Wilde and Kipling with amazing skill: both writers, in his view, shared the same epoch, social standing, publishers, and neo-romantic tendencies; both of them witnessed their glories wane (Urnov 1976). The publication of Wilde and Kipling side by side can only be explained through the ban on Kipling and the cautious attitude of publishers to Wilde whose works, however, enjoyed several substantial publications in the 1960s.

The 1976 volume included twenty-two short stories and fifty-four poems by Kipling in translations published in 1922 and 1936, as well as in first-time translations and fifteen retranslations of such Kipling’s poems as “The Ballad of the ‘Bolivar’” by Alev Ibragimov, “Tomlinson” by Asar Eppel, “Danny Deever,” “Tommy,” and “Fuzzy-Wuzzy” by Gringol’ts, “South Africa” by Witkowsky, “Cholera Camp” by Anatolii Sendyk, and “When the Earth’s Last Picture Is Painted” by Toporov. It also included new retranslations of “The Song of the Banjo” and “The White Man’s Burden” by Sergeev and “Mandalay” by Potapova. It was also in 1976 that Potapova contested Polonskaia’s translation of “The Ballad of the East and West,” which

did not, however, affect the canonicity of the latter (Wilde and Kipling 366-9). Another contestation of canonicity in the volume was the publication of Marshak's translation of "If," which, unlike Potapova's translation, joined the list of the Russian readership's most favorite translations and continues to be widely quoted alongside Lozinskii's translation to date. The volume also included retranslations of the poems from *The Jungle Book* ("The Law of the Jungle," by Arkadii Steinberg and "The Road-Song of the Bandar-Log" by Viktor Lunin).

The next important publications of Kipling's works were edited in the 1980s by two professors from Leningrad State University, Nina Diakonova and Aleksandr Dolinin, both of whom continued to restore Kipling in the memory of the Russian readership throughout the subsequent years (Kipling *Izbrannoe* 1980 and 1983). The 1980 volume contained a retranslation of *The Light That Failed* by Viktor Khinkis, new translations of short stories, including "The White Seal" from *The Jungle Book* and a collection of 52 works of poetry, most of which were translations reprinted from older volumes, mainly from the one published in 1976; it also included some first-time translations and several retranslations ("The Dykes" by Erik Gorlin, "Gethsemane," "The Law of the Jungle," and "The White Man's Burden" by Toporov, "The Widow's Party" and "Soldier an' Sailor Too" by Aleksandr Shcherbakov, "Ford o'Kabul River" by Sergei Tkhorzhvskii, and "Mandalay" – this time by Gringol'ts). The editors also included a new retranslation of "If" by Toporov and the earlier retranslation by Marshak into the commentaries, thus giving the palm to the translation by Lozinskii, which got published in the main body of the book.

Another significant publication of translations of Kipling's poetry into Russian was made in Paris in 1986 by two Leningrad-born translators Georgii Ben and Vasilii Betaki, both of whom had emigrated in 1973. The preface by Betaki elaborated upon the social and political situation in the Soviet Union and the restrictions upon literature as a natural consequence of the political course of the country. "Political enemy number one"—this is the official status of Rudyard Kipling in the USSR," stated Betaki on the first page of the preface, thus implying the social need for translations of Kipling's works that had not made it to the Russian readership (Betaki 5). Ironically, the Paris volume consisted almost purely of retranslations and very few translations of Kipling's poems unknown to the Russian readers. Ben and Betaki retranslated "Tomlinson," "The Song of the Banjo," "Mandalay," "The Law of the Jungle," "If," and others, which again maintained the image of Kipling as a traveler and a romantic. One of the few translations which appeared in the Paris volume for the first time was Betaki's translation of "Russia to the Pacifists 1918"—a sardonic political poem written in the form of a dirge for the former empire torn by the revolution and the civil war (Kipling *Stikhi* 89-90). Alongside other Kipling's works depicting Russia in an unflattering light, like *A Man Who Was* and "The Truce of the Bear," "Russia to the Pacifists 1918" was an absolute taboo in the Soviet Union. Its final line alone—"So do we bury a Nation dead"—made the publication of the poem politically impossible. However, Betaki's translation turned out to be a retranslation. "Russia to the Pacifists" had by then already been translated into Russian by the Soviet literary critic and poetry specialist Mikhail Gasparov who

made the translation without any hope for publication. By force of circumstances, the translation by Gasparov also became known in 1986, when Gasparov himself ventured to recite his translation in public—to be precise, during the official celebration of his own fiftieth anniversary in the Central House of Literature Specialists in Moscow (Witkowsky 9-10). This reckless feat could have had grave consequences for Gasparov but for the rapid change of the political situation and the nuclear disaster which also took place in 1986 and diverted the attention of officials from Gasparov's political escapade. Gasparov's translation of "Russia to the Pacifists" was first published only in 1998, twelve years after it had first been read in public (Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia. Roman* 167-8).

The translations by Betaki and Gasparov look especially interesting in comparison. Both translations, as we know, were made public in 1986 but the social context and the purpose of the translations were strikingly different: Betaki was an emigrant working at radio "Freedom," Gasparov – a reputed Soviet scholar, philologist, and specialist in ancient classics, who was supposed to work in conformity with official restrictions. Betaki's translation is more colloquial both in the use of vocabulary and grammar; the references he makes allude to Soviet rhetoric. Thus, for instance, he translates the line "Break bread for a starving folk" as "Bread, bread for the hungry!" which for a Russian reader is clearly reminiscent of the famous 1917 revolutionary slogan, "Land for the peasants, factories for the workers, bread for the hungry!" The translation of the immediately following line, "Give them their food as they take the yoke" as "Give them their fodder as they take the yoke" shifts the focus from the death of the nation to the people who are part of this nation. Gasparov's translation is more elevated in tone; however, its text is full of hidden protest. For example, the line "And the shadow of a people that is trampled into mire" was rendered by Gasparov as "And only a shadow of a people which does not exist anymore"—a formula which relates much more to the times when Gasparov's translation was created than to the times when Kipling's original was written. But the most impressive change to the original made by Gasparov was in the rendering of the lines "Arms and victual, hope and counsel, name and country lost!" which was modified into "Not a slice, not a home, not a faith, not a name, not a country!" (Kipling *Stikhi* 89-90; Kipling *Stikhotvoreniia. Roman* 167-8) The sharp crescendo in translation was created by the enumeration of all human values which had by the 1980s been defied in course of Soviet history: life, property, religion, and dignity. The enumeration ends with the word "country," thus making the violation of human rights end with the destruction of the state. The translation by Gasparov therefore gave the impression of a social statement, and it is not surprising that it was almost immediately branded anti-Soviet (Witkowsky 9).

Limited publications of Kipling's poetry and the general ban on his works lent Kipling a special romantic allure. Under restrictions and surveillance, poetry as a genre tends to circulate faster than prose, as it can be rewritten more easily, learnt by heart, and recited. This was the way Kipling's poetic images gradually got incorporated into Russian culture, taking part in the construction of new images. Thus, for instance, in 1937, Pavel Kogan wrote a poem entitled

“Brigantine” which contained all archetypal features associated with Kipling’s poetry in the Russian culture: a ship, a longing for travel, a farewell to the sickening boredom (*Sovetskaia poezīia*, 311-312). Kogan died when leading a reconnaissance mission during World War II at the age of twenty-four; his poem outlived him, becoming a song in the 1960s. Yet the first poem by Kipling directly turned into a Russian song became the translation of “Boots” by Onoshkovich-Iatsyna, which became the lyrics for the song composed by Evgenii Agranovich in 1941, as he volunteered to the Western Soviet Front and took part in the Battle for Moscow. Agranovich’s song reverberated several times in the so-called author’s songs or bard’s songs—non-mainstream and non-professional genre which consisted in the individual performance of self-written songs to a seven or six string guitar self-accompaniment and enjoyed its highest popularity in the Soviet Union in the third quarter of the twentieth century. One of the first bard-performers to allude to Agranovich’s song written to Kipling’s words was Bulat Okudzhava, who in his 1957 song “Do you Hear Boots Trample?” not only referred to the original poem by Kipling, but also used its signature feature—the hyphenated multiple repetitions of single words (Okudzhava). In 1965, bard Iurii Kukin wrote the song entitled “Kipling’s Soldier” in which he speculated on the consequences of long journeys away from home (Kukin).

The influence of Kipling over the Soviet poetry and music extended far beyond the aforementioned cases. Among Kipling’s poems that in different years became lyrics for songs of different genres are “I’ve Never Sailed the Amazon,” “The Gypsy Trail,” and “The Servant when he Reigneth.” The effect of Kipling’s banned poetry on the individual perception of literature and the surrounding world was well described by Aleksandr Gorodnitskii in his 1988 song “Lloyd’s Bell” where he gave a direct reference to the 1922 Onoshkovich-Iatsyna’s thin volume, hidden on the shelf among unbanned books (Gorodnitskii).

## Conclusion and research perspectives

Kipling’s influence on Russian literature and arts, as we can see, was tangible throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The effect it made on the Russian readership was preconditioned by the decisions of publishers in their selection of parts of *The Jungle Book* and translators and editors in their choice of poetry. Soviet literary restrictions aggravated the distortion of Kipling’s image. Limited access to Kipling’s works forced the readers to form their judgment on the basis of what was available. The readership’s opinion was determined by two main corpora of Kipling’s texts which the readers had access to. The first one consisted of the variations on *The Jungle Book*—multiply retranslated, reinterpreted, and retold to the degree that it eventually lost its stylistic features, poetic components, and even its size, thus becoming a children’s book. The reasons for the reluctance of Soviet publishers to produce “grown-up” editions of *The Jungle Book* are related to the ban on Kipling but are not reduced to it. Indeed, the ban was not total, and since the children’s versions of *The Jungle Book* were widely circulated, one could wonder why a “grown-up” version, be it an abridged one, did not appear till the 1990s. It is a fact, for instance, that *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver’s Travels* were widely circulated in the Soviet Union in both adult and



children versions. And even though such parts as “Mowgli’s Song That He Sang on the Council Rock When He Danced on Shere Khan’s Hide” would have been found improper by censors for the potential risk of undesirable political interpretations, most of *The Jungle Book* could have been seen quite appropriate. Therefore, we are not dealing here with censorship as a single factor; there are also other parameters involved, which include the habitual behaviour of publishers and the technical difficulties of finding a single translator to engage in a lengthy project of translating a complex text comprised of both prose and poetry.

The second corpus of texts that determined the readership’s opinion of Kipling was composed of translations of poetry, different selections of which made the readership see Kipling as a traveler and a person of absolute freedom. Every subsequent generation of readers shaped its views on Kipling based on what it had access to; and every new generation of translators produced retranslations of the same pieces of Kipling’s poetry (“The Song of the Banjo,” “Mandalay,” “The Law of the Jungle,” “If”), as they naturally tried to match strength with their predecessors. The poems which got selected for translation in 1922 and 1936 formed the core of Kipling’s poetry for the Russian readership. Other translations of Kipling’s poetry were built around and in concordance with this core. The response of poets and songwriters to Kipling’s poetry was very strong yet limited to what was available in the Russian language, and hence determined by the personal choices of translators and editors engaged in the selection of single poems. However, even when the publishing constraints were lifted, the translators continued to be attracted by the same poems, despite there being a great scope of Kipling’s poems waiting to be translated for the first time. It is also striking that despite the clear interest of the Russian readership towards Kipling, his poetry continued to be published in random selections rather than in poetry collections in accordance with Kipling’s arrangements. In this regard, the question of “non-retranslation,” as well as “non-translation” remains to be explored. As well as in the case of *The Jungle Book*, we cannot ascribe this imbalance in the translations of poetry to political conditions, individual choices, or censorship only; it originated, as Koskinen and Paloposki would put it, “in a web of multiple causation” (Koskinen and Paloposki, “Retranslation,” 296). Answers are yet to be found in course of research into official regulations on print and culture, publishers’ archives, as well as personal accounts and memoirs of Soviet translators and editors.

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